

THE SHELL AS A SYMBOLIC DESIGN MOTIF:  
RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE AND USE IN  
SELECTED AREAS OF THE MISSION  
SAN XAVIER DEL BAC  
TUCSON, ARIZONA

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## PREFACE

The creative Interior Designer needs to have a thorough knowledge and understanding of history and a skill in correlating authentic designs of the past with the present. Sensitivity to the art and designs of the past aids the Interior Designer in adapting them into the creation of the contemporary interior. Designs of the past can have an integral relationship with contemporary design. Successful designs are those which have survived and have transcended time. Thus, the Interior Designer needs to know the background of a design, the original use of a design, and the period to which a design belongs in order to successfully adapt the design to the contemporary creation of beauty.

This study of the shell as a symbolic design motif began with a profound interest in history, a deep love for a serene desert mission, and a probing curiosity concerning an outstanding design used in connection with the mission of San Xavier Del Bac, Tucson, Arizona. Scope of the study covers the periods in existence before the time of Christ to the establishment of religion in Southwestern United States. The purpose of this study was to determine the significant history of the shell as a design motif, and to determine whether or not the findings concerning the history of the shell, would have a specific relationship to the repeated usage of the shell as a design in the mission San Xavier Del Bac. The shell as a symbolic design motif and the history and a use of the shell are presented in the following study.

Indebtedness and appreciation is acknowledged to Mrs. Christine F. Salmon, Associate Professor of Housing and Interior Design at Oklahoma State University, for her guidance and inspiration in the course of this study and in Graduate College; to Miss Leevera Pepin, Assistant Professor of Housing and Interior Design at Oklahoma State University, for her constructive criticism of this study; to Mrs. Robison Jensen, Professor of Home Economics at the University of Arizona, for first teaching the writer the fundamentals of Interior Design and for her inspiration; to Dr. Bernard Fontana, Department of Anthropology at the University of Arizona, for his assistance in obtaining photographs and material on San Xavier Del Bac; to the University of Arizona Special Collections library staff for their assistance in using rare materials; to Mrs. Alex Jacome, for first telling the writer the legends of Saint James the Greater; to Miss Catherine Linn, for her assistance in technical writing; to Miss Eloise Dreessen, for her patience in typing the manuscript.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Shells have a history of significant usage. Civilizations, the world over, have appreciated the beauty of shells and have used them for adornment.<sup>1</sup> Shells have been used as ornaments and as religious emblems.<sup>2</sup> Usage of the shell as an ornament suggests man's concern in using objects of his environment for a decorative purpose.

Civilizations of the world have used shells in strange ways and have valued them for different reasons. In addition to their usage as ornaments, shells have served a utilitarian purpose. Primitive man has used the shell as a material from which he made tools, cooking utensils, pottery, and dyes. Shells have also been used as a medium of exchange. The soft body of the animal inside the shell, the mollusk, has served as a food.<sup>3</sup> Shells have occupied a prominent position in civilizations from prehistoric times to the present, both as an object of ornamentation and as an object of utility.

Scallop and Cockle shells have been widely used as design motifs.<sup>4</sup> Some of the earliest objects, using these shells for ornamental design, were unearthed at the site of the city Ur of the Chaldees in Mesopotamia. Other objects were unearthed at a burial mound, called al 'Ubaid, four miles away. These objects prove the existence of a civilization older than that of Egypt, which influenced the art and thought of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews, Phoenicians, and Greeks. The

civilization was located along the Euphrates River in Mesopotamia, and it was known as the Sumerian. The skilled craftsmen put such value on these shells as a material, that it was considered worthy of use with gold and lapis lazuli in ornamenting their finest works of art. One of the objects that was discovered is a harp with engraved shell plaques ornamenting the front of the sounding box. Also, among the objects, were a pair of cosmetic containers, one of gold and one of silver, fashioned like Cockle shells, and filled with green paint used for eye shadow. In addition to these gold and silver shells, there were a number of real Cockle shells, which also contained green paint. In the same tomb, excavators found a gold shell lamp in the form of the Cockle shell. All of these treasures were taken from the royal tomb of Queen Shub-ad and the king, who reigned about 3000 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

Scallop and Cockle shells also served Egyptian craftsmen as inspiration for design. Proof of their use is found in silver and gold pectorals, medallions to be worn over the chest, made in the shape of giant Scallop shells.<sup>6</sup>

Similar usage of the Cockle shell was also found among the Indians of the Southwest, who carved desert animals out of large Cockle shells.<sup>7</sup> They were worn as pendants, which were extremely popular ornaments. Excavators have found pendants of whole valves of Cockle shells. Other Indian groups used shells for money. Shells used for money served both a decorative and utilitarian purpose. Since these primitive groups had no other way to carry money, a man's wealth was worn as an ornament. Shells, such as the Scallop and Cockle, were worn as jewelry in the form of necklaces, bracelets, collars, and belts.<sup>8</sup>

The Scallop and Cockle shells were well-known and greatly used

design motifs in the Ancient Civilizations. The design then began to diminish in popularity and was used in few objects or periods, until the Middle Ages. With the beginning of the Middle Ages, the Scallop and Cockle shells became a design of great religious significance. The design began to have great popularity and prominence, and began to be used in architecture, furniture, textiles, and accessories.

It was the custom, during the Middle Ages, for people to make pilgrimages to foreign lands, to visit the shrines of special saints. As early as the eighth century, pilgrims were going to the province of Galicia in Spain, to visit the shrine of Saint James the Greater at Compostela.<sup>9</sup> This was one of the most renowned of the medieval pilgrimages. The pilgrims who made this arduous journey wore Scallop shells on their hats to indicate that they were traveling on a pilgrimage. The shell became a token of a visit to the shrine of Saint James.<sup>10</sup> Traveling pilgrims carried the shell and the shell design throughout their pilgrimage and back to their own countries. The shell was proof they had fulfilled their pilgrimage vows. The design spread throughout Europe and came to have great symbolic meaning and usage.

The specific Scallop shell worn by these medieval pilgrims was the *Pecten Jacobaeus*, the shell of Saint James the Greater,<sup>11</sup> (the first word is the genus of the shell, the second word, the name). *Pecten Jacobaeus* is a native of the Mediterranean.<sup>12</sup>

Later in the Middle Ages and on through other periods, the Scallop shell and the Cockle shell were both associated with Saint James of Compostela. The two words and the two shells were used interchangeably in reference to the same basic ornamental design. Terms, then, made little difference to the visual appearance of the shell. The design of

the shell remained essentially the same, being modified to fit the period in which it was used. This design usually appeared as a semi-circular form with ridges radiating from a point at the bottom.

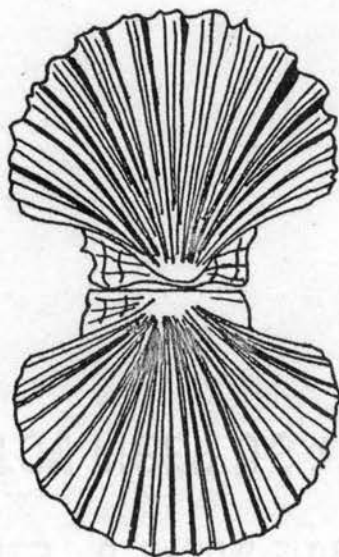


Figure 1. The Specific Scallop Shell Worn by the Pilgrims was the *Pecten Jacobaeus*; the shell of Saint James the Greater.

Scallop and Cockle are two shells closely alike in visual characteristics. The visual difference in the two shells is the triangular area at the hinge of the shell, known as the ear.<sup>13</sup> This triangular area exists on the Scallop shell and does not exist on most species of the Cockle shell. Except for this difference, the two shells are the same in all other visual characteristics. For the purpose of clarity, the word "shell" will be used in speaking of the design form, which denotes either the Scallop or Cockle.

The Scallop and Cockle shells do differ in biological characteristics. Both are members of the invertebrate phylum Mollusca or Mollusk. Mollusk is one of the largest and most important divisions of

the animal kingdom. The phylum comprises six classes containing more than 100,000 living species and an even greater number of fossil forms.<sup>14</sup> Mollusks are grouped into six classes on the basis of the type of shell, the number and arrangement of the various organs, the type of foot, the method of feeding, and the embryology. The class which includes the Scallop and Cockle is the Bivalvia or Pelecypoda.<sup>15</sup>

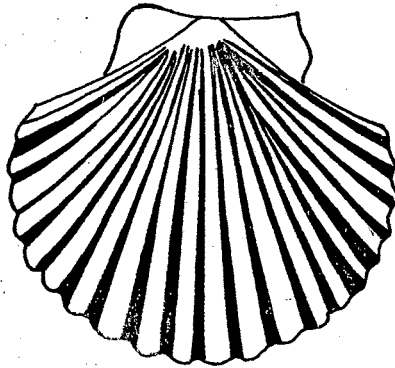


Figure 2. The Scallop Shell

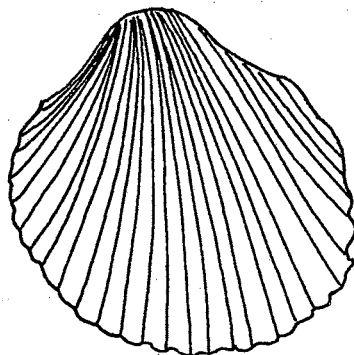


Figure 3. The Cockle Shell

The Mollusks known in the classes Lamellibranchia (Scallop) or Pelecypoda (Cockle) are commonly referred to as bivalves.<sup>16</sup> The shells are composed of two valves hinged at the dorsal margin and usually held

together by a ligament. The shells are bilaterally symmetrical. Both marine and fresh water species exist. Bivalves are restricted to an aquatic habitat by their method of feeding. In water they can be found from intertidal zones to great depths.

Mollusks are abundant as fossils and are known as far back as the Cambrian (the earliest period of the Paleozoic Era).<sup>17</sup> Cambrian designates the system of rocks formed in this period. Every animal type, except the vertebrate, is represented in the fossils of the Cambrian.

Scallop is the popular name for the bivalve mollusk in the family Pectinidae.<sup>18</sup> The genus of the Scallop is Pecten, and the class is Lamellibranchia. Pecten is placed in the second order, Filibranchia, of the Lamellibranchia.<sup>19</sup> This group is biologically characterized by the possession of gills and by highly developed byssus. In Pecten the foot is rudimentary which makes the animal sedentary. The byssus serves to fasten the Scallop to the sea bottom.<sup>20</sup> When the animal is in danger, it can swim by rapidly opening and closing the shell. However, Scallops are poor swimmers, with little ability to control their direction.<sup>21</sup>

The Scallop shell is made up of two equal rounded valves. The shells are fan-shaped, and marked by distinct ridges which proceed from the hinge and spread outward. There are also transverse ridges which mark the growing periods of the shell. At the hinge is a triangular area known as the ear.<sup>22</sup>

Scallops have world-wide distribution. About three hundred living species are known and are found in all seas from high latitudes as well as the tropics.<sup>23</sup> They are found in shallow water and to depths of 6,500 feet.<sup>24</sup>



Cockle is the popular name for the bivalve mollusk in the family Cardidae. The class is Pelecypoda, and the order is Eulamellibranchia.<sup>25</sup> The family is large and includes about fifty genera and subgenera, and has two hundred fifty recent species.<sup>26</sup> This group is biologically characterized by the possession of a large muscular foot and short siphons. The foot is capable of active digging and short distance surface crawling.

The Cockle lives just below the surface of the sand, with the siphon extending to the surface for feeding and respiration.<sup>27</sup> Cockles can also live on the surface of sand flats. When the animal is in danger it can dig rapidly into the sand. However, the short siphon does not allow the Cockle to dig to great depths.<sup>28</sup>

The Cockle is also known as the heart clam. This name describes the shape of the cross section of the opposed valves and is derived from the Greek kardía, "heart".<sup>29</sup> The shells are equivalve and the sculpture and color patterns are variable. Many species lack pronounced sculpture, while others are ornamented with radiating ribs that are covered with scalelike processes. Some species are uniform in color, and other species may have radiating bands of color or a mottled pattern.<sup>30</sup>

Many species of Cockle are found throughout the world. A few species live in the intertidal zone. Most live just below the lowtide line. Some species, mostly of the small type, have been dredged from depths of more than three hundred fathoms. *Cerastoderma edule* is the best known of the Cockles.<sup>31</sup> The animal inside this Cockle shell is an important food in the British Isles and in Western Europe.

This chapter is a brief introduction to the importance of the

shell, a common object of the environment, which has been an object of design inspiration and utility for many civilizations. It is the intent of this thesis to emphasize the shell as a design motif, which has religious significance, and to discuss the usage of the shell as a design motif in selected areas of the mission, San Xavier del Bac, Tucson, Arizona.

FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Kathleen Yerger Johnstone, Sea Treasure (Boston, 1957), p. 191.
- <sup>2</sup>"Mollusk," Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago, 1964), XV, 674.
- <sup>3</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>4</sup>"Scallop," The World Book Encyclopedia (Chicago, 1960), XVI, 144; "Cockle," Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago, 1964), VI, 3.
- <sup>5</sup>Johnstone, Sea Treasure, pp. 191-195.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 198-199.
- <sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 174.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 165-166.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 209.
- <sup>10</sup>"Scallop," Encyclopedia Americana (New York, 1966), XXIV, 348.
- <sup>11</sup>Louise Allderices Travers, The Romance of Shells in Nature and Art (New York, 1962), p. 59.
- <sup>12</sup>"Scallop," Encyclopedia Americana, XXIV, p. 348.
- <sup>13</sup>"Scallop," The Source Book (Chicago, 1934), VI, 2568.
- <sup>14</sup>"Mollusk," Encyclopaedia Britannica, XV, p. 674
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 677.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup>"Cambrian," Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, 1959), 119.
- <sup>18</sup>"Scallop," Encyclopedia Americana, XXIV, p. 348.
- <sup>19</sup>"Scallop," Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago, 1964), XX, 44.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup>"Scallop," Collier's Encyclopedia (United States, 1965), XX, 470.

- 22"Scallop," The Source Book, VI, p. 2568.
- 23"Scallop," Encyclopaedia Britannica, XX, p. 44.
- 24"Scallop," Collier's Encyclopedia, XX, p. 469.
- 25"Cockle," Collier's Encyclopedia (United States, 1965), VI, 682.
- 26"Cockle," Encyclopaedia Britannica, VI, p. 3.
- 27Ibid.
- 28"Cockle," Collier's Encyclopedia, VI, p. 682.
- 29"Cockle," Encyclopaedia Britannica, VI, p. 3.
- 30"Cockle," Encyclopedia Americana (New York, 1966), VII, 187.
- 31"Cockle," Encyclopaedia Britannica, VI, p. 3.

## CHAPTER II

### THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SHELL

Pecten Jacobaeus, a Scallop native to the Mediterranean, is the shell of Saint James the Greater.<sup>1</sup> The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles tell all that is known of the life of Saint James. The first knowledge of Saint James was in A.D. 27, when he was called to be the Lord's disciple;<sup>2</sup> nothing is known of his early life. He was called James "the Greater" to distinguish him from the Apostle James "the Less", perhaps, the names were due to the fact that James the Greater was older and of taller stature than James the Less.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Family of Saint James The Greater

James was the elder son of Zebedee and Salome, and the elder brother of the Apostle John. According to Saint Jerome, the family was of noble origin. There was a traditional belief that they originally came from Jaffa.<sup>4</sup> The family lived in, or near, Bethsaida, or perhaps in Capernaum.<sup>5</sup>

The parents of James and John seem to have been people of means. Zebedee was a fisherman on the Sea of Galilee. Evidently business thrived, and Zebedee employed hired servants to assist in the management of his boats.<sup>6</sup> Zebedee also had a house in Jerusalem. He was known as a friend of the High Priest, Caiaphas, and the household of Caiaphas. This would mark Zebedee as a man of social position.<sup>7</sup>

Salome, the mother of James and John, belonged to the group of women who followed Christ throughout Galilee, and cared for the needs of His daily life. The Gospels of Saint Matthew and Saint Mark name Salome as one of the women near the Cross, during the Crucifixion of Christ.<sup>8</sup> Saint John, in reference to the same event, names the same women, except in place of Salome, he refers to the sister of Christ's mother.<sup>9</sup> It is uncertain if the sister of Christ's mother can be identified as Salome. However, if the supposition is correct, Salome was the sister of the Virgin Mary, and James the Greater and John were first cousins of the Lord. This may explain the discipleship of the two brothers, and Christ's commendation of Mary to her nephew John.<sup>10</sup> Salome was also one of the women who witnessed the burial of Christ, and who discovered the empty tomb the next day.<sup>11</sup>

#### The Call of Saint James the Greater

The known facts concerning the life of Saint James began with the Call of Christ. In the spring or summer of A.D. 27, James and John were out on the Sea of Galilee with their father, Zebedee. Simon Peter and Andrew, the sons of Jonas, were in another boat near James, John, and Zebedee.<sup>12</sup> The men were all partners in the fishing business and were engaged in their occupation of fishing.<sup>13</sup> Finding themselves unsuccessful, the men came ashore and began to wash and mend their nets.

At this moment, the new Teacher, Jesus Christ, appeared upon the beach. As He walked upon the beach, He came first to Simon Peter and his brother Andrew. He called to the brothers to follow Him and become fishers of men. The brothers left their nets and followed Him.<sup>14</sup> Going on along the beach, He saw the sons of Zebedee, James and his

brother John. The two brothers were in the boat with their father, mending the nets. Christ called to James and John, and immediately they left their father with the hired servants, and went after Him.<sup>15</sup> Thus, began the discipleship of Saint James the Greater, his known life, and his historical importance.

#### The Discipleship of Saint James the Greater

In the spring of A.D. 28, James was called to the Apostleship of Christ with eleven others.<sup>16</sup> In the list of the Apostles given in the Gospel of Saint Mark and in Acts, James was listed next to Simon Peter, who was listed first.<sup>17</sup> The Gospels of Saint Matthew and Saint Luke name James third in the list.<sup>18</sup> Biblical lists position James among the first three Apostles, thus implying the importance of James to Christ.

The name of James was usually placed before the name of his brother John. One exception in the Gospel of Saint Luke lists the name of John before James.<sup>19</sup> John was most often described as the brother of James, except for one reference in Acts.<sup>20</sup> The implication seems to be that James, either from age or character, took a higher position than his brother John. However, the names of James and John were paired in some way, which may mean they were partners in the service of Christ, and went together on the teaching missions.

In the lists of the Twelve Apostles, James and John, along with Peter and Andrew, always form a group of four. These men, especially Peter, James and John, formed the chosen "inner circle" of the disciples of Christ.<sup>21</sup> These Apostles were the only few chosen by Christ to witness certain special events and to be on terms of special intimacy

with Christ.

At the time James and John were chosen as two of the Twelve Apostles, Christ gave them the name Boanerges, meaning the Sons of Thunder.<sup>22</sup> James and John were evidently of like character. Both brothers had a burning and impetuous zeal and had severe tempers. They were also energetic and ambitious in their work for Christ. Their character exhibits itself in later events.

Christ took Peter, James and John into His confidence. He permitted these three to accompany Him to the home of Jairus. Here they witnessed the raising, from the dead, of Jairus's daughter.<sup>23</sup> Again, at the Transfiguration, Christ chose these three to ascend the mountain with Him.<sup>24</sup> According to the Gospel of Saint Mark, James and John went with Christ to the home of Peter and Andrew. Here they witnessed the healing of Peter's mother-in-law.<sup>25</sup> Peter, James, John and Andrew asked Christ about the signs of the coming judgment.<sup>26</sup> Christ talked privately to these men giving His apocalyptic prophecy, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem and of the tribulations and wars to come. Peter, James and John again were chosen by Christ to go with Him to the Garden of Gethsemane.<sup>27</sup>

The character of the Sons of Thunder appeared in several incidents recorded in the Gospels. The two brothers displayed their temperament with "a certain man casting out devils" in the name of Christ. John told Christ "we forbad him because he followeth not with us."<sup>28</sup> In a later event, on the way to Jerusalem, Christ sent messengers into a Samaritan Village to prepare for Him. The Samaritans, remembering their hatred for the Jews, refused to receive Christ. James and John asked Christ to send fire down from heaven to consume the village.



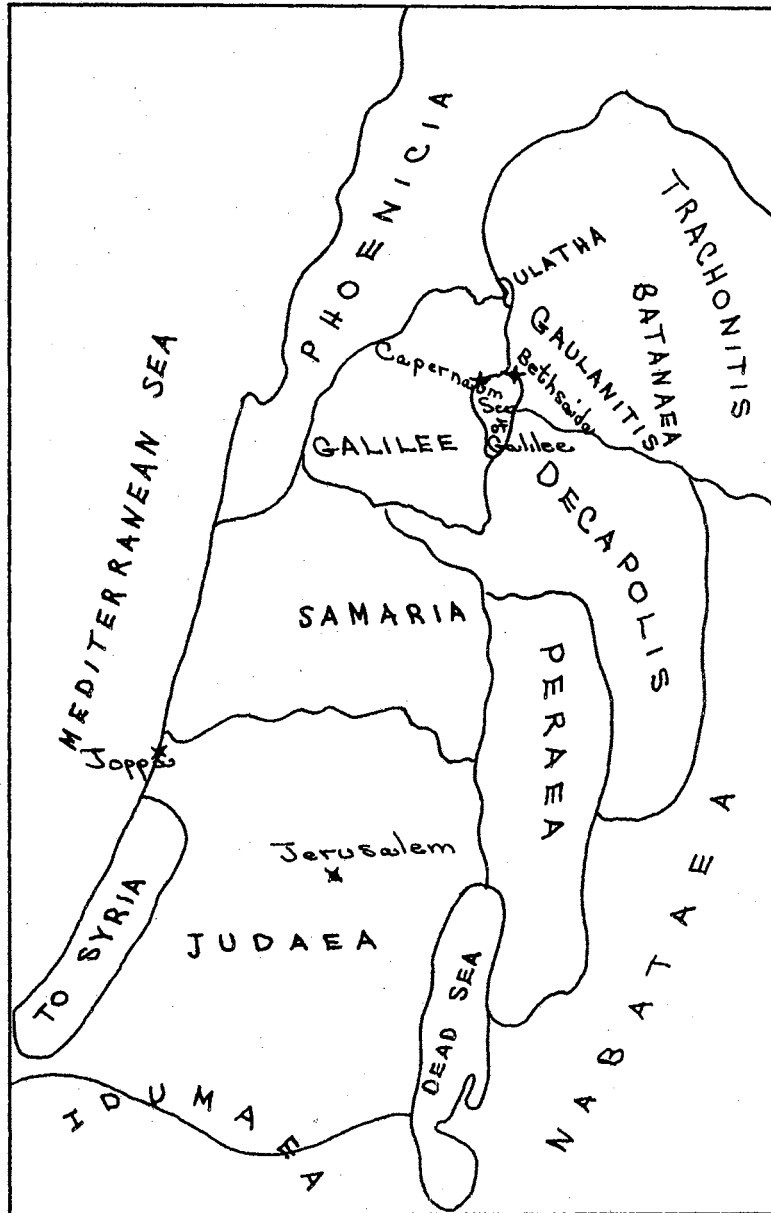


Figure 4. Palestine at the Time of Christ.

Christ rebuked them, explaining His mission was to save lives.<sup>29</sup>

On the last journey to Jerusalem, Salome came to Christ with her two sons, James and John. According to the Gospel of Saint Matthew, the Apostle's mother requested places for her sons at Christ's right and left hand in His coming glory.<sup>30</sup> In the Gospel of Saint Mark, the two brothers made this ambitious request for themselves, and gained the indignation of the other Apostles.<sup>31</sup> The answer Christ gave to James and his brother was the prediction that they would drink the cup that He would drink. The honored places were not Christ's to give, but they would be prepared by the Father. Christ quieted the grumbling of the remaining Twelve Apostles by saying that greatness meant being the servant of all.

James, with Simon Peter, John and the other disciples, witnessed one of Christ's appearances after the Resurrection.<sup>32</sup> The disciples were fishing, when Christ appeared upon the shore. The boats returned to the shore, and Christ ate and talked with His disciples. This incident has parallels to the Call of James and John. Later, James and the disciples were present at the Ascension of Christ. At this time, the disciples received from Christ, the instructions to "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."<sup>33</sup>

#### The Travels of Saint James to Spain

After the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension, there was a period of twelve or fourteen years about which the Bible says nothing of Saint James. The Golden Legend told that James the Apostle, son of Zebedee, preached in Judea and Samaria, and afterwards he was sent into Spain. According to The Golden Legend, James only converted

nine Spanish disciples. Two of the disciples he left in Spain to preach the word of God.<sup>34</sup> Other historians maintain that James made many converts and founded dioceses.

James landed in Andalusia and from there followed the Roman Road to the harbor of the river at Iria in Galicia. Iria was later known as Padron.<sup>35</sup>

There are many local legends about Saint James while he preached in Spain. One legend from Galicia describes the adventures of the wandering Apostle. James preached at the town of Mugia on a narrow isthmus, near the Cliff of Finisterre.<sup>36</sup> Here, the inhabitants still show a large, flat stone, that was the keel of the stone boat, in which the Virgin Mary sailed from Jerusalem to Spain. She came to Spain to comfort and encourage James as he preached.

Another legend tells that during his stay in Saragossa, James was depressed in spirit and felt his mission to the pagans was in vain. One night, when his disciples were sleeping and James was in prayer, he heard the voices of angels singing. The Virgin Mary again appeared asking James to build a temple for her on that location. James did build a temple and named it Our Lady of the Pillar. The title was in reference to the pillar of jasper given by Mary to James. According to ancient Latin manuscripts preserved in the archives of El Pillar, this was the first temple in the world consecrated by the hands of an Apostle to the Virgin Mary. Before leaving Saragossa, James named his disciple Athanasius the first bishop of the temple and ordained another disciple, Theodore, as a priest.<sup>37</sup>

Historians outside of Spain tend to agree that James never preached the gospel in Spain.<sup>38</sup> The Bible and writers of the first ages of

Christianity gave no account of where James preached. In the Epistle to the Romans, Paul expressed his intentions to journey into Spain, after he mentioned that he did not "build upon another man's foundation."<sup>39</sup> It is possible that this "other man" was James the Greater, Apostle of Christ. From this may come the Spanish and Catholic references concerning the preaching of James in Spain.

One reason for the importance of James is the idea that James preached in Spain. The argument between historians, as to whether James did or did not preach in Spain, still exists. Legends, concerning the preaching of James, all tend to verify that he did preach in Spain. The years before the death of James would have given him time to do so. Perhaps, the question of his preaching in Spain will never be settled. More certain are the legends, traditions, and writings that tell of the travel of James to Spain after his death. It is generally accepted that disciples of James did bring his body to Spain for burial. And, with these facts and legends, James gained his greatest importance not only to Spain but also to the shell as a design motif.

#### The Death of Saint James The Greater

In A.D. 44, during the Passover Season, James accompanied Peter to Jerusalem to celebrate Easter.<sup>40</sup> At this time, Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great, reigned over a dominion larger than that of his grandfather. He was the King of all Palestine.

Herod's object was to please the Jews in every way, and he showed great regard for Jewish laws and customs. In pursuance of this policy, on the occasion of the Passover, he perpetrated cruelties upon the Church, whose rapid growth incensed the Jews. The zealous temper of

James and his leading part in the Jewish Christian communities probably led Herod Agrippa to choose him as the first victim. James was arrested and executed with a sword.<sup>41</sup> Thus, James became the second of the martyrs and the first of the Apostles to give his life for Christ.<sup>42</sup> James was the first Christian executed, as part of a wider persecution inaugurated by Herod Agrippa I.

Later, legendary stories expanded upon the death of James recorded in Acts. Toward the end of the second century, Clement of Alexandria, relying on information of Christians before him, related a story of James.<sup>43</sup> Before the execution of James, his accuser observed the courage and constancy of mind with which the Apostle underwent his trial. The accuser was so impressed that he repented of what he had done, declared himself to be a Christian, and was also condemned to be beheaded. As they were both led to execution, he begged the pardon of James for having apprehended the Apostle. James turned to him and embraced him saying, "Peace be with you." James then kissed him and both were beheaded together.<sup>44</sup>

#### The Journey of Saint James After Death

According to legend, Saint James, having visited Galicia in the course of his missionary journeys, could not bear the idea that he would never see Galicia again. He, therefore, asked his disciples to bring his body back to this beautiful land, after his death. James wanted to be buried near the town of Iria Flavia where he had preached and taught.<sup>45</sup>

After the death of James in Jerusalem, his disciples, mindful of his entreaty, begged for his body and severed head and placed them in

a coffin, which they carried secretly by night to Joppa. Here they hired a boat and set sail, moving as the wind and tide carried them. On the seventh day of the voyage they successfully passed the Pillars of Hercules and headed north along the Atlantic sea-board.<sup>46</sup>

The original legends of the shell, and the importance of the shell in association with James, began as the body of James was transported to Spain. As the boat sailed past the shores of Galicia, in northwestern Spain, a marriage was being celebrated on the shore. The bridegroom was on horseback, followed by a colorful procession. Suddenly, the horse became frightened and dashed into the sea. When horse and rider rose to the surface, near the boat, they were both thickly covered with Scallop shells. This miracle was attributed to the presence of the body of Saint James.<sup>47</sup>

The legend related above concerning James and the Scallop is the legend most frequently found in sources. In the legend, the shell became a symbol of divine protection and of the protection offered by James. The legend of the bridegroom has also been one of the main legends passed verbally from one generation to the next.

A second legend concerning the shell has often been related in connection with James. As the boat carrying the body of James began to approach the shore of Galicia, the disciples saw a horseman, shining as the day, ride toward the boat, through the waves. Before reaching the boat, the horseman vanished beneath the water. No further trace of the horseman was found, except that the bay became crested with Scallop shells. The disciples realized they had seen a vision, and they gave thanks to God for leading the boat safely to Galicia and for giving them the shell as a sign of divine protection. Each disciple then took

a shell and wore the shell as a sign of protection. The shell became the emblem of their master Saint James the Greater.<sup>48</sup>

The original facts concerning the burial of James, have been overshadowed by the main legend of the burial. Upon reaching the shore at Iria Flavia, the disciples took the body of Saint James out of the boat and laid it on a large stone. Immediately the stone received the body into itself and became a sepulcher to the body.

The disciples then went to Queen Lupa, ruler of the land. They requested a burial place for Saint James, saying to her, "Our Lord Jesus Christ hath sent to thee the body of His disciple, so that him thou wouldst not receive alive thou shalt receive dead." Queen Lupa, in answer, sent the disciples by treachery and guile to a "cruel man", who put them in prison. Later that night, the prison doors were opened by the Lord and the disciples escaped. Knights were sent after the disciples, but while crossing a bridge, the knights fell into the water and drowned. The "cruel man" repented and came after the disciples begging them to return. They did go back to the city of the "cruel man" and converted the city to the faith of God.<sup>49</sup>

Even this miracle failed to soften the heart of Queen Lupa. She told the disciples: "Take the oxen that I have in yonder mountain, and yoke them to my cart, and bring there the body of your Master and build for him such a place as ye will." The Queen knew there were no oxen in the mountain but only wild bulls, who would destroy the disciples. When the bulls rushed the disciples, they made the sign of the Cross and tamed the animals. They yoked them to the cart, put the body of Saint James on the cart, and went back to the palace of Queen Lupa. When the Queen saw this, she believed and was converted.<sup>50</sup>

The disciples named the mountain near the burial site, Pico Sacro, or Sacred Mount. They then returned to the field which Queen Lupa gave them as a gift. This spot, where in coming centuries the cathedral and city of Santiago de Compostela were to rise, was called Liberum Donum or Libre-don in memory of the gift. The disciples then laid the relics of the Apostle in a sarcophagus, and over it built an altar and a small chapel.<sup>51</sup>

A small community of faithful worshippers grew around the Chapel of Saint James. At the time of the burial, Spain was one of the richest provinces of Rome. Soon, religious persecutions that swept the Roman Empire, penetrated into Galicia. The Christians were determined to hide all traces of their sacred relic so it would not be destroyed. They covered the sepulcher and altar with soil and planted bushes and trees that gradually hid the grave.<sup>52</sup>

The grave remained in this condition, and James was lost and unknown for eight centuries. It is difficult to distinguish fact from fantasy in the legend of the burial of James. Since the event took place in the first century, historians cannot adequately trace or be certain of the original facts. The legend related above has become the most familiar explanation of the burial of Saint James.

#### Discovery of the Relics of Saint James The Greater

In Spanish history, during the reign of Alfonso II, 791-842 A.D., the body of Saint James the Greater was discovered. At the beginning of the ninth century, Iria Flavia in Galicia was inhabited by a number of hermits who spent their days in prayer and meditation. The hermits were refugees of Gothic, Roman and Iberian stock who grouped themselves



under the leadership of Pelayo. Pelayo was the semi-legendary hero from whom the monarchs of Spain derived their ancestry.<sup>53</sup>

One night, during his meditations, Pelayo saw a large star burning low, over a wooded hill near the River Sar. The rest of the hermits and shepherds also saw the star and many smaller stars among the bushes on the hill. Pelayo and the group went to investigate, and as they came near the area, they heard distant music.<sup>54</sup>

Making sure, during several night's careful observation, that he had not been deceived by his senses, Pelayo went to Theodomir, the Bishop of Ira Flavia, and told him what he had seen. Theodomir recognized the hand of God and advised them to hold three days of prayer and fasting. At the end of the three days, under the guidance of the hermits and the shepherds, workmen went into the wooded hill. The workers cleared away the undergrowth and found a small shrine.<sup>55</sup>

Bishop Theodomir entered the shrine and found a sepulcher. According to tradition and legend, he found a piece of parchment or papyrus near the body in the sarcophagus, stating that this was the body of Saint James the Greater, and a description of how James was buried. The word of Theodomir was sufficient and the news spread throughout Spain. Alfonso II was the first to know, and he left his court in Oviedo and began the journey to Galicia to pay his respects to Saint James.<sup>56</sup> Perhaps, in doing this, Alfonso II could be considered the first pilgrim of Saint James.

#### Leader of the Christians Against the Moslems

Alfonso II realized the full significance of the discovery. Spain now possessed the body of an Apostle of the Christians. Santiago (this

is the Spanish name for Saint James, along with Iago and Jaime) would inspire the Holy War and give the Christians faith to triumph over the Moslems.<sup>57</sup> The Moslems drew their strength from the relics of the Prophet Mohammed located in the Mosque at Cordoba. Now, the Christians had religious relics to give them strength. Alfonso II proclaimed James the Greater the Patron Saint of Spain.<sup>58</sup>

Discovery of the relics of Saint James was one of the pivotal events in Spanish history. The oldest references to the circumstances, concerning the discovery of the sepulcher of Saint James, are to be found in a document signed by the Bishop of Santiago, Diego Pelaez, and the Abbot of the monastery of Saint Payo de Antealtares, San Fagildo, in 1077.<sup>59</sup>

The discovery of the relics of Saint James was important not only throughout western Christendom, but also throughout the Moslem Empire. It brought new hope and consolation to Europe that the progress of the Moslems would be checked. Perhaps, it is hard to appreciate the effect the discovery, in Galicia, of the bones of Saint James had upon the people of the ninth century. Today, in explaining the rise to power of certain races and the decline of others, material improvements in warfare are given as reasons. In the case of the discovery of James, the emotional and spiritual influences should not be underestimated. The Christians girded themselves for action under the inspiration of James and moved with a new strength, fearing neither death nor defeat.

The northwest corner was the only part of Spain that retained its independence. This was the region of Saint James, and it was the region from which the reconquest of Spain for Christendom was begun.<sup>60</sup>

The first miracle performed by Saint James was during the reign of

Ramiro I in 845, at the legendary Battle of Clavijo, near Najera. On the eve of the battle James appeared in a dream to King Ramiro and promised him victory. The next morning the king attacked and, suddenly, Saint James descended from the sky mounted on a white charger, having in one hand a snow-white banner on which was displayed a blood-red cross, and in the other hand a sword with a Scallop shell on the hilt. The victory was won by the Christians.<sup>61</sup>



Figure 5. The Sword of Saint James

One hundred years later, similar events took place when Ramiro II of Leon defeated another Caliph of Cordoba, Abderrahman III, at the Battle of Simancas. The battle was fought at Simancas in 939 with a Christian victory. Saint James appeared riding through the clouds carrying a mitre, a crozier, and his sword with the Scallop shell on the hilt.<sup>62</sup>

By the time of Alfonso the Great, the discovery of the bones of Saint James had already produced their effect. The Christians had lost their sense of inferiority against the Moslem enemy. The news of the discovery of the remains of James and foundation of the Cult of Saint

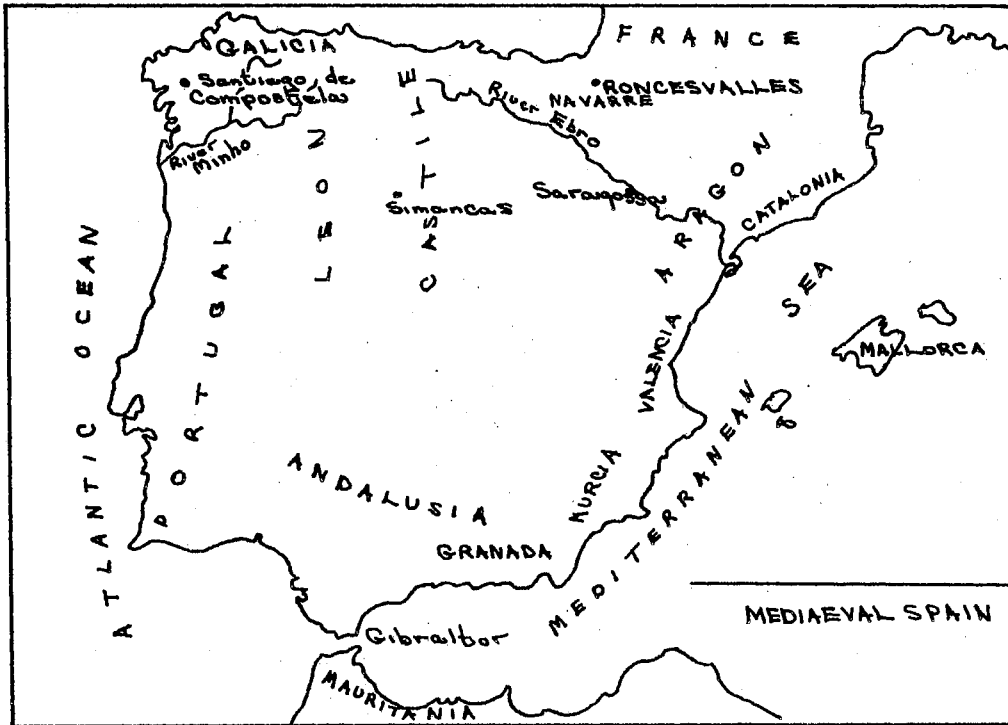


Figure 6. Map of Medieval Spain.



Figure 7. Map of Spain.

James was announced in the Martyrdom of Adon, which was written before 860 and spread throughout Christendom.<sup>63</sup>

The battles discussed, in which Saint James appeared to help the Christians, were among many such incidents. The Battle of Clavijo and the Battle of Simancas are the two most familiar in Spanish history. Spaniards depended on the influence of Saint James against the Moslems. They believed Saint James took a personal part in the battles to evict the Moslems from the land, and from this idea came the war cry "Santiago!" When this was used as a war cry or a place-name, it was in reference to Saint James.<sup>64</sup> Saint James always carried the Scallop shell on his sword into the battles. The Scallop shell was already considered to be a symbol of Saint James and of his divine protection and aid.

#### The Building of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela

After the relics of Saint James were discovered, Alfonso II had a church built over the sepulcher. It was a small church made of stone and mud, but soon the church became famous because of the miracles which took place there. Alfonso II also built a baptistry consecrated to Saint John the Baptist, and another church with three altars, one dedicated to Christ, and the other two to Saint Peter and Saint John. In addition, a monastery and cloister were built. The complex was surrounded with a wall, so the inhabitants could resist Moslem raids.<sup>65</sup> A city grew up around the church in Galicia. The city was given the name Santiago de Compostela or "Saint James of the Field of the Star."<sup>66</sup>

Alfonso II had communicated the news of the discovery and new church to Pope Leo III and to Charlemagne the Emperor, with the result

that pilgrims began to come to Spain from Europe. Pilgrims also came from every part of Christian Spain.<sup>67</sup> Many valuable gifts, as well as money, were brought to Santiago de Compostela by the pilgrims. The church began to increase in size and power, as the wealth increased. This growth became a menace to Moslem power in Spain and increased the envy of Cordoba.

The Moslem leader, Ibn-Abu-Amir, known as Almanzor, decided to gain revenge against the Christians. On August 10, 997 Almanzor marched against Santiago de Compostela. When he entered the city, he found it deserted. In a rage of anger, he razed the city to the ground, sparing neither church nor palace. He directed the most furious damage on the church where the relics of Saint James were deposited, and completely demolished the building. The relics, however, were saved because Almanzor could not find them.<sup>68</sup>

Santiago de Compostela rose again from the ruins, and it became larger and more beautiful than the original church. The new cathedral was begun in 1075 in the Romanesque Style, and it was later rebuilt in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in the Baroque Style.<sup>69</sup> The facade has been considered a fine example of the Baroque architecture.<sup>70</sup> The interior of the church, due to later alterations, also belonged to the Baroque Style. This early Romanesque cathedral was one of the most remarkable cathedrals in Spain, as well as in the whole world.

The plan of Santiago de Compostela was a Latin cross with a long nave of eleven bays, transepts of six bays each, and an eastern arm comprised of three bays and an apse surrounded by an ambulatory. Ap-sidal chapels opened off the transepts and ambulatory.<sup>71</sup>

The piers were slender and built of carefully laid blocks. Central

and transept naves were roofed with round vaults, while the aisles had quadripartite vaults. The main arches were round and were carried on clustered columns, with a gallery or triforium above the aisles. Only the capitals of the columns were carved.<sup>72</sup>

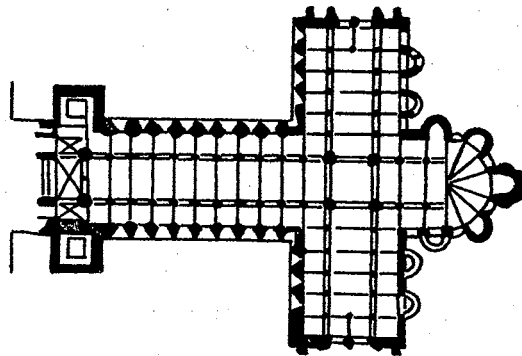


Figure 8. Plan of Santiago de Compostela

The exterior of Santiago de Compostela was covered in works of the masters in extravagant Baroque Style. Santiago became the richest pilgrimage center of Spain and was the chief beneficiary of wealth imported from colonies in America. Therefore, art work of finest quality was done for the cathedral. The cathedral also became well-known for the beautiful Portico de la Gloria, which was covered with sculpture representing the Last Judgment. The sculpture on the Portico de la Gloria has been considered the finest Romanesque sculpture in Europe.<sup>73</sup>

The main importance of Santiago de Compostela was due to the relics of Saint James. The cathedral was the place in which these relics were enshrined. Saint James became important throughout western Europe and Spain through Cluniac influence. Santiago was one of the famous pilgrimage points in Christendom, and ranked with Jerusalem and Rome in importance. Pilgrims were reminded that this was the cathedral of



Saint James by the use of the shell on the exterior and interior. The Puerta de las Platerias, or south door, displayed at the entrance, a huge corbel in the form of a shell.<sup>74</sup>

#### The Pilgrims

She'd been at Rome, she'd journeyed to Boulogne,  
To Saint James' in Galicia, to Cologne.

Geoffrey Chaucer  
The Canterbury Tales

Medieval men and women went on pilgrimages to fulfill a penance or a vow, to seek a miraculous cure, to earn an indulgence, to see new lands, and to find adventure on the way, as a relief from the routine of a narrow life. At the end of the thirteenth century there were about ten thousand sanctioned goals of Christian pilgrimage.<sup>75</sup> The bravest pilgrims journeyed to Jerusalem. Other pilgrims crossed the Pyrenees, or risked themselves on the Atlantic Ocean, to visit Santiago de Compostela, the tomb of Saint James the Greater. Finally, all the roads of Christendom led pilgrims to Rome, to see the tombs of Peter and Paul, to earn indulgences by visiting Rome's famous churches, or to celebrate a jubilee or anniversary of the church.

Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela began in the ninth century with the discovery of the relics of Saint James. Santiago possessed an advantage over Rome for the genuine pilgrim. Like Jerusalem, it lay in a country ruled by the Moslems and had to be saved from the Christian's enemy. Thus, there were two main crusades: one for the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem, and the other for the protection of the shrine at Santiago de Compostela. Spain was the only country exempt from crusades to the Holy Land. Pope Pascal II made the rule that

no Spanish knight should take part in crusades to the Holy Land, because the knights were needed in Spain to help liberate the country.<sup>76</sup> However, foreign knights were allowed to engage in the Spanish Crusade. For this reason the pilgrimage to Santiago acquired the prestige of a crusade.

In the eleventh century, pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela was well known in England. During the twelfth century, Archbishop Diego de Gelmirez of Compostela, made the shrine rank in fame with Jerusalem and Rome.<sup>77</sup> Spiritual benefits to be derived from Santiago de Compostela were not so great as those from Rome and Jerusalem. Santiago, however, possessed the one supreme asset compared to the other centers, and this asset was the unfailing memory of Saint James. Saint James never forgot to reward the requests and devotion of crusaders and pilgrims.

By the twelfth century, the multitudes that journeyed to the tomb of Saint James were so great, that Dante in the Convito compared the pilgrims to the stars of the Milky Way.<sup>78</sup> Compostela means field of stars or way of stars. Pilgrims going westward used the Milky Way as a guide. The Milky Way became known as the "white circle which the common people call the Way of Saint James."

Pilgrims visited Santiago to secure forgiveness of sin, and to make requests of Saint James. The pilgrims expressed their gratitude in the form of costly offerings. In this way the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela grew in wealth and prosperity.

The pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint James outshone all others in the Middle Ages, owing to the numbers of pilgrims of high rank who took part. Popes, kings, cardinals, archbishops and dukes came with the waifs and strays. Retinues of minstrels and servants came with the

pilgrims. Music, legends, miracles and cultural exchange developed as a result of the pilgrimage. Pilgrims came from every country in Europe and took to their country new ideas. Among these ideas was the use of the shell as a symbol of Saint James and as a decorative design.

### The Pilgrim Roads

The Monks of Cluny, the dominating religious order of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, saw the need to establish roads for European pilgrims. The main road was called the Camino Frances or the French Road.<sup>79</sup> This road had two branches which began in France. One began in western France and reached Spain at Roncesvalles. The other, from Toulouse in eastern France, climbed over Somport Pass in the Pyrenees, and reached Spain at Canfranc and Jaca.<sup>80</sup> The two roads branched westward and joined at Puente-la-Reina. This one road continued through Estella, Burgos, Castrojeriz, Sahagun, Astorga, Ponferrada, Puertomarín, and ended in Santiago de Compostela.<sup>81</sup> This main road also had many branches joining it from the coast or inland part of Spain.

The French Road was full of danger and hardship for the pilgrims. Entering the road from France, the pilgrims were immediately faced with the mountain barrier. Before reaching Spain, valleys, snow-topped peaks, and rugged slopes had to be conquered. Animals and bands of unfriendly people were also a threat to the safety of the pilgrims. The way was not easy, but hardship was an essential part of the pilgrimage.

Pilgrims from southern Italy and the East came by sea to Tortosa, and up the Ebro River as far as Logrono.<sup>82</sup> Here, they joined the French Road to Santiago de Compostela.

Pilgrims also came by sea from England. Ships left Bristol, or

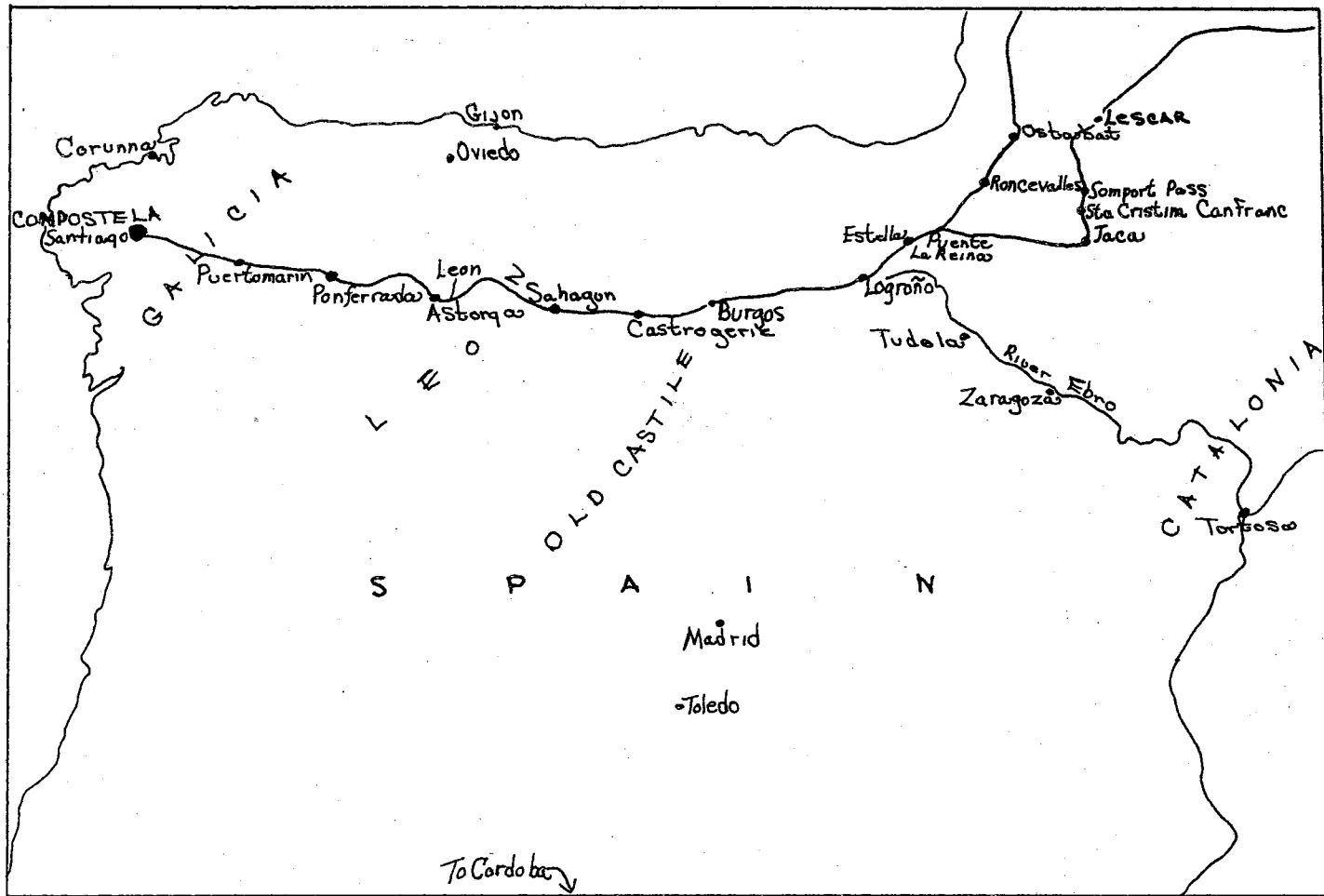


Figure 9. The Pilgrim Routes to Santiago do Compostela.

other ports in the south of England, and reached Coruna in about four days.<sup>83</sup> The journey by sea was often more of a hardship than the journey by land. Those who went by ship were often seasick, were mocked and taunted by the sailors, and lived on the open decks.

The great crowds of pilgrims led a continual introduction of foreign influences into Spain and out of Spain. Trade thrived along the pilgrimage routes. The main articles for sale were relics and works of art as keepsakes to the pilgrims of Saint James. Among these items was the shell.

#### The Book of Saint James

Codex Calixtinus, or Book of Saint James, was a compilation of material from different sources and places, written about 1130. Aymery Picaud, a priest from Poitiers, was the probable editor, along with writers from a number of other churches who aided in the work. The principal part was written at Cluny.<sup>84</sup>

The Codex Calixtinus was composed of five books, written as a manual of propaganda to boost the pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint James. The first book consisted of a variety of poems and hymns written as a result of the pilgrimage. The main creation of this collection was the great Mass intended for antiphonal choirs, solo voices and a chorus that included the entire congregation. The second book included miracles concerning Saint James, which took place during the life of Archbishop Diego de Gelmirez of Santiago de Compostela. The third book told the story of the journey of the body of Saint James from the Holy Land. The fourth book was the chronicle of Turpin. The Monks of Cluny created the personality of Archbishop Turpin, prelate of Charlemagne in

Cluny. The object of this was to give wider significance to the Cult of Saint James. The fifth and final book was a practical guide for pilgrims.

In 1130, when the book was written, the pilgrimage of Saint James had gained worldwide significance and the road to Santiago was thronged with pilgrims. The miracles described in the Codex Calixtinus were already celebrated in the world, the story of the journey of the body of Saint James was acknowledged, and special hymns were sung by the pilgrims. The Codex Calixtinus helped to make Saint James and the pilgrimage famous and introduced the golden age of the Cult of Saint James.

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#### The Knights of Saint James

The Order of Knighthood of Saint James was instituted soon after the death of Diego de Gelmirez, Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela. This group of knights was instituted to commemorate the life and deeds of Saint James. Saint James was Spain's champion knight, and Spaniards believed James took a personal part in the battles against the Moslems. The Order was founded by Ramiro I, King of Leon. There were thirteen freiles, professed knights, in memory of Jesus Christ and His Twelve Apostles.

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Two ideals, military-chivalry and religious-monastic comprised the Order. Besides the redemption of Spain from the Moslems, the Knights of Saint James protected the pilgrims on their way to and from Santiago. Pilgrims were often attacked by lawless bands, and the Order was formed to aid the defenseless.

The motto of the Knights of Saint James was "Rubet ensis sanguine

Arabum" (The sword is red with the blood of the Moslems), and the badge was a blood-red sword in the form of a cross bearing a white Scallop shell. The Order was confirmed in 1175 by Pope Alexander III.<sup>87</sup>

The Knights of Saint James grew in wealth and power. At the end of the fifteenth century, there were about two hundred commanderies, with churches, castles, and villages. It had become a state within a state, and Catholic monarchs considered its independence from the Crown a menace to Spanish unity. Therefore, in 1493 the Order and all property were incorporated into the Crown. The emblem, the sword and Scallop, became a courtly symbol.<sup>88</sup>

The shields of the Spanish Knight, Saint James, are related to the pilgrimage.<sup>89</sup> The more common one showed three Scallop shells, symbolic of Saint James and the Trinity.

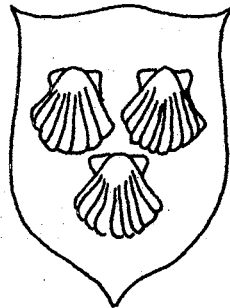


Figure 10. Shield of Saint James

Another shield showed a pilgrim's staff, upon which was placed a pilgrim's purse, symbolic of pilgrimage.

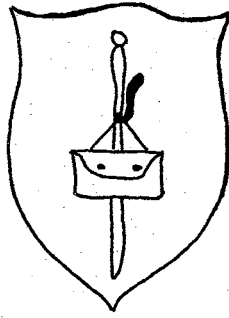


Figure 11. Shield of Saint James

The third shield showed a cross-hilted, vertical sword and shell, symbolic of the martyrdom of Saint James and his qualities as a Spanish Knight.

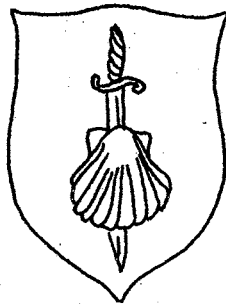


Figure 12. Shield of Saint James

In France, the Order of the Cockle was instituted by Louis XI. The knights wore the shell as their emblem. Certain items of the knight's dress consisted of mantels of silver cloth with Cockle shells and hoods of crimson velvet embroidered with the Cockle shell.<sup>90</sup>

#### The Shell

Give me my Scallop-shell of quiet,  
 My staff of faith to walk upon,  
 My script of joy (immortal diet!)  
 My bottle of salvation,



My gown of glory, hope's true gage;  
 And thus I'll make my pilgrimage.  
 Sir Walter Raleigh  
The Passionate Man's Pilgrimage

Of all the emblems which pilgrims brought home with them from Europe and the East, the Cockle shell, or the Scallop shell of Saint James, was the most common. So usual was the shell, that in later times, and even today, people believed the shell to be the emblem of pilgrimage in general. But to a man of the Middle Ages the shell meant only one thing, that the wearer had been to Santiago do Compostela. This interpretation should also be used today. The shell was and is the emblem of Saint James the Greater. Scallop and Cockle shells have been used all through the ages, but they are most famous in their association with Saint James. So familiar was this association that Pecten Jacobaeus became the name for a certain species of Scallop.

How should I your true love know  
 From another one?  
 By his Cockle hat and staff  
 And his sandal shoon.

William Shakespeare  
Hamlet

Shells were considered the official emblem of Saint James, the proof that a pilgrimage had been accomplished to Santiago de Compostela, and as a symbol of good works. Pope Alexander IV decreed that shells could be bought only in Santiago, and the church authorities kept control of their sale.<sup>91</sup>

As pilgrims reached Santiago de Compostela, they bought the exquisitely sculptured shells from church authorities. The shell was sewed on the hat or cape of the pilgrim. Devout people cherished the shell and passed it from father to son as an heirloom. The shell was

also used with the pilgrim's staff as an emblem of this pilgrimage. Perhaps, the most ancient reference to the shell as an emblem of pilgrimage came from the Codex Calixtinus, Book I, in the sermon Veneranda Dies, when it stated that the pilgrims returning from Santiago de Compostela wore shells symbolizing good works.<sup>92</sup>

The shell as a religious emblem began in association with Saint James the Greater, Patron Saint of Spain. Saint James was and is the reason for the religious significance of the shell. The shell idea was transported from Spain all over the known world, and as a familiar emblem of pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, the shell became a decorative design.

. . . to know the world by sight,  
To find if books or swains report it right,  
He quits his cell; the pilgrim's staff he bore,  
And fixed the scallop in his hat before

Thomas Parnell  
The Hermit

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>"Scallop," Encyclopedia Americana (New York, 1966), XXIV, 348.  
Louise Alderice Travers, The Romance of Shells in Nature and Art  
(New York, 1962), p. 59.

<sup>2</sup>William Smith, ed., "James the Son of Zebedee," A Dictionary of the Bible (New York, Chicago, Toronto), 363.

<sup>3</sup>"James the Greater," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1910), VIII, 279.

<sup>4</sup>Walter Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James  
(New York, 1957), p. 13.

<sup>5</sup>"James the Greater," The Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII, p. 279.

<sup>6</sup>Mark 1: 19-20.

<sup>7</sup>Herbert Lockyer, All the Men of the Bible (Grand Rapids, 1958),  
p. 169.

<sup>8</sup>Matt. 27: 55-56. Mark 15: 40-41.

<sup>9</sup>John 19: 25.

<sup>10</sup>John 19: 26-27.

<sup>11</sup>Mark 16: 1-8. Luke 23: 49-56.

<sup>12</sup>Smith, "James the Son of Zebedee," A Dictionary of the Bible,  
p. 363.

<sup>13</sup>Luke 5: 10.

<sup>14</sup>Matt. 4: 18-20. Mark 1: 16-18.

<sup>15</sup>Matt. 4: 21-22. Mark 1: 19-20.

<sup>16</sup>Smith, "James the Son of Zebedee," A Dictionary of the Bible.  
p. 364.

<sup>17</sup>Mark 3: 16-17. Acts 1: 13.

<sup>18</sup>Matt. 10: 1-2. Luke 6: 13-14.

- <sup>19</sup> Luke 9: 28.
- <sup>20</sup> Matt. 10: 2, 17: 1. Mark 3: 17, 5: 37. Acts 12: 2.
- <sup>21</sup> Merrill C. Tenney, ed., "Saint James," The Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary (Grand Rapids, 1963), 401.
- <sup>22</sup> Mark 3: 17.
- <sup>23</sup> Mark 5: 36-43. Luke 8: 49-56. George Arthur Buttrick, ed., "James," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York, Nashville, 1962), 790.
- <sup>24</sup> Matt. 17: 1-8. Mark 9: 1-10. Luke 9: 28-36.
- <sup>25</sup> Mark 1: 29-31.
- <sup>26</sup> Mark 13: 3-37.
- <sup>27</sup> Matt. 26: 36-46. Mark 14: 32-42.
- <sup>28</sup> Luke 9: 49-50.
- <sup>29</sup> Luke 9: 51-56.
- <sup>30</sup> Matt. 20: 20-28.
- <sup>31</sup> Mark 10: 35-45.
- <sup>32</sup> John 21: 1-14.
- <sup>33</sup> Matt. 28: 16-20. Mark 16: 14-20.
- <sup>34</sup> Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James, p. 14.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 15.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 15-16.
- <sup>38</sup> Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, Butler's Lives of the Saints (New York, 1956), III, p. 183.
- <sup>39</sup> Romans 15: 20-24.
- <sup>40</sup> Omer Englebort, The Lives of the Saints (New York, 1951), p. 285. "James the Greater," The Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII, p. 280.
- <sup>41</sup> Acts 12: 1-2.

- <sup>42</sup>Lockyer, All the Men of the Bible, p. 169.
- <sup>43</sup>John Coulson, ed., The Saints (New York, 1958), p. 237.
- <sup>44</sup>Thurston and Attwater, Butler's Lives of the Saints, III, p. 183.
- <sup>45</sup>Terne L. Plunket, Stories From Mediaeval Spain (London, New York, Toronto), p. 45.
- <sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 46.
- <sup>47</sup>Travers, The Romance of Shells in Nature and Art, p. 68.
- <sup>48</sup>Plunket, Stories From Mediaeval Spain, p. 46.
- <sup>49</sup>Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James, p. 16.
- <sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 17.
- <sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
- <sup>52</sup>Plunket, Stories From Mediaeval Spain, p. 47.
- <sup>53</sup>Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James, p. 20.
- <sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 21.
- <sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
- <sup>57</sup>The Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, The Book of Saints (New York, 1947), p. 311.
- <sup>58</sup>Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James, p. 22.
- <sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>60</sup>"Santiago de Compostela," Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago, 1964), XIX, 979.
- <sup>61</sup>Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James, p. 23.
- <sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 24.
- <sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 25.
- <sup>64</sup>"Spain and Portugal," National Geographic, March, 1965, p. 318.
- <sup>65</sup>Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James, p. 22.
- <sup>66</sup>Plunket, Stories From Mediaeval Spain, p. 50.

- <sup>67</sup> Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James, p. 23.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 27.
- <sup>69</sup> "Santiago," The New Century Cyclopedia of Names (New York, 1954), III, 3486.
- <sup>70</sup> R. Furneaux Jordon, The World of Great Architecture (New York, 1961), p. 434.
- <sup>71</sup> John Harvey, The Cathedrals of Spain (London, 1957), p. 39.
- <sup>72</sup> Royall Tyler, Spain, A Study of Her Life and Arts (New York, 1909), p. 62.
- <sup>73</sup> Will Durant, The Age of Faith (New York, 1950), p. 869.
- <sup>74</sup> Russell L. Muirhead, ed., The Blue Guide to Northern Spain with the Balearic Islands (London, 1958), p. 435.
- <sup>75</sup> Durant, The Age of Faith, p. 752.
- <sup>76</sup> Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James, pp. 60-61.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 61.
- <sup>78</sup> Travers, The Romance of Shells in Nature and Art, p. 70.
- <sup>79</sup> Tyler, Spain, A Study of Her Life and Arts, p. 58.
- <sup>80</sup> Harvey, The Cathedrals of Spain, p. 63.
- <sup>81</sup> Tyler, Spain, A Study of Her Life and Arts, pp. 58-59.
- <sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 59.
- <sup>83</sup> H. V. Morton, A Stranger in Spain (London, 1955), p. 314.
- <sup>84</sup> Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James, p. 39.
- <sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 41.
- <sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 42.
- <sup>87</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>88</sup> Travers, The Romance of Shells in Nature and Art, p. 72.
- <sup>89</sup> Ratha Doyle McGee, Symbols-Signposts of Devotion (Nashville, 1962), p. 54.
- <sup>90</sup> "Order of the Cockle," Encyclopedia Americana (New York, 1966), VII, 187.

<sup>91</sup>Helen K. Krauss, Shell Art (New York, 1965), p. 15.

<sup>92</sup>Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James, p. 71.

## CHAPTER III

### THE SHELL AND THE NEW WORLD

#### Introduction to 1492

El siglo de oro -- the Golden Century of Spain -- began with the reign of Ferdinand (1474-1516) and Isabella (1474-1504).<sup>1</sup> The era was one of power and leadership in world affairs, that Spain never had again. Civil wars and dynastic rivalries marked the period before the Golden Century when Spanish kings, preoccupied with their quarrels or seeking new alliances, had temporarily abandoned the conquest of Spain from the Moslems.

In 1469, the two kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were joined under a common crown through the marriage of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon.<sup>2</sup> Five years later, 1474, Ferdinand and Isabella were crowned as joint sovereigns.<sup>3</sup> Both were highly competent and determined to centralize the common kingdom, henceforth known as Spain. In pursuit of this policy, they resumed warfare with the Moslems in the southern part of the peninsula at Granada.

It was not until 1492 that Ferdinand and Isabella finished the crusade against the Moslems, who had conquered Spain seven hundred years previously. In that year, the Christian Spaniards captured Granada. On January 6, 1492, preceded by the banners of Saint James and the Virgin, Ferdinand and Isabella made their victorious entry into the City of Granada.<sup>4</sup>



The capture of Granada and the fall of Moslem power in Spain marked the apogee of Saint James's influence. Ferdinand and Isabella attributed the success of the conquest of Granada to the national hero-saint, Saint James.<sup>5</sup> They required a tribute of a bushel of grain on every pair of oxen, horses, mules and asses used in agriculture throughout Spain. This tribute was to be devoted to the repair of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela and to the erection of the Royal Hospital at Compostela.

At this time, the number of pilgrims who came to Compostela was greater than ever before. The Royal Hospital was to provide accommodation for pilgrims and care for the sick. The foundations of the Royal Hospital were laid in 1501, and the hospital was ready to receive pilgrims in 1511.<sup>6</sup> The building, with its sculpture and decorations, was one of the finest Renaissance structures in Spain and became famous as a great center for the care of the sick. The Royal Hospital stood as a lasting tribute from Spain to Saint James.

The war of Granada marked the end of the first phase of the apostolate of Saint James in Spain.<sup>7</sup> He had inspired the Spaniards to fulfill their dream after eight centuries of struggle against the Moslems. There were still tasks ahead and conquests overseas, which needed the supernatural aid of Saint James. So, symbolized by his banner, Saint James crossed the ocean, mounted on his snow-white horse and riding in the clouds, above Spanish galleons, many of which carried his name.

#### The Discovery of America

Spain's period as a leading nation of the world began with the successful conquest of Granada and with the discovery of the New World.

The discovery of the New World opened a new phase of history for Spain and Europe: overseas discovery, expansion, and colonization. For many years, the Spaniards in the New World were to employ the military skill and display the religious zeal that they had acquired in their long struggle with the Moslems.

Crusading ardor, commercial enterprise, missionary zeal, and capitalistic desire for wealth, combined with adventurousness, and a curiosity about strange lands and peoples provided motives for the Atlantic explorers of the fifteenth century. Before the creation of a single Spanish kingdom, through the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, both Aragon and Castile had developed a tradition of maritime experience. Aragon possessed a commercial and political empire in the western Mediterranean, and sailors from Castile had sailed into the Atlantic. The arts of shipbuilding and navigation were also well developed. The traditions and experiences were an essential prelude to the acquisition of the New World. Spain was the European country best equipped and best located for overseas expansion.<sup>8</sup>

The whole series of events in the New World run in a continuous line from the work of Christopher Columbus. Columbus helped to initiate the conquest of Mexico and the exploration of North America. In turn, these events led to colonization, the establishment of religion and missions, and eventually, to the mission San Xavier Del Bac. The mission San Xavier Del Bac leads back to Saint James and his symbol, the shell. Therefore, Chapter III will give a brief background of historical events involved in the sequence. Columbus started the events, which eventually led to the penetration and colonization of the New World.

Christopher Columbus (Italian, Cristoforo Colombo) was born in the city of Genoa, Italy, sometime between August 25 and the end of October, in 1451. He was the son of Domenico Colombo, a weaver.<sup>9</sup> Christopher worked with his father as a wool-carder for some time. He also received a good education at a university (perhaps the University of Pavia) and developed into an expert draftsman. Columbus became noted for his skill in making charts and maps.<sup>10</sup>

Columbus became a sailor at an early age, and he was a sea-captain of long experience prior to his remarkable voyage to the New World. Originally in Genoese service, and later in Portugese, he had sailed the African Coast, knew the eastern Atlantic islands, and had sailed north as far as England and Iceland. Columbus knew Marco Polo's descriptions of the China Coast and of the Island of Japan.<sup>11</sup>

Sailors, during this period, were occupied in searching for a sea route to India around Africa. Columbus claimed that instead of going around Africa, he could get to the Indies by sailing directly west.<sup>12</sup> He believed the world was spherical. This view had been held by educated men and mariners since the time of the ancient Greeks. Columbus also had the idea that a degree of longitude was much shorter than it really is, and that the circumference of the earth was smaller. This was a fortunate miscalculation, for it brought Columbus to the New World.<sup>13</sup>

The merit of Columbus did not consist in his conviction that the earth was spherical, but in his determination to put the hypothesis to the test, by actually sailing west to reach east. All of his life, Columbus was a mystic and devout Christian. He had an inner conviction that he was called by God to explore the unknown Atlantic, and he

believed God led him throughout all his life and on all his voyages. Columbus also trusted in the protection of Saint James and gained courage from him.<sup>14</sup>

Full of such convictions, Columbus sought aid to make an Atlantic voyage possible. For about ten years, he directed his efforts toward enlisting aid from King John II of Portugal. Having no success in Portugal, he went to Spain in 1484 to present his scheme to Ferdinand and Isabella.<sup>15</sup> At this time, his proposal was rejected. The Crown was poor, it was engaged in the conquest of Granada, and the plan of Columbus prompted much skepticism.<sup>16</sup>

In 1491, Ferdinand and Isabella changed their minds. Perhaps, Columbus had help from his friends in high places. Such friends included Ferdinand's secretary, Luis de Santangel, who helped arrange the financing of the expedition. Another friend was the Franciscan Juan Perez, a former confessor of Isabella. His monastery at La Rabida gave shelter to Columbus when he first arrived in Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella may also have changed their minds, because victory for the Christians at Granada was becoming more probable. Also, a successful voyage would put Spain ahead of Portugal and would bring riches to the empty treasury. Above all, there was the importance of spreading the Catholic religion.<sup>17</sup>

Authorization for the voyage was granted after much bargaining. It was agreed that Columbus should have the title of admiral and be viceroy and governor-general in all lands he should discover. Columbus was also to have one-tenth of all the profits of commerce from his discoveries. The Crown, the Santa Hermandad, and other money-lenders financed the expedition.<sup>18</sup>

On the evening of Friday, August 3, 1492, after celebrating the Lord's Supper, the crew of Christopher Columbus raised anchor. Three vessels, carrying the banners of Spain and Saint James, set sail from the harbor of Palos to search for a western route to the East. The largest ship, the Santa Maria, was ninety feet long and was the admiral's ship. The two other ships, the Pinta and the Nina, were smaller and were commanded by the Pinzon brothers. The plan was to sail west after reaching the twenty-eighth parallel. Columbus believed that by following the twenty-eighth parallel he would reach the northern end of Japan. Thus, Columbus proceeded southward to the Canary Islands and then, turned westward.<sup>19</sup>

The voyage of Columbus was a remarkable fete! Sailors of the fifteenth century had many strange beliefs and superstitions of the uncharted sea. Superstitions were reinforced in the following ordeals: the ships crossed the magnetic line of no compass variation; the ships were delayed in a region of windless calm; the ships were blown steadily by the trade winds on a westward course; the ships passed through the tangles of the Sargasso Sea (the region of the Atlantic where tangles of vegetation grow upon the surface of the water). The crew, having more to fear than they had bargained for, were on the verge of mutiny.<sup>20</sup>

The situation of Columbus was growing perilous. Perhaps his superior knowledge, and the change in course from west to west-southwest, saved his life. October was the month for great migrations of birds. Numerous flights of birds convinced Columbus that land toward the southwest was not far away. The change in direction, following the route of the birds, was the most fortunate part of the voyage, for land was near. If Columbus had continued to follow the twenty-eighth parallel, he

would have arrived on the coast of Florida, a distance of seven hundred and twenty miles.<sup>21</sup>

On October 11, 1492 objects were found floating in the sea. These objects were a strip of bamboo, a plank, and a piece of carved wood.<sup>22</sup> Land was near! The course was again changed directly to the west. The Pinta led the fleet of ships on the night of October 11. About ten-o'clock, Columbus saw a distant light on what he thought was a shore. Hours later, land was sighted by Rodrigo de Triana, the lookout on the Pinta's forecastle. At two-o'clock in the morning of Friday, October 12, 1492, the New World was discovered.<sup>23</sup>

The next day Columbus and most of the crew went ashore. On shore they found natives, with whom the crew exchanged trinkets, parrots, and cotton yarn. Columbus had landed on a small island in the Bahamas to which he gave the name of San Salvador. He took formal possession of the island for Spain. Columbus sailed among the islands until he reached Cuba. He then sailed eastward to Haiti, which he named Espanola or Hispaniola (meaning Spanish Land).<sup>24</sup>

The Santa Maria was shipwrecked off the coast of Hispaniola. Meanwhile, the Pinta had deserted. A blockhouse was built from the remains of the Santa Maria, and a group of men were left on the north shore of Hispaniola. Columbus then sailed for Spain on January 4, 1493 on the Nina. The Pinta was found along the way.<sup>25</sup>

The arrival, in Spain, of Columbus was hailed with rejoicing, and he was given the title of Admiral of the Ocean. Columbus was sure that he had reached Japan, when he discovered Hispaniola, and he encouraged this belief. He could not bring back reports of cities and wealth, but he had found pearl oysters off the coast of Cuba, spices, gold, cotton,

and souls to save. Because of his discoveries, Columbus was a complete success in Spain.<sup>26</sup>

#### Exploration and Colonization

After the discovery of the New World, both the Papacy and Crown took a stand. Pope Alexander VI, a Spaniard, drew the Line of Demarcation in 1493. This imaginary line assigned to Spain all the land one hundred leagues west of the Azores, and to Portugal the territory that had been discovered, or remained to be discovered, east of this line. Ferdinand and Isabella were to assume full responsibility for introducing and spreading the Catholic religion among conquered lands and peoples.<sup>27</sup>

Columbus made three other voyages to the New World. On September 25, 1493, he sailed from Cadiz with seventeen ships and one thousand, five hundred people. The ships also carried horses, mules, cattle, and supplies. The intention was to establish a permanent colony upon Hispaniola.<sup>28</sup> On this second voyage, Columbus took advantage of the southern route and eastern winds. He discovered the islands of Desirade, Dominica, Marie-Galante, Guadeloupe, and other islands. From here, the ships went to Hispaniola, only to find the blockhouse destroyed and the men of the original colony massacred. A new site for a colony was chosen at a harbor thirty miles east of Monte Christi, and it was named Isabella. Isabella was located in Puerto Rico and was the first town build in the New World by Europeans.<sup>29</sup> Columbus also discovered Jamaica and made further explorations around Cuba.<sup>30</sup>

The next voyage began from Spain on May 30, 1498 with six ships. Columbus took a southerly route, which brought him to the shores of

South America near the mouth of the Orinoco River. He discovered Trinidad and Margarita, and then he sailed north to the southern shores of Hispaniola, landing at Santo Domingo (founded by his brother Bartholomew). The town was in a state of crisis. Spain had listened to the complaints of the colonists and had sent Francisco de Bobadilla as the new governor. Bobadilla sent Columbus and his brother back to Spain in chains.<sup>31</sup>

Columbus was later released in Spain, and charges were dismissed. He was given four ships, and he set sail on May 11, 1502 on his last voyage. He stopped first at Santo Domingo and was refused the privilege of landing. Columbus then sailed toward Cuba, sailed along the coast of Central America, and was shipwrecked on the coast of Jamaica. A year later he was rescued and finally reached Spain on November 7, 1504. He retired to Valladolid where he died, on May 20, 1506, believing he had reached the East.<sup>32</sup>

From the reports of Columbus, men gained incentive for further exploration. Exploration of the coast of South America began and the existence of an American land-mass was established about 1508. From this time on, came many explorers, each contributing to the penetration and growth of the New World. Several explorers made great contributions: Ponce de Leon, who discovered Florida; Balboa, who crossed the Isthmus of Panama and discovered the Pacific Ocean; John Cabot, who landed on the North American continent; Alfonso de Pineda, who explored the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>33</sup>

Colonies were established under the direction of governors. Hispaniola became the center of the Spanish Empire in the New World. The towns of Isabella and Santo Domingo were also leading centers. The



beginning colonization of Jamaica and Cuba was made about 1509-1512. Don Diego Velasquez established Spanish domination in Cuba in 1511.<sup>34</sup> The greatest efforts of exploration and conquest were made from the colonies. Santo Domingo and colonies in Cuba were destined to be important in the final phase of American Conquest, 1519-1540.

The desire for wealth and adventure did much to promote the colonization of the New World. However, the new crusade and the zeal to establish religion were also main reasons for colonization. Without a religious mission, expansion would not have been so great. The discovery and conquest of the New World were animated by a spirit of missionary expansion and sustained by all the resources of the church.<sup>35</sup> This is the reason Columbus is important for this thesis. Without his first daring voyage and his initiating colonization, which introduced religion to the natives, the history of the missions and of San Xavier Del Bac would have been much different.

The zeal of the Spanish missionaries was unequalled in the New World. The experience of the Spanish Church with the Moslems helps to explain the anxiety to extend the faith to those who did not know it. Missionary priests were among the first colonists in the New World, and they continued to make voyages. The priests brought with them religion, knowledge, skills they could teach, and their faith in the saints of the Catholic Church. The legend of Saint James, the Patron Saint of Spain, came with Columbus, the explorers, and the priests. The symbol, the shell, indicative of the protection of Saint James came too. In the Conquest of Mexico, Saint James was to win even greater glory.

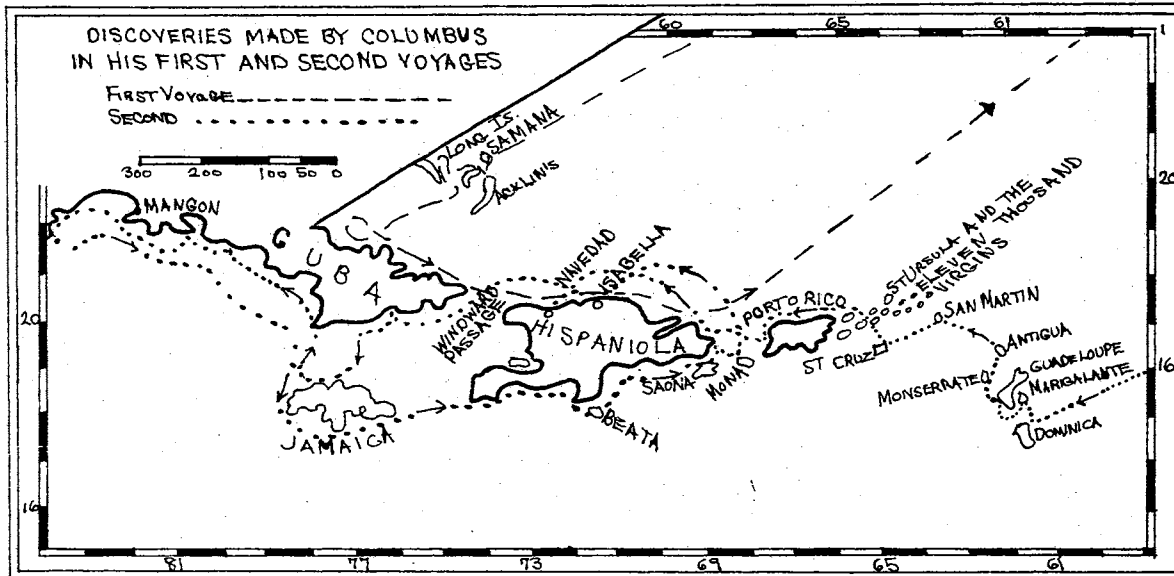


Figure 13. Discoveries Made by Columbus in His First and Second Voyages.

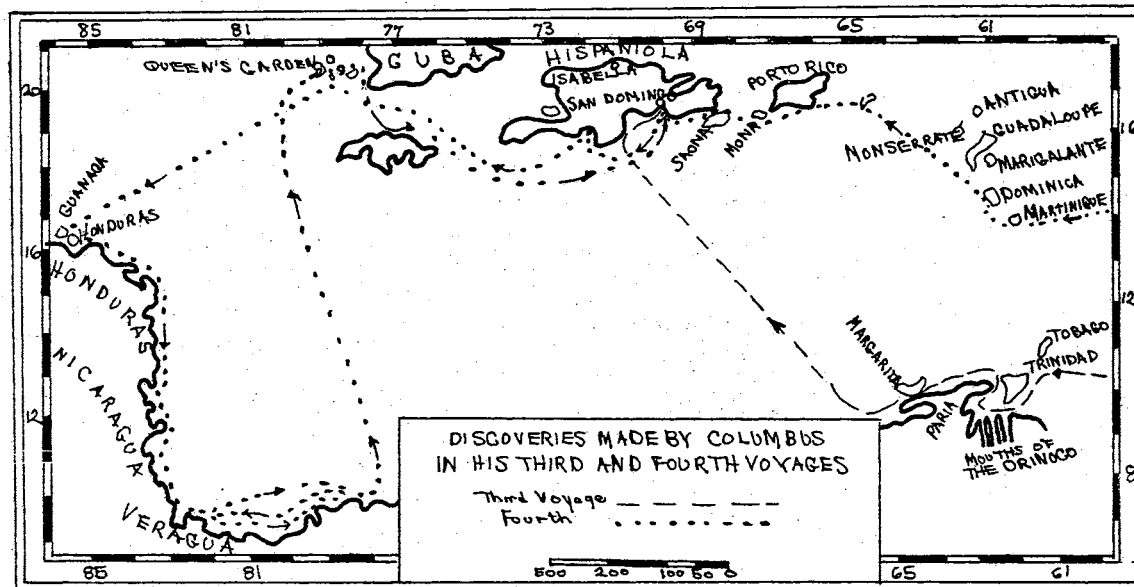


Figure 14. Discoveries Made by Columbus in His Third and Fourth Voyages.

## Cortez Conquers Mexico

The Conquest of Mexico began with the legend of Quetzalcoatl (meaning Bird-Serpent). Quetzalcoatl was a mysterious figure throughout all Mexico and Yucatan. He was the fair, creator god, and in Toltec times this god was born of a virgin. Quetzalcoatl came to earth to rule and guide and to be the priest of the Toltecs in their Golden Age. His brother god and fated opponent, Tezcatlipoca, fought hard against him and at last, defeated him by causing him to lose his chastity while drunk. In shame Quetzalcoatl departed to the seashore and sailed away. He made a prophecy that he would return once more to lead his people. The time would be in the first year, of one of the fifty-two-year cycles, on the Mexican Calendar.<sup>36</sup>

The Conquest of Mexico can be associated with one of the greatest coincidences of history. The year 1519 was such a year, and the skies and other omens had already been searched before Cortez and his fair conquistadors landed in Mexico. Their message was like the fulfillment of the prophecy, and they came from beyond the sea sent by one greater than Montezuma. The message was for the Aztecs to give up their cruel gods and practices and to make way for Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints.

Meanwhile, about 1516, an expedition was launched at Cuba. In February, 1517, the expedition sailed from Santiago (named for Saint James). The intent of the voyage was to catch slaves near the Bay of Honduras. The ships sailed through the Windward Passage to Puerto Principe to take on supplies. While waiting there, the captain recalled facts Columbus had told him, and he had the idea that a rich country might be reached by sailing west. The ship obtained permission and

sailed west reaching the northeastern corner of the peninsula of Yucatan. Here, the Spaniards first saw the majestic cities of the Maya. At Champoton, the Indians attacked and defeated the Spaniards, killing half of the men. The survivors left immediately for Cuba.<sup>37</sup>

The story prompted Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, to prepare another expedition. Four ships, under the command of Juan de Grijalva, sailed from Santiago in April of 1518. The ships landed first at the island of Cozumel, and then the ships followed the Yucatan Coast until they reached Champoton. Again the Indians attacked, but this time the Spaniards were ready and defeated the natives. In June, the ships reached Tabasco where the Indians were friendly and trading took place. The ships then went to the Island of Ulva, explored more of the coast, and returned to Cuba early in November.<sup>38</sup>

Grijalva brought back to Cuba stories from the Indians of their mighty king, who ruled many cities and had much gold. Valasquez was determined to have this new land and wealth. Hernando Cortez, chief judge of the town of Santiago, also heard the story. He had served with distinction under Velasquez in the conquest of Cuba. Now, he persuaded Velasquez to appoint him to command an expedition to Mexico.<sup>39</sup>

The magnetism of Cortez inspired enthusiasm among the adventurers in Cuba. On February 18, 1519 he left Cuba with a fleet of eleven ships, one hundred and ten sailors, five hundred and fifty-three soldiers, and sixteen horses. The ships also carried ten heavy guns and four light guns. Hernando Cortez was in command.<sup>40</sup>

The expedition sailed along the coast of Yucatan as far as the mouth of the River Tabasco, where it was met by armed warriors. A battle was fought on the Plain of Ceutla. The Spaniards were victorious

and occupied Tabasco.<sup>41</sup> The Indians surrendered and brought gifts to Cortez. An Indian woman, called Malintzin by the Aztecs and Dona Marina by the Spaniards, was one of the gifts. She was intelligent and reliable and became the interpreter for Cortez and a Christian. Without Dona Marina's knowledge of Indian politics and culture, Cortez might not have conquered Mexico. From her, he learned that provinces of the Aztec Empire were eager to revolt, and he learned of the rumored return of Quetzalcoatl. Both of these, he wisely used to his advantage in conquering Mexico.<sup>42</sup>

The expedition next landed near the site of the present-day Vera Cruz. Here Cortez began the town of Vera Cruz among friendly Indians. While he was here, Cortez was welcomed by Aztec officials bearing splendid gifts from Montezuma, who also asked him to leave Mexico. Cortez refused to do so, and burned his ships. Now, there was only one direction to go, forward into the Valley of Mexico.<sup>43</sup>

At the request of Totonac officials, Cortez visited the city of Cempoalla. The Totonacs were oppressed by the Aztecs and pledged to Cortez their support. With the addition of Totonac warriors Cortez marched to Tlaxcala. This was the domain of one of the fierce enemies of the Aztecs. The Spaniards and Totonacs were heavily attacked. However, the Indians had never faced such deadly weapons or horses before, and they lost the battle. Also, the Indian concept of battle was not to kill, but to capture live victims. The Tlaxcalans surrendered to the Spaniards and joined the alliance against the Aztecs.<sup>44</sup>

Reports of the battle were carried to Montezuma. Incidents that had taken place led Montezuma to believe that Cortez was the god Quetzalcoatl returning to Mexico. When the Spanish ships sailed from

Tabasco, they were reversing the route by which Quetzalcoatl had gone out into the ocean. Quetzalcoatl was represented with a long beard and fair complexion. Many of the Spaniards fit this description. The Spaniards also had command of the thunder (guns) and fierce centaurs (horses) accompanied them. Montezuma did not dare send troops into battle against gods. Action of the Aztecs was paralyzed by unique circumstances.<sup>45</sup>

Montezuma sent more messengers to Cortez at Tlaxcala. They brought gifts and permission for Cortez to visit Montezuma at Tenochtitlan. The only condition was that the Spaniards should go by way of Cholula. Cortez realized he was invited into a trap. He was met by an army of twenty thousand Indians, but once again Cortez won an amazing victory. Now, Cortez pushed ahead for Tenochtitlan, capital of the Aztec Empire (today's Mexico City).<sup>46</sup>

The city of Tenochtitlan was built in the middle of Lake Texcoco and was connected to the mainland by four large causeways. The main causeway was protected by a fort and a drawbridge. Each causeway had, at intervals, removable bridges in case of attack. Tenochtitlan was like Venice, with canals for some of the streets and wide paths for other streets. Magnificent temples, palaces, and public buildings gleamed white in the sun. Floating gardens filled with brilliant flowers, or pleasure-grounds, surrounded public buildings. The crowning glory of this splendid city was the royal mountain of Chapultepec, rising out of the western bank of the lake, with Montezuma's Castle built on a high rock overlooking the Valley of Mexico. On November 7, 1519, Cortez first gazed upon the city.<sup>47</sup>

The next day Cortez and his army entered the main causeway to

Tenochtitlan. From the opposite direction, in a brilliant procession, came Montezuma accompanied by his nobles. Montezuma received Cortez with much ceremony and led him into the city. The Spaniards were quartered in a large palace. Montezuma invited Cortez to his palace, arranged for Cortez to tour the city, and conversed at length with him.<sup>48</sup>

The chief greatness of Cortez lay in his ability to measure the dimensions of his own prestige and to act at the right moment. Growing suspicious that Montezuma might be plotting to destroy him, Cortez entered the palace and took Montezuma prisoner. The ruler was imprisoned in the Spanish quarters, without resistance. Meanwhile, familiarity with the Spaniards began to replace the terror their presence first caused among the Indians. The Aztecs ceased to regard the Spaniards as gods and began to regard them as foreigners. This put the Spaniards in an undesirable position, since the Aztecs used foreigners as sacrifices to their gods.

Cortez was hoping for reinforcements from the colonies. Instead, an army sent by Velasquez, commanded by Panfilo de Narvaez, landed at Vera Cruz. The army had orders to enforce the authority of Valasquez and to bring the bold and presumptuous Cortez back to Cuba under arrest. Cortez left Alvarado and one hundred and fifty men in charge of the Aztec city and Montezuma, while he marched to meet Narvaez. Cortez attacked Narvaez by surprise, defeated and captured him, and enlisted the men of the opposing army under his banner. With a larger army, Cortez marched back to Tenochtitlan.<sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, in Tenochtitlan, Alvarado fearing a surprise attack from the Aztecs, attacked and killed six hundred Aztecs and nobles during a ceremony. The Indians were furious, and they lay seige on the



Spaniard's palace forcing the Spaniards to remain inside. Montezuma, still held prisoner, helped to calm his people.<sup>50</sup>

Cortez marched into a silent and apparently empty city. Upon reaching the Spanish quarters, he learned what had happened. Cortez sent the Emperor's brother, Cuitlahua (also held as prisoner), as a peace envoy to the council. This was one of his few mistakes. Cuitlahua was heir to the throne and declared himself Emperor. Now, the Aztecs had a leader, and they did not hesitate any longer. Hordes of warriors attacked the Spaniard's palace. Montezuma mounted the roof to quiet his people. He was permitted to speak, but when he was finished, the Indians discharged a shower of stones and arrows upon him. He was no longer their god-king.<sup>51</sup>

When Montezuma died, Cortez realized he must evacuate Tenochtitlan. On the night of June 30, 1520 he began his dangerous retreat. The bridges had been removed from the causeway, fleets of canoes carrying warriors attacked the retreating Spaniards, and many fell dead. This was the Noche Triste, the "Sad Night". When dawn came, Cortez had reached the mainland with less than half of his men, most of them wounded, with no guns or powder and only a few horses. Despite hardship and another battle on the way, Cortez marched back to Tlaxcala where he was welcomed.<sup>52</sup>

Cortez rebuilt his army and set out from Tlaxcala for Tenochtitlan on December 28, 1520. He had built demountable ships which were carried in pieces to the shore of the lake. The ships were assembled at Texcoco. Cortez and his men destroyed the aqueducts that brought fresh water to Tenochtitlan and destroyed all vegetation and everything on the lake-shore. Pestilence and famine soon raged in the city, and the

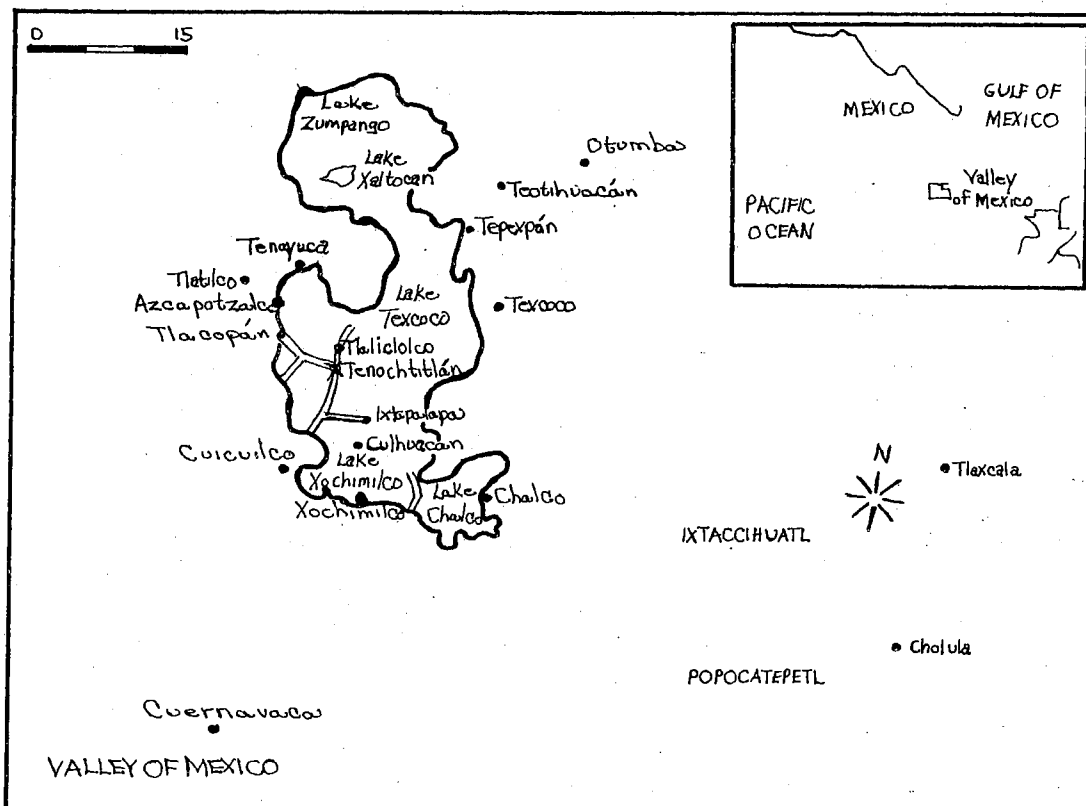


Figure 15. The Valley of Mexico.

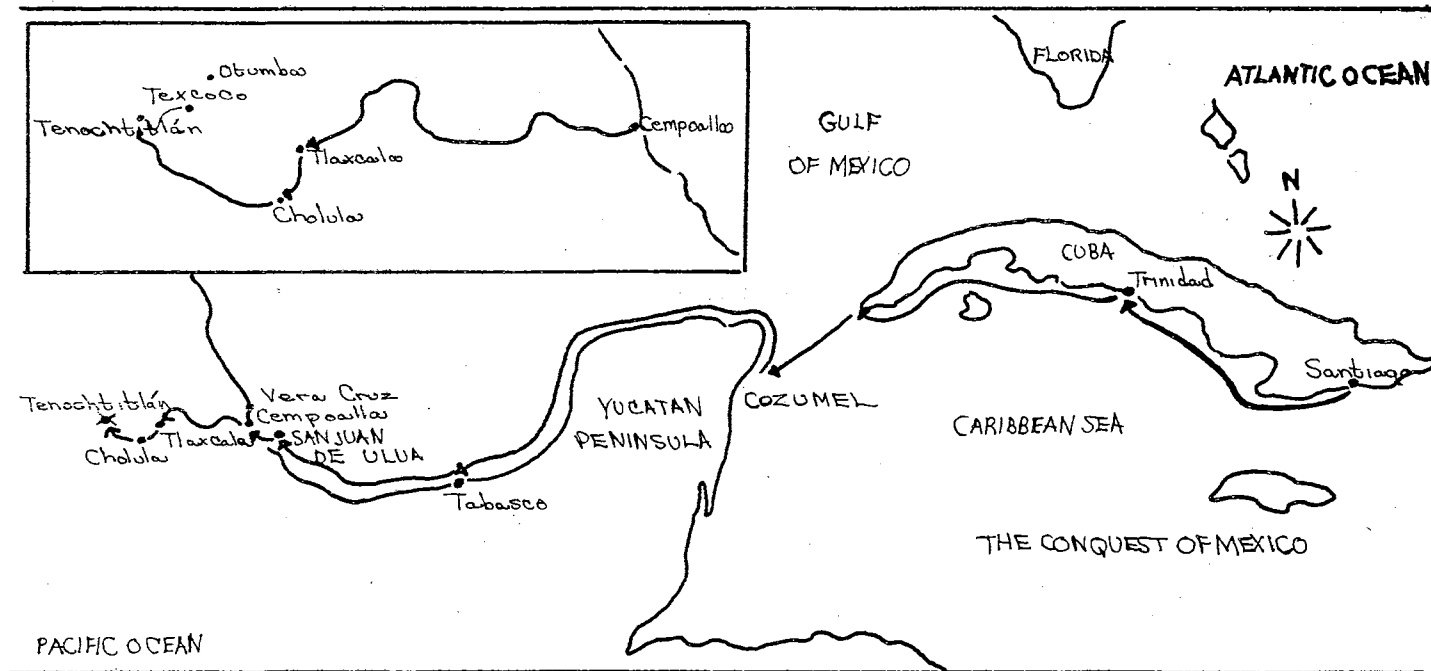


Figure 16. The Conquest of Mexico.

time was right for the Spaniards to attack. Spanish ships and soldiers fighting on the land crushed the Aztec attempts to attack. After a gallant fight against stronger opponents, the great Aztec city surrendered. Most of the population had been killed and the city was left in smoking ruins. The Valley of Mexico and the Capital of the Aztec Empire had been conquered by Hernando Cortez and his conquistadors!<sup>53</sup>

Saint James and Cortez

Throughout the conquest "Santiago" was the war-cry of the Spaniards in their struggle against the Indians, as it had been against the Moslems. On March 12, 1519, Cortez was in danger of perishing near the River Grijalba (Battle at Tabasco). Bernal Diaz, the soldier chronicler, stated: "We were in mortal danger until we reached the bank, but then calling upon My Lord Santiago we charged the enemy fiercely and drove him back."<sup>54</sup>

On the march to Tenochtitlan the army of Cortez was attacked at Cholula in overwhelming numbers. Cortez shouted the war-cry, "Santiago y a ellos" ("Saint James and at 'em"), and with the aid of the Apostle, the Indians were driven back with great slaughter. The help of the Apostle was sought on the Noche Triste, when the bridge over the lake collapsed and men and horses fell into the water. Bernal Diaz stated: "What dismay and horror we felt when in the dark we heard the cries of the victims calling upon Our Lady and My Lord Santiago for help."<sup>55</sup> A supreme instance of the intervention of Saint James took place in the Battle of Otumba, when Spanish survivors from Tenochtitlan were attacked as they retreated. The Apostle was seen on horseback driving back the enemy. The influence of Saint James had indeed arrived in Mexico and

he was established as an ever-present leader.

#### Colonization of Mexico

The conquistadors had conquered the Aztec capital and had claimed the Valley of Mexico for Spain. These men and others continued to explore and penetrate areas in Mexico, Central America, and South America. The conquistadors were still in pursuit of riches, honor, and glory, and they were driven by a religious zeal which gave them faith in the rightness of their cause. At this same time, in South America, Peru was conquered by Francisco Pizarro. Cortez and Pizarro were but a few of many who helped to conquer and to settle the New World.

The overthrowing of the Aztec Empire represented the first stage in the Conquest of Mexico. Having conquered the land, the conquistadors still had to take possession of it. Settling the land, building cities, and establishing government, culture, and religion was the second great conquest.

Cortez sent expeditions out into the new land. Gonzalo de Sandoval was sent to the south-east to conquer the territory, as far as Coatzacoalcos, and to establish a town and port there. Francisco de Orazco was sent to exploit the gold-mines discovered in Oaxaca. Cristobal de Olid spent years in opening up the country to the Pacific Ocean. Pedro de Alvarado conquered the territory near Guatemala. Others went further into Central and South America<sup>56</sup> and some slowly took possession of Mexico.

Cortez divided the land and the riches among the Crown and members of his expedition. Each member received a proportion according to his rank and status. The first distribution of land was temporary; the

permanent division being left until the land was occupied and surveyed. In order to make their gain permanent, the conquistadors established a town, secured its legal incorporation by the Crown, and put their own followers in the key municipal offices.

Towns were the centers of the colonist population. Colonists were dependent for their subsistence on the country-side, cultivated with European crops, and worked by Indian labor. The Lord of the town had the obligation to protect the Indians near his town and to instruct them in the ways of civilization and Christianity. In return, he received labor or tribute from the Indians. This was known as the *encomienda* system.<sup>57</sup>

#### The Legend of Saint James in the New World

Proof of the prestige won by the Apostle Saint James in the New World was the number of cities, towns, and villages which carried his name. He became as great a celebrity among the Portugese as among the Spaniards, and he protected their explorers and conquistadors as he did the Spaniards. The Portugese attributed their conquest of Goa not only to the Cross, but also to Saint James, the Patron Saint of Spain.<sup>58</sup>

Among provinces and towns named for Saint James were the following: Santiago was both the province and capital of Chile; Santiago de los Caballeros was the capital of the Dominican Republic, founded in 1500 by Bartholomew Columbus; Santiago de Cuba was founded in 1514 by Diego Velasquez; Santiago del Estero was established in 1553 by colonists in Argentina; Santiago de Guayaquil was established in Ecuador.<sup>59</sup> These are only a few of the major towns named for Saint James, many smaller villages and places also used his name.

Saint James was the guide and patron of the conquistadors, just as he was the guide and patron of the crusaders in their fight against the Moslems. The crusaders carried with them his symbol, the shell, as did the conquistadors. It was the symbol of divine protection and supernatural protection offered by Saint James.

The shell became a dominant design motif after the Conquest of Mexico. Proof of this is seen in the great churches and public buildings of Mexico, built after the conquest. One such building was the Cathedral of Mexico City where the shell was used in the exterior and interior architecture of the cathedral. It was a main design on the retablos in chapel areas and was the design for many accessory pieces.<sup>60</sup> Cathedrals, monasteries, and public buildings used the shell as a main motif. Later, decorative fountains, grill-work, and other designs made use of the shell. It was used persistently as a design motif from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries in Mexico.<sup>61</sup>

#### Religion in Mexico

Much of the force of Spanish achievement in Mexico was possible because the Spaniards were religious crusaders. Wherever he went, the first duty of Cortez was to have the native priests remove images of gods, cleanse the temples from human sacrifice, and set up Christian altars. When the Indians refused, the Spaniards did the work themselves. The conquistadors felt they were a chosen group, the army of God to smite the heathen and to win souls for Christ.<sup>62</sup>

The priests and missionaries played a prominent part in the settlement of Mexico. Orders sent out their representatives to undertake the task of evangelizing the New World. The Franciscans appeared in Mexico

in 1523, the Dominicans in 1526, and the Augustinians in 1533.<sup>63</sup> The missionaries dedicated themselves to the task of grouping the Indians into villages, building missions and churches, and civilizing the Indians.

Missionaries met little resistance from the Indians. The Indians felt that the gods, who had enabled the Spaniards to conquer their land, must be worth following, and that the same gods might benefit the Indians. Few Indians understood the Christian religion, but they were devoted. Ancient centers of worship were destroyed or dismantled, and Christian Churches were built upon their ruins. New ceremony and ritual were introduced.

Priests and missionaries soon became champions fighting for the rights of the Indian. In the beginning of the settlement of Mexico, Spain had three purposes for the Indian: to convert him, to civilize him, and to exploit him. The *encomienda* system had been devised to serve these purposes.<sup>64</sup> Land and Indians were distributed among the Spaniards. The person in charge of each *encomienda* was to provide protection, conversion, and civilization among the Indians. Friars and monasteries were put in charge of this obligation.

The *encomienda* system was abused and obligations, as well as the whole system, were soon forgotten. Slavery was the result. Missionaries aided the Indians and became the representatives of Church and State. They had the work of conversion and the responsibility of control. It was under these conditions that missions were first established in Mexico.<sup>65</sup>

Missions were designed for a temporary function.<sup>66</sup> Missionaries established themselves in different parts of Mexico and introduced



Christianity to the heathen groups. As soon as this work was finished, the missionary was expected to move to another area. Missions were to be turned over to the secular clergy, and mission land was distributed among the Indians.

Missions, then, were agencies of the Church and State. They served to Christianize Mexico, and to aid in extending, holding, and civilizing the land. The first task of the missionary was to convert the heathen and then teach a civilized mode of life.

#### The First Explorations of the Southwest

The discovery and exploration of the Southwest began in the Southeast with the exploration of Florida. And, the story of the exploration of Florida began in 1520, when Panfilo de Narvaez was defeated by Cortez (Narvaez had been sent to Mexico, by Velasquez, to bring Cortez back to Cuba). Narvaez never forgave Cortez for his surprise attack and defeat. He was a principle witness before the Council of the Indies in 1525. The Council's purpose was to investigate the deeds of Cortez. As a reward, Narvaez was given a grant by Charles V to conquer and colonize Florida.<sup>67</sup>

By the summer of 1527, Narvaez had assembled men, ships, and supplies, and the expedition left Spain. Cabeza de Vaca, on appointment from the king, served as treasurer of the expedition.<sup>68</sup> Misfortune pursued the expedition from the beginning. Over a hundred men deserted at Santo Domingo, ships were lost in a hurricane off of Cuba, and after enduring other hardships, it was a year later before the remaining ships reached Florida.

Narvaez was after gold. He left a few of his men in charge of the

ships, telling them to follow the west coast of Florida northward, and to find a good harbor. The rest of the men went northward by land and planned to meet the ships. They never met again. The march by land was a disaster; men were killed by hostile Indians; men died of disease; and they found nothing of value. When the survivors returned to the coast, no trace of the ships was found. They built rafts and once again set sail. Most of the men died of hunger, thirst, or exposure; some were lost at sea in a storm.

Two rafts, one commanded by Cabeza de Vaca, managed to reach an island off the coast of Texas. The fifteen survivors became slaves of the Indians on the island, and they followed the nomadic tribe to the mainland in search of food.<sup>69</sup> When plague overtook the tribe, the white men performed as healers. Cabeza de Vaca was successful as a healer and was later permitted to travel and to engage in trade. During his wanderings along the coast, he found three other survivors of the expedition: Andres Dorantes, Alonso del Castillo, and Estebanico, Dorantes' black Moorish slave.<sup>70</sup>

These four escaped and began an incredible journey southward. Cabeze de Vaca and his three companions left the Texas coast near Galveston and followed the Rio Grande north-westward, then south-west to the junction of the Conchos River, westward to upper Sonora and south to Sinaloa.<sup>71</sup> The success of the trip was due to Cabeza de Vaca's reputation as a great medicine man among the Indians, who escorted the men from tribe to tribe. From the Indians, the men learned of populous cities and tall houses where there were emeralds and gold.<sup>72</sup> In April of 1536, a small gang of slave hunters were searching the foothills of Sinaloa. The four explorers met the slave hunters, joined their group,

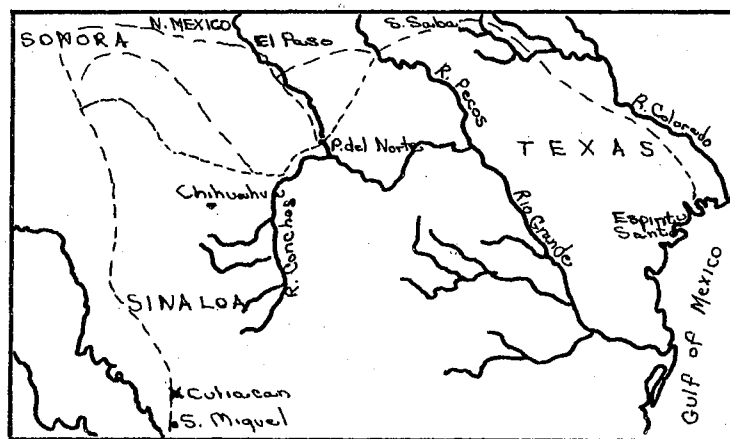


Figure 17. Cabeza De Vaca's Route.

and journeyed with them to Culiacan, the capital of Sinaloa.<sup>73</sup>

The return of Cabeza de Vaca aroused much interest in Mexico and in Spain. Cabeza de Vaca wasted no time in telling the tales he had heard, from the Indians, of the cities and the gold to be found in the north. Spaniards believed these cities to be the Seven Cities of Cibola, and they grew eager to explore the north. Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico, became interested in the exploration and conquest of the north, where immense wealth might be the reward. He arranged that Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, the newly appointed governor of Nueva Galicia, should make a tour of inspection to the northern parts of his province.<sup>74</sup>

In the preliminary reconnoissance of the territory, the obvious thing to do was to send either Cabeza de Vaca or one of his companions into the north. Cabeza de Vaca refused, as did the others. Mendoza, coming to the aid of Coronado, bought the slave Estebanico. A slave could be sent where his master wished, and Mendoza bought him in order to send him in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola.

Mendoza next induced the Franciscans to send a representative on an exploring journey in the interest of the Church and the State. The religious crusade was still the main part of any exploration, and Mendoza was anxious to spread the Gospel among the heathen. Fray Marcos de Niza, a Frenchman, was selected to make the exploration. He became the first Franciscan father to open up the new territory for spiritual conquest.<sup>75</sup> Estebanico was to accompany him as a servant and guide, leading the way, but obeying him in all things. Fray Onorato, another Franciscan, also accompanied the men.<sup>76</sup>

Marcos and his group left Culiacan in March of 1539. The glory of

discovering the territory of Arizona belongs to the negro slave, Estebanico, and to Fray Marcos, who crossed the line into Arizona in 1539.<sup>77</sup> At Petatlán, Onorato became ill and had to abandon the idea of accompanying Marcos. Marcos went on and took a northerly route through Sinaloa and Sonora. Marcos came to Vacapa, a rancheria, where he remained for two weeks. He sent Estebanico ahead with Indian runners.<sup>78</sup>

The arrangement was made that Estebanico should send messages back to Marcos describing his progress. Messages were to be in the form of crosses in different sizes: an important message was conveyed by a cross a span long; a message of greater importance was conveyed by a cross of two spans; a message of extreme importance was conveyed by a larger cross.<sup>79</sup> At Vacapa, the Indians told Marcos of the rich cities of the north, and messages sent back by Estebanico confirmed these stories. Four days after Estebanico had gone, Indian runners returned to Vacapa bearing a cross as tall as a man with a message urging Fray Marcos to come at once. Estebanico was thirty days journey from the turquoise-studded gates of the Seven Cities of Cibola.<sup>80</sup>

Estebanico was an independent and important person in the wilderness. He was well-known to the Indians, among whom he had traveled with Cabeza de Vaca, a powerful medicine man. Estebanico now fancied himself as a great medicine man. He was followed by a retinue of Indians and demanded tribute from each tribe along his route. He became overly confident in his role as a medicine man, and with great ceremony he approached Cibola (Cibola was the pueblo of Hawikuh, now in ruins near Zuni).<sup>81</sup> In regal gesture, Estebanico sent a messenger into Cibola bearing his magic gourd-rattle. The elders ordered Estebanico away, but he entered the city anyway, demanding rich tributes. He was

seized, the wealth he had amassed was taken from him, and Estebanico was killed. A few of his close companions managed to escape.<sup>82</sup>

Meanwhile, Fray Marcos de Niza was following Estebanico. Marcos found the Indians along the way friendly, and they supplied him with food and stories of Cibola. Fray Marcos followed the negro's route, until he reached the last phase of the expedition in the region of modern Phoenix, Arizona. His course was north-eastward to Cibola. Twelve days later, Estebanico's companions met Marcos with the news of Estebanico's death. Marcos eventually persuaded his Indian guides to continue north with him, for he was determined to reach Cibola. Fray Marcos saw Cibola from the top of a hill, claimed the region for Spain, and quickly retraced his route back to Culiacan. Back in Mexico, Marcos submitted a report to Viceroy Mendoza. As a result of the report, Mendoza was anxious to promote another expedition.<sup>83</sup>

Mendoza appointed Francisco Vasquez de Coronado to command another expedition into the north of Cibola. A force of Spanish conquistadors, Indian allies, and a herd of livestock were easily assembled. Fray Marcos, with other Franciscan fathers, were enlisted to accompany Coronado as a guide. In February 1540, the army passed in review at Compostela, and in April, Coronado and an advance party left Culiacan. The main army left Culiacan at the end of April.<sup>84</sup>

The route of Coronado took him through the Sonora Valley, Sinaloa, the desert of southwest Arizona, the White Mountains of Arizona, into New Mexico, northeastern Arizona, and into the Plains States.<sup>85</sup> Coronado's expedition to Cibola was filled with danger and hardships. Cibola was reached on July 7, 1514.<sup>86</sup> The Indians were still hostile and attacked before Coronado was in sight of Cibola. With the battlecry

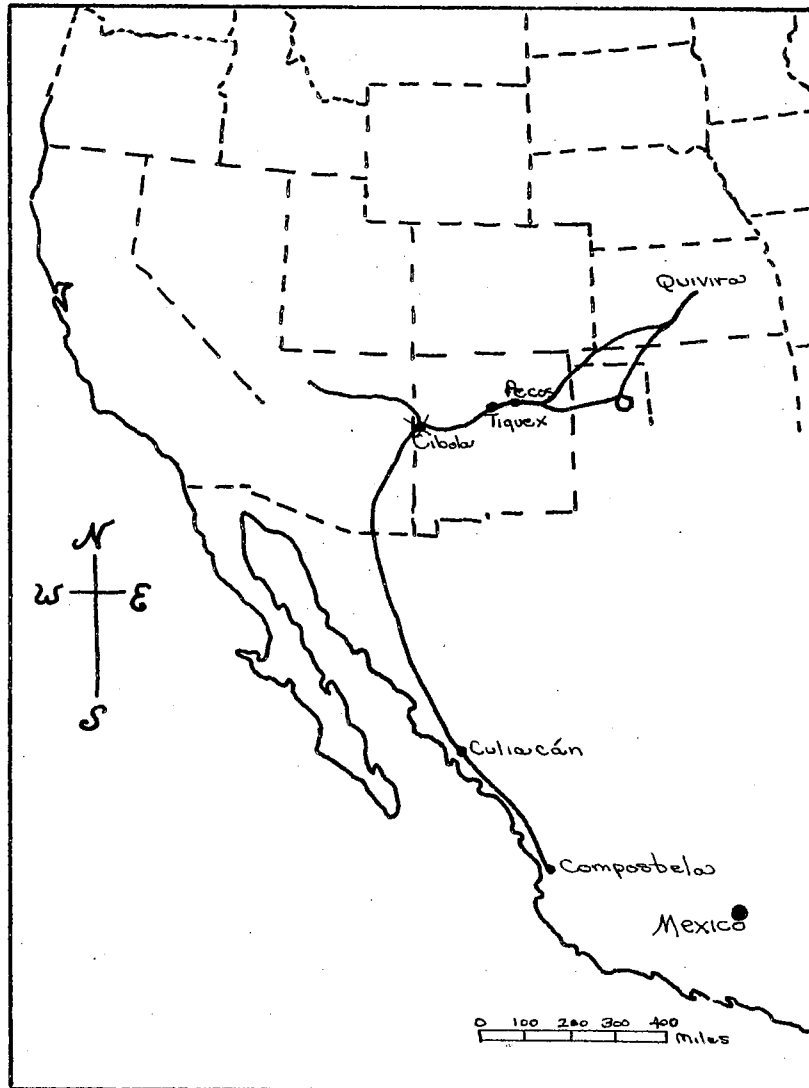


Figure 18. Exploration of Coronado.

"Santiago! Santiago!" the soldiers charged and conquered Cibola.<sup>87</sup> Cibola was a grievous disappointment. The kingdom of rich cities had dwindled to a group of poor villages.

Coronado and his expeditions continued to explore Arizona and the northern territory. Coronado succeeded in uncovering lands which men would soon settle, and he traced paths which others would soon follow. The following accomplishments are attributed to Coronado's expeditions: the exploration of Pueblo-Land, the establishment of a trail up the West Coast Corridor, the exploration of southwestern Arizona, the discovery of the Grand Canyon and the Continental Divide, and the march across Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas to Quivira.<sup>88</sup> Coronado promoted exploration, which was a necessary antecedent to the establishment of missions, colonization, and socialization in America.

#### The Establishment of Missions in the Southwest

From the time the Line of Demarcation was drawn by Pope Alexander VI in 1493, on through all explorations of the New World, the establishment of religion and missions was an essential part of conquest. Spain had been appointed the messenger of Catholicism to the New World. Beginning with the first explorations, the major religious orders in Spain had sent missionaries along with the explorers.<sup>89</sup> Their duty was to comfort the explorers and to spread Christianity among the heathens found along the route of conquest. The expeditions of Coronado opened many new territories for Christianity to conquer. The territory of particular importance in this thesis was the territory, which is now southwestern Arizona, called Pimeria Alta. Pimeria Alta included southern Arizona and northern Sonora. It extended from the Altar River,



in Sonora, to the Gila River, and from the San Pedro River to the Gulf of California and the Colorado of the West.<sup>90</sup>

Missions, then, were important in Spanish colonial policy and became an integral part of Spanish America. They were of importance in Sinaloa, Sonora, and Lower California; in Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nueva Leon, and Nuevo Santander; in Florida, New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The missionary work on the frontier was conducted chiefly by Franciscans, Jesuits, and Dominicans. The Jesuits worked in Sinaloa, Sonora, Chihuahua, Lower California, and Arizona. In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from all Spanish America, and their places were taken by other orders. Franciscans took Jesuit places in Arizona.<sup>91</sup>

The Indians of Spanish America, with the exception of some hostile tribes such as the Apache, were mainly a primitive society of nonsedentary tribes. They were very different from the advanced Indians of Mexico. Missionaries were to gather the Indians into permanent villages, civilize and control them without exploitation, and convert them to Christianity.

The essence of the mission was religious, moral, social, and industrial discipline. Physical arrangement of the mission was planned with discipline in mind. The central part of the mission was the village where Indians could be taught as a group. One or two friars were in control of the mission. Indian families from established missions were often brought to new missions as teachers and as examples to new converts. These families lived among the other Indians of the tribe.

Presidios were often established near the mission with soldier protection for the missionaries and for the mission Indians, as well as to hold the frontier. Two or more soldiers were stationed at the

mission to assist missionaries in discipline, instruction, and protection. Missions were built to serve as a fortress for the mission residents and nearby settlers. A well-built mission centered around a great court or patio and was protected on all sides by the buildings, with walls often eight feet thick.<sup>92</sup>

Missions were Christian seminaries and training schools. The elements of civilization were taught through religious instruction, industrial training, and teaching of arts and letters. Religious training was the most important. Instruction was based on a definite routine, taught by experienced missionaries, in the native language, and administered with practical sense and regard for the local conditions.<sup>93</sup> Industrial training in agriculture, blacksmith work, livestock raising, spinning and weaving, cooking, arts and crafts were taught and maintained in well-developed, self-supporting missions.<sup>94</sup>

Missions were the main frontier agencies of Spain. Missionaries spread Christianity, explored new frontiers, promoted settlements, taught Indians the Spanish language, and disciplined them in good manners, crafts, agriculture, and self-government. The mission was a force for preservation, not destruction, of the Indian.

#### The Establishment of San Xavier Del Bac

The mission field in Arizona was opened by the Jesuits as they pushed beyond Sonora. Father Eusebio Francisco Kino was the dominating figure in missionary endeavor and in exploration of the Southwest.<sup>95</sup> Father Kino was born in the village of Segno, near Trent, in the province of Tyrol, Italy in 1645. He entered the Society of Jesus on November 20, 1665. Kino was a distinguished student at the University

of Freiburg, and he was offered a professorship of mathematics at the Royal University of Bavaria. He declined the offer, to fulfill a vow made during a serious illness, that if he recovered he would devote his life to missionary service. Kino dedicated his life to his patron saint, the Apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier. On June 12, 1678, Father Kino boarded a ship at Genoa to sail to Cadiz. However, the ship was detained in Spain, and he did not arrive in Mexico until the spring of 1681.<sup>96</sup>

After several years of exploratory work in California, Kino was assigned to Pimeria Alta as rector of the missions. This was the land of the upper Pima Indians. The region was divided among the Indians according to the following: the valleys of the Gila and Salt Rivers were occupied by the Pima; the valley of the San Pedro and Santa Cruz were occupied by Sobaipuris; the Papagos were west of the Sobaipuris; along the Gila and Colorado Rivers were a different group, the Yuman tribes. The Pimas and Sobaipuris were the most advanced groups, however, all the groups, except the Yumas, practiced irrigation.<sup>97</sup>

Father Kino arrived in Pimeria Alta in March, 1687. At this time, Cucurpe was the frontier mission station.<sup>98</sup> Fifteen miles north of Cucurpe, Kino founded the mission of Nuestra Senora de los Dolores (Our Lady of Sorrows). This was the headquarters of Father Kino for twenty-four years, and it controlled the missions of northern Sonora and southern Arizona.<sup>99</sup>

From Dolores, Father Kino, sometimes accompanied by Indian guides, pushed the frontier of missionary work and exploration across Pimeria Alta to the Gila and Colorado Rivers. By 1695 he had established a chain of missions up and down the valley of the Altar and Magdalena

Rivers and another chain northeast of Dolores.<sup>100</sup> At the same time Father Kino established a mission, he would start a stock ranch or grain farm. These enterprises helped to support the mission and were the foundations for later settlements.

The Indians of the Santa Cruz Valley invited Father Kino to come to them. Hearing of Kino's work, the Indians sent a delegation in 1687 to him at Nuestra Senora de los Dolores. They brought crosses to Kino and asked him to visit the Santa Cruz Valley and build a mission for them.<sup>101</sup> It was not until 1691 that Kino began his explorations in what is now Arizona. He went north to Tumacacori, a Pima village on the Santa Cruz River. Kino was accompanied by Father Juan Maria Salvatierra. At Tumacacori, Father Kino said Mass, the first Christian service in southern Arizona, and established the mission of San Jose.<sup>102</sup>

A year later, in 1692, Father Kino made his first visit to del Bac. There were eight hundred Indians at del Bac at this time, and they received the missionary with friendliness and feasting. Of his first visit, Father Kino wrote:

I spoke to them of the Word of God, and on a map showed them the lands, the rivers, and the seas over which we fathers had come from afar to bring them the saving knowledge of our holy faith. And I told them also how in ancient times the Spaniards were not Christians, how Santiago came to teach them the faith, and how for the first fourteen years he was able to baptize only a few, because of which the holy apostle was discouraged, but that the most holy Virgin appeared to him and consoled him, telling him that the Spaniards would convert the rest of the people of the world. And I showed them on the map of the world how the Spaniards and the faith had come by sea to Vera Cruz, and had gone in to Puebla and to Mexico, Guadalaxara, Sinaloa, and Sonora, and now to Nuestra Senora de los Dolores del Cosari, in the land of the Pimas, where there were already many persons baptized, a house, church, bells, and images of saints, plentiful supplies, wheat, maize, and many cattle and horses; that they could go and see it all, and even ask at once of their relatives, my servants, who were with me. They listened with pleasure to

these and other talks concerning God, heaven, and hell, and told me that they wished to be Christians, and gave me some infants to baptize.<sup>103</sup>

Five years passed before Kino renewed his ministry at del Bac in 1697. Then he came with cattle, sheep, goats, and a drove of mares for the beginnings of a ranch. Again he was received most kindly. Kino preached and baptized for a second time.<sup>104</sup> Father Kino returned to the village in 1699. This time he was accompanied by Reverend Father Visitor Antonio Leal, Francisco Gonzalvo, a Pimeria Alta Jesuit missionary, and by Juan Manje. On this visit, Leal was convinced that the fertile, irrigated land, and grazing land would support a mission. He promised the Indians that they would have a resident priest as soon as it could be arranged.<sup>105</sup>

From now on, stirring events were to happen at del Bac. In April, 1700, Father Kino went to del Bac and founded the mission of San Xavier. Kino named the mission in honor of San Francisco Xavier, his inspiration, and the man to whom Kino had dedicated his life. The words "del Bac" were Papago meaning "place where there is water" or "marshy ground".<sup>106</sup> The great mission of San Xavier Del Bac was now established!

Work was begun April 28, 1700 on a church. Father Kino wrote

. . . we began the foundations of a very large and capacious church and house of San Xavier del Bac, all the many people working with much pleasure and zeal, some in digging for the foundations, others in hauling many and very good stones of tezontle from a little hill which was about a quarter of a league away. For the mortar for these foundations it was not necessary to haul water, because by means of the irrigation ditches we very easily conducted the water where we wished. And that house, with its great court and garden nearby, will be able to have throughout the year all the water it may need, running to any place or work room one may please.<sup>107</sup>

Kino loved the people and the mission of San Xavier Del Bac. This mission was in a strategic position, being the mission farthest north. He requested Father Leal to replace him at Dolores, so he could become San Xavier's first resident priest. Leal agreed, but there was no replacement for him at Dolores, and Kino was never able to realize his wish. Kino visited his beloved mission again in 1701 and for the last time in 1702.<sup>108</sup> Father Kino died at Magdalena on March 15, 1711. He had journeyed from Dolores to Magdalena to bless the chapel of his patron saint, Saint Francis Xavier. Kino became ill while singing the Mass, and he died after the ceremony.<sup>109</sup>

It is impossible to do justice, on these few pages, to the many endeavors of Father Kino. He was a leading figure in the history of Arizona and the West, and his missions were the gateways to a Christianized civilization, and to colonization by nations and people. Kino was superior as a missionary and as an explorer, riding or walking great distances to do his work. Credit is given to Kino for the first mapping of Pimeria Alta on the basis of actual exploration, exploration of Southern Arizona and the establishment of trails, exploration along the Colorado River, and the discovery of a land passage to California which disproved the idea that California was an island, and established it as a peninsula. Kino also had an unusual ability as a rancher and stockman and introduced European products. He had great endurance in the saddle, riding an average of thirty or more miles a day for weeks or months at a time, when on missionary or exploratory tours. Kino was merciful to others but cruel to himself. His physical courage was proven by his whole career in America, spent in exploring unknown lands and in bringing Christianity to many especially those at del

Bac.<sup>110</sup>

San Xavier had as their first resident priest in 1701 Father Francisco Gonzales. Many priests followed Gonzales, until the Pima Revolt in 1751, when the resident priest had to flee for his life. Peace was restored, and in 1754 the priest was able to return to San Xavier.

Father Alonso Espinosa was one of the most outstanding of the Jesuit priests at San Xavier. He became the resident in 1756. Father Espinosa completed a church, adorned it with a statue of San Xavier, and ordered paintings and candelabra. Father Kino's church, thought to have been situated about a mile-and-a-half north of the present mission, evidently had been destroyed. Later, Espinosa's church must have also been destroyed. He did, however, succeed in building the second church at del Bac.<sup>111</sup>

In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled by royal decree from Spain and her dominions, and their missions were taken over by Franciscans.<sup>112</sup> Father Francisco Hermenegildo Garces was the first Franciscan at San Xavier. At San Xavier, he found an adobe church, probably the second one built by Espinosa. Garces was responsible for extending the mission frontier. He established San Xavier as his headquarters and from there made missionary explorations which made him famous.<sup>113</sup>

The present mission church of San Xavier Del Bac was begun by Father Juan Bautista Velderrain in 1783 and was finished by Father Juan Bautista Llorenz in 1797. Documentary evidence of the completion date and a complete description of San Xavier was given in a 1797 report by Fray Francisco Iturralde.<sup>114</sup>

After 1797, the Franciscan period began to decline. In 1821 Mexico

declared independence from Spain, and by 1828 the Spanish Franciscans had left San Xavier. A period of decay began at San Xavier, and the buildings started to fall into ruin. In 1854 the land south of the Gila River was added to Arizona in the Gadsden Purchase. This included San Xavier Del Bac. Five years later, 1859, the new territory of Arizona was annexed to the diocese of Santa Fe, New Mexico.<sup>115</sup>

Later, Father Machebeuf, vicar-general of the diocese, visited San Xavier and began repairs. Extensive restoration began in 1906 by Reverend Henry Granjon, Bishop of Tucson. He built new buildings, the outside wall, repaired the Mortuary Chapel, and did extensive repair on the church. Father Celestine Chinn, in 1949, along with architect Eleazar D. Herreras, began the job of complete restoration. They are responsible for much of the mission as it stands today in 1967. However, the restoration is a continuous process and improvements continue to be made on the mission. Today, the Franciscan Fathers are still in charge of San Xavier Del Bac.<sup>116</sup>

The importance of Saint James in the new world has been established in Mexico and Arizona, first with Coronado, and later, with Father Kino who brought the legend of Saint James and his symbol the shell to the Indians. The use of the shell in the mission San Xavier Del Bac serves as a lasting tribute to Saint James in Arizona.



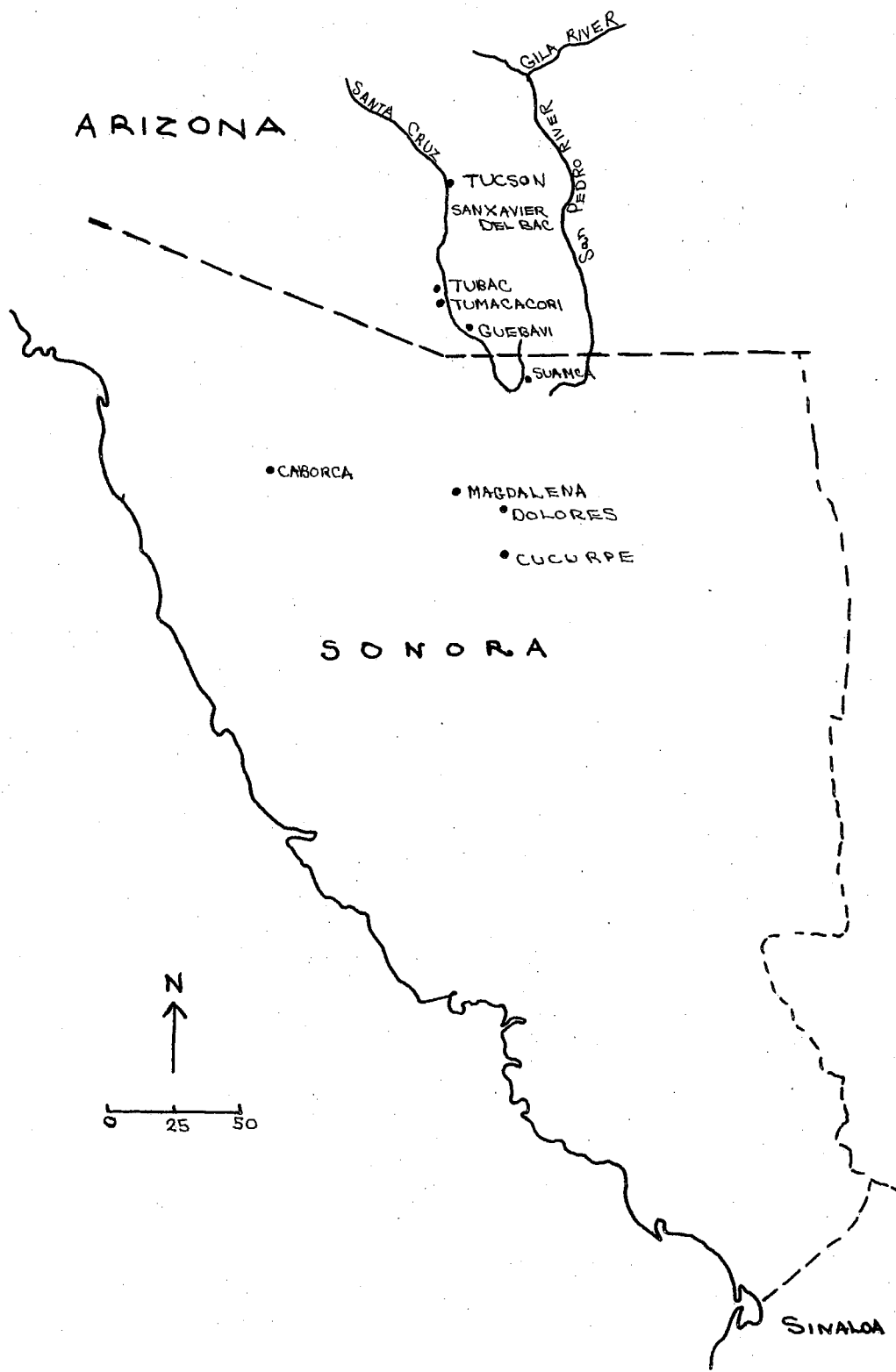


Figure 19. Southern Arizona and Sonora Missions.

FOOTNOTES

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<sup>2</sup>Carlton F. H. Hayes, Marshall Whithed Baldwin, and Charles Woolsey Cole, History of Europe (New York, 1956), p. 373.

<sup>3</sup>"Ferdinand V of Castile," The Source Book, III, p. 1011.

<sup>4</sup>Jean Descola, A History of Spain (New York, 1963), p. 194. J. H. Elliott, Imperial Spain 1469-1716 (New York, 1964), p. 33.

<sup>5</sup>Walter Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James (New York, 1957), p. 45.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

<sup>8</sup>Hayes, Baldwin, and Cole, History of Europe, pp. 432-433.

<sup>9</sup>Jean Hippolyte Mariejol, The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella, trans. and ed. by Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick, 1961), pp. 347, 348, 88.

<sup>10</sup>"Christopher Columbus," The Source Book (Chicago, 1934), II, 659.

<sup>11</sup>Hayes, Baldwin, and Cole, History of Europe, pp. 435-436.

<sup>12</sup>Descola, A History of Spain, p. 256.

<sup>13</sup>Hayes, Baldwin, and Cole, History of Europe, p. 436.

<sup>14</sup>John Bartlet Brebner, The Explorers of North America 1492-1806 (New York, 1933), pp. 7-9.

<sup>15</sup>"Christopher Columbus," The Source Book, II, p. 660.

<sup>16</sup>Elliott, Imperial Spain 1469-1716, p. 48.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 48-50.

<sup>18</sup>Descola, A History of Spain, p. 257.

- <sup>19</sup>John Fiske, The Discovery of America (Boston and New York, 1892), Vol. I, pp. 420-421.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 425-428.
- <sup>21</sup>John Bakeless, The Eyes of Discovery (New York, 1950), p. 10.
- <sup>22</sup>Descola, A History of Spain, p. 258.
- <sup>23</sup>Bakeless, The Eyes of Discovery, p. 12. Fiske, The Discovery of America, Vol. I, p. 431.
- <sup>24</sup>"Christopher Columbus," The Source Book, II, p. 660.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup>Brebner, The Explorers of North America 1492-1806, pp. 11-12.
- <sup>27</sup>Descola, A History of Spain, p. 259.
- <sup>28</sup>Fiske, The Discovery of America, Vol. I, pp. 445-464.
- <sup>29</sup>Mariejol, The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella, pp. 92-93.
- <sup>30</sup>Brebner, The Explorers of North America 1492-1806, p. 12.
- <sup>31</sup>Mariejol, The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella, pp. 94-95.
- <sup>32</sup>"Christopher Columbus," The Source Book, II, p. 661
- <sup>33</sup>Brebner, The Explorers of North America 1492-1806, pp. 20-38.
- <sup>34</sup>Mariejol, The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 102.
- <sup>35</sup>John Lynch, Spain Under the Habsburgs (New York, 1964), Vol. I, p. 150.
- <sup>36</sup>Brebner, The Explorers of North America 1492-1806, p. 46.
- <sup>37</sup>John Fiske, The Discovery of America (Boston and New York, 1892), Vol. II, pp. 240-243.
- <sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 243-244.
- <sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 245.
- <sup>40</sup>Pierre Honore, In Quest of the White God (New York, 1964), p. 46.
- <sup>41</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>42</sup>Jonathan Norton Leonard, Ancient America (New York, 1967), p. 140.
- <sup>43</sup>Ibid.

- <sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 141-142.
- <sup>45</sup>Fiske, The Discovery of America, Vol. II, pp. 246-250.
- <sup>46</sup>Honore, In Quest of the White God, p. 48.
- <sup>47</sup>Victor VonHagen, The Aztec: Man and Tribe (New York, 1961), pp. 124-134.
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- <sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 284.
- <sup>51</sup>Leonard, Ancient America, p. 144.
- <sup>52</sup>Ibid., pp. 144-145.
- <sup>53</sup>Ibid., pp. 145-146.
- <sup>54</sup>Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of Saint James, p. 44.
- <sup>55</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>56</sup>Brebner, The Explorers of North America 1492-1806, pp. 64-69.
- <sup>57</sup>Elliott, Imperial Spain 1469-1716, p. 56.
- <sup>58</sup>Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of Saint James, p. 44.
- <sup>59</sup>"Santiago," Encyclopedia Americana (New York, 1965), XXIV, 285-286.
- <sup>60</sup>Ministry of Education, Know the Cathedral of Mexico (Mexico City, Mexico, 1962), pp. 3-59.
- <sup>61</sup>Joseph Armstrong Baird, The Churches of Mexico 1530-1810 (Berkely and Los Angeles, 1962), pp. 46-47.
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- <sup>63</sup>Elliott, Imperial Spain 1469-1716, p. 60.
- <sup>64</sup>John Francis Bannon, ed., Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands (Norman, 1964), p. 190.
- <sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 191.
- <sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 192.
- <sup>67</sup>Trent Elwood Sanford, The Architecture of the Southwest (New York, 1950), p. 49.

- <sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 51.
- <sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 52.
- <sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 54.
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- <sup>74</sup>Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico 1530-1888, p. 28.
- <sup>75</sup>Rev. Maynard Geiger, The Kingdom of St. Francis in Arizona 1539-1939 (Santa Barbara, 1939), p. 6.
- <sup>76</sup>Sanford, The Architecture of the Southwest, p. 57.
- <sup>77</sup>Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico 1530-1888, p. 27.
- <sup>78</sup>Geiger, The Kingdom of St. Francis in Arizona 1539-1939, p. 6.
- <sup>79</sup>DeVoto, The Course of Empire, p. 32.
- <sup>80</sup>Sanford, The Architecture of the Southwest, p. 57.
- <sup>81</sup>Bakeless, The Eyes of Discovery, p. 73.
- <sup>82</sup>Ibid., pp. 74-75.
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- <sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 36.
- <sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 40.
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- <sup>88</sup>Bannon, Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands, pp. 86-95.
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- <sup>90</sup>Bannon, Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands, p. 213.
- <sup>91</sup>Ibid., p. 192.
- <sup>92</sup>Ibid., pp. 199-202.

- <sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 203.
- <sup>94</sup>Gladys Mallory, "Spanish Beginnings in Arizona" (unpub. M.A., University of Oklahoma, 1939), p. 33.
- <sup>95</sup>Geiger, The Kingdom of St. Francis in Arizona 1539-1939, p. 12.
- <sup>96</sup>Sanford, The Architecture of the Southwest, p. 174.
- <sup>97</sup>Bannon, Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands, pp. 213-214.
- <sup>98</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>99</sup>Sanford, The Architecture of the Southwest, p. 174.
- <sup>100</sup>Bannon, Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands, p. 215.
- <sup>101</sup>Bernice Cosulich, Tucson (Tucson, 1953), p. 24. Prentice W. Duell, "A study of the Mission San Xavier Del Bac Near Tucson, Arizona" (unpub. M.A., University of Arizona, 1917), p. 2.
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- <sup>104</sup>Frank C. Lockwood, Story of the Spanish Missions of the Middle Southwest (Santa Ana, 1934), p. 29.
- <sup>105</sup>Bernard L. Fontana, Biography of a Desert Church: The Story of Mission San Xavier Del Bac (Tucson, 1961), p. 3.
- <sup>106</sup>Duell, Mission Architecture as Exemplified in San Xavier Del Bac, pp. 56, 58.
- <sup>107</sup>Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, I., pp. 235-236.
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- <sup>109</sup>Father Bonaventure, O.F.M., Mission San Xavier Del Bac (Topawa, 1937), p. 11.
- <sup>110</sup>Bannon, Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands, pp. 216-224.
- <sup>111</sup>Fontana, Biography of a Desert Church: The Story of Mission San Xavier Del Bac, pp. 4-8.

<sup>112</sup>Rev. Celestine Chinn, O.F.M., Mission San Xavier Del Bac (Tucson, 1951), p. 2.

<sup>113</sup>Fontana, Biography of a Desert Church: The Story of Mission San Xavier Del Bac, p. 8.

<sup>114</sup>Chinn, Mission San Xavier Del Bac, p. 3.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>116</sup>Fontana, Biography of a Desert Church: The Story of Mission San Xavier Del Bac, pp. 14-19.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SHELL AS A SYMBOLIC DESIGN MOTIF IN SELECTED AREAS OF SAN XAVIER DEL BAC

#### Introduction

Overhead the sky is turquoise blue and only a few graceful white puffs of clouds dare venture into the vastness. The land stretches before you, mysterious and cruel, yet warmed by the hot sun and by the vibrant and everchanging colors of the Arizona desert. Tucson has been left ten miles behind you, to the north, and the silence of the desert is overpowering. You feel very much alone, when suddenly the road turns and dips into a green valley where cottonwood trees grow beside the road. This is the Valley of the Santa Cruz, and you are a pilgrim on the road to the mission San Xavier Del Bac.

You seem to have stepped into another century. Indian children wave to you from the doorways of earth-colored adobe huts. Papago Indian women, squat and dark, are at work under crude ramadas (a roof of brush set on upright poles to make shade). Old iron beds and furniture stand in the open. Dogs, rabbits, and Road Runners crisscross the road scampering in front of you. A strange warmth grips your heart as you remember the first brave Fathers, who journeyed over a similar road to build missions and to spread their faith among the Indians. In fact, you remember them all, the conquistadors, the soldiers, the traders, and the settlers who centuries before must have gazed upon a similar



scene.

You continue along the road having lost the feeling of loneliness and having gained new warmth and thought. The road makes an abrupt turn and suddenly you find yourself gazing in awe at the white towers and dome ahead. Then you hear them! The bells break the desert silence in their call to worship, and you hurry forward to the "White Dove of the Desert", the mission San Xavier Del Bac.

#### Location and Setting of San Xavier Del Bac

Ten miles south of Tucson, in the fertile green Valley of the Santa Cruz, protected by jagged and serene mountains, rests the mission San Xavier Del Bac. The mission is as majestic as the mountains that surround it, old and peaceful as the valley that enfolds it, and graceful as the desert shrubs that are its natural landscaping. Brilliant scarlet blooms on the long arms of the Ocotillo and all shades of green from the Yucca, Saguaro, Creosote, Palo Verde, and other desert plants compliment the white of the mission.

At all angles, San Xavier is set against distances of mountains. The short, sharp peaks of the Tucson Mountains west of the mission supply a rugged background. Contrasting with these mountains are the Santa Catalina mountains north of the mission, towering peaks of which provide a quiet background of amethyst shadows for gleaming white towers of the mission. Mountains to the east and south are farther away and form a subtle, misty blue background for San Xavier Del Bac.

The mission stands on a slightly elevated site, in the middle of the desert, and can be seen easily from distant parts of the valley. Most of the missions of the Southwest were built on an elevated area,

and this became a common element in mission construction.<sup>1</sup>

During the restoration, the mission and all of its buildings were plastered and painted white. The white gives to San Xavier a luminous quality, as though the mission had light coming from within. The mission never seems to lose this appealing quality in early morning or at sunset, in sunshine or moonlight, or even in a storm. This luminosity makes the mission easy to see from a distance and seems to attract and hold the eye.

#### Function of San Xavier Del Bac

San Xavier Del Bac is the best preserved of the Spanish missions, and it is the only mission still in use as a Christian church.<sup>2</sup> For two centuries the Indians have worshipped here, exemplifying their Christian faith as first introduced to them by Father Kino. The Indians center their lives around San Xavier. It is here their babies are baptized, their young citizens are married, and their dead are buried and laid to rest close to the walls of the mission.

San Xavier is also the scene of fiestas, such as the great feast of Saint Francis Xavier in December. This is a feast of the church and a time of prayer and pilgrimage. From this fiesta the Tucson Festival Society has developed a brilliant pageant which it holds in the spring.

#### Style Influences Found in San Xavier Del Bac

San Xavier Del Bac is the most perfect example of mission architecture in the United States. The mission was influenced directly by Spain and Mexico and expresses the best features of the mission style as exhibited in all other missions.<sup>3</sup> The particular style was modified

by local materials and labor and was adapted to the aptitude and artistic background of the workers. However, San Xavier cannot be designated as an example of only one style. Traces of the Byzantine, Early Christian, Romanesque, and Moorish styles are all in evidence. Aztec and Indian elements are also found in the mission.

The mission has a cruciform plan in the shape of a Latin Cross. Cruciform plans are of Byzantine influence, although Byzantine churches were planned in the shape of the Greek Cross. The roof of San Xavier is composed of a dome and half-domes, features of the Byzantine style that became characteristic of Moorish architecture.<sup>4</sup>

A great dome has been placed at the intersection of the cross in San Xavier. This dome is supported at a square intersection by four heavy piers, one at each corner. Pendentives start at a point on the corner of each pier and rise to support the dome. Construction of the dome in San Xavier is similar to the construction of the large dome in Hagia Sophia, a prime example of the Byzantine Style.<sup>5</sup> Pendentives were also used in San Xavier to support the vaults. (See plan, page 127).

Byzantine influence is more evident in the interior of San Xavier. Pilasters are made in a variety of proportions and are covered with some form of decoration. The semi-circular arch is used for structural and decorative purposes. Arches spring from piers and pilasters in the church. Pendentives are decorated with angels, saints, or other Biblical representations. Brilliant colors and gold, mellowed by age and physical conditions, can be found in San Xavier. Almost every wall space in the mission bears some form of decoration, and frescoes take the place of Byzantine mosaics. Design motifs from the Byzantine Style

and simulated marble effects can readily be found in the mission. The above characteristics are all comparable to those found in Hagia Sophia.<sup>6</sup>

Traces of Early Christian art, design motifs, and architecture can be found in San Xavier. While the cruciform plan is of Byzantine origin, the arrangement and placement of rooms resembles the basilica. The long rectangular nave, free from side aisles, has the architectural design of the basilica, as does the narthex and walled atrium. Walls in San Xavier, as in Early Christian churches are straight, rising a considerable height and pierced with windows at the top. Surfaces in both Byzantine and Early Christian churches were colorful, as they are in San Xavier.<sup>7</sup>

The floor plan of San Xavier Del Bac strongly resembles the floor plan of the Romanesque Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Plans are similar, with the exception of the side aisles which are separated from the nave and transept areas with a row of columns, and the ambulatory which goes around the apse and the radiating chapels found in Santiago de Compostela are not found in San Xavier. The resemblance in the two floor plans is the form of the Latin Cross (of Romanesque derivation), and the same arrangement of areas. Other Romanesque elements existing in San Xavier are: the use of figures; the use of abstract and repetitive patterns, such as the guilloche; the heavy proportions and square shafts of columns and pilasters, with sculptured entablatures.<sup>8</sup>

The Moorish influence brought from Spain and Mexico, is strongly evident in San Xavier. On the east side of the mission and to the rear are two arcaded cloisters which form two sides of an enclosed area of greenery. Although San Xavier has no elaborate gardens, because the

spaces were enclosed by massive walls for protection, this idea is influenced by Moorish buildings planned around gardens and courtyards.

On the exterior of the mission the Moorish influence can be found in the following: the abstract open shapes found on the stone wall in front of the mission; the open shapes found on the railings in front of the belfry towers, which are close representatives of the horseshoe arch; the arabesques on the facade; the wooden grills placed in front of the first-floor windows; the wooden balconies found in front of the casement doors on the second floor; the spindles of the grills and railings on the second floor and railings around the belfry towers; the larger modified horseshoe arches of the belfry towers; the tall, graceful arches of the top towers; the use of the dome and half domes; the abstract shapes used in the pilasters; the graceful curves between the finials, which are each flanked by Castillian lion heads; the delicate wrought-iron cross on top of the finished tower; the octagon shape of the towers. The above are only a few examples of designs having a Moorish background that are found within the complex of the mission.

Inside the mission the Moorish influence is also present. Derivatives of Moorish design can be seen in the following: the painted, geometric-patterned wainscot in colorful blue, red, and gold, probably meant to represent geometric wainscot tiles found in Moorish buildings; the minute spots of color inside the niches of the saints and on the area immediately surrounding the niches; the use of niches carved into the wall, found in private and public Moorish buildings; the frieze of minute decorative designs and color; the pilaster ornamentation done in intricate relief and finished in color; the tile of a dull red color used on the floor of the mission; the decorative usage of arabesques

and other geometric motifs; the heavy wooden doors of the mission's portal, which are studded with large nail heads; the hexagon shape of the pulpit and the spindle railing on the steps leading up to the pulpit; the decorative shape of the windows in the dome. The main characteristics listed above, along with many others not listed, could all be attributed to the Moorish influence upon Spain, and the Spanish influence upon Southwestern missions.<sup>9</sup>

The influence of the Aztec and Indian is found in San Xavier in some of the geometric and naturalistic design motifs, in the complicated carving (a highly developed skill among the Aztec), and in the use of color. The form of a diamond-back rattlesnake can easily be seen in the mission. It goes completely around the church on cornices and pendentives, where it forms a zig-zag, diamond-shape design. The snake motif also goes around the niches of the saints, where the meandering line resembles the Persian or the Horseshoe arch. The snake is an example of a natural form used as a common and important design among the Aztec and Southwestern Indian.<sup>10</sup> Carving is found all over the mission, with the main areas being on the facade, main altar, side-chapel altars, columns and pilasters. Color can also be seen everywhere in the church. The brilliant colors used in the mission are characteristic of this warm region, of the Southwest Indian culture, and of the culture of Mexico. Indian influence is also found in the angels painted on the pendentives. These angels all have bronze-colored skin like the skin of the native Indians.

San Xavier Del Bac has elements influenced by all stages of development, except Gothic, through which ecclesiastical architecture has passed in the West, particularly in Spain. The Byzantine, Early

Christian, Romanesque, Moorish, Aztec, and Indian influences are fused into a unified and harmonious total design; however, the mission is mainly a blend of Byzantine and Moorish influence.<sup>11</sup>

#### Construction of San Xavier Del Bac

The Franciscan Fathers used the natural materials found in the desert and employed unskilled Indian laborers in the building of San Xavier Del Bac. The present mission was constructed during the administrations of Fathers Juan Bautista Velderrain and Juan Bautista Llorenz.<sup>12</sup> The fathers must have been artisans and clever artists themselves. Tradition says that the architects were two brothers named Gaona from Caborca, Mexico. The name of Pedro Bojorquez, with the date 1797, is carved on the back of the Sacristy door. He may have been the builder of San Xavier, and 1797 is generally considered the completion date of the mission.<sup>13</sup> However, it is possible that Bojorquez was only the carpenter who made the door, and that 1797 was the date of the completion of the door rather than that of the church. The fathers were probably assisted by other educated men and Indians in the fourteen years it took to build San Xavier Del Bac.

The foundation of San Xavier was made of stones imbedded in mortar averaging two feet above the grade. It has been estimated that the foundation began at least five feet below the surface of the ground. The stones vary from three inches to twelve inches in diameter.<sup>14</sup> Walls were laid straight and angles were accurate. The walls vary from three feet to six feet in thickness. San Xavier was an exceptionally well-constructed and well-planned mission.

The body of the mission, the upper floors, the interior stairs,

the roof, workrooms, atrium wall, and Mortuary Chapel were all made of burned brick. Bricks were made of adobe, a heavy, plastic clay found in abundance in the Southwest and in Mexico. Adobe was dug, made into bricks, and burned in kilns. The finished brick was a vermilion color. A form of white cement stucco was used to cover the exterior walls, while the interior walls were plastered with a white lime plaster.<sup>15</sup>

The brick roof was built in the form of six low vaults surrounding the large dome which was placed over the crossing. The dome was also of brick and was laid up without centerings.<sup>16</sup> The pendentives and groins and the roof, including the dome and choir loft, were completely carried on vaulted arches. Small Moorish windows pierce the drum of the dome.

Wood was used in the doors, frames, spindles in front of the windows, the three front balconies, and in some interior details. The main doors to the mission are the original doors and are hung on the original iron hinges, and lock with the original locks and latches. The handles are in the form of a snake. These doors were made of Mesquite held together with long iron nails. Another original furnishing of wood is the pulpit made of pine and put together with wooden pegs. Cabinets in the Baptistry and Sacristy were also made of Mesquite.

Almost all ornamentation was made upon specially formed, solid bricks. The Franciscan Cord, a main decorative feature and part of the frieze, projects from the wall and was made of uncut brick. Altars and facade were made of brick and plaster. Ornamental columns and pilasters were also made of brick with a small wooden core for reinforcement.<sup>17</sup>



## Description of San Xavier Del Bac

The complex of San Xavier Del Bac consists of: the mission in the center; the Mortuary Chapel, with dome and belfry, to the far left; the walled enclosure of the old cemetery to the left, between the Mortuary Chapel and the mission; the original living quarters and workrooms, adjoining the unfinished tower, to the right. This arrangement of buildings should first be viewed at a distance so the harmony, lightness of scale, slender proportions, and subtle variations of solids and spaces can be seen.

San Xavier faces directly south, contrary to the rule that the apse should be to the east. This is probably due to the fact that visitors came from the south, from Mexico. Also, physical conditions of the setting would not lend themselves to another arrangement. The mission commands a better view of the entire valley facing south, and this was important when the mission was a central stronghold for defense.

The entire front part of the mission is enclosed by an atrium wall, which is connected to the cemetery wall by an arched gate placed at the entrance of a small pathway. This wall separates the mission from the outside plaza and road. Entrance to the enclosed courtyard is gained by going through the two main iron gates attached to two square posts. These gates and posts frame the main portal of the mission.

On entering the atrium, the main section of the facade is immediately visible. The facade is divided into three parts with plain terraced towers flanking the ornately gabled middle section. Above the rounded S-curve of the gable, the dome can be seen. The symmetrical placement of windows and doors help to balance the facade.

The two towers are massive. However, at the same time they convey

a feeling of lightness due to the delicate wooden balconies and spindles in front of the windows, the arcaded belfry railings, the fine horizontal lines, the pierced opening on the upper tiers, the graceful curve of the flying buttresses, the curved lines on the lower portion of the towers, the rhythmic progression of large to small tower divisions beginning at the bottom and going upward, and the large and small divisions of the octagon-shaped towers. The flowing lines of the flying buttresses at each corner enhance the silhouette of the towers. The buttresses are arched from a small column and end in a graceful curve. Besides being decorative, the function of the buttresses is to strengthen the belfry and top towers which rise to a great height.

The tower on the right was never completed, and it lacks the crowning dome and cupola. Legends say that Ignacio Gaona fell from this tower, during the last phase of construction, and died. The Papago believed that in dying he turned into a rattlesnake and lives under his unfinished tower today.<sup>18</sup> Superstition prevented the tower from being completed. A more rational explanation is that there was a lack of funds. Another explanation is that the mission was left unfinished to escape taxes, for only finished missions could be taxed.<sup>19</sup> However, the unfinished tower in no way detracts from the symmetrical beauty of the mission.

The middle section of the facade is the most decorative. Extensive restoration has not been done on this area, and it still retains the original warm red hue that is a striking contrast to the remaining white facade. Traces of the original, brightly painted ornamentation still remain. Two recessed Mesquite doors, framed by an arch, form the main portal and focal point. The areas surrounding and above the doors

are covered with rich ornamentation.

This decorative part of the facade is divided into three parts, vertically as well as horizontally, probably to symbolize the Trinity. The three vertical divisions are the width of the mission, while the first two horizontal divisions indicate the two stories of the mission. The spandrels of the portal arch are decorated with floral arabesques and above the arch is the Choir Loft window with a delicate wooden balcony. Two other balconies, of similar design and at the same level, accent the base of each tower. Above the balcony is the rounded gable formed by two S-curves, which meet in the center with a reverse curve. Decoration on the top area is executed in high relief and consists of the Coat-of-Arms of the Franciscan Order in the middle, the monogram of Christ to the right, and the monogram of the Virgin to the left. All are intertwined with intricate arabesques representing a grapevine. The worn and broken figure of Saint Francis of Assisi is on top of the gable.

Square-shaped pilasters with projecting cornices, behind columns that are slender in proportion and richly ornamented with molding and carving, divide this part of the facade. The six inner pilasters and columns frame the main portal and continue upward in three sections to the top of the gable. The four outside pilasters and columns continue upward in two sections, where they end in a large curve.

Niches containing four saints are carved into the outside panels of the facade. Above each niche is an arabesque and drapery swag, and the saints stand on protruding, decorative pedestals. The upper figure to the left is Saint Barbara, patroness of soldiers. The headless figure below her is probably Saint Catherine. The headless figure to the

upper right is Saint Cecilia, patroness of music. The figure below her is Saint Lucy, who gives aid against sore eyes.

Old Mesquite doors open in upon the Narthex, which is not separated from the Nave. Above the Narthex is the Choir Loft, to the left is the Bapistry, and to the right is a room probably used once as a mortuary and now used as a small museum. Directly ahead, at the end of the Nave, is the Main Altar in the Apse. Arches and domes divide the Nave, before the crossing, into three main parts. The crossing divides the Nave from the Apse and forms two side chapels. The plan is a perfect Latin Cross. The mission measures approximately ninety-eight feet six inches by twenty-one feet seven inches inside the walls. The dome above the crossing of Transept and Nave rises on an octagonal drum to a height of fifty-two feet.<sup>20</sup>

A low doorway, closed by wrought-iron gates, leads into the Bapistry located on the first floor of the left tower. In the center of this groin-vaulted room is the baptismal font. The pedestal and bowl are of burned brick and encase a copper bowl. On the west wall is a cabinet with heavy Mesquite doors. A front window, that is reached by three steps and is protected by wooden spindles and shutters, opening in, is located on the south wall. A large fresco of the Baptism of Christ appears on the north wall and angels decorate the ceiling. In the southwest corner of the room stands the figure of a saint, while a large wrought-iron candlestick and an old wooden bench are in the room's northwest corner.

Proceeding down the side of the Nave, one comes to a door opening to the outside. On the right side of the Nave, directly opposite this door, a brown door has been painted on the wall to keep the Nave in

symmetrical balance. The real door leads to the Mortuary Chapel. Further down the Nave and carved into the second pilaster is a niche containing the figure of Saint Matthew. The wall space after the pilaster contains a large fresco of the Last Supper, with colors darkened and blended by time into deep blue tones. The pier, which is the corner of the Transept, also has a niche carved into it and contains the figure of Saint Barnabas.

The Chapel of the Suffering Savior is the name of the west chapel formed by the Transept crossing. In a niche filled with blue stars, stands the figure of Christ crowned with thorns and clad in crimson. The Archangels Saint Michael and Saint Uriel are frescoed upon the wall surrounding Christ. In the niche directly above Christ, stands Saint Francis of Assisi and copper-colored cherubims, bearing cornucopias, are frescoed on the wall surrounding him. At Christ's feet lies the image of San Xavier in a glass and wood casket. Papago Indians bring tributes and light candles for San Xavier, asking that he watch over loved ones.

Within this chapel are many decorated niches filled with figurines of saints. Beginning at the top, and going from left to right, the honored saints are: Saint Scholastica, Saint Catherine of Sienna, Saint Collette; Saint Peter of Alcantara, Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Peter Regalatus, Saint Dominic; Saint Phillip, Saint James of the Marches, Christ, Saint Bonaventure, Saint Joseph, and Saint Bartholomew.

On the left wall of this chapel are two frescoes. The upper fresco is The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and the lower fresco is of Our Lady of the Pillar (the apparition seen by Saint James at Saragossa). The confessional booth has been placed below the frescoes.

The Main Altar, in the Apse, is the focal point of the entire interior. This area is enclosed by a low hand-carved railing. On either side of the gateway crouches the figure of a fantastic lion, guarding the altar and symbolizing the Lions of Castile. Saint Francis Xavier, clad in rich velvet and linen, occupies the central position on this altar which is dedicated to him. From left to right, beginning at the top, the honored figures on the retable are: Adam, God the Father, Eve; Saint Peter, Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, Saint Paul; Simon, Saint Francis Xavier, and Saint Andrew. Two niches carved into the main front piers of the Apse contain the figures of Saint James the Greater on the west and Saint Thaddeus on the east. Two Great Angels have been placed as guardians on the corner of each of these piers.

The Apse contains four fine frescoes. Frescoes located on the right portray the Adoration of the Wise Men and The Flight into Egypt. The frescoes located on the left portray the Adoration of the Shepherds and The Annunciation. Colors on these frescoes, as on other frescoes, have been darkened by time.

The retable is made of burned brick covered with gilded and painted embellishments in plaster.<sup>21</sup> The area is divided into two tiers supported by eight fanciful columns. The once brilliant colors are now mellowed by age to a rich bronze tone. Light falls on the retable from the Moorish windows in the dome and the whole area seems to glow with richness.

The Sacristy is located east of the Apse and is the area where sacred vessels and priest's garments are stored. The ceiling of the room is a perfect segmental dome. On the walls of the room is one of the largest frescoes in the mission, The Crucifixion. A door, leading

from the Sacristy to the arched cloister enclosing the outside patio, is the only other feature of the room.

The Chapel of the Sorrowing Mother is the name of the east chapel formed by the Transept crossing. Within this chapel, the main altar is dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows, and another altar on the left is dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. The saints honored in this chapel, beginning at the top and going left to right, are: Rose of Viterbo, Saint Agnes of Prage, Saint Claire of Assisi, Saint Elizabeth of Hungary; Saint Leonard, Saint Bernadine of Feltre, The Great Cross, Saint Fidelis; Saint Ignatius, in the nich in the pier; Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, Saint Didacus, Sorrowing Mother, Saint Anthony of Padua; Saint Jude, in the niche in the pier.

The dominating feature of the Chapel of the Sorrowing Mother is the frame for the large wooden cross, which once bore a life-size representation of Christ. Now, only the left arm of the image remains. The cross is directly above the main altar of the Sorrowing Mother. Minor features in the chapel are the frescoes around the cross and on the right wall. The main frescoes on the right portray Our Lady of the Rosary and The Hidden Life of the Savior.

The east side of the Nave begins with the original, high-canopied, hand-carved, octagonal pulpit which stands against the Transept pier. A large fresco representing The Descent of the Holy Ghost has been placed on the Nave wall immediately south of the pulpit. Frescoes found in the Nave are directly across from each other. The pilaster, south of the fresco, contains the niche of Saint James the Lesser. A door painted on the wall fills the space following the pilaster and balances the real door on the west Nave wall. The small room opposite

the Baptistry is identical to the Baptistry in size and design and was once used as a mortuary.

Stairs in the Babtistry lead to the Choir Vestry, adjoining the Choir Loft. The ceiling here is groin-vaulted. Frescoes of The Holy Family and The Home At Nazareth, Saint Francis in a Fiery Chariot, and Saint Dominic Receiving The Rosary From the Virgin have been done on the white walls. The Four Evangelists with their characteristic symbols appear on the pendentives. Beams, on which seats for singers were placed, project from the walls, and upholstered backs for the seats have been painted in detail upon the walls behind the beams.

Within San Xavier, frescoes also appear on the pendentives upholding the low ceiling vaults and in the dome. The four Latin Doctors, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, and Saint Ambrose are frescoed upon the pendentives upholding the drum. The dome is also covered with paintings of personages in the Franciscan Order who occupied high rank in the Catholic Church.

Color is used throughout the interior. Statues of the saints are either painted in brilliant colors or are dressed in fine materials of brilliant colors. Every niche has some decorative detail done in color to give the saint an unusual background. Rich, warm wood tones are found in the pews, the pulpit, and the railing before the altar. Frescoes are colored in bold reds, yellows, blues and browns and are sometimes outlined in black and orange. White walls are a striking contrast to the colorful areas. The Main Altar and side chapels were once gilded in gold. Time has worked upon the colors and has blended them into soft tones, which still retain the spirit of the original colors.

The interior of San Xavier Del Bac contains varied design motifs.



Almost every surface has some design painted, modeled or carved upon it. Some of the dominant designs include the geometric wainscot, the rich arabesques, flowers, angels, and the Franciscan frieze which starts above the arch supporting the Choir Loft and can be traced along the walls throughout the building. This motif consists of the knotted Franciscan cord in yellow, and below this, the hem of the garment falls in patterned folds of orange. Suspended from the hem is a bell and pomegranate in alternate succession. The cord ends in two tassels which fall on each side of Saint Francis Xavier. This, along with motifs previously mentioned, form some of the major designs.

#### The Shell As A Symbolic Design Motif in San Xavier Del Bac

Behind the ornamentation lies significant meaning. Everything seems to be symbolic; the symbolism alone at San Xavier would justify intensive study.<sup>22</sup>

Now that the reader is familiar with the layout and general description of the mission, a main, symbolic motif within the mission shall be studied. The motif is the shell, symbol of Saint James the Greater, Patron Saint of Spain. Early legends associate the shell with Saint James and his miraculous journey to Spain. The shell became a symbol of divine protection and of the protection offered by Saint James. Pilgrims returning from the shrine of Saint James at Santiago de Compostela, one of the main pilgrimage centers of Europe, brought the shell back to their homeland as evidence of a pilgrimage for Saint James.

Saint James continued to give his protection to Spain in the battles against the Moslems and to the Spanish explorers and Conquistadors

in the discovery of the New World, the Conquest of Mexico, and in the exploration of the New World and the Southwest. Father Kino introduced Saint James to the Indians at Bac.

It is reasonable to assume that the Spanish Fathers in charge of the building of San Xavier used decorative designs already familiar to them from their homeland of Spain. They would use those designs which had great symbolic meaning in the Catholic Church in Spain and in their own Spanish background. Since Saint James the Greater was the major saint of Spain, his motif, the shell, would quite naturally become the main motif in the new mission. Certainly the Fathers would want to enlist divine protection and the protection of Saint James in this desert outpost and mission. The Fathers knew that Saint James never forgot to aid the Spanish people and they, in turn, never forgot Saint James (one evidence of this is the annual Feast of Saint James on July 25 held in the Roman Catholic Church).

It should not be forgotten that James was one of the main Apostles of Christ and was also the first Apostle to give his life for his faith. San Xavier contains figures representing all of the Twelve Apostles. Saint James was one of the first to be included and holds a place of distinction, as he did with Christ, near the Main Altar.

Saint James and his shell had a distinctive background in the Roman Catholic religion of Spain. Spaniards and pilgrims knew of the supernatural power of Saint James, and the shell was carried as a reminder of him. The Spanish Fathers, educated in the Catholic faith and tradition, were certain to know of all the saints and their particular attributes. It is they who probably decided what designs to use in San Xavier and then proceeded to teach the Indians the meaning of the

design and how to produce it. The shell must have been one of the easier designs to produce and was adaptable to different structural and surface areas and media. The shell had certain characteristics which were interesting designs in themselves.

The familiar design of the shell was used throughout San Xavier Del Bac as a tribute to Saint James, as a visible reminder of his supernatural power and protection, and as a thanksgiving for the protection of Saint James and for the spread of Christianity among the Indians. (It is believed that Saint James first brought Christianity to Spain. The Virgin promised Saint James that the Spaniards would convert the rest of the people of the world to Christianity. So, indirectly, Saint James helped to bring the Christian faith to the Indians of the New World.)

The shell motif is used more frequently than any other single detail in the decorative scheme of San Xavier Del Bac.<sup>23</sup> Within the mission, the designs representing the shell and the characteristics of the shell deviate from the design of the shell as it is found in nature. However, the natural form and characteristics are used as the point of departure for the designs. A thorough analysis and understanding of the natural shell and its parts seems to have occurred. In certain areas of the mission the entire shell shape is used as a design. In other areas, a main characteristic of the shell, such as a scalloped edge, the radiating ribs, or the ear, is given emphasis and is used as a design. In either case, the resulting design is an idealistic shell design, stylized to a certain extent.

When a characteristic is used as a design, it is given great emphasis. This is done by repetition of shape, repetition of line,

rhythmic use of color, use of contrasting colors, depth of carving, arrangement, or other design device.

The shell design departs from the natural shell in other ways. Often, the scale is altered, with some designs in large scale and other designs in a very small scale. Side views are also used and tend to be more idealistic. Positions are further changed when some designs are used upright and some upside-down. Alteration of color, texture, shape, and line also occur with the design. The designs may also be framed or surrounded by curved lines, which seem to correspond to the curved lines of the shell or to certain other characteristics.

The designs of the shells create relationships which are very well developed. The use is in keeping with the form and structure of the object it adorns. The shell design is subordinate to the area and does not conceal it and wherever it is used, it is in relation to the material, the purpose, the form, and the style.

A chart at the end of this chapter consists of the natural shell forms and the variations from this form that are found in San Xavier. Regardless of how the design may vary, the principle inspiration for the variation is the shell. Photographs illustrating the use of the shell follow the chart. The chart may be used as an aid in finding shell designs within individual photographs.

A tour of the mission San Xavier Del Bac reveals the numerous shell designs employed. They will not always be easy to see, and most of the time the design will be in a position high above eyelevel; however, exceptions to this do exist.

## Exterior Use of the Shell in San Xavier Del Bac

One of the most outstanding shells in San Xavier Del Bac is used on the exterior of the mission. This shell, in complete form, has been placed on the decorative middle section of the facade, high above the main portal. Directly above the portal is a delicate wooden balcony surrounding the full-length windows which open to the Choir Loft. It is above these windows that the shell is located.

The shell has no apparent structural function. Instead, it has been applied to the surface of the facade and serves a purely decorative function. The design is a complete shell, with emphasis on the ear, scalloped edges, and ribs. Specially formed, solid brick is the material in which the design was sculptured.

No other design or color has been applied to the surface. The use of natural materials gives the design integrity. The master builder was undoubtedly a fine artist in the harmonious use of materials and in the placement of the shell. He realized that the ever shifting design of light-and-shade caught in the furrowed hollows was beauty that should stand without added enrichment. This fact is true in many more areas of the mission, and the places where this occurs will be given emphasis.

Placement of the shell gives it a position high above the courtyard and atrium wall. As a result of this position and superb, deep carving, the shell is clearly visible from a great distance. Perhaps for many, this shell is the first distinct and most easily recognized decorative design seen in approaching the mission. This particular shell is a fine tribute to Saint James the Greater and is an incentive for the pilgrim to hurry forward to the doors of San Xavier Del Bac.

The ear, the triangular area at the hinge of the shell, on the one located above the Choir Loft window has been given much emphasis and is stylized. This biological characteristic in the natural shell consists of a triangular space with curved triangular shapes on each side. Other species have a curved, flat surface with small indentations for the ear area. However the idealistic and stylized shell design found in San Xavier Del Bac uses a repetitive, curved line with deeply sculptured ribs and spaces in representing the ear. The writer believes the stylization of the ear area is the basis and inspiration for curved lines similar to the lines of the facade shell, which are used throughout the exterior and interior of the mission. Possibly these curved lines are of Broque influence. However, the Broque Style has an association with shells and was followed by the Rococo Style which used the shell as a source of inspiration.<sup>24</sup> A drawing of curved lines derived from the shell illustrates this principle. (page 139).

The curved lines, derived from the shell, are predominant designs on the facade. Curved lines appear in a vertical position forming the outside edge of the middle, decorative part of the facade. A horizontal position is taken by identical curved lines on the two towers of the facade. Both pair have been applied to the surface and have no structural value. The material is specially formed brick, (pages 137-138).

The curved design of the flying buttresses could also have been derived from the ear of the shell. They are located at each corner of the two belfry towers. Function of the projecting buttresses is to support and strengthen the belfry and top towers which rise to a great height. Brick has been carved and sculptured into this graceful curved design, (pages 137 and 138).

Three different design variations of the shell can be found on The Portal of San Xavier Del Bac. Two curved lines, outlined with scalloped edges, have been placed directly above the arch of the main portal. (See design variations number eight, page 130.) It is possible that the design was derived from the ear. Below the protruding pedestal of the four niches, there is another design with curved lines. This could also be a variation of the ear, or it could be derived from the scalloped edges of the facade shell. (See number nine, page 130.)

third design, a scalloped line, has been placed on the capital of the columns and cornice of the facade shell. The design, different from the rattlesnake design of a more jagged edge, could be representative of the scalloped edge of the shell (see number ten page 130).

Designs placed above the arch of the main portal and on the capitals and cornice have been applied to the surface and have only a decorative function. One has been made of brick and the other has been painted upon the surface. However, the designs located below the four niches aid in the support of the pedestal bases and the design has a functional, as well as a decorative purpose. It is sculptured in brick.

#### Interior Use of the Shell in San Xavier Del Bac

The greatest number of shell designs are used in the interior of San Xavier Del Bac. Photographs of selected areas are discussed in the following pages. These areas are examples of the most obvious shell designs. Shell designs in the photographs are representative examples of similar designs, design placement, design variation, and design treatment found in many other areas of the mission.

The delicately wrought shell clerestory windows found throughout

San Xavier are particularly captivating. The design of the shell has been sculptured in the structural arch of each window. Materials consist of the burned brick and lime plaster which both compose the upper, interior portion of the mission. An excellent design relationship has been attained between the decorative design and the structural form upon which the design has been placed. The shape of the shell corresponds perfectly to the shape of the arch. The design is enriched by deeply carved ribs and curved ear. Here is another example of the artistic and harmonious interrelationship of design form and structural function found in San Xavier.

Clerestory shell windows are further enriched by the ever-changing patterns caused by light and shadow falling on the shell's uneven surface. The desert sun casts sculptured rays of light through the windows which fall down into the Nave, giving the mission an ethereal quality. Delicate, colored lines, outlining the scalloped edges, and dividing the edges in the rib pattern, give added enrichment to this shell design. The design uses both shape and line in two distinct designs (see number eleven and twelve pages 130 and 131).

The photograph of the vault over the second bay in the Nave represents one of many ceiling vaults ridged to represent shells. Two equally rounded valves, fan-shaped, with radiating ribs are the shell design variations represented in the vaults. The ear or hinge has been completely discarded in this design. The shape of the open shell corresponds to the shape of the vault, and a unified design, perfect in its simplicity, is the result. A structural feature has also become a decorative design. Radiating ribs have been sculptured in brick, and the vaults were once covered with gilt. The gilt is now gone and has



not been restored. (See number three, four, and thirteen pages 129, 131.)

Painted and colorful design variations of the shell are located in the cimborio, the lantern above the crossing. These designs are applied to the white lime plaster and have a decorative purpose. On the top of each window in the cimborio, there is a stylized shell design (see number fourteen page 131). Other variations, such as the curved line design, perhaps inspired by the shell's ear area, are also used as decorative designs in the cimborio (see number fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen page 132).

Decorative shell designs are found in a variety of forms in the west Transept Chapel of the Suffering Savior. Curved designs, (see number nineteen and twenty-one page 132), are painted upon the top section of the wall surface of the altar. The pedestal for the niche of Saint Francis of Assisi, directly above the niche belonging to the Suffering Savior, consists of a section of the shell standing upright. The pedestal is made of brick or plaster and is painted in different colors. Small shells, made of plaster and once covered with gilt, have been placed on the top of the columns.

Each side of the altar uses identical shell designs and placement. The close-up photograph (page 146) of the upper northwest section of the altar clearly shows these shells. A total shell form is used above the medallion of Saint Collette (see number twenty-three and twenty-four page 132) and on top of the columns and for the pedestal of the niche. All are made of either plaster or brick and have a gilt finish, except for the pedestal which has the scalloped lines painted in different colors.

A variety of designs can also be found in the east Transept's

Chapel of the Sorrowing Mother. Some of the designs are similar to those used in the west Transept. Larger curved lines with scalloped edges are painted upon the wall of the altar's top section. The gilt shells used on the top of the columns are the same designs used in the west Transept.

One of the most spectacular variations of the shell design is used in the large frame for the Crucifix. The distinct scalloped edge and radiating ribs of the shell make this design. Gilt covers the plaster surface used in the frame, and a large wooden Crucifix hangs inside the frame. At one time, the Crucifix had a life-size figure of Christ upon it, but now only the left arm remains on the crucifix. Brilliant colors and fresco painting surround the gilt frame.

Each side of the altar in this Transept use identical shell designs and placement. Only slight variation exists between the designs used in the two Transepts. A total shell form with extended curved lines is used above the medallion of Saint Agnes, and below the medallion is the upside-down form of a shell. Both are made of plaster and are covered with gold gilt. (see number twenty-seven and twenty-eight page 133). Designs used on top of the columns and on the pedestals are the same as those used in the west Transept.

All niches, located in the pilasters along the walls of the Nave, and the niches carved into the four great piers at the Transept crossing, have a shell design completing the top of the niche. The design contains all the characteristics of the shell, the radiating ribs, the curved ear, and the scalloped edge, in a stylized form. Designs are deeply sculptured in the brick, protrude out of the niche, and are further enriched by repetitive lines outlining the shape painted in

different colors within the shell. Every niche has additional colors or designs inside or surrounding the niche. Each niche is individualized with design and color, but the shell is, always treated in the same way. Here is another area where applied design form follows the structural form and harmony is the result. The design is both decorative and functional (see number twenty nine page 133).

The Main Altar, within the Apse, contains many designs which are variations of the shell. As in the other altars, the two sides of the Main Altar use identical shell designs and placement. A close-up photograph of the niche of Saint Peter, positioned near the top of the altar, reveals these designs (number thirty to thirty-six pages 133-134).

Full shells are used above the medallion, above the niche, and on the fanciful columns. These shells are modeled in plaster and are finished in gilt. Curved lines are found under the pedestal of the niche and under the medallion. Curved lines with scalloped edges are found around the medallion and on the columns. These designs are also modeled in plaster and are finished in gilt.

A unique treatment has been given to the outside edge of the Main Altar. The scalloped edge and part of the shell's rib have been used as a decorative design to finish both sides of the altar. This design begins at the base of the first column, near the floor, and continues in a vertical direction to the top of the vault in the Apse, reaching to a great height. The design is painted black and is outlined in red, making this particular treatment unusual when compared to other treatment of the shell within San Xavier.

At the end of the long Nave is the focal point of the entire altar. This is the large niche of Saint Francis Xavier which is located above

the center of the Main Altar. Saint Francis Xavier's niche is unadorned on the inside except for the beautiful shell, which is the background for the figure. The design gives emphasis to the radiating ribs and edge of the shell. Sculptured into the brick, the design is finished in white lime plaster. Simplicity of design and harmonious relationships make this shell one of the finest in San Xavier Del Bac. Flickering light from the altar candles or rays of light filtered through shell windows fall upon this shell giving the sculptured surface great depth and illuminating the head of Saint Francis Xavier.

Curved lines, or many different variations, surround the niche of Saint Francis (number thirty-eight page 134). Small shells have been used at the top of each column. They can be seen in the upper right and left of the close-up photograph (page 154) of the niche of Saint Francis Xavier. All are made of plaster and are finished in gilt.

The vault over the Apse forms a perfect shell, springing from the altar as a center. Deeply sculptured radiating ribs project outward from the top of the altar. This vault differs from the other vaults in that it represents one valve of the shell, instead of the two valves represented in the other vaults. Ribs end toward the middle of the vault in a scalloped edge. The design is sculptured into the brick vault, and the entire area was once covered in gilt which has fallen off and has not been restored. As in the other vaults, the shape of the shell corresponds to the shape of the vault, and a structural form becomes a decorative form through unified design relationships. Small shells of gilt have been placed on the inner edge of the vault and assume many positions, such as side-ways and upside-down.

Above the door in the Sacristy, which leads outside to the

cloister, is the form of another shell. The treatment of the area is similar to the treatment given to the shell clerestory windows. However, this design is unique because of the haphazard lines used as the accents. Lines above and on the sides of the clerestory windows are delicate and precise, while these lines are wider and have less order. Some of the inside lines even fail to connect in the correct sequence. Shapes formed by the outside lines on one side do not balance or repeat the shapes and lines on the other side. Perhaps, more than one artist worked here or perhaps this was the artist's intention to create this type of interest. Whatever the idea, the shell design still has a certain amount of harmony and purity in the use of materials. The design was first sculptured into the brick, covered with white plaster, and painted. Shape and line are both distinctive elements of the design (number forty-one and forty-two page 135).

At the north end of the Nave, the shell in the niche of Saint Francis Xavier is the focal point of the Main Altar. A shell at the opposite end of the Nave on the south wall, in the Choir Loft, is an even better focal point and design. While leaving the mission, the visitor in San Xavier is attracted to the beautiful white shell high above the Nave. The writer believes this is the most superb example of the shell in San Xavier Del Bac.

Certainly the master builder of San Xavier took great care in the placement of the design so that it would always glow with a special light. And it does glow! Light coming through the windows is directed upward and outward following the deep sculptured ribs and scalloped shapes. Just as the exterior of the mission glows with a luminous quality, so does this design. It is as if the shell design had a light

coming from within. The writer has seen this window at many different times of the day, on cloudy days and in sunshine, and still this shell has always had a heavenly light radiating from it.

Treatment of this shell above the window-door differs from the treatment of the shell above the clerestory windows. The edge, ribs, and shapes made by the radiating ribs are given the emphasis in the design. The design also seems to be divided into three parts, with a middle and two side designs, probably symbolic of the Trinity. Further emphasis is given to the design by the use of painted, outside lines which repeat the shape and line of the design inside the arch. Treatment inside the recess is white lime plaster around a brown Mesquite frame for the window-door. The shell design used here is harmonious with the structural form and the position is directly behind the shell on the facade.

Choir benches on the walls of the Choir Loft use the shell as part of the painted decorative design for the backs of the benches. Designs, representing upholstery, are painted in many colors on the white plaster walls. The shell design used at the top of the back is similar to the painted shell design used in the cimborio. A close examination of the two photographs (page 143 and page 158) or comparison of illustrations number fourteen and forty-four (pages 131 and 136) will reveal the minor differences in the two designs.

The ceiling detail used in front of the door, which leads to the staircase of the right tower, is only one example of similar ceilings in the mission. Behind this door, the ceiling of the stairway is treated in the same manner. The same treatment also exists in the left tower. Deep grooves, ridges, and rounded protruding shapes have been

sculptured into the brick and covered with plaster. It is very possible that this ceiling and the other ceilings represent the characteristics of the shell. Structural form has been given a simple decorative design treatment using the shell as an inspiration.

Before leaving the mission, let us go through the door in the west Nave wall to the Mortuary Chapel. The only decorative design within the Mortuary Chapel, located west of the mission, is the shell sculptured into the top of the brick niche of Saint Peter Martyr. Walls and niches have been covered with a finish of white plaster. The single niche is placed above and in the center of the main altar.

Radiating ribs and the scalloped edge have been used in the design. This shell is almost the same shell that has been used in the niche of Saint Francis Xavier. However, this shell is wider and has a finished bottom edge. Comparison of illustrations thirty-seven (page 134) and forty-five (page 136) will reveal the differences. This shell should not be forgotten, because it is one of the few shell designs used in San Xavier that can be viewed at eye level. Purity of design and the craftsmanship of the artist can be easily seen and enjoyed.

Now, let us go back into the mission, walk toward the Apse, turn around, lift our head and gaze in awe at the splendid, total view of the ceiling vaults in San Xavier Del Bac. The shell of Saint James the Greater is indeed the predominating design used in the interior and exterior of the mission! And as we walk toward the old doors of the main portal, a soft ray of light falls in our path. We look up to find that the light is coming from the glow of the shell window in the Choir Loft. The light from the shell seems to be symbolic of divine protection and of the protection of Saint James the Greater upon the "White

Dove of the Desert", the mission San Xavier Del Bac.

Pray we that old San Xavier  
May not for age be forgot;  
....May the daily oblation be offered  
Which the Prophet hath foretold,  
May its broken cross be uplifted,  
And its bell more sweetly chime,  
And its glory remain untarnished  
Until the eve of time.

From San Xavier Del Bac  
By Ildefonsus



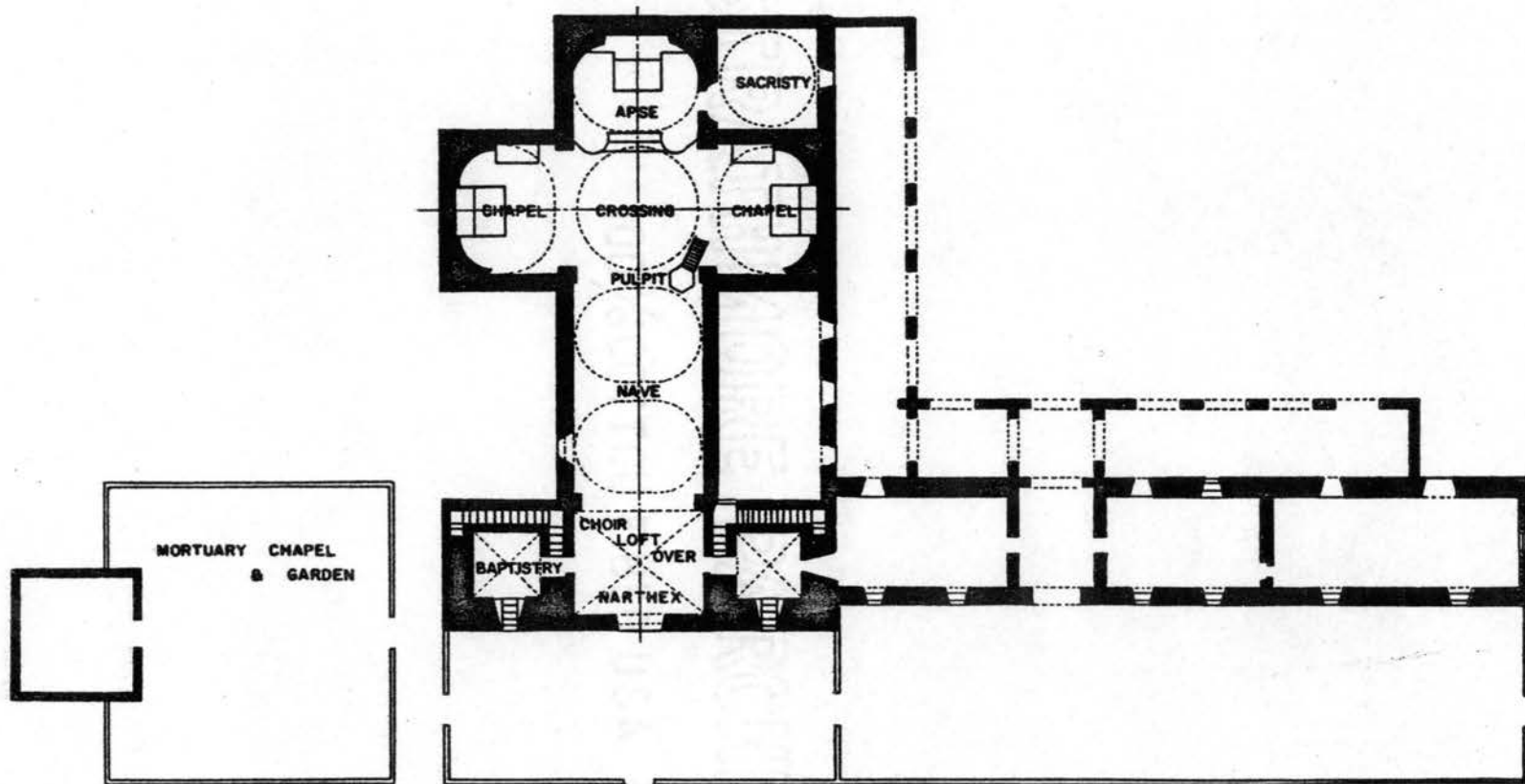


Figure 20. Floor Plan of San Xavier Del Bac.



Figure 21. Main Body of the Mission Looking Toward the Main Altar From the Narthex.

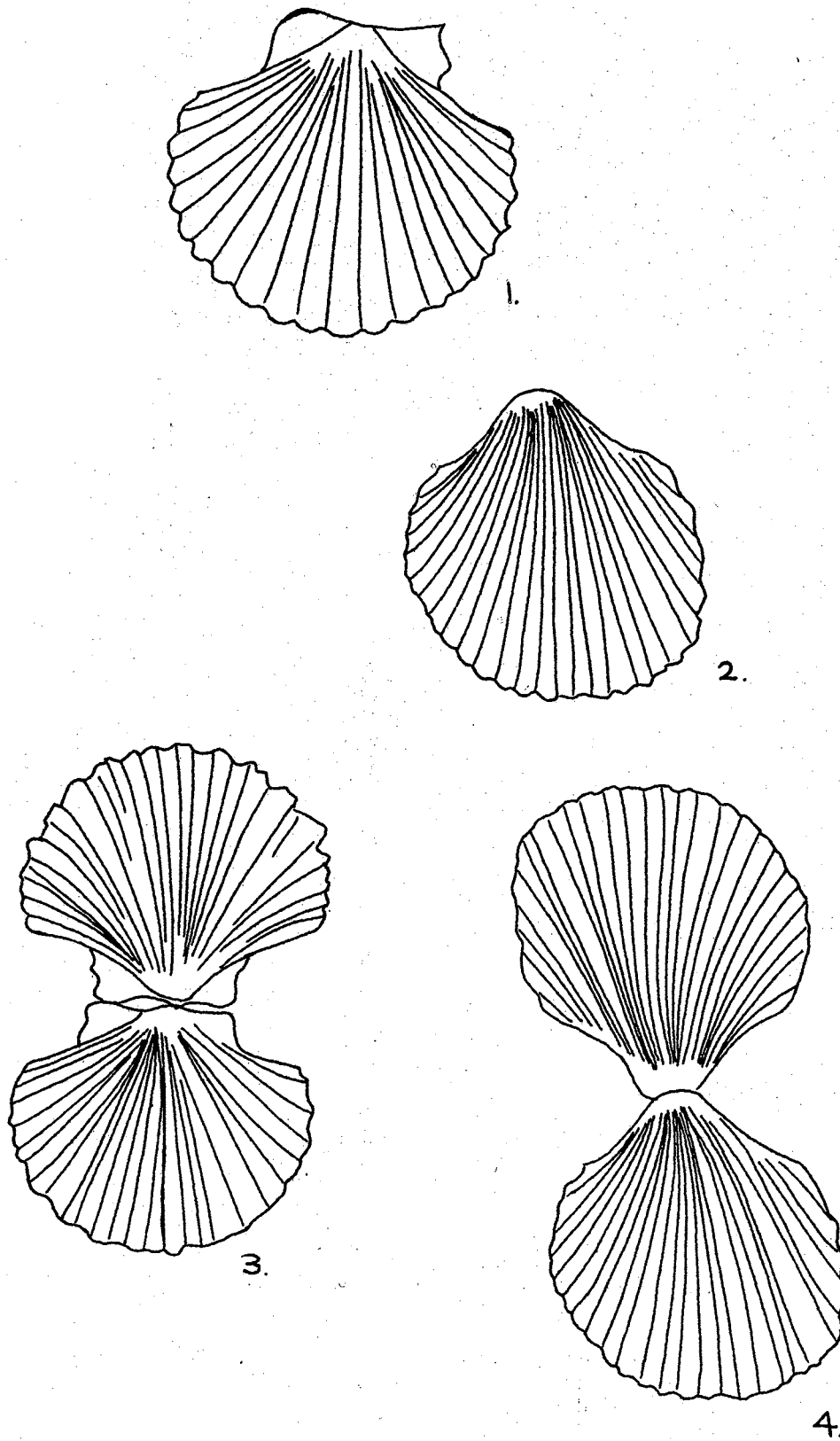


Figure 22. Design Variations of the Shell, as Found in San Xavier Del Bac.

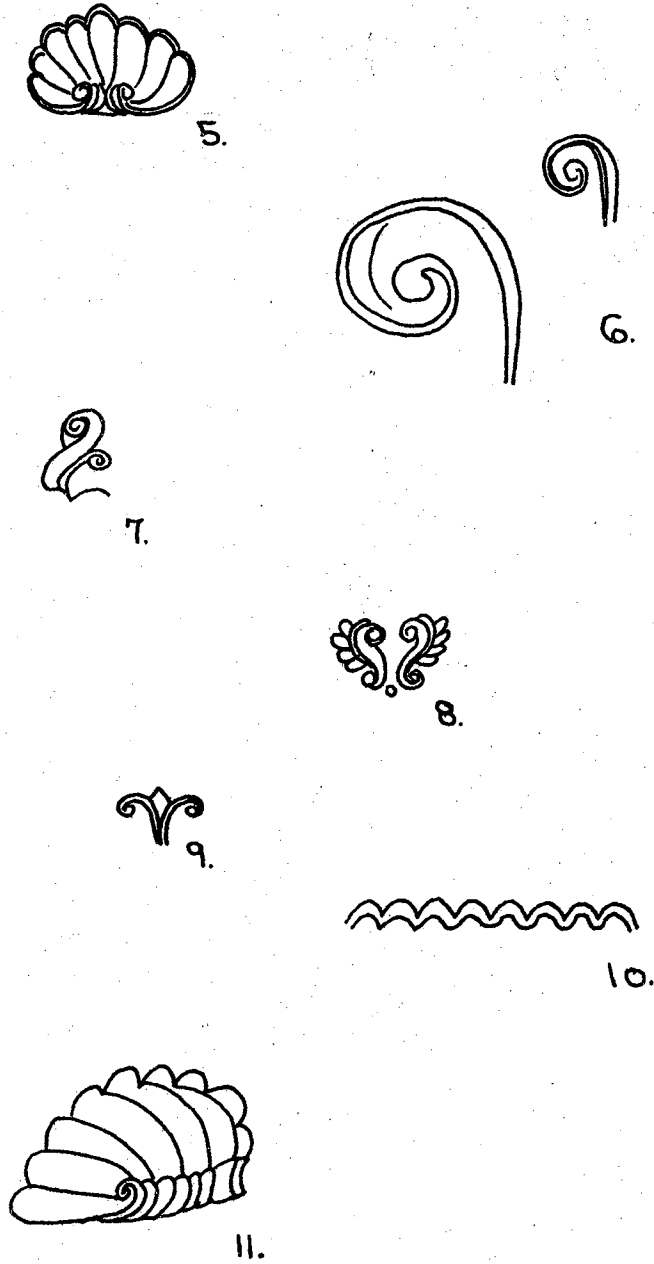


Figure 22. (Continued)

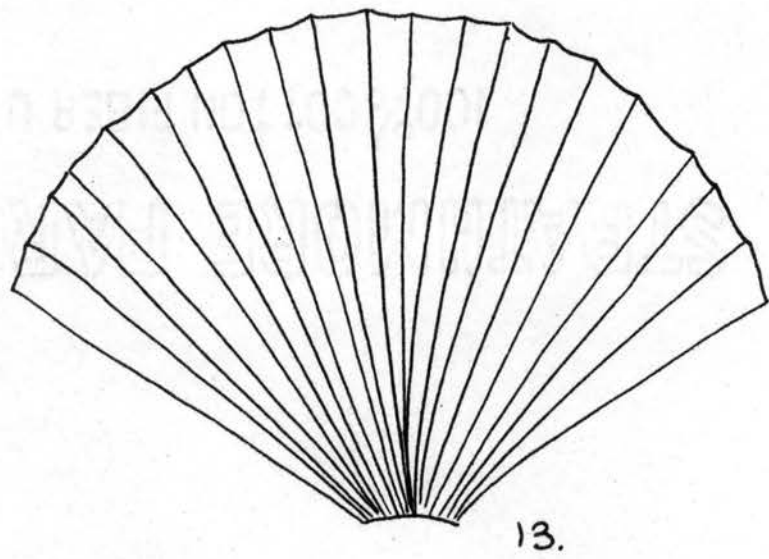
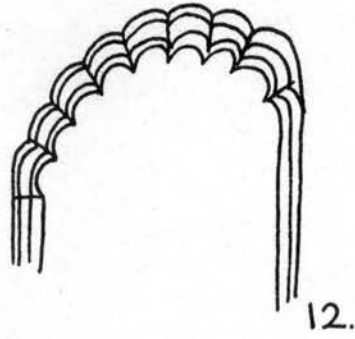


Figure 22. (Continued)

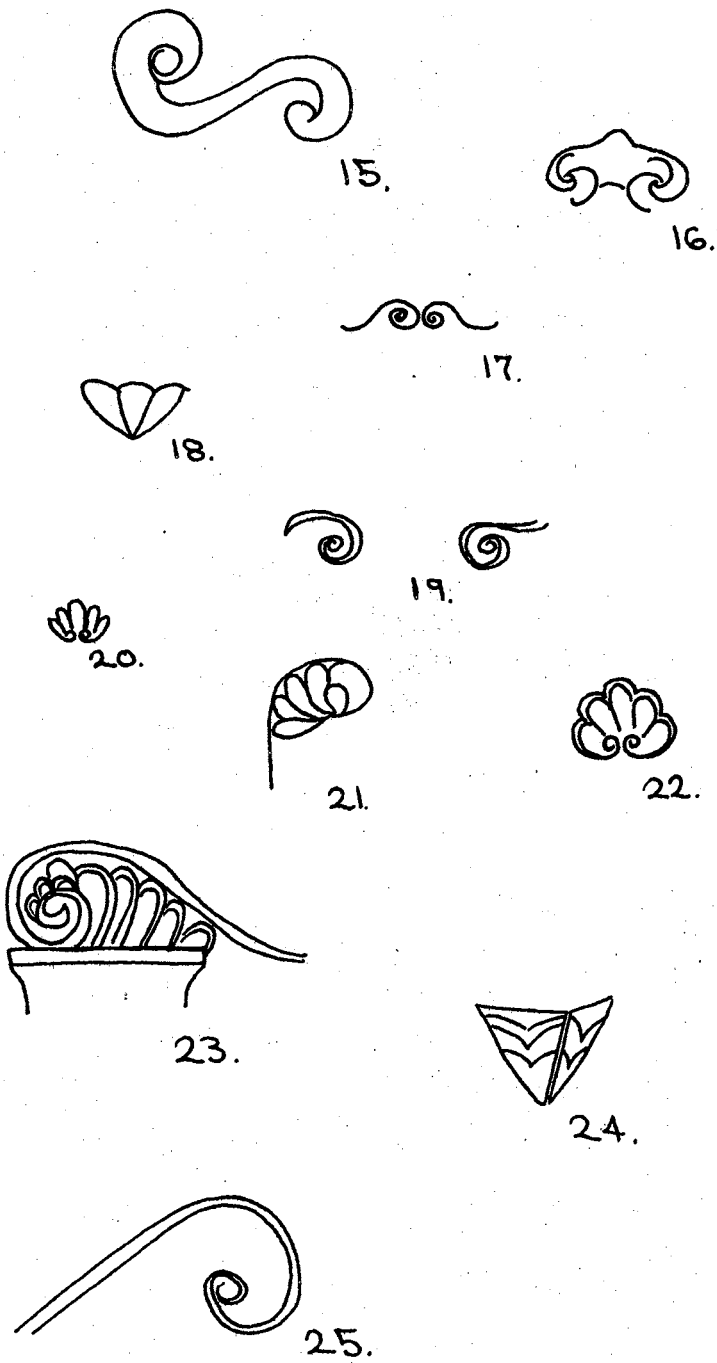


Figure 22. (Continued)

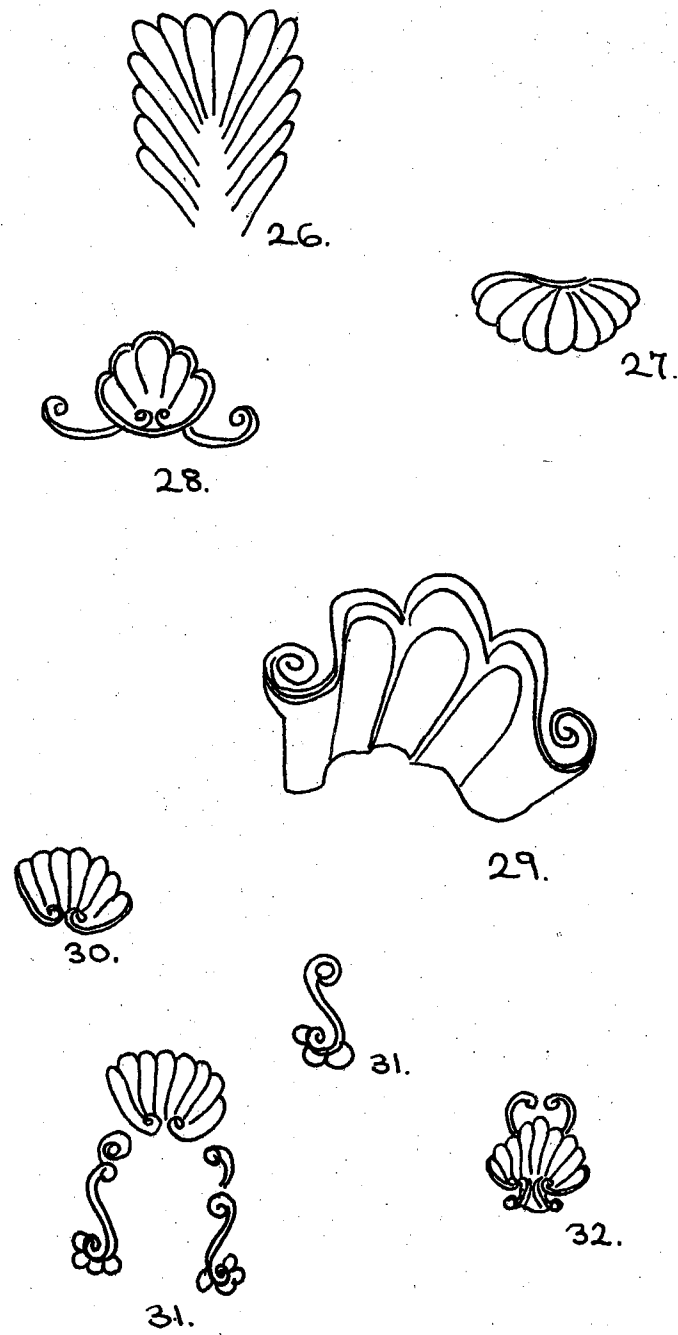


Figure 22. (Continued)

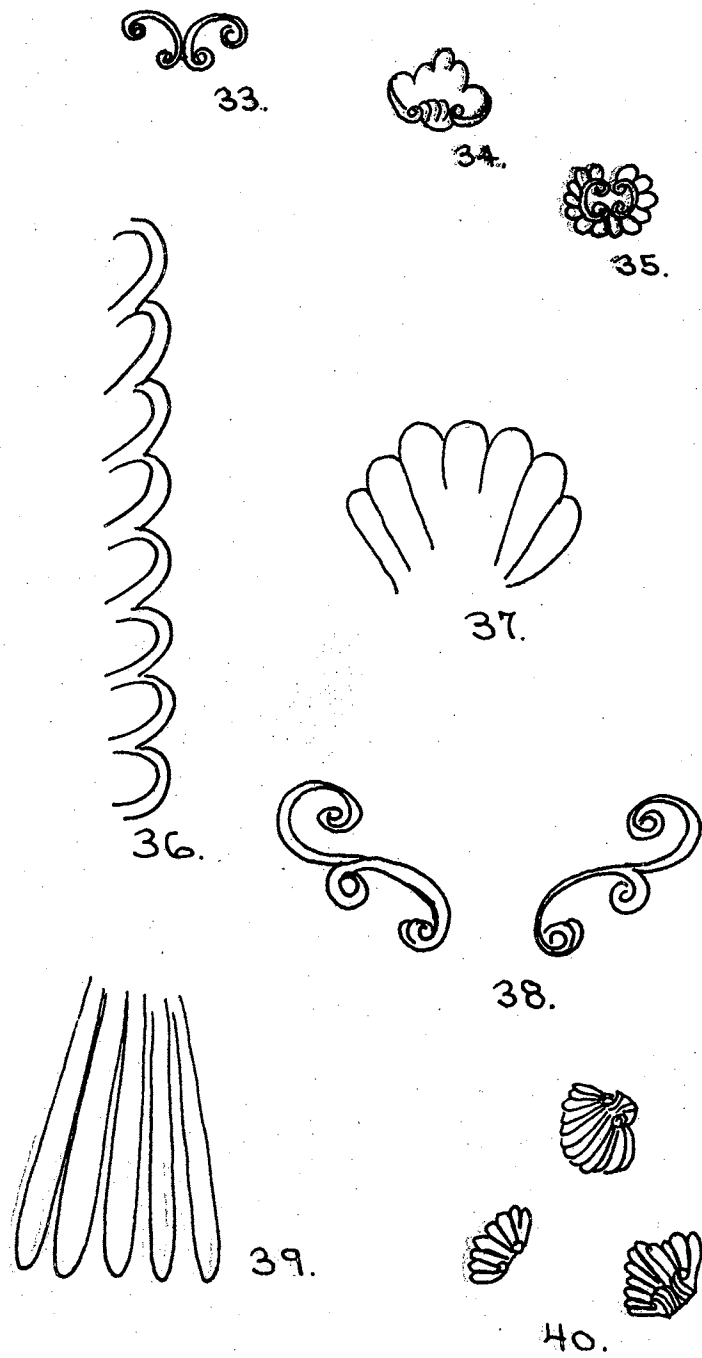


Figure 22. (Continued)



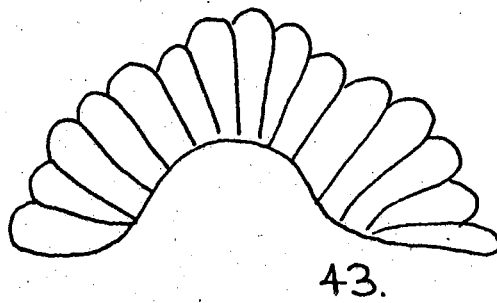
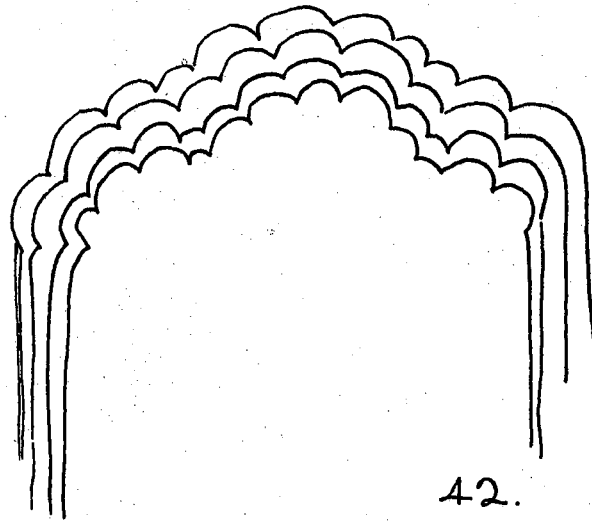
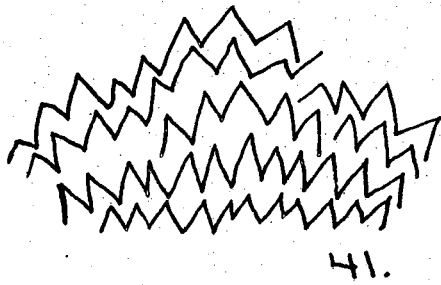


Figure 22. (Continued)

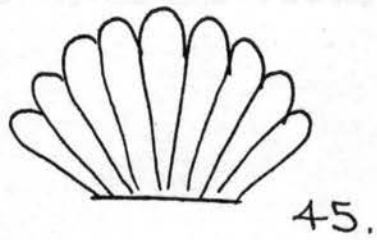
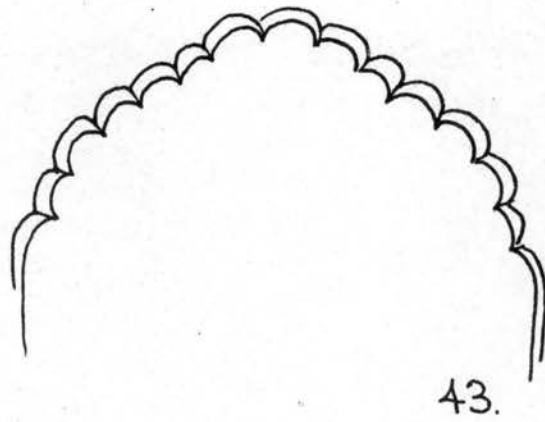


Figure 22. (Continued)



Figure 23. The Mission San Xavier Del Bac.



Figure 24. The Towers of San Xavier Del Bac Behind Desert Shrubs.

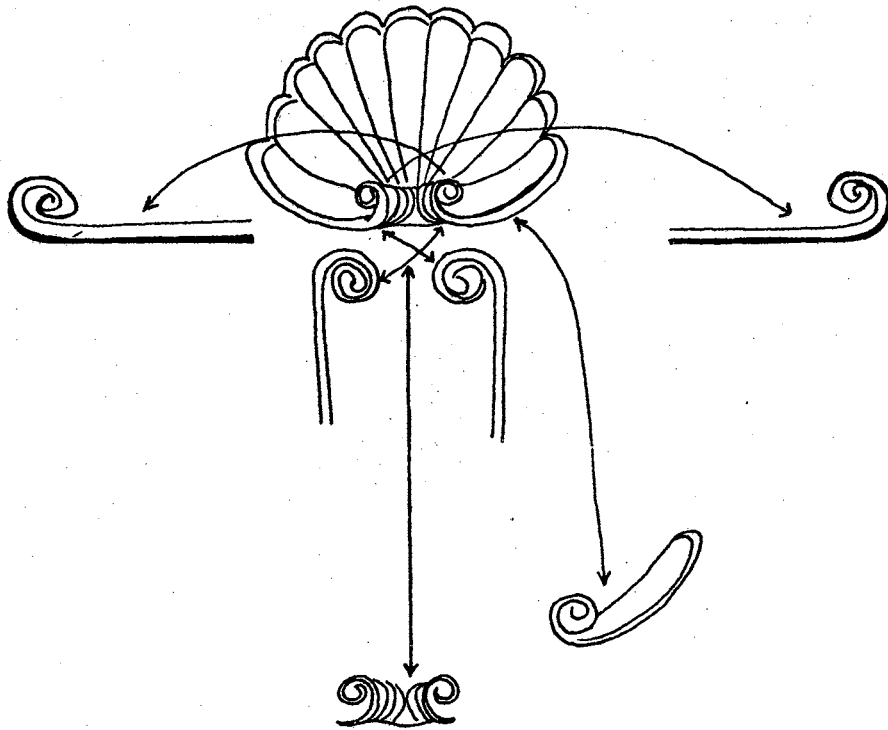


Figure 25. Curved Lines Derived From the Facade Shell.



Figure 26. The Portal of San Xavier Del Bac.



Figure 27. Shell Clerestory Windows, East Side of the Clerestory, in the Main Church, Taken From the Choir Loft. South-Southwest Elevation.



Figure 28. Vault Over the Second Bay in  
the Nave.





Figure 29. Murals in Cimbrío. Wall Mural: Saint Rose of Viterbo. Left Pendentive: Saint Augustine. Right Pendentive: Saint Thomas Aquinas. West Elevation.

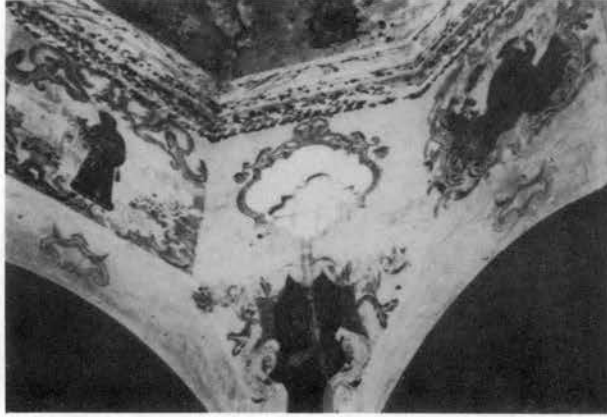


Figure 30. Windows and Murals in Cimborio. Right Mural: The Good Shepherd. Left Mural: Saint Margaret of Cortona. Pendentive: Saint Jerome. Southeast Elevation.



Figure 31. Main Altar, The West Transept, Chapel of the Suffering Savior. East Elevation.



Figure 32. Pier, The Main Altar, The West  
Transept, Chapel of the Suf-  
fering Savior. Northwest  
Section, High. Medallion:  
Saint Collette. Niche: Saint  
Peter Regaleta. Southeast  
Elevation.



Figure 33. The Main Altar, The East Transept, Chapel of the Sorrowing Mother. West Elevation.



Figure 34. The Main Altar, The East Transept,  
Chapel of the Sorrowing Mother,  
Center Section, High. Medal-  
lion: Saint Clara of Assisi.  
Remains of the Old Crucifix.  
West Elevation.



Figure 35. The Main Altar, The East Transept, Chapel of the Sorrowing Mother, Northeast Section, High. Medallion: Saint Agnes of Prague. Niche: Blessed Bernadina Feltria. Southwest Elevation.



Figure 36. Pier and the Great Angel, West Side of Apse at the Crossing. Niches: Saint Bartholomew and Saint James The Greater. Southeast Elevation.





Figure 37. The Niche of Saint James The Greater Located Within the Apse, West Wall.



Figure 38. The Apse, Altar Rail, Chancel and Main Altar.  
South Elevation.

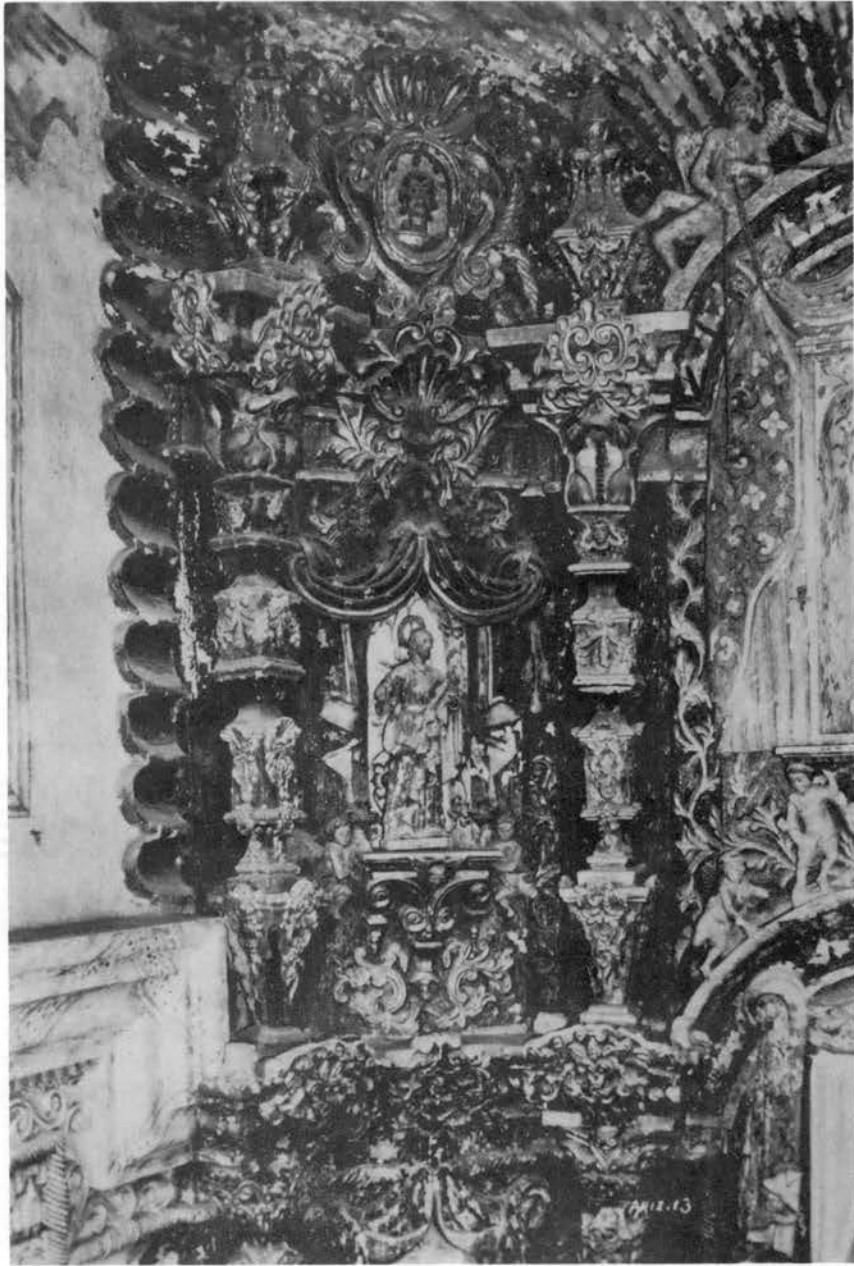


Figure 39. The Main Altar, Northwest Section, High. Medallion: Adam. Niche: Saint Peter. Southeast Elevation.



Figure 40. The Niche of Saint Francis Xavier, the Main Altar, in the Apse.

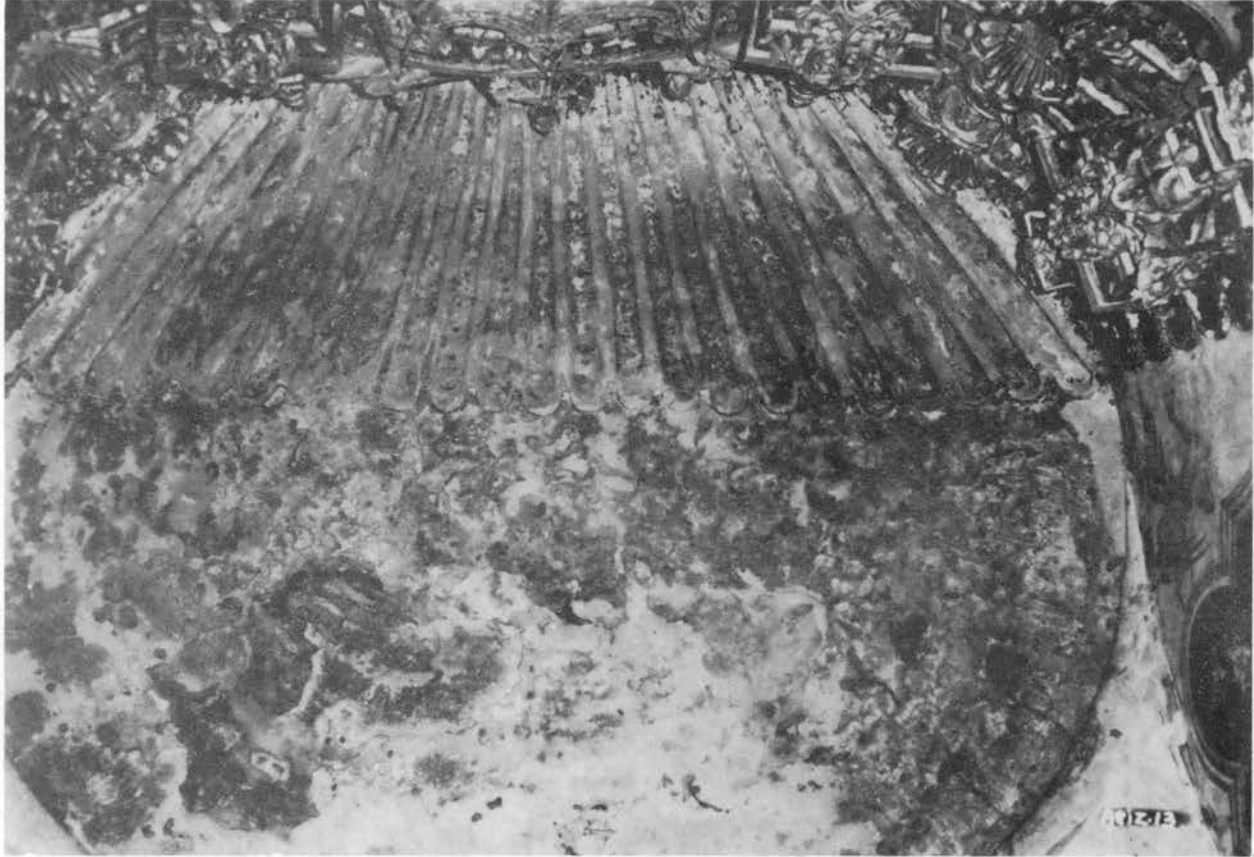


Figure 41. God The Father and the Vault Over the Main Altar  
in the Apse.



Figure 42. Door in the East Wall of the  
Sacristy Leading to the West  
Cloister, Showing the Shell.  
West Elevation.



Figure 43. The Choir Loft, South Wall Showing Shell Design Over the Window-Door to the Balcony on the Main Facade, and the Mural of the Holy Family (Jesus, Mary, and Joseph). North Elevation.

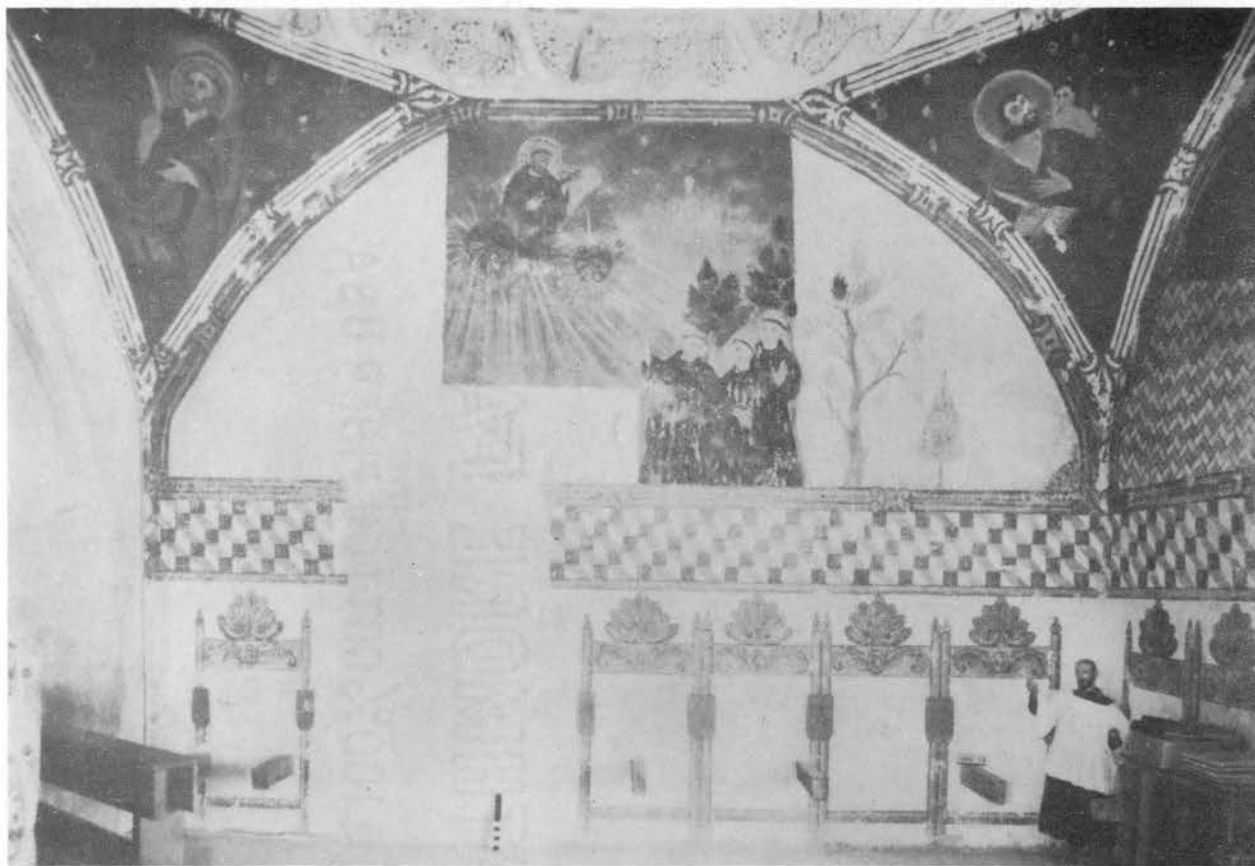


Figure 44. The Choir Loft, East Wall, Showing the Choir Benches Painted on the Walls and the Mural of Saint Francis in the Fiery Chariot. West Elevation.



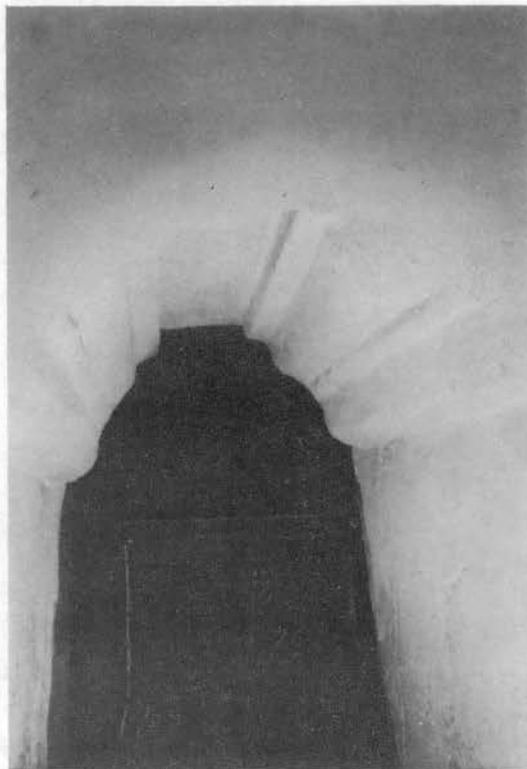


Figure 45. Ceiling Detail in Front of the Door Leading to the Staircase of the Right Tower.



Figure 46. Altar and Niche in the Mortuary Chapel, West Wall. Niche: Saint Peter Martyr (A.D. 1252 date of death) Inscription on Altar Panel: "Hail Gracious Princess, First Rose of Martyrs and Lily of Virgins." East Elevation.



Figure 47. Shell Ceiling Vaults and Shell Windows in the Nave of San Xavier Del Bac.

FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Prent Duell, Mission Architecture as Exemplified in San Xavier Del Bac (Tucson, 1919), p. 29.
- <sup>2</sup>Work Projects Administration in Arizona, Mission San Xavier Del Bac Arizona (New York, 1940), p. 17.
- <sup>3</sup>Duell, Mission Architecture as Exemplified in San Xavier Del Bac, pp. 101-102.
- <sup>4</sup>Sherrill Whiton, Elements of Interior Design and Decoration (New York, 1951), p. 72.
- <sup>5</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 74.
- <sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 76-77.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 82.
- <sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 143-150.
- <sup>10</sup>Dorothy Smith Sides, Decorative Art of the Southwestern Indians (New York, 1961), p. 77.
- <sup>11</sup>Duell, Mission Architecture as Exemplified in San Xavier Del Bac, p. 18.
- <sup>12</sup>Rev. Celestine Chinn. O.F.M., Mission San Xavier Del Bac (Tucson, 1951), p. 3.
- <sup>13</sup>Nancy Newhall, "Mission San Xavier Del Bac," Arizona Highways, April 1954, p. 27.
- <sup>14</sup>Duell, Mission Architecture as Exemplified in San Xavier Del Bac, p. 114.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 112-113, 32.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 113.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 119-120.
- <sup>18</sup>Newhall, "Mission San Xavier Del Bac," pp. 27-28.

<sup>19</sup>Duell, Mission Architecture as Exemplified in San Xavier Del Bac, pp. 96-97.

<sup>20</sup>Chinn, Mission San Xavier Del Bac, p. 10.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>22</sup>Duell, Mission Architecture as Exemplified in San Xavier Del Bac, p. 105.

<sup>23</sup>Chinn, Mission San Xavier Del Bac, p. 18.

<sup>24</sup>Louise Allderdice Travers, The Romance of Shells in Nature and Art (New York, 1962), p. 94.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY

Designs are often used without regard for the historical origin or significance of the motif. Successful designs of the past have been those which have survived. Some of these designs have a symbolic meaning behind their continued use. The symbolic design is important because it suggests something else by reason of some historical relationship, association, idea, or serves as an emblem representing a certain quality.

The shell is an example of an ancient design form. Early cultures all over the world valued the shell and used it as an ornament, for utilitarian purposes, for a medium of exchange, and for food. However, the shell's usage in these ways depended upon the type of shell found in the immediate environment of the culture, and the type usually included a variety of species. The use of shells for ornamental purposes was an example of taking a common object of the environment and employing it in a decorative manner. The shell was a common object, pleasing to the eye, and so it became a popular design. In cultures where the Scallop and Cockle shells were available, they were used in a decorative way for this reason. Before the Middle Ages, these shells used as designs had an aesthetic value.

During the Middle Ages, the Scallop and Cockle shells came to have a significant meaning because of their association with a particular

event and personage. Thus, along with an aesthetic value, the shells acquired a symbolic meaning. As a symbol, they became the visible sign of an historical relationship, an association, and a quality. When the Scallop and Cockle shells were used interchangeably as the shell design, it was with a specific meaning and purpose.

The shell (meaning Scallop or Cockle) was a symbolic emblem of Saint James the Greater, the Patron Saint of Spain. Saint James, one of the first Twelve Apostles of Christ, was credited with bringing Christianity to Spain. He was the first Apostle to be martyred for Christ, and he was beheaded in Jerusalem. The historical relationship between the shell and Saint James the Greater began with the miraculous journey of his body from Jerusalem to Spain. Legends describing the journey, miracles along the way, and the burial of Saint James associate the shell with the Apostle and with his protection.

Saint James was buried in the province of Galicia in Spain. Religious persecution soon forced the Christians to hide their sacred relic so it would not be destroyed, and the grave was covered with dirt and shrubs. The grave was not discovered until the ninth century during the reign of Alfonso II.

Discovery of the relics had great significance for Spain and was one of the pivotal events in Spanish history. The precious body of the Apostle gave the Christians strength and faith to wage war against the Moslems. New hope and consolation, that the Moslems would be defeated, was brought to all of Europe. The emotional and spiritual influence of Saint James was a great asset to Spain. Alfonso II proclaimed James the Greater the Patron Saint of Spain. As the legendary Knight of Spain, Saint James carried a sword into battle that had a shell on the

hilt. Thus, the shell became symbolic of the aid of Saint James, as well as his protection.

The Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela was built to contain the relics of Saint James the Greater. This cathedral became one of the world's most celebrated shrines of pilgrimage during the Middle Ages. Pilgrims returning from Compostela carried shells with them as proof they had fulfilled their vow. As a result, the shell spread throughout Europe and became symbolic of a pilgrimage in honor of Saint James.

The spirit of Saint James led Christian Spain to victory over the Moslems at Granada, and this was the end of the first phase of his apostolate in Spain. Saint James next became famous in the New World. Columbus carried the banner of Saint James to the New World. Later, it was believed that Saint James protected and aided Cortez in his Conquest of Mexico, accompanied Coronado in his exploration of the Southwest, and was introduced to the Indians at Bac by Father Kino.

Many cities, towns, and villages were named after Saint James. They are proof of the prestige won by the Apostle in the New World. Explorers, other than Spanish explorers, held Saint James in high esteem. People of the New World knew of Saint James and of his attributes. His symbol, the shell, was used throughout Mexico, and this symbol was also brought to the Southwest and was used throughout San Xavier Del Bac as a design motif.

There is still a controversy among historians as to whether or not Saint James preached in Spain. Perhaps, he never was in Spain for this purpose, but his body was brought to Spain and eventually laid to rest in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compstela.

A strong argument for the authenticity of the relics in Santiago



de Compostela is the Apostolic Letter Deus Omnipotens issued by Pope Leo XIII on November 1, 1884.<sup>1</sup> The letter was the result of an investigation in Santiago de Compostela. In the sixteenth century, the relics of Saint James and his disciples were hidden in another tomb and covered with cement. This move was to protect the relics from Sir Francis Drake who had vowed he would destroy them. The Archbishop of Santiago, in 1879, made a search of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela for the relics, and when they were found, proceedings were started to ascertain whether or not the relics belonged to the bodies of Saint James the Greater and his two disciples, Athanasius and Theodore. The Holy See appointed a commission of investigation to visit Santiago, and the letter of Pope Leo XIII was the result.

Deus Omnipotens described the story of Saint James the Greater and confirmed with Apostolical authority the declaration of the Cardinal Archbishop of Compostela on the identity of the bodies of Saint James the Greater and of his sainted disciples, Athanasius and Theodore, and decided that they should have an everlasting validity.<sup>2</sup> Legends substantiate the historical relationship of Saint James and his protection with the shell. Pilgrimages are factual testimony of the symbolic use of the shell and of the inspiration of Saint James for Spain and for all in the Catholic World.

The shell was used in the Roman Catholic mission of San Xavier Del Bac, because it was symbolic of Saint James the Greater. Use of the shell as a design motif in the mission has this significant meaning. Artistic treatment of the shell is dominant throughout the entire mission to enhance this symbolic design.

Scallop and Cockle shells both have a historical association with

Saint James. The two words and the two shells have been used interchangeably in reference to the same basic ornamental design. This design, modified to fit the period in which it was used, was a semi-circular form with ridges radiating from a point at the bottom. The writer believes that the Scallop shell, rather than the Cockle shell, was a greater source of inspiration for the shell designs found within San Xavier Del Bac. The Scallop shell has a more pronounced biological ear (hinge) and scalloped edge, not found in such a manner on the Cockle shell. These two characteristics were given much emphasis in most of the designs found in San Xavier Del Bac.

Studies related to this historical study of the shell can lead in many fascinating directions. A study of the use of the shell as a symbolic design in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela would give this study further emphasis. Comparisons of the two churches, Santiago de Compostela and San Xavier Del Bac, would perhaps add to the understanding of San Xavier. The shell as a design motif can be found in many styles of period furniture, in architectural styles, in period textiles, and in accessories belonging to certain period styles. The shell has also been used in certain art forms, such as painting and sculpture. Coats-of-Arms sometimes display the shell, and when the shell is used in this way it has a direct connection with Saint James, pilgrimages, and crusades. Many types of future studies could be based upon the shell, and a large percentage of such studies would relate back to the history presented in this study of the shell as a symbolic design.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>"James the Greater," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1910, VIII, 280.

<sup>2</sup>Walter Starkie, The Road to Santiago: Pilgrims of St. James (New York, 1957), p. 59.

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