GOD GOES WITH YOU: THE ROLE OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM ONBOARD SPANISH COLONIAL VESSELS

by

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Major Department: History, Maritime Studies

The Spanish empire was the first European power to establish permanent settlements that flourished as New World colonies on several of the Caribbean islands and the coasts of North America. This colonialist spirit was sponsored and supported by the fervent Catholic faith that permeated all aspects of life in a newly unified Spain. The distance between Spain and the colonies led to differences in lifestyles and customs, but the preeminence of the Catholic faith remained tantamount. This thesis will examine artifacts and historical sources associated with the practice of Catholicism at sea and on land by Spanish colonial sailors and colonists based on material evidence gathered from shipwrecks and terrestrial sites linked to maritime culture dating through the 18th century.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Historical and Archaeological Background

The Roman Catholic religion was a powerful pillar in Spanish society throughout history, but especially so beginning in the late 15th century and continuing throughout the 18th century. Spiritual fervor flourished during the reigns of the "Catholic Monarchs," beginning with King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. This thesis seeks to explore how religion, a fundamental element of society and culture, was interpreted on vessels and by subjects who were far out of the purview of the conservative monarchs and the Church. In addition, the religious material culture from terrestrial maritime sites has been examined as a source of comparison to see how faith at sea differed from the practice of faith on land. The research conducted for this thesis supports the argument that Catholicism played a crucial role in the lives of colonial Spanish sailors as religion was intertwined with everyday life at sea and on land by examining material culture recovered at the wreck sites of the 1715 Fleet off the coast of present day Florida. Historical sources further illuminated the religious practices of colonial Spanish sailors from the earliest voyages to the New World under Christopher Columbus to the eighteenth century. At sea, Catholic prayers provided a framework for time-keeping as they were commonly known by sailors of all classes and experiences. Mariners also commonly invoked saints for protection and intercession and utilized religious objects—examples of such items recovered from shipwrecks are explored in Chapter Five of this thesis. These religious practices mirrored the Catholic rituals performed on land and united sailors of varying ethnicities through the thread of a common religion, since Catholicism pervaded most Mediterranean and Eastern Atlantic cultures, with prayers and saints remaining constants despite language differences.

Sailors often viewed religion through a superstitious lens that tied Catholicism with pagan rituals, such as wearing specialized amulets of protection to ward off the ill effects of the evil eye symbol. In addition, sailors commonly held that certain islands and lands were "cursed" and to be avoided at all costs, and they feared spectral visits and apparitions such as St. Elmo's fire—lights that appear in the masts during storms (Perez-Mallaina 1998: 243). While this superstitious approach to religion was unconventional, it perfectly fits in with the unconventional nature of maritime culture. Historical records and archaeological remains provide a wealth of knowledge

to help understand the distinctive relationship between Catholicism and maritime superstitions, the key elements of colonial Spanish maritime culture.

Religion, especially Catholicism, also has a unique place within maritime culture during the Age of Exploration, as Spain, which was a highly Catholic nation, led the European expansion across the Atlantic Ocean. The Catholic faith played a major role in the colonial power of Spain as it heavily influenced policy, politics, and intertwined the common people, the monarchs, and the pope. Spain also sought to convert the significant populations of indigenous people that it conquered during its empire-building. Religion is also tied to economic development, personal "adornment," and social identity, which are all key elements in understanding and shaping human behavior (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:212). Moreover, religion is indicative of a certain nation or culture as well as an ideology that shapes and defines the very essence of each individual as well as the broader culture they represent and is made apparent via personal items, clothing, and adornments (Bernbeck and McGuire 2011:31). Spanish shipwrecks, therefore, offer a treasure-trove of religious artifacts within the personal possessions of sailors and passengers, as well as items shipped as part of cargoes slated for use in the construction of Catholic churches and missions, for use in the process of conversion, and for purchase by colonists. In addition to passengers and goods, Spanish ships ferried priests, nuns, and other religious women and men who participated in the process of converting native peoples to Catholicism. Accompanying them were medallions, crosses, crucifixes, and other religious artifacts that priests used to facilitate the evangelization process.

The pattern of consumption of such items and the regularity of which religious artifacts, such as rosary beads and crucifixes, are found on shipwrecks and as part of sailors' belongings shows the strength of religion's role aboard ships, as does the presence of these items in ports and settlements in North and South America. Religion's role in maritime culture is also made apparent from the practice of ships being named after numerous saints, depictions of the Virgin Mary, and other religious figures as exampled by Christopher Columbus' *Santa Maria*—the name given to the vessel by Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand (Perez-Mallaina 1998:237-238). As the name of his ship implies, Columbus was a very religious individual who held his crew and colonists to high religious standards. His fervent religiosity is evidenced by his demand that a crewmember aboard the *Santa Maria* wear a silver image of the Virgin Mary around his neck after he defamed the

Catholic faith (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:211-213). Aside from the exportation of physical religious objects, religion itself was exported as Europeans moved west across the Atlantic.

Essentially, each nation sought to spread its religion using this notion to justify their true, extractive reasons for colonization (Lyons and Papadopoulos 1999:17-18). The exploitative use of religion is observable with Spain's first forays into the Americas in the late 15th century to the British expansion into Africa during the Victorian Era. This diaspora of religion, mixed with the desire to gain new sources of material wealth and resources, characterized colonization practices of most European nations throughout the world—and throughout time—and was true of Spanish colonization within North and South America. Aside from viewing religion as an abstract concept, it can be studied as a "material of colonization" that provided material culture for a unique set of human needs. This basic human need for some form of divine interaction is a cultural norm with evidence appearing in sites around the world (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:5). Several colonized areas in the Americas present valuable archaeological evidence that, when studied through a behavioral lens, leads to an understanding of the relationship between religion, maritime culture, and colonization.

One such category of archaeological evidence is personal religious items such as reliquaries, medals, and rosaries. Relics are religious items related to a saint such as a bodily remain, piece of clothing, an item owned by a saint during their lifetime, or a piece of cloth that has touched such an object. While physical material culture is an important indicator of religion, historical documents show the importance of Catholicism in Spanish colonial environments. For example, a plethora of documents, which include personal journals, official and personal correspondence, and town documents, provide accounts of the first Mass in North America. Records also indicate that there was a full commission of religious members present on the first colonizing voyage, but it is unclear whether or not all of them stayed to attend to the religious needs of the colony (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:211). All these religious items, coupled with the historical record, highlight the substantive role that religion played in the formation of a colonial identity and ideology (Lyons and Papadopoulos 1999:15).

While there has been a lack of archaeological projects focused on the role of religion in the maritime sphere, a few accounts describing the practice of religion onboard ships and in port towns do exist. Here, the historical record offers immense aid to archaeologists attempting to study religion and how religious practices were conducted aboard transoceanic voyages. Historical

accounts can be used to corroborate the material culture evidence recovered from archaeological excavations or to simply provide context in how material culture was utilized in rituals. As mentioned above, historical evidence demonstrates Columbus' religiosity, and there are numerous recordings of how religion was conducted while at sea. Most ships carried religious members, such as priests or monks, who acted as chaplains to tend to the souls of those on ship. The souls of the seamen needed to be tended while at sea, so the more devoutly religious nations such as Spain and France mandated the presence of priests to allow sailors to receive communion and confession while on long voyages (Perez-Mallaina 1998:237). Prayers and venerations were often recited as a means of keeping rhythm and passing time during shifts, and sailors often invoked the saints and Mary in times of immediate peril such as rough storms and seas (Perez-Mallaina 1998:241-242). An additional example of the religiosity at sea documented in the historical record are seafarers' wills. A common requirement for those who made wills—including sailors and mariners—was for men to bequeath substantial portions of their worldly possessions to religious orders and churches, and many set aside sums of money to be used in specific religious works, such as Masses being celebrated for the repose of their souls (Perez-Mallaina 1998:240-241). Shipwrecks have the potential to offer invaluable insight into religion and its role in life onboard a ship since it acts as a vessel containing a plethora of material culture artifacts, including personal objects, trade goods, and religious items, but there has been little research conducted on this topic.

The study area of this project includes the Bureau of Archaeological Research State Collection facilities in Tallahassee, Florida, as well as the waters of the State of Florida where the artifacts were originally recovered. In addition, the town of St. Augustine, Florida, was visited to study the collections held by the Diocese of St. Augustine as well as the Father Miguel O'Reilly House Museum, as these institutions are properly accredited as adhering to the best standards as put forth by the American Association of Museums and other recognized organizations proving they contain artifacts ethically collected. Artifacts studied come from the Spanish colonial wrecks in Florida waters as well as the collections held in St. Augustine. Each fleet and location will be treated as a single collection. In the case of unprovenienced artifacts, each fleet will be regarded as a collection, not the individual wreck. This project will seek to bridge the gaps in knowledge about the practice of religion aboard Spanish colonial vessels and to shed light on life aboard colonial vessels from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

1.2 Purpose and Aim of the Project

The questions that have informed this inquiry include the following:

1. What kinds of material culture represent religious practices? Material culture biographies will be important in answering this section of questions.
2. How was religion practiced onboard Spanish colonial vessels?
    a. How was the practice of religion on vessels recorded? Does the material record corroborate or refute these historical records?
    b. How did the religion of the monarchs translate into the religious practices of the crew? Did a religiously zealous monarch inspire or require religious crews?
    c. Was there a difference in religious practice within the stratification of the crews—were the captains and officers more pious than the lower crew or vice versa? Were the religious items found composed of materials characteristic of high class—as in officers or captain—or low class—the rest of the crew?
    d. What was the role of religious—monks, nuns, and priests—on colonial vessels?

This project is rife with potential limitations due to numerous factors. The first factor is the availability of primary source records mentioning the practice of religion on Spanish colonial vessels. Another limiting factor is the availability of artifacts that pertain to religious practices on ships since many religious artifacts are small, personal items that can be taken in an emergency such as a wrecking. These items may also have been excavated unethically or without proper documentation, thereby dissolving the archaeological context. The collections that contain religious materials in the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research were generally excavated by treasure hunters so that their context is nonexistent and leaving an incomplete collection overall (Skowronek 1982:32). This lack of context and the incompleteness of the collection creates the issue of determining whether the religious objects recovered from the site belonged to a member of the crew, a passenger, or were simply trade items destined for use by the religiously fervent colonists. Another limitation is the lack of studies and information on the practice of Catholic faith at sea, both in the historical record or archaeological research. Finally, the author's inherent bias will also unduly influence the process and outcome of this project, but this bias has been acknowledged in order to carry out an objective thesis project. In order to limit bias and to

counteract the abovementioned limitations, a multitude of scholarly sources will be utilized and properly referenced by the author.

1.3 Current Study's Approach

The primary theoretical approach within this thesis is the application of behavioral archaeology as a lens to understand and study the practice of the Catholic religion on Spanish colonial vessels, as it is the best theoretical approach to study humanity's need for religion even in a maritime concept. A central notion to this thesis is the relationship between religion and culture as explained above, and behavioral archaeologists seek to understand cultural elements and their effect on human behavior. According to Michael Schiffer, behavioral archaeologists "seek to explain variability and change in human behavior by emphasizing the study of relationships between people and their artifacts" (1996:644). These artifacts include not only material objects, but also location, buildings, and other peoples. Schiffer combined the traditional approach of archaeology with social science, experimented with the use of new technologies, and pioneered new analytical techniques in the study of material culture to derive causality between objects and activities. Religion is both produced out of human behavior and social practice while at the same time impacting, changing, and molding the behavioral norms of a given society. Thus, it is both developed by societal behavior and shapes human behavior and culture. Behavioral archaeology is composed of several approaches, but this research will utilize Schiffer's Strategy Four. Strategy Four posits that modern-day cases can be studied and recorded in order to generate a principle between objects and behavior that can be applied to the past and is best known as the direct historical approach (Schiffer 1976:8-9). The reliance on material culture within a religion is especially apparent in Roman Catholic culture where religious items have been used in practices since its very genesis.

Additionally, this thesis will apply material culture studies to the study of religion since it produces "soul food" that is expressed via ritual and material culture (Pearson 1999:145). Matthew Johnson defines material culture studies as "a range of studies which looked at material objects, buildings and landscapes in both the prehistoric and recent past and present, in which methods of archaeology, ethnography and related areas were combined" (2010:66). Material culture studies is invaluable to the study of the practice of Catholicism on board vessels since it is a materially rich faith where specific objects are used in the practice of religion. A variety of such cultural

remains, that pertains to the practice of religion on Spanish colonial vessels, is housed in the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research Collections. These items are often made of materials that are durable and can survive centuries in the water or buried on land.

In order to effectively apply material culture studies within the thesis, artifacts will be analyzed using artifact or cultural biographies. An object biography is "the concept of sequences of production and consumption" (Ashby 2011:1). The biography technique describes artifacts in terms of the stages the object undergoes which results in its given condition. Factors to be considered include how materials were procured, manufactured, traded, or transported, any modifications, and the final depositional event of the artifact. Combining all these factors, allows researchers to create a comprehensive view of cultural influences on the appearance and use of an artifact.

This thesis will utilize several words that hold different meanings dependent upon the reader's experiences, so they will be defined here. As with any approach to archaeology, the notion of culture is highly contested. Within this work, the definition of culture aligns with that used by a majority of behavioral archaeologists. Culture is defined as learned behavior which is then transmitted socially and can be viewed as a causal agent (Hodder and Hutson 2003:34). Religion is another greatly disputed term. Religion describes the multi-faceted definition of a "coherent system of shared beliefs in supernatural powers, beings and forces…functions in part to explain the world, to prescribe values, to assert social control, and to ensure harmony between humans and the supernatural (Sutton and Yohe 2002:302). The term Catholicism is used to describe the Roman Catholic religion both in the past and present. A religious item or artifact is anything that was or has been used to aid or fulfill an "action or conduct indicating a belief in, or reverence for, and desire to please, a divine ruling power" (Renfrew and Bahn 2004:416).

In order to answer the research questions in this proposal, this thesis will endeavor to:

- Identify and analyze specific religious artifacts that pertain to Catholicism in state collection facilities in Florida
- Research sources on late 15th through 18th century Spanish religious items in relation to shipwrecks and colonial life
- Form typologies—based on the terrestrial ones used by Kathleen Deagan in her work—with which to organize and compare artifact data from multiple sites

- Create artifact biographies with which to explain the origin and life history of the artifacts in this study.

The initial phase of research centered on historical research regarding Spanish colonial vessels beginning with Columbus's first voyage in 1492 and through the 18th century. There is a focus on shipwrecks and settlements in and around Florida with an emphasis on colonization efforts in St. Augustine, Florida. Primary source documents, such as colonial records, depositions, and archival records; secondary sources that are specific to religion, colonial Spain, and the shipwrecks; contemporary archaeological sites—both terrestrial and maritime—and general sources on Spanish colonialism and the history of the Catholic faith in Europe and North America are referred to during the background research of this thesis. These sources are utilized in later phases of this project. Methods used for this phase include note taking with the Zotero computerized program and digitization of relevant maps, charts, documents, photographs, artwork, and historical documents.

The second phase of this work focused on archaeological work undertaken through laboratory analysis of artifacts associated with the Catholic religion found in the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research Collections in Tallahassee, Florida. In addition, the Diocese of St. Augustine and the Father Miguel O'Reilly House Museum were visited as they are in possession of several artifacts from the early Church in Florida. This phase required initial examination and comparison to catalogue records, analysis of size, material, usage, frequency, and distribution, as well as photo documentation and illustration. Methods used include photography, measurements of individual artifacts, and the identification of materials and origin as well as their role in religious practices.

The third stage of this thesis focused on creating artifact typologies in order to organize and compare the artifacts. In order to do this, types of artifacts associated with each set of artifacts were observed in relation to their physical characteristics, the frequency of these artifacts, and the commonality of these artifacts within other Spanish colonial sites. This notion of commonality allows for the interpretation of common versus uncommon items and the explanation on value and consequent meaning. The comparisons between the artifacts found in different groups shed light on the presence and extent of religious items onboard ships. During this phase, data collected from the previous stages was quantitatively analyze to draw conclusions in regard to the research questions of the thesis.

The final stage is the composition of cultural biographies of the artifacts within this study. The biographies are helpful as they allow scholars to derive useful information from artifacts that have been removed from their archaeological context by compiling as much information about the artifact that can be found or inferred from the records. In order to begin this type of biography, the researcher must study how the raw materials are procured in order to manufacture the artifacts, followed by the understanding of the likely modes of transportation that brought them to their creator, the design elements of the artifact, the examination of potential changes undergone by the artifact, and the process of its deposition in the archaeological context. This phase required the study of geography, economics, and religious ceremonies to explain the background of each item.

1.4 Significance of Research Questions

There is a general lack of texts and techniques for archaeologists who want to study modern religions, as the archaeological potential to study modern religions has been greatly ignored (Wesler 2012:10). This general hesitancy to use archaeology to study religion is rooted in the fact that ancient religion is nearly impossible to understand using only material culture because this would lead to speculation and overgeneralizations that force modern perspectives onto ancient belief systems. This is a credible concern, but archaeology can, and should, be used to study the development of historical religions that are still in existence today. For example, many world religions have distinct material culture tied with their beliefs and practices in their modern form that mirror items used in religious practices of the past, and this past material culture can be studied in relation to modern equivalents. This fits nicely with Schiffer's (1976:12) definition of behavioral archaeology, which focuses on recognizing patterns within the relationships of people and objects "in all times and places" and requires comparisons to items in the present. Religion, as a vehicle of social and cultural change, needs to be studied in greater detail because it is a basic human condition just as the search for food and shelter.

Often, the lack of religious studies in archaeology—specifically in a maritime context—has been attributed to the absence of an approach and technique that is suitable to examine religion in the past. This argument is now invalid as behavioral archaeology, specifically Strategy Four as developed by Schiffer (1976:8-9), provides a framework that allows the cultural impacts and human behavior of religiosity to be studied via material culture excavated at sites. While this is effective for the examination of the history and development of current world religions, which

have material culture and rituals that can be compared to those found on archaeological sites, it is not necessarily suitable for studying ancient religions that no longer have a modern equivalent. Therefore, behavioral archaeology is well suited to examine and understand humanity's attraction to religion and can be utilized to examine both the religious behaviors of ancient peoples and those in more historical times. There is a lot of potential in the field of maritime archaeology for the study of religion, especially its connection with sailing culture and shipwrecks. Religion is arguably one of the greatest influencers on human behavior and has been since humanity's inception, so it is logical that behavioral archaeology is the most suitable approach to understanding the complex relationship of man and divine being.

1.5 Chapter Overviews

Chapter Two explains the theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis. Within this chapter, the theory of behavioral archaeology will be explored by analyzing the approach to this particular theory by Michael Schiffer, Reinhard Bernbeck and Randall McGuire, James Skibo, Jefferson Reid, and William Rathje and applying their interpretations to this study. An additional approach used within this work is material culture studies, and this concept is also explored within the chapter. The interpretations and approaches of Kathleen Deagan are examined as these provided the groundwork for the approach utilized in this research. A key component to understanding the role of Catholicism on board Spanish Colonial vessels is artifact biographies, and the models of Steve Ashby are applied. The final portion of the chapter explores methods with sections detailing the historical sources utilized in research—both primary and secondary. Additional sections cover the archaeological methods within this thesis such as material culture studies and comparative methods. Finally, the methods used by the author while conducting research in the Florida State Archives and other facilities are discussed.

Chapter Three covers the historical background of Spanish colonialism and the practice of Catholicism during this era. The roots of Spanish colonialism are briefly overviewed as religious zeal played an integral role in the motivations of Spanish expansion into the New World. A brief overview of Catholicism in Spain identifies the where and why of Spain's religious fervor, and its development and importance in daily life. Moreover, the types of religious items used by Catholics during this time are identified and explained as well as the differences in the items used by varying social classes and their uses in trade, decoration, ceremonial and personal use. This chapter

explores life on board Spanish colonial ships by examining various accounts—both primary and secondary—which describe the daily lives of sailors. These include works authored by Pablo Perez-Mallaina, Peter Anson, Michael Gannon, Father Francisco López de Mendoza Grajales, and Christopher Columbus.

The topic of the fourth chapter is archaeology and historical research. First, the chapter will provide an overview of the Florida State Collections. Information included within this section includes the location of the collections, a general overview of each collection, a brief introduction to the relevant pieces included, and any omitted items and the reason for their omission. This same layout is repeated for any items from additional facilities, including the Diocese of St. Augustine Collection. The majority of this chapter will be comprised of artifacts. Here the individual pieces of material culture will be examined in detail including design, materials, and interpreted use. In addition, the items will be used to highlight trends such as class stratification and the differences between items interpreted as ceremonial and those thought to be personal to those on ship.

The fifth chapter is comprised of interpretations of the material culture listed and detailed in the previous chapter. The first portion of this chapter is artifact biographies which provide the groundwork for the interpretations stated in the latter sections of the chapter. The items will be interpreted both individually and as a collection to answer the question of whether or not Catholicism was practiced at sea by those on Spanish colonial vessels. The artifact biographies and the interpretations they produce yield conclusions about religious maritime practices.

The thesis concludes by addressing those research questions that can be answered by reviewing the archeological and historical evidence. The relevancy of this topic and the information gathered as part of this research is emphasized, and the chapter ends with recommendations for future work to be done on religious practices in the maritime sphere.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORY AND METHODS

2.1 Behavioral Archaeology as a Tool for the Study of Religion

"Archaeologists have avoided the topic of religion" (Wesler 2012:9). While this statement is not accurate, it does pose an interesting interpretation of archaeology. There exists a multitude of individuals—both those in the field of archaeology and those who are not—who believe archaeologists do not study religion beyond assigning a religious or ceremonial label to an unknown item. This idea is embodied through the practice of many archaeologists assigning the label "ritual," "mythology," or "religion" to any and all artifacts that are uncovered without a clear understanding of their potential use in the past. Through this procedure, archaeology has labelled religion as a "catch-all category" where artifacts await further study, which may or may not actually occur. This practice degrades attempts at true archaeological studies of religion (Sterling 2011:184). While this notion is inaccurate and does not apply to all circumstances, it is important to examine how archaeologists do study religion and what archaeological approach best suits a project to study the role of religion, even in a maritime context. Within this chapter, the origins of behavioral archaeology are described, the concept is defined, and it is applied to the archaeological study of religion—a concept that is defined and described in the previous chapter.

2.1.1 A Brief Exploration of Behavioral Archaeology

One of the major themes of processual archaeology is the study of cultural change, and many processualists view this development as beginning with changes in environment which "necessitate shifts in adaptation," followed by a shift in the culture as a whole (Pearson 2002:23-24). The second step in this transformation—the shift in adaptation—can be translated as the study of human behavior. Behavioral archaeology, therefore, began as an "outgrowth of processual archaeology" that focuses solely on the connection between "people and their artifacts" with a special interest on relational and spatial contexts of material remains and attempts to bridge the past by using recovered archaeological data found in the present to infer past processes (Hodder and Hutson 2003:33). A later development within behavioral archaeology was the creation of a worldview that emphasized culture as a set of beliefs and values (Pearson 2002:24). Michael Schiffer coined the phrase behavioral archaeology to describe an archaeological movement of the 1970s that focuses on the study of site formation processes, which describe "how artefacts move

from their 'systemic context' to their 'archaeological context' in which they are excavated" (Johnson 2010:65). Behavioral archaeology seeks to highlight and explain the "intervening factors" that affect an artifact's deposition into the archaeological record and how these processes ultimately shape the archaeological interpretation of the present. This definition emphasizes a focus on clarifying "a distorted reflection of a past behavioral system," and this idea forms an essential step in practicing behavioral archaeological projects (Schiffer 1976:12).

The distortion originates from three situations that result before, during, and after the initial deposition of an artifact. The first are correlates, which are studied as indicators of how artifacts were manufactured, used, recycled, and distributed within a society. The other two processes occur post-deposition and are the outcome of nature and culture. The first are cultural formation processes (also known as C-transforms) and describes how, why, and where the object was deposited into the archaeological record. This can include the process of disposal or later events such as plowing and scavenging that alter the record. C-transforms can also be used to study the use-life of an artifact via wear-patterns and repurposing. The second processes are non-cultural formation processes, or N-transforms. These are natural processes that occur and impact the archaeological record. These include natural phenomena such as hurricanes or earthquakes, the acidity of soil at a certain site, the impact of bacteria or animals on artifacts, and countless other possibilities. By identifying, comprehending, and replicating these processes, the archaeological record is clarified and more information about human behavior is ascertained (Trigger 2006:426-427). In addition to understanding these processes, a key component of behavioral archaeology is its relation of people to artifacts and the description of this relationship in terms of the discerned processes of manufacture, use, and disposal of material culture (Skibo and Schiffer 2008:6).

Schiffer is considered the revolutionary force behind behavioral archaeology. According to him, behavioral archaeologists "seek to explain variability and change in human behavior by emphasizing the study of relationships between people and their artifacts" (Schiffer 1996:644). These artifacts include not only material objects, but also location, buildings, and other peoples. Schiffer combined the traditional approach of archaeology with social science, experimented with the use of new technologies, and pioneered new analytical techniques in the study of material culture to derive causality between objects and activities. Experimentation became especially important as Schiffer validated studying modern materials in order to formulate and test hypotheses and eventual laws of behavior. These investigations are called "behavioral

experimentation" and are conducted to "test the relationship of human operators to materials" in a modern context in order to apply it to the past (Claassen 1981:239-241). These experiments can be used to replicate manufacturing techniques, using an object to examine wear patterns, refurbishing heavily used objects, and environmental impacts on use-life and preservation. Within his work, he normalized the use of ethnoarchaeology, material culture studies (explained below) and experimental archaeology to derive correlations between people and material goods. Schiffer established a framework that combined "actualistic generalizations" of the interdisciplinary approach to construct a reference system of knowledge to be used to infer information about "contemporary society as well as past relationships between peoples and objects," and he terms this framework "the synthetic model of inference" (Walker and Skibo 2015:3). The framework was applied to study the relationship between material culture and human behavior regardless of "temporal and geographical boundaries" (Claassen 1981: 239). Through Schiffer's continued work in developing the field of behavioral archaeology, he has established several different approaches that can be utilized by archaeologists.

The framework of behavioral archaeology has four distinct and different strategies that are suited to handle research questions. Each is geared to the examination of a specific environment or set of circumstances; however, all are suited to study material objects and their relationship to human behavior. Strategy One focuses on utilizing material culture that was manufactured in the past to explore specific questions about the human behavior of the past. This technique relies most heavily on the combined use of ethnology and archaeology. It approaches archaeology as a source of explanation, and the details learned from these material culture studies and excavations form laws to be applied as elucidations of past human behavior. Strategy Two differs from the first approach as it examines general questions concerning present material culture that is used to develop laws for application to the past. This approach draws heavily from experimental archaeology, action archaeology, ethnoarchaeology, and living archaeology, and these terms are sometimes used to label this strategy. Strategy Two is the most diverse in terms of the number of variables it studies. These include organizational and behavioral variables and their relationship with environmental, material, and spatial factors. The major element in Strategy Two is the development of behavioral laws, and these are continuously tested, modified, and expanded via experiments. Strategy Two incorporates various techniques—and borrows principles and laws—from disciplines other than those connected to anthropology. These outside disciplines include

biology, ecology, geography, and systems theory. An additional tenet of Strategy Two is the use of the archaeological record as a source to create laws that describe cultural change processes (Reid et al. 1975:864-865).

Strategy Three also focuses on generalizations, but those generalizations are concerned with studying past material remnants in order to compose laws that describe human behavior, both in the past and in the present. This approach brings up the debate about relevancy and if modern behavioral habits can be projected onto the past. It was commonly held that archaeology and anthropology were inappropriate in their attempts to use modern material culture as a tool to decipher the past, but Strategy Three developed a proper methodological medium to foster the formulation of laws appropriately relating the present to the past. The ability of Strategy Three to produce laws of relevancy substantiates the notion that archaeology is the only field suitable for studying long-term cultural change since it interprets data from the ancient past. Strategy Four studies current material culture in order to explain and understand present human behavior. Archaeologists utilize Strategy Four when they seek to view past behavior as an explanation for current human behavior. Overall, this strategy is a combination and interweaving of all the strategies. All these approaches are useful in archaeology and provide important information on human behavior, and they all share a common thread, which is a reliance on material culture as a key indicator of behavior and cultural change (Reid et al. 1975:865-866).

As mentioned above, it is readily apparent that Schiffer viewed the concept of material culture studies as directly tied to his approach to archaeological studies and work. Material culture is rooted in the idea that to understand material remains, it is necessary to understand the culture that produced and used the artifact. Within these studies, ethnoarchaeology, archaeology, history, and anthropology meld together to create an interdisciplinary understanding of culture and the role of material within certain cultures. This approach is applied to a variety of sites including prehistoric and more recent historical areas. This fascination with an interdisciplinary approach to material culture has refocused the field of archaeology on studying the relationships between people and objects (Johnson 2010:66). Materiality and behavioral archaeology are linked as there is an emphasis on how people interact with objects throughout time and space, and materials are not "simply passive reflections of other aspects in culture," rather, these interactions are the foundation of culture (Johnson 2010:225). This central role of materiality within behavioral archaeology is unsurprising, as archaeology has always sought to relate material culture to human

behavior. This issue spurred the development of processual archaeology, which was determined to view this relationship systematically. As this was applied cross-culturally, it was determined that the relationship between material culture and behavior did not solely exist in a unidirectional path where material culture is the product of behavior. Rather, it was discovered that while behavior does passively produce material culture, material culture also "acts back on society" (Hodder and Hutson 2003:14).

2.1.2 Religion as a Research Question for Behavioral Archaeologists

As mentioned in the introduction of this section of the chapter, there is a general lack of texts and techniques for archaeologists who want to study religion, as the archaeological potential to study religion has been greatly ignored (Wesler 2012:10). Material culture is created as a vessel or representation of religion and divinity, as tools to be used in religious practices, and as representations of religious teachings. Religion is both produced out of human behavior and social practice while at the same time impacting, changing, and molding the behavioral norms of a given society. The integral role of religion as a major influencer on human behavior is embodied by the power and control a religious leader has over the masses. A religious leader is able to manipulate and form "existential realities" that directly impact human understandings and behavior in order to better please their divine entity (Pearson 2002:76). Coupled with the influence of a ruler, religion provides a "near-universal notion of rationality" since the presence of religion and religious ideals seem to be standard across all cultures (Yaeger 2000:123). This idea of a universal norm aligns with a behavioral approach to archaeology as it seeks to create laws to explain human behavior cross-culturally. Religion is a common element within all societies across time. While not originally created to study religion, behavioral archaeology is clearly applicable, and is the best form of archaeology to study the practice of religion in the past. This is especially true as applied to the study of the practice of religion and its spread through maritime activities such as life aboard a ship and cultural contact in port towns. Strategy Four posits that modern-day cases can be studied and recorded in order to generate a principle between objects and behavior that can be applied to the past (Schiffer 1976:8-9). An important application of behavioral archaeology to demonstrating religion is the study of worship practices in history. Worship is the "exercise or practice of rites or observances…" and is directly linked to material culture as objects in some form are, most generally, involved in worship practices (Wesler 2012:11).

To understand the correlation between religion and behavioral archaeology, a more specific, concrete example is needed. The reliance on material culture within a religion is especially apparent in Roman Catholic culture as specialty items have been used for ceremonial purposes from the earliest inception of the Church. These religious items, which are found in the archaeological record and in modern use, include rosary beads, crucifixes, medals, religious statues of the Virgin Mary and saints, and religious depictions on jewelry and other personal items. In addition to these religious items, material vessels used during the ritual of the Mass provide clues to the practice of worship. Members of religious life, including priests, monks, and nuns, wear distinct clothing, medals, crosses or crucifixes that denote their status and are found within the archaeological record. Here, it is important to note a special characteristic of religiosity onboard ships during the Age of Exploration and beyond as mentioned in the previous chapter and explored in greater detail in the following chapters.

Several places in the Americas that were colonized—some more successfully than others—offer valuable archaeological evidence that can be studied through a behavioral lens to understand religion in maritime culture and colonization. One such place is La Isabela, which is located in the modern-day Dominican Republic. La Isabela is considered "America's first European Town" and was founded by Columbus on his second voyage to the Americas around 1493. While it was an ill-fated colony, as it was abandoned within four years of founding, it is an important archaeological site for information on the early colonization of the Americas (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:1). Excavations of the colonized areas produced examples of religious items that show the Catholic roots of the colonists and the importance of religion to them. It has been noted that the number of religious items excavated at La Isabel is surprisingly limited, and this lack of material evidence does not properly portray the religious fervor of the Catholic settlers. This lack of items, especially personal objects, is likely the result of the colony failing and the relocation of settlers in other colonies (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:211). Items that have been found at La Isabel, however, include personal objects such as a signet ring stamped with an image of a Madonna—an image of the Virgin Mary holding the Christ-child (Deagan and Cruxent 2002:196). Another example of a personal religious item recovered at La Isabel is a reliquary holding a relic of an unknown saint (Pearson 1999:59-61). The most obviously religious item found during excavations was a multi-elemental crucifix including the corpus. While physical material culture is an important indicator of religion in La Isabel, historical documents, which highlight the instrumental nature of history

as an interdisciplinary tool in the study of behavioral archaeology, show the importance of Catholicism in Spanish colonial environments.

Despite the assertions of the quote at the beginning of the chapter, archaeologists do study religion, but archaeological studies on religion are limited and rare. Often, the lack of religion studies in archaeology has been attributed to the absence of an approach and technique that is suitable to examine religion in the past. This argument is now invalid as behavioral archaeology, specifically Strategy Four as developed by Schiffer, provides a framework that allows the cultural impacts and human behavior of religiosity to be studied via material culture excavated at sites. While this is effective for the examination of the history and development of current world religions, which have material culture and rituals that can be compared to those found on archaeological sites, it is not necessarily suitable for studying ancient religions that no longer have a modern equivalent. This section examined the origins of behavioral archaeology, defined and described the concept, and applied it to the archaeological study of religion. The field of archaeology provides tremendous potential for studying religion, especially its connection with maritime culture and shipwrecks. Religion is undeniably one of the greatest authorities influencing human behavior, so it is logical that behavioral archaeology is the best equipped framework used to gain an understanding of humanity's complex relationships with the divine and morality.

2.2 Material Culture Studies

James Deetz (1977:35) describes material culture as "that sector of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behavior." Material culture is an invaluable tool to studying the past, as it offers an unbiased record; whereas, written records have inherent biases despite the intentions of the writer as his or her own life experiences directly affect the worldview and the interpretations recorded in text. Material culture avoids this bias as it is more "democratic and less self-conscious…than any other body of historical material," but it is important to explicitly state that even material artifacts are subject to bias (Deetz 1977:212). Material culture also allows for a broader cross-section of the population of history to be studied as all people—no matter their level of wealth—invariably utilized some form of material culture while—traditionally—only certain portions of the population had the ability to read and write. Thus, material culture provides a more complete and full impression of the past, especially when paired with corresponding written records from the past. Given this understanding of material

culture, material culture studies, defined as studying the relationship between the social and cultural with the material, emerged in the field of archaeology during the twentieth century as a juncture of anthropology and archaeology (Hicks 2010:1-2). Another definition of material culture studies is "the study through artifacts of the beliefs—values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions—of a particular community or society at a given time" (Prown 1982:1). This interdisciplinary method of study is composed of several approaches, similar to those listed above for behavioral archaeology.

The first approach, popularized by Henry Glassie and his students, combined American folklife studies and cultural geography to study landscapes, historical archaeology, and architecture to understand the past (Hicks 2010:1). James Deetz and Dell Upton subscribe to this approach. The second method of material culture studies focuses on arts and domesticity and is coined the "decorative arts approach" as it incorporates the expertise of historians focused in art, domestic interiors, and experts in the antique trade (Hicks 2010:1-2). The third approach is based in anthropology but is interdisciplinary in nature. The fourth, and final, approach is the most widespread and more loosely defined. It encompasses the physical examination and analysis of artifacts in laboratories, archives and museums, and fieldwork conducted in archaeological or anthropological projects around the globe (Hicks 2010:2). The approaches of material culture studies have one underlying element in common—determinism. The attitude of determinism ascertains "every effect observable in or induced by the object has a cause" and in order to understand the cause there must be careful study of the effect (Prown 1982:6). In the case of material culture study, the cause is some aspect of culture and the effect is the object (Prown 1982:6). This thesis utilizes the fourth approach in studying the religious items recovered from Spanish shipwrecks and those housed in museums and archives in Florida.

The fourth approach is the primary mode of material culture study undertaken within this thesis, and an important factor in this loosely defined method is the role of history and historical data. As mentioned in the introduction of this section, material culture is paramount in understanding the past in both the disciplines of history and archaeology, and when both disciplines are combined—i.e., the written historical record and material culture—a more thorough picture of the past is created. The written record can often depict a one-dimensional view of the past as an inactive participant, as it is simply composed at one time detailing events that occur then end. Material culture, and its study, focuses on the objects left behind that played an active role in

peoples' lives who belonged to all strata of society (Smith and Hannan 2017:47). Referring back to Jules David Prown's definition of material culture studies mentioned above, the religious items observed for this thesis are studied as a means of understanding the religious practices of colonial Spanish seamen. The existence of material objects serves as evidence for the existence of humanity, and the modifications—either consciously or subconsciously—of said objects highlight the beliefs and ideals of the individual and society as a whole. Material culture studies, therefore, uses material objects to study the culture of society, which is an ideal tool to explore the practice of Catholicism on vessels (Prown 1982:2). To understand the role of material culture studies within this thesis, the broad meaning of material must be defined.

The term material culture studies is composed of two main components, material—explored and defined here—and culture—discussed below. Within this work, the definition of material refers to any object created or modified by man and excludes natural objects such as rocks, plant-life, or fossils (Prown 1982:2). While natural objects can indicate the presence of humanity, for the purpose of this research, they will not be included as a category of material culture unless modified to be utilized as a tool for religious practice such as stone beads on a rosary. Material objects have value, and value is an important mechanism for study through material culture studies. Two main forms of value important to archaeological study exist—intrinsic value and attached value. The intrinsic, or inherent, value of an object derives from the composition of the item itself. Objects composed of precious metals, for example, gold and silver, and gemstones have a high value both at the time they were created and now. This type of value remains until that value dissipates. Attached value is more difficult to define and study since it is placed on the object by the owner and user, by people today, and people who utilized the object throughout its history. Additionally, objects have a utilitarian value that persists until an object ceases to be useful. At times, however, a once obsolete object becomes usable once again due to circumstances or style. Finally, users ascribe aesthetic or religious values to their objects, and these perceived religious values serve as an important tool for this thesis (Prown 1982:3). Combined, the inherent and attached values of objects form an invaluable picture of life in the past, especially religious practices. Since material is a vast concept which includes a wide variety of items, organization is of utmost importance to this archaeological research framework. Typically, typologies result from this organization and are described in the next section of this chapter. Now that the definition of material has been established, the abstract idea of culture must be defined.

The second main component of material culture studies is culture. The simplest definition of culture is a set of beliefs belonging to a society—a group of "interdependent persons forming a single community" (Prown 1982:5). Cultural beliefs are composed of religion, art, science, gender roles, technology, and many other elements and values. Religion forms an important fundamental base for a myriad of cultures throughout the ages, and this is true with Spanish colonialism, as religion formed a major catalyst for the motivations of colonization in the New World. By examining the material objects from archaeological sites, researchers formulate interpretations and theories about the society from which the items originated; however, these interpretations can be flawed, so it is key to acknowledge inherent biases. Every researcher has his or her own biases which color their worldview, and these experiences directly reflect on the interpretations drawn about past cultures through historical and archaeological work. While awareness of biases helps mitigate their effects, material culture eliminates bias further as concrete objects allow researchers to utilize their senses as well as their minds to engage with the culture under study.

2.2.1 Methodology of Object Analysis

The method of object analysis within this work is composed of three stages: description, deduction, and speculation as proposed by Jules Prown (1982). Description is the first stage and is composed of "recording the internal evidence of the object" and is restricted "to what can be observed in the object itself" (Prown 1982:7). The descriptive stage begins with recording the largest details followed by noting the more specific attributes and requires the utilization of precise terminology in order to avoid assumptions. The first phase of description is substantial analysis, which is the physical account of the artifact including physical dimensions, material, and articulation. Following this is a description of the material composing the object including what it is, the extensiveness of usage, and pattern of distribution. The final step is to study how the material was manipulated into the object. The second step in description is content but is usually limited to art and decorated objects. This step consists of identifying what is represented in the image or on the item through carving, embossing, painting, or other means. This step is included with religious items as a majority include religious adornment and motifs such as religious medallions embossed with images of saints and religious figures. The final step in description is formal analysis. During this step the visual form of the artifact is recorded. The researcher begins

with the two-dimensional description and moves to the three-dimensional. Here the color, light, and texture are also analyzed (Prown 1982:7-8).

The second stage of object analysis is deduction. Deduction links "the material or represented world of the object with the perceiver's world of existence and experience" (Prown 1982:8). The researcher interacts with the object in a way similar to that of the original creator and user in order to put him or herself into the past. The deductions formed during this step must meet common sense and be reasonably deduced from the recorded descriptions, and those ideas that are not reasonable must be labeled as hypothetical. The first step in deduction is sensory engagement. Here the researcher touches the object to feel its texture and its weight and utilizes the other senses. If it is not possible to physically interact with the object, the researcher can utilize imagination and empathy. The next step is intellectual engagement where the actual purpose of the object and how it fulfills that purpose is observed. Here, the researcher's prior knowledge and experiences are acceptable tools to utilize in understanding the purpose and use of objects. The final step is the emotional response. Here the emotional response of the researcher is recorded as objects elicit specific emotions from viewers such as joy, fear, anger, awe, piety, and others. The elements on the objects which were recorded in the descriptive stage are compared to the emotional response to identify what elements cause those reactions (Prown 1982:9).

The final stage is speculation. Speculation is a creative stage where the researcher is able to formulate hypotheses and theories about the object itself, its creator, and the society as a whole. The first step in speculation is the creation of theories and hypotheses. In order to create hypotheses, the information gathered in the first two stages are examined and summarized. At this stage, biases become a greater factor, but by relying on the information gathered in the first two stages, the researcher avoids major distortion. In fact, the cultural bias of the researcher is a helpful tool in hypothesizing. The next step in speculation is designing a program of research to further scholarly investigation beyond the internal evidence of the object. Additional research questions are often developed at this stage, expanding the scope of the initial study. At this point, interdisciplinary approaches are needed to answer both the initial research questions and those developed during ongoing research. The research continues between the internal material object and the external sources in a cycle until the questions are answered or theories are proposed (Prown 1982:9-10).

2.2.2 Typologies

Artifact typology "involves the classification of objects based on similarity of form" (Deetz 1977:18). Utilizing typologies allows for better organization and categorization of artifacts by grouping them together in a way which encourages comparison both within the artifact groups and between groups found in different sites. These typological groups are created by those studying specific material culture and are not reflective of the intentions of creators of the material. When historical records are available for the material and time period being studied, more complete and comprehensive typologies result, so the historical data should never be ignored when forming typologies (Deetz 1977:18-19). Readily apparent means of classification include physical materials and methods of fabrication, but these tend to result in large, unwieldy groups where more subtle patterns are difficult to recognize. Classification based on function is a better method which produces more manageable-sized groups ideal for studying cultural patterns of consumption and faith (Prown 1982:2). Prown (1982:2-3) offers six broad typological categories based on functionality: art, diversions, adornments, modifications of landscapes, applied arts, and devices. The three most prominent categories where religious objects fall are in art, diversions, and adornments, but religious images, words, and purposes appear in objects belonging to any and all of the categories. Prown's categories offer a place to begin in forming typologies and organizing material culture in a way to allow in-depth study, but they remain too broad.

2.2.3 Artifact Biographies

Artifact biographies are an important tool in material culture studies. They seek to explain the life of the artifact in a narrative fashion. An important hallmark of the artifact biography is the notion of objects having "social lives" from the moment of creation to the time of study (Mytum 2003:111). Artifact biographies consider "all types of significance and the active roles played by the item through time, space, and social context" (Mytum 2003:111-112). Elements of an artifact biography include production, examining materials and crafting techniques, consumer patterns, and the market environment at the time for such items. Furthermore, important times in the item's life should also be recorded, if they are known, and how the object has changed—either in function or physical appearance—over time. Beyond the focus on the artifact itself, biographies include how the item fits in a broader societal context where the original function of the object connects with contemporary culture. These elements combine to produce a narrative object biography

containing a physical description of an item, its physical transition over time, and historiography to produce a story as a means to view the past (Mytum 2003:112).

The life of an object does not cease when its functionality ends as it can continue to have a life outside of its intended function. For example, religious objects still remain a source of religious reverence despite being buried or underwater for hundreds of years. The item retains its religious purpose and—if the object has been blessed by a priest—it requires treatment with respect and reverence no matter how old the object is.

2.3 Methodology in Field Research

The artifact analysis portion of this thesis required travel to Tallahassee and St. Augustine, both in Florida, in October 2018 where the author visited the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research (BAR). Relevant artifacts were counted, photographed, and described. All data was recorded in a spreadsheet in order to allow easy comparison between artifacts, sites, and typologies. Photographs were captured on a Nikon D3400 and saved in folders labeled for each specific artifact, and these folders were placed in a site folder. All images were uploaded to a spare, portable hard drive. Additional items of relevance housed in various museums in both Tallahassee and St. Augustine were photographed in their exhibit housings with the Nikon D3400, and these images were saved in a similar fashion to those from BAR—an exception being that the artifact images were organized into folders according to museum location rather than site number.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter explored the theory and methods utilized in this study of religious practices on Spanish vessels in order to provide a methodological framework supporting the interpretations made throughout this thesis. The next chapter uses this framework to provide a historical background of Spanish Catholicism, the Church's connection to maritime culture, and religious practices at sea.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

3.1 Introduction

"Saint Nicholas, be pleased to guard our keel, our tiller, our bridge, and the rigging that extends beyond the rail and inside the ship; on this voyage and many other better ones…with fair seas and constant wind and a good and safe voyage" (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:242). This simple prayer used by Spanish sailors highlights the importance of Catholicism in Spanish colonial maritime culture, both as a means of colonialism and as an integral element of life at sea. This chapter provides a historic overview of Spanish colonialism in order to provide context for the material culture studied within this thesis, and it explores the religious practices common to Spanish sailors. In order to properly understand the importance of religious artifacts in shipboard life for Spanish mariners, the reader must understand the importance and practice of Catholicism and maritime culture at the time being studied, the pattern of Spanish colonialism—especially the religious component—and the religious life aboard ship for the average colonial Spanish sailor.

St. Augustine serves as a focal point within this chapter, as it serves as an important symbol of not only Spanish colonialism in the Americas, but also to the beginnings of Catholicism in the New World—thus it is an important settlement for the spread of Catholicism and its American roots. The city serves as a terrestrial example of Spanish religious fervor and accompanies the evidence found in shipwrecks to understand the scope and importance of religion to the Spanish people and how their practices of faith mirrored and evolved from Spain to sea to colonial settlements.

3.2 Catholicism and Maritime Culture

Peter Anson's work, *The Church and the Sailor: A Survey of the Sea-Apostolate Past and Present* (1948), offers an extensive overview of the practice of the Catholic faith by sailors at sea and is an invaluable source for the study of religion in the maritime environment. The Catholic Church and maritime culture both influenced one another as sailors adopted and practiced Catholic traditions and teachings and the Church incorporated nautical terminology and symbolism. For example, one of the earliest symbols of the Christian Church was a ship with the bishop and fellow clergy viewed as helmsmen steering the faithful to safe harbor. Additionally, the portion of the physical church where the faithful sit is referred to as the nave—a translation of the French word

nef meaning ship (Anson 1948:1). The parish church built in St. Augustine is an example of the use of such terminology as the plans developed in the 1790s describe the church as a coquina stone building of two stories with a "rectangular, single nave floor plan" (Barnes 2008:48). Maritime themes are evident in many Catholic churches throughout the world in nautical stained glass windows, statues, paintings, and other works of art depicting Noah's Ark, fishermen, maritime saints, anchors, ships, lighthouses, and more (Figures 1 and 2). In addition to the physical manifestations of maritime culture and the importance of sailor culture to the appearance of churches, the teachings and traditions of the Catholic faith are filled with maritime themes.

FIGURE 1. Stone carving of St. Patrick's Journey to Ireland, Cathedral Basilica, St. Augustine, Florida.

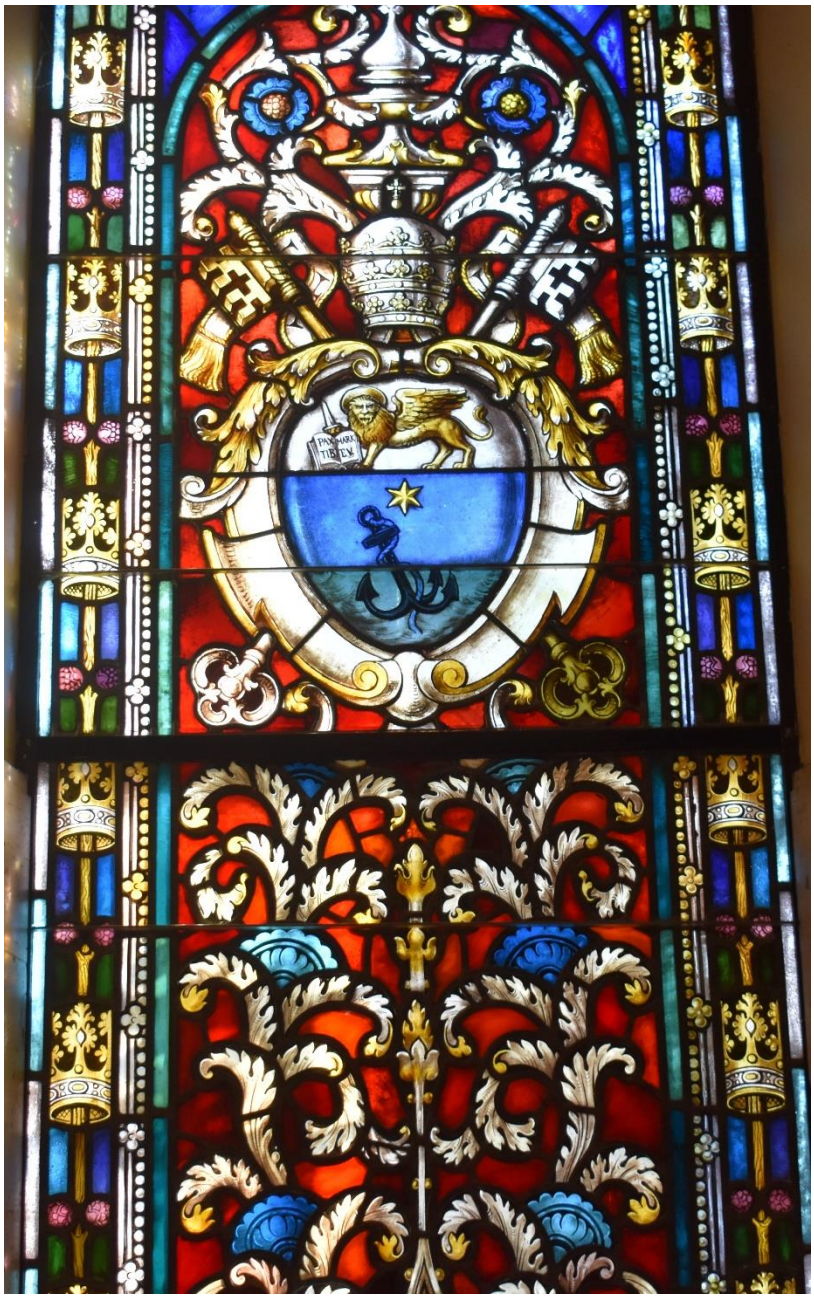

FIGURE 2. Stained glass window featuring anchor, Cathedral Basilica, St. Augustine, Florida.

Catholic Scripture—consisting of the Old and New Testament of the Bible and which forms the basis of Catholic teaching along with Tradition—includes a bevy of references to fishing, ships, and other maritime themes. Noah's Ark is one of the most famous stories from the Bible and incorporates the symbolism of vessels as a place of protection and salvation (Genesis 6-9). Another readily recognizable Bible story directly playing on maritime themes is the Gospel story relating the narrative of the storm at sea when Jesus walked on water and stilled the storm to save

the boat from wrecking (Matthew 14; Mark 6; and John 6). Most notably, Jesus chose his twelve apostles from Galilean fishermen and incorporated many themes of fishing and sailing in his teachings as these were themes easily understandable and relatable for the multitudes (Matthew 4:18-22). St. Luke, the author of one of the Gospels within the Bible, wrote extensively about ships, sailors, and the sea and incorporated many nautical details in his account of Jesus's life (Luke 1-24). In addition to the apparent nautical themes found in the Catholic Bible, additional prayers and texts are used in ceremonies. This includes special prayers found in the Roman Missal used on specific days, such as feast days for certain saints, and a collection of post-communion prayers labelled as "For Mariners" (Roman Missal 1888:487). On Good Friday—the Friday before Easter when Jesus was crucified—it was common for the faithful to pray so "seafarers may reach the haven of safety" (Anson 1948:2). Many Breviaries include—and have always included—prayers to be said before embarking on a journey—called the *Itinerarium*, and included in these is a prayer dedicated to those in danger of shipwrecking; this is commonly found at the back of modern copies of the Liturgy of the Hours. The Roman Ritual also contains two forms of blessings for ships—a practice that has been conducted from the very early years of the formation of the Catholic faith (Rituale Romanum 1962). These are all examples of the enduring link between the Catholic Church and seamen and highlight that the Church would not exist without maritime culture.

While Catholicism is unarguably connected to maritime culture, Spanish maritime culture relied heavily on Catholicism. This is best typified by the naming of vessels after religious icons and holy figures as demonstrated by the ships belonging to Columbus's expeditions, vessels in the Carrera de Indias, and other privately sponsored ships. Famously, Columbus's vessel was named *Santa María* to honor and invoke the Virgin Mary's protection on his fateful voyage (Columbus 1986:17). The first twelve galleons built to protect the Carrera de Indias were named after the twelve apostles (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:237). Other common names for vessels used during Spanish colonial times included *La Concepción* (the Conception), *Espíritu Santo* (Holy Spirit), *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* (Our Lady of the Rosary), *San Antonio* (Saint Anthony), *San Pelayo* (Saint Pelagius of Córdoba), *Magdalena* (Magdalena, from Saint Mary Magdalen), *San Miguel* (Saint Michael), *San Andrés* (Saint Andrew), and many others (Lyon 1976:30; Council of the Indies 1563; "Escribanía de Cámara" 1565; "List of Ships" 1565). The devoutly faithful believed naming a vessel after a saint, blessed soul, or Marian title would ensure the protection and favor of that

entity on the vessel (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:237). The naming process is inextricably linked to the ceremonial blessing of vessels prior to embarking on voyages. Despite not being Spanish, Andrew White—an English Jesuit—recorded a valuable example of the practice of Catholicism at sea in a report sent to the Vatican in April 1634. The account describes the dedication of their vessel which took place in November 1633. White writes, "And after committing the principal parts of the ship to the protection of God…and of His most Holy Mother, and St. Ignatius, and all the guardian angels…" (White 1634:12). This ritual was repeated in part or whole, with some variation, across Catholic nations—including Spain—in order to ensure protection and success for voyages and vessels both large and small.

3.3 Colonialism

> This boundary or line shall be drawn straight…at a distance of three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands…And all other lands…found or to be found hereafter, discovered or to be discovered hereafter, which have been discovered or shall be discovered by the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon…and by their vessels, on the western side of the said bound…shall belong to, and remain in the possession of…the said King and Queen of Castile…and to their successors.

This section of the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed 7 June 1494, clearly established the ownership of the newly discovered lands in the West Indies (Lyon 1976:6). This treaty was between King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel of Spain and King John II of Portugal. The agreement was authored by Pope Alexander VI to prevent any conflict between the Spanish monarchs and King John II of Portugal over the ownership of the lands discovered by Christopher Columbus and his Portuguese counterparts. Effectively, the papal agreement made Spain the sole owner of the new lands in the Americas while the Portuguese gained all rights to the lands in Africa as all lands east of the line of demarcation belonged to Portugal and all lands west belonged to Spain in perpetuity (Pickett and Pickett 2011:9-15). This agreement catapulted Spain's hegemony and launched the Spanish empire in the New World which began in 1492 and effectively ended with the Spanish-American War in 1898 (Elliot 2006:xvii-xx). There were a myriad of motivations for Spanish colonialism, and they were as varied as the Iberians embarking to the New World, but most of the colonists and the leaders of their expeditions claimed religious zeal as the primary factor.

A key component to Spanish colonialism—and European colonialism in general—was the use of religion. Catholicism was an invaluable tool for Spanish expansion as it was used both to westernize native populations through conversion and as a means to maintain public support for establishing colonies in foreign lands. In fact, Catholic missionaries often accompanied the first explorers to the new lands (Massa and Osborne 2008:7). Catholic explorers—especially those pledging allegiance to Spain—utilized three methods to spread their religion to the New World: exploration and conquest, missionary work, and settlement (Starr 2016:69). All these tactics were used and supported by the first supporters of Catholic missions to the Americas, Queen Isabel and King Ferdinand. The greatest maritime legacy left by Queen Isabel was her support of Christopher Columbus's expedition across the Atlantic Ocean. At first, the queen was hesitant to risk the relatively meager wealth of the Crown on a seemingly harebrained scheme presented to her by Columbus, as he had already been denied by other monarchs (Liss 1992:316-320). Eventually, Isabel and Ferdinand agreed to support the voyage to find a sea route to India via the Atlantic in order to provide a direct route for trade to the Far East. Columbus's plan included evangelizing the native peoples he encountered in the foreign lands, as he was a fervent Catholic (Columbus 1986:15-16). This portion of the endeavor—as well as Columbus's religious zeal—appealed to both the king and queen, as both were pious members of the Catholic Church, and Isabel's support of the Church is one of her best-known legacies (Liss 1992:323-324).

Through the combination of religious zeal and the potential for untold wealth, the monarchs blessed the expedition. Despite the evangelical component to the expedition, the contract, *Capitulaciones de Santa Fé*, signed between the Spanish monarchs and Columbus fail to mention religion at all; rather, it focuses on territory and trade, but a safe conduct dated the same day as the contract does state that Columbus's journey will expand Catholicism into new territories. The contract, signed 17 April 1492, granted Columbus many titles—such as royal admiral, viceroy, and governor-general—allowed him to trade duty-free, and entitled him to one-tenth share of any treasure ("Capitulaciones de Santa Fé" 1492; Liss 1994:326-327). The contract between Columbus and the Spanish monarchs served as a model for all future colonial endeavors. While Columbus technically failed in his contractual obligations to Isabel, he provided even greater wealth and opportunity for Spain even as he failed to find a route to the East Indies, stumbling upon the American continent instead.

When the true extent of Columbus's discovery became apparent, the Spanish monarchs decided a governing body and set of laws needed to be established to govern over colonization efforts as holdings and colonies in the New World had to be subject to the Spanish Crown. Thus, the Council of the Indies and the Laws of the Spanish Indies were formulated, notably the 1512 Laws of Burgos. Not only did these laws ensure colonies remained loyal to the Crown, but they also stressed the importance of Catholicism and mandated the necessity of religion in the New World (Starr 2016:72). According to the laws published in 1573 pertaining to the settlement of St. Augustine—in modern day Florida—the city had to include a plaza which would act as the public gathering place where markets and military parades would occur. In addition, the laws stipulated religious buildings, including a Catholic church, must be built around the plaza as a symbol of the importance of Catholic faith and its central role in Spanish life. The laws also dictate that, in addition to building fortifications to protect the fledgling settlement in New Spain, an edifice must be erected to serve as a "monastery" to provide a base for religious missions launched to convert the native peoples—the Timucuans (Boeschenstien 1999:262; Barnes 2008:67). The Crown relied upon the *Casa de Contratación*, or House of Trade, to enforce the rules established by the Council of the Indies and royal decree on ships prior to their departure from Seville, Spain. Most notably, the *Casa* ensured outgoing passengers met the "Spanish laws of religious purity and moral fitness" (Royal Officials of the *Casa de Contratación* 1565; Lyon 1976:8).

Outside of the Council of the Indies, the Crown reserved the right to make stipulations and demands when granting an *asiento* to prospective explorers and colonists. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, in his bid to establish a colony in Florida—what would become St. Augustine—made an agreement with King Philip II to include two secular priests "for the care of Spaniards" and ten to twelve religious-order priests to act as missionaries for the native peoples to bring Christianity into the New World (Agreement between Dr. Vázquez 1565; Starr 2016:87). The Menéndez expedition received permission and departed Cádiz on 28 June 1565, the evening before the feast day of Saints Peter and Paul (Starr 2016:68). Menéndez, however, did not need the Crown to ensure religion played an important part in his journey as he claimed religious zeal to be his primary motivator in colonization. His fervor began before departing Spain and extended into his colonization of Florida where he continually requested a greater number of missionaries to be sent as he held the important belief that soldiers could not—and should not—be enlisted to act as missionaries (Manucy 2009:93). The case of St. Augustine's founding also highlights the

importance of religion in establishing settlements in unchartered territories as discussed in the following section of this chapter.

The fortification in St. Augustine—the coquina fort, Castillo de San Marcos—reflects the dual nature of Spanish colonialism. The fort physically embodies the marriage of New World raw materials—the coquina stone mentioned above procured from Anastasia Island directly across the bay from where the fort stands—and Spanish design as the fort is distinctive in its Iberian style boasting four "look-out turrets," each standing on one corner of the fort. However, it is not just the physical appearance of the fort that serves as a model of Spanish colonialism, but its very purpose. Castillo de San Marcos was built to protect the fledgling settlement and Spain's claim on Florida, but it was also built to protect the missions established to spread religion to the native peoples. In addition to meeting the necessary rooms for the soldiers housed within its walls, the Castillo included a room specifically built to address the religious needs of those living and serving within its walls (Figure 3). The chapel was built to house an altar with two holy water fonts (Figure 4) built into the walls flanking the specially carved and decorated doors (Figure 5) leading into the room from the fort's center. The chapel was regularly used as exampled by the celebration of St. Mark's feast day at the Castillo every year. On 25 April, Mass was celebrated in the chapel and a procession from the Castillo to the parish church took place immediately following the Mass. The Crown provided a conservative amount of funds to pay for the costs of candles used on the Castillo's altar (Kapitzke 2001:93-96). While the Castillo reflects the motivations of Spanish

colonialism and continues to be a reminder of the lasting impacts of Iberian colonisation, Spanish explorers left other reminders of their religious motivations while exploring new terrain.

FIGURE 3. Altar and alcove in the chapel at Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida.

FIGURE 4. Carved holy water font at Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida.

FIGURE 5. Carved doors to chapel at Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine, Florida.

A popular practice during the colonial period was for explorers to name landmarks and settlements after religious figures. The English Jesuit, Andrew White, records several islands and mountains discovered during the voyage to present-day North America and the names given to them by the crew. These included St. Clement's island, a mountain named St. Gregory, St. Gregory river, and another mountain called St. Michael's in order to "honor all of the angels" (White 1634:13). Pedro Menéndez de Avilés—founder of the colony of St. Augustine, Florida—named the harbor St. Augustine after Augustine of Hippo as his feast day, 28 August, was the day the expedition discovered it (Starr 2016:68). Menéndez also records the use of a river in northern Florida as Saint Johns River, and this river is still known by this name. Two Spanish captains on a colonizing expedition sponsored by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón named the river on 25 June 1521—the feast day of Saint John the Baptist—and christened the river Saint Johns River (Starr 2016:72). Additional colonial Spanish place names with religious connotations include Santa Elena, San Salvador, St. Lucie Inlet, St. Mary's River, San Mateo, and many others (Lyon 1976:252).

3.4 Catholicism on Land—Connections in Spain and the New World

Catholicism played an integral role in the daily lives of Spaniards around the world as the Spanish extended their empire—on land and at sea. Religion provided a connection for all of Spain's subjects, scattered over the globe, as the Catholic faith remained a constant which provided a sense of familiarity and home even in the most exotic, foreign lands of the New World. Catholicism is a regimental faith that provides a set method of fulfilling religious practices such as the celebration of Mass, the sacraments, and religious festivals commemorating feast days and other important dates throughout the year. Catholicism also provided—and still provides to this day—standard prayers such as the rosary and other traditional methods of prayer. Colonial St. Augustine serves as an example of how Catholicism and religious celebrations connected the people of Spain with their compatriots living in an exotic land an ocean away.

Religious celebrations formed a central role in daily life in St. Augustine from the very first Spanish landing. Upon landing at the future site of the city in 1565, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés—Spanish general and commander of the expedition to found a colony in Florida—had the expedition's chaplain, Father Francisco López de Mendoza Grajales, lead a procession to shore to celebrate the first Catholic Mass in North America (López 1565; Gannon 1983:26; Manucy 2009:36; Parker 2017:5). This procession included all the men on the ship who joined Father

López, who was "fully liturgically vested" with all the proper liturgical implements necessary for celebrating a high Mass, in singing the hymn, *Te Deum Laudamus*—translated as "O, God, We Praise Thee"—while processing behind a cross which was planted on the site to commemorate the momentous occasion (Starr 2016:69; López 1565; Gannon 1983:26-27; Manucy 2009:36). This act of religious zeal marked Spain's claim on the land not only for the Crown but for the Catholic faith, and the landing was especially significant since it took place on 8 September—the feast day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a feast day celebrated every year (López 1565; Gannon 1983:26-27).

Feast days marked important occasions in Catholic life and were commonly marked with celebrations which included parades, special Masses and religious services, processions, feasting, dancing, and music and mirrored those held in Spain at the same time. Cannon fire was also used to announce certain celebrations and mark the important day to be filled with revelry or solemnity. Popular religious festivals celebrated throughout the Spanish Empire and beyond included Carnival marking the beginning of Lent, Easter, Corpus Christi, and Christmas (Parker 2017:5). Not only did the religious practices of Catholicism unite all those traditionally considered Spanish, but it served to connect all Spanish subjects including newly baptized native peoples and all Roman Catholics regardless of nationality and global position. Spain established missions to bring Catholicism to the native peoples who participated in religious processions and celebrations. Religious celebrations required some financial support as food, decorations, and gunpowder, for cannon salutes, were material items utilized in observing the holy days. From 1571 to 1821, the Spanish Crown provided a *situado* for colonies such as St. Augustine to allow the colonists to celebrate in the same fashion as their brethren in Spain. This subsidy allocated funds to be specifically used to procure ammunition, fees for the priests celebrating Mass on the occasion, candles on certain feast days, and the bread, wine, and oil used during Mass (Parker 2017:9). Feast days often acted as the primary source of marking the date in colonial Spain and many important events are recorded by their relation to a feast day as shown by the diaries kept on board vessels, which are explored in the next section of this chapter (Parker 2017:6).

3.5 Spanish Faith and Shipboard Life

Saints and Marian devotions dedicated to activities and individuals involved in the maritime sphere comprise a major component of Catholicism at sea. St. Clement—a Catholic

martyr who died in A.D. 215—was tied to an anchor and thrown overboard for his religious beliefs, and his feast day, celebrated on 23 November, represented an important day for sailors (White 1634:12; Anson 1948:1,8). St. Peter the Apostle and the first Pope of the Church, began his ministry as a humble fisherman—as did most of the original twelve apostles including St. Andrew. St. Paul, another apostle, was a skilled seafarer who was shipwrecked three times during his extensive missionary work, and he was commonly invoked by sailors in danger of shipwreck (Anson 1948:6). Two other apostles who are referred to as the "fishermen apostles" and who seafarers call upon are James and John (Anson 1948:8). Another saint seamen commonly sought protection from was St. Barbara who defends those from sudden explosions and who was often asked for help during storms and battles at sea (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:240).

There is a plethora of saints connected to those involved in maritime activities including many who had personal experiences with the sea and its dangers. Another important—and very popular—saint to seamen was St. Christopher who is the patron saint of travelers, boatmen, and ferrymen, and sailors often prayed to him before embarking on their journeys or in times of trouble (Anson 1948:8). St. Brendan the Navigator, an extensive sailor, and St. Nicholas of Myra are two additional patron saints of mariners (Anson 1948:10). Sailors commonly called upon St. Elmo, a martyr killed at sea by having his bowels removed and wrapped around a ship's windlass, for intercession during storms and for protection while at sea. Sailors also called the phenomenon of electrical lights appearing in masts and sails of ships during storms St. Elmo's Fire and many believed these lights were caused by souls of the departed (Anson 1948:10). Spanish sailors commonly invoked St. Peter Gonzalez, commonly referred to as San Telmo, who was often confused with St. Elmo. In addition to the observance of these saints' feast days, offering prayers to them, and naming vessels in their honor, a few ships included the names of saints and Marian titles on their crew list as a way to dedicate a share of the success of the journey. On the Magellan-Elcano voyage, the crew list included "El señor Santiago, Santo Lesmes, San Antonio de Padua, Santa Bárbara, and Nuestra Señora de Montserrat" ("Relación del clavo que vino en la nao *Victoria*" 1579). The money allotted to these "crew members" was distributed to the religious orders that represented them (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:238).

Here are a few examples of common prayers for saints and Marian devotions used by Spanish sailors. The prayer to St. Elmo says: "Holy Body, true friend of mariners, we want you to help us, and always to appear at night before us." The prayer to Our Lady of Fair Seas reads:

"That she succors us and gives us fair seas, with bright days and a good breeze." Another prayer to a Marian title is to Our Lady of Barrameda which says, "Now that we have passed your sandbar, be pleased, to have us return and pass over it again, with a good and safe voyage." Finally, the prayer to the Four Evangelists—Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John who are the authors of the Gospels—says, "To the Four saints, to the four bodies, Luke and Mark, John and Matthew, commend us to Our Lord Jesus Christ, if something bad befalls this ship, so that it departs and we are placed out of harm's way" (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:242). Christopher Columbus reportedly recited this prayer when he reached land, "Almighty and Eternal Lord God, Who by Thy Sacred Word has created heaven, earth, and sea, blessed and glorified be Thy Name and praised by Thy Majesty, and grant that through Thy humble servant Thy Sacred Name may be known and preached in this other part of the world. Amen" (Gannon 1983:2; Columbus 1986:37-38).

Alongside the saints, Marian devotion played an important role within Spanish maritime culture at sea. The Virgin Mary was called upon by sailors to fulfill their religious needs while voyaging. Sailors were religious and superstitious in nature, and this is especially true of Spanish sailors as Spain was a fervently devout nation ruled by pious monarchs—such as Queen Isabel and King Ferdinand. One of the central figures in Catholicism is Mary, the Mother of God, and given her benevolent demeanor, she was a popular figure for those seeking comfort and protection, such as sailors embarking on long, dangerous transoceanic voyages to exotic lands. Many Catholics—on land and at sea—appealed to Mary as "the most powerful intercessor" between humanity and God (Hall and Eckmann 2004:18). Our Lady Star of the Sea was one of the most popular religious figures from whom mariners sought protection, and Mary has been referred by this moniker since the conception of the early Christian Church.

Our Lady Star of the Sea was so beloved and revered that clergy encouraged their maritime members to pray to her. In his sermon given on the Feast of the Most Holy Name of Mary, on 12 September 1442, St. Bernard of Clairvaux reminded his congregation, "Whosoever thou art, if thou findest thyself being tossed in the storms and tempests of this world's flood…do not take thine eyes…from this Star" (Clairvaux 1909:46-47). Spanish mariners adored and trusted Our Lady Star of the Sea so fervently that King Alfonso X of Castile founded the Order of Santa María, a military order charged with protecting the Spanish coast (O'Callaghan 1993:196; Martínez 1988:25-26). This order was commonly referred to as the Order of the Star, and it was not the only maritime order dedicated to Mary (Hall and Eckmann 2004:38). A group of ships' masters,

pilots, and ship-owners of the Carreras de Indias founded the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Fair Wind—a group who made sure seafarers received proper funerals and burials. In addition, this fraternal organization founded hospitals and sailors' homes to provide support for ill, wounded, and retired mariners and provided mutual aid for all Spanish seamen (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:17-43). Men preparing to embark on voyages fervently prayed for Mary's intercession for a safe, fruitful journey at sea.

Around the Spanish coast and throughout their colonial empire, countless shrines dedicated to Our Lady Star of the Sea welcomed mariners. Within these shrines, countless seafarers, and their loved ones, prayed for protection and guidance, while others covered the area with offerings to the Mother of God for her intercession (Anson 1948:35). Mariners—and those involved in the maritime cultural landscape—made pilgrimages to these sites to petition Mary for protection while at sea and a safe return home, so many of the local shrines attracted pilgrims from the surrounding areas. These terrestrial, devotional sites were not the only maritime shrines to Mary as ships themselves became living shrines as many bore her name or one of her many titles (Anson 1948:21). Many believed that naming the ship after Mary—or any other religious figure such as saints—ensured its protection under that being (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:237). The most famous example of a ship bearing Mary's name is Christopher Columbus's flagship, the *Santa María*, and its name highlights the devotion Columbus had for the Mother of God (Columbus 1986:17). Columbus, his crew, and the monarchs invested in his success felt relief as their voyage was under the Virgin's mantle of protection as the flagship bore her name, so the name of the ship was not only a sign of reverence to Mary, but a form of religious insurance for a successful voyage (Hall and Eckmann 2004:48-49).

The religious devotion to Mary did not just occur while seafarers were ashore as sailors petitioned her intercession when they encountered rough waters and prayed to her daily. Catholic crews—including those belonging to Spain—incorporated prayers into their daily routine. Various prayers marked the time of day as specific sets were prayed in the morning, afternoon, and evening. Many of the prayers were directed to Mary. These included the recitation of the Ave Maria, Hail Mary, and singing hymns such as the Salve Regina. In addition, ships often carried images or statues of Mary to remind mariners of her benevolent watch over the vessel and the crew (Anson 1948:20-21). The mariner tradition throughout the Spanish colonial era was to recite the Hail Mary at nightfall every evening for protection against the darkness, and Columbus recorded this

practice in his journal (Columbus 1986:65). On every page of his log, explorer Vasco Nuñez de Balboa thanked religious figures for a safe journey thus far, and he specifically included, "particularly the Virgin, Mother of God" (Anglería 1964:291-314). Spanish seafarers and explorers shared a great devotion to Mary, a devotion they relied on while at sea.

Seafaring was—and continues to be—a very dangerous endeavor, so sailors appealed to Mary for protection when they encountered rough seas and storms. While he was active before the colonial period, King Jaume I of Aragón recalled two times in his life at sea when he directly invoked the Virgin Mary to protect his life while sailing through a storm, and his tale mirrors those of later seafarers (Hall and Eckmann 2004:32). After his safe arrival into port, Jaume immediately "went to the Church of Holy Mary of Vallvert to thank her for the favor and the good" (Burns 1978:15-17). Columbus also called upon Mary many times throughout his voyages. One incident recorded in his journal occurred after the *Santa María* sank and a violent storm caused the remaining two vessels, the *Pinta* and the *Niña,* to lose contact. Columbus appealed to Mary—not to God directly as he believed Mary would be more sympathetic—and promised to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Santa María de Guadalupe if she delivered them safely through the storm (Columbus 1986:174-175). Columbus and two of his ships, the two caravels, eventually survived the storm, and he kept the desperate vows made during the crisis. Mary's central role in Spanish seafaring is best summarized in the words of Juan Martínez Alcalde. He describes Mary as "Captain of the eternal seas that have no ports, the anchor of salvation, the lighthouse of the sailors' day" (Alcalde 1997:206). Mariners' devotion to Mary spanned from early adventures at sea through the fifteenth century Iberian explorations to modern sailors in nations around the globe (Hall and Eckmann 2004:293).

The presence of clergy was common on Spanish colonial vessels as many of these expeditions included religious tools in their exploration and foundation of colonies in the New World. On Christopher Columbus's second voyage, Father Juan Perez—along with four Franciscan monks—joined the crew crossing the Atlantic catering to their religious needs, and he became the first priest to celebrate Mass in the New World (Columbus 1986:145; Anson 1948:16; Starrnam 2016:70). Records also indicate on Ponce de León's voyage to settle Florida in 1521, several secular priests and Dominican friars were included as members of the expeditions (Starr 2016:71). Other clergy who ministered to the spiritual wellbeing on long voyages from the Iberian Peninsula to the Americas and became the spiritual guidance for Spanish colonists include Father

Martin of Valencia, Father John Zumarraga, and St. Francis Solano. These men brought Catholicism to the New World in order to convert the natives and serve their fellow countrymen living as colonists. Prior to landing in the Americas, the priests and monks on the ships preached, led prayers, and performed sacraments such as hearing confessions, performing last rights and burials, and anointing the sick or injured (Anson 1948:16). Priestly duties for these men began even before the sailors ever left port as the Spanish government ordered every sailor attend confession and receive communion prior to boarding the vessel for the New World (Escalante de Mendoza 1575:52-56; Pérez-Mallaína 1998:237). At sea, crews relied on the religious in calm times, but the clergies' faith was needed to bolster the spirits of sailors in trying times by urging the seamen to pray and have faith in God to deliver them from harm. Francis Solano did just this when the vessel he was on shipwrecked in 1589 (Anson 1948:16).

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés's expedition included several religious members, most notably the endeavor's chaplain, Father Francisco López de Mendoza Grajales. Father López's journal offers an invaluable resource describing the journey from Spain to Florida which includes accounts of Catholicism practiced at sea. Various times throughout the work, Father López writes the phrase, "Our Lord and His Blessed Mother" when describing fortuitous events (López 1565). He records an account of the ships traveling through a strong storm where the vessels lost sight of each other and were blown off course. On Father López's ship, he led the men in "fervent prayers" and heard each one of their confessions in case the worst should happen so their souls would be clean of sin, and he also recounted the story of Christ's Passion to remind the men of His mercy and love for mankind (López 1565). The ship—and all the crew—were safely delivered through the storm, but this was not the case for all of the fleet as the galiot, *La Vitoria,* was lost during the hurricane ("Ship Losses of the Adelantado" 1567; Lyon 1976:102). Upon their survival of the storm, Father led the crew in prayers of thanksgiving, and this was repeated when the surviving ships found each other and continued on their journey (López 1565). He goes on to describe a "miracle from Heaven" on 27 August 1565 witnessed by the whole crew when a comet appeared in the sky that illuminated the whole area and moved across the heavens toward the west in the direction of Florida (López 1656). The light lasted long enough to allow the crew to complete the recitation of two *Credos* led by Father (López 1656). The clergy aboard vessels provided comfort and strength through their spiritual leadership for sailors during uncertain times, and they also ministered to those seafarers who failed to survive the journey across the ocean.

Catholic burials at sea followed a similar pattern throughout history both before and after the Reformation. This included anointing the body with Holy Oils and wrapping it in a burial shroud. If the ship was near land where a Christian cemetery was available, the body would be rowed to shore where a Christian burial would take place. If the ship was far out to sea or no proper cemetery was near, crew would bring sand from the bottom of the ship and place it within the shroud with any available rocks so that the body would sink when cast into the water while the priest led the crew in chanted prayers (Anson 1948:23). In connection with Catholic burial practices, the status of sailors' wills highlights the religious interests of these men and show their priorities at the end of their life. A majority of wills identified the signatory as a fervent Catholic who solemnly practiced his faith with zeal (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:240-241). It was a common occurrence for a seaman to donate a generous portion of his meager estate to the Church in order to ensure Masses would be said for his soul (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:238-239). In the Catholic faith it is important to have Masses said for a soul once a person had died as this helps the soul leave Purgatory and enter into Heaven more quickly.

The celebration of the Mass is central to the practice of Catholicism. Conditions at sea often prohibited the celebration of Mass as it was not celebrated if the Body and Blood of Christ was in danger during the sacrament. During calm weather, Mass was able to be celebrated, but during storms or rough seas, a *Missa Nautica*—Dry Mass—was said where the Eucharist was not distributed (Anson 1948:15). As Spanish colonialism progressed, the practice of Mass on vessels became rarer and rarer as only the great military galleons carried chaplains and many of the friars traveling as passengers rarely celebrated Mass while at sea (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:238). The greatest religious ceremony at sea occurred on Saturdays and consisted of singing the hymn, "Salve Regina"—dedicated to Mary—and the recitation of litanies. All the crew and passengers were required to attend (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:238). In addition to the celebration of Mass, the Divine Office—also referred to as Holy Hours or the Liturgy of the Hours—were recited daily while on board the ship. This set of prayers included morning, afternoon, and evening prayers, and these were recited not only as a means of devotion but a way to keep track of time and to mark the beginning and ends of watches (Anson 1948:15). Prayers formed an integral part of everyday life for Spanish sailors. With every turn of the sand clock, pages recited psalms and other prayers to mark the time of day. Sailors also issued prayers and pleas during storms and rough seas, and

finally prayers of thanksgiving were offered upon the ship's arrival at its final destination (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:238).

Although books were considered a somewhat rare commodity, books were almost always present on ships as a means of entertainment for crew and passengers alike. According to the records of the Mexican Inquisition, of the 330 ships reviewed from 1572 to 1600, 326 vessels had evidence of books on board (Fernández del Castillo 1982:351-353). The most common type of book on vessels were those pertaining to religious subjects. These included devotionals—prayer manuals which composed the largest group of reading material—and the greatest number of this type of literary work were those containing the Liturgy of Hours as described above. The next most popular types of religious works were tomes describing the lives of the saints, church history, the histories of the popes, stories of miracles, moral advice, and various other types of devotional materials (Fernández del Castillo 1982:351-400). A few of the top titles found on a myriad of ships belonging to the Carrera de Indias include *Libro de la Oración y la Meditación* by Friar Luis de Granada, *Historia Pontifical* by Gonzalo de Villegas, *Oratorio Espiritual*, and *Flos Sanctorum* by Alonso de Villegas, and all of which are examples of the religious topics listed previously (Fernández del Castillo 1982:351-511). *Libro de la Oración y la Meditación* and *Oratorio Espiritual* are both prayer manuals and were also the most popular books throughout Spain and Spanish America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:161). *Historia Pontifical* describes the storied history of the popes while *Flos Sanctorum* contains various accounts chronicling the lives of saints (Pérez-Mallaína 1998:161). The popularity of these works shows the interest of sailors in religious figures, a desire to procure for themselves eternal life, and a religious zeal that permeated their homeland and carried out into life at sea.

It is abundantly clear that Spanish colonialism and Catholicism were inextricably linked to form the world as it appears today. Religious faith and zeal permeated every aspect of life for a majority of Spaniards living in Spain and abroad, and this fervor connected them despite the differences in location—and even language. Catholicism was practiced on land but also at sea in a myriad of ways such as devotions to Mary and the saints, religious texts, recitations of prayers, and material symbols of faith such as rosaries and medals to protect the sailors and passengers on their voyage.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter explored the historical evidence of religiosity in Spanish colonialism by examining the background of Catholicism and its roots in maritime culture, the essence of Spanish colonialism, terrestrial Catholicism in the New World, and how the practice of faith was translated aboard vessels bound for the unknown terrain of the Americas in order to provide a historical framework for the remainder of the thesis. How this information was gathered is investigated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH

4.1 Introduction

Material culture offers invaluable insights into the lives of those from the past, and this is especially true with the religious practices of Spanish colonial seamen. Within this chapter a variety of artifacts are analyzed as part of this material culture study. First, a brief overview of the artifacts maintained by the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research (BAR) is given followed by the history of the 1715 fleet and the wrecks providing artifacts for this study. The background of the materials composing the objects will also be briefly explored, and the chapter will end with artifact descriptions for each of the artifacts selected for this study, organized by the site of their recovery.

4.2 Overview of the Archaeological Collections

The archaeological assemblages which serve as the basis of this study are associated with the 1715 Tierra Firme Fleet wrecks and are maintained by the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research. The collection is housed in a secure facility in the R. A. Gray Building and the Museum of Florida History, both in Tallahassee, Florida. The time of the scheduled visit to interact with the collections occurred in October 2018 and research was delayed and limited due to the impacts of Hurricane Michael. Despite these limitations, the research was conducted to provide a sampling of religious materials recovered from shipwrecks. The religious objects incorporated in this study were stabilized and conserved by the Florida BAR staff when the items were accessioned. Most of the items show signs of degradation due to their time spent submerged in a marine environment, but many still retain detailed engravings, designs, and images to allow interpretation.

The artifacts in the BAR collection were recovered by treasure hunters in the waters along the Florida coast, so the archaeological context of the artifacts at the site is compromised and not accurately recorded. There is a myriad of other artifact types recovered from the 1715 Fleet sites such as cutlery, coins, kitchen utensils, personal possessions, and jewelry as well as religious items recorded below. In total 289 individual artifacts were selected for study as possible religious items. Of those, only 22 artifacts were analyzed as the religious items from the fleet were limited as often these items were personal possessions worn or carried, so they would be easily saved from wrecking. There were 267 items eliminated from this study based on the following reasons:

1. Item was on loan to another location and was not present in collection.
2. Item was missing from the collection.
3. Item was determined to not have any religious design or purpose (This was the most common factor of elimination).
4. Item did not match catalog description and was not relevant to the study.
5. Item was not originally from 1715 shipwreck site.
6. Item was duplicate of another item and was eliminated to prevent redundancy. (This is the case in only the specific instance of the rosary chain links recovered from 8IR00019).

4.3 1715 Fleet Background

The eleven ships belonging to the 1715 Plate Fleet met a hurricane and sank off the coast of Florida on 31 July 1715 while carrying a variety of products from the colonies back to Spain including precious metals—gold and silver—and agricultural products. The fleet was one of many sent between Spain and the New World beginning in 1537 known as *Flota de Indias,* but this particular fleet was larger and heavier laden than average as it was the first headed to Spain since the War of Spanish Succession began thirteen years previously (Dubcovsky 2018:39-40). The wrecking devastated Spain and its colonies not only in the loss of material wealth, but also in the loss of over a thousand lives (Dubcovsky 2018:40). Over the four years following the wrecking, Spain organized its own salvaging operations and successfully recovered about half of the treasure from the fleet despite the obstacles of weather, currents, pirate interlopers, and sea life—including sharks (Dubcovsky 2018:40).

The rough tides in the area pushed the wreck sites further offshore into deeper water and buried them on the bottom of the seafloor. The site of the 1715 Fleet was first located in 1942 by Charles D. Higgs, an amateur historian. He began excavation on what is known as the Higgs site—8-IR-24—near Sebastian Beach, Florida (Dubcovsky 2018:40; Higgs 1942:25-39). Following World War II, renewed interest in the missing galleons arose as Spanish coins began washing up on shore. Hale G. Smith, an archaeologist, formally excavated the Higgs site in 1946 (Dubcovsky 2018:40; Smith 1949:7-29). The Real Eight Corporation, organized by Kip Wagner, began the modern salvage of the 1715 Fleet by locating several shipwreck sites (Smith 1996:96). Once a new wreck was discovered, the salvors bestowed a nickname on the site based on some feature of

the wreck or the nearby landscape since the actual name of the wrecks are unknown (Smith 1996:96). The early salvage work on these sites was completed under contract with the State of Florida which guaranteed Florida "retained 25 percent of the salvaged materials" (Smith 1996:96). The sites below are associated with artifact collections which provided items for this material culture study discussed below and within Chapter Five. Figure 6 shows the location of the 1715 Fleet wreck sites off the coast of eastern Florida. Site numbers assigned by Florida BAR denote the county (Indian River and St. Lucie) and the number of each site.

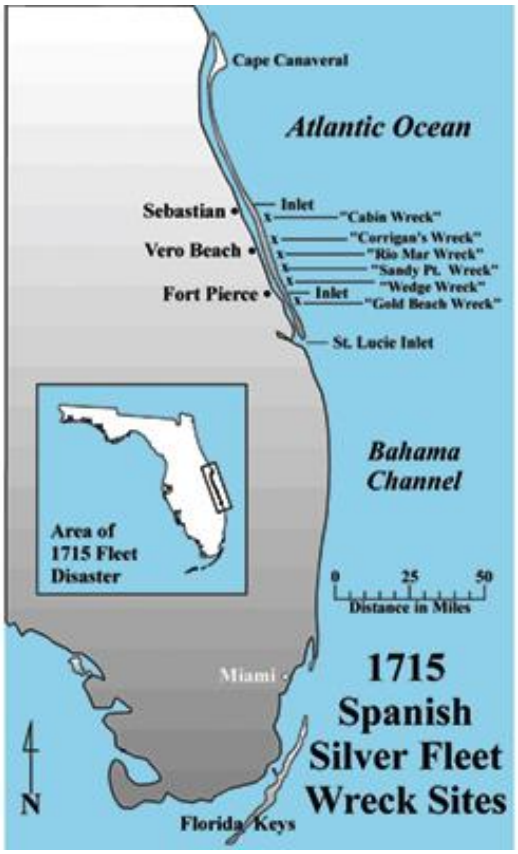

FIGURE 6. 1715 Spanish Silver Fleet Wreck Sites (Gilkes 2014).

4.3.1 8IR00019 "Corrigan's Wreck"

Site 8IR00019, known as Corrigan's Wreck, is assumed to belong to a ship which sailed in the ill-fated 1715 Terra Firme Fleet. The moniker of the site derives from its location directly off property belonging to Hugh Corrigan located in Indian River County, Florida (Weller 2001:13). While the ship has not been clearly identified, it is believed to be one of a number of ships including

the *Santo Cristo de San Roman*. In 1972, the Real Eight Corporation reportedly believed "…the wreck to be that of Ubilla's *Capitana*…it has also been thought to be Echeverz's *Almiranta*" but "considerable archaeological and historical research remains to be done before the ship can be identified accurately as a particular vessel of the 1715 fleet" (Murphy 1977:2). Bob "Frogfoot" Weller (2001:13)—a treasure hunter generally associated with salvage on the 1733 fleet—agrees with the notion that the shipwreck located at this location is the *Capitana Regla*. The borders of the site are not clearly delineated—and this is a common issue with the wreck sites associated with the 1715 fleet and other fleet wrecks. In fact, the area of 8IR00019 is covered by three base maps—Corrigans, Corrigan Middle, and Green Cabin (Gore 1994b).

Regarding the discovery and salvage work conducted on site 8IR00019, there was a serious lack of scientific methodology implemented. Tom Gore (1994b) describes the process undertaken by a salvor named Bill Ellam who "worked extensively on this site." According to Gore (1994b), Ellam "has swam the area using underwater metal detectors, from the middle of Corrigans area, recovering and tracking artifacts, into the middle area, on well into Green Cabin area, recovering both 1715 and 1618 material…recovering artifacts for a distance of nearly 3 miles, possibly further." Given the recovery process outlined above, mistakes easily could have occurred in regard to the attribution of artifacts to particular sites especially given the scope of the area covered by Ellam and in the three base maps. The artifacts recovered by Ellam in the three-mile area have the potential to be recovered from one, singular shipwreck belonging to the 1715 fleet. There is, however, the distinct possibility that there are multiple wrecks within the same area as ships wrecked together, and ships may have even wrecked or settled one on top of the other. The haphazard recovery methods employed during treasure hunting are ill-equipped to distinguish whether the site was composed of a singular wreck site or was the final resting place for multiple ships as salvors are concerned with finding valuable materials rather than recording context. This damages the provenience and context of any artifacts recovered from 8IR00019.

In addition to the work of Real Eight, several other salvage companies worked on the site of 8IR00019 including Treasure Salvors, Bob Marx, and many subcontractors from Salvors Inc. as well as individual actors such as Weller (Gore 1994b). He recalls recovering "a large number of silver coins and artifacts during the 1984 salvage season (Weller 2001:13). Larry Murphy (1977:11-12) notes preliminary treasure hunters recovered a variety of artifacts including coins, glass, cutlery, jewelry, ceramics, armaments, and musket shot, and among these were objects

exhibiting religious motifs and purposes. Artifacts recovered from the site are composed of various materials including iron from anchors and cannons, precious metals in the form of coins, jewelry, and cutlery, ceramic, and glass (Gore 1994a:2). The remains of the ship and its contents are dispersed over a three-mile expanse (Gore 1994a:2). Within the artifacts recovered from site 8IR00019, one distinctly religious item was recovered and accessioned by the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research—a singular gold rosary bead.

4.3.2 8IR00023 "Cabin Wreck"

The second site collection belongs to 8IR00023, known as the Cabin Wreck, another site associated with the 1715 fleet and located in Indian River County, Florida. The site is referred to as the Cabin Wreck as a small cabin sits on the beach opposite the wreck site (Weller 2001:14). The identity of the vessel is unknown, but there are a few theories about which ship is located here. Weller (2001:14) identified the wreck as the *Almiranta San Roman*. This is disputed by Florida archaeologists who believe the wreck's identity is the *Nuestra Señora de la Regla*, the *capitana* of the 1715 fleet (Clausen 1965a; Gore and Vickery 1993). The ship wrecked in 1715 after hitting a succession of reefs near the shoreline, and this wrecking process caused a scattering of artifacts and wreck material between the first and second reef with light scattering occurring "inshore of the first reef" (Gore and Vickery 1993). It is important to note the scattering pattern leading toward the shore is a possible indication of Spanish salvage of the site when items may have been dropped while swimming to shore, or wave movement and tidal shifts could have pushed the artifacts nearer to shore over time. Furthermore, the process of beach erosion potentially shifted the location of shipwreck objects, and it is evident erosion does occur in the area as the cabin—owned by Real Eight—has been moved back from the water three times in the 1960s (Gore and Vickery 1993). The conditions on the site, as recorded in the Underwater Archaeological Site Record by state archaeologist Carl J. Clausen (1965b), potentially protected the site from widespread treasure hunting. The report states the site had "some marine growth and sharks almost always" and visibility is generally poor "depending on the season and weather" (Clausen 1965b).

Real Eight Corporation received the contract to work on site 8IR00023 and carried out salvage operations on the area for several years until the 1990s, but Crossed Anchors Salvage group began working the site in 1993 (Gore and Vickery 1993; Weller 2001:14). The salvage companies recovered a number of valuable items including "gold earrings and brooches containing

441 diamonds, 21 gold rings, gold toothpicks, and other artifacts" (Weller 2001:14). Additional items recovered include cutlery; several forms of armaments such as cannon balls and bar shot; sheet lead, plates, olive jar sherds, glass fragments, Guadalajara ware, and majolica composed of several materials such as pewter, ceramic, iron, glass, silver, and lead. Religious items recovered from 8IR00023 include several medallions made of a variety of metals—silver, brass, and gilt—and fragments of a silver cross.

4.3.3 8IR00027 "Rio Mar Wreck"

The third collection site from the 1715 fleet is site 8IR00027, known as the Rio Mar Wreck, and located in Indian River County, Florida. The site is referred to as the Rio Mar Wreck as it is located in close proximity to the Rio Mar Golf Course. As with the previous two wreck sites, the identity of the ship is unknown, but a few theories have been posited. Salvors believe the estimated one-thousand-ton galleon to be the *Capitana Carmen* also known as the *Nuestra Señora del Carmen, San Miguel y San Antonio* (Weller 2001:13). Florida archaeologists believe the ship "may be the capital ship of Echeverz' fleet" (Clausen 1968a:3).

Salvors began working the site in the early 1960s, and the site shows signs of extensive damage wrought by treasure hunting and salvaging (Gore 1994c:3). A myriad of well-known treasure hunters and salvors have worked the site. Mel Fisher worked the Rio Mar Wreck in 1967 where he "built a barge with three engines and lowers" and recovered "a large amount of gold jewelry, gold coins, gold nuggets, ships hardware, etc." (Gore 1994d). Weller (2001:13) reported Fisher's team recovered "149 gold coins, some gold bars, and two beautiful gold crosses with pearl posts. Bob Marx also explored the site while utilizing his vessel, *Griffon*, for salvaging and utilized the *Griffon* in a way described by Gore (1994d) as "overkill" wreaking havoc on the site by creating "huge craters," scattering artifacts, and moving the position of cannons—to the point where cannons were left upright in huge holes created by Marx. Ironically, all the damage wrought by the actions of the salvors resulted in very little accumulation of wealth for them as "the price of gold was low," and the low potential for financial gain limited the extent of salvaging efforts so an abundance of small pieces went undiscovered (Gore 1994d). Despite the somewhat limited treasure hunting, 8IR00027 suffered irreparable damage ruining the archaeological context of all objects located within the site area. The religious item recovered from the Rio Mar Wreck and accessioned by the state of Florida is a relatively small item, a silver medallion.

4.3.4 8IR00438 “Cannon Pile Wreck”

The next site of the 1715 fleet located in Indian River County, Florida, is 8IR00438, known as the Cannon Pile Wreck. The site’s nickname is derived from the number of cannon found at the wreck. The site is located 2.3 miles North of Wabasso Beach (Armstrong 1990). There is limited historical data regarding the Cannon Pile wreck compared to the information available for the other sites discussed within this work. According to the Archaeological Site Form, recorders believe the site to be either a pirate or salvage vessel associated with the wreck because they believe the ship to be English in origin (Armstrong 1990).

According to site reports, the wreck is completely exposed due to the use of a propeller blower by salvage vessels (Armstrong 1990). An unidentified salvage boat was spotted working this site in May 1989 prior to the official recording of the wreck site by the state of Florida, but by June 1989, 8IR00438 was designated an official shipwreck site after a site inspection (Lassiter 1989). Subsequent to 1989, salvors working as subcontractors for Salvors, Inc. worked the site and recovered a variety of artifacts ranging in value (Lassiter 1989). Cultural materials recovered from the site include metal, ballast, pipe bowl fragments, olive jar fragments, musket balls, gold and silver coins, hand grenades, and iron cannons (Lassiter 1989). The religious artifact recovered from site 8IR00438 and accessioned by the state of Florida is a silver and gilt censer used to burn incense during religious ceremonies such as the Holy Mass.

4.3.5 8SL00017 “Douglass Beach Wreck”

The final 1715 fleet collection comes from site 8SL00017, known as the Douglass Beach Wreck, located in Saint Lucie County, Florida. Similar to site 8IR00438, there is limited historical information available compared to the other wrecks discussed previously, and the wreck site appears to be a small vessel belonging to the 1715 fleet. Again, the identity of the vessel is unconfirmed with some believing it to be the *Nuestra Señora de las Nieves*, but Florida archaeologists were hesitant to assign any identity to the wreck. Archaeologists interpret the vessel as a possible “*patache* of the flota portion of the Armada” (Clausen 1964).

Typical to the previously mentioned sites of the 1715 fleet, treasure hunters operated under a salvage lease to work on the scattered remains located at this site, but the lease for this wreck failed to establish any requirement of recording activity carried out on site further damaging the

archaeological context of site 8SL00017. An example of this behavior is recorded by Tom Gore (1985) who recalled visiting a treasure hunter, Richard McAllister, while he was on site, "I asked him if he needed any field notes or paperwork. He informed us that he wasn't using our paper work and kept his own records but not for us…for now he was doing 'things his way.'" According to the Florida State Master Site File, marine-treasure hunting inflicted severe damage onto the site through extreme levels of disturbance (Gore 1995:2). The continual salvaging activity over the years has completely destroyed "the significance of this site" (Pepe 2000). Material recovered from the Douglass Beach Wreck include ballast, metal, precious metals, wood, ceramics, and glass (Gore 1995:2). The relevant artifacts from site 8SL00017 analyzed for this project include a collection of medallions composed of a variety of metals such as brass, bronze, silver, and copper; and four fragments of a silver crucifix including the corpus.

4.4 Types of Religious Items

Religious items can be difficult to define and identify as people attribute different values to their possessions and objects. For this study it is important to define what is considered a religious item and what types of items are included here. All the below objects are examples of religious artifacts throughout the history of Catholicism, including the Spanish colonial period, but these items remain recognizable in the modern Catholic Church; even the same saints remain popular to this day. This offers a distinctive perspective for the archaeological study of Catholicism as religious items are currently used in a similar fashion as they were in the past. It is of the utmost importance to note that the religious items listed here and elsewhere throughout this study are not magical amulets, charms, or idols, but act as tangible reminders of the faith and religious duties (Deagan 2002:38). Through the proper use of some of these objects, Catholics earn indulgences—generally in the form of reducing the amount of time the person, or their loved ones, spend in Purgatory after death (Lea 1968).

The presence of religious objects on Spanish colonial ships was a popular occurrence as both personal possessions belonging to sailors and passengers as well as commodities for consumption in the New World colonies. This is proven through the study of shipping records and material recovered from shipwrecks, and the most common religious commodity shipped to the colonies from Spain were the components for rosaries such as beads, crosses, and medals which were assembled in the Americas (Deagan 2002:38). Table 1 represents religious items shipped

from Spain to its New World colonies from 1511 to 1613. Although the information within the table predates the material culture included in this thesis, the statistics and information the table conveys is useful as valuable data and descriptions for comparison and evidence of the presence of religious items at sea. Additionally, the sheer volume of religious items sent to the colonies—and the substantial increase in such items shipped over the years—conveyed in the table below, highlights the importance and prevalence of Catholicism and Catholic objects in Spanish lives whether in Spain, in far-flung colonies across the ocean, or while on a ship at sea. Shipwrecks—as well as cemeteries—are the most popular types of archaeological sites for the recovery of religious materials as these items are deposited via disaster or deliberate placement instead of loss or disposal characteristic of other terrestrial sites (Deagan 2002:410).

TABLE 1. Deagan's Religious Items Shipped to the Spanish Colonies, 1511-1613 (Deagan 2002:39-41, Table 4.1).

	1511-26	**1583**	**1590**	**1592**	**1603**	**1613**	**Total**
Rosaries							
Rosarios (Rosaries)		3	60	714	762	780	2,319
Rosarios de ebano (of gilded ebony)			394				394
Rosarios Leonados (tawny colored)			384				384
Rosarios Comunes (common)						340	340
Rosarios de Tavor (of wood from Mt. Tabor)				96		240	336
Rosarios Corrientes (ordinary)					300		300
Rosarios de Ebano (of ebony)			55	118	48		221
Rosarios Toscos (crude)				192			192

	1511-26	1583	1590	1592	1603	1613	Total
Rosarios Pequenos (small)					108		108
Rosarios de Azabache (of jet)			96				96
Rosarios Guarnecidos (gilded or decorated)					84		84
Rosarios de Tabor Pequenos (small, of wood from Mt. Tabor)			78				78
Rosarios de Vidrio (of glass)			37	1	36	2	76
Rosarios de Otra Clase (of another kind)					72		72
Rosarios Enteros de Ebano (Complete, of ebony)				66			66
Rosarios de Portugal (of Portugal)				36			36
Rosarios Grande (large)					24		24
Rosarios de Huesos Blancos (of white bone)		24					24

	1511-26	1583	1590	1592	1603	1613	Total
Rosarios de Granadillo (of red glass or stones)				12			12
Rosarios de Palo de Brasil (of Brazilwood)			12				12
Rosarios Colorados Guarnecidas (of colors, gilded or decorated)			12				12
Rosario de Pastilla Cugasador (tablet or bar-shaped beads)			11				11
Rosarios de Azabache (of jet)				10			10
Rosarios de Pasta (of paste)			9				9
Rosarios de Cuentas de Vidrio Dorado (of gilded glass beads)				6			6
Rosarios de Corales Falsos (of imitation coral)			6				6
Rosarios de Coral (of coral)				5			5
Rosarios de Cuentas (of beads)		2					2

	1511-26	1583	1590	1592	1603	1613	Total
Rosario Azabache Gordo (of fat jet beads)				1			1
Rosario Coral con Extremor Falso (of coral with an imitation terminal piece)			1				1
Rosario Cristal con Extremor de Oro (of crystal with gold terminal piece)		1					1
Rosario de Ambar (of amber)	1						1
Rosario de Coral con Cruz (of coral with a cross)		1					1
Rosario de Coral para Guarnecer (of coral to decorate)			1				1
Rosario de Olor (scented)					1		1
Rosario de Vidrio Azul y Negro (of blue and black glass)						1	1

	1511-26	1583	1590	1592	1603	1613	Total
Rosario Leonado con Pasos de la Pasion (tawny-colored, with medals representing the passions of Christ)					1		1
Rosarios Azul (blue)						1	1
Rosarios Verde de Vidrio (of green glass)						1	1
Total Rosaries	1	31	1,156	1,257	1,436	1,365	5,246
Tercios de Rosarios (packs of rosaries)				60			60
Tercios de Rosarios Guarnecidos (packs of decorated rosaries)					24		24
Tercios de Rosarios Negros (packs of black rosaries)						12	12
Total Tercios of Rosaries				60	24	12	96
Crosses and Images							
Cruces de Vidrio (glass crosses)			12				12

	1511-26	1583	1590	1592	1603	1613	Total
Veneras de Azabache (jet veneras)					6,040		6,040
Guarniciones para Rosarios (decorations for rosaries)				72			72
Imagenes para Rosario (images for rosaries)				75			75
Medallas de Roma Rosario (medals from Rome for rosaries)					1,872		1,872
Medallas de Rosarios					3,600		3,600
Total Crosses and Images			12	147	11,512		11,671
Other Items							
Cencerros y Campanillas (cowbells and open bells)						276	276
Rolletitos de Cera Pequenos (small rolls of wax)					576		576

Sources: *Registros de la Casa de Contratación,* Archivo Generál de las Indias, Seville (microfilm copy in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville)
1511—*Contratación* #1451
1523—*Contratación* #1079

1583—*Contratación* #1080
1590—*Contratación* #s 1089, 1092
1592-93—*Contratación* #1099
1603—*Contratación* #1143
1613—*Contratación* #s 1159, 1160

The most prominent Catholic items popular during colonial Spain were metal adornments such as crucifixes—a cross with the body of Jesus affixed—and devotional medallions. The medallions depict saints, the various epithets and invocations of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Jesus, and events within the Church. In addition to these human figures, other designs, symbols, and inscriptions are commonly present on a "coin-shaped metal" (Deagan 2002:41). Average Spanish citizens began to own religious medals around the beginning of the sixteenth century; these were composed of more inexpensive metals such as brass, bronze, pewter, or lead (Mulhern 1967:547; Thurston 1913:114; Salton 1969:58-59; Deagan 2002:42). In the sixteenth century, Pope Pius V introduced papal blessings of medals which led to the common practice of priestly blessings of personal religious objects further increasing their sanctity (Mulhern 1967:547; Deagan 2002:42). According to standards and mandates put forth by the Vatican, "medals must be blessed by a priest…they must be of a solid, nonperishable substance; and the person or event portrayed…must be certified by the Church" (Deagan 2002:43). Common saints to be depicted on medals include Saint Christopher, patron saint of travel; Saint Nicholas, patron saint of sailors; Saint Barbara, patron saint of explosions and who was often invoked by gunners and those utilizing explosives; and Saint Anthony of Padua, patron saint of lost articles—including lost people. Table 2 lists popular images and saints featured on devotional medallions common in Spanish America.

These items, crucifixes and medallions, are often worn as jewelry—most often as pendants and hat badges—but are sometimes incorporated into bracelets or attached to bracelets, clothing, or books and have been used since the third century but became common during the sixteenth century (Deagan 2002:41). At times medallions can also be carried in a pocket. Crucifixes can also be attached to walls, placed in a base as décor, or held in hand. Religious symbols were also incorporated into personal jewelry, most commonly rings, and dominated Spanish fine jewelry beginning in the fifteenth century until well into the seventeenth century (Muller 1972; Evans 1970:73-80; Deagan 2002:41). While there have been attempts to classify and organize religious medallions, the sheer volume of images and complexity of design variations null these efforts as Leo Kunze (1885) identified more than 700 different stylized versions of Mary (Deagan 2002:46).

A useful tool for identifying images depicted on medals are contemporary religious works of art such as paintings to compare associated symbols and features (Deagan 2002:46).

TABLE 2. Deagan's Images and Attributes Appearing Frequently on Spanish American Religious Medals (Deagan 2002:44-46, Table 4.2)

Image	**Attributes**	**Intercession/Associations**	**Dates of Most Frequent Archaeological Occurrences**
Anne	Shown with Mary	Mother of Mary	1700-50
Anthony of Padua	Christ Child on book; book and lily	Franciscan devotion; finder of lost articles	1630-70
Barbara	Tower; sword, chalice	Patroness of miners, gunners; protection from lightning	1750-1800
Benedict/Benedictine Cross	Monastic cowl on head, holding up a rule or rod, book in hand	Patron of Benedictine order	1720-80
Bernard of Siena	Tablet with IHS surrounded by rays	Franciscan devotion	1650-70
Carlos Borromeo	Rope around neck; one hand raised in benediction, other holding book	Benedictine devotion (ca. 1610)	1700-1800
Catherine-Alexandria	Spike wheel; palm leaf and sword	Protectress of the dying; patroness of young girls, students, and artisans	1600-1750
Catherine of Siena	Lily	Dominican devotion	1650-1700

Image	Attributes	Intercession/Associations	Dates of Most Frequent Archaeological Occurrences
Christ Corcovado	Christ with back bent, carrying cross		1730-80
Christopher	Crossing water with Christ Child on his shoulder	Patron of travelers, protector against danger in water and sudden death	1730-1800
Crucifixion	Christ on cross		1720-50
Dominic	Rosary, lily	Dominican devotion	1700-50
Holy Eucharist	Chalice with kneeling angels		1650-1750
Felipe Neri	Globe of fire; heart on exterior of body	Founder of the Italian Oratorians	1740-1800(?)
Frances Xavier	Jesuit robe; JAVIER of XAVIER inscription	Jesuit devotion; patron of foreign missions (ca. 1622)	1680-1780
Francis Assisi	Vision of Christ Child in rays; receiving stigmata	Founder of Franciscans	1680-1750
Francisco de Paula		Franciscan devotion; patron of seafarers	1740-1800(?)
George (Giorgio, Jorge)	Dragon; depicted on horseback	Patron of soldiers and armorers; invoked against plague, syphilis, and leprosy	1700-50

Image	Attributes	Intercession/Associations	Dates of Most Frequent Archaeological Occurrences
Head of Mary/Head of Christ	Name inscriptions		1650-1700
Holy Name	"IHS" with three arrows below and a cross above	Symbol of Bernardino de Siena, a Franciscan in 1700s, a Jesuit symbol	1630-70
Ignatius Loyola		Jesuit devotion	1750-1800(?)
James (Santiago)	Scallop shell, armor	Patron of Spain; protector of soldiers in battle	1630-70
Jerome	Hermit with lion, skull, loincloth	Patron of Hieronymites	1580-1600
John Evangelist	Lamb lying on a book, hermit with long cross in hand, dressed in skins; cup with serpent	Patron of booksellers, protector against poison	1600-25; 1720-50
Joseph	Accompanied by Mary and/or Jesus	Patron of fathers, artisans, and carpenters	1720-50
John of the Cross (Juan de la Cruz)	Crucifix and lilies, barefoot	Carmelite devotion, founder of Reformed Carmelites (ca. 1726)	1740-1800(?)
John Capistrano	Crucifix, banner and cross	Franciscan devotion (ca. 1724)	1700-1780
Nicolas Tolentino	Basket of bread	Intercedes for the sick and women in labor	1740-1800(?)

Image	Attributes	Intercession/Associations	Dates of Most Frequent Archaeological Occurrences
Pascual de Baylon	In adoration before a host	Protector of the Eucharist (canonized in 1690)	1700-1780
Paul	Sword and a book	Patron of missionaries, basket makers, and rope makers	1750-1800
Peter	Keys, sometimes a fish, boat, inverted cross	Patron of Catholic Church, gatekeeper to heaven	1630-1730
Peter Alcantara	Star over head, walking with lay brother	Franciscan devotion (ca. 1669)	1740-1800(?)
Rosa de Lima	Roses, crown of thorns, Christ Child on rose	First American saint; patroness of South America (ca. 1671)	1740-80
Stanislaus Kostka	On couch with angel by his side	Jesuit devotion (ca. 1726)	1750-1800
Teresa de Avila	Nun with fiery arrow in breast or dove above her head, inscription of name	Carmelite devotion; founder of reformed Carmelites (ca. 1622)	1725-50
Holy Family	Jesus, Mary, and Joseph	Protectors of families	1720-1800(?)
Thomas Aquinas (Tómas Aquino)	Sun on breast, book shedding rays	Dominican devotion	1740-1800(?)

Image	Attributes	Intercession/Associations	Dates of Most Frequent Archaeological Occurrences
Vincent Ferrer	Has wings, crucifix	Dominican devotion (ca. 1455)	1720-50
Virgin (del Rosario)	Virgin holding rosary, monks kneeling at her feet; winged angels, roses	Dominican devotion	1740-1780
Virgin (Carmel)	Virgin with Carmelite habit, Christ Child on one arm, scapular, souls at feet	Intercedes for souls in Purgatory; Carmelite devotion	1650
Virgin (Guadalupe)	Virgin on crescent surrounded by rays	Protectress of Mexico	1680-1750
Virgin (Immaculate Conception)	Virgin on crescent moon with halo of stars	Franciscan devotion	1580-1650
Virgin (Pilar)	Virgin standing on pillar	Associated with Santiago, patron of Spain	1730-80
Virgin (Misericordia, "Mother of all")	Virgin with outstretched arms, sheltering people with cloak	Protector of all but especially sailors	1700-1750

Another popular type of religious object in Catholicism is the rosary—also called rosary beads. This is a string of beads that forms a circle and contains five decades of ten beads each.

On one end of the rosary is attached a crucifix with five additional beads and a rosary center. Generally, the beads are composed of wood, stone, pearl, rope, or metal and are on a metal chain or cord, while the crucifix and rosary center are composed of some form of metal. Rosaries ranged from very plain and simple to ornate and extravagant, but they were common among all strata of society as was the prayers they signified, and many people often carried rosaries with them at all times. The rosary is a tool for praying with the user reciting specific prayers on each bead until the full loop is completed. Table 3 lists the types and prices of rosaries shipped from Spain to the New World according to Spanish shipping records from 1526 to 1618. Even though the information represented in the table is dated before the material culture covered in this study, the statistics and information the table conveys is useful as consumption patterns of religious objects remained static, and it offers valuable data and descriptions for comparison.

TABLE 3. Deagan's Rosaries Listed with Prices in Shipping Records to the Caribbean, 1526-1618 (Deagan 2002:67, Table 4.3)

Rosary Type	Number	Percent	Price Range
Wood	1,143	59.0	
Ebony			6-8 rls./dozen
Gilded Ebony			10 rls.-5 ducats/dozen
Mt. Tabor wood			1-4.5 rls. Each
Mt. Tabor wood, small			4.5 rls. Each
Brazilwood			2 rls. Each
Leonados			
Tawny-colored	385	19.4	7.5 rls./dozen
With medals showing the passion of Christ			7.5 rls. Each
Glass			
Plain	240	12.4	3 rls./dozen, 4.5 rls. Each
Gilded			19 rls. Each
Jet	107	5.5	2-6 rls. Each

Rosary Type	Number	Percent	Price Range
White Bone	24	4.2	18 rls./dozen
Paste	18	0.9	3 rls. each
Pastilla cugasador			12 rls. each
Other	11	0.6	
Coral			30 rls. each
Coral to deorate			8 ducats each
Ambar			Not given
Crystal			3,740 mvds. each
"de color"	24		340 mvds. each

Note: 1 real (rl.) = 44 maravedis (mvds.); 1 ducat (escudo) = 16 reales or 704 maravedis.

Statues, figurines, sculptures, and icons—sacred art—are also common religious reminders. Similar to the case of the medallions, statues often portray saints, Mary, and Jesus. Statues can be composed of a variety of materials including wood, stone, clay, and metals and be various sizes. Again, there is a wide gamut of detail in statues, and there are statues for every class of person. Statues and sculptures are important in Catholicism, and almost every church has at least one statue on display that is revered—but not worshipped. A specific example of sculptures and icons commonly found throughout Catholic churches around the globe are the stations of the cross consisting of artistic renditions of the fourteen stations each depicting one moment in Jesus' crucifixion story. Icons, ornate religious paintings, are also commonly found in churches and also depict saints, angels, Mary, or Jesus.

An additional type of religious object is ceremonial items. This is a varied category containing a myriad of objects. These include censers—incense dispensers, used during the celebration of Mass—monstrance, pyxes, patens, chalices, bells, and candle holders. Included in this section, but not necessarily a ceremonial item, are religious books such as Bibles and prayer books. A few of these books are ceremonial, but there were also copies available for all strata of the population. Most commonly book clasps and hardware are recovered from ship wrecks rather than fully intact books, and ceremonial religious texts were often adorned with metal accoutrements.

4.5 Materials Background

Through the papal support and ratification of the Treaty of Tordesillas between the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs, Pope Alexander VI enacted a series of events with lasting repercussions for not only Spain, but also the entirety of the globe. The foremost of these was the influx of wealth from the New World to Europe, which catapulted Spain into the center of world affairs as the first truly global power. Upon the discovery of vast sources of precious metals, especially gold and silver, in the newly explored lands of America, Spain became the wealthiest European nation and began European dependency on foreign sources of valuable materials. The precious metals imported from Spanish colonies in the New World and Africa were used to create a multitude of objects for consumption by the Spanish people in Europe and abroad including a plethora of religious and devotion items. There is no documentation of any regular production of religious objects within the American colonies, and this lack is corroborated with shipping records indicating large quantities being shipped to the colonies (Deagan 2002:43). Gold, silver, brass, bronze, and copper were all popular metals in the creation of devotional medals, rosaries, crosses, crucifixes, and others and were often produced in Rome and Spain (Deagan 2002:41, 43). More ornate pieces featured embellishments of precious stones, exotic wooden inlays, pearls, and intricate metalwork. The pattern of extracting and refining precious materials from the colonies, transporting the ingots, gems, and woods to Europe to be manufactured into religious items, and shipping the finished products back to the colonies for consumption is an example of the mercantilist economic system established by European colonialism. A brief overview of the most common materials utilized in the creation of religious items—silver, gold, and copper—are described in the following sections.

4.5.1 Silver

The most prolific precious resource mined from the Spanish New World was silver, and Mexican mines produced the largest quantities shipped back to Spain for circulation and refinement into religious and personal items. In fact, "half of the silver raised in New Spain is the product of only three districts, viz. Guanaxuato, Catorce, and Zaccatecas" (Mill 1824:72-73). "Large-scale silver extraction began after 1550, and by the end of the sixteenth century, bullion (some of it gold but most silver) represented 80 percent of early Mexico's total exports" (Haskett 1991:447). A majority of New Spain mines were located in the Sierra Madres of northern Mexico,

but a few of the most-producing mines were located centrally in Taxco, and there were multiple mines located in the Andes in South America as well (Haskett 1991:447-448). The mining district of Potosí, located in modern-day Bolivia, is one of the most famous silver producing areas in the Americas and reached its production zenith in the late sixteenth century (Brown 2012:9-11).

The conditions in Spanish colonial mines were notorious as the workers were often a form of involuntary labor by indigenous people, so it is not surprising several series of labor strikes occurred throughout colonial Spanish mining operations (Haskett 1991:448). The first major mining strike in Taxco began in 1534 and lasted until the 1540s, and while the strikes did impact the amount of silver retrieved from the depths of the Taxco mines, the mine had reportedly produced "millions of pesos' worth of silver" by the eighteenth century (Haskett 1991:449). The vast amounts of silver mined and refined in New Spain colonies arrived in Spain to be used as coinage and worked into jewelry, cutlery, décor, religious medallions, crucifixes, rosary beads, chains, and crosses.

4.5.2 Gold

Gold arguably acted as the major catalyst to Columbus' voyage and the establishment of colonies in the New World. Despite Spanish hopes of cities of gold—El Dorado—and gold nuggets the size of boulders filling the Americas, silver proved much more attainable as gold proved to be scant. Compared to the amount of silver produced in Spanish colonial mines—especially those located in Mexico—relatively limited amounts of gold were mined in the New World and these deposits were quickly depleted (Brown 2012:5). Additionally, a substantial amount of gold was procured from mines in Spanish holdings in North Africa. Thus, Spain became the gateway for African and New World gold entering into Europe, and a fair amount of the raw material was likely turned into religious implements for consumption in Spain and its colonies (Liss 1992:157). In the Spanish colonies located in the Americas, gold was commonly mined from veins in mountainous terrain, especially in the province of Oaxaca and through "washing" alluvial soil in the province of Sonora (Brown 2012:7; Mill 1824:73).

4.5.3 Copper

While the Spaniards focused on mining silver and gold, rich deposits of copper were widely ignored in the initial stages of Spanish colonization. This quickly changed, however, as copper

was a valuable resource to produce armament as well as personal items and décor. Copper also was mixed with other elements to form bronze and brass—compounds used for a variety of items (Barrett 1981:1). Copper was commonly retrieved from the Espiritu Santo mines located in Coyuca, Mexico, despite the fact the mine primarily produced silver (Barrett 1981:2). Another popular copper mine was located at La Huacana with another smaller deposit in Taxco connected to the silver veins (Brown 2012:7-8). Commonly, mines contained several different elements so multiple metals could be harvested from a singular site. Copper mining in Mexico and other Spanish colonies never reached the same levels as the silver and gold mines, but it did supplement other sources of copper (Barrett 1981:29).

4.6 1715 Artifact Collection

Within this material culture study, religious artifacts from five site numbers belonging to the 1715 collection are used: 8IR00019 (Corrigan's Wreck), 8IR00023 (Cabin Wreck), 8IR00027 (Rio Mar Wreck), 8IR00438 (Cannon Pile Wreck), and 8SL00017 (Douglass Beach Wreck). While these objects are listed in groups corresponding to site number, they lack provenience because very little information is known about their context. For this thesis, the artifacts will remain grouped according to their site numbers in order to remain consistent with the organization of the BAR catalog.

4.6.1 8IR00019 "Corrigan's Wreck"

Site 8IR00019 has one religious item in the BAR collection. 07.A.203.000001.0001 is a fragment of a gold rosary bead. The fragment appears to be roughly half of a hollow gold bead with ornate detail. The gold forms swirls and circular coils around the bead while the end consisted of eight petal-shaped openings surrounding the opening. The other pieces of the rosary are not part of the collection.

4.6.2 8IR00023 "Cabin Wreck"

Site 8IR00023 has eight religious items housed in the BAR collection and available for analysis for this study. Of these items seven were religious medallions of various metals. There was one fragment of a silver medallion [07A.202.000007.0001], a more intact silver medallion [93A.671.000113.0001], and three brass religious medallions [93A.671.000173.0001;

93A.671.000174.0001; and 97A.087.000010.0001]. In addition, there is a gilt medallion [96A.057.016055.0001] and a medallion made of an unidentified metal [95A.050.015857.0001]. Also in the collection are two fragments of a silver cross [06A.151.000007.0001].

All of the medallions show considerable corrosion distorting the images engraved on the medals. Furthermore, the medallions are double-sided with images on both sides of the artifact. The degree of corrosion differs between all the medallions with some images almost impossible to distinguish whereas others are a little easier to interpret. Despite the levels of corrosion, there are apparent designs recognized on each medallion—typically it is a human figure. Other designs include lettering and other religious symbols. Greater interpretation of these images and who they may depict are undertaken in the following chapter. The artifacts are a variety of sizes, but share a circular, oval shape and were likely pendants, and this interpretation will be further explored later in this thesis.

The two fragments of the silver cross [06A.151.000007.0001] come together to form an incomplete cross. Both show signs of corrosion and linear breaks. The smaller fragment has one linear break on one end while the rest of the end is intact. The larger fragment has three linear breaks. The two fragments fit together as their linear breaks almost match perfectly. The cross appears to have ornamental designs on the end. An additional design feature apparent on the cross is raised edges along the outside of the cross so that the inner portion of appears inset.

4.6.3 8IR00027 "Rio Mar Wreck"

Site 8IR00027 yielded one relevant artifact for this material culture study, a silver religious medallion [72A.018.000207.0001]. The medallion shows signs of corrosion in its somewhat irregular round shape and features heavy oxidation. Because of the levels of oxidation, the medal appears black and the image and designs on one side of the medal are completely unrecognizable. The reverse side of the medal is equally as heavily oxidized, but the design is recognizable to allow for interpretation.

4.6.4 8IR000438 "Cannon Pile Wreck"

The collection offered one religious artifact from site 8IR00438 which was a silver and gilt censer [95A.051.015908.0001]. The artifact is composed of four pieces—lid, base, and two pieces of either a clamp or a seal—and appears to have been slightly crushed either in the wrecking

process or while in the marine environment. The base of the censer is composed of a delicate, thin cylinder composed of silver with gilt accents. Light pattern etching is present on the outside of the base. Corrosion has caused thinning of the silver in places leading to the creation of holes on one side of the censer, and the gilt has worn off so most of the base is now silver in color. The remains of concretion are apparent on the base and inside the bottom. The bottom of the censer is also coming unattached from the walls of the base. The lid of the censer features six flower-petal holes surrounding the loop at the top and features the same etching pattern on the body. The rim of the lid has broken on one side, and the gray remnants of concretion are apparent on the ring at the top and between two of the petal-shaped holes. The two parts of the clamp or seal are brittle with corrosion and appear to join together to form a complete circlet. The pieces are composed of silver with gilt covering which has worn away, and the thin metal has corroded. One piece appears to have a knob for tightening which gives rise to the theory of its use as a clamp.

The censer is being included in this study of Spanish religious objects despite the interpretations of archaeologists that the wreck where it was recovered is English in origin, as it is believed the ship was working in the capacity of salvor or pirate. Therefore, it is highly probable that the censer was an object recovered from one of the 1715 Spanish wrecks by this English vessel, which subsequently wrecked leaving the censer to be added to the archaeological record and later recovered. Interpretations of the possible application of these pieces are included in the next chapter.

4.6.5 8SL00017 "Douglass Beach Wreck"

From the BAR collection, the most religious artifacts are derived from site 8SL00017. These include a variety of religious medallions composed of various metals: one brass [93A.673.000106.0001], one bronze [04A. 121.000005.0001], one copper [98A.164.040836.0001], and three silver [82A.170.008325; 98A.164.039026.0001; and 93A.673.000074.0001]. The final grouping of artifacts from this wreck site are four fragments of a silver crucifix [93A.673.000059.0001; 93A.673.000059.0002; 93A.673.000059.0003; and 93A.673.000059.0004].

The religious medallions in this collection share many similarities as those listed in the previous sections. The medallions are circular or oval in shape except for 93A.673.000106.0001, the brass medal, which appears to have been octagonal in shape as it has eight straight sides with

sharp edges which are still visible on four sides of the medal. The bottom four sides are corroded so the edges have been smoothed to appear almost round. The other outlier in shape is 93A.673.000074.0001, a silver medal, and has an irregular shape resembling a bean. This is possibly the product of corrosion, or perhaps some irregular process of production. This medallion also suffered the worst under corrosion, and the images on either side are impossible to distinguish. All the medals show signs of corrosion which weathered away the sharp edges of the depictions on either side of the medallions. This group of medallions were less affected by oxidation. Interpretations on the images depicted on the medals are presented in the next chapter.

The fragments of the silver crucifix are an excellent example of Catholicism at sea. Four fragments—three parts of the cross [93A.673.000059.0001; 93A.673.000059.0002; and 93A.673.000059.0003] and a portion of the corpus [93A.673.000059.0004]—were recovered from the site, but they do not combine to form the entire crucifix. All fragments are composed of silver and are adorned with a carved leaves motif. The recovered portion of the corpus depicts the body of Jesus from head to lower thigh with the arms and legs missing, and the body was fully formed from front to back. The pieces of the cross are also formed in three-dimensions with the leaves on every side. The artifacts are labelled as four separate artifacts, but they will be treated as one artifact for the interpretations and the artifact biography in the next chapter.

4.7 Miscellaneous Artifacts

In addition to the artifacts housed by BAR, other religious items housed in a variety of museums and archives in St. Augustine and Tallahassee, Florida, are described below and interpreted in Chapter Five. Most of these objects originate from terrestrial sites and not shipwrecks, but they offer an important comparison to the shipwreck artifacts at BAR. In addition to a comparison between terrestrial sites and maritime sites, these artifacts also offer a glimpse of faith at sea as a majority of the objects traveled across the ocean either with their owner or as religious provisions for the fledgling colonies in the New World. Therefore, most of these objects have a maritime chapter during their lifespan regardless of their final resting place. In addition, St. Augustine, as a coastal city, is part of the maritime landscape, so the religious actions of its populace are directly tied to maritime culture and pious behaviors at sea.

4.7.1 DOSA (Mission de Nombre de Dios and Father Miguel O'Reilly House Museum)

One source of additional religious items is the Catholic Diocese of St. Augustine (DOSA) with items housed at the Father Miguel O'Reilly House Museum under the curation of the Sisters of St. Joseph. The Hurricane Madonna (Figure 7), also known as the Hurricane Lady, is an important religious item for the seafaring community of St. Augustine. While the Hurricane Madonna is slightly outside the timeframe of this study, she offers an important comparison and example of the enduring connection between Spanish Catholicism and the sea. The Hurricane Madonna arrived in St. Augustine in the late 1700s or early 1800s via a Spanish cargo ship. According to the story, the ship was floundering in the treacherous St. Augustine Inlet when a hurricane engulfed the ship. The captain ordered the crew to jettison any unnecessary weight, including the cargo, in order to lighten the ship's burden. The crew discovered a statue of Mary below deck which no one remembered loading onto the ship and with no record of where the statue was to be delivered. The captain ordered the crew to kneel before the statue and fervently pray for deliverance from the storm, and he promised to enshrine her forever in the port of St. Augustine. Almost immediately the storm calmed, and the ship limped its way into port where the captain quickly fulfilled his promise to Mary by contacting the prominent Spanish family, Rodrigues, who graciously agreed to become her stewards (Murray 2013:50-51). The Hurricane Madonna remains in St. Augustine to current day.

The statue stands at four feet in height with a body composed of "roughly hewn red wood" while her head and hands are composed of pale bisque (Murray 2013:33). Her body is somewhat posable with her limbs attached via joints. She underwent refurbishment in 1980 when her original dress of blue silk with an elaborate lace overdress began to disintegrate upon her removal from her glass housing. The original gold Spanish lace mantilla worn on the statue's head also suffered irreparable damage when exposed to the air. The statue features chestnut human hair styled in "finger-lock curls" (Murray 2013:33). The Hurricane Madonna was accessorized with a metal crown adorned with the Star of David, a pendant, and several finely embroidered scapulars. Within her right hand, the Madonna holds a dagger—thought to represent the sword that pierced her heart at Jesus' crucifixion (Murray 2013:33).

FIGURE 7. Hurricane Lady at the Father Miguel O'Reilly House Museum, St. Augustine, Florida.

4.7.2 Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee

The Florida State Museum located in the R. A. Gray Building in Tallahassee, Florida, utilizes the objects housed by BAR for many of their exhibits. One such exhibit focuses on religion in Florida and a number of the artifacts eliminated from the analysis were loaned items featured here. These items are presented to provide context for the other objects in their collections.

The first artifact is a gold Marian pendant—also known as a Venera, "a symbol of devotion and identity in confraternity"—accented with nine amber stones [94A.036.016477.0001] (Deagan 2002:41). The object belongs to the site, 8IR00000, which denotes the artifacts associated with this site were recovered from the 1715 fleet wrecks in Indian River County, Florida. Any greater provenience beyond the general location is unknown, and the Venera lacks any contextual relationship to any of the specific sites recorded in above sections.

Several artifacts from the site, 8IR00023, were also displayed in the museum. The first such item is a silver angel figurine [93A.671.000134.0001]. The figure is mostly intact and shows great stylistic detail. The clothes of the angel have an organic drape that mirrors the movement of actual cloth. Both wings are present and exhibit ornate feathered patterns. It appears the angel's

right arm is missing and there is some degree of degradation due to corrosion as the edges of the wings appear thinned and the facial features are indistinguishable. Another object from this wreck site is a gold rosary embellished with a Saint Anthony medal, Virgin Mary medal, and pilgrim medal on an ornate chain [98A.170.031096.0001]. The gold chain is composed of elongated links which originally had fifty-five beads. The crucifix is also composed of gold, and hollow gold beads remain as the "Our Father" beads between the decades. The images and designs on all the medals and the crucifix are clearly visible and the piece does not appear tarnished or corroded. The chain also is intact and fully linked around the entire rosary. A silver crucifix [72A.015.000295.0001] is the final religious item on display at the museum from this site. The corpus is still attached to the cross, but the figure is missing the right arm. The crucifix has some corrosion as portions of the cross are thinner than other areas, but the cross retains an intricate pattern resembling woodgrain.

4.8 Typologies for Study's Religious Items

In accordance with the methodological framework undertaken for this thesis, typologies have been created to offer another way to categorize the religious artifacts mentioned in the above sections. The creation of the typologies allows another way to categorize and organize the material which may reveal relationships and similarities between the items not as apparent from simply grouping them based on their site location. The typology divides the items based on their composition to allow a better interpretation of potential ownership.

The artifact collections provided a rather limited number of religious items, but these items were composed of a variety of materials. Material type is crucial in determining probable ownership of items as some materials have a higher cost limiting who could afford to own them. This notion is true with religious items as well, and—by dividing the objects based on material—it is easier to understand the religiosity of the different classes on ships, as both passengers and crew. Traditionally, gold has been highly prized, so the items composed of gold belonged to the wealthier strata of society—on ship gold items could potentially belong to captains, wealthy passengers, high-ranking clergy, or vessel owners. Silver is somewhat less valuable than gold, but items made of silver would not belong to the lower masses. It is likely the silver artifacts belonged to a wider range of the populace, upper middle to high class, such as passengers, merchants, captains, and—potentially—higher ranking crew as well as ceremonial items belonging to the

Church to be used by clergy. The objects composed of brass and bronze had a wider range of ownership as these materials were less costly, so items composed of these metals could belong to any crew member, clergy, soldier, or passenger although not likely to be owned by the wealthier strata of society. Of the twenty-two artifacts included in this study, only one is composed of an unknown material. The other twenty-one are included in Table 4 which shows the distribution of materials from the collection. The religious items have been categorized in three groups in Table 4: personal prayer—composed of rosaries, the angel figurine, and crucifixes; adornment—medallions, the cross, and the Venera; and ceremonial—the censer.

Table 4. Religious Artifacts by Material

Artifact Type	**Gold**	**Silver**	**Gilt**	**Brass**	**Bronze**	**Copper**	**Silver/Gilt**
Personal Prayer	2	3	--	--	--	--	--
Adornment	1	7	1	4	1	1	--
Ceremonial	--	--	--	--	--	--	1

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief analysis and background information on a variety of artifacts and their wreck sites. The chapter provided artifact descriptions for each of the artifacts selected for this study and concluded with exploring typologies relating the objects to one another. While the typologies illustrate an illuminating means of artifact comparison, Chapter Five presents the objects organized by wreck site to maintain a degree of context. The brief overview within this chapter provides a necessary introduction of the artifacts which are examined and interpreted in more depth in the following chapter utilizing historical, methodological, and archaeological information provided in all preceding chapters of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: INTERPRETATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapters in this thesis have covered the theoretical and methodological framework for this study, the historical background of Spanish colonialism and Catholicism, and an overview of the archaeological and historical research of the 1715 Fleet and religious objects. Within this chapter, information from all the previous chapters will be incorporated to create interpretations of the artifacts included in this study. The next section of this chapter consists of artifact biographies of fourteen items in the 1715 Fleet collections. Following these biographies are the artifact biographies for the items housed at the Museum of Florida History. The chapter concludes with a section explaining the interpreted images of the artifacts and contemporary examples of medallions featuring the same religious figures where possible.

5.2 Artifact Biographies 1715 Fleet Collections

Chapter Two contains a comprehensive overview of the theoretical concept of artifact biographies. In order to compose the artifact biographies below, all available data for each artifact is included. Immediately following the artifact biography, photographs of the item are presented in order to provide a visual representation of the item and to highlight the valuable information gained from the study of unprovenienced artifacts. It is important to note here that since the 1715 Fleet was headed to Spain carrying goods and materials from the New World, there were no or very few religious items in the cargo of the eleven vessels, so the religious objects recovered at the sites listed in the previous chapter and below are highly likely possessions of crewmembers and passengers.

5.2.1 Artifact I- 07A.202.000007.0001

Artifact 07A.202.000007.0001 was chosen for an artifact biography because it is an example of a unique design pattern which invites interpretation, and it was recovered from site 8IR00023. Even though the artifact is a fragment of a medallion, enough of the design is visible for some hypothesis about its subject matter and its usage. According to BAR, the medallion is composed of silver. The medal is double-sided with one side of the medal depicting what appears to be the profile view of a bald male figure with a beard and wearing ornate robes with intricate

detail on the stole. The reverse side clearly displays a human figure from the upper torso to the head. Most of the head and face are corroded away. The figure is impossible to distinguish whether it is a male or female, but it does appear to be wearing a veil and full, flowy garments. The medal was likely round, but corrosion has eroded most of the round, flat plate under and around the figures. The ownership of the medal is difficult to determine as the detailed medal is composed of silver. Likely, it belonged to a crewmember or passenger on the fleet, but the fact the medal is made of silver suggests it probably belonged to a high-ranking crewman. This medal could be a family heirloom or reward bestowed any sailor or soldier. Artifact 07A.202.000007.0001 is pictured in Figure 8 and Figure 9.

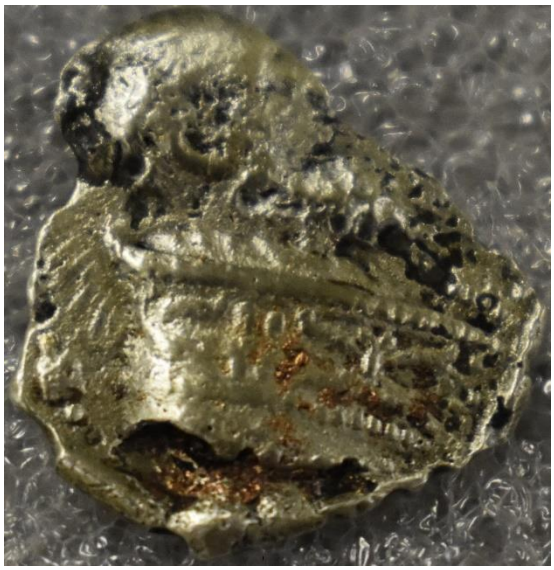

FIGURE 8. 07A.202.000007.000 – Silver Medallion Fragment Side 1.

FIGURE 9. 07A.202.000007.000 – Silver Medallion Fragment Side 2.

5.2.2 Artifact II- 93A.671.000113.0001

Artifact 93A.671.000113.0001 was chosen for the artifact biography because it is a good example of a religious medallion and is a good candidate for interpretation. This artifact was also recovered from site 8IR00023. BAR lists the composite material as silver, and the medal is double-sided featuring two different images. The medal appears oval, but there are some indications that it is actually octagonal with eight sides, which have been worn down by the time spent in the marine environment. The artifact has areas of black discoloration due to corrosion or oxidation, and the images appear smoothed by corrosion. At the top of the medal, there is a protrusion of silver which indicates the presence of a bale suggesting it was attached to a chain either as a necklace or part of a rosary. One side depicts the profile of a male bust with long hair and a short beard which is almost assuredly portraying Jesus. Surrounding Jesus' head are rays indicative of his divine nature. The reverse side is corroded to a greater degree, but the profile bust appears to be female wearing a veil and flowing dress, and is likely to be the Virgin Mary. This medal is likely a depiction of *Ecce Homo,* Behold the Man, an image of the crucified Jesus wearing a crown of thorns and Our Lady of Sorrows, compassionately sharing the suffering of her son. Medals featuring the heads of Mary and Jesus were common to Spaniards and Spanish colonists, so this interpretation is likely accurate (See Table 2 in Chapter Four). Similar to the artifact in the

previous biography, it is difficult to ascertain who owned this particular medal. It is likely the medal belonged to a high-ranking seamen or was a family heirloom or reward of a lesser crewman. Figure 10 shows side one of 93A.671.000113.0001 and Figure 11 shows side two.

FIGURE 10. 93A.671.000113.0001 – Silver Religious Medallion Side 1.

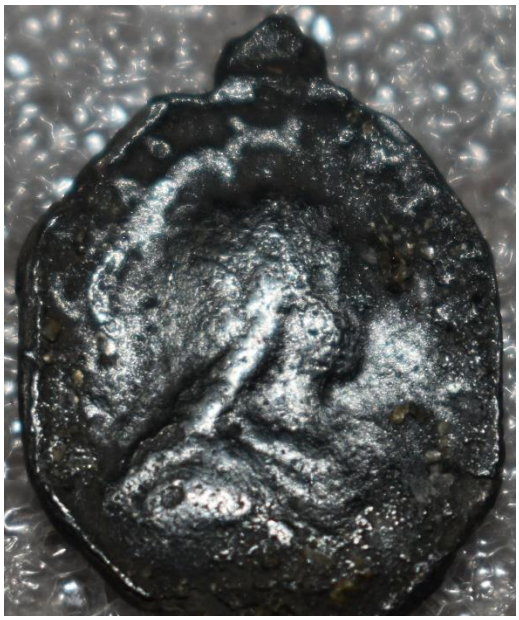

FIGURE 11. 93A.671.000113.0001 – Silver Religious Medallion Side 2.

5.2.3 Artifact III- 93A.671.000173.0001

Artifact 93A.671.000173.0001 was selected for the artifact biography as another example of a style of religious medallion for interpretation of subject matter and ownership and was also recovered from site 8IR00023. BAR lists the medallion as composed of brass, and it is also double-sided with two separate images. The medal appears oval, but there is evidence of an octagonal shape, but the corners have been eroded to appear round. Overall, the medal is heavily corroded, and the images are difficult to decipher. One side of the medal has a discernable image of a head and torso of a figure, but the gender is hard to determine. It appears the figure has a halo surrounding its head and is holding something to the left, so it is possible this may be a Madonna—Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child—but it is impossible to say for certain. The reverse side of the medal is even more heavily corroded and is difficult to interpret although there appears to be the head of a figure to the left side of the medal. The medal has a bale attached to the top, signifying it was most likely worn as a pendant or attached to a rosary. Artifact 93A.671.000173.0001 has a wider possibility of ownership for a majority of the crew as brass medals were more affordable to lower classes and became widely spread throughout Spain and the New World during the early sixteenth century (Deagan 2002:42). Figure 12 shows side one of artifact 93A.671.000173.0001 and Figure 13 shows side two.

FIGURE 12.
93A.671.000173.0001 – Brass Religious Medallion Side 1.

FIGURE 13.
93A.671.000173.0001 – Brass Religious Medallion Side 2.

5.2.4 Artifact IV- 93A.671.000174.0001

Artifact 93A.671.000174.0001, recovered from site 8IR00023, was selected for an artifact biography as an example of another style of religious medallion popular in colonial Spain. BAR lists the material of this artifact as brass, and it is double-sided. The medal appears to be octagonal in shape with the sharp edges and corners rounded by erosion, and the images are plagued by corrosion. One side of the medal depicts the profile of a bald, clean-shaven male figure with a halo hovering above his head. No other distinguishing symbols or details remain to help discern the identity of the saint. Given the appearance of the saint, potential candidates for his identity are St. Anthony of Padua, St. Francis Assisi, or another tonsured saint. The other side of the medal shows the full figure clothed in a long dress or robe with some background detailing visible. There are two possibilities of who this figure may be—the Virgin Mary or Jesus. A bale rests on top of the medal indicating it was worn on a chain around the neck or as part of a rosary. There is a wide possibility of ownership for this medal as brass medals were popular among average Spaniards in

Spain and the New World, so it may have been in the possession of any member of the crew. Figure 14 shows side one of artifact 93A.671.000174.0001 while Figure 15 shows side two.

F IGURE 14.
93A.671.000174.0001 – Brass Religious Medallion Side 1.

FIGURE 15.
93A.671.000174.0001 –Brass Religious Medallion Side 2.

5.2.5 Artifact V- 95A.050.015857.0001

Artifact 95A.050.015857.0001, recovered from site 8IR00023, was selected for an artifact biography as an example of another style of religious medallion from the 1715 Fleet. BAR records the material type as metal, and the medal is double-sided and oval in shape. The color of the medal is copper or deep bronze, and corrosion has not eroded the surface of the medal as much as the previous artifacts so greater details are preserved. One side of the medal depicts the figure of a female with a halo made of stars around her head, rays surrounding either side of her body, and standing upon a crescent moon. All these details suggest the medal depicts the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception (See Table 2 in Chapter Four). The reverse side shows two figures—both appear male—standing under an oval containing the inscription IHS and standing above the word ROMA. There is an additional inscription around the top of the medal. The ROMA indicates the medal is a product of Rome, a common occurrence for Spanish medals during this time (Deagan 2002:43). Given the plethora of symbols and the images on both sides, this medal is devoted wholly to the Immaculate Conception. The medal retains the bale at the top, so it was likely worn on a chain as a pendant or attached to a rosary. Given the nature of the material composing the medal, any crewmember could have counted it as a personal possession and devotional reminder. Figure 16 depicts side one of artifact 95A.050.015857.0001 while Figure 17 shows side two.

FIGURE 16.
95A.050.015857.0001 – Metal Religious Medallion Side 1.

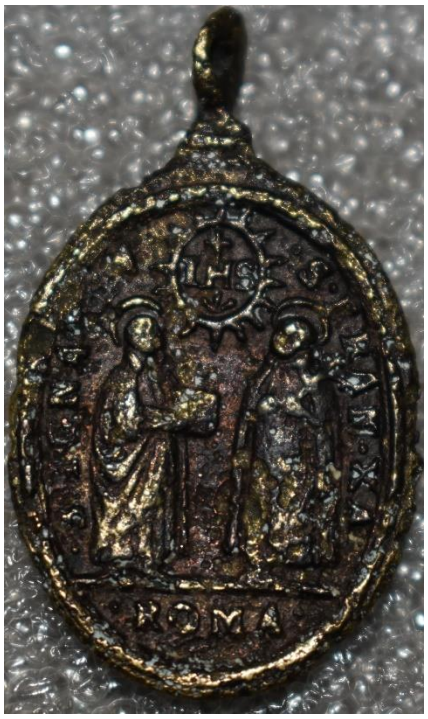

FIGURE 17.
95A.050.015857.0001 – Metal Religious Medallion Side 2.

5.2.6 Artifact VI- 96A.057.016055.0001

Artifact 96A.057.016055.0001, recovered from site 8IR00023, was selected for an artifact biography as an example of another style of religious medallion from the 1715 Fleet. BAR records the material type as gilt, and the medal is double-sided and octagonal in shape. The color of the medal is gold, and there has been some corrosion to the medal evidenced by two linear breaks on either side of the medal. One side of the medal depicts a figure who appears to be female, but the figure is worn so very little detail is present. The figure is likely the Virgin Mary. The reverse side shows a monstrance surrounded by rays. This is indicative of Catholic devotion to the Holy Eucharist as a monstrance is an ornate receptacle with an opening where the consecrated Host is exposed for adoration. The medal retains the bale at the top, so it was likely worn on a chain as a pendant or attached to a rosary. Given the nature of the material composing the medal, any crewmember could have counted it as a personal possession and devotional reminder as gilt medals were less costly than gold or silver medals. Figure 18 depicts side one of artifact 95A.050.015857.0001 while Figure 19 shows side two.

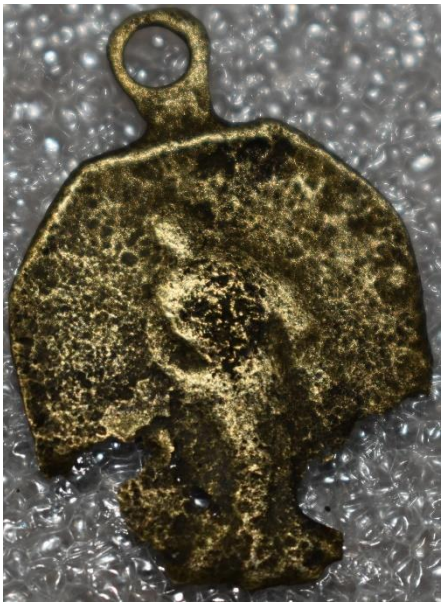

FIGURE 18.
96A.057.016055.0001 – Gilt Religious Medallion Side 1.

FIGURE 19.
96A.057.016055.0001 – Gilt Religious Medallion Side 2.

5.2.7 Artifact VII- 97A.087.000010.0001

Artifact 97A.087.000010.0001, recovered from site 8IR00023, was selected for an artifact biography as an example of another style of religious medallion popular in colonial Spain. BAR

lists the material of this artifact as brass, and it is double-sided. The medal is round, and the images are plagued by corrosion with one side affected to a greater degree. One side of the medal depicts a stylized anchor. The design on the other side of the medal is impossible to distinguish as corrosion has smoothed out any apparent features. There is no bale on this medal, so it is very likely it was kept in a pocket as a token. There is a wide possibility of ownership for this medal as brass medals were popular among average Spaniards in Spain and the New World, so it may have been in the possession of any member of the crew. Figure 20 shows side one of artifact 93A.671.000174.0001 while Figure 21 shows side two.

Figure 20. 97A.087.000010.0001 – Brass Religious Medallion Side 1.

Figure 21. 97A.087.000010.0001 – Brass Religious Medallion Side 2.

5.2.8 Artifact VIII- 72A.018.000207.0001

Artifact 72A.018.000207.0001 was chosen for an artifact biography because it is a good example of a style of religious medallion and is a good candidate for interpretation. This artifact was recovered from site 8IR00027. BAR lists the composite material as silver, and the medal is double-sided featuring two different images. The medal appears oval, but edges are missing due to corrosion. Due to heavy oxidation, the medal appears black, and this oxidation distorts the images on either side of the medal. There is no indication of a bale on the medal, but it could have corroded away. It is likely the medal had no bale and was simply carried. One side depicts what appears to be a monstrance featuring IHS in the center. Rays and other stylized details surround the intricately detailed monstrance. The heavy oxidization obscures most of the details, but a few are apparent. Within the ridges of the design the silver is viewable as well as a small amount of green oxidation. The reverse side is completely ravaged by oxidation, so no design features or images are visible. From the visible image, the medal represents devotion to the Holy Eucharist. Like the other silver medallions discussed above, it is difficult to ascertain who owned this particular medal. It is likely the medal belonged to a high-ranking seamen or was a family heirloom or reward of a lesser crewman. Figure 22 shows side one of 93A.671.000113.0001 and Figure 23 shows side two.

FIGURE 22. 72A.018.000207.0001 – Silver Religious Medallion Side 1.

FIGURE 23.
72A.018.000207.0001 – Silver Religious Medallion Side 2

5.2.9 Artifact IX- 95A.051.015908.0001

Artifact 95A.051.015908.0001 was selected for an artifact biography because it is the only example of a censer recovered from the 1715 Fleet collections, and it is an excellent example of a ceremonial object potentially used at sea given the context and history of the wrecks. The censer was recovered from site 8IR00438. BAR lists the artifact as composed of silver and gilt, and there are portions of the artifact where the gilt has worn away revealing the silver. The censer is an example of an incense burner utilized most often during the celebration of the Holy Mass and adoration of the Holy Eucharist. The artifact is composed of four individual pieces—lid, base, and two pieces of a clamp or seal. The artifact appears crushed which likely occurred during the wrecking process or during its time in the marine environment. The lid features a bale at the top where it was likely attached to a chain as was common practice at the time and in modern use. Additional features on the lid include six flower-petal shaped openings surrounding the bale and etched designs around the edge and openings. The base shows signs of corrosion in the formation of holes and linear fractures on the walls and bottom, and the thinning and curling of material. Design elements on the base include swirled etchings, four feet elevating the base, and the remains of a lip. The two pieces of the clamp or seal show no design elements, but one piece includes the handle of a twist mechanism used to tighten the seal to prevent the contents from spilling out during use. The censer likely belonged to a clergy member, specifically a priest, but that does not

explain its presence on the 1715 Fleet, unless there was a priest on board as a passenger or chaplain to the crew. Figure 24 depicts the lid of artifact 95A.051.015908.0001, Figure 25 shows the design of the base, Figure 26 shows the corrosion on one side of the base, and Figure 27 shows the piece of the clamp containing the tightening mechanism.

FIGURE 24. 95A.051.015908.0001 – Silver and Gilt Censer Lid.

FIGURE 25. 95A.051.015908.0001 – Silver and Gilt Censer Base Design.

FIGURE 26. 95A.051.015908.0001 – Silver and Gilt Censer Base Corrosion.

FIGURE 27. 95A.051.015908.0001 – Silver and Gilt Censer Clamp Piece.

5.2.10 Artifact X- 04A.121.000005.0001

Artifact 04A.121.000005.0001, recovered from site 8SL00017, was selected for the artifact biography as another example of a style of religious medallion for interpretation of subject matter and ownership. BAR lists the medallion as composed of bronze, and it is also double-sided with two separate images. The medal is oval and has some evidence of corrosion affecting the sharpness of the images. One side of the medal shows the profile of a male bust who appears clean-shaven

with a tonsured head. Without any further symbols or details, it is difficult to positively identify the saint portrayed, but given the physical appearance this is most likely St. Anthony of Padua or St. Francis Assisi. The reverse side of the medal features the profile of a female bust wearing a veil without any other symbols or details to identify her identity. The image is likely the Virgin Mary but could be any number of female saints including St. Barbara. The medal has remnants of a bale attached to the top of the medal, signifying it was most likely worn as a pendant or attached to a rosary. Artifact 04A.121.000005.0001 has a wider possibility of ownership for most of the crew as bronze and brass medals were more affordable to lower classes and became widely spread throughout Spain and the New World during the early sixteenth century (Deagan 2002:42). Figure 28 shows side one of artifact 93A.671.000173.0001 and Figure 29 shows side two.

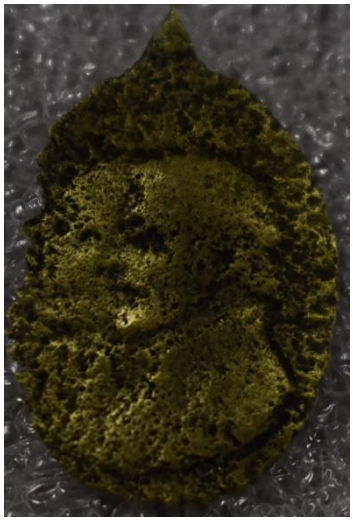

Figure 28.
04A.121.000005.0001 –
Bronze Religious
Medallion Side 1.

FIGURE 29.
04A.121.000005.000 – Bronze Religious Medallion Side 2.

5.2.11 Artifact XI- 93A.673.000059.0001; 93A.673.000059.0002; 93A.673.000059.0003; 93A.673.000059.0004

This artifact biography includes four separate artifacts which combine to form one single object—a crucifix. These items were selected for an artifact biography as they compose the only crucifix recovered from the 1715 Fleet sites available in the collections. BAR lists all four pieces are composed of silver and were recovered from site 8SL00017. Artifact 93A.673.000059.0001 is a fragment of the cross portion of the crucifix and features a leaf design attached to the cross. Artifact 93A.673.000059.0002 is the smallest piece of the crucifix and t-shaped with no visible design. Artifact 93A.673.000059.0003 is another portion of the cross of the crucifix and resembles a stick with leaf buds on either side. Artifact 93A.673.000059.0004 is a portion of the corpus—the body of Jesus. The figure shows Jesus from head to upper thigh, but the arms and legs are missing, and these appendages are where the body was connected to the cross. The body is three-dimensional and features details on both the front and back of the figure. The crucifix shows no evidence of a bale or loop, so it is difficult to discern whether this was used as a pendant, part of a rosary, held in hand, or displayed on a wall or stand. It is difficult to determine who owned an item such as this because of its ornate style and silver material. It is likely the crucifix belonged to a high-ranking crewmember or a passenger. Figure 30 depicts artifact 93A.673.000059.0001;

Figure 31 shows artifact 93A.673.000059.0002; Figure 32 shows artifact 93A.673.000059.0003; Figure 33 shows the front view of artifact 93A.673.000059.0004; and Figure 34 shows the back view of artifact 93A.673.000059.0004.

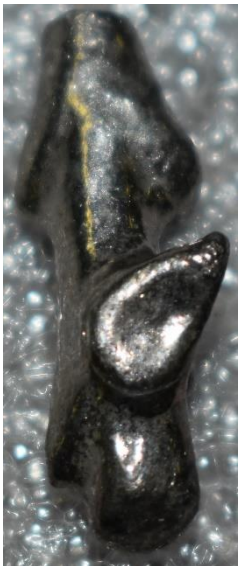

FIGURE 30. 93A.673.000059.0001 – Silver Crucifix Fragment.

FIGURE 31. 93A.673.000059.0002 – Silver Crucifix Fragment.

FIGURE 32. 93A.673.000059.0003 – Silver Crucifix Fragment.

FIGURE 33. 93A.673.000059.0004 – Silver Crucifix Corpus Front View.

FIGURE 34. 93A.673.000059.0004 – Silver Crucifix Corpus Back View.

5.2.12 Artifact XII- 93A.673.000106.0001

Artifact 93A.673.000106.0001, recovered from site 8SL00017, was selected for an artifact biography as an example of another style of religious medallion popular in colonial Spain. BAR lists the material of this artifact as brass, and it is double-sided. The medal appears to be octagonal in shape with the sharp edges and corners rounded by its time in the marine environment, and the images are plagued by corrosion. One side of the medal depicts the profile of a tonsured, clean-shaven male figure holding an infant—most likely the Christ Child—and wearing what appears to be a robe indicative of a man belonging to the Franciscan Order. Given the appearance of the saint, it is highly probable it is St. Anthony of Padua as he is often depicted holding the infant Jesus (See Table 2 in Chapter Four). The other side of the medal shows the profile of a male figure holding what appears to be a cross and possibly a book. The figure appears to have a beard and a tonsured head and is clothed in a robe reminiscent of those worn by members of religious orders. It is difficult to ascertain the identity of the male, but it could be St. Francis Assisi. Another possibility is the medal shows two different renditions of St. Anthony—one with the Christ Child and one with symbols commonly associated with him. A bale rests on top of the medal indicating it was worn on a chain around the neck or as part of a rosary. There is a wide possibility of ownership for this medal as brass medals were popular among average Spaniards in Spain and the

New World, so it may have been in the possession of any member of the crew. Figure 35 shows side one of artifact 93A.673.000106.0001 while Figure 36 shows side two.

FIGURE 35. 93A.673.000106.0001 – Brass Religious Medallion Side 1.

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FIG URE 36. 93A.673.000106.0001 – Brass Religious Medallion Side 2.

5.2.13 Artifact XIII- 98A.164.039026.0001

Artifact 98A.164.039026.0001 was chosen for an artifact biography because it is an example of a unique design pattern which invites interpretation, and it was recovered from site

8SL00017. According to BAR, the medallion is composed of silver, and the medal is oval in shape. The medal is double-sided with one side of the medal depicting a figure who appears to be wearing some type of armor and looks reminiscent of a knight. Given this knight-esque appearance, this saint is very likely St. George. The degree of corrosion, however, has distorted the figure so any interpretation from the image could be erroneous. The reverse features a distinct image in the Catholic faith, which is the depiction of the Infant of Prague, but the details on the figure are corroded away so all that is left is the iconic shape of the figure. It is difficult to say who owned such a detailed medal especially composed of silver. There is a silver node at the top of the medal indicating there was a bale for a chain. Likely, it belonged to a crew member or passenger on the fleet, but the fact the medal is made of silver suggests it probably belonged to a high-ranking crewman. The medal could be a family heirloom or reward bestowed to any sailor. Artifact 98A.164.039026.0001 is pictured in Figure 37 and Figure 38.

FIGURE 37.
98A.164.039026.0001 – Silver Religious Medallion Side 1.

FIGURE 38. 98A.164.039026.0001 – Silver Religious Medallion Side 2.

5.2.14 Artifact XIV- 98A.164.040836.0001

Artifact 98A.164.040836.0001, recovered from site 8SL00017, was selected for an artifact biography as an example of another style of religious medallion popular in colonial Spain and as the only copper medal within the collections. BAR lists the material of this artifact as copper, and it is double-sided. The medal is oval, but it is not a perfect, uniform shape possibly due to corrosion and factors in the marine environment, or the medal was created in an abnormal shape either on purpose or by accident. There is evidence of corrosive wear on the images on either side of the medallion. One side of the medal displays the profile of a bald male figure with a beard who appears to be clad in robes indicative of a Holy Order. Additionally, the figure is holding an object which resembles a staff but could also be a long cross degraded via corrosion. Given the appearance of the saint, it is likely St. Benedict, St. John the Evangelist, or another. A cross is visible on the other side of the medal, and it is possible this represents the crucifixion as there appears to be details on and around the cross, but corrosion has affected the sharpness of the images. This medal is very likely St. Benedict as he often is depicted with a bald head, long beard, and a staff, but he generally has his own crest featured on the reverse side of his medallions (See Figure 49 below). The remnants of a bale rests on top of the medal indicating it was worn on a chain around the neck or as part of a rosary. There is a wide possibility of ownership for this medal as brass medals were popular among average Spaniards in Spain and the New World, so it may

have been in the possession of any member of the crew. Figure 39 shows side one of artifact 98A.164.040836.0001 while Figure 40 shows side two.

FIGURE 39.
98A.164.040836.0001 – Copper Religious Medallion Side 1.

FIGURE 40.
98A.164.040836.0001 – Copper Religious Medallion Side 2.

5.3 Artifact Biographies Museum of Florida History 1715 Collections

The Museum of Florida History, located in Tallahassee, hosts a plethora of exhibits exploring the state of Florida's storied past, and one exhibit features a display of religious artifacts

recovered from shipwrecks. Many of the artifacts displayed here are on loan from the Bureau of Archaeological Research collections. Four artifacts from the 1715 Fleet collections on loan to the museum are listed below in artifact biographies.

5.3.1 Artifact XV- 72A.015.000295.0001

The first artifact housed at the Museum of Florida History selected for an artifact biography is artifact 72A.015.000295.0001, recovered from 8IR00023, and is included as a biography because it is the only mostly intact crucifix available from the collections. BAR lists the composite material as silver. The crucifix features a carved pattern on the cross which resembles woodgrain, and the corpus is still attached. The right arm of the corpus is missing, but the rest of the body is complete. The crucifix and corpus appear to be one piece, and this gives the artifact a more robust character allowing it to remain mostly intact after a long period submerged in an aqueous environment. A protrusion of silver at the top of the cross resembles the remnants of a bale indicating it was likely attached to a chain as a pendant or rosary. The protrusion could also be a loop used to hang the crucifix on a surface such as a wall for display. Given the material of the artifact, it may have belonged to a crew member or passenger on the fleet, but it probably was the possession of a high-ranking crewman. This crucifix may have been a family heirloom or reward. Figure 41 shows artifact 72A.015.000295.0001 as it appears on display in the museum.

FIGURE 41.
72A.015.000295.0001 – Silver Crucifix on display at the Museum of Florida History, Tallahassee, Florida.

5.3.2 Artifact XVI- 93A.671.000134.0001

The second artifact on display at the Museum of Florida History selected for an artifact biography is artifact 93A.671.000134.0001, recovered from 8IR00023, and is included as a biography because it is the only figurine in the collections available for this study. BAR lists the composite material as silver. The figurine depicts an angel with intricate patterns giving detail to the angel's wings and clothing. The facial features of the angel have been affected by corrosion so that the face is smooth. The pattern on the wings demonstrates feathers, and its feet are resting on a small base resembling a rock. The angel is missing its right arm but is otherwise intact. The angel could act as a reminder of religious devotion and protection. Given the material of the artifact, the angel may have belonged to a crew member or passenger on the fleet, but it probably was the possession of a high-ranking crewman or wealthy passenger. The figure could be a family heirloom or reward. Figure 42 shows artifact 93A.671.000134.0001 as it appears on display in the museum.

FIGURE 42. 93A.671.000134.0001– Silver Angel Figurine on display at the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee, Florida.

5.3.3 Artifact XVII- 94A.036.016477.0001

The next artifact on display at the Museum of Florida History selected for an artifact biography is artifact 94A.036.016477.0001, an unprovenienced artifact recovered from the 1715 Fleet sites and is included as a biography because it is the only Venera available from the collections for this study. BAR lists the composite material as gold. The Venera features a small depiction of the Immaculate Conception in the center surrounded by an oval frame containing the motto of the confraternity of the Immaculate Conception, "CONCEBIDA SIN PECADO ORIGINAL" The motto translates to English as "conceived without original sin" (Deagan 2002:77). The ornate Venera is accented with nine amber stones and rays surrounding the outside of the frame. At the top of the Venera is a bale for a chain, and this indicates it was worn as a necklace or another form of personal jewelry. Given the material, adornment, and delicacy of the artifact, it may have belonged to a crew member or passenger on the fleet, but it probably was the possession of a wealthy passenger or member of the clergy. The Venera could have been a family heirloom. Figure 43 shows artifact 94A.036.016477.0001 as it appears on display in the museum.

FIGURE 43. Gold Venera with Nine Amber Stones on display at the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee, Florida.

5.3.4 Artifact XVIII- 98A.170.031096.0001

The next artifact on display at the Museum of Florida History selected for an artifact biography is artifact 98A.170.031096.0001, recovered from site 8IR00023, and is included as a biography because it is an excellent example of an ornate colonial Spanish rosary. BAR lists the composite material as gold. The rosary features an intricate chain that contained beads at one time over the long bar-links, and a few remaining hollow gold beads are attached to the crucifix, medals, and singular beads between each decade. The rosary has a crucifix, St. Anthony medal, Virgin Mary medal—possibly Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception—and a pilgrim medal, all composed of gold. The medal of the Virgin and the pilgrim medal are octagonal in shape whereas the St. Anthony medal is oval. The rosary loop appears to be intact by the way it is displayed in the case. Given the material and intricacy of the artifact, it may have belonged to a crew member or passenger on the fleet, but it probably was the possession of a member of the clergy or wealthy passenger. Figure 44 shows the crucifix and medals of artifact 98A.170.031096.0001; Figure 45 shows the rosary it appears whole on display in the museum; and Figure 46 shows a close up of the chain and the bar-links missing beads.

FIGURE 44. 98A.170.031096.0001 –Gold Rosary Crucifix and Medals on display at the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee, Florida.

FIGURE 45. 98A.170.031096.0001 –Gold Rosary with St. Anthony, Virgin Mary, and Pilgrim Medals on Ornate Chain on display at the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee, Florida.

FIGURE 46. 98A.170.031096.0001 –Gold Rosary Ornate Chain on display at the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee, Florida.

5.4 Interpretations of Religious Symbolism

In this portion of Chapter Five, Table 5 offers a quick access guide to the figures portrayed in the artifacts described in detail above and is followed by brief descriptions of the interpreted figures featured on the various medals and their importance to sailors, Spaniards, and Roman Catholics. Also included in these sections are images of contemporary medals featuring the interpreted figures

TABLE 5. Study's Artifacts Listed with Religious Symbols and Type of Objects

Artifact Number	**Site**	**Artifact Type**	**Interpreted Iconography**
07A.202.000007.0001	8IR00023	Medallion Fragment	Unknown
93A.671.000113.0001	8IR00023	Double-sided Medallion	Our Lady of Sorrows and *Ecce Homo*
93A.671.000173.0001	8IR00023	Medallion	Madonna and Unknown Figure
93A.671.000174.0001	8IR00023	Medallion	St. Anthony Padua or St. Francis Assisi or St. Benedict and Mary or Jesus
95A.050.015857.0001	8IR00023	Medallion	Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception and Unknown Figures Featuring *IHS* and *ROMA*
96A.057.016055.0001	8IR00023	Medallion	Mary and Monstrance
97A.087.000010.0001	8IR00023	Medallion	Anchor and Unknown Figure
72A.018.000207.0001	8IR00027	Medallion	Monstrance with *IHS* and Unknown Figure

Artifact Number	Site	Artifact Type	Interpreted Iconography
95A.051.015908.0001	8IR00438	Censer	Scroll Work Etchings
04A. 121.000005.0001	8SL00017	Medallion	Mary or St. Barbara and St. Anthony Padua or St. Francis Assisi or St. Benedict
93A.673.000059.0001-4	8SL00017	Crucifix Fragments	Corpus and Cross with Leaves and Vine Details
93A.673.000106.0001	8SL00017	Medallion	St. Anthony of Padua with Infant Jesus and St. Francis Assisi
98A.164.039026.0001	8SL00017	Medallion	St. George and Infant of Prague
98A.164.040836.0001	8SL00017	Medallion	St. Benedict
72A.015.000295.0001	8IR00023	Crucifix	Corpus and Cross with *INRI*
93A.671.000134.0001	8IR00023	Angel Figurine	Spanish Colonial Era Clothing
94A.036.016477.0001	8IR00000	Marian Pendant	Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception with *CONCEBIDA SIN PECADO ORIGINAL*
98A.170.031096.0001	8IR00023	Rosary	St. Anthony of Padua, Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Pilgrim Medallion, and Crucifix

5.4.1 St. Anthony of Padua

Anthony of Padua was born in 1195 in Lisbon, Portugal, and joined the Order of Regular Canons of St. Augustine, but he eventually left the Order to become a member of the Franciscan Order after being inspired by the visiting relics of Franciscan martyrs (Hoever 1999:235). As a Franciscan, he desired to preach conversion in Africa, but an illness forced him to return to Spain; however, a storm forced his ship into Sicily where St. Anthony was struck by his desire to visit Assisi to see St. Francis (Hoever 1999:236). His zeal for preaching led him to travel through France, Spain, and Italy. He died on 13 June 1231 and was promptly canonized the following year by Pope Gregory IX. Anthony was regarded as a hero throughout his lifetime and several miracles were attributed to him including crowds seeing the vision of him holding the infant Jesus as he preached (Hoever 1999:236-237). Thus, it is logical for several of the medallions to feature his image as he was—and continues to be—a popular saint and intercessor for Catholics especially the Spanish as he profusely preached and served their country. He is also commonly called upon to intercede when objects are lost, and sailors most likely asked for his intercession while at sea for misplaced objects and perhaps for themselves if they became lost at sea or blown off course. An additional reason for his popularity with Spanish sailors is his connection to the Franciscans—the religious order responsible for sending missionaries to the New World.

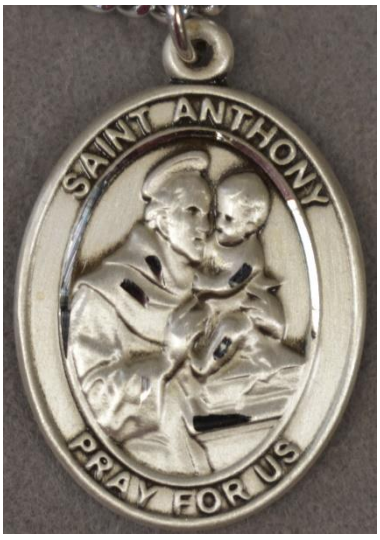

FIGURE 47. Saint Anthony of Padua Contemporary Medallion.

5.4.2 Saint Barbara

Barbara—a saint commonly invoked by the Spanish, especially those in the military or at sea—lived during the fourth century and was martyred, killed for her faith, by her pagan father, Dioscorus. As he descended the mountain where he killed his daughter, Dioscorus was consumed by fire; a punishment sent by God. Barbara is the patron saint of gunners and those who work with explosives given the punishment suffered by her father (Donaghy 2006:492-493). Historical records cite her importance to the Spanish including a prayer for her guidance and protection preceding the use of cannons as practiced at the Castillo de San Marcos and other Spanish forts (See Chapter Three). As cannons and other explosive weapons were transported upon wooden vessels, Barbara was a common feature in prayer and medallions for sailors as any misplaced spark or explosion would spell disaster at sea. Her importance makes her a highly likely candidate for unknown female figures portrayed on Spanish religious medallions including those examined for this study.

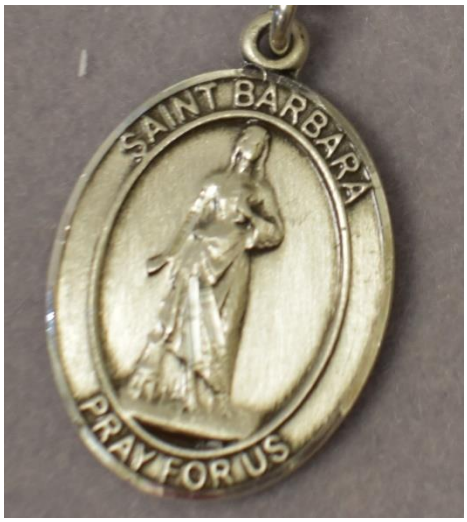

FIGURE 48. Saint Barbara
Contemporary Medallion.

5.4.3 St. Benedict

Benedict was born in Nursia, Italy, in AD 480 and is the patron saint of those suffering from poison. His intercession is also sought by those needing protection from harm. He is best known as the founder of the Benedictine Order and was a prolific writer whose works established the foundation of Western religious orders after his time (Hoever 1999:283-284). Similar to St.

Anthony's popularity due to his involvement with the Franciscan Order, Benedict's connection to his religious order made him a well-known saint whose intercession was sought by Spanish sailors for protection. His contemporary medallion is often round and double-sided featuring an intricate design.

FIGURE 49. St. Benedict Contemporary Medallion.

FIGURE 50. St. Benedict Contemporary Medallion Reverse Side.

5.4.4 St. Francis Assisi

Francis of Assisi was—and continues to be—a widely regarded saint for Roman Catholics, and he was especially important to the Spanish journeying to the New World. He was born in 1181 in Assisi, Italy, and there he founded a religious order commonly referred to as the Franciscan Order. The Franciscans seek to evangelize while vowing poverty, and their religious fervor swept through Europe, including Spain. Due to his zeal and the zeal of the members of his order, Francis is the patron saint of Catholic action which is fitting given Spanish Franciscan missionary work. The Franciscans led the conversion efforts in Spanish holdings in the Americas and established missions in New World territories (Hoever 1999:413-416). The active role they played in colonizing efforts lends credence to the popularity of his depiction on religious medallions of sailors. It is important to note that the image of Francis himself does not commonly appear on medallions until the eighteenth century (Deagan 2002:51). Ships headed to the Spanish Americas often had Franciscan members onboard to serve the missions across the Atlantic. These religious members would likely have medallions honoring their founder.

FIGURE 51. St. Francis of Assisi Contemporary Medallion.

5.4.5 St. George

George is a legendary saint for Catholics and the exact date of his life and death are unknown, but devotion to him can be traced back to at least the fifth century; however, it is highly likely he was much earlier than that based on the likelihood that the oldest church dedicated to him

in Constantinople was built by Constantine the Great. He was a martyr thought to have been killed during the persecution of Christians under Diocletian in the early fourth century—more specifically around the year AD 303 (Hoever 1999:161-162). He is believed to have been a soldier, so it is common for his intercession to be sought during battle or by those involved in the military. Given his importance to soldiers and military, he would have been a popular saint invoked by the Spanish heading to the Americas especially those slated for service at any of the numerous forts located there.

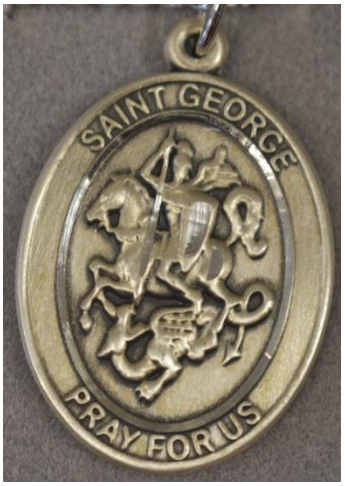

FIGURE 52. St. George Contemporary Medallion.

5.4.6 Mary

Mary, the Mother of Jesus, is one of the most important—and popular—religious figures in Catholicism as she fulfills a unique role as a powerful intercessor. Many devotions to her exist as Mary has several titles and appearances attributed to her. The most common Marian devotion that is recognizable in the artifacts examined for this study is Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. The Immaculate Conception is an important tenet of the Catholic faith, and it is the idea that Mary was conceived without original sin in order to be a suitable mother to Jesus. Often accompanying the depiction of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception is an inscription stating "*CONCEBIDA SIN PECADO ORIGINAL*" as the Venera included in this study indicates. The Spanish phrase translates as "conceived without original sin" succinctly describing the Immaculate Conception. While this devotion was popular with the Spaniards in colonial New Spain, a modern iteration of this devotion is widely popular today—the Miraculous Medal based on the Marian visions of Saint Catherine Labouré in the nineteenth century (Hoever 1999:486).

FIGURE 53. Ornate Miraculous Medal Contemporary Medallion.

FIGURE 54. Miraculous Medal Contemporary Medallion.

Another potential Marian devotion featured on one of the artifacts is Our Lady of Sorrows also known as Our Lady of Dolours and *Mater Dolorosa*. This title of Mary is celebrated to remind Catholics of the "spiritual martyrdom" of the Mother of God and her compassionate suffering throughout Jesus's suffering of his crucifixion (Hoever 1999:382). Catholics throughout Europe and the New World shared a devotion to Our Lady of Sorrows, and she is sometimes depicted in profile. Oftentimes, her image on a medallion has the image of *Ecce Homo* on the reverse showing Jesus after he has been crowned with thorns and beaten. The combination of the two images highlights the love and suffering both Mary and Jesus shared. Again, it is not surprising this medal

was found as evidence of religious faith at sea as Mary—as Our Lady of Sorrows, Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Our Lady of Guadalupe, and her other titles—is an integral religious figure beloved by Catholics and entreated to for a myriad of intentions.

FIGURE 55. Our Lady of Sorrows Contemporary Medallion.

FIGURE 56. Sacred Heart of Jesus Reverse Side of Our Lady of Sorrows Contemporary Medallion.

5.4.7 Jesus

The previous section discussed one of the images of Jesus found in the artifacts from Spanish shipwrecks, *Ecce Homo*, featured on the reverse side of Our Lady of Sorrows, but there

is an additional title of Jesus possibly featured on one of the medallions, the Infant of Prague. Jesus is one of the paramount religious figures in Catholicism as he is the Son of God, and—similar to Mary—he has many titles ranging from his infancy to his crucifixion and beyond. One of the most popular devotions to Jesus as an infant is the Infant of Prague, known in Spanish as *Niño Jesús de Praga*, which appears to be depicted on one of the medallions that had corroded to a smooth surface but retains the specific shape characteristic of the Infant of Prague (Nemec 1978:1-100). Similar to the Marian devotions mentioned above, the Infant of Prague does not have a specific connection to Spain, sailors, or the sea, but was—and continues to be—a popular devotion for all Catholics, so it is not surprising to interpret it as one of the religious images featured on a medal recovered from a colonial Spanish wreck site.

FIGURE 57. Infant of Prague Contemporary Medallion.

5.4.8 Monstrance

Several of the medallions featured images of a monstrance and the inscription *IHS*, both important symbols to Catholics from the very beginning of the religion. A monstrance is the, typically, highly decorated container to house and display the consecrated host. Catholics believe the consecrated host to be the true Body of Christ following the transubstantiation which occurs during the celebration of the Mass. The Eucharist—a term used to describe the transubstantiated Body of Christ—is a fundamental tenet of Catholicism, and oftentimes, this keystone belief is represented in religious art and symbolism—including that featured on medallions—by the monstrance. The phrase *IHS* represents the first three letters in the Greek spelling of Jesus's name,

thusly it is another symbol for the Eucharist and is often paired with a monstrance (Deagan 2002:51). These representations of the Eucharist are often attributed to Franciscan medallions, and—again—the Franciscans played an integral role in Spanish colonization of the New World (Deagan 2002:51).

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter incorporated information from all the previous chapters to create interpretations of the artifacts included in this study. The sections of this chapter consisted of artifact biographies of fourteen items in the 1715 Fleet collections, the artifact biographies for the items housed at the Museum of Florida History, and concluded with a section explaining the interpreted images of the artifacts with contemporary examples of medallions. The next chapter concludes this study and offers final interpretations.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters of this thesis provided an overview of the archaeological theories and methodology utilized in this study, the historical background of maritime culture and Catholicism, Spanish colonialism and Catholicism at sea, archaeological and historical background of the material culture, and the artifact biographies compiled from research of the 1715 Fleet wrecks. This chapter discusses the issues associated with this research, provides succinct answers to the research questions outlined in the first chapter, explains the relevancy of this study, and recommends future study regarding this topic.

6.2 Problems within the Study

6.2.1 Issues of Context

The major issue encountered during this study is the unprovenienced classification of the material objects. The unprovenienced label denotes the artifacts lack contextual information about their positions within the wreck at the time of their recovery by salvors. Missing contextual information includes the position of the items within the boundaries of the site and in relation to other recovered objects. Since contextual information is missing, there are observations which cannot be successfully asserted. Proper scientific surveys ensure the contextual information is painstakingly recorded so comprehensive studies incorporating details are produced so a better understanding of historical significance can be achieved. In addition to the recording of contextual information, scientific surveys detail the journey of artifacts from discovery on the wreck to their treatment and movement—if removed from the site—or whether the item was left *in situ*. The problem of unprovenienced artifacts and missing contextual information is not unique to this study or to the 1715 Fleet collections, but it is a wider issue plaguing archaeological work on sites of salvaging and treasure hunting.

6.2.2 Temporal Issues

In addition to the issues of context, unprovenienced artifacts face temporal problems. The permitting system in Florida allows for treasure hunters to remove artifacts without proper inter-site recording, and often, artifacts were attributed to fleets, not individual wrecks. Treasure hunters

conduct perfunctory research in order to determine the nationality, time period, origin, and name of a shipwreck, but this investigation is rarely as extensive as the research conducted by archaeologists, and it is often more hastily done in order to assign an identity to the wrecks whereas archaeologists avoid naming a site until substantive and undoubted proof is discovered. The uncertainty surrounding the site of origin for the artifacts held in the 1715 collections not only causes problems for research, but it also argues against treasure hunting. With proper recording, excavation, analysis, and extensive historical background research, artifacts would be housed in their proper collections and almost all doubts of inaccuracies would be eliminated. It is believed that all the artifacts included in this study and listed in Chapters Three and Four are properly attributed to wrecks belonging to the 1715 Fleet, but it is impossible to assert this with complete certainty. Highlighted here is the importance of methodological archaeological surveys and recordings to document each artifact in order to provide a comprehensive and accurate study.

6.2.3 Issues of Comparison

Similar to the issue of a lack of contextual and temporal information regarding the artifacts included in this study, there is a lack of academic sources covering the practice of religion at sea especially in terms of Spanish colonialism and religious items popular during Spanish colonialism. Kathleen Deagan's work, *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800, Volume 2: Portable Personal Possessions* (2002) offers the greatest source of information on Spanish colonial religious objects. While brief overviews and generalizations are somewhat available on Catholic items—but not on the practice of Catholicism at sea—more extensive explanations of the details of the items such as the relevancy of saints on medallions and their depictions would greatly improve the understanding of religion, maritime culture, and Spanish colonialism. In addition to the lack of scholastic information on the topics explored within this study, the lack of artifacts illuminates the lack of academic focus on Catholicism at sea—both during Spanish colonialism and in a much broader sense. The production of academic sources covering these topics would create a wider network of information which would transform the study of unprovenienced artifacts into an easier and more comprehensive task.

6.3 Answering the Research Questions

Through the information gathered from the historical and archaeological research conducted, this thesis sought to provide answers to questions about Catholicism and the sea in terms of Spanish colonialism with an emphasis on the eighteenth century material culture. In addition, the previous chapters in this study have presented theoretical and methodological frameworks utilized in this project, the historical background for Catholicism within a maritime context and Spanish colonialism, and the material culture analyzed in terms of religious purpose, design, and meaning. Through the presentation of information gathered in all preceding chapters, the following research questions were addressed:

6.3.1 What kinds of material culture represent religious practices within Catholicism?

There is a myriad of material culture used for religious purposes within Catholicism from its inception, during Spanish colonialism, and even to the current day. Specific religious items popularly used and referenced during the time frame studied within this thesis include religious medallions, crucifixes and crosses, religious texts, figurines and statues, and rosaries. Medallions, crucifixes, and rosaries comprise the most popular categories of religious items and often were personal possessions of Spanish sailors and passengers. Medals and crucifixes were often worn as pendants and ornamentation or carried in pockets for easy access and as a reminder of religious duties and protection. Saints and religious persons depicted on medals included Jesus, various Marian devotions, St. Anthony, and many others. Rosaries were often carried at all times—and sometimes worn—as another reminder of piety and an easy form of prayer and came in a variety of sizes, materials, and ornateness. According to the historical research conducted during this thesis, religious texts also were popular among Spanish crews at sea. These texts included works describing the lives of popular saints, works of fiction displaying overt religious themes, prayer books, and Bibles. Additional examples of religious material culture include ceremonial objects such as bells, censers, clerical robes, monstrance, pyx, chalices, and patens, but only a censer was recovered and included in the 1715 Fleet collections for inclusion in this thesis. The religious items and historical sources consulted within this work clearly suggest religion played an invaluable role in the daily lives of colonial Spaniards whether on land in Spain—or elsewhere—or at sea.

6.3.2 How was religion practiced onboard Spanish colonial vessels?

This thesis drew upon a combination of historical sources and material culture to illuminate the Catholic practices of colonial Spanish seafarers. Sources consulted within this work discuss the piety of Christopher Columbus, the founding of St. Augustine in Florida, and other religious attitudes of Spanish sailors from the fifteenth century until the eighteenth century. The material culture analyzed as part of this thesis brings to life the piety of crews aboard eighteenth-century vessels. The 1715 Fleet collections—while not offering a multitude of religious artifacts, did present twenty-two objects for interpretation and study with an additional four on display at the Museum of Florida History in Tallahassee, Florida. The lack of religious items recovered from the sites can be explained by the size of the objects and their frequent position on the owner's body, so it is likely these items were rarely left behind as they would be worn on the body and were reverently prized. The 1715 Fleet also offers an invaluable clue to the religiosity of the crew by its nature. This fleet was sailing to Spain laden with goods and materials from the New World, so the holy items found at the wreck sites would be very likely the personal possessions of crewmembers or passengers returning to Spain. As such, the 1715 Fleet collections provide examples of what an average Spanish sailor might depend on for his religious needs at sea.

The combination of both historical and material sources suggest Catholicism was practiced and formed an important facet of life at sea. As noted in Chapter Three, prayers were commonly used to keep track of time, towns and landmarks were often named after saints or religious figures as were ships, and limited leisure time was spent reading books on religious topics or containing religious themes and morals. While it is difficult to ascertain whether Mass was said on ships while at sea—but it was very likely not the practice as this posed a risk to the Eucharist—it has been recorded that celebrating Mass was regularly the first action taken upon landing as exampled by the landing at St. Augustine. Records indicate the presence of religious authorities upon colonial ships as monks and nuns moved across the Atlantic to minister to the native peoples and convert them to Catholicism. Spanish priests also boarded ships to the New World to administer the sacraments to the Spanish colonists and both Columbus and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés recorded the presence of a priest on their voyages to administer to the souls of the crew as well as celebrate Mass upon their arrival to new lands. Again, records regarding the actions of the religious on board the vessels are lacking, but through the accounts of a few Spanish captains and priests, it is likely the religious figures on board ships aided the spiritual needs of the crew when

needed by leading prayer during times of danger or uncertainty or hearing confessions when death and destruction seemed imminent. The discovery of religious items—mostly medallions, crucifixes, and rosaries—at shipwreck sites also suggest Spanish crews had some pious inclinations.

The piety of Spanish crews directly reflected the Catholic culture of Spain during the time period studied here as did the religious fervor of explorers, captains, and leaders. Christopher Columbus and those Spanish explorers who followed his example, proclaimed their Catholic faith unabashedly and used it as a justification for their colonizing efforts. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel believed it was their duty to provide support for Columbus not only to seek a better route for trade but to convert native peoples to Catholicism to save their souls. Rules were often enforced on Spanish vessels in order to preserve a moral—if not wholly pious—environment on board as the religious echelons of society sought to keep endeavors above reproach. Religious devotion was common in all strata of Spanish society and is reflected in the wide variations in intricacy, style, and material of religious objects as silver and gold medals and rosaries belonged to the wealthy whereas the more simple bronze, brass, wood, and cord belonged to low levels of society. The religious zeal of the Spanish monarchs reflected the piety of Spaniards at the time, and Catholicism continued as a key pillar in Spanish life well past the height of colonialism in the New World.

While the focus of this study is on how Spaniards practiced their religion at sea, it is important to note here the effect of European colonialism—including Spanish religious fervor—on the native populations of the New World. The introduction of European culture, including religion, radically altered the cultures of the native peoples. Specific to this study, Catholicism was introduced and adopted—sometimes by force and sometimes by choice—by the native populations of the Americas as missionaries, clergy, and religious authorities moved into their territories (Lafaye 1976:30-33; Ricard 1966:83-96). Christian beliefs replaced the religious practices of native peoples which caused that element of their societies to be lost, altering native cultures as a whole since their religious beliefs colored almost every aspect of their daily lives—very similar to the Europeans (Gannon 1983:36-48).

6.4 Study's Relevancy

The topic of this study—Catholicism and Spanish colonialism at sea—is relevant both in its reliance on unprovenienced artifacts and the investigation of religious practices at sea. This thesis examines a concept—Catholicism at sea—that is under studied, but it is an important element of Spanish society and colonialism. Religion is an important element in society which influences all other aspects within a culture, so understanding what that religion is and how it is displayed provides an invaluable foundation to the study of a society as a whole. Additionally, Catholicism, as a materially-rich religion, is an excellent candidate for archaeological study given its extensive history and prevalence today. The 1715 Fleet collections—and other unprovenienced collections—also have been the subject of relatively few studies, so their use as a mechanism to better understand the piety of Spanish sailors provides invaluable information for Catholicism and the study of unprovenienced artifacts.

6.5 Recommendations for Future Work

The work included in this thesis offers only an introductory insight into religion and the sea through the study of Catholicism and Spanish colonial vessels, but there is much more work needed to be done on topics of religion and maritime culture in a variety of societies and religions. The first recommendation for further study is the creation of a comprehensive categorization of the religious items housed in the 1715 Fleet collections and other such collections of material artifacts. These can then be compared to see the evolution of design and popularity of saints and Marian devotions. Furthermore, the popularity of materials and objects can be compared to infer about the trends in items and how the popularity in objects changed over time. The purpose of this study is to provide the basis for future study for both Catholic material culture and unprovenienced artifacts.

A recommendation for the future use of artifacts used in this thesis is public education on the perils of treasure hunting in damaging the contextual information of shipwrecks and artifacts. Through public outreach, the importance of proper scientific survey and recording can be stressed to a broader audience and increase support for laws and ordinances limiting the impacts of salvors and increasing interest in archaeology. Classes and seminars on proper recording techniques could also be offered to the general public to help eliminate the accumulation of unprovenienced materials, but this must be conducted in a manner that enlightens the public rather than accuses.

Unprovenienced materials do offer information about the society where they originated, but the gaps in knowledge represented by their lack of context hinders a fully successful study with comprehensive conclusions. The inclusion of the public in proper archaeological techniques will be beneficial to state archaeologists who can rely on the public to help locate and record sites. Public engagement is imperative for the future of maritime archaeology.

6.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to study the practice of Catholicism on Spanish colonial vessels through the analysis of an early eighteenth century shipwrecked fleet and historical sources written during the colonial period beginning with Christopher Columbus' agreement with Queen Isabel and King Ferdinand and ending at the time of the shipwrecks examined within this work. Historical research and archaeological analysis provided information to construct artifact biographies and allow for interpretations about Catholicism practiced at sea by Spanish colonial sailors. Catholicism was intertwined with every aspect of Spanish life on land, and it is doubtful that life at sea would differ, and this is shown through the historical research and archaeological analysis conducted in this thesis. Unprovenienced artifacts provided the archaeological evidence within this study, and an important element covered herein is the usefulness of artifacts that lack context. Studies focusing on materials lacking provenience can increase awareness to the dangers of treasure hunting and salvaging.

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