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The Western Façade of Santiago de Compostela: Christian Dominion and Ecclesiastical Rivalry from the Medieval to the Baroque Period

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Introduction

In the year 44 AD, James, son of Zebedee, brother to John the Evangelist, and apostle of Jesus, was martyred in Jerusalem by order of King Herod Agrippa for evangelizing throughout the Roman Empire.\(^1\) James was eventually canonized\(^2\) in the Catholic Church and recognized as the first martyr of the Christian Faith. According to legend, in the early IX century, supernatural lights appeared in the skies over the kingdom of Asturias in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula accompanied by angelic songs leading local clerics and hermits to find the buried body of St. James.\(^3\) Upon hearing such tales, a local hermit called Teodomiro, Bishop Sisando of Iria, along with King Alfonso II of Asturias collaborated and consecrated a simple church upon the site in 813\(^4\) to display the holy relics for veneration and to honor St. James along with other important Christian figures.\(^5\) From such humble beginnings rises the long and rather provocative history of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.

Over time, this structure has undergone several transformations. The original church was replaced quickly by a “sumptuous temple” in 899 with the support of King Alfonso III.\(^6\) However, the structure was destroyed during an Arab siege known as the razzia by general al Mansur Ibn Abi

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\(^2\) Martyrs are defined from “The Greek word *martus* signify[ing] a witness who testifies to a fact of which he has knowledge from personal observation.” Thus all apostles of Christ were to be considered martyrs. The term then progressed: “a martyr, or witness of Christ, is a person who, though he has never seen nor heard the Divine Founder of the Church, is yet so firmly convinced of the truths of the Christian religion, that he gladly suffers death rather than deny it.” Hassett, Maurice. *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* 1910. Accessed July 24, 2014.

\(^3\) Santiago is the Spanish translation of the name St. James and Compostela is derived from Latin roots; *Campus* meaning land or field and *Stellae* meaning stars, recalling the miraculous discovery of the saint’s body. Lozoya, Juan De Contreras Y López De Ayala De. *Santiago De Compostela: La Catedral ; Historia, Arquitectura, Arte, Devoción, Peregrinaciones.* Barcelona: Cobas, 1965. 2.


\(^5\) Another, smaller and even more humble structure accompanied this original temple. The smaller of the two housed three altars: one dedicated to Christ, another dedicated to St. Peter, and the final dedicated to St. John, the brother of St. James who’s relics were housed nearby. Additionally, a neighboring baptistery was constructed which honored John the Baptist and allowed for the Holy Sacrament to be performed upon the newly discovered relic site. Lozoya, Juan Contreras y López de Ayala. 2.

\(^6\) Lozoya, Juan Contreras y López de Ayala. 2.
Aamir and his army from the empire of al-Andalus in 997.\textsuperscript{7} Countless local rebellions also jeopardized the structural integrity and led to costly damages in 1116 and 1136.\textsuperscript{8} The Romanesque reconstruction was called upon to respond to the destruction and reassert authority after such public displays of global and local threats. As part of this extravagant project, the Portico of Glory was commissioned by King Ferdinand II of Leon and begun by Master Matthew in 1188 to serve as the main entrance through which clergy, transient pilgrim audiences, and local laypersons would enter the sacred space to be in communion with the saint’s relics.\textsuperscript{9} This portal, as did many western entrances during the Romanesque period, became the stage and primary vehicle for the communication of religious and political agendas surrounding the saint and his shrine.\textsuperscript{10} Such a tradition continues throughout the history of the site, as modifications to the western façade do not end in the 13\textsuperscript{th} century upon the completion of the Portico of Glory. In order to create a greater spectacle for those finally arriving to the shrine, and subject of their pilgrimage, the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries brought new additions to the existing structure.\textsuperscript{11} Such a revival called for a facelift to the western entrance to add to the existing theatricality of experiencing the shrine of Santiago de Compostela. The crown jewel of such efforts, regarded as the “most important work in the Spanish Baroque style,” was the supplemental western Façade of Obradoiro completed by Fernando de Casas Lozoya, Juan Contreras y López de Ayala. 3.

\textsuperscript{7} Lozoya, Juan Contreras y López de Ayala. 3.


\textsuperscript{9} Lozoya, Juan Contreras y López de Ayala. 6.

\textsuperscript{10} Altman, Charles F. “The Medieval Marquee: Church Portal Sculpture as Publicity.” In Popular Culture in the Middle Ages. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1986. 40. Altman argues that the Romanesque Portal is the first example of popular art marking a change in religious history as religious art moves away from the private sector to the public sphere, stepping across the border set between the sacred and the secular. “The Church in the Middle Ages,” according to Altman “is the entrepreneur…[the portal] it is the ‘well-planned marquee’ which lures its customers inside” 37.

\textsuperscript{11} Such projects include that of the cloister, the Royal Portal of Quintana, the bell towers, the western entry staircase, and the gilding of the main chapel-all completed between 1521 and 1680. Lozoya, Juan Contreras y López de Ayala. 6-7. Vigo Trasancos, Alfredo. La Fachada Del Obradoiro De La Catedral De Santiago, 1738-1750 : Arquitectura, Triunfo Y Apoteosis. Madrid : [Santiago De Compostela]: Electa ; Consorcio De Santiago, 1996. 24.
Novoa in 1738 created to reframe the already existing medieval portal. These two works, marking two distinct artistic and historic moments, showcase how the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela became a pawn in a much larger religiopolitical environment and exemplify how “Master Mateo and Fernando de Casas Novoa had been, but in very different times, the co-workers of a very perfect work.”

Through a visual and contextual analysis, I hope to prove that the Portico of Glory in the 12th-13th century and the Façade of Obradoiro in the 18th century were created during periods of particular interest for the trajectory and development of Santiago de Compostela as a Christian pilgrimage site with specific reference to its relationship to other pilgrimage sites, other advances in the Catholic world, and the subsequent emergence, expansion, and decline of the Spanish empire. I will discuss the Cathedral’s relationship with other famed sites, including that of St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, to demonstrate that not only was the structure of Santiago de Compostela used as a vital assertion of power in the Iberian territories but also was a competitive ecclesiastical authority and rival to Rome and Jerusalem. I will analyze how these works both in decoration and context serve as manifestations of the religiopolitical controversies occupying the Medieval and Baroque periods. Lastly, I will explore how this façade adds to a history of Spanish-Christian dominance as the figurehead and patron saint of Santiago leads Spain to conquer infidels around the world.

[PART I] A Brief History of St. James and Christian Pilgrimage

During his lifetime, Christ called upon James, along with his brother John to follow him and partake in his ministry. While Christ’s ministry lasted three brief years, James, the ten other

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12 Lozoya, Juan Contreras y López de Ayala. 7.
13 Lozoya, Juan Contreras y López de Ayala. 7.
14 Figures 1 and 2 respectively.
15 “Going on from there He saw two other brothers, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in the boat with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and He called them. Immediately they left the boat and their father, and followed Him.” Matthew 4:21-22. New International Version.
disciples, continued long after Christ’s death to preach the gospel throughout the Mediterranean and Near East as Christ had commanded, founding what are the roots of modern Christianity.\textsuperscript{16} It is possible therefore, that James may have travelled during this time to the Iberian Peninsula to evangelize and witness to the Roman communities there; however, no record of such a visit can be found.\textsuperscript{17} The earliest known reference of St. James preaching and evangelizing in this territory was made in the seventh century, not by a Spanish source but rather by an eastern traveller who visited the shrine for the purpose of documenting the actions there.\textsuperscript{18} It is documented however, that James was indeed beheaded in Jerusalem by order of the emperor in 44 AD, thus leaving his corpse in Palestine, approximately 3,500 miles from where it was later “discovered” on the northwestern coast of Iberia.\textsuperscript{19} Some speculate that his followers removed his body from Jerusalem to ensure his tomb was not defiled or looted and relocated him to the Iberian coast because, as was known amongst his disciples, James intended to visit that territory.\textsuperscript{20} Those who advocate for the legitimacy of this legend have one biblical textual reference for their argument- a short passage in Romans, written

St. James is referred to by many names in both biblical and non-biblical texts. Such names include but are not limited to “James the Greater” and “James the Older”. He should not be confused with “James the Just,” the son of Mary and brother of Christ, nor “James son of Alphaeus,” another one of the twelve disciples both of whom are also cited in scriptural texts.

\textsuperscript{16} “Go you therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost” Matthew 28:19. New International Version

\textsuperscript{17} Around the year 1230, Archbishop of Genoa, Jacques of Voraigne wrote the \textit{Liber Sanctorum}, now known as \textit{The Golden Legend} is the most well known documentation of St. James’ alleged visitation to the region. The first English translation was printed in 1453 at Westminster and reads:

“James the Apostle after the ascension was sent to Spain to sow there the words of Christ. But when he was there he profited but little for he converted into Christ’s law but nine disciples of whom he left two there for to preach the word of God and took the other seven with him and returned again to Jerusalem...[they] brought him to Herod Agrippa and...was beheaded and suffered martyrdom. Then his disciples took the body away by night for fear of the Jews and brought it to a ship and committed it unto the will of Our Lord and they all went in the ship without sail or rudder. And by the conduct of the angel of the Lord they arrived in Galicia in the Kingdom of Lupa...Then the disciples of St. James took out his body and laid it upon a great stone. And anon the stone received the body into it as it had been soft wax.” Layton, T. A. 28.

\textsuperscript{18} For a detailed discussion of the various chronicling of Saint James’ travels to Hispania and placement of his relics in Galicia see: Elliott van Liere, Katherine. 2008. "The Missionary and the Moorslayer: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales". \textit{Viator}. 37 (1)

\textsuperscript{19} James’ execution is reported as follows: “It was about this time that King Herod arrested some who belonged to the church, intending to persecute them. He had James, the brother of John, put to death with the sword.” Acts 12:1-2. New International Version.

\textsuperscript{20} Webb, 13.
shortly after the death of the Apostle James. The Apostle Paul writes that he cannot attempt to build “on someone else’s foundation...by visiting Hispania” hinting that someone had been evangelizing in the territory only shortly prior.\(^{21}\) Nevertheless, even this citation is not a reference specifically to the Apostle James but rather has been read and used for the sole purpose of legitimizing the legends concerning the presence of his tomb in the region. And yet, because no official record remains, it cannot be truly authenticated whether or not the body discovered is in fact the relics of the apostle.\(^{22}\)

While by the ninth century the recognition and veneration of relics had developed in places such as Rome and Jerusalem, few churches were said to house the entire body of a saint let alone an apostle.\(^{23}\) Therefore when a local hermit in the forests of Galicia laid claim to the discovery of the Apostle James’ body, it would be reasonable to assume a position of skepticism and doubt. However, it was not the case. The shrine quickly gained local and international recognition and fame, and the body of St. James was credited for many a military victory or miraculous healing by those who called

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\(^{21}\) Romans 15:20-24 does not explicitly refer to James in any way, this is the only Bible passage that refers directly to the territory of Hispania, present day Spain. It mentions that someone, likely one of the disciples, had already been to and returned from Spain and that Paul would not dare to tarnish the foundations laid by said disciple by encroaching on his territory of evangelization. However, because no name is given for the disciple whose territory it was, this passage could be used by Santiago supporters to advocate that it was in fact St. James.

\(^{22}\) Additionally, the modern Catholic Church in general is very hesitant to authenticate the veracity and validity of holy relics because performing such intrusive scientific dating examinations would alter and harm the holy nature of such possessions. There is also a belief that there is an essence of “life” still remaining in the flesh or corpse of a saint or martyr and therefore any examination of their remains would be an invasion on not only the sanctity of the individual but would also harm them. Freeman, Charles. *Holy Bones, Holy Dust How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011. It seems that neither medieval writers nor modern scholars give much care to the authenticity of the relics found at Santiago de Compostela.

\(^{23}\) The Venetians declared they had found the relics of St. Mark in Alexandria, legend circulated that St. Andrew had been brought from Constantinople to the shores of Scotland, and a child martyr by the name of St. Foy was taken in an act of *furtum sacrum* (holy theft) from Agen to her final resting place of Conques in 866. Additionally, St. Denis of Paris was dedicated to an alleged disciple of Paul mentioned briefly in the *Acts of the Apostles* and by the eleventh century, Vézelay in France was claiming to house the relics of Mary Magdalene who allegedly traveled with her sister Martha to find sanctuary during the subsequent persecutions that followed the death of Christ. These examples simply serve to exemplify the uncertainty and regularity of such claims throughout the western world at the time of the discovery of James’ body in Iberia. Webb, 14.
upon his name.\textsuperscript{24} Due to the quick popularity and overwhelming numbers of pilgrims arriving at Santiago de Compostela, additions to the Cathedral have been many.

Although pilgrimage holds roots long before the Middle Ages, it became rather popular during the medieval period. Pagan polytheists visited sacred sites throughout early history and Jews long before the messianic arrival of Christ visited the Holy Land, which centered on the city of Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{25} While not a mandated pillar of Christian faith, pilgrimage was recommended and promoted first in the fourth and fifth centuries and pious believers of the newly Christian Roman Empire began to travel to Jerusalem for the purposes of prayer and devotion.\textsuperscript{26} As the practice further developed, believers would travel either to a site of significance due to a divine event (e.g., Golgotha, where Christ was crucified) or the shrine of a holy figure (e.g., St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome) to pay homage to said object as an act of faith. However, after the fall of the Roman Empire with several Barbarian powers overtaking the territory, such practices were made virtually impossible, and believers stayed local, focusing their worship solely on nearby sites.\textsuperscript{27} When the Carolingian dynasty resurrected a sense of unity and Christian solidarity later in the eighth and ninth centuries, longer pilgrimage ventures resurfaced and believers once again began to cross boarders for the veneration of saints and their relics.\textsuperscript{28} Therefore, while the history of the shrine at Santiago de Compostela begins in the 9\textsuperscript{th} century with the discovery of the apostle’s tomb, the development of the cathedral truly began with the Romanesque construction projects of the medieval period. During this period, the pilgrimage roads to Jerusalem, Rome, and ultimately Santiago de Compostela became the trade routes upon which European culture was exchanged and established. Pilgrimage arose to become one

\textsuperscript{24} Web, 13.; “His name was the banner cry in the historical and decisive moments in Spain. His tomb was the stone where not only our [Spanish] Christianity settled down, but also our culture…” Lozoya, Juan Contreras y López de Ayala. 1.; “…the apostle [James] was widely considered to be the commanding general of the Christian armies.” Maclean, Katie. “The Mystic and the Moor-Slayer: St. Teresa, Santiago and the Struggle for Spanish Identity.” \textit{Bulletin of Spanish Studies}, no. 7 (2006): 887-910. 904.
\textsuperscript{26} Whalen, 1.
\textsuperscript{27} Whalen, 45.
\textsuperscript{28} Whalen, 45.
of the greatest economic enterprises of the medieval period and an entire subculture grew along with it all of which would be impossible to unravel in this discussion.

[PART II] Context for Medieval Renovations of the West Façade

In order to begin to comprehend the significance of the Portico of Glory, it is crucial to understand both the religious and political climate that led up to the medieval construction project at the west end of Santiago de Compostela in the 12th century. In addition to being alienated from the rest of Western Europe due to its unique location amidst a number of geographical boundaries such as the Pyrenees Mountains, during the Middle Ages the Iberian Peninsula was a vast expanse of plurality and division religiously and politically. Following the Roman occupation, Iberia was taken by the Visigoths in the 6th century who ruled until their loss to the Arab troops on the shores of the Guadalete river July 19, 711. Until that point, the Visigoths had formed an empire characterized by Catholic unity and indivisibility, a concept which would long outlive the reign of their kings to fuel the Reconquista amongst the Christian Kingdoms in the 9th-15th centuries. Following their loss, a group of the Visigothic court retreated to the north of the peninsula where they established the small kingdom of Asturias under their new King, Pelayo. From such Gothic lineage began many of the northern Christian kingdoms that would emerge in the medieval period. From the 8th-11th century, Iberia was comprised of the unified Arab empire of al-Andalus to the south and the fissiparous

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29 Spain is closer to North Africa than most of the European mainland with only 15 kilometers separating Gibraltar from northern Morocco. The Pyrenees stretch across the northern border with France, however, drastic climatic and geographic elements such as smaller ranges and the 211,000 square kilometers of Meseta within the territory also separated small peninsular kingdoms from one another. See Figure 3. Hillgarth, J.N. *The Spanish Kingdoms: 1250-1516*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1976.


31 While this is the most important element of the Visigothic legacy, it may not be entirely reality. The “unity” as described by contemporary and later medieval writers was more of a propaganda tactic created for the purposes of the Reconquista movement. However, the fact remains that the Visigoths did establish catholic dominion over Iberia, which would be quintessential to the re-conquering of the territory from the infidels. O'Callaghan, Joseph F. 4

32 O'Callaghan, 5.
Christian kingdoms of Asturias, Galicia, Portugal, Castilla, León, Navarre, Aragón, and Catalonia to the north.\textsuperscript{33}

The eleventh century, however, marked a strong change in the politics of Iberia. Al-Andalus had suffered numerous separatist rebellions and by this time had led to the dissolution of the Caliphate in Cordoba and was replaced by over twenty independently ruled \textit{Taifas}.\textsuperscript{34} Like their Christian counterparts to the north, each governing body sought independent goals of the others, eventually leading to the fragmentation and destabilization of the empire as a whole. Concurrently, after centuries of independent development and wars against one another over territorial dominion, the Christian kingdoms came together as a unified military force, though still in political conflict, to take advantage of the newly weakened Islamic south.\textsuperscript{35} The Reconquista took hold during this time of political upheaval and uneasiness as the Christian armies slowly began to fight with a common goal-- to overtake the Arabs to the South.

At this time, the worldwide Christian agenda to vanquish infidels led all of Europe to focus efforts on Crusades to the east. The Abbassid Caliphate of Islam in Baghdad ruled from 750-1055 and during this time, their empire flourished.\textsuperscript{36} As their rule pushed closer and closer to the gates of Constantinople, Emperor Alexius I of Constantinople along with Pope Urban II called to their Christian brothers for help, asserting that the disunity among the Islamic powers offered a perfect opportunity for counter-attack.\textsuperscript{37} Thus began the Crusades in medieval Europe and such endeavors continued long into the 14\textsuperscript{th} and 15\textsuperscript{th} centuries. Recent scholarship by José Goñi Gaztambide has defined a crusade to be “an indulgenced holy war… sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority (popes,
councils, or bishops) who granted remission of sins to those taking part in it.”

However, within such a definition, the Papal Bulls of Urban II in 1089 and Clement IV in 1265 calling for specific attention to the Spanish Reconquista efforts would validate peninsular conquest as a crusade of its own kind. These Bulls granted those of Spanish dominion the plenary indulgence which offered them the same privileges as those who visited the Stations of Rome: they would be absolved twice of sins and even those who visited five different churches or the same altar five times to pray for the intentions of the Crusade were offered the same benefits. Such a proclamation from the Pope encouraged the people of Iberia to fight the war of infidelity in their own backyard instead of focusing their efforts on wars in the Holy Land.

Such macro-interactions of political and religious warfare may seem distant from happenings in the small town of Santiago de Compostela; however, the spirit of Reconquista is essential to the development of St. James as a figurehead and patron saint of Spain. St. James was credited with “planting the seed of Christianity” in Iberia in the first century, and was hence viewed as a foundational contributor to the reestablishment of Christian dominion therein. He allegedly appeared

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38 Quoted in O’Callaghan, 19.
39 “A Bull grant[ed] indulgences to those who took part in the wars against the infidels…The first of these Crusade Bulls which concerned Spain was that of Urban II to the Counts Berenguer Ramón de Barcelona and Armengal de Besalú in 1089 at the time of the reconquest of Tarragona, and that of Gelasius II to Alfonso I of Aragon, when he undertook to reconquer Saragossa in 1118. Clement IV in 1265 issued a general Bull for the whole of Spain, when the Kings of Aragon and Castile joined in the expedition against Murcia. In the course of time these pontifical concessions became more and more frequent; in the reign of the Catholic kings alone they were granted in 1478, 1479, 1481, 1482, 1485, 1494, 1503, and 1505, and were continued during the following reigns, that granted by Gregory XIII in 1573 being renewed by his successors.” Hinojosa Y Naveros, Eduardo De. "Bull of the Crusade." Catholic Encyclopedia. 1908. Accessed September 18, 2014.
40 O’Callaghan, 19. Spaniards were enraptured in crusade ideology but generally speaking remained focused on the struggles in the Holy Land and undervalued the work being done in their own territory; therefore, religious authorities needed to convince their population to focus efforts on their own backyard. See specifically “The Liturgy of Reconquest and Crusade” in O’Callaghan’s 177-208 for further discussion of ecclesiastical sponsorship of crusading efforts on a local level.
42 Maclean, 897.
(scholars claim over 4,000 times) to Spanish Christian troops and military leaders to inspire and encourage their continued efforts and as a result, the figure of St. James evolves from simply the evangelist of the region to become “Santiago Matamoros” or St. James the Moor-Killer leading his troops into battle. Additionally, it is during this tumultuous time of history that the country of Spain, as it is known today, begins to be formed as these small kingdoms collaborate to conquer the peninsula for Christ and vanquish the Islamic powers in the region. Modern Spanish history rests upon the shoulders of the Reconquista and the religious and political developments of the medieval period.

[PART III] Important Protagonists for the Medieval Construction

As previously noted, it took many hands, minds, and coffers to raise the humble shrine of Santiago into one of the largest Christian pilgrimage sites in the world. The turbulent environment surrounding this structure was only intensified and propagated by the key religiopolitical protagonists that contributed to the site’s development. First, from a political viewpoint, it is evident that the evolving monarchy actively supported the work at Santiago de Compostela and worked closely with the religious authorities to elevate the site and the surrounding region. King Alfonso of Asturias ruled contemporarily with the discovery of the relics in 813 and commissioned the first structure on-site; however, his contributions did not stop with his structural patronage. He founded the Hermandad de

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43 Santiago appeared in a dream to King Ramiro I of Asturias (the monarch ruling over the Christian Kingdom to the east of that housing the sacred shrine) during the Battle of Clavijo in 844, only 30 years after the discovery of the relics in Galicia. He and his armies were fighting the Moors and were outnumbered. However, after the vision of Santiago riding on a white horse with sword in hand, the Asturian army defeated over 5,000 of the Moorish troops and thus Santiago was declared the patron saint of the region. Because of this vision, Santiago is often depicted as “Santiago Matamoros” or St. James the Moor Slayer. It is also important to note that the Battle of Clavijo was not a historic event but rather a legend itself. Thus placing the legend of this dream-like vision within another legend, removing its veracity one more degree from historic truth. Elliott van Liere, Katherine. 2008. “The Missionary and the Moorslayer: James the Apostle in Spanish Historiography from Isidore of Seville to Ambrosio de Morales”. Viator. 37 (1): 520.

44 The image of “Santiago Matamoros” is a common thematic and decorative image beginning in the 11th century and used throughout Spanish Christian art as an emblem and reminder of the victory of the Reconquista. Many cathedrals throughout Spain continue to display sculptural or pictorial representation of the figure. See Figure 4 and also Figure 5 for an example of how the Matamoros figure continued not only through Spanish history but also Spanish Colonialism. Maclean, 901.
Cambidores, an order of moneychangers that served as fiscal aids to the propagation and popularity of the site.\textsuperscript{45} Because of the Hermandad, and the subsequent mint that was founded to support their trade, visitors could flock to the site from around the world and give to the shrine, regardless of the coinage they carried.\textsuperscript{46} This group, as one of the early honors associated with the shrine, offered distinguished members of the local community the opportunity to gain prestige in part because of the severity of the job they held for the economic development of the city of Santiago and also due to the royal affiliation the Hermandad boasted.\textsuperscript{47} Alfonso III followed in the footsteps of his father by reconstructing the shrine in 899, increasing the size to better house the growing number of pilgrims visiting annually. This lineage would continue to support the development of the shrine in 1075 when Alfonso VI and his queen Uracca commissioned the Romanesque construction, ultimately completed under the supervision and sponsorship of their son Alfonso VII who would reside as the political sponsor of the site until his death in 1157.\textsuperscript{48} It is during the reign of Alfonso VI and Uracca that the great archbishop Diego Gelmírez comes to power in Santiago. In 1075, the same year that Alfonso VI and Queen Uracca called for the Romanesque reconstruction project, Pope Urban II declared Santiago de Compostela an episcopal see. He would elevate the status of the see once more in 1120 to that of archdiocese, promoting Diego Gelmírez to archbishop.\textsuperscript{49}

At Santiago de Compostela, the work of Diego Gelmírez is second to none. During his “rule,” Gelmírez valiantly fought to elevate not only his own personal status but that of the Cathedral and See as well. He is arguably the most controversial and noteworthy participant in the history of the shrine. The time of Gelmírez’s control of Santiago de Compostela (1100-1140) is referred to as the “great age” because of the amount of structural development, ecclesiastical honor, and

\textsuperscript{45} Stokstad, Marilyn. 1975. \textit{The Pórtico de la Gloria of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela}. 2.
\textsuperscript{46} Stokstad, 2.
\textsuperscript{47} Stokstad, 2.
\textsuperscript{48} Stokstad, 3.
\textsuperscript{49} Stokstad, 4.
recognition given to the shrine during these years.\textsuperscript{50} To achieve such ends, he travelled twice to Rome, where he gained physical inspiration for new works at his cathedral.\textsuperscript{51} Along these journeys, he passed through Cluny, where Abbot Hugh was raising the 3\textsuperscript{rd} abbey and he heard tale of constructions at Durham and Notre Dame; he also passed through Toulouse where St. Sernin was in the process of construction; this demonstrates that these trips to Rome not only linked Santiago with developments in Italy but with other shrines along the French road as well.\textsuperscript{52} Gelmírez also gained the favor of Pope Calixtus II who ultimately wrote a compilation text of manuscripts in 1140 called the \textit{Codex Calixtinus} containing an account of many miracles from the shrine and much praise of its archbishop, Diego Gelmírez.\textsuperscript{53} It is no surprise then to see that Santiago de Compostela is raised to the status of archdiocese during Gelmírez’s rule, in 1120.

His authority over the Pilgrimage Center however, was often disputed. There were two distinct rebellions in 1116 and 1136. They not only expressed the discontentment of the locals regarding the increased taxes which were implemented to offset the building projects of Gelmírez, but also the dissatisfaction of the laypersons as the priorities of their archbishop and local authorities were primarily centered around the transient pilgrim populations and impressing ecclesiastical leaders from Rome, rather than caring for and maintaining the city for the local population.\textsuperscript{54} These rebellions sent fear through the archbishop, but also produced some rather significant damage to the shrine itself which led only to further renovation projects. To summarize, Karen Matthews asserts that “Gelmírez combined the construction of a massive new cathedral, the acquisition of

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item Webb, 23.
\item His first visit was from 1099 to the summer of 1100 as a pilgrim whereas the second trip was to advocated for the raising of Santiago’s hierarchical status. Watson, Christabel. "A Reassessment of the Western Parts of the Romanesque Cathedral of Santiago De Compostela." \textit{Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 59}, no. 4 (2000): 510
\item Watson, 511.
\item Webb, 23.
\end{itemize}
ecclesiastical honors for himself and his church, and the implementation of religious reform to increase the flow of pilgrims, to enhance the status and dignity of his cathedral and to present Santiago as a center of piety and pilgrimage equal to Rome."\(^{55}\)

The death of Alfonso VII marked a curious shift in the course of the monarchy and had clear effects on the course of history for Santiago de Compostela. The late King left behind a territory stretching from the shores of Galicia to the high desert of Castilla and his two sons, Fernando II and Sancho I, would split the land between the two of them. Fernando II took control over León and Galicia and consequently gained political power over the shrine of Santiago de Compostela.\(^{56}\) However, he was notably unpopular in the region he inherited and sought to improve his reputation through acts of great piety and generosity to the local communities. With such goals in mind, Fernando II began his pilgrimage to the shrine in 1168 and bestowed upon his arrival the commission of Master Matthew for the western portal of the Romanesque structure, the Portico of Glory.\(^{57}\) Additionally, in 1171, he founded the Knights of Santiago\(^{58}\) to patrol and police the pilgrimage road ensuring the safety and protection of pilgrims approaching the shrine. Therefore, by the time the Portico of Glory was completed in 1188, the political patronage and support by local monarchs of Santiago de Compostela’s development served an integral role. Following the patronage projects of Gelmírez came the work of Master Matthew who would be commissioned by King Ferdinand II of Leon to construct the Portico of Glory in 1188. He, according to his contract in 1168, was called to be the “superintendent of the works of St. James” and received payment from the King from the time of his original commission to his death in 1217.\(^{59}\)

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\(^{56}\) Hilgarth, 91.

\(^{57}\) Hillgarth, 91.

\(^{58}\) Also referred to as the Order of Santiago by some sources.

\(^{59}\) The contract is preserved in the Cathedral Archives at Santiago de Compostela but was reproduced in a variety of secondary source material. Watson, 503.
PART IV The Medieval Decoration Scheme

The western portal during the medieval period was noted to be one of the primary and most glorious additions to the Romanesque construction. The Pilgrim’s Guide, a contemporary text written by and for pilgrims to the shrine notes, “the west portal…surpasses by its beauty, size and workmanship the other portals. This one [the Portico of Glory] is larger and more beautiful than the others and more admirably worked…” According to Charles Altman in his modern analysis of the role of this type of decoration, the medieval portal was analogous to the movie marquee of the early 20th century: populations were lured into the building by the gaudy exterior but also required that such an exterior be accessible to both literate and illiterate audiences. In other words, this portal would welcome a variety of audiences approaching the sacred space and needed to ensure the message of the church was effectively communicated. Furthermore, religious art no longer needed to be private or reserved for those with special but limited access, it was overtly public and approachable by the masses. Additionally, because the portal, unlike smaller icons from prior periods, transcended the religious space of the Cathedral property and addressed the public sphere head on, portal art is in its nature a very communicative and evangelical art form allowing for the religious message to be propagated long after Sunday mass—the portal’s decoration became a part of the layperson’s daily life and was both the first and final encounter transient audiences had with the sacred shrine.

With this in mind, the specific decoration of the Portico of Glory serves as a vehicle of religious messages. The decorative scheme in Master Matthew’s masterpiece seems to follow the

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62. Altman, 40.
63. Altman, 41.
trend found in other westwerks from the 12th and 13th century. The portal takes on a tripartite structure showcasing Christ in Majesty at center, surrounded by apocalyptic imagery and supported by iconographic representation of apostles, prophets, and evangelists. In fact, Master Matthew takes a series of easily recognizable and widely accepted Christian typological and symbolic images and manipulates them to specifically reflect the culture and history surrounding the shrine at Santiago. While there are references to traditions of the past, especially the use of the triumphal arch structure from antiquity, the medieval work on the western façade at Santiago de Compostela modified such traditions to best serve the religious and political atmosphere of the time.

As a whole, the Portico of Glory is a massive structure that opened up the Romanesque entry space to house much larger audiences and welcome them into the shrine. There was a “hierarchy of doors in the middle ages;” whereas a tourist today could enter the shrine at Santiago from any of the three portals, during the 12th and 13th centuries entering a cathedral was highly structured and formulated act. The south door was the primary entrance for townspeople as it still is today while the northern portal (often referred to as the Porta francigena or the “French door”) was the primary entryway for pilgrim audiences because most of these pilgrims arrived at the Spanish shrine from the north thus making this door the logical entrance for their population. However, the western door was usually the primary and most monumental of the doors allowing primarily local and international dignitaries the privilege of entering by means of this portal; by no means was this doorway the main thoroughfare to the shrine during the medieval period. However, it was viewed almost exclusively by royalty, selected nobility, ecclesiastical leaders, and of course, the Pope upon his visits. Therefore, while Santiago de Compostela welcomed many populations during the medieval period as it rose to

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66 Mathews, 151.
67 Mathews, 150.
be one of the primary sites for Christian devotion, the addition to the western façade was primarily viewed and created for the purposes of communicating for and with the same authorities that commissioned its creation. This is likely the reason why the south door not the western portal, as discussed by Abou el-Hajj and Karen Matthews, showcases the majority of the sculptural response to the local uprisings and rebellions to challenge the authority of Diego Gelmírez in the 11th and 12th centuries.  

Figures 10 and 11 show visual dissections of the decoration scheme on the Portico of Glory in detail to simply illustrate the organization and progression of iconographic sections. The two side arches that make up the portal structure display scenes from the Old Testament on the left and Last Judgment on the right. The jamb statues to the left house representations of the apostles while the statues flanking the right archway show figures of the prophets. The central arch, as previously noted, shows Christ seated in Majesty, flanked by the four evangelists each holding their respective tetramorphic symbols. Behind them, scenes from the book of Revelation fill the remainder of the tympanum: some have deemed this multitude as simply “the blessed in glory” while others have determined them as a host of angels carrying relics from the passion of Christ, although there is no general consensus on the meaning of this visual material. The whole scene is framed by the archivolt depicting the 24 Elders of the Apocalypse. The trumeau column bisects the central doorway and shows the figure of St. James standing upon the tree of Jesse, a symbol derived from the Old Testament often used to showcase and link Christ to his human ancestry as part of the lineage of Jesse. Figures from both the Old and New Testament scriptures intermix into the portal decoration, tying the shrine at Santiago de Compostela to the whole of the Christian tradition while also

specifically incorporating St. James into the narrative of the Christian story as an important player worthy of note alongside the major and minor prophets, apostles, evangelists, heavenly beings, and Christ himself.

It is within the central arch specifically that the decoration manifests manipulated images and iconographic representation to uniquely tie the Christian message with the role and history of Santiago de Compostela. The archivolt decoration specifically highlights the artistic patronage that flourished at the pilgrimage center during the medieval period. The 24 Elders of the Apocalypse, a common decorative theme in medieval iconography, that form the central archivolt take on a style unique to this Spanish shrine. These biblical figures are also depicted on the tympanum frieze of St. Pierre in Moissac, France, which is a construction roughly contemporary with St. James’ portico in Compostela. While it is uncertain whether there is a direct relationship between these two shrines, it is likely that the studio responsible for the work in Santiago de Compostela would have been aware of and familiar with the work in France. While both decorations boast this iconographic theme, in Moissac, the Elders are very uniform and rigid; even though each one holds its own instrument the instruments are practically unidentifiable and the men are near replicates of one another, creating a pattern that fills the tympanum. At the shrine to St. James, Master Matthew and his studio create a version of these figures which specifically relates them to the culture revolving around music in Santiago de Compostela.

On the Portico of Glory, each figure holds a small musical instrument, most of which are unique to the individual holding them. Each figure and their respective instrument are heavily

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69 This image comes directly from the book of the end times, Revelation where “…the twenty-four elders will fall down before Him who sits on the throne, and will worship Him who lives forever and ever, and will cast their crowns before the throne, saying, ‘Worthy are You, our Lord and our God, to receive glory and honor and power; for You created all things, and because of Your will they existed, and were created.’” Revelation 4:10-11. New International Version.


71 Compare Moissac (Figure 23) to the Portico of Glory’s elders (Figures 7-9; 11-13).
stylized and individually rendered and remain in very good visual condition today, so much so, that
scholars have been able to track the evolution and creation of medieval musical instruments from
analyzing the detailing on this portion of the portal.\footnote{Stokstad, Marilyn. \textit{The Portico De La Gloria of the Cathedral of Santiago De Compostela}. 1957. 13.} The accuracy and intricacy of the carving
present in this portion shows the workshop’s attention to detail but also represents the vast
knowledge the carvers must have possessed to fashion these instruments in such a precise manner.

Music was a quintessential part of traveling the road to Santiago. Music was seen as “an
entirely acceptable remedy for the tedium and toil of the [pilgrimage] road and a welcome distraction
from the pain that a pilgrim might feel…”\footnote{Webb, 155.} According to the \textit{Codex Calixtinus}, songs ranging from
liturgical chants to informal, more “modern,” rhythmic pieces would have been sung, using their
jaunty meter to keep in step along the road.\footnote{Webb, 157.} The song of St. Alexis for example, told the story of a
man who abandoned his bride to go on a pilgrimage to Rome while the song of St. Foy had gained
popularity after its composition in 1070, used for both liturgical and dancing purposes along the
pilgrimage road towards Santiago.\footnote{Webb, 158.} But not only was it present on the road to the shrine, but in the
center of the city as well. Pedro II, the archbishop during the period of this project, commissioned
several decorative additions to his palace including a banquet hall mural (which does not survive)
that showcases a pilgrim procession littered with musical instruments typical of the time and several
capital carvings of similar figures with instruments as seen here on the archivolt of the central arch of
the portico.\footnote{Stokstad, 13. See figures 7, 8, and 9 for details of the instruments on the portal and figures 12, 13, and 14 for details
of the capital decoration from the Archbishop’s palace (which was and still is connected to the cathedral of
Santiago de Compostela).} These details uncover the unique relationship the shrine had with musical and artistic
development.

Pedro II was a great patron of the arts and education and the medieval period boasts the
establishment of several different schools in Santiago de Compostela including an arts school
wherein sculptors, painters, architects, and musicians alike, many of whom had stumbled upon the center during their own pilgrimage, studied the converging artistic style found at Santiago.\textsuperscript{77}

Thousands of pilgrims covering nearly all socioeconomic and hierarchical demographics passed through the city of Santiago de Compostela annually and many of them had journeyed from diverse regions of the world, bringing with them distinct cultural practices. This fusion of culture was manifest in the artistic synthesis of artists working on the structure as masons from St. Denis and St. Sernin collaborated with Spanish masons to create the Portico and other Romanesque renovations.\textsuperscript{78}

According to art historian Marilyn J. Stokstad, “the high quality of the sculpture [on the Portico of Glory] is explainable, when one considers the society of which it was an expression.”\textsuperscript{79} With both royal and powerful religious patronage of the arts and education and a strong influx of diverse artists in Santiago de Compostela, the decoration on the Portico simply mimics what rich cultural development was taking place within and outside of the cathedral’s boundaries.

It is also interesting to note how the emphasis on the musicality of Santiago de Compostela could be viewed in light of its neighboring cultures. As in all religious groups, there is often debate over scriptural interpretation. However, at this time in Islam, many believed that song and dance were \textit{haram} or forbidden according to the law of the Quran; very few believed that such outbursts were permitted or \textit{halal} except for a smaller group of emerging Islamic mystics.\textsuperscript{80} The Quran reads, “And of mankind is he who purchases idle talks (i.e. music, singing) to mislead (men) from the path of Allaah…” making it appear rather clear that music was not intended to be a means of worshipping God or experiencing acts of spiritual practice.\textsuperscript{81} With this in mind, the heavy emphasis placed on the

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{77} Stokstad, 8.
\textsuperscript{78} “Artisans who worked on one pilgrimage church move on or were sent on to another when they had finished, so that works by the same individual turn up hundreds of miles apart in different provinces and countries…”Kendall, Calvin B. \textit{The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and Their Verse Inscriptions}. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
\textsuperscript{79} Stokstad, 8.
\textsuperscript{81} Luqmaan 31:6. The Quran.
musical character of this pilgrimage center takes on a different significance. The Arab general, Almanzor, sacked the city and shrine at Santiago de Compostela in 997 only 200 years before the completion of the Portico of Glory. Additionally, the Christian kingdoms were attempting to gather under the common goal to defeat Islam and rid the peninsula of the Arab Caliphate together making it quite likely that the placement, prominence, and attention to detail of the 24 Elders/musicians was a deliberate gesture on behalf of local authorities to separate the two religious groups and assert Christian dominance.

The final detail to be discussed here is the signature and date engraved by the artist along with a self-portrait represented on the reverse of the portal. In 1128, it was not yet common to see a single artist attributed to such a monumental construction; yet, arguably because of the royal patronage, Master Matthew’s inscription on the portal remains clear and legible today. Master Matthew chose to boast his genius and began traditions that are continued today to honor his wisdom and creativity before pilgrims enter the interior space to view the relics of the saint.82 His self-portrait can be seen at the foot of the central trumeau column, kneeling and pointed towards the altar holding a sign labeled Architectus, confirming him as the architect of the work. This figure has come to be known as Santo dos Croques, literally meaning the Saint of Two Head Knocks, because of the tradition, which arose amongst students receiving their artistic or religious education in Santiago de Compostela. As legend would have it, if students went and hit their heads softly upon the head of the great master before their examinations, they would pass because his genius would transfer to them.83

The medieval western façade as seen in the Portico of Glory demonstrates the prominence of Santiago de Compostela in the western world. The general structure places it within the school of pilgrimage architecture and the participation of many different social and cultural groups shows the

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83 This is one of the many medieval traditions that continues today and can be seen in figures 15 and 16. Melczer, William. The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago De Compostela. New York: Italica Press, 1993.
character of the site as a point of convergence. The details of the decoration show the impressive artistic achievements present in the work but also establish the Portico as a readable narrative accessible to the medieval audience that it served. As Karen Matthews summarizes, “the [medieval] cathedral served as a monumental marquee, where he [the archbishop] could advertise his role in the city and the shrine’s place among the pre-eminent churches in Christendom. For the other communities in Santiago, the cathedral symbolized the oppressive nature of excessive building enterprises, the impossibility of political autonomy, and absolute authority of [the] archbishop and secular rulers in the city of Santiago de Compostela.”

[PART V] Baroque Context

While this paper focuses on the shrine at Santiago de Compostela in the Medieval and Baroque periods of renovation, there is much contextual background needed to fully understand the Baroque renovation. This section cannot be a comprehensive historical analysis of over 500 years of political, economic, and cultural development that links the medieval to the Baroque period, therefore I will attempt to expose much of what will (specifically) contextualize important aspects of the construction of the Façade of Obradoiro. Following the crusades to the east and final defeat of the Islamic empire in Iberia on January 2, 1492 at the surrender of Granada, Spain had accomplished many great victories under the banner cry of Santiago for the extension of the Church and therefore received great recognition from papal authorities. The marriage of King Ferdinand II of Aragon to Isabella I of Castilla on the 19th of October, 1469 in Valladolid had marked an important shift in Spanish history for when Isabella inherited the crown in 1474, the Christian Kingdoms of the north officially were unified. The Catholic Kings also brought Spain arguably its greatest worldly

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accomplishment when they granted Christopher Columbus financial support to travel west in search of a new route to the East Indies, which would result in the discovery of the “New World.”

Additionally during this period of unification and initial development, several formal universities were founded as the humanist ideology took root throughout the peninsula and Spain began to rival other European educational hubs such as Italy.

After the Catholic Kings (r. 1475-1504) passed the crown onto their children for a short 15 years, Carlos V (r. 1519-1556) was named emperor and “Rey de Romanos” as Spanish territory expanded. It is also curious to note that during this period, the Spanish empire extended to include territories of the Italian peninsula alongside Rome. Never was Rome occupied by Spanish control but other neighboring areas were under Spanish rule allowing for close access and observation of Roman practices and innovations.

In 1529, Carlos V continued in the footsteps of his ancestors to sponsor both Hernán Cortez and Francisco Pizaro on their expeditions to the New World and during his reign, approximately 300 tons of gold and 25,000 tons of silver crossed the Atlantic to subsidize the Spanish coffers regularly depleted by countless war efforts and Carlos’ costly building projects.

During his kingship, the inquisition took deep root in Spanish culture; Carlos was crowned emperor only two years after Luther’s 95 Theses shook up the religious culture of the west. In response to the evolving religious climate, The Council of Trent began in 1545 in order to officially establish and

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87 A common nickname for Ferdinand II and Isabella I because they had unified Spain under Catholicism and defeated Islam.
88 Bernecker, 16.
89 Bernecker, 17.
90 Carlos V of Spain but Emperor Carlos I.
91 Bernecker, 30.
92 Figure 17 shows the extent of the Habsburg Empire by the abdication of Carlos V. This still is not the height of Spanish imperialism but this map shows the closeness of the territory controlled by Spain to Rome. Bernecker, 39.
93 Bernecker, 45.
94 Bernecker, 37.
determine church doctrine thus defining the heresies of the Protestant reformation.\textsuperscript{95} However, Carlos V died before the Council had completed its work and Felipe II took the throne in 1556.\textsuperscript{96}

Therefore, counter-reformative efforts continued under the governance of Felipe II (r.1556-1598) and Felipe III (r.1598-1621). Together Felipe II, the Pope, and the Government of Venice defeated the Ottoman Turks in the battle of Lepanto in 1571 showing the continued efforts of both the Papacy and Spanish forces to defeat Islam, conquer the infidels, and expand the authority and power of the Church.\textsuperscript{97} However, Spain’s contribution became problematic when the King declared that he held certain authority over the Church that rivaled that of the Pope, causing rather awkward conflict between the powers of Madrid and Rome respectively.\textsuperscript{98} Colonialism became Spain’s greatest export and it was during Felipe II’s rule, in fact, that the empire reached the largest size it would ever see, becoming one of the largest empires in world history.\textsuperscript{99} The sun may have never set on the Spanish empire and yet, such an expanse did not grant stability. Felipe II alone declared bankruptcy four times, yet continued his own massive palace construction of El Escorial just outside of Madrid despite clear economic and societal hardships faced by the empire.\textsuperscript{100}

The climate did not improve when Felipe III took his father’s place as King in 1598. Growing up as the crown prince, he had enjoyed a life of luxury and remained fairly oblivious to the problems of his country; however, during his youth he was stricken with illness and quickly gained a reputation as a weak and feeble child, a reputation that would haunt him through adulthood as well.\textsuperscript{101} Therefore, Felipe III found himself in a state of shock when he rose to take the crown. Not only did his father file for bankruptcy for the final time in 1596, but the plague hit the peninsula first.

\textsuperscript{96} Bernecker, 51.
\textsuperscript{97} Bernecker, 62.
\textsuperscript{98} Bernecker, 65.
\textsuperscript{99} Bernecker, 68.
\textsuperscript{100} The years of bankruptcy are: in 1557, 1560, 1575, and 1596. Bernecker, Walther L. 68.
\textsuperscript{101} Bernecker, 74
in this year as well, killing more than 500,000 people, approximately 8% of Spain’s population.\textsuperscript{102} In 1609, when 270,000 \textit{morisco}\textsuperscript{103} laborers, farmers, and artisans were expelled from the country that percentage rose to over 10% of the total population.\textsuperscript{104} Additionally, the harvests of the 1580s had yielded poor crops, and this trend continued through the middle of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Compounded with general poor health of the population, these harvests increased prices of good grains thus making imported goods from the New World (e.g. corn) that much more appealing but at the same time increasing domestic dependence on Spain’s peripheral territories.\textsuperscript{105} The population of Madrid had been depleted by the plague and the poor agricultural environment enticed nearly 50,000-100,000 inhabitants to move to urban centers for social and sanitary reasons leaving formerly thriving agricultural and commercial hubs vacant and bringing with them great societal change to the capital and the social schema of Spain would change as a result.\textsuperscript{106} Whereas the Order of Santiago generally kept the northern regions of the peninsula safe, protecting pilgrims and locals alike, the provinces of Andalucía, Valencia, and Cataluña suffered drastic increases in crime while taxes weighed heavily upon all of Spain.\textsuperscript{107} And still, despite such hardships, there was \textit{Siglo de Oro} or “Golden Century” of artistic means under the pair. Meanwhile, the rest of academic progress could not boast the same success. Artistic progress did not equate scientific progress. “…El clima spiritual, influenciado en no poca medida por la Inquisición, produjo una desmesurada cautela que sofocaba toda novedad antes de nacer…La uniformización de la vida spiritual, causada por el esfuerzo de resistir a toda ideología posiblemente herética, se pagó con el precio del retraso académico de

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{102} Bernecker, 79.
\item\textsuperscript{103} Moriscos were the Muslims that remained in Spain after the conquest of Granada and end of the Arabic emirate in the region. They were not forced to leave in 1492 but were forced to “convert” to Christianity.
\item\textsuperscript{104} Bernecker, 83.
\item\textsuperscript{105} Bernecker, 80.
\item\textsuperscript{106} Bernecker, 79.
\item\textsuperscript{107} Bernecker, 82.
\end{itemize}
España quedó prácticamente al margen de los conocimientos científicos del siglo XVII.”

In other words, while economically and politically the empire appeared to be loosing its sheen, spirituality and the arts glistened.

The attempted revitalization of Spain began when Felipe IV took the throne in 1621. His central focus was retrospective as his reform efforts sought to achieve the same morals and customs of past generations. However, the burdens of his father and grandfather haunted his attempts. Financial projects incurred to fund war efforts doubled that of Felipe III forcing the king to sell land and titles abroad including relinquishing dominion over the Italian peninsula in 1635, the same year Spain entered into yet another war with France. In four years, the population of Spain declined from 1.2 million to only 800,000 due to famine, sickness, and the fatalities from wars abroad.

However, despite the political and financial failings of his reign, Felipe IV (r.1621-1665) was a huge patron of fine arts. He surrounded himself with theater and literature and also sponsored artists such as Rubens and his court painter Diego Velazquez proving that the “Siglo de Oro” of art and literature would not have happened without such avid partnership with the monarchy. The Hapsburg rule, of Felipe II, III, and IV proved reliant upon their obedience to God and their living out the ideals manifested in the counter-reformation; all military losses, financial burdens, and general decline that happened upon the empire were popularly viewed as reparation for the personal failings, poor morals, and sins of the King and the ruling class.

The 17th and 18th centuries saw the final rule of the Hapsburg house with Carlos II (r. 1665-1700) along with the emergence of the house of the Bourbons with Felipe V (r. 1700-1724), Louis I (r. Jan-Aug 1724), Felipe V (r. Aug 1724-1746), and

108 “…The spiritual climate, influenced in no small measure by the Inquisition, produced an inordinate caution that stifled any novelty before its birth…The standardization of spiritual life, caused by the effort to resist any possibly heretical ideology, was paid for by the academic delay of Spain. Spain was almost entirely outside of the scientific knowledge of the seventeenth century.” Bernecker, 82.

109 Bernecker, 94.

110 Bernecker, 103

111 Bernecker, 103.

112 Bernecker, 109.
Ferdinand VI (r. 1746-1549), none of whom were able to achieve any sense of popularity after the shortcomings of those who preceded them. Never would Spain be able to regain the glory it had once achieved; in turn, it seemed as if their time of greatness had been a consequential commentary on the empire’s inability to rule at such great lengths.

In terms of Santiago de Compostela’s specific development, much changed between the 12th and 18th century. The city-center had grown greatly since the medieval period and the cathedral itself had undergone several small changes to its structure; however, the greatest shift for the trajectory of the structure was how St. James as a cultural character evolved during these centuries. By the dawn of the 18th century, Santiago had led Spain to victory over the Muslims not only within the Iberian Peninsula but was also credited the victories abroad in the east against the Ottoman Empire. The discovery of the New World in 1492 marked the beginning of yet another war against infidelity only now it was directed towards the native populations of the Americas. As the Reconquista of the middle ages sported the name of Saint James as the banner cry, this conquest too boasted the name of the patron saint and credited victories abroad to the continued patronage of Santiago across the Atlantic. The counter-reformation, however, brought several other important figures to the forefront of Spanish Catholicism who rivaled the authority and popularity of St. James, including St. Teresa of Avila, Isidore of Seville, Ignatius of Loyola, and Francis Xavier.

No longer was the battle against infidelity solely based on military conquest but rather was a war waged with words whereby the Catholic Church sought to respond to Luther’s advances. Teresa had risen to popularity during the reign of Felipe II and III and was canonized in 1622 only 40 years after her death in 1582. Felipe III had attempted to have Saint Teresa established as co-patron alongside St. James in 1618, before her canonization had even occurred—yet another way in which

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113 Elliott van Liere, 520.
114 Maclean, 897.
115 Maclean, 887.
the Spanish monarch attempted to assert dominion and challenge papal authority.\textsuperscript{116} She was a mystic and reformer whose writings provided, “potent sustenance for a population whose physical hunger had spawned numerous local rebellions” and she “served as a visible reminder of Spanish Catholicism and Counter Reformation ideals” that arose during her lifetime.\textsuperscript{117} In essence, her proposed co-patronage would be an intentional modernization of the old traditions established to coincide with the political and cultural changes of the period. She represented the transition away from militant Spanish Catholicism; the physical wars waged against the native populations of the Americas were so distant from the concerns of most Spaniards and yet the image of Santiago Matamoros held great importance for those battles. Teresa, however, harnessed a newer and rather opposing side of Spanish identity.

However, this proposal failed despite royal advocacy for her position as co-patron. People were satisfied with the record of Santiago and many Santiaguistas rose up to counteract the proposal valiantly. Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, one such advocate for Santiago’s sole patronage, wrote the \textit{Memorial por el patronato de Santiago} on behalf of the Santiaguistas in Madrid.\textsuperscript{118} He argued that Spanish identity is inherently based on what Santiago represents because it was predetermined by Christ for St. James to establish the roots of the Church in Iberia. Additionally he sought to draw the distinction between a saint who establishes the faith versus one who simply enriches the faith, making the point that while Teresa’s contributions to the faith were important and worth acknowledging with her canonization, they were not reason enough to establish her as co-patron because she occupied the lowest rung of ecclesiastical hierarchy while Santiago rested confidently at the top.\textsuperscript{119} If such assertions weren’t enough to advocate for the support of St. James as the sole

\textsuperscript{116} Maclean, 893.
\textsuperscript{117} Maclean, 889.
\textsuperscript{118} Maclean, 895
\textsuperscript{119} Maclean, 899.
patron, Quevedo\textsuperscript{120} also noted that in a time of such crisis, a drift from what was known and pre-established for \textit{lo Nuevo} would be chaotic and an “abandonment of common sense.”\textsuperscript{121} Because many at this time yearned for the glory of the past, the proposal to accept Teresa was dismissed and Santiago remained the sole patron of Spain.

\textbf{[PART VI] Baroque Decoration}

By the commissioning of the façade of Obradoiro in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, Santiago de Compostela had experienced nearly 500 years of weathering. Aside from typical effects on stone architecture overtime, the northwestern region of the peninsula characteristically experiences high levels of moisture year round thus adding other damage to the exterior decoration.\textsuperscript{122} The Romanesque structure was dark and dimly lit, according to the style of the period; the stonework of the structure did not naturally lend itself to be lit from the outside. Moreover, the climate of the region made for cloudy and moist weather through most of the year, dimming what natural light did make its way into the cathedral. Aside from such purely geological and meteorological reasons, the great cathedral was long overdue for a renovation to the western entrance. However, this is not to say the rest of the cathedral was not also given an upgrade. The whole project began in 1650 with the commissioning of José de Vega y Verdugo as entrepreneur and José Peña de Toro as head designer, and concluded in 1750 when Fernando de Casas y Novoa completed the Obradoiro Façade.\textsuperscript{123}

The local authorities sought not to remove the Portico of Glory but rather build around it creating a second façade that would not only serve the need of a new entrance to accommodate larger

\textsuperscript{120} He was also honored and made a member of the Order of Santiago that same year, giving him ample motive to advocate for Santiago’s sole patronage. Maclean, 895.

\textsuperscript{121} Maclean, 901.

\textsuperscript{122} A range of mountains, the Cordillera Cantábrica creates a natural barrier between Galicia and the remainder of the Spanish meseta and creates sharp contrasting climatic regions. In Galicia, weather is temperate but rain is frequent creating lush, dense, green woodland. Fletcher, Richard A. \textit{St. James’ Catapult: The Life and times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago De Compostela}. Oxford: Clarendon Pr., 1984. 3.

crowds but would also fix historic problems caused by the lack of natural light permitted by the Romanesque structure. Moreover, the two western facades would not be understood as two separate architectural features of the cathedral during different periods of its history but rather would become a collective unit, forming together a singular portal experience. Since the medieval period, façade decoration had evolved dramatically. Whereas in the 12th and 13th century, Santiago de Compostela was very representative of the Romanesque style, by the 18th century this narrative based portal structure was simply outdated. In the centuries following the consecration of the Portico of Glory, church architectural decoration transformed into monumental architectural feats pierced with large windows during the Gothic period and later abandoned narrative decoration altogether to return largely to classicizing antique, geometric, and rational organizations during the Renaissance.

Clearly, the political and cultural development that occurred since the former project called for a re-visitation to the western façade, to once more manipulate the space and the decoration to fit the contemporary needs of the religiopolitical atmosphere.

As mentioned earlier, the economic woes caused by nearly constant wars, along with the turmoil of the reformation and counter-reformation led Spain to find itself near self-destruction by the dawn of the Baroque period. Spain had established itself as an international power with the Church as its cornerstone; however, these years of political and economic instability reaped harsh consequences for the religious hierarchy as national priorities constantly fluctuated between handling religious controversy in the Netherlands, issues arising in the conquering and settling of the New World, and attempting to maintain domestic unity and civility amongst brutal revolts and civil wars. Additionally, the title and position of St. James as patron saint of Spain had been challenged

126 Lasarte, 35.
by the suggested addition of Teresa of Avila alongside him as co-patron. Therefore, the addition of
the façade of Obradoiro was an attempt on the behalf of the cathedral authorities to celebrate the fact
that St. James had maintained his authority as patron.

The Council of Trent, which ended in 1563, marked the beginning of another important
period of Church reform in which Christian art re-centered itself around depicting pure Christian
messages and the church focused once more on using art as a method of communicating doctrine.
Following this austere reformatory style was the Baroque age, full of spiritual enjoyment of the
reforms made in the century prior. The Baroque style was developed in Rome during the pontificates
of Gregory XV, Urban VIII, Innocent X and Alexander VII and was concentrated around the
development of the Roman Church represented largely by St. Peters Basilica. The Baroque style of
this renovation alone highlights the efforts architecturally to keep up with developments in Rome
subsequently asserting Santiago de Compostela as a pilgrimage center of rival importance. It is
characterized as a manifestation of the reinstallation of strong and passionate emotion into the arts
following such a long period of religious controversy and reform. Because of its geographic isolation
from the rest of Europe, Spanish art often found it rather difficult to incorporate drastic artistic
change in the same manner as the French and Italians. And yet, the Baroque style was truly the
perfect medicine to console a nation whose economic and political failure weighed heavily upon its
position and reputation as fervently, religiously powerful. The Baroque can be characterized as
emotional and dramatic creating architecture and decoration that prefers curved lines to straight lines,
and complex shapes in place of simple geometric forms. Whereas the ideal forms of the Renaissance

127 For more see: Maclean, Katie. "The Mystic and the Moor-Slayer: St. Teresa, Santiago and the Struggle for
128 It is interesting to note that the medieval construction of the Portico of Glory also followed a period of great
129 The largest contribution to the Roman Baroque tradition was the renovation of St. Peter’s Basilica which will be
discussed later in this paper. For a more extensive deconstruction of the Roman Baroque style see: Blunt,
130 Blunt, 299.
had been the circle, square, and Greek cross because of their symmetry and logic, in the Baroque period, the oval and Latin cross were preferred and still often manipulated to achieve the goal of creating movement and a generally complex sensory experience.\textsuperscript{131} Theatrical components such as symbolism and elaborate ornamentation intensified the goals of the movement.\textsuperscript{132} Due to these characteristics, facades played a part of particular importance. As a theater curtain is the boundary separating the audience from the drama, the cathedral façade draws the audience to approach and enter the shrine and prepares for the overwhelming sensory and spiritual experience of interacting with the relics of the apostle.\textsuperscript{133}

The façade of Obradoiro, unlike its medieval predecessor, cannot be read as a narrative but rather is formed of several different elements that reveal the façade’s uniquely Spanish character. Figure 2 shows the façade. The stairs, having been completed in 1606 by Ginés Martínez contributed greatly to the beginnings of the transformative process of the western façade at Santiago de Compostela.\textsuperscript{134} The two towers are arguably the most recognizable sections of this famed façade; the right tower designed by Peña de Toro in 1667 and the left added later, after his death.\textsuperscript{135} The towers are similar to those commonly used in late Gothic architecture, connecting the new Baroque additions to their earlier medieval counterparts exemplifying that periodical divides are not clearly defined, but rather, are transitional as old techniques carry over into new periods.\textsuperscript{136} However, these

\textsuperscript{131} Blunt, 11.
\textsuperscript{132} Blunt, 13
\textsuperscript{133} Blunt, 13.
\textsuperscript{134} Vigo Trasancos, 24. Transancos writes: “It has been said, rightly, that the façade evokes that of Bramante in the Belvedere and...it should be acknowledged that in this case the bramantanesque solution for the rombodial stair acquires more complexity to become this central core of another broader surrounding by all their sides, which gives it a greater plastic value, a most curious richness and, definitively, a tone of ladder base that exceeds, in its simplistic effect, the existing reference models.” (Translated by author.) Noting that while the stairs in their plan, structure, and material may not exactly replicate those found in the Vatican, they do make strong reference to Bramante’s work and take his model and improve upon it and manipulate it to fit the purposes of the specific space outside of the cathedral at Santiago de Compostela. Note how Martínez’s stairs, even in their angular nature, still attempt to evoke a spherical form. Instead of leading directly up to the door of the façade, the staircase wraps around a central point, creating a nearly ovular structure around the entry gate.
\textsuperscript{135} Blunt, 302.
\textsuperscript{136} Blunt, 302.
towers represent purely Baroque decorative features. The structure seems dematerialized; the towers are not only perforated by windows but also trick the eye with the highlights and shadows created by the repeated volutes and different volumes as the towers narrow upwardly toward the spires. The superimposed tiers create a division of space moving up the towers; but the façade can also be dissected horizontally, undulating between areas of high and low relief created both by sculpture and columns. It appears almost as if the façade could open and close like a fan given how deeply its surfaces recede between columns. Whereas Italian Baroque treatment of facades created circular movement yielding curved planes, the Spanish Baroque style as seen here, concentrates on movement in a different way-drawing the eye dramatically upward. In this sense, the same traditional model of the triumphant arch is extended upwards; no longer does it merely consist of a tripartite entryway at ground level but the same pattern is repeated in each tier of the structure as the whole central panel of the façade takes on the generalized form of the triumphal arch.

The elements that comprise the structural decoration differ greatly from their predecessors. In comparing figure 1 with figure 18 it is quickly recognizable that the medieval work lends itself to a narrative reading whereas its Baroque equal incorporates important religious icons into a diversified decoration scheme of primarily pseudo-architectural elements and sprawling ornamentation. Biblical scenes are replaced by singular figures of particular importance to the shrine, including Zebedee, Salome, John the brother of James, James the Younger, Santa Barbara and Santa Susana all of whom occupy the uppermost sections of the façade and the two balustrade porches on the second level. The remaining space is filled with large scrolls and arabesque bas-relief transforming the emphasized verticality and creating more movement amidst the linear nature of the columns and towers. The upward focus is intensified by the columnar progression. Nearly free-standing, arabesqued and fluted, tetrastyle Corinthian columns form the lowest level of the façade followed by compounded

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137 Kubler, George, and Martin Soria. *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal: And Their American Dominions 1550 to 1800*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1959. 24. See also Figure 23 to see how the elements create this upward undulation.
arabesqued Ionic columns on the second tier. Fluted Doric columns form the lowest portion of the
two towers, culminating at the highest level of the façade, with low-relief, simplified extensions of
the preceding Doric order altogether creating a clear vertical evolutionary shift in columnar design up
the face of the structure. Even the lintel that separates the base tier from those above is given a sense
of movement and complexity; it is held by the four primary superimposed columns of the portal
structure and yet, between them, the superimposed element is repeated without the same architectural
integrity of columnar support, but instead serves as a purely ornamental feature to add undulating
volume to the central panel of the façade.

Repeated emblems throughout the façade are the scallop-shell and star of St. James: symbols,
which by the 18th century had become an identifiable markers of the pilgrimage road to Santiago de
Compostela.138 The star recalls the founding legend of the shrine where the holy relics were
uncovered thanks to the star guiding Teodomiro to the Gallegan field.139 The star is seen primarily
atop the façade’s central panel between the figural depiction of St. James the Pilgrim and the
symbolic representation of his relics framed in a floral wreath.140 The two center doors are marked by
the scallop shell and the two local coats of arms, that flank the central Spanish royal crest, rest atop
scallop shell details.141 Many of the figures that litter the façade are sheltered by scallop shell half
domed alcoves or simply shaded by an attached shell. The scallop shell appears inverted, opened,
closed, in bas and high relief and is even evoked by the leaves of the Corinthian capitals.142 Jacobean

138 According the accounts made in The Pilgrim’s Guide, by the 12th century there were three distinguishable
attributes of pilgrims travelling to Santiago de Compostela: the bordón (staff) and the escarcela (pouch) and the
scallop shell. In centuries to follow, the calabaza (gourd) was used for water or wine and attached to the bordón
along with the scallop shell and the pommeau (button). Therefore by the 18th century, the symbol of the scallop
shell was distinguishably linked to the shrine and incorporated more heavily into its decorative scheme. Melczer,
139 Trasancos, 92.
140 See Figures 19 and 20. Trasancos, 87.
141 Trasancos, 59.
142 While the scallop shell is a common element of the Baroque period, used as one of the primary “organic forms”
featured in both architecture and decoration, at Santiago de Compostela the frequency and intention to make
reference specifically to St. James makes it much more poignant and relatable to the shrine. On this façade, scallop
imagery had become a primary portion of Spanish identity and the decorative scheme on the façade of Obradoiro reflects that prominence in its figural sculptures. Several figures amplify the importance of the honored saint. Both of St. James’ parents, Salomé and Zebedee, are present on the façade as well as his brother, St. John the Evangelist.143

Additionally both symbolic and figural manifestations focus on Santiago’s contributions in two primary areas of Spanish life: the spread of Christianity through the region and thus the development of the pilgrimage road as well as his triumphant military presence in Spain. Some scallop shells, as seen above the windows of the second tier, are pierced with two sword-like scepters hinting to one of the many facets of St. James’ character: the militant figure of Santiago Matamoros.144 Alfredo Vigo Trasancos writes that while St. James is also depicted atop the façade as a pilgrim himself, and while his supposed travels to the peninsula were inherent to his miraculous appearance in the 9th century, the numerous allusions to his militant character throughout the structure propagate his cultural importance and figurative role for military and political stability.145

These allusions and assertions of Santiago’s cultural identity do not appear as strongly on the earlier façade, clearly responding to the co-patronage debacle that occurred the century prior in which St. James’ authority was challenged. Together, these figures and symbols evoke the Jacobean tradition and assert the important foundation of his patronage over Spain.

The windows of the new façade were added to illuminate the interior of the shrine but were also placed to intentionally highlight the Portico of Glory. Local authority did not want to remove the medieval masterpiece or even hint that its glory had lessened overtime but rather they sought to

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143 See Figures 21 and 22. Trasancos, 92.
144 Trasancos, 92.
145 Additionally, there are several allusions to Santiago Caballero who appeared to Ramiro I of Asturias during the imagined battle of Clavijo on the 23rd of May, 844 against the Emirate of Cordoba. It was the symbolic first victory against Islam under the cry of St. James leading to the creation of the famed image of Santiago Matamoros. Trasancos, Alfredo Vigo. 92.
reassert Santiago’s authority after it was challenged. In this mindset, they ensured the Portal of Glory function in partnership with the new addition. The four central windows of the second floor of the new façade happen to be at the ideal height to illuminate the tympanum of the three arches that form the preceding portal. This filtering of light intensifies the power of these panels spotlighting them and focusing not only the natural light but also directing the viewers’ eye to these sections of the old portal, ensuring their importance is not forgotten amidst the new addition. The way in which the new addition emphasizes light reveals roots in prior periods; converting both window and light into the two key elements of the new architectural design recalls the Gothic tendency to build high, light, and bright cathedral spaces to manifest a spiritual and ethereal space on earth. Furthermore, the 18th century addition is not merely an assertion of the Spanish Baroque style but proves to be a transitional piece, mimicking the role it serves for the cathedral to both update yet connect the old Romanesque elements to the new.

**[PART VII] Pilgrimage Rivalries with both Rome and Jerusalem**

The western façade at Santiago not only connects periods within its own history but also shows the site’s connection to other holy sites. By the 9th century, when the relics of St. James emerged in Iberia, Rome and Jerusalem had already proved themselves as primary locations for Christian pilgrimage because of their holy significance and the relics they possessed. Many travelled to Jerusalem and the Holy Land to follow the footsteps of Christ, but this was the most rare and costly pilgrimage in the Middle Ages while many others flocked to Rome to follow the way of Peter, the rock upon which Christ built his church. Emperor Constantine founded St. Peter’s basilica in the 4th century primarily as a funerary site and place of veneration incorporating the tomb

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146 Trasancos, 59.  
147 Trasancos, 69.  
149 “And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it” Matthew 16:18. New International Version.
and relics of St. Peter into the structure and the later religious ceremonies therein.\textsuperscript{150} The structure evolved to include a nave and double aisles with a transept interposed between the apse and nave, and the relics of the apostle were marked with a baldacchino; the vast size of the site demonstrates that large crowds of local Christians and pilgrims alike came together to fill the space.\textsuperscript{151} The Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem marks both the location of Christ’s crucifixion and his tomb and serves as an architectural model for the Christian pilgrimage culture that developed around the Holy Land.\textsuperscript{152} Its history is also laced with the involvement of Emperor Constantine and his mother, Helena, who visited the tomb of Christ in 326, supposedly discovering the relics of the True Cross on that visit which also happened to coincide approximately with the beginnings of the construction at St. Peter’s.\textsuperscript{153} These two sites clearly had been linked as primary sacred pilgrimage shrines in the Christian world and thus when Santiago de Compostela appeared on the scene in the 9\textsuperscript{th} century, strong efforts had to be made to associate it with the other two. In order to discuss these churches comparatively, it must be noted that, within art historical analysis, it is not necessary for copies to identically imitate their prototypes; rather, iconographical comparisons, numerological symbolism, and architectural patterns are reason enough to connote relationship between structures assuming they hold a shared history of some kind.\textsuperscript{154}

During the 11\textsuperscript{th} and 12\textsuperscript{th} centuries, St. Peter’s basilica received several renovations roughly contemporary with those at Santiago. Pope Innocent II sponsored the renovation of the apse of the basilica from 1198-1216 and later, in 1227, Pope Gregory IX commissioned a new front façade for

\textsuperscript{150} “Constantine’s structure is known in nearly every detail from the remains excavated and from descriptions, paintings, and drawings done before and during its destruction” Krautheimer, Richard,. \textit{Rome, Profile of a City}, 312-1308. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980. 27.

\textsuperscript{151} Krautheimer, 26-28.

\textsuperscript{152} Brefeld, 73.

\textsuperscript{153} While this project did not allow for me to focus on a stringent analysis of the relationship between Santiago de Compostela and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher more information on the church of the Holy Sepulchre can be found in: Duckworth, H. T. F. \textit{The Church of the Holy Sepulchre}. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1922.

the shrine roughly 30 years after the commission of the Portal of Glory. These two renovations were made in preparation for the first Jubilee in 1300 but also happen to coincide with the Romanesque renovations at Santiago. How, during a period of such slow communication, could two shrines nearly 2,000 miles apart rival one another so closely, exemplifying such contemporary renovation projects and creating a near dialogue of renovations? Would it be rational to link them together considering how distant they were from one another by geographic location? Two primary reasons lead me to believe that the rivalry is, in fact, probable.

Firstly, records show that Gelmírez had gained inspiration for his renovations to the shrine at Santiago de Compostela on his two voyages to Rome. Builders of reproduction structures would often travel to the prototype site personally and study plans of the structure in order to better acquaint themselves with possible “content.”

His first journey from fall of 1099-summer of 1100 was a personal pilgrimage while his second visit was to advocate for the status of Santiago de Compostela to be raised to the rank of metropolitan see. Secondly, as mentioned above, the western door was the entryway used primarily by ecclesiastical and royal visitors to the cathedral whereas pilgrims and laypersons of the city used the other portals. Therefore, if local church and royal authority wanted to present Santiago de Compostela as a viable rival shrine to St. Peters in Rome, renovating the entryway used primarily by the Pope and other ecclesiastical powers would presumably most strongly advocate for such a rank. This would also give reason to the unusual combination of iconographic motifs seen in the central archway of the portal between the Christ in Majesty, tree of Jesse, and the figure of St. James. If Santiago was seeking to assert itself as an equally important shrine, worthy of pilgrimage and power, this connection would set St. James as more closely linked

157 On his way, he would pass through Toulouse where St. Sernin was under construction and take note of French projects as well. Watson, 510.
to Christ than St. Peter. Karen Matthews summarizes well in saying that “the message [in these renovations] was clear: Santiago was seen as vying in importance with Rome.”

Donato Bramante began the new St. Peter’s construction in 1506, nearly a full century before Baroque renovation projects began at Santiago; and yet during the renovation period of the 17th and 18th centuries, the Italian Baroque style made manifest at St. Peter’s were impacting contemporary projects at Santiago de Compostela. Simply by using the Baroque style to renovate the western façade, the authorities of Santiago de Compostela created a link between the Spanish shrine and the shrine of St. Peter. However there were several clear similarities between the two shrines. Rome saw Baroque art to be the “handmaids of religion” which is why Gianlorenzo Bernini, a father of the Baroque style, contributed the Scala Regia that forms part of the formal entrance to the Vatican.

The façade of Obradoiro was not the only addition to the entryway of the cathedral but the plaza, gate and staircase were added to facilitate a more grand entrance similar to that newly given to St. Peter’s. Bernini also designed the new Baldacchino during this time, which coincided with a new baldacchino addition at Santiago de Compostela.

The bell towers at Santiago, a project begun by Peña de Toro in 1667, conveniently follows the attempted addition of bell towers at St. Peter’s in 1638 by Gianlorenzo Bernini. Possibly, these additions in Spain were made to place Santiago ahead of St. Peter’s in architectural and artistic achievement. But regardless, the relationship between the planned additions exemplifies the rivalry set between the two apostolic cathedrals.

Miguel Taín Guzmán from the University of Santiago de Compostela describes the relationship between the three cites in this way:

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158 Watson, 517.
159 Blunt, 24.
"The identification of the designed architecture... with Rome and Jerusalem was fostered consciously... they would be clear examples of 'iconography of architecture,' that is to say a replica of memorable architecture, with its formal and ideological connotations. And it is that... the Apostolic character of the Cathedral requires to emulate the basilica of St. Peter’s, another Church in the West, that contains the tomb of an apostle and quotes, as in the latter, the Salomonic Temple, a reference of all architectures Christian West. This church of Santiago, Rome and Jerusalem appear linked as the ultimate sanctuaries of pilgrimage of all of Christianity."

This passage serves to articulate that Santiago did not merely emerge in the Northwest of Iberia in the 9th century and gain popularity on its own accord; the shrine joined a rather established history of pilgrimage centers, and specifically, apostolically aligned pilgrimage centers. Architecturally and religiopolitically, such a strong link is made between these three shrines; however to fully unpack the relationship they share could make up an entire research project of its own.

**[PART VIII] Conclusions and Further Study**

A history deeply embedded with religious and political controversy, packed with protagonists that fought to establish Santiago de Compostela as an ecclesiastical and pilgrimage authority raised this most humble shrine to the rank of the most visited pilgrimage center in the Christian world. According to the analysis and examination I have presented here, the renovations to the western façade of the famed cathedral were timely and intentionally planned to occur at pivotal moments within the religiopolitical trajectory of the shrine. Both projects show efforts of contemporary local authorities to highlight the role of Saint James and elevate the general reputation of the shrine in the catholic hierarchy.

Not only were renovations placed at important moments of insular history but on the global stage as well. The shrine appears to be in conversation with Rome specifically in regards to its architectural and sculptural changes; not only does Santiago de Compostela gain inspiration from St.
Peter’s Basilica but the two structures seem to enter a dialogue as renovations at one location seem to always occur before renovations to the other begin. Santiago de Compostela plays an intrinsic role in the wars waged against infidels both the peninsula and abroad, in east but also overseas as Spain reaches their Christian dominion to include the New World by the close 15th century. As the figure of Santiago leads Spanish troops to vanquish threats of imposing religious groups, popularity and a strong sense of Spanish identity became linked to the saint. With such things in mind, additions to the cathedral boasting his relics must be viewed within their religiopolitical context to fully interpret the complex decorative schemes and the potential impacts they held for contemporary viewers and even pilgrims today who journey to visit the relics of St. James.

This project has shown me a multitude of avenues which I could pursue as I continue with this research. As noted in the close of the prior section, I hope to continue to study the cross-cultural relationship between pilgrimage shrines; how much did they communicate with one another and what primary documentation can be found to specifically link the centers to one another? Much of our discipline focuses on isolated and insular developments of style, yet the history of these shrines was not insular but rather their individual developments were only a small part of church and Christian development and therefore a more integrated study of these monuments is imperative.

In the immediate future, however, I have chosen to explore the representations of Santa Barbara and Santa Susana on the Baroque façade and analyze them in relations to the religiopolitical climate following the proposed addition of St. Teresa of Avila as co-patron of Spain. This project will employ a feminist reading of this historical proposal as well as a gendered reading of the figural representations of Santa Susana and Santa Barbara. I believe it will also call upon further development and understanding of Santiago’s role in the colonization and New World construction projects as contemporary figural and decorative comparisons would need to be made between peninsular and colonial representations.
Together, I hope that these two renovation projects provide several examples of how the Western façade of Santiago de Compostela uses the periodically relevant art styles, iconographic elements, and unique incorporation of Spanish cultural development to assert power and ecclesiastical authority while supplementing the rich, albeit, mostly fictitious history of Santiago’s miraculous emergence in Spain.
Bibliography

Primary Sources:


Secondary Sources:


**Images:**


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