Understanding the Archaeology of the Picuris Medallions: An Act of Devotional Protection?

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On May 11, 1988, as part of the reconstruction of the historic church at Picuris Pueblo, community members excavating the footing trenches of the church found a small stone box, with a mano (grinding stone) fashioned as a cover. This box, broken into two parts, contained 25 items, including 16 religious medallions, four metal crucifixes, three crucifixes with inset glass beads, and three thin metal rings (Table 1). Picuris community members contacted Dr. Herbert Dick, who had worked with Picuris Pueblo on earlier excavations at Picuris (see Adler and Dick 1999). He took photos of excavation area and the location of the box, part of which was still covered with massive amounts of stones in the footing trench. Several days later when the footing trench excavations expanded, the back half of the box and two additional religious medallions were recovered (H. Dick files, 1988).

This paper provides the first synthesis of the archaeological context of this collection of items. It also provides possible interpretive approaches to the larger historical and religious contexts that may have provided the impetus for burying ritually-charged items in the foundations of the

church. The intentional burial of items that are imbued with ritual importance involves concepts of agency and power associated with these items. This agency can include capabilities of objects, from protective to dangerous, and is part of a long-standing tradition in Picuris Pueblo and other Pueblo communities that returns powerful, inalienable and possibly destructive ritual items back into to the earth. An alternative, but not mutually exclusive interpretation is that the burial of the objects is part of a long tradition of dedicatory emplacement of reliquary in church structures practiced by the immigrant European peoples living in and around Picuris during the period of burial in the 18th century.

A Short History of the Churches of Picuris

The history of mission-building, and rebuilding, at Picuris Pueblo spans several centuries of upheaval and contestation. The first introduction of Christian construction at Picuris is not well documented, largely due to the lack of surviving written records surviving from the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The first encounter between the new European immigrants and the Picuris community was an inauspicious non-event. The de Sosa expedition arrived on the adobe doorstep of Picuris during a deep snowfall on January 13, 1591. At the sight of the newcomers, a single individual from Picuris came out of the cluster of buildings that comprised the massive village, estimated at 2000-3000 people, looked at de Sosa's group, and went back into the village without so much as a gesture or word. The cold and weary visitors retreated a distance from the village for the night, staying in huts occupied by non-Pueblo people, most likely Apache trading groups. At morning's light, de Sosa and his men awoke to find a large contingent of Picuris villagers amassed on the rooftops, stacking rocks to throw and distributing

armed warriors across the roofed areas of the adobe buildings, ready for battle. Rightfully

aware of being outnumbered, de Sosa left Picuris with no additional contact.

Picuris' isolation from colonizing Europeans ended in 1598, when Don Juan de Oñate

brought several hundred colonists to the banks of the Rio Grande, near the present-day

Tewa pueblo of Ohkay Owingeh (formerly San Juan Pueblo), only a day's walk from

Picuris Pueblo. Nearly immediate opposition to this incursion included an alliance of

Picuris, Taos, and Pecos Pueblo peoples, as well as Apaches and other native

communities. Due to this opposition, Spain's first settlement moved to Santa Fe in

1610, serving as the first European capital in the Southwest (Hammond and Rey 1953:

1051, 1087, 1094; Schroeder 1974:3)

Religious conversion and proselytization were major goals of 17th century relationships

between the Spanish and the Pueblo nations they encountered. At Picuris, a series of clergy

were assigned to the community beginning with Father Fray Martin de Arvide in the early 17th

century. Arvide founded the first mission at Picuris Pueblo in 1621 (Hodge, Hammond and Rey

1945:78). Arvide's role at Picuris ended when Picuris revolted against Spanish occupation

before 1625, driving Arvide from his post at Picuris. Arvide would later be killed on his way to

Zuni in 1632. After 1625 there was a short hiatus with no clergy at Picuris, but this ended in

1628 when Father Andrés de Zia was assigned to Picuris. He was followed the following year by

Fray Ascensio de Zárate, who ministered to the Picuris until his death in 1632. Zárate was

buried at the Picuris mission church that year, but was later exhumed so his remains could be

reinterred at the Parroquia in Santa Fe in 1759 (Hodge, Hammond and Rey 1945:79, 280). This

exhumation provides strong evidence that the original mission church at Picuris, which ostensibly was at least partially destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, was still sufficiently recognizable so that Ascensio de Zárate's remains could be located and exhumed over 120 years later (Schroeder 1974:3). The last priest to serve at Picuris prior to the Pueblo Revolt, Fray Matias de Rendon, was killed during the revolt in 1680.

By the middle of the 17th century, a mission church was in full use at Picuris. Details regarding the construction, inclusion of Picuris community members, and success and failures of the missionization project are poorly understood, due largely to the destruction of church records during the Pueblo Revolt several decades later. In 1664, this early church was described as a "very good church with 564 neophytes" (Schroeder 1974).

Here the archaeology lends some insights as to church construction at Picuris. During the preparations for the construction of the Picuris Tribal Museum in the early 1970's, Herbert Dick undertook excavations in the foundations of the original 17th-18th century mission buildings that were constructed to the south and east of the main village of Picuris. The location of the first mission was a significant distance from the main cluster of buildings which were upslope some 200 meters to the north and west of the mission (Figure 1). This is similar to the peripheral location of the mission location at Pecos Pueblo, that together with Picuris were the two largest Pueblo villages in the northern Rio Grande region.
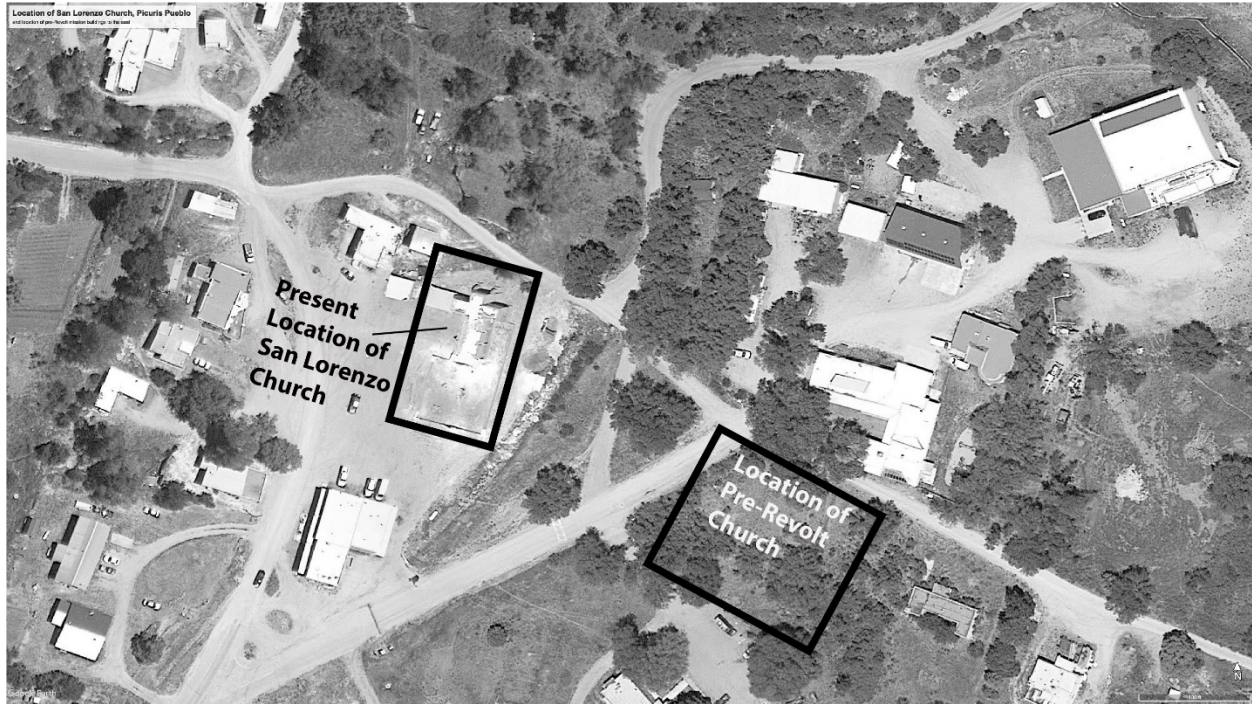
Figure 1: Locations of the present-day San Lorenzo Church and the pre-revolt church

Herbert Dick's excavations in the early mission church location at Picuris uncovered two sets of

foundations (Figure 2). The foundations he attributes to the early mission structure extend

along an axis running roughly northeast-southwest axis, though part of the early structure may

have been destroyed when the parking lot of the tribal museum was put in. The later structure,

which appears to have a footing trench orientation on an east-west alignment, appear to have

had a different form of footing trench lacking large stones, but no records are available to

inform on these map-based interpretations regarding Herb Dick's excavations. Reports after

the Pueblo Revolt indicate that the original church was still standing in 1696 (Schroder 1974:5).

Of course, reports from post-Revolt observers do not elaborate on the conditions of the church

structure, and whether it was simply standing or still able to be used.
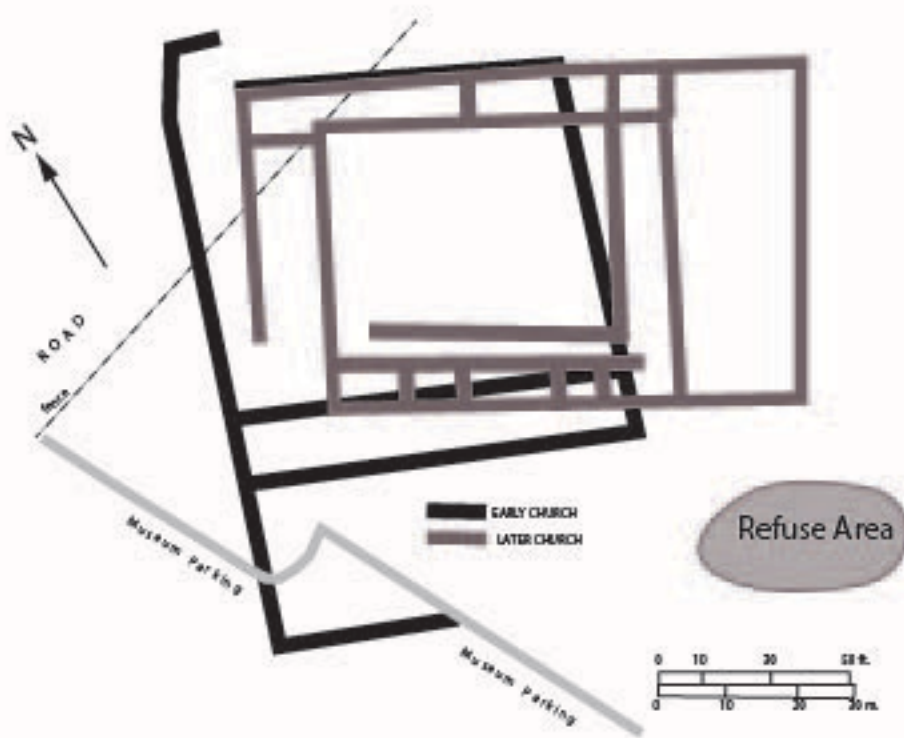
Figure 2: Foundations of the pre-Revolt churches at Picuris Pueblo (adapted from Schroeder 1974: Fig 1)

In 1715 this same church was described as still in use, but it is not clear whether the structure had been rebuilt by this time. As noted above, there are two sets of foundations that Dick documents in this area, and it is likely that the later foundations are associated with the structure that was built after the destruction of the first mission church during the Pueblo Revolt. In 1746 the church was once again renovated (Schroeder 1974:2- 4).

Historical documents describe dangerous conditions in and around Picuris during the first half of the 18th century.   Ongoing attacks, including Comanche raids on Picuris in 1769, finally rendered the remains of post-Revolt church unusable and too difficult to defend given its peripheral location south and east of the main residential structures at Picuris (Figure 1). The decision was made in 1769 to raze the reconstructed post-Revolt church and move the structure to an area closer to the village plaza. The new location of the church put the structure squarely on the east side of the existing large plaza at Picuris (Figure 3). The construction of the newly relocated church, which historical documents indicate occurred sometime between 1769 and 1776, was mentioned by Andres de Claramonte, the priest assigned to Picuris Pueblo from 1770-1776 (Schroeder 1974:28).

Figure 3: San Lorenzo Mission Church, Picuris Pueblo, 1996 (photo by M. Adler)

No formal reports or maps of the excavations and associated items have been located, but a few pages of handwritten notes in Herbert Dick's notes on Picuris Pueblo provide some details as to where the cache of religious medallions and associated materials was found. The notes refer to both "north wall" and "altar area," and photographs recently inspected by Picuris tribal members Cecile Shields and Richard Mermejo show the footing trenches re-excavated in the 1980's to support the north wall of the existing church (Figures 4 - 6). A rough drawing and description describe that half of the stone box and shaped mano lid were found on May 11, 1988 by workers digging out the old footing trenches of the 18th century church. The box portion and 20 medallions, 3 partial metal rings and 4 crucifixes were recovered. Sixteen days later the other half of the box was found along with two additional medallions. The box is described as "carved caliche" by Mr. Richard Mermejo, Governor of Picuris at the time of the discovery. The mano cover was made of a gray quartzite with dressed edges (Figure 6).

Photographs and drawings from Dick's personal archive provide limited information on the depositional context where the box and contents were located. The box was placed in a "washed out rivulet that cut through earlier trash deposits" that was filled with sandy soil. The church foundation filled in above the box, so the box had to have been placed in a slight depression prior to the construction of the wall foundations. One of the photographs shows a clear ashy layer in the foundation fill, with the ash deposit showing that it was placed above the box and sandy rivulet (Figure 6). It is not possible for this deposit to have been created by whitewash off of the mission walls since the walls would not have been built until after the foundation trenches were dug and filled in. In summary, the stone box, contents and mano

cover were deposited purposefully in a context that was immediately covered by the

foundation construction for the 18th-century San Lorenzo Church. There is an ash deposit

above the depositional context and no further disturbance of the burial context appears to

have occurred until the reconstruction of the church nearly two centuries later.

Figure 4: General location of medallion cache, looking north (photo H. Dick 1988).
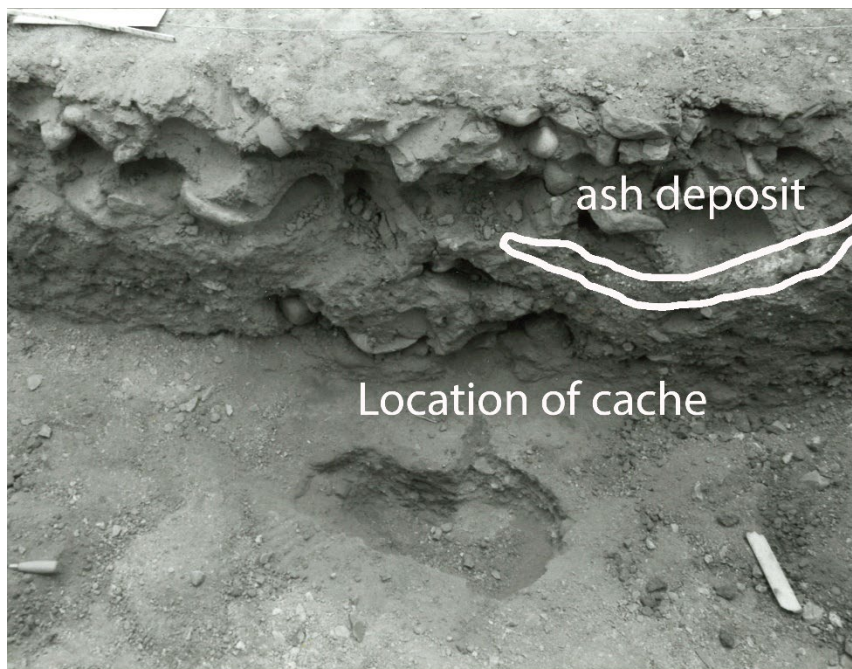
Figure 5: Back half of stone box *in situ* (photo H. Dick 1988)

Figure 6: Stratigraphy and ash deposit above stone box location (photo by H. Dick 1988, annotation by M. Adler)

The stone box has not been located at present, and may still be in the artifact collections from

Picuris that are presently stored at the SMU-in-Taos campus. Drawings and photographs of the

box show that there is an incised design on of the long sides of the box (Figure 8) but nothing in

the notes posits as to what the design might depict. There are also two drilled holes along each

of the long sides of the box, likely used to secure the mano lid to the top of the box.
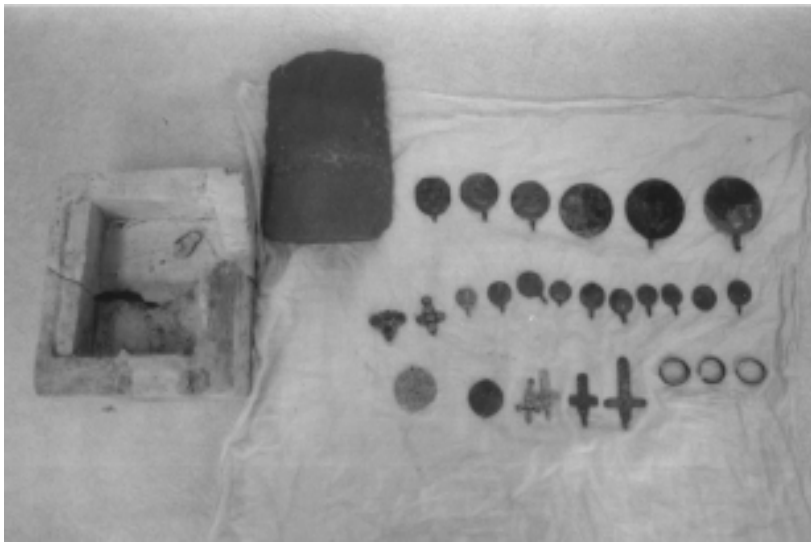
Figure 7: Cache items and stone box and stone (mano) cover (photo H. Dick 1988)
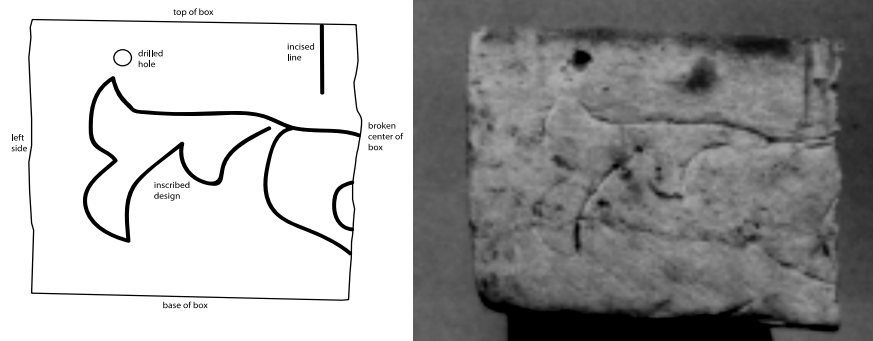
Figure 8: carving on side of box (photo, H. Dick 1988, drawing M. Adler 2021)

Catholic Relics and/or Pueblo Prophylaxis?

This portion of the paper raises questions, and supplies some potential understandings, regarding this cache of Catholic religious medallions, crucifixes and rings found in the foundations of the 18th century San Lorenzo Church at Picuris. My main premise is that the burial of the box of religious items fits equally well into ritual decommissioning practices that are documented in both pre- and post-Contact contexts at Picuris and other Northern Rio Grande Pueblo communities as it does into European practices of burying votive offerings in church contexts. While these two sets of practices refer to, and reproduce, quite different conceptual realms, they create the same archaeological signatures. I make the case for why this is likely a deposit by an individual or group seeking a protective burial context for religious items that were not meant to be passed on to others in the community due to the potency of these items.

Archaeological recovery of religious medallions is certainly not unique to Picuris Pueblo. Kidder's excavations at Pecos Pueblo uncovered at least one religious medallion (Kidder 1932: Figure 251j). The photograph of the medallion is not sufficiently clear to establish what is

depicted, but the orientation of the bail or suspension loop is perpendicular to the medallion, similar to those medallions recovered at Picuris. The majority of medals with this orientation date to the 18th century or older (Forrest 2004:3).

Excavations on Saint Catherine's Island in South Carolina and La Florida also recovered a variety of religious paraphernalia, including medallions. However, extensive analysis and discussion of these medallions document that these items likely had significantly different meanings and roles in Southeastern indigenous social, political and ritual contexts during the post-Contact than those same dynamics in the American Southwest, particularly within Pueblo communities. David Hurst Thomas (2013, 2015, 2017) and others (Bushnell 2014; Panich 2013) have argued convincingly that the materiality of belief and identity within hierarchical chiefdoms in the Southeast was dictated largely by the political, economic and religious decisions of hereditary leaders within chiefly societies. Here the materiality of belief was displayed by community members largely as emblems of their loyalty to their chief who may, or may not, have forged alliances with European colonists based on the advantages of these alliances. Those chiefly leaders allied with the Spanish Crown had their followers wearing Christian medallions and supporting Franciscan missions through tribute, labor, construction and baptism. As Thomas (2015: 20-21) describes for the Guale burials in the church of Santa Catalina, this materiality of belief extended into grave goods of the indigenous converts. Despite the conventional Franciscan practice of burying the dead without grave goods or embellishments, the Guale deceased were buried with both traditional and European grave goods, including religious medallions, as part of the traditional beliefs that the deceased must be accompanied by grave goods. In this respect, Southeastern Native converts were displaying their fealty to both the

traditional hereditary leaders and their indigenous beliefs against the material overlay of the European mission community lifeways.

In contrast to the hierarchical, centralized leadership of Southeastern chiefly polities during colonization, Puebloan community leadership was significantly factional, decentralized and theocratic (Liebmann, Preucel and Aguilar 2017; Ware 2002).   Similarly, the loyalty of socially stratified followers in Southeastern chiefly societies was honor-based, with potentially severe ramifications for individuals who strayed from the expectations of the chiefly leaders. Puebloan community members belonged to cross-cutting sodalities, descent-based groups and dually-organized social organizations. In Onate's oft-quoted description of Pueblo political life, "In governments they are free, for although they have petty captains, they obey them badly an in very few things" (quoted in Bolton 1908). In fact, leadership in the majority of historic Pueblo communities was vested in individuals, mostly men, who had invested in ritual knowledge and practices, and set themselves apart as theocratic leaders responsible for the spiritual life of the community. It would not be an overstatement that converts to Christianity among the Pueblos were those who chose to do so *in spite* of the religious leaders of the community, rather than because of the decisions of chiefly leaders such as was the case in Southeastern communities. Puebloan converts may well have seen conversion as a means of social mobility and agency not available to all community members, particularly women and young males who were not included in the theocratic hierarchy of the community.

So it was within this more highly fragmented social-political realm of the post-Contact Pueblo community of Picuris that the act of burying sacred Christian items was enacted. The Old-World tradition of burying objects of veneration and history in churches and other important

buildings is too lengthy to review here. Churches commonly had items placed in walls and constructed spaces in both the Old and New Worlds (Forrest 2004). These served as meaningful votive offerings to the church building as well as to the institutions of Catholicism itself.

Similarly situated in buried contexts, multiple examples of deposits containing ritually important material portions of the traditional, non-Catholic Indigenous belief system have been documented at Picuris Pueblo. Excavations by Herbert Dick at Picuris Pueblo between 1961-65 exposed four separate deposits under room floors in Area 6 (Wolfman and Dick 1999).   These contexts were all pits excavated into room fill, materials put in the pits, then the pits were sealed with stone slab covers and plastered over with subsequent floor construction (Figures 9 and 10). Detailed descriptions of the four caches include small jars identified by ceremonial leaders at Picuris as containers used for holding sacred water in kiva contexts, bone flutes and whistles, a stone effigy of a woman, raptor claws, pigments, fossils and concretions. Wolfman and Dick (1999:101) identify these as "votive caches left by groups or individuals who had used the materials for ritual purposes." Similar items are listed in Parsons' compendium of Pueblo religious practices and material culture (Parsons 1939). A similar cache of ritual material was excavated by Linda Cordell at Sapawe Pueblo during University of New Mexico field school excavations (personal communication, Linda Cordell 2006).

There are important parallels between the Picuris church medallion cache and the pre-Contact ceremonial deposits documented at Picuris. First, both were covered with flat stone coverings. When the Picuris church cache was uncovered there was a ground stone mano covering for the caliche boxes containing the medallions. Similarly, flat stone coverings were placed over all

four ceremonial caches (Figures 9 and 10). There may well be gendered aspects to the mano

covering given that this is a grinding tool used largely for processing corn and other foods,

generally associated with female activities and grinding rooms (grinding room references).

Second, the medallion cache was placed in a context that was being built over and sealed with

architectural construction. Picuris ceremonial caches were all placed in rooms that were being

rebuilt or refurbished, allowing the caches to be sealed and left undisturbed.
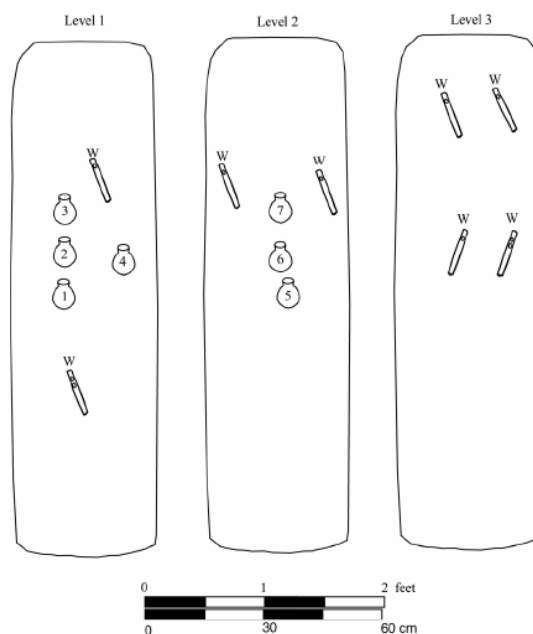
Figure 9: Ritual cache pit, Feature 6, Area VI, Picuris Pueblo. From Wolfman an Dick 1999:102.
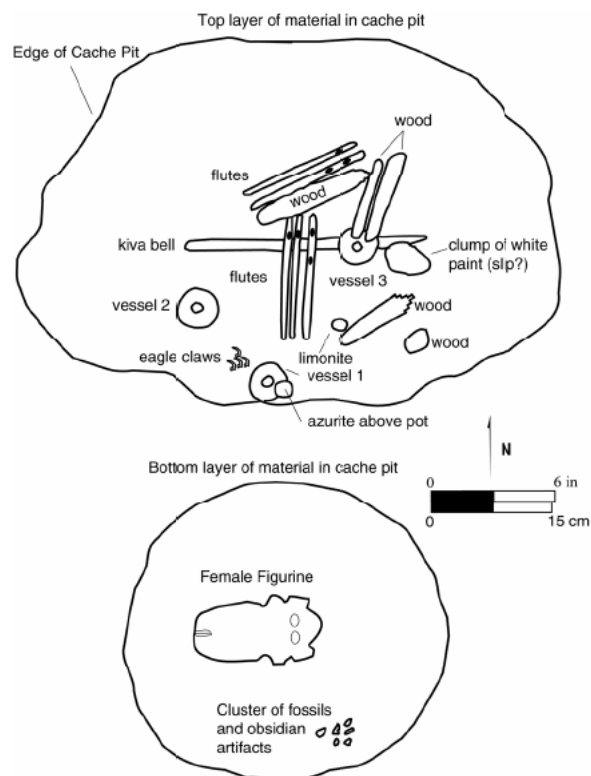
Figure 10: Cache pit and contents, Feature 16, Area VI, Picuris Pueblo. Materials were deposited in two layers within the cache. W=bone whistle, P=miniature vessels. From Wolfman and Dick 1999:103.

Third, photographs of the stratigraphy above the cache shows a thin layer of what appears to be white ash (Figure 6). Ash is part of Puebloan practices associated with the ritual closure of important contexts, including human burials, decommissioned kiva hearths and other places in need of spiritual protection (Adler 2021). Fourth, the collection of medallions is very diverse in terms of the saints and other individuals depicted, there is no central theme of any one patron saint, and the imagery spans Catholic, Benedictine and other Christian ritual identities. This could argue for this being a collection of religious items brought together by a person more interested in the materials (metallic, foreign) than in the specific meanings and symbols on the

medallions. Fifth, the medallions   Finally, though not associated with ceremonial caches themselves, an historical account of from one of the leaders of the Pueblo revolt is germane. Following the Pueblo Revolt, the Picuris leader of the Revolt, Luis de Tapatu, was reported to have buried Catholic vestments and relics in one of the walls of the remains of the church that was still standing after the Revolt (Stanley 1962:10).

It should also be noted that the box of Catholic medallions, rings and crucifixes include the wide array of item with a range of imagery, protective saints, and multi-sectarian associations. As noted by Robert Forrest, a scholar of religious paraphernalia, the collection appears to be a collection that focuses on the items as portable ritual items rather than something with a theme or focus on certain saints or venerable religious imagery. Finally, it should be noted that the medallions and crucifixes show a wide range of conditions, from medallions that are so well worn that no imagery can still me seen on the surfaces, to unworn medallions that are in very intact condition. Had these all been items that were damaged and worn, burial would have been the preferred method of ritual retirement dictated by the Church. In contrast, these items include repaired and nearly mint condition ritual items.

The important point of these observations is that if, as I propose, these medallions were placed in the foundations by a Picuris community member, this act may have had more to do with Pueblo beliefs regarding the powers, and dangers, associated with ritually-charged items. The caches of ritual items under the floors of the Picuris rooms in Area 6 are best understood as a protective act, ritually interring items that had agency in the hands of individuals or groups responsible for a range of responsibilities, including healing, protection from harm, and safeguarding others from witchcraft and other forces (Darling 1999; Walker 1998). In the hands

of the adherents, these items had power and agency. But once the individual or group in charge of these powerful items had passed on, disbanded, or left the community, these items became potentially dangerous properties because of the lack of knowledge of how, when and where these tools of the ritual world should be used.

This contrasts with our understanding of the roles of votive offerings left in church foundations and walls by religious adherents. These items left in both Old and New World sacred spaces are understood as offerings, the transfer of valuable religious items from a person to a context, a gift offering made in the name of belief and sacrifice.

In the end, are we left at a standstill given that two different intentional acts will produce identical archaeological contexts? One answer might be "yes" if we hold that archaeology should provide definitive answers to our many questions. I hold that the answer is an emphatic "no." Archaeology can provide possibilities and contrasting explanations, choices that should be available to those whose ancestries, identities and present-day realities are inextricably bound to the layers of meaning that comprise the Picuris Pueblo community.

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all errors or omissions are my responsibility.

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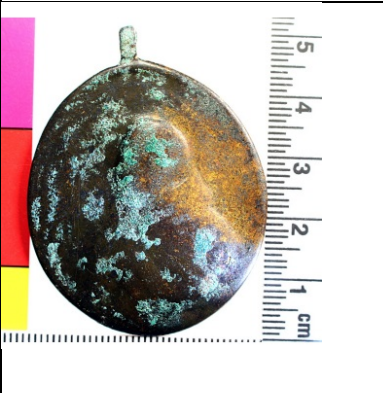
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Table 1: Descriptions of Medallions from San Lorenzo Mission Church, Picuris Pueblo, New Mexico

(from Mirabal 2020).

Image	Item ID	Name Translation LATIN INSCRIPTION (if present)	Patronage	Estimated Age
	1-a	St. Venantius, martyr S. VENAM M	Invoked against earthquakes	18th c.
	1-b	Head of St. Athanasius CAPUT S[ANCTUS] ATANASIUS PER[AE] M[ONACRI ET] M[ARTIR] — HEAD [OF] ST. ATHANASIUS[,] PERSIAN MONK AND MARTYR	Persian Zoroastrian magus turned Christian monk Invoked against pestilence, illness & the devil	18th c
	2-a	St. Venantius, martyr S. VENAM M	Invoked against earthquakes	18th c.

	2-b	Head of St. Athanasius CAPUT S[ANCTUS] ATANASIUS PER[AE] M[ONACRI ET] M[ARTIR] – HEAD [OF] ST. ATHANASIUS[,] PERSIAN MONK AND MARTYR	Persian Zoroastrian magus turned Christian monk Invoked against pestilence, illness & the devil	18th c
	3-a	St. Isidore the Farmer Illegible with the figure of the saint striking the parched ground with a hocking tool causing water to come forth. His master Iván de Vargas is worn away	Invoked by farmers & those with bad neighbors, patron of farmers, ranchers and the acequia system	18th c
	3-b	St. Martin of Tours SAN M-ARTIN	Protects the poor Roman Soldier on a horse cuts his cape in half to give to a beggar	18th c

		4-a	Holy Father St. Benedict, abbot S. PATER BENEDICTUS	The father of Western monasticism Invoked against evil, patron of monks	17th-18th c
		4-b	St. Romuald, abbot of Camalduli, Italy SANCTUS [ROMUALDUS ABBAS] CAM[ALDULA]	Benedictine abbot with a moquette of a monastery and new reformed branch of the Benedictine Order	17th-18th c
		5-a	Calvary scene	Crucifixion of Jesus with the Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Joseph of Arimathea and St. Nicodemus	18th c

	5-b	St. Joseph with the Child Jesus S[ANCTVS] IOSEPH[VS] O[RA] P[RO] N[OBIS] – "St. Joseph pray for us"	patriarch often with a flowering staff Invoked to find a home, a job, a good spouse and for the dying	18th c
	6-a	Unidentifiable Franciscan saint; possibly St. Anthony of Padua		18th c
	6-b	Unidentifiable Franciscan saint; possibly St. Francis		18th c
	7-a	Coronation of the Virgin Mary Patronage includes Franciscans		18th c

	7-b	Most Holy Trinity	God in Three Persons	18th c
	8-a	Immaculate Conception B[EATA] VIRGO SINE PEC[CATO] ORIG[INALI] CONC[EPTUS]—"Blessed Virgin conceived without sin"	Virgin Mary with a crown of stars standing among clouds on the moon and before the sun	18th c
	8-b	St. Fermin, bishop and martyr S[AN] FER[MIN]	Native of Pamplona became a bishop and brought Christianity to Pamplona Patron saint of Navarro and Pamplona	18th c

		9-a	Christ Crucified INRI [Latin]—on the *titulus* "Jesus King of the Jews"	Relief of Jesus hung on the cross	18th c
		9-b	The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary	Relief of the Virgin Mary standing on the moon	18th c
		10-a	Christ Crucified INRI [Latin]—on the *titulus* "Jesus King of the Jews"	Relief of Jesus hung on the cross	18th c

	10-b	The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary	Relief of the Virgin Mary standing on the moon	18th c
	11-a	Christ Crucified INRI [Latin]—on the *titulus* "Jesus King of the Jews"	Relief of Jesus hung on the cross	18th c
	11-b	The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary	Relief of the Virgin Mary standing on the moon	18th c

	12-a	Christ Crucified INRI [Latin]—on the *titulus* "Jesus King of the Jews"	Relief of Jesus hung on the cross Cruciform with tri-lobes, 3-D image of Jesus on the cross Cross made of silver	18th c
	12-b	Obverse of crucifix	Cross made of silver	
	13-a	Cross of the Five Wounds of Jesus	Cross of Christ with the Five Wounds or of Jesus: heart, hands and feet	18th c

	13-b	Obverse of crucifix with glass paste beads		18th c
	14-a	Glass paste piece of jewelry or rosary	Tri-foil azure glass lobes with suspension	18th c
	14-b	Obverse of crucifix with glass paste beads	Obverse of crucifix glass paste beads	Obverse of crucifix with glass paste beads	18th c

	15-a	Holy Father Francis SANC[TUS] FRANCESCO P[ATER]— "Holy Father Francis"	Bearded friar with tonsure and mendicant habit with cowl with stigmata Poor, the 3 Franciscan Orders, penitents, & animals	
	15-b	St. Anthony of Padua S[ANCTUS] ANT[ONIO] D[E] P[ADUA]— "St. Anthony of Padua"	Beardless friar with tonsure and mendicant habit with cowl holding the Christ Child Sought to find lost article and a good husband	
	16-a	Immaculate Conception B[EATA] VIRG[O] SIN[E] PEC[CATO] ORIG[INALI] C[ONCEPTUS]— "Blessed Virgin conceived without sin"	Virgin Mary with a crown of stars standing among clouds on the moon and before the sun	18th c

		16-b	The Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar **SIA L[ODATO] IL SS[ANTISSIMO] S[ACRAMENTO]** **–Italian, might be from Naples or Rome** **"Praise to the Most Holy Sacrament"**	A monstrance with the Holy Eucharist	18th c
		17-a	Our Lady of Sorrows	Virgin Mary solemnly dressed with seven swords piercing her heart	18th c
		17-b	St. Michael the Archangel S[AN[MIG[UEL]— "ST. MICHAEL"	Winged archangel holding the scales of souls and a sword while conquering a demon Protection of Christians and against danger	

	18-a	St. Turibius, archbishop S[ANTO] TORIB[IO] A[RZOBISPO DE] LIM[A]— "ST. TORIBIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF LIMA"	St. Turibius de Mogrovejo, of Spain and archbishop of Lima, Perú, 1538-1606 Patron of Lima, Perú and indigenous rights	18ᵗʰ c
	18-b	St. Barbara, Virgin and Martyr S[ANTA] BÁR[BARA] M[ÁRTIR] – "ST. BARBARA, MARTYR"	Maiden in Greco-Roman dress holding the pal of martyrdom with a castle rook where she was imprisoned Patron of Spanish artillery, architects, cannons, invoked against lightening and smallpox	18ᵗʰ c
	19-a	Immaculate Conception B[EATA] VIRG[O] SIN[E] PEC[CATO] ORIG[INALI] C[ONCEPTUS]— "Blessed Virgin conceived without sin"	Virgin Mary with a crown of stars standing among clouds on the moon and before the sun	18ᵗʰ c

	19-b	The Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar SIA L[ODATO] IL SS[ANTISSIMO] S[ACRAMENTO] –Italian, might be from Naples or Rome "Praise to the Most Holy Sacrament"	A monstrance with the Holy Eucharist	18th c
	20-a	Holy Father Francisco SANC[TUS] FRANCESCO P[ATER]—	Bearded friar with tonsure and mendicant habit with cowl with stigmata Patron of the poor, the 3 Franciscan Orders, penitents, & animals	18th c
	20-b	St. Anthony of Padua S[ANCTUS] ANT[ONIO] D[E] P[ADUA]— "St. Anthony of Padua"	Beardless Franciscan friar with tonsure and mendicant habit with cowl holding the Christ Child Invoked to find lost article and a good husband	18th c

	21-a	Our Lady of the Holy Rosary with the Christ Child		The Virgin gave the rosary to St. Dominic Patron of victory over the Muslims and Indians	17th-18th c
	21-b	St. Michael the Archangel S[AN[MIG[UEL]— "ST. MICHAEL"		Winged archangel holding the scales of souls and a sword while conquering a demon Patron on protection of Christians against danger	17th-18th c
	22-a	Immaculate Conception B[EATA] VIRG[O] SIN[E] PEC[CATO] ORIG[INALI] C[ONCEPTUS]—"Blessed Virgin conceived without sin"		Virgin Mary with a crown of stars standing among clouds on the moon and before the sun	18th c
	22-b	St. Joseph with the Child Jesus		Biblical patriarch often with a flowering staff holding the Christ Child Patron of Universal Church, husbands, fathers,	18th c

				carpenters, refugees.	
		23-a	Our Lady of Mount Carmel DÉCOR CARMELI "[The] beauty of Carmel	Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child Patron of the holy souls in Purgatory, water, rain, watermelon growers	18th c
		23-b	St. Anne with the Infant Virgin Mary	The mother of the Virgin Mary was married to St. Joachim. She conceived Mary in her old age. She is shown teaching Mary the Torah from a book Patron on expectant mothers, female horse-riders and orphans	18th c
		24-a	St. Francis of Assisi S[ANCTUS] FRANC[ESCO] "St. Francis"	Bearded friar with tonsure and mendicant habit with cowl with stigmata Patron of the poor, the 3 Franciscan Orders, penitents, & animals	18th c

		St. Anthony of Padua [SANCTUS] AN[TONIO]—"[St.] Anthony"	Beardless friar with tonsure and mendicant habit with cowl holding the Christ Child Invoked to find lost article and a good husband	
		Wedding ring	Rings were kept in the sacristy to use for the poor who had no wedding ring. The rings were lent and exchanged but returned to the sacristan	18th c
		Wedding ring	Rings were kept in the sacristy to use for the poor who had no wedding ring. The rings were lent and exchanged but returned to the sacristan	18th c

Table 2: Alphabetical list of medallion images and patronages/social uses

Calvario 5-A
Carmen, Nuestra Señora del 23-A
Cinco Llagas de Jesús, Cruz de las [cross] 13-A
Cinco Llagas de Jesús, Cruz de las [cross] 13-B
Coronación de la Virgen María 7-A
Cristo Crucificado [cross] 10-A
Cristo Crucificado [cross] 11-A
Cristo Crucificado [cross] 12-A
Cristo Crucificado [cross] 12-B
Cristo Crucificado [cross] 9-A
Dolores, Nuestra Señora de los 17-A
La Limpia Concepción [cross] 10-B
La Limpia Concepción [cross] 11-B
La Limpia Concepción 16-A
La Limpia Concepción 19-A
La Limpia Concepción 22-A
La Limpia Concepción 8-A
La Limpia Concepción[cross] 9-B
pasta vírtia fragment 14-A
pasta vírtia fragment 14-B
Rosario con el Niño Dios, Nuestra Señora del 21-A
San Antonio de Padua [possibly] 6-A
San Antonio de Padua 120-B
San Antonio de Padua 15-B
San Antonio de Padua 24-B
san Atanasio mártir, La Cabeza de 1-B
san Atanasio mártir, La Cabeza de 2-B
San Benedicto, abad 4-A
San Fermín, obispo y mártir 8-B
San Francisco [possibly] 6-B
San Francisco 15-A
San Francisco 20-A
San Francisco 24-A
San Isidro, labrador 3-A
San José con el Niño Dios 22-B
San José con el Niño Dios 5-B
San Martin Caballero 3-B
San Miguel, arcángel 17-B
San Miguel, arcángel 21-B
San Romualdo, abad de la Camáldula 4-B
San Venancio, mártir de Camerino 1-A
San Venancio, mártir de Camerino 2-A
Santa Bárbara, virgin y mártir 18-B
Santísima Trinidad 7-B
Santísimo Sacramento 16-B
Santísimo Sacramento 19-B

Santo Toribio, arzobispo 18-A