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THE FOUR LOVES OF MIGUEL SÁNCHEZ (1594–1674), GUADALUPE’S “FIRST EVANGELIST”

Martinus Cawley, O.C.S.O.*

Miguel Sánchez is known as Guadalupe’s “First Evangelist” in recognition of his Imagen de la Virgen María, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe; milagrosamente aparecida en la ciudad de México (1648), the first published account of the Guadalupe events. Without his lifelong interest in Guadalupe, all traces of the few extant sources might well have been lost. Among his other works were the Novenas (1665), meditations to be used at the shrine of Los Remedios, and David Seraphico (1653), a description of the Royal University of Mexico’s procession and renewal of the oath to defend the Immaculate Conception. Also referred to in this article will be Luis Lasso de la Vega, the “Second Evangelist,” and Luis Tanco Becero (1675), the “Third Evangelist.”

An earlier article in Marian Studies described Miguel Sánchez’s love and promotion of Guadalupe, which he considered a providential blessing for Mexico, the land of his birth and for the criollas who were born there. This article, intended as a contribution to his biography, explores some of the dominant interests of Sánchez’s life—designated as his “four loves”: his

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1Miguel Sánchez, Imagen de la Virgen . . . de Guadalupe . . . aparecida en . . . México (México, 1648). It consists of 96 numbered folios, with additional sets of 8 unnumbered folios as preliminary material at the beginning and as appended material at the end. The most easily available modern edition is that of Ernesto de la Torre Villar (TV) and Ramiro Navarro de Anda, Testimonios históricos guadalupanos (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982), 152–267.

friends; the Royal University of Mexico, his Alma Mater; St. Augustine, his favorite author; and Guadalupe, his favorite shrine.

1. Recent Publications on Sánchez

David Brading's *Mexican Phoenix, Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* is a comprehensive treatment of the many issues associated with Guadalupe. The opening chapters explore Guadalupe's origins and its earliest promoters, and the later chapters, with remarkable clarity, trace its influence on successive periods of Mexican history. The sections on Miguel Sánchez may be supplemented by the chapter in Stafford Poole's *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a National Symbol, 1531-1797*. Fr. Poole's book covers fewer generations of Mexican history than does Professor Brading's, and, although readers may disagree with some aspects of his work, the sections on Sánchez are carefully and accurately presented. Both authors, however, are handling so vast a literary corpus that it is understandable that they miss a few points. Notably, neither conveys an adequate idea of Sánchez's overall plan for his main Guadalupan work, the *Imagen*.

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6Sánchez explains his plan in the pages of the *Imagen*. The plan is also reflected in the book's title, *Imagen*, and in the artistic wording of the sectional headings:

- Original prophétique (*Im* 1r; *TV* 159);
- Misterioso dibujo (*Im* 4r; *TV* 163);
- Milagroso descubrimiento (*Im* 18r; *TV* 178);
- Pincel cuidadoso (*Im* 37v; *TV* 198);
- Solemne colocación (*Im* 73v; *TV* 236).

Three of these divisions—the *Original*, the *Dibujo* ("preliminary outline") and the *Pincel* ("final touches")—are a verse-by-verse application of the text of Apocalypse 12 to the conquest of Mexico and to the Guadalupan event. The other two divisions do not make reference to the text of the Apocalypse. The *Descubrimiento* narrates the Guadalupan story, using chronological subtitles, in very large lower case letters. The *Colocación*, in turn, concludes the narrative and begins two sub-divisions: *Descripción del Santuario* (*Im* 75v; *TV* 238) and *Milagros de la Santa Imagen* (*Im* 82r; *TV* 245). The organization is subtle, and it is little wonder that Poole and Brading should miss the unity it had for Sánchez himself.
Also, both speak of Sánchez's 1653 work on the university pageant as a sermon rather than a report or description.\(^7\)

A work, co-authored by Fr. Poole,\(^8\) appears to make Luis Lasso de la Vega, Guadalupe's "Second Evangelist," dependent on the work of Sánchez, and a footnote seems to approve the view that the "Third Evangelist," Luis Becerra Tanco, was in turn paraphrasing de la Vega, for whom Sánchez provided the original.\(^9\)

Xavier Noguez presented a dissertation on Sánchez at Tulane University, and it was recently published in Spanish.\(^10\) Noguez attempts no biography of Sánchez, but convincingly argues that Sánchez's main source was a paraphrased translation of the Aztec material also employed by Lasso de la Vega. Though he says little on Sánchez, Noguez says much about other items not treated elsewhere (for example, the 1653 tableau of the procession bringing the sacred image to Tepeyac).\(^11\)

Two other recent publications have some reference to Sánchez. First there is a reprint of Luis de Cisneros's history of Los Remedios, Guadalupe's twin shrine. This work may have originally prompted Sánchez to undertake his many years of research on Guadalupe.\(^12\) (Since copies of Cisneros's work were rare, this reprint, though not perfect, is most welcome.) Another early text, now available in a superb critical edition, with ample notes, is the *Devociónario*, which presents two texts of an early missionary in Yucatán; one describes a shrine in

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\(^12\)Luis de Cisneros, *Historia de el principio, y origen ... de la santa Ymagen de ... Los Remedios* (México, 1621; reprinted with introduction and notes by Francisco Miranda, El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999). The 12-page Introduction usefully assembles biographical references to Cisneros, but footnotes are confined to a few chapters, where they offer Spanish translations of texts given in Latin. He faithfully notes the original pagination, but has numerous misprints.
Yucatán similar to the way Cisneros would describe Los Remedios and Sánchez Guadalupe. The author of the *Devocionario* was a master of the local dialect, and many passages seem to be sermon models that he provided for colleagues. Sánchez may well have read the *Devocionario*; it provides an interesting parallel to some of his writings, but there is no direct literary dependence.

Finally, I mention a new edition of my own: *Guadalupe from the Aztec*. Most of what is new in its Introduction stems from a recent study of the "Third Evangelist," Luis Becerra Tanco, with some attention to Sánchez. While studying the successive drafts of the work of Becerra Tanco, I became convinced that he played a key role in forming the Guadalupan tradition.


14 Martinus Cawley, *Guadalupe from the Aztec* (Scholars’ Ed., Guadalupe translations; Lafayette, 2002).

15 Cawley, *Guadalupe from the Aztec*, Section II. "Shaping of the Tradition Decade-by-Decade," v-viii.

16 I have all three drafts computerized and hope to make them available as a synoptic edition. The first is to be found at the end of any edition of the *Inquiry* of 1666. The second is his *Origen milagroso* of the same year. My copy was kindly supplied by the University of Texas at Austin. The third is his *Felicidad de México*, published posthumously in 1675 and often reprinted (notably in TV). There is an English version of this last work in *The Dark Virgin: The Book of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a Documentary and Anthology*, edited by Donald Demarest and Coley Taylor (Freeport, Me.: C. Taylor, 1956).

17 In his boyhood he was much influenced by a priest-uncle, who had as friends a circle of outstanding linguists. The uncle told of having heard the Aztec orator Antonio Valeriano (+1605) declaim the Guadalupe story. This would most likely have happened at a fund-raising event for the new church at Tepeyac, held during the 1590s, when the uncle would have been a student in Mexico City. Young Luis, in his own student days in the 1620s, was not particularly interested in Guadalupe, but he was keenly interested in the indigenous languages and eager to equip himself for teaching them at the University. For this reason, he collected texts by commendable indigenous authors and transcribed them into copybooks, as source material for the grammar book he was writing. He naturally treasured anything from the hand of the famous Valeriano, and, happily for us, this included a draft of the fund-raising dialogue which his uncle had heard.
2. Sánchez: Notes on His Life and Works

Some biographical information on Sánchez was given in a previous article. Here let me add a few points on the date of his birth, his physical appearance (as given in a portrait extant among the Oratorians), and his education. At his death, March 22, 1674, the diarist, Antonio de Robles, referred to Sánchez as "having arrived at almost 80 years of age." This would put his birth toward the middle of 1594. By contrast, in the extant copy of the Guadalupan Inquiry of 1666, Sánchez is cited as indicating his own age as "more or less sixty years," which would place his birth in 1606, or about a dozen years later than Robles indicates. Sánchez is cited as saying that his study of Guadalupe began "more than fifty years ago," or towards 1615. According to Robles's dating, this would indicate that Sánchez's interest in Guadalupe began in his university years, when studying under Cisneros, who, in 1616, was writing on Los Remedios. It would then appear that it was Cisneros who prompted Sánchez's whole Guadalupan project. But if the date in the Inquiry is correct, Sánchez would have begun his research at age nine and would have been only thirteen years old at Cisneros's death in 1619.

The date in the Inquiry may be a copyist's error—writing sesenta ("60") for setenta ("70")—an error found elsewhere in the manuscript, and in other works of the period. Another indication of the early date for Sánchez's birth is that Francisco de Siles, born early in the 1600s, speaks of Sánchez as notably older than himself. 

Luis Becerra Tanco also took an interest in astronomy, mathematics and Aztec chronology. He recalled an ancient time chart which showed, alongside its mark for the year 1531, a pictograph which he interpreted as referring to the Guadalupe account he had known from boyhood. That date seems to be the last item to enter the Tradition, and—given Becerra Tanco's fascination with chronology—I suspect it was he who supplied it, and also supplied the name of the current bishop, either directly to Sánchez and Lasso, or else to one or more of their informants. On one point I see no room for doubt: that Lasso was the anonymous "person in authority," who "borrowed the copybook," and who "died without returning it."

18Cawley, "Criollo Patriotism," 43-44.  
20Imagen, appended fol. i (verso); TV 261.
In 1736, the Mexican Oratorian, P. Julián Gutiérrez Dávila, published biographical data on early confrères. For Sánchez, he simply paraphrased Robles’s obituary and added a few canonical notes from the archives of the Oratory. The pioneer Oratorians were also honored with a gallery of painted portraits, among which Sánchez is included. His portrait is reproduced in color on the cover of a recent edition of the Imagen. The Oratorian archivist who recently gave me a copy denied that it was a true likeness of Sánchez. Indeed, the painting so closely resembles the portrait in Robles’s work that it appears based on it rather than on an independent source. Even so, its very highlighting of Robles’s description makes it worthwhile to describe its pictorial detail.

In the picture, Sánchez is portrayed in a plain cassock, with clerical cap and styled hair, with a finger in his breviary. His eyes are full of wonder. His small room has a straight-backed chair and a small table with quill pens on it. (Sánchez explored all meanings of the word pluma, with meanings ranging from a writer’s pen to a bird’s wing—just as his use of tierra ranges from “soil” to “earth” to the “land” of Mexico.) As in Robles, so in the painting, there is an image of Guadalupe on one wall and a set of books—presumably Augustine’s works—along the other. The portrait omits the small image of St. Augustine present in the Robles drawing, which is also missing in Gutiérrez Dávila’s paraphrase.

Among Sánchez’s friends was Juan de la Peña Butrón, a priest who lived in his family’s home and regarded his widowed mother as a type of religious superior, even in financial matters. Yet another, Luis Becerra Tanco, seems to have enjoyed the friendship of an uncle who was a priest. Sánchez makes no reference to other family members, and he lived and carried out his activities in a type of residence for clerics.
Sánchez makes no reference to individual teachers who may have influenced him. His reference to the Society of Jesus as "our mother" may indicate that he was educated by the Jesuits. At the university, his baccalaureate seems to have been in the artes, which would explain his literary abilities and his reason for competing for a chair in that department. It may be that he had more than one baccalaureate. Indeed, some authors give him the title "licenciado." After his theology classes, he may possibly have attended the afternoon classes of Cisneros. Sánchez makes mention of Cisneros, though he does not indicate that he was his teacher and inspirer.

After losing a youthful bid for a university chair, Sánchez never again competed for any post, academic or ecclesial. He soon found himself in such demand for preaching at religious ceremonies with a patriotic dimension that the income from stipends was sufficient to cover his needs. His sermons' popularity may reflect the differences between the Mexican-born criollos and the more elite, European-born gachupinos. Sánchez graciously lifted his audience above such contention, inviting them to contemplate the God-given dignity of their fellow-citizens with references dear to all the children of the Church.

letter published: "since it is so many years we have been friends and companions in mutual presence, in sharing and in lodgings, as is common knowledge today ("en asistencia, comunicación y vivienda.")."

Robles's obituary says Sánchez, when a lad (mozo), competed unsuccessfully for a chair against the later-famous Juan Diáz del Arce. Robles sets this chair in the Theology Department, but it must have been in that of Arts, since Arce, who was the same age as Sánchez (José Toribio Medina, La Imprenta en México, 2:260), was securely in the Chair of Arts in his twenties, from November of 1621 at the latest (Alberto María Carreño, Efemérides de la real y pontificia Universidad de México [2 vols.; México: UNAM., 1963], 1:141).

See, e.g., all the official letters of approval for both the Imagen and the Novenas.

Cisneros wrote his book in conjunction with a novena for a drought in 1616. His descriptions of this novena suggest that he was assigned a privileged viewpoint as official reporter. The book was presumably commissioned by the Municipality, which was patron of the shrine, but which released funds for printing only after Cisneros's death.

Imagen, (Prelim.), viii-r; TV 158.

This distinction is described in my article of 1995, "Criollo Patriotism."
Sánchez's personality shines through in the few congratulatory letters he allowed friends to append to his published works. These letters are free from the flattery and contrived poetic verses frequently found in such literature. He avoided earthy humor and the newsy anecdote, striving instead to gain his audience's attention by recounting biblical stories in vivid colors, and by highlighting his points with skillful volleys of synonyms and carefully-balanced parallel phrases. Another artifice was to link an interlocutor with his patron saint, or to describe his employment with biblical references. He was devoted to the confraternities. In 1648, he was a member of the elite Congregación de San Pedro, and, in 1662, he joined the city's newly formed Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Besides providing fraternity and assistance in times of need, these bonds helped to assure a steady flow of preaching assignments, though each member was expected to provide for his own expenses.

Sánchez's love for Augustine did not lead him to join the Augustinian Order. Although an Augustinian did give the ecclesiastical approbation for the Imagen, his letter, unlike most of the others, reveals no bonds of friendship with the author. Sánchez may have kept his distance from the Augustinians, for, in their ranks there was bitter rivalry between gachupinos and criollos.

Though he lodged much of the time in a residence, Sánchez's years at semi-rural Los Remedios may have provided regular chaplain's quarters, and his lengthy sojourn at Guadalupe may have entitled him to some modest accommodations. Where he spent his final years is not known; his burial was at Guadalupe, with a funeral attended by a great throng of clergy.

In Sánchez's works, a distinction can be made between those which were the result of his own initiative and others—occasional pieces—written in response to requests. The first group, which reflect his true interests, deal either with Guadalupe

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29Imagen, append. i-r; TV 260.
30I infer this from his use of "our holy Father St. Peter" in Imagen, 53r (TV 214) and throughout El David Saraphico.
or Los Remedios, whereas the second group, ranging widely in topic, are identified with specific events.

The works on Guadalupe and Los Remedios seem to have gone through several drafts. Reference to an account of the Guadalupe events appears already in 1640, when Sánchez indicated in a dedicatory letter that he needed funds to publish an account. In this account, he presented Guadalupe as the “New Eve” of the New World. (He apparently has not yet developed his elaborate connection with the Woman of the Apocalypse.) Funding finally came eight years later. Possibly one benefactor, who was financing the almost-simultaneous publication of the Guadalupe story in Spanish and in Aztec, was the cathedral’s treasurer, Pedro de Barrientos Lomelín, to whom Sánchez dedicated his work. I suspect that the grant was obtained less by efforts of Sánchez than of the dynamic Lasso de la Vega, chaplain at Guadalupe, who wished to use the publication to advance the building program at Guadalupe. López Beltrán, however, attributes the ultimate financing of the Imagen to the acting viceroy, the Bishop of Yucatán, Marcos de Torres y Rueda (1648-49).32

In dedicating his Novenas, Sánchez mentions that he had drafted an account of Los Remedios, and he again indicated that he needed funds to publish it. The two laymen to whom he dedicated the Novenas are both named José, and Sánchez tells them his draft contains an episode—not found in Cisneros—which involves the saint for whom they are named.

In his congratulatory letter in the Imagen, Lasso de la Vega mentions an early draft of the Novenas,33 which may have been available at Guadalupe. Later, when Sánchez became chaplain at Los Remedios, he seems to have ready a similar account for that shrine, because, when funding became available in 1665, he published an account which could be used at either shrine.

32See Note 17, above. He prints a portrait of the Bishop-Viceroy on the rear cover. A note inside that cover tells of the benefaction but cites no written source. On Lasso’s dynamic leadership at Guadalupe, see the Prologue of Feliciano Velázquez’s classic translation of his account (TV 284-5).

33Imagen, append. iv (verso); TV 264.
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As for his works written at the request of others, I believe that more were written than actually survive. It was the custom to conclude an elaborate and elite celebration with the printing of a pamphlet, be it an ornate description of the event or a reproduction of its speeches and poetry. For Sánchez, I have copies of a 1640 sermon and a 1653 report on a pageant, but not of the other items indexed in Medina. Of these, the most promising is his congratulatory letter in the Poeticum viridarium of José López de Áviles, which also carries a poem by Guadalupe’s Third Evangelist, Luis Becerra Tanco, and a letter by Sánchez’s friend, Francisco de Siles.34

3. Love for His Friends

Sánchez’s biographer, Robles, calls him the desempeño del clero en los mayores concursos. The reference may be to the diocesan criollo clergy who had an implicit empeño (“pledge”), to participate in the “important gatherings,” and, though the gachupinos might have judged them remiss in their responsibility, their obligation was “fulfilled” (desempeño) whenever Sánchez was their spokesman. The criollo clergy were sometimes reviled for their foibles and petty vices, but Sánchez’s personal holiness and sincere eloquence made compensation. Robles also calls Sánchez maestro del púlpito . . . asombro de la predicación en nuestra América (“master of the pulpit and preaching wonder of our America”). He was beloved by the whole Spanish-speaking community, from gachupino archbishops and viceroys down to the lowest level of criollo society. Were it not for the language barrier, I believe the Indians too would have loved him.

One way of ascertaining the friends of Sánchez could begin by reviewing the letters attached to his published works. First would be those to whom he dedicates each work, who usually were his benefactors. They included a wealthy lay friend of the Franciscan nuns;35 a Carmelite Provincial Superior;36 two secular

34Medina, La Imprenta en México, 420–1; #1016.
35Medina, La Imprenta en México, 196; A.D. 1640.
36Medina, La Imprenta en México, 245; A.D. 1646.
“captains”;37 the Treasurer of the Cathedral;38 and a leading Franciscan friar.39

There are also his civil and ecclesiastical censors. I do not know how widespread it was to choose censors from among the author’s friends. No bonds of friendship seem to have prompted choosing an Augustinian for censor of the Imagen, or a learned member of the Audiencia for the Novenas, but some prior acquaintance prompted Sánchez’s choice of Juan de Poblete as the other censor for both those works. Poblete was prominent in the cathedral and university and would not usually become involved in the routine task of acting as censor for publications.40 Friendship between Poblete and Sánchez is further suggested by the key roles both played in the Guadalupan Inquiry of 1665–66, and by Poblete’s prominence in Sánchez’s Congregación de San Pedro.41 Having Poblete as censor would enhance Sánchez’s reputation, not only at the cathedral and university, but especially at the gatherings of the Congregación. Poblete is frequently referred to as canonist, administrator, and liturgical celebrant, though rarely as preacher.42

Another of Sánchez’s acquaintances was Francisco de Siles, who had admired Sánchez from earliest youth and remained his disciple and intimate friend until his own death in 1670. Not only did Siles append the first, the longest, and the most enthusiastic letter at the end of the Imagen, and write an eight-page ecclesiastical approbation for the Novenas, but he also

37Novenas, pp. 75–83; A.D.1665.
38Medina, La Imprenta en México, 262; A.D. 1648.
40Medina knows only two other works for which Poblete was the censor (La Imprenta en México, 238; A.D. 1646, and 403; A.D. 1667).
41Guijo (Diario, 1648–1664), lists him as its Abbot: pp. 165 (A.D. 1651) and 217 (A.D. 1653). The office was for one year, though re-election was frequent. I have been unable to determine his exact years of tenure, but he was not yet in office when he censored the Imagen (1648) and had been out of office at least one year in 1665 (Robles, Diario de sucesos notables, 1:3).
42There are over a dozen index entries each in Guijo, Robles and Carreño, running from Poblete’s early days on the University staff (1621) until the death of his sister (1686). Gutiérrez Dávila gives him a paragraph in #441, with a reference to his sister in #178. Carreño shows a painting approved by his nephew (1:484, #17; cf. Text on 290–91).
portrayed Sánchez as the cornerstone of the Inquiry of 1666, which he himself led. Siles is as richly documented as Poblete,43 As a student, Siles had depended entirely on charity, sometimes passing the night in doorways and studying under street lamps. However, his courtesy and studiousness won him scholarships and enabled him to advance in both the university and cathedral circles. Later, from his own resources, he assisted promising students of a next generation with the same kind of help he had earlier received. Among his surviving sermons is one for the first criollo archbishop, in which—as in his letters for Sánchez—we glimpse a truly affable man. It says much for Sánchez's hospitality that such a youth should befriend him and become his disciple.

A similar affability shines out in the last letter for the Imagen, written in familiar tones by a longtime fellow resident of his residence house, the otherwise-unknown Francisco de Bárcenas. Other friends of Sánchez include the chaplains at Guadalupe, especially "Guadalupe's Second Evangelist," Luis Lasso de la Vega. Although Sánchez loved the solitude of the Marian shrine, he also enjoyed the association with urban clerical circles at the cathedral, the university, and the confraternity.

Among his lay associates were those to whom he dedicated works in 1640 and 1665, who appear to be revered benefactors rather than close friends. There was also a widow at whose veiling Sánchez delivered the sermon.44 He also wrote a letter of praise to the works of two poets.45 The first poet, Ambrosio de Solís Aguirre, appears to have been the donor of a new altar whose consecration the poem celebrates. Sánchez's praise of the poets is interesting, because, as Siles reminds him, he usually finds contemporary verse highly artificial. Perhaps few regular censors would consent to write an approbation, and so it may have been Sánchez's affability that led him to agree to do it.

Most significant of all would be Sánchez's commendation of the Poeticum viridararium of José López de Áviles, mentioned

43A biographical notice can be found in Medina (La Imprenta en México, 335–6), who cites the famous bibliography of Beristain.
45Medina, La Imprenta en México, 303; A.D. 1652, and 420–1; A.D. 1669.
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above. Firstly, the *Viridarium* was about Sánchez's beloved Guadalupe and, secondly, it also carried commendations by his friends, Siles and Becerra Tanco. At Becerra Tanco's death, it was this same López de Áviles who would write a type of elegy which seems to be the basic biographical source for this Third Evangelist of Guadalupe.46

Sánchez drew his definition of friendship from Augustine: "a fellowship of wills existing between two persons, such that the one is never willing for what the other is unwilling for."47 More concretely, he expressed his affection for individuals in restrained and sometimes clever and humorous ways. For example, he modified the details of stories to compliment a person's name or position.

4. Love for His Alma Mater, the Royal University of Mexico

Sánchez's second love was for his *Alma Mater*; the Royal University of Mexico. This love is especially manifested in Sánchez's description of one of the great processions in which the university personnel were involved. Processions were an important part of early Mexican civic and religious life. Cisneros describes a procession that included the carrying of the image from the shrine of Los Remedios to and from the cathedral, referring to the Prophet Balaam's famous vision of Israel assembled on the plain below.48 (A contemporary painting conveying some of the pageantry and pomp of such a procession in colonial Mexico is John August Swanson's "Procession.")49

In *El David seraphico*, Sánchez describes (1653), not a Corpus Christi procession, nor one with a Marian image; rather,

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46Reproduced by Antonio de Gama in Becerra Tanco's posthumous edition of 1675.

47*Novenas*, p. 82. The reference reads: "D. Aug. lib. unico de Amicitia, lib. 4." In terms of the Maurist edition (Paris printing of 1837), this is the opening of Paragraph VII, on col. 1218 of vol. 6. The Maurists say this treatise is not by Augustine, but is an unskilled abridgement of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Amicitia*.

48Cisneros, *Historia de el principio*, 82r to 84r, referring to the Book of Numbers, chaps. 22 through 24.

49Painted in 1982, on canvas with acrylic and gold leaf, a colored print is available as a 36" x 24" poster, or as an 8½" x 5½" card, from the National Association for Hispanic Elderly, 234 E. Colorado Blvd., Suite 300, Pasadena, CA 91101.
the personnel of the university were assembled for a program in which they would renew their vow to defend the Immaculate Conception. Sánchez's role in this pageant is not to preach but to report. The centerpiece of the pageant is a book, personally commissioned by King Philip IV, to be sent to Rome with an ambassador, to persuade the pope to define the dogma. Although the king corresponded with María de Jesús de Ágreda, the initiative for the movement for the definition came from the king. The king's book bears a military title, Armamentarium, whose function is, in military terms, "to defend." The frontispiece displays a veritable arsenal of traditional weapons. In his comments on this book, Sánchez says little that is martial or polemical. Its contents, he says, were to refute a recent hostile publication (4r and 18v) that failed to list the university among those taking the oath. This latter point prompts him to evoke memories of the solemn oath in 1619, which he presumably witnessed (4v-5r). But when Sánchez's attention turns to the dramatic tableau as a whole, his language does become military. The various groups within the procession—those carrying the statues of St. Francis, Duns Scotus, and the Immaculate Conception—are seen as companies of warriors, each serving under its battle standard (11rv, 13r). The Franciscans advance first, but soon other groups join in, and these are described, one-by-one, in Old Testament military terms (13rv).

Sánchez gives his work the title: El David seraphico. The term David is used because the whole work is structured around four narrative texts: 1) David choosing five stones as
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weapons against Goliath (I Sam. 17:40b, folio 1r); 2) David dancing before the Ark (II Sam. 6:15a, folio 7r); 3) David within the list of heroes (II Sam. 23:8, folio 14bis-v); and 4) David’s singing of Psalm 17 [18] (II Sam. 22:1a, folio 23v). The term *seraphico* evokes the Franciscan Order, associated with the Seraph that gave Francis his stigmata. The combination *David seraphico* refers to the corporate personality, Francis and the Franciscans. Since the time of Scotus, these had been the champions of the Immaculate Conception, in opposition to Aquinas and the Dominicans.53

In the first image—based on David’s five stones—Sánchez quickly moves from David, to Francis, to the Franciscans, to David’s five stones, to Moses’ five Books, to Christ’s five Wounds, to the stigmata of Francis, to the university’s five faculties. The image of five stones continues: the “diamond” is the faculty of theology, the “emerald” that of canon law.

The second Davidic image text—the king dancing before the ark—is developed similarly. David is seen in the statue of Francis, as it sways on the Franciscan shoulders that bear it along the street, preparing the way for a processional image of the Immaculate Conception. (Such processions evoked a great response. Nineteen years earlier, a criollo poet was so moved at the sight of a Guadalupan procession that he directly and personally addressed the image of Our Lady.)54

5. Love for Augustine and the Saints

Sánchez’s “third love” was for St. Augustine, his favorite author, and for other saints and reputable authors. In the four short works I examined, there were 103 references to Augustine—including text, margins, preliminary and appended letters. The four works examined span a twenty-five-year period—1640 to

53Sánchez does not mention the Dominicans, but the frontispiece of the *Arma­mentarium* shows the Dominican Thomas Aquinas shaking hands with the Franciscan Duns Scotus. By metonomy, this shows the Orders reconciled.

54The Flood Poem of 1634: the Spanish is most accessible in Jesús García Gutiér­rez’s *Primer siglo guadalupano: 1531-1648* (México: San Ignacio de Loyola, 1945), 125-135. For the English, see my *Anthology*, pp. 69-80.
1665. References to Augustine increase noticeably in the latter works\textsuperscript{55}—an increase of three times from 1640 to 1648, and of seven times from 1640 to 1665.

Even the citations in the earliest work (1640) show enthusiasm for Augustine; the references are playfully creative: \textit{quien siempre es el primero y el primor de agudezas} (5v: "who is ever the foremost and the fair[est] of sharp [wits]"), and \textit{le dexo prendas de oro, palabras de Augustino} (6v: "I offer such a one a golden pledge, namely words of Augustine"). Sánchez's love for Augustine was well known—even before 1640. Perhaps some benefactor, in the early 1640s, provided him with the copy of the saint's writings and the image mentioned by Robles. Once afforded such ready access to Augustine, Sánchez's interest and devotion towards him would increase.

Sánchez usually cites Augustine spontaneously, without giving a specific reference to the work, and many of the citations, as was the case in the citation of friendship, are not found in the authentic works of Augustine. References to the \textit{Confessions}\textsuperscript{56} and to certain pastoral works, which reflect the saint's prayer life, are prominent.

In addition to Augustine, Sánchez quotes or alludes to many other authorities. Here, they are grouped under six headings: (1) patristic writers; (2) classical poets and historians; (3) "companions and teachers"; (4) local viceroys and archbishops; (5) biblical commentators; (6) other authorities. Sánchez referred to the authors most known at the university. What is important is the image which Sánchez has of Augustine and his other patrons. It is more the image than the actual words

\textsuperscript{55}References to Augustine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Letters</th>
<th>Texts</th>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>22,000 words</td>
<td>5</td>
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\textsuperscript{56}The \textit{Confessions} are cited with locus (XI, 25) on the 8\textsuperscript{th} Morning of the \textit{Novenas} (p. 251), and without locus on the 7\textsuperscript{th} Morning (p. 230). Quasi-autobiographical works include the Sermons and Commentaries on the psalms and on John.
which serve as the inspiration for the intellectual and spiritual life. Especially important are those listed as his compañeros y maestros (group 3 above). The prime examples of such "inner companions and teachers" are the nine choirs of Angels, proposed for meditation on successive days of the Novenas. The Novenas draw inspiration not from Augustine but from the Dominican Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419) and the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). Sánchez seems to have read widely in the works of both these saints. Sánchez refers to them in friendly and affectionate ways, but he shows no such deeply personal bond with them as he does with Augustine or his three personal patrons.

The most surprising of his patrons may be Catherine of Alexandria. In the Latin colophon at the end of each work, Sánchez names her his Magistra, and he also refers to her when describing the university pageant. He was disappointed that the latter's final scene was not located in what was his favorite nook at the University—the chapel dedicated to the "Virgin Doctor and Queenly Martyr." Sánchez frequently referred to the patron of his Congregación de San Pedro with the formula common among religious orders—"our holy father St. Peter." The term appears five times in the Imagen and once in the David seraphico and the Novenas. For Peter he uses the plural, "our"; whereas, for Augustine and the other patrons, the singular "my" is generally used.

Sánchez' patron saint—Michael—is prominent both in the Imagen and the Novenas. The former includes many passages based on Apocalypse 12, where Michael is a key protagonist;

57 He names Bernard as a source at least once in each work examined. He refers to several specific sermons (sometimes repeatedly): Sermons 8, 19, 45, 52 and 99 On Canticles, and (without numeral) those on the Missus est. The one numbered "99" goes beyond the last of the Canticles sermons written by Bernard himself; this sermon would have been by one of his "continuators." Likewise, Sánchez's edition attributes to Bernard the In Verbis Isaiae of Aelred—though he elsewhere names Aelred himself as author of a sermon, In Cruce. Sánchez seems to have read directly Guerric's 4th Sermon On the Assumption, but "William" [of St. Thierry] is known to him only through Diego de Baeza (1600-1647).

58 She is in the colophon of the Imagen and of the David seraphico (also in DS 25r), but not in that of my edition of the Novenas. I cannot say about San Felipe, since my copy of that unfortunately lacks the final page.
and the latter dedicates a whole day to Michael's archangelic choir. Most striking, however, are those passages where Sánchez requests special favors from this archangel in return for bearing his name. In one of these passages, he even identifies the angel in the Guadalupan image as Michael in person, though strangely he does not do the same in his formal description of that picture. He also makes much of a claim that the Hebrew letters of Michael are said to be interchangeable with those of María. He tends to identify any angel as Michael—often adding an epithet claiming him as his baptismal patron. The strongest example of this is a parenthesis in the third introductory meditation for the Novenas: "The Archangelic Prince St. Michael, my beloved patron (in whose name I live) . . . " (p. 100). His love for his patrons must have been well-known to his associates; it appears in the preliminary letters of the Novenas, but also in one for the David seraphico, where his friend, Juan de Poblete, presents Sánchez as at once "another Augustine . . . another Michael . . . another David . . . "

However, Sánchez's love for Augustine is more demonstrable than that for his other patrons. Robles mentions how Sánchez read the works of Augustine so assiduously that many believed he knew them by heart. We have seen Sánchez referring to some of the Fathers with the titles which were current in the schools, but, for his Augustine, he devises new terms. He admires Augustine for theological perspicacity: he is first and finest of keen minds, eagle among the doctors, sunlight of the Church, archive of the most hidden mysteries, angelic Seraph, pure gold, etc. He maintains a personal bond with Augustine: my Augustine, our Augustine, my Father, my Master, my Saint, Owner of my heart, etc. Lastly, he speaks in terms of endearment: referring to his sweetness, gentleness, heartfelt devotion, etc. Even David was privileged to have Augustine for chronicler.

59 Imagen, prelim. vii (verso); TV 158, and 70r-71r; TV 232–3.
60 Imagen, 39v; TV 200.
61 He attributes this to a second sermon on the Archangel by a friar named Pedro de Balder (Novenas, 101).
62 This most daring—yet most typical—praise of Augustine comes at the opening of El David seraphico (1r): O venturoso David, que tuvo por Chronista suyo a San
For Sánchez, Augustine was the representative of creative thinking. The presence of Augustine in Sánchez's life can be seen through the image on his wall, the volumes on his shelf. Yet, more than a representative, Augustine is to Sánchez an inner guide with whom he intimately communes—not with flattery, but with boundless wonderment and gratitude. Angels were his compañeros y maestros. He did not call Augustine a compañero, who might come and go, but a father who nourishes the inner life.⁶³

6. Love of His Favorite Shrine: Guadalupe

Sánchez's fourth great love was Guadalupe. Tepeyac is the place where he is most himself, both in the privacy of solitary prayer and in his outreach to others. Sánchez appears to be a reserved person, even a recluse, noted for "modesty of the eyes," not prone to exchange newsy gossip. Always, he participates in the annual celebrations—liturgical, academic, and civil—sponsored by the university and city, all of which his Congregación de San Pedro attends as a body. But he appears most comfortable at Guadalupe.

Guadalupe and Los Remedios were "twin shrines," the former favored by criollos and the latter by gachupinos. Already in 1660, Mateo de la Cruz, in abridging Sánchez's Imagen,⁶⁴ calls Guadalupe la criolla and Los Remedios la gachupina, but he does this only to contrast the origins of the images, not the preference of the two different classes. Another contrast is from Sánchez who says that Los Remedios is invoked against...

Agustín. Con este Padre mio, con este mi Maestro, con este para mi el todo entendimiento. . . . ("Oh how lucky David was to have St Augustine for his chronicler. With this Father of mine, with this my Master, with this one who is for me my entire understanding. . . . [I now choose four Davidic texts].")

⁶³Sánchez does, however, have Zumárraga address, if not Augustine, certainly Our Lady, as compañera de mi alma ("Companion of my soul"—Imagen, 31v: TV 191).

⁶⁴I have not had access either to the original Puebla edition of 1660, or the Madrid edition of 1662, but I understand these editions name only the original author, Sánchez, and not the abridger, de la Cruz. Hence, they would probably carry no preliminary letters to explain the motives and methods of abridging. The text is available in the anonymous Dos relaciones históricas de la admirable aparición . . . , printed in Mexico in 1781 (and also in TV, pp. 267-281). A major misprint in the latter sets at the head of the text a repetition of Sánchez's subtitle Original Propéptico. . . .
drought, and Guadalupe against flood, but again without suggesting a contrast of clientele (Novenas, 242-3).

My impression is that the criollo preference for Guadalupe arose gradually over the course of Sánchez’s career. Thus, in 1616, when Sánchez was beginning his research on Guadalupe, his teacher Cisneros could write of both shrines without any hint of group preference (although he expresses surprise that a gachupín, rather than a criollo, would write a poem about Los Remedios).65

Two factors which influence the numbers who frequent shrines are the facilities which are available and the interest in the structures being erected. Although Los Remedios had no supply of water until 1659,66 already in Cisneros’s time it had abundant daytime and overnight accommodations for families that could afford them.67 Likewise its elevated location and shaded woods made it an attractive place of retreat for the wealthy.68 From 1575 onwards, Los Remedios began building, and it enjoyed a certain popularity, especially when its image was carried into the heart of the city as part of novenas against drought. However, a visit to Los Remedios called for a nine-mile trip each way, a distance not easily covered except by those wealthy enough to use a coach or to take lodgings overnight.

The distance and the cost tended gradually to rule out Los Remedios as a favorite shrine for financially struggling criollos, who were drawn to the more accessible Guadalupe, whose three-mile distance from the city was perfect for a day’s walk. Guadalupe also attracted the wealthy criollos, such as the future archbishop, Alonso de Cuevas Dávalos, who around 1616 chose Guadalupe as the site of his first Mass and for the great outdoor banquet that followed.69 From the 1590s up to

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65Cisneros, Historia de el principio, Bk. II, chap. xi (fols. 119v-120r), Soneto de un gachupín haciendo rogativa.
66Guijo, Diario, 1648-1664, 30 Mar., 1659 (2:117). The dates which follow are from Cisneros, Historia de el principio, 44r-v, 80r.
67Cisneros, Historia de el principio, Bk. 1, chap. 16.
68E.g., Robles shows the viceregal couple frequently withdrawing to Los Remedios: Diario de sucesos notables, 18 Dec., 1685 (2:108); 24 Feb., 1691 (2:219); 31 Aug. and 6 Sept., 1691 (2:230) and again 14-15 Sept. 1691 (2:231), etc.
69Antonio de Robles, Resguardo contra el olvido, a biography written in 1665-66 and published in 1757, p. 21.
1622, Guadalupe had its own building program, whose successive stages of completion surely drew many visitors.\(^{70}\)

From earliest times, Guadalupe was seen as a rather austere place of pilgrimage, in contrast to other sites which appeared less demanding.\(^{71}\) Pilgrims went on foot, fasted throughout their time there, confessed their sins, and spent a great deal of time in prayer. Sánchez appears to list activities which filled the pilgrims' day: \textit{visitas, novenas, romerías, velas, asistencias, concursos, devociones, ruegos, lagrimas, suspiros, tribulaciones, jubileo, misas, confesiones, comuniones, rogativas, procesiones, salves, benedictas, canticos, musicas, afectos, promesas, limosnas, prendas, memorías y fiestas}.\(^{72}\) Many of these activities involved the chaplain's participation.

Sánchez makes no reference to miracles which may have occurred, but he does speak of the interior change which the pilgrims experienced. At the end of the \textit{Novenas}, there is a farewell to the pilgrim in which the familiar second-person singular form of address is used. He first invites the one departing to recall the worries that had marked the outset of the pilgrimage: "Think how you arrived here all afflicted, full of cares and pressing needs, temporal or spiritual. Think how events or circumstances precluded all remedy. Think how you had despaired of getting health from physicians and their medicines. Think how your business affairs and your assets were going from bad to worse. . . ." After this he asks the pilgrim to reflect on the encouragement the pilgrimage has brought, and see in Our Lady another Abigail (the one who came to David on the edge of the desert). He provides this prayer, modeled on David's words of thanks to Abigail (I Sam. 25:32-35; \textit{Novenas} 292-4):

\begin{quote}
I, like David, have received relief, for you have been my compassionate Abigail.
Blessed be God who has given us such a woman. . . .
\end{quote}

\(^{70}\)E.g., the solemn transfer of the Image to the new church; see the \textit{Inquiry} of 1666, 12\textsuperscript{th} witness, 3\textsuperscript{rd} question.

\(^{71}\)See Montúfar's document of 1556 (witness Juan de Salazar, TV 52-3; my Anthology, pp. 28-29). Also Francisco de Florencia's \textit{Las novenas del Santuario . . . de Guadalupe} (second point in unnumbered preliminary pages).

\(^{72}\) \textit{Imagen}, 91v-92r; TV 255.
Blessed be your words, your whole self, for you are wholly blessed, blessed enough for remedying the entire world!
So I, like David, dedicate myself to you, consecrate and offer myself to you.
I adjudge and publicly declare that I am yours, and that I desire to remain ever transformed into You, and to carry You, similarly transformed, within myself.
For such is the bliss of those who truly love you.

Sánchez's description of Guadalupe is sober and restrained, with frequent biblical allusions. We may be more accustomed to the descriptions based on the poetic eloquence of the Second Evangelist, Lasso de la Vega, and to his descriptions of Our Lady's expressions of motherly compassion and of Juan Diego's charming account. The First Evangelist, Sánchez, renders those dialogues quite prosaically, at times employing indirect quotations. His apparent reduction of the story is easily understood, if we accept the view that he was simply copying from his main source, namely Ixtlixóchitl's Spanish paraphrase of the old Ballad used at the Indians' annual celebrations, and somehow conflated with the eloquent Dialogues of Valeriano. Had Sánchez, like Lasso, direct access to Valeriano's manuscript, he would have incorporated its courtesy and compassion, showing here the same eloquence he spontaneously shows in the final meditations of his Novenas. Similarly, his references to the Virgin Mary do not contain the eloquence such as that found in Lasso de la Vega. Sánchez expresses great affection for the women of the Old Testament, for the Wisdom figure in the sapiential literature, for the bride in the Canticle of Canticles, for the Woman of the Apocalypse. However, there are few references to the Virgin Mary as found in the Scriptures and popular devotion. On occasion he will name her, or address her, with the feminine equivalent of titles given to the deity. He refers to Mary in the same terms in which he referred to the angels and his patrons: "My Lady and Companion of my soul." Then, in the conclusion of the Milagroso descubrimiento,
at the beginning of the *Pincel cuidadoso*, he presents himself as the verbal artist of the Guadalupan image. As such, he "leaves his heart" in that image and, using "my Augustine's" adaptation of the words of Psalm 26 (27):8, he promises to seek no other reward than to see the face of "my" Lady.\footnote{Imagen 37r; TV 197.} Towards the end of the *Imagen*, he begins a volley of personal invocations: *Mi señora purísima, mi madre sacratísima, mi protectora amantisíma, mi patrona fidelísima, mi querida piadosísima, mi bienhechora generósísima, mi esperanza segurísima* ("My Lady most pure, my Mother most sacred, my Protectress most loving, my Patroness most faithful, my Beloved most tender-kind, my Benefactress most generous, my Hope most sure. . .").\footnote{Imagen, 93r; TV 256.} Sánchez applies a term from the Canticle of Canticles to describe Guadalupe's holy well—"the well of living waters."\footnote{Song 4:15; *Imagen* 80rv; TV 243.} I suggest we think of Sánchez at this spot and in this posture as we read all citations of that Book.\footnote{I have not computerized all the Biblical citations, but a partial list takes note of 8 references to the Song.} Sánchez uses the affectionate tone of the Canticle of Canticles' song as, on the final page of the *Imagen*, he comments on Augustine's explanation of Jesus' words "Behold thy mother," where Mary appears to be John's "protegée," which prompts Sánchez to launch into a three-way dialogue between Augustine, John and himself regarding the Guadalupan Image entrusted to Mexico's care:

... Behold thy Mother ...; Behold the Image of Guadalupe,  
... Fragrance of her miracle, Consolation of our Christendom,  
... Protectress of the Poor, Medicine of the Sick,  
... Relief of the Afflicted, Intercessor for the troubled,  
... Honor of Mexico City, Glory of our New World.\footnote{See Jn.19:27; Aug. Tract. 119 in Joannem; *Imagen*, 96r; TV 260.}

Sánchez concludes the *Novenas* on an even bolder note, echoing not only the Song of Songs, but also the passionate cry...
of the hymn *Ave Maris Stella*, "Show thyself a Mother." To provide the parting pilgrim with suitable words of farewell, he offers a "daring gloss" on the terms of Canticle 7:12—the bride's invitation to the groom to come with her into the countryside (the extramural shrines of Los Remedios and of Guadalupe), where she will offer him, in Sánchez's words, the "sweet archives of my love" and "wellsprings of my goodwill." He then refers to Peter Chrysologus and Vincent Ferrer who wrote that Our Lady wishes to nourish us, "since we, as her infants, are attached to those breasts and we crave their most sweet beverage of life, faith and virtues."  

Mary is Sánchez's great love, and Guadalupe is the place of greatest access to her presence. Yet this devotion (love) does not diminish his love for his friends, for the university, for Augustine, for the angels and his patrons—his inner "companions and masters." All these loves are complimentary and are founded in his faith in God, the Church, and the Communion of Saints.

* * *

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80 *Monstra te esse mater:* cited on p. 87 of the Novenas, where these words are the finale of the Declaración, set between the Dedicación and the first of the preliminary Meditaciones. The phrase is from Our Lady's Vesper hymn, *Ave Maris Stella*, and was often used as a caption for paintings of St. Bernard being "comforted" by Our Lady.

81 Novenas, pp. 296-8.