Sor Juana’s Baroque Martyr-Auto, *El mártir del Sacramento, San Hermenegildo*

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The last of the trilogy of Sorjuanian autos, *El mártir del Sacramento, San Hermenegildo* (1692), is set in the Spanish Visigothic period and is based on the legend of Hermenegildo, a popular theme of the 1600s. Despite a number of previous dramatizations of the theme in Spain, such as seventeenth-century hagiographic autos like *Las once mil virgenes, San Lorenzo, El Santo Rey Don Fernando*, and *El gran Duque de Gandía, San Francisco de Borja*, it seems most likely that the source of the play written by the Mexican Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648-1695) is Juan de Mariana’s *Historia de España* (1601). Among the writers who dramatized the Hermenegildo legend prior to Sor Juana are Lope de Vega, Juan de la Hoz y Mota, and Calderón. However, it is doubtful that any of the earlier written dramatic versions influenced Sor Juana’s *auto sacramental*. To illustrate, Méndez Plancarte explains that Lope de Vega’s dramatization of the legend, *La mayor corona*, was not in print until the twentieth century and Hoz y Mota’s *El primer blazon de España, San Hermenegildo*, has never been published. Likewise, he points out that even though Calderón’s *El primer blazon católico de España* was performed in 1661 it has yet to be in print. Though unlikely that Sor Juana saw any of these three plays performed, it is remotely possible that she read Calderón’s *El primer blazon católico de España* in manuscript. However, it is an improbable source, and Méndez Plancarte concludes that the genesis of Sor Juana’s Hermenegildo *auto* was mainly Juan de Mariana’s *Historia de España* (lxxviii).

Although it is plausible to conclude that Sor Juana did not follow any dramatic model of the time, the influence of Calderón on Sor Juana’s theatre is common knowledge, and her Eucharistic play considered here is no exception. For example, she uses the series of three, anaphora, and repetition, as well as lines that evoke scenes from Calderón’s dramas. The following speech by
Leovigildo contains some of the devices just mentioned and is generally reminiscent of Calderonian technique:

Sombra, ilusión, fantasma, ¡di quién eres!
¿Qué buscas o qué quieres?
Y si quieres o buscas, ¿por qué, cuando
yo te quiero escuchar, te vas volando?
Si te sigo, me dejas;
Si te huyo, me sigues;
si te busco, te alejas;
si te quiero dejar, tú me persigues.
¿Qué vuelo es ése tuyo, que me espanta,
que en velocidad tanta
te vas sin apartarte,
y te quedas conmigo sin quedarte? (143)

In this segment Sor Juana, like Calderón, resorts to the series of three (sombra, ilusión, fantasía) as well as to the commonly found chiasmus (buscas, quieres--quieres, buscas), and to anaphora (the four-fold repetition of "si"). At the end of scene x Leovigildo’s dialogue evokes Segismundo and La vida es sueño. In Calderón’s play the astrologers have predicted that Segismundo will be an evil tyrant, and in Sor Juana’s auto Fantasía evokes a vision which also portrays Hermenegildo as a tyrant. Fantasía has allowed Leovigildo to see, in addition to España and Fama, a series of fourteen Visigothic kings. Leovigildo says:

¡Espera! ¿Dónde vas? . . . ¡Válgame el Cielo!
¿Qué es esto? ¿Sueño o velo?
¡Oh, qué viva aprensión me ha arrebatado
y tras sí toda el alma me ha llevado!
¡Qué de siglos he visto! ¡Qué antigüedades
que ya redujo el tiempo a polvo leve!
Jurara que las vía y las oía:
tal la viveza es de mi Fantasía.
Y es que, como me aflijo
tanto de que mi Hijo
tirano, despreciado la Arriána
Ley, se haya convertido a la Cristiana. . . . (152)
Despite her use of such methods, Calderón's influence is never overwhelming; and Sor Juana is capable, even within the Calderonian framework, of dramatic techniques that in several instances are somewhat original. One example in the martyr-Eucharistic play is where Sor Juana converts King Leovigildo's monologue into a dialogue by allegorizing his thoughts or fantasy as Fantasia, thereby allowing the king to carry on a conversation with himself that has all the qualities of an interior dialogue, but is staged for the spectator's benefit. This division enhances dramatic complexity in a manner similar to the use of the four virtues as an analogue to the Greek chorus that will be discussed later.

In addition to possible sources and influences, a brief consideration of past literary criticism of Sor Juana's Hermenegildo auto is in order. It has been generally uneven as to the assessed quality of the play. Méndez Plancarte in the "Estudio Liminar" of the Obras completas (1955), for example, ranks the auto very high, placing it second only to El Divino Narciso in artistic value. In contrast, Octavio Paz in Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o las trampas de la fe (1982) finds considerable fault with Sor Juana and her auto sacramental. He writes that the play suffers from:

un excesivo esquematismo. Según parece, por la prisa de enviarlo a Madrid, no tuvo tiempo de limarlo. Es obra a la que se le ven los andamios y a la que le faltan dos o tres ventanas y una escalera. La versión de Sor Juana de la historia de Leovigildo y Hermenegildo no sólo es sumaria sino injusta (454)

Paz also states that the play was "hecha de prisa y a la que afean descuidos estéticos e imperfecciones morales" (455). Perhaps the true value of the play lies somewhere between the divergent assessments. While neither agreeing nor disagreeing with these two critics, a reading of the play almost surely will reveal sufficient qualities, as pointed out in this study, that would at least counterbalance the harsh criticism of Paz. Also, it should be remembered that Sor Juana openly admitted her plays were not on a par with those written by Calderón, Moreto and other Spanish dramatists. And as Sor Juana's life and works always invite speculation, one has to think that surely, with sufficient time to research and rework her plays, some of the theological shortcomings alluded to by Paz would have been corrected. As is well known, her dramatic mentor Calderón reworked in later life his earlier less mature plays, and his refundiciones of the earlier works are clearly more developed and of higher quality.

Another dissenting voice is that of Gerard Flynn who does not consider El mártir del Sacramento, San Hermenegildo to be either a good drama, nor even
a true *auto sacramental*. He writes that the play is ". . .not so much a sacramental play as an inchoate three-act play about the life of a saint" (78). One must question this assessment since, besides being too brief to have three acts, the *auto sacramental* in no way permits that sort of division. Perhaps Flynn failed to consider the genre of the play. It is an *auto sacramental*, a one-act play which treats the mystery of the Holy Eucharist. And, as suggested in this study, Sor Juana's play is similar to the Baroque martyr-drama and to religious dramas such as *El príncipe constante* by Calderón. In considering the latter play, Everett W. Hesse writes that "Fernando must suffer martyrdom in order to exult the Catholic faith" (78). In Sor Juana's *auto sacramental* she exults one aspect of the Catholic faith, the mystery of the sacrament of the Eucharist. Fe says at the end of the play:

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y pues Hermenegildo,
con Católico celo,
murió por la especial
Fe de aqueste Misterio . . . (182)
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The mystery mentioned is, of course, the transubstantiation of the bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ, an integral part of the *auto sacramental*.

*El mártir del Sacramento, San Hermenegildo* was first published in 1692 in volume II of Sor Juana's works along with her two other sacramental *autos*, *El cetro de José* and the work that is considered by most as her masterwork, *El Divino Narciso*. *El mártir* is composed of 1962 lines, making it the second longest *auto sacramental* of the three that Sor Juana wrote. The title capsulizes the action of the play—Hermenegildo's refusal to receive communion from an Arian bishop results in the newly converted Catholic's death and subsequent martyrdom. Thus, his death and its cause place emphasis on the sacrament of the Eucharist. Since the main thrust of this study is not the baroque aspects of Sor Juana's martyr play, other considerations will be given more emphasis. Nevertheless, being a seventeenth-century play and the dramatist being a follower of Calderón, it would be surprising not to encounter manifestations of the baroque in Sor Juana's Hermenegildo drama. Military imagery, common in baroque literature, is found in the opening scene. Within the first twenty lines of the play Sor Juana uses "batalla," "ejércitos de estrellas," "lúcidas escuadras" and "escuadrón." In varying, but lesser, degree, this type of imagery is found throughout the play. Also the general baroque insistence of form over content is common in this play (see note 3) as well as other traits that will be mentioned later.
Frank J. Warnke, in *Versions of Baroque*, devotes considerable attention to the baroque martyr-drama in the European theatre, but does not consider any American works. Therefore, this useful and interesting aspect of seventeenth-century literature should be explored, also, in American plays. Considering, specifically, that past criticism has inadequately classified this Eucharistic drama by Sor Juana, the present study intends to rectify this shortcoming by offering another classification. Secondarily, the subsequent considerations of the play will result in a greater understanding and appreciation of it. Even a cursory reading of Sor Juana’s Hermenegildo sacramental play should make it evident that the work’s subtitle, "auto historial-alegórico" is not adequate; and, further, Méndez Plancarte, in volume III of the *Obras completas*, considers it to be an 'Auto de Santos ' (lxxi). Such categorizations are not definitive since the very title suggests that the work deals with a saint; and the reader would quickly discover that the play is an auto, or more precisely an auto sacramental. At best these classifications are only preliminary. Warnke’s baroque martyr-drama motif criteria, on the other hand, suggests a superior classification of the play—baroque martyr-auto sacramental—and, additionally, provides a productive approach to study Sor Juana’s Hermenegildo Eucharistic drama.

Warnke, in *Versions of Baroque*, has stated that the "Baroque martyr-drama" of the seventeenth century has the following configuration:

a male or female protagonist, either a Christian at the beginning of the play or converted during its course, [who] is threatened with persecution and death by some secular authority opposed to Christianity; resisting both the threats of the tyrant and the emotional appeals of a beloved, the protagonist embraces death, often with joy. Minor motifs frequently encountered include the hero’s conversion of his beloved, the conversion of a large number of other characters as a direct result of his martyrdom, and the appearance of the martyr after death to encourage a Christian army in combat with the pagans (198)

It is notable, also, that Warnke mentions in a footnote that E.M. Szarota in *Künstler, Grübler und Reblellen* classifies the major types of martyr-heroes as the artist, the meditative intellectual, and the rebel or resistance-hero (199-200). Sor Juana’s San Hermenegildo, a Christian hero who resists his father and the Arian religion to the point of martyrdom, obviously fits the third classification.

Sor Juana’s Hermenegildo auto is clearly a Baroque martyr-auto sacramental because its configuration is surprisingly similar to that suggested by Warnke. First, there is the male protagonist (Hermenegildo), and his wife
Ingunda who is a strong influence on the saint which gains her the role of a female protagonist of secondary stature. The second requirement is also satisfied because Hermenegildo has been converted to Christianity by San Leandro, with the aid of Ingunda, before the beginning of the action of the play. The third requirement, that the protagonist be threatened with persecution or death by some secular authority who is opposed to Christianity, is also found in Sor Juana’s *auto sacramental*. Hermenegildo’s father, the king Leovigildo, first tries, though unsuccessfully, to dissuade Hermenegildo by reason; and then, as a last resort, wages war against his son. Hermenegildo, who staunchly resists his father’s reasoning and threats, is also not swayed later by the ambassador or by the Arian priest. Therefore, after being captured in battle he is executed and thus becomes a martyr of the sacrament. In this way *El mártir del Sacramento, San Hermenegildo* fulfills all the requirements of a Baroque martyr-drama as set forth by Warnke, except for that of the emotional appeals of a beloved. Ingunda, Hermenegildo’s beloved wife, basically plays a supportive role in the relatively few lines (2.1% of the total or 42 of the 1962 lines of the play) that Sor Juana gives her. In fact, Ingunda not only appears in just one scene, she doesn’t even come on stage until scene v. But it should be noted, in this connection, that the dramatic conflict of the play is heightened by Hermenegildo’s mental struggle in choosing between his father and Christ.

The fact that the tyrant is Hermenegildo’s father adds greatly to the conflict, because Hermenegildo is torn between honoring his father:

Honrar, Hermenegildo,
a los padres, Dios manda,
dando a la Natural
mayor autoridad Su Ley Sagrada (122)

or sacrificing all for Christ:

Por aquesto, en Su Evangelio,
nos está diciendo Él mismo
que el que no a su madre y padre
y aun su vida ha aborrecido
cuando le importa a Su amor,
no es Su discípulo digno (141)

Although Leovigildo is a tyrant, he is also Hermenegildo’s king and father. Besides the required allegiance to the two, the loyalty to one’s father is additionally sanctioned by Holy Scripture while Christ also says that a worthy
disciple must sacrifice all for Him. So, the recently converted and fervent Hermenegildo naturally aspires to fulfill his new commitment but the first two allegiances also demand consideration. The interior conflict that Hermenegildo suffers is reflected in the following:

¡Ay de mí,  
que en dos iguales balanzas:  
mi Padre y mi Religión,  
no sé a cual más peso traiga! (128)

But, as noted, Hermenegildo ultimately chooses Christ and thereby becomes a martyr at the end of the play. In the last few lines the allegorical Fe says:

Y pues Hermenegildo,  
con Católico celo,  
murió por la especial  
Fe de aqueste Misterio (182)

and quickly the play closes with the coros singing:

¡Qué éste es el Mártir solo  
del Sacramento!  
¡Llore, llore la Tierra,  
y cante, cante el Cielo,  
que éste es el Mártir solo  
del Sacramento! (183)

A consideration of the dramatic personae of Sor Juana’s martyr auto reveals that the play is largely historical in that eight characters can be documented in archival records while nine are allegorical. The historical personages are: San Hermenegildo, Leovigildo (his father and king [A.D. 568-586]); Recaredo (Hermenegildo’s brother and king [A.D. 586-601]); Geserico (an ambassador); Ingunda (the wife of Hermenegildo); San Leandro (Hermenegildo’s uncle and Bishop of Sevilla who, along with Ingunda, had converted Hermenegildo to Catholicism in A.D. 579); and then, collectively, the Soldados and Muestra de los Reyes Godos (a series of fourteen Visigothic kings). The allegorical characters are: Apostasía, Fe, Misericordia, Justicia, Verdad, Paz, Fama, España, and Fantasía. Músicos and Acompañamiento also figure in the play.
The *persona*ae are grouped in almost equal numbers as to good and evil, thus allowing for a more equitable dramatic confrontation. Evidence suggests that both Sor Juana and Calderón were aware of the importance of even odds in order to improve the dramatic conflict. Consequently, they grouped the antagonistic personages fairly evenly in a symmetric fashion. This practice is even commented on by Calderón in his *auto* titled *La semilla y la cizaña* where he expresses the belief that plays should contain a balance of good and evil characters (590). Each of the main protagonists in *El mártir del Sacramento, San Hermenegildo*, with one exception, conforms to the structural division suggested by Calderón. Hermenegildo is a civil leader of the Catholic forces and as such is in direct opposition to his father—the king and political mainstay of the Arian religion. San Leandro is the spiritual leader of Catholicism while Apostasia, the Arian priest, is his religious counterpart. Hermenegildo’s wife, Ingunda, may be classified as an ambassador of God because she aided in Hermenegildo’s conversion to Catholicism. In this role then, Ingunda is the religious counterpart of Geserico, Leovigildo’s ambassador, who attempted to dissuade Hermenegildo from embracing Catholicism. Of these six characters the one who does not have a dramatic opposite is the pivotal character, Recaredo. Recaredo fluctuates between the two opposing groups because, although he fights for his father against the martyr, he also is sympathetic toward Hermenegildo. Recaredo’s position is manifested when the two brothers meet on the battlefield and he says:

¡Hermenegildo,
hermano, pierde el recelo!
Llega a mis brazos, que aunque
contra ti esgrimo el acero
por obedecer al Rey,
es con acto tan violento,
que si contra ti lo saco
lo vuelvo contra mi pecho.
¡Llega a mis brazos! (165)

These words by Recaredo, especially since they are directed to Hermenegildo, underscore the latter’s interior conflict between obeying his earthly father and king and his heavenly one. Later, when Recaredo is king, he officially converts the kingdom to Catholicism and is, thus, allied to both the side of evil (because of duty to king and father) and to that of good (when he denounces Arianism). The conversion of a large number of characters as a direct result of the protagonist’s martyrdom, a minor motif found in martyr dramas, is realized in Sor Juana’s martyr *auto sacramental* by the action of Recaredo.
Faith is allegorically indispensable in the sacrament of the Eucharist, because one must have total faith that the bread is the body of Christ. Sor Juana, in the loa for her sacramental play, *El cetro de José*, has the character Fe explain the mystery of transubstantiation thusly:

La Eucaristía Sagrada,
en que nos da el mismo Cristo
Su Cuerpo, en que transubstancia
el Pan y el Vino (198)

In Sor Juana’s Hermenegildo play, she expresses the need for such faith by the use of the character Fe and her four allegorical companions, the virtues—Verdad, Misericordia, Justicia, and Paz. Fe explains to the four virtues that she is the most important because while she may exist alone, they exist only by faith.

As the *auto sacramental* progresses Sor Juana draws a comparison between the Eucharist and María in order to delve deeper into the mystery of transubstantiation. According to the Mexican nun, without great faith it may be difficult to believe that the Virgin could be pregnant and still be a virgin. Nevertheless, the physical proof is available for those with sufficient faith.

A second mystery, and one which requires even greater faith for acceptance, is to believe that while the bread is transformed into the body of Christ the wafer never changes in appearance. Sor Juana’s explanation is as follows:

si el Vientre mira a María,
aunque no sabe la causa
ni el Misterio, ve un preñado,
y es verdad que está preñada.
Conque en todos los Misterios
la vista es torpe y escasa,
pero alcanza alguna parte,
y obra de la Fe ayudada;
pero en Aquéste, no sólo
no ve del Misterio nada,
pero lo contrario ve,
pues ve pan y está obligada
a creer que allí no hay pan
sino Cristo, a cuya causa
éste se llama Misterio
de Fe por antonomasia (119)
The virtues, used to underline the importance of faith in the Holy Eucharist, serve a more important dramatic function in scene iii where they form choirs. Music, which is often an important consideration in Sorjuanian theatre is certainly so in El mártir del Sacramento, San Hermenegildo. Ann Livermore, in A Short History of Spanish Music, points out that Calderón was prone to employ choirs in antiphonal style, that is, one group singing, for example, "¡Amor! ¡Amor!" while the other cries "¡Guerra! ¡Guerra!" The virtues in scene iii of Sor Juana’s Hermenegildo auto are also employed in an antiphonal style reminiscent of Calderón. The virtues Misericordia and Paz, positioned on one side of the sleeping Hermenegildo, sing "¡Pausa, pausa! ¡Deja el sosiego! ¡Cesen las armas!" and the antiphonal response by Verdad and Justicia is "¡Marcha, marcha! ¡Deja el sosiego! ¡Toma las armas!" By using the two choirs Sor Juana reasserts the great conflict troubling Hermenegildo, that is, to honor his father ("Cesen las armas") or be faithful to his own religious beliefs even if it means opposing his father ("Toma las armas"). The respective refrains of the two opposing groups of virtues are repeated five times and are designated here A, B, C, D and E. The first two configurations (A-B) are identical and are composed of four lines each while the remaining three are varied—C (3 lines), D (2 lines) and E (1 line). The speeches of the opposing choirs shorten to "¡Pausa, pausa!," and "¡Marcha, marcha!" and with the single-word and single-line opposition the mood rises to a crescendo:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Misericordia.</th>
<th>¡Pausa!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verdad.</td>
<td>¡Marcha!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paz.</td>
<td>¡Deja el estruendo!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justicia.</td>
<td>¡Deja el sosiego!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misericordia.</td>
<td>¡Cesen las armas!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verdad.</td>
<td>¡Toma las armas!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(126-127)

To aid the reader/spectator in appreciating the general Baroque insistence on form over content, as evidenced by the symmetrical structure of the speeches of the four virtues in scene iii, a more detailed depiction is provided. Méndez Plancarte considers Sor Juana’s use of the four virtues, as graphically represented in this auto sacramental, to serve the same purpose as that of the chorus in the Greek tragedy. He writes:

Y la parte alegórica se reduce, exquisitamente, a la Fe y las Virtudes que, con secreto influjo, asisten al Mártir, y presencian con ávido temblor el drama de su alma, y comentan su lucha y su victoria desde la perspectiva de lo Celeste, en contrapunto lírico que renueva—aquí
‘a lo Divino’—la más bella función que tuvo el ‘Coro’ en la Tragedia Griega . . . . (lxviii)

It is not difficult to agree with Méndez Plancarte. However, Gerard Flynn feels that when the four virtues form a single dramatic unit, one reminiscent of a Greek chorus, the result is a disruption, a failure to advance the play action. Flynn defends his conclusion with the insistence that the chorus-like dramatic unit (my words) merely repeats the interior arguments of Hermenegildo. In this study, on the other hand, the repetition is considered important in emphasizing the great internal conflict and struggle of Hermenegildo which is basic to the raison d'être of the play, that is, in dramatizing the story of the martyr of the sacrament of the Eucharist, Hermenegildo. Also, the decision reached by the future martyr, as based on his inner conflicts, resulted in the ultimate decision to accept Catholicism in Spain. For this reason Sor Juana’s use of the four virtues is valid. By personifying Hermenegildo’s interior conflict in the form of the four additional allegorical characters, the involvement and intensity of the auto is heightened. Rather than one character (Hermenegildo), there are four personages (the virtues) of opposing views who, divided equally, substantially reinforce the dramatic conflict.

In this study we have seen that the probable source of Sor Juana’s Hermenegildo auto sacramental is not one of the numerous plays of the time that treat the popular legend but rather Mariana’s Historia de España. As opposed to the Biblical story Sor Juana used in El cetro de José or classical mythology as found in El Divino Narciso, Sor Juana draws on secular history of the Visigothic era of Spain to effect the visual dramatization of the mystery of transubstantiation and of the Eucharist in El mártir del Sacramento, San Hermenegildo. However, in this Eucharistic play as in the two others just mentioned, Christ and His followers always overcome in the staged conflict, and the Holy Eucharist is maintained as mankind’s way to salvation, if he chooses to accept it. We have noted also that the dramatic influence of Calderón on the play is far less problematic. However, and despite the commonalities that are apparent, Sor Juana, even within the Calderonian framework, does employ dramatic techniques that are rather original. A case in point is the conversion of King Leovigildo’s monologue into a dialogue wherein Sor Juana allegorizes the thoughts of Fantasía which allows her to stage the king’s thoughts. Also, we suggest another classification of the auto in this study. In past criticism the play has been inadequately designated an "auto historial-alegórico" and "Auto de Santos." We see the work as a Baroque martyr-auto sacramental. Sor Juana’s martyr-Eucharistic play follows closely the criteria of the Baroque martyr-drama as set forth by Warnke in Versions of Baroque. In this study we are the first to
suggest that reading and assessing the play as a Baroque martyr-auto sacramental is a productive approach and, moreover, should allow for a better appreciation of it. This new classification should redirect future assessments and in turn allow for a more even evaluation by critics than has heretofore been the case. It is also notable that Sor Juana masterfully stages Hermenegildo’s great conflict over choosing between his earthly father and his divine one. She used antiphonal choirs to bring the mental struggle of Hermenegildo to a crescendo while stressing the Baroque insistence on form over content as presented in the symmetrical structure of the speeches of the four virtues. Sor Juana, by personifying Hermenegildo’s interior turmoil, substantially reinforces the dramatic conflict. His ultimate decision to martyr himself is influential in a later important resolution made by his brother Recaredo. Recaredo, a pivotal character, is unlike the other characters who are grouped as to good and evil. He, much as did Hermenegildo, struggles between allegiances. Recaredo is forced to choose between his father and also his love for his brother Hermenegildo. After siding initially with his father Recaredo appears to opt for evil. But ultimately, and after Hermenegildo’s death, Recaredo as King converts the entire nation to Catholicism. Sor Juana also effectively treats the mystery of transubstantiation, the raison d’être of the auto sacramental. Finally, this play illustrates the dramatic genius of the remarkable Mexican who went beyond mere didacticism to create a drama which, with its richly costumed characters and the antiphonal choirs, must have delighted the eyes and ears, as well as the minds, of colonial audiences. Today, for the intelligent and imaginative reader, Sor Juana’s Baroque martyr-auto sacramental provides yet another opportunity to appreciate one of the most remarkable Mexican writers of any period, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

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Notes

1. In the Notas section of volume III of Sor Juana’s Obras completas: autos y loas, Méndez Plancarte suggests additional possible sources: Diálogos by S. Gregorio Magno and Flos Sanctorum or Libro de las Vidas de los Santos (1599) by Pedro de Rivadeneyra (564).


3. The following is a detailed depiction of the four Virtues in opposing configuration:
A. MISERICORDIA
¡Pausa, pausa!
¡Deja el estruendo!
¡Cesen las armas!

PAZ
¡Pausa, pausa!
¡Deja el estruendo!
¡Cesen las armas!

VERDAD
¡Marcha, marcha!
¡Deja el sosiego!
¡Toma las armas!

B. Section B is identical to section A.

C. MISERICORDIA
¡Pausa, pausa!
¡Deja el estruendo!
¡Cesen las armas!

PAZ
¡Pausa, pausa!
¡Deja el estruendo!
¡Cesen las armas!

VERDAD
¡Marcha, marcha!
¡Deja el sosiego!
¡Toma las armas!

D. MISERICORDIA
¡Pausa!

PAZ
¡Deja el estruendo!

VERDAD
¡Marcha!

E. MISERICORDIA
¡Cesen las armas!

VERDAD
¡Deja el sosiego!

Works Cited


