MARTYRDOMS FAR AND NEAR: THE JESUIT GLOBAL IMAGINARY IN THE LIFE OF QUITO’S LOCAL «SAINT», MARIANA DE JESÚS (1618-45)

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The first complete hagiographic life of Mariana de Paredes y Flores (d.1645), a work popularly known as La Azucena de Quito («Lily of Quito»), has rightly been interpreted in terms of the local significance of both the saint and the discourse surrounding her life and piety. And yet a close reading of Jacinto Morán de Butrón’s late seventeenth-century hagiography suggests that a uniquely Jesuit outlook —fostered by narratives of missionary travails, encounters with the pagan «other», and personal martyrdom, and deepened by the imaginative contemplative language of the Spiritual Exercises— informed the spiritual self-understanding of this urban laywoman who probably never traveled more than a few miles from her birthplace. This evidence points to how Early Modern Roman Catholic identities reflected both local relationships and global imaginations.

KEYWORDS: Mariana de Paredes y Flores, Lily of Quito, Azucena de Quito, Alonso de Rojas, S.J., Jacinto Morán de Butrón, S.J., Ecuador, St. Ignatius Loyola, Jesuits, global imaginary, proceso apostólico, 1597 Japan martyrs, Los Mainas.

Martirios distantes y cercanos: el imaginario global jesuítica en la vida de la santa quiteña, Mariana de Jesús (1618-45)

La primera vida hagiográfica completa de Mariana de Paredes y Flores (d. 1645), popularmente conocida como La Azucena de Quito, ha sido correctamente interpretada para el significado local tanto de la santa como del discurso que rodea su vida y piedad. Sin embargo, una lectura cercana de la obra de Jacinto Morán de Butrón, S.J., sugiere que una perspectiva particularmente jesuítica —nutrida por narrativas de trabajos misioneros, el martirio personal, o encuentros con el «otro» pagano, y enriquecida por el lenguaje imaginativo del Ejercicios espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola— informó la auto-comprensión espiritual de esta laica urbana que que vivió toda su vida a pocos kilómetros de su lugar de nacimiento.
Esta evidencia señala cómo las primeras identidades católicas modernas reflejaban tanto las relaciones locales como la imaginación global.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Mariana de Paredes y Flores, Lily of Quito, Azucena de Quito, Alonso de Rojas, S.J., Jacinto Morán de Butrón, S.J., Ecuador, jesuítas, San Ignacio de Loyola, imaginario global, proceso apostólico, mártires del Japón (1597), Los Mainas

**Introduction**

Following the death in 1645 of Mariana Paredes y Flores, the Catholic faithful of Quito turned out en masse for her funeral in the Jesuit church known locally as La Compañía. Such a public outpouring of emotion was due in part to Mariana’s reputation as a holy woman, known far and wide for her Eucharist piety, her participation in local Marian sodalities, and the numerous charitable works she performed on behalf of her fellow quiteños. But mourners may also have been drawn to her funeral by rumors that Mariana’s death, during a regional crisis provoked by earthquakes and disease epidemics, had been a sort of public martyrdom, the sacrifice of her life for the temporal salvation of her compatriots.1

The social significance of the life and death of Mariana de Jesús was not lost on her Jesuit eulogizers. For Alonso de Rojas, S.J., whose funeral sermon a few days after her death was the first public declaration of Mariana’s role as Quito’s spiritual protector, the implications for his local hearers were clear: «This republic should not only rejoice that this servant of God graced it with her [spiritual] assistance and even now serves as its patroness through her prayers, but also give thanks that, by the sacrifice of her life that Mariana de Jesús made to God, He relieved our city from the punishment that our sins deserved».2 Father Rojas closes his oratory by petitioning Mariana to «plead with God on

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behalf of your city and countrymen, who trust in your intercession».

A full half century later, hagiographer Jacinto Morán de Butrón, S.J., would again emphasize the hometown significance of the local holy woman, referring to her as «the Lily of Quito». Writing in the 1690s about the Lily’s suffering and death during the plagues of 1645, Morán would observe: «It has been deduced based on evidence that Mariana became the liberator of her homeland (patria), the redeemer of her brothers and sisters, and the one whose prayer prevented the all-powerful arm from striking her compatriots with the full strength of its anger … as our sins deserved».

As has been argued elsewhere, by rooting his hagiographic subject’s life and death in the spiritual soil of Quito, Jacinto Morán de Butrón sought to establish strong affective links between his own Jesuit province, quitoño society, and a hometown holy woman whose cause for canonization he hoped they would support.

Seventeenth-century observers like the Jesuits Rojas and Morán de Butrón have not been the only ones to interpret Mariana’s significance in local terms. Recent publications by Ecuadorian scholars have analyzed the Lily of Quito as an example of «sanctity and social control», «national identity and collective suffering», and «[a case of] abnormal psychology in the Baroque world of the … Quito of [her] era», themes that both interpret Mariana as a product of her immediate social context and project her symbolic significance in reference to contemporary Ecuador.

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3. Rojas, Alonso de, S.J., Sermón…, cit., p. 323, «Rogad a Dios por vuestra ciudad, y paisanos, que confían en vuestra intercesión…».

4. For a discussion of the origins of this epithet, as well as Morán de Butrón’s rhetorical use of it, see Morgan, Ronald J., Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600-1810, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2002, pp. 108-109. Morán de Butrón’s own explanation can be found in Vida…, cit., pp. 59-64. For sake of consistency, I will cite this 1955 critical edition, edited by Ecuadorian scholar Aurelio Espinosa Polit, S.J. and cited hereafter as Vida… In the body of this study, however, I will refer to the Morán de Butrón Life as La Azucena de Quito, a title he employed in 1702 for the first published version of the work in a short compendium form. On the «singular vicissitudes» of the original manuscript and the subsequent publication history of Morán’s Life of Mariana de Jesús – which included several distinct editions – see Morgan, Ronald, Spanish American Saints…, cit., pp. 115-117.

5. Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, Vida…, cit., p. 504: «Y se dedujo con evidencia … haber sido nuestra Mariana la libertadora de su patria, la redentora de sus hermanos y la que con su oración detuvo el brazo omnipotente para que no descargase en sus paisanos todo el golpe de sus iras … que nuestras culpas se merecían …» For Morán (pp. 105-106), Mariana’s death pro patria put her into a league with biblical heroines like Esther and Judith, each of whom had saved the Jewish nation from certain destruction.


7. See, respectively, Larco Chacón, Carolina, «Mariana de Jesús en el siglo XVII: santidad y regulación social», Procesos: revista ecuatoriana de historia, vol. 15, n.° 1-2, Quito, 2000, pp. 51-75; Gutiérrez Chong, Natalidad, «La construcción del heroísmo de Mariana de Jesús: Identidad nacional y sufrimiento colectivo», Íconos:
Yet while such historiographical discourse is both relevant and compelling on a number of levels, it fails to acknowledge how an emerging Early Modern global consciousness, so central to the institutional culture of the Society of Jesus, seems to have nurtured and informed Mariana’s spirituality, particularly her desire to identify with the suffering and martyrdom of Christ. As I will argue in what follows, a close comparative reading of the seventeenth century sources for her life—the Rojas funeral sermon (published 1646), the subsequent inquest (proceso apostólico) into Mariana’s sanctity (1670-78), and Morán de Butró’s hagiographic La Azucena de Quito (1696-97)—reveals a uniquely Jesuit imprint on her spiritual imagination, and thus on the spiritual literature her life inspired. Raised from a very young age on narratives of missionary travails, encounters with the pagan «other», and violent martyrdom, and deepened by the imaginative contemplative language of the Spiritual Exercise, this urban laywoman of the northern Andes who probably never traveled more than a few miles from her birthplace displays the imprint of what Joseph de Guibert, S.J. called «the missionary aspect in the spirituality of the Society». In a similar fashion, the literary product of her first Jesuit hagiographer emerges from this study as something more than a provincial work of religious biography; it is also an expression in prose of what some scholars now call a «global imaginary».

Such an approach to a seemingly parochial religious text is a fitting response to the flood of recent scholarship on the Jesuits and globalization in the Early Modern world. In the introduction to their 2016 volume entitled The Jesuits and Globalization, editors Thomas Banchoff and José Casanova posit: «In the early modern phase of globalization, into the 1700s, no other group contributed so much to global connectivity and, through their correspondence and cultural and political influence, to a global consciousness link-
ing the four quadrants of the globe». Such themes inform Luke Clossey’s *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (2007). Examining the links between early modern Jesuit missions in Germany, Mexico and China, Clossey «explores both the development of the missionaries’ global impulses and how their motivations played out on a global stage». His attention to the Society of Jesus’s unique global-consciousness —articulated and reinforced through written narrative, visual imagery, and theatrical productions— has informed my reading of *La Azucena de Quito*. In a related vein, J. Michelle Molina has scrutinized the relationship between Ignatius Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises*, Jesuit mobility, and modern consciousness «in order to write a history of bodies in motion». Eschewing arguments that «implicitly or explicitly reify nationalistic [read «local»] historiographies», Molina connects the history of Jesuit spirituality in Iberia, New Spain, and the wider world. «By attending to Jesuit spirituality», Molina notes, her study «brings into view practices of ethical self-formation that produced a global imaginary that, in turn, propelled Catholics into the early modern world». As we shall see below, the Jesuit narrative and visual imagery identified by Clossey and the Ignatian contemplative interiorization highlighted by Molina —both of which nurtured a sense of spiritual belonging to a worldwide community of faith and sacrifice— clearly shaped the imaginations of Mariana de Jesús and her Jesuit hagiographer. More to the point here, the spiritual training which had taught the quiteña laywoman to internalize global narratives of spiritual heroism was instrumental in shaping the strength of her local commitments.

**Mariana and the textual witnesses to her life**

Mariana Paredes y Flores was born in Quito in 1618 to relatively prosperous hidalgo parents, Jerónimo Zenel Paredes y Flores and Mariana Jaramillo de Granobles, both of whom died while she was very young. Following the deaths of her parents, Mariana entered the home of her older sister and brother-in-law, who raised the extraordinary girl as their own daughter. In the home of Jerónima de Paredes and Cosme de Caso, Mariana exercised a powerful spiritual influence over their daughters, Juana and Sebastiana, both of whom later gained reputations of sanctity due in part to their close association with their famous aunt. Although she had allegedly taken a vow of perpetual chastity at age


seven, and despite the urging of Don Cosme de Caso, Mariana refused to enter a convent. Instead, at the age of twelve she withdrew into seclusion in a room provided for that purpose by her adoptive parents. There she lived as a beata despite the urging of Don Cosme de Caso, Mariana refused to enter a convent. Instead, at the age of twelve she withdrew into seclusion in a room provided for that purpose by her adoptive parents. There she lived as a beata devoted to a life of spiritual recollection and rigorous asceticism, shaped by the spiritual direction and sacramental ministries of the local Jesuits. It was in this private space that she would perform the sort of intense physical self-mortification to which we will return.

According to witnesses, numerous signs of divine approval accompanied Mariana’s birth and persisted throughout her early childhood. Numerous observers would also agree on the fact that her spiritual life centered on the Jesuit church near her home. Affirming her propriety, humility and feminine reserve (recato), Jesuit writers and witnesses to the proceso apostólico recount how she would only leave the private confines of her family home to go to the neighboring Jesuit church. There, just a few steps from the house where she lived in self-imposed seclusion, Mariana received the sacraments, sought the wisdom and spiritual guidance of her confessors, and participated in religious sodalities like the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity. Under the influence of Jesuit preachers, she came to hold the Sacred Heart of Jesus in great devotion. Moreover, modern Jesuit historians have identified Mariana de Jesús as a founding member of the Association of the Holy Christ of Consolation (later, Congregation of the Good Death), and credited her with having rekindled local devotion to Our Lady of Loreto. In terms of both her private, interiorized devotion and her social participation in the spiritual life of the community, Mariana conformed to the Jesuit ideal for the non-cloistered beata.

Not surprisingly, the Jesuit province claimed her as one of their own, even fending off the claims of rival institutions. Following Mariana’s death in May 1645, her criollo

18. Alison Weber offers the following definition for beata: «An umbrella term for a laywoman in Iberia who took informal vows of virginity or chastity and devoted herself to prayer and works of charity.» See the Glossary in Weber, Alison (ed.), Devout Laywomen in the Early Modern World, New York, Routledge, 2016. In the same volume, see Laura María Giordano, «Historicizing the Beatas: The Figures behind Reformation and Counter-Reformation Conflicts», pp. 91-111.


21. Jouanen, José, Historia..., cit., pp. 264-265. Jouanen notes that in the years following Mariana’s death, there was a significant rise in membership in the «Congregación of the Slaves of the Virgin of Loreto», as well as a notable increase in the number and size of pious donations toward the adornment of the chapel of Our Lady of Loreto in the Jesuit church. One Doña Catalina de Angulo, for example, donated pearls and gold worth 1,300 pesos.

22. Raquel Serur suggests that Mariana embodied an example of spiritual perfection in the world that local members of the Society of Jesus wished to emphasize. Indeed, Serur quotes the testimony of Father Juan Camacho, S.J., one of the greater spiritual influences on Mariana’s life, to the effect that «she could serve God very well from her home» («Santa Mariana de Quito...», cit., p. 216).

For a discussion of how Morán seeks to bolster Jesuit claims about Mariana’s exclusive devotion to the

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Jesuit confessor Alonso de Rojas delivered the funeral panegyric that was published the next year. The scholarly value of this text lies both in its temporal proximity to the spiritual heroine it memorializes and in its fundamental influence on all subsequent accounts of her life, including Morán de Butrón’s La Azucena de Quito. Of course, the very immediacy that makes the Rojas Sermón so valuable also resulted in limitations, for the Jesuit preacher had days, not months, to create a text for public declamation. Thus, he had neither the time, historical hindsight, or the primary source documents that her hagiographer would enjoy fifty years later. Even so, Father Rojas’s decision to highlight martyrdom over all other themes was crucial for all subsequent interpretations of her life and death.

Over the next quarter century, popular acclamation of Mariana’s sanctity finally resulted in official investigations into her sanctity, the most important being the proceso apostólico of 1670-78. In the event, numerous members of the local community, both social elites and low status household servants, testified before ecclesiastical investigators about Mariana’s devotional life, good works, and miracles. The list of eyewitnesses included both Mariana’s niece and her great niece (both Carmelite nuns), a childhood friend named Doña Escolástica Sarmiento, and Catalina Paredes, a faithful household servant who had aided Mariana in her secretive penitential acts.

Mariana’s eventual Jesuit hagiographer, Jacinto Morán de Butrón y Guzmán, was born in 1668 in Guayaquil (today’s Ecuador), the principle port city for the administrative region of Quito. Morán eventually served the Society of Jesus in the roles of preacher, lecturer in the Universidad de San Gregorio (Quito), and administrator in the Jesuit colegios of Popayán and Panamá. While still in his twenties he experienced a «vocational crisis» that may have resulted, as one Ecuadorian historian has speculated, from family financial difficulties. In the event, one of his Jesuit superiors ordered him to read the Rojas Sermón in its published form. Inspired by that experience —whether by the exemplary life of Mariana de Jesús, the compelling rhetoric of Father Rojas, or both— Morán went on to examine a variety of private and public documents relating to Mariana’s life,

fathers and devotional practices of his Order over against counter-claims by Peru’s Franciscans, see Morgan, Ronald, Spanish American Saints..., cit., pp. 106-108.

24. Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, S.J., called this text «the most immediate document ... that preserves the living palpitation of the popular enthusiasm encircling the glorious coffin» («Introduction», Vida..., cit., p. 3). For a fuller treatment of the Rojas sermon and its influence on the hagiographical traditions surrounding the life of Santa Mariana, see Larrea, Carlos Manuel, Las Biografías de Santa Mariana de Jesús, Quito, Corporación de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1970, pp. 67-70.


26. On the inquests and the resulting documents (procesos), see Larrea, Carlos, Las Biografías..., cit., pp. 55-65.

including the official inquest into claims of her sanctity (i.e., the proceso apostólico). With access to such first-hand documentation of his subject’s life, Morán de Butrón began to compose a manuscript hagiography in five books, a project that apparently occupied him in 1696-97. Although he fills his text with a parochial sense of quiteño identity and presents Mariana’s heroic life as the fruit of his own Jesuit province —after all, he entitled his manuscript La Azucena de Quito— he also construes her self-abnegation and desire for martyrdom in ways that belie an outlook informed by the Society’s global imaginary.

Martyrdom and the missionary impulse in the early witnesses to Mariana’s life

The theme of martyrdom —bodily suffering, spilling of blood, reflection on mortality, and desire for sacrificial death in the likeness of Jesus Christ— is central to all early documentary witnesses to Mariana’s extraordinary life. According to Father Rojas, Mariana’s death was but the mature expression of an entire life marked by spiritual martyrdom; from cradle to grave, she had embodied the self-sacrifice of the Christ. Rojas opens his funerary oration of 1645 with baroque flair, privileging the ethos of spiritual martyrdom that informs his eulogy: «We the living dead today give honor to one who, despite her death, lives on». In the paragraphs that follow, the Jesuit orator praises Mariana’s lifelong mortification of senses and appetites: «She thought always of death, having it constantly before her, always desiring it most ardently». Even in her infancy, he affirms, Mariana refused to take her mother’s breast more than twice a day, an early sign of her lifelong asceticism. As she matured, she practiced a rigorous daily schedule —Rojas calls this her «daily distribution of exercises»— that mixed devotional activity with the ascetic denial of physical cravings for food, drink, and sleep. Mariana’s spiritual opposition to her own flesh expressed itself through the spilling of blood: «They bled her 170...»

28. In his 1955 critical edition of the Morán de Butrón vida, Espinosa Polit includes a sworn declaration of 1746 in which Morán detailed the sources consulted for his hagiographic project (Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, Vida..., cit., pp. 14-20). The list included «four or five notebooks» containing Father Pedro de Alcocer’s outline for a life of the quiteña holy woman; my searches have turned up no evidence that this or any of the other manuscript sources mentioned by Morán de Butrón are extant. Interestingly, in his own introduction to the Morán hagiography, Espinosa Polit follows Father Juan de Velasco in attributing to the same Father Pedro de Alcocer a completed but unpublished life of Mariana de Jesús «in heroic verse» (Vida..., cit., p. 4). See a discussion of the origins of the Morán life in Velasco, Juan de, Historia moderna del Reyno de Quito y Crónica de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús del mismo Reyno, Tomo I (1550-1685), ed. Raúl Reyes y Reyes, Quito, Imprenta de la Caja del Seguro, 1941, pp. 313-4.

29. The five books comprising Morán’s Vida are titled as follows: «Saintly Childhood», «Penitence and Mortification», «Virtues», «Supernatural Favors, Verified Prophecies, and Miracles (all Authenticated in the Procesos)», and «Glorious Death, Veneration, and Posthumous Miracles».

31. Rojas, Alonso de, Sermón..., cit., p. 315: «Siempre pensaba en la muerte, siempre la tenía delante, siempre deseable ardientísimamente el morir».
times in little more than a year, not to mention all the blood she spilled through her own acts of rigorous penitence».34 Once, when her physician noticed clear water and blood flowing together from her veins, he wryly urged Mariana to «leave the comingling of blood and water to our Lord Jesus Christ».35 To sum up the intentionality of Mariana’s pursuit of martyrdom, Rojas cites a phrase she would occasionally repeat: «I am learning to die».36 As we have already noted, Rojas attributes her premature death to that same spirit of self-abnegation.

Like the preacher Rojas, numerous individuals who testified during the proceso apostólico of the 1670s bore witness to Mariana’s lifetime practice of self-mortification and longing for a martyr’s death. In the proceso, edited and published by José Matovelle Maldonado in 1902, witnesses give substantial testimony to Mariana’s rigorous fasting: in addition to her ascetic attitude toward breast milk, Mariana’s denial of the natural appetites led her on occasion to vomit up chocolate when compelled by others to drink it.37 Additionally, despite Mariana’s vigilant efforts to disguise her penitential practice of self-flagellation and bleeding by having the resulting bloodstains wiped from the walls of her private chamber, several witnesses claimed to have spied blood there.38 Another witness recounted a conversation with a silversmith (platero) who had been asked to sharpen the cilicios that Mariana wore against her skin.39 This theme of bloodletting eventually shaped the public reception of Mariana’s life, for her repeated insistence on being bled in imitation of Jesus Christ contributed to her posthumous local reputation for sanctity; when her family’s indigenous servant Catalina de Paredes found lilies blooming from a pot in which she had often deposited the holy woman’s blood, devotees began to praise Mariana as «the Lily of Quito».

34. Rojas, Alonso de, Sermón..., cit., p. 319. Based on eyewitness testimony from the proceso apostólico of 1670-78, Morán de Butrón adds further intriguing details, including how Mariana had often prevailed on the family’s Indian maid, Catalina, to severely whip her naked shoulders and back (Vida..., cit., pp. 188-191). He could explain, moreover, how Mariana’s insistence during frequent illnesses on being bled in imitation of Jesus Christ had contributed directly to her posthumous reputation for sanctity; when Catalina claimed that lilies had miraculously bloomed from the pot where she had deposited the holy woman’s blood, devotees began to praise Mariana as «the Lily of Quito» (Vida..., cit., pp. 220-221).
35. Rojas, Alonso de, Sermón., cit., p. 319. Several witnesses for the proceso apostólico describe this same episode; see Matovelle Maldonado, José, Obras completas..., cit., pp. 387, 423, 451 and 535.
38. Matovelle Maldonado, José, Obras Completas..., cit., pp. 390, 491.
40. According to Morán’s version, Mariana had prevailed on Catalina to severely whip her naked shoulders and back, but to mention it to no one (Vida..., cit., pp. 188-191). On August 8, 1671, Catalina de Paredes, described as an «india and native-born person of this city», gave a deposition through a translator named Juan de Morales, an interpreter of the audiencia of Quito. The notary, Francisco Valverde de Aguilar, adds that Catalina claimed to have been born and raised in the home of Mariana’s parents, and appeared to be over forty years of age (Matovelle Maldonado, José, Obras Completas..., cit., pp. 356-357).
Not surprisingly, given Morán de Butrón’s heavy textual reliance on the Rojas Sermón and the proceso apostólico, the rhetoric of martyrdom looms large in his life of the Lily of Quito. But while the fasting, bleeding, and sleepless vigils of the earlier sources receive their due attention, Morán adds intriguing details of his own, privileging Mariana’s zeal to suffer and die as a laboring missionary. In a chapter entitled «The venerable girl resolves to run away from home to convert souls and God prevents it»,

41 Morán narrates an intriguing scenario from Mariana’s childhood, an occasion on which she overheard family members discussing the spiritual condition of the peoples of Japan, India, and «the Muslim lands», who, «deprived of the gospel’s light, live in the darkness of ignorance».

42 She became further aware, he adds, that similar conditions prevailed nearer to Quito, in the missionary outpost of Los Mainas,

43 where «gentiles» lacked sufficient Christian instruction despite the assiduous efforts of the Jesuit fathers.

44 Troubled by missionary crises in faraway Japan and in the neighboring regions of the upper Amazon, Mariana developed fervent wishes for the conversion of souls, along with an ardent desire [caldeados afectos] that she might be the instrument».

45 Mariana’s concern for the salvation of souls in «the East and West Indies» did not simply fade away, notes her hagiographer. On the contrary, even as she grappled inwardly with a mix of evangelistic zeal and personal anxiety, her missionary convictions were reenergized by Quito’s public celebration46 of Pope Urban VIII’s 1627 beatification of

41 Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, Vida…, cit., pp. 117-24: «Dispone la venerable niña salir fugitiva de su casa a convertir almas y estórbaselo Dios».

42 Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, Vida…, cit., p. 118: «… un sinnúmero de almas, que destituidas de la luz del Evangelio vivían en las tinieblas de la ignorancia». Initial actual or reputed missionary successes of the Jesuits in Japan and India, under the leadership of such legendary figures as St. Francis Xavier and Father Robert da Nobili, had received serious setbacks during the course of the seventeenth century. The small Christian community in Japan had been completely cut off from Rome and Lisbon and had gone underground by the 1690s, when Morán was writing Mariana’s life. See Neill, Stephen, A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to 1707, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984; and Boxer, Charles R., The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1951.

43 Both the region and the people appear alternately in the sources as Mainas or Maynas. For consistency sake, I employ the spelling used by Morán de Butrón.


45 Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, Vida…, cit., p. 118: «… y forjándose en su pecho ardientes deseos de la conversión de las almas, con caldeados afectos de ser ella el instrumento».

46 Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, Vida…, cit., p. 120. Morán does not specify a date for these celebrations in Quito, nor have I been able to determine the date. However, public commemorations for one of the 1597 martyrs, Mexican-born Felipe de Jesús, took place in Mexico City in late 1628 and early 1629. See Conover, Cornelius «Saintly Biography and the Cult of San Felipe de Jesús in Mexico City, 1597-1697», The Americas, 67:4, New York, April 2011, pp. 441-466 (453-6). Celebrations in Quito may have come a bit later; Felipe’s particular relationship to Mexico City prompted civic and ecclesiastical officials to prioritize public celebration of a native son who, from their point of view, stood out among the crowd of 1597 martyrs. In any case, if quiteños commemorated these martyrdoms as early as 1629, Mariana would have been an impressionable pre-teen of about eleven years old.
the twenty-six Roman Catholic martyrs of Nagasaki (1597), a large group that had included three native Japanese Jesuits. Sermons delivered by members of several religious orders acquainted the quiteño faithful with the exemplary faith and heroic sufferings of these martyrs. As Morán explains, the message did not fall on deaf ears: «Every word ignited a spark in [Mariana’s] breast; the voices echoed in her heart; the lances [that had pierced] the martyrs cut through her soul». The result for Mariana was a renewed desire to convert souls in remote regions of the world and a longing to die a martyr’s death in the process.

According to Morán de Butrón, Mariana gathered her nieces Juana and Sebastiana and, «almost drowning on her tears», preached them a remarkable sermonette as follows:

My dear sisters, I love my Jesus like my sweetest husband; but his blood is lost and his most sacred Passion is slandered in many places, like in Los Mainas and, as I have heard these past days, in Japan. I know that our common enemy, like a tyrannical master, has usurped [Christ’s] crown. What, then, must I pay, if not to make good on the damage even with my own blood? What shall I give to reverse the damages, if not my own blood? Will my lukewarmness undo them? Will my timid neglect of such a great redemption allow his blood to be blasphemed? … Farewell, my sisters; farewell, homeland; farewell, life and all comforts: for I am decided to inon-eave in spite of my family members; as a fugitive, I will travel many provinces, traverse sierras, and cross mountains to preach the faith of Christ, to teach what my Husband teaches. I am blessed a thousand times if, through the painful labors of this seemingly impossible conquest, I should win even one Indian. The crosses don’t scare me, nor the swords or bonfires hold me back, if I should have the joy of losing my life for my Beloved… I so long for the conversion of souls and a martyr’s death that I only find rest when I imagine myself among wild beasts and barbarous peoples, calmly awaiting my death.

47. Morán de Butrán, Jacinto, Vida…, cit., p. 120. Morán names the three Jesuits in question as San Pablo Miki, San Juan de Goto, and San Diego Quisay, all Japanese converts. Urban VIII beatified the Nagasaki martyrs in September, 1627; the same twenty-six martyrs were canonized in 1862. In addition to the initial executions of 1597, another wave of official executions of Christian missionaries and Japanese converts occurred in 1622, when Mariana would have been four or five years old, followed by intermittent periods of violence against Catholics, especially between 1633 and 1637. See Rubial García, Antonio, La santidad controvertida: bagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España, México, D.F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999, pp. 133-60.

48. Morán de Butrán, Vida…, cit., p. 120: «De cada palabra se formaba en su pecho una centella, las voces hacían el eco en su corazón, y las lanzas de los mártires atravesaban su alma». For an analysis of the visual and literary depictions of the 1597 martyrdoms, including the place of prominence given by novohispano iconographers and writers to Mexico’s Felipe de Jesús, see Morgan, Spanish American Saints…, cit., pp. 143-169. Carmen Fernández-Salvador offers a thoughtful analysis of the complementary relationship between the rhetoric of preaching and the visual images that occupied every nook and cranny of quiteño churches «Imágenes locales y retórica sagrada: una vision edificante de Quito en el siglo XVII», Procesos: Revista Ecuatoriana de Historia, 25, Quito, 2007, pp. 79-91.

49. Morán de Butrán, Jacinto, Vida…, cit., p. 121. («Sabed, hermanas mías, ... Amo a mi Jesús, como a mi dulísimo Esposo; se pierde su sangre y se malogra su sacratísima pasión en muchas partes, como en los Mainas, y, como yo he oído estos días, en el Japón. Sí que el enemigo común, como tirano dueño, le ha usurpado su corona. Pues, ¿qué descargo tendré yo que dar de no resarcir los daños aun con mi sangre? ¿Mi tibieza ha de ser estorbo para impedirlos? ¿He de tolerar se malogre su sangre, por no cooperar yo tímida a redención tan
Immediately the threesome conspired to flee their home in the dark of night in order to fulfill these spiritual aspirations, although their plans were ultimately thwarted.\footnote{Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, \textit{Vida...}, cit., pp. 121-124.}

Hagiographic passages like this one present historians with complex challenges of historicity and voice. Did Mariana de Paredes y Flores actually experience these things? Did family discussions of faraway souls in spiritual darkness form within her a desire to convert Japanese, Muslim, or Amazonian souls? How instrumental were public celebrations of the beatified martyrs of Japan in stirring in her such an intense longing to die for Christ that she recruited her younger nieces as an impromptu missionary troop? Or, on the contrary, is this entire sub-plot a case of hagiographic license on the part of Morán de Butrón, who constructs a persona conforming to his ideal of a Jesuit-formed laywoman? Expressed another way, is Mariana here the subject of these experiences and outlooks, or is she the object of her clerical admirer’s imagination?

Noting such interpretive limitations, literary scholar Raquel Serur proposes an alternative approach to the hagiographic genre that, while still respecting the original, seeks to transcend a face-value reading. She points out, for example, that a consciousness of Mariana’s heroic sanctity, both in her own mind and in the public perception of those who knew her, would not only shape their reading of her early life, but also encourage her to pursue future performances that would conform to well-established paradigmatic models. Quoting from a letter in which Mariana explains her confessor’s desire that she become «a saint», Serur draws out the likely social repercussions of that perception. As her analysis intimates, such individual and collective psychologies would likely have infused the outlooks of the contemporary witnesses themselves, thus coloring the primary sources on which Morán de Butrón relied. Those now-lost sources included, according to the hagiographer himself, notes (\textit{borradores}) for a \textit{life} of Mariana by Father Pedro de Alcocer and a variety of unbound papers (\textit{papeles sueltos}) from her Jesuit confessors Juan Camacho and Hernando de la Cruz. It is impossible to know for certain which narrative details for Mariana’s interior life Father Morán may have taken from these papers, which may have come to him via local oral tradition, and which he may have constructed himself.

During the process of his research into Mariana’s life, Morán de Butrón would have come across a few oblique references to the missionary martyr theme in the Rojas \textit{Sermón} and the \textit{proceso apostólico}. For example, the Rojas panegyric links Mariana’s desire for martyrdom to her conscious imitation of St. Teresa de Jesús. Describing Mariana’s child-

copiosa? Mi Esposo muerto por salvar de ese gentilismo una alma, y viva sólo para la conveniencia mi flojedad. … Adiós, hermanas mías, adiós patria, adiós vida, conveniencias todás adiós, que yo determino salir a pesar de mis deudos; fugitiva correré Provincias, atravesaré sierras, peregrinaré montañas a predicar la fé de Cristo, enseñaré lo que mi Esposo enseña. ¡Dichosa yo mil veces, si con los afanes de esta que parece imposible conquista, veo lograrse siquiera un solo indio! No me acobardan las cruces, no me atemorizan los alfanjes, no me detienen los incendios con que pueda tener la dicha de perder por mi querido la vida… Tan deseosa estoy de la conversión de las almas y del martirio que sólo descanso cuando me considero entre fieras y entre bárbaras gentes, aguardando sin sobresaltos mi muerte.\footnote{Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, \textit{Vida...}, cit., pp. 121-124.}
hood fasts, he observes: «[F]rom that time forward, she desired martyrdom, pleading with her little girlfriends that they all run away from home in order to be martyrs.» When he subsequently addresses Mariana in the second person —«[H]ow greatly you imitate … the great Teresa in her longing for martyrdom!»— he likely intends a direct allusion to the Spanish mystic’s childhood attempt to flee home with her brothers in order to preach to Muslims and die as a martyr. A bit further on in his sermon, Rojas describes an occasion on which Mariana heard a pious relative reading the *Life* of a martyred *santo*; she listened so intently, he adds, that she «became inflamed with desires for martyrdom».

In the *proceso apostólico*, the hagiographer Morán would have found more tantalizing hints of Mariana’s missionary imagination. For example, in a testimony of August 1671, family servant Catalina de Paredes inserts a reference to Mariana’s consciousness of global missionary suffering into her testimony about the holy woman’s Eucharistic piety. Observing that Mariana always received the Sacrament with great piety during Lent, Catalina describes how her mistress’s devotion to Christ’s Passion inflamed in her a desire to suffer and die in like fashion. Furthermore, Mariana had been heard on occasion to exclaim: «Oh that someone would place me among the Japanese, the barbarous, the gentiles that I might shed my blood for sake of [Christ’s] love and soon taste of heaven». Then one evening, after hearing her nephew Juan de Salazar read from the life of «a female saint who died in excruciating torment», Mariana’s sleep was disturbed by painful ailments. Next morning, having shown her wounds to her sister and nieces, she resisted their calls for medical attention, for, as she had explained, the Lord had simply honored her desire to suffer as a martyr: in her nightmares, she was held by Japanese tyrants, and due to her love for her Husband and her defense of the faith, these persecutors had tortured her, dismembering her body piece by piece. This fascinating revelation from an illiterate household servant suggests the likely circulation of oral reports linking Mariana’s piety to stories of missionary torture and violent death in places like Japan and Los Mainas, accounts that Morán would certainly have encountered. Here again, as in the Rojas funeral sermon, are the seeds of the missionary-martyr theme that Morán de Butrón would develop more fully in his life of the Azucena de Quito.

51. With this reference to St. Teresa, Father Rojas may intend a direct allusion to the Spanish mystic’s childhood attempt to flee home with her brothers in order to preach to Muslims and die as a martyr. In a potentially related vein, Rojas describes an occasion on which Mariana heard a pious relative reading the *Life* of a martyred *santo*; she listened so intently, he adds, that she «became inflamed with desires for martyrdom» (Rojas, Alonso de, *Sermón…*, cit., pp. 318-319).

52. Matovelle Maldonado, José, *Obras Completas…*, cit., pp. 356-370: «quién me pusiera entre los japoneses, bárbaros, gentiles para derramar mi sangre por su amor y gozar con brevedad del cielo…» (p. 367).

53. Matovelle Maldonado, José, *Obras Completas…*, cit., pp. 366-367. Catalina de Paredes concludes her narrative of Mariana’s nightmare torments rather abruptly by observing that «[Mariana] was also a great devotee of the Holy Virgin» (p. 367).
The Jesuit global missionary imaginary and its impact on pious Catholic laypersons

Whatever their exact provenance, the dramatic expressions of spiritual imagination narrated by Morán de Butrón raise intriguing questions about the means by which the Jesuit corpus of global narratives came to shape the self-perceptions of early modern Roman Catholics like this Quito laywoman and her compatriot Jesuit hagiographer. According to historian Luke Clossey, the unique religious mental map that emerged following the founding of the Society of Jesus in 1540 was informed by the proliferation of «images of global mission … that incorporated elements of both the mission and the globe» alongside narrative and visual accounts of Jesuit martyrdom.54 Such representations of Jesuit identity were commonplace in the voluminous intra-Society correspondence that included the cartas anuas, as well as in printed histories, treatises, and maps. For example, Jesuit Adam Aigenler’s 1668 world map included images of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, with a dedicatory epigraph to «the greatest service on behalf of the whole world», while a map published by Heinrich Scherer depicted prominent Jesuits proclaiming the gospel to allegorical representatives of the four corners of the world.55 More dramatically, the frontispiece of the highly influential Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae (1609) featured recently beatified Ignatius of Loyola presiding over images of individual «martyrs» like Antonio Criminal and Edmund Campion, as well as groups of Jesuit martyrs in England, India, Florida, and Japan.56 And Father Eusebio Kino’s 1696 map of the Pimería Alta missions (northwestern New Spain), with its crude pictorial sketch of the violent death of Father Javier Saeta (d.1695), accompanied Kino’s narrative life of his slain co-laborer.

Such inspirational imagery gained prominence in the architectural spaces of Jesuit worship and religious life, especially proliferating in those regions of Europe from which Jesuit recruits for world mission would increasingly be drawn by the eighteenth century. St. Peter’s church in Ghent displayed a painting by Nicolaes Roose in which Francis Xavier presents the faith simultaneously to peoples of China and the Americas. The Jesuit church of St. Ignatius in Landshut, Bavaria (1631-41)57 included three thematically related depictions: St. Ignatius Loyola sends Francis Xavier on mission; a ship plying the seas whose sail bears the Order’s IHS; and Jesuit priests suffer martyrdom in Japan. Shortly following the beatification in 1627 of the Society’s Japanese martyrs Miki, Gato, and Kisai —the three whose ceremony of beatification in Quito would prompt Mariana’s

55. Clossey, Luke, Salvation and Globalization…, cit., pp. 73-6. For the former, see Aigenler, Adam, S.J., Tabula Geographico-Horologa Universalis, Ingolstadt, Johannes Ostermaier, 1668. For the allegorical map by Scherer, see Societas Iesu Per universum mundum diffusa Praedict Christi Evangelium, Munich, Johann Caspar Bencard, 1700 and 1703; and Augsburg, Johann Caspar Bencard, 1737.
inner turmoil—work began in Munich’s St. Michael’s church on a monument in their honor. Further south, Andrea Pozzo’s paintings in important Italian churches like Sant’Ignazio (Rome) privileged the missionary motif, with attention to the preaching and conversion work of St. Francis Xavier. But such representations of the famous Japanese martyrs proliferated in Spain’s American colonies as well, including the cities of Lima and Quito. It seems almost certain that young Mariana would have been exposed to similar visual culture. While canvases painted by one of her confessors filled the local Jesuit church, other paintings of Jesuit martyrdom in the Amazonian missions filled the corridors of the Society’s local colegio. Reflecting on the global imagery that characterized the seventeenth century, Clossey observes: «In the whole history of humanity, no time and no place has witnessed a mode of artistic expression better suited for the visual articulation of global mission. … The power, prominence, and diversity of visual expressions of global mission demonstrate its centrality to early-modern Jesuit culture».

Constant exposure to such literary and visual motifs shaped the spiritual imagination and sense of vocation of members of the Society of Jesus, a point not lost on contemporaries. Indeed, in his classic study of Jesuit intellectual and spiritual culture, Joseph de Guibert, S.J., describes how generations of Jesuits came to understand their order as a company of sacrificial martyrs: «[Tales of their] martyrs [kept] alive in the spiritual life of the Jesuits the thought that in the service of God this total and supreme sacrifice of life is something quite ordinary». Furthermore, adds Guibert, «It is certain … that this habitual thought of hard and dangerous missions in pagan lands … made a deep impression on the spiritual life of the Jesuits, even of those who remained engaged in the more peaceful duties of the colleges or in residences in Catholic lands». Asunción Lavrin has made a similar point: «Martyrdom in New Spain must be related to the feedback it received from the Orient. News of friars killed during the performance of their evangelical duties in the Far East enhanced the cause of those confronting local circumstances in New Spain».

Up to here, all of this is well and good, but what does it have to do with a laywoman like Mariana de Jesús of Quito? One case from vice-regal Peru suggests that the public

60. Jouanen, Historia..., cit., p. 263.
62. In his discussion of missionary motivation among Early Modern Jesuits, Luke Clossey poses a rhetorical question: «Why did so many Jesuits, along with religious of other orders, experience the desire to win the souls of those far away?» In partial response to his own question, Clossey observes that «[t]he Jesuit mentality of valuing the far over the near is unusual» (Salvation and Globalization..., cit., p. 115).

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dissemination of such images and narratives did penetrate the consciousness of urban laypeople who, like the Jesuits described by Joseph de Guibert, spent their entire lives «in Catholic lands.» Entries in the late-seventeenth century diary of Spanish-born soldier Don Josephe de Mugaburu y Honton reveal how such Jesuit narratives could catch the attention of pious individuals of urban Lima. For instance, Mugaburu y Honton records that over the course of three days in 1661 (29 Oct. to All Saints Day), clergy and laity of the vice-regal capital honored St. Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus. In the event, the statue of St. Ignatius, followed by twelve biers containing the bones of 48 [presumably Jesuit] martyrs, made their way through the urban streets.65 During Candlemas 1672, a procession «unlike any seen in this city» featured the Holy Sacrament, the Virgin of the Desamparados, «many saints of the Society of Jesus», and candle-bearing Jesuits dressed in their finest surplices. «Behind them», observes Mugaburu, «followed representations from the four parts of the world, Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, which consisted of four triumphal floats, very well decorated and with angels singing. In the last float, which signified America, were the three sons of the viceroy, Count of Lemos, seated on their little chairs under a canopy.» That same week there appeared on a well-known street corner «a grandiose altar of the fathers of the Society».66 On another occasion, the observant diarist characterizes a Jesuit theatrical production of «The Prince of Fez» as «a magnificent thing to see».67 Finally, Mugaburu’s entry for May 1685, just a decade before Jacinto Morán de Butrón began work on his hagiographic task, describes a procession from the Cathedral of Callao of the Holy crucified Christ and St. Francis Xavier, with priests of all orders present. Forts on land and ships on water «fired their salute for the captain general of heaven and earth [Jesus Christ] and his admiral Saint Francis Xavier».68 Such accounts reveal the myriad ways through which pious Catholic urbanites were exposed to Jesuit narratives of worldwide missionary heroics and martyrdom; they suggest, moreover, that laypeople like Mugaburu took serious note of those narratives.

We have noted the purported impact on Mariana’s consciousness of familial readings and conversations about missionary labors worldwide, as well as of public celebrations and sermons eulogizing Jesuit martyrs in Japan. But a keen awareness of the Society’s hopes and setbacks in nearby Los Mainas may have left an even greater impression on her. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, Quito-based Father Rafael Ferrer, S.J., had begun preaching to an Amazonian people known as the Cofanes or Cofanis, a com-

mition for which he violently lost his life in 1611 when opponents to his mission cast him from a shaky wooden bridge into a river below. Describing these events in his eighteenth-century El descubrimiento del Marañón, Manuel Rodríguez, S.J. observed: «To this I will simply add that, as evidence of the legend that he continued to preach to the Cofanes from underneat the water of that river, we have a painting of him, arms raised in a preaching posture, in the cloister of our colegio in Quito». 69 Not long after the death of Father Ferrer, the Society of Jesus withdrew for several decades from the perilous Amazonian missions linked to its college in Quito.

By the end of the 1630s, however, when Mariana de Jesús would have been around twenty years old, two Jesuits joined a Portuguese-led expedition from Quito to Brazilian Pará via the Amazon River. Following their sojourn at the Spanish imperial court in Madrid, fathers Cristóbal de Acuña and Andrés de Artieda returned to Quito, where their influence encouraged a small contingent from the local college to embark on a new mission project among the Mainas.

Ecuadorian art historian Carmen Fernández-Salvador has recently highlighted the significance of the upper Amazonian frontier, along with its missionary projects, for seventeenth-century quiteños. Her close reading of two mid-seventeenth century histories of Amazon exploration by Quito-based Jesuits reveals these authors’ interwoven preoccupations with scientific understanding, imperial control, and the work of missionary conversion. 70 Describing the Jesuit authors and their fellow religious as agents of imperial expansion, her reading «also rescues the links between apostolic and scientific work and the rise of a Creole identity in Quito». 71

It is this last point, the link between apostolic work in the Upper Amazon and the rise of criollo identity in Quito, that concerns us here. For one thing, both civic and religious leaders like the historians of the Amazonian expeditions, were keen to demonstrate the major role played by Spanish Quito and its Jesuits in the material and spiritual conquest of the region, to claim the city’s hegemony, as it were, over the new Upper Amazonian towns and missions. But Jesuit historians did more than make claims; they also cultivated affective spiritual ties between members of Quito’s college, the quiteño Catholic faithful, and the martyrs of the Amazonian missions. For example, Pedro del Mercado filled his history of the Jesuit college of Quito with a biographical compendium of virtuous members of the order, many of whom had been missionaries and martyrs among peoples like the Cofanes and Mainas. Father Mercado even explains how paintings of

69. Rodríguez, Manuel, El descubrimiento del Marañón, pp. 113-4: «…y sólo añado, en confirmación del prodigio de aver predicado a los cofanes sobreaguado en el raudal [torrent] de aquel río, que así le tenemos pintado en el claustro de nuestro colegio en Quito, levantados los brazos y como predicando…».

70. The two histories considered are Anonymous [possibly Alonso de Rojas, S.J], «Relación del descubrimiento del río de las Amazonas, y San Francisco de Quito, y declaración del mapa donde está pintado» (1639), and Cristóbal de Acuña, S.J., Nuevo descubrimiento del gran Río de las Amazonas (1641).

these martyrdoms in the college’s corridors served as exemplars of apostolic zeal for future missionaries.\(^{72}\) Such visual culture almost certainly would have informed the worldview of young Mariana; her confessor, Hernando de la Cruz, painted a number of canvases that filled the local Jesuit church where she heard mass and made confession.\(^{73}\) And this link between Jesuit Amazonian mission, quiteño identity, and the spiritual imagination of one Mariana de Paredes is made more intriguing by the strong conjecture on the part of Fernández-Salvador and others that the author of one of these histories was Alonso de Rojas, S.J., Mariana’s eventual confessor and the orator at her funeral in 1645.\(^{74}\)

Fernández-Salvador also calls attention to that passage from Morán de Butrón’s Azucena de Quito in which sermons about the Japan martyrs inflamed Mariana’s religious zeal, noting that «[t]he lives of Jesuit missionaries and martyrs became intertwined with local [quiteño] history». Noting how writers like Pedro de Mercado interspersed biographies of exemplary men and women among stories of contemporary secular and non-secular events, she concludes:

> These men and women were transformed into local heroes, and their exemplary virtue was instrumental in the construction of a local identity. Their martyrdom also served to justify Quito’s, and the Jesuits’, jurisdictional rights over the Amazon. Exploration of the Amazon certainly influenced the way in which the city imagined itself during the seventeenth century. Indeed, much of the literature of the period … emphasizes the greatness and glory of Quito in connection to this apostolic enterprise.\(^{75}\)

And while the local faithful of seventeenth-century Quito often received spiritual inspiration from written narrative and visual representations, they were touched by other media as well. Like their contemporaries in Lima, quiteños were frequently exposed to various forms of public pageantry and theater like those preserved in the diary of Josephe de Muguburu. In Quito, the departure for Amazonian mission stations or the arrival home of Jesuit missionaries would have occasioned such ceremonies, as one notable case from around 1660 illustrates. According to the eighteenth-century Jesuit historian Manuel Rodríguez, Father Raimundo de Santa Cruz, S.J., arrived in Quito accompanied by forty recent converts from the Los Mainas mission. In a triumphal entrance that Rodríguez compares to those that followed military victories of Ancient Rome, missionary and converts processed from the Jesuit church to the cathedral and back again, led by an image of St. Francis Xavier. While the growing crowd rejoiced at the evangelistic fruit of the Jesuit missions, they were most moved by the spiritual example of Father Raimundo himself, whose poverty and corporal self-abnegation preached volumes:


\(^{73}\) Jouanen, José, Historia…, cit., p. 263.

\(^{74}\) On Rojas as author of the anonymous 1639 Relación, see Bohn Martins, Maria Cristina, «Descobrir e Redescobrir o grande Rio das Amazonas. As Relaciones de Carvajal (1542), Alonso de Rojas SJ (1639) e Cristóbal de Acuña SJ (1641)», Revista de História, n.º 156, São Paulo, 2007, pp. 31-57.

All were edified by this noteworthy wonder, and moved to tears of consolation and of praise to God for how great it is to serve him, and they added their applause for the Society [of Jesus] for how it served the church through its missions, [having now] seen the fruit of its efforts, normally hidden from human sight, in these firstfruits of heaven harvested in such farflung nations; and also to have seen the one who three or four years earlier set out for the mission in such good health and energy, now so consumed by this work, the people of Quito were moved to emotion, applauding him more by their flowing tears than with words. Father Raimundo’s modesty itself was a sermon, for it humbled and persuaded them all of the disappointing nature of their vanities; and the sight of him especially rebuked those who seek only the pleasures and delights of this world, for indeed his poverty, along with the way he despised his own body out of service to God, caused anguish among those who lived only for the entertaining pastimes of the cities even as [lasting] torments awaited them.76

What Rodríguez chooses to highlight here is instructive: «Upon seeing [him] so shrunken up from this work, one whom they had seen enter [the city] four years earlier full appearing so healthy and full of energy, the populace was deeply touched; the city of Quito applauded him, but with flowing tears rather than verbal expression». Like Morán de Butrón and many other Jesuit chroniclers, Manuel Rodríguez understood how the example of the suffering or martyred missionary should impact pious urban Catholics, and how these, in turn, should respond.

While the stirring public reception of Raimundo de Santa Cruz and his native converts occurred some years after the death of Mariana de Jesús, her late-century hagiographer would certainly have known of the event and its public impact. In any case, it is patently clear that Jesuit priests and pious laypeople in «Catholic lands», like those described by Joseph de Guibert, had many opportunities to be touched by narratives of missionary heroism in faraway places, and thereby prompted to service and sacrifice nearer to home.

**Ignatian contemplation and the emergence of a Catholic global imaginary**

But if heroic-tragic narratives, with related symbols and public ceremonies, were the means by which laypersonas like Mariana de Paredes y Flores gained exposure to edifying

76. Rodríguez, Manuel, *El descubrimiento del Marañón*, pp. 315-316: («Todo era edificación, novedad admirable y motibo de lágrimas de consuelo y de alabanças a Dios y de la grandeza que es servirle, a que añadían a los de la Compañía por lo que en las missiones servía a la Iglesia, viendo el fruto de sus empleos escondidos a los ojos humanos en aquellas primicias para el cielo, cogidas de tan distantes naciones; y al ver tan consumido de trabajo al que tres o cuatro años antes vieron entrar con tanta salud e alientos, todo en ternecia y lo aplaudía la ciudad de Quito, más con corriente estilo de lágrimas que con expresión de palabras. A todos predicaba y confundía con su modestia el padre Raimundo y les persuadía vivos desengaños de las vanidades; y su vista reprehendía en especial a los regalados y deliciosos del mundo, que aquella su pobreza y feliz mal tratamiento de su persona, por servir a Dios, era fuerte torcedor a los que quizá [sic] amenaçaban tormentos y sólo vivían de divertidos passatiempos en las ciudades»).
material «that incorporated elements of both the mission and the globe», the practice of Ignatian contemplation stimulated «an action-oriented spirituality» by «ask[ing] the practitioner to meditate on the globe and to imagine himself as active in the world, walking at Christ’s side». As J. Michelle Molina demonstrates, there is ample historical evidence that Jesuit contemplative practices —in short, the making of the Spiritual Exercises— had that very effect as early as the first Jesuit generation, as motivated Roman Catholic laywomen throughout Catholic Europe and Spanish America pursued their own versions of being Jesuit. For example, after working through the Spiritual Exercises’ meditations on election, the sixteenth-century Spaniard Juana de Cardona felt drawn to missionary service, offering to «go to the Indies or remain here or wherever Your Reverence will order me». Of course, notes Molina, the typical pious laywoman’s sense of «missionary» calling was often to those nearer to home: «Spiritual self-reform had bearing upon the mobility of early modern subjects on scales large and small, as Ignatian methods prompted exercitants [of the Spiritual Exercises] to be concerned with neighbors both proximate and distant».

In that vein, a seventeenth-century French laywoman named Catherine de Francheville provides an interesting case in point. After making the Spiritual Exercises, she took a vow of poverty and redirected her material resources towards the foundation of sixty-two retreat houses where other elite French women could engage in the same devotional practices. Catherine’s personal awakening toward a life of contemplation and service, it should be noted, had been greatly stimulated by Jesuit missionary accounts from Canada. In the case of Madame de Francheville, awareness of sufferings and martyrdoms around the world shaped her own willingness to make spiritual commitments and personal sacrifices closer to home. Molina observes: «In the Jesuit context, we see the role played by a long-distance network of Jesuit missionaries who were in contact with ‘natives’ and exotic others perceived to be in need of Christian spiritual redemption. Imagined neighbors pushed Francheville to attend to her concrete neighbors. … [C]ompassion for strangers far and near played a role in making the Jesuit ministries widely available to a broader swath of the laity».

One final example from seventeenth-century Germany shows that Jesuit spiritual directors intentionally invited the women whom they directed to imagine their own relationship to the missionary project in distant lands. Friedrich Spee von Langenfeld, a Jesuit whose own desires to be sent to Japan for missionary purposes had been

78. Molina, J. Michelle, To Overcome Oneself..., cit., p. 8.
79. Molina, J. Michelle, To Overcome Oneself..., cit., pp. 57-58. In the letter through which she expressed her willingness to «live beneath the standard and under the protection of the Society of the name of Jesus», Cardona added: «A woman who has gone more than a thousand leagues for the sake of disordered passion, seeking justice will not hesitate to go many thousands more, even for as long as life is left to her, on pilgrimage, seeking mercy, with love and for the love of him who is the Lord of my love and of all things» (58, 93).
80. Molina, J. Michelle, To Overcome Oneself..., cit., p. 50.
disappointed, developed a devotional manual entitled «Golden Book of Virtues» as an aid to the Ursuline sisters of Cologne for their weekly meditations on the Spiritual Exercises. In a chapter on the love of neighbor, the book’s interlocutor assures his spiritual daughter that the desire to win souls qualifies as a «righteous [and] proper» love of neighbor. He then asks her: «So tell me, my child, if you had the opportunity, would you not have the desire and passion to travel to the most distant Indies of this world to bring thousands and thousands of unbelieving peoples back to Christian belief and baptism»?²²

For Spee von Langenfeld —and perhaps other Jesuits including Jacinto Morán de Butrón— to imagine spiritual needs and missionary sacrifice around the world, as well as one’s own personal disposition towards such costly service, was a valuable exercise in self-examination.

In regards to the method of spiritual self-examination like that taught by St. Ignatius Loyola in the Spiritual Exercises, a closer look at Morán de Butrón’s narration of Mariana’s missionary awakening can be instructive. As previously noted, when Mariana overheard a family discussion of missionary martyrdoms and the gospel’s slow progress beyond the borders of Christendom, she felt personally compelled to engage in the missionary cause. As the narrative reaches its crescendo, the Jesuit hagiographer reveals the inner workings of Mariana’s tormented spirit through the rhetorical device of soliloquy:

How can you say you love your Husband, Mariana, when you seek not his honor? … What are you doing to show your love is real? Are you not aware of how irreverently he is being treated? … Look how many souls he is losing, and [consider] what a price he paid for them. Entire kingdoms make war against him, and you who claim to be his bride, do you not go out in his defense? How can you live at peace in Quito while your Husband is being despoiled of his empire in Japan? While he is blasphemed in Muslim lands, will you remain comfortable in your house? Pagans (gentiles) dispossess him of his kingdom and yet you take not one step in his defense? Don’t you know that the Devil makes war against him in that extensive empire of Japan and the Provinces of the Mainas, and with each victory calls himself the lord and owner of all those souls? So how then, if you say you love him, do you not seek his glory, nor even gather to him (le reduces) his peoples, go out to his defense, or seek to restore [to him] his kingdoms? Ea, Mariana, love is works, not words, so set aside the comfort of your house; Japan and Los Mainas invite you to turn again to your Husband’s honor by attending to [the salvation of] so many Indians who are perishing.³³

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³³. Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, Vida..., cit., pp. 118-119. «Cómo se ha de entender amar, Mariana, a tu Esposo, cuando no procura su honor? … ¿Qué demostraciones haces en prueba de tu fe? ¿No sabes la mucha irreverencia con que tratan a tu Esposo? ¿Cómo, pues, no procura evitarla? ¿Si tú amaras como dices, no toleraras [future indicative?] con disimulo sus agravios. Mira cuántas almas se le pierden, y lo mucho que le costaron. Reinos enteros le hacen la guerra, ¿y tú que ya dices ser su esposa, no sales a defenderle? … ¿Tu Esposo despojado de su imperio en el Japón, y tú en Quito sosegada? ¿Tu Esposo ultrajado en la Morisma, y tú gostosa en tu casa? Tu Esposo entre los gentiles desposeído de su reino, ¿y tú sin dar un paso en su defensa? ¿No conoces como el demonio le hace la Guerra en el dilatado imperio del Japón, en las Provincias de los Mainas, y que victorioso se apellida se-
Here, in an act of earnest self-examination, Mariana asks herself the very same question that the German Jesuit Spee von Langenfeld would pose to his Ursuline spiritual charges a few years later: If you could, would you not have the desire and passion to travel the world and bring pagans to Christ? Writing from his urban Andean outpost, from whence his fellow sons of Ignatius continued to depart for the dangerous Amazonian missions like that among the Mainas Indians, Jacinto Morán de Butrón invites readers to witness the inner, visceral workings of Mariana’s spiritual imagination, the fruit of her Jesuit spiritual formation, an imagination formed by the contemplative Ignatian tools at her disposal.

There can be little doubt but that the frank words of self-examination revealed in Morán’s narrative are a direct reflection of Mariana’s practice of the Spiritual Exercises. Indeed, the meditations for the Fourth Week of the Exercises instructed exercitants to envision «the great extent of the circuit of the world, with peoples so many and so diverse».84 The same week’s «Meditation on the Two Standards» depicts two spiritual armies at war: Satan «summons uncountable devils, disperses some to one city and others to another, and thus reaches into the whole world, not missing any provinces, places, states, or individual persons»; simultaneously, Christ gathers «his servants and friends whom he is sending on this expedition.» This interiorized outward gaze over a world locked in spiritual battle is balanced by calls to candid self-examination in exercises like the «Contemplation to Attain Love» (Week Four): «First. Love ought to manifest itself more by deeds than by words».85 The meditations on the First Week include a similar exercise: «In a similar way, reflect on yourself and ask: “What have I done for Christ?” “What am I doing for Christ?” “What ought I do for Christ?”».

In language that most certainly reflects the imprint of the global imaginary of the Society’s founder, Mariana’s reflex when confronted with narratives of pagan souls in peril, shrinking Christian empires, and images of Jesuit missionaries «pierced with lances» is to examine her inner person through the language of the Spiritual Exercises.86 When
she hears of missionary challenges and setbacks around the world, she urges herself to «[l]ook how many souls [Christ] is losing» as «entire kingdoms make war against him» and «[he] is blasphemed in Muslim lands.» Newly awakened to conditions in «the East and West Indies», Mariana asks herself: «What are you doing to show your love is real? … Do you not go out to [Christ’s] defense?» And in a remarkable passage whose almost verbatim adherence to the Week Four contemplation can hardly be accidental, Mariana debates within her own soul: «How can you say you love your Husband, Mariana, when you seek not his honor? … How can you live at peace in Quito while your Husband is being despoiled of his empire in Japan? While he is blasphemed in Muslim lands, will you remain comfortable in your house?» And finally: «Ea, Mariana, love is works, not words, so set aside the comfort of your house; Japan and Los Mainas invite you to turn again to your Husband’s honor by attending to [the salvation of] so many Indians who are perishing».88

As noted above, her hagiographer describes how twelve-year-old Mariana and her young nieces acted on such convictions, actually making secret preparations to slip away from their family home under cover of night in order «to preach the faith of Christ».89 In the event, however, divinely appointed circumstances foiled these plans, for «God did not wish to see fulfilled these desires [even though they] pleased him».90 For a young girl who would eventually choose a spiritual life of semi-cloistered conditions outside the convent, the life of the adventuring missionary was not socially appropriate; her pursuit of a martyr’s death on behalf of endangered souls would instead be played out in a more domestic space. In the words of Morán de Butrón, «God was not content that she should live as a star in the East, but rather that she should shine like a bright star in her own patria».91

**Conclusion**

Historian Ines Zupanov offers compelling insights into Jesuit contributions to an early modern consciousness and global imaginary. In her study of Jesuit missions in pre-colonial South India, Zupanov examines the role of the Society’s epistolary and theatrical

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89. Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, *Vida…*, cit., p. 121.
91. Morán de Butrón, Jacinto, *Vida…*, cit., p. 124 («… no se contentó [Dios] de que viviese en el Oriente como estrella, sino de que brillase como refulgente sol en su patria»).
forms in the global dissemination of stories of religious heroism: «Acting in the world and writing about it», she notes, «became inseparable in the missionary conversion theatre because “reality” never ceased to evoke past experiences, as if the scenarios had already been written in, for example, the Bible or in the Acts of saints and martyrs». Thus, «Jesuit missionary texts … produced theatrical fragments (or reliefs) which were easily detachable from the original sites. Dis/authorized and cut out from their con/texts, they became ‘free-floating’, edifying material for young Jesuit novices and the larger European audience. … What started as an event, spatially and temporally singular, turned into repeatable spectacles … in order to [again] become reality».92 As the sources for Mariana’s life imply, her appropriation of such theatrical fragments —whether the youthful missionary flight of St. Teresa de Jesús or the suffering of Jesuit martyrs in Japan or Los Mainas— contributed to her own sense of vocation as both would-be missionary and martyr. Attuned to such portable narratives, this Jesuit-formed laywoman of the Andean highlands, along with her compatriot hagiographer, could reenact their own versions of earlier, far away events.

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