

From the Ignatian Tradition

THE SPANISH AUTOGRAPH OR THE LATIN VULGATE?

A Return to the Sources of the Spiritual Exercises

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A RETURN TO THE SOURCES of our Christian faith has long been recognised as indispensable. So also with our various Christian spiritualities. It was a return to the sources of Ignatian spirituality that led Jesuits back to the Spanish Autograph text of the *Spiritual Exercises*. We have no manuscript of the *Spiritual Exercises* composed by Ignatius. We have, rather, a copy with 37 corrections, at least 32 of them in Ignatius' own handwriting (hence the designation Autograph). It is written in a somewhat archaic Spanish, and salted with many Latin words. Prior to the nineteenth century, the authorised Latin version of the *Spiritual Exercises* had been in use almost universally. Officially approved by Pope Paul III in 1548, and known as the *Vulgata*, it had been the basis of most new translations into other languages.

Just before the middle of the nineteenth century, translators of the Vulgate had begun to acknowledge the existence of the Spanish Autograph. In 1835, Johann Philipp Roothaan, Superior General of the Society of Jesus, published his own literal Latin translation of the Autograph, together with the original Spanish text, to encourage a return to this source. Fourteen years later, Charles Seager, in a new English translation of the Vulgate, made use of Roothaan's work.¹

This article is a version of the introduction to *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola: Study Edition. The Spanish Autograph and the Latin Vulgate with Translations in English* available at http://www.ignatiusguelph.ca/docs/The_Spiritual_Exercises_Eric_Jensen_SJ.pdf.

¹ See his preface to *The Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius of Loyola, Translated from the Authorized Latin; with Extracts from the Literal Version and Notes of the Rev. Father Roothaan [sic], Father-General of the Company of Jesus* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1849), 19. This is the first US edition; it lacks section numbers, which were not introduced until 1928.

Though vernacular translations from the Spanish Autograph have since eclipsed those from the Latin Vulgate, many of us, in referring to the Exercises, continue to use Latin terms such as *magis*, *suscipe* or *agere contra*, and to refer to the Contemplation to Attain Love as the *Contemplatio ad amorem*, or simply the *Contemplatio* (or, in French, *l'Ad amorem*).

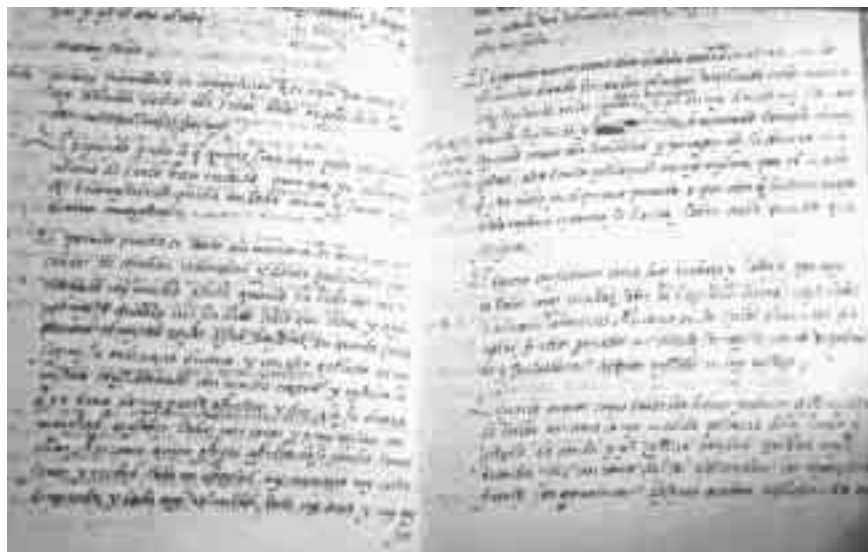
To speak of a return to the sources implies that there may be more than one source. The *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius Loyola actually has four sources. This is made clear in the magnificent work of scholarship produced by Cándido de Dalmases (bringing to completion the work begun by José Calveras) in volume 100 of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (MHSJ MI, 1). There, laid out in parallel columns, are the texts of the Spanish Autograph (A) and the Authorised Latin Vulgate (V) on the left-hand pages and, on the right-hand pages, the texts of two other Latin translations: *Versio prima* A of 1541 (designated P1) and *Versio prima* A of 1547 (designated P2). These four original texts (*textus archetypi*) constitute the main sources of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

Building upon the foundations laid in the *Monumenta*, Maurice Giuliani published the carefully edited works of St Ignatius Loyola in a single volume.² There the source texts of the *Spiritual Exercises* are laid out in three columns with French translations of the Autograph, the *Versio prima* of 1547 (P2, its first into French) and the Vulgate, with a fourth column of commentary. While this new arrangement makes comparison of three ancient texts of the *Spiritual Exercises* somewhat easier, especially with the aid of the comments in the fourth column, the French translation often veils the nuances in the Spanish or Latin, as the editor readily admits.

What becomes clear from the work of both Dalmases and Giuliani is that there is no single text of the *Spiritual Exercises* to which we can point as the sole source, though the Autograph is the text that holds pride of place. In summing up his 55-page Latin introduction to the four original texts, Dalmases draws a number of conclusions, among them that, to interpret the mind of Ignatius thoroughly, it is necessary to have recourse to the Spanish text, since the mind of the author is to be found in the text written by him more than in any other version, however perfect.³ While one may therefore be tempted to say that in the Autograph we find

² *Ignace de Loyola: Écrits, traduits et présentés sous la direction de Maurice Giuliani, SJ* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1991). Included are 239 of Ignatius' 6,815 letters, each introduced and annotated.

³ MHSJ MI 1, 135, conclusion n. 4.



Pages from the Autograph, with annotations in Ignatius' own hand

the *ipsissima verba*, the very words of Ignatius himself, and the *conocimiento interno*, or interior workings of his mind and heart, we need to remember that Íñigo de Loyola was a Basque; Castilian was his second language, and so at one remove from his heart, if not from his mind.

It helps also to recall that, when Ignatius was leading Pierre Favre through an experience of the Exercises in Paris, he was certainly not doing so in Spanish or French (Favre was a Savoyard with his own French dialect), but rather in the colloquial Latin that was in use among international students at the University of Paris at the time. Likewise, when Ignatius had to defend himself and his teachings before the Inquisitor of Paris, he would have presented his notes and papers, not in Spanish but in Latin, the language of the ecclesiastical authorities.⁴ While we do not have these early Latin notes, what we do have is the Latin *Versio prima* of 1541 (P1).

On the first page of this manuscript Ignatius has written in his own hand, in a mixture of Spanish and Latin, '*Todos exercitios breviter en Latín*'. The Latin word *breviter* (briefly, concisely) implies, as Dalmases demonstrates, that this is not a shorter version of those Exercises found in the Autograph, but a text that concisely contains *only* the Exercises.

⁴ MHSJ MI 1, 108–109.

Ignatius thus means to distinguish this original text (*textus archetypus*) from the ‘adapted texts’ (*textibus accommodatis*), texts with many glosses and amplifications, adapted by or for someone actually giving the Exercises.⁵ Though the date when the copy was made, 1541, has been written on the manuscript (by someone other than Ignatius), Dalmases believes that this Latin version was probably made by Ignatius himself, and that it originates from the earlier part of the years he spent in Paris (1528–1535).⁶

The manuscript was emended by some of Ignatius’ Jesuit companions, and a new Latin version, incorporating their corrections, was produced—the *Versio prima* A of 1547 (P2)—for approval by the Pope. This second, very literal, Latin translation, though accurate, was lacking in elegance, and so, at the very time that it was being completed, yet a third Latin version, the Vulgate, was begun in 1546 by a young French Jesuit, André des Freux (or Frusius, to use the Latin form of his name). These last two Latin versions of the *Spiritual Exercises* were submitted together to the papal authorities and approved in 1548.

Giuliani states that it is not possible to know what sources were used by des Freux when he made the Vulgate translation. Did he have access to the Spanish Autograph or to other Spanish manuscripts now lost? Did he make use of the Latin *Versio prima* of 1541 (P1), or was the Latin version of 1547 (P2) completed and in his hands before he finished his own translation in this same year? It seems that no one can say.⁷ The fact that des Freux follows P2’s correction in the order of the points in The Mysteries of the Cross (Exx 297)⁸ might be evidence that he had the completed version of P2 at this point in his work. Dalmases, however, makes note of this change and gives the order of the points prior to the correction, without saying who made the correction to P2 or when it was made.⁹ Exx 297 is not listed among the emendations he attributes to Juan Alfonso de Polanco, Ignatius’ secretary and close collaborator, but Dalmases admits that there are other changes which could be the work of Polanco, or of a copyist, or of some other unknown person.¹⁰

In recent times, interest in the Vulgate has continued to grow. Lewis Delmage produced a translation of the Vulgate into contemporary English

⁵ MHSJ MI 1, 108.

⁶ MHSJ MI 1, 113; *Ignace de Loyola: Écrits*, 38.

⁷ *Ignace de Loyola: Écrits*, 38.

⁸ MHSJ MI 1, 360–361.

⁹ MHSJ MI 1, 360, note on P2, lines 55–74.

¹⁰ MHSJ MI 1, 115.

in 1968.¹¹ Nine years before Giuliani's *Écrits* appeared, Jean-Claude Guy published a French translation of the Vulgate, which he called the 'definitive text' of the *Spiritual Exercises*.¹² He based this descriptive title on the hypothesis that des Freux's translation was done from a later copy of the Autograph with corrections and changes made by Ignatius, a text now lost.¹³ Giuliani rejects this claim, referring to Dalmases' 1986 study showing that the hypothesis does not stand up to critical examination.¹⁴

Guy attempts to bolster his argument for the Vulgate's privileged position with the fact of the text's papal approbation. Moreover, it was only this approved Vulgate text that Ignatius chose to have printed. Thus, he says, it became the definitive and normative text.¹⁵ No new emendations were to be made to the text since it had been surrendered to Christ and placed under the protection of his Church.¹⁶ But, as Giuliani stresses, *both* the final Latin translations (P2 and the Vulgate) had been approved by the Pope in 1548, and so, in Ignatius' eyes, both had the same authority.¹⁷

If the Vulgate was to be the preferred text, as Polanco says in his preface that it must ('*Visa est praeferenda*'),¹⁸ this would appear to be for reasons of style rather than accuracy of translation. It is a style that Giuliani calls *recherché*—affected or mannered—and is occasionally lacking concern for fidelity in the translation.¹⁹ While, during the final seven or eight years of his life, Ignatius himself may have continued to employ the more literal Latin version of 1547 (P2)



Title page of the first printed edition of the Spiritual Exercises

¹¹ *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1968).

¹² *Saint Ignace de Loyola: Exercices spirituels, texte définitif (1548), traduit et commenté par Jean-Claude Guy* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1982).

¹³ *Saint Ignace de Loyola: Exercices spirituels*, 16–17.

¹⁴ *Ignace de Loyola: Écrits*, 39 n. 15.

¹⁵ *Saint Ignace de Loyola: Exercices spirituels*, 17.

¹⁶ *Saint Ignace de Loyola: Exercices spirituels*, 18–19.

¹⁷ *Ignace de Loyola: Écrits*, 39.

¹⁸ *Ignace de Loyola: Écrits*, 39.

¹⁹ *Ignace de Loyola: Écrits*, 39.

as well as the Vulgate, the Vulgate soon became the only Latin version in use, thanks to the insistence of Polanco.²⁰

Though any changes to the authorised text of the Vulgate were forbidden by Ignatius, many important clarifications were suggested by the Fifth General Congregation of the Society of Jesus in 1598.²¹ Their number and extent, made just fifty years after papal approval of des Freux's translation, show how far from perfect this 'definitive' text was seen to be. The sentences needing clarification are marked with an asterisk in the Monumenta, and the suggested rewording appears there in footnotes.

As for English translations of the source-texts, Elder Mullan's of the Autograph has been used to advantage by David L. Fleming in his several editions of the *Spiritual Exercises*.²² An English translation of the Vulgate, by Pierre Wolff,²³ displays some of the differences to be found in comparing the Latin and Spanish texts. In his very insightful and practical commentary, Wolff occasionally makes reference to these differences. He points out, to cite just one instance, that the word 'indifferent' (*indiferentes*), which is often given much prominence and importance in studies of the Principle and Foundation (Exx 23), is not to be found in the Latin Vulgate.²⁴

George Ganss published a translation of the Autograph which also has a very helpful scholarly introduction, and it is there that I was first alerted to another difference between the Autograph and the Vulgate. In the famous prayer 'Take and Receive' (*Tomad, Señor, y recibid*, Exx 234), the final phrase of the Spanish begins with the words '*dadme vuestro amor y gracia*' This is usually translated as 'give me your love and your grace', whereas the Latin Vulgate says, '*Amorem tui solum cum gratia tua mihi dones*', 'Give me only love of yourself along with your grace'.²⁵ Wolff puts this succinctly as: 'Grant me only the grace to love You'.²⁶

²⁰ The Autograph continued to be used in Spain, where it was printed in 1615. An Italian translation of the Vulgate was printed in 1555, while Ignatius was still living. See *Saint Ignace de Loyola: Exercices spirituels*, 17.

²¹ See the first of the clarifying footnotes, which makes reference to the ratification of the amendments by Superior General Claudius Aquaviva, 25 June 1598, MHSJ, MI 1, 144.

²² Most recently in *Draw Me into Your Friendship: The Spiritual Exercises. A Literal Translation and A Contemporary Reading* (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996).

²³ *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, translated and with commentary by Pierre Wolff (Liguori: Triumph, 1997).

²⁴ *Spiritual Exercises*, translated by Wolff. See the text, 11, and the commentary, 110.

²⁵ *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius, A Translation and Commentary* by George E. Ganss (St Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), 184 n. 122.

²⁶ *Spiritual Exercises*, translated by Ganss, 60.

One asks not for still more love but for the grace to respond to God's love.

The opening Latin word of this prayer, *Suscipe*, has a rich history which goes back at least to Virgil, who uses *suscipere* as meaning to *take up* a newborn child from the ground and to acknowledge it as one's own.²⁷ It could perhaps be rendered as 'take under your protection'.²⁸ Charles Seager avoids the ambiguity in the English verb 'take' by translating the Latin phrases this way: 'Receive, O Lord, my whole liberty. Accept my memory, understanding, and whole will'.²⁹ Delmage, however, opts for 'take ... receive',³⁰ and Wolff for 'take ... accept ...'.³¹

Texto Autógrafo (A)	Spanish Autograph	Versio vulgata (V)	The Latin Vulgate
Tomad, Señor, y recibid toda mi libertad, my memoria, my entendimiento, y toda my voluntad, todo my auer y my poseer; [37r] Vos me lo distes, a Vos, Señor, lo torno; todo es vuestro, dispond a toda vuestra voluntad ; dadme vuestro amor y gracia, que ésta me basta.	Take, Lord, and receive all my liberty, my memory, my intellect, and all my will—all that I have and possess. Thou gavest it to me: to Thee, Lord, I return it! All is Thine, dispose of it according to all Thy will. Give me Thy love and grace, for this is enough for me.	Suscipe, Domine, universam meam libertatem. Accipe memoriam, intellectum atque voluntatem omnem. Quicquid habeo vel possideo, mihi largitus es: id tibi totum restituo, ac tua prorsus voluntati trado, gubernandum. Amorem tui solum cum gratia tua mihi dones, et dives sum satis, nec aliud quicquam ultra posco.	Take, Lord, all my freedom. Accept all my memory intellect, and will. All that I have or possess, You have given to me; all I give back to You, and give up then to be governed by Your will. Grant me only the grace to love You, and I am sufficiently rich so that I do not ask for anything else.

It is interesting to note that both P2 and the Vulgate, in translating the preparatory prayer (Exx 46) into Latin, reduce its three elements to two: '*intenciones, acciones y operaciones*' in the Spanish Autograph become '*intentiones et acciones*' in P2, and '*vires atque operationes*' in the Vulgate.³² These two translations of the Autograph cast light on how the seeming redundancy in the Spanish text was resolved, and it is helpful to be able to compare them, both in the Monumenta and in Giuliani's French translations. I am not aware of any English translation of P2.

Comparing the Autograph with the Latin versions, we become aware, says Giuliani, of a convergence of diverse expressions, and with Ignatius

²⁷ Cassell's *New Latin Dictionary* (1959), s.v. 'Suscipio'.

²⁸ Collins *Latin Gem Dictionary* (1957, 1969), s.v. 'Suscipio'.

²⁹ *Spiritual Exercises*, translated by Seager, 130.

³⁰ *Spiritual Exercises*, translated by Delmage, 122.

³¹ *Spiritual Exercises*, translated by Wolff, 60.

³² MHSJ MI 1, 184–185.

we recognise a single inspiration behind these efforts to translate his work. Ignatius never interfered in the process of translation, and showed a rare gift for self-effacement, leaving the field free to whatever the text might open up in the experience of the one engaged in making the Exercises.³³ The source texts (A, V, P1 and P2) enable us to appreciate anew the mind of Ignatius, the mind that struggled over the years to universalise the experience of God working in his life, the mind that freely surrendered his work and that of his translators into the hands of Christ and the Church, and that, no doubt, smiles upon new attempts to render the *Spiritual Exercises* into other languages.

In returning to the sources of the *Spiritual Exercises*, it would seem that, for most practical purposes, however, there are really only two source texts to which to return: the Spanish Autograph, which now exists in many modern language translations and has dominated the field for the past 150 years, and the Latin Vulgate, which is once again finding favour. Rather than opt for one over the other, we can make use of both, as did Ignatius himself.

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³³ *Ignace de Loyola: Écrits*, 39.