CEU Medieval Studies

REWRITING THROUGH TRANSLATION: SOME TEXTUAL ISSUES IN THE *VULGATA* OF THE *EJERCICIOS ESPIRITUALES* BY IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA

Antoaneta Sabău

At the beginning of 1547, André de Freux (known to his companions as Andreas Frusius, d. 1556), a Frenchman of exquisite education and a new Jesuit, made a new rendition of the *Ejercicios espirituales* of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) into Latin, which remained in the tradition of the Society of Jesus as the *Vulgata*.[1] The text was a success and in 1548, after receiving approval from the Papal See, went to print in 500 copies by the generosity of Francis Borgia (1510–1572). The first printed edition of the *Spiritual Exercises* was issued with a preface signed by Juan de Polanco (1517–1576), Ignatius of Loyola's secretary, who speaks about a translation made "word by word," referring to the *Versio Prima*, the first Latin translation, and a second translation which is the *Vulgata* and was preferred for printing, for "[it] not only renders the meaning, but renders it faithfully."[2] Through a comparative textual analysis this article will exemplify the types of transformation that the text of the *Ejercicios espirituales* (henceforth referred to as the *Autograph*) underwent through this second Latin translation, with reference also to the *Versio Prima*. The textual analysis will be framed by a short review of the history of the text and the first Jesuits. I argue that the rapports between the translation and the *Autograph* echo the relationship between the author and the translator as paradigmatic for the connections within the incipient Society of Jesus.[3]

The *Ejercicios Espirituales* and the Incipient Society of Jesus

Researchers agree that the book *Ejercicios espirituales* was not written all at once.[4] The final organization of the content of the book along with the testimony of

[1] John W. O'Malley quoting Hugo Rahner, in *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 177.

[2] Eduard Gueydan, "Avertissements et Préfaces," in *Texte autographe des Exercices Spirirtuels et Documents contemporains (1526–1615)* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1986), 258–260.

[3] This article is based on my MA thesis "Translation and Identy in the 'Spiritual Exercises' of Ignatius of Loyola" (Central European University, 2008).

[4] Cándido de Dalmases, *Histoire de la rédaction des exercices spirituels 1522 à 1548*, in Gueydan, 9–14. See also Pablo de De Leturia, "Génesis de los Ejercicios," *Estudios Ignacianos* 2 (1962): 81–124.

Ignatius himself are witness to this from the early handwritten origins of the *Ejercicios* in Manresa to the first printed copies in Rome.[5] Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580), one of the first Jesuits, distinguished two main periods in the history of writing the book.[6] The first period goes from the year of Ignatius' conversion up to the beginning of his formal studies in Paris (1522–1524) and the second begins in 1537, the year when he finished his studies, and ends in 1548, the year when the *Versio Prima* and the *Vulgata* received the Church's approval. The main body of the text was relatively finished by the time Ignatius arrived in Paris,[7] and in the Parisian years, if not even earlier, the first Latin translation, the so-called *Versio Prima*, was completed, probably by the hand of Ignatius himself. The necessity of a translation was raised by the constant scrutiny of ecclesiastical authorities,[8] as well as by meeting an international readership in the persons encountered in the university environment, for example, among the seven friends who vowed the Montmartre promise[9] and made the spiritual exercises with Ignatius, some were French – Jean Codure (1508–1541), Claude Le Jay (1504–1552) – others were Portuguese – Paschase Broët (c. 1500–1562), Simão Rodrigues (d. 1579) – and there was also a Savoyard – Peter Faber (1506–1546).[10] In Nadal's testimony one can read about the importance of the Parisian years that, while dividing the first "stage" of text elaboration from the latter, was also a turning point in the development of the text. I would argue that it is not without importance that the second period of text development practically ends with the year in which the Latin translations were officially approved. In Nadal's point of view, the preparation of the Latin translations continued and supplemented the writing of

[5] Cf. Ignatius of Loyola, "Autobiografía," in *Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982), chapter 99 (henceforth: "Autobiografia").

[6] Gueydan, 260.

[7] Thomas Laurent, the inquisitor who investigated Ignatius in Paris, preserved a Latin copy of the "Exercitia." Cf. Josephus Calveras, S. J. and Candidus de Dalmases, S. J., ed, *Exercitia Spiritualia Sancti Ignatii de Loyola*, vol. 100, *Monumenta Historiae Societatis Jesu* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1969).

[8] During one of the investigations made by the Inquisition, in Alcalá in 1526, one learns about the "papers" that were to become the book of exercises. Cf. "Autobiografia."

[9] The Montmartre vow is the promise that the eight friends made together to go to the Holy Land and serve God there.

[10] The names of the others are Diego Laínez (1512–1565), Alonso Salmerón (1515–1585), Francisco de Xavier (1506–1552), and Nicolás Alonso Bobadilla (1509–1590). For more information on the practice of the spiritual exercises before the foundation of the Society of Jesus see I. Iparraguirre, *Práctica de los Ejercicios espirituales de san Ignacio de Loyola en vida de su autor (1522–1556)* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1946).

the book and the end was perceived as a part of the completion of the book of exercises.

Difference and Sameness

The language peculiarities Ignatius displays in his *Autograph*, even with quite a large use of Latinisms, remind one of the question Roger Wright addresses in his work: When did Medieval Latin arise as a written language sufficiently distinct to require translation?[11] The difficulty in discussing the spiritual exercises as they appear in Spanish compared to their Latin translation is that the two languages have such an intimate kinship that it is difficult to tell how well-modulated the linguistic awareness of their speakers was. At the time Ignatius wrote his spiritual exercises only two centuries separated him from the appearance of the first written Spanish text. The main difficulty in completing a translation from sixteenth-century Spanish to Medieval Latin was raised by their affiliations; one of the conditions for the initial possibility of any act of translation is the intersection between two languages that are different. This preliminary differentiation is a condition as compulsory as the sameness or equivalence of meaning achieved at the end of a successful translation process.[12] Hence translation becomes precisely the effort to overcome this difference and deliver the meaning of the source language into the target language, driven by the certainty that there is sameness in the two languages that can be discovered throughout the act of translation. Rendering a text from one language into another necessarily entails the discovery of this sameness, after going through the experience of an apparently severe difference. In this respect, Latin and Spanish shared an identity that made the initial experience of difference between the two languages rather ambiguous.

The common scholarly perception of the two Latin versions has followed the labeling of Polanco in his editorial letter to the first printed Latin translation of the *Exercises*,[13] where he states that the two translations are perfect illustrations

[11] Roger Wright, "Translation between Latin and Romance in the Early Middle Ages," in *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeanette Beer, Studies in Medieval Culture 38 (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1997).

[12] In this respect see Anthony Pym, "Translation and Text Transfer: An Essay on the Principles of Intercultural Communication," in *Publikationen des Fachbereichs Angewandte Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz in Germersheim*, series A, vol. 16 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1992), as well as Rainer Schulte and John Biguenet, ed. *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[13] I used the French translation of Polanco's letter from Gueydan, 81–83.

of the situations depicted by the classical dichotomy:[14] *Versio Prima* is an almost perfect example of *verbum pro verbo* translation, while the *Vulgata* aspires to be an example of *sensum pro senso*. To an inexperienced Latinist, as Ignatius must have been when he took up the translation of his text into Latin, the most obvious temptation should have been rendering Spanish words by their formally identical pairs from Latin. How accurate is it to translate *consolación* as *consolatio*, *traer* as *trahere*, *discernimiento de los spiritos* as *discernimentum spirituum*, *indifferencia* as *indifferentia,* or is it simply unavoidable?

Textual Comparison

The fragment quoted below will serve as a sample for the main translation techniques specific to the Vulgata. There is not sufficient evidence to assert whether Frusius made the translation only following the *Autograph* or by consulting the *Versio Prima* as well. Some of the textual data might suggest that he did use the *Versio Prima*, be it simply as a constant reminder of the way he should *not* translate, and maybe his excess of zeal in embellishing the text of the *Vulgata* is justified by the possible simultaneous comparison with the *rudis atque impolita Versio Prima.*[15] The fragment quoted here speaks about the rules concerning the discernment of spirits, offering definitions for spiritual consolation:[16]

[14] M. Tullius Cicero stated the ideal distinction between *verbum pro verbo* and *sensum pro sensum* translations for the first time. The fact that antiquity left its Christian heirs a preference for *verbum pro verbo* translation, although it theoretically opted for *sensum pro senso*, shows that original meaning is thought to be intimately interlaced with factors exterior to the word alone and that meaning is a *construct*, not the isolated sense of a single word. Cf. Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991).

[15] In chapter 10, when Frusius translates *Qui antea in via vitae, quam illuminativam appellant, … fuerint potius versati,* he seems to have chosen a middle-way solution between the Spanish *Quando la persona se exercita en la vida ylluminativa* [when the person is living an enlightened life], and the previous Latin rendition, *Qui versatur in via illuminativa*, Cf. Dalmases, 86.

[16] For this sample the *Versio Prima* translates: *tertia est, quod vocamus spiritualem consolationem omnem motum animae internum, per quem anima accenditur in Dei sui et Creatoris nostri igneum amorem, quando etiam nihil creatum in se diligere valemus, sed quicquid id sit, in Deo, omnium illorum authore, diligimus. item, quando emittit lachrymas excitantes ad Dei amorem, vel ob suorum peccatorum dolorem vel ob memoriam acerbissimae Iesu Christi passionis, vel ob quancunque aliam rem directe in Dei Domini laudem et servitium ordinatam. Voco tandem consolationem omnem profectum et augmentum fidei, spei et charitatis, et omnem gaudium internum, quod quidem impellit et excitat ad caelestia et aeterna, et ad propriam animae ipsius salutem, quietando eam et pacificando in Deo Creatore suo et Domino.* Dalmases, 183.

Autograph	*Vulgata*
3a regla. La tercera, de consolación espiritual. Llamo consolación, quando en el ánima se causa alguna moción interior, con la qual viene la ánima a inflamarse en amor de su Criador y Señor y consequenter, quando ninguna cosa criada sobre la haz de la tierra, puede amar en si, sino en el Criador de todas ellas. Asímismo, quando lança lagrimas motiuas a amor de su Señor, agora sea por el dolor de sus peccados, o de la passión de Xpo nuestro Señor, o de otras cosas derechamente ordenadas en su seruicio y alabanza. Finalmente, llamo consolación todo ahumento de esperanza, fee y charidad, y toda leticia interna, que llama y atrahe a las cosas celestiales y a la propria salud de su ánima, quietándola y paçificándola en su Criador y Señor.[17]	quod spiritualis proprie consolatio tunc esse noscitur, quando per internam quandam motionem exardescit anima in amorem Creatoris sui, nec iam creaturam ullam, nisi propter ipsum, potest diligere. quando etiam lachrimae funduntur, amorem illum provocantes, sive ex dolore de peccatis profluant, sive ex meditatione passionis Christi, sive alia ex causa qualibet in Dei cultum et honorem recte ordinata. postremo, consolatio quoque dici potest fidei, spei et charitatis quodlibet augmentum; item laetitia omnis, quae animam ad caelestium rerum meditationem, ad studium salutis, ad quietem et pacem cum Domino habendam, solet incitare.[18]

For the *Autograph*, the person for the generalization phrases varies from the first person singular – *llamo consolación* – to the third person plural. In the Latin translation, as one sees at the beginning of this paragraph and again in the closing statement of the paragraph, as well as in most cases in the *Vulgata*, it is the third person singular – *spiritualis proprie consolatio tunc esse noscitur* – that makes the

[17] Chapter 376. "Third Rule. The third: Of Spiritual Consolation. I call it consolation when some interior movement in the soul is caused, through which the soul comes to be inflamed with love of its Creator and Lord; and when it can in consequence love no created thing on the face of the earth in itself, but in the Creator of them all. Likewise, when it sheds tears that move of love for its Lord, whether out of sorrow for one's sins, or for the Passion of Christ our Lord, or because of other things directly connected with His service and praise. Finally, I call consolation every increase of hope, faith and charity, and all interior joy which calls and attracts to heavenly things and to the salvation of one's soul, quieting it and giving it peace in its Creator and Lord."
[18] Ibid., 376.

generalization, abandoning thus possible personal shades of the auctorial voice and giving the text an impersonal and more formal expression.[19]

Compared to the Latin language of the translations, Ignatius' use of the Spanish language is sometimes very expressive and embedded with colloquial shades. Where the original text employed a plastic, visual tone, *ninguna cosa criada sobre la haz de la tierra (nothing created on the face of the earth)*, the *Versio Prima* chose a simplified formula that makes the initial text more abstract – *nihil creatum* – and the *Vulgata* opts for a middle-way solution: *nec iam creaturam ullam*, contributing again to a more sober style.

One of the particularities of Ignatius' style is precisely a conscious redundancy in the service of clarity, a feature that lays the foundation for the development of a technical vocabulary specific for the practice of the spiritual exercises. For example, in chapter 53, the phrase *lo que he hecho por Christo, lo que hago por Christo, lo que debo hacer por Christo* (What I have done for Christ, what I am doing for Christ, what I have to do for Christ) is translated in the *Vulgata* by the more pretentious turn of phrase *quid hactenus dignum memoratu egerim pro Christo, quid agam tandem aut agere debeam.* Another example is the translation of the term introduced in the excerpt above, *consolación (consolation)*, which is widely translated as *consolatio*, but also with *commotio devota*, in chapter 252, and *interna delectatio*, chapter 254. Its opposite concept, *desolación (desolation)*, is translated by *desolatio* or the more specific *tristitia,* chapter 6, and *tentatio*, chapter 321.

Another type of formal transformation that at times acts as an auxiliary for the creation of a more formal voice are transformations that aim at adjusting Spanish expressions to the corresponding Latin. There are situations where the *Versio Prima* is translated literally, keeping even the word order specific to the Spanish language, as when rendering the Spanish *Criador y Señor.* In the excerpt above the correctors of the *Versio Prima* changed the translation of *Criador* to *conditor*, which was more plastic, for the more exact *Creator* and, as is shown in this paragraph, with the even more abstract *author.*[20] One also notes that the term *Señor* is not accurately rendered in the *Versio Prima*, which rather prefers *Deus* (in spite of the correct *Dominus*) or is simply ignored altogether, as the author of the *Vulgata* does on almost every occasion when fixed pairs of words, like *Criador y Señor*, appear and when only one of the terms is translated.

There are passages where the translator's intention to display a more academic Latin is conspicuous, as he tries to do in the above passage by hyper-

[19] The *Versio Prima* translates the phrase as *consolatio vocamus*, and at the end of the paragraph shifts to the singular *voco.*

[20] Dalmases, 79.

translating *inflamarse* with *exardescit* and *a la propria salud* with *ad studium salutis*. The variation in translating *o de otras cosas derechamente ordenadas en su seruicio y alabanza* with *sive alia ex causa qualibet in Dei cultum et honorem recte ordinate* may seem strange. In chaper 16, *que van de peccado mortal en peccado mortal*[21] is translated by the *Vulgata* as *qui facile peccant letaliter et peccatum peccato addunt* and by the *Versio Prima* as *qui ex uno peccato mortali in aliud corruunt*. Both examples are relevant in highlighting one possible feature of Frusius' Latin: while the rendition of *Versio Prima* is a simple translation of the original, the *Vulgata* contains paraphrases using established expressions of ecclesiastic Latin with roots in patristic and scholastic writings. By using *cultum et honorem*, a standard expression referring to the devotion due to God, the Holy Virgin, the saints or parents,[22] Frusius inserted the *Exercitia Spiritualia* into the chain of the Western Latin patristic and scholastic tradition. The same effect is attained by adding *peccatum peccato addunt*, which echoes a rich patristic tradition.[23]

In his translation Frusius displays a consistent effort to clarify obscure terms as a reaction to the rather technical Latin of *Versio Prima*,[24] where much of the vocabulary is not self-explanatory. For one of the central Ignatian concepts, *indiferencia* (indifference),[25] a term which must be understood in its etymological meaning and which the *Versio Prima* renders passim by *indifferentia*, the French

[21] "Who go from one deadly sin to another."

[22] The expression is attested in Lactantius (*et homo agnosceret deum tantorum beneficiorum auctorem, qui et ipsum fecit et mundum propter ipsum ei que cultum et honorem debitum redderet*, Lactantius – *Epitome diuinarum institutionum* Cl. 0086, cap.: 64, par.: 4, pag.: 753, linea: 12) (quoted from: Library of Latin Texts Database [LLT] A (http://apps.brepolis.net/Brepolis; accessed March 17, 2010), but it can also be found in later authors such as Thomas Aquinas (*Ad primum ergo dicendum quod obedientia procedit ex reverentia, quae exhibet cultum et honorem superiori*, *Summae theologiae secunda secundae quaestio*: 104, articulus: 3, responsio ad argumentum: 1, linea: 1) (quoted from LLT B (http://apps.brepolis.net/Brepolis; accessed March 17, 2010).

[23] The expression can be found frequently in Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, and others up to Duns Scotus: (*quare uis adiungere peccatum peccato?*Augustinus Hipponensis, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, Cl. 0278, tract.: 10, par.: 5, linea: 10) (quoted from LLT A (http://apps.brepolis.net/Brepolis; accessed March 17, 2010). I would like to express here my gratitude to Cristian Gaşpar who first brought this aspect to my attention.

[24] The *Versio Prima* establishes more or less consciously a technical lexicon to which only the initiated had access. The expression *sentir y cognocer* is translated into Latin by *discernere*, an important fact, for the Spanish text reflects an earlier stage in the formation of the Ignatian mentality. This phenomenon may stand as proof that the users of the *Spiritual Exercises* had a common background of experience that made it possible for technical language to exist and be understood.

[25] Dalmases, 87–89.

translator paraphrased: *absque differentia nos habere* (chapter 23), *in medio quodam interstitio et aequilibrio subsistere* (chapter 179), *in neutram declinare partem* (chapter 179). When he has to translate *moción* (movement), the term Ignatius uses for any sort of movement of the soul, Frusius is rich not only in synonyms, but in explanatory expressions as well: *spiritus* (chapter 313), *instigatio* (chapter 317), and he translates *segũn la mayor mociõn racional y no mociõn alguna sensual* (pertaining to the most important rational movement and not to a certain sensual movement) with *iuxta rationis ipsius dictamen, seposito carnis appetitu omni* (chapter 182).

Tertium comparationis

The sameness on the grounds of which any translation claims a justified validity is the *tertium comparationis* of the two languages that enter a dialogue through translation.[26] Extreme theorists of translation in the twentieth century, such as Pierre Menard,[27] gave expression to a phenomenon similar to the religiously oriented translation of the early Christians and the Middle Ages: it is not enough to write like the author one is translating or to convey the exact meaning. Nor is the identical reflection of the word order or the faithful replication of the syntax sufficient, but one must also duplicate the identity of the author. One has to *become the author* when translating. This can be asserted in the case of Ignatius of Loyola in the way that the translator of the text is not a mere philologist, but an individual who remakes the steps of the auctorial archetype.

Possibly the most important bond that connected the seven friends in Paris is the fact that each of them carried out the exercises with Ignatius. After this founding practice, two features surfaced as crucial: Ignatius gained spiritual authority over them that later placed him in the leading position of the Society of Jesus,[28] and, at the same time, a transfer of identity occurred from "Master Ignatius" to his friends, a transfer that enabled them to teach the exercises in their turn, and even, for some of them, such as Jerónimo Nadal (1507–1580) and Alonso Salmerón, to participate in the emendation of the book of exercises.

[26] This concept of Platonic inspiration is used by modern linguistics to refer to a common reference that makes communication possible, cf. A. Pym, "Natural and Directional Equivalence in Theories of Translation," *Target* 19, No. 2 (2007): 271–294.

[27] Leena Laiho, "A Literary Work – Translation and Original. A Conceptual Analysis within the Philosophy of Art and Translation Studies," *Target* 19, No. 2 (2007): 297.

[28] There were also members of the initial groups of friends who disputed Ignatius' ability to lead the Society from 1539, the year of their arrival in Rome, until he was on his deathbed. For the "unsupportive" part of the Society see O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 178–220.

When Frusius joined the community in 1541, he had already been an experienced priest in Chartres and there are testimonies that even if he was not part of the first group that was bound by the Montmartre vows, he went through the exercises with Ignatius himself and, after his theology years in Padua, he was Ignatius' secretary for a couple of years. During this time, before translating the whole book of exercises, he translated, at Ignatius' request, the *Rules about Our Thinking with the Church*, which is one of the late additions to the text of the exercises.[29] The common experience of spiritual initiation through the practice of the exercises under the guidance of Ignatius established a certain degree of *sameness* that supported the preservation of the identity of the author and the meanings to be found in the *Spiritual Exercises* itself even before making a translation. If Pierre Menard's ambition to be the author himself may prove to have been excessive and just another extravagance of modern theories of translation, it seems rather fit for the Society of Jesus, mainly because of the affiliation between Ignatius and the rest who shared in the creation of the text and in the production of the translations.

Thus, the premise that formed the starting point for a group of people to all be involved in the same project is that "different authors can write the same work,"[30] as long as the context of the initial creation is repeated, namely, the experience of the spiritual journey Ignatius himself had taken back in the days in Manresa. As the strict chronological development of the text is beyond our reach, one can only speculate on the degree of involvement the other Jesuits had in the actual writing of the text. It is clear, nevertheless, that they did at least have knowledge of the fact that Ignatius was still working on the text while he was in Paris and Venice and it is highly probable, if they did not suggest points to be added or corrected, that they participated in some manner in the elaboration and maybe the form of expressing these points. Nadal's distinction of the two stages of text elaboration before and after the university years could imply that the ulterior emendations of the original text were, if not also the work of the friends found in Paris, at least partially the result of meeting, discussing, and, last but not least, doing the exercises with them. This experience was becoming acquainted with the text before the actual reading of the text itself and can be defined as the point of reference to which all of the companions could commonly appeal. By 1548, the Parisian friends were already called "Jesuits" and the paternity of Ignatius' book somehow lay not in the hands of only one person, but was shared

[29] Iparraguirre, *Práctica de los Ejercicios espirituales*, 170–182.
[30] Laiho, 299.

among a group of people who all had the same style of living. They were sharing the same identity.

Conclusions

The different choices the *Vulgata* makes in translation move between approximations of the source meaning, contrast with the earlier Latin translation, and supplementing the meanings implied in the original text. The *Vulgata* sometimes alters the meaning of the original text to the limit of disobedience, compared to the slavish translation of the *Versio Prima*. It is also relevant that the exigencies pushing for a new Latin translation pertained to rhetoric, as James O'Malley emphasizes in the chapter of his book dedicated to Jesuit education.[31] The sophisticated level of vocabulary he displays demonstrates the multitude of shades added to the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* through the years, as well as the appearance of a new spirit among the Jesuits that mirrored the humanistic model. The language exigencies that shaped the *Vulgata* point to the high education and humanistic formation of the first Jesuit.[32]

The *Vulgata* indicates a figure behind the translation stylistically rather different from Ignatius, and identity of the author is at times overshadowed by the strong profile of the translator. For anyone who attempts to read the texts in parallel, the most powerful impression is that the texts are variations on the same theme, but one cannot establish, outside the historical context, a paternity between them: either the *Vulgata* or the *Autograph* may be an original in its own right. The second Latin translation seems an independent creation precisely because of the freedom the translator took towards the source authorship. Ignatius was elected head of the Society of Jesus, but only after refusing to have this function automatically; he mingled with the group that had come from Paris as among equals,[33] and immersion in a community that became the Society of Jesus in 1539 also meant sharing the authorship of its originating book. Frusius offers proof

[31] O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, 255–256.

[32] Ibid., 229.

[33] On the discussions concerning Ignatius' role as a founder of the Society of Jesus see Dominique Bertrand, *La politique de Saint Ignace de Loyola, Analyse Sociale* (Paris: Éditions Cerf, 1985); André Ravier, *Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus*, tr. Maura Daly, Joan Daly, and Carson Daly (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987); Javier Osuna, *Friends in the Lord: A Study in the Origins and Growth of Community in the Society of Jesus from St Ignatius' Conversion to the Earliest Texts of the Constitutions (1521–1541)*, tr. Nicholas King (London: The Way, 1974).

of this by making an interpretation of the text, as shown above, translating with much freedom of movement.

The authorship of the text is not diminished by ignoring its author when bringing it to the public, but puts the emphasis on the actual text and its universal aspirations rather than on the person of Ignatius. The translation of the *Spiritual Exercises* into Latin was part of a process of "objectifying" a personal experience that thus became the core of a book of spiritual life for universal application. Hence the *Spiritual Exercises* became, from the spiritual diary of a single man, the spiritual manual of an entire community.

The research reported here contributes both to better understanding the relationships between the first Jesuits in the light of the process of translating their fundamental text and highlights some of the extra-textual factors that were actively involved in the translation of the Spiritual Exercises. Further studies could focus on the extent to which the *Vulgata* is a translation of the Spanish *Autograph* or a rewriting of the Latin *Versio Prima*, as well as compiling a full overview of the scholastic and patristic phrases employed by Frusius.