

THE 'ACCOMMODATED TEXTS' AND THE INTERPRETATION OF THE *SPIRITUAL EXERCISES*

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THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *SPIRITUAL EXERCISES* in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*¹ offers not just one text but several. This diversity is not well known—even scholars rarely take it into account. The great majority of studies and interpretations limit themselves to the Spanish text known as the 'Autograph'—so called because Ignatius corrected it in his own hand, although the copying was basically done by an amanuensis. This version was first published in 1615, and it is clearly our primary text. But if we confine our attention to it, we lose some rich material that is authentically Ignatian, and that can serve to clarify, to nuance and to amplify some points that remain uncertain in the Spanish text. Sometimes the cause of the problem is that the Spanish is five centuries old; at other times, Ignatius is using a concise, pregnant phrase that expresses a complex set of ideas. Brevity, loose clauses and economy of expression are fundamental hallmarks of Ignatius' style in the *Spiritual Exercises*.² Back in the 1920s, José Calveras saw this difficulty when it came to words

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¹ MHSJ Exx (1969), edited by José Calveras and Cándido de Dalmases.

² This way of writing has sometimes provoked the claim that Ignatius did not know Spanish properly. Such a claim betrays a misunderstanding of basic aspects of Ignatius' work. Its brevity and concision are appropriate for a text the concern of which is neither to recreate experiences with detailed descriptions, nor to convince with long theological arguments, but to move people to action. Every expression needs to be charged with meaning, with incentive, with any element that is not indispensable being eliminated. The criterion of good style is effectiveness in leading to action. Thus Ignatius makes suggestions and indicates the subject-matter briefly, leaving the work to the exercitant. Elaborate explanations would weaken a text which is aiming to lead a person actually to meditate.

such as ‘affection’ or ‘indifference’, and he wrote several important articles that drew out of the Ignatian writings the various associations that such expressions generally carried with them.³ But Calveras’ approach, which is still worth pursuing in its own terms, needs to be supplemented by another. We need to explore the points of interest and value in the so-called *textus accommodati*—the accommodated texts.

The Different Texts and the Origin of the Exercises

The title ‘accommodated texts’ has perhaps prevented these texts from being given the attention that they deserve. It was Calveras himself who coined the expression to designate manuscripts of the Exercises that were incomplete, or that included a commentary. He contrasted these with what he called *textus archetypi*:

... complete and unglossed texts, those which constitute the ‘book’ of the Exercises as it actually was edited or as it might have been edited.⁴

The ‘official texts’ are: the Autograph already mentioned; the Latin Vulgate of 1548; and the two editions (1541 and 1547) of the Latin *Versio prima*. Calveras’ distinction, which was not made in the earlier critical edition of 1919, rightly served to highlight the primacy of the full text, or better full texts, of the *Spiritual Exercises*. But the distinction also discriminated against a range of texts which are of indubitable value.

The oldest manuscripts of the *Spiritual Exercises* to have reached us are the ‘Text of John Helyar’ (H), dating from 1535-1536, and the ‘Cologne Text’ (C), dating from 1538-1539. The earliest printed edition appeared only in 1548: this was the so-called Vulgate, composed by the Jesuit Latinist André des Freux in an elegant style with a view to its being presented to Pope Paul III for approval. Alongside this there also appeared the *Versio prima*, which had existed since 1541 (P1), but which had now been corrected for the press by

³ See, for example, José Calveras, ‘Técnicismos explicados. I: “Quitar de sí todas las afecciones desordenadas”’, *Manresa*, 1 (1925), 25-42.

⁴ MHSJ Exx (1969), p. 83.

Ignatius' secretary, Juan de Polanco (P2),⁵ and which acquired this title of 'first version' after the approval was given. The Autograph is probably to be dated 1544.⁶

However, the MHSJ editors, Calveras and Cándido de Dalmases, thought that the *Versio prima* was a translation of an older Spanish text that has not come down to us, 'because it is obvious that St Ignatius wrote the *Exercises* in his native language, prior to translating them into Latin'.⁷ For all the logic behind that statement, it lacks historical foundation; the claim cannot be made in these stark terms. It is of course the case that Ignatius, 'very good scribe' (Aut 11) that he was, had the habit of noting down his experiences, and of extracting texts and thoughts that seemed important to him. And we have to suppose both that such notes were in Spanish, and that they were sketches for what later became the definitive texts.⁸ But this does not necessarily mean that before the Latin versions, and above all before the Helyar and Cologne texts, Ignatius had written a full text of the *Exercises* in Spanish, designed to be used in the same way as we now use the *textus archetypi*.

The testimony from Ignatius that leads us to suppose the existence of a Spanish text of the *Exercises* in the Alcalá period (1525-1526) comes in the so-called *Autobiography*:

While in Alcalá he was also occupied in giving spiritual exercises and in explaining Christian doctrine ... (Aut 57)

There is then reference to a process some months later in Salamanca:

Frías the bachelor came to question each of them individually, and the pilgrim gave him all his papers—these were the *Exercises*—so that he could examine them. (Aut 67)

But if we remember that this autobiographical narration began in 1553, in other words five years after the first printing of the *Spiritual*

⁵ MHSJ Exx (1969), pp. 106-121.

⁶ MHSJ Exx (1969), pp. 95-96.

⁷ Cándido de Dalmases, 'Los estudios del P. Calveras sobre el texto de los Ejercicios', *Manresa*, 37 (1965), 385-406, here 396.

⁸ See Manuel Ruiz Jurado, 'El texto de los Ejercicios de san Ignacio', *Manresa*, 69 (1997), 171-186, at 173-174.

Exercises, the historical credibility of these statements diminishes significantly. Either the author, who was by now an old man, or the editor, Luis Gonçalves da Câmara, could easily be projecting on to the past what was by now a familiar reality to them. Alternatively, the text might be giving a familiar name, for the reader in 1553 and later, to those ‘papers’ in 1527, which were in fact no more than some notes, headings and reflections that later were replaced by the text we now call the *Spiritual Exercises*.

Such evidence as we have, from letters and from the trial records in Alcalá, suggests that Ignatius was using significant elements of what we now know as the Exercises by the mid-1520s. But there is no mention of anything like a complete text, nor are the words ‘spiritual exercises’ used in any Ignatian writing to have come down to us from before 1536.⁹ Typical of Ignatius’ language in the early 1530s is what we find in a letter he wrote to his brother, Martín García de Oñaz, in June 1532. Here Ignatius is making contact with his family for the first time since his departure in 1521. He is explaining the changes he has made in his life, and gives an account of what he has been up to. He never talks about an ‘exercise’, and when he speaks of his apostolic activities he writes of ‘many social contacts (not for personal ends)’.¹⁰ Such an indirect expression is paralleled in the expressions found in the process reports from Alcalá referring to Ignatius’ apostolic activity: ‘conversations’ and ‘talks’. The Helyar text, which can be dated precisely to 1535 or 1536, uses the word ‘exercise’, but it does not bear the title *Spiritual Exercises*, as one might have expected; instead it speaks of entering a ‘stadium of spiritual meditations’, with the word ‘stadium’ taking up the sporting metaphor in Ignatius’ explanation of what spiritual exercises are (Exx 1).

The composition of the *Spiritual Exercises* was a process that lasted twenty years. The experiences Ignatius had at Loyola and Manresa were generative and foundational, and he clearly reflected intensely upon them in writing. But we have no basis for knowing what the

⁹ The first use comes in a letter from Ignatius to Manuel Miona, 16 November 1536: ‘... the only way I knew of repaying you some slight percentage was by arranging for you to make a month’s *Spiritual Exercises*’ (Saint Ignatius of Loyola, *Personal Writings*, edited and translated by Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean [London: Penguin, 1996], 138-139, here 138.)

¹⁰ Ignatius to Martín García de Oñaz, late June 1532, in *Personal Writings*, 118-123, here 120: ‘*muchas conversaciones, mas no temporales*’.



The River Cardener in Manresa

content of his notes was, and nor can we say with any certainty that he was using the expression 'spiritual exercises' until the mid 1530s. The various attempts by scholars to trace elements in the text back to Manresa all yield conflicting results, and remain conjectural; they are simply reading too much into sources which were not intended to yield this kind of information.¹¹

When Ignatius left Manresa, he intended to go to Jerusalem and remain there permanently (Aut 45). Where would he have found any possible exercitants? What language did he intend to use? The Holy Land was under the control of the Turks. His realistic apostolic possibilities would have been very limited: perhaps only witness, prayer, help to the poor and needy, and the possibility of a martyr's death.

¹¹ Henri Watrigant, *La genèse des Exercices de saint Ignace de Loyola* (Amiens: Yvert et Tellier, 1897); Arturo Codina, *Los orígenes de los Ejercicios Espirituales* (Barcelona: Balmes, 1926); Pedro de Leturia, 'Génesis de los Ejercicios de S. Ignacio y su influjo en la fundación de la Compañía de Jesús', in *Estudios ignacianos*, edited by Ignacio Iparraguirre, 2 volumes (Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1957), 2.3-46; Henri Pinard de la Boullaye, *Les étapes de rédaction des Exercices de S. Ignace* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1950).

At Manresa, Ignatius made 'his' Exercises, and had the most important spiritual experience of his life. He made notes of this experience, but we do not know what they contained. What we do know is that out of this experience there would eventually come the text that we know as the *Spiritual Exercises*. We can find some elements of this in the Alcalá trial processes, and in the ten letters we have that date from before 1535. But it is only after that date that we have good historical sources for speaking of a text of the *Spiritual Exercises*. And these sources include two of the so-called *textus accommodati*, to which we now turn.

The Helyar Text

The Helyar text was discovered by Pietro Tacchi Venturi, and first published in Arturo Codina's 1919 MHSJ edition of the Exercises.¹² The name derives from that of John Helyar (1503-1541), an English priest and a humanist, who was secretary to Cardinal Reginald Pole. In 1535, or perhaps in early 1536, he was in Paris, before passing on to Leuven, where he spent an entire year. It was in Paris that he made the Exercises, with either Ignatius himself or Favre as his director.

The copy of the *Spiritual Exercises* was found in a book containing Helyar's personal notes. It gives us the basic structure and elements of the Exercises, but with in most cases a far briefer content. The order is also somewhat different: introductory material; the general Examen; the First Week Exercises, and then those of the Second, Third and Fourth Weeks; methods of prayer; discernment of spirits; particular Examen and daily Examen; the additional directions. Between the methods of prayer and the discernment material there comes something which is not found anywhere else in the manuscripts. It is entitled, 'What is to be done after the Exercises in order to preserve oneself', and gives some appropriate meditations, including one on Pentecost and the coming of the Holy Spirit that is not envisaged in the definitive text.¹³

¹² See now MHSJ Exx (1969), pp. 418-454.

¹³ MHSJ Exx (1969), p. 450. 'For a month, the Examen should be made twice a day. Also every eighth day a lay person should go to confession and receive the eucharist. A priest should celebrate at least twice a week. Contemplations should be done daily for an hour, that is half an hour praying and half an hour contemplating. And we can contemplate in the two ways.' Quite what those last two sentences mean is not clear. There then follows a programme of points for contemplation over a week,

Already in the Principle and Foundation we find some important differences from the official texts. The Principle and Foundation appears as the third of three 'useful precepts' regarded as appropriate for entering the 'stadium of spiritual meditations'. There is no substantial difference in form or content from the text now familiar to us, although there is no mention of freedom or of free will. The 'Presupposition' that comes before the Principle and Foundation in the final text appears here as the third of the 'useful precepts'.¹⁴

The particular examen is separated from the general one, and appears at the end. The content of both is much reduced in comparison with the definitive text. The similarities, however, become much closer once we look at the four Weeks. The First Week in the Helyar text corresponds almost exactly with the *Versio prima*, apart from some very slight changes. The same applies to the Second Week, although the Three Modes of Humility come after the three 'times' of Election, and this material has not yet been fully elaborated. We can say, then, that the First Week and a part of the Second had attained their final form around 1535, and the same applies to the Third and Fourth Weeks. The discernment rules, however, are still inchoate.

specified as beginning on Friday and finishing on Thursday. 'It is suitable for the conservation and increase of the spiritual things acquired to admit dealings that are similar to its purpose and drift, choosing the better and more spiritual ones, and withdrawing from what runs counter.'

¹⁴ The full text of the three 'Annotations' runs as follows:

'Firstly, we must enter into the Lord's praise, or into the Spiritual Exercises, with a great and generous spirit, in such a way that we hand over everything that is ours, what is interior as much as what is exterior, our memory, understanding, will and affections—then our whole soul and body and its members and other goods; so that He may dispose both of me and of everything that is mine for His will and good pleasure, without my own desire or aversion.

'Secondly, the human person is created for the praise of God and for the salvation of their soul. Thus all things created on the face of the earth are created for the human person, that they may praise God, and save themselves. From this it follows that the human person must take from created things of this kind only as much as will help towards the praise of God and their salvation; and they must repel those things in so far as they harm the person as regards this kind of end. From which it is clear that we must be indifferent about these created things: in other words, I must not will, unconditionally and without reference to duty, prosperity more than adversity, rest and quiet more than business and toils, poverty more than riches or vice versa, honours more than insults, a long life rather than a short one, health rather than sickness, life rather than death; and conversely, not will them at all apart from the extent to which I shall have judged this or that to be more for the service of God and the salvation of my soul, without any carnal or sensual affection.

'Thirdly, given that any statement put forward will have different meanings, I must always have my mind more ready to salvage it than to condemn it; and when I will not be able to salvage it, I shall ask from the person how they understand it. Finally, if that person has a bad sense of things, and advocates the worse interpretation, I shall, after some questioning, correct them; and if they refuse to be corrected, I shall seek all seemly and possible means for saving this kind of soul, and for casting this kind of error away from it.' (MHSJ Exx [1969], p. 429)

There is no trace of the Contemplation to Attain Love, of the Rules for Thinking with the Church, or of the Mysteries of the Life of Christ. It is worth noting, too, that there are biblical references that the official texts do not contain—a point which brings out quite clearly, despite the official texts' lack of quotations, the biblical character of these meditations.¹⁵

The Helyar text is a source of enormous value

Though the Helyar text may not fully correspond to what Ignatius gave the Inquisitor, Fray Valentin Liévin, in 1535 before leaving for Azpeitia (Aut 86), it is the nearest thing we have to a source for that text. To refuse to take it seriously on the ground that there may have been a more accurate text in Spanish is to undervalue a historical source of enormous value. Moreover, anything Ignatius would have given an Inquisitor in Paris would probably have been in Latin; it is unlikely that the Inquisitor would have known Spanish; and Latin was the normal language for study, for international communication, and for dealing with Inquisitors. Be all that as it may, the Helyar text, despite its conciseness and the way it is put together, would nevertheless provided material for the full thirty days.

The Cologne Text

In the Cologne text,¹⁶ dating from 1538, we have now the complete exercises apart from the Mysteries of the Life of Christ, although there are allusions even to these. In the place where the Mysteries would come, we find the annotations that the definitive texts place first. The text thus begins with its version of Exx 21 'There follow some spiritual exercises', and then follows the standard order, although with a much shorter examen. There probably existed only the first thirteen of the Rules for Thinking with the Church; the original scribe breaks off after rule 11, and the subsequent scribe, who must have worked much later, took the final five rules from the Vulgate, not from the *Versio prima*. The text's name is due to its having been found in the Cologne

¹⁵ In the Examen, Jeremiah 4: 2; in the Call of the King, Psalms 142, 8: 2, 24: 4-5; in the meditation on the birth of Christ, Isaiah 1: 3; in the Two Standards, Isaiah 54: 4, 1 Corinthians 2: 9, Romans 6: 23, Proverbs 5: 22, 1 Timothy 6: 10; in the Three Methods of Prayer, Deuteronomy 6: 5, Matthew 22: 37, Mark 12: 30, Romans 8: 32.

¹⁶ MHSJ Exx (1969), pp. 454-506.



A Canal in Venice

Charterhouse, where Favre left it after he passed through in 1543. It is kept in the city's municipal archive.

Only two years separate the Helyar and Cologne texts, a period which Ignatius spent largely in Venice in the expectation of embarking for Jerusalem. Ignatius spent the first year of this time completing his theological studies privately, until his companions arrived from Paris in January 1537. We can suppose that he enjoyed in 1536 a time of study, peace and recollection, and that this was an ideal opportunity for the revision and expansion of the *Spiritual Exercises*. He would subsequently complete them definitively in Rome, with the *Versio prima* being completed in 1541, under the heading 'all the Exercises briefly, in Latin', as an indication that the work had now received its final form.

The Exercises of Master John

The Annotations

Of the so-called ‘accommodated texts’, the most striking and original is that known as the Exercises of Master John.¹⁷ The manuscript consists of four notebooks, with comments by Ignatius himself. It goes only as far as the Three Classes but, importantly, it contains a text that has been considerably elaborated. Originally it was attributed to Polanco, but this judgment of Calveras was set aside by Dalmases on the ground that the manuscript dates from 1539-1541, when Juan Polanco had not even begun his study of theology. Yet, says Dalmases, the text contains numerous scriptural quotations and appeals to authorities, and presupposes theological study. If Polanco is excluded, the author can only be Jean Codure, who died in 1541, and it would have been put together at the same time as the *Versio prima*.

What, however, lends this text its authority and importance is the fact that it was put together under Ignatius’ direction, as witnessed by the various notes in his own hand that we find in the text. We have already seen how, at the beginning of the *Versio prima*, Ignatius has designated the text as ‘all the Exercises, briefly, in Latin’; he was surely distinguishing that text from this of Master John, or from other amplified texts of the Exercises that were being mooted. Herein lies the major significance of this text: in it we have, in modern terms, an initial commentary on a major part of the *Spiritual Exercises*, checked over by their author. This makes it a text of foundational importance in the study and interpretation of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

As regards method, the Exercises of Master John do not offer any great new insight; they correspond in almost every respect to the definitive texts. But matters are different with regard to the content, which contains extensive glossing and explanation.

Generally, the glosses are accompanied by scriptural quotations. Thus, as early as the first annotation, by way of explanation as to what is meant by ‘spiritual exercises’, we find quotations of Psalm 77:6 (‘I meditated at night with my heart; I was exercising and searching my spirit’), of Psalm 119:23 (‘your servant was exercising within your

¹⁷ MHSJ Exx (1969), pp. 507-590.

statutes'), and 1 Timothy 4:7 ('exercise yourself in godliness').¹⁸ These quotations considerably enrich what we understand by 'spiritual exercises', setting the asceticism of the original within a biblical context missing from the official texts.

There is a second annotation, not found at all in the official texts. It gives three different ways of understanding the relationship between meditation and contemplation.¹⁹ In the rest of the annotations, what is striking is the large number of biblical passages, nearly all from the New Testament or from the Psalms.

The Principle and Foundation here carries the title, 'The Purpose of the Christian Human Being', and there is a more theological argument for how the 'principle and basis of the whole spiritual edifice' for the Christian consists in knowing what his or her purpose is. Regarding indifference, further specifications are given:

... not health rather than sickness, a long life rather a short one ...
to be a prince rather than a subject, to live in marriage rather than
celibate, in the world rather than in the religious life.

At the end, we find an additional phrase:

... and to set ourselves at the arrival port of our pilgrimage, that is
in the supreme love of God and the exact observance of the
commandments.

This phrase brings out the eschatological dimension to the practical wisdom in the Principle and Foundation, and leads into two extra paragraphs bringing out the importance of watching and prayer, supported by Gospel quotations (Mark 14:38; Matthew 24:42; Luke 12:37), and especially the importance of the Examen:

But for purging the spirit from its sins, nothing can be more useful
than your assessing the drifts of your thoughts, words and deeds,
and making an account of them, twice daily, at midday and in the
evening.

¹⁸ The biblical quotations in the Exercises of Master John are given according to the Latin Vulgate. The translations given here are based on NRSV, modified where the Latin suggests it is necessary. Psalm numbering follows the Hebrew Bible.

¹⁹ The full text of this annotation is given at the end of the selection of extracts which follow this article, along with representative selections of the First and Second Week material.



The River Tiber in Rome

Thus we are enabled to understand better the organic role of the Examen within the Exercises.

The First Week

The preparatory prayer to the first exercise of the First Week brings out the need for grace:

For both Scripture in various places, and the teaching of the Fathers, tells us of how grace is necessary for this, and how we need God's help. For of ourselves, we can do nothing other than fall into sin.

There is nothing new in the preludes, apart from a few biblical quotations by way of reinforcement. Thus the petition for true shame is supported by the examples of Magdalen (equated with the woman who was a sinner in Luke 7:38), and King David (2 Samuel 12:16).

By contrast, the three points contain much new material. The first, on the sin of the angels, distributes the task of meditation among the three powers of the soul. The memory has to recall the perfections with which the angels were created, and how a group of them, under the leadership of Lucifer, rebelled against God in pride. Not only does

the text speak explicitly of Lucifer, but it also cites one of the classic texts to characterize his sin: Isaiah 14:13—'I will ascend to heaven; I will raise my throne above the stars of God; I will be like the Most High'.

The understanding, which naturally reasons—'drawing some things by reasoning on others'—is meant not only to compare our personal sins with those of the angels, but also to meditate on how the fallen angels remain forever in their sin of pride without repenting, while humanity is given the chance to do penance. 'What extreme goodness has been shown me, so often sinning and refusing the remedy offered me that is penitence.' To emphasize further the state of mind that this part of the meditation seeks to evoke, the text adds a passage from the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:18-19), and also the prayer of the publican in Luke 18:13: 'God, be merciful to me, a sinner!'

The third power, the will, is presented as the queen in the realm of the soul, because it directs the other powers, setting the memory and the understanding in motion.

So there is a comparison between God's dealings with the fallen angels and with ourselves. God has been patiently sustaining us even as we have been sinning for such a long time,

... always inviting you to repentance, and encouraging you to return with him into a state of grace, saying, 'Come to me all you who labour and are burdened and I will refresh you'.

Even the first point of the first Exercise, then, is shaped by the objective of the First Week as a whole: the experience of the extraordinary mercy which God shows to humanity.

The meditation on Hell, which forms the end of the First Week, is salted with no fewer than 26 biblical quotations not found in the official texts, and the Christ-centred meaning of the whole comes out fully in the final colloquy.

The Second Week

The contemplation on the Incarnation in the Master John text is filled out with Pauline ideas, and in particular with the christological hymn found in Philippians 2:5-11:

The Son of God, sent into the world, and made human of a woman, accepting the form of a slave and being found in human

form, was to break down the dividing wall and put an end to the hostilities in his flesh, humbling himself and being made obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.

The density of christological expression here, and the Pauline references, anticipate the reference to the paschal mystery that we find in the definitive text later in the contemplation (Exx 116). The incarnation and the passion are held together by an idea of the pre-existent Christ, whose destiny is not something blindly imposed on him, but rather accepted in the full freedom proper to the Son as he 'humbles himself'.²⁰

The petition in the third prelude is extensively elaborated, in a way that stresses how the Incarnation brings about salvation. Once again the text shows the strong influence of a 'descending Christology' in the *Spiritual Exercises*, of the kind that was, by and large, predominant in the first Christian millennium. One may contrast what happened from the tenth century onwards, particularly with Anselm in the Western tradition, where the emphasis was more on an ascending movement, on how Christ acted in our stead before God. The standard answer to the question, 'why did Jesus Christ die?', in the first millennium was, 'to free us from sin and death, from the power of darkness'; by contrast, later Latin theology, influenced by Anselm, would generally answer, 'to offer himself in sacrifice to the Father and to satisfy divine justice'. Moreover, in the sixteenth century, satisfaction had become substitution, in that Christ made satisfaction 'in our stead'.²¹

The descending Christology continues in the third prelude, along with the themes of human divinisation as a consequence of the Incarnation, and of the exchange that God's descending movement brings about between divinity and humanity. In such a context the

²⁰ For more on Paul and Ignatius, see Rogelio García Mateo, 'San Ignacio de Loyola y San Pablo', in *Ignacio de Loyola*, 65-85.

²¹ See Gustav Aulén, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement*, translated by A.G. Herbert (London: SPCK, 1970 [1930]). It is this later kind of Christology to which the Third Week alludes, in its prayer of Exx 203: 'grief with Christ in grief, shatteredness with Christ shattered, tears, interior pain at such great pain that Christ suffered for me'. The passion and death of Christ appear here as a form of representative expiatory suffering, overcoming our condition of sin and death, with Christ taking these on himself as if he were the guilty one—the kind of interchange also drawing on Paul: 'For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God' (2 Corinthians 5: 21).

well-known Ignatian *de arriba* ('from above'—Exx 237) takes on a new christological resonance.

The Two Standards is not greatly expanded, and follows the official texts quite closely. But its theological language is more technical. When it describes the call of Christ, it speaks of Christ calling all human beings to his standard, wanting them 'to do military service for God under it'. *Militare deo* is the classical expression, with roots in the New Testament ('share in suffering like a good soldier of Christ Jesus'—2 Timothy 2:3), expressing the radicality of Christian commitment. The call of Lucifer cites Romans 6:23 ('the wages of sin is death'). The second point is far more developed than Exx 141 in the standard texts, and makes explicit references to the temptations of Jesus in the desert:

... as is established by the shared consensus of all the holy Fathers and doctors, who hand on the tradition that it was none other than Lucifer himself who tempted Christ after his forty days fast.

Christ's speech is also far more elaborated, and the beatitudes are explicitly cited. The manuscript finishes with the Three Classes, in standard form, although the first prelude is considerably expanded and there are references to John 11:40 and 1 Timothy 6:9-10.

We can see, thus, that it is not just small variants that we have in this text, not just secondary details or insignificant additions. Rather, we find ample explanations of central themes in the *Spiritual Exercises*, yielding an enriched understanding of their theological content, and also a thoroughly biblical framework for interpreting Ignatius' text, centring on the New Testament—a framework dating from the very early history of the Jesuits. Because Ignatius himself revised this text, it provides us with something more than a contemporary commentary; we have what amounts to an authorised expansion, giving us a much more solid and objective basis for articulating the theology of the Exercises.

That enterprise is difficult: the text is extremely concise; there are relatively few biblical references outside the Mysteries of the Life of Christ; some expressions are very obscure and the context is too sparse to yield any insight into their meaning. A theological commentary—and still more a pastoral one—can easily degenerate into a merely personal interpretation. This early manuscript gives us a textual basis

for a different kind of commentary, at once more objective and more rooted in biblical and theological tradition.²²

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²² There are three other significant early manuscripts, the so-called 'Madrid', 'Valladolid' and 'Italian' texts, and also the account of the Elections made by Pedro and Francisco Ortíz. Because they are quite fragmentary, they are not as important as the texts discussed here, but they do deserve a separate treatment. To these we need to add another manuscript found in the National Library of Mexico, commented on by Miquel Batllori in 'Los ejercicios que Nadal llevó a España y las meditaciones de muerte y del juicio', in *Cultura e finanze: Studi sulla storia dei Gesuiti da S. Ignazio al Vaticano II* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1983), 65-98.