

fun, as I recall. In 1953 we were not that different from Chaucer's fourteenth-century pilgrims to Canterbury, or the young people who journey on foot today along the *Camino de Santiago* to Compostela in Spain.

Le

began to fight among themselves. The *Reconquista* of Spain, its retrieval from Muslim hands by the Christian kingdoms that had survived in northern Spain, progressed by fits and starts from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. The Almoravids (*al-Murabitun*), a Berber movement of austere Islamic reform that originated in what is now Morocco, invaded Spain in 1086, originally aiming to assist the beleaguered Muslim princes of Spain. Finally, however, the Almoravids supplanted

massacre.⁶ The Crusaders held the city of Jerusalem for less than a century, converting formerly Jewish and Muslim sacred sites into Christian shrines of various types.⁷ When Judah Halevi left Spain as a pilgrim, then, neither his home country nor his destination were safe places for a Jew. Nevertheless, he still felt the call to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

The desire of Jews to make pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to Jerusalem—to ascend to the Land of Israel, to translate the Hebrew expression literally—derives from the Torah. In the regulations enumerated in the Book of Exodus, the people of Israel are commanded to worship God at regular intervals: “Three times a year you shall hold a festival for me” (Ex 23:14).⁸ The times of those three festivals were connected with stages of the agricultural cycle: the Feast of Passover (*Pesach*) or Unleavened Bread, at the time of planting; the Feast of Weeks or First-Fruits (*Shavuoth*), occurring when the first grains sprout; and the Feast of Tents or Ingathering (*Sukkoth*), associated with the completion of the harvest. The Book of Exodus does not specify where these feasts are to be held, saying only that “three times a year all your males shall appear before the Sovereign, the LORD” (Ex 23:17). The Book of Deuteronomy, however, a document of the seventh century BCE, discovered several centuries after King David’s centering of the united Israelite kingdom and its worship on Jerusalem, insists on the unity of Israelite cultus, implicitly at Jerusalem, referred to anonymously as “the site where the LORD your God will choose amidst all your tribes as His habitation, to establish His name there” (Deut 12:5). Even if the patriarchs had worshiped God in many sacred places (Shechem, Bethel, Beersheba, etc.), such plurality of shrines was suppressed when it was deemed to imply a certain plurality in God. When Solomon consecrated the Temple in Jerusalem in the tenth century BCE, he insisted that everyone, even Gentiles attracted to the faith of Israel, should forever afterwards utter their

prayers while facing in the direction of the Jerusalem Temple: “They will recognize that Your name is attached to this House that I have built” (1 Kings 8:43).

Galut, the experience of exile, entered into the lives of the people of the Northern Kingdom in the late eighth century BCE and then into the lives of the people in the Southern Kingdom in the early sixth century BCE. The Book of Daniel portrays its eponymous hero as one who refused, even in Persia, to submit to the public

influence of the Iranian Muslim intellectual, al-Ghazali, and his rejection of Aristotelian philosophy in an autobiographical memoir he had written a generation earlier, is evident in this work.⁹

In the long run, philosophical knowledge of God in the Aristotelian tradition only leads, at best, to a comprehension of the necessary existence of a First Mover. Halevi's Jewish scholar analyzes the two elements in the biblical name of "the LORD God," claiming that God as *Elohim* "can be grasped by way of speculation, because a Guide and Manager of the world is a postulate of Reason."¹⁰ *Elohim*, then, is pretty much Aristotle's First Mover, at least according to Halevi. But God's name as the LORD—*Adonai*—cannot be understood on the basis of reason alone. *Adonai* as a term substitutes for the unpronounced Tetragrammaton (YHWH), the name God disclosed (or in some sense did not disclose) to Moses in the burning bush when God told the patriarch "I AM WHO I AM" (Ex 3:14). Of that name veiled by the term, *Adonai*, Halevi writes that it "cannot be grasped by speculation, but only by that intuition and prophetic vision which separates man, so to speak, from his kind, and brings him in contact with angelic beings, imbuing him with a new spirit."¹¹ According to Halevi, the superiority of revealed knowledge of God over philosophical knowledge of God corresponded with the superiority of the Jewish religious tradition over other traditions, religious and philosophical, and the superiority as well of the Jews as a people over other peoples. That superiority also attached to the Jewish homeland, which Halevi always referred to as *al-Sham*, the normal Arabic world for the whole area of what is today Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian territories.¹² In this geographical and theological centeredness (not to say ethnocentrism), Halevi continues the tradition of many other ancient and medieval writers, Hellenistic, Christian and Muslim

various climes proving that one or another ho

to read the only two books available in the noble household of Loyola, a life of Christ and a collection of the lives of the saints. Reading these two books changed Ignatius' own life, implanting in him a desire to exchange a career of knightly derring-do for the life of a penitent pilgrim, "going to Jerusalem barefoot."²⁰

After his recuperation at Loyola, but before he undertook that Jerusalem pilgrimage, Ignatius surrendered himself to God during an all-night "vigil of arms,"²¹ kneeling and standing before the famous image of the Black Madonna at Montserrat. There he stripped off his military array and took on the garb of a penitent pilgrim. But his prayer at Montserrat did not end that night. A year of the most excruciating—and yet the most exquisite—encounters with God followed in a village called Manresa, about sixteen miles from Montserrat; that year was the first experience in his own life of what Ignatius later called 'Spiritual Exercises.' At the conclusion of that year he returned to his plan to go as a pilgrim to Jerusalem, but he wanted to make this pilgrimage in utmost poverty and obscurity: "his whole aim was to have God only as a refuge."²² Shying away from the prestige attached to Jerusalem pilgrimage at the time, Ignatius only admitted to a female benefactor in Barcelona that he was going to Italy and Rome, which was a true but incomplete statement. She had a low opinion of people making the pilgrimage to Rome: "Well," she remarked, "those go there come back in I don't know what state."²³ Forewarned, Ignatius only stayed in Rome long enough to get papal authorization for his journey to the Holy Land.

The pilgrimage to Jerusalem made by Ignatius in 1523 did not last very long. Ignatius and his companion pilgrims finally disembarked at Jaffa (in present-day Tel Aviv) on August 31st of that year. They spent about three weeks in Jerusalem and departed again for Jaffa on September 23rd, eventually sailing to Cyprus on October 3rd. Tensions between the Ottoman Sultanate and

the European Christian powers were mounting in the early sixteenth century. Ignatius alludes to these tensions when he remarks that “although that year many pilgrims for Jerusalem had come [to Venice], the majority of them had returned to their homelands on account of the new situation that had arisen as a result of the capture of Rhodes.”²⁴

The first vista of Jerusalem Ignatius and his pilgrim companions would have seen that September day in 1523 centered on the Noble Sanctuary (*Haram al-sharif*) and especially the Dome of the Rock, the monument first erected by the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in the year 691.²⁵ But for Christians in the Middle Ages and later, the Dome of the Rock was often mistakenly identified as a remnant of the ancient Temple in Jerusalem.²⁶ Ignatius, always speaking of himself in the third person as “the pilgrim,” records that “on seeing the city the pilgrim had great consolation; moreover, from what the others were saying it was something they all had, with a joy that did not seem purely natural.”²⁷ The joy Ignatius experienced on first seeing Jerusalem remained with him throughout the three weeks that followed: “[H]e always felt the same devotion during the visits to the holy places.”²⁸

Ignatius on his sickbed in Loyola had imagined that he would “journey to Jerusalem . . . with all the acts of discipline and all the acts of self-denial that a generous spirit, fired with God, generally wants to do.”²⁹ After he arrived in Jerusalem Ignatius even hoped to stay there, if he could persuade the Franciscan Guardian of the Holy Places to let him do so: “His firm intention was to remain in Jerusalem, forever visiting those holy places. And, as well as this matter of devotion, he also had the intention of helping souls.”³⁰ But Ignatius did not tell the Franciscan Guardian of this second reason he wanted to stay. Why did Ignatius try to hide from the Franciscan Guardian his intention of “helping souls” in Jerusalem? “Helping souls” is a key term in Ignatian vocabulary, indicative of a wide range of apostolic activities.³¹ His desire to help

souls would later cause trouble for Ignatius in the two Spanish universities, Alcalá and Salamanca, where he tried to combine his studies with spiritual direction of male and female devotees. Suspicion of *alumbrados* (Gnostic illuminists) was rife in the Spanish Catholic Church at the time. Cándido de Dalmases in his biography of Ignatius maintains that “helping souls” for the pilgrim Ignatius in 1523 would have been a desire to evangelize the Muslim majority in Jerusalem.³² This may have been the reason why the Franciscans did not want Ignatius, a solitary ascetic with hard-to-define religious motives, to stay there in 1523, but the autobiographical memoir of Ignatius makes no specific mention of any missionary intention of Ignatius.

The Franciscan Guardian of the Holy Places was anxious not to provoke the Ottoman authorities. He informed Ignatius that “the [Franciscan] house was in such great need that it couldn’t support the friars,”³³ and when Ignatius replied that he had not been hoping to move into their house, the Guardian apparently relented, but said that he could not grant the permission until his Provincial Superior returned. When the Provincial did return, he turned down the request of Ignatius based on bad past experiences of such permanent pilgrims: “For many people had had this desire, and then one had been taken prisoner, another had died, and then the [Franciscan] order had been left having to ransom the prisoners.”³⁴ His pious desires frustrated, Ignatius took ‘No’ for an answer with some truculence. The Franciscan Provincial told him of

pilgrimage of limited duration, in any case: “We all went to the chapel of Saint Mary called Montmartre near Paris so that each one of us could make a vow to go to Jerusalem for a specified amount of time, and after the return from there to put oneself under obedience to the Roman Pontiff.”⁴²

What residue of the achieved pilgrimage of 1523 and the unachieved pilgrimage of the 1530s remains in Ignatian spirituality? In the text of *Spiritual Exercises* Ignatius several times urges those who engage in these Exercises to use their imaginations to make an interior pilgrimage, as in this example from the Second Contemplation on the Nativity: “[S]ee with the eyes of the imagination the road from Nazareth to Bethlehem, considering the length and breadth of it, whether it is a flat road or goes through valleys and hills; and similarly to look at the place or grotto of the Nativity, to see how big or small it was, how low or high, and what was in it” (*Sp. Ex.* §112). He sometimes even urges those making this and other contemplations to put themselves into the scene along with Mary, Joseph and the Infant Jesus: “Making myself into a poor and unworthy little servant, I watch them and contemplate them, and serve them in their needs as if I were present, with all possible submission and reverence, and afterwards I reflect within myself to derive some profit” (*Sp. Ex.* §114). Such visual contemplation and what might even be called role-playing plunges those who engage in these Exercises into a different experience of God than does abstract meditation on the things of God.

Ignatius carried his pilgrimage on throughout his life, living out in his imagination, wherever he found himself, the living and dying and rising of Jesus in the Holy Land he was never able to revisit. His prayerful pilgrimage changed him, transformed him. The life of every Jesuit—the life of everyone formed in the Ignatian tradition of prayer—can be similarly

transformed, if we allow ourselves to follow imaginatively in the footsteps of Ignatius, the

Mauritania and Mali. That chief, Yahya ibn Ibrahim, when he made the pilgrimage in the first half of the eleventh century CE, realized that he and his fellow Juddala knew virtually nothing of their faith as Muslims. As a result he hired in a teacher

York City. Early in 1946, the year he turned 21, Malcolm went to jail in Boston for larceny and breaking and entering, spending the next seven years behind bars. During those years, after a period of militant atheism, he eventually felt attracted to the doctrine and practice of the Nation of Islam, submitting to the discipline it involved after 1948.

The Nation of Islam, an African-American religious and political movement, originated in Detroit in 1930, the creation of an extremely elusive person named Wallace Fard, later called Wallace Fard Muhammad. Much mystery surrounds the origins and the later history of this founder, with claims that was a New Zealander of East Indian descent, an Oregonian of Spanish descent, a native of Mecca or even an emigrant from the areas of Asia that are now Afghanistan or Pakistan. After some brushes with the law in California, Fard moved to Chicago and joined the Moorish Science Temple, a religious foundation aimed principally at an African-American clientele intent on becoming Muslims. The Moorish Science version of Islam, somewhat Masonic in its imagery and rhetoric

encouragement of Sunni Muslims whom he had met on several occasions in the past, Malcolm converted to Sunni Islam and made plans to make the *hajj* in April 1964.

As a member of the Nation of Islam, Malcolm never learned many of the basics of the Islamic tradition of faith. He was, for instance, unfamiliar with the Arabic prayers that all Muslims must employ in the five daily times of worship (*salat*). At the urging of Sunni Muslims he had met in New York, Malcolm made the acquaintance of a scholar of Egyptian origin, Dr. Mahmoud Youssef Shawarbi, then the director of the Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada. In a series of private tutorials Shawarbi gradually weaned Malcolm away from the doctrines of the Nation of Islam, and especially its racial theories, eventually interceding with the Saudi embassy to grant Malcolm a visa to make the pilgrimage. Had it not been for connections he had made through Shawarbi and other prominent Arab Muslims in the United States, it is unlikely that Malcolm would have passed muster as a Muslim on arrival in Jeddah. As it turned out, after some initial difficulties, he became an official guest of then Crown Prince Faisal and was accompanied throughout his *hajj* by a *mutawwif*, a guide who accompanies the less instructed on the pilgrimage and shows them how to perform the various rites involved. When Malcolm first saw the Ka'ba within the precincts of the Sacred Mosque of Mecca, the focal point of all Islamic worship throughout the world, he was struck by the diversity of the worshipers who were processing around it, "thousands upon thousands of praying pilgrims, both sexes, and every size, shape, color, and race in the world."⁵¹

Recognition of the multi-racial, multi-ethnic nature of the worldwide Muslim community confirmed what Malcolm had imbibed of genuine Sunni Islam from Dr. Shawarbi. It also allowed him to make some progress into a somewhat deeper and more theocentric appreciation of what life for a Muslim means. The ritual invocation called the *talbiya*—often called *Labbayka*

from its first word in Arabic—is recited in a loud voice by pilgrims when they enter into the consecrated state for the pilgrimage rites; its sums up that theocentrism of Islam and the *hajj* most eloquently: “Here I am, O God, here I am! You have no associate [in Godhead]! To You are due praise, grace and power! Here I am!”⁵² On the day following his visit to the Ka’ba Malcolm, accompanied by his pilgrimage guide, participated in the highpoint of the *hajj*, the rite of standing (*wuquf*) on the hill of mercy nearly twenty miles east of Mecca, Mount ‘Arafat. “Arriving about noon, we prayed and chanted from noon until sunset,” He later wrote. “Finally, we lifted our hands in prayer and thanksgiving, repeating Allah’s words: ‘There is no God but Allah. He has no partner. His are authority and praise. Good emanates from Him, and He has power over all things.’”⁵³

Ten months after the completion of his *hajj*, al-Hajj Malik al-Shabazz was assassinated on the stage of the Audubon Ballroom in New York City on February 21, 1965, a few months short of his fortieth birthday. Had he lived to 2013, he might have participated in the development of mainstream Sunni Islam among African-Americans, as well as among Americans of other racial origins, a development that has been identified, in the aftermath of the death of Elijah Muhammad in 1975, with the work of Warith Deen Muhammad (1933-2008), the

entered the Society of Jesus. My mother found peace in Lourdes after some months of fear and loneliness as she contemplated my becoming a Jesuit later that summer, as well as the imminent marriage of my sister, my only other sibling. The Lady of Lourdes assured my mother that she would never be utterly alone in her widowhood, any more than the Woman entrusted to the care of the Beloved Disciple was ever really alone after that day on Golgotha. I myself also learned something about prayer those days in Lourdes, catching sight one evening of a French boy scout around my

pilgrims, found genuine Islam there, prayer that is valid in the submission of one's whole self to God and to God alone. That experience changed him during the last year of all too short a life.

Without traveling anywhere, each of us is still called to be a pilgrim, a woman or man of

¹⁹ Ibid., 177.

²⁰ “Reminiscences,” in *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, trans. and ed. Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 15. The various writings of Ignatius

