**Christian Spirituality and Muslim Mysticism in the theological thought and life of Bishop Kenneth Cragg (1913-2012) in dialogue with Dag Hammarskjöld.**

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**I, David Derrick confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.**

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**Abbreviations:**

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions A.B.C.F.M.

American University of Beirut AUB

Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society BCMS British Overseas Airways Corporation BOAC

The Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments;

and other rites and ceremonies of the church

according to the use of the Church of England,

together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David BCP

Cambridge University Press CUP

Church Missionary Society  CMS

Compare cf

English as a lingua franca ELF

Following f

International Journal of English Language, Literature in Humanities IJELLH

Institute of Carmelite Studies ICS

Inter-varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Christian Unions IVFECU

Middle East Christian Outreach MECO

National Council of the Churches of Christ **NCCC**

**None given ng**

Oxford University Press OUP

Order of Carmelites O. Carm

Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies QIJIS

State University of New York Press SUNY

United Nations UN

**US State Abbreviations List**

Official state abbreviations have all been standardized by the United States Postal Service (USPS). State postal abbreviations are all two letters, and these two letters are always capitalized without any periods [Gunner, J, 2022].I am grateful to the following people:

Nigel Reed, for his assistance with French translation, in particular:

Durel, B. (2002). *Au jardin secret d’un diplomate suédois: Jalons de Dag Hammarskjöld, un itinéraire spirituel*. La Vie Spirituelle (Paris), 82, 901-922 [Durel, B, 2002].

Karl Manley, for his assistance with Swedish translation, in particular:

Stenström, T. (2001). 'Andrew Thomas Kania: The Art of Love. A Study of Dag Hammarskjöld's Mystical Theology. 354 sid. Diss. Uppsala 2000'. *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalsskrift (S.T.K. Swedish Theological Quarterly)*, 77(2), 92-94.  [Stenström, T, 2001].

Huls, J. (1991). 'Tro är, skapar och bär'. *Signum*, 9-10 [Huls, J, 1991a].

Tinch Minter, for her assistance with German translation, in particular:

Röhlin, R., & Röhlin, K. H. (2005). *Dag Hammarskjöld - Mystiker und Politiker: Visionen für heute. [Dag Hammarskjöld - mystic and politician: visionary for today]*. München: Kösel [Röhlin, R & Röhlin, KH, 2005].

**Abstract**

This thesis is an exploration of the life and theological thought of Bishop Kenneth Cragg (1913-2012). The fundamental research question is to what extent has spirituality and mysticism, both Cristian and Islamic, played in the life and work of Cragg. Cragg is a noted scholar and explorer of Islam and Christian Muslim encounters, who also investigated the character of Sufism and the Muslim Mystical Tradition. The importance of mysticism in the religious thought of Cragg is rarely given account in the existing scholarship. I have attempted to retrieve the foundations of Cragg's theological thought which allow us to review the religious character of Islam as he understood it. Cragg's distinctive account of Christian Spirituality can only be understood from the perspective of his deep attachment to the Church of England, its history and ecclesial tradition. Cragg's thought is Protestant in doctrine and evangelical of instinct. Cragg had been profoundly attached to and influenced by the Swedish religious and public servant who became second Secretary General of the United Nation, Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-1961). I assess Cragg's theology in dialogue with the religious thought of Hammarskjöld, especially noting the idea of mysticism. This thesis offers an original interpretation and account of Kenneth Cragg based upon his extensive writings and his encounters over a long working life.

**1. Introduction: The importance of studying Kenneth Cragg's theological and religious thought on the question of Christian Spirituality and of Mysticism in the Muslim Tradition.**

Kenneth Albert Cragg (generally known as Kenneth Cragg) having been born in 1913 saw and was influenced by most of the events of the 20th century both world-wide and parochial. He lived and amazingly continued to work into the 21st century, dying in 2012. He was considered a 'trail blazer' in the emerging Christian-Muslim encounter.[[1]](#footnote-1) He rejoiced in the English language, revelled in its literature, and caroused in the ideas from a sheaf of disciplines covering such areas as theology, philosophy, psychology, the sciences, and history. Although he had a reputation for shunning politics and power, these also enter his work. One area on which he seldom comments is that of the Performing Arts. While he frequently quotes from Shakespeare, and other playwrights, he never sets the words within an actual production. Painting, drawing and the plastic arts are other areas largely ignored by Cragg. Nor does he dwell on the 'spirituality of music'.[[2]](#footnote-2) The great composer Beethoven[[3]](#footnote-3) is quoted as saying 'Music is indeed the mediator between the spiritual and sensual life' [von Arnim, B, 1839, pp. 210-211]. Spirituality and mysticism are areas of Cragg's life and work that have received little attention, which this thesis identifies and tries to redress the balance.

Kenneth Cragg is well-known for his approach to Islam and to Muslim Christian dialogue which arises from this encounter. Many authors have commented on his numerous books and articles on these subjects. Yet a significant area of his life and work that has been largely overlooked, the importance of mysticism and spirituality in both his life, work, and publication. Although he has written comparatively little specifically on mysticism and spirituality, and many writers have largely ignored or overlooked this aspect of Cragg, the shadow of mysticism and spirituality is a constant throughout his life and work. Cragg was a great thinker, and challenges us to see things anew. Cragg needs to be read with suspicion, as he wants us to do. This will mean reading Cragg against Cragg, paying attention to little hints and slips, and often going beyond the horizon he points to but does not always travel to. Loren D. Lybarger also sees this self-limiting in Cragg's work:

Cragg, at times, seemed to resist the full implications of his position. Participants in the interreligious encounter, Cragg insisted, did not relinquish their core beliefs. On the contrary, they retained their norms, sifting and judging what they received within the framework of their foundational commitments [Lybarger, LD, 2015, p. 146].

However, Cragg also insists that the actors in interreligious encounter must also allow their self-understandings to change, 'Encounter ought to revise our judgment about who we truly are and why' [Cragg, K, 1994c, p. 265].

**1.1 Kenneth Cragg's Methodology**

Before outlining the methodology used in this thesis, Cragg's methodology will be considered.

For me it will always be important to seek the text of the life as well as the text of the writing [Cragg, K, 1995, p. 400].

So wrote Albert Kenneth Cragg, scholar of Islam, poet, theologian, missionary, bishop, husband, and father. For Cragg, how one lived one's life was as important as religious doctrine and dogma. Thus 'the context is the clue to the content' [Cragg, K, 1999b, p. 181]. In his semi-autobiographical book, *Faith and Life Negotiate: A Christian Story-study,* he explains the wording of the title, that faith and life 'negotiate' in the sense that each takes honest responsibility for the other [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 227].

While it is possible to separate the two, it is at the risk of truncating thought devoid of context. Thus, in this study attention is particularly focused on Cragg's life in relation to the development of his thought (and his soul). How Cragg lived out his faith is as intrinsically important as what he wrote about his Christian faith and its relation to Islam.

Although this thesis draws on Cragg's lifelong relations with Islam as a deeply committed follower of Jesus Christ, it is not meant to be a biography. That fascinating life story has yet to be written. However, in the semi-autobiographical book *Troubled by Truth—Life Studies in Inter-Faith Concern*, Cragg writes that that:

...biography has always been the first clue to theology, and in Christian tradition the reality of God is believed to have been biographized in Jesus as the Christ [Cragg, K, 1992, p. Preface].

This link between biography and theology will be further developed in this thesis.

Reviewing *Troubled by Truth*, Henry Rowold[[4]](#footnote-4) sets out Cragg's methodology in the book which is:

to provide for each a biographical context, a summary and a probing of his/her distinctive convictions and contributions, and an interaction with their viewpoints. Not only are we introduced to many seminal thinkers, some of whom may be otherwise unknown to us, but we are led to think new thoughts and to rethink old thoughts [Rowold, H, 1998, p. 107].

However, Christopher Lamb[[5]](#footnote-5) makes this observation, 'I have suggested that Cragg’s theology is eclectic rather than system­atic, and moves in part at least by the prompting of location ... It is not a methodical search for ideas congruent with his own' [Lamb, C, 1997, pp. 14-15].

**1.1.1 New Historicism**

While Cragg's work may not employ a systematic methodology, it does exhibit elements of New Historicism. This thesis posits that while Cragg has not consciously adopted the methodology of New Historicism, much of his methodology falls within its sphere. New Historicism is a literary theory that became prominent in the early 1980s based on the idea that literature should be studied and interpreted within the context of both the history of the author and the history of the critic. Based on the literary criticism of Stephen Greenblatt after his publication of *Renaissance Self‐Fashioning* and influenced by the philosophy of Michel Foucault, New Historicism acknowledges not only that a work of literature is influenced by its author's times and circumstances, but that the critic's response to that work is also influenced by his environment, beliefs, and prejudices. Moreover, Gina Hens-Piazza, in her book, *The New Historicism*, sees the approach as 'a means to cross over the sharply drawn border that currently separates historical studies from literary studies in the biblical field' [Hens-Piazza, G, 2002, p. 2].

Neema Paravini[[6]](#footnote-6) in his chapter, *New Historicism,* gives a concise outline of the evolution of New Historicism and, its main promoters and critics [Parvini, N, 2020]. He further notes that:

...new historicists came to specialise in writing essays in a particular form. They would very often begin with an eccentric historical anecdote that reveals some fundamental aspect of early modern culture. The new historicist essay is marked by its unexpected turns and by the apparently arbitrary linkages made between anecdotes, cultural artifacts, and literary texts [Parvini, N, 2020, p. 240].

In Cragg's book, *God’s Wrong is Most of All: Divine Capacity: Per Necessitatum Christianus* [Cragg, K, 2006a], The quotation 'God's wrong is most of all' is taken from Shakespeare's Richard III, Act 4, scene 4:

Queen Elizabeth: God’s wrong is most of all.

If thou didst fear to break an oath with Him,[[7]](#footnote-7)

and the theme is explored further through several of Shakespeare’s tragic plays, and of the emanating world view.

Commenting on Cragg's work, Christopher Lamb writes that:

The range of his quotations reveals a mind with broad sympathies, and a highly developed skill for making connections between apparently unrelated topics. Among novelists he quotes from Americans in particular —from Hemingway, Faulkner, Melville, Steinbeck and Henry Thoreau, but also from George Eliot, D.H. Lawrence, John Cowper Powys, E.M. Forster, Somerset Maugham and Laurens van der Post; from Proust, Camus, Sartre, Thomas Mann, Kafka and Dostoevsky; from James Joyce, Samuel Beckett and Chinua Achebe. With poets the list grows even longer: from Chaucer, Langland, Shakespeare, Donne, Herbert, Milton, Vaughan, Traherne, Blake, Wordsworth, and Browning; from Hardy, Burns, Kipling and de la Mare; from Wilfred Owen, Arthur Clough, T.S. Eliot, George Macdonald, Rainer Maria Rilke, R.S. Thomas and especial­ly Robert Frost.

Lamb expounds further to show that this list does not exhaust the range of Cragg's quotations:[[8]](#footnote-8)

Nor are such quotations restricted to his more general and discursive works, like *The Privilege of Man* and *Christianity in World Perspective,* where one might anticipate some broader brush strokes. A chapter in *The Mind of the Qur’an* begins with a passage from a letter of Van Gogh [Cragg, K, 1973b, p. 146], and a chapter on Buddhism with one of the reflections of Dag Hammarskjold in his *Markings[[9]](#footnote-9)* [Cragg, K, 1986a, p. 245]. The reader may suddenly turn the page to seven verses of a poem from Pushkin [KC 1971 *Event* 85], or find himself following the association of ideas in Paster­nak’s Russian translation from *Hamlet,* put back into English [Cragg, K, 1986a, p. 11f], [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 6].

Lamb observes that:

Cragg has a particular fondness for beginning chapters or sections of chapters with some apparently remote quotation which on closer examination is remarkably apt - the most sustained example opens *The Privilege of Man* which begins with Hemingway’s *The Old Man and the Sea,* and passes in rapid succession to the opening words of John Cowper Powys’s *A Glastonbury Romance,* Samuel Beckett’s *Malone Dies* and Herman Melville’s *Moby Dick,* before settling on the curtain-raising words of *Hamlet* as the right beginning [Cragg, K, 1968b, pp. 1, 2], [Lamb, C, 1987, p. 6].

Other authors have also noted Cragg's use of seemingly obscure quotations at the beginning of chapters. James Kritzeck's review of Cragg's book *Christianity in World Perspective*,[[10]](#footnote-10) notes that:

Chapter Seven of the book begins: 'A gentle poem by a poet of Haiti, inspired by a negro dancing girl in a Casablanca cabaret, is not perhaps a likely place from which to start our present purposes.

Your slim arms  
raised among the smoke  
yearned to embrace  
centuries of pride  
and miles of landscape  
while your feet  
on the waxed mosaic floor  
searched for the roughness  
of the roads you had trodden in your childhood.[[11]](#footnote-11)

Hardly, quite, the sacred and the secular. But still, in its reflective way, alive with a double perspective— aware of the immediate actuality, artificial, expert and mercenary, and at the same time sensitive to the ultimate meaning, the wistfulness of an irreducible past' (p. 169) [Kritzeck, J, 1969, p. 434].

Kritzeck then informs that Cragg's book's major purpose is to expose the dominance of Western cultural forms in the whole context of Christian thought, worship, custom, and mission.'

In this opening chapter Cragg is explaining his methodology. He admits that the 'gentle poem' may not seem an appropriate introduction to a chapter which deals with Christian relationships in the secularizing world. He then explains, in his usual dense style,[[12]](#footnote-12) that the poem gives a double perspective, 'aware of the immediate actuality, artificial, expert and mercenary, and at the same time sensitive to the ultimate meaning, the wistfulness of an irreducible past' [Cragg, K, 1968a, p. 169]. The poem does allow more than one meaning, but Cragg's interpretation is very different from that given by George Robert Coulthard, from whose book, *Race and colour in Caribbean literature,* Cragg has taken this quotation. Coulthard's own interpretation is very different from that of Cragg's. In the poem (by the Haitian, Roussan Camille,)[[13]](#footnote-13) Coulthard notes that:

... in the tender and moving poem 'Nedjé' ... the feelings inspired in him [Camille] by the black dancing girl in a cabaret in Casablanca go far beyond her sensual form and feline grace of movement. He sees in her the degradation of a race and also a hope for the future of that race [Coulthard, GR, 1962, p. 95].

Coulthard only gives one verse from Camille's ten verse poem, and Cragg invests this one verse with the masthead to his aforesaid chapter and also uses it as an illustration of his approach. Langston Hughes gives a translation by Mercer Cook of the whole poem[[14]](#footnote-14) in his co-edited book *The poetry of the Negro*, 1746-1949 [Hughes, L & Arna, B, 1949, pp. 366-368].

Andrew Pearse, whose article *"Africa" in West Indian Poetry* in the 'Caribbean Quarterly', also uses part of Camille's poem. He quotes two contrasting verses, the first has the 'atmosphere of the smoke-filled café of Casablanca, with the sailors, and soldiers and tourists. She is dancing and he [Camille] thinks of all the other black prostitutes in other countries.' The second, 'evokes nostalgically the atmosphere of her home, her native village in "Black Africa". ... Again this note of nostalgia comes into the poem of the Haitian, nostalgia for an "Africa" with the dignity of its own style of life, not borrowed or imitated, but essentially its own' [Pearse, A, Editor, 1955, pp. 8-9]. Pearse then comments that the theme of nostalgia for Africa, present in Camille's poem, is a protest against the exploitation or prostitution of the Negro and of Africa. This aspect is not clear in Cragg's explanation of the verse he has quoted. 'Mercenary' is perhaps the nearest he gets to 'exploitation or prostitution'. Furthermore, Cragg's citation 'translated and quoted in...' does not give the full picture. Camille's poem was originally written in French, and Coulthard's book was originally written in Spanish [Coulthard, GR, 1958]. At the back of Coulthard's book are the quoted poems in their original language:

Tes frêles bras,  
élevés dans la fumée, voulaient étreindre  
des siècles d'orgueil  
et des kilomètres de paysages, tandis que tes pas,

sur la mosaïque cirée,  
cherchaient les aspérités  
et les détours des routes de ton enfance. [Coulthard, GR, 1962, p. 122]

Your frail arms,

raised in smoke, wanted to hug

centuries of pride

and miles of landscapes,

while your steps, on the waxed mosaic,

were looking for rough edges

and the detours of the roads of your childhood. (Translated by Nigel Reed.)

Presumably Coulthard translated Camille's poem from French into Spanish, and presumably, this was in turn translated into English when Coulthard's book was translated by the Institute of Race Relations (there are no translators' notes in the book which might verify this point). This may account for the difference in the translation in Hughes' book and Pearse's article with that in Coulthard's book. For example,

while your steps

on the waxed mosaic

sought the highlands and the lowlands

of your childhood [Hughes, L & Arna, B, 1949, p. 367] [Pearse, A, Editor, 1955, p. 9],

compared with:

while your feet

on the waxed mosaic floor

searched for the roughness

of the roads you had trodden in your childhood [Coulthard, GR, 1962, p. 95] [Cragg, K, 1968a, p. 169].

The Cook translation in Hughes' book is probably the better of the two. His translation of the opening verse of the poem reads:

Not quite sixteen,  
you said you came from Danakil,

you whom vicious white men

crammed with anisette and whiskey

in that smoke-filled cafe  
in Casablanca [Hughes, L & Arna, B, 1949, p. 366].

'Danakil' refers to the Danakil Rift Depression, a plain lying in the north of the Afar Region of Ethiopia. The area, with its volcanism was declared a 'geological heritage site' in October 2022. 'Highlands and lowlands', better reflects the scene of her childhood rather than 'roughness of roads'.

The story of Cook's translation of Camille and that of other Haitian authors is itself a parable, which Cragg might have used to add more weight to his quotation (see footnote 9). This raises a number of questions. Does the uncertainty around the veracity of the translation affect its impact? Does the quotation enhance an understanding of Cragg's chapter 'Christian relationships in the secularizing world'? Does it support Cragg's aim, to be aware of a double perspective, the immediate reality, and that of the past? The present and the past are with us constantly, but are we aware of their combined effect? Cragg appears to be using the literary device of defamiliarization, also known as ostranenie,[[15]](#footnote-15) to encourage his readership to think anew (not necessarily to think how he thinks, or wants the reader to think). There are problems with this desire. Ian Buchanan's *A Dictionary of Critical Theory,* notes that the ostranenie's effect

is psychological rather than purely textual, inasmuch as it is premised on the deadened senses of the reader being awakened by clever writing rather than something specific to the writing itself. Obviously, too, this process suffers from the logic of diminishing returns—what was shocking yesterday is all too familiar today, thus demanding an ever greater level of shock to achieve a decreasingly small level of shock value [Buchanan, I, 2010, p. 355].

This may account for the differing reaction to Cragg's wide use of literary quotations, from appreciation to annoyance. Deanne Bogdan's[[16]](#footnote-16) book *Re-education the Imagination*, offers two responses by readers:

Ultimately reader respondents must decide whether they "want an art of thought, and also of writing that engenders, and embodies, fixity and stability, or an art that encourages our souls to remain plantlike and fragile, places of glancing light and flowing water" [Bogdan, D, 1992, p. 181].

As the effect on each individual reader will vary to a lesser or greater extent, it is impossible to quantify Cragg's use of this quotation. The fact that the translation may not be exactly what the poet had intended, in this situation it probably makes little difference, as the general thrust of the cited poem, is akin to the impact that Cragg wishes to make. However, Cragg seldom gives a detailed explanation for his use of a particular quotation. On this occasion he does give the reader a better idea as to how the quotation should be read and how it relates to his text.

An example of the use defamiliarization in the interpretation of the Qur'an is Andreas Christmann's[[17]](#footnote-17) article, ''The Form Is Permanent, but the Content Moves': The Qur'anic Text and Its Interpretation(S)' in Mohamad Shahrour's *'Al-Kitāb wa 'l Qurʾān'* [Durel, B, 2003]. Christmann describes the methodology of the Damascene writer Mohamad Shahrour in terms of defamiliarization as used by the Russian Formalists and the Prague School of Literary Theory. Shahrour wanted to understand the Qur'an, 'as if the Prophet had just died and informed us of this book' [Durel, B, 2003, p. 143]. Not surprisingly, the approach in challenging traditional approaches to the Qur'an gave rise to strong criticism. Yet, Vincent J. Cornell' article, 'The Qur'ān as Scripture' (updated by Abdullah Saeed), in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World,* recommends Christmann's article as 'A good introduction to Shahrour's ideas about the Qur'an' [Cornell, VJ, 2009].

Cragg's use of an opening quotation reflects the practice of new historicists to commence their work with an 'eccentric anecdote'. Lamb refers to Cragg's wide ranging use of quotations and extensive use of quotations as, 'virtuoso catenas of quotation'[[18]](#footnote-18) which may irritate some readers. For example, Murad Wilfried Hoffmann' review of Cragg's book, *The Weight in the Word - Prophethood: Biblical and Quranic*, states that:

The book is written in a language so cultivated that it borders on poetic prose (and makes reading difficult). As usual, too, the author spreads a blanket of erudition reaching from the Bhagavadgita to Wordsworth. This is impressive, at times pleasing, and at times annoying... [Hofmann, MW, 2000, p. 92].

Many of these quotations illuminate qualities of mysticism and spirituality both Christian and Islamic shadowed in Cragg's work (this will be discussed further in Section 4.2.3 Cragg's use of Metaphor, Metaphysics and Mysticism). Lamb’s reason for Cragg’s use of ‘catenas [sic] of quotations’ is vague and does not go deep enough into **why** and in what capacity Cragg is employing so many literary references nor any assessment of their effectiveness. New Historicism enables the reader to see both form and meaning in Cragg's wide use of quotations which, as already noted, has attracted much adverse criticism.

Another aspect of Cragg's work which has attracted criticism and which seems to reflect a further aspect of New Historicism is his intrinsic identification with Islam as a religion of power.

Neema Parvini in his chapter, 'New Historicism and Cultural Materialism' points to the link between power and knowledge referring to 'Michael Foucault's idea that there is no knowledge without power' [Parvini, N, 2020, p. 240]. Cragg frequently refers to Islam's belligerence: 'There is a dimension of harsh belligerence in the Qur'an, a strong pugnacity of faith' [Cragg, K, 1994a, pp. 9-10].

In the 1994 Edition of *The Event of the Qur’an*, Cragg states that on its initial publication in 1971, there were three broad concerns that remain. Firstly, ‘the Christian world gave a grudging and often imperceptive attention to the Qur’an’. Secondly, the Qur’an had much that Christians could share. Thirdly, the Qur’an presents Christians with numerous problems. In particular,

there was an ‘image’ of Islam in the West of harshness, intolerance, and the closed mind. Sadly, this has worsened since the seventies. If it was ever to be dispelled or modified, and countering elements in Islam itself identified and aided, the definitive text [the Qur’an] needed to be explored with hope and *realism* [Cragg, K, 1994a, pp. 7-8].

Cragg attributes this harsh image to the Qur’an’s Medinan surahs.

Yet the harshness has to be transcended, for much of it is well intended. And in any event the story to be told is safe only in the custody of those for whom every antagonism is an opportunity. For that, precisely, is the heart of the story itself [Cragg, K, 2000b, p. 164].

Prioritising the Meccan over the Medinan period would mitigate such harshness.

Neal Robinson neatly summarises the position:

In Mecca, the Prophet had only a small band of followers and was harassed by the rich and powerful Arab pagans. In Medina, on the contrary he was a religious and political leader for whom the Meccan pagans sometimes posed an external military threat, but for whom the day-to-day opposition came primarily from the Jewish elements of the population [Robinson, N, 1999, p. 63].

Cragg’s *Faith and Life Negotiate* [Cragg, K, 1994b] demonstrates how his long engagement with Islam allows him to be positive, while remaining differently critical, of both Christianity and Islam. Noting the distinction between the Meccan and the Medinan Surahs he asks:

Can there be doubt, whether among insiders or intelligent outsiders to Islam, that the ‘intention’ of Islam had its first abiding definition in pre-Hijrah Mecca? Had the ‘intention’ at its heart been to create a caliphal hegemony on behalf of a political Medina and its heirs, or to affirm a faithful theology of divine Unity in terms of Meccan witness? Not one without the other, many will answer but what, then of the divine Unity tied into the crippling vicissitudes of a waxing, waning, human institution such as war is [Cragg, K, 2001, p. 96]?

Cragg poses the question of the Meccan primacy in terms of qur’anic intention. To establish a solely Islamic Meccan identity, it would be necessary through ‘gentle negotiation’ to evaluate the Islamic understanding of the Qur’an alongside that of modern scholarship. These include the problems of translation, Qur’anic criticism and interpretation, the role and status of Muhammad, the problems of abrogation and the lack of a central authority in Islam. Cragg’s own approach to Islam is the overarching consideration. The South African scholar Farid Esack warns that, 'Interpreters are people who carry the inescapable baggage and conviviality of the human condition’ [Esack, F, 1997, p. 50]. Cragg’s own ‘baggage’, his motives and attitudes towards Islam, have to be considered, as these will necessarily influence his own interpretation of Islam.

Cragg’s disdain of power may be linked to his misgivings concerning the Anglo-Catholic Movement within Anglicanism (Cragg being an Evangelical Anglican). In *Faith and Life Negotiate* [Cragg, K, 1994b] Cragg becomes uncharacteristically exercised about a book he purchased as a young student in Oxford. *Northern Catholism* was published to commemorate the centenary of Keble’s Assize Sermon, the accepted signal of the Oxford Movement. Cragg asks whether ‘Samuel was not at odds with himself in peevishly denouncing fledgling Jewish kingship yet loftily accommodating it?' He concludes by apologising for speaking about this ‘turbulence’ of his mind [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 74]. These questions and feelings remain with him.

In the Introduction to *The Qur’an and the* *West*, Cragg summarises his argument for a Meccan Islamic identity. He describes this identity as:

the peace-held Islam that first was, and ever remains, the *raison d’être* of the whole, the Islam to which in the Qur’an, Muhammad was rigorously bound as only 'a preached summons' to submission to Allah [Cragg, K, 2006b, p. 10].

While understanding the rationale behind the Hijrah, Cragg argues that facing constant opposition, Muhammad closed this 'peace-held' identity with the use of force, 'thereby seeming to abrogate the Meccan 'innocence''. Cragg observes that historic Islam is left with the ongoing dilemma of the 'two minds of Islam'; the Meccan 'faith-care' and the Medinan 'sense of legitimate belligerence'. Philip Lewis explains this belligerency in a more positive manner:

The Sunni majority belong to a religious tradition which in its classical development took power for granted [Lewis, P, 2003, p. 88].

Cragg concludes that as the 'preached religion' Islam has survived for fifteen centuries into an era of global order, 'what was once a rationale for recourse to armed belligerence is quite superseded' [Cragg, K, 2006b, p. 11]. There can be no 'compulsions' to belief. He continues:

Muslims addressing their own vocation need to be enlisted, but only on their own principles, not as if recruited for Western interests. ... Its [Islam’s] potential to be enlisted, not in the West’s cause, but in humanity’s and their own, is not in doubt ... [Cragg, K, 2006b, pp. 19-20].

Cragg’s own experience and ‘vision’ of Islam, is unique. It is difficult to judge his interpretation of Muhammad’s use of power, without considering his own disdain of power. Commenting on Cragg’s 'disquiet about the Islamic power-assurance', David Kerr[[19]](#footnote-19) argues that this leads to Cragg’s 'sense of antithesis between the ministries of Muhammad and Jesus'. Kerr sees this antithesis as problematic given Cragg’s desire to see ‘the essential unity of their conviction about the rule of God' [Kerr, DA, 1995, pp. 435-436]. Here Cragg is at his most vulnerable to the charge of 'judging Islam by its external history but Christianity by its inner spirit' [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 126]. However, while some liberal Muslim thinkers also support the primacy of Islam’s Meccan identity, Lamb observes that Cragg sees them as 'a self-correcting mechanism within Islam' [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 113].

Cragg has identified a ‘harsh’ Islam and has suggested that the Islam as set out in the Meccan surahs is not only non-belligerent but also truer to its original ideal. Cragg concludes that as the ‘preached religion’ Islam has survived for fifteen centuries into an era of global order, 'what was once a rationale for recourse to armed belligerence is quite superseded' [Cragg, K, 2006b, p. 11]. There can be no 'compulsions' to belief.

This thesis will, in part, follow the methodology used by Cragg focusing on his sense of mystery[[20]](#footnote-20) that underlies Christianity and Islam, particularly as demonstrated through his extensive use of quotations from Christian and Muslim writers of poetry and mystical texts and on the response of Christians and Muslims and their expression of that mystery in dialogue with Dag Hammarskjöld.

**1.2 Why Study Kenneth Cragg?**

'Few writers continue to be read after one or two generations. Even those who are most popular, whether with the general public or with some smaller circle of critics in one period, rarely survive. Frequently they are doomed by their very success: they have served the fashions of their contemporaries, or of some near-contemporary claque, so well that they can serve no other.'[[21]](#footnote-21) In these matters, time is the ultimate judge [Frye, RM, 1988, p. 223].

So said Roland Mushat Frye at the beginning of *The Dr. Richard E. Penrose, Jr. Memorial Lecture, 22 April 1988* citing Robert Birley.

Cragg was born in Blackpool, Lancashire, UK, in 1913, and died at the College of St Barnabas, Lingfield, Surrey in 2012, having dedicated his long life to Christian-Muslim engagement. He left behind a large literary legacy, having published over 70 books and several hundred articles. While there have been studies relating to specific areas of his work, there has been no overall assessment and analysis of this vast and varied output.

Michael Louis Fitzgerald,[[22]](#footnote-22) reviewing Cragg's book, *Jesus and the Muslim*, wrote that Cragg:

... has done for Protestants what Louis Massignon (d.1962) did for countless Roman Catholics, involved with Muslims, that is, he makes them aware of the relevance of Islam for Christian theology (not only missiology) [Fitzgerald, M, 1985-6, pp. 239-242].

Christian W. Troll, SJ, who has been involved in studies of Islam since 1961 locates Cragg among,

... such prophetic pioneers as Charles de Foucauld, Louis Massignon, W. H. Temple Gairdner and Kenneth Cragg - to mention only some of the outstanding champions for a new vision of and approach to the relations between Christians and Muslims [Troll, CW, 1991, p. 58].

Massignon used the term 'courbe de vie' [curve of life] which led him to the 'dividing lines' between Muslims, Jews and Christians, in North Africa and the Near East. [Borrmans, M, 2013, pp. 256, 262] Cragg's own 'courbe de vie' similarly led him to the Lebanon, Palestine and Egypt. As Kenneth Cragg has been compared to Louis Massignon some account of Massignon will need to be given. Sydney Griffith observed that:

In the Roman Catholic community of the twentieth century, perhaps the single most influential figure in regard to the church's relationship with Islam has been the French Islamicist Louis Massignon (1833 1962). [Griffith, SH, 1997, p. 193]

A comparison between Cragg and Massignon is given later in this thesis. While it would be interesting to produce 'une courbe personelle de vie' for Cragg following Massignon's methodology, there is not space in this thesis for such a venture. However, it has been with this aspect of Massignon in mind when writing Cragg's biographical details given in Section 2 of this thesis.

**1.2.1 An outline of the major academic writings and analysis on Kenneth Cragg**

Cragg's thesis, lodged with the Bodleian Library in 1950, attracted a select handful of readers.[[23]](#footnote-23) In 1962 Ian Douglas from the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies, (formerly known as the Henry Martyn School) in India was first name on the register of those who had read the Cragg's thesis. In 1961 Douglas had published an article the journal *The Muslim World*, titled, 'Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies' [Douglas, IH, 1961]. In the article he recalls Dr Kenneth Cragg visiting India, in the Winter of 1958-59, 'Who is proving to be the stimulus in Muslim Work which Dr S. Zwemer was to an earlier generation' [Douglas, IH, 1961, p. 220]. As a result of Cragg's visit the Nagpur Proposals[[24]](#footnote-24) were drawn up. [Douglas, IH, 1961, p. 220]. See also 'Section 2.6 Mission to the world'.

Barbara J. Rojoz? cannot be identified. However, L.S.C.C. Oxford would appear to stand for Lady Spencer-Churchill College of Education, Oxford which in 1975 became part of Oxford Polytechnic and started B.Ed courses, becoming Oxford Brookes University in 1992.

Lamb's book, The Call to Retrieval: Kenneth Cragg's Christian Vocation to Islam [Lamb, C, 1997], based largely on his own PhD thesis ten years earlier [Lamb, C, 1987] was a firm foundation for the beginning of the research of this thesis. In 2014 a new edition was published as, *A Policy of Hope: Kenneth Cragg and Islam*. Sadly, it did not contain much new material given that 37 years had elapsed from the date of his thesis to the date of the publication of his revised book. During those years Cragg had published over fifty books and many more articles and chapters in books. Richard Sudworth's review of *A Policy of Hope* writes that,

The most substantive new contribution to this edition is a chapter addressing Cragg’s love of literature and his persistent recourse to quotations from poetry and classic texts in the elucidation of his thoughts [Sudworth, R, 2015, p. 120].

However, as Sudworth asserts, Lamb's book is still the most authoritative guide to Cragg's life and work [Sudworth, R, 2015, pp. 120-122]. Lamb is one of the few commentators of Cragg's work to mention Cragg's interest in mysticism (see further).[[25]](#footnote-25)

Cragg appears fleetingly in some of Ataullah Siddiqui's work. He, Cragg and Christopher Lamb were part of a gathering of international academics and others to discuss ways by which Commonwealth Christians and Muslims could develop mutual interests and concerns in a global context. at a conference hosted by 'Cumberland Lodge'. The proceedings of this conference were set out in *Christians and Muslims in the Commonwealth: a dynamic role in the future*, Edited by Anthony O'Mahony and Ataullah Siddiqui [O'Mahony, A & Siddiqui, A, 2001].

Bård Mæland and his wife Leni Mæland both accessed Cragg's thesis. In *Rewarding Encounters; Islam and the Comparative Theologies of Kenneth Cragg and Wilfred Cantwell Smith*, Bård Mæland acknowledges the work both Cragg and Smith accomplished in their engagement with Islam. Mæland gives a full bibliography of both Cragg’s and Smith's work along with that of others directly referencing him. While he considers Wilfred Cantwell Smith's relationship with mysticism, he makes no mention of any interest Cragg has in the subject.

M.R. Maniff, Oxford cannot be identified.

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It was the publication of Cragg's first book, *The Call of the Minaret* in 1956 [Cragg, K, 1956], that brought Cragg to the attention of mainly Christian academics and non-academics, particularly in the field of Muslim-Christian relations. Its Second Edition (revised and enlarged) in 1985 [Cragg, K, 1985], prompted further interest in Cragg and his by now large and growing corpus of books and articles, as did the publication of its Third Edition in 2000 [Cragg, K, 2000b].

Understandably most of the scholarship has centred around his work on Islam and Muslim-Christian encounters. Much of this has been published in articles and no overarching critique has been given to them. As mysticism regarding Cragg is not mentioned in any of these, they will be merely listed in this research. Nor this this list exhaustive. Many, but not all of Cragg's books have attracted numerous reviews, and there are references in many books and papers commenting on Cragg, which range from a few sentences to several paragraphs or pages, none of these are listed here. However, this list is indicative of the current range of research into Cragg. The list has been divided into specific areas:

**Muslim-Christian Encounter**

Ahmad, R., & Rafiuddin, D. (2020). Kenneth Cragg on Muslim-Christian Relations. *Al-Qamar (Bi-Annual Research Journal), 3*(1 Jan-Jun2020)), 153-169 [Ahmad, R & Rafiuddin, D, 2020].

Akhtar, S. (1990). *A Faith for All Seasons: Islam and the Challenge of the Modern World*. Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee [Akhtar, S, 1990].

Braswell, G. (1981). The Encounter of Christianity and Islam: The Missionary Theology of Kenneth Cragg. *Perspectives in Religious Studies, 8*, 117-127 [Braswell, G, 1981].

Brown, C. (2005). *Kenneth Cragg as an Anglican Theologian of Islam.* (MA Christianity and Interreligious Dialogue), London [Brown, C, 2005].

Brown, C. (2008). Kenneth Cragg on Shi'a Islam and Iran: an Anglican theological response to political Islam. *Aram Periodical, 20*, 375-391 [Brown, C, 2008].

Brown, D. (2013). *Kenneth Cragg's Islam*. Newsletter The Centre for Muslim-Christian Studies*, 9*(Spring 2013) [Brown, D, 2013].

Brown, D.W. (2013). Kenneth Cragg’s Islam- The limits of cross-cultural interpretation. *Institute for the Study of Religion in the Middle East* [Brown, DW, 2013].

Griffith, S.H. (1994). Kenneth Cragg on Christians and the Call to Islam. *Religious Studies Review, 20*, 29-35 [Griffith, SH, 1994].

Lamb, C. (1997). *The Call to Retrieval: Kenneth Cragg's Christian Vocation to Islam*. London: Grey Seal [Lamb, C, 1997].

Lamb, C. (2003). Kenneth Cragg's understanding of mission to Islam. In Thomas, D.R. & Amos, C. (Eds.), *A Faithful Presence: Essays for Kenneth Cragg* (pp. 123-149). London: Melisende [Lamb, C, 2003].

Lamb, C. (2012). An Engagement with Islam. In Troll, C.W.a.H., C.T.R. (Ed.), *Christian Lives given to the study of Islam* (pp. 153-162). New York: Fordham Press [Lamb, C, 2012a].

Lamb, C. (2014). *A Policy of Hope: Kenneth Cragg and Islam*. London: Melisende [Lamb, C, 2014].

Mæland, B. (2010). The plural significance of Jerusalem as seen *ex infra*: Kenneth Cragg on the interrelated Jerusalem. In O’Mahony, A. (Ed.), *Christianity and Jerusalem: Studies in modern theology and politics in the Holy Land* (pp. 245-264). Leominster: Gracewing [Mæland, B, 2007].[[27]](#footnote-27)

Muhammad, A.A., & Mohd Daud, N.A. (2022). Kenneth Cragg’s Assertion on the Notion of Incarnation in the Qur’ān: A Critical Appraissal. *AL-ITQAN: JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC SCIENCES AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES, 6*(4), 89-105. doi:10.31436/alitqan.v6i4.245 [Muhammad, AA & Mohd Daud, NA, 2022]

Qureshi, J. (1984). 'Alongsidedness - In Good Faith?': An Essay on Kenneth Cragg. In Hussain, A., Olson, R., & Qureshi, J. (Eds.), *Orientalism, Islam, and Islamists*. BrattleBoro, Vermont: Amana Books [Qureshi, J, 1984].

Robertson, E. (1976). Kenneth Cragg, a Christian Imam. In Robertson, E. (Ed.), *Breakthrough* (pp. 44-55). Belfast: Christian Journals Ltd [Robertson, E, 1976b].

Slomp, J. (1972). Meeting of Church and Mosque: Introducing the Work of Dr. Kenneth Cragg. *Al-Mushir, 14*(1/2), 1-8 [Slomp, J, 1972].

Slomp, J. (1990). Kenneth Cragg and the Qur'an. In Hagemann, L. (Ed.), *Ihr Alle Aber Seid Bruder* [But you all are brothers], (pp. 167-189) [Slomp, J, 1990].

Sudworth, R.J. (2014). Responding to Islam as Priests, Mystics, and Trail Blazers: Louis Massignon, Kenneth Cragg, and Rowan Williams. *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies, 55*(3-4), 451-472 [Sudworth, RJ, 2014b].

Sudworth, R.J. (2014). Hospitality and Embassy: The Persistent Influence of Kenneth Cragg on Anglican Theologies of Interfaith Relations. *Anglican Theological Review, 96*(1), 73-89 [Sudworth, RJ, 2014a].

Tebbe, J. (1997). *Christian Scriptures in Muslim Culture, in the Work of Kenneth Cragg.* (PhD), St. John's College, Nottingham [Tebbe, J, 1997].

**Prophethood**

Ahmad, W. (2004). The concepts of prophet [Arabic phrase] and prophethood with reference to Kenneth Cragg and W.M. Watt. *Hamdard Islamicus, 27*(2), 29-42 [Ahmad, W, 2004].

Akhtar, S. (1991). An Islamic model of revelation. *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations, 2*(1), 95-105 [Akhtar, S, 1991]

Aydin, M. (2009). *Contemporary Christian Evaluations of Muhammad's Prophethood Montgomery Watt, Kenneth Cragg, Hans Küng, and David Kerr*: ReadingIslam.com [Aydin, M, 2009].

Beaumont, M. (2015). Christian Views of Muhammad since the Publication of Kenneth Cragg’s Muhammad and the Christian, A Question of Response in 1984. *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies, 32*(3), 145-162 [Beaumont, M, 2011].

Chadirchi, J. (2006). Who is Muhammad for Christians? An Exploration in the Thought and Theology of Kenneth Cragg. *One In Christ, 41*(3 July) [Chadirchi, J, 2006].

Ho, W.-Y. (2012). Kenneth Cragg's Islamic studies: prophet, Qurʼan and Jerusalem in the Muslim tradition. *CGST Journal, 52*, 113-132 [Ho, W-Y, 2012b].

Ho, W.-Y. (2012). Kenneth Cragg's Islamic Studies: Muslim Prophets, the Qur'an and Jerusalem. *Journal of Chinese Theological Research Institute, 2*, 113-131 [Ho, W-Y, 2012a].

**Comparison of Cragg with other authors**

D'Souza, A. (1992). Christian Approaches to the Study of Islam: An Analysis of the Writings of Watt and Cragg. *Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies, 11*(1 & 2 (Jan-June 1992)), 55-87 [D'Souza, A, 1992].

D'Souza, A.F. (1979). *The origin of Islam as interpreted by W. Montgomery Watt and A. Kenneth Cragg : an analysis and evaluation.* (Master of Arts), Institute of Islamic Studies [D'Souza, AF, 1979]

Ipema, P. (1971). *The Islam Interpretations of Duncan B. Macdonald, Samuel M. Zwemer, A. Kenneth Cragg and Wilfred C. Smith: An Analytical Comparison and Evaluation*. Hartford Connecticut: Hartford Seminary Foundation [Ipema, P, 1971].

Jones, R.J. (1988). *Wilfred Cantwell Smith and Kenneth Cragg on Islam : their contrasting implications for a theology of religion and a theology of mission.* (Ph.D), Department of Theology, Toronto School of Theology, 1988., Toronto [Jones, RJ, 1988].

Jones, R.J. (1992). Wilfred Cantwell Smith and Kenneth Cragg on Islam as a way of salvation. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research, 16*(3), 105-110 [Jones, RJ, 1992].

Mæland, B. (2001). *Self-Relating and Self-Change: A Study in the Comparative Theologies of Kenneth Cragg and Wilfred Cantwell Smith, with Special Regard to Their Theological Relations to Islam.* (Dr Theol), Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology [Mæland, B, 2001].

Mæland, B. (2003). *Rewarding Encounters: Islam and the Comparative Theologies of Kenneth Cragg and Wilfred Cantwell Smith*: Melisende [Mæland, B, 2003].

McCulloch, L.R. (1962). *The Christian approach to Islam in the writings of Samuel Zwemer and Kenneth Cragg.* (Bachelor of Sacred Theology Degree of Bachelor of Sacred Theology), Westminster College, New York [McCulloch, LR, 1962].

Tebbe, J.A. (2002). Kenneth Cragg in Perspective: A Comparison with Temple Gairdner and Wilfred Cantwell Smith. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research, 26*(1), 16-21 [Tebbe, JA, 2002].

**Christology**

Beaumont, M. (2011). The Christology of Kenneth Cragg in Dialogue withMuslims. In Beaumont, M. (Ed.), *Christology in Dialoue with Muslims* (pp. 133-153). Oxford: Regnum Books International [Beaumont, M, 2011].

**Christianity**

Hargreaves, C. (1979). Kenneth Cragg and the Gospel of Matthew. In Hargreaves, C. (Ed.), *The Gospels in a World Context* (pp. 39-62). London: Bible Reading Fellowship [Hargreaves, C, 1979].

Shabbir Akhtar, continues to be Cragg's sternest critic. There are for example, many references to Cragg in Akhtar's book, *'A Faith for All Seasons: Islam and the Challenge of the Modern World'*. while he does admit that Cragg 'is one of the ablest students of Islam' [Akhtar, S, 1990, p. 10], there is no mention of Cragg's engagement with Islamic Mysticism in this or any of his publications.

**1.2.2 Missiology**

Cragg's life and work continues to be relevant in five areas: missiology, Christian-Muslim Relations, theology, mysticism, and Biography as Theology. Cragg's long active life, spanning most of the 20th century and beyond, not only reflects the social, political, and religious changes that occurred during the 20th century, but also reveals the personal struggle and the changes that he underwent in his field of Christian-Muslim Dialogue and the related areas of Eastern Christianity and of ecumenism. Thus, as Lamb observes, in the field of missiology, his biography stands beside and is a continuation of the life and work of Samuel Marinus Zwemer (1867 –1952), known as 'The Apostle to Islam',[[28]](#footnote-28) an American missionary and scholar; William Henry Temple Gairdner, 1873-1928, a CMS missionary in Egypt;[[29]](#footnote-29) Duncan Black Macdonald (1863-1943) a pioneer of Arabic and Islamic studies in the United States;[[30]](#footnote-30) and Constance Evelyn Padwick, (1886-1968) CMS missionary in the Middle East and author.[[31]](#footnote-31) [Lamb, C, 1997, pp. 4, 170-171].

Many other scholars agree, for example:

Anglican missions in the Near East contributed a special character of thoughtfulness and a desire to understand Islam "from the inside," a tradition graced by figures such as Temple Gairdner (1873-1928), Constance Padwick (1886-1968), and Kenneth Cragg. Cragg, whose seminal *The Call of the Minaret* (1956) has been followed by dozens of other elegantly written books, has exerted an enormous influence on Protestant missionary thinking and practice in relation to Islam in the second half of the twentieth century [Allen, R & Toorawa, SM, 2011, p. 149].

Cragg's sense of overseas mission to Muslims was greatly influenced by Constance Padwick's book, *Temple Gairdner of Cairo* [Padwick, CE, 1922], (see Section 2.2.1). Both Padwick and Gairdner are frequently referenced in his published work.[[32]](#footnote-32) Gairdner, missionary in Cairo and a seminal figure in Christian-Muslim relations, left deep footprints which Cragg undoubtably followed, while serendipity brought about some of their similarities of approach and life events. For example, in the understated role of Gairdner's wife, Margaret Mitchell[[33]](#footnote-33) they together shared **his** convictions and **his** dedication. 'Their partnership and their home in Boulac, Cairo, were the secret of all that he achieved' [Cragg, K, 1981c, p. 165]. Their marriage mirrors that of Cragg, he and his wife (Melita) shared that same conviction and dedication, and she is given scant attention in scholars' assessment of Cragg. Gairdner spent a year at the Hartford Seminary (where his mentor was Duncan Black Macdonald, a pioneer of Arabic and Islamic studies in the United States); Cragg taught there. Gairdner published in *The Muslim World*, Cragg was its editor. They both had a love of the city of Oxford. Gairdner's interest in mysticism is evidenced in his article in *The Muslim World*, '“The Way” of a Mohammedan Mystic' [Gairdner, WHT, 1912a], [Gairdner, WHT, 1912c]; the publication of: *"The way" of a Mohammedan Mystic : a contribution to the study of estoteric Sûfism, its theory and praxis* [Gairdner, WHT, 1912b] and his own translation of *Al-Ghazzālī's Mishkāt al-anwār (“The Niche for Lights “)* [Gairdner, WHT, 1952], (originally published in 1924, by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, as *Monograph Vol. XIX*).[[34]](#footnote-34)

Lamb reports that Cragg knew Padwick personally, their time in Jerusalem having overlapped [Lamb, C, 2014, p. 133]. Cragg's article 'Constance E. Padwick 1886-1968 speaks of her in warm terms. He outlines her work in the Middle East which included almost three decades in Egypt [Cragg, K, 1969b]. Reviewing her book, *Muslim Devotions: a study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use*, notes its collection of 'popular liturgies still in general and daily use among the devout of Islam' [Cragg, K, 1961, p. 344]. Padwick describes her book as recording the traditions for 'the devout souls everywhere for whom the manuals are spiritual guides' [Padwick, CE, 1961, p. xxii]. In *Troubled by Truth: Biographies in the Presence of Mystery,* Cragg has devoted a chapter to Padwick, 'Chapter 3, Constance E. Padwick (1886-1968): *‘Through Liturgy to Islam’*. He writes,

Constance Padwick meant to understand articulate mysticism as it was lived in the prayers and acts of devotion Islam had formed out of its own, distinctive history around Muhammad, the Qur’an and the several ‘masters’, or *agtab*, of the Sufi Orders [Cragg, K, 1994c].

The three batons of Islamic mysticism, mission to Muslims, and scholarship were thus relayed from Gairdner, through Padwick and held aloft by Cragg.

**1.2.3 Christian-Muslim Relations**

The twentieth century marked a great change in Christian-Muslim relations. A study paper prepared in 2003 by the 'Islam in Europe' Committee for the *Council of European Bishops' Conferences (CCEE) and Conference of European Churches (CEC*) noted in particular that this was through:

the engagement and writings of such Christian Islamists as Fr Charles de

Foucauld (1858 - 1916), who inspired the institutes of the Little Brothers and

Little Sisters of Jesus, the Reformed church pastor Samuel Zwemer (1867 -

1952), a missionary in Egypt and the founder of the journal *The Muslim*

*World*, the Catholic spiritual writer and researcher Louis Massignon, and the Anglican Bishop Kenneth Cragg. [Vöcking, H, 2003, p. 15]

This gives second reason for studying Cragg - his impact in the field of Christian-Muslim relations. His seminal book, *The Call of the Minaret* [Cragg, K, 1956] has seen two further editions. It is still in print. In this book he gave Christians not only an understanding of Islam but summoned them to hear the implications of that call from the minaret for themselves.

All here is meant as a gentle invitation to a great invitation. The title tells what it would constitute, as well as what it would describe. And the one because of the other. Can we become so aware of Islam as to enter into all its implications for the Christian? Inasmuch as that ambition, and the pages that here serve it, must always turn upon the wide compassion of God, they must be prefaced with that most inclusive and cherished of all Muslim invocations: "In the Name of the merciful Lord of mercy." [Cragg, K, 2000b, p. xiv]

Lamb found that studying Cragg's work closely brought him to the heart of issues inherent in the encounter of people of faith. [Lamb, C, 2012a, p. 160]

**1.2.4 Theology**

Cragg is widely known for his engagement with Islam. However, Lamb stresses that Cragg's primary academic qualification is not as an orientalist but as a theologian. He also points out that the subject of Cragg's doctorate was 'Islam in the 20th century: the relevance of Christian theology and the relation of the Christian mission to its problems.' He then notes that Cragg's thesis was presented not to the faculty of Oriental studies but to the faculty of theology. His supervisor was Dr Ernest Payne, who specialised in Hinduism rather than Islam and his examiners were the Islamicist H. A. R. Gibb and Herbert Danby, the translator of the Talmud. Furthermore, one section of Cragg's thesis was entitled, 'The Alert Frankness of Christian Self-Criticism'. [Lamb, C, 1997, pp. 1-2] During his research for his DPhil Cragg had the living of the parish of Longworth, Oxford where he and his family resided in the vicarage. Christopher Brown observes that:

The experience of living in the house where *Lux Mundi,[[35]](#footnote-35)* a collection of influential essays that had been produced in 1889 lead him to serious theological reflection upon the nature of authority and the implications of the Incarnation. This major work for his doctorate confirmed his credentials as a theologian and partly revealed some of the main influences upon him at this time. [Brown, C, 2017, p. 5]

As both Lamb and Brown note, this led Cragg to emphasise the incarnation rather than the atonement and set the atonement in a broader theological context beyond that of his own Evangelical tradition.

Bård Mæland's book *Rewarding Encounters: Islam and the Comparative Theologies of Kenneth Cragg and Wilfred Cantwell Smith* is based on his PhD thesis (1991). It analyses their Comparative Theology, in light of their conviction that religious beliefs are about lively options rather than dull habits. Reviewing the book, Jane I. Smith Notes that:

*Rewarding Encounters* is in itself a highly rewarding study, albeit one most definitely not for the casual reader. ... I believe, however, that the serious student of Islam and Christian theology will be deeply rewarded for the effort of reading it. Mæland's study is not only an exegesis of the work of two important thinkers, but in itself is a significant contribution to the field of Christian theological reflection on Islam. [Smith, JI, 2004, p. 520]

The book concludes with an exploratory chapter headed *Towards a Christian Comparative Theology*.

Martin Forward's review of Cragg's book, *The weight in the word: prophethood, biblical and Quranic*, observes that:

Cragg's works have long been notable for their insistence that Islam's deepest yearnings could be met by the gospel of the Christ. This book, published in the year of his 86th birthday, confirms his ongoing intellectual curiosity, and his commitment to a continuing Christian appraisal of Islam. Whilst some may think that time has passed him by, and other creative relations with 'otherness' might now be more appropriate, many of his works continue to delight, to enthral and to irritate. This is one such. His brand of Christian theology is, ironically, much more knowledgeable about the other that it 'includes' than are most of the pluralist analyses that are currently trendy and will, I expect, outlast them [Forward, M, 2000, p. 322].

**1.2.5 Mysticism**

Given Cragg's evangelical background it might surprise some to find that he has a positive approach to mysticism. His thesis presents an affirmative view of Sufism stating that:

The tendency has been to discredit Sufism as superstitious and heterodox and yet it remains a fact that it represents some of the most religiously vigorous parts of Islam [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 91]

He was struck by the moral role that Sufism played in the lives of such eminent Muslims as Muhammad Abduh, (1849-1905) the Egyptian religious scholar and liberal reformer who led a late 19th-century movement in Egypt and other Muslim countries to 'modernize' Muslim institutions. Abduh's views were opposed by the established political and religious order, but were later embraced by Arab nationalism after World War I. Cragg tells us that:

The most formative influence in Abduh's life prior to his early twenties ... had been the Sufi sect of Shadhaili, to which he had been introduced by an uncle of his father ... It was from this Sufi source that Abduh derived that intense moral sensitivity which some have regarded as the mainspring of all his activities [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 138]

However, while Cragg's thesis places Sufism in a very positive light, he sees no place (as already noted above) for political power in religion, particularly in Islam which he sees as having become a political force. Cragg often refers to Islam's belligerence, for example: 'There is a dimension of harsh belligerence in the Qur'an, a strong pugnacity of faith.' [Cragg, K, 1994a, pp. 9-10] Yet, Cragg shows us one way out of this dilemma, through the moral quality that Sufism can bestow on Islam and especially on its Muslim leaders. This is echoed in Cragg's attitude to Dag Hammarskjöld, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations (further referred to below). Cragg's ideas relating to Sufism are further developed in his article *Sainthood and spirituality in Islam*:

What matters is a measure of Sufism as both achieving and rebuking Islam, and yet doing both from within its own native capacity and character. [Cragg, K, 1986c, pp. 179-180]

In this sense Sufism may be interpreted as Islam's own counterpart to the instincts and bent of its own theology, the corrective of what might, otherwise, have been only doctrinaire or even intransigent. [Cragg, K, 1986c, p. 91]

Cragg sees Sufism in a pragmatic sense, as a moderating influence on what he sees as the more excessive and extreme aspects of Islam. Cragg goes even further in a slim volume *The Wisdom of the Sufis* which is his only book totally dedicated to the subject:

The Qur’an itself could be seen as possessing a hidden mystique of language below its surface text, while its prophet might be claimed as the supreme Sufi, having his message by an ecstasy of experience, as light in which his Sufi disciples might bask [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 11].

Here Cragg is pressing for a less absolutist and literal interpretation of the Qur'an.

Over the course of his life Cragg underwent what he called 'siftings', purging the mind of that which lacked truth and sincerity. He notes that,

It was for such soul-sifting and shepherding that the great Sufi Orders came

into being with their prayer rites and liturgies and the authority of their

spiritual founders, some of whom attained an almost legendary reputation for piety and wisdom [Cragg, K, 1976, pp. 16-17].

Cragg undoubtably has been an influence on the thought of others, particularly as shown above in the realm of Christian Muslim relations. Less known is his influence on others regarding mysticism. Minlib Dallh's book, *The Sufi and the Friar: A Mystical Encounter of Two Men of God in the Abode of Islam*, (2017) followed his PhD Thesis, *A Mystical Encounter of a Dominican Friar, Serge de Beaurecueil (d. 2005), and a Ḥanbalī Ṣūfī, ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī of Herāt (d. 1089)* [Dallh, M, 2011]. Both investigate the spiritual or mystical encounter of a French Dominican friar, Serge de L. de Beaurecueil (d. 2005), and an eleventh-century Shaykh, Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī of Herāt (d. 1089). Both begin with an extensive quote from Cragg's Editorial[[36]](#footnote-36), *The Hinge and the Lock (an 'ala qulubin aqfaluha)* which begins, 'Are there locks upon our hearts?'[[37]](#footnote-37) [Cragg, K, 1957, p. 269]

Dallh then demonstrates how de Beaurecueil's spiritual journey was an attempt to take seriously Kenneth Cragg’s challenge to Christians, ''Are there locks upon our hearts?' Are we adequately susceptible, in our thinking and our relationships, to the content and inward force of the non-Christian other? [Dallh, M, 2017, p. 10]' In his Thesis, Dallh takes the treatment of hospitality of Cragg,

God comes to us in the person of a guest, but are not Christians themselves guests of Christ in God, to paraphrase Kenneth Cragg [Cragg, K, 1957, p. 269],

and compares this with that of Massignon:

Massignon’s treatment of hospitality has multiple roots: first, his experience entitled “visitation of the Stranger,” second, his firm belief in the mystical substitution (badaliyya), third, his interpretation of the three prayers of Abraham and lastly, the patriarch’s perfect hospitality offered to his three mysterious visitors [Dallh, M, 2011, p. 242].

**1.3 Biography as Theology**

In the Preface to *Troubled by Truth: Biographies in the Presence of Mystery*, Cragg shows that:

Biography has always been the first clue to theology, and in Christian tradition the reality of God is believed to have been biographised [sic] in Jesus as the Christ—the divine Word expressed in human terms and engaged with just those issues of wrong and mysteries of meaning which most bewilder and oppress the human self [Cragg, K, 1994c, p. ix].

Paul-Gordon Chandler[[38]](#footnote-38) quotes this passage in his book, *Pilgrims of Christ on the Muslim Road: Exploring a New Path Between Two Faiths*, which is concerned with the self-identified 'Sufi Muslim follower of Christ'. Chandler, using Cragg's book, *Troubled by Truth* as an example, explains that his book is not meant to be a biography of the novelist and writer Mazhar Mallouh[[39]](#footnote-39) but an attempt to use biographical information as a pedagogical instrument disclosing Mazhar’s spiritual pilgrimage with Christ within the Islamic world [Chandler, P-G, 2007, pp. 7-8].

By studying Cragg's life and work, through the lens of a 'Theology of Biography'[[40]](#footnote-40) it is possible to gain an insight into a more spiritual quality of his life which has theological resonance for today.

**1.3.1 Introduction to J. W. McClendon, *Biography as theology***

J. W. McClendon was the Distinguished Scholar in Residence at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California until his death in 2000. His book, *Biography as theology: How life stories can remake today's theology,* originally published in 1974 and republished published as a new edition in 2002, proposes to use biography as a way of doing theology, rather than using biography to give models of inspirational exemplary living.

**1.3.2 An Ethics of Character**

In the opening chapter of his book, McClendon states that he has detected a shift in theology and politics, although it is not clear what is happening. As an indicator, rather than turning to theology, he looks for new modes in ethics or morality. In 1946, H. Richard Niebuhr had observed that,

In the present crisis of mankind, however, all emphasis seems to be placed on utilitarianism in both science and religion [Niebuhr, HR, 1946].

McClendon claims that the dominance of utilitarianism is, like religious ethics, becoming moribund. He argues that the future of ethics (both secular and religious) lies in what he calls 'character ethics'. This in turn shows the need for a theology of character, which transports the ethics of today into a theology incor­porating the study of character - biography as theology [McClendon, JW, 2002, p. 2].'

He sees that:

character ethics, or what I would prefer, were it not such a mouthful, to call the ethics of character-in-community, is a more truly Christian style of thought and life for the days now ahead [McClendon, JW, 2002, p. 15].

The nearest approach to this, he finds in a posthumously published book of H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Responsible Self*, [Niebuhr, HR, 1963] as it is the self in its community with which character ethics is principally concerned. Character ethics, as understood in these terms, has features compatible with Christian morality of any age.

Christians from New Testament times have been deeply interested in character, though more correctly in character as redeemed by Christ, rather than in character as a natural or personal achievement [McClendon, JW, 2002, p. 18].

**1.3.3 Convictions**

Character ethics are also concerned with convictions. For McClendon, Christian beliefs are not a series of 'propositions' but are the convictions that shape lives and communities. He sees that only relevant critical examination of Christian beliefs is looking at such lived lives:

Theology must be at least biography. If by attending to those lives, we find ways of reforming our own theologies, making them more true, more faithful to our ancient vision, more adequate to the age now being born, then we will be justified in that arduous inquiry. *Biography at its best will be theology* [McClendon, JW, 2002, p. 22].

In the second chapter, McClendon uses Hammarskjöld's life to demonstrate how biography is or becomes theology. Cragg also used Hammarskjöld as an exemplar of the Christian Faith[[41]](#footnote-41) and further, to show a difference between Christianity and Buddhism [Cragg, K, 1986a, pp. 245-257].

**1.3.4 Dag Hammarskjöld - Twice-born servant**

This is the title of McClendon's second chapter which reflects the belief, particularly of Evangelicals, in the importance of being born again. Cragg, baptised into and brought up and remained in an evangelical tradition, did not undergo a sudden 'born again' conversion. He went through a period of 'self-doubt and inner diffidence' but experienced something akin to being re-born at his ordination in Chester Cathedral in 1937:

Was it not in the very nature of ordination that naivete would yield to ripeness only in the going? 1 knew that something radical had happened, that it belonged with love to Christ and that, in purposefully enlisting all the future, it would live and happen only in the present - the present of Christ’s ‘real presence.’ It was, in truth, 'a time to embrace' [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 62].

McClendon sees conversions as being:

not so much the introduction of new elements into the self as they are the rearrangement of elements already present, the shifting of the center of gravity; for the ‘new’ elements were present before the conversion, and the ‘old’ elements are still present after [McClendon, JW, 2002, pp. 32-33].

Cragg's own 'conversion', or as he says, 'a time to embrace', reflects the above description. Hammarskjöld, as McClendon points out, also, did not have a sudden conversion as commented on by Gustaf Aulén.[[42]](#footnote-42) Aulen, (1879-1978) was Bishop of Strängnäs in the Church of Sweden. In his book *Dag Hammarskjöld’s White Book* in a section entitled *Tormenting Questions*, Aulén remarks that Hammarskjöld’s 'negotiations with himself' (a term Cragg uses about himself) reveal a continual self-examination. [Aulén, G, 1970, p. 13] At the beginning of his book, Aulén explains the meaning of Hammarskjöld's use of negotiations:

In his letter to Leif Belfrage, printed as an Introduction to *Markings,* Dag Hammarskjöld described his diary as “a sort of *white book* concern­ing my negotiations with myself - and with God.” *White book* and *negotiations* are expressions borrowed from the discourse of diplomacy. It is surely obvious that political affairs of the largest possible magnitude filled the later part of Hammarskjold’s life, and the reader of his diary must not be unaware of this background. It is, indeed, the very fact of this background which makes the diary unique among the *confessiones* of Christian history.

The white book itself, however, does not deal with political questions. It is from beginning to end concerned with its author’s spiritual life. [Aulén, G, 1970, p. v]

Aulén makes it clear that while there was no sudden conversion, no being 'twice-born', Hammarskjöld went through a period of doubt before the '"moment' of his yes.' [Aulén, G, 1970, pp. 12-13] McClendon agrees with Aulén that Hammarskjöld’s conversion was not sudden. McClendon uses the distinction made by William James [James, W, 1905, pp. 77-124] between 'once born' and 'twice born'. '"Once born" are all those congenitally happy souls who worry little about morality and less about evil.' While in contrast the 'twice-born' are those who take 'the world’s evil to heart, and thereby confront difficulties of which the former do not dream.' [McClendon, JW, 2002, pp. 33-34]

McClendon’s use of James's distinction between 'once-born' and 'twice-born'[[43]](#footnote-43) may appear to some as somewhat arbitrary. He does not justify its use and this usage is somewhat removed from the born-again movement associated with Henry Martyn and John and Charles Wesley, who 'stressed the importance of self-devotion and the necessity of a personal relationship with God ... and emphasised reliance on the Scripture [Rzepka, M, 2017, p. 38].' John Gilchrist, for example, sees it as essential 'to distinguish between nominal Christians and true born-again believers who make up the true church of Jesus Christ.' But he does not define 'born-again', he only infers. [Gilchrist, J, 1988, p. 394]

**1.3.5 Negotiations: self-examination/self-criticism**

Hammarskjöld's use of the term 'negotiations' is similar to Cragg's use in *Faith and Life Negotiate*. Cragg sets out his meaning:

'Faith and Life Negotiate.' How right they should, if life is to be faithful and faith is to be alive. 'Negotiate,' too, is a fitting word if we retrieve it from the mandarins of diplomacy and the business of the counting house. It has to do with more than cheques and treaties. From its Latin source in *neg otium* it means laying aside sloth, saying No! to ease, in order to ‘hold intercourse by way of transacting business.’ (O.E.D.)

The poet John Donne, in *The Extasie*, says of lovers’ eyes:

'Our souls negotiate there,' perhaps echoing Shakespeare’s:

'Let every eye negotiate for itself

And trust no agent.'

... Any response of faith to life, any relating of life to faith, must needs be autobiographical. [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 1]

The point both Cragg and Hammarskjöld are making is that faith and life cannot be separated. For both Cragg and Hammarskjöld, it would not be possible to be a 'nominal Christian'. Continuous self-examination and self-criticism would ensure they remained in a state of being born-again. This theme of continuous self-examination is constant throughout Cragg's work.

**1.3.6 Dag Hammarskjöld: a very brief biography**

McClendon gives a salient biographical outline, of which the barest of details are given here: Dag Hammarskjöld was born in 1905 in Jönköping, Sweden into an aristocratic family. His family were very friendly with that of Nathan Soderblom, Archbishop of Uppsala, theologian, and ecumenist. Hammarskjöld's father, a strict conservative, in 1914, became Prime Minister of Sweden. McClendon notes that Hammarskjöld,

was a brilliant student, a vigorous outdoorsman. He progressed from the University of Uppsala, to a Ph.D. in economics at Lund, to a position in the civil service. He worked hard, rose rapidly, engineered Sweden’s transition to a Keynesian planned economy in the thirties, became a top civil service official. Never married, he seemed married to his work, interrupting it only with intense periods of mountain climbing, sailing, and hiking, or with hours in the theaters, art galleries, and libraries [McClendon, JW, 2002, pp. 27-28].

In 1941 Dag Hammarskjöld became Secretary of the Swedish Central Bank, in 1945 he became State Secretary to the Ministry of Finance and in 1951 Cabinet Minister without Portfolio. He was elected Secretary-General to the United Nations in 1954. Tragically in 1961, while on a UN mission, he was killed in a plane crash near Ndola, in today's Zambia, in circumstances that are still being investigated.[[44]](#footnote-44) After his death, his private journal recording his spiritual journey was published; it was translated into English with the title *Markings*. It is this book which gives an insight into his inner life and he has come to be regarded as a modern-day Mystic.

**1.3.7 Similarities between Hammarskjöld and Cragg**

It is obvious that Cragg's and Hammarskjöld's lives were very different. They came from opposite ends of the social spectrum. Cragg was happily married with children, whereas Hammarskjöld remained single. Cragg writes that,

facing in 1952, the temptation to suicide, he [Hammarskjöld] wrote: ‘You are tempted to overcome loneliness by making the ultimate escape from life. No! it may be that death is to be your ultimate gift to life: it must not be an act of treachery against it [Cragg, K, 2010a, pp. 34, note 13]'.

Hammarskjöld was an economist, politician, and diplomat, whereas Cragg was an academic, a theologian and a churchman. Their similarities arise from the way they negotiated their life with their faith. Both were from devout Christian backgrounds. Of Hammarskjöld, McClendon states that he cannot think of another 'attempt by a professional man of action to unite in one life the *via activa* and the *via contemplativei.*' [McClendon, JW, 2002, p. 42] It would be hard to separate Cragg, in Holy Orders, from prayer and action.

In presenting his case for Hammarskjöld's biography to be considered as theology, McClendon sets out certain criteria, two of which have already been considered: twice-born, and self-examination/self-criticism which show a similarity between Hammarskjöld and Cragg. Three other aspects would include: service, journey, and union with God.

Hammarskjöld was born into the Swedish aristocracy which had an in-bred commitment to service of the country. McClendon notes that 'He never wavered from the ingrained ideal of service to all people.' [McClendon, JW, 2002, p. 31] Cragg gives us some insight into his own sense of service, or duty. Talking of his early feelings of a 'calling' he admits to:

a 'growing pain' of that calling 'to-be-on-behalf-of' which had come to be for me so crucial to the Christian under­ standing of how it is with God and so must also be with us [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 22].

In later maturity he reflects thus:

Obedience is then the proper business of theology. It is this simplicity of writ and duty, of authority and destiny, which the Christian ‘liabilities’ of God in the Incarnation and the Cross as perceived in the New Testament, distort and encumber [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 215-216].

**1.3.8 A Spiritual Journey**

Cragg described Hammarskjöld's spiritual diary, *Markings*, as a 'diary -of-the-heart'. [Cragg, K, 1999d, p. 144] McClendon writes that:

In the classic view, man’s life is a journey, a pilgrimage, in which one’s self is not mere datum, nor an electronic calculator reading ‘decisions’ off new ‘situa­tions,’ but a soul in the making, a self which can become itself only as the weight of sin is fully recognized and the self recognizes a center of meaning and source of power beyond itself, forgiving and remaking that self [McClendon, JW, 2002, p. 9].

The first lines in Hammarskjöld’s *Markings* are:

I am being driven forward

Into an unknown land.

The pass grows steeper.  
The air colder and sharper.  
A wind from my unknown goal Stirs the strings

Of expectation.

Still the question:  
Shall I ever get there?

There where life resounds,

A clear pure note  
In the silence. [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 5]

Here, Hammarskjöld marks out the beginning of his spiritual journey.

In 2001, Monica Bouman[[45]](#footnote-45) defended her doctoral thesis entitled *Dag Hammarskjöld: Citizen of the World*. [Bouman, M, 2014] In 2016 she wrote:

In the case of Hammarskjöld, we are in the unique position that his personal spiritual and moral journey has been well documented – by himself above all. According to Brian Urquhart [Urquhart, B, 1972, p. 18], Hammarskjöld’s biographer and one of his main advisors, Hammarskjöld’s posthumously published personal diary *Markings* is to a large extent the logbook of his search for maturity of mind. [Bouman, M, 2016, p. 33]

Similarly, Cragg's *Faith and Life Negotiate* can be seen as a logbook of his search for maturity of mind, although Cragg prefers to use the terms, 'siftings' and 'negatiations'.

**1.3.9 Union with God**

Running through *Markings* is a phrase which owes much to St John of the Cross, 'Faith is the Union of God with the soul'. Andrew T. Kania,[[46]](#footnote-46) also based his doctoral thesis on Hammarskjöld [Kania, AT, 2000]. Kania states that Hammarskjöld's understanding of the term *Mysticism* is 'the quest for unitive love with God'. McClendon also observes that:

One of the later mystics, John of the Cross, had given Hammarskjold his definition of faith: 'Faith is the union of God with the soul [McClendon, JW, 2002, p. 55].'

In summing-up his chapter on Hammarskjöld, McClendon sees Hammarskjöld's understanding that Jesus's 'Yes' to destiny entailed his own 'Yes'. Hammarskjöld uses traditional language when describing Jesus as 'the victim who chose to be sacrificed'. [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 190] Furthermore, as McClendon reminds us, the regular teaching of Chris­tianity is, every disciple takes up his cross, while Hammarskjöld 'saw submission to his lifework as submission to the cross.' McClendon feels that the degree to which he succeeded was,

linked with an interiority, a discipline, a vision which was formed by the gospel of the cross, a vision which found in Jesus, and in the way of sacrifice, and in the mystical apprehension beyond the frontiers of the unheard-of, models for self-knowledge, images for action, which made *that* life possible. [McClendon, JW, 2002]

While *Markings* was not written as an autobiography, but Hammarskjöld's private spiritual diary, it does have similarities with Cragg's *Faith and Life* although Cragg's book is an autobiography, written for publication to a wider audience. Cragg traces and records his own inner journey, his fears, doubts and disappointments. However, he remains unshaken in his faith. Noting that Hammarskjöld wrote of 'the distinction between being responsible to God and being - if impossibly *- responsible for* God, the first being the ethical, the second the theological', Cragg comments on this inter-liability between God and ourselves which,

must then be, either way, in the terms most ultimate in our experience, namely terms of love and tenderness, grace and gentleness, if these blessedly belonged with us because these were enthroned in heaven. Divine liability to us could not be less than our human liability to each other, but infinitely more in being other. We would have to conclude that 'God is love for the same reason by which we said that 'God is great'' [Cragg, K, 2006b, p. 180].

Early in life, Cragg realised that his Christian faith 'offered, not some blind optimism in the face of wrongs within and around, but the costly reckonings of the Cross' [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 31].

**1.3.10** **Conclusion**

Cragg has led a fascinating and multi-faceted life, which deserves further study. His contribution to scholarship and literature covers the field of theology and missiology. No study of the protestant contribution to these areas in the 20th century would be complete without reference Bishop Kenneth Cragg. That his biography can offer an insight into our own theology, is an added bonus. Cragg sums up his book *Faith and Life Negotiate* as a:

Story-study [which] aims to bring together how the invitation came which is the faith and how the answer was which is the life. ... This is the Christian way of the Incarnation and the Cross [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 298-299].

As McClendon concludes:

we return from the lives we have examined to our own lives; the examiners become the examined, and our claim on our ‘saints’ becomes their many-sided claim upon us [McClendon, JW, 2002, p. 171].

Cragg would probably comment, 'It follows that the siftings of a probing scholarship can ally with all faith-biographies' [Cragg, K, 2000c, p. xv]. Often Cragg will leave the reader with a question:

May we not then conclude that the story-school we are studying was a gathering initiation into self-sifting and self-awakening, a tuition through crisis into truth? [Cragg, K, 2000c]

This thesis will demonstrate that Cragg's soul searching and sifting did lead him into truth (as defined by himself). Cragg's use of the metaphor, 'sifting' will be considered later in this thesis.

**2. The sufferance of our souls: The life and times of Kenneth Cragg - his formative elements**

Cragg uses the term 'sift' or 'sifting' on numerous occasions throughout his work. This section will examine his usage of the term, particularly when he applies it to himself. The Oxford English Dictionary defines sifting as, 'To pass (something) through a sieve, in order to separate the coarse from the fine particles, or to strain.' Sifting as a metaphor widens this meaning from the simple separation of the course from the fine. Frederic C. Howe's book, *Wisconsin, an experiment in democracy,* succinctly outlines the events around the court case[[47]](#footnote-47) which led to sifting and winnowing used as a metaphor for the academic pursuit of truth affiliated with the University of Wisconsin.

Whatever may be the limitations which trammel enquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great State University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found [Howe, FC, 1912, pp. 31-32].

The sifting (and winnowing) was seen as an important, continuous process, as a means of reaching the truth, but whose truth and by what methodology? The above commitment is continued as expressed in the College's Policy Statement (2017), which begins:

The Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System has a longstanding tradition of support for academic freedom, dating back to 1894 and the famous “sifting and winnowing” statement contained in the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents’ Final Report on the Trial of Richard Ely. The Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System hereby reiterates its commitment to the principle of academic freedom and affirms its commitment to the principle of freedom of expression [Board of Regents, 2017].

Whether there can or ought to be limits to freedom of expression[[48]](#footnote-48) is largely beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the issues of academic freedom and the freedom of expression can be seen as a facet of the 'sifting process' although the metaphor tells little of what the process actually consists. What mechanisms either physical or mental are being used? The College's Policy Statement (2017) gives some broad hints at those mechanisms which largely appear to be governed by laws, both those of the college and of the state. For example, Section 3. of the Policy Statement states,

Students and employees have the freedom to discuss any problem that presents itself, as the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and Article I of the Wisconsin Constitution permit.

However, that statement is then qualified with:

Students and employees shall be permitted to assemble and engage in spontaneous expressive activity as long as such activity does not materially and substantially disrupt the functioning of an institution [Board of Regents, 2017].

This immediately dilutes the authority of the previous statement. Who defines what is materially and substantially disruptive?

Cragg's usage of the term will now be considered to see if Cragg reveals some of the inner workings of his mind (and as he might put it, 'his soul'). He uses the term in a variety of ways. For example, Cragg uses 'sifts' in a similar manner to that above:

There is no space here to examine the Old Testament situation textually. We may content ourselves with the conviction that we share with the two disciples on the road to Emmaus the accessibility of "Christ in all the Scriptures" and that we have in dependable possession the documentation of the history which, in their setting, still awaited the long and patient processes of its distillation into writing, into scripture, into manuscript, where our contemporary textual scholarship meets and sifts it.

That activity is still proceeding. There is, therefore, nothing improper, nothing dissuasive, for the Christian mind in the fact that he can only possess and trust his Scriptures, with an open intelligence and the reverent scrutiny of an unceasing erudition. No one who has understood the meaning of the Incarnation would want it otherwise [Cragg, K, 1964a].

This extract is from a series of pamphlets for discussion groups titled, *Emmaus Furlongs*, published around 1964. Lamb notes:

In general it must be said that these publications demand a considerable grasp of the English language, and a constant, serious and deep engagement with Christian themes and Muslim friends and society if they are to be made real use of [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 122].

Here Cragg is affirming his stance (Cragg's approach to Christianity is similar to his approach to other faiths[[49]](#footnote-49)) that our scrutiny of the Scriptures is ceaseless in our acquiring a profundity of learning. It also reflects his aversion to dogma (see below). Cragg's method may be akin to Jung's critical psychology. Sonu Shamdasani, in his book *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology: The Dream of a Science*, Jung explains that:

"critical psychology," which meant "a critical apparatus for the sifting of the empirical material," and not "a pigeon-hole in which single individuals can be locked up without further questioning" [Shamdasani, S, 2003, p. 86].

In the above quotations the emphasis is on a constant 'sifting' of material, empirical or otherwise, in a constant search for truth. Not at any stage can there be declared a final version of the truth and which is then filed away in a 'pigeon-hole' free from further 'sifting'. Sadly, the make-up of the 'critical apparatus' with which to conduct this sifting is elusive. The Jungian analyst Wolfgang Giegerich[[50]](#footnote-50) in his book *The Neurosis of Psychology: Primary Papers Towards a Critical Psychology*, points out that Jung may have been using the phrase 'critical psychology' as the proper **name** of his psychology rather than a just description. Giegerich notes that Jung has used the phrase since the early 1930s. (He cites Shamdasani's use of the quotation (see above) which is from a letter Jung wrote to Wolfgang Kranefeldt[[51]](#footnote-51) in 1933) [Giegerich, W, 2020, p. 1]. However, Giegerich maintains that there is a

straightforwardness of the thinking prevailing in these quotations lies in the fact that there is here a clear distinction between the typology as a tool (“apparatus”) on the one hand, and the material or object to which this tool can be applied, on the other [Giegerich, W, 2020, pp. 1-2].

The precise nature of Jung's typology does not concern this thesis (this was to develop and change over the years), moreover, Cragg could be dismissive of Jung's attitude:

An utterly arbitrary theory of divine will and power is developed by K.C. Zaehner in his Our Savage God (London, 1971), and in an article entitled: "Why not Islam?" in *Religious Studies* (Cambridge, 1975), Vol. 11, pp. 167-179. Cf. a response from the present writer: “How not Islam,” in the same journal, 1977, Vol. 13, pp. 387-394.) In both places Zaehner enthrones arbitrariness in the Semitic concept of Deity, very much in the temper of Carl Jung’s *Answer to Job*. This notion, however, thus crudely and starkly enforced, is utterly incompatible with Christian theology as the New Testament originates it, and also with that Hebraic sense of divine pathos so eloquently expounded, for example, by the late Rabbi Abraham Heschel [Cragg, K, 1981b, pp. 314, footnote 313].

In a lecture Cragg gave to the Guild of Pastoral Psychology in 1991, 'As Muslims see themselves - in the Light of their Qur'an'[[52]](#footnote-52) he was asked the question:

Are you familiar with Jung’s theory of psychological types? It seems to me that it’s [Islam] a religion which appeals to a psychological type. And I wondered whether you’d thought about that and whether you could say anything about it?

Cragg's reply is unfortunately evasive regarding Jung:

What we’ve been able to cover tonight of course is woefully incomplete because there are so many different types within Islam itself. And my last point about a certain harshness in Islam would have to coexist with the Sufi tradition which is full of deep warm spirituality and that’s important, it’s important not to think that Islam is all mysticism, which is the way some westerners do. Mysticism is not in favour greatly, but there are those whose temperament is warm, and compassionate, and outgoing, in the sense of having a deep inner piety, which is not rigorous at all. So, there are these tensions and then the difference between the Sunni and the Shi'a, which we haven’t explored. Some of what I’ve said is appropriate to both, but the Shi'a also have a dimension of vicarious suffering. Which some would think as almost masochistic in some ways. Where you have these ceremonies of flagellation and so on in places like Najaf and Bagdad. The Sufi’s are very much present, as you know, in Iraq and are almost completely dominant in Iran. So, there are these broad diversities and I guess, all great religions to a degree accommodate or provide for a variety of human temperaments. And certainly, you know, a faith that is of so long standing and so widespread, so universal in its appeal and so vigorous [Cragg, K, 1991]

However, Cragg's response is an indication of his attitude to Islamic mysticism, and that he is 'alive' to psychology. It is Jung's insight into the distinct two parts of the 'sifting process' that will help to understand how Cragg is using the metaphor of sifting when applying it to himself.

An early use of the term by Cragg occurs in his thesis when referring to the author Taha Hussein[[53]](#footnote-53):

His sifting of Al-Azhar[[54]](#footnote-54) in the crucible of his own experience and his honest record of that personal disillusionment are a most important contribution to the modern 'criticism' of Islam [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 260].

Hussein records his gradual disillusionment as a student at the Muslim University of Al-Azhar in the second volume of his autobiography, *Stream of Days: a Student at the Azhar* [Hussein, T, 1948]. Hilary Wayment's introduction to *Stream of Days,* notes that at the time of Hussein's studies, it was a critical phase for Al-Azhar. Its supremacy and its conservatism were being challenged. Hussein's 'sifting' led him to the more liberal sheikhs outside the Azhar [Hussein, T, 1948, pp. v-x].

Cragg's use of the word 'crucible', further enhances the sifting metaphor. He uses this combination again in a review of *The Primal Vision* by John V. Taylor:[[55]](#footnote-55)

The exposition then moves into the quality of the ministry by whose leadership these ends are to be served. Here John Taylor tests and sifts these tasks in the crucible of African notions of mediators and "media," "the prophets, priests and kings" of her familiar world, in which "the word is always a spell that conjures and creates what it speaks of," and is meant to convince "not through logic but through fascination" [Cragg, K, 1963, p. 13].

Apart from referring to a container that can resist high temperatures, for melting, fusing, or calcining ores, metals, etc. (Cambridge Dictionary), crucible can also mean a difficult test or challenge,[[56]](#footnote-56) and a place or situation that forces people to change or make difficult decisions (Britannica Dictionary). The crucible is used in the Bible as a metaphor for testing people (for example, Proverbs 17:3;[[57]](#footnote-57) Proverbs 27:21 [[58]](#footnote-58)). Hussein's time at Al-Azhar was such a test.

In Cragg's article[[59]](#footnote-59) published in the Muslim World, 1953, 'Persons, situations, books: Christian literature for the contemporary Muslim' he again uses the term 'sift':

there have been plenty of writers to voice the urgent themes of human existence as it weighs upon the person, to search and sift, as literature should, the situations of common life, of sickness, pain, fear, poverty and death... Poignant passages in the autobiographies of Taha Husain and Ahmad Amin[[60]](#footnote-60) mirror widespread experience and make it articulate [Cragg, K, 1953b, p. 203].

Here sifting is seen as a more active pursuit involving searching and sifting. In Cragg's book, *The Call of the Minaret*, he bemoans the fact that Muslims have not produced a full or sustained study of Christ in which all the accumulated evidence on the subject is sifted and assessed [Cragg, K, 1956, p. 283].

In *Sandals at the mosque*, Cragg askes the rhetorical question, 'Did not Jesus use parables to test and sift men's will to understand?' [Cragg, K, 1959, p. 94].

In keeping with the biblical theme, in his book, *What Decided Christianity: Event and Experience in the New Testament*, Cragg writes,

The vicissitudes of Gospel formation have to be probed in order, if possible, to sift the wheat from the chaff by the winnowing wisdom of the scholars. It is a praiseworthy enterprise now bewilderingly complicated and often irresolute and conjecture-prone [Cragg, K, 1989, p. 133].

Here is more sifting being done by scholars, although Cragg gives no indication as to exactly what may be considered either wheat or chaff.

In an appendix to the book, *A Muslim Community in Britain*, by Eric Butterworth, Cragg, commenting on the antipathy between Muslims and Christians he states:

'With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you.' This is one of the pressing reasons for magnanimity and a large sympathy. Given these, we may hopefully expect a searching, a sifting, an alerting, of the resources of Islam, which a precipitate evangelism alarms into obduracy, but a more patient one may be able to address [Cragg, K, 1967a, p. 58].

Cragg is criticising a confrontational style of mission to Muslims., and the same time hoping for a more 'liberal' interpretation of Islam from both Muslims and Christians.

Using the metaphor regarding himself, he explains,

Sifting is an apt word to describe what was to happen to my sense of mission, to my perceptions of the task of personal Christian faith within the transactions of culture and community to which inner loyalty had brought it [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 89].

There would always be an inner tension between his evangelical background, and the pragmatic reality of each new situation he encountered. 'Sifting' seems to be his explanation as to how he negotiated this.

It is the 'Sifting of the East' which has had the greatest effect on Cragg's thought and spirituality. Chapter 4, in his book, *Faith and Life Negotiate*, has the title, *The Sifting East.* He introduces the theme with a quote from Gerard Manley Hopkins'[[61]](#footnote-61) poem *The Wreck of the Deutschland*: 'I am soft sift in an hour-glass', to which Cragg gives the reference [Gardner, WH & MacKenzie, NH, 1967, p. 52]. Cragg notes that this is how the poet saw himself, while time only uses the grains in the hour-glass for measure, Cragg was to be sifting for meaning [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 89]. Nigel Foxell's commentary (1966), sets out the history of the poem’s inception. His treatment of the hour-glass metaphor is more through than Cragg's. While he also notes that it represents 'Man's corporeal existence, through which pass the sands of time, our life,' he further adds,

life, in terms of the time left at our disposal, is always decreasing, like sand in an hourglass; but, as we are organisms, we rise from birth to our prime and then fall to old age and death, like a wave. This natural up and down contrasts with the spiritual down and up... Whereas God’s spiritual intentions and natural workings are one, man’s natural destiny contrasts with his spiritual destiny [Foxell, N, 1966, pp. 225-227].

Cragg lays himself open to the charge of contextomy. However, Cragg is referring to the sifting of meaning for him, of events in his life. For example, 'The meaning of my Ordination was being sifted, its Blackpool/ Oxford/Tranmere origins disconcertingly searched afresh...' [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 101-102]. Cragg is undergoing a psychological paradigm shift that replaces his old way of thinking with a new and improved mindset. Referring back to Jung's a critical apparatus for the sifting of the empirical material, Cragg gives little insight to his 'critical apparatus'. He does not like the word, 'contemplate' which may imply withdrawal, preferring instead, 'consider' which meaning, he points out, is to come from the stars (sidera), to gaze, to inspect, to view attentively. He is reminded of Psalm 8, ' When I consider Your heavens, the work of Your fingers, The moon and the stars, which You have ordained...' Cragg had periods in his life when he underwent a psychological paradigm shift that replaces his old way of thinking with a new and improved mindset. These will become evident in the later section.

**2.1 Blackpool, a brief history**

In 2015 *Centre for Cities,* a research and policy institute, dedicated to improving the economic success of UK cities, published a report written by Paul Swinney and Elli Thomas containing a case study of Blackpool entitled, *A century of change in Blackpool* [Swinney, P & Thomas, E, 2015]. It outlines Blackpool's growth as a tourist town from its first middle-class holidaymakers in the 18th century when sea bathing was being made fashionable by the upper-classes. Eliza de Feuillide, the determined first cousin of Jane Austen, while visiting Hastings in 1790 with her son, wrote in a letter:

The Sea has strengthened him wonderfully & I think has likewise been of great service to myself, I still continue bathing notwithstanding the severity of the Weather & Frost & Snow which is I think somewhat courageous. [Le Faye, D, 2002, pp. 97-99]

Jane Austin had her character Mrs Bennet proclaim that, 'A little sea-bathing would set me up for ever.' [Austen, J, 2001, p. 150]

However, in Blackpool, such gentility was swept away with the coming of the railways bringing hordes of working-class holidaymakers. Between 1851 and 1911 Blackpool's population quadrupled and by the 1930's around seven million people visited annually. Much of Blackpool's success was due to the Lancashire tradition of 'Wakes Week' in which the mill towns, in succession, closed down for a week in summer ensuring a steady stream of visitors. The abundance of guesthouses that sprang up to accommodate the visitors, (most staying for a few days or a week) now attract housing benefit claimants. In 2012-13, Blackpool had the highest welfare bill per capita of any UK city. [Swinney, P & Thomas, E, 2015, pp. 33-34]

One can detect an ambivalence in Cragg (and his family) to these hordes of holidaymakers escaping briefly from the ('dark satanic') coalmines, cotton mills and weaving sheds. Referring to Blackpool's 'Golden Mile'[[62]](#footnote-62) he writes:

... in that lucrative mile of tawdriness and whimsicality were palmists, cabarets, dance-halls, pubs, trocaderoes and stalls of the inevitable Blackpool Rock.

It was all a strange nursery for our evangelical loyalty. We belonged to Christ Church, a Victorian Gothic edifice at the north end of town.[[63]](#footnote-63) From its origins in the eighteen-seventies, it had been a stronghold of a warm and simple Anglican faith, devoted alike to 'the Gospel' and 'the Book of Common Prayer'. How many times did we walk on Sundays the three miles along the promenade in all weath­ers, passing that 'golden mile' between the two piers, like Bunyan’s wayfarers through 'Vanity Fair', turning in beside the Cenotaph to Queen Street and the welcoming embrace of the true faith. The contrast was complete - and painful - between our earnest will to worship and the casual indifference, the secular nonchalance, through which we made our way...

I do not recall any strong emotions of censure or reproach over those un­churched crowds.[[64]](#footnote-64) My father, after all, was a local mer­chant, and they were our livelihood... [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 12-13]

This approach is more pragmatic than theological. Many religious scruples would have had to have been side-lined for the sake of a profit. The incongruence of the two extremes made a lasting impression on Cragg. He recalls how, chaperoned by his elder brother, he would often go to the Pleasure Beach,[[65]](#footnote-65) though with no money to spend to experience the delight of the amusements. Cragg shows a degree of prejudice towards these 'un-churched crowds'. Although church attendance of the working classes was declining, it was mirrored across the country and across the whole of social strata.

**2.1.1 Mass Observation**

A pioneering sociological survey known as Mass Observation[[66]](#footnote-66) took place in Blackpool and neighbouring Bolton in the 1930s, which was the brainchild of the colourful and eccentric anthropologist Tom Harrisson. His biography by Judith M. Heimann, *The most offending soul alive: Tom Harrisson and his remarkable life*, quotes from *Who's Who'* that he:

left Harrow (where he wrote a standard book on the birds of the district) to go on Oxford Expedition to Arctic Lapland; . . . one year living among cannibal mountain tribes of Malekula ... Determined, instead of studying primitive people, to study the “cannibals of Britain,” so started with Charles Madge new type of social research organization, called Mass-Observation ... [Heimann, JM, 1998, p. 1]

Henry Barlow in his review of Heimann's book regrets the absence off a bibliography and thus misses the opportunity to fill the incomplete listings of his Borneo research in 1978. However, he acknowledges that Heimann has produced 'as a result of ten years hard work, as fine and sympathetic a portrait as is possible of this man.' [Barlow, H, 2000, p. 131] Another reviewer of Heimann's book, Wilhelm Solheim, was a friend of Harrisson and whilst admiring him, recognised the 'offending soul' that he was. Solheim organised a special issue of *Asian Perspectives* (volume 20 1977) in memory of Harrisson which included a bibliography of his writings [Solheim, W, 2000, p. 203].

Mass observation is a useful benchmark in measuring social change in England during the 20th century. Tom Harrisson, reflecting in 1971 on the project noted:

We did not mean, in the first place, simply asking people questions. We wanted to observe what they did, not what they said they did. In those days, any attempt to study society as it really was in England was certainly pioneering, in a way that it is difficult to remember now ...

The 'Mass' part of it echoes rather differently today. In those days, there was a much bigger dichotomy between the public schoolboy (as I was) and the people then called 'working class'—the proletariat. This dichotomy is obscured by many other factors today and is not at all conspicuous now; 'Mass' has become a condescending term. Still, the concept meant a deep, wide look at ordinary people [Harrisson, T, 1971, p. 398].

However, it was a dichotomy Cragg would have to 'negotiate'.

**2.1.2 Kenneth Cragg's early formative year in Blackpool ('the seedtime of my soul') 1913-1931**

The Right Reverend (Albert) Kenneth Cragg was born in the seaside town of Blackpool in Lancashire on the 8th March 1913, to Albert and Emily Cragg, a devout couple of conservative evangelical Anglican conviction.[[67]](#footnote-67) He was the youngest of three children, a sister Marion, and a brother Herbert Wallace. His father had been 'early orphaned and had struggled hard [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 17].' They, like their parish church, Christ Church, were supporters of the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (BCMS). This had broken away from the Church Missionary Society in 1922 in a bitter dispute over the increasing theological liberalism within the Church of England. The BCMS represented the conservative evangelical wing of the Church of England.

Cragg died almost a century later, at the age of ninety-nine, on 13th November 2012 in the College of St Barnabas, Lingfield, a retirement home for Anglican clergy. Thus, he lived through most of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Although he officially retired in 1978, after his wife's death in 1989 he moved back to Oxford and continued to travel, write, lecture, and preach. Between 1989 and 2011 he published some thirty books and over a hundred articles. He has been variously described as:

... one of the most distinguished scholars of Islam in the hundred years that spanned his life... better known and respected in the Middle East and the Islamic world both among Christians and Muslims than he was in his own land [Nazir-Ali, M, 2012];

... Bishop Kenneth Cragg, the doyen of Anglican Islamicists... [Thomas, D & Pratt, D, 2014, p. 6].

... poet more than theologian [Brittenden, P, 2013, p. 1];

Christopher Lamb notes that Cragg's life work:

was summed up in the title of his best-known book, *The Call of the Minaret*, first published in 1956, and still in print... In an engagement with Islam extending over 70 years as missionary, scholar, bishop, and friend, he earned the respect of Muslims for his knowledge of the Qur'an, and the gratitude of Christians for showing how a deep familiarity with things Islamic can go hand in hand with unabashed witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. His conviction was that the logic of all that was true and honourable in Islam should lead Muslims to Christ [Lamb, C, 2012b, p. 37].

Islamic scholar, poet, theologian, missionary, bishop (and therefore deacon and priest), friend, to which must be added: traveller (by 1994 Cragg had made some 342 flights), and husband and father; these are all aspects of Cragg's life that are present in this thesis. Cragg seldom admits to those who had a lasting influence on him either spiritual or academic. However, the influence of Dag Hammarskjold on his life, thought and writing is acknowledged by him and will also be demonstrated in this thesis.

As already noted, there is no complete biography of Kenneth Cragg. The (incomplete) biography that follows relies heavily on two main sources; (1) Cragg's semi-autobiographical book, *Faith and Life Negotiate: A Christian Story-study* [Cragg, K, 1994b], his chapter, *The Tents of Kedar*, in *Christian lives given to the study of Islam*, edited by C. W. Troll & C. T. R. Hewer [Cragg, K, 2012], and (2) Christopher Lamb's, *The Call to Retrieval: Kenneth Cragg's Christian vocation to Islam* [Lamb, C, 1997]. While other writers have also identified Cragg as: a scholar of Islam, a poet, theologian, missionary, and bishop, two other important areas of his work have been largely overlooked - that of philosophy and mysticism. This can be corrected by locating the philosopher, diplomat and theologian, Charles Malik 1906-1987, (who played a vital role in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), and the mystic and diplomat Dag Hammarskjöld 1905-1961, (the second secretary-general to the United Nations) in the life and work of Kenneth Cragg. These two will be visited further in this thesis.

Cragg's life reflects some of the major political movements and events in the 20th century; the loss of the British Empire; the growth of the Anglican Communion and the World Council of Churches; the on-going problems in the Middle East; the rise of fundamentalism; the rise of Islamic Nationalism; the formation of the United Nations; two World Wars, the Cold War, and the nuclear threat. On a national level, aspects of social change saw greater social mobility, improvements in educational opportunities, a decline in church attendance and an increase in immigration and the growth of multi-faith and multi-culturalism. Through great social and political change in education and the Church of England, Cragg was able to escape the confines of his comparatively humble background. His father had been 'early orphaned and had struggled hard' [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 17].

The 'Great War' ended when Cragg was five years old, and he remembers:

how the great white obelisk was erected and dedicated in an awesome ceremony on the north Promenade. Only years later, via the poetry of Wilfred Owen, did I learn through what lunacy and carnage my childhood had emerged [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 18].

Cragg recounts that he does not remember much of his primary schooling[[68]](#footnote-68) although he was 'at least... numerate and literate and ready for the wider world of 'secondary' education'. The Fisher Education Act of 1918,[[69]](#footnote-69) raised the school leaving age from 12 to 14, abolished all fees in state elementary schools, widened the provision of medical inspection, nursery schools and special needs education. But, due to the economic depression of the 1920's, not all of these innovative changes could be implemented. There followed various reports to reform secondary education, but due to lack of resources, there was little change until after the Second World War.

Winning a scholarship to what is now known as Blackpool Grammar School, was the next important stage in his life. However, this could have all been for naught, as Cragg relates:

After matriculation at fifteen, my father thought it was time for me to quit school. His own hard experience and vigorous self-help against heavy odds had given him a suspicion of 'higher' education. He thought I, too, should be 'at the world', not cossetted with books. My sister and brother were already at work in builders’ offices as junior clerks. He had arranged for me to be apprenticed at a corner chemist shop to learn the trade. He was finally dissuaded by a master at the School whom he trusted as a friend, to whose pleas and prognosis he yielded. Being so reprieved from what might have been a *cul de sac* meant that I had to justify his change of mind. This only came precariously to pass when my parents came to stay in Oxford in my first summer term [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 21].

There are parallels here with the life of the celebrated actor and playwright Emlyn

Williams. Born the son of a housemaid and a stoker in November 1905, he was brought up in the rural village of Pen-y-Ffordd, Mostyn, Flintshire in northeast Wales. His teacher, Sarah Grace Cooke, helped and encouraged him to win a scholarship to Oxford. She is immortalized as Miss Moffat in his play, *The Corn is Green*. Williams' often amusing and revealing autobiography covers two volumes [Williams, E, 1962, 1974] but is more brutally shocking than Cragg in his description of his 'escape' from his home and his identity search.

One of Cragg's fellow pupils was Albert Cooke, better known Alastair Cooke from his radio series *Letter from America*. Writing in the Blackpool Grammar School Magazine of 1956, Cooke recalls his school days:

The Secondary School, as it was then called, was known to the townspeople as a font of learning, and also as a rather toney[[70]](#footnote-70) place where some boys grew too big for their breeches. To its Headmaster, the inimitable Mr. Joseph Turral (1904-33) (“Joey” or “J.T.” behind his back), it was an oasis of gentility in the desert of the North Country, a fortification holding siege against the Philistines around -- the summer visitors who brought business to the landladies and merchants to help them pay the taxes to maintain the Secondary School. This humbling contradiction is not one that occurred to a twelve-year-old, and we appeared there fired by the knowledge that we were entering a special regiment, where you put on a blue suit and a black tie, learned to talk about “our School”, memorised the lyrics of “Ta-Ran-Ta-Ra”,[[71]](#footnote-71) and a few years later mastered the Charleston behind closed doors while a look-out listened for the imperial warning of the Headmaster’s cough, which at a corridor’s length sent us vaulting back to our desks and a deep pre-occupation with solid geometry or the Seven Years' War [Cooke, A, 1956].

Cooke's colourful reminisces of his school days highlights the 'us and them' attitude of the school to the working-classes - the visitors **and** tradespersons (the latter being Cragg's background). This makes an interesting contrast to the more austere memories of Cragg for whom, attending Grammar School, would have been in the eyes of his peers, tantamount to betrayal of his class.

Nicola Rayner was editor of *Dance Today* from 2010 to 2015 and author of several articles in such newspapers as *The Guardian*, and *The Independent*. In her article, *How the Charleston changed the world,* she writes:

Many dance halls, from the Piccadilly Hotel to the Hammersmith Palais, banned the dance altogether... On both sides of the Atlantic, newspapers and moralists rushed to condemn the craze. “Any lover of the beautiful will die rather than be associated with the Charleston,” complained the Rev E W Walters, vicar of St Aidan’s, Bristol, in 1926. “It is neurotic! It is rotten! It stinks! Phew, open the windows.” By 1927, police in Newcastle complained that young people were obstructing traffic by dancing the Charleston in the street [Rayner, N, 2013].

Cragg does not give the impression of ever having learnt the Charleston. What he does give us in *Faith and Life Negotiate: A Christian Story-study*, is a very orderly picture of his childhood, split three ways between church, school, and family relationships with church being the dominant factor.

**2.2 Oxford Undergraduate (1931-1934)**

Oxford has a long tradition of evangelicalism. In his book, *The Evangelicals at Oxford*, J.S.

Reynolds enthusiastically concludes that during the nineteenth century the evangelicals of Oxford, formed both a party and a school of thought. He claims that they represented a movement comparable with other religious movements of the time. [Reynolds, JS, 1953, p. 159] F.D. Coggan's book is less partisan, admitting that 'the story of evangelical effort in Oxford is chequered [Coggan, D, 1934, p. 55].'

For Cragg, the award the Grafton Scholarship to Oxford[[72]](#footnote-72) and his acceptance into Jesus College to read History, was the way out of the constraints of his background and the strictures of his evangelical obligation. [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 28] It was also a time for the maturing and amending of his faith (a sifting of his soul), though questions continued throughout his life. However, life was hard. To live, he had only the Blackpool Borough Scholarship of £35 a term, out of which he paid for his digs and food in hall, leaving him with little else but 'study and the Christian Union', being 'too poor to join the other Union and was thus excluded from political debate.' While Cragg was at Oxford, his elder brother also became a student which added to Cragg's 'acute sense of frugality', and left him with no thought or time for idleness [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 40].

Cragg does not comment on his fellow students, the former public-school boys with whom he had to brush shoulders. Nor does he make any reference to the fleet of college servants with whom he would have had contact and some sort of relationship. Brian Harrison's study of college servants in Oxford colleges, [Harrison, B, 2012] underlines the importance of this, often overlooked, group of people. It would be fascinating to know just how Cragg coped with the idea of servants, let alone his ability to use and inter-react with them. Cragg's bleak student life is in direct contrast to that of a contemporary student Robert Byron, best remembered now for his travel book *The Road to Oxiana*. Born in England in 1905 into a family distantly related to Lord Byron, he attended Eton and Merton College. Writing home to his mother from college in January 1923, contrasting the rule-bound regimen of an English public school to the freedoms of the university he wrote, no doubt with some poetic licence:

the problems of life that confront one here... 1. How to find time to do any work. 2. How to get to bed before one... 3. How to get drunk cheaply. 4. How to be rude first. 5. How to sign one’s name... [Byron, R, 1991, pp. 17-18]

He met his untimely death in 1941, while serving as a correspondent for a London newspaper during World War II.

Cragg became the College Representative for the Christian Union, the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (OICCU)[[73]](#footnote-73) which met daily for prayer, devotion, and witness. This, Cragg saw, as an extension of his home parish church. [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 40].

The OICCU can trace its roots back to 1867 when several evangelical under-graduates began *The Daily Prayer Meeting*, from which developed the OICCU. Coggan gives a flavour of the schismatic nature of the evangelicals and the OICUU from the latter part of the nineteenth century up to the 1930's [Coggan, D, 1934, pp. 55-65].

Cragg states that he duly noted but did not attend, the famous Union Debate with the Motion that 'This house will no longer fight for King and Country.' Yet he is strangely woeful that he was not with the (Communist) October Club in their 'socialist sense of betrayal that dogged the prime-minister-ship of Ramsey MacDonald in his uneasy concert with the Tories.' Moreover, the 'Grammar School boys, for the most part, lacked the habits and perspectives of the Public schoolboys [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 37-40].' Cragg does not mention his broad Lancashire accent, which he kept to a large extent for all his life, would also have been a social embarrassment. Edward Dutton, in his book *Meeting Jesus at University: Rites of Passage and Student Evangelicals* (2016) commenting on the present (evangelical Christian) student situation in Oxford claims that:

There is a strong case for arguing that the Oxford University is a particularly intense Rite of Passage and that it would likely be especially so for students who have attended state schools and are thus from backgrounds where attendance at such a university would, to varying degrees, be far from normative and also socially status raising. Equally, it would be likely to be more liminal for those who had not boarded at school - which would again include all state-school pupils [Dutton, E, 2016, p. 25].

If Dutton is right, in this respect, little has changed in almost one hundred years. Beth Maclay Doriani, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and Professor of English at of Eastern University, in her short review of Dutton's book feels that while the book's methodology is self-limiting, it is a valued addition to the under-researched area of the experience of Christian university students [Doriani, BM, 2013, p. 237].

In a fuller review, in *The Heythrop Journal*, by the Emeritus Professor at Liverpool Hope University, John Sullivan, while critical of a lack of references to other literature on religion in higher education, also notes that Dutton 'deploys a limited range of concepts in his analysis and evaluation of the data.' Sullivan feels that the book would be more relevant to research students than readers in secular universities or the church. [Sullivan, J, 2010, pp. 528-529].

**2.2.1 From Ordinand to Ordination; Deacon (1936), Priest (1937)**

The question of ordination had always been present in Cragg's mind, though he admits he did not know whether he 'meant it or was meant for it'. He lacked the self-assurance of his elder brother, who:

somehow always knew that he was meant for English parishes. It was therefore assumed at home that I should be the one to have ‘uttermost parts’ in view.

I belonged to that segment of the O.I.C.C.U. which fostered such anticipation [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 42].

This is one of Cragg's few early intimations of his thinking as to becoming an overseas missionary. In *Tents of Kedar*, he tells us that:

Earlier, by my school nurture and family heritage, my concern for Islam had been evangelical and, as such, it has so continued...

I remember when I was fifteen being in an audience addressed by Dr. Samuel Zwemer. It was perhaps my earliest alerting to Islam. He had been, during the first two decades of the last century, a missionary in the Arabian / Persian Gulf region, from the American Reformed Church. I think it was the appeal of its remoteness in those years before oil exploitation that drew both his faith and the enthusiasm of his heart [Cragg, K, 2012, p. 5].

Zwemer was a prominent and favourite speaker at many of the missionary conferences in America and Europe. He gave the main address on four occasions at the Keswick Convention (1907, 1915, 1923 and 1937). In his address to the 1937 Convention, he recalls the three previous occasions which give a flavour, perhaps, of the address that Cragg heard:

I recall that it has been my privilege to speak on three occasions here at Keswick on this subject of the Evangelisation of the Moslems. In 1907 I spoke on the will of God for the Mohammedan world. In 1915 I spoke of the fulness of time for the Moslem world. And most of us then thought that there was the dawning of a new day in Turkey, but it proved to be a false dawn. In 1923 I spoke on the patience of God in the evangelisation of Mohammedan lands from the text: "Master, we have toiled all the night and have taken nothing. Nevertheless, at Thy word I will let down the nets."

To-night our subject is the Glory of the Impossible in Moslem Evangelisation. That verse in Psalm 72: "He shall have dominion also (or reign) from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth," is one of the hardest passages in the Bible to believe. Unto men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible [Zwemer, SM, 1937, p. 77].

If Cragg is right about him being fifteen when he heard Zwemer speak, it would have been a very busy year for Zwemer. He finished a five-month lecture tour of India in February 1928, was present at the Jerusalem Conference of 1928.

In 1911 Zwemer had founded and edited the quarterly journal *The Moslem World* (later known as the *Muslim World*). Initially published in London, during World War I when publication became difficult, it transferred to New York and later was taken over by the Hartford Seminary Foundation. In 19 38 Dr Edwin E. Calverley became co-editor. Zwemer retired as editor in 1947. Cragg, from 1952-1960 jointly edited the journal with Calverley.

Cragg tells of another influence on his uncertain mind:

In my final year, Joe Fison appeared on the Oxford scene, fresh from his lay service in Cairo, to be ordained to a Tutorship in Wycliffe Hall. He left his zealous mark on many undergraduates and I found his counsel re-assuring, for he had been trium­phantly through the misgivings about faith and ministry with which I was struggling. There was an infectious quality about his spirit. His lively mind encouraged me to know that hesitancy could well be the mark of the authentic and that there was a courage only the fearful knew [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 43].

In a footnote at the end of this passage, Cragg writes:

He [Joe Fison] became Bishop of Salisbury in the sixties. See F.W. Dillstone: *Afire for God: Life of Joseph Fison*, Oxford, 1983. See also Emily Dickinson: *Poems* [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 302, note 306].

Cragg's references can, at times, vary from the idiosyncratic to the incorrect. Dillstone's book's correct title is *A fire for God: Life of Joe Fison*. The reference *'Afire for God'* does not appear to relate to Dickinson, and perhaps should read, *'Afire with God',* which is from Elizabeth Barrett Browning's (now seldom read) poetic novel *Aurora Leigh:*

... Earth's crammed with heaven,  
And every common bush afire with God;  
But only he who sees takes off his shoes,  
The rest sit round it and pluck blackberries,

And daub their natural faces unaware

More and more from the first similitude [Nicholson, DHS & Lee, AHE, 1917, p. 152].

As an undergraduate, Cragg seems strangely isolated, hardly touched at all by a life outside of the library, chapel, or the Daily Prayer Group. He makes no mention of visits to the great museums in Oxford, let alone the free musical and literary events that were open to the public. Nor does he mention such organizations as *The Oxford Group*, an evangelical missionary movement representing a contemporary expression of an older revivalist tradition which made a great impact on mission in the 1930s. Ian Randall notes:

In the early 1930s Oxford's colleges became the setting for very large Group house-parties, a name which was retained even when the size of the gatherings meant that the original sense of intimacy had gone. In 1931 about 700 Groupers filled the three women's colleges in Oxford. Two years later a huge summer event was convened, again in Oxford, with 5,000 people attending. Many of those present considered that their time in Oxford trained them for engagement in life-changing in Europe and beyond. Group members were active in 1933 among the delegates to meetings of the League of Nations in Geneva [Randall, I, 2000, p. 177].[[74]](#footnote-74)

Clearly the Oxford Group was a more dynamic crowd than that of the OICCU whose members Cragg admits were somewhat aloof [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 41]. His fulfilling of his calling seemed to be almost by default:

Was I letting things happen by default when the supreme fault would have been not to let them happen? I have often wondered since why an alternative vocation in politics, or medicine, or education, never seriously occurred to me. Commerce like my father’s would, I fear, never have availed for me or my timidity. There was, with my antecedents, only one way in which timidity might be enlisted against itself. It was what we called then ‘the overseas ministry’ [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 42].

This almost fatalist attitude comes over when talking about his connection with the USA. Referring to his history tutor, 'a gracious Robert L. McElroy', Cragg comments:

His kindliness must have pre-disposed me to those American connections which —likewise uncontrived —played so large a part in my story. [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 39]

Both Cragg and his elder brother, Herbert, were ordained into the Church of England,[[75]](#footnote-75) Herbert remaining a conservative evangelical all his life, being greatly involved in the Keswick Conventions[[76]](#footnote-76) and the Islington Conference [Bebbington, DW, 2014].[[77]](#footnote-77)

The question of ordination helped shape Cragg's own self-questioning. His ambivalence towards ordination is shown in his acceptance of small grants of money from the Clerical Education Trust (although he told himself he would pay this back if he did not proceed with ordination), but he did not join the Jesus College Lancelot Andrewes Society which was for ordinands. Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626) was one of the first fellows of Jesus College. He became Bishop of Chichester and later Bishop of Winchester and was one of the translators of the King James Bible. Lancelot Andrewes will feature later in this thesis. That he is regarded as a high-churchman (the antithesis of Evangelicalism), may also have been a reason why Cragg did not join the society, also he did not have the money for the membership fee.

The posthumously published, *A history of training for the ministry of the Church of England in England and Wales from 1875 to 1974,* by F.W.B. Bullock, has a chapter giving an overview of the period 1923-1939. It begins with reporting an alarm from the 1923 edition of Crockford's Clerical Directory as to the shortage ordination candidates and the reduction of clergy numbers. This shortage is a common theme throughout the period and training and finances are also linked to this. The 1928 Church Assembly debated the urgent financial needs of many promising candidates. More than 50 per cent of ordinands had never received any financial assistance [Bullock, FWB, 1976, pp. 82-103].

Citing the Report on the Church Congress[[78]](#footnote-78) held in Oxford in 1924, Bullock quotes F.L. Underhill speaking on the Vocation to the Ministry of the Church who was:

'anxious to combat the idea that the shortage of clergy, which is admitted, is owing to a shortage of vocations'. There were many applicants from some of the professional as well as of the industrial and peasant classes. All that is wanted is enough money to train the many young men and boys who are pining for God’s service [Bullock, FWB, 1976, p. 84].

The quotation is a reminder of the stratification in British society that continued to exist, and as some might say, to this present day, though that of peasant may no longer be included. It must have been difficult for Cragg to position himself within the class structure. He had excluding himself from his working-class background by attending Grammar School and college at Oxford, but as he was (as yet) neither middle nor upper-class, he was in limbo, thus making relationships difficult if not impossible.

Regarding his training for ordination, Cragg had hoped to have read Theology at the evangelical college, Wycliffe Hall, Oxford[[79]](#footnote-79). By taking a First, his college could have provided the necessary finance. While waiting for the results of his exams he bought a copy of Constance Padwick's *Temple Gairdner of Cairo*, a book which was to make a great impression on him and his future.

Bullock makes the following observations regarding Wycliffe Hall:

The succession of Principals at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, consisted of H. B. Gooding (1919-1925), G. F. Graham Brown (1925-1932)[[80]](#footnote-80) and J. R. S. Taylor (1932-1942). In 1926 the Principal wrote: ‘The Hall plays a growing part in University affairs . . . There are more Oxford graduates in residence this term than there have been at any time since the beginning of the century.’ In 1927 the Hall was full and observed its jubilee in a strik­ingly enterprising manner by spending the summer term together in Jerusalem, a very popular and successful venture, which was re­peated in some other years. Another outstanding attraction was that a former Principal, Dr. F. J. Chavasse, who had been Bishop of Liverpool from 1900 to 1923, then returned to Oxford and among his other activities lectured at Wycliffe on Pastoral and Devotional subjects. Dr. Graham Brown became Bishop in Jerusalem in 1932 and Wycliffe Hall under his successor continued to be crowded and successful [Bullock, FWB, 1976, pp. 97-98].

Sadly, Cragg failed to gain a first, and had to take second-best, the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary and Theological College in Clifton, Bristol. This had started in 1925 purely as a Missionary College by the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (BCMS), widening its scope in 1927 to training for the Home Ministry. Initially the Society had no college of its own for training women candidates, but sent accepted candidates to Carfax and Mount Hermon Colleges [Hooton, WS & Stafford Wright, J, 1947, p. 51], (the latter attended by Cragg's future wife, as detailed below). In 1930, through a bequest, the Society received a large house in Bristol to be used as Training College for men or women and later in that year the College was formally opened [Hooton, WS & Stafford Wright, J, 1947, pp. 51-51].

In 1937 the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary and Theological College accommodated fifty students. It became known as Tyndale Hall (1952) and later Trinity College (1972). Stoically, Cragg states that:

At least there was some satisfaction during the months in Bristol by the fact that I was fulfilling family expectations. My brother had studied there before completing in Durham [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 44].

Cragg's brother Herbert was ordained in 1934, was a curate in Liverpool and Cheadle and incumbent in Blackburn, Carlisle and Beckenham. He was Archdeacon of Bromley from 1969 to 1978. He remained a conservative evangelical all his life.

Cragg was disappointed with the theology taught at the college which was caught up in the:

ugly pre-occupation with a Biblical literalism[[81]](#footnote-81) which had beset the Anglican missionary mind in the twenties and had led to the formation of the new society the BCMS [Cragg, K, 1994b:44].

David W. Bebbington relates that during the 1920's doctrine, attitude and social composition became sharply divided that 'some members of one party did not recognise the other as Evangelical—or even, sometimes, as Christian' [Bebbington, DW, 2004, p. 180].

Cragg's brother had also been caught up in this dispute, siding with the more conservative element. The historical background of the dispute and a definition of 'Liberal Evangelicalism' and 'Conservative Evangelicalism' is set out in W.S. Hooton and J. Stafford Wright's book, *The First Twenty-Five Years of the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society (1922-47)* [Hooton, WS & Stafford Wright, J, 1947, pp. 3-16]. However, Cragg although leaning towards that of a liberal evangelical, appears to have taken a backseat in such matters:

Not temperamentally belligerent, I found bearings by which to identify where the wider theological scene must lie. I found reading outside the grain of College pre-possessions, being particularly im­pressed with *Essays: Catholic and Critical,* perhaps because the title was intriguing [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 47].

After two years at the college, having passed all the exams, he was accepted by Geoffrey Fisher, Bishop of Chester, for ordination in March 1936, to be curate at St Catherine’s, Higher Tranmere, Birkenhead. His ordained ministry was about to begin. As is custom, the following year he was made priest on Trinity Sunday. Summing up his spiritual life at this stage he writes:

The slow maturing of my boyhood nurture, via Oxford and Bristol, through all the self-doubt and inner diffidence that had seemed to me inseparable from its validity, had received its formal seal and mandate... I knew that something radical had happened, that it belonged with love to Christ and that, in purposefully enlisting all the future, it would live and happen only in the present - the present of Christ’s 'real presence.' It was, in truth, 'a time to embrace’ [Cragg, K, 1994b:62].

Cragg does not give the reference for his quote 'a time to embrace', assuming perhaps, that the reader would recognize this well-known quotation from Ecclesiastes 3:1-8 which begins, 'To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven.' It ends with, 'A time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace.' Cragg appears to have come to terms with his self-doubt and accepted Christ’s 'real presence’. For the next three years he 'learned something about pastoral discipline in the "care of souls''' under The Reverend Henry Hill, who remained his 'beloved "father-in-God"' [Cragg, K, 2012:4]. Hill was one of a few positive father-figures with whom Cragg identified. While the role of the father is seen by psychologist as being imperative in the development of the child, 'it is unclear how father figures of young men may affect their mental health as adults.' [Watkins, DC, Johnson-Lawrence, V, Griffith, DMJR, & Problems, S, 2011] However, Cragg infers that Hill was important not only as a mentor but also to Cragg's mental well-being. For example, he refers to Hill: as being 'at the helm of this ample ship of grace'; 'a growing friendship and mutual trust in which I aspired to a sort of 'Timothy status' with his leadership'; and 'The Vicarage was a kindly haven after Evensong on Sundays' [Cragg, K, 1994b:64-5]. Writing that Hill was his main stay through Hill's comradeship and experience he adds:

When by 1956 *The Call of the Minaret* was published it was imperative I dedicate it to his memory in company with George Francis Graham-Brown, whom I had found, in the interval my second 'father in God.' I believe they, beyond the veil, were happy in the association [Cragg, K, 1994b:70].

Despite his role as a curate, Cragg was able to continue with his academic work. He won the Ellerton Theological Prize at Oxford University with his essay 'The Place of Authority in Matters of Religious Belief'. This was influenced by the fierce disputes in the Anglican Church around the interpretation of the Bible.

**2.2.2 Mission plans and Marriage (1937-1940)**

There were two concerns in Cragg's mind regarding his intention to become an overseas missionary. His first being as to which missionary organisation he should be associated. It was finally agreed that in 1939 he should pursue his ministry within the jurisdiction of the Bishop in Jerusalem and within the British Syrian Mission and its Bible School.

His other concern were that he could not invite a partner into his life in mission unless she had an independent sense of that vocation [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 75]. This was resolved in 1937 when he met his future wife, Melita, a Sunday School teacher at his church, who had the required independent sense of mission.

Without this love-intrusion into the story the Middle East it would never have been. I owed entirely to her the destination that was to mean so much in the pattern of our lives. [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 79]

Melita was the impetus that was to take them to Lebanon through the British Syrian Mission (later to become part of Middle East Christian Outreach, MECO) within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Jerusalem.

Lamb sees this as the period when Cragg ceased supporting the BCMS:

Like others who had much earlier ceased supporting both CMS and BCMS after 1922, Cragg severed his formal connections with BCMS during the years of his curacy, paid back the money which had been spent on his theological training by the society, and when he came to the time for missionary ser­vice, went abroad neither with BCMS nor with CMS, but with the British Syria Mission, a small interdenominational society which had a strongly evangelistic concern but had originated in welfare and educational work [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 11].

However, it was agreed that Melita would undertake a two-year missionary training course (from 1938-1940) at the Mount Hermon Missionary Training College in Streatham, London, which exclusively trained women. It had not been founded by an established missionary organisation (such as the CMS or BCMS), but had been founded as an independent college by Miss Emily B. B. Whitfield (1874-1927). (Cragg received no formal missionary training prior to his departure to Lebanon).

C. David Harley's book, *Missionary Training: The History of All Nations Christian College and Its Predecessors (1911-1981)*, comments that The World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910:

drew attention to the appalling standard of training that was given to the majority of missionary candidates. It called for the situation to be remedied and made suggestions regarding both the nature and the content of that training [Harley, CD, 2000, p. 70].

Harley then considers the change in training over the next seventy years, concentrating on the history of three training institutions that united in 1971 to form All Nations Christian College. Reviewing the book, Andrew Porter notes that:

Harley's general picture is of conservative, isolated institutions, hostile to the ecumenism of the International Missionary Council and World Council of Churches, unimaginative and slow to change in their approaches to theology and the tasks of Christian mission. [Porter, A, 2002, p. 88]

In Chapter 3, Harley considers Mount Hermon Missionary Training College. The College (founded in 1911) merged in 1971 with Ridgelands Bible College (1919), and All Nations Bible College (1923). The latter had changed its name to All Nations Missionary College in 1962. All were "evangelical interdenominational colleges," "had close associations with the Keswick Convention and were influenced by its teaching," and "had strong links with faith missions," many of whose candidates they trained [Harley, CD, 2000, p. 18]. The first two colleges exclusively trained women, while All Nations Missionary College trained both single men and married couples. Mount Hermon had the longest history of the three colleges, and unlike All Nations which was founded by an established missionary organisation, it was founded as an independent college by Miss Emily B. B. Whitfield (1874-1927), the first of four principals during its sixty years of existence. The college was situated for most of the time by Streatham Common, London.

Following Miss Whitfield's death on September 30th, 1927, the college council appointed Miss Irene Crocker (1900-1970), who was principal during Melita's period of study. At the time of her appointment, Miss Crocker was only 27, having been trained at Carfax in Bristol, and worked for eight years with the London Jews' Society in the East End of London. She ran the college in a similar manner to her predecessor, maintaining the same emphasis on biblical studies, the upholding of the authority of Scripture and the rejection of biblical criticism. She considered that the basic structure of any missionary training programme must be:

1.To provide a thorough knowledge of the scriptures;  
2 To develop the character of the candidates;  
3 To give them practical experience of Christian work; and  
4 To foster their spiritual growth. [Harley, CD, 2000, p. 91]

Harley further elaborates on this fostering of spiritual growth:

The academic year began in September with a Quiet Day. The whole day was given to prayer and waiting upon God. Services were held at 3.00 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. Every Sunday a prayer meeting was held at 8.00 am, before the students went to their respective churches. Each morning, half an hour was set aside for private prayer. As Miss Crocker wrote in 1934: 'Time is given to training when the student can truly meditate upon God and not feel that some more practical duty is calling.' As Principal, she longed to see more of Christ in each student as the term progressed. She spoke of the inspiration she felt as she observed an added dignity, a greater winsomeness, charm and serenity in those who were under her care [Harley, CD, 2000, pp. 91-92].

Writing in *Training For Cross-Cultural Ministries*, Harley develops this seeing 'more of Christ in each student.' He sees the importance of leadership, the importance of relationships, the role and women and the training of the whole person. He notes that students found that the greatest impact their tutors made on them was that the staff always had time for them and were deeply concerned for their welfare. Students were greatly influenced by the staff's 'commitment to Christ, their dedication to the work of his kingdom, and the attractiveness of their Christian lives' [Harley, CD, 2001, p. 2].

Despite this negativity, Harley, in his article, *Missionary Training in the UK, a historical study*, notes the significant and distinctive role that has been played by women in the training of missionaries.

... Mount Hermon provide[s] examples of the particular qualities and insights women brought to missionary training; their understanding of the importance of human relationships; their sensitivity towards the pastoral needs and the personal development of their students; and their sense of realism about the challenges and frustrations of missionary life [Harley, CD, 2001, p. 2].

Although Cragg severed financial links with the BCMS, he retained some theological links via his fiancé, as during Melita's time of study at the college. Cragg makes no mention of any difference in attitude to biblical criticism with that of his wife's. The development of his wife's spirituality would have been in common with his own. Lamb states that, 'Some have thought that his attitude to biblical criticism was to ignore its alleged results while defending its legitimacy as method [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 70]. Although here he cites P. Edmonds review of Cragg's book, *Paul and Peter: Meeting in Jerusalem* [Cragg, K, 1980], he does not quote it. Edmonds writes:

The style seems rather complicated for the type of reader envisaged.[[82]](#footnote-82) There is a combination of deep philosophizing about the issues discussed combined with an uncritical approach to the New Testament writings: for example. the gospels are treated as if they can be harmonized into a single account of the life Christ, and there is little indication that the roles of the individual evangelists are appreciated: a good idea which does not quite come off [Edmonds, P, 1982, p. 188].

Cragg, commenting on his tuition at the Theological, Missionary College in Bristol, notes that: 'Our tuition was highly protective. Biblical criticism must be noted for exam purposes and otherwise dismissed [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 45].' Of this and other 'errors' in his tuition he sadly notes, 'The perception I could only later find would have told me that they were spiritually deplorable and intellectually obtuse' [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 46]. Much earlier, in his thesis, having found this perception, he was able to write that biblical criticism had been seen as an attack on the documents of faith:

But in its earlier and more immodest destructiveness, criticism appeared an implacable foe... Only slowly was it appreciated - by such thinkers as the "Lux Mundi" school - that the task of relating orthodoxy to these new situations was an enterprise, not of doubtful character, but of privilege and honour, and that the faith stood to gain more than it could lose in a vigorous recognition and critique of science and a patient re-assessment of its own credentials [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 10].

**2.3 Missionary to Muslims and teacher to Christians (1939-1947)**

**(The Sifting of the East)**

The next stage in Cragg's life must be set against the situation in the Middle East before the outbreak of World War II in 1939. The Church of England’s beginning of missionary work in the Middle east was not done in isolation. There was a complexity of political, religious, and social conditions that Cragg had to negotiate.

The various beginnings in the early part of the 19th century of the Church of England’s involvement in Jerusalem and the Middle east is set in the milieu of the ottoman empire with its millet system, within which had operated the ancient eastern Churches. This system formed the operational basis for the British Palestine Mandate set up after the First World War [Derrick, D, 2020, p. 125].

However, the British Mandate also had a spiritual dimension. In his article, ‘Albert Hourani, Arab Christian minorities and the Spiritual dimension of Britain’s problem in Palestine 1938-1947’, Todd M Thompson notes that:

For Hourani, British imperial policy was not simply about the pursuit of national interests or the maintenance of power. It was primarily about the encouragement of proper moral and spiritual relationships ... [Thompson, TM, 2014, p. 67]

While Cragg has often quoted Hourani in a positive manner, a certain negativity is suggested in Cragg’s article 'Charles Malik and the meaning of Lebanon':

While Albert Hourani mused on the same territory as another notable, native scholar, it was from the intellectual perspective of Oxford and an English vintage. A certain contrast has to be acknowledged [Cragg, K, 2011b, p. 223].

Cragg continued by citing Abdul Aziz al-Sudairi, *A Vision of the Middle East: An Intellectual Biography of Albert Hourani*: Bloomsbury academic, London, 1999.

... Charles Malik, the newly returned philosopher from Harvard who brought with him a philosophical approach different from the one Hourani had learned at Oxford [Cragg, K, 2011b, p. 223].

Charles Malik is referred to further below.

**2.3.1 Lebanon (1939-1947)**

The Christian Union had placed importance on mission outside the United Kingdom, and Cragg 'went by a strange constraint to duties in Lebanon'. [Cragg, K, 2012:4] It was certainly strange that not only did he leave England just before the outbreak of WW2, but also, he did not go under the auspices of the evangelical CMS, instead he went with the much smaller British Syrian Mission, founded in October 1860, by Mrs Bowen-Thompson and supported by a nondenominational society in England. It was, 'essentially a woman's mission to the women of Syria,' [Brown, AJ, 1902:56] that concentrated on education rather than evangelisation although according to Lamb, it had 'strong evangelistic concerns' [Lamb, C, 1997:11].

In 1945 at the request of the United States Department of State, a commission was set up to study education in the Arabic-speaking countries. The commission's report noted that in the past, the British-Syrian Mission had some 40 schools scattered over southern Lebanon and in Damascus, with some 3,000 pupils on role. The report continues:

Today British-Syrian Mission schools comprise schools in ‘Ayn Zhalta, Damascus, Hasbayyah, Tyre, a Bible Training Institute at Shimlan, a boys' school, a girls' school, and a school for blind boys in Beirut, and the British-Syrian Training College in the same city... Thus, the British-Syrian Mission by opening teachers training courses and a school for the blind is attempting to work along different lines from the other missions [Matthews, RD & Akrawi, M, 1949:499-501].

Frances E Scott's book, *Dare and Persevere. The Story of One Hundred Years of Evangelism in Syria and Lebanon, from 1860 to 1960,* records Cragg's arrival at the Mission April 1939, being only the second man ever to have served with the Mission [Scott, FE, 1960:50]. Lamb sums up Cragg's position at this stage in his life:

Cragg entered then into a tradition of evangelistic and educational concern in the Middle East which could not but face him with the issues which confronted Islam in adjusting to a modern world dominated by European science, technology, and commerce [Lamb, C, 1997:17].

However, Cragg seems to have spent little time working with the Mission and makes no real mention of it. In a strange turn of phrase Cragg explains his move away from the British Syrian Mission towards that of the AUB:

Once he [Bishop Graham Brown] was assured that he would not be suborning[[83]](#footnote-83) us from the British Syrian Mission, he invited Melita and me to establish a residential hostel to which former pupils might go [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 97].

In 1940 during his study of Arabic in Jerusalem, he was invited by Graham-Brown to become his Chaplain. Cragg saw the bishop in action under the conditions of the British Mandate in Palestine, during war conditions and in his relationship with the Arab Church. Soon after Cragg's arrival, followed by that of his wife-to-be, because of the outbreak of the Second World War and the fall of France, Lebanon came under the hostile Vichy Government of France and Cragg and his new wife were evacuated to Jerusalem.

Lebanon from 1939 to 1947 was, Cragg claims, the time of a 'settled ministry at All Saints Church in Beirut' [Cragg, K, 2012:3]. This 'settled' period covered the whole of World War 2, his marriage to Theodora Melita Arnold in 1940, evacuation from Lebanon to Jerusalem (1941), the birth of two sons, and from 1942 teaching philosophy at the AUB. It was here that he met another important and influential figure in his life, Charles Malik. It was through Malik that Cragg developed his interest in philosophy.

**2.3.2 Charles Malik Philosophy, Human Rights, United Nations**

Through the years of the Second World War, Cragg and his wife ran the student hostel, St Justin's House. Cragg also became involved with All Saints Church, Beirut, and the AUB where he met Charles Malik (1906-1987), then Head of the Department of Philosophy. The uni­versity was seriously short of staff in wartime conditions, so Malik, invited Cragg to teach in that department. He became the acting head of the department on the departure of Malik to be ambassador in Washington and proved his philosophical competence in 1947 by winning a further prize from Oxford University with an essay for the T.H. Green Moral Philosophy Prize titled 'Morality and Religion'. Malik was to become the first ambassador to the United States of the newly independent Lebanon (1945), and moved to the United Nations, where he became president of the UNO General Assembly and a major force, with Eleanor Roosevelt, in the drafting of the Declaration of Human Rights (1947).[[84]](#footnote-84)

**2.3.2.1 Charles Malik Biography**

Charles Habib Malik pursued an academic career in philosophy at Harvard University and founded the philosophy department at the American University of Beirut. He was also a theologian who successfully reached across religious lines to his fellow Eastern Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics and Evangelicals alike. He represented Lebanon at the San Francisco conference at which the United Nations was founded. He served as President of the Economic and Social Council and as Chair of the Third Committee during the 1948 debates on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Malik was a major force in the debates surrounding key provisions of the Declaration. He also played a critical role in explaining and refining some of its basic conceptual issues. He returned to his academic career in 1960 and lectured on human rights at universities in the United States.

Not only did Malik serve the academic and diplomatic communities in the USA and Lebanon, Malik gave a lifelong commitment to the Church and religious education. John North, (Chairman of the Pascal Lecture Series Committee, 1980-81 University of Waterloo) in his Foreword to Malik's book *A Christian Critique of the University,* writes:

The title of Grand First Magistrate of the Holy Orthodox Church was conferred on him by the late Athenagoras 1, the Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarch, who asked Malik to accompany him on his three historic meetings with Pope Paul VI, in Jerusalem in 1964 and in Istanbul and Rome in July and October 1967. Among other posts he held was that of Vice-President of the United Bible Societies (1967-71)[[85]](#footnote-85) of which the former [Church of England] Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Coggan, was president. He was appointed Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Religious Studies at the University of Notre Dame (1969). On formal and informal levels he has been quick to support the three great branches of the Church of Jesus Christ: the Eastern Greek Orthodox Church in which he was nourished from birth and of which he is a member, the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Church [Malik, C, 1987, pp. 9-10].

Malik had studied under, taught with and was a friend of the philosopher and mystic William Ernest Hocking. He wrote a chapter in *Philosophy, Religion, and the Coming World Civilization: Essays in Honor of William Ernest Hocking*, entitled, 'It is time to Remind the West'. Malik observes that:

No American philosopher has given as much sustained, responsible, grounded and continuous thought (for about four decades now, at least since his Re-Thinking Missions in 1932) to the historical-political-cultural-spiritual relations of the worlds of which we speak as Professor William Ernest Hocking [Malik, C, 1966a, p. 400].

In this chapter, Malik discloses a special love for Russian spirituality. He also recalls this of Hammarskjöld:

I asked Dag Hammarskjold once whether he kept a diary and he assured me he did not, and when I heard in the fall of 1964 that a kind of autobiography by him had just appeared I was surprised, but when I obtained a copy of his Markings and read it I found no contradiction between what he told me and the fact of this book. These strange, symbolic, severely-chiselled, spiritualized interiorizations are not as innocent as they appear: they are the outbursts of one who was so full from his life of action that he simply could not contain himself; he had to seek contemplative relief by letting the whole world reflect itself in him in this strange, mystical way in order, partly, to spare the living, and in his case, of course, he meant also to spare himself, the dead. Contemplation at times is the cross whereby one spares the living including the contemplator himself [Malik, C, 1966a, p. 408].

In his 'Credo', *These things I believe,* Malik urges his readers to read Hammarskjöld's book [Malik, C, 1966b, p. 810]. In the Library of Congress, there is this copy of Hammarskjöld's *Markings* which belonged to Malik. His close study of the book is evidenced by his annotations made between 1964-1966.[[86]](#footnote-86) Tony E. Nasrallah[[87]](#footnote-87) notes that the archive contains 'the bulk of Malik’s letters and speeches which have been stored in the Library of Congress since the 1979, and have been on public display since 2004 [Nasrallah, TE, 2011, p. 22]. However, as Nasrallah points out:

Malik’s legacy is well kept in a diary of 34,000 pages spanning fifty years. Through Charles’ pen, these diaries attest to the formation of many historical decisions... Accessing the diaries requires the approval of its owner, Malik’s son, Dr. Habib C. Malik. Harvard law professor Marie-Ann Glendon has been the only scholar who has worked on Malik’s diaries, and her research was on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The manuscript’s inaccessibility vindicates the absence of published monographs on such an international figure, including a definitive intellectual biography [Nasrallah, TE, 2011, p. 22].

There is a similar problem accessing the private papers of Hammarskjöld.

Malik brings Christianity into the public sphere in a number of his publications, particularly in, *The Two Tasks*; *A Christian Critique of the University*; and *It is time to remind the West*. In both books the underlying theme is the vital issues about the relationship between knowing God, education, and civilization that need solutions. The West has turned its back on its Christian heritage. This is a common theme which runs through his other articles and books.

All our ills stem proximately from the false philosophies that have been let loose in the world and that are now being taught in the universities ... Save the university and you save the Western Civilization and therewith the world (*Two Tasks,* p. 65).

The two tasks of Christian scholars in the public university involve redeeming the soul and redeeming the mind. He urges to Protestants, particularly the evangelicals, to 'know something authentic about St Ignatius of Antioch, St John Chrysostum, St Basil the Great, St Ephrem, St Augustine, St Thomas Aquinas, and most significantly, St Teresa of Avila.' *The Two Tasks* is well worth reading for its insight into how Evangelical Christians understand the role of education.

Lamb sees Cragg's time in Lebanon as highly significant for Cragg's own personal development and understanding. He observes that, 'From the beginning, Cragg's vocation among Muslims was involved with education, scholarship and philosophy.' Cragg had his first meeting with Muslims in Lebanon, and saw it gain its tenuous independence [Lamb, C, 1997:18]. The National Pact of 1943 (al-Mithaq al-Watani)[[88]](#footnote-88) symbolised the post-independence confessional politics,[[89]](#footnote-89) 'thereby crowning the process of change that occurred... both within Lebanon and in its regional order' [El-Khazen, F, 1991:3]. Lamb further notes that:

During Cragg's years in Lebanon, however, it seemed that the AUB, as a powerful intellectual centre in the Arab world, and Malik as a powerful force within it, might bring about the reality of the vision. It is significant that it should have been an Orthodox Christian,[[90]](#footnote-90) and not, for example, a Francophile Maronite who shaped Cragg's career at this point... By moving to the AUB and becoming a colleague of Malik, Cragg had left the 'private' world of the evangelical mission, and associated himself decisively with the public life and culture of the nation [Lamb, C, 1997:19].

Cragg notes the influence Malik had on him:

It was, in part, the impact of his personality and his lectures in the AUB that deepened my sense of the contemporary issues in the mind of Islam and of the capacity of its leadership to undertake them. For philosophy poses to religion and theology the salient issues of authority and of metaphysics: What can we know and by what means of knowing? How to behave whether in society or politics?—the ultimate perplexities of epistemology and ethics [Cragg, K, 2012, pp. 4-5].

Deploring a paucity in Muslim writers on Christianity, Cragg wrote, quoting Malik:

There have been occasional studies from Muslim pens of Christian doctrines and history, but all too little of them are adequately abreast of the greatness and the exactions of their theme.

Writing in Foreign Affairs in 1952 Charles Malik remarked:

'There is an amazing ignorance of Christian literature, doctrine and life, despite the fact that Christ and His Mother are deeply revered in Islam. There is not a single Muslim scholar in all history, so far as I know, who has written an authentic essay on Christianity ... There will always be fear, uncertainty, embarrassment, evasiveness, lack of joy, lack of freedom, a predisposition to self-defense, until this intellectual and spiritual balance is redressed.'

He would seem to have identified the most obvious duty of any such movement as that begun at Bhamdūn,[[91]](#footnote-91) if it takes itself seriously. For it must surely be founded on the possibility of a real awareness of others. There is no suggestion, here, however, that it can be attained by insistence or that demands of any sort should be made a pre-requisite of intercourse. On the contrary. The Christian community must patiently take upon itself the burden of this situation, recognizing its own share in the alienation which has been content to remain ignorant. If Muslims are ever to come into a deep interior scholarship in Christian fields it will only be by the unobtrusive and loving service of Christians [Cragg, K, 1955, p. 176].

Cragg seems unimpressed by the lofty sentiments that emanated from the proceedings[[92]](#footnote-92) (perhaps because he had not been invited) but suggests that such initiatives should be taken up by Christians. Hurst R. Anderson (President of the American University) attended the convocation. He observed that an initial lack of freedom of discussion was overcome when the Muslim delegates invited the Christians to a service of worship,

in their finest spiritual tradition in which both Christians and Muslims participated in worship and prayer—an unusual and most moving experience. Then, on Sunday, an Episcopal Bishop led the Christian service of worship in which the Muslims worshiped and prayed together with the Christians. From that time on, the discussions seemed to be freer and easier, for here, without articulate expression of rational concepts, followers of two great monotheistic faiths were brought together in spirit to face a common intellectual responsibility [Anderson, HR, 1954, p. 154].

As an educator rather than a theologian Anderson had become increasingly aware of the inadequacies of America's own educational system, and urges that, 'In our schools, in our churches, in our clubs and community activities, in our editorial policies and publications alike, we must do a much more thorough job of educating our young as well as our more mature citizens for the problems which we now face' [Anderson, HR, 1954, p. 108].

Cragg's enthusiasm for Malik begins to wane once Malik started to entwine religion with politics a combination which was an anathema to Cragg. In 1986 he wrote:

To exclude the 'secular' solution is, then, to leave the spiritual destiny and character of Arabism squarely with Islam. Those Christians who, like former President Camille Chamoun and Dr. Charles Malik, in the Lebanon, pressed a Christian 'interest' too far or too hard, found themselves tied too closely to western associations and fell foul of the forces constraining Arabism as Islamic. Outside Lebanon such gestures of robust Christian Arabism are impossible [Cragg, K, 1986b, p. 76].

Cragg wistfully sums-up both Malik’s and Hammarskjold's career in an article 'Charles Malik and the meaning of Lebanon*: In medias res',* as follows:

His [Malik] lot then was only the steady aggravation of issues he had fought so long to resolve. Champions in the West, like Adlai Stevenson and Dag Hammarskjöld whom he trusted and admired had passed from the scene of his prime, their calibre unique [Cragg, K, 2011b, pp. 221-232].

Cragglinked the history of Lebanon with Malik's own biography, '*In medias res* is then an apt description of both the stories of man and country' [Cragg, K, 2011b, p. 221]. On Malik's return from the United Nations to Lebanon, not as a philosopher as he was before he left, but as an international politician, Cragg thought that Malik had a romantic view that he could take 'politics on into philosophy enjoying only the conceptual'. Malik wrote that Lebanon was carrying 'the burden of mediation between East and West' while being so sharply at odds within itself, prompting Cragg to note that:

The paradox lay at the heart of the man as well as of the nation. He had been unduly sanguine in his confidence that both Maronite and Muslim elements in his Lebanon could reconcile to his ample measure of Western connection. How sad it remains that he did not reckon more creatively with Islam ... [Cragg, K, 2011b, p. 232]

The outbreak of the Arab/Israeli War in Mandatory Palestine in 1947 had forced Cragg and his family to leave Lebanon. Cragg returned to Oxford to study for a D.Phil. on the topic, 'Islam in the 20th Century: the relation of Christian Theology to its problems'. Yet writing in 1953 Cragg was still able to have this irenic attitude:

The outlook is far from hopeless. Indeed, the attitude which writes off the Arab world as incurably recalcitrant, divided and supine, is politically malicious and spiritually bankrupt. There are many evidences of yearning, self-criticism, aspiration and potential constructiveness. The Arab world has provided, in the person of Dr Charles Malik, outstandingly spiritual and Christian leadership in the United Nations [Cragg, K, 1953a, pp. 159-160].

**2.3.3 Kenneth Cragg: Assistant Professor of Philosophy at the American University of Beirut (1942-47)**

Cragg recalls that:

It was in my modest share in the Department of Philosophy of the AUB that I came to know Dr. Charles Malik, then head of the department until his departure to Washington in 1945 as Lebanon’s ambassador, when I succeeded him as head of the department. Later he became president of the UNO General Assembly and a major force, with Eleanor Roosevelt, in the drafting of the Declaration of Human Rights [Cragg, K, 2012, p. 4].

Lamb observes that while Cragg cannot be regarded as a 'professional philosopher' he makes the following assessment of Cragg's relationship with philosophy:

Evangelical Christians are not commonly drawn to philosophical studies. The popular books of Francis Schaeffer in the 1960s and 1970s were significant for their advocacy of philosophy in the service of Christian faith, and together with the Christian rationalism of C.S. Lewis marked a turning point for British Evangelicals. Throughout Cragg’s youth and early career professional British philosophy was typified by the atheism of Russell and Ayer, and this served to reinforce the suspicion of contemporary philosophy engendered by biblical conservatism and, for the more widely read, the attacks on natural theology by the Barthian school, and those it influenced like Hendrik Kraemer. Cragg’s interest therefore marked a further departure from his origins [Lamb, C, 1997].

Lamb also notes that Cragg's interest in philosophy was significant and sustained throughout his life. Yet, Cragg enigmatically wrote in his thesis, 'Poetry and Philosophy are, in any event, elusive, defying precision and given to extravagance, if they have a 'mission'', which is hardly an accolade [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 425].

**2.4 DPhil Oxford (1947-1951)**

The political uncertainty in Palestine, and family health problems saw Cragg and his family move back to Oxford in 1947. Cragg's old college, Jesus, Oxford, not only offered him the opportunity to study for his doctorate, but it 'had the gift of the living of Longworth, a village 10 miles from Carfax, and so within statutory limits for doctoral residents' provided Cragg and his family with a home in the vicarage [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 51]. Christopher Brown observes that:

The experience of living in the house where *Lux Mundi,[[93]](#footnote-93)* a collection of influential essays that had been produced in 1889 lead him to serious theological reflection upon the nature of authority and the implications of the Incarnation. This major work for his doctorate confirmed his credentials as a theologian and partly revealed some of the main influences upon him at this time [Brown, C, 2017, p. 66].

As both Lamb and Brown note, this led Cragg to emphasise the incarnation rather than the atonement and set the atonement in a broader theological context beyond that of his own Evangelical tradition.

Tragically a baby daughter was lost in a cot death in 1948 but the couple were blessed with a third son two years later.

**2.5 USA: Hartford Seminary, Connecticut, Editor of Muslim World Quarterly (1951-1956). Rockefeller Travelling Scholarship (1954)**

In 1951, as there was no immediate prospect of a return to the Middle East, Cragg's

family relocated to Hartford Connecticut where at its Seminary, Cragg was appointed Professor of Arabic and Islamics. There his authorship skills developed though co-editing and writing for the journal *The Muslim World*.[[94]](#footnote-94) From working with and writing for a small group of Christians studying Islam, Cragg came to write his first book *The Call of the Minaret* 1956, which some have called a 'classic'. Many Muslims have been intrigued and challenged by his writings since this seminal book, but his audience has always been primarily Christian [Lamb, C, 1997, p. vii]. It was a major influence on such people as Max Warren, the notable CMS general secretary, who was leading the CMS when *The Call of the Minaret* was published in 1956. Tim Yates' article *Evangelicalism without Hyphens: Max Warren, the Tradition and Theology of Mission* comments similarly:

Max expressed his debt to Kenneth Cragg's book, The Call of the Minaret with its sensitive approach to men of other faith, here to Muslims but applicable to those in other contexts.

Yates further notes that:

References to Cragg's book occur frequently usually commending it for further reading [numerous references listed] ... when it is said to be basic for study at theological collages [Yates, T, 1985:238].

Warren's biographer, F.W. Dillstone, believed that 'The Call of the Minaret ... made an indelible impression upon Max’s whole philosophy of mission, noting that:

Again and again he acknowledged that Kenneth Cragg had been his teacher and had led him to explore in a new way the relationship of the Christian missionary to those of other faiths [Dillistone, FW, 1980, pp. 200-201].

In his autobiography, Warren described himself as deeply in debt to the imaginative pioneering of Bishop Kenneth Cragg.

'The essential missionary task of the church in all ages is to unveil the Lord who is already there [Warren, M, 1974:136].

Warren saw a change in the approach to mission to those of other faiths, which he increasingly described as dialogue rather than of preaching. Warren penned in a similar vein in his *General Introduction* to Cragg's second book, *Sandals at the Mosque.* Reminding Christians working in other faiths, he wrote:

Our first task in approaching another people ... is to take off our shoes, for the place we are approaching is holy; else we may find ourselves treading on someone's dreams. More serious still, we may forget that God was there before our arrival [Cragg, K, 1959, pp. 9-10].

**2.5.1 From Thesis to The Call of the Minaret**

This section will compare approach, content, and outlook of his Thesis with that of *The Call of The Minaret* published six years later.

Cragg’s work is still widely read and cited. His first and seminal work, *The Call of the Minaret*, first published in 1956, and second edition, revised and enlarged in 1987. *The Call of the Minaret* is still in print and has been translated into numerous languages. It has even been banned in a couple of countries.

The book begins with a brief introductory section, 'Islam at the New Century' (the Islamic century 1400 which began in November 1979), in which the author takes up two main themes, 'Minaret and Muslim' and 'Minaret and Christian'. Under these two headings he brings out the meaning of their faith for Muslims and invites Christians to see Islam in the light of the faith by which they themselves live. 'Minaret and Christian' has the special merit of showing Christians how far they have departed from Christ's teachings in their relations with Muslims.

While most scholars will have read 'The Call of the Minaret', few will have read his three hundred-thousand-word thesis, *Islam in the 20th Century: The Relevance of Christian Theology and the Relation of the Christian Mission to its Problems,* for the award of his DPhil in 1950. As shown above, The Bodleian Library, where Cragg’s thesis is deposited, records that only eight people have consulted this document. In the introduction to his thesis, Cragg states:

This Thesis rests upon two convictions and a hope. The convictions are that within Islam today there is an intellectual and social crisis of great significance both to Muslim themselves and to the world at large, and that Christianity has had more prolonged experience of similar, intellectual, and social obligations in the modern world which has qualified it, given a basis of genuine fellowship - to serve contemporary Islam in its problems. The hope is that there is a constructive relationship between the two faiths can be attained on these lines, the old unthinking resistance of Islam to Christianity may give way and areas of understanding be discovered where the old antipathy will be overcome by a new readiness to consider Christ and his Church [Cragg, K, 1950, p. ii].

Those convictions and that hope remained with him and in his writings to the end of his life. In the 2000 edition of *The Call of the Minaret*, Cragg wrote,

This book has failed in its purpose if it is not indubitably clear that, in such a situation as Islam presents, the Church has no option but to present Christ. ... As long as Christ is Christ, and the Church knows both itself and him, there will be a mission to Islam [Cragg, K, 2000b].

Clare Amos, in *Kenneth Cragg, An Appreciation (1913-2012)*, reprints an article written by Cragg in 1967, *The Credibility of Christianity: Reflections on the Christian 'Temper' in the World* [Cragg, K, 1967b]. She explains that

it is a powerful exploration of why the Doctrine of the Incarnation, rather than excluding Christian relations with other faiths, cannot be fully grasped unless we are willing to take seriously the whole of human experience [Amos, C, 2013, p. 85].

Cragg's paper, read at a WCC conference in Kandy, Sri Lanka in 1967 challenged the Barth-Kraemer approach to other religions that had dominated Protestant thinking during the previous decades [Amos, C, 2013, p. 84].[[95]](#footnote-95)

**2.5.2. Critiques of The Call of the Minaret**

Edwin H. Robertson, formerly Assistant Head of Religious Broadcasting with the BBC, published his book *Breakthrough*, in 1976 [Robertson, E, 1976a]. In the chapter *Kenneth Cragg, a Christian Imam*, he recalls:

One surprising use of *The Call of the Minaret* came in 1974 when the International Christian Broadcasters [IBC] called a con­ference in Marseilles of those missionaries and broad­casters who were witnessing in an Islamic culture. The I.C.B. and the majority of the delegates were what might be called 'good evangelicals'. They retained the conviction that missionary work among Muslims meant converting Muslims to Christianity. Many of them had criticised the World Council of Churches for its failure to evangelize and its tolerant attitude to other religions. Yet, when they met to study ways of broadcasting in an Islamic culture their textbook was *The Call of the Mina*ret by Kenneth Cragg [Robertson, E, 1976b, pp. 53-54].

Robertson's observation is an indication of not only how far Cragg had moved from 'conservative' evangelicalism, but that he was still able to engage with this section of evangelical Christians. In a similar vein, Cragg narrates that there was a certain tension between himself and his (conservative-evangelical) elder brother. Cragg, in 1956, had given him a copy of *The Call of the Minaret*, but felt that he had kept it 'in the margins of his mind'. Cragg recalls that:

However, in his last address at the Keswick Convention just before his death in 1980, he took from it a quotation I had always loved about 'rescuing a word and recovering a universe' and 'burying ourselves in a lexicon to arise in the presence of God.' It was clear he had picked it up again [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 294].

Lamb also notes this incident:

Cragg’s brother Herbert (1910-80) remained all his life in this con­servative evangelical Anglican tradition, and was for many years Chairman of the Keswick Convention, a yearly focus since 1875 for studies on what its *Handbook* calls ‘practical scriptural holiness’. Kenneth sent Herbert a copy of *The Call of the Minaret* on its publication in 1956, but was convinced that the book had remained unread because of its ‘unsound’ views. It was only many years later that he was moved to discover his brother quoting from it in his very last address at Keswick [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 8].

**2.5.3 Kenneth Cragg and the Rockefeller Travelling Scholarship (1954)**

In 1954 Cragg was awarded a Travelling Fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation. This enabled him to widen his experience of the East. He notes:

I went on by road, rail or plane, to Istanbul, Ankara, Aleppo, Damascus, Baghdad, Amman, Cairo, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Tlemcen, Fez and Tangier [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 117-118].

This experience led Cragg to develop the idea of a study programme, which with 'the encouragement of the International Missionary Council and Bishop Stewart of Jerusalem now took shape in 1956 as 'Operation Reach' [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 2].

**2.6 Kenneth Cragg's Mission to the world**

George Koovackal's thesis*, Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies* [Koovackal, G, 1981], gives details of just one example of the work carried out by Cragg during this period. Cragg had planned a visit to the city of Aligarh, Uttar Pradesh, India during November, and December 1958. At the beginning of his visit, he attended a meeting of the Board of Management of the Henry Martyn School in Aligarh, and at the end on 16th and 27th December, he attended an all-India Conference on Muslim work in Nagpur, which led to the 'Nagpur Proposals'. Koovackal records that 'the most significant long term result of Cragg's might be the contribution he made to the continuation of the Henry Martyn School and the re-structuring of it from a school into an Institute' [Koovackal, G, 1981, p. 28]. In Appendix II of his thesis, Koovackal gives the text of the Nagpur Proposals. See also 'Section 1.2.1 Outline of major academic writings and analysis on Cragg'.

**2.6.1. Residential Canon at St George's Collegiate Church Jerusalem (1956-61)**

In 1956, having made the difficult decision to leave his family in England and accept a position in Jerusalem. Cragg became a Canon Residentiary at the Collegiate Church of St George the Martyr, then the cathedral of the Church of England Archbishop in Jerusalem[[96]](#footnote-96) and was responsible for the educational courses and teaching ministry of the diocese. It was during the 1950's and into the 60's that Cragg made a significant contribution to international interreligious engagement through his work for the Near East Council of Churches. He developed two major missionary study programs, *Operation Reach* and *Emmaus Furlongs*.

However, as Lamb observes,

‘Residential’ he was not, however. Two years earlier he had been awarded a Rockefeller Travelling Scholarship (at the suggestion of Wilfred Cantwell Smith), which had taken him on extensive journeys through the Middle East from Tangier to Baghdad [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 2].

A report by the Committee for the Near East of the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, *The Outreach in the Near East,* observes that:

To give the Christian witness more personally and effectively to Muslims in the Near East, Dr. Kenneth Cragg has begun the first stage of what has been called the Christian Study Center for Islam. Actually, there is as yet no centre, but it is anticipated there will be local ''schools" where the available resources of people, teaching and libraries can be utilized. Dr. Cragg is visiting various areas of Christian work seeking to stimulate awareness of Islam and broaching constructively the Christian basis of relationship to non-Christian faith and folk.

Having helped to initiate and provide support for this venture, the mission boards will be obliged to consult the concerns and insights of this endeavor, not only to reach an assessment of the Muslim situation, but to reassess their work in the light of it. The missionary outreach should, accordingly, become more informed and vital [Committee for the Near East of the Division of Foreign Missions NCCC, 1957, p. 17].

Cheaper long-distance flights enabled Cragg to continue to cover vast distances. The Jerusalem and the Middle East Church Association (JMECA), set up and administered 'The Bishop Cragg Travel Fund',[[97]](#footnote-97) originally for Cragg's use but now providing travel grants to holders of similar appointment [*Funds and Finance*, 2020]. Cragg records that he had begun his air experience in 1954 in a B.O.A.C.[[98]](#footnote-98) *Argonaut Speedbird*.[[99]](#footnote-99) During the forty years of his duties and travels he made some 342 flights[[100]](#footnote-100) [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 4]. Lamb notes that by this time, Cragg had become 'known internationally as a Christian interpreter of Islam' [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 2].

**2.6.2. Fellow and sub-Warden, and Warden of St Augustine's College, Canterbury (1959-1967); Examining Chaplin to Archbishop of Canterbury (1961-1967); Honorary Canon of Canterbury (1961-1980)**

This period of intense travel ended with the appointment of Cragg to St Augustine’s College, Canterbury, although there was clearly some overlap with his previous appointment.[[101]](#footnote-101) The College was built on the ruins of the monastery, commenced in the time of Augustine (died circa 604). The monastery of Saint Augustine was at one time one of the most celebrated of the religious houses in England [Brent, J, 1879, p. 264]. A royal palace took the place of the monastery after its dissolution under Henry VIII in 1538. It was kept in royal ownership, was given by Queen Mary to Cardinal Pole, and, in later years, to Lord Wotton, after which it was known as Lady Wotton's palace. But it gradually fell into lower depths, a cockpit, a fives-court (historically known as hand-tennis) [Sampson, J, 2006], a bowling alley, and lastly a brewery complete with its 'pot house', occupied the site and ruins, until 1844, when it was bought by Mr. Beresford Hope, and rebuilt as a missionary college, from designs by Butterfield for a warden, six fellows, and about fifty students. 'The ancient foundation was, therefore, fulfilling its early intention' [Bevan, GP, 1880, p. 78].[[102]](#footnote-102) St Augustine’s missionary college, remained until its forced closure in 1947, after its buildings were badly damaged in a German Blitz raid in 1942. From 1952 to 1967, the Missionary College buildings were used as The Central College of the Anglican Communion.

Cragg, in his article for the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, describes the college as:

a venture in inter-Anglican obedience in the middle of this century which, otherwise, seems likely to pass into the limbo of forgotten things, a fate which it hardly deserves [Cragg, K, 1990, p. 224].

Cragg gives a brief history of the college from its Augustine beginnings, emphasising the period when as a Missionary College sent out 'a succession of devoted priest-missionaries for almost a whole century' [Cragg, K, 1990, p. 224]. The walls of the crypt chapel of the college are completely lined with inscriptions noting the date of their commission and the date of their death, usually the period being very brief due to disease and danger. Here is Cragg in full Evangelical flow, he continues:

Yet there was never wanting a continuity of volunteers to take their place in the long saga of devotion and compassion. The crypt is a telling place for denigrators of nineteenth-century mission to reflect more authentically about a troubled story [Cragg, K, 1990, p. 224].

Cragg does not sully this 'shrine' to mission with any remarks about its insalubrious past except to mention it had 'suffered steady attrition after the dissolution', rescued by 'two pioneers' and 'Edward Coleridge, the first warden' [Cragg, K, 1990, p. 226].[[103]](#footnote-103)

Cragg was a Fellow from 1959, and Warden from 1961. The missionary scholar had moved into a position of ecclesiastical leadership [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 2]. Relocated with his family, Cragg was an influence on and influenced by the many people from around the Anglican world who came through its doors. For example, Muhammed Haron in his book *The Dynamics of Christian-Muslim Relations in South Africa* relates how in 1960 the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town'advised and led by its white missionaries, continued relentlessly to preach to the Muslims'. The Archbishop of Cape Town, Joost de Blank (1908-1968) known as the 'scourge of apartheid' for his ardent opposition to the whites-only policies of the South African government chose George Alfred Swartz[[104]](#footnote-104) as a suitable candidate to further the mission work among the Muslims at the Cape. He was then sent to St. Augustine’s where Kenneth Cragg was the sub-warden. On Swartz’ return on the 1st of February 1962 he was commissioned to direct 'Mission to Muslims' at a service in St. George’s Cathedral. Building on such links the way was paved via The Mission to Muslims Board and the South African Council of Churches for a visit to the Diocese of Cape Town by Cragg (now a bishop) in 1971. He suggested during his visit that the Board’s name be changed from The Mission to Muslims Board to 'The Board of Islam Relationship' [Haron, M, 2006, pp. 30-35].

Cragg at this time also made radio broadcasts. On 30th September 1959 he took part in a BBC Network Three programme, *A Listen and Learn Series: Four Ways of Life: 1: Islam*. The *Radio Times* listings state:

Spiritual beliefs and religious forms have determined the behaviour and relationships of nations and individuals. This series sets out to give a simple explanation of the basic tenets of four religions whose members comprise a great part of the earth's population and whose influence on world affairs is today of incalculable importance-Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Each talk except one is by a scholar who is not himself a member of the religion, with contributions by members of the religion.

Speakers: The Rev. A. K. Cragg, Canon of St. George's Collegiate Church, Jerusalem; Maulana Mohammed Yakub Khan, Imam of Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking; Hasan Karmi, Jordanian writer and journalist.

Contributors: Rev. A. K. Cragg [Cragg, AK, 1959].

Another broadcast in this period by Cragg was *Jesus in Contemporary Islamic Writing*, broadcasted on Saturday the 6th of February 1960, at 21:00 on the Third Programme. The Radio Times programme notes read,

During the last decade a number of books by Muslim writers in Arabic have been published in Egypt, all of them concerned with the person and role of Jesus. Canon Cragg finds here some signs of a fresh approach to the age-old Muslim-Christian impasse, particularly in M.K. Hussein's 'City of Wrong - a Friday in Jerusalem',[[105]](#footnote-105) published recently in an English version [Cragg, K, 1960].

This was a piece of self-publicising as Cragg was the book's translator. The book's front matter, 'About the Translator' informs that when Cragg was in Cairo as Study Secretary of the Near East Christian Council and as Anglican Bishop, he formed a close friendship with Dr Kammel Hussein (d.1977), at whose request he translated the work [Hussein, MK, 1994]. The book was originally published in 1959. The 1994 edition was published as part of the 'Mystical Classics of the World series' [Hussein, MK, 1994].[[106]](#footnote-106) A short commentary on Cragg's translation technique in this book can be found in Mary, M.F. Massoud, *Translate to communicate: a guide for translators* [Massoud, M, M.F., 1988, pp. 26-28], where Cragg is being used as an example of good practise.

He made another radio broadcast for the BBC Network 3, on 4th March 1964, at 19.30 for the programme, 'Christian Outlook' in which he reviewed the book *Christianity In World History* by Arend Theodoor van Leeuwen[[107]](#footnote-107) [Cragg, K, 1964b]. Sadly, transcripts of these programmes are no longer available. However, Cragg criticised Leeuwen's book in his *Christianity in world perspective,* (1968) regarding Christianity's relation to other religions. Cragg is shocked at Leeuwen's dismissal of other religions:

It is this which makes it callous as well as pretentious to dismiss Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam, as Van Leeuwen seems to suggest, as 'no more than a misguided attempt to cure the ills of the technocratic era with the medicines of the Neolithic'[[108]](#footnote-108) [Cragg, K, 1968a, p. 190] [van Leeuwen, AT, 1966, p. 408].

This gives a flavour of Cragg's broadcast.

The closure of the college in 1967 by Archbishop Michael Ramsey left Cragg saddened, dismayed, and unsettled. In writing of this time Cragg quotes Shakespeare:

Ah, when to the heart if a man

Was it ever less than a treason

To yield... and accept the end

Of a love or a season?

He adds, '"Treason" was not too strong a word, ... ' [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 151].

The following years included posts as Visiting Professor at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, then to Ibadan, Nigeria and finally a Bye-Fellowship at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

In the mid-sixties, Cragg was writing prayers for the journal Response, (a bi-monthly devotional guide, incorporating the Anglican Cycle of Prayer).

**2.6.3 Assistant Bishop to the Archbishop in Jerusalem (1970-74)**

In 1963, Cragg was approached by Campbell MacInnes, Archbishop of Jerusalem through Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, to assist in the 'Arabicization of the Jerusalem jurisdiction' [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 158-161]. However, this scheme (which was not without controversy) was dropped. It was picked up again when George Appleton succeeded Campbell MacInnes, Archbishop of Jerusalem in 1969. Daphne Tsimhoni's article, The 'Anglican (Evangelical Episcopal) Community in Jerusalem and the West Bank' [Tsimhoni, D, 1983] outlines the development of the of the demands of the Anglican Arabs opposition to the establishment of an archbishopric headed by an English archbishop. This was seen as a continuation of British Imperialism. Angus Campbell Maclnnes was consecrated on the 30th of August, 1957 and the first Arab bishop, Najib Qub'ayn, was consecrated on the 6th of January, 1958. Tsimhoni notes that the consecration gave rise to much discussion in the local newspapers 'seeing it as a national and spiritual achievement for the indigenous Anglican Arab community' [Tsimhoni, D, 1983, p. 255].

In 1970 Cragg was invited to be an assistant bishop to the Archbishop in Jerusalem, then based in Cairo. His elevation to the Church of England episcopate as Assistant Bishop in Jerusalem in 1970 was one year after the publication of his chapter, 'The Anglican Church'*,* in *Religion in the Middle East: Three Religions in Concord and Harmony* edited by A. J. Arberry [Cragg, K, 1969a]. In *The Anglican Church*, Cragg gives an indication of the circumstances, concepts and controversies that accompanied the Church of England from the joint bishopric of Jerusalem in 1841 to the inauguration of the Anglican Jerusalem archbishopric in 1956. It is a strange piece of writing, even for Cragg, perhaps owing more to the laments of *Book of Job* than to the edifying *Acts of the Apostles*. But, like most of his work, it is peppered with numerous literary quotations. Although its main locale is the Church of England in Jerusalem, it ranges from Church of England to Anglicanism to Evangelicalism, and from Jerusalem to the wider Middle East and beyond. While Cragg became more liberal in outlook, this chapter 'The Anglican Church' shows some his conservative evangelical upbringing.

Cragg gives a brief historical background to the Church of England's involvement in the Holy Lands, beginning by quoting from Psalm 84 verse 5 'the road to Jerusalem is in the heart' but not from the King James version.[[109]](#footnote-109) Attempting to deal even-handedly with the Roman Catholic Church and Protestantism as he wrestles with the strictures of the Reformation around pilgrimages and superstition and a (now) more liberal Church of England as he outlines the pilgrim movement from 1291 onwards, when 'the last foothold of the Crusaders at Acre was relinquished', concluding that with regard to Jerusalem: 'Whether shrines, or memories, it was one attraction' [Cragg, K, 1969a, p. 573].

He notes that the 'pilgrim' (his quotation marks) reappears in the reign of Queen Elizabeth following diplomatic ties with Constantinople as chaplains to the new merchant adventurers. Numbers and interests grew throughout the eighteenth century amongst those who had a 'fascination of the Bible, territorial, enthusiastic, but not yet missionary [Cragg, K, 1969a, p. 573].' It was not until 1851 that the Church Missionary Society set foot in Palestine. Howard Le Couteur observes that 'The role of Evangelical/Protestant Missionary Societies in the expansion of the British Empire has been well established, and there is an extensive bibliography on the subjec'.[[110]](#footnote-110)

With the end of the Napoleonic Wars, nineteenth century, was for mainland Britain, a time of military peace on one hand, and social upheaval on the other within which The Church of England became a casualty. The Church had become split into two main factions, the Evangelicals and the Tractarians. The Evangelicals, who saw themselves as the continuation of the Protestant Reformation, viewed the Tractarians as identifying with the Roman Catholic Church. Kenneth Hylson-Smith (former Bursar and Fellow of St Cross College, Oxford, and author of numerous books on church history), see this as a powerful factor in the Church of England during first part of the nineteenth century.[[111]](#footnote-111)

Preparing the way for some harrowing tales and some of the more farcical aspects of the Christian/Anglican presence in Jerusalem[[112]](#footnote-112) Cragg injects a little humour into his historical discourse:

The earliest protagonist, exemplar of many who followed, was Joseph Wolff, of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (founded in 1809). Son of a rabbi, converted at Prague, he made a notable journey in 1821-3 through Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria, Tyre, Jerusalem and Damascus. According to a contemporary he could 'conciliate a pasha, confute a patriarch, travel without a guide, speak without an interpreter, live without food and pay without money... a comet capable of setting a whole system on fire' [Cragg, K, 1969a, p. 574].

Cragg then introduces the beginning of the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem:

Hallowed in sacrifice by these beginnings, the mission to Jerusalem flowered in 1841 in the novel plan for an Anglican bishopric in the Holy City. The aegis was that of the London Society and the formal proposal the King of Prussia’s, Frederick William IV.

He gives the Lord Ashley the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury a leading role in in the formation of the bishopric:

...the travailing spirit was that most famous of all nineteenth-century Anglicans, the Earl of Shaftesbury... [Cragg, K, 1969a, p. 574]

In 1841 King Frederick-William IV of Prussia, through his friend and ambassador, Baron Bunsen, proposed to the British Government that a joint approach be made to Turkey secure greater protection of the Protestant Christians in Palestine. This was both a political and an ecclesial move by Prussia.[[113]](#footnote-113) Lingering political tensions in the Middle East had ushered in a new urgency for a strong European presence in the region. A bishop would be appointed to be nominated alternatively by Britain and Prussia, to care for and support the existing German congregations and the English missions living under the Ottoman Empire.

On 28th April 1841, Frederick William IV sent his friend and ambassador Baron Bunsen (who was also a close friend of Lord Ashley[[114]](#footnote-114)) as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the English Court of St James. *The Memoirs* of Baron Bunsen state that

Bunsen arrived with his instructions in London in the midst of a crisis... The Ministry of Lord Melbourne, then about to resign office, and that of Sir Robert Peel about to enter upon it, showed equal readiness to meet the wishes of the King of Prussia... Of the existing centres of opinion— 'thrones, dominations, princedoms, virtues, powers'... the greater part were, or became favourable, to the views of the subject which Bunsen brought to bear upon them. The mild and venerable Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley, and the gifted and energetic Bishop of London, Dr. Blomfield, warmly encouraged the purpose; as did the entire party of a weight equal to its worth, termed Evangelical, with its distinguished leader, Lord Ashley, now Earl of Shaftesbury [von Bunsen, FF, 1869b, p. 368].

Thus, thanks also to a collaborative effort between the Prussian and English crowns the bishopric was eventually founded in 1841.

Thanks to a collaborative effort between the Prussian and English crowns the bishopric was eventually founded in 1841. Yet for Cragg, referring to Lord Ashley and the Evangelicals, observes that:

The establishment in Jerusalem was the child of a philanthropy its main architect was elsewhere to make proverbial: it was rooted in his [Lord Ashley's] under­standing, in both Old and New Testaments, of the philanthropy of God [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 575].

A clear bias towards Lord Ashley and the Evangelicals can be seen in Cragg's essay *The Anglican Church*. Lord Ashley is seen as the chief architect and there is little mention of the other actors in the formation of the Anglo-Prussian Bishopric.

But perhaps the last comment should go to Sybil M. Jack, in her article, *No Heavenly Jerusalem: The Anglican Bishopric* (1995), who is of the opinion that:

The origins and acceptability of the idea of a joint bishopric still need explanation, for historians disagree even about who promoted it and the religious position of those who saw the project to fruition [Jack, SM, 1995, p. 181].

The agreement was finally abolished by the king of Prussia on 3 November 1886, since which time the bishopric has been maintained by the English Church alone under an Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem. The Lutheran mission evolved into what is now the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Jordan and the Holy Land.

It was during this period that *The Call of the Minaret* was translated into Indonesian and published in Djakarta with the title, *Azan Panggilan Dari Menara Mesdjid* [Cragg, K, 1973a]. It was banned by the Indonesian Attorney General in 1978 for not portraying a true image of Islam.[[115]](#footnote-115)

Cragg's role as assistant bishop ended with him standing down and the ending of the Archbishopric in 1974 in preparation for the new province of Jerusalem and the Middle East, with a Bishop President appointed in 1976.

The Rev Samir J. Habiby, writing for the Episcopal New Service reports that:

In one of the Anglican Communion's most significant dual historic ceremonies held in the Collegiate Cathedral Church of St. George the Martyr in (East) Jerusalem, a new autonomous Province of the Anglican Communion came into being and immediately following the service, the first Arab bishop, the 11th in succession to the Episcopal See in Jerusalem, was installed [Habiby, SJ, 1976].

He details the account of the setting up of the Central Synod of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East, replacing the Jerusalem Archbishopric. The Central Synod is composed of four sister dioceses, *The Diocese of Jerusalem, The Diocese in Egypt, The Diocese of Cyprus and the Gulf, and The Diocese of Iran.* Cragg gets only one brief mention in the whole report:

*The Diocese in Egypt* includes all of Egypt, North Africa (to the Atlantic) and Ethiopia. The Diocesan is a recently consecrated Egyptian Arab, Bishop Ishaq Massad assisted by the well-known Anglican Muslim scholar, Bishop Kenneth Cragg of England [Habiby, SJ, 1976].

Cragg laments the ending of his role:

There was no legal room for me in the new set-up. If it was painful to be redundant we had always known that it might well so transpire. It was wise to see it as no more than a minor incidental matter in the perpetual struggle to weld into one all the disparate motives and concerns that belonged with Jerusalem and fulfil the vocation of a community in Christ suffering steady attrition by time and emigration and set where the 'prospering’ that should go with 'loving' was so far to seek [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 161-162].

Cragg continued to be a faithful and active member of the Egypt Diocesan Association. He was the one who chose the current site of All Saints Cathedral in Cairo, Egypt.

**2.6.4 Reader in Religious Studies Sussex University, Assistant Bishop in the diocese of Chichester (1973-1978)**

Returning to the UK in 1973, Cragg became Assistant Bishop to the diocese of Chichester where he was involved in the life of the churches. He also took up the post of Reader in Religious Studies at Sussex University[[116]](#footnote-116) until he was required to retire at the age of 65 in 1978. Writing in 1976, Robertson notes that:

Bishop Kenneth Cragg is now engaged in teaching in one of Britain's most imaginative universities, the University of Sussex. It is a young university already well known for the quality of its research. There is little doubt that Kenneth Cragg will continue his studies and that many students will be inspired to continue his work. [Robertson, E, 1976b, p. 53].

In 1978 He became Vicar of Christ Church, Helme[[117]](#footnote-117) in West Yorkshire where he exercised a pastoral ministry. Being close to Huddersfield it is in an area settled by large immigrant Muslim communities. He 'retired' in 1981 to Ascott-under-Wychwood and following the death of his wife in 1989, he returned to Oxford. During this 'retirement' he was, amongst other things, Honorary Assistant Bishop to the diocese of Oxford (1982-2012), and consultant from 1981-1985 to the Doctrine Commission of the Church of England [Doctrine Commission, 1987, p. vi].

1983 saw Cragg at a gathering of Bishops of the Episcopal Church at the Davenport Hotel in Spokane, Washington, from the 1st to the 6th of October, for an intensive look at mission and ministry programmes. Described as a scholar on interfaith issues, he was invited to open each day's session with a meditation [Anon, 1983b]. The theme of the meeting, 'Consecrating the World as Ministers of Christ', was reinforced through Cragg's meditations.

Basing his work on Romans 15.16, he called the bishops to a "preaching priestliness" of care and encouragement to all the ministries. "Our 'liturgy' (in Paul's rich sense) within their parishes is through the quality, the patience, the imagination of theirs, insofar as we are enabled to serve, to hearten, to quicken them...."

Leadership, he reminded the House, "is a term heavy with temptation, but without it how shall we 'present everyone perfect in Christ Jesus?' " [Anon, 1983a].

Cragg seems to be more at home with the Episcopalian Bishops, than with his fellow Church of England Bishops.

In November 1998, Cragg joined a group of scholars, both Christian and Muslim, clergy and laity, in Washington for a two-day conference on 'Two Sacred Paths: Christianity and Islam, a Call for Understanding'. Award winning reporter Nancy Montegomery[[118]](#footnote-118) related that Cragg delivered the keynote address speaking of 'Being at risk' in his attempts to interpret both Islam and Christianity, a process that had absorbed his interests for more than 30 years. She further reported:

'How do we converse in such disparity?' Cragg asked. He contrasted the Christian and Islamic approaches to evil doing. He said that the Christian is told, 'If any among you see an evil doing, change it with your hands.' On the other hand, Muslims are told, 'If any among you see evil, change it in your hearts.'

Tension between the missionary posture of both religions emerged during conversations in the 18 morning and afternoon workshops [Montegomery, N, 1998].

Montegomery also recorded that:

Dr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, professor of Islamic studies at Georgetown, said that he and Bishop Cragg "have talked for three decades, on many continents... and not much has happened." Reporting on a recent trip to Iran, he said that his conversations with scholars and political leaders revealed more interest in dialogue. In addressing the issue of how Islam and Christianity are both based on revelation, he said that "those who follow the spiritual path in Christianity are closest to Islam. The ideal life (in both religions) is closely linked to the other. In divine love there is no difference between a Christian monastery and a Sufi center" [Montegomery, N, 1998]

This late phase in Cragg's life was a period of prodigious lecturing, writing, and publishing, drawing on his own experience, depth of knowledge and scholarship, which continued almost to the day of his death.

In 2010 at the age of 97 he preached a sermon in the chapel at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford entitled, *The Christian Encounter with Islam*, and later that year at their Christmas service, read a sonnet, which he had written [Carr, CE, 2011, pp. 11-12]. He was at this time, still living alone, very independent, in his flat in Oxford. I had interviewed him at his home in 2008 and he was beginning to look very frail.

**2.6.5 Retirement! The College of St Barnabas**

A stroke in 2011 left him in need of fulltime care so he moved into St Barnabas' College, a retirement home for Anglican Clergy. I visited him there on 11th August 2011 for the launch of his new book *Bent to Literary Event* [Cragg, K, 2011a]. At that event his publisher casually remarked to me that Cragg already had another book in the pipeline.

I have been in contact with the publishers who have confirmed that they did have a title 'in preparation' from 2011. They also gave me an interesting insight into Cragg's working methods and how they arrived at this stage of preparation. Cragg would give them a pile of articles/typescripts (done on his old typewriter, Cragg never moved on to word processing). They would have scanned the scripts, and then the editor would work up a series of MS Word files. These files would be reviewed by the publishers before sending them back to Cragg as hard copy for his appraisal. Covering correspondence suggests that this took place in November 2011. The editor cannot remember whether the files were corrected after Kenneth saw them. The next stage would have been the page proofs. Melisende, the publishers, have very kindly given me sight of these draft chapters for a book that was to be titled *The Sufferance of Souls*. The chapters are titled:

Chapter 1 THE SUFFERANCE OF OUR SOULS

Chapter 2 SHAKESPEARE’S BRUTUS

Chapter 3 BEDE AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

Chapter 4 THE EXPLORATION OF SIR WALTER RALEGH

Chapter 5 JOHN DONNE—POET AND PREACHER

Chapter 6 THOMAS CRANMER AND THE ENGLISH LITANY

Chapter 7 SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE AND ‘THE ANCIENT MARINER’

Chapter 8 SAMUEL JOHNSON AND HIS DICTIONARY

These headings show the subjects of this proposed book, but as his editor says, the thrust is not known as Cragg had not written a foreword. His publishers wish to make it clear that the material was not ready for publication and that Kenneth Cragg had only the chance to review it in a ‘crude’ form. Unfortunately, his health was declining, and he confessed to finding it ‘difficult to concentrate’ and hence didn’t think he could finish the work. They gently let it drift away [Cragg, K, 2011d].

Although he was by now confined to a wheelchair, Cragg was determined to remain mentally active, (he confessed to me he missed his own library). This activity can been seen from two entries in *The Chronicle of The College of St Barnabas* 2010-2011,[[119]](#footnote-119) which carries an article written by him, *The Drama of Cranmer’s Litany*. [Cragg, K, 2011c] He was also listed to deliver a paper to the College Theology Group, which met monthly to receive and discuss papers on theological matters. The entry, which is perhaps also a fitting memorial, reads simply: 'August 2011, *The Bible and the Koran*, Bishop Cragg'.

Cragg was buried in a wicker coffin next to his wife in the churchyard of Holy Trinity, Ascott-under-Wychwood. Bridget Davidson, who attended the funeral, remembers that the service had been planned by Cragg, and that his choice of reading, 1 Peter 4,[[120]](#footnote-120) surprised many [Davidson, T, 2012]. It might be said that Cragg had the last word.[[121]](#footnote-121)

**3. The Soul and its Union with God: Kenneth Cragg, an account of Sufism and Muslim Mysticism**

**3.1.1 Cragg's use of the Term 'Mysticism'**

No word in our language - not even 'Socialism' - has been employed more loosely than 'Mysticism.' Sometimes it is used as an equivalent for symbolism or allegorism, sometimes for theosophy or occult science; and sometimes it merely suggests the mental state of a dreamer, or vague and fantastic opinions about God and the world. [Inge, WR, 1918, p. 3]

So wrote William Ralph Inge, the Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, London. Almost a hundred years later, definitions of mysticism are still as loose and vague. However, Cragg's interest in Islamic mysticism was largely limited to Sufism and Christian mysticism, mainly as used by Dag Hammarskjöld. Cragg also used quotations both prose and poems from writers who have been identified either as mystics or have been seen to have a mystical dimension in their writings.

While there is an underlying mystical or spiritual element which shadows Cragg's life and work,'[[122]](#footnote-122) there can be traced, a developing involvement with Sufism and Christian Mysticism and Spirituality in his books and articles. Such a background is noted by Martin Thornton[[123]](#footnote-123) in his book, *English spirituality: an outline of ascetical theology according to the English pastoral tradition*:

Well in the background remains the English School of Spirituality: sane, wise, ancient, modern, sound, and simple; with roots in the New Testament and the Fathers, and of noble pedigree; with its golden periods and its full quota of saints and doctors; never obtrusive, seldom in serious error, ever holding its essential place within the glorious diversity of Catholic Christendom [Thornton, M, 1963, p. 14].

Cragg's work reflects this divers background. However, few writers would link Anglican Evangelicalism with any form of mysticism. More popularist than academic in its approach, Bruce MacPherson's book *On Christian Mysticism: A Conservative Evangelical Perspective*, portrays mysticism in a negative light. In his Introduction he warns that, 'Christian mysticism is a cancer subtly invading Christianity, and it needs to be unmasked [Macpherson, BN, 2017, p. ix].' He dismisses Sufism in a short paragraph and claims that 'The Sufi seek a worldwide Islamic Caliphate [Macpherson, BN, 2017, p. 115].' Whereas Winfried Corduan in his book, *Mysticism: an evangelical option?* finds a modest place for mysticism, linking it to a form of mysticism present in the New Testament [Corduan, W, 2009, pp. 138-139].

Regarding Cragg's evangelical background, James Tebbe in his doctoral study on Cragg, observes that:

Cragg claims continuity with and a debt to his Christian upbringing in this tradition. His autobiography [inter alia] clearly establishes that link [Cragg, K, 1994b]. Though he writes of the freedom of thought which education gave him, that freedom did not take him in a direction which was discontinuous with his background. When he went to the Middle East it was with a clearly evangelical mission. Though he could not side with the most extreme forms of evangelicalism, he did maintain enough ties and identity to be invited to contribute to books that represent the evangelical position. Thus, evangelicals themselves have claimed him.

It is not just evangelicals who have claimed him, but scholars also have tended

to categorise him as an evangelical [Tebbe, J, 1997, pp. 27-28].

However, mysticism was one area which enabled Cragg to break from the more conservative form of Church of England Evangelicalism.

Harvey D. Egan,[[124]](#footnote-124) in the Introduction to his book *Soundings in the Christian Mystical Tradition*, gives a broad outline of the origins of mysticism, and its use by Christians. He notes that:

In her book *The Protestant Mystics*, Anne Fremantle contradicts the thesis of twentieth-century Protestant dialectical theologians that there are no Protestant mystics. She asserts, however, that all Catholic mystics—unlike their Protestant counterparts—travel a well-worn, well-known, well-marked, easily identifiable three-stage journey of purgation, illumination, and union. The following chapters of this book will disabuse the reader of Fremantle’s view [Egan, HD, 2010, p. xvi].

However, Fremantle makes the following exception that while,

There certainly is, we found, a difference between Catholic and Protestant mystics that is historically true for all except members of the Church of England and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States [Fremantle, AJ, 1964, p. vii].

Moreover, Fremantle's assertion that twentieth-century Protestant dialectical theologians maintain that there are no Protestant mystics emanates from 'The flat statement by a distinguished philosopher (a Protestant), Dr. W.T. Stace, that "there are no Protestant mystics" [Fremantle, AJ, 1964, p. vii]

Arthur L. Clements, in his book, *Poetry of Contemplation: John Donne, George Herbert, Henry Vaughan, and the Modern Period*, agrees with Fremantle that while there are many paths that mystics may follow, the paths of Catholics and Protestants do differ though, he maintains, the characteristics of contemplation remain essentially the same. He is confident that this is what Stace intended and that,

Stace's statement is not to be taken in a merely literal sense, especially since he includes Protestant mystics in his works on mysticism [Clements, AL, 1990, pp. 252-253].

Egan further writes that:

The Catholic Church’s attitude toward mysticism has also been somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand, the Church fosters the contemplative life, which often leads to mystical consciousness. Many of the saints formally recognized as such by the Church were mystics. On the other hand, Church officials have tended to stress the mystical path as suitable only for an elite and counselled the path of approved devotions and liturgical life for the general faithful [Egan, HD, 2010, p. xvi]

However, for a definition of mysticism, Egan turns to Bernard McGinn, who he describes as, 'One of the most influential, contemporary scholars of mysticism [Egan, HD, 2010, p. xviii]'. Egan notes [Egan, HD, 2010, p. xviii] that McGinn defines 'the mystical element in Christianity [as] that part of its beliefs and practices that concerns the preparation for, the consciousness of, and the reaction to what can be described as the immediate or direct presence of God [McGinn, B, 1992, p. xvii]'. McGinn views the contemporary quest for 'transcendence without dogma' for an 'unchurched mysticism', as misguided. One is always a Christian (or Hindu, Buddhist, or Muslim) before one is a mystic. McGinn rejects the opinion that mysticism can be understood as the inner common denominator of all religion—as a religion in itself [Egan, HD, 2010, p. xix].

Egan further notes that Christian mysticism, in McGinn’s view, is a way of life, a process, and not a series of transient experiences. The encounter with the God of love changes the sinful, broken person into someone healed, enlightened, and transformed [Egan, HD, 2010, p. xix].

Egan shows that while 'Union with God' has long been considered to be the goal of the mystical life, McGinn points out that many Christian mystics avoided unitive language and wrote instead of 'contemplation', 'vision', 'ecstasy', the 'birth of God in the soul', 'endless desire', 'fusion,' the 'abyss flowing into the Abyss', and so on [Egan, HD, 2010, p. xix].

While Egan states that he agrees with much of McGinn's approach, he prefers:

to speak of “the preparation for” a mystical God-consciousness that is often not given as the ascetical dimension of Christian life. I would also distinguish more sharply than McGinn what it is that constitutes a mystic, a mystical theologian, and a mystagogue—granting that in practice the dividing line may be quite blurred. The mystic leads a mystical life, replete with the immediate consciousness of God. The mystical theologian provides the theory and understanding of such a life. The mystagogue leads others in the pursuit of this life. One and the same person may possess all three gifts, but frequently that is not the case [Egan, HD, 2010, p. xx].

Cragg would probably be situated somewhere between a mystical theologian and a mystagogue.

Lamb observes that Ghazzali's thought 'opened up important perspectives' for Cragg, particularly the contradiction between the uniqueness and unknowability of God, and the path Sufis must follow to achieve mystical union with God [Lamb, C, 2014, p. 48]. Cragg's use of the term 'mysticism' is applied almost exclusively to Islamic Mysticism, particularly Sufism. There are exceptions, for instance in his article, (1986) 'Sainthood and spirituality in Islam', he uses 'spirituality' where in other books and articles he would use mysticism. For instance:

It was the quest of, and the aspiration for, the state of absorption into God, symbolised dramatically in the life and death of Al-Hallaj, which, in soberer ways, lay at the heart of Sufi spirituality ... [Cragg, K, 1986c, p. 191].

When concerned with Christian 'Mysticism' he tends to use terms deriving from 'Spirit' - spirituality, for example: in the chapter, ''According to the Scriptures': Literacy and Revelation' in M. Wadsworth, M. (Ed.), *Ways of Reading the Bible*:

No allegory should be sought or asserted against a discernible exoteric sense. Interpretation has a prior obligation to history and to the context—an obligation which 'spirituality' never wisely overrides [Cragg, K, 1981a].

This is particularly so when Cragg is referring to his own 'spirituality'. In Faith and Life Negotiate, writes of his own 'spiritual nurture' (p. 28); 'spiritual ancestry' (p; 58) and 'spiritual ends' (p. 99). For despite seeing Sufism as something positive in Islam, mysticism, for Cragg, still has overtones of esotericism, of which he totally abhors.

**3.1.2 Cragg and Sufism**

The main problem in researching Cragg's engagement with Sufism is that, apart from one slim volume of 94 pages, *The Wisdom of the Sufis* [Cragg, K, 1976], he has written little that deals exclusively with this subject. What he has composed, is scattered throughout his books and articles.

The first time that Cragg writes on the subject of Sufism is in his doctoral thesis, *Islam in the 20th Century: The Relevance of Christian Theology and the Relation of the Christian Mission to its Problems*, and makes numerous positive references to Sufism. He states that:

'The tendency has been to discredit Sufism as superstitious and heterodox and yet it remains a fact that it represents some of the most religiously vigorous parts of Islam [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 91].

Writing in 1953, a review of the book, *Islam in Ethiopia,* by J. Spencer Trimingham, Cragg further demonstrates this positive aspect of Sufism:

As for the Dervish orders in Sufism, ...these also have been adapted to suit the mentality of the people. None of the orders originated in the region, but were carried there from outside as centres of propaganda and as cults filling the void left in the African heart by the rigidity or formalism of Islam.

Trimingham is also of the opinion that while Orthodox (which presumably he means juridical Sunni, Islam is of paramount importance to the lives of Muslims in Ethiopia, its influence on the deeper life of the spirit is correspondingly weak [Trimingham, JS, 1952, p. 226].

Returning to Cragg's Thesis, he sets out its main aims:

This Thesis rest upon two convictions and a hope. The convictions are that within Islam today there is an intellectual and social crisis of great significance both to Muslim themselves and to the world at large, and that Christianity has had more prolonged experience of similar, intellectual, and social obligations in the modern world which has qualified it, - given a basis of genuine fellowship - to serve contemporary Islam in its problems. The hope is that is a constructive relationship between the two faiths can be attained on these lines the old unthinking resistance of Islam to Christianity may give way and areas of understanding be discovered where the old antipathy will be overcome by a new readiness to consider Christ and his Church. It may be that, in the very conditions of our times and the common factors in religious duties towards them, we may find a means of bringing Christianity and Islam into fruitful relationship, towards which the Christian Mission should steer its endeavours, at any situation. In so doing the Christian Church will draw upon its own theological travail in the last hundred and more years. Thus, it may be, further, that, as so often in the past, internal Christian Theology and the external Christian Mission will serve each other's prosperity [Cragg, K, 1950, p. ii].

He explains that his research is:

...not confined to strictly theological writing, of which there is relatively little, but seeks to survey the mind of Islam where-ever it is read, in leading exponents [Cragg, K, 1950, p. iv].

Part of Cragg's methodology is to outline the thought and evaluate effect of the life and work of what twenty of what Cragg calls 'leading exponents' of Islam. These are leading thinkers and political and social activists within the Muslim world which he self-limits to the two main fields of Arab Islam and Indian Islam. This geographical limitation has been seen as a serious weakness in his thesis. Cragg lists the following names on which he later elaborates (the names, spelling and transliteration of these Arabic names are as written by Cragg):

**In Arab Islam**

JAMAL-AD-DIN AL-AFGHANI

MUHAMMAD 'ABDUH

MUHAMMAD RASHID RIDA

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN HAYKAL

MUHAMMAD KURD ALI

'ALI-'ABD-AR-RAZIQ

MUSTAFA 'ABD-A-RAZIQ

'ABBAS MAHMUD AL-AQQAD

TAHA HUSAIN   
LIWA - AL - ISLAM  
MUSTAFA LUTFI AL-MANFALUTI

AHMAD AMIN

**In Indian Islam**

Sir SAYYID AHMAD KHAN

SAYYID AMIR ALI  
KHUDA BUKHSH

'ABDALLAH YUSUF 'ALI

MUHAMMAD ALI

SAYYID ABY-I-ALA MAUDUDI

Sir MUHAMMAD IQBAL

**PAKISTAN** - an Index of the Muslim Mind

The AHMADIYYA MOVEMENTS [Cragg, K, 1950, p. iv].

Cragg identifies Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905)[[125]](#footnote-125) and Sayyid Amir Ali (1849-1928) as being influenced by Sufism. (Al-Afghani and Abduh are dealt with elsewhere in the thesis.) Ali's parents moved from Persia to India in the early 18th century. He favoured British rule in India rather than the possibility of Hindu domination should India become independent.

Regarding Sayyid Amir Ali,[[126]](#footnote-126) Cragg concentrates his attention on Ali's book, *The Spirit of Islam* which illustrates most of his ideas. Writing as a Shi'ite, Ali calls upon the whole of Sunni Islam to cast off its hindrances and renew the free, essential rationalism of Islam. Cragg demonstrates that Ali affirms:

... that Islam is progress itself and the social or other evils with which historians have charged it never in fact belonged to its true spirit. His aim is not a mere effort to establish a harmony between Islam and modernity, but to assert that no real disharmony exists. This tour de force, however, self-assured, involves highly debatable suppositions about what Islam actually is [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 349].

The concluding chapter of *The Spirit of Islam* deals with mysticism in Islam and, far from denouncing it, Ali traces its origins to the Prophet himself.

The wonderful mysticism which forms the life and soul of modern Persian literature owes its distinct origin to the esoteric significance attached by an important section of the Moslems to the words of the Koran. The elevated feeling of Divine pervasion with which Mohammed often spoke, the depth of fervent and ecstatic rapture which characterised his devotion, constituted the chief basis on which Moslem mysticism was founded [Ali, SA, 1902, p. 416].

For Ali, the desire for a deeper and inward sense in the words of the Qur’an came not from a need to escape from the rigour of texts and dogmas, but from the conviction that those words meant more than intended. Cragg argues that:

This conviction, combined with a deep feeling of Divine pervasion, a feeling originating from and in perfect accordance with the teachings of the Koran and the instructions of the Prophet, led to the development among the Moslems of that Contemplative or Idealistic philosophy which has received the name of Sufism, and the spread of which, among the western Mahommedans, was probably assisted by the prevalence of Platonic ideas [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 417].

Ali warns that while Sufism in Islam, like its mystical counterpart in Christianity, has been 'productive of many mischievous results', the benefits are too great to be ignored [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 417].

Cragg's Thesis evaluates Ali's influence as follows:

This discerning, and not uncritical, welcome for the 'inner light of Islam' is refreshing, but the author leaves us in doubt as to how far he has faced the consequences of his approbation or seen the tensions inseparable from mystical spirit cohabiting with orthodox religion. It may be wondered whether here also the writer's goodwill and enterprise have not incurred apologetic issues in disposing of them [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 363].

This tension between the mystical and the orthodox is a theme to which Cragg frequently returns, not only with regard to Islam but also Christianity. For example:

Islam, however, is not the only faith where there are irreconcilable tensions between theology and religion, or rather, between orthodoxy and devotion [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 104].

Thus, Cragg's thesis places Sufism in a very positive light. However, he sees no place for political power in religion, particularly in Islam which he sees as having become a political force early in its history. Cragg often refers to Islam's belligerence, for example: 'There is a dimension of harsh belligerence in the Qur'an, a strong pugnacity of faith' [Cragg, K, 1994a, pp. 9-10]. Yet, Cragg shows us one way out of this dilemma; that is through the moral quality that Sufism can bestow on Islam and especially on its Muslim leaders. This is echoed in Cragg's attitude to Dag Hammarskjöld, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations (further referred to below). Cragg's ideas relating to Sufism are further developed in his article *Sainthood and spirituality in Islam* [Cragg, K, 1986c]*.*

What matters is a measure of Sufism as both achieving and rebuking Islam, and yet doing both from within its own native capacity and character. [Cragg, K, 1986c, pp. 179-180]

In this sense Sufism may be interpreted as Islam's own counterpart to the instincts and bent of its own theology, the corrective of what might, otherwise, have been only doctrinaire or even intransigent. [Cragg, K, 1986c, p. 191]

Here Cragg is suggesting that Sufism is an active agent in Islamic Theology (by inference both that of Sunni Islam and Shi'ite Islam), in a critical and regulative manner. Cragg's appraisal of Islamic Theology is dealt with elsewhere in this thesis.

Cragg makes frequent use of the term orthodox throughout his writing, and it is sometimes coupled with Islam, e.g., 'orthodox Islam', but he seldom, if ever, actually defines it. Often, he uses it as an adjective for something that is ossified, staid, or overly clinging to tradition. For example:

The orthodox mind in any realm of belief is apt to be temperamentally unsuited to the exacting requirements of its own defense. It is liable to be impatient with all that differs or contends, and to be satisfied with dismissing it as unbelief. It tends in some senses to over confidence and timidity, either assuming that error needs only to be denounced, or else, by contrast, hoping that it can be safely ignored [Cragg, K, 1954, p. 132].

The orthodox is usually shown as being something negative, obdurate, or intransient. It may equate with Sunni Islam, or with extreme forms traditionalism or fundamentalism. but he tells us that:

there are orthodox Sunnite or Shi'ite academies at Lucknow, Calcutta, Jaunpur, Vellore and numerous other centres [Cragg, K, 1965, p. 139].

He defines Shi’a as follows:

Shi'ah [sic]: the followers, initially, of 'Ali, fourth Caliph: the segment of Islam which 'seceded' from the Sunni, or 'orthodox', majority in respect of authority, exegesis, politics and devotion [Cragg, K, 1984, p. 166].

However, Cragg does gives historical reference for the origin of orthodox doctrine:

Mu'tazilah. A group and school of theologians, strongest in the ninth century AD, who pressed speculative matters about the Qur'an and human free will far beyond the position that later (and largely in reaction against them) came to be the orthodox doctrine [Cragg, K & Speight, RM, 1988, p. 130].

Resulting from Cragg’s work at Hartford Seminary, and his experiences in the Middle east and the Muslim world in Beirut between 1939 and 1947, his first book, *The Call of the Minaret*, (1956) was well received. A third edition was published in 2000 by Oneworld Publications, Oxford, and reprinted in 2003[[127]](#footnote-127). Hugh Goddard’s article*,*[[128]](#footnote-128)‘The significance of *The Call of the Minaret* for Christian Thinkers about Islam’ (2003), was published in a *Festschrift[[129]](#footnote-129)* to honour Cragg’s ninetieth birthday and his vocation to Muslim-Christian relations [Goddard, H, 2003]. Goddard delineates its genesis and the process which lead to the writing of Cragg’s book, before outlining and commenting on its content and assessing its (continuing) importance. Not all reviews were positive, and Cragg’s second book *Sandals at the Mosque* [Cragg, K, 1959]was written partly in response to some of the criticism of *The Call of the Minaret*.

In the first edition of *The Call of the Minaret*, there are a number of references to Sufism and a short piece on Sufism in the section *Prayer and the Religious life in Islam* entitled, *Sufi illumination and its literature: “In Thee have I trusted.”* Here he explores: Sufism and its relationship with Muhammad; Sufi saints and intercessions; Sufi and its relationship to dogma. Later in the book he considers: God's relationship to man; and suffering in Islam.

Cragg glosses over the belief in Al-Nur al-Muhammadi, sometimes called the Muhammadan light:

There exists, it is true, a permanent and vigorous tendency to hypostacize in Muhammad the Divine light. The religious belief in Al-Nur al-Muhammadi has given to much Sufi, and other, devotion a relationship to Muhammad which comes close to deification, in implication, if not in fact. But these attitudes, wherever they occur, and recur, have no status in orthodox theology and all that they imply is roundly repudiated [Cragg, K, 1956, p. 104].

He does not elaborate on this aspect Sufi and Shi'a metaphysics which play an important role in both Sufi and Shi'a concepts of sainthood[[130]](#footnote-130). Cragg gives most of his scholarship and comment over to Sunni tradition.

Of saints and intercessions, Cragg observes that:

Intercession is much more widely believed in Shi'ah Islam, and belief in the saintly efficacy of holy founders is one of the main factors in the cohesion of Sufi orders. There are also strong traditions of Muhammad’s own practice during life in visiting the cemeteries, often by night, to seek from God the forgiveness and the welfare of the dead [Cragg, K, 1956, p. 113].

Cragg breaks from this exploration of Sufism to deal with pilgrimage, before returning to his theme, with a brief history of Sufism, which he introduces as follows:

If Shi'ah Muslims represent a plea for greater immediacy of the soul to truth than Sunni Islam provides, the same is true of the long and deep tradition of mysticism, the Muslim forms of which are known as Sufism [Cragg, K, 1956, p. 134].

Here again, Cragg stresses the importance of Sufism, claiming that in later centuries Sufism 'did more to conserve and perpetuate Islam that did orthodoxy itself.'

Cragg notes that Sufism traces its origins back to the Prophet, who is seen as 'the supreme exponent of disciplined mystical ecstasy'. Following from this, the Qur'an can be viewed 'as the greatest product of the Sufis approach. ... Muhammad is the exemplar of the path [Cragg, K, 1956, p. 135].'

Cragg, aware that Sufism has been reproached by modern reformers, sees that:

Yet even these critics, Muhammad ‘Abduh, for example, and Iqbal[[131]](#footnote-131), have themselves owed not a little to Sufi influence in their upbringing [Cragg, K, 1956, p. 135].

For Cragg, Islamic mysticism has inspired the greatest devotional literature in Islam and gives as examples:

the celebrated poetess Rabi‘ah (died A.D. 801); Al-Hallaj,[[132]](#footnote-132) the Persian writer (crucified in A.D. 922); Al-Ghazali, himself; Ibn al-‘Arabi “the greatest mystical genius of the Arabs” (died in Damascus in A.D. 1240); his contemporary the famous Jalal al-Din Rumi, author of the immortal *Mathnavi* [Cragg, K, 1956, p. 135]*.*

Cragg's writing become almost ecstatic as he extols the virtues of Sufism as seen through these writers.

Here the student may find in their most eloquent expression the characteristic Sufi intensities: the yearning after the knowledge which is absorption; the joy of penetration beyond the shell of selfish selfhood into wholeness; the price of discipline and the meaning of temptation; the purity and poverty of the ardent spirit; the disinterestedness of valid love; the stations and states of the progress of the soul; the anticipations of illumination and the climax of *fanā' [[133]](#footnote-133)* where the soul transcends itself and its search in passing into love [Cragg, K, 1956, p. 135].

Cragg completes this section in *The Call of the Minaret*, with a brief description of the organization of Sufism into various Orders and outlines their rituals. This has been extended in the 2000 Third Edition, to include more of the history and organisation of Sufism.

In *The Call of the Minaret* Cragg shows Sufism's function within Islam as a whole, rather than the more pragmatic and limited role he ascribed to it in his Thesis. He is beginning to appreciate its mystical role in enabling the soul to gain union with God. This is quite a step forward for someone from an evangelical background, with its suspicion of anything unbiblical.

*The Call of the Minaret* reviewed by Edward Jurji (Professor of Islamics and Comparative Religion at the Princeton Theological Seminary) notes that:

A mystical brooding mood generally pervades the volume; this may offend some sensibilities, but the present reviewer believes it enhances the treatment [Jurji, EJ, 1957, p. 207]

This is an early (and rare) acknowledgement of a mystical quality in Cragg's work.

Published in 1969 as part of *The Religious Life of Man* series,[[134]](#footnote-134) Cragg's book *The House of Islam*, tries:

to keep a balance between a true and worthy appreciation of the essential faith, and an honest open realism about its fortunes in the tumult of the world. The doctrinal and the actual, the ideal and the empirical, must always judge and address each other [Cragg, K, 1969c, p. vii].

In the *Introduction*, Cragg explains that his aim is to 'study the religious life of this great *Dar al-Islam*, the name meaning *House of Islam'*. Part of this study was to answer such questions as:

Who are the Sufis, the mystics, and what was the secret of their origin and of their persistent role in Islam? And, within all these enquiries, the question: Who is the Muslim? [Cragg, K, 1969c, p. 4]

Cragg is covering old ground but adds much greater detail to what he has written in the past, particularly that relating to the sources and what he considers are the achievements of Sufism. However, in this book, Cragg develops his exploration of Muhammad's experience of the revelation of the Qur'an, the *Rasuliyyah*, the state of being sent. In Cragg's DPhil Thesis, he explores the possibility of separating Muhammad's authority resulting from his role in the revelation of the Qur'an, from that of the person of Muhammad. In *The Call of the Minaret* Cragg demonstrates that Amir ‘Ali's *The Spirit of Islam*, reverts to the traditional and orthodox view of the revelation of the Qur’an to Muhammad and 'insists throughout on the instrumentality of the Prophet, not his initiative; on his being the agent not the originator [Cragg, K, 1956, p. 92].'[[135]](#footnote-135) Cragg constantly has challenged this view which has gained him much criticism from Muslim writers.

In the *House of Islam*, Cragg asks,

Can we assume, in Muhammad's own experience, something at least of the patterns later followed by Islamic mysticism, known as Sufism, in the centuries beyond? Such patterns of self-abstraction require, and serve, a cutting off of the sense world so that, undistracted, the spirit may await the visitation of the word. [Cragg, K, 1969c, p. 23].

Shabbir Akhtar, is in the Faculty of Theology and Religions at the University of Oxford and Visiting Senior Research Scholar at the Centre for Muslim-Christian Studies, Oxford, has long been one of Cragg's most vociferous critics. In his article*, An Islamic model of revelation*, he notes that,

Certainly, the Islamic tradition, taking its cue from the Qur'an has seen Muhammad as no more than a mouthpiece, if a sentient and intelligent one. Cragg sees this model of revelation — 'mechanistic' in his terminology — as at once puzzling and unnecessary [Akhtar, S, 1991, p. 97].

Suggesting that Muhammad may have received the revelations as a result of a Sufi-like practice of contemplation, Cragg argues that this allows for the possibility of a rational explanation of the origins of the Qur'an other than the purely miraculous.

In 1976 Cragg published a book totally dedicated to Sufism, *The Wisdom of the Sufis.* He does not claim authorship, merely an acknowledgement that it was 'compiled by Kenneth Cragg'. Although the bulk of the book is a compilation of stories, poems and sayings from various Sufi sources, there is a one-page *Preface,* one page of *Acknowledgements* and a 27-page introduction, *The Wisdom of the Sufis*, all written by him. In the *Acknowledgements,* he states that:

Anthologies of Sufism are many and have a lengthening history. Some translations were published before the end of the last century [19th century] [Cragg, K, 1976, p. vi].

Given the numerous publications of Sufi anthologies, one might wonder why Cragg has added to the list. However, Cragg states that his intention is that the book should be:

'A friend to know the sign' which neatly phrases the intention of this short, annotated anthology of Islamic Sufism... The selection that follows has been determined by a desire to relate Islamic mysticism fairly to the total context of Muslim faith and life [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 6].

He admits that anthologies will have their biases, but adds that his bias is unconcealed, namely:

A preference for the intelligible, a love for the lyrical and the expressive, and an ambition for relationship across frontiers of allegiance within the current time.

Many of the translations from the Qur'an and from the original Arabic manuals of Sufi devotion are by Cragg [Cragg, K, 1976, p. vi]. It ought however, to be possible to identify which parts of the book are Cragg's own translations. Cragg's idiosyncratic referencing unfortunately makes this task difficult.

In the *Preface*, Cragg admits that anthologies will have their biases, but adds that his bias is unconcealed, namely:

A preference for the intelligible, a love for the lyrical and the expressive, and an ambition for relationship across frontiers of allegiance within the current time.

He ends with this caution:

Sufism often attracts admirers from outside. But the first duty of the Way is to disconcert admiration [Cragg, K, 1976, p. vii].

Cragg opens his introduction, *The Wisdom of the Sufis,* with the following:

I do not know the man so bold

He dare in lonely place

That awful stranger - consciousness

Deliberately face.

While it might be expected that a Sufi poem would be used at the opening of this section, it begins with the last verse from Emily Dickinson's poem 'I never hear that one is dead'. (Poem number 1323, written c. 1874) [Dickinson, E, 1960, p. 574]. Cragg first came across Dickinson, on his voyage to the United States of America 'on The Queen Elizabeth (No 1) on the way to discoveries of Moby Dick and Emily Dickinson' [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 115]. Cragg not only fails to give the name of the author, but slightly misquotes the poem. The term 'consciousness' in the original poem has a capital C, 'Consciousness'. (There has been some debate concerning early editors normalizing the poet's capitalization and punctuation, which might account for this apparent error.) Such a seemingly casual use of the quotation may leave the reader feeling that these words were of little significance. Yet Dickinson's poetry is a quest for answers to the questions concerning life and death, although there were several factors which contributed to her own preoccupation with death.

While numerous writers have referred to Dickinson as a mystical poet, Sister Mary Humiliata in her article *Emily Dickinson - Mystic Poet?* questions this and concludes that 'Mystical poetry - in the traditional sense, at least - is not Miss Dickinson's poetic gift' [Humiliata, M, 1950, p. 149].

However, what is significant is that Cragg has chosen the words of a woman to open his introduction, thus reminding us that Sufism is not entirely a man's world.[[136]](#footnote-136) Therefore, although this is an appropriate beginning for Cragg's investigation, it is left for the reader to decide what to make of it. Cragg appears to justify this approach by declaring that the Sufis have 'achieved and interpreted a unity of meaning deeper, if more elusive, than the assurances of doctrine' [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 3]

Cragg informs that:

The wisdom of the Sufis lies in finding out the loneliness of the egotistical self and attaining the community of the essential self [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 3].

He adds that while Sufis may generally agree with this statement, it is its interpretation which causes conflict. Cragg, in attempting to interpret the statement, reveals his own 'mysticism' or perhaps as some might prefer, his own spirituality.

He chooses as a starting point to his narrative, a frequently quoted verse from the Qur'an 'Am I not your Lord'[[137]](#footnote-137), which is followed by the affirmation, 'Yes! Indeed. We acknowledge it.' (Surah 7.172) Cragg explains that the meaning of this verse is that everyone, even before being born, is pledged to a mystical relationship with God. The mutual love of God and man is the basis for Sufism. He notes how the words of the verse were woven into a line from the master poem of Ibn al-Farid,[[138]](#footnote-138) *Verily Thou art the desire of my heart, the end of my search, the goal of my aim, my choice and my chosen*. This would appear to be line 76 of Reynold A. Nicholson's translation [Nicholson, RA, 1921, p. 207].[[139]](#footnote-139) A more recent translation runs:

Truly you are my heart's desire,

my farthest wish,

my final aim,

my choice and chosen [al-Farid, Ui, 2001, p. 95].

The affirmation is clear in both translations.

Cragg continues his narrative and noting that, 'Such lyrical love may be no more than self love in disguise', Cragg surprisingly quotes from James Joyce's *Ulysses[[140]](#footnote-140)*: 'Love loves to love love.' (Again, Cragg gives no reference.) Noting that 'this type of love may be the most selfish of the self's deceits, a sheer lust for possession. There is a path of purging to be taken if authentic love is to dwell in a self' [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 4]. Cragg's use of Joyce at this point is intriguing. At first glance it appears surreal, set as it is, in a book on Sufi wisdom. Cragg states that Joyce is being cynical. However, a reading of the whole quotation -

(Love loves to love love. Nurse loves the new chemist. Constable 14A loves Mary Kelly. Gerty MacDowell loves the boy that has the bicycle. M. B. loves a fair gentleman. Li Han lovey up kissy Cha Pu chow. Jumbo, the elephant, loves Alice, the elephant. Old Mr Verschoyle with the ear trumpet loves old Mrs Verschoyle with the turned in eye. The man in the brown macintosh loves a lady who is dead. His Majesty the King loves Her Majesty the Queen. Mrs Norman W. Tupper loves officer Taylor. You love a certain person. And this person loves that other person because every­ body loves somebody but God loves everybody [Joyce, J, 2000, p. 433].)

- shows fun is being made of Bloom's preaching on love by imitating childish love talk and sentimentality and asks: how can we talk about love without falling into such sentimentality? Ian Almond gives the following insight into Joyce’s book:

Insofar as the myth of Odysseus concerns a journey in the East – a man who travels to the East and returns, ten years later, to find everything changed, including himself – the basic metaphor of Joyce’s book is of some relevance. For the attentive reader, Joyce’s book is itself one such encounter with the East: from the oriental brothel Bloom visits to the 'handsome Moors'[[141]](#footnote-141) Molly recollects in her final monologue, Ulysses is peppered with Eastern names, places and allusions which baffle the reader not simply because of their frequency, but also for their incongruity with the rest of the text [Almond, I, 2002, p. 23].

So, these few words that Cragg quotes, 'Love loves to love love,' open a vast landscape for the modern reader, yet strangely relates it to the world of the Sufi (and that of Massignon). This approach appears to follow the methodology set out in Selim's work referred to below.

Incidentally, Baldick in his article, *Massignon: man of opposites* records that:

Massignon's fury reached its height in the Moroccan crisis of 1953, when he publicly denounced the French Government’s chief indigenous supporter as a brothel-keeper [Baldick, J, 1987, p. 38].

An example perhaps of life imitating art? Although, if Ibn Warraq's narratives relating to Massignon in his book *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism* [Warraq, I, 2007, p. 40], or the more salacious entries in Mircea Eliade's (1907-86) journals are to be believed [Eliade, M, 1990, pp. 114-115], Massignon's fury might appear both hypercritical and hypocritical.

The selection of readings in his book are Cragg's attempt to relate Islamic mysticism to Muslim faith and life. In doing so it is a guide towards union with God.

To start the reader on the road to this union [Cragg, K, 1976, pp. 4-8], he relates a number of Sufi anecdotes which illustrate some of the absurdities and paradoxes of life. Having taken us thus far along the road, Cragg states that mysticism in the Islamic tradition is far more than these stories and it demands more of the student. It is sometimes difficult to know with which voice Cragg is speaking. The narrator becomes the guide, or sometimes the observer, and at other times, the critic. His occasional use of the pronoun 'we' also suggests that this is a joint enterprise.

Cragg has divided the collection of stories, poems, and sayings into the following sections: 1. 'I'-The Self-Desirous; 2. 'Thou'-My Lord-Desiring; 3. 'We'-In Unitive Desire; 4. 'Thou Lord of The Worlds'. These sections are synonymous with the stages which most Sufis pass through on their way to Unity with God. Cragg leads us along this path, from the 'problematic self', through penitence and contrition and into 'soul-peace in God'. The fourth stage is a quotation from the Qur'an, 'Thou Lord of the Worlds' (Surah 1:1-3), which Cragg admits not all Sufis follow. It is the ultimate unity, existence beyond individuality. This is a state which puzzles Cragg, as it seems to him that to bring about this state the 'real' world is left behind. Cragg asks how can we identify what is unreal and the Real? He notes that for the Sufi, 'the road to the Real is upward to transcendence' [Cragg, K, 1976, pp. 28-29]. Cragg questions this and suggests that having escaped beyond nature and history, the path on reaching the goal turns the journey back to home. He asks,

Do we rightly identify the great by uncontaminated seclusion and exaltedness? Or is the great, by its nature, in love with the world? [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 29].

Cragg favours the latter question, which if accepted, means that 'the lowly is transformed by the discovery and the eternal may dwell in the light of common day'. Hence 'The Way', or 'The Path', flows two ways. To put it in terms of Christian Theology, we live in a Realised Eschatology,[[142]](#footnote-142) the Kingdom of God is already here, and realised, if we have the eyes to see it. For Cragg, the wisdom of the Sufis gives us that insight.

Mysticism and mystics are in one sense quite ordinary, what is extraordinary is the holiness of human existence, as Karl Rahner (1904-84) has argued from a Christian point of view:

Truly Pentecost is not a mere transitory visitation by the Spirit, a mys­ tical ecstasy lasting for a moment. It is not even, in the first instance, a charismatic gift bestowed personally upon the apostles, as it were, as private mystics or charismatics. Rather, Pentecost, in all its external expressions which seem so strange, is at basis only the outward man­ifestation of the much more vital fact that henceforward the Spirit will never more be wholly withdrawn from the world until the end of time [Raffelt, A & Egan, HD, 1993].

Despite Cragg's perceived enthusiasm for Sufi mysticism, he remains firmly connected with his evangelical, protestant, Church of England roots. In his article in the *Muslim World*, 'West African catechism' he uses a quotation from F.J.A. Hort's, *The way, the truth, the life*,[[143]](#footnote-143)

Every questioner is concentrically manifold, self within self, and the question that alone he is able to present in words is but a rude symbol of the question in his mind, as this again is but a rude symbol of the whole search within [Hort, FJA, 1908, p. 239] [Cragg, K, 1958].[[144]](#footnote-144)

Cragg introduces the quotation referencing 'the great questions in St John's Gospel, Chapter xiv' [Cragg, K, 1958]. This sets Hort's quotation within the context of verse 6, 'I am the way and the truth and the life'. Continuing with Hort's narrative:

But His constant aim is less to give present satisfaction than to seize on the present demand as an opportunity for initiation into a future and progressive satisfaction, to be vouchsafed to ripening powers and expanding knowledge. Every question has some relation to the universe of truth; and the truest answer is that which best conducts from the one into the other [Hort, FJA, 1908, pp. 4-5].

This is a form of sifting similar to that propounded by the University of Wisconsin. 'The Way', for the followers of Christ, is taking each situation as it arrives, sift it for the perceived truth, and then take that truth, no matter how imperfect, towards the next situation, which with the benefit of the previous situation further sifting is undertaken, so continuing along the path towards 'the universe of truth'. Here Hort seems to be using 'the universe of truth' as a metaphor for God. George M. Marsden in *The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship*, reacting against postmodernism, urges Christians to suggest that,

... scholarship might just as responsibly take place within the framework of the assumptions that God has created an ordered reality. Far from being relativistic, this is a claim that our experience makes best sense if we realize that we are in a universe of truths sustained by God, even if humans can glimpse these truths only imperfectly [Marsden, GM, 1998, pp. 30-31].

The 'universe of truth' has expanded into 'the universe of truths', a universe which has particular concern to those involved in inter-faith dialogue.

Isma’il al Faruqi, addresses this concern in a pragmatic manner. He argues that if all ' religio-cultures' are granted autonomy, and each system *ex hypothesi*, cannot be controverted, accepting the validity of all these systems will lead 'to overpopulate the universe of truth' [al-Faruqi, IR, 1967]. The question is taken up with Bruce Marshall who struggles to find a criteria for integrating Christian beliefs into a universe of truths [Marshall, BD, 1990, pp. 85-87]. Jacques Maritain has written that The universe of truths—of science, of wisdom and of poetry—towards which the intelligence tends by itself, belongs, by nature, to a plane higher than the political community [Maritain, J, 1943, p. 76] which raises more questions than it solves.

It is perhaps in The Wisdom of the Sufis that one can perceive Cragg's main attraction to Sufism. It is their poetry which acts as the vehicle for their wisdom. He writes of Rumi's extensive poem, the *Mathnawi*, as being a 'vast treasure house of poetical devotion in the Persian tongue and the Sufi tradition' [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 5]. His own love of poetry shines through all his writings, from quoting the lyrics of John Lennon to the lines of the metaphysical poet John Donne. Often these quotations are purposefully chosen to impart a mystical dimension to the point or observation that he is making. Poetry not only illustrates and illuminates theology and dogma, but for Cragg, poetry is almost synonymous with them. For example, Christopher Lamb's book, *A Policy of Hope: Kenneth Cragg and Islam,* demonstrates that Cragg sees a unity between the poet and the natural world, the latter of which Cragg likens to the work of a poet. 'If Kepler[[145]](#footnote-145) described his scientific work as 'thinking God’s thoughts for him', perhaps the poet can say the same' [Lamb, C, 2014, p. 26]. The opening to Chapter One, *Poets in the Telling*, of Cragg's book, *The Christian Jesus*, begins, 'Poetry is the first and last resource of Christian faith. Doctrine only intervenes.' He further adds, 'Faith can better admit of argument when its vision has been seen [Cragg, K, 2003b, p. 11].

James Tebbe in his study on Cragg, notes:

He [Cragg] is also a poet[[146]](#footnote-146) or at least an artist with words whose, imagery goes beyond straight logic. Yet... this is more a factor to consider than a quality to assess. Recognising this helps us in assessing his theological approach [Tebbe, J, 1997, p. 27].

With Cragg's great interest in the poetic use of language, it is not surprising that one of his attractions to Sufism was through the Sufi poets. The figure of Al-Ghazali (c. 1058-1111), the Persian philosopher, mystic, and occasional poet, was one of the first to be mentioned in *The Call of the Minaret* where Cragg saw a bridge between Al-Ghazali and the philosopher poet Muhammad Iqbal [Cragg, K, 1956, p. 63]. The command, 'Be fashioned after the fashion of God', which Cragg sees as a summary of Al-Ghazali's message, was often cited by Iqbal. Although Iqbal was not a Sufi, he did admit to mystical experiences.

Sufism and mystic consciousness constituted an important theme in Iqbal’s work, yet his views on Sufism have been the source of considerable controversy. Although he criticised the activities of certain Sufis for encouraging passivity and straying from the action-oriented message of Islam, as well as for being incapable of receiving any fresh inspiration from modern thought and experience, he remained keen to demonstrate the validity and importance of mystic consciousness [Sevea, IS, 2012, pp. 15-16].

Cragg's attraction to the Sufi poets can also be seen in his frequent use of Sufi quotations throughout his work. Cragg's relationship to the use of poetry in Mysticism is explored further elsewhere in this thesis.

In 1978, Cragg published with the Open University, *Islam and the Muslim* [Cragg, K, 1978]. Written as an Inter-faculty Second Level Course Book, it included a section entitled *The Mystics of Islam*. This covered: The Origins of Sufism; Sufism and selfhood; The liberty of the mystics; Sufism and cultic patterns; Sufism and divine unity. This is mainly a commentary on what is generally agreed to be the historical and spiritual background of the Sufis. The text invites students to answer several questions for themselves, such as, 'What is the self?' Cragg gives a specimen answer, and leaves the student with this open question: 'Was the ecstasy of the unitive state an end in itself, or was it a periodic alternation with mundane living, like the pendulum of a clock?' Here he seems to have moved away from the position he adopted as shown earlier in *The Wisdom of the Sufis.*

As seen in Cragg’s other work, he uses Sufism to question the traditional and orthodox view of the Qur’an and Muhammad by asking several questions, such as, 'Was not our Prophet himself a contemplative?' And again, he uses Sufism as a foil against the straitjacket of dogma. He ends the section with this paradox: 'Religion cannot well be identified with its mystics: but it cannot well survive without them. 'Sufism and its relationship to Mohammad is explored further in Cragg’s book, *Muhammad and the Christian: A Question of Respons*e [Cragg, K, 1984].

Writing almost up to his death in 2013, Cragg continued to make Sufi references in his books and articles. However, Cragg did not make an in-depth study and analysis of Sufism, as had Louis Massignon,[[147]](#footnote-147) with whom Cragg has been likened. Massignon became very involved, as an observer through study and text, in Sufism which became an important factor in his own faith. In fact, Cragg makes it clear in *The Wisdom of the Sufis* [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 9], that he did not value the 'highly technical analysis of the terminology used in early mystical writings in Islam,' as developed by Louis Massignon .[[148]](#footnote-148) Cragg's comparison with Massignon is discussed further in this thesis.

While Cragg clearly delights in the metaphor and imagery that is present in Sufi literature, (in which he is clearly well-read), he is less enthusiastic in walking fully along their path. Although he warns of the excesses in Sufi practices, he shows that Sufism can provide its adherents with a moral compass, and delineates 'Islamic mysticism as an area where the Christian could find 'sympathy' and the Muslim escapes from the arid rigorism of Sunni dogma [Cragg, K, 1981c, p. 166]

**3.1.2.1 Cragg and Sufism as an Islamic Ethic**

In his doctoral thesis, Cragg was struck by the moral role that Sufism played in the life of such an eminent Muslim as Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), the Egyptian religious scholar and liberal reformer who led a late 19th-century movement in Egypt and other Muslim countries to 'modernize' Muslim institutions. His views were opposed by the established political and religious order but were later embraced by Arab nationalism after the First World War. Cragg sketches out Abduh's formative influences:

The most formative influence in Abduh's life prior to his early twenties ... had been the Sufi sect of Shadhaili[[149]](#footnote-149), to which he had been introduced by an uncle of his father [named Shaikh Darwish]. ... It was from this Sufi source that Abduh derived that intense moral sensitivity which some have regarded as the mainspring of all his activities. In his early twenties he 'fell under the spell of Jamal-ad-Din ... The advent of Jamal-ad-Din into his world both moderated his Sufi excesses and liberated him from intellectual frustration [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 138].

Cragg somewhat begrudgingly comments that, 'Muhammad Abduh's biography has been adequately recorded by C. C. Adams[[150]](#footnote-150). Adams' book, *Islam and Modernism: A Study of the Modern Reform Movement Inaugurated by Muhammad 'Abduh* [Adams, CC, 1933] has, according to Oliver Scharbrodt [Scharbrodt, O, 2010, p. 320], remained the only full biography of Abduh until the publication of Mark Sedgwick's *Muhammad Abduh* in 2010 [Sedgwick, M, 2014]. Fifty-three editions of Adams' book were published between 1933 and 2014 in 6 languages.

Regarding Abduh's movement as primarily moral in its inspiration Cragg references Osman Amin's article, *Muhammad 'Abduh the Reformer*:

Abduh feared for the Muslim society, in the case of a complete secularization, 'a moral poverty which nothing would support' [Amin, O, 1946, pp. 154-155].

However, Cragg notes that 'Amin makes no mention of Sufi influences on Abduh' [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 138].

Interestingly, Abduh's first main work was a treatise on Mysticism. His *Risalat al-Waridat fi sirr al-tajalliyyat* (an essay on mystical inspirations from the secrets of revelation) was written in 1874 two years after meeting the remarkable teacher Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, and reflected what he had learned from Afghani. 'This [meeting] was the first great turning point in his life' [Sedgwick, M, 2014]. Sedgwick also states that the *Risalat al-Waridat* was a continuation of the mystical approach to Islam which Abduh had gained through his uncle, which complemented that which he subsequently gained from Afghani.

Cragg's thesis demonstrates that:

His [Abduh's] first sustained work belongs to this period of direct contact with Jamal-ad-Din[[151]](#footnote-151) and of the Khedive Islmail's[[152]](#footnote-152) efforts for modernisation in Egypt. It is a treatise on Mysticism which evidences Abduh's penetrative powers of theological thought, his enthusiasm for philosophy and his expository gifts.' (Risalat al-Waridah, Cairo, 1874, reprinted in Tarikh Vol II p. 1-25) [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 139].

However, it was his Sufi inspired morality that set Abduh apart from his fellow Muslims. Cragg observes that:

His genuine consciousness of the Divine in human life, his Sufi background and his moral fervour made him know that if religion and society were vitally related, the renewal of the former could only redeem the latter, if it was genuine and sincere, an end and not a means. His thesis always was that the true Islam, freed from un-Islamic accretions, was perfectly reconcilable with modern thought and conditions [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 146].

In his Thesis, Cragg not only affirms that ‘Abduh was challenged by the conservative Sunni Muslims, but also faced criticism from non-Muslims. Cragg notes that Lord Cromer[[153]](#footnote-153) called him an agnostic which Cragg saw as a mistaken verdict 'save in the technical sense that ‘Abduh held there were definite limitations to the competence of reason' [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 146]. While Cragg gives the reference, he does not give this quotation, which concisely sums-up Abduh's critics:

I suspect that my friend Abdu [sic], although he would have resented the appellation being applied to him, was in reality an Agnostic. His associates, although they admitted his ability, were inclined to look askance at him as a "filosouf." Now, in the eyes of the strictly orthodox, one who studies philosophy or, in other words, one who recognises the difference between the seventh and the twentieth centuries, is on the high road to perdition.[[154]](#footnote-154)

Cragg's Thesis thus endorses Sufism in its representation of some of the most religiously vigorous parts of Islam and provides a moral compass for Muhammad Abduh. This may be seen as being somewhat pragmatic rather than theological. There is, at this early stage in Cragg's career, little comment by him on the mystical side of Sufism. His deeper appreciation of Sufism, its theology and spirituality had yet to evolve.

Commenting on the *Risalat al-Waridat,* Panayiotis J. Vatikiotis[[155]](#footnote-155) observes that:

The need for an ethical system, guided by rational criticism and insight, has never been greater in the Muslim world than it is today [Vatikiotis, PJ, 1957, p. 56].

He also argues that Abduh's primary interest in religious reform was to give an ethical focus to Islam.

Cragg's interest in Abduh continued with his translation of Abduh's *Risalat-al-Tauhid,* (first published in Arabic in 1897). This was translated by Cragg and Ishaq Musa'ad, and published as *The Theology of Unity* in 1966 by George Allen & Unwin of London [Cragg, K & Musa’ad, I, 1964]. It was republished in 2004 [Cragg, K & Musa’ad, I, 2004]. As Scharbrodt notes:

ʿAbduh’s modernist views on Islam find their strongest expression in his *Risālat al-Tawhīd*, a collection of lectures he gave in Beirut that has been translated into English by Ishaq Musaʿad and Kenneth Cragg as *The Theology of Unity* ... [Scharbrodt, O, 2010, p. 321].

Writing in the *Introduction* to his translation, Cragg briefly outlines the extent of the Sufi influences derived from his uncle, Shaikh Darwish and from Al-Afgani. As in his earlier thesis, Cragg still sees the importance of both the influence of his uncle and that of Al-Afghani, the latter moderating the former. Cragg again stresses the importance of Sufism in Abduh's life:

... he was gifted with an attractive personality—which the reader must remember, if he cannot always detect, in the more arid portions of the Risâlat, and it was this which enabled him to sustain his intellectual mission through all the massive inertias of the Azhar mind and to win the title of Al-Ustâdh al-Imâm, 'the master and guide’.

He owed it in part not only to the tenacity by which he was able to outlive the rigours of his early Azhar days, but also to the Süfï influences of his uncle, Shaikh Darwish, which left their mark in his instinctive piety and his spiritual resilience. Al- Afghânï's activism did the rest, weaning him from possible enervation in mystical asceticism, but without sacrifice of the finer sensitivities that belonged with it. The sense, too, of Europe, which his travels gave him, and the contacts he enjoyed with French culture, and even in Brighton with Herbert Spencer, saved him from the narrow perspectives of turban and text and their confines of tradition and commentary [Cragg, K & Musa’ad, I, 1964, pp. 10-11].

Here Cragg shows his disdain at the excesses of Sufi mystical asceticism but does not elaborate on this topic. R.A. Nicholson (1868-1945), the eminent English scholar of both Islamic literature and Muslim mysticism, wrote in his work*, The Mystics of Islam*, (first published in 1914) that the earliest Sufis were ascetics and quietist rather than mystics:

An overwhelming consciousness of sin, combined with a dread - which it is hard for us to realize - of Judgment Day and the torments of Hell-fire, so vividly painted in the Koran, drove them to seek salvation in flight from the world [Nicholson, RA, 2002, p. 3].

Salvation was ensured by fasting, praying and pious works.

Summing up Abduh's influence on the minds and milieu of students at that time, particular at the Azhar, Cragg notes that:

The personal influence of Abduh on sensitive student minds, as well as the intellectual atmosphere which so sorely needed it, can be glimpsed in Taha Hussain's [sic] autobiography 'Al-Ayyam' [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 85].[[156]](#footnote-156)

In the *Introduction* to Hussein's book, *Stream of Days: a Student at the Azhar,* a translation of part of his autobiography, its translator Hilary Wayment outlines the importance of Abduh in the critical years from 1902 to 1910 as covered in the book. Abduh was still lecturing there and serving on the Administrative Council. However, Hussein never met Abduh, but 'he [Hussein] makes us conscious throughout the book of his [Abduh's] immense prestige and influence' [Hussein, T, 1948, pp. ix-x].

Cragg is listed as one of the translators in *The Days: Taha Hussein: His Autobiography in Three Parts*, published in 1997 [Hussein, T, 1997].

In *Counsels in Contemporary Islam,* which Cragg published in 1965 [Cragg, K, 1965], Chapter 3 is entitled 'Muhammad ‘Abduh, Arab pioneer, and two successors'. Here Cragg places more emphasis on Abduh's Sufi background. Again, he notes that Abduh had a 'fond attraction for the emotions and sanctities of Sufi practice', from which Jamal-ad-Din largely weaned him, although, 'the Sufi strain in his make-up remained as an underlying quality sustaining a deep personal piety which was not the least of his remembered legacies' [Cragg, K, 1965, p. 33].

Paul L. Heck, Professor of Islamic Studies in Georgetown University, in his article *Mysticism as morality: the case of Sufism*, convincingly argues that Sufism has played an integral role in the moral formation of Muslim society [Heck, PL, 2006]. To show the urgency and aptness of this approach, he refers to Anita Allen's book, *The New Ethics: a guided tour of the twenty-first century Moral Landscape*, which examines our failure to act morally despite our moral knowledge. In 2010 Dr Allen was appointed by President Obama to the Presidential Commission for the Study of Bioethical Issues. She suggests that ethics is 'a lifelong quest to respond to others with a willingness to forego brazen self-interest' [Allen, AL, 2004, p. 7]. Following on from this, Heck sees that:

Mysticism, then has something to say to the apparent failure of human reason to establish a framework of common values out of diverse social and legal traditions of morality (whether secular or religious in orientation); after all, is there anyone who would challenge the virtue of selfless action? At the same time, at stake in this question is insight into the nature of Islam -a particularly urgent task these days- as a way to supplement and even correct both popular and scholarly perception [Heck, PL, 2006, pp. 253-254].

In his conclusion Heck demonstrates how Sufi groups participating in the public square, (civil society) have been a limiting factor to the excesses of 'authoritarian states with secularizing ideologies and fundamentalism movements that wish to reduce the moral vision of the nation to scriptural and legal formulae' [Heck, PL, 2006, p. 280].

**3.1.3 Kenneth Cragg compared with Louis Massignon**

The twentieth century marked a great change in Christian-Muslim Relations. A study paper prepared in 2003 by the 'Islam in Europe' Committee for the *Council of European Bishops' Conferences (CCEE) and Conference of European Churches (CEC*) noted in particular that this was through:

the engagement and writings of such Christian Islamists as Fr Charles de Foucauld (1858 - 1916), who inspired the institutes of the Little Brothers and Little Sisters of Jesus, the Reformed church pastor Samuel Zwemer (1867 - 1952), a missionary in Egypt and the founder of the journal *The Muslim World*, the Catholic spiritual writer and researcher Louis Massignon, and the Anglican Bishop Kenneth Cragg [Vöcking, H, 2003, p. 15].

Paolo Dall'Oglio observes that Foucauld was a significant influence on Massignon [Dall'Oglio, P, 1998, pp. 105-107], while Sidney Griffith's article 'Sharing the faith of Abraham: The 'Credo' of Louis Massignon', notes that Massignon's first published article (1915) on the relationship of the Church to Islam particularly referred to Foucauld [Griffith, SH, 1997, pp. 194-195].

Cragg remembers when he 'was fifteen being in an audience addressed by Dr Samuel Zwemer'. Cragg records that this was probably his earliest 'alerting' to Islam [Cragg, K, 2012, p. 5]. Also, the historian Kenneth Scott Latourette thought that:

No one through all the centuries of Christian missions to the Muslims has deserved better than Dr. Zwemer the designation of Apostle to Islam [Wilson, JC, 1952, p. 5].

Michael L. Fitzgerald in his 1986 review of Cragg's book *Jesus and the Muslim,* states that Cragg:

has done for Protestants what Louis Massignon... did for countless Roman Catholics, involved with Muslims, that is, he makes them aware of the relevance of Islam for Christian theology (not only missiology).

He adds:

Cragg also published in Roman-Catholic periodicals and was often invited to address Roman Catholic audiences. I notice that his works are read by Muslim scholars [Fitzgerald, M, 1985-6, p. 239].

One of the earliest suggestions that Kenneth Cragg is the 'Louis Massignon of Anglicanism' was made by The Revd Christopher Brown in 2008 [Brown, C, 2008, p. 378]. The Revd Dr Richard Sudworth writing in 2014, demonstrates that Brown's designation has been taken further by Emmanuel Pisani[[157]](#footnote-157) who refers to Cragg as the 'Massignon of the Anglo-Saxon world' [Sudworth, RJ, 2014a, p. 75]. Pisani writes:

Depuis Louis Massignon, plusieurs théologiens ont cherché à élaborer des critères de discernement ou des catégories théologiques pour rendre compte de la religion musulmane. Massimo Rizzi expose la pensée de trois de ces auteurs : Kenneth Cragg, « le Massignon du monde anglo-saxon... [Pisani, E, 2009, p. 492].

Pisani is citing Massiom Rizzi, a priest of the diocese of Bergamo, North Italy, who teaches at the Pontifical Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, Rome. Rizzi refers to Cragg as 'il Masssignon del mondo anglosassone' [Rizzi, M, 2008, p. 65]. Perhaps a better translation of both the French and the Italian phrase would be 'the Massignon of the English-speaking world'. So, in the same year (2008) that Brown, writing in England, suggested that Cragg was 'the Massignon of Anglicanism', Rizzi, in Italy, stated that Cragg is 'the Massignon of the English-speaking world.' This demonstrates that the Cragg-Massignon conflation is now internationally recognized. While Cragg and Massignon both made significant and lasting contributions to Christian-Muslim relations, dialogue and scholarship, those contributions had both similarities and differences which are considered in this Section.

**3.1.3.1 Cragg, Massignon, and Islam**

Our knowledge of Massignon and Cragg comes from two distinct sources. While both wrote extensively and published academic work which has been appraised by their peers, Massignon wrote far more that was autobiographical than had Cragg. Furthermore, several biographies have been written on Massignon including Julian Baldick (1987), 'Massignon: Man of Opposites', in *Religious Studies*, Vol. 23: p 29-39, and Herbert Mason (1988), *Memoir of a Friend Louis Massignon* (University of Notre Dame Press, Indiana). The *Foreword* by Herbert Mason's to the English Translation of Massignon's *Essay on the Origins of the Technical Language of Islamic Mysticism*, sums this up as follows:

Several attempts at capturing his life and thought have appeared in recent years, some in the form of doctoral theses, some as heavily documented biographies, some as impressionistic novels, some as brief evocative homages, ... More are announced as forthcoming and eventually a provisional portrait of merit will appear - this of a man who did not like to have his photograph taken but who also never concealed anything about his life from anyone [Massignon, L, 1997, p. xvi].

Consequently, Massignon entered the realm of popular culture with the release in 2010 of the film *Des hommes et des dieux, (Of Gods and Men)*. Set in Algeria in 1996, a group of Trappist monks living alongside an impoverished Algerian community, become threatened by fundamentalist terrorists, and must decide whether to leave or stay. F. Jacquin reviewing the film for *L'Association des Amis de Louis Massignon,[[158]](#footnote-158)* notes:

Le succès du film **Des hommes et des dieux**, véritable phénomène de société, interpelle les Amis de Louis Massignon , tant s'en dégage la convergence entre le projet de Christian de Chergé et les objectifs de la **Badaliya** tels que louis Massignon les expose dans ses innombrables *Lettres et convocations* (à paraître en janvier 2011, Ed. du Cerf, collection Patrimoine) [Jacquin, F, 2013].[[159]](#footnote-159)

Jacquin writes that the forceful words of Massignon are echoed by the images of the film. He overlays several scenes from the film with texts from Massignon's writings.

Since 2006, the French internet television company BAGLIS TV has aired conferences, interviews, and roundtables, addressing different religious traditions and various spiritual movements. In 2012 it first showed *Louis Massignon et Henry Corbin* directed by Christian Jambert. This 52-minute programme considered the spirituality of the two men and their passion for Islam, while looking at the relationship between mysticism, philosophy and religion. However, the French attitude to film, particularly the 'Art Cinema', is vastly different to that of the UK or USA where films tend to be made for profit. It is perhaps a sad reflection that in this atmosphere Massignon's colourful life is more likely to get 'Hollywood' attention than Cragg's perceived dryness.

Cragg, being a more private person, has published little autobiographical material nor has he been the subject of much biography, let alone anything that might be considered 'popularist'.[[160]](#footnote-160) His chapter *Tents of Kedar* in W. Troll and C.T.R. Hewer (ed) 2012, *Christian lives given to the study of Islam*, and his semi-autobiographical book *Faith and Life Negotiate: A Christian Story-study* (1994), are two tantalizing glimpses that he gives into his private life. He gives his reason for this anonymity:

my instinct was that authorship should avoid the personal pronoun. What belongs with scholarship is not well served by seeming, or sounding personally pontifical [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 3].

Christopher Lamb has comprehensively studied Cragg and his work. Fitzgerald notes that Lamb gives 'biographical details... [which] are not irrelevant' [Fitzgerald, ML, 2013, p. 10]. As relevant as Lamb's biographical details may be, Cragg still eludes any real insight into his private life and personal views.

Frederick Quinn, Adjunct Professor of History at Utah State University, an Episcopal Priest and a retired senior Foreign Service officer, fared little better. In 2003 while on sabbatical at Oxford University, he had 'several long conversations with Bishop Kenneth Cragg [Quinn, F, 2008, p. vii].' He has observed that:

Cragg is often presented as a traditional Evangelical, but his stated positions about other religions are more complex than is usually assumed. While being solidly biblically grounded, he is also a herald of the 'generous Christianity' centrists emerging today [Quinn, F, 2012, p. 165].

It is notable that when Quinn tried to draw Cragg into declaring himself as either a conservative or a liberal, 'he deftly avoided the attempt [Quinn, F, 2012, p. 166].'

Many observations of Cragg have come to us via a third party. The recently deceased Baptist minister Edward Williams who worked in India and Bangladesh gives us this insight:

I was once present in a conference of Muslims and Christians. Among the Christian speakers were Prof. Montgomery Watt, a very distinguished scholar of Islam, and Kenneth Cragg, formerly Bishop of Cairo. Both 'knew their stuff'; both were fair. Both held profoundly to Christian tenets that Islam denies. Yet there was no mistaking the perception among the Muslims: 'Cragg **understands** us, Watt doesn't [Williams, E, 1993, p. 22].'

(The emphasis on 'understands' is William's).

While Cragg and Massignon may appear as equals in the world of Christian-Muslim relations, I would suggest that this is not the case in the arena of Mysticism. Cragg has not undertaken the extent of scholarship as has Massignon and Massignon's relationship to and personal involvement with Sufism is very different to that of Cragg.

**3.1.3.2 Cragg, Massignon and Sufism**

Massignon's engagement with Sufism has been both well researched and documented. Cragg, reviewing Massignon's work on al-Hallaj, observes that the 'grim episode in the 10th century Islamic story embodies the very heart of the Sufi /"orthodox" encounter.' He finds it:

fascinating that it played so vital a part in the personal, spiritual biography of Louis Massignon, ...the distinguished French orientalist and editor of *Tawasin of Al-Hallaj* [Cragg, K, 1986c, pp. 190-191].

There are two words here which might suggest that there is a sting in the tail of this apparently approving statement: 'fascinating' and 'orientalist', both words can have a negative connotation.

To assess Massignon's and Cragg's engagement with Sufism a brief outline of the salient aspects of Massignon's approach is needed. Prof Sidney Griffith, of the Institute of Christian Oriental Research, at The Catholic University of America in Washington notes that Massignon explained his approach to the study of early Muslim mystics in his classic work *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulman* (*Essay on the Origins of the Technical Language of Islamic Mysticism*). Griffith states that Massignon 'was after ''experiential knowledge" ... by an "introspective method that seeks to examine each conscience by transparency"' [Griffith, SH, 2004, pp. 299-300]. However, the translator's Introduction to Massignon's *Essay* suggests that a better translation of 'experiential' would be 'experimental':

Expérimental becomes "experimental" rather than "experiential", which would connote too much passivity. The experience of the mystics, as Massignon describes it, was passive only at its highest point, after many difficult, voluntary preparations. "Mystical experimentation" was an active trial upon the self, preceding ministry to others. Massignon’s vocabulary is intentionally medical and scientific, in accord with many of the Arabic authors [Massignon, L, 1997, p. xxv].

Griffith continues that through this method, Massignon:

was to search 'beneath outward behaviour of the person for a grace which is wholly divine. Massignon had achieved his own 'experiential knowledge' of Islam by a shattering encounter with 'the Stranger', as he called the God of Abraham whom he met at a crisis moment of his life, in Iraq in 1908. It was the moment of his conversion from a wayward life back to the practice of the Catholicism into which he had been born and baptized. What was striking about this conversion was the fact that Massignon was convinced that it had come about through the intercession of a Muslim mystic... al-Hallaj. ...

Massignon had so conformed his own thinking to that of al-Hallaj that it could be said, *mutatis mutandis*, the two were of one mind. It is an instance of the ‘introspective method’ of Massignon, according to which one is in search of 'experiential [experimental] knowledge'; he is looking for the 'grace which is wholly divine' [Griffith, SH, 2004, pp. 300-301].

Massignon in his *Essay,* under the sub-heading *Specialized Appropriation of technical terms* defends his use of technical language, noting that:

In mystical thought, these terms are not simply images stripped of their sense objects, or schematized frames for rational concepts. Above all, they are allusions pointing to the spiritual realities, the sanctifying virtues, that only the persistent practice of a concerted rule for living can allow the mystic to discover and savor, as he gradually acquires them. He must put the words into practice before he can understand them.

Apposite to this paper, Massignon adds:

The ability, which poets possess, to engrave the characteristic mark of personal experience of the universe onto common words, is even greater in mystics [Massignon, L, 1997, pp. 81-82].

Dr Samah Selim writes on the poetry of al-Hallaj. She has previously taught at Columbia University, Princeton University, and the University of Aix-en-Provence. She also directs the literature module of the Berlin-based postdoctoral research program, *Europe in the Middle East; the Middle East in Europe*. In her article *Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj and the Poetry of Ecstasy,* she examines al-Hallaj's poetry and poetic utterances. She notes that central to the approach of poets and mystics is how the inexpressible can be expressed and the unspeakable can be spoken. In her conclusion, she notes that al-Hallaj's poetry was misunderstood and severely criticized by his contemporaries. It was not until European modernism deliberately used language to break the boundaries of its own foundation that his poetry achieved a greater understanding [Selim, S, 1990, p. 41].

The main characteristics of Massignon's approach, for the purpose of this thesis, can accordingly be summarized and then compared with Cragg's approach:

1. The importance of poetry;

2. The importance of technical language;

3. The importance of experiencing for oneself, 'experimental' knowledge;

4. The experience of conversion for Massignon;

5. The mystical relationship of Massignon with al-Hallaj.

Compared with Massignon, Cragg has written little on Sufism. In his book *Troubled by truth: biographies in the presence of mystery*, Cragg writes: 'Mystics when it comes to dialogue are a law to themselves' [Cragg, K, 1994c, p. 5]. Yet, in his article *How not Islam?* Cragg strongly favours Sufism and Mysticism. He is critical of the British academic Robert Charles Zaehner (1913-1974) who 'roundly dismisses from Islam the whole measure of Sufism.' Cragg feels that:

the capacity of Islam, or any other theism, to generate mystical patterns of belief and devotion ought to be allowed its relevance to the particular argument. Such relevance, and it is deep and wide, is altogether missed, if Sufism is roundly excluded with the comment: 'Islam turned upside down' [Cragg, K, 1977b, p. 389].

Cragg is quoting Zaehner:

The young are not interested in switching from one dogmatic monotheistic faith to another: hence they are little interested in Islam except when Islam itself is turned upside down and becomes Sufism, which in its developed form is barely distinguishable from Vedanta [Zaehner, RC, 1975, p. 167].

Cragg is also critical of Prof Fazlur Rahman (1919-1988), who is arguably one of the most important thinkers on 20th century Islam.[[161]](#footnote-161) In his article *Sainthood and spirituality in Islam*, Cragg, pressing for a less absolutist and literal interpretation of the Qur'an, notes that:

While a recent writer Fazlur Rahman, in *Major Themes of the Qur'an* (1980) insists strongly that the role of the Qur'an is strictly "functional" and "prescriptive" in contrast to what he calls "the liquidity of Christianity," medieval thinkers like Ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240) and modern ones like Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938) were able, and free to draw highly esoteric meanings from Quranic vocabulary... [Cragg, K, 1986c, p. 195].

Cragg has taken this even further:

The Qur’an itself could be seen as possessing a hidden mystique of language below its surface text, while its prophet might be claimed as the supreme Sufi, having his message by an ecstasy of experience, as light in which his Sufi disciples might bask [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 11].

Regarding the above five main characteristics of Massignon's approach, Cragg's approach to poetry is not dissimilar to that of Massignon. It is Cragg’s frequent use of quotations from literature, particularly poetry, which in many cases are purposefully chosen to impart a 'mystical spirituality' to the point or observation he is making. Most writers do not mention this aspect of his work, or they see the quotations as an irritation. Lamb observes that:

Virtuoso catena of quotation like this may irritate some readers, but they illustrate the capacity of a mind searching the ranges of literature for clues about how to begin communicating with the bewildering variety of human experience [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 6].

However, Lamb, in *A Policy of Hope,* in the Chapter: *The Love of Literature, Subheading 1. The Cragg Literary Style,* (this sub-heading does not exist in *Call to Retrieval*) notes that Cragg sees a unity between the poet and the natural world, the latter of which Cragg likens to the work of a poet. 'If Kepler described his scientific work as 'thinking God’s thoughts for him', perhaps the poet can say the same' [Lamb, C, 2014, p. 26]. (Lamb's other sub-headings are: *Cragg as a Poet*; *Poetry and Theology;* and *Shakespeare and Religion* [Lamb, C, 2014, pp. 29-37].)

With regard to the Massignon's use of technical language, in a single short paragraph in *The Wisdom of the Sufis*, Cragg sweeps aside Massignon's years of labour in his *Essay on the Origins of the Technical Language of Islamic Mysticism* and other work associated with the technical language of Islamic Mysticism:

There are other connoisseurs who tend to lose themselves in intricate theosophy, presenting Sufism as an elaborate, esoteric system of abstract ideas, the form of which almost fatally overstrains the Islamic moorings to which it is tied. The range of Quranic vocabulary and idiom, although wide and flexible, is then unduly taxed with the meanings given to it. With such interpreters, the very confession of the divine transcendence is liable to be read in a sense which, in any recognizable Islamic terms, comes close to its denial. An intolerable tension is then set up between Islam and the more wayward mystics [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 9].

Again, Cragg's choice of language is deliberate: 'connoisseur' (suggestive of an aficionado or a dilettante); 'wayward mystics',[[162]](#footnote-162) etc. This is no mere sting in the tail but a coup de grâce. However, Cragg makes no further mention of the matter.

Regarding 'experimental' knowledge, it is noteworthy that in his book *Faith and life negotiate,* Cragg reminisces over the preceding forty years of his life and relates that:

I am intrigued to find that I wondered whether 'the most useful beginning was not to make the very existence of the problem (of communication) a means of Christian grace through the very quality of self-expression it might evoke.' I even found a strange analogy between the pains demanded of Christian thinking in being drawn through Islamic reckoning and what John Donne saw the exigencies of verse doing to his interior experience when there he tried to give it voice. He wrote:

'...as the earth's inward narrow, crooked lanes,

Do purge sea water's fretful salt away

I thought if I could draw my pains

Through rime's vexation, I should them allay...'[[163]](#footnote-163)

Accepting exigencies as an enabling discipline rather than as a weary obstacle might be a way of refining traditional Christian frustration about a theology alongside Islam, drawing all that was inimical (or seemed so) through a different idiom and finding the poetry that might replace the prose of old controversy [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 112].

Cragg then reflects that, in retrospect, he did not at the time fully develop the positive areas of theology concerning the concept of creation, 'sacramental earth' and the divine involvement in prophethood. He was left with many unresolved questions as to how a genuine inter-theology between Christianity and Islam could be constructed. Here Cragg's introspection seems to meet the requirements of Massignon's 'experimental' knowledge. While this did not lead Cragg to the same 'conversion' as experienced by Massignon, over the course of his life he has nevertheless undergone what he calls 'siftings', purging the mind and soul of that which lacks truth and sincerity. He notes that,

It was for such soul-sifting and shepherding that the great Sufi Orders came into being with their prayer rites and liturgies and the authority of their spiritual founders, some of whom attained an almost legendary reputation for piety and wisdom [Cragg, K, 1976, pp. 16-17].

Although Cragg did not undergo the dramatic conversion experienced by Massignon, there are some similarities between the two, not least of which those which Cragg refers to as 'soul-sifting'. Massignon used the term 'courbe de vie' [curve of life] which led him to the 'dividing lines' between Muslims, Jews and Christians, in North Africa and the Near East. [Borrmans, M, 2013, pp. 256, 262]

Massignon's later life revolved around the historical and transhistorical personality of the great Persian Sufi[[164]](#footnote-164) of the third/ ninth century, al-Hallaj, who lived and died in Baghdad. [Nasr, SH, 1985, p. 183] Massignon used the life of all-Hallaj to develop his idea of 'une courbe personelle de vie', a personal life curve. This is explained in his article, *Etude sur une courbe personelle de vie: le cas de Hallaj, martyr mystique de l’Islam* (1945). He states that the notion of a personal life curve had recently taken a place in social psychology. The notion of 'Curve of Life' is an answer to the methodological problems involved in studying the mystical object and the individuality of the mystic.

Hippolyte Doyen finds Massingnon's article of great interest:

L’article de Massignon est très intéressant à étudier. Cette notion de courbe de vie est liée à une problématique d’écriture. La notion de « Courbe de vie » forme une réponse aux problèmes méthodologiques que supposent l’étude de l’objet mystique et de l’individualité du mystique. La « Courbe de vie » est un concept d’abord envisagé au niveau scientifique, dans une perspective sociologique plus précisément : il s’agit de comprendre le processus d’individualisation en ce qu’il se construit par des conflictualités. Il développe cette notion de courbe de vie en mettant en avant des concepts sociologiques et psychologiques [Doyen, H, 2018, pp. 21-22].[[165]](#footnote-165)

Doyen notes that the 'Curve of Life' offers a model for analysing and tracing religious interiority through the episodes of crises and ruptures that it experiences. Its methodology is objective: it takes into account the mystical phenomenon as it appears in written documents (religious treaties, poems or testimonies written by someone close to the mystic) without prejudging the phenomenon by looking for a single cause of order psychological or social. In this, Massignon fits into the current of the phenomenology of religions, he is close to other great historians of religion like Rudolf Otto and Gershom Scholem [Doyen, H, 2018, p. 13]. Massignon supports his study by evoking the sociological and psychological works of his time, but also through references from end-of-the-century Catholic literature such as Huysmans[[166]](#footnote-166) and Léon Bloy.[[167]](#footnote-167)

Massignon's other influences included the philosopher/poet Muhammad Iqbal, (1876-1938). Massignon relates a conversation Iqbal had with the philosopher Henry Bergson about his theory of personalism in the civic claim to the truth, and on the physical appearance of the mystic of Baghdad, Husayn Mansûr Hallâj, who he came to describe in his 'Jâvid Nâmé' as a promethean soul, 'ravisher of the Fire of heaven', supplicant of Divine Love.[[168]](#footnote-168)

Massignon was also influenced by his former student, Germaine Tillion, ethnographer in Algeria, and resistance fighter in World War Two. Captured by the Nazis and imprisoned in the Ravensbrück concentration camp, where she discovered her mother interned in the same camp. Her mother became a victim of the gas chamber, but Tillion was liberated by the Swedish Red Cross under the direction of Count Bernadotte in 1945. [Adamo, E, 2015] A succinct summary (in English) of Massignon's *Etude*, can be found in Anthony O'Mahony's article *Louis Massignon, the Melkite Church and Islam*. [O'Mahony, A, 2008, p. 277]

Cragg's own 'conversion', or as he says, 'a time to embrace', reflects the above description, and he illustrates his point with a couple of lines from one of John Donne's *Sonnets*: *To Mr Tilman after he had Taken Orders:[[169]](#footnote-169)*

Art thou the same material as before,

Only the stamp is changed but no more?

As the footnote comments, '...it is not Christ who is reborn at an ordination: if anyone, it is the ordinand [Robbins, RHA, 2010, pp. 113-116].'

While the mystical relationship of Massignon with al-Hallaj was very intense and personal it has been posited that al-Hallaj as a Muslim martyr-mystic was to Louis Massignon that Dag Hammarskjöld as Christian mystic, politician and diplomat was to Cragg. Cragg's relationship with Hammarskjöld will be dealt with later in this thesis (Section 2.2.1 *Cragg, Hammarskjöld and the mystical poets).* However, it will suffice to say here that Cragg refers to Hammarskjöld in fourteen out of the fifty or so books that he published. These book references fall into two categories. Those referring to Hammarskjöld in a general illustrative manner, 'examples'; or those using Hammarskjöld as a specific mystic 'exemplar', i.e., that of a practical mystic.

In 1999, Cragg published *Common Prayer: A Muslim-Christian Spiritual Anthology*. In his *Postscript: A part in common prayer discussed*, while acknowledging that there are disparities between Christian and Muslim prayer, Cragg looks to similarities, where others might not look. He believed that there is an affinity symbolizing 'a certain kinship in praise, penitence and petition' within the sources which he has quoted. He asks:

Has the searching self-reproach of a Hamid al-Ghazali altogether no kinship with the mental turmoil of a Francis Thompson, or the public conscience of the cordwainer[[170]](#footnote-170) al-Hallaj no converse with the private self of a Dag Hammarskjöld? [Cragg, K, 1999a, p. 120]

Cragg mentioning both al-Hallaj and Hammarskjöld in the same sentence, suggests there should be some affinity between them. However, they appear to sit on opposite poles (or *qutb,* in the sense of a spiritual symbol). Al-Hallaj was a very public mystic both in life and death. Hammarskjöld shared little of his inner life, and then only with a chosen few. This comparison by Cragg will be dealt with in greater detail later in this thesis.

Anthony O'Mahony describes the relationship between Massignon and al-Hallaj as follows:

Massignon saw the relationship between Christianity and Islam through the lens of the tragic figure of the mystic al-Hallaj (857- 922). Al-Hallaj, who was 'martyred' in Baghdad for heresy, represented for Massignon a direct parallel to the suffering of Jesus on the cross. As Christianity had suffering and compassion as its foundation, so too, according to Massignon, did Islam [O'Mahony, A, 2007, p. 11].

Clearly, Cragg's relationship with Sufism (and mysticism) is very different from that of Massignon. The lens through which Cragg views Hammarskjöld focuses on the relationship between power and religion. Hammarskjöld as the second Secretary-General of the United Nations, recognized and articulated the need for spirituality to be at the centre of the United Nations and is often quoted as saying that world peace would not occur without a spiritual renaissance on our planet ["The United Nations Meditation Room," 2007, p. 1]. In an address to the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Hammarskjöld declared that:

...the Cross, although it is the unique fact on which the Christian Churches base their hope, should not separate those of Christian faith from others, but should instead be that element in their lives which enables them to stretch out their hands to peoples of other creeds in the feeling of universal brotherhood which we hope one day to see reflected in a world of nations truly united [Hammarskjöld, D, 1956, p. 402].

There is no doubt that in the field of Christian-Muslim relations, in their respective spheres, Cragg and Massignon stand shoulder to shoulder. However, in the arena of Sufism, not only are their attitudes to Sufism are quite different, the volume of Massignon's research and published work on Sufism, far exceeds that of Cragg. While Massignon fully immersed in the language, practice and spirituality of Sufism stands on the inside looking out, Cragg, more detached, stands on the outside looking in. Whilst it would be most interesting to produce 'une courbe personelle de vie' for Cragg using Massignon's methodology, this is beyond the scope of this thesis. Although many aspects of Cragg's life over-lapped, (e.g., his ministry as a deacon, priest, bishop, curate and vicar) to get some over-view of Cragg's life, his 'courbe de vie' can be divided into several distinct segments as shown earlier in this thesis (Section 1. Sifting of the Soul: Cragg's formative elements).

**4. *Love Burning in the Soul[[171]](#footnote-171)*: Kenneth Cragg and Ecclesial Mysticism of the Church of England in dialogue with Dag Hammarskjöld**

To understand the broader context of Ecclesial Mysticism in the Church of England and the wider Anglican communion which indirectly inform Cragg's distinct engagement with Christian Spirituality, the English Religious tradition, and Protestant missions in the context of the Middle East and the Muslim World. The modern history of Ecclesial Mysticism in the Church of England has been associated with the retrieval of Richard Hooker and Lancelot Andrewes in the theological thought of contemporary Anglican scholars, ecclesiastics and writers. This retrieval has often been in conjunction with a dialogical exchange with Eastern Orthodox and in particular Russian Christian thought.  For example, Charles Miller[[172]](#footnote-172), *Richard Hooker and the Vision of God: Exploring the Origins of 'Anglicanism'[[173]](#footnote-173)* [Miller, C, 2013] which is enthused by the scholarship of the French Catholic scholar, Olivier Loyer*, L'Anglicanisme de Richard Hooker* [Loyer, O, 1979].[[174]](#footnote-174) Miller, has also made a study of the well-known Romanian theologian, Dumitru Staniloae (1903-1993) in *For the Gift of the World: An Introduction to the Theology of Dumitru Staniloae*  [Miller, C, 2001].

Romanian Eastern Orthodox scholar, Ionuž-Alexandru Tudorie chronicles an earlier Anglican interest in the Eastern Orthodox Church in '*There Were They In Great Fear, Where No Fear Was. The Theological Dialogue between the Non juror Anglicans and the Eastern Church (1716-1725)*' [Tudorie, I-A, 2013]. Vassiliki El. Stathokosta of the Faculty of Theology, Theological School, National and Capodistrian University of Athens, in his article, 'Relations between the Orthodox and the Anglicans in the Twentieth Century: A Reason to Consider the Present and the Future of the Theological Dialogue', takes as his starting point in his consideration of Anglican-Orthodox dialogue the Patriarchal Encyclical of 1902-4, which celebrated one hundred and ten years in 2012 (1902-2012). He emphasizes the ecclesiological and theological proximity of Orthodoxy and Anglicanism, and notes that the documents of The Agreed Statements in Moscow, 1976, Dublin, 1984 and Cyprus, 2006, 'prove that there is sufficient common ground to continue a fruitful discussion' [Stathokosta, VE, 2012, p. 350].

Another key-Anglican thinker, and contemporary of Cragg, in the transmission Eastern Christian thought into the Church of England has been A.M. Allchin - Arthur Macdonald 'Donald' Allchin (1930 –2010) had also been close to Staniloae; see Ciprian Burca's 'An Icon of True Communion: The Dialogue and Friendship of Father Donald Allchin and Father Dumitru Staniloae,' in *Boundless Grandeur: The Christian Vision of A.M. 'Donald' Allchin*, edited by David G.R. Keller [Keller, DGR, 2015, pp. 36-48].[[175]](#footnote-175) The later Orthodox Metropolitan and Spalding Lecturer in Eastern Christianity at the University of Oxford Kallistos Ware had been a close scholarly friend of Allchin.[[176]](#footnote-176) Kallistos Ware, who had converted to the Orthodox Church from Anglicanism, had a very close connection with the Church of England for many decades being associated with the Anglican-Eastern Orthodox dialogue.

Allchin acted as research supervisor for the former Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, who whilst in Oxford wrote his doctorate on the life and work of Vladimir Lossky,*The theology of Vladimir Nikolaievich Lossky: an exposition and critique*. [Williams, R, 1975]. Vladimir Nikolayevich Lossky (1903-1958) had his most important work, *Essai sur la théologie mystique de l'église d'Orient*, first published in Paris in 1944. It was later translated by a small group of members of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, and published in English in I957 as *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, [Lossky, V, 1976]. It gained worldwide recognition as a comprehensive portrayal of patristic theology, which Lossky characterized especially as apophatic. Despite his cordial relations with Western Christianity, especially with Anglicans and French Catholics, he criticized many features of Western theology, especially the *filioque*,[[177]](#footnote-177) which disrupts the original symmetry of the doctrine of the Trinity.

Williams reflects on his encounter with Eastern Orthodox, especially Russian thought, and on his own theology in*Looking East in Winter: Contemporary Thought and the Eastern Christian Tradition* [Williams, R, 2021].Indeed, to fully describe this theological and scholarly circle Vladimir Lossky's son Nicolas Lossky, becomes a uniquely knowledgeable voice in the Eastern Orthodoxy on the Anglican tradition, beginning with his *Lancelot Andrewes le prédicateur (1555-1626): Aux sources de la théologie mystique de l'Eglise d'Angleterre,* Cerf (Patrimoines. Anglicanisme), Paris, 1986. It has a preface by Michael Ramsey a former Archbishop of Canterbury (1961-1974)[[178]](#footnote-178), and a postscript by Allchin.[[179]](#footnote-179) the book was translated by Louth Andrew into English *Lancelot Andrewes, the Preacher (1555–1626): The Origins of the Mystical Theology of the Church of England* [Lossky, N, Ramsey, M, & Allchin, AM, 1991]. Louth a former priest of the Church of England is now a priest in the Romanian Orthodox Church.

The above account seeks to only offer a brief outline noting the increasing openness of some key figures in the Church of England to Eastern Christianity. We can only assume that with his strong connections with Oxford and his long encounter with Eastern Christianity in the Middle East, that Cragg would have been aware, albeit from a distance, of this exchange. Cragg's openness to the question of Mysticism should be seen as part of an exchange between the Church of England and the Spiritual tradition of the Christian Church as noted by Vladimir Lossky's influential work, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* [Lossky, V, 1976].[[180]](#footnote-180) See Williams' early account, 'La voie negative et les fondements de la théologie. Une introduction a la pensée de V. N. Lossky [Williams, R, 1979] and also Nicholas Lossky, 'Theology and Spirituality in the Work of Vladimir Lossky' [Lossky, N, 1999].

**4.1.1 Cragg and the origins of the Church of England and the Anglican tradition**

Even Henry VIII at his autocratic best could hardly have imagined that his Church of England would, nearly five centuries after he had replaced papal authority with his own, become a global Christian communion encompassing people and languages far beyond the English [Milton, A, 2017, p. xviii].

Thus, Rowan Strong opens his introduction to the series *The Oxford History of Anglicanism*, further observing that 'the Church of England, and its later global Anglican expansion, was always a contested identity throughout its history'. While this contestation is beyond the scope of this thesis, a few remarks, pertinent to Cragg are required.

Michael Ramsey, in a posthumously published book of his late lectures, *The Anglican Spirit*,

states that it was written to

to discuss the historical ori­gin of Anglicanism, not doing over again what has been covered so well by so many others, but rather reminding ourselves of that historical setting in which it all began [Ramsey, M, 2004, p. 2]',

namely, the reign of Henry VIII. In its *Foreword*, Rowan Williams wrote:

Anglicanism has often in practice defined itself as much through exemplary figures as through declared doctrine—by way of George Herbert or William Temple as much as by way of the *Book of Homilies* or the Church of England Doctrine Commission’s reports [Ramsey, M, 2004, p. ix].

Cragg makes occasional reference to the 'Henrican Reformation' and that the Western Reformation had been, almost exclusively, a Western experience [Cragg, K, 2000a, p. 131]. This last statement Cragg had questioned in an earlier letter to the editor of the journal *Theology*,

Is the Reformation merely something Western or is it a dialogue which transcends geography? If the latter, then are churches fashioned in that furnace not part of every Christian history irrespective of longitude [Cragg, K, 1962, p. p 243]?

The letter was a response to an article, *Anglicanism and the catholic church in Asia*, written by Anthony T. Hanson. Seeing the decline of the wider Anglican Church being concomitant with the decline of British Imperialism, he asks the question,

What jurisdiction do our Anglican bishops claim in non-Christian countries in general, but in Asia in particular [Hanson, AT, 1962b]?

He notes that:

The question of the jurisdiction of Anglican bishops in Asia is fundamentally the question of the relation of the Anglican Communion in Asia to the catholic Church.... Numerically we are one of the smallest of the world denominations in Asia. and there are many Asian were countries where there are virtually no indigenous Anglicans at all - Thailand, Indonesia, Indo-China for example. Even in a country like India, where we have a firmly founded Church, over by far the greater extent of the county it is impossible to be an Anglican, as there are no Anglican ministrations available. We are not therefore self-sufficient anywhere in Asia, in the sense that we can assure our members of Anglican ministrations wherever they go [Hanson, AT, 1962b, pp. 16-17].

Anthony Tyrrell Hanson (1916-1991),was an Irish Anglican, who spent twelve years (1947-59) serving the Church of South India, a united church whose 50% percent of members were Anglicans when it was formed. F. F. Bruce in his obituary of Hanson, noted that:

His involvement during those years in the life and work of the Church of South India has plainly influenced his theological, and especially his ecclesiological outlook [Bruce, FF, 1981, p. 3].

For Hanson, the answer is not trying to prop-up the old Anglican order but to allow the indigenous Anglican churches to relate to and possible merge with the other Christian churches.

Cragg's reply [Cragg, K, 1962] gives an interesting glimpse as to how he saw the Anglican Communion and the Church of England in 1962. At that time Cragg was Warden of St Augustine's College, Canterbury. Hanson mentions the college in his article:

Perhaps we can only hope to run central Anglican institutions like St Augustine's, Canterbury, or even Bishop's College, Calcutta, because we feel quite confident that throughout the Anglican Communion we will always retain sufficient of an English character to make these institutions permanently useful to every part of our Communion.

This is no doubt an exaggeration; I do not question the value of either 5t Augustine's College or Bishop's College. [Hanson, AT, 1962b, p. 18].

Cragg's response is defensive, at times prickly. He opens his letter with a quote from Shakespeare's *Richard II,* Act 4, scene 1, 'Now mark me, how I will undo myself...' King Richard II abdicates and hands his crown to Henry Bolingbroke. This, Cragg states, 'sets the taxing business of change in continuity [Cragg, K, 1962, p. 240]. For him, the 'Anglican dispersion overseas' is more than mid-Victorian Gothic churches in India or the political problems of Anglican Bishoprics overseas which he admits now belong to the past, and that change is necessary [Cragg, K, 1962, p. 241]. However, where he disagrees with Hanson, is how to bring about this change. He sees it necessary for Anglicans to be aware of and value their roots and their history.

Yet the heart of the matter is not "whether" but "how". *How* should we, shall we, "undo ourselves" as Anglicans in world-mission and in this twentieth century?

Change has to be within continuity or it ceases to be feasibly and identifiably change at all. The present cannot rightly shape a future except in creative loyalty to its own past... Creative re-ordering needs a more careful awareness of its "whence" than Hanson allows, if it is to be sure in its "whither" [Cragg, K, 1962, p. 240].

Cragg answers what he sees as Hanson's attack on St Augustine’s College,

What criticism that comes to our ears of this College is not that it intends and indoctrinates do-or-die Anglicans for any front, but that somewhat Hamlet-like it is busy with self-scrutiny and careful, long, thoughts about the steady coming metamorphosis of the Anglican parts into the ecumenical whole.... The Central College is far from being a nursery of obdurate Anglicans and does not see its future requiring an Anglican Communion that is obstinately confessional [Cragg, K, 1962, pp. 242-243].

He observes that Anglicanism is already 'on the move and is astir in its own cathedrals and with its own liturgies [Cragg, K, 1962, p. 241]. For Cragg, Hanson has made the error of seeing Anglicanism as an impediment rather than an implement for the future. Cragg laments:

Is Asian Christianity to repudiate its English brethren?... have we produced no kin at all, but only the local hangers-on of empire while it lasted? If thus it is we [who] must "undo ourselves" there is clearly no self we can undo; but only a pseudo progeny of churches, blown by no winds of the Spirit and simply hatched in Empire [Cragg, K, 1962, p. 242].

Cragg's rhetorical question regarding the involvement of the Spirit in the history of the Church of England is to some extent answered by John R.H. Moorman in his book, *A History of the Church in England*, who writes:

In writing a history of the Church in England the historian has to handle subjects of great controversy and diversity of opinion, subjects which are bound up with the deepest emotions and strongest convictions of mankind. What, for example, are we to make of the Reformation? To some the breach with Rome cannot appear otherwise than as a great disaster. Yet to others it may wear the aspect of a providential deliverance, a real sign of progress under the power of the Holy Spirit. So it must be with any kind of history, and especially the history of religion [Moorman, JRH, 1963, p. v].

Cragg implies that there is a purpose in the actions of the Holy Spirit in the 'accidents of history', one being the formation of the Church of England and the subsequent Anglican Communion. For Cragg, the Protestant churches formed as a result of the Reformation are an important part of the wider history of Christianity, and that there are common themes running throughout that history, particularly those regarding the relationship between church and state. These are very broad brushstrokes and sadly, Cragg does not provide any of the detail.

Cragg's letter is a very dense piece of writing. Indeed, Hanson's reply to Cragg's letter notes that:

His article is couched in a vein of rhetoric that makes it difficult to disentangle argument from mere protest [Hanson, AT, 1962a].

At the end of Hanson's reply, the Editor sagely announces that 'This correspondence is now closed.'

To sum up Cragg's attitude to the Anglican Communion it is necessary to look what lies behind the rhetorical questions and literary allusions. For Cragg, the Church of England is part of a long history dating back to the early missionaries led by St Augustine of Canterbury in the 6th century. Cragg neither mentions nor alludes to the Celtic Church which was already established prior to the Augustine's mission.[[181]](#footnote-181) Cragg sees the Holy Spirt at work during the history of the Church in England, especially during the break-away from the authority of Rome, and subsequent reforms leading to the Church of England. This no doubt in Cragg's mind gives the Church of England some if not all, of its authority. Cragg is clearly very passionate regarding the Church of England and the Anglican Communion, its literature, its ecclesial nature, its culture and customs, and its principles. He does not enumerate any of the latter, but illustrates by metaphor, for example: '"the rock whence ye are hewn, the hole whence ye are digged" remain the historical theme within the new continuity [Cragg, K, 1962, p. 241].'

However, Cragg's writings also use exemplary figures to delineate the contours of the Church of England and the Anglican Communion, for example:

THOMAS CRANMER, A.D. 1489-1556: A scholarly figure, oddly yet heroically present at the centre of the stage through the tumult of the English Reformation. His external career as Archbishop of Canterbury ended in brokenness and despair in the reign of Mary. But finding God again beyond the God he had lost, he recanted his recantation and in death gave to the English Church a sign of courage as hauntingly eloquent as his English Litany [Cragg, K, 1970, p. 162].

In one of his last books to be published, Cragg draws together William Shakespeare and Lancelot Andrews thus:

...his [Shakespeare's] sense of England as his native land found kinship with the Anglican ethos of his contemporary, Lancelot Andrewes of Winchester, in its fusion of Catholic and Protestant pieties and devotion. The languages of the Book of Common Prayer and of versions of the Bible that would culminate, five years before he died, in the Kind [sic] James' Bible was his familiar speech and his London was well-nigh peopled with churches [Cragg, K, 2009, p. 201].

**4.1.2 Ecclesial Mysticism**

Brandon Gallaher 's 'Pneumatology' in *The Oxford Handbook of Mystical Theology*, edited by E. Howells and M.A. MacIntosh [Howells, E & McIntosh, MA, 2020], argues for an approach to mysticism that is in the common Christian traditions of both East and West. He defines this type of mysticism as,

... the universal, uncreated, and ordinary- extra ordinary presence of the Holy Spirit throughout creation who dwells, in particular, in human beings as his chosen vessels of divine glory [Howells, E & McIntosh, MA, 2020, p. 508].

He continues, explaining further that,

This Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of freedom, and in him all human beings are called to behold a vision of the glory of the Lord in the image and likeness of Jesus and, in seeing this radiation of sanctification, the human being who beholds it can become transformed from glory to glory (2 Cor. 3: 17-18) so that they reflect and become as Christ himself, simultaneously truly human and truly divine, fully alive [Gallaher, B, 2020, pp. 508-509].

This is more akin to the 'spirituality' of Cragg, than is that of the great Christian Mystics (such as St John of the Cross), Islamic Mysticism or Sufism. Gallaher argues that as mysticism is the inherent situation and momentum of humanity the witness of mystical writers is 'an open secret of the saints to which all Christians are called' and that mystical theology cannot be separated from spirituality [Gallaher, B, 2020, p. 509]. For instance, verse 29 in the Book of Numbers, Chapter 11, 'Would that all the Lord's people were mystics, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!' Gallaher also references Vladimir Lossky:

Far from being mutually opposed, theology and mysticism support and complete each other. One is impossible without the other. If the mystical experience is personal working out of the content of the common faith, theology is an expression, for the profit of all, of that which can be experienced by everyone [Lossky, V, 1976, pp. 8-9].

Gallaher demonstrates that mystical theology permeates Eastern Orthodoxy and argues that the ecclesial character of mystical theology is common to the Churches in East and West [Gallaher, B, 2020, p. 409]

**4.2 Hammarskjöld and Cragg on Mysticism**

In *Sandals at the mosque: Christian presence amid Islam*, Cragg muses on the theme of saintliness as a phenomenon between religions. He is convinced that there are in this theme, 'deep elements of mystery and awe'. While believing in 'the Christian criteria and conditions of the good life' it is necessary to recognize elsewhere the work of the Spirit. Using Al-Ghazali as an example, Cragg is in no doubt that Al-Ghazali's experience of 'despair and wandering, of assurance and of a 'rescuer'[[182]](#footnote-182) can be compared spiritually with the meanings of Christ [Cragg, K, 1959, p. 79]. Cragg then asserts that relationships of saintliness and of disciplined asceticism are characteristics of mystics and mysticism and that 'the inter-religious significance of mystical patterns and attainment cannot be dismissed as heterodox' [Cragg, K, 1959, pp. 80-81]. However, Cragg feels that too much mystery has been attached to Meister Eckhart and Al-Hallaj, although Shams-ud-Din and St John of the Cross should not be considered as being 'souls apart' [Cragg, K, 1959, p. 81]. Cragg as usual, does not develop his reasoning for coupling Shams-ud-Din with St John of the Cross and leaves it to the reader to ponder. Taken that the Shams-ud-Din to which Cragg refers is Khwāje Shams-od-Dīn Moḥammad Ḥāfeẓ-e Shīrāzī, known by his pen name Hafez or Hafiz, the coupling begins to make sense. Although separated by time, distance and culture, Hafiz (c. 1320-1389) was born and lived in the city of Shiraz, John of the Cross (1542-1591) was born in Fontiveros, Spain and died in Úbeda, Spain, both are highly regarded poets and mystics. Daniel Ladinsky is a poet and interpreter of mystical poetry who has written several books about Hafiz. In the Preface to his book, *The Gift: Poems by Hafiz, the Great Sufi Master*, Ladinsky delineates Hafiz's growth in popularity in the West. He notes that Hafiz’s poetry 'is rooted in the beautiful human need for companionship and in the soul’s innate desire to surrender all experience—except Light' [Ladinsky, D, 1999]. John of the Cross is considered one of the foremost poets in Spanish, a reformer, and a mystic. St John of the Cross will be considered further in the sections below.

**4.2.1 Cragg using Hammarskjöld as an exemplar: Mysticism as a Christian ethic for leadership**

There is a strong mystical aspect to Cragg's writings but, as already demonstrated, his label as an Evangelical has caused this aspect of his work to be overlooked. Cragg’s views regarding the nature of poetry and his choice of quotations throughout his work are one aspect of this mystical side to his writing. In this section Cragg’s relationship with Dag Hammarskjöld will be explored.

These two very different international figures; Jodok Troy’s article 'Dag Hammarskjöld: An International Civil Servant Uniting Mystics and Realistic Diplomatic Engagement', demonstrates that:

While in office, Hammarskjöld was able to unite personal belief and political rationale. This is the main reason he became a respected and true international civil servant [Troy, J, 2010, p. 343].

Cragg's long and varied life-story has already been delineated above. Despite their differences, they are two people who rigorously questioned their faith and its relation to the way they each lived their respective lives. While Hammarskjöld's spiritual journey is neatly contained in a 'private', short, spiritual diary, Cragg's is largely found in his book *Faith and Life Negotiate,* and scattered elsewherethroughout his writings. Through his 'siftings' was able to negotiate his life and faith.[[183]](#footnote-183)

Lamb, in reference to Cragg's wide range of quotations, notes that these are not restricted to Cragg's discursive works where quotations are used in a more general way. Lamb records two occasions where Cragg cites Hammarskjöld. Firstly, Lamb mentions in passing that a chapter by Cragg on Buddhism contains one of Dag Hammarskjöld's *Markings*. After Hammarskjöld's death a manuscript with the title *Vägmärken* (translated as *Markings*) which Lamb notes, 'achieved some distinction as a spiritual journey to the surprise of those who had not known him articulate as a Christian' [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 66]. Warren Hodge, writing in The New York Times, May 22, 2005, reports that:

Emblematic of the book’s reception was a front-page rave in The New York Times Book Review… and called the book 'the noblest self-disclosure of spiritual struggle and triumph, perhaps the greatest testament of personal devotion, published in this century [Hodge, W, 2005, p. 3].

Hodge noted that, the book is attracting attention again, with the UN commemorations of the centennial of Hammarskjöld's birth in July 2005. Recently, there has been a new report on the fatal crash, which has yet to be released by the UN which has again put Hammarskjöld’s name back in the public domain.

The second occasion that Lamb shows Cragg citing Hammarskjöld, is where Cragg is urging people to express their belief to those not of their faith and not to be too concerned as to the precise orthodoxy of such an expression of belief. As Cragg remarks: 'It is more urgent to be alive to God than orthodox about Him' [Cragg, K, 1970, p. 8] Lamb then continues:

Searching for an appropriate exemplar Cragg lights on Dag Hammarskjold... 'It is better that such implicit discipleship should ripen into explicit faith in God through Christ than that articulate convic­tion should wither into barren orthodoxy or conforming unconcern [Cragg, K, 1977a, p. 117]' [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 66].

Lamb's truncates his quote from Cragg's book, *The Christian and other religion*, and does not include the reference to Hammarskjöld. The fuller quotation reads:

Dag Hammarskjöld, great Christian as he was, did not describe his will to faith in sharply exclusive terms.

I don’t know Who—or what—put the question, I don’t know when it was put. I don’t even remember answering. But at some moment I did answer *Yes* to Someone—or Something—and from that hour I was certain that exist­ence is meaningful and that, therefore, my life, in self­ surrender, had a goal [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 205].

It is better that such implicit discipleship should ripen into explicit faith in God through Christ than that articulate conviction should wither into barren orthodoxy or conforming unconcern.

But it is best of all if discipleship and convictions, the implicit and the explicit, sustain and energise each other. Or, as Hammarskjöld further prayed:

Thou who art over us,

Thou who art one of us,

Thou who art—

Also within us,

May all see Thee—in me also,

May I prepare the way for Thee,

May I thank Thee for all that shall fall to my lot,

May I also not forget the needs of others.

Keep me in Thy love

As Thou wouldest that all should be kept in mine.

May everything in this my being be directed to Thy glory And may I never despair.

For I am under Thy hand,

And in Thee is all power and goodness [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 100].

[Cragg, K, 1977a, pp. 117-118]

Building on Lamb's recovery of Cragg's use of Hammarskjöld both as an example and an exemplar, Cragg references Hammarskjöld in fourteen of the fifty books or so books he has published. These references fall into the two categories above, either using references in a broad or general illustrative manner, 'examples', or using Hammarskjöld as a specific 'exemplar'.

**General examples**

First, Dag Hammarskjöld as used as an illustrative example: Kenneth Cragg, *Alive to God* 1970. This compilation of Muslim and Christian Prayers demonstrates Cragg's general use of Hammarskjöld's private spirituality as found in his *Markings*. In the *Introductory Essay,* to *Alive to God,* Cragg recognised that there has been little movement in Christians and Muslims praying together:

'Let *us* pray' runs the familiar Christian invitation. 'Thee it is *we* worship' says the opening Surah of the Qur'an. The intention, in either case, is the proper community, whether of the church or of the mosque, to the firm, even scornful, exclusion of the improper one [Cragg, K, 1970, p. 2]

Cragg asks if this situation can be overturned whereby 'congregations' cease to be 'segregations'. He does not intend a fusion of corporate acts of worship (this in any event is forbidden under Anglican Canon Law), but a joint seeking of 'the face of God'. For, as he continues, there is no longer any isolated world. He points out there are now many instances when Muslims and Christians find themselves together, schools, universities, and hospitals [Cragg, K, 1970, pp. 12-13].

Cragg's eclectic collection of prayers has quotations from the Qur'an and the New Testament. Other quotations representative of Muslim prayer range from Ahmad Ibn Idris, a noted Moroccan mystic of the early 19th century, to Zuhair, an outstanding poet from the period before the rise of Islam. Those of a more Christian hue are chosen from Augustine of Hippo to William B. Yeats. It is into the latter group that Cragg has placed four pieces concerned with the theme 'penitence' from Hammarskjöld's *Markings*. In *Notes on Authors* at the end of the book, Cragg justifies this inclusion with a quotation from the introduction to a book of Hammarskjöld's speeches and statements [Foote, W, 1962, pp. 13-14]:

A man of true inner greatness in a position of high leadership... sustained and inspired by pure and firmly founded beliefs and ideals about life and relationships [Cragg, K, 1970, p. 165].

A review of *Alive to God* in the *Tablet*, 1971, notes that Cragg:

suggests that a new pattern of prayer may be emerging today, which is meditative 'not so much— as often hitherto—about the mysteries of faith, but rather about the tumults of the world. ... It wants to react in God and for God to what it perceives around it of the plight and passion of society [Cragg, K, 1970]' [Anon, 1971].

In 1999, Cragg published a book in a similar vein, *Common Prayer*, which again included the quotations from Hammarskjöld's *Markings*. In his *Postscript: A part in common prayer discussed*, while acknowledging that there are disparities between Christian and Muslim prayer, he looks to similarities, where perhaps others might not look. He believes that there is an affinity symbolizing 'a certain kinship in praise, penitence and petition' within the sources which he has quoted. He asks:

Has the searching self-reproach of a Hamid al-Ghazali altogether no kinship with the mental turmoil of a Francis Thompson, or the public conscience of the cordwainer al-Hallaj no converse with the private self of a Dag Hammarskjöld [Cragg, K, 1999a, p. 120]?

Positing a response to Cragg's rhetorical question, Anthony O’Mahony has suggested that Hammarskjöld is to Cragg what al-Hallaj, as a martyr-mystic, is to Louis Massignon.[[184]](#footnote-184)

A more convoluted use of Hammarskjöld as a general example can be found in Cragg's *Faiths in their pronouns: Websites of Identity* [Cragg, K, 2002]. This book investigates the numerous uses of pronouns by the poets-psalmists of the world's great religions as they consider the character of the religious self and the relationship of man to God. Paul Bick's review of this book in the journal *Language*, (2005) feels that:

[it] is occasionally dense and difficult going, but should be of value to religious and linguistic scholars with an interest in the use of pronouns as identity markers [Bick, PB, 2005, p. 519].

The book certainly is dense. In a complex series of quotations 'celebrating or lamenting the incident of our nativities', Cragg quotes Hammarskjöld quoting Linnaeus. However, it is only if we follow the footnote to the back of the book, where we discover that Dag Hammarskjöld is quoting Linnaeus in 'The Linnaeus Tradition and Our Time'. The quotation comes from Hammarskjöld's Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting in Stockholm of the Swedish Academy, 20 December 1957 marking the 250 years since Linnaeus' birth [Foote, W, 1962, p. 155]. The Swedish Academy[[185]](#footnote-185) had elected Hammarskjöld to occupy his father’s seat, No. 17. Hammarskjöld regarded his membership of the Academy as a great honour, and it was one of the two appointments he kept, and kept most conscientiously, after his appointment to the UN [Söderberg, S, 1962, p. 135]. Hammarskjöld's address was published in 1957 by P.A. Norstedt & Söners Förlag of Stockholm [Hammarskjöld, D, 1957].

Linnaeus' enduring inspiration continues in Swedish secondary education where botany is a central subject. In Hammarskjöld's Haiku poems, written in *Markings* during 1959, there many references to flowers, insects, trees, and birds. Linnaeus' poem, Hammarskjöld informs us, is addressed to his only son where 'brooding gives way to the trust of a grown-up child':

Thou sawest my happiness

when I was still lying  
in darkness.  
Thou settest my clock,

Thou cuttest my bread.

So why, almighty Hero,

shouldst Thou forget me now?

My house I have built  
by the grace of God.

Therefore, I sleep unafraid.

Hammarskjöld concludes,

These lines reverberate with the happy humility before the mystery which from the outset gave his accounts their paean note. Life, to Linnaeus, became a mysterium tremendum. It remained, till the end, a mysterium numinosum [Hammarskjöld, D, 1957, pp. 12-13].

This speech was given a few days after flying back from the adjournment of the twelfth session of the General Assembly of the UN. After delivering this speech, Hammarskjöld then flew to Gaza to spend Christmas with the soldiers of UNEF.

In Chapter 1, 'The house of my pilgrimage' is writing about the poetry of the soul and uses as illustration of an experience of the divine presence Psalm 13, 'Lord, thou hast searched me out, explored me, and knows me'. He sees the 'hymn' of the 'poet-psalmist' being renewed in 'ever fertile birth poetry'. It is in this light that he sees Linnaeus' poem echoing the same psalm. Cragg's text quoting Hammarskjöld quoting Linnaeus is used as a foil to the mood about nativity of G.K. Chesterton's *The Babe Unborn*. [Cragg, K, 2002, pp. 10-11]. Here, Bick notes, Cragg shows:

the emergence of the self in the Hebrew poetry of Psalm 16 from the consciousness of body as tabernacle and establishes the origins of the intensely personal 'thou and I' structure of western religious discourse, providing examples of its development from Psalm 169 and in the work of William Tyndale, G.K. Chesterton, Thomas Traherne, and James Joyce, inter alia [Bick, PB, 2005, p. 518].

Jennifer Jacobs in her review in *Language in Society*, (2004) feels that Cragg's scholarship is 'completely removed from the evidentiary standards to which sociolinguistic researchers are accustomed.' Both of the above reviews have been in journals concerned with linguistics. I have not yet found a review in any theological journal.

That Cragg chose to quote from this particular speech also suggests that he was attracted to Hammarskjöld's treatment of Linnaeus, and Hammarskjöld's reference to mysterium tremendum and mysterium numinosum. These are terms are used by Rudolf Otto in his concept of the numinous, which he sees as having three components, mysterium tremendum et fascinans (fearful and fascinating mystery). Firstly, as *mysterium*, the numinous is wholly other, evoking a reaction of silence. Secondly as mysterium*tremendum* provoking terror exhibiting itself as overwhelming power. Thirdly, the numinous presents itself as *fascinans*, as merciful and gracious [Otto, R, 1958]. In his book Muhammad in the Qur'an Cragg offhandedly observes:

There has always been a fascination for arbitrary interventions, mind-baffling phenomena with the imprint of stupendous miracle, whereby credence would be caught in magnetic fields of mystery…. Such fascination was never part of any *mysterium tremenndum* - The sense of 'the numinous' which Rudolf Otto identified as the deep human source of 'holy reality' in the register of the human soul, in his *The Idea of the Holy...*

**Specific usage as exemplar**

A recurring theme in *Markings* is 'responsibility'. In the entry dated Sept. 3. 1957 p 156 Hammarskjöld writes:

Your responsibility is indeed terrifying. If you fail, it is God, thanks to your having betrayed Him, who will fail mankind. You fancy you can be responsible to God; can you carry the responsibility for God? [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964:156]

Bernhard Erling's[[186]](#footnote-186) *A Reader’s Guide to Dag Hammarskjöld's Waymarks,* 1999,(Erling prefers to translate *Vagmarken* as *Waymarks*),informs us that this entry was written at the time of Hammarskjöld's re-election for a second term as Secretary-General. Hammarskjöld did not want to discuss the matter at press conferences on August 22 and September 5 when questions were raised as to him accepting the appointment. This entry may give us some idea of what was his mind at the time - 'Your responsibility is indeed terrifying'. Cragg would want to know to whom the pronoun relates. Most writers assume Hammarskjöld is referring to himself. Other entries in *Markings* show he had a strong sense of his own responsibility.

In *Dying Daily: Quotidian Living*, 2010, Cragg opens Chapter 3, *Nicholas of Cusa: 'De Docta Ignorantia'* with:

The notion of 'learned ignorance' is at least as old as Plato... [who] seeks to be alert to the fallibilities of human knowledge and to the error for which it is liable [Cragg, K, 2010b, p. 44].

Cragg noting that Nicholas combines 'learned ignorance' with 'the coincidence of opposites', quotes Hammarskjöld as being able to distinguish between 'being responsible to God' and the much deeper 'responsibility for God, in trust of one's theology and worship' [Cragg, K, 2010b, p. 46].

In *Bent to Literary Event: Masters in their Masterpieces* (2011), Cragg also uses this *Marking* [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964:156]as an example of the supreme burden of Paul's apostolate in his dealing with the Galatians.Hammarskjöld distinguishes being responsible to God 'with due heed to what He commands and prohibits' as opposed to being responsible for God being 'a matter of will, beyond being a matter of the mind' [Cragg, K, 2011a, p. 71].

Erling explains this somewhat differently in that; God is in a sense dependent on us, for through us God can fail humanity. This is what Hammarskjöld elsewhere calls God’s humility:

With the humility of Him who has suffered all

the possibilities of betrayal [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 135].

With the love of Him who knows all,

With the patience of Him Whose now is eternal. With the righteousness of Him who has never

failed,

With the humility of Him who has suffered all

the possibilities of betrayal [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 135].

Erling translates this as:

With the love of the one who knows everything,

With the patience of the one whose now is eternal,

With the righteousness of the one who has never

deceived,  
With the humility of the one who has experienced all

possible deceits.

Again, the choice of pronouns play an important role in translating Hammarskjöld's *Vägmärken.* According to Erling, Hammarskjöld does not think he can bear the responsibility of answering to humanity on God’s behalf, while what should have been done was not done. Erling unlike Cragg, leaves us with some sense of Hammarskjöld's self-doubting. Is Cragg unwittingly bestowing on Hammarskjöld a saintly perfection? However, Cragg does not accept this interpretation and appears happy to use Hammarskjöld as the exemplar of a person carrying the burden of responsibility to and for God.

Auden, in the foreword to Markings, also comments on the two themes, which at the time of Hammarskjöld's re-election for a second term as Secretary-General, had come to occupy his thoughts.

First, the conviction that no man can do properly what he is called upon to do in this life unless he can learn to forget his ego and act as an instrument of God. Second, that for him personally, the way to which he was called would lead to the Cross, i.e., to suffering, worldly humiliation, and the physical sacrifice of his life.

Both notions are, of course, highly perilous. The man who says, “Not I, but God in me” is always in great dan­ ger of imagining that he *is* God, and some critics have not failed to accuse Hammarskjold of precisely this kind of megalomania, and to cite in evidence such entries as already seen above:

If you fail, it is God, thanks to your having betrayed Him, who will fail mankind. You fancy you can be responsible *to* God: can you carry the responsibility *for* God?

This particular quotation has been used by some of Hammarskjöld's critics to accuse him of megalomania but as Auden argues,

This accusation cannot be disproved by anything Ham­marskjold said or wrote, because humility and demonic pride speak the same language [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. xvi].

Cragg's book, *Faiths in their pronouns* uses this same quotation from *Markings* to clarify the point he is trying to make that:

It is this clear liability of religions for the religions they are that lays to large responsibility on how each employs its personal pronouns [Cragg, K, 2002, p. 57].

Similarly in *The Breaking of Bread*, 2010, Cragg uses the same quotation from *Markings* as the exemplar of the person who carries the burden, this time for the 'terms and integrity he [Hammarskjöld] brought to the theme of his theology' [Cragg, K, 2010a, pp. 34-35]. On this occasion, Cragg offers the insight that in a similar vein, facing the temptation of suicide[[187]](#footnote-187) in 1952, Hammarskjöld wrote:

Fatigue dulls the pain, but awakes enticing thoughts of death. So! *that* is the way in which you are tempted to overcome your loneliness—by making the ultimate es­ cape from life. —No! It may be that death is to be your ultimate gift to life: it must not be an act of treachery against it [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 86].

Erling notes that earlier entries in *Markings* show that Hammarskjöld had experienced the suicides of others and in this passage. He quotes Hammarskjöld:

See yourself as an exception -- but then write off the hope of 'resting in the security that created the world'.

Hammarskjöld is alluding to a poem *'Ja visst gör det ont'* (Yes indeed it hurts), by the Swedish poet Karin Boye (1900-1941), with whom his was acquainted. She was extremely radical in her social and religious beliefs, and finally committed suicide. The final line of the poem reads, 'Rest in the trust that creates the world'. Karl Manley, who has translated Stenström's review of Kania's thesis, used in this thesis, gives the following recollection:

Karin Boye, a famous Swedish authoress of poetry and novels, who scandalised society with her open lesbian ways in the early 20th century. She was a very close friend from school of my grandmother, who was one of the very last people to see her alive before she committed suicide.

Hammarskjöld acknowledges that he was aware of the temptation that suicide could represent. Tiredness and loneliness could cause suicidal thoughts though these are strongly rejected.

Cragg also speaks of suffering loneliness. As a curate, at the beginning of his ministry, when carrying out pastoral visits he remembers 'the incidence of dire poverty, crippling loneliness, marital tension or child suffering [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 66]. He also writes of his own loneliness and that of his wife during their periods of separation. He notes, 'A large part of the wistfulness of those years was how to negotiate loneliness' [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 124-125].

In 2005, Cragg published a book, *Faith at Suicide* [Cragg, K, 2005], prompted by the events of 11 September2001, (9/11), when hijackers destroyed the Twin Towers and over three thousand people were annihilated. It dwells of themes which frequently occur in Cragg's work, namely the potential for Christianity, Islam, and Judaism to be regarded as religions of peace, *Pax, Salaam* and *Shalom.* Sadly, the reality has been and still is the very opposite.

In *The Christian and Other Religion*, 1977, Cragg moves from interdependent religious experiences into an exploration on differences between monotheistic faiths and Asian monisms. As seen in some of his books already mentioned, instead of intellectual formulations and creedal statements he finds ultimate faithfulness in people who witnessed by their doing not by their orthodoxy. He gives Hammarskjöld as an exemplar of such a person. Hammarskjöld, Cragg observes 'did not describe his will to faith in sharply exclusive terms' [Cragg, K, 1977a, pp. 117-118] quoting the following from *Markings*:

I don't know Who – or what – put the question. I don't know when it was put. I don't know when it was put. I don't even remember answering. But at some moment I did answer Yes to Someone – or Something – and from that hour I was certain that existence is meaningful and that, therefore, my life in self-surrender had a goal. [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964:205]

Lamb also observes Cragg using Hammarskjöld as an exemplar where Cragg urges, 'It is more urgent to be alive to God than orthodox about Him' [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 66]:

Searching for an appropriate exemplar Cragg lights on Dag Hammarskjold, whose *Markings* achieved some distinction as a spiritual journal to the surprise of those who had not known him articu­late as a Christian: 'It is better that such implicit discipleship should ripen into explicit faith in God through Christ than that articulate convic­tion should wither into barren orthodoxy or conforming unconcern' [Cragg, K, 1970]

James Scherer, reviewing *The Christian and Other* Religion in *The International bulletin of Missionary Research*, 1980, found it:

erudite, beautiful, evocative, and challenging, but hardly for the novice reader. Cragg takes one on a pilgrimage through the inner sanctuary of his own convictions, treading a marvellous labyrinth of Scripture, literature, religious belief and practice, at every turn demonstrating sensitivities to value, meaning, and feeling in other faiths. There is far more than can be easily assimilated. The author's poetic, almost meditative style occasionally produces a feeling of elusiveness rather than clearly graspable meaning [Scherer, JA, 1980, p. 138].

This begs the question; does the manner of Cragg's use of exemplars help or heed his argument?

For a clearer exemplar, there is the following quotation of Dag Hammarskjöld in Cragg's book *The Christ and the Faiths [Cragg, K, 1986a, p. 246]*.

To obey a will for which 'I' is in no respect of a goal [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 108].

But first we need to be cognisant of Martin Buber's *I and Thou*, the book Hammarskjöld was translating from the original German into Swedish at the time of his death [Cordier, AW & Foote, W, 1972, p. 20]. Andrew Cordier, one of Hammarskjöld 's colleagues, finds a direct reference to Buber’s analysis of the I-thou relationship in one of Hammarskjöld's Markings [Cordier, AW & Maxwell, KL, 1967, p. 3]. He and Hammarskjöld had read together and discussed selected portions of *I and Thou*. Cordier records that Hammarskjöld’s thinking on this was reflected in *Markings*:

You can only hope to find a lasting solution to a conflict if you have learned to see the other objectively, but, at the same time, to experience his difficulties subjectively [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 114].

In *The Christ and the Faiths* Cragg demonstrates that although Christians and Buddhists agree on the snare of ego, they disagree on the approach for eluding the snare. Hammarskjöld wants to avoid the "I" as the goal but at the same time is willing to "obey a will". In this respect Hammarskjöld, wanted, as Cragg says, to:

. . . participate in the world in a Christian detachment, deliberate and sustained, *from* the self-centeredness which is selfishness, not *by* a Buddhist attrition of the self-centeredness which is our selfhood [Cragg, K, 1986a, pp. 245-246].

Harvey Cox's review in *Cross Currents* 1990 of *The Christ and the Faiths*, has praise for Cragg’s clarity. Referring to Cragg’s chapter on Buddhism, he exclaims:

I have rarely seen the core of the question opened and explained as well… One marvels at his uncanny capacity to make fine but important distinctions [Cox, HG, 1990, p. 123].

Cragg is using and justifying the use of Hammarskjöld as an exemplar of a Christian distinction between selfhood and selfishness. Cragg finds Buddhism problematic and repeatedly refers to the 'bleakness of its philosophy'.

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**Summary**

An interrogation of fifty of Cragg's books revealed his use of two sources of material regarding Hammarskjöld ; the Auden-Sjöberg translation of *Markings*, and *Dag Hammarskjöld Servant of Peace A selection of His Speeches and Statements*, edited by Wilder Foote. On these two books, Cragg appears to base his authority for Hammarskjöld's spirituality and integrity as well as the actual quotations.

Of the fourteen books by Cragg, which contain references to Hammarskjöld, there are some forty separate references. Two references concern the prayer-room that Hammarskjöld strove to establish at the UN Headquarters; and nine citations are of a biographical nature. Of the remaining twenty-nine references, eight are in the two prayer anthologies, which I see as illustrative *examples* of Hammarskjöld's writing as a mystic and a statesman. The remaining twenty-one references fall into Cragg's use of Hammarskjöld as an *exemplar* of a mystic and a statesman and can be grouped into four headings:

i. carrying the burden of responsibility to and for God

ii. able to distinguish between being responsible to God and being responsible for God

iii. witnessing by their doing and not by words of orthodoxy

iv. a Christian distinction between selfhood and selfishness.

The main criticism of Cragg's use of Hammarskjöld centres on Cragg's evaluation of Hammarskjöld's credentials as an exemplar. He only cites two sources for his material. While there is general academic agreement as to Hammarskjöld's status as a mystic, this is taken as read by Cragg with no attempt at his own evaluation. As Troy concludes:

Some see in Hammarskjöld a kind of political martyr who died in the course of action that he took up for the international society.

The new UN report may prove that Hammarskjold’s death was no accident, which will inevitably lead to re-evaluation of his life and work.

By questioning Cragg's citations in this way, we begin to understand the purpose and meaning behind what Lamb sees as irritating virtuoso catenas [sic] of quotation [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 6].[[188]](#footnote-188) This exercise will further inform Cragg's mystical use of citations of poets and other literary figures.

**4.3 An Introduction to *Vägmärke*n, the mystical development of Dag Hammarskjöld and the problems of translation**

When Dag Hammarskjöld's *Vägmärken* [Hammarskjöld, D, 1963, pp. 245-246][[189]](#footnote-189) was published posthumously in 1963 following his tragic death in a plane crash in 1961, Jos Huls,[[190]](#footnote-190) reported that there were heated discussions in Sweden [Huls, J, 1991b, p. 1].[[191]](#footnote-191) He also published a similar article that year in German [Huls, J, 1991a, p. 883]. Outside of Hammarskjöld’s homeland country, the reaction was less severe. As the second Secretary General of the United Nations (1953-1961), Dag Hammarskjöld was known throughout the world for his honest and impartial conduct throughout many international conflicts. Henry P. Van Dusen, (1897-1975), ecumenical world churchman, Christian statesman, and a long-time University trustee, observing the positive attitude that Hammarskjöld's co-workers at the United Nations held towards him, offers the more objective view of a representative of a Member Government of the UN, namely Dr Charles Malik. Malik wrote the following in *The Critic*, 1965:

Here is the knight of peace, the selfless servant of the peoples of the world, the tragic hero who dared all, in absolute courage and utter self-disregard, and who, under the most ruthless calumnies and attacks, never flinched, even to the point of willingly making the ultimate sacrifice, in doing what he could to implement the decisions of the United Nations, to the end that international peace and security be maintained and the people of Africa, and especially at the time of his death the people of the Congo, acquire and enjoy a new measure of decency, dignity and national independence [Van Dusen, HP, 1967a, p. 113].

In the paragraph before Van Dusen's quotation, Malik recounts that:

Many of his colleagues in the Secretariat were personally intensely devoted to him. and all bore testimony to the fact that as an international civil servant he was a most dedicated man... On one point all agreed: here was an unusual man [Malik, C, 1965, p. 74].

Malik acknowledges that the publication of *Markings* 'turned out also to be quite a sensational event in the religious world and in the literary world of confessions and autobiographies' [Malik, C, 1965, p. 75]. That Hammarskjöld also held deeply religious and mystical convictions, was only known to a few. Sherwood E. Wirt, (former editor of '*Decision*' Minneapolis. Minnesota) makes the surprising claim that:

As far as I know, only one man was fully aware of Dag Hammarskjöld’s secret faith before the appearance of the spiritual diary he kept for thirty years. That man was Billy Graham. The evangelist had learned in private conversation what none of the personnel of the United Nations secretariat, over which Hammarskjöld presided for nearly a decade, had apparently discovered: that the lonely Swede had a strong personal faith in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. This fact was brought out in Graham's statements at the time of the African plane tragedy, when the evangelist's tribute, unlike others from around the world, referred to Hammarskjöld's deep devotion in Christ [Wirt, SE, 1967, p. 32].

Billy Graham did visit Hammarskjöld at the UN in 1958. The American Reporter George Burnham[[192]](#footnote-192) was at a press conference in 1958 for UN correspondents after Graham had talked privately for thirty minutes with Hammarskjöld. Most of the questions to Graham were concerned with his faith, none were asked about the meeting. However, Burnham recalls that:

Before leaving the U.N. Graham stopped at the Meditation Chapel. In the centre of the small room, he saw a six-ton slab of crystalline iron ore, a gift of the Swedish government A tiny shaft of light reflected from the top. Graham sat alone, with bowed head, on one of the five stools. He prayed silently ... in Christ’s name [Burnham, G, 1958].

While this does not validate Wirt's claim, it does show that Hammarskjöld and Graham had met. Graham in his autobiography *Just As I Am*, claims Hammaskjöld as a friend [Graham, B, 2007, p. 348] and later in the book writes,

In the 1950s, when I was in New York City, I would occasionally slip by to visit Dag Hammarskjold, secretary-general of the United Nations, and have prayer with him. He was a very thoughtful, if lonely, man who was trying to make a difference for world peace, in large part because of his Christian convictions [Graham, B, 2007, pp. 693-694].

He makes no mention of Hammarskjöld's death nor of his book *Markings*. In World Aflame, Graham recalls that:

Not long before he was killed in a plane crash several years ago, I visited with Mr. Dag Hammarskjold in his office at the United Nations. He seemed deeply depressed during our conversation. Looking from his window across New York he said quietly: 'I see no hope for permanent world peace. We have tried so hard and we have failed so miserably.' Then he paused a moment, looked at me, and said: 'Unless the world has a spiritual rebirth within the next few years, civilization is doomed' [Graham, B, 1965, p. 1]

Further scrutiny of Malik's article in *The Critic*, *What lay at the Eye of the Storm*, (which was a review of *Markings*), reveals details of his relationship with Hammarskjöld. Malik recounts that:

I knew and associated with Dag Hammarskjöld in one capacity or another and at sundry times from the moment he was appointed Secretary-General in 1953 (I was on the Security Council then and I voted for him) to the moment I, as President of the Thirteenth Session of the General Assembly, terminated that session in 1959. Our most crucial and revealing moments of association were during the crisis of Lebanon in 1958 and during my Presidency of the General Assembly in 1958-1959. We had many conversations together - personal and philosophical, and on matters related to the problems of the Near East or to issues connected with the agenda to practically all of his speeches during the period of out association. It was therefore with the greatest personal interest that I obtained and read *Markings*, and after the most intensive reading of it I found myself thoroughly rewarded. My copious notes in my own personal diary during those six years about what transpired between us are elucidated, explained, supported or corrected by the insight I gained from poring over this book. I am now engaged in the preparation of a more intensive study of Markings than is permitted by this preliminary review, quite apart from my own knowledge of the man and quite apart from any memoirs I have kept on my association with him. But in ten years, if I should still be alive then and if the subject should still interest me. I might interweave my own primary sources with other primary sources I might get hold of into a more penetrating study of Hammarskjöld. Thus there are three works projected by me on Hammarskjold: this brief review; a more elaborate essay on Markings to appear later this year; and a book that will take into account my extensive memoirs on him to be worked out ten years from now when the dust has thoroughly settled and the legend can be seen and assessed, somewhat properly and soberly, in the detached perspective of history [Malik, C, 1965, pp. 74-75].

Malik's article seems more of that of the self-publicist than a review of Hammarskjöld's *Markings.*  Sadly, Malik does not appear to have developed the other two projects. Perhaps when his diaries become more readily available further information on these projects may become available.

Hammarskjöld'soriginal manuscript, a collection of brief typewritten statements, was found after his death, in his New York apartment entitled *Vägmärken.* Attached to it was a letter addressed to Hammarskjöld's friend, the Swedish Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Leif Belfrage:

Dear Leif,

Perhaps you remember that I once told you that I was after all keeping a kind of journal which I wanted you some time to take charge of.

Here it is.

It was begun without the thought that anyone else would ever see it. But in view of what has since happened in my life, all that has been written about me, the situation has changed. These notations give the only correct “profile” that can be drawn. And therefore during recent years I have reckoned with the possibility of publication, though I have continued to write for myself and not for the public.

If you find these notations worth publishing, you have my permission to do so – as a kind of “white book” concerning my negotiations with myself – and with God.

Dag [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. v].[[193]](#footnote-193)

Yet, Hammarskjöld had never concealed his religious life. Not only in his letters, but also in the official documents, speeches and lectures, passages can be found that reveal his religious background. However, for many of his critics, Faith was not synonymous with modern, educated people. William Barclay, (1907-1978) formerly Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism at the University of Glasgow, in his review of *Markings,* sagely commented on some of the more excessive verdicts, 'The truth is somewhere between the uncritical adulation and the bitter criticism' [Barclay, W, 1968, p. 96].

This adverse reaction, in 1963, is indicative of the then general impression that religion, let alone mysticism had no place in the public square. Hammarskjöld's continuing popularity as a mystic is a measure of the reversal of that impression.[[194]](#footnote-194) A more measured assessment of *Markings* was that of Anselm Hurt, in the *Downside Review*. However, he warns that:

There are of course passages which, particularly if taken out of context, seem much less satisfactory, but the fact remains that almost every page contains a remark that makes one see more clearly into the meaning of life [Hurt, A, 1965, p. 96].

Understandably therefore, one of the first publications marking Hammarskjöld's life made no mention of his religious convictions, until the publication of *Vägmärken* [Hammarskjöld, D, 1963]. Published very soon after his death, *Avet Från Hammarskjöld [Hammarskjöld's Legacy]*, celebrated only his political legacy. The contributors to its chapters included the Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander and the Archbishop of Uppsala, Erling Eidem [Erlander, T et al., 1961].

The main source for appreciating Hammarskjöld's mysticism, comes from *Vägmärken*, translated into English with the title *Markings* [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964], While his book has been criticized as 'being curiously bare of specific reference to persons or occasions' [Bergethon, KR, 1968, p. 527], recent scholarship has attempted to put flesh on these bare bones. However, such attempts are not without their own problems and criticisms, more so now, as Hammarskjöld moves into the realms of perceived sainthood (the 'uncritical adulation'). This problem that has developed around Hammarskjöld can be described as that of hagiography. 'Hagiographic literature attempts to attribute a fictitious perfection to popular (in this case) religious heroes' [Carnesecca, C, 2012]. Reviewing Manuel Fröhlich's book, *Political Ethics and the United Nations: Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General*, Thomas Richard notes, 'Few individuals have attracted more hagiographic treatment than Dag Hammarskjöld, United Nations Secretary-General between 1953 and his untimely death in 1961' [Davies, TR, 2014, p. 374].

This thesis does not attempt to provide a definitive account of 'Hammarskjöld The Practical Mystic', as understood by Jodok Troy.[[195]](#footnote-195)

Hammarskjöld’s legacy includes tools of statecraft which are widely missed nowadays: the moral but not moralistic —meaning the rather arrogant blaming of others— life and legacy of Hammarskjöld concerning the lessons learned from a practical mystical, international civil servant, and his spiritual roots become guidelines or, at least, suggestions to anticipate the future [Troy, J, 2010, p. 439].

Fr. Benedict Groeschel, C.F.R., has written numerous books on the spiritual life and pastoral counselling. In his book, *I Am with You Always,* positioning Hammarskjöld within an overview of Christian mysticism, Groeschel gives a broad summary of Hammarskjöld's spiritual and mystical development. Groeschel shows that Hammarskjöld followed a very intellectual path. This differed from the emotional expression of the charismatic Protestant Pentecostals and those Catholics within the charismatic movement. However, Groeschel maintains that all including Hammarskjöld were similar in that their respective source of salvation was their devotion to Christ [Groeschel, B, 2010, pp. 479-492].

**4.3.1 Celebrations and Commemorations**

In a mediatised world, anniversaries are often the reason for holding academic conferences. Publishing houses become filled with edited volumes of such meetings alongside 'anniversary' editions of books and subsequent book-reviews. It is hopefully a time to re-assert the importance of the subject of the anniversary, with varying degrees of success.

Although there have been numerous commemorations regarding Dag Hammarskjöld since his tragic death in 1961, the author, art historian, editor, and translator, Roger Lipsey in his book *Hammarskjöld: A Life* makes this forlorn comment:

...Dag Hammarskjöld is all but forgotten. His star rises astronomically on special occasions and anniversaries, and declines until the next. Yet his wisdom and methods, and his focused verve in the face of difficulty, offer crucial guidance and inspiration for our time. Secretary-general of the United Nations for more than eight years (1953–61), he endowed the organization with new methods and dignity, and left a vivid written legacy that can speak powerfully to many now who carry public responsibilities or have in mind lives of service in communities large or small. A man of the mid-twentieth century and of the UN, he is more: a classic figure awaiting clarity of recognition [Lipsey, R, 2013, p. 1].

Yet Lipsey himself has done much to promote the memory of Hammarskjöld, holding lectures and seminars and publishing numerous articles [Lipsey, R, 1996, pp. 12-17]. This fact is also noted by Aaron Rietkerk, a former PhD Candidate, at The London School of Economics and Political Science in his review of Lipsey's book [Rietkerk, A, 2014, p. 282].

Rowan Williams, former Archbishop of Canterbury, in his extensive review of Lipsey's book similarly observes that:

The name of Dag Hammarskjold, the second Secretary General of the United Nations, is probably none too familiar to a generation born after the seventies; but this book makes crystal clear what many in an older generation are vaguely aware of – that Hammarskjold was one of the most significant moral influences in international politics in the decades immediately after the war, and that he almost single-handedly shaped the vision for international co-operation and crisis management that we struggle to realise and, however reluctantly, take for granted across a great deal of the globe [Williams, R, 2013, p. 2].

Similarly, Peter Zimmerling in his book *Mitten im Gelärm das innere Schweigen bewahren,* [Keeping your inner silence in the midst of the clamour], notes that:

Obwohl Dag Hammarskjöld (1905 -1961) zu den bedeutendsten Persönlichkeiten des 20. Jahrhunderts gehörte, ist sein Andenken heute weithin vergessen... [Although Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-1961) was one of the most significant personalities of the 20th century, his memory is now widely forgotten...] [Zimmerling, P, 2015d, p. 51]

And like Lipsey, Zimmerman has promoted the study of Hammarskjöld and has written several articles specifically exploring Hammarskjöld’s mysticism.[[196]](#footnote-196)

Henning Melber, Senior Adviser and Director Emeritus of The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden, is more irenic observing that:

During a debate in the UN Security Council in 2011, the Chinese Permanent Representative Li Baodong demanded that the peacekeeping operations of the organisation 'should adhere to the Hammarskjöld principles'. On the occasion of a United Nations Day event the same year, the Cyprus Foreign Minister Erato Kozakou-Marcoullis praised Dag Hammarskjöld as 'the dove of preventive diplomacy'.[[197]](#footnote-197) Finally, when Pope Francis addressed the 2015 UN General Assembly, the only former Secretary-General he mentioned by name was Dag Hammarskjöld.[[198]](#footnote-198) These are a few examples that testify to the lasting legacy he created during his eight years in office (1953-1961) [Melber, H, 2015, p. 9].

In 2014, the Monastic Institute of The Pontifical Atheneum of St. Anselm, (Rome) in cooperation with the Faculties of Theology & Religious Studies of Nijmegen (Holland) and Leuven (Belgium) and the Pontifical Liturgical Institute (Rome), ran a course in Monastic Spiritual Theology. Part of the course was titled, *The central themes of spiritual monastic theology and the diary of Dag Hammarskjöld - a dialogue.* The course promoted interaction between students and the research staff and provided this reading list:

Durel, B. (2002). Au jardin secret d’un diplomate suédois: Jalons de Dag Hammarskjöld, un itinéraire spirituel. *La Vie Spirituelle (Paris), 82*, 901-922.

[Durel, B, 2002];

Zimmerling, P. (2007). "Mit dir, Bruder, in Treue und Mut ..." Charakteristika des Christusverständnisses von Dag Hammarskjöld. In Thomas, G.n. & Schüle, A. (Eds.), *Gegenwart des lebendigen Christus, FS für Michael Welker* (pp. 407–423). Leipzig [Zimmerling, P, 2007b];

Giampiccoli, F. (1969). *Dag Hammarskjold. La fede di mister H*. Turin: Editrice Claudiana [Giampiccoli, F, 1969];

Velocci, G. (1998). Hammarskjold Dag. In Borriello, L., Caruana, E., Genio, M.R.D., & Suffi, N. (Eds.), *Dizionario di mistica* (pp. 624–626). Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana [Velocci, G, 1998].

The articles by Durel and Zimmerling have informed this thesis.

Moreover, *Vägmärken* is now being used as Hammarskjöld had intended, as a Spiritual Guide, rather than as a piece of academic research. For example, Max Ascoli confirms that, '... he prepared this book so that somebody could 'learn about a path about which the traveller ... did not wish to speak while he was alive' [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 144] [Ascoli, M, 1965, p. 38]. Also, in Sweden, Archbishop Hammar has been leading meditations using *Vägmärken*. His book *Vägen valde dig* [*The road chose you*] consists of seven meditations on excerpts from *Vägmärken.* It was published in connection with the inauguration of the Dag Hammarskjöld Trail between Abisko and Nikkaluokta (Sweden) in September 2004 [Hammar, KGar, 2004]. Clearly, neither Hammarskjöld nor *Vägmärken* have been entirely forgotten.

**4.3.2 Dag Hammarskjöld background**

It is impossible to appreciate Dag Hammarskjöld, the seminal Secretary-General of the United Nations, without understanding his Swedish background. The religious, social, intellectual[[199]](#footnote-199) and political climate of early twentieth-century Sweden was critical to his intellectual and spiritual development and political achievement.

**4.3.2.1 Spiritual Guide, Nathan Söderblom**

The influence that the Hammarskjöld family friend Nathan Söderblom (1866-1931), Archbishop of Uppsala (1914-1931), had on Hammarskjöld, particularly Söderblom's complex attitude towards mysticism is one area which requires further careful research which is beyond the scope of this thesis.[[200]](#footnote-200) Bishop Aulén, (1879-1978) Bishop of Strängnäs in the Church of Sweden, in *Dag Hammarskjöld's white book: an analysis of Markings* explores the link between Söderblom and Hammarskjöld’s mysticism:

Concerning the medieval mystics, it must be remembered that in the 1920s the study of mysticism was rather a fashion in many European countries. In Uppsala Söderblom had contributed to this study by producing several books on mysticism. He attempted to distinguish between two different kinds of mysticism: the 'mysticism of infinitude' and the 'mysticism of personality'. Soderblom’s theory was much discussed, and Hammarskjöld had ample opportunity for contact with the study of mysticism [Aulén, G, 1970, p. 16].

Of Hammarskjöld's two main biographers, Brian Urquhart quickly passes over Söderblom [Urquhart, B, 1994],[[201]](#footnote-201) while Roger Lipsey, is far more expansive, referring to Söderblom as 'one of Hammarskjöld's mentors in depth' [Lipsey, R, 2013, p. 56].[[202]](#footnote-202) However, the role that Söderblom played in the developing influence of St John of the Cross and the Medieval Mystics in Hammarskjöld’s mysticism is superficially treated.

**4.3.2.2. The Circle of Friends**

Carl F. Hovd,specialist in American Literature, and Professor of English Emeritus at Columbia University,notes that the writer John Steinbeck was introduced to Hammarskjöld by the Swedish painter Bo Beskow (a mutual friend) and joined a circle of friends which included the English sculptress Barbara Hepworth, the French poet Saint-John Perse, the American novelist Djuna Barnes, and the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber. The publication of some of Hammarsjöld's personal letters reveals not only Hammarskjöld’s relationships with those particular artists but also his aesthetic awareness as evidenced in his fecund correspondence with Saint-John Perse [Hovde, CF, 1997, pp. 97-129]. As Hammarskjöld is often portrayed as an isolated and lonely man this is an area which could benefit from further sensitive research.

**4.3.2.3 The beginnings of a mystic**

There has been speculation as to where and how Dag Hammarskjöld first became interested in the Medieval Mystics. Kania claims that:

We can estimate through Hammarskjöld’s learning the Spanish language at the ageof 19, and his purchase of the writings of San Juan de la Cruz in the original language, that during 1924 Hammarskjöld had begun his reading of the Medieval Mystics [Kania, AT, 2000, p. 87].

However, the biographer Charlie May (1897–1977) in her book *Dag Hammarskjöld*, [Simon, CM, 1967, p. 42], narrates that this occurred through Hammarskjöld's college friend Sven Stolpe when they were studying at Uppsala University. Both students had a deep interest in theology, at a time when many of their fellow students were sceptics of the old order of the Church and the State. Hammarskjöld and Stolpe had a common interest in the writings of saints and mystics and discussed the writings of Pascal, Thomas à Kempis and Péguy. Stolpe introduced Hammarskjöld to St John of the Cross, in particular, the short poem, *Song of the soul that rejoices in knowing God through faith*, with its refrain, *although it be night*.

Simon also notes [Simon, CM, 1967, pp. 39-40] that it was the wife of Nathan Söderblom, who had introduced Hammarskjöld to Blaise Pascal's *Pensées*. This led Hammarskjöld to *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas á Kempis, Thomas Aquinas's philosophy, and *Meditations* by Marcus Aurelius:

Thou hast not leisure or ability to read. But thou hast leisure or ability to check arrogance: thou hast leisure to be superior to pleasure and pain: thou hast leisure to be superior to love of fame, and not to be vexed at stupid and ungrateful people, nay even to care for them [Carus, TL & Aurelius, M, 1952, p. 286].

These words of a man contemplating upon his soul, led Hammarskjöld to start recording his own thoughts. These he came to regard 'as a sort of white book[[203]](#footnote-203) concerning my negotiations with myself - and with God' [Van Dusen, HP, 1967b, p. 30].

Cragg in his book *Faith and Life Negotiate*, also uses the term 'negotiation' and the verb negotiate in a similar manner:

'Faith and Life Negotiate.' How right they should, if life is to be faithful and faith is to be alive. 'Negotiate, too, is a fitting word if we retrieve it from the mandarins of diplomacy and the business of the counting house. It has to do with more than cheques and treaties. From its Latin source in neg otium it means laying aside sloth, saying No! to ease, in order to 'hold intercourse by way of transacting business. (O.E.D.)

The poet John Donne, in The Extasie, says of lovers' eyes: 'Our souls negotiate there,'

perhaps echoing Shakespeare's:

'Let every eye negotiate for itself And trust no agent.'

But that was in Much Ado about Nothing and 'faith and life' are about everything. So much more vital then [sic] their mutuality [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 1].

Later in the book he explains:

In all these ways it might be said that my faith as a Christian was in negotiation with a formidable life-setting into which I believed that a sense of vocation had taken it [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 9].

Ove Bring, Professor of International Law at the Swedish National Defence College, writing in *Estudios Internacionales*, states that:

... he also referred to Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), the more empiric and realist philosopher who tried to combine Christian doctrine with Aristotelian thinking, and St. John of the Cross (d. 1591), who combined Christian mysticism with religious reformism and poetry. What these thinkers had in common was a focus on meditation and seclusion, a stress on the importance of a man ́s inner life in relation to God in preparation for individual choices and individual action. Hammarskjöld was through his life attracted to this personal approach to moral decision-making. It also connected to the societal values of 'duty, righteousness and self-service' conveyed by his father and pious-moral influence exerted by his mother [Bring, O, 2001, p. 161].

Van Dusen, writing in 1967, sums up the impact of the publication of the English translation:

In less than a year, its distribution exceeded 250,000 copies; ten months later, this figure was approaching half a million. Dr. Charles Malik of the Lebanon could report without exaggeration six months after the book’s appearance: 'The publication of *Markings* was, in the world of the United Nations and in the general international world, an event of first importance. It turned out also to be quite a sensational event in the religious world and in the literary world of confessions and autobiographies' [Van Dusen, HP, 1967a, p. 39].

**4.3.2.4 Problems in translation**

The well-known biographer H. Carpenter (1946-2005), notes that Auden had 'found something objectionable in Hammarskjöld's belief that he was the bearer of divine truth'. Auden in his introduction to *Markings* referred to Hammarskjöld's 'exceptionally aggressive super-ego'. Carpenter records that when:

it was made clear to Auden that his remarks about Hammarskjöld in the introduction to *Markings* were not acceptable, and would have to be changed if he did not want to fall from favour with the Swedish Academy. Auden, however, was adamant. He printed the introduction without changing anything, remarking philosophically and without bitterness: 'Well, there goes the Nobel Prize' [Carpenter, H, 2011, p. 461].

C.P. Snow (1905-1980) the British novelist, scientist and government administrator met with Hammarskjöld on several occasions. Although he largely agrees with Auden's assessment of Hammarskjöld, he does feel that when Auden refers to Hammarskjöld as a 'civil servant', he is 'accepting a stereotype' and not fully understanding Hammarskjöld's noble background [Snow, CP, 1967, p. 213]. Manuel Fröhlich explains this background, noting that:

The Hammarskjölds were a noble family with a long tradition of government service. A forefather, Peder Michilsson, (on July 6, 1610) was raised to the nobility by King Charles IX for military services (the family name is composed of 'hammer' and 'shield'). Since then the family has continuously served the state in some capacity or other [Fröhlich, M, 2008, p. 51].

It is significant, that in Sweden, ruling-class reformism preceded the birth of a labour movement [Esping-Andersen, G, 1990, p. 108].

The centennial of Hammarskjöld's birth in 2005 brought *Vägmärken* back into the publicgaze and Auden's translation again was strongly criticised. Warren Hoge's article in the New York Times, *Swedes Dispute Translation of a U.N. Legend's Book,* reports that Kai Falkman (Ambassador, writer, President of Swedish Haiku Society):

has scrutinized the text and has written scholarly essays citing hundreds of flaws, starting with the translation of the book's title, 'Vagmarken' [sic] in Swedish, as 'Markings'. He said it should be 'Waymarks', the word from the King James version of the Bible (Jeremiah 31:21),[[204]](#footnote-204) that was Hammarskjöld's source [Hoge, W, 2005].

Kai Falkman, in *A String Untouched: Dag Hammarskjöld's Life in Haiku and Photographs*, points out that Hammarskjöld texts in his book are his (Falkman's) own translation made,

in order to render a text as close as possible to the Swedish original. In front of me I have had two old translations, W.H. Auden's Markings and Bernard Erling's Waymarks (1982). The translations by Erling are mostly closer to the Swedish text than Auden's - although sometimes less poetical - but both translations are faulty in certain respects and in Auden's case even contain guesswork and deliberate misconstructions [Falkman, K, 2006, p. 5].

In her paper to the Spiritual Reading Group at the Carmelite Library, Middle Park, Victoria, Australia, on Tuesday the 18th of March, 2014, Carol O’Connor explains that:

The word Markings, or Vagmarken [sic], in Swedish, has a certain meaning. They are trail marks, or as a friend of Hammarskjöld described them: 'Cairns - the piles of stones that a climber leaves to mark his progress on an unchartered mountain'. These piles of rocks aided the climber in his descent, so he should know his way and not lose direction [O'Connor, C, 2014].

Kania recollects that:

The most common direct translation into English of the Swedish term 'vägmärken' is that it means 'road (traffic) signs', in fact in my experience while a student at Uppsala, this is the first description one receives when asking the question: What does the word 'vägmärken' mean to you? [Kania, AT, 2000, pp. 28-31]

By further explanation and critique of the Auden/Sjöberg translation, Kania quotes Auden stating that:

Any more or less literal translation, such as Trail Marks or Guideposts, immediately conjures up in a British or American reader an image of a Boy Scout, or of that dreadful American college phenomenon, Spiritual Emphasis Week, at which talks are given entitled Spiritual Guideposts [Hammarskjöld, D, 1983, p. xxiii] [Kania, AT, 2000, p. 28].

Kania sums up as follows:

Auden thus took the liberty of narrowing the translation of 'vägmärken' to words in the English language which do not have a direct literal meaning but which are 'safe'... Auden limited his translation to English speaking people of the United States and Britain of 1964 who understood these connotations. Auden thus assumed that 'Boy Scout' analogies and American college groups are of more importance that the meaning which Hammarskjöld had wished to ascribe to each word in the original [Kania, AT, 2000, pp. 28-29].

Nirmal Dass,[[205]](#footnote-205) in *Rebuilding Babel: The Translations of W.H. Auden,* is also critical of Auden's translation noting that:

The richness of the original has been "translated down" (to use Auden's phrase) into a single target text; the plurality of diverse linguistic systems, which construct and inform the source text, has been made one [Dass, N, 1993, p. 69].

This leads to Auden's 'final point' in his *Postscript* to *Markings* which makes this apposite observation:

One last point. Like most educated Swedes, Hammarskjöld was polyglottal: he frequently quotes in English, French, and German, and his Swedish publishers evidently assume that their public is well-enough acquainted with these tongues not to require a translation. I am sure that the average British or American reader would have no difficulty with the French quotations, but I am less confident about his command of German, and if one was to be translated, then it would look odd if the other were not as well. So, aside from a few isolated phrases, we have given all his quoted passages in English. If the more scholarly reader feels that he has been translated down to, we can only offer our apologies [Hammarskjöld, D, 1983, p. xxiv].

However, by concentrating on the translation of the title *Markings*, the above gives an indication of the difficulties of translation in general and of *Vägmärken* in particular. The concluding remarks in Jan Nylund's article *Dag Hammarskjöld’s Spirituality Revisited A Critique of W.H. Auden’s Understanding and Translation of Markings*, summarise the above points:

W.H. Auden’s introduction to and translation of *Markings* into English are misleading and flawed. Auden’s introduction shows a lack of understanding both of Hammarskjöld as a person and the incarnational Christian spirituality of Hammarskjöld. Auden’s translational procedures as well as his habit of letting his personal life be reflected in his publications resulted in a misrepresentation both of Hammarskjöld as a person and of *Markings*, which Hammarskjöld had intended as his spiritual portrait for the posterity [Nylund, JH, 2014, pp. 72-85].

**4.3.2.5 Primary and Secondary Sources**

Sven Stolpe, 1905-1996, was a writer, translator, journalist, literary scholar and was a long-time friend of Hammarskjöld; he was also a member of the Oxford Group. In 1965 he wrote that, regarding the biographical aspects of Hammarskjöld's life, 'to a great extent the documentary material is under seal, and it is still too early even to touch upon his private life or his political work as Secretary-General of the United Nations' [Stolpe, S, 1966, p. 5]. However, much of this is now available.

Larry Trachtenberg, a former lecturer at the London School of Economics, in *A Bibliographic Essay on Dag Hammarskjöld,* gives a detailed overview of the major collections of Dag Hammarskjöld's papers. While the papers dealing with the work of Dag Hammarskjöld and the United Nations are mainly in English, 'A reading knowledge of Swedish would be a necessity for anyone who was interested in exploring the more personal side of Hammarskjöld's life' [Trachtenberg, LS, 1983, pp. 150-151].

Rietkerk produced a paper titled: *The Dag Hammarskjöld Papers*. Wryly commenting that their dispersal among three separate archives offers 'a unique challenge for any researcher', he also notes that, 'although it is now a little dated, any serious Hammarskjöld enthusiast should consult, "A Bibliographic Essay on Dag Hammarskjöld" by Larry Trachtenberg' [Rietkerk, A, 2013].

Recent work by the author, art historian, editor, and translator, Roger Lipsey regarding Hammarskjöld,[[206]](#footnote-206) has penetrated some of this archival material, but it has added little to our understanding of Hammarskjöld's mystical development. There have been several collections of his speeches and other papers; notably those collected by Andrew W. Cordier.[[207]](#footnote-207) Some of his speeches, considered important, have been published separately.

Secondary Sources

The secondary literature concerning Hammarskjöld is extensive and continues to grow. Biographies of Hammarskjöld have focused on either the public or the private man though mainly on his public life. Brian Urquhart wrote the authoritative volume on Hammarskjöld's public life[[208]](#footnote-208), while several smaller works have provided portraits of his spiritual life. Roger Lipsey's biography Hammarskjöld: A Life combines both the public and the spiritual.

Various writers have outlined his family background, but his family history has not been explored in depth nor placed into the larger context of Sweden's emerging role in international relations. Further research is needed on the influence that the Swedish religious climate of the early twentieth century had on Hammarskjöld's intellectual and spiritual development. Other notable gaps in scholarship relate to Hammarskjöld's relationship to his king and country, his work in National Finance,[[209]](#footnote-209) and his relationship with a chosen-few close friends. Although *Markings*, has received close attention, there has been little analytical writing on the influence of such writers as St John of the Cross.

**4.3.2.6 Previous research**

Writing from a German perspective, Peter Zimmerling[[210]](#footnote-210) observes that the most important literature on Hammarskjöld's theological convictions first appeared in Sweden and the USA, the countries where he lived successively. Regarding Hammarskjöld’s mysticism, Henry P. van Dusen in *Dag Hammarskjöld. The Statesman and his Faith,[[211]](#footnote-211)* was one of the first to relate the events in Hammarskjöld's life, to his diary entries. This approach was further developed by Manuel Fröhlich.[[212]](#footnote-212) Hammarskjöld's spiritual path and theological convictions are traced by Sven Stolpe in Dag Hammarskjöld: a spiritual portrait.[[213]](#footnote-213) Zimmerling considers that Hjalmar Sundén's, *Die Christusmeditationen Dag Hammarskjölds in 'Zeichen am Weg'[[214]](#footnote-214)* is essential to the understanding of Hammarskjöld's mysticism. In Germany, for many years, the only scholarly theological essay dealing with Hammarskjöld was Rolf Schäfer's *Glaube und Werk - ein Beispiel aus der Gegenwart: Beobachtungen zu Dag Hammarskjöld’s geistlichem Tagebuch.[[215]](#footnote-215)* Schäfer's articlewas the inspiration for Karlmann Beyschlag's *Dag Hammarskjöld - ein protestantischer Mystiker unserer Tage*,[[216]](#footnote-216) which elaborates on the mystical profile of Hammarskjöld's understanding of faith. This, for example, has only three brief references to St John of the Cross, while his book, *Grandi Mistici: Dag Hammarskjöld* (2016),[[217]](#footnote-217) contains no direct reference to St John of the Cross although it does deal with Hammarskjöld's philosophical influences.

On the centenary of Hammarskjöld's birth (2005), Germany, like many other countries, saw a series of publications including Gerhard Simon, *Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-1961)*,[[218]](#footnote-218) but little was added to the existing pool of knowledge regarding Hammarskjöld and his mystical development.

Also published in 2005 was Monica Boumen's book, *Dag Hammarskjöld, Citizen of the World* [Bouman, M, 2005]. This developed out of her doctorate (awarded 2001) from the Radboud University, (formerly the Katholieke Universiteit, Nijmegen, Holland) which has a strong focus on research. Her research was concerned with the spirituality and ethics of Dag Hammarskjöld. The title of the thesis was *Internationale dienstbaarheid als vrijheid en plicht,* [*International service of freedom and duty*.] In the *Introduction* to her book she also notes that

This year, 2005, is the centenary of the birth of the former Secretary-General of the United Nations ... and that Besides commemoration ceremonies in Sweden, Africa and at the United Nations in New York, a travelling exhibition forms part of this programme [Bouman, M, 2005, p. 13].

In the chapter *When Love has matured*, Bouman does discuss the role of St John of the Cross in Hammarskjöld's spiritual development.

Some of the other PhD theses which encompass Hammarskjöld's Mysticism include:

Beumer, Jurjen. 2007. *De langste reis is de reis naar binnen het politiek-mystieke leven van Dag Hammarskjöld. (The longest journey is the journey inside: The political-mystical life of Dag Hammarskjöld)* (Uitgeverij Ten Have: Kampen) [Beumer, J, 2007]. No English translation is available.

Kugele, L. (2013). *Redlich vor Gott: Eine Studie zur ethischen und religiösen Identität Dag Hammarskjölds [Honest before God: A study of ethical and religious identity Dag*

*Hammarskjöld]*. (Doctorate), Albert-Ludwigs-University, Freiburg [Kugele, L, 2013]. No English translation is available.

Nelson, P. R. (2007). *Courage of Faith: Dag Hammarskjöld's Way of Negotiated Peace, Reconciliation and Meaning.* (PhD Doctoral), Uppsala University, Humanistisk-samhällsvetenskapliga vetenskapsområdet [Nelson, PR, 2007a].

Now published as a book: Nelson, P. R. (2007). *Courage of Faith: Dag Hammarskjöld’s Way in Quest of Negotiated Peace, Reconciliation and Meaning*. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang [Nelson, PR, 2007b].

Andrew Kania's aforementioned thesis, *The Art of Love [Kania, AT, 2000],* has been criticised in a review by Thure Stenström, Professor Emeritus at the Department of Literature, Uppsala University [Stenström, T, 2001]. The overarching criticism is the omission of Swedish and German authors from Kania's research:

Anmärkningsvärt är också, att Kania förbigått stora delar av den litteratur rörande Dag Hammar­ skjöld och mystiken som förekommer på tyskt område. (It is also noteworthy that Kania ignored the large amount of the literature concerning Dag Hammarskjöld and mysticism that occurs in the German sphere.)

Något mindre imponerande är författarens förtrogenhet med vad som skrivits om Dag Hammarskjöld på svenska. (Somewhat less impressive is the author's familiarity with what has been written about Dag Hammarskjöld in Swedish.) [Stenström, T, 2001, p. 92]

Sadly, Auden’s criticism of English speakers (whether British, American or Australian) for lacking Hammarskjöld’s polyglottal abilities remains true.

Kania's thesis concentrated on the effect of the Medieval Mystics upon Dag Hammarskjöld while not discrediting the impact of other sources:

However it is important to constantly remind oneself that Hammarskjold deemed as most vital for his spiritual framework the works of the Medieval Mystics, and irrespective of the number of texts he may have held by certain authors outside the field of Mystical Theology, his fundamental intellectual worldview was formed by a close reading of the Medieval Mystics [Kania, AT, 2000, p. 8].

In defining Hammarskjöld's mysticism, by referring to the writings of Jean Gerson, (1363-1429), the French scholar, educator, reformer, and poet.[[219]](#footnote-219) He was one of the first thinkers to develop what would later come to be called natural rights theory [Tuck, R, 1979][[220]](#footnote-220), and was also one of the first individuals to defend Joan of Arc and proclaim her supernatural vocation as authentic [Hobbins, D, 2005, p. 99]. Kania further argues that 'Mystical Theology' and 'Mysticism' are interchangeable [Kania, AT, 2000, p. 36].

In Hammarskjöld's radio script *Old Creeds in a New World*,[[221]](#footnote-221) (which some writers see as Hammarskjöld's *Credo)*: Kania identifies four elements in Hammarskjöld’s mysticism:

1. Union of God with the soul.

"Faith is a state of the mind and the soul." In this sense we can understand the words of the Spanish mystic, San Juan de la Cruz [sic]:[[222]](#footnote-222) 'Faith is the union of God with the soul'. Kania states that Hammarskjold's understanding of the term *Mysticism* is 'the quest for unitive love with God.' This echoes the words of the Spanish mystic, San Juan de la Cruz: 'Faith is the union of God with the soul' [Kania, AT, 2000, p. 40].

2. Importance of a personal relationship with the Divine.

Kania quotes further from *Old Creeds in a New World*:

The language of religion is a set of formulas which register a basic spiritual experience. It must not be regarded as describing, in terms to be defined by philosophy, the reality which is accessible to our senses and which we can analyse with the tools of logic.

Acknowledging that Hammarskjöld's mysticism 'is both an intellectual and affective search for God', for Hammarskjöld it is experience rather than 'tools of logic' which enable a personal relationship with God [Kania, AT, 2000, p. 40].

3. Mystical Theology has societal value.

Kania observes that the love that exists between the individual and God must find an expression within the context of the society to which the Mystic belongs. In *Old Creeds in a New World,* Hammarskjöld explains that he had borrowed this notion initially from 'the ethics of Albert Schweitzer'. However, as Hammarskjöld continues:

the explanation of how man should live a life of active social service in full harmony with himself as a member of the community of the spirit, I found in the writings of those great Medieval Mystics.

Mystics do not detach themselves from society, as Mysticism 'is active and practical' [Kania, AT, 2000, pp. 42-43].

4. Love

These four elements of Hammarskjöld’s Mystical framework, as Kania notes, are coalesced through - *love.* It is love that drives us to seek a union with God, that precedes knowledge andwhich obliges us to serve humanity [Kania, AT, 2000, p. 41]. The Mystical journey is therefore one which goes far beyond intellectualization.

**4.3.2.7 St John of the Cross**

Hammarskjöld began learning Spanish at the age of 19. This, together with his purchase of the books of St John of the Cross in their original language, Kania maintains, suggests it was during 1924 when Hammarskjöld began his reading of the Medieval Mystics.

In *Markings*, there is a general theme of seeking spiritual detachment. Kania [Kania, AT, 2000, p. 221] observes that San Juan de la Cruz instructed those striving along the Mystic path to:

Be interiorly detached from all things and do not seek pleasure in any temporal thing, and your soul will concentrate on goods you do not know.[[223]](#footnote-223)

It is also the path of loneliness, fear, and suffering. Kania notes that Hammarskjold writes:

Fated or chosen—in the end, the vista of future loneliness only allows a choice between two alternatives: either to despair in desolation, or to stake so high on the “possibility” that one acquires the right to life in a transcendental co-inherence. But doesn’t choosing the second call for the kind of faith which moves mountains? [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 70]

Kania sees Hammarskjöld’s thought process as following San Juan de la Cruz’s rationale as to the direct purpose of suffering for those walking the spiritual path. Here Kania cites from The Spiritual Canticle:

This thicket into which the soul thus wants to enter also signifies very appropriately the thicket and multitude of trials and tribulations, for suffering is very delightful and beneficial to her. Suffering is the means of her penetrating further, deep into the thicket of the delectable wisdom of God [Kavanaugh, K, 1991, pp. 613-614].

Hammarskjöld would later write about loneliness[[224]](#footnote-224) which some see as a characteristic of his life: 'To live under that sign is to purchase knowledge about the Way at the price of loneliness' [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. 12].

Knowledge of the Divine does not make one impervious to pain. Notwithstanding Strenström's objections to Kania's thesis, it does clearly demonstrate the influence of the Medieval Mystic's on Hammarskjöld's Mystical development.

But his thesis also raises some important questions regarding the need for academics to be fluent in more than one language. Beyza Bjorkman, Royal Institute of Technology Stockholm and Stockholm University, Sweden has researched into the unprecedented use of English as an international lingua franca [ELF] which has arisen largely through globalization. Her book, *English as an Academic Lingua Franca* (2013), also explores a typical academic setting in Sweden. Until recently, Sweden did not levy tuition fees on external students. In 2011, it was fourth in a list of countries in Europe which provide English-spoken tuition with 401 programmes. However, at around the same time the Swedish Government introduced fees for students from non-EU countries despite arguments that the student body would be less diverse, attracting students only from rich countries. Exchange students and Doctoral programmes were also exempt. Bjorkman further observes that:

Despite the tuition fees and the possible decrease in the number of foreign students, studying in English is still seen as a natural step by the majority of students and scholars in Sweden to plan and prepare for an international career. Natural sciences, technology and engineering are the fields that have been most extensively anglicized... At the time of writing, the most recent sources report that 65 per cent of all Master’s programs in the country are offered in English... The situation is similar at the post-graduate level; about 87 per cent of all doctoral theses in Sweden are written in English... English is the only language of instruction in international Master’s programs and higher levels. Doctoral theses are almost exclusively written in English [Björkman, B, 2013].

Bjorkman's book shows the background in which Kania's Thesis was written and perhaps explains Kania's lack of Swedish or any other European language. However, her book does not deal with the problem of poor language skills among students in English schools. *The Guardian* newpaper reported that:

A report by the European Commission in 2011 listed the UK joint-bottom in major rankings showing the number of languages learnt in each country. National curriculum reforms set to be introduced next year - which will see foreign languages taught from the age of seven - may help, but figures show the UK has a long way to catch up with other European countries [Williams, M, 2013].

These two trends - the growing spread of ELF and the apparent shrinking of language skills taught in English schools, will produce further problems for future academics which space here does not allow for further amplification. While translations are sometimes available, there are also problems which can arise from them as seen with the Auden/Sjöberg translation of *Vägmärken*. Machine translation (computer assisted translation) is still in its infancy, although rapid improvements are being made in this field. The report *Global Machine Translation Market 2015-2019* published by Research and Markets states that:

the dominance of human translators worldwide is a major challenge to the growth of the market. End-users still prefer human translation over machine translation, and this trend is expected to continue during the forecast period of 2015-2019 [Anon, 2015].

However, Gideon Lewis-Kraus (author of *A Sense of Direction: Pilgrimage for the Restless and the Hopeful*), writing in The New York Times Magazine, observes that:

Human translators, like poets, might be described as people for whom such a distinction is never clear or obvious. But human translators, today, have virtually nothing to do with the work being done in machine translation. A majority of the leading figures in machine translation have little to no background in linguistics, much less in foreign languages or literatures. Instead, virtually all of them are computer scientists [Lewis-Kraus, G, 2015, p. 48].

Kania is aware of the short-comings of his thesis:

This being said, a better work than mine would no doubt have been produced by that individual not only completely fluent in Swedish, but also totally literate in the language of Mystical Theology and furthermore in the languages in which the Mystics wrote, as well as having read large sections of Hammarskjöld’s library devoted to the greats of world literature.

From the relevant scholarship that is now available, the individual should also be fluent in German and Dutch [Kania, AT, 2000, p. 24].

This clearly is an area for further research and speculation.

**5. Conclusion**

This thesis has been an exploration of the life and theological thought of Bishop Kenneth Cragg (1913-2012). Cragg is well-known as a noted scholar and explorer of Islam and Christian Muslim encounters, who also investigated the character of Sufism and the Muslim Mystical Tradition.  He produced and edited texts that could be read by Christians and Muslims. While there is a strong mystical aspect to Cragg's writings, his label as an Evangelical has caused this aspect of his work to be overlooked. This thesis is an attempt to rescue him from a Bible-based evangelical prism. Cragg’s views regarding the nature of poetry and his choice of quotations throughout his work are one aspect of this mystical side to his writing and reflect a form of mystical unknowing, although he does not describe his use of poetry in those terms.

The importance of Mysticism in the religious thought of Cragg is rarely given account in the existing scholarship; for example the two principal studies on Cragg by Bård Mæland, *Rewarding Encounters: Islam and the Comparative Theologies of Kenneth Cragg and Wilfred Cantwell Smith* [Mæland, B, 2003] and Christopher Lamb’s doctoral thesis from the University of Birmingham 1987 *The Call to Retrieval: Kenneth Cragg's Christian vocation to Islam* at published as *The Call to Retrieval: Kenneth Cragg's Christian Vocation to Islam* (1997) and a slightly revised version *A Policy of Hope: Kenneth Cragg and Islam* (2014). Lamb has a very limited account of Cragg's relationship with Sufism and mysticism. He mentions that Gairdner was particularly concerned with mystical Islam, but does not develop this fully [Lamb, C, 2014, p. 42]. He asks the question, 'Is Cragg relating to a

Sufi understanding of the Qu'ran?' In answer to his question he notes that the Indian scholar Vahiduddin affirms Cragg's metaphysical exegesis of the relevant passages [Lamb, C, 2014, pp. 63-63]. Lamb further notes that Cragg recruited both the Shi'ite and Sufi forms of Islam to demonstrate that Islam is not monolithic [Lamb, C, 2014, p. 123]. Cragg's positive attitude to the Sufis is not that they receive his full approval, but that he sees a deep theology behind their mysticism.

This thesis has attempted to retrieve the foundations of Cragg's theological thought which allow us to review the religious character of Islam as he viewed it. Cragg's distinctive account of Christian Spirituality can only be understood from the perspective of his deep attachment to the Church of England, its history and ecclesial tradition. Cragg's thought is Protestant in doctrine and evangelical of instinct. However, to understand the wider context of Ecclesial Mysticism in the Church of England and the wider Anglican communion which indirectly inform Cragg's distinct engagement with Christian Spirituality, the English Religious tradition, and Protestant missions in the context of the Middle East and the Muslim World we need to note the retrieval of Richard Hooker and Lancelot Andrewes in the theological thought of contemporary Anglican scholars, ecclesiastics, and writers. Hooker and Andrewes should be understood as 'Fathers' of the Church of England.

This retrieval has often been in conjunction with a dialogical exchange with Eastern Orthodox and Russian Christian thought. This is seen throughout the work of Donald A.M. Allchin, Charles Miller and Rowan Williams all of who acknowledged the influence of Vladimir Lossky’s important work, *Essai sur la théologie mystique de l'église d'Orient* (1944; ET: *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*). It can only be assumed and noted that with his strong connections with Oxford and his long encounter with Eastern Christianity in the Middle East, Cragg, would have been aware albeit from a distance, of this exchange. It has been noted that Cragg's theology is more like that of an Orthodox Christian's than that of a Sufi. Cragg's openness to the question of Mysticism should be seen as part of an exchange between the Church of England in particular the Eastern Christian spiritual and theological tradition.[[225]](#footnote-225) Also, he was influenced by the missionary engagement and religious openness to Muslim Mysticism in the influential thought of Constance Padwick [Cragg, K, 1961] [Cragg, K, 1969b].[[226]](#footnote-226) Cragg’s interest in religious mysticism is seen in his 1950 doctoral thesis for the University of Oxford *Islam in the 20th Century: The Relevance of Christian Theology and the Relation of the Christian Mission to its Problems* in which he states'The tendency has been to discredit Sufism as superstitious and heterodox and yet it remains a fact that it represents some of the most religiously vigorous parts of Islam' [Cragg, K, 1950, p. 91].

However, while Cragg's doctoral work situates Sufism in a very positive light, he sees no place for political power in religion, particularly in Islam which he sees as having become a political force. Cragg held a hermeneutic of suspicion towards the political throughout his life even though he held a deep interest in the world albeit often at a step removed.[[227]](#footnote-227) Cragg viewed Sufism in a pragmatic sense, as a moderating influence on what he sees as the more excessive and extreme aspects of Islam. Cragg has often been referred to as the Louis Massignon of the Church of England and the Anglican world’s encounter with Islam and the Muslim World. Cragg's comparison with Massignon is discussed further in this thesis by the Catholic and Dominican scholar Minlib Dallh in his monograph *The Sufi and the Friar: A Mystical Encounter of Two Men of God in the Abode of Islam*, (2017) based upon his University of Exeter doctoral Thesis, *A Mystical Encounter of a Dominican Friar, Serge de Beaurecueil (d. 2005).* Indeed, Dallh situates the subject of his thesis the spiritual journey Fr.Serge de Laugier de Beaurecueil OP (1917-2005) who studied the eleventh century Sufi  Khwājah Abdullāh Ansārī of Herat in an attempt to take seriously Kenneth Cragg’s challenge to Christians, in *The Hinge and the Lock (an 'ala qulubin aqfaluha)* which begins, 'Are there locks upon our hearts?'[[228]](#footnote-228) [Cragg, K, 1957, p. 269].

However, this thesis has shown that Cragg did not make an in-depth study and analysis of Sufism, as had Louis Massignon with whom Cragg has been likened, nor as Serge de Beaurecueil.[[229]](#footnote-229) Massignon became very involved, as an observer through study and text, in Sufism which became an important factor in his own faith. In fact, Cragg makes it clear in *The Wisdom of the Sufis* [Cragg, K, 1976, p. 9], that he did not value the 'highly technical analysis of the terminology used in early mystical writings in Islam', as developed by Massignon. Massignon's later life revolved around the historical and transhistorical personality of the great Persian Sufi of the third/nineth century, al-Hallaj, who lived and died in Baghdad. Massignon used the life of al-Hallaj to develop his idea of 'une courbe personelle de vie', a personal life curve. This is explained in his article, *Etude sur une courbe personelle de vie: le cas de Hallaj, martyr mystique de l’Islam* (1945). He states that the notion of a personal life curve had recently taken a place in social psychology. The notion of 'Curve of Life' is an answer to the methodological problems involved in studying the mystical object and the individuality of the mystic. Dallh writes 'Massignon’s treatment of hospitality has multiple roots: first, his experience entitled 'visitation of the Stranger', second, his firm belief in the mystical substitution (badaliyya), third, his interpretation of the three prayers of Abraham and lastly, the patriarch’s perfect hospitality offered to his three mysterious visitors' [Dallh, M, 2011, p. 242]. In this thesis I have also attempted to study Cragg's life and work, through the lens of a 'Theology of Biography'[[230]](#footnote-230) it is possible to gain an insight into a more spiritual quality of his life which has theological resonance for today.

Two persons who should be noted as profound influences upon Cragg’s life, work, and religious-political and theological thought were the Lebanese Christian philosopher, diplomat and theologian, Charles Malik 1906-1987, (who played a vital role in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), and the mystic and diplomat Dag Hammarskjöld 1905-1961, (the second secretary-general to the United Nations).

Cragg published a personal and thoughtful consideration of Malik, 'Charles Malik and the meaning of Lebanon', in *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* [Cragg, K, 2011b] – where it can be discerned that Hammarskjöld is to Cragg what al-Hallaj, as a martyr-mystic, is to Louis Massignon. Cragg had been profoundly attached to and influenced by the life and thought of Dag Hammarskjöld.

This thesis offers some pointers to future researchers on Cragg especially those who might wish to consider his work on the religion of Islam. I suggest that due attention needs to be given to his foundation in Christian Spirituality as grounded in the Anglican tradition and the Church of England. This thesis has attempted to describe this as 'Ecclesial Mysticism' as an echo of the study by Nicholas Lossky [Lossky, N, Ramsey, M, & Allchin, AM, 1991]*.* Cragg published numerous books, hundreds of articles, plus lectures, homilies and talks over many decades which cannot be reflected in one study. That said, this research has attempted to lay the foundations for future work by offering an original consideration of the life and work of Cragg especially noting the idea of Mysticism especially in Sufism, of his distinct account of Christian Spirituality in the context of his deep commitment to the ecclesial identity and character of the Church of England and highlighting his dialogue with Dag Hammarskjöld, and in particular, Charles Malik.

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Zwemer, S.M. (1937). *The solitary throne: addresses given at the Keswick Convention on the glory and the uniqueness of the christian message*. London: Pickering & Inglis.

1. See, Sudworth, R.J. (2014). Responding to Islam as Priests, Mystics, and Trail Blazers: Louis Massignon, Kenneth Cragg, and Rowan Williams. *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies, 55*(3-4), 451-472. 'When David Burrell describes Massignon as a “trail blazer” for Catholic inter-religious encounter we may also say the same of Cragg for Anglicanism' [Sudworth, RJ, 2014b, p. 469]. 'Rev Dr Richard Sudworth is Secretary for Inter Religious Affairs to the Archbishop of Canterbury & National Inter Religious Affairs Adviser for the Church of England. Before taking up his post in September 2018, he was a parish priest in inner city Birmingham.

   He is the author of *Encountering Islam: Christian-Muslim Relations in the Public Square*, and *Distinctly Welcoming: Christian Presence in a Multifaith Society*. His doctoral studies at the University of London were on Anglican political theology and Christian-Muslim Relations, and he has been involved in teaching trainee priests on Christian-Jewish relations and contributed to several studies on this subject in recent years' [Sudworth, R, 2023]. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. See, Arora, S., & Tyagi, A. (2022). Music as a blend of spirituality, culture, and mind mollifying drug. *Applied Acoustics,* 189. 'Music plays a developmental role in a person’s identity, cultural worldview and permeates through life... Music connects us to God.' [Arora, S & Tyagi, A, 2022, p. 1]. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. For an account of the development of Beethoven's spirituality and for the circumstances around the quotation, see, Sullivan, J.W.N. (1936). *Beethoven: his spiritual development*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf [Sullivan, JWN, 1936, pp. 3-5]. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Dr Henry Rowold is a professor emeritus of Practical Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

   He retired in 2009 after 14 years of distinguished service as mission professor of Practical Theology. He is also international research professor emeritus professor of the Institute of Mission Studies. Before joining the faculty of Concordia Seminary, he served as a missionary with The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod in Taiwan (1965-84); a mission planner in Southeast Asia (1984-87); and director of the China Mission Centre in Hong Kong (1987-95). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Christopher Lamb, born 1939. Ordained priest at St Paul's Cathedral, London December 21st, 1964. CMS Mission Partner Lahore, Pakistan 1969 - 1975. Interfaith Officer, Church of England General Synod & Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland 1991 - 1999. Rector, Warmington (St Michael) with Shotteswell and Radway with Ratley, Coventry, 1999-2006, Retired but Acting Interfaith Adviser for the Diocese of Coventry, Oct 2006 to present. (From Linkedin profile and entry in Crockford's Clerical Directory). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Dr Neema Parvin (2021), Senior Lecturer at the University of Surrey: ' Neema Parvini specialises in Shakespeare studies. His research interests include political and moral philosophy, cognitive psychology, early modern history, literary theory, and historiography. He took his BA (hons) in English from Royal Holloway, University of London in 2004. He gained his Masters degree in twentieth-century literature from Oxford university with distinction in 2005. He returned to Royal Holloway in 2006, where he was awarded a Thomas Holloway Scholarship to read for his PhD, which he completed in 2010. Neema has run the ‘Shakespeare and His World’ course at Richmond, The American International University in London since 2010. Before that, he taught at taught at Royal Holloway and Brunel' [Richmond University, 2023]. His new book the *Prophets of Doom* should be released in mid-2023. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Yet, the book opens with 'Swear!, Swear!, Swear! Swear! Cragg notes: 'William Shakespeare: Hamlet Act 1, Scene 5, the cellar where actors, prompters, musicians gathered and the nether regions of the Elizabethan universe' [Cragg, K, 2006a, pp. 1, 163]. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Although Cragg's quotations are extremely comprehensive, inevitably there are going to be omissions, as noted by Sam V. Bhajjan's review of Cragg's book, *Alive to God: Muslim and Christian Prayer,* 'Saints, fathers, bishops, mystics both men and women, poets and statesmen are represented. Hafsa of Granada, a poetess of Spain is there, but Räbi'ah of Basra, the most renowned mystic of the early Muslim era, has not been included' [Bhajjan, SV, 1972, p. 208]. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. See below: Section 4.2.1 Cragg using Hammarskjöld as an exemplar: Mysticism as a Christian ethic for leadership. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Cragg dedicates this book 'To the brethren of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, from many lands, 1960-1967, a Warden's grateful salute'. He then adds the following quotation: 'Ah, when to the heart of man Was it ever less than a treason To yield ... and accept the end Of a love or a season?' from, 'Reluctance' in *Complete Poems of Robert Frost.* (Copyright 1934 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Copyright © 1962 by Robert Frost.) Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.' [Cragg, K, 1968a, p. Front Matter Dedication Page]. The (unusual for Cragg) full and lengthy citation (although there is no page number) suggests that Cragg has gone to some considerable trouble to obtain permission to use this quotation. The quote reveals his sense of betrayal (his use here of 'treason' betrays that sense of betrayal) with the closure of the college. (See Section 2.6.2. Fellow and sub-Warden and Warden of St Augustine's College, Canterbury.) This dedication is a public slap in the face to Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Cragg saw as responsible for closing the college. However, few, if any would now registered this. Is Cragg having a private joke, or is he a cowering behind a veil of obscurity and ambiguity, or both? Perhaps Cragg had in mind something akin to *The Minister's Black Veil*, short story by Nathaniel Hawthorne [Hawthorne, N, 1900, pp. V 1, 32-50].

    Robert Frost was popular American poets made famous by his highly accessible work. In his poem 'Reluctance' the narrator, after a lengthy period of traveling, arrives home in winter, when everything is either dead or dying. Rather than give in to despair, he decides to try and reclaim the remnants of summer. Neither love nor the end of a season should be accepted with a simple 'bow'. They are both worth fighting for [Baldwin, E, 2023]. Ironically, Cragg, in his book *Faith and Life Negotiate*, ends a lengthy diatribe against the closure of the college with, 'against which all personal positive efforts after continuity were disallowed' [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 128]. Cragg was not permitted to fight against the closure. As a priest in the Church of England, he would have accepted canonical obedience to his bishop: 'Will you be loyal to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of Christ as this Church has received them? And will you, in accordance with the canons of this Church, obey your bishop and other ministers who may have authority over you and your work?' *BCP.* [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Cragg, in a footnote, gives the following citation: *Assaut à la Nuit*, Port au Prince, 1940: translated and quoted in G.R. Coulthard, Race and Colour in Caribbean Literature, London, 1962, p. 95. The title of the poem is 'Nedjé', not 'Assaut à la Nuit' which is the title of the book which contains the poem. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Cf: 'Cragg’s English is dense, and needs reading slowly for maximum effect, but repays the effort' [Taylor, W, 1992, p. 12]; ''The style is the man', we are frequently told, and the style here is recondite, allusive, dense, provocative, and often profound' [Garner, R, 2000, p. 138]; '... style and vocabulary suggest a scholarly readership' [Huffard, EW, 1993, p. 105]. Not all commentators are as positive: 'From beginning to end of this volume, language obscures thought' [Paris, CB, 1995, p. 334]. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Roussan Camille, (1912-1961, Haitian poet, journalist, and diplomat. He travelled widely and represented his country frequently as a cultural envoy. A collection of his poems, *Assaut à la Nuit*, was published in Port-au-Prince in 1940 [Hughes, L & Arna, B, 1949, p. 391]. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Footnote reads: 'Reprinted by permission of author and Mercer Cook, translator. First appeared in The American Anthology, Port-au-Prince, 1944' [Hughes, L & Arna, B, 1949, p. 366]. This book's full title is *The Haitian-American Anthology: Haitian Readings from American Authors,* Co-edited by Mercer Cook and Dantès Bellegarde. For an understanding of Cook's translation practice see *Diplomatic Translation and the Professional Selves of Mercer Cook,* by Aedín Ní Loingsigh [Ní Loingsigh, A, 2018]. Muna Lee's review of *The Haitian-American Anthology,* notes that the book was 'was designed to meet a specific need of Haitian students for class-room work'. The covers, bears the legend 'This book is not to be sold'. In 1943 President Lescot, three years before he fled into exile, he signed a decree making the teaching of English obligatory in all Haitian schools and colleges. Cook's mission as supervisor of the English-teaching project was one of the beneficial consequences of that law [Lee, M, 1945].

    [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Defamiliarization: 'the process by which literary works unsettle readers' habitual ways of seeing the world' [Drabble, M, 2000, p. 266]. Ostranenie encouraging people to see common things as strange, wild, or unfamiliar; defamiliarizing what is known in order to know it differently or more deeply. Ostranenie was originally a Russian word. The Russian literary critic and writer Viktor Shklovsky, was the first to use the term [Kielar, S, 2016]. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Deanne Bogdan is Professor Emerita in the Graduate Program in Philosophy of Education, Department of Theory and Policy Studies, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, where she taught philosophy of education, philosophy of literature, aesthetic theory, musical aesthetics, and women’s studies for over two decades. Her main book is *Re-educating the Imagination: Towards a Poetics, Politics, and Pedagogy of Literary Engagement*. Her numerous articles have appeared in New Literary History, The Journal of Education, Educational Theory, The Journal of Aesthetic Education, The Journal of Moral Education, Changing English, and The Philosophy of Music Education Review [Bogdan, D, 2020]. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Andreas Christmann, Dr. Phil (1999) in Islamic Studies, University of Leipzig, is Senior Lecturer in Contemporary Islam at the University of Manchester (UK). He has published extensively on religious thought and practices in contemporary Syria and Egypt. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. 'Virtuoso catenas of quotation': Geoffrey Rowell uses the same phrase 'catenae of quotations' (note correct use of plural). 'Pusey’s use of Ephraim in these eucharistic sermons is never isolated. It is always set in the context of catenae of quotations from the Fathers, and most often from the Greek Fathers, for it was to Cyril of Alexandria, above all, that Pusey looked for his eucharistic doctrine'  [Rowell, G, 1999, p. 117]. Here Rowell is showing how the use of ‘catenae of quotations’ is for a very specific purpose - to amplify, emphasise and further illustrate Pusey’s use of Ephraim’s eucharistic doctrine.

    Rowell (unlike Lamb) is using this technical term correctly, in that catenae are 'commentaries made up of short excerpts from the Fathers or other ancient writers, strung together like the links of a chain to form a continuous exposition of a passage of Scripture.’ Lamb is using the term out of its normal context. (See for example: Cahill, Michael, 'The History of Exegesis and Our Theological Future' [Cahill, M, 2000, p. 332f]. However, Rowell’s use 'catenae of quotations’ is a superfluity as catena means 'a chain of quotations or extracts', A better term would be the 'catena format' or simply use the fuller name, 'catenae patrum' or if he wanted to also make a literary allusion then, 'Catena Aurea' - 'The Golden Chain' as used by such people as St Thomas Aquinas (Cf: Travis Curtright, 'From Thomas More's Workshop: De Tristitia Christi and the Catena Aurea' [Curtright, T, 2015, p. 100f]. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. David A. Kerr (1945-2008) was a trusted colleague and an internationally renowned British scholar of Christian-Muslim relations and world Christianity. Prior to his last position as professor in Missiology and Ecumenics at the Centre for Theology and Religious Studies at Lund University, Sweden, he held academic positions in England, United States and Scotland. He was an advocate for peaceful *convivenzia* instead of construing the Christian-Muslim encounter as a clash of civilisations [Anon, 2008] See also, Akintunde E. Akinade, 'On Building Bridges: A Tribute to David A. Kerr, 1945–2008' [Akinade, AE, 2009]. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Cragg does not always favour the terms mystical or mysticism, but has a tendency to use vague terms such as 'mystery', for example in his chapter 'Doctrine' in A.J. Arberry, *Religion in the Middle East: Three Religions in Concord and Conflict,* written under the pseudonym Abd al-Tafahum, he refers to 'the ever present mystery of the Messiah' [al-Tafahum, A, aka Cragg, Kenneth, 1969, p. 365] [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Robert Birley's Clark Lectures, delivered in 1960-61 at Trinity College, Cambridge. The lectures were published in 1962 under the title, *Sunk without trace: some forgotten masterpieces* [Birley, R, 1962], which deals further with this literary phenomenon and concludes with 'Everything ends as a subject for a D.Phil. thesis' [Birley, R, 1962, p. p 208] [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Michael L. Fitzgerald is a member of the Society of Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers). He studied in Rome and London and taught in Uganda and at the Pontifical Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Rome. After a period on the General Council of the Missionaries of Africa, he was appointed as secretary to the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, and in 2002 became its president and an archbishop. From 2006 to 2012 he was the Apostolic Nuncio in Egypt and delegate to the League of Arab States. Pope Francis raised him to the rank of cardinal on 5 October 2019. Fitzgerald was appointed Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in the 2022 New Year Honours for services to interfaith and interchurch partnerships. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. From the register at the Bodleian Library, Oxford: Readers who have signed to read Cragg's thesis:

    Ian Douglas, Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies, Jalralhur [Jalalpur?] M.P. India Oct 25 1962.

    Barbara J. Rojoz? L.S.C.C. Oxford March 8th 1977.

    Christopher Lamb, Birmingham 5th Feb 1981 9 March 1981.

    Ataullah Siddiqui, 126 Nausen Road Leicester LE5 No date.

    Leni Maland, Oslo 29.7.97.

    Bard Maland, Oxford 20/12/99.

    M.R. Maniff, Oxford 4.06.2005.

    Daniel Janosik, Columbia USA 22.07.2005.

    Todd Thompson Qata, 22 Feb 2013.

    David Derrick, London 30,01,2016. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. These are set out in Appendix II of George Koovackal's *Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies* [Koovackal, G, 1981, pp. 110-113] [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Other publications by Lamb relating to Cragg are:

    Lamb, C. (1981). The Editorials of the Muslim World, 1911–1968. *The Muslim World, 71*(1), 3-26 [Lamb, C, 1981] These also contain the editorials written by Cragg.

    Lamb, C. (1989). Book Review: The Christ and the Faiths: Theology in Cross-Reference by Kenneth Cragg. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research, 13*(2), 92-93 [Lamb, C, 1989].

    Lamb, C. (1993). A Bibliography of Kenneth Cragg. *The Muslim World, 83*(2), 177-191 [Lamb, C, 1993].

    Lamb, C.A. (2001). Review of Islam among the spires: an Oxford reverie by Kenneth Cragg. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, 12*(3), 395-396 [Lamb, CA, 2001].

    Lamb also gave an address 'An Introduction to Kenneth Cragg' at a conference, *Bishop Kenneth Cragg: 10 years on,* at the Centre for Muslim-Christian Studies, Oxford, 15th November 2022 [Lamb, C, 2022].

    [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. *Charles Malik and the Origins of a Christian Critique of Orientalism in Lebanon and Britain* [Thompson, TM, 2015]. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. This article differs only slightly from Bård Mæland's 'The plural significance of Jerusalem Kenneth Cragg’s theological vision ex infra' [Mæland, B, 2007]. While neither article mentions Cragg's relationship with mysticism, they do give a detailed account through Cragg's biographical details, of the development of his theological thought specifically in connection with his time in and involvement with Jerusalem. To this extent the article functions in a similar manner (but in reverse) to that of Bernard Erling's study of Hammarskjöld's Linking the development of Hammarskjöld's spiritual life as recorded in *Markings,* with the life events which moulded that inner life [Erling, B, 1999]. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. See, Wilson, J. C. (1952). *Apostle to Islam: A biography of Samuel M. Zwemer*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House. (Historian Kenneth Scott Latourette in his Introduction to this book stated that, 'No one through all the centuries of Christian missions to the Muslims has deserved better than Dr. Zwemer the designation of Apostle to Islam.' [Wilson, JC, 1952, p. 5] [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. See, Padwick, C. E. (1922). *Temple Gairdner of Cairo*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (Cragg remembers that he 'bought a paper-back copy of Constance Padwick’s *Temple Gairdner of Cairo* and wandered into the Christ Church Meadows to peruse it, little knowing what part its author and her hero would play in my own future' [Cragg, K, 1994b, pp. 43-44]. An observer's notebook from the Mass Observation online archive, reports that in Holy Trinity Church, Blackpool, 'There is a lending library near the main entrance.' The observer lists the books there which includes '*Temple Gairdner of Cairo* (Padwick)'. It is within the realms of possibility that this was Cragg's own copy, donated by Cragg when leaving for Lebanon in 1939 [WRL, 1939]. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. See: Ipema, P. (1971). *The Islam Interpretations of Duncan B. Macdonald, Samuel M. Zwemer, A. Kenneth Cragg and Wilfred C. Smith: An Analytical Comparison and Evaluation*. Hartford Connecticut: Hartford Seminary Foundation; Root, E. d. W. (1964). Louis Massignon and Duncan Black Macdonald. *The Muslim World, 54*(4), 307-309. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. See: Cragg, K. (1969). Constance E Padwick, 1886-1968. *Muslim World, 59*(1), 29-39; Laing, C. (2010). The Power of the Printed Word: Constance Padwick’s model for 20th century Anglican mission to the Muslim world. *Henry Martyn Centre*. Retrieved from https://nanopdf.com/download/historical-background-5ad61bd33b62f\_pdf Accessed 18.06.2020; Laing, C. (2013). A provocation to mission: Constance Padwick's study of Muslim devotion. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, 24*(No. 1, Jan. 2013), 27-42. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Cragg also wrote the following articles: 'Temple Gairdner's legacy' [Cragg, K, 1981c]; an entry in the *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, 'Gairdner, W(illiam) H(enry) Temple' [Cragg, K, 1999c]; 'Muslim Prayer Manuals: Review of Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use. By Constance E Padwick' [Cragg, K, 1961]; 'Constance E Padwick, 1886-1968' [Cragg, K, 1969b]. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Margaret D. Mitchell was no shrinking violet. Her article in *The Muslim World*, 'The influence of a Christian home in a Moslem environment: a Symposium by women missionaries',makes the plea that if the usual term 'missionary's wife' is exchanged for 'missionary-wife' then, 'it would be at once a challenge to service of all kinds. [Gairdner, MD, 1918, p. 16]. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. An indication of the level of scholarship undertaken in this work can be seen from the 'Acknowledgment' page at the front of the book: 'I have greatly profited from hints, generously lavished in the course of correspondence, from Professors D.B. Macdonald, R. Nicholson, and Louis Massignon, in addition to recent works by the last two. My cordial thanks to these; and also to Professor D.S. Margoliouth for discussing with me some of the difficult points in the translation' [Gairdner, WHT, 1952]. A more recent translation of *Al-Ghazzālī's Mishkāt al-anwār* was made by David Buchman [Buchman, D, 1998]. In 'A note on the translation' Buchman writes that, '*The Niche of Lights* has previously been translated into French by Roger Deladrière, ... and into English by W.H.T. Gairdner. ... I checked my own translation against that of both Deladrière and Gairdner. Deladrière's translation is more literal that Gairdner's. I found that Gairdner divides the text where al-Ghazzālī does not, and he is not consistent with his in his use of technical terms. Deladrière is more careful and consistent with his terminology and follows the Arabic text closely' [Buchman, D, 1998, p. xxxv]. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. *Gore, C. (1890). Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation. London: John Murray.* [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. One of the many editorials he wrote for the Muslim World. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Surat Muhammad: 24, 'Do they not contemplate the Quran, or are there locks on the hearts?' [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Paul-Gordon Chandler is a U.S. Episcopal priest serving in the Middle East. He grew up in Muslim West Africa, and has lived and worked extensively throughout the Islamic world with churches, Christian publishing, and relief and development agencies. He is the author of *God’s Global Mosaic* and is married with two children [Rowold, H, 2023]. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Mazhar Mallouhi (born 1935) is an Arab Syrian novelist and writer widely read in the Middle East. Having lived in many Arab countries, Mallouhi seeks to bridge the chasm of misunderstanding between Muslims and Christians through his novels and practical theology by demonstrating how Christ can bridge the gap between the two. Mallouhi has gained great respect among Muslim leaders and popularity with Muslim readers. His sound scholarship and literary giftedness have earned him unique acceptance in the literary and intellectual communities of the Middle East. https://en-academic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/11716457 accessed 28.03.2023. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. See, for example, McClendon, J. W. (2002). *Biography as theology: How life stories can remake today's theology*: Wipf and Stock Publishers. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. See for example: Cragg, K. (1970). *Alive to God: Muslim and Christian prayer*. London: Oxford U.P. p 89, 93, 115; Cragg, (11). *Bent to Literary Event: Masters in Their Masterpieces*. London: Melisende. p 71-2; Cragg, K. (2010). *The Breaking of The Bread*. London: Melisende. p 34; Cragg, K. (1977). *The Christian and Other Religion: The Measure of Christ*. London: Mowbrays. p 117, 118, 128; Cragg, K. (1968). *Christianity in world perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press. p 179, 193; Cragg, K. (2010). *Dying Daily: Quotidian Living*. London: Melisende. p 46; Cragg, K. (2010). *Dying Daily: Quotidian Living*. London: Melisende. p 57, 205; Cragg, K. (1999). *Jesus and the Muslim: An Exploration*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications. p 144, 164; Cragg, K. (2001). *Muhammad in the Qur'an: the task and the text*. London: Melisende. p 196,200; Cragg, K. (2006). *The Qur'an and the West*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press. p 180. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. McClendon regards Aulén as 'the chief Lutheran interpreter of Hammarskjold’s faith'. [McClendon, JW, 2002, p. 33] Andrew W. Cordier and Wilder Foote further note that 'Since the publication of his spiritual diary, *Markings,* two very valuable interpretative studies of its meaning have appeared. These are Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen’s *Dag Hammarskjold - The Statesman and His Faith* and Bishop Gustaf Aulén’s *Dag Hammarskjold’s White Book.*' [Cordier, AW & Foote, W, 1972, p. 21]. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. See further: Begbie, H. (1909). *Broken earthenware: a footnote in narrative to Professor William James's study in human nature 'the varieties of religious experience'*. London: Hodder and Stoughton. For Begbie , the terms 'twice-born' and 'born-again' are inter-changeable [Begbie, H, 1909, pp. 15, 57, 73, 142, 162]. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. On 27 December 2019, UN General Assembly agrees to pursue inquiry into the causes of the plane crash killing Dag Hammarskjöld and colleagues. http://www.hammarskjoldinquiry.info Accessed 17.05.2020 [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Monica Bouman is a psychologist and independent researcher, based in The Netherlands. In 2001, she defended a multi-disciplinary thesis on the spirituality and political ethics of Dag Hammarskjöld at the Catholic

    University Nijmegen (now Radboud University). Publications include: Henning Melber and Carsten Stahn edit. 2014, Chapter 6, Dag Hammarskjöld and the Politics of Hope, and Dag Hammarskjöld, Citizen of the World, Kampen 2005. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Andrew T. Kania is the director of spirituality at Aquinas College in Manning, Perth, Western Australia. His Doctoral Thesis, *The Art of Love: A Study of Dag Hammarskjöld's Mystical Theology,* was awarded from Uppsala University in 2000. A copy of his doctoral thesis is in the library of Blackfriars Studium, St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LY. This copy has been used in the research of the thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. For a more detailed account of the trial see, *Sifting and Winnowing* by Theodore Herfurth [Herfurth, T, 1949]. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. See for example: Donald A. Downs and Stanley G. Payne, 'The Wisconsin Fight for Academic Freedom' [Downs, DA & Payne, SG, 2016]. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Referring to the Qur'an, Cragg writes: 'In its actual history stands a long pattern of sifting and testing, with the consequent suspicion of the spurious and the obsolete' [Cragg, K, 1965, p. 72]. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Wolfgang Giegerich (born 1942) a practicing Jungian analyst and a long-time contributor to the field. Now living in Berlin, he is the author of numerous books, among them What Is Soul? and Neurosis: The Logic of a Metaphysical Illness. Giegerich’s Collected English Papers include The Neurosis of Psychology (Vol. I). Technology and the Soul (Vol. 2), Soul-Violence (Vol. 3), The Soul Always Thinks (Vol. 4), The Flight into the Unconscious (Vol. 5), and Dreaming the Myth Onwards (Vol. 6) [Anon, 2020]. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. 'Wolfgang Müller Kranefeldt,, a prominent Jungian both before and after the war [WW2]', [Kirsch, TB, 2000, p. 127]. See also Thomas B. Kirsch, *The Jungians: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, [Kirsch, TB, 2000, p. 25]. Kirsch also claims that 'In the *History of the Psychoanalytic Movement*, Freud referred to Jung as a mystic who had left the discipline of psychoanalysis' [Kirsch, TB, 2000, p. 129]. However, in Freud's book, although he is critical of Jung and the Zurich School, he refers to them as using 'abstract streams of thought of ethics and religious mysticism' [Freud, S, 1917]. *Andre Tridon's book, Psychoanalysis and Behavior*, gives a more balanced account of the differences between Freud and Jung and the Zurich School. When referring to the libido, Tridon notes that to Jung 'this force is a mysterious thing' [Tridon, A, 1920, p. 305]. See also, Lionel Corbett, Jung and Mysticism [Corbett, L, 2018]. The definition(s) of mysticism will be discussed later in this thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. This is a transcript of Cragg's lecture. An mp3 file of the lecture was purchased from the Guild of Pastoral Studies. An abstract of the lecture reads: 'Kenneth Cragg was the Bishop of Jerusalem. When in 1991 he presented this talk, it had been almost 40 years since Islam had been the subject of a Guild lecture. Kenneth spoke Arabic fluently and understood the meaning of Qur'an 'as it is understood by Muslims' through his love of that work, and through his intimate knowledge of many Muslim people and their culture. This pre-'9/11' talk is not loaded with the expectation of terrorism within Islam or with the exegesis of terrorism’s meaning, but explains its precepts clearly and concisely. He asks us to find and realise and celebrate the 'overlap' which Islam shares with Christianity.' [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. 'Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, also spelled Taha Hussein or Taha Husain, (born Nov. 14, 1889, Maghāghah, Egypt—died Oct. 28, 1973, Cairo), outstanding figure of the modernist movement in Egyptian literature whose writings, in Arabic, include novels, stories, criticism, and social and political essays. Outside Egypt he is best known through his autobiography, *Al-Ayyām* (3 vol., 1929–67; *The Days*), the first modern Arab literary work to be acclaimed in the West. In 1997 all three parts were published together in English translation as *The Days*.' [Luebering, JE, 2022]. Cragg was one of the translators of this book [Hussein, T, 1997]. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. 'Founded in 970, the mosque had early gained a high reputation as a school of Islamic studies' [Hussein, T, 1948, p. v]. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Rt Rev John Taylor, (1914-2001). 'Bishop of Winchester between 1975 and 1985, chairman of the Church of England Doctrine Commission from 1978 until 1985, and one of the great missionaries of his generation... *The Primal Vision* (1963) had been groundbreaking on African understanding of religion' [Webster, A, 2001]. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. The title of Arthur Miller's play *The Crucible* is an example of this meaning. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. The crucible is for refining silver and the furnace is for gold, likewise the Lord tests hearts. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. As the crucible is for silver and the furnace is for gold, so a person is proved by the praise he receives. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. A Paper presented to the Seminar for Christian-Muslim Study of the Near and Middle East Committee of the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. at a meeting in the Damascus Restaurant, New York, on February 18th, 1953. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. 'Ahmad Amin (1886-1954), one of the leaders of the Islamic enlightenment movement, a famous writer, and a prominent figure in academic studies in literature... During his works as a judge and later on as a university professor he had an enlightened position joining the knowledge of the modern era with the soul of his oriental and Islamic tradition' [Anon, ng]. [Amīn, A, 1978]. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. 'Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-1889) was brought up as a High Anglican. He converted to Catholicism in 1866 and joined the priesthood living a life of obedience in the strictest of the Catholic orders (the Jesuits) after his conversion to the faith.  When he died of typhoid in 1889, aged just 44, virtually none of his poetry had been published. His long, experimental poem about a shipwreck in the Thames estuary in 1876, *The Wreck of the Deutschland*, was not published until 1918 in a collected edition by his university friend Robert Bridges – then the poet laureate. By the mid-20th century, Hopkins was regarded as a visionary genius. His poetry remains difficult' [Edge, S, 2017]. (While Edge may consider the Jesuits to be the 'strictest of Catholic orders', it depends on the meaning of strict. Perhaps The Trappists, officially described as the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance might be a contender for the title.) Gregory Woods, in his book, *A History of Gay Literature: The Male Tradition*, discusses the sexual spirituality of Hopkins:

    *'Christ minds; Christ’s interest, what to avow or amend*

    *There, eyes them, heart wants, care haunts, foot follows kind,*

    *Their ransom, their rescue, and first, fast, last friend.*

    The striking thing about this and many other passages in Hopkins’ poetry, letters and sermons is that he envisages Christ’s love in such intense and intimate terms. This is his attraction to orthodox Catholics, though they hardly dare say so: he puts the love of God into terms the immediacy of which our own physical lives have led us to comprehend' [Woods, G, 1998, p. 172]. Cragg makes no reference to this aspect of Hopkin's poetry although he must have been aware of it. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. 'Stretching seven miles along the Fylde Coast sea front, the Blackpool Promenade welcomes millions of visitors every year. The promenade makes up the North, Central and South Shores, and is most renowned for the Golden Mile, a popular area home to a multitude of year-round, family-friendly events, activities, and attractions, including the famous Blackpool Tower. The Golden Mile received its nickname from the days when this area of the promenade was booming with amusement arcades, many of which are still open today. The Golden Mile is 1.6 miles long. It extends from the North Pier to the South Pier on Blackpool’s sea front and makes up a small section of the promenade' [Anon, 2022b]. Blackpool, the world’s first mass-market seaside resort, was attracting 17 million people a year at the time of Craggs youth [Davies, M, 2017]. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Cragg's family worshipped at Christ Church, South Shore, Blackpool. It was founded in 1861 and closed in 1982. John Porter, in his book,*History of the Fylde of Lancashire,* records that: 'Christ Church in 1872 was converted into a parish and the title of vicar was given to the incumbent' [Porter, J, 1876, p. 347]. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Gary S. Cross*, Worktowners at Blackpool: Mass-Observation and Popular Leisure in the 1930s,* has a chapter titled, *Intersex and the moral law*, in which he explores 'the fringes of morality -the allure and control of sexual ambiguity, a theme often noted by historians of festivals'. [Cross, GS, 1990, p. 186]. He concludes the chapter noting that despite the titillations of the various attractions, '... because of the fate which follows freedom of sexual contact ... Observers found that less than 1 in every 10,000 Blackpool visitors takes this risk' [Cross, GS, 1990, p. 195]. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Blackpool Pleasure Beach is a family-owned amusement park founded in 1896. Amongst its many claims to fame it that of having the largest number of roller coasters of any part in the UK. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. See Jeffery, T. (1978). *Mass observation - a short history*. Stencilled occasional paper. University of Birmingham [Jeffery, T, 1978]. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Frederick Quinn, Adjunct Professor of History at Utah State University, an Episcopal Priest and a retired senior Foreign Service officer, notes that in 2003 while on sabbatical at Oxford University, he had 'several long conversations with Bishop Kenneth Cragg.' He observed that: 'Cragg is often presented as a traditional Evangelical, but his stated positions about other religions are more complex than is usually assumed. While being solidly biblically grounded, he is also a herald of the 'generous Christianity' centrists emerging today.' It is notable that when Quinn tried to draw Cragg into declaring himself as either a conservative or a liberal, 'he deftly avoided the attempt.' [Quinn, F, 2012, pp. 165-166]. See also: Quinn, F. (2006). 'Am I not your lord?': Kenneth Cragg on Muslim-Christian dialogue. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 26*(1), 127-133. Quinn, F. (2008). Appendix “Am I Not Your Lord?” Interview with Kenneth Cragg on Muslim–Christian Dialogue. In *The Sum of All Heresies: The image of Islam in Western Thought*. New York: OUP. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. However, while Cragg acknowledges the importance of his parish church Christ Church in his early development, he also assumes that the local Primary School was also 'the seedtime of my soul' [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 18]. 'Seedtime' is a metaphor that Cragg as frequently used elsewhere. See, 'The Noahid being the ‘covenant’ of seedtime and harvest’ in Genesis 8:22 which would avail for all and sundry, everywhen and everywhere' [Cragg, K, 1997, p. 87]. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. During the First World War the system was closely investigated by H.A.L Fisher, the president of the board of education. Fisher travelled around the country inspecting schools in villages, towns and cities. He became aware of a critical problem of under-financing. Fisher's far-sighted plans for change and improvement were embodied in the wide-ranging Education Act of 1918 which aimed to meet the growing demand for improvements in the availability of education, and improved standards. He favoured the principle that education was vital not only to the individual, but also to society [Anon, 2023b]. See, Sherington, G.E. (1976). The 1918 Education Act: Origins, Aims and Development. *British Journal of Educational Studies* [Sherington, GE, 1976]. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. 'Toney': adjective, less common spelling of TONY: marked by an aristocratic or high-toned manner or style. See: 'tony private schools'. Merriam-Webster online dictionary: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/toney accessed 28.11.2018. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Tarantara! tarantara!: From Gilbert and Sullivan's Pirates of Penzance, No. 16: Recitative (Major-General & Frederic); No. 17: Chorus (With Solos). [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. As reported in *The Times*, Monday, 1 October 1934; p. 7; Issue 46873; Col C: *Ecclesiastical News Grafton Scholarship*. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Which as Cragg notes, still meets to this day. For a current survey of the OICCU's activities see Dutton, E. (2016). *Meeting Jesus at University: Rites of Passage and Student Evangelicals*. London: Routledge. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Charles Malik, who later was to become a great influence in Cragg's life, became a member of the Oxford Group while at studying Philosophy at Harvard (1932). The Oxford Group, later renamed Moral Re-Armament, was a religious revival movement led by the American evangelist Dr Frank Buchman, which in the 1920s and 1930s had gained a large following on college campuses in the US and Britain. He attended the 'massive' International House-Party in Oxford in 1934 (just as Cragg was finishing his BA Degree). [Mitoma, G, 2010, p. 231]. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Herbert Wallace Cragg (18 November 1910 – 27 July 1980). He was educated at St John's College, Durham and ordained in 1934. After curacies in Liverpool and Cheadle he held incumbencies in Blackburn, Carlisle and Beckenham. He was Archdeacon of Bromley from 1969 to 1978. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. See for example: Houghton, A.T. (1961). *The Keswick Convention 1961*. Memphis, TN: NPL Publishing [Houghton, AT, 1961]. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Some of Herbert Cragg's publications include: Cragg, H. W. (1948). *The conqueror's way: the experience of victory in Christ*. London: Inter-Varsity Fellowship; Cragg, H. W. (1962). *The sole sufficiency of Jesus Christ: studies in the Epistle to the Colossians*. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott; Cragg, H. W. (1965). An Up-to-date Salvation: The Blood of Christ. In *The Keswick Week 1965*. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott; Cragg, H. W. (1966). *Victory in the Christian life*. London: Victory Press.; Cragg, H. W. (1966). *The Holy Spirit and the Christian life.* (New ed.). London: Victory Press. These last two books, published as paperbacks, represent the Keswick message at its best, with proper weight given both to the resting and the wrestling path to maturity. The book on the Holy Spirit is an almost verbatim reproduction of a series given at Filey Holiday Crusade in

    1962 but, apart from a few colloquialisms, it still reads well.

    The Islington Conference began in 1827 and was an annual meeting for Church of England Evangelicals. Herbert Cragg is recorded as having given the addresses or sermons at the following meetings: 13 January 1958: Seven Pillars of Wisdom, *The New Birth and Growth in Grace* (Herbert W. Cragg); 10 January 1961: The Word of God in the World Today, Conference Sermon: *The Word of God and the Life of the Minister*, (Herbert W. Cragg); 21–23 September 1959: Reconciliation**,** Practical Consequences of Reconciliation, (Herbert W. Cragg) [Atherstone, A & Maiden, J, 2014, pp. 291-292, 308]. 'The Islington Clerical Conference is the best index of the Anglican evangelical standpoint over a very long period' [Bebbington, DW, 2014, p. 48].

    [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Church Congresses: a series of unofficial gatherings of Anglican Churchmen held between 1861 and 1938 [Cross, FL & Livingstone, EA, 1997, pp. 349-350]. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Wycliffe Hall was established in 1877 as an evangelical ministerial college at the heart of Oxford. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Graham Brown became Bishop in Jerusalem and was largely responsible for Cragg becoming a missionary in Lebanon in 1939 (See further below). [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. 'Among the causes of the divisions of the 1920s, a primary place must be given to the emergence of conflicting estimates of the Bible [Bebbington, DW, 2004, p. 183]'. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. The book is designed for study groups, with each chapter concluding with a list of questions for probing deeper into the areas discussed. Lamb, commenting on Cragg's various publications for study groups, comments: ' In general it must be said that these publications demand a consider­ able grasp of the English language, and a constant, serious and deep en­gagement with Christian themes and Muslim friends and society if they are to be made real use of [Lamb, C, 1997, p. 122].' [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. 'suborning', this is a strange use of this term here. Perhaps suggestive of some bad feeling about Cragg abandoning the British Syrian Mission so early in his engagement with it. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. See, Mitoma, G.T. (2013). Charles Malik, the International Bill of Rights, and Ultimate Things. In Mitoma, G.T. (Ed.), *Human rights and the negotiation of American power* (pp. 103-133) [Mitoma, GT, 2013]; Glendon, M.A. (2011). The First Lady and the Philosopher: Eleanor Roosevelt, Charles Malik, and the Human Rights Project. In *The Forum and the Tower: How Scholars and Politicians Have Imagined the World, from Plato to Eleanor Roosevelt* (pp. 199-220) [Glendon, MA, 2011]. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. The United Bible Societies (UBS), founded in 1946, is a global fellowship of around 150 Bible Societies operating in more than 240 countries and territories. It has working hubs in England, Singapore, Nairobi, and Miami. Its mission is to make the Bible available and accessible to everyone who wants it, and to help people engage with its message in meaningful and relevant ways. It has provided nearly three-quarters of the world's full Bible translations and is the world's biggest translator, publisher, and distributor of the Bible. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress Washington, DC. Charles Habib Malik Papers; Subject File, 1930-1982; Container: BOX 148, Contents: Hammarskjöld, Dag, Markings, annotated by Malik, 1964-1966 [McAleer, MH, 2010, p. 30]. This archive contains 'the bulk of Malik’s letters and speeches which have been stored in the Library of Congress since the 1979, and have been on public display since 2004 [Nasrallah, TE, 2011, p. 22]. The archive also contains papers relating to Kenneth Cragg, 1942-1951, 1964-1969 [McAleer, MH, 2010, p. 12]. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Tony E. Nasrallah is an instructor of Civilization Studies at the American University of Beirut and an associate researcher at Notre Dame University (Lebanon). He has co-edited a book by Charles H. Malik on the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, and has published several academic articles. Nasrallah has a Master’s Degree in History from the American University of Beirut, and obtained his PhD at the Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut. He is a leading researcher on Charles Malik, who shared his insights on Charles Malik’s, philosophy and the Middle East at large [Haber, R, 2021]. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. See Farid El-Khazen, *The Communal Pact of National Identities: The Making and Politics of the 1943 National Pact* [El-Khazen, F, 1991]. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. See: Suleiman, M.W. (1967). The Role of Political Parties in a Confessional Democracy: The Lebanese Case. *The Western Political Quarterly, 20*(3), 682-693 [Suleiman, MW, 1967]. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Born in 1906 to a Greek Orthodox family in the northern village of Btorram, Throughout his life Malik would maintain a devout, if un­conventional, faith in what many American missionaries regarded as a “deca­dent” Eastern religion [Mitoma, G, 2010:227-228]. The well-known author of *Orientalism*, Edward W. Said, is related to Malik. In his book *Out of place: a memoir*, Said commenting on Malik, observes that: 'A student of Heidegger's at Fribourg and Whitehead's at Harvard during the thirties, Malik had already acquired the sobriquet "the divine Charles," as much for his brilliance as for his religious penchant. Greek Orthodox by birth, he was Roman Catholic (and by association Maronite) by predilection; Eva, the granddaughter of a staunchly Protestant pastor, converted to Catholicism during her marriage to Charles, as did her younger sister Lily, my mother's closest friend among her relatives' [Said, EW, 2000:264]. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Cragg is referring to the First Muslim-Christian Convocation: Bhamdoun, Lebanon, April 22-27, 1954.

    To understand the spirit that dominated the conference, a few passages from the minutes of the meeting that have since been published are reproduced verbatim (page numbers are given in brackets): 'We aim at making Christians better Christians, and Muslims better Muslims... Materialism is our common foe. (2) Misguided zeal and fanaticism tore the two great religions asunder ... ; a new dawn is breaking ... ; being fully aware of the differences in our theological concept,... we believe that ... we can march forward in a new comrade ship of ideas. (12) ... as believers in God ... we are here first of all for fellowship ...; we should get to know one another better ... and to cooperate for God ... (and)for the forces of good ... (in) mutual trust and confidence. (27) There is no desire that in any sense any man's faith shall be changed. (28) ... these two religions can work together for the prosperity and happiness of all human beings and can spread universal brother hood all over the world. (52) The greatest power in this world is ... love. (65) ... a righteous civilization ... can be achieved through the moral values and justice enshrined in the Bible and the Quran. (75) We as Muslims and Christians, should adhere to the commands of our prophets. (77) We must become real Muslims and real Christians. (78) We must really get into ... social action and into prayer as well. (83) For both Muslims and Christians there is enough work of self-conversion and the conversion of their own people. The spiritual assets of Islam and Christianity ... have contributed to the world the bases for a good, clean, secure life. (96) The Crusades ... created a chasm between Islam and Christendom ... (97) We must speak our minds, always with kindness, always with frankness. (102) Statement of Purpose: OM1954,288. (114) Refugees ... Their misery weighs heavily on our hearts and consciences. (II7) The Bhamdoun Covenant: We... do pledge that under God we will work unceasingly with mutual confidence and regard for the rights of others to promote understanding and brotherliness between the adherents of Islam and Christianity. (128) Declaration ... adopted ... at Alexandria, on February 14, 1955: ... With penitence we ... call the people of both Christianity and Islam to a renewed devotion to God and His Will ... Religious faith must end in a ministry of compassion ... We must ... eliminate hatred and misunderstanding ... Our faith must ... be lived .. in the home, the school, the market, and the government. (129) The Constitution..., February 14, 1955: Article II. The objects of the Fellowship are: ... Section2. To develop and encourage plans promoting better understanding and fuller cooperation between Muslims and Christians on a world level and in local communities ...; Section 4. To encourage study and fair presentation and interpretation of the Qur'an and of the Bible'. (Minutes of the Administrative Committee Meeting, Washington 15.-18. June 1956). See also: [Bethmann, EW, 1957], [Continuing Committee on Muslim-Christian Cooperation, 1958] [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. A *Survey of Dialogue between Christians and Muslims* (1980) notes that, 'The second convocation was scheduled for 1956, but apparently never took place' [Anon, 1980, p. 13]. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. See Gore, C. *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation* [Gore, C, 1890]. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Cragg notes that 'The Journal, begun by Dr Samuel Zwemer in 1911, was one of the earliest in the field of inter-faith studies, while the Seminary’s ‘Area Studies’ included India, Africa and Latin America' [Cragg, K, 1994b, p. 58]. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. See S. Wesley Ariarajah's entry, Interfaith Dialogue (Dialogue, Interfaith) [Ariarajah, SW, 2002, p. 313]. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. The publication *The Living Church*, a weekly record of the news, the work and the thought of the Episcopal Church, reports that: 'The canonries in Jerusalem are named for significant places in the Holy Land. Other occupants with their stalls, are ... the Rev. A. Kenneth Cragg, Bethany ...' [Day, P, 1961, p. 9]. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. The fund also attracted money for other sources, for example, The Executive Council of the National and World Mission Committee of the Episcopal Church, USA, resolved that, ' That the Good Friday Offering for 1977 be designated as follows: $20,000 to the Diocese of Jerusalem; 500 toward the travel of Bishop Kenneth Cragg in the Middle East; 2,000 toward the budget of the Central Synod; 20% of the balance to Orthodox Church projects; The balance to be divided evenly among the four dioceses: Jerusalem, Egypt, Cyprus and Iran; and be it further Resolved, That the same general pattern of designation be followed in the years 1978 and 1979' [Executive Council, 1977]. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) was the British state-owned airline created in 1939 by the merger of Imperial Airways and British Airways Ltd. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. Cragg writes modestly about his flights. However, he was part of an important piece of aviation history. Robin Higham, in his book *Speedbird: The Complete History of BOAC*, writes of 'The development of flight technology enabled much faster connections between Britain and her imperial possessions - as the colonies prepared for independence BOAC ferried diplomats, politicians and colonial administrators between London and the far-flung corners of Africa and Asia in much faster times than had previously been possible' [Higham, R, 2013]. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. Cragg's obituary in *The Church of England Newspaper*, reports that Bishop Cragg donated a tapestry that hangs in the church of Holy Trinity, Ascott-under-Wychwood. Cragg had 'woven a number of the panels while waiting at stations and airports during his long missionary career' [Anon, 2012, p. 2]. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. *The Living Church* reported on the 12th of March, 1961 that, 'The Rev. Canon Albert Kenneth Cragg, 47, will be the new head of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, England, the central college of the Anglican Communion. Dr. Cragg is the author of many books, including *The Call of the Minaret*, which has been called "the most important missionary book of this century." He advocates an understanding encounter with devotees of other religions, rather than an aggressive approach' [Morgan, D, 1961, p. 24]. One month later, on the 16th of April, *The Living Church* reported that, '...the Rev. Kenneth Cragg, a Church of England clergyman and a student of Islam, [gave] a talk at a luncheon meeting of the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Dr. Cragg is the author of *Scandal at the Mosque* [sic], and *The Call of the Minaret*' [RNS, 1961, p. 9]. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. cf Robert Ewell, Guide to St. Augustine's Monastery and Missionary College [Ewell, R, 1896]. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. cf Margaret Sparks, The Recovery and Excavation of the St. Augustine's Abbey Site, 1844-1947 [Sparks, M, 1984] [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. George Alfred Swartz: he was born on 8 September 1928 and died in retirement in Cape Town on New Year’s Eve 2006. Ordained in 1955, he began his career with a Curacy in Cape Town and held a number of pastoral posts in the area before becoming a Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese in 1972. Eleven years later he was translated to become ninth Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman where he remained until retirement. Bishop Swartz originated a link between Kimberley and Kuruman and the Diocese of Atlanta in the United States of America, and on 5 June 1984 he was awarded Freedom of the City of Compton. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. Cragg (under the pseudonym of 'Abd Al-Tafahum, a name he frequently wrote under, particularly during the 1950s) had published (in two parts) an article in *The Muslim World*, ''City of Wrong', A Muslim studies the Cross' [Al-Tafahum, A, 1956b], [Al-Tafahum, A, 1956a]. The article anticipated the publication of Cragg's translation of Muhammad Kamil Husain [sic], *Qaryah Zalimah* (published in Cairo, 1954) and translated as *City of Wrong: A Friday in Jerusalem* [Ḥusayn, MK, 1959]. Hussein's novel, which won the State Prize for Literature, looks at the events of the first Good Friday from a Muslim standpoint. It is interesting to note how the spelling of this name varies so greatly, as with many Arabic names. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Other books in the series includes: Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism:* *The Nature and Development of Spiritual Consciousness*; Evelyn Underhill, *The Spiritual Life: Great Spiritual Truths for Everyday Life*; Kahlil Gibran, *Jesus the Son of Man*; Brother Lawrence, *The Practice of the Presence of God*; R.C. Zaehner, *Hindu & Muslim Mysticism*; Edwin A. Abbott. *Flatland: A Parable of Spiritual Dimensions*; W. Montgomery Watt*, The Faith & Practice of Al-Ghazali*; Margaret Smith, Rábi'a: *The Life & Work of Rábi'a and other Women Mystics in Islam*. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Arend Theodoor van Leeuwen, *Christianity in World History: The Meeting of the Faiths of East and West* [van Leeuwen, AT, 1966]. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. A reading of Leeuwen's book does not quite relay the dismay it caused in Cragg, particularly if the reader looks back to the beginning of the paragraph containing Cragg's quotation. Leeuwen is writing in the atomic age, with the real threat of an atomic war which can 'only mean atomic suicide'. He continues, 'It is absolutely unrealistic to speculate about the rise of a world civilization without facing up to this crucial fact. All technocratic ideologies which proceed on the assumption that opportunities of unifying mankind and raising the general Standard of living are now unlimited simply ignore the suicidal implications of future technological progress. In face of all this the

     messages of universal peace which modern Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam propound with a variety of voices fall to the ground, being no more than a misguided attempt to cure the ills of the technocratic era with the medicines of the Neolithic one' [van Leeuwen, AT, 1966, pp. 407-408]. Leeuwen is not saying that Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam, are anachronistic, but that it is how they may seem when looked through the narrow and misguided lens of future self-indulgent technological progress [van Leeuwen, AT, 1966, pp. 407-408]. Elsewhere in the book, Leeuwen is using 'Neolithic' as a metaphor, for instance, 'It is a tree whose roots thrust back into the Neolithic past of the Eurasian *oikoumenē* [van Leeuwen, AT, 1966, p. 195]. A. L. Tibawi, a notable critic of Cragg's interpretation of Islam, in his review of City of Wrong, begrudgingly gives Cragg's translation a degree of praise, but stresses that the author and the translator are taking to different points of view [Tibawi, AL, 1961]. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. KJB: Psalm 84 v 5: *Blessed is the man whose strength is in Thee, in whose heart are Thy ways*. I am unable to identify which translation Cragg is using. The nearest seems to be the Evangelical Heritage Version: *The highways to Jerusalemare in their hearts*. A footnote in the text points out that: 'The words *to Jerusalem* are added for clarity.' However, this translation was not published until 2017! [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Le Couteur, H. (2008). Anglican High Churchmen and the Expansion of Empire. *Journal of Religious History, 32*(2). p 193. He states that: The bibliography of Andrew Porter’s recent book is excellent and exhaustive: Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Hylson-Smith, K. (1989). *Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734-1984*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd. p 114-118 [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. For a fuller account of Christianity under the Ottomans in Jerusalem see: Peri, O. (2001). *Christianity Under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*. Leiden: Brill. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Frederick-William IV was also heavily influenced by oriental culture. 'In one case his oriental visions became a reality: in a small engine-house that he had had built by Ludwig Persius in Potsdam in 1841–2. This was built in the shape of a mosque and the steam engine, adorned with a chimney in the form of a minaret, pumped water from the local River Havel to a basin on a nearby hill, which in turn fed the fountains in gardens at Sanssouci [Wittwer, S, 2012, pp. 6, fig 12]. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Lord Shaftesbury gave Bunsen a cocoa-nut chalice, chased in silver, 'in memorial of the Jerusalem Bishopric'. Bunsen used this as a bird bath [von Bunsen, FF, 1869a, p. 276]. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. Original Indonesian text states: 86.Kenneth Cragg, Azan Panggilan dari Menara Mesjid (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1973), dilarang oleh Kejaksaan Agung pada. (Google translation: 86.Kenneth Cragg, Call of the Minaret Azan (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1973), was banned by the Attorney General in 1978.

     [https://sites.google.com/site/sejarahsosial/pelaranganbuku/pelarangan-buku-dari-jaman-ke-jaman/dilarang-membaca-buku-buku-ini](file://localhost/1978https/::sites.google.com:site:sejarahsosial:pelaranganbuku:pelarangan-buku-dari-jaman-ke-jaman:dilarang-membaca-buku-buku-ini) Accessed 20.06.2019.

     July 5, 1969: To retain power in controlling the circulation of printed material, Suharto government and Parliament through Law No. 5 of 1969 states adopted the Presidential Decree No. 4 of 1963 into law. Writing the Presidential Decree converted into Law No. 4 / PNPS / 1963.. Until 1991, the New Order Government refers to Law No. 4 / PNPS / 1963 to conduct banning the book.

     <http://translate.google.co.uk/translate?hl=en&sl=id&u=https://sites.google.com/site/sejarahsosial/pelaranganbuku/pelarangan-buku-dari-jaman-ke-jaman/dilarang-membaca-buku-buku-ini&prev=search> Accessed 20.06.2019.

     John H. McGlynn, in his article, 'Silenced Voices, Muted Expressions: Indonesian Literature Today', traces censorship back beyond the Dutch colonizers. He notes that Indonesia's founding father, Sukarno (born 1901 and died 1970), president from 1945 50 1967 played a significant role in suppressing freedom of speech. 'Sukarno's infamous presidential decree known as PP. NO. 4/1963 requires publishers to submit copies of all books to their local prosecutor's office within forty-eight hours of publication. The Attorney General is thus vested with broad powers to criminalize the writing and publication of certain books and to seize all copies of works adjudged by him as "capable of disturbing public order" and having "a negative influence on efforts to achieve the goals of the Indonesian revolution" [McGlynn, JH, 2000, p. 39]. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. It was one of the plateglass group of universities in the UK established in the 1960s. The term 'Plateglass Universities' was first coined by Michael Beloff [Beloff, M, 1968, pp. 11-12]. See also: [Daiches, D, 1970], [Gray, F, 2011]. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. The parish Church at Helme was built in 1858 and financed by Charles Brook, a local mill owner. It is situated in a picturesque and rural village area and is popular for weddings. It has a rare wooden "shingle" spire, and the interior walls are covered with Biblical texts. It is now part of the of the Parish of Christ the King – four churches serving the village of Meltham and the surrounding areas of Helme, Meltham Mills and Wilshaw. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Sadly Nancy Montegomery died in 2019 of breast cancer having been committed to the fight against Breast Cancer, volunteering as emcee of the American Cancer Society's Hope Gala for almost a decade [Benson, G, 2019]. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. A copy of *The Chronicle of The College of St Barnabas* 2010-2011, can be downloaded from:

     <http://www.st-barnabas.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/St-Barnabas-Chronicle-2011.pdf>

     Accessed 02.07.2021. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. The passage begins with 'Since, therefore, Christ suffered in the flesh, arm yourselves also with the same intention (for whoever has suffered in the flesh has finished with sin), and ends with, 'Therefore, let those suffering in accordance with God’s will entrust their lives to a faithful Creator, while continuing to do good.' [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. 'Somebody has to have the last word,' Albert Camus, *The Fall* [Camus, A, 1917, p. 35]. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. John Watson in his review of Cragg's book, *The Arab Christian: A History in the Middle East,* states, 'The bishop [Cragg] is also a writer of spiritual depth: Evangelical in origin, universal in sympathy' [Watson, JH, 1992, p. 94]. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Martin Thornton (1915 –1986) was an English Anglican priest, monk, spiritual director, author, and lecturer on ascetical theology. Matthew Dallman's biography shows that Thornton’s initial exposure to the Church of England through his family life was largely unspectacular and commonplace and that he began adult life as a farmer. In *My God: A Reappraisal of Normal Religious Experience*, Thornton describes a spiritual, or numinous, experience that he had as a farmer in Finchingfield, Essex. After graduating from King’s College London with a degree in Theology in 1946, he was ordained a priest in 1947 by the Bishop of Norwich, publishing his first book, *Rural Synthesis: The Religious Basis of Rural Culture* a year later. Dallman maintains that in *English Spirituality*, Thornton's magnum opus, there is a comprehensive interpretation of the theological roots and dynamics within Anglicanism. For within Anglicanism, Thornton argues persuasively, there is the English School of Catholic spirituality — one of many schools within the historic Holy Church [Dallman, M, 2014]. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Harvey D. Egan, SJ, is a leading expert on Christian mysticism and the work of Karl Rahner. He received his doctorate of theology under the direction of Karl Rahner. Currently he is Emeritus Professor of Systematic and Mystical Theology at Boston College, where he taught for forty years. He is the author of several books, including *Soundings in the Christian Mystical Tradition* (Liturgical Press, 2010), *Karl Rahner: Mystic of Everyday Life* (Crossroad, 1998), *An Anthology of Christian Mysticism* (Liturgical Press, 1991), and *Christian Mysticism: The Future of a Tradition* (Pueblo Publishing, 1984). [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Muhammad Abduh (1848-1905) the Egyptian reformer who was a pupil and friend of ‘Al-Afghani. He is best known for his *Rasulet al Lashil* (*The Theology of Unity*), *Tafsir al-Muni*r (*The Manir Commentar*y), on which he collaborated with Rashid Rida. His key theme is that, as modernity is based on reason, Islam must be compatible with it. His 'modernity' involved a return to an idealised past [Robinson, N, 2002, pp. 6-8]. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Syed Amir Ali (1849-1928) was a judge, political, social reformer and Islamic scholar who wrote several books on Islamic law. He was called to the bar at the Inner Temple, returning to the Calcutta High Court. He retired to the UK in 1904, launching the London Muslim League in 1908 to support Muslim representation. He withdrew in 1913 as the League was becoming too radical. Founded a project to build a mosque in London in 1910 and founded the Red Crescent Society as the Red Cross had failed to support Turks and Arabs attacked by Italians in 1909. It 1901 he became the first Indian to be appointed to the Privy Council. From: http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/syed-ameer-ali Accessed 09.09.2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. The book is still in print, (it has its own page of the publisher’s website,

     <https://oneworld-publications.com/work/the-call-of-the-minaret/> accessed 21.03.2022.) [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Hugh Goddard (1953), a leading scholar on Islam and Christian Muslim relations, Professor at the University of Edinburgh and well-known commentator within the Church of England and the wider Anglican Communion on interreligious matters. Goddard naturally took a close interest in the life and work of Kenneth Cragg. He studied for a PhD (1981) at The Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations in University of Birmingham, where his supervisor was Professor David Kerr (16 May 1945 – 14 April 2008), Goddard published his thesis as *Muslim Perceptions of Christianity*, Grey Seal Books (London, England), 1996. He published two further volumes*: A History of Christian-Muslim Relations* (Edinburgh University Press 2000) and *Christians and Muslims: From Double Standard to Mutual Understanding,* (London, Curzon Press. 1995. He edited a special issue of International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church on 'Christian-Muslim Relations' in 2003 'Christian‐Muslim relations: Yesterday, today and tomorrow', IJSCC, Vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 1-14; and 'Challenges and developments: Christian‐Muslim relations in the Middle East', IJSCC, Vol. 3, no. 2, 15-35.  [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. During his lifetime Cragg received many academic accolades in appreciation of his work on Christian-Muslim dialogue. These included honorary doctorates, fellowships and a Festschrift presented to him at Lambeth Palace by The Archbishop of Canterbury on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday [Thomas, D & Amos, C, 2003]. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. 'The doctrine appears in the writings of such early Sufi writers as Sahl al-Tustari and Hakim al-Tirmidhi and was later developed by Ibn al-Arabi and his school. The concept plays an important role in both Sufi and Shii concepts of sainthood (walayah) [Esposito, JL, 2004, p. 237].' [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, (1877-1938) appears in Cragg's Thesis as a prominent poet and great Muslim philosophical thinker. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. This is an early reference by Cragg to Al-Hallaj, who was Louis Massignon's inspiration and the mainstay of his investigation into Islamic mysticism. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. 'Fana: Passing away. In Sufi Islam, refers to the desired state of mystical annihilation of self, which is the state just prior to experiencing union with God.' Esposito, J. L. (2004). *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*. p. 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Frederick J. Strong, (Series Editor), *The Religious Life of Man*. The intention was to introduce the world's major religious traditions. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. Cragg, K. (1956). *The Call of the Minaret.* p. 92. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. (See for example: Bop, Codou. 2005. 'Roles and the Position of Women in Sufi Brotherhoods in Senegal', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 73: 1099-119; Buturovic, Amila. 1997. 'Spiritual Empowerment Through Spiritual Submission: Sufi Women and Their Quest for God', *Canadian Woman Studies*, 1st ser. 17: 53-56; Haitami, Meriem El. 2014. 'Women and Sufism: Religious Expression and the Political Sphere in Contemporary Morocco', *Mediterranean Studies*, 22: 190-212; Workman, Nancy V. 1989. 'Sufi Mysticism in Margaret Atwood's The Handmaid's Tale', *Studies in Canadian Literature / Études en littérature canadienne, [S.l.]*, June 1989.) [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Some translators use Sustainer rather than Lord. Yusuf Ali translates the verse as, "Am I not your Lord (who cherishes and sustains you)?" They said: "Yea! we do testify!" [Ali, AY, 2004] 'Am I not your Lord?' is also the title of another of Cragg's books published in 2002 shortly after the destruction of the World Trade Centre in New York [Cragg, K, 2003a]. However, this is outside the scope of this thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. The poem to which Cragg refers is Farid's *Nazm as-suluk*, the *Poem of the Sufi Way.* While some writers concur that this is al-Farid's greatest poem [[al-Farid, I, 1952](#_ENREF_1)], other writers give the accolade to *Al-Khamriyah,* the *Wine Ode*. 'In this celebrated wine-ode Ibn al-Farid praises a wine in existence before creation. Clearly, then, the first intoxication occurs in pre-eternity, where humanity bore witness before God' [Homerin, TE, 2001, p. 11]. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. This was republished in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)
140. Cragg would have been aware of Joyce's connection with mysticism and the esoteric. See for example, Enrico Terrinoni, *Occult Joyce: The Hidden in Ulysses* [Terrinoni, E, 2009]. [↑](#footnote-ref-140)
141. Perhaps Cragg sees this as echoes of Massignon’s experiences in Cairo: '... we find the young scholar [Massignon] in Cairo and Baghdad, leading what has been called a ‘troubled life’ among the very dregs of society, ‘outlaws’, as he would call them' [Baldick, J, 1987, p. 31]. [↑](#footnote-ref-141)
142. See for example: Dodd, C. H. (1936). *The Parables of the Kingdom*, Nisbet; Craig, C. T. (1937). Realized Eschatology. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 56(1): 17-26. [↑](#footnote-ref-142)
143. Hort's book, *The way, the truth, the life*, was first published in 1893, based on the Hulsean Lectures for 1871. The Hulsean Lectures were established from an endowment made by John Hulse to the University of Cambridge in 1790. At present, they consist of a series of four to eight lectures given by a university graduate on some branch of Christian theology. The Hursean Lectures for 2022 were on the theme 'The Theological Imagination' and are open to the public. [↑](#footnote-ref-143)
144. Cragg's quotation has missed out a clause from the first sentence, but has given not indication that he has done so. The first sentence of the quotation from Hort's book reads, 'For every questioner **who is not the merest sophist, if indeed we dare make that exception,** is concentrically manifold, self within self' [Hort, FJA, 1908, p. 4]. Cragg gives no indication in the quotation that he has omitted the clause (he has not used an ellipsis) nor has he explained the omission which may have been for brevity or that its inclusion would have clouded the concept he was putting forward. [↑](#footnote-ref-144)
145. Johannes Kepler (1571-1630, German astronomer, mathematician, and astrologer. [↑](#footnote-ref-145)
146. See for example: Cragg, K. (1987). *Poetry of the Word at Christmas*. Worthing, Churchman Pub; Townsend, J. M. (1988). Cragg and Tolstoy. Review of Poetry of the Word at Christmas by Kenneth Cragg. *The Expository Times,* 99(11). p. 347; Cragg, K. (2006). The Lowly Lintel: Poetry of the Word at Christmas. London, Melisende. [↑](#footnote-ref-146)
147. His *magnum opus* on al-Hallaj,written for his *doctorat d’état* in 1922,continued to be developed throughout his life. (The final French edition, published posthumously by Massignon’s son Daniel Massignon in 1975, was translated into English by Herbert Mason in four volumes: *The Passion of al-Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam*.) [↑](#footnote-ref-147)
148. See, for example, Waardenburg, J. (2005). Louis Massignon (1883–1962) as a Student of Islam. *Welt des Islams* 45(3). p 317 [Waardenburg, J, 2005]. [↑](#footnote-ref-148)
149. This Sunni Sufi order was founded by Abul Hasan Ali ash-Shadhili of Morocco in the 13th century. [↑](#footnote-ref-149)
150. Charles Clarence Adams: US-American missionary, scholar and writer (1883-1948). His book, *Islam and Modernism,*examines Islamic reformism in Egypt through the work of 'Abduh (1849-1905), revealing the influences that moulded his thought and tracing his transformation from someone who was "buried in mystic visions" to a leading champion of Islamic reform. This work serves as an intellectual biography of aman whose thought and legacy had a profound impact on subsequent Islamic thought and political movements, even those who ostensibly reject much of what he stood for." Book Jacket. 'This book is the first part of a dissertation which was submitted, in August 1928, to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Chicago (U.S.A.), Department of Old Testament, in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy [Adams, CC, 1933, p. v]. [↑](#footnote-ref-150)
151. Jamal Al-Din ‘Al-Afghani (1838-97) was a prominent Islamic political leader and philosopher of the 19th Century. He dealt with the subjugation of the Muslim world by the Western powers and devoted much of his life to liberation, independence, and unity of the Islamic world. Noting the relative decline of the Islamic world he provided a philosophical theory and history that could produce a modernism appropriate to Islam.' From: Craig, E. (2000). Concise Routledge Encyclopaedia of Philosophy. London, Routledge. p 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-151)
152. 'Ismail Pasha (1830-1895) was the charming but spendthrift pasha and khedive of Egypt during the decade prior to British occupation.' From: https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/history/egyptian-history-biographies/khedive-egypt-ismail Accessed 09.09.2020. [↑](#footnote-ref-152)
153. Evelyn Baring, 1st earl of Cromer, also called Sir Evelyn Baring (1841-1917), British administrator and diplomat whose 24-year rule in Egypt as British agent and consul general (1883–1907) profoundly influenced Egypt’s development as a modern state. (Britannica: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Evelyn-Baring-1st-Earl-of-Cromer Accessed 10.09.2020) [↑](#footnote-ref-153)
154. Cromer, E.B.E. (1909). *Modern Egypt, Vol II.* New York, Macmillan. p. 180 [Cromer, EBE, 1909]. ('Filosouf', meaning a person who studies philosophy, especially one who develops a particular set of theories, from Arabic *failasuf*.) [↑](#footnote-ref-154)
155. Vatikiotis, Panayiotis J. American, Greek-born in Jerusalem 1928, died 1997; studied at the American University in Cairo and John Hopkins University, USA; held numerous posts including Professor of Politics with reference to Near and Middle East at S.0.A.S., University of London [Editor, 1989]. [↑](#footnote-ref-155)
156. Taha Hussein (1889-1973 was one of the most outstanding 20th-century Egyptian writers and intellectuals. Outside Egypt he is best known through his autobiography, *Al-Ayyām* (3 vol., 1929–67; *The Days*), the first modern Arab literary work to be acclaimed in the West [Luebering, JE, 2021]. [↑](#footnote-ref-156)
157. Pisani is a Dominican of the Province of Toulouse, who studied Arabic and Islam in Rome and Cairo. He teaches Theology of Religion at the Catholic Institute in Montpellier. [↑](#footnote-ref-157)
158. *L'Association des Amis de Louis Massignon* was dissolved in 2017, and a new web site has been launched to replace it dedicated to Louis Massignon (https://louismassignon.fr) which aims to contribute to the knowledge and dissemination of the thought of Louis Massignon to the general public and researchers. https://louismassignon.fr/mentions-legales/ accessed 22.04.2023. [↑](#footnote-ref-158)
159. The unquestionable success of the film *Of Gods and Men* has made us aware of*The Friends of Louis Massignon,* and the convergence of the aims of *Christian de Chergé* and the objectives of the*Badaliya*as depicted by Louis Massignon in his *Badaliya: au nom de l'autre, (1947 - 1962)*Edited by Fr. Maurice Borrmans [1926-2017] and Françoise Jacquin, Préface du cardinal Jean-Louis Tauran, (Paris Editions du Cerf 2011) [Borrmans, M & Jacquin, F, 2011]. [↑](#footnote-ref-159)
160. However, following his death in 2012, Kenneth Cragg's was featured in the BBC Radio 4 weekly obituary programme Last Word. The Synopsis stated: 'Bishop Kenneth Cragg, who devoted his life to the study of relations between Islam and Christianity' [George, N, 2012]. [↑](#footnote-ref-160)
161. Ahad M. Ahmed in the *Introduction* to his book, *The Theological Thought of Fazlur Rahman: A Modern Mutakallim,* writes that Fazlur Rahman (1919-88) was 'a notable scholar of Islamic philosophy and an important liberal Muslim thinker of the twentieth century,' who is considered 'to be amongst the most influential Muslim modernists in both the Western and Muslim worlds [Ahmed, AM, 2019].' [↑](#footnote-ref-161)
162. This suggests a quotation by Evelyn Underhill relating to William Blake: 'An impassioned Christian of a deeply mystical type, Blake, like Eckartshausen and Saint-Martin, was at the same time a determined and outspoken foe of conventional Christianity. He seems at first sight the Ishmael of the mystics, wayward and individual, hardly touched by tradition.' [Underhill, E, 1912, p. 562] [↑](#footnote-ref-162)
163. Cragg's footnote reads, 'John Donne: *The Poems,* Oxford, 1933, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, ‘The Triple Fool,’ p.15. Perhaps the title of the poem should have deterred my use of its analogy.' [↑](#footnote-ref-163)
164. Scott Kugle (Professor of Islamic Studies at Emory University, Department of Middle Eastern and South Asian Studies) in his review of 'Hallaj Poems of a Sufi Martyr' while acknowledging that Hallaj is 'probably the most famous Sufi', yet he 'is not well known as a poet' [Kugle, SA, 2020] [↑](#footnote-ref-164)
165. Massignon's article is very interesting to study. This notion of life curve is linked to a writing problem. The notion of "Curve of Life" is an answer to the methodological problems involved in studying the mystical object and the individuality of the mystic. The "Life Curve" is a concept first considered at the scientific level, from a sociological perspective more precisely: it is a question of understanding the process of individualization in that it is constructed by conflicts. He develops this notion of life curve by putting forward sociological and psychological concepts. [↑](#footnote-ref-165)
166. The concept of mystical substitution was first suggested to Massignon by Huysmans' biography of Saint Lydwine of Schiedam, 'whose life exemplified the writer's belief that one could atone for the sins of others by offering up one's suffering on their behalf' [Krokus, CS, 2017, p. 101]. '... her special mission to atone for the crimes of the period as a sacrificial victim of the suffering Church' [Huysmans, J-K, 1923, p. 27].  [↑](#footnote-ref-166)
167. Bloy was largely responsible for Massignon’s devotion to La Salette, and his thinking helped to provide a theological structure to Massignon’s interest in suffering [Krokus, CS, 2017, p. 101]. cf [L'Yvonnet, F, 2000, p. 227] [↑](#footnote-ref-167)
168. Massignon, Louis: *Annual letter # XI begun in Lahore (Pakistan) December 29,1957 completed in Paris May, 18,1958* [Buck, DC, 2017, p. 149]. The letter can be read in its original French [Borrmans, M & Jacquin, F, 2011, pp. 185-190]. [↑](#footnote-ref-168)
169. 'Edward Tilman, whom John Donne addressed in his poem is a 'shadowy figure' [Pritchard, A, 1973, p. 38].' [↑](#footnote-ref-169)
170. It is intriguing why Cragg has chosen this archaic word 'cordwainer'. Al-Hallaj is often described as being a cobbler or shoe-maker. J.B. Trend notes: 'Cordoba became famous for its leather, known as 'Cordovan' or 'Cordwain', so that the Cordwainers' Company, or at least the name, might be considered part of the legacy of Arabia' [Arnold, T & Guillaume, A, 1931, p. 15]. Arberry translates: 'An old woman carrying a pitcher happened along. Seeing Hallaj, she cried, “Strike, and strike hard and true. What business has this pretty little Woolcarder to speak of God?”' [Attar, FA, 1990, p. 366] [↑](#footnote-ref-170)
171. From the title of the book by James Harpur, *Love Burning in the Soul: The Story of the Christian Mystics, from Saint Paul to Thomas Merton*. 'The heart of the Christian faith is a direct encounter with God so profound that it can be referred to as union. It is an experience that cannot be described in words, but it can be glimpsed--in the radiant lives of the men and women called mystics' [Harpur, J, 2005, p. Back cover] [↑](#footnote-ref-171)
172. 'The Revd Charles Miller, MA, MDiv, DPhil (Oxon), was appointed Team Rector of Abingdon with pastoral responsibility for St Helen's Church in 2006. A native of the State of Connecticut, Charles is a life long Anglican and his ministry has been divided between Britain and the United States. Before coming to Abingdon, Charles was Rector of the Church of the Transfiguration in Manhattan, USA, and has served in pastoral and theological teaching roles in both the Church of England and the Episcopal Church. His interests include Christianity and art, the Orthodox Christian tradition, and the Anglican spiritual tradition. He has published three books, and numerous scholarly and popular articles and essays' [Anon, 2023a]. His other books include: *Toward A Fuller Vision: Orthodoxy and the Anglican Experience*, *Praying the Eucharist: Reflections on the Eucharistic Experience of God*. [↑](#footnote-ref-172)
173. In his review of *For the Gift of the World,* Metropolitan Dr Gennadios of Sassima (Ecumenical Patriarchate) writes: 'It is only during recent years that the writings of this distinguished and eminent Romanian Orthodox theologian have begun to be known in the West, due to various translations of his theological works and writings into Western languages' [Gennadios of Sassima, 2001].  [↑](#footnote-ref-173)
174. Lee W. Gibbs' review of *L’Anglicanisme de Richard Hooker,* notes, 'This important, erudite, and one might be inclined to say « exhustive » work is the author's doctoral thesis presented before the University of Paris on June 1, 1977. It is the most comprehensive work to date on the entirety of the thought of Richard Hooker (1546-1600), formulator of the *via media* of Elizabethan Anglicanism [Gibbs, LW, 1980, p. 97]. [↑](#footnote-ref-174)
175. *Boundless Grandeur*, has a foreword by Rowan Williams and an introduction by Kallistos Ware. [↑](#footnote-ref-175)
176. See, Keller, *Father Donald and the Orthodox Church* [Keller, DGR, 2015, pp. 23-35]. [↑](#footnote-ref-176)
177. For an exposé as how Lossky disagrees with Aquinas in his use of the relations of opposition regarding the relation of origins, used in affirming the *filioque*, see Deborah L. Casewell, 'A Critical Account of the Place of Divine Relations in the Theology of Vladimir Lossky' [Casewell, DL, 2016]. [↑](#footnote-ref-177)
178. Cragg was Examining Chaplain to Michael Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1961 to 1967 [Cragg, K, 2000d, p. 19]. [↑](#footnote-ref-178)
179. In 1996 Ramsey and Allchin published a slim volume, *Evelyn Underhill: Anglican Mystic: Eight Letters of Evelyn Underhill & Essays by A.M. Ramsey & A.M. Allchin* [Ramsey, M & Allchin, AM, 1996]. Cragg appears to have ignored the work and life of this somewhat neglected writer on mysticism. [↑](#footnote-ref-179)
180. Vladimir Lossky also wrote the chapter 'Theology and Mysticism in the Tradition of the Eastern Church' in R. Woods, Understanding Mysticism [Lossky, V, 1980]. [↑](#footnote-ref-180)
181. Cf. '... the northern labours of the Celtic pioneers... [Cragg, K, 1990, p. 226]' [↑](#footnote-ref-181)
182. al-Ghazali writes in his spiritual autobiography of being 'continuously tossed between the attractions of worldly desires and impulses towards the eternal life' [Watt, WM, 1994, pp. 60-63] [↑](#footnote-ref-182)
183. cf 'It follows that the siftings of a probing scholarship can ally with all faith-biographies. These take us where 'the lesson' never 'ends' [Cragg, K, 2000c, p. xv]. [↑](#footnote-ref-183)
184. 'Massignon saw the relationship between Christianity and Islam through the lens of the tragic figure of the mystic al-Hallaj.' Anthony O’Mahony, 2007, ‘Louis Massignon as priest’, in Sobornost, 29:1 [O'Mahony, A, 2007, p. 11]. [↑](#footnote-ref-184)
185. The Swedish Academy was founded in 1786 by Swedish King Gustav III. The Academy is composed of 18 members whose tenure is for life. Known as “De Aderton” (The Eighteen), current members of the Academy include distinguished Swedish writers, linguists, literary scholars, historians and a prominent jurist. Its working body is the Nobel Committee, elected from among its members for a three-year term. By the terms of Alfred Nobel’s will the Nobel Prize in Literature has been awarded by the Swedish Academy since 1901 [Anon, 2023c]. [↑](#footnote-ref-185)
186. The Rev. Dr. Svante Bernhard Erling (1922-2016). From 1957-1988 taught in the Religion Department at Gustavus Adolphus College. Two books: Nature and History published by Lund, 1960, and A Readers Guide to Dag Hammarskjöld's Waymarks published online in 2011 by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, book-ended a career enlivened by connections with Sweden [Anon, 2016].  [↑](#footnote-ref-186)
187. Cragg has accepted Auden's interpretation: 'And, as late as 1952, he admits that suicide is a real temptation to him [Hammarskjöld, D, 1964, p. xv]. [↑](#footnote-ref-187)
188. Here Lamb notes that in a chapter on Buddhism there are reflections of Dag Hammarskjold in his *Markings*. [↑](#footnote-ref-188)
189. This was a transcript of the manuscript with nothing added or changed. The German translation: *Dag Hammarskjöld, Zeichen am Weg*, was published in Munich, 1965 [Knyphausen, A, 1963]. [↑](#footnote-ref-189)
190. Jos Huls, O.Carm., is a member of the Dutch Province of the Order and senior researcher at the Titus Brandsma Institute at Nijmegen in the Netherlands. He has published numerous articles and books on mysticism, some specifically dealing with Hammarskjöld. Examples are: Huls, J. (1995). Dag Hammarskjöld over de meditatieruimte van de V.N. *SpelingTijdschrift voor bezinning, 47*(1), 56-65. Huls, J. (1995). Dag Hammarskjöld: de ander als onze meester in God. *SpelingTijdschrift voor bezinning, 47*(2), 67-68. Huls, J. (1997). Wagen jezelfte zijn - Dag Hammarskjöld. *SpelingTijdschrift voor bezinning, 4*(39-44). Huls, J. (2006). From theology to mystagogy: the interiorisation of the Protestant tradition by a world citizen: Dag Hammarskjöld. In De Villiers, P.G.R. (Ed.), *The spirit that moves: orientation and issues in spirituality*: Bloemfontein : Publications Office of the University of the Free State 2006. Huls, J. (2010). Hammarskjöld’s interpretation of the Bible. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies, 66*(1), 6 pages. doi:10.4102/hts.v66i1.892. Huls, J. (2010). A conversation beyond the border: Dag Hammarskjöld & Thomas a Kempis. *Studies in Spirituality, 20*, 67-99. doi:10.2143/SIS.20.0.2061144. Huls, J. (2010). Afleren en ontmaskeren — De leerweg van Dag Hammarskjöld. *SpelingTijdschrift voor bezinning, 62*(1), 79-84. Huls, J. (2015). Een kern van stilheid. Dag Hammarskjöld [A core of Stilness]. *SpelingTijdschrift voor bezinning, 67*(3). Huls took part in a recent symposium marking the 60th anniversary of Hammarskjöld's death, its theme being 'The political and spiritual significance of Dag Hammarskjöld for people of today.' It was held on Monday 28 February 2022 in the Carmelite convent of Ghent. The organisers of the symposium soberly noted that:

     'Hammarskjöld continues to inspire world leaders and others involved in international relations to this day. More than ever, this time calls for international cooperation on issues of peace, social justice and, increasingly, sustainability' [Anon, 2022a] [↑](#footnote-ref-190)
191. Huls, J. (1991). 'Tro är, skapar och bär.' *Signum, 9-10*. 'När Dag Hammarskjölds dagbok Vägmärken publicerades postumt 1963 ledde den till en intensiv debatt i svensk press. Som Förenta nationernas generalsekreterare spelade Dag Hammarskjöld en betydelsefull roll under hela femtiotalet. Få kände till att det bakom den svenske diplomatens politiska engagemang doldes en djup andlighet, en omständighet som både väckte förvåning och även viss besvikelse. Hur var det möjligt att en intellektuell människa som Dag Hammarskjöld på ett sådant innerligt sätt kunde ägna sig åt religion? Tron tillhörde barnens värld, inte moderna, tänkande människor. Trots den uppståndelse som dagboken gav upphov till hade Hammarskjöld aldrig gjort någon hemlighet av sin religiösa livssyn. Inte bara i hans brev utan även i offentliga dokument kan man hitta passager som avslöjar en religiös bakgrund. I ett öppenhjärtigt tal i den kanadensiska radion 1954 berättar Hammarskjöld om sin tro, särskilt de medeltida mystikernas inflytande på honom: ”Men förklaringen till hur människan bör leva ett liv av aktiv samhällstjänst, i full harmoni med sig själv som medlem av andens gemenskap, fann jag i skrifter av de stora medeltida mystikerna...'

     [English Translation: When Dag Hammarskjold’s daybook Vägmärken was posthumously published in 1963 it led to an intensive debate in the Swedish press. As the United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold played a significant role during the whole of the 1950’s. Few knew that behind the Swedish diplomat’s political engagements hid a deep spirituality, a factor which caused surprise and even disillusionment. How was it possible for an intellectual person such as Dag Hammarskjold on such a personal level to devote himself to religion? Belief belongs to the world of children, not to the modern thinking person. Despite the commotion that the daybook provoked, Hammarskjold had never made a secret of his religious view of life. Not just in his letters, but also in his documents we can find passages which betray his religious background. In a heart- felt speech on the Canadian radio in 1954 Hammarskjold tells us of his belief in the security of the mystics of the Middle Ages and their influence on him: “However, the explanation for how a person should live a life of active community service, in full harmony with himself as a member of the spiritual community, I found in the writings of the mystics of the Middle Ages......” [↑](#footnote-ref-191)
192. During his 20 years as a reporter, Mr Burnham interviewed many celebrities. He first covered Billy Graham in 1950 and covered most of Billy Graham’s foreign crusades including Berlin, Germany . He authored five books centring on the ministry of r. Graham. He died unexpectedly in 1962 [Freudenberg, E, 2022] [↑](#footnote-ref-192)
193. This letter is reproduced in many of the books relating to Hammarskjöld including the first English translation of *Vägmärken.* [↑](#footnote-ref-193)
194. cf: Derrick, D. (2016). Kenneth Cragg, Charles Malik and Dag Hammarskjöld - some thoughts on the question of mysticism and the 'public square'. In L. Harrow (Ed.), *Living Stones Yearbook 2016* (pp. 92-120). London: Melisende [Derrick, D, 2016]. [↑](#footnote-ref-194)
195. Jodok Troy is a researcher and lecturer at the University of Innsbruck and the University of Applied Sciences in Vienna. At Stanford University, he is working on a project of international moral leadership, looking at the Pope and the United Nations Secretary General. [↑](#footnote-ref-195)
196. cf Zimmerling, Peter. 2007. '"Die längste Reise ist die Reise nach innen." Zur Mystik Dag Hammarskjölds.' in Marco A. Sorace and Peter Zimmerling (eds.), *Das Schweigen Gottes in der Welt. Mystik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Verlag Bautz GmbH: Nordhausen ) [Zimmerling, P, 2007a].

     ———. 2007. '"Mit dir, Bruder, in Treue und Mut ..." Charakteristika des Christusverständnisses von Dag Hammarskjöld.' in Günter Thomas and Andreas Schüle (eds.), *Gegenwart des lebendigen Christus, FS für Michael Welker* (Leipzig). p 407-423 [Zimmerling, P, 2007b].

     ———. 2015. 'Dag Hammarskjöld (1905–1961): Ein lutherischer Christusmystiker im Verborgenen.' in, *Evangelische Mystik* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen) [Zimmerling, P, 2015a].

     ———. 2015. *Evangelische Mystik* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co: Göttingen) [Zimmerling, P, 2015c].

     ———. 2015. 'Dag Hammarskjöld: Ein lutherischer Christusmystiker im Verborgenen.' in Peter Zimmerling (ed.), *Mitten im Gelärm das innere Schweigen bewahren: Aspekte mystischer Spiritualität im Protestantismus* (Herrenalber Forum: Bad Herrenald) [Zimmerling, P, 2015b]. [↑](#footnote-ref-196)
197. 'Referring to ''preventive diplomacy'', she said that UNSG Dag Hammarskjold, who served from 1953 to 1961, developed this concept during his career and became known as the dove of preventive diplomacy' [Anon, 2011]. [↑](#footnote-ref-197)
198. Rothman, L. ‘Why Pope Francis Praised Dag Hammarskjöld’, *Time*, 25 September 2015 [Rothman, L, 2015].   [↑](#footnote-ref-198)
199. See for example: Printz-Påhlson, G., & Archambeau, R. (2011). *Letters of Blood and Other Works in English*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers. 'The highest attainments in Swedish poetry—by which I do not mean only what is recognized formally as poetry—have always in some sense been achieved through such a fusion, in the romantic poetry of E. J. Stagnelius and C. J. L. Almqvist, in Strindberg or Gustaf Fröding and, in our century, in the poetry of Vilhelm Ekelund, Birger Sjöberg, Gunnar Ekelöf and Erik Lindegren. One must not forget that, in the highest poetic triumphs of all these somehow broken or divided geniuses, there is something paradoxical and perhaps ultimately self-defeating which is very different from the unrelenting logic inherent in the intellectual development of Kierkegaard or Ibsen. Accepting this fusion as the significant emblem of the genius of Swedish poetry—the mystic and the bureaucrat, the efficient engineers of images of transcendental dejection (internationally fashionable examples of figures cast in this mould are not uncommon: Dag Hammarskjöld and Ingmar Bergman come immediately to mind)—we must remember that the most prominent exponents of its tradition have been its victims rather than its exploiters. The relative poverty of this Swedish tradition merely exhibits an over-determined case; it is as much a result of contradictory impulses within itself, often causing irreparable damage to the cohesive powers of the mind or ego, as it is a reflection of the long economic indigence of the country. Hence also the frequent accusations levelled against Swedish literature (and art and film) for its indiscriminate predilections for gloom, madness and suicide' [Printz-Påhlson, G & Archambeau, R, 2011, p. 110]. [↑](#footnote-ref-199)
200. See for example:

     Carl-Martin Edsman, 'Mysticism, Historical and Contemporary' in Hartman, S. S., & Edsman, C.-M. (Eds.). (1970). *Mysticism: Based on Papers read at the Symposium on Mysticism held at Åbo on the 7th-9th September, 1968*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell: 'Nathan Söderblom's death prevented him from following up his Gifford Lectures of 1931 on *The Living God,* with the exposition of the history of Christian mysticism in particular which he had planned for the following year. He included within the subject the *ordo salutis* as interpreted by the Lutheran Church, and prayer: "The psychology of conversion, faith, justification, and adoption embraces the category of bliss as much as mysticism does, and with equal right"' [Edsman, C-M, 1970, p. 8].

     Sharpe, E. J. (1969). Nathan Söderblom and the Study of Religion. *Religious Studies, 4*(2) [Sharpe, EJ, 1969, pp. 259-274].

     Sharpe, E. J. (1976). Sadhu Sundar Singh and his critics: An episode in the meeting of East and West. *Religion, 6* (1), 48-66. This article narrates Söderblom's support for Sadhu Sundar Singh, 'Whether he was in fact what he claimed to be - a Christian mystic, visionary and single-minded evangelist - is of comparatively little importance, simply because such matters must forever remain inaccessible to historical examination.' [Sharpe, EJ, 1976, p. 50]. Singh's reputation (and by association, that of Söderblom) was severely damaged by adverse reporting in the press and a negative campaign by 'the psychoanalytical Pfarrer Oskar Pfister in Zurich, friend and correspondent of Freud' [Sharpe, EJ, 1976, p. 61]. Sharpe does not deal with the effect of this on Söderblom, particularly his attitude to mysticism.

     Sharpe, E. J. (1990). The Legacy of Sadhu Sundar Singh. *International Bulletin of Mission Research, 14*(4), 161-167. Sharpe records how Söderblom introduced Singh to the works of mystic Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). 'Over the next few years this connection was to become more and more important, though hidden from the Christian world at large' [Sharpe, EJ, 1990, p. 163].

     Söderblom, N. (1923). *Sundar Singhs budskap utgivet och belyst. [Sundar Singh's message*

     *published and clarified]*. Stockholm: Gebers [Söderblom, N, 1923].

     Hansson, K. (2012). Nathan Söderblom's ecumenical cope. *Studia Theologica - Nordic Journal of Theology, 66*(1), 62-79. This shows a more 'catholic' side of Söderblom. This 'ecumenical cope' which he ordered to be made for him, ' created a visible manifestation of his theology, his view on the role of the Church of Sweden and of the Swedish archbishop. In this respect, the three symbols on the clasp are most interesting: the orb (St. Erik’s orb), the Lutheran Rose and St. Peters key. The rose was Martin Luther’s own coat of arms. The interpretation is that it stands for the faith of the reformed churches, i.e. for the Evangelical church tradition. St. Peter’s key represents the papal authority, i.e. the Roman Catholic tradition. The Anglican Church and the Orthodox Church were geographically situated west and east of the broad line from Rome to Uppsala have their symbols on each side' [Hansson, K, 2012, pp. 74-75]. [↑](#footnote-ref-200)
201. First Published by Alfred A. Knopf, 1972. [↑](#footnote-ref-201)
202. cf Wallensteen, P. (2004). *Dag Hammarskjöld.* Stockholm: Swedish Institute: 'His [Hammarskjöld's] political contributions have not been the subject of as many or as penetrating biographies. This can be explained in part by the fact that not all the archives have yet been opened, but also because Brian Urquhart's 1971 biography is regarded as exhaustive' [Wallensteen, P, 2004, p. 45]. [↑](#footnote-ref-202)
203. 'White book and negotiations are expressions borrowed from the discourse of diplomacy' [Aulén, G, 1970, p. v]. [↑](#footnote-ref-203)
204. Set thee up waymarks, make thee high heaps: set thine heart toward the highway, *even* the way *which* thou wentest: turn again, O virgin of Israel, turn again to these thy cities. [↑](#footnote-ref-204)
205. Nirmal Dass teaches and translates from various dead and living languages. He is currently working on translating some of Klabund’s works. [↑](#footnote-ref-205)
206. cf Lipsey, Roger. 1996. 'For the Other Mahatma: The legacy of Dag Hammarskjöld', *Parabola*, 21: 12-17 [Lipsey, R, 1996].

     ———. 1997. 'Blessed Uneasiness: Dag Hammarskjöld on Conscience', *Parabola*, 22: 47-57 [Lipsey, R, 1997].

     ———. 2010. 'Desiring Peace: A Meditation on Why Dag Hammarskjöld Matters', *Parabola*, 35: 20-29 [Lipsey, R, 2010].

     ———. 2011. 'Dag Hammarskjöld and Markings: A Reconsideration', *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality*, 11: 84-103 [Lipsey, R, 2011].

     ———. 2012. 'Freedom in the Midst of Action: United Nations Leader Dag Hammarskjöld and Buddhism', *Tricycle*, Fall: 80-83 [Lipsey, R, 2012].

     ———. 2013. *Hammarskjöld: A Life* (The University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, MI) [Lipsey, R, 2013].

     ———. 2016. "Dag Hammarskjöld's 'This I Believe'." In *http://www.dag-Hammarskjöld.com/interpreting-Hammarskjöld-s-political-wisdom/dag-Hammarskjölds-this-i-believe/* [Lipsey, R, 2016]. [↑](#footnote-ref-206)
207. Cordier, A. W., & Foote, W. (Eds.). (1972). *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations: Vol II Dag Hammarskjöld 1953-1956* (Vol. 3). New York: Columbia University Press [Cordier, AW & Foote, W, 1972].

     Cordier, A. W., & Foote, W. (Eds.). (1973). *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations: Vol III Dag Hammarskjöld 1956-1957* (Vol. 3). New York: Columbia University Press [Cordier, AW & Foote, W, 1973].

     Cordier, A. W., & Foote, W. (Eds.). (1978). *Public Papers of the Secretaries General of the United Nations: Vol IV Dag Hammarskjöld 1958-61* (Vol. 4). New York: Columbia University Press [Cordier, AW & Foote, W, 1978].

     Cordier, A. W., Foote, A. W. C. D. H. W., & Foote, W. (2013). *Public Papers of the Secretaries General of the United Nations: Vol 5 Dag Hammarskjöld 1960-1961*: Columbia University Press [Cordier, AW & Foote, W, 2013]. [↑](#footnote-ref-207)
208. Urquhart, B. (1972). *Hammarskjöld*: Alfred A. Knopf [Urquhart, B, 2004]. See Review by: Goodrich, L. M. (1974). 'Hammarskjöld, the UN, and the Office of the Secretary-General by Brian Urquhart. *International Organization, 28*(3), 467-483. 'This is an important book. It provides as close to an authoritative account as we are likely to have of Hammarskjöld's stewardship as Secretary-General during a critical period in the life of the Organization**'** [Goodrich, LM, 1974, p. 467]. [↑](#footnote-ref-208)
209. See for example: Hammarskjöld, D. 1946. *Sweden's International Credit Accommodation in 1944 and 1945* (Ivarttaeggström). Hammarskjöld argues that Sweden has a moral obligation to the countries to which it was then lending money [Hammarskjöld, D, 1946].

     Hammarskjöld, D. (1945). *From Bretton woods to full employment*. Stockholm: Ivar Hæggströms Boktryckeri.

     [Hammarskjöld, D, 1945b] (Also published in Swedish [Hammarskjöld, D, 1945a].)

     Hammarskjöld, D. (1933). *Konjunkturspridningen: en teoretisk och historisk undersökning [The economic spread: a theoretical and historical investigation}.* (PhD Monograph), Bonnier [Hammarskjöld, D, 1933]. [↑](#footnote-ref-209)
210. Zimmerling, Peter. 2015. 'Dag Hammarskjöld: Ein lutherischer Christusmystiker im Verborgenen.' in Peter Zimmerling (ed.), *Mitten im Gelärm das innere Schweigen bewahren: Aspekte mystischer Spiritualität im Protestantismus* (Herrenalber Forum: Bad Herrenald) [Zimmerling, P, 2015b, pp. 53-54]. [↑](#footnote-ref-210)
211. Van Dusen, H.P. 1967. *Dag Hammarskjöld: The statesman and his faith* (Harper & Row: New York) [Van Dusen, HP, 1967b]. See also:

     Van Dusen, Henry P. 1967. *Dag Hammarskjöld; a biographical interpretation of Markings* (Faber and Faber: London) [Van Dusen, HP, 1967a]. Neither book adds anything significant to Hammarskjöld's relation with St John of the Cross. Nor does his article:

     Van Dusen, Henry P. 1965. 'Dag Hammarskjóld's Spiritual Pilgrimage', *Theology Today*, 21: 433-47 [Van Dusen, HP, 1965]. [↑](#footnote-ref-211)
212. Fröhlich, Manuel. 2008. *Political Ethics and the United Nations: Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General* (Routledge: London) [Fröhlich, M, 2008]. [↑](#footnote-ref-212)
213. Stolpe, Sven. 1966. *Dag Hammarskjöld: a spiritual portrait* (Scribner: New York) [Stolpe, S, 1966, pp. 22-23, 87-89]. Apart from this there is very little in-depth investigation of the role of St John of the Cross in Hammarskjöld’s mysticism.) [↑](#footnote-ref-213)
214. Sundén, Hjalmar. 1967. *Die Christusmeditationen Dag Hammarskjölds in 'Zeichen am Weg'* (Josef Knecht: Frankfurt) [Sundén, H, 1967]. [↑](#footnote-ref-214)
215. Schäfer, Rolf. 1970. 'Glaube und Werk - ein Beispiel aus der Gegenwart: Beobachtungen zu Dag Hammarskjölds geistlichem Tagebuch', *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 67. (This article has only one paragraph relating to St John of the Cross showing a connection with 'Faith is God's union with the soul' [Markings p 165] and the Reformation doctrine of the unio mystica [Schäfer, R, 1970, p. 370]. [↑](#footnote-ref-215)
216. Beyschlag, Karlmann. 1980. 'Dag Hammarskjöld – ein protestantischer Mystiker unserer Tage.' in Horst Reller and Manfred Seitz. (eds.), *Herausforderung: Religiöse Erfahrung : vom Verhältnis evangelischer Frömmigkeit zu Meditation und Mystik* (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht: Göttingen). 'Zum Vorverständnis zunächst eine persönliche Bemerkung. Daß ich mit dem geistigen Vermächtnis Hammarskjölds in Berührung kam, verdanke ich einem reinen Zufall, nämlich der beiläufigen Lektüre eines Hammarskjöld-Aufsatzes, den der Systematiker Rolf Schäfer 1970.' (First, a personal note for the sake of understanding. I owe the fact that I came into contact with Hammarskjöld's intellectual legacy to pure coincidence, namely the casual reading of an essay by Hammarskjöld written by the systematist Rolf Schäfer in 1970) [Beyschlag, K, 1980, p. 21]. [↑](#footnote-ref-216)
217. Beyschlag, Karlmann. 2016. *Grandi Mistici: Dag Hammarskjöld* (Bologna Edizioni Dehoniane: Bologna) [Beyschlag, K, 2016]. [↑](#footnote-ref-217)
218. Gerhard Simon, Dag Hammarskjöld (1905-1961), in: Pfarramtskalender 2005 [Simon, G, 2005]. [↑](#footnote-ref-218)
219. Gerson, J., (1998), Early Works, Translated and Introduced by Brian Patrick McGuire, Preface by Bernard McGinn, The Classics of Western Spirituality, Paulist Press, New York [Gerson, J & McGuire, BP, 1998]. This is Kania's only citation on the subject. Since his thesis there have been several publications including:

     Brown, D. C. (2007). *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson*: Cambridge University Press.

     McGuire, B. P. (2006). *A Companion to Jean Gerson*. Leiden: Brill.

     McLoughlin, N. (2016). *Jean Gerson and Gender: Rhetoric and Politics in Fifteenth-Century France*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

     Severin, R. M. (2003). *Mysticism for All: Humility and Audience in Jean Gerson's Vernacular Works.* Thesis, (Doctor of Philosophy), University of Virginia.

     A review of McGuire's *A Companion to Jean Gerson,* notes that the article by 'Fisher takes up the question of Gerson’s mystical theology where Combes, Oberman, and Ozment left it in the 1960s.' Martin, D. D. (2007). Review of A companion to Jean Gerson. Edited by Brian Patrick McGuire. Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill, 2006. *Religious Studies Review, 33* (2) [Martin, DD, 2007, p. 160].  [↑](#footnote-ref-219)
220. In his book, Natural Rights Theories: Their Origin and Development, Tuck gives a new understanding of the importance of Jean Gerson in the formation of the natural rights theories. [Tuck, R, 1979]. [↑](#footnote-ref-220)
221. Cordier, A. W., & Widler, F. (Eds.). (1972). *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations: Vol II Dag Hammarskjold 1953-1956*. New York: Columbia University Press. p 194-196. 'The Editors have already drawn attention in their introduction to the significance of 'Old Creeds in a New World among Hammarskjöld’s papers. It was written and then recorded in response to a request by Edward R. Murrow for his radio program "This I Believe." As one of a series of statements of personal philosophy and spiritual belief by prominent men and women, it attracted little attention at the time. After the posthumous publication of Hammarskjöld’s spiritual diary so surprised the world, both Bishop Gustaf Aulén and Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen remarked in their interpretative studies of *Markings* that Hammarskjöld had fully revealed the depth of his religious faith ten years before in this generally ignored statement for Murrow' [Cordier, AW & Foote, W, 1972, p. 194]. [↑](#footnote-ref-221)
222. Kania generally refers to 'St John of the Cross' as 'San Juan de la Cruz', even when quoting from another source that uses 'St John of the Cross', as evidenced here. [↑](#footnote-ref-222)
223. Kavanaugh, K. (1991). *The collected works of Saint John of the Cross*. Washington, DC: Inst. of Carmelite Studies. “The Sayings of Light and Love”: Saying 96 [Kavanaugh, K, 1991, p. 92]. [↑](#footnote-ref-223)
224. See for example: Van Dusen, H. P. (1967). *Dag Hammarskjöld: The statesman and his faith*. New York: Harper & Row. 'Hammarskjöld harboured a growing loneliness rooted in unconquerable shyness' [Van Dusen, HP, 1967b, pp. 26-27].

     Urquhart, B. (1983). Dag Hammarskjöld : the private person in a very public office. In Jordan, R.S. (Ed.), *Dag Hammarskjöld revisited: the UN Secretary-General as a force in world politics*. 'The rising pressures accentuated Hammarskjöld's mysticism, his loneliness and his scepticism' [Urquhart, B, 1983, p. 145] [↑](#footnote-ref-224)
225. Richard Sudworth in his studies has also noted the influence of Eastern Christian thought on theological thinks and thought in the Church of England: Richard Sudworth '`The Church of England and Islam: contemporary Anglican Christian-Muslim relations and the politico-theological question, 1988-2012', Ph.D. [Sudworth, RJ, 2013]; 'Responding to Islam as Priests, Mystics, and Trail Blazers: Louis Massignon, Kenneth Cragg, and Rowan Williams' in: *Logos: A Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*Vol. 55 (2014) Nos. 3–4, pp. 451–472;  '*Encountering Islam: Christian-Muslim Relations in the Public Square*’ [Sudworth, R, 2017]; 'Anglican Interreligious Relations in Generous Love: Indebted to and Moving from Vatican II' in *The Character of Christian-Muslim Encounter,: Essays in Honour of David Thomas* (Eds) Douglas Pratt, Jon Hoover, John Davies, and John A. Chesworth [Sudworth, RJ, 2015]; 'Anglicanism and Islam: The Ecclesial-Turn in Interfaith Relations', in *Living Stones Yearbook 2012* [Sudworth, R, 2012]; 'The Church of England’s and the Responses of the Broader European Protestant Traditions to Nostra Aetate. In: Ellis, K.C. (eds) *Nostra Aetate, Non-Christian Religions, and Interfaith Relations* [Sudworth, R, 2021]. [↑](#footnote-ref-225)
226. Constance E., Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer Manuals in Common Use* [Padwick, CE, 1961]. See also the studies by Catriona Laing, 'A provocation to mission: Constance Padwick's study of Muslim devotion', in: Islam & Christian Muslim relations, 2013, Vol.24 (1), p.27-42; Catriona Laing, 'Anglican Mission amongst Muslims, 1900–1940', in: Oxford University Press The Oxford History of Anglicanism [Laing, C, 2013]. [↑](#footnote-ref-226)
227. Towards the end of his life, he became more politically active. He was one of the many signatories (along with fellow bishops, Rt.Rev. Stephen Cottrell, Bishop of Reading - now Archbishop of York - and Rt.Rev. Anthony Crockett, Bishop of Bangor to anti-nuclear petition, to the use of Trident submarines with their nuclear warheads. See Angie Zeilter, *Faslane 365: a year of anti-nuclear blockades* [Zelter, A, 2008]. This was and continues to be a very political campaign which activist and demonstrators around the country being arrested. See Trident Ploughshares Chronology: 1996 – 2019 [Anon, 2019]. [↑](#footnote-ref-227)
228. Surat Muhammad: 24, 'Do they not contemplate the Quran, or are there locks on the hearts?' [↑](#footnote-ref-228)
229. His *magnum opus* on al-Hallaj,written for his *doctorat d’état* in 1922, continued to be developed throughout his life. (The final French edition, published posthumously by Massignon’s son Daniel Massignon in 1975 [Massignon, L, 1975], was translated into English by Herbert Mason in four volumes: *The Passion of al-Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam*. [Massignon, L, 2019a], [Massignon, L, 2019b], [Massignon, L, 2019c], [Massignon, L, 2019d].) [↑](#footnote-ref-229)
230. See, for example, McClendon, J. W. *Biography as theology: How life stories can remake today's theology*: Wipf and Stock Publishers [McClendon, JW, 2002]. [↑](#footnote-ref-230)