Introduction

Sometimes where one "is at" can reveal an interesting and fruitful point of departure for reflection, and such proved true for this study. The thesis that eventually gave rise to the present book was finalized at Ushaw College,[1] the then-senior seminary for the Catholic dioceses of the north of England, founded in 1808. It was St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, that, if in nothing other than its annals, was responsible for the meeting of two men of very different sensibilities and perspectives: Rafael Merry Del Val, Cardinal Secretary of State to Pius X, and the poet Francis Thompson. Being at Ushaw, conscious of a rich heritage as well as of the acute pastoral situation for which the college trained priests, provided a constructive environment for the specific issue under examination. The juxtaposition of these two alumni does not merely offer a personal dimension to the nineteenth-century setting in which the parameters of our question first emerged with any clarity. To compare and contrast these characters provides both the limits of our problem and a hint at its resolution.

To explain why Pedro José de Zulueta, the maternal grandfather of the future Cardinal Del Val, had "joined the Church of England and married a Scottish lady" of rigid evangelical stock, F. A. Forbes cites

1. Cf. D. Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (Durham: Northumberland, 1964).

the influence of a rationalistic cousin and the freedom that England offered "to be a good Christian though not a Catholic."[2] Perhaps more to the point was the fact that England much preferred good Christians to Catholics. It was almost thirty years after his arrival in London that De Zulueta witnessed the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850, and some twenty-five years after that, John Henry Newman still had to plead insistently, against William Gladstone's suspicions of sedition, that it was possible to be a faithful citizen of both Britain and the Church of Rome. Less than a decade after this infamous *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*,[3] Merry Del Val began his education at Ushaw.

The college stands six miles outside Durham on open moorland, and its position and design had the deliberate purpose of secluding a life that, so soon after emancipation, needed to be protected and remote from the outside world. On the development of Merry Del Val, Gary Lease makes much of the fact that "in short, the Catholic Church in England felt itself to be a distinct minority and one under implied, if not always open, attack from the anti-Roman Anglican majority."[4]

Such a formation as Del Val received instilled "the quasi-paranoia"[5] that permeated the English Catholic Church at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.[6] Under

2. F. A. Forbes, *Rafael Cardinal Merry Del Val: A Character Sketch* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932), 12.
3. J. H. Newman, *A Letter Addressed to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, on Occasion of Mr Gladstone's Recent Expostulation, by John Henry Newman D.D., of the Oratory* (London 1875) reprinted in J. H. Newman, *Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching Considered*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1879), 171–378. See also F. Kerr, "Did Newman Answer Gladstone?" in *John Henry Newman: Reason, Rhetoric and Romanticism*, ed. D. Nicholls and F. Kerr (Bristol: Bristol, 1991), 135–52.
4. G. Lease, "Merry Del Val and Tyrrell: A Modernist Struggle," *The Downside Review* 102 (1984): 133.
5. Ibid.
6. For a fuller account of the state of English Catholicism at the turn of the century, see J. J. Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1968), 227–42.

suspicion, and self-consciously at odds with society, ultramontanism was a natural response: a siege survival shored up by fierce obedience to, and dependence upon, an unquestionable external authority. Though deeply influential, Merry Del Val's stay at Ushaw College was largely uneventful. Ironically, biographers attest to his widening of the playing courts,[7] when in fact what was being marked out was the beginning of an energetic defense of church teaching based on a penetrating but narrow formation. Surely, the theological parameters clearly and firmly set by this early education at Ushaw cannot be regarded as insignificant in any estimation of Del Val's part in the subsequent playing out of the Modernist crisis.

Once at the Vatican's Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici, the propaedeutic work of the English seminary became a sure foundation for a thoroughly Roman schooling under the Jesuit neo-Scholastic Louis Billot.[8] Reacting against Modernism, this Gregorian University professor minimized the experiential component of assent, and dwelt predominantly on the transcendence of God, while accentuating, if not exaggerating, the role of the authoritative demand of revelation on the intellect and will in the act of faith. Such components were obviously conducive to an ultramontane mind, as was the appeal of a scholastic style to a sharp, perceptive, if unimaginative intellect.[9]

7. Cf. Forbes, *Rafael Cardinal Merry Del Val*, 22; M. C. Buehrle, *Rafael Cardinal Merry Del Val* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1957), 15.
8. For a concise summary of Louis Billot's thought, see A. Dulles, *The Assurance of Things Hoped For: A Theology of Christian Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 104–7.
9. "Louis Billot, who came to the Gregorian in 1885, was a striking contrast to the drab background of mediocrity in Roman theology. Billot was a brilliant metaphysician who possessed an extensive and profound knowledge of St. Thomas. Billot could not only understand the principles of St. Thomas' metaphysical theology, but he could extend them to meet new problems through the deductive conclusions of his speculative theology. The influence which Billot exerted on Catholic theology through his published works and through the presence of his former students in seminaries and scholasticates throughout the world was enormous. Billot was the first of the great Thomistic speculative theologians." G. McCool, *Catholic Theology in the Nineteenth Century: The Quest for a Unitary Method* (New York: Seabury, 1977), 239. Interestingly, George Tyrrell was an enthusiastic champion of Billot during his early Thomistic period, impressed by his critical and independent treatment of

Yet perhaps most attractive in the thought of the professor later rumored to be coauthor of the theological sections of *Pascendi*,[10] and who sought to give the education of John Henry Newman a certain scholastic *romanità*, was an understanding of the fiduciary act as personal obedience to authority and the sense of faith as simple homage. Whether one chooses to paint Del Val as the rigid, intransigent, and uncompromising secretary of state; a convenient foil to a gentle, saintly pope; or as the unswervingly loyal executor of wise decrees that saved the Church from greater perils, he was appropriately formed to his task.[11]

Though Henry Gillow, professor of theology throughout the time of Thompson and Merry Del Val at Ushaw, remained a determined upholder of neo-scholasticism against later interpretations and those advocating a return to the primary sources, it was not the subtle technicalities of the syllogism that awed the young and future poet:[12]

> The boy who at home had demanded to wear a red and purple cassock now responded more fully than he knew at the time to the greater beauties of the Ushaw ceremonial. Here was poetry of the highest order complemented and completed by the movement and the colour of the rites themselves. And here, therefore, was nourishment for the poetry to come, drawing on his own inborn sense of pattern and order in arousing his awareness of the ordered pattern uniting the visual and verbal symbolism of the liturgy—which in turn is the formal expression of the cyclical rhythm uniting natural with human life in accordance with a supernatural pattern.[13]

Aquinas. See G. Daly, *Transcendence and Immanence: A Study in Catholic Modernism and Integralism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 15.

10. M. R. O'Connell, *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1994), 341.
11. Cf. Forbes, *Rafael Cardinal Merry Del Val*, 1–2.
12. For biographical background and some analysis of his work, see E. Meynell, *The Life of Francis Thompson* 2nd ed. (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1925); J. C. Reed, *Francis Thompson: Man and Poet* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959); P. van Kuykendall Thomson, *Francis Thompson: A Critical Biography* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1961).
13. B. Boardman, *Between Heaven and Charing Cross: The Life of Francis Thompson* (London: Yale University Press, 1988), 27.

Though easily contrasted and perhaps somewhat caricatured, the response to the world and to faith that their alma mater shaped in these two men was most likely born of a common root—the skeptical preoccupation of the nineteenth century with discerning the self-revelation of God. Echoing Matthew Arnold, J. Hillis Miller gives a telling description of the time:

> The lines of connection between us and God have broken down, or God himself has slipped away from the places where he used to be. He no longer inheres in the world as the force binding together all men and all things. As a result the nineteenth and twentieth centuries seem to many writers a time when God is no more present and not yet again present, and can only be experienced negatively, as a terrifying absence. In this time of the no longer and the not yet, man is "Wandering between two worlds, one dead,/ The other powerless to be born."[14]

The ways in which these two tried to reestablish connection were very different, but, in discerning their particular paths, the extremes and limits of alternative routes can be acknowledged and a via media perhaps emerge. Those who Marvin O'Connell refers to as the "strong men in the papal entourage"[15] believed that the line of connection that clearly and irrefutably opened up the communication of God's self-revelation was neo-scholastic metaphysical philosophy, and their case should not be dismissed out of hand. As Austin Farrer makes clear in a most interesting series of sermons given as the Bampton Lectures of 1948, and later collected under the title of *The Glass of Vision*:

> To reject metaphysics is equivalent to saying that there are no serious questions for the human mind except those which fall under the special

14. J. Hillis Miller, *The Disappearance of God: Four Nineteenth-Century Writers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 2.
15. "The strong men in the papal entourage—Merry Del Val, Gaetano de Lai (a cardinal in 1907), Louis Billot (a cardinal in 1911)—were all convinced that Modernism posed an imminent and mortal threat to the Church." O'Connell, *Critics on Trial*, 360.

> sciences. We can ask historically why the crucifixion of Christ came about: physiologically, whether he died of heart-failure or of some other cause: psychologically what train of thoughts and feeling induced him to put his neck into the noose: morally, how his action squared with a copy-book of ethical imperatives. But we cannot consider what in itself, in its intensity and elevation of being, in its divinity, the voluntary passion of Christ was. We have a first interest in keeping this road unblocked, the road by which a serious and realistic wonder advances through the contemplation of Christ's manhood into the adoration of his deity, that it may lay hold upon the eternal Son, who, hanging on the Cross, is enthroned in Heaven; who, lying in the sepulchre, lies in the bosom of the Father; and standing in the upper room, breathes forth from the heart of all being the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost.[16]

Yet the important qualification to be made is that the metaphysics to which Farrer refers here and that which Merry Del Val learned from Billot are quite distinct. The system of this great and highly influential neo-Thomist was *exclusively* metaphysical, with Scripture, exegesis, and a sense of history lending almost nothing to his argumentation[17]—a logical appeal to the intellect reigning supreme. And yet, if it is of primary interest to keep this way unblocked, the means of progressing along it would seem to be another matter altogether. While it has already been suggested that the nineteenth-century mind struggled to assert belief in a positive revelation due to the perception of God's absence,[18] as underscored in the encyclical

16. A. Farrer, *The Glass of Vision* (Westminster: Dacre, 1948), 78.
17. "But the trouble was that Billot was an exclusively metaphysical and speculative theologian. He had no feel for history and showed little interest in it. Scripture, exegesis, and positive theology were played down in his teaching and in his writing." McCool, *Catholic Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, 239.
18. Here we might even call to mind the well-known passage of *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (1870) as a fitting example: "He has made this path of thought rugged and circuitous above other investigations, that the very discipline inflicted on our minds in finding Him may mould them in due devotion to Him when He is found. 'Verily, Thou art a hidden God, the God of Israel, the Saviour,' is the very law of his dealings with us. Certainly we need a clue into the labyrinth which is to lead us to Him; and who among us can hope to seize upon the true starting-points of thought for that enterprise." J. H. Newman, *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (New York: Doubleday, 1955), 276. And, for a useful reflection on this point, see A.

Pascendi dominici gregis,[19] the following assertion may seem strange: the excesses of a merely cognitive metaphysic, as of an indulgently immanentist method, are equally the product of agnosticism. As the great English Dominican Vincent McNabb makes clear in his essay on Francis Thompson,

> Now agnosticism, psychologically speaking, is the offspring of intelligence divorced from truth and conscience unacquainted with the commandment. Agnosticism is logic lacking emotion and logic is the antipodes of poetry. Therefore as a matter of history agnosticism has always made a good pleader and an indifferent poet: for the reason that it is rhetoric and logic rather than poetry. Between logic and poetry lies the great world of life, over against which the authentic poet sits, a spectator of all time and all existence.[20]

The privileged position of the poet allows a perspective on the great world of life that reveals "the ways of God to men."[21]

In choosing to "start further back," the new theologians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries recognised that a historical consciousness would open up the riches of the whole tradition, so that metaphysics could be expanded and enriched by biblical and patristic

Nichols, "John Henry Newman and the Illative Sense," in *A Grammar of Consent: The Existence of God in Christian Tradition* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991), 19–38.

19. "Modernists place the foundation of religious philosophy in that doctrine which is commonly called *Agnosticism*. According to this teaching human reason is confined entirely within the field of *phenomena*, that is to say, to things that appear, and in the manner in which they appear: it has neither the right nor the power to overstep these limits" ("Philosopiae religiosae fundamentum in doctrina illa modernistae ponunt, quam vulgo *agnosticismum* vocant. Vi huius humana ratio *phaenomenis* omnino includitur, rebus videlicet quae apparent eâque specie qua apparent: earumdem praetergredi terminus nec potestatem habet.") Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, in *ASS* 40 (1907): 597. English trans. in B. Reardon, *Roman Catholic Modernism* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1970), 237–42.
20. V. McNabb, *Francis Thompson and Other Essays* (London: Blackfriars, 1955), 11.
21. "… while it pursues/ Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme./ And chiefly thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer/ Before all temples th' upright heart and pure,/ Instruct me, for thou know'st; thou from the first/ Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread/ Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss/ And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark/ Illumine, what is low raise and support;/ That to the highth of this great argument/ I may assert Eternal Providence,/ And justify the ways of God to men." John Milton, "Paradise Lost, Book I," in *Milton: Poetical Works*, ed. D. Bush, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 212–13.

insights. In *The Glass of Vision*, Farrer is conscious of how Scripture, metaphysics, and poetry rub together in the mind and "seem to kindle one another,"[22] forming the light of revelation that ignites faith. The insight or "inscape"[23] of the poet is to see that the ascent to God, and more importantly his descent to us, occurs by means of symbol.[24] For the architects of the early Christian tradition, this fact was ever present and all pervasive, and nowhere was it expressed more clearly than in the celebration of the Eucharist:

> The Eucharist was the archetype of the divine analogy whereby created things participated in the supernatural reality they signified. Poetry in turn was, in one way or another, modelled on sacramental or scriptural language. The words of the poem incarnated the things they named, just as the words of the Mass shared in the transformation they evoked. The symbols and metaphors of poetry were no mere inventions of the poets. They were borrowed from the divine analogies of nature. Poetry was meaningful in the same way as nature itself—by a communion of the verbal symbols with the reality they named.[25]

22. Farrer, *The Glass of Vision*, ix.
23. This is a term particularly associated with the Scotist aesthetics expressed in the poetry of the nineteenth-century English Jesuit G. M. Hopkins. Christopher Devlin gives a useful definition of the concept: "In 'inscape' . . . there is a momentary contact between the Creative Agent who *causes* habitual knowing in me, and the created individual who terminates it in my actual insight. And the medium of this contact, if I am correct, is the *species specialissima*, the dynamic image of nature being created. In easier language: the poet, if the original motion of his mind is unimpeded, does perhaps see things for a moment as God sees them." Quoted in P. Ballinger, *The Poem as Sacrament: The Theological Aesthetic of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (Louvain: Peeters, 2000), 130.
24. "Man cannot conceive it [revelation] except in images; and these images must be divinely given to him, if he is to know a supernatural divine act. The images began to be given by Jesus Christ; the work was continued by the Spirit of Christ moving in the minds of the Apostles. It was possible for Christ and the Apostles to use the images meaningfully, because the old archetypes were there to hand, already half transformed under the leading of God in the expectant faith of Israel. Christ clothed himself in the archetypal images, and then began to do and to suffer. The images were further transformed by what Christ suffered and did when he put them on: they were transformed also by their all being combined in his one person. What sort of victorious David can it be, who is also the martyred Israel and the Lamb of sacrifice? What sort of new Adam can it be, who is also the temple of God? And what sort of living temple can it be, who is also the Word of God whereby the world was made?" Farrer, *The Glass of Vision*, 109.
25. Miller, *The Disappearance of God*, 3.

This was why witnessing the sacred mysteries in St. Cuthbert's Chapel, Ushaw, had such a deep effect on the young Francis Thompson. It was there that he first saw "shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder": symbols "pitched betwixt" that would eventually be the means of reconnecting "Heaven and Charing Cross."[26] And here it is to light upon the mode and means of meeting between transcendence and immanence for which many in the modern era have searched.[27] In fact, there could be no better example in modern poetry of the imperative of symbol in the communication of divine revelation than the man who fled the Hound of Heaven.[28] He surely is the nineteenth-century version of Farrer's Jeremiah:

> If we accept Jeremiah's own assumptions, all is plain. What constrains his images is the particular self-fulfiling will of God, perceptible in the external events of history and nature which God controls, perceptible also in the direct impact upon Jeremiah's inspired mind. If we are not prepared to believe in the perceptibly expressed particular divine will, we can still make some sense of Jeremiah's poetry, so long as we grant an eternal creative act from which the creature cannot escape. If we grant that the self-will of the creature can be experienced by the creature as a straining of its bond with the creative act, then we can say that the prophet dramatizes the ineluctable hold of the creator, and the self-punishment of our rebellions; he casts into personal and

26. "But (when so sad thou canst not sadder)/ Cry;- and upon thy so sore loss/ Shall shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder/ Pitched betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross." From "The Kingdom of God: In No Strange Land," in *The Works of Francis Thompson*, *Poems*, vol. 2, ed. W. Meynell (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1913), 226.
27. One cannot but think here of the theological aesthetic of Hans Urs von Balthasar, who maintains without compromise that the means of reconnecting with the data of revelation is an acknowledgement of primal transcendent beauty, which directly reflects the glory of the Lord. "If theology ignores, banishes or excludes beauty from its method it deprives itself of an essential element of the Christian faith." Cf. J. Coulson, "Hans Urs von Balthasar: Bringing Beauty Back to Faith," in *The Critical Spirit and the Will to Believe: Essays in Nineteenth Century Literature and Religion*, ed. D. Jasper and T. R. Wright (London: Macmillan, 1989), 220.
28. "Adown Titanic glooms of chasmèd fears,/ From those strong feet that followed, followed after./ But with unhurrying chase,/ And unperturbèd pace,/ Deliberate speed, majestic instancy,/ They beat—and a Voice beat/ More instant than the Feet—/ 'All things betray thee, who betrayest Me.'" From "The Hound of Heaven," in *The Works of Francis Thompson*, *Poems*, vol. 1, ed. W. Meynell (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1913), 107.

> mythological form the ever varying revenges of eternal Truth upon our restless infidelities.[29]

And thus, by way of the broad brushstrokes of this introductory sketch, do we arrive at the core question of the book: the symbolic actualization of divine revelation in the liturgy of the church. For now we have centered on the straining bond by which the prophet dramatizes in symbol the hold of the Creator on his creation, which is at once his judgment on the world. Philosopher and poet have brought us to the prophet, who at last is fulfilled in Christ, whose unique repetition of the Jewish prophetic act or *ōt* seals the union between his risen body and the sacramental symbols of the church.[30]

In following Gallagher's injunction[31] concerning our point of departure, we have in fact arrived at a point that allows the sacraments to be envisaged as symbols that have the credibility demanded by the people of today:

> Highlighting the parallel between the uses of *ōt* by Jesus and by the Church can be of aid in presenting the commemorative, ethical and prognostic aspects of Christian ritual to modern persons who might be searching for some ultimate rationale of their attempts to be just and fraternal towards others. People usually perform such moral behavior spontaneously in particular acts throughout life, but occasionally they reflect on whether these apparently passing acts might enjoy an ontic and lasting character.[32]

29. Farrer, *The Glass of Vision*, 125.
30. "Exegetical, liturgical and systematic theologians have pointed out that, as at once commemorative and prognostic acts, the sacraments have their roots in Jesus' use not only of the *zikkaron*, or memorial, but also in the *ōt*, or prophetic act, two complex components of Jewish religious symbolism." See P. J. Rosato, "The Prophetic Acts of Jesus: The Sacraments and the Kingdom," in *Gottes Zukunft--Zukunft der Welt, Festschrift für Jürgen Moltmann zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Deuser, et al. (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1986), 59, 59–67.
31. "'Start further back' meant not jumping into doctrinal language too early, or more positively, paying attention to the soil of experience into which the Sower has to sow today." M. P. Gallagher, *Dive Deeper: The Human Poetry of Faith* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2001), 3.
32. Rosato, "The Prophetic Acts of Jesus," 64.

Yet, in bringing together what is essentially fundamental theology and liturgy, this end is also a beginning. In settling on symbol as the key element of inquiry, we must now look to what insights the developments of the past might give to the scope and nature of our question, and what particular avenues might yield a fruitful response.

The first effort to start further back was the shift from neo-scholasticism and the search for a broader basis to the theological pursuit in biblical and patristic thought-patterns. This return to the sources was, in fact, a reappropriation of the whole *loci theologici*, yet within this a special appreciation of the role of the liturgy in shaping the symbols of faith was apparent. Thus the focus of the first chapter of this book will be a historicoalcritical examination of the pontificate of Leo XIII and its heritage for modern theology, especially as that is expressed in the liturgical movement and the *nouvelle théologie*.

In itself, this multifaceted movement was an effort to start further back with the natural, anthropological, and personal categories that are fundamental to human communication. Yet, inevitably, within the Christian memory all words begin and have their origin with the Word, who was, in the fullness of time, made flesh in Jesus Christ. In essence, then, the whole of the *ressourcement* is simply an effort to start with Christ. The second chapter of the book will therefore focus on the work of the French-Canadian Jesuit, René Latourelle, whose work as a fundamental theologian straddles the Second Vatican Council and focuses on the christological basis of the signs of revelation.

The third chapter will develop this line of inquiry from an ecclesiological perspective, while examining more thoroughly the notion of symbol and its significance within postcritical theology. Again, the focus will be the works of a Jesuit fundamental theologian, Avery Dulles, who, though roughly contemporary with and hailing from the same continent as Latourelle, uses the more fluid, open,

and eclectic methods of the New World, thus offering a contrast to the largely European influences to which Latourelle is subject. Nevertheless, the affinity between the two writers is such as to form a natural development between the second and third sections of the work.

The works of the Italian Benedictine Salvatore Marsili allow chapter 4 to make a distinct and obvious contrast to preceding sections. Though writing in the European context roughly contemporary with and geographically proximate to Latourelle, Marsili offers a unique contribution from his particular liturgical stance. The monastic approach to theology, undoubtedly shaped by the rhythms of daily worship, does contribute an obvious foil to the cerebral, blackboard science of the Jesuits, and it opens up an entirely different perspective from which to examine the question.

Yet finally, it is to another member of the Society that we turn in chapter 5. A French dogmatician, Council *peritus* and teacher at the famous Jesuit house at Lyons-Fouvière, Gustave Martelet has both experiences in common and a privileged particularity in order to give contrast and depth to the study as a whole. That is, he provides a singular response to the circumstances and events that were common to each writer.

Thus, by way of four writers, the fundamental aspects of this study have been selected: a work of historical perspective that seeks to reinterpret the connections between the aboriginal revelation of the historical Jesus and its persistence in the sacraments of the church today according to the christological, symbolic, liturgical, and anthropological insights that have emerged from Vatican II. In this, René Latourelle, Avery Dulles, Salvatore Marsili, and Gustave Martelet will be our expository guides, so that a final chapter can both synthesize and speculate on the elements of the discussion entered into. Hence the volume will be divided into three parts. The first will

comprise a historical overview, which will focus on the emergence of the major themes of the book in the period directly prior to that in which the chosen authors worked. The second part will be expository, concentrating on a presentation and analysis of selected texts by these theologians, and the final part will be evaluative, indicating the significant contributions made and pointing out certain prospectives that are likely to be significant in the further development of this question.

Finally, a note should be made as to translations. Wherever an English version of one of the selected texts is available, this has been used in conjunction with the original language edition. When unacknowledged translations are given in the main text and notes, they are to be understood as coming from the English translation referenced in the bibliography. Where an English edition is not available or significant changes have been deemed necessary, I acknowledge such translations as my own.