42. Ibid.

- 43. F. Belo, Lectura materialista del evangelio de Marcos (Estella, 1975). Eng. trans. A Materialist reading of the Gospel of Mark (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1981); M. Clévenot, Lectura materialista de la Biblia (Salamanca, 1978), pp. 109-12. Eng. trans. Materialist Approaches to the Bible (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1985). What Latin American christology values in these studies is that they present Jesus' life as the story of words and deeds, but, going beyond them, this christology insists in not bracketing off the "practitioner" Jesus, who might then disappear behind his practice.
  - 44. Boff, Jesucristo y la liberación del hombre, pp. 539-40.

45. El precio de la gracia (Salamanca, 1968), pp. 20-21.

- 46. As ever, spirituality went ahead of theology, something that also happens in our own day. It is notable, for example, that the encyclopedias produced in Germany since the Second Vatican Council, Mysterium salutis, Sacramentum mundi, Lexikon Theologischer Grundbegriffe, very valuable in other respects, do not take discipleship of Jesus seriously in their christologies.
- 47. J. O. Tuñí, "Jesús de Nazaret, criterio de identidad cristiana en el Nuevo Testamento," *Todos Uno* 82 (1985), p. 12. My remarks here are based on what the author says programmatically in this article and in his others on the same subject on the Letter to the Hebrews and the Johannine and Pauline writings.

48. Tuñí, p. 13.

49. J. O. Tuñí, "Jesús' en la carta a los Hebreos," RLT 9 (1986), pp. 283-302.

50. Tuñí, "Jesús de Nazaret," pp. 16-17.

51. According to A. Vanhoye, Le Christ est notre prêtre (Paris, 1969), there may be an echo of this in Col. 2:18: "Let no one disqualify you, insisting on self-abasement and worship of angels," worship that consisted in the keeping of feasts, new moons and sabbaths (Col. 2:16), and in the ritual use of food and drink (Col 2:18), which could be attractive as a "seductive mixture of false mysticism and religious formalism" (Vanhoye, p. 19).

52. Tuñí, "Jesús de Nazaret," p. 16.

- 53. Tuñí, "La vida de Jesús en el evangelio de Juan," RLT7 (1986), pp. 3-43. See also the appendix, "La vida de Jesús en 1 Jn," pp. 31-4.
- 54. Tuñí, "Pablo y Jesús. La vida de Jesús y la vida de Pablo," RLT 15 (1988), pp. 285-305.
  - 55. Tuñí, "Pablo y Jesús," p. 297.

56. Tuñí, "Jesús de Nazaret," pp. 17-18.

- 57. E. Schweizer, "Die theologische Leistung des Markus," Evangelische Theologie 24 (1964), pp. 337-55, abridged in Selecciones de Teologia 33 (1970), pp. 50-61.
  - 58. González Faus, Acceso a Jesús (Salamanca, 6th ed., 1967), pp. 45-6.

59. Schillebeeckx, Jesús, pp. 85-102.

## PART II: THE MISSION AND FAITH OF JESUS

## 4. Jesus and the Kingdom of God

- 1. J. I. González Faus, La humanidad nueva. Ensayo de cristología (Santander, 7th ed., 1986), p. 46.
  - 2. K. Rahner, "Líneas fundamentales de una cristología sistemática," K. Rahner and W.

Thüsing, Cristología. Estudio teológico y exegético (Madrid, 1975), p. 35. (See n. 13 to ch. 2 above.)

- 3. J. Jeremias, Teologia del Nuevo Testamento (Salamanca, 5th ed., 1986), p. 119. Sp. trans. of Neuetestamentliche Theologie vol. I, Die Verkundigung Jesu (1971). Eng. trans. New Testament Theology, Part I The Proclamation of Jesus (London: SCM Press; New York: Harper & Row, 1971); W. Kasper, Jesus der Christus (Mainz, 1974): Eng. trans. Jesus the Christ (London: Burns & Oates; New York: Herder & Herder, 1976), p. 72: "The centre and framework of Jesus' preaching and mission was the approaching Kingdom of God."
- 4. Not only from what Jesus preached to his listeners, but on the level of his own self-understanding, there is no evidence that he wished to preach himself, which means that any christology must, on principle, be an indirect christology. And much the same can be said if Jesus is approached from the resurrection: there too Jesus has to be presented in relational form: cf. W. Thüsing, "La imagen de Dios en el Nuevo Testamento," J. Ratzinger (ed.), Dios como problema (Madrid, 1973), pp. 80-120.

5. Matthew's expression is a common circumlocution to avoid using the name of God out of respect. It means exactly the same as "Kingdom of God" and has no connotation of being beyond time and history.

6. Jesus clearly did not think in terms of a church, as it developed, though he did promote a movement that led to a church, which referred back in belief and practice to Jesus (and his Spirit). Cf. R. Aguirre, Del movimiento de Jesús a la Iglesia cristiana (Bilbao, 1987).

- 7. On this theme, which runs through the whole of theology and is a major concern of liberation theology, see I. Ellacuría, "Historicidad de la salvación cristiana," *Mysterium liberationis*, I (Madrid, 1990), pp. 323-73. Eng. trans. "The Historicity of Christian Salvation," *Mysterium Liberationis* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1993), pp. 251-89.
  - 8. Kasper, Jesus the Christ, p. 72.
- 9. E. Schillebeeckx, Jesus, het verhaal van een levende (Bloemendal, 1974). Eng. trans. Jesus: An Experiment in Christology (London: Collins; New York: Harper & Row, 1979). Sp. trans. Jesús. La historia de un viviente, p. 130.
- 10. The classic work by R. Schnackenburg, God's Rule and Kingdom (London: Burns & Oates; New York: Herder & Herder, 1968), provides a good methodological example of how the meaning of the Kingdom of God for Jesus, compared to its meaning in the Old Testament and the later church, is being clarified.
- 11. W. Pannenberg, "Die Offenbarung Gottes in Jesus von Nazareth," *Theologie als Geschichte* (Zurich, 1967), p. 143.
- 12. Aguirre, *Del movimiento de Jesús*, p. 47. Jesus does not use the more precise apocalyptic terminology, the "future aeon," nor does he express utopia in the more usual form used by rabbis and Pharisees, the "coming of the Messiah."
- 13. This obvious consideration has not been so obvious in theology, which has tended precipitately to universalize the recipients of salvation. Liberation theology, though, is very conscious of the need to historicize the recipients of salvation in order to know, in turn, what salvation and what liberation is meant.
  - 14. Schillebeeckx, Jesús, p. 130.
- 15. This is one example, among many, of the consequences of making the option for the poor in theological undertakings. If theology is done for and from the poor, at least one realizes that good news is not so for all equally; hence the need to determine its addressee as carefully as possible so as to be able to know what good news is involved.

NOTES

285

- 16. The expression as such was not central in late Judaism nor even in the apocalyptic from which it came. Schillebeeckx, *Jesús*, p. 135.
- 17. L. Armendáriz, "El 'Reino de Dios,' centro y mensaje de la vida de Jesús," Sal Terrae 756 (1976), p. 364.
- 18. Like any major reality, including that of God, understanding of the "Kingdom of God" can be falsified, either reducing it individualistically—"so that Christ may reign in our hearts"—or, above all, going to the other extreme of making it into a theocracy, in the name of which one can oppress and kill all who simply do not share in this kingdom. All the terrible "holy wars," so common in history, use this as their final justification.
  - 19. Jeremias, Teología del Nuevo Testamento, p. 122.
- 20. G. Bornkamm, Jesús de Nazaret (Salamanca, 3d ed., 1982), pp. 68ff. Sp. trans. of Jesus von Nazareth (Stuttgart, 9th ed., 1971). Eng. trans. Jesus of Nazareth (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1960, new ed. 1980).
- 21. This popular and active type of hope—not any hope—is also real and new in Latin America, and because of this the Kingdom of God has been understood in a specific way popular, historical and liberating. The main reason for this is the analogy between the two situations, that of Israel and ours, with their common history of disasters and oppression.
- 22. The theses of Cullmann (Jesus and the Revolutionaries of His Time) and Hengel (The Zealots) on the existence of the Zealots at the time of Jesus are now generally questioned. Their rise seems to have been later, though this did not prevent Jesus and the first Christians from being seen as political agitators (Acts 5:35-9). On this point, see R. A. Horsley and J. S. Hanson, Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements at the Time of Jesus (San Francisco: Harper, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1985); H. Guevara, Ambiente político del pueblo judío en tiempo de Jesús (Madrid, 1985); J. P. Meier, "The Bible as a Source of Theology," CTSA Proceedings 43 (1988), pp. 1-14. (See also Horsley, "Palestininan Jewish Groups and their Messiahs in Late Second Temple Times," Concilium 1993/1, pp.14-29. TRANS.)
- 23. On John the Baptist and his relation to Jesus, see J. Becker, Johannes der Taufer und Jesus von Nazaret (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972).
- 24. The specific nature of the figure of John the Baptist is brought out in Q: "But when he saw many [people] coming for baptism, he said to them, 'You brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bear fruit worthy of repentance..." (Matt. 3:7-8; Luke 3:7-8).
- 25. "The Baptist, through baptizing by immersion, brought penitents together to gather them into the eschatological people so as to save them from the verdict of condemnation at the last judgment." Jeremias, *Teologia*, p. 62.
- 26. Jeremias, p. 63; Becker, Johannes der Taufer, p. 15; K. Niederwimmer, Jesus (Göttingen, 1968); J. Moltmann, Der Weg Jesu Christi. Christologie in messianischen Dimension (Munich, 1989), pp. 107ff. Eng. trans. The Way of Jesus Christ. Christianity in Messianic Dimensions (London: SCM Press; New York: Harper & Row, 1990).
- 27. The biblical scholar Xavier Alegre commented during his visit to El Salvador that the way the Synoptics narrated the beginning of Jesus' mission suggested this to him "After Rutilio Grande was assassinated, Mgr Romero began to preach. . . ." There is of course no need to look for precise analogies, but the example of Archbishop Romero might be of some help in understanding Jesus' existential decision.
  - 28. A. Pérez, "El reino de Dios como nombre de un deseo. Ensayo de exégesis ética,"

Sal Terrae 780 (1978), pp. 392ff, has expressed this problem well, though he exaggerates in saying that theology has taken virtually no notice of it.

- 29. Jeremias, Teología, p. 126.
- 30. In his parables, Jesus also stresses that this coming of the Kingdom is humble, through hardly detectable little signs, but certain and sure. Jeremias, Las Parábolas de Jesús (Estella, 1970), pp. 179-96. Sp. trans. of Die Gleichnisse Jesus (Zurich, 1954). Eng. trans. The Parables of Jesus (London: SCM Press; New York: Macmillan, 1972).
- 31. See O. Cullmann, Jesus und die Revolutionären seiner Zeit (Tübingen, 1970). Eng. trans. Jesus and the Revolutionaries of his Time (London: SCM Press; New York: Harper & Row, 1970).
- 32. W. Schrage, Etica del Nuevo Testamento (Salamanca, 1986), pp. 27-146. Eng. trans. The Ethics of the New Testament (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1988).
- 33. *Ibid.*, p. 53. This is what Jesus himself makes possible. "Jesus is God's mercy coming in person to this world, approaching us concretely, physically, touching us in his temporality and in his flesh, so that we can surrender trustingly and unconditionally to this same action of God's and become what God is, mercy. Forgiven, we in turn are capable of mercy." G. Baena, "El sacerdocio de Cristo," *Diakonia* 26 (1983), p. 133.
- 34. In Paul it appears forty-eight times in his authentic letters, of which twenty-two in its absolute sense. Its meaning is more restricted referring directly to the suffering, cross and resurrection of Christ.
  - 35. Schillebeeckx, Jesús, p. 98.
- 36. "Salvation in Jesus Christ and the Process of Liberation," Concilium 96 (vol. 6, no. 10) (1974), p. 81.
  - 37. Aguirre, Del movimiento de Jesús, p. 51.
- 38. The old theology naturally affirmed the universal saving will of God, but added voluntate tamen inequali, "but with unequal will." It should therefore not surprise us to find God taking sides. What happens is that those who are for the poor still cause disquiet and scandal.
  - 39. Schillebeeckx, Jesús, p. 131.
  - 40. Jeremias, Teología, pp. 132, 142, my italics.
- 41. Cf. Jeremias, *Teología*, pp. 134-138; J. Pixley and C. Boff, *The Bible, the Church and the Poor* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates; Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1989); G. M. Soares-Prabhu, "Clase en la Biblia: los pobres, ¿una clase social?," *RLT* 12 (1987), pp. 217-39.
  - 42. Jeremias, Teología, p. 137.
- 43. What should be understood by "poor" historically and theologically will be examined in the Excursus following this chapter.
- 44. Social segregation is a perennial temptation for the religious mentality and was so at the time of Jesus. Schillebeeckx, Jesús, pp. 131-2: "Such circles tend to uphold the principle of loving those whom God loves (and chooses) and hating those whom God rejects. . . . Above all, 'publicans and sinners' are avoided like the plague; dealing with them means making oneself into a sinner."
- 45. My analysis follows the article by Soares-Prabhu (n. 41). This does not contradict, but rather complements, that of Jeremias, less socio-politically oriented.
  - 46. Soares-Prabhu, "Clase en la Biblia," p. 223.
  - 47. Ibid., p. 225.

- 48. Ibid., p. 228.
- 49. Ibid.
- 50. R. Sivatte, "La práctica de la justicia, criterio de discernimiento de la verdadera experiencia de la fe, según el Antiguo Testamento," Various, La justicia que brota de la fe (Santander, 1982).
- 51. J. L. Sicre, "Con los pobres de la tierra." La justicia social en los profetas de Israel (Madrid, 1984), p. 448.
- 52. G. Gutiérrez, El Dios de la vida (Lima, 1982, revised and expanded ed., 1989). Eng. trans. The God of Life (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1991).
  - 53. Dodekaprofeten, I, p. 304.
  - 54. Jeremias, Teología, p. 122.
- 55. J. P. Miranda, Marx y la Biblia (Salamanca, 1972), pp. 140ff: Eng. trans. Marx and the Bible (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1974).
  - 56. Jeremias, Teologia, p. 145.
  - 57. Ibid., p. 128.
  - 58. Ibid.
  - 59. Bornkamm, Jesús de Nazaret, p. 103.
  - 60. Jeremias, Teologia, p. 235.
  - 61. Soares-Prabhu, "Clase en la Biblia," p. 224.
  - 62. E. Käsemann, La llamada de la libertad (Salamanca, 2d ed., 1985), p. 35.
  - 63. C. Escudero Freire, Devolver el evangelio a los pobres (Salamanca, 1978), p. 226.
  - 64. Ibid., p. 273.
- 65. *Ibid.*, p. 270. See also J. Dupont, "Jésus annonce la bonne nouvelle aux pauvres," Various, *Evangelizare pauperibus* (Brescia, 1978), p. 183: "The good news proclaimed to the poor cannot be anything other than the news that they will cease to be poor and undergo poverty. Just as the blind see, the deaf hear and the dead live, so their needs will be met, they will cease to be victims of an unjust distribution of goods."
- 66. González Faus, Clamor del reino. Estudio sobre los milagros de Jesús (Salamanca, 1982).
- 67. Jeremias, *Teologia*, p. 115. He considers that the cures are mostly of psychogenic sicknesses, but also of lepers (in the wide sense used at the time), paralytics and blind people: "These are sufferings of the sort to which medicine applies a 'therapy of overcoming."
  - 68. González Faus, Clamor, p. 157.
- 69. Schillebeeckx, *Jesús*, p. 168. The exegetical reason he gives is that the miracle stories stem from Jesus' activity in Galilee, where he was surrounded by crowds of simple people. Based on this original nucleus of healing miracles among the people, tradition proceeded to elaborate more spectacular miracles.
- 70. B. Lauret, "Cristología dogmática," B. Lauret and F. Refoulé (eds), *Iniciación a la práctica de la teología* I (Madrid, 1984), p. 309. Sp. trans of *Initiation à la pratique de la théologie*, five vols (Paris, 1967-87).
- 71. See the fine pages by A. Nolan, Jesus Before Christianity (London: Darton, Longman & Todd; Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1977), pp. 49ff.
- 72. J. Blank, Jesús de Nazaret (Madrid, 1982), p. 88: Sp. trans. of Jesus von Nazareth. Geschichte und Relevanz (Freiburg, 1972).
  - 73. Nolan, Jesus Before Christianity, p. 56.
  - 74. Schillebeeckx, Jesús, pp. 180ff.

- 75. See González Faus, "Jesús y los demonios. Introducción cristológica a la lucha por la justicia," *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 52 (1977), pp. 487-519. Much of the following section is taken from this article.
  - 76. Jeremias, Teología, p. 115.
  - 77. Ibid., p. 117.
  - 78. Ibid., p. 187.
  - 79. Jeremias, Las parábolas de Jesús, pp. 29-142.
  - 80 Lauret, "Cristología dogmática," pp. 302-6.
  - 81. Ibid., p. 303.
- 82. J. L. Segundo, El hombre de hoy ante Jesús de Nazaret II/I (Madrid, 1982), pp. 303-20. Eng. trans. Jesus Christ Yesterday and Today. Vol III, The Humanist Christology of Paul (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books; London: Sheed & Ward, 1986).
  - 83. Ibid., p. 186.
  - 84. Jeremias, Jesús, p. 171.
  - 85. Ibid., p. 196.
  - 86. Ibid., p. 244.
- 87. "Homilía con motivo de la expulsión del P. Mario Bernal," ECA 348/347 (1977), p. 859.

## Excursus 1: The Kingdom of God in Present-Day Christologies

- 1. I. Ellacuría, "Aporte de la teología de la liberación a las religiones abrahámicas en la superación del individualismo y del positivismo," RLT 10 (1987), p. 9; J. Sobrino, "La centralidad del 'reino de Dios' en la teología de la liberación," RLT 9 (1986), pp. 247-81; also Mysterium Liberationis I (Madrid, 1990), pp. 467-511. Eng. trans. "The Central Position of the Reign of God in Liberation Theology," Mysterium Liberationis (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1993), pp. 289-328.
  - 2. A. Schweitzer, Geschichte der Lebens-Jesu-Forschung (Munich, 1966), pp. 402-50.
- 3. C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 146ff.
- 4. O. Cullmann, La historia de salvación (Barcelona, 1967), pp. 217-26. Eng. trans. Salvation in History (London: SCM Press; New York: Harper & Row, 1967).
- 5. R. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament (London: SCM Press; New York: Macmillan, 1968).
- 6. Bultmann, Jesus (Munich, 1967), pp. 38ff; Geschichte und Eschatologie (Tübingen, 1964), p. 180.
  - 7. Bultmann, Glauben und Verstehen II (Tübingen, 1958), p. 119.
  - 8. Ibid., p. 101.
- 9. W. Pannenberg, Cuestiones fundamentales de teología sistemática (Salamanca, 1976), p. 27. Sp. trans. of Grundfragen systematischer Theologie (Göttingen, 1966). Eng. trans. Basic Concepts in Systematic Theology (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971).
- 10. Pannenberg, Fundamentos de cristología (Salamanca, 1974), p. 280. Sp. trans. of Grundzüge der Christologie (Gütersloh, 3d ed., 1969). Eng. trans. Jesus—God and Man (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1968).
  - 11. Ibid., p. 281.