

VICARIOUS REPRESENTATION¹

~ Joseph Ratzinger / Pope Benedict XVI ~

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Introduction

What follows is the translation of an essay by Joseph Ratzinger which appeared in a collaborative manual of basic theological concepts.² The text was written during the years 1959–63, when J. Ratzinger was professor of Fundamental Theology in the Catholic Theology Faculty of the University of Bonn. Among the motives for a translation at this late date are (1) the exemplary character of the text as a Christology worked out from biblical sources, (2) the presentation here of central convictions about Christ and the Church which Pope Benedict XVI has held throughout his theological career, but which several recent English-language accounts of the Pope's theology have not mentioned, and (3) the foundational role played by this Christology in the two volumes of *Jesus of Nazareth*, in which the Pope speaks often of Jesus' representative role as his "pro-existence" and repeatedly takes the Servant of Deutero-Isaiah as the key to Jesus' understanding of his mission.³

Text

Vicarious representation is a fundamental category of biblical revelation, which however, most likely because it lacks a corresponding philosophical model, plays only a meager role in theology. The concept has instead been largely relegated to the literature of edification and spirituality.

In the history of religions, vicarious representation occurs most frequently in magical actions on a substitute reality, in which one sees what is most basic to magical performance. What is done to the substitute reality is expected to happen, for good or ill, to the person or thing represented. In the ancient Near Eastern

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- 1 The translation is published with permission of the Liberia Editrice Vaticana, which holds the copyright to all works of Joseph Ratzinger / Pope Benedict XVI. The translation omits several cross-references made in the original text to other entries in *Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe*.
 - 2 Stellvertretung, *Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe* ed. Heinrich Fries, 2 vols. (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1962–63), 2:566–575.
 - 3 *Jesus of Nazareth: From the Baptism in the Jordan to the Transfiguration* (New York: Doubleday: 2007; reprint with an Index, San Francisco: Ignatius, 2008), 18, 21, 331–32 ("pro-existence"); *Jesus of Nazareth, Holy Week: From the Entrance into Jerusalem to the Resurrection* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2011), 16–17, 100–01, 120, 131, 133, 134 ("pro-existence"), 136, 172–73, and 174 ("pro-existence").

cultures surrounding the Bible, this elementary phenomenon of the history of religions found its most significant expression in the so-called *šar-pûhi* (substitute king) and *salam-pûhi* (substitute image) texts, whether from the Hittites of the 14th or 13th centuries BC, the Babylonians, or especially the Assyrian texts from the era of Asarhaddon (681–669 BC). In a magical rite, a substitute representative or a substitute image was exposed to the angry gods in place of the real king or another person who was the object of their anger. It could happen that the substitute, in magical identity with the one threatened, would even suffer a vicariously representative death, which was supposed to ward off the havoc threatening the real king.⁴

I. Biblical Accounts of Vicarious Representation

1. When the notion of vicarious representation makes its first appearance in the Bible, it has already left all traces of magical thinking far behind. What was proper to the magical rite performed on a substitute was that a human being would, for his own benefit, designate something or someone as his representative, so that the havoc meant for him would come over the substitute. But the ancient narrative given by the Jahwist in Genesis 18:20ff portrays the exact opposite. As Abraham bargains with Jahweh over the fate of Sodom, he ultimately offers himself and his own friendship with God, in order to snatch the threatened city away from the havoc toward which it is reeling. This righteous man senses his own solidarity with sinners and seeks to have his own dignity replace what they lack and thus represent them before God. More of a substitutionary performance appears in the rite of the scapegoat on which the sins of the people are laid.⁵ But this remains ultimately a symbolic performance which impresses on the people the urgency of their own conversion, while it manifests the gracious mercy of Jahweh from whom alone one hopes for forgiveness and salvation. Clearly, Israelite piety was even in its cultic expressions thoroughly personalistic, and this most likely caused the maturing and ongoing purification of the concept of vicarious representation as free and personal, as in Genesis 18:20ff, and not as magical and objectified.

Portrayals of the king's role as representative of his people and so as cultic dispenser of blessing,⁶ as well as intercessor,⁷ all remain for the most part within contexts common to ancient Near Eastern thinking. But the idea of vicarious representation reaches its highpoint in the image of Moses in Deuteronomy and in the Songs of the Lord's Servant in Deutero-Isaiah.

4 See Josef Scharbert, "Stellvertretendes Sühneleiden in den Ebed-Jahwe-Liedern und in altorientalischen Ritualtexten" [Vicarious Sufferings of Atonement in the Songs of the Lord's Servant and in Ancient Near Eastern Ritual Texts], *Biblische Zeitschrift* 2 (1958): 190–213, at 204–210.

5 Lev. 16:22; see also Ezek. 4:4.

6 2 Sam. 6:18; 1 Kings 8:14.55f; 1 Chron. 16:2; 2 Chron. 6:3.

7 1 Kings 8:22–53; 2 Kings 19:15–19; 2 Chron. 6:12–42, 30:18f.

While Jeremiah accepts his suffering as a mysterious undoing which he cannot explain, other prophetic figures appear who stand in the breach for their people,⁸ or offer themselves to be representatively erased from the book of life,⁹ and who in fact bear the fated disaster meant for their people. Thus, Moses dies outside the promised land as the one struck vicariously by God's wrath and made an outcast.¹⁰ He anticipates in this the fate of the Servant of God of Second Isaiah, who in the same way dies the death of the guilty and outcast and for this receives "the many," that is, humankind itself, as his portion.¹¹ The same line of thought turns up again in "the one they have pierced" in Zechariah 12:10ff, whose fated death opens the way to the people's salvation.

The lament over the one pierced bears clear traces of the contemporary Tammuz-liturgies,¹² which may have also marked Isaiah 53, in ways possibly related to the Babylonian New Year's ritual.¹³ But the biblical notion of vicarious suffering differs radically from pagan rites of suffering. Tammuz is said to be like a wilted rice plant, without splendor or form as he descends to the underworld, as wounded and a man of tears, as beaten and degraded, like a sacrificial lamb led to slaughter, like a chained criminal whose lot is with murders, who though will rise like a heroic victor. All this is like the ritual passion undergone by the Babylonian king in the night of the new year, that is, a thoroughly naturalistic parable. Tammuz represents the death and rising of nature and the Tammuz liturgy is a substitutionary performance of the type sketched above. Its focus is the desired renewal in the real world of vegetation, which is anticipated in the cultic realm of substitution in order to influence the course of nature for the good. Similarly the king is symbolically degraded and exalted at the turn from one year to the next, in a kind of new creation of time with assurance of weal in both nature and political life in the year then beginning.

In the biblical application of terms from such liturgies to the suffering prophet, the vocabulary comes to have a completely new personalized meaning. The issue is not the death and rising of vegetation and no longer a magical consolidation of the political regime. At the center a human being really suffers and loves, in a service of vicarious representation from which salvation comes to the whole community. The true liturgy of suffering is not a ritual lamentation over Tammuz, but it consists in the patient endurance of the prophet, by which one hopes that the world will be renewed and permeated by the force of real life.

8 Compare Ps. 106:23; Ezek. 13:5.

9 This appears already in Exod. 32:32.

10 Deut. 3:23–28, 4:21f.

11 Isa. 53:8–12.

12 Zech. 12:11. Compare Ezek. 8:14. [Tammuz was a Mesopotamian deity, associated with vegetation, who was ritually lamented as dying at the summer solstice. (Translator's note).]

13 See Scharbert, "Stellvertretendes Sühneleiden," 196–204.

The biblical account also shows that the conferral of salvation on “the many” does not follow magically and automatically. Instead, those who are saved must be converted and give their interior compliance, as do the “we” in the dramatic structure of Isaiah 53. They change from despising the Servant and so open themselves to salvation coming from him. In this respect the vicarious representation of Isaiah 53 coheres closely with the Old Testament conception of community, to which Joseph Scharbert applies the term “solidarity.” For a person neither stands individually only for himself, nor is one, for good or ill, absorbed into the collective. Everyone meets his or her fate amid an oscillation between one’s own action and one’s receiving from the community.

The notion of the service of vicarious suffering lived on in the post-exilic era and clearly entered repeatedly the concrete existence of devout individuals. Texts such as Daniel 3:40 and Second Maccabees 7:38 give evidence of a new and profound theology of martyrdom. The first text depicts the suffering that the world lays on the faithful, as they remain constant in the furnace of temptation and become an atoning burnt-offering. This is the holy worship that the exiled people of God set against idol-worship. In the second case the devout give witness by shedding their blood to the hope that by their suffering God’s wrath will cease. The bold power of these grand visions of suffering Israel served to interpret what happened to the three young men in the furnace of blazing fire and to the seven brothers martyred for God’s Law. Thus devout believers of post-exilic Israel continued to find in their painful distress amid righteous living a profound meaning inspired by the figure of the Servant of the Lord.

Through all this Second Isaiah’s sketch of the Servant remains the culmination of Old Testament thinking. It breaks open Israel’s nationalistic narrowness and at the same time lets God’s Servant become a light to the nations. From the Servant salvation reaches to the end of the world.¹⁴ The texts that formulate these ideas make a close connection between the figure of the Servant and the mission of all Israel. Consequently Israel has to recognize in the Servant’s fate an account of its own mission and thereby experience the mystery of vicarious representation as the true center of its historical existence. As a people cast out, crushed, and despised, Israel gives witness to the one and only God and precisely in the national catastrophe of exile it becomes increasingly the light of the nations bearing God’s message to the ends of the earth. Here is an indication that God’s election of Israel is at the same time a vocation to the service of suffering and that this election is for the benefit of the others.

2. These themes reach their proper fulfillment in the figure of the New Testament Servant of the Lord, which Jesus Christ clearly and from the beginning understood himself to be. From him New Testament theology is first and foremost a theology of vicarious representation. It seems commonly accepted today

¹⁴ Isa. 49:6, 51:5, 45:22.

that the earliest christology, that of the Jerusalem community, was a christology of the Servant. The evangelists place the whole life of Jesus symbolically under the same conception, when they relate the word about the Spirit at Jesus' baptism and also cite the introduction to the Songs of the Servant of the Lord, "You are my Son, my Beloved; with you I am well pleased."¹⁵ This is first an interpretation of Jesus' baptism, but also a mirror casting light on the meaning of our Lord's whole existence. The others go under John's baptism to do penance for their sins, but Jesus is sinless and so his baptism has another meaning. He does not receive it for himself, but for the others. He enters the destiny awaiting them and acts out symbolically what will be from then on the content of his whole existence, namely, sharing the destiny of sinners and standing in their place. With his baptism, Jesus takes on the mission of the Servant and from then on his whole life is existence for others, which reaches its completion in the baptism of his death,¹⁶ which fulfills his sharing in the fate of human beings destined to suffer death.

At the end Jesus takes up in a word of his own what the Spirit proclaimed when his mission began. At the Last Supper, he interprets his whole earthly life through the Isaian theme of service "for the many" and takes as his life's meaning the conception of an exchange of destinies.¹⁷ Since this eucharistic meal will become the integrating center of the Christian community and give Christian living its fundamental qualification, both of these have as a consequence their deepest meaning in the mystery of vicarious representation. Christians live first of all and totally from the Lord's service of representation and at the same time they receive it as the basic law of their own being.

The New Testament theology of vicarious representation reaches its high-point in the Pauline and Johannine writings. In Romans 9–11 Paul works out the expansion by which the idea of representation comes to offer a comprehensive view of history. Earlier, post-exilic theology had to make sense of the suffering of God's elect people, but now Paul faces the task of explaining Israel's rejection, its unbelief, and thus its apparent exclusion from the line of prophetic fulfillment. Was all this a final breakdown of God's thousand-year history of dealing with human beings? To be sure, the prophecy of the Servant of the Lord had reached fulfillment and the light of the Lord had gone out to the nations, but in that very instant Israel appeared to be thrown on the trash heap of both world history and salvation history.

But Paul worked out a further deepening of the notion of election on the basis of vicarious representation. Israel's failure became the occasion for bringing the message of Christ to the gentile pagans. Israel opened a place into which the nations of the world could come streaming in. Israel's downfall made salvation available for the pagans, leading to an exchange of places in the world-historical

15 Mark 1:11 par.; compare Matt. 12:18; Ps. 2:7; and Isa. 42:1.

16 Mark 10:38; Luke 12:50.

17 Mark 14:23 par.; compare Mark 10:45.

roles apportioned to humans. From being far from God, the pagans come into the space of election from which the old people of God had exited. But for Paul this is not the end of the drama of world history. He asks, "If their (= the Jews') rejection brings the reconciliation of the world, what then will their acceptance bring but the resurrection of the dead?"¹⁸ In this audacious sketch of history, the different groups do not live only for themselves but are instead ordered to each other in mutual service. Each lives for the other and from the other. With this, Paul sees the whole past history of Israel in a new light and reinterprets it with reference to its definitive meaning.

One can ascertain peculiar relations between pairs of brothers in Old Testament narratives of election. Isaac displaces Ishmael; in an odd exchange contrary to the right of the elder brother, Jacob displaces Esau; and against the right of the first-born Ephraim is preferred over Manasseh. Jesus took up the theme of two brothers in a new way and gave it an unmistakable meaning corresponding to the historical change that our Lord ascribed to the arrival of his own hour.¹⁹ In the Matthean parable, the rebellious son first defies his father but then still obeys him, while the other son submits verbally but in reality shows no concern for doing his father's will. This brings out what is in fact occurring as Jesus preaches: the tax-collectors and prostitutes truly hear God's call, while the "pious" and "righteous" in the end do their own will.

The Lukan parable of brothers differs in that it depicts what takes place as salvation history reaches its full expanse at the hour of Jesus Christ. The son once lost who returned home represents the nations in their thousand years of error far from the father's house of the one God amid the apparent delights of idol-worship which however lead to final bankruptcy. The son who stayed at home but became envious stands for righteous Israel, which cannot bear seeing the homecoming of the pagans and God's unconditional goodness toward sinners, but instead feels itself defrauded of the reward of its patient faith through the centuries.

These parables make it seem as if the outcasts of long ago, Ishmael and Esau, have returned to favor. But the parables do not answer questions which arise about the strange interconnection of the destinies of the sons and about the lot of the one favored for so long. Instead they are content to be a word of present address and a message of good news about God's mercy toward those seemingly outcast and forgotten.

Paul attempts a synthesis of all this in Romans 9–11, where the overarching affirmation posits God's unsearchable freedom in choosing. Within this the Apostle uncovers the changing linkage of the respective destinies, with the alter-

18 Rom. 11:15.

19 Luke 15:11–32; Matt. 21:28–32.

nating shifts from rejection to election serving in the end the rescue of both groups. "For God has imprisoned all in disobedience so that he may be merciful to all."²⁰

This makes it clear that the respective services rendered to each other have their ultimate basis in the vicarious representation of Jesus Christ, from which both groups live. For Paul the decisive contrast is not between Jews and pagans, but between humanity and Jesus Christ, while the decisive change of places is not the Jewish-pagan role-exchange, which we tend to notice first, but the exchange between Christ and humanity, in which for us "he was made to be sin" and to bear the curse of those disobedient to the law, which we in truth all are, when for us he hung on a tree.²¹

Paul gave this theology of vicarious representation its theoretical background in his teaching on the two Adams,²² which also allowed him to apply it to the life in history of those who live from Christ. For from birth we are all initially "the first Adam" caught in egotism, living for ourselves over against others and for this destined to suffer death. We are not capable of true life since we seek it in ourselves. But we are all called to become in Christ the second Adam, by passing from lives of self-seeking to living for others, that is, to sharing in Christ's service of representation, by which he recreated us for life by taking our place in death and thereby opening space for us in his own sphere of life. This approach makes it clear that Paul did not only apply the theme of place-exchange, that is vicarious representation, to the general historical structure of the exchange between Jews and pagans, but he made it decisively significant for individual Christian living and especially for that of the Apostle. Thus he took up Moses' self-offering, to be for the sake of his own people cast out from God, that is, from Christ.²³ Thus Paul saw in the sufferings of imprisonment a completion in his own flesh of Christ's afflictions for the sake of Christ's body the church.²⁴ Clear traits of this conception appear then in the image of the Apostle sketched in Second Corinthians.²⁵

The Johannine writings also work out this extension of Christ's service of vicarious representation to the point of applying it to the lives of individual Christians, as we read in First John, "We have known love in this, that he laid down his life for us—and we ought to lay down our lives for one another."²⁶ We recall above all the great image of the Lord carrying out the role of Servant when

20 Rom. 11:32.

21 1 Cor. 5:21; Gal. 3:13.

22 Rom. 5:12–21 and 1 Cor. 15:45–49.

23 Rom. 9:3.

24 Col. 1:24.

25 Especially 2 Cor. 4:5 and chapter 11.

26 1 John 3:16.

he washed his disciples' feet and thereby gave a living sign of what Christian life should be from then on and forever.²⁷

II. The Historical Development of Vicarious Representation

Based on the Pauline conception of the church as Christ's body and on what this posits about the coordination of services, the church understood it to be an essential quality of its own reality that believers were oriented to serve one another. A classic formulation of this image of the church comes from Methodius of Olympus.

The higher souls, who have a more inward grasp of the truth, cast away, in their perfect purity and perfect faith, the follies of the flesh, and thus become the church and helpmate of Christ; to him they are, according to the words of the Apostle, betrothed and espoused to him as a virgin, in order that they may receive within themselves the pure and fecund seed of doctrine and cooperate as helpers in teaching for the redemption of others. But those who are still imperfect and only beginners in doctrine will be drawn by the more perfect into the pregnant womb of the redemption, and formed as in a mother's body, till they are born and brought to existence ... ; for those, in turn, thanks to their progress, have become the church and cooperate in the birth and training of other children, in that they accomplish the immaculate will of the Logos in the womb of their souls as in a mother's body.²⁸

It was especially in early penitential practice, with its various liturgical and other possibilities of intercessory prayer, that this image of the church came to realization, including both those supporting and those being supported, so that the weak lived from the service and burden-bearing of the strong in Christian love. This conception grounds a central notion of Christian worship in Augustine, for whom the *communio sanctorum*, that is, the community of the praying, suffering, and loving church, is properly the one who confers the sacraments. Here Christ's service as mediator comes to realization through the *Christus totus, caput et membra* [the whole Christ, head and members].

²⁷ John 13:1–16.

²⁸ Methodius, *Symposium* [The Banquet], Logos 3, par. 8 [including a reference to 2 Cor. 11:2, on the church espoused to Christ], cited from Hans Urs von Balthasar, "Who Is the Church?," trans. A. V. Littledale with Alexander Dru, in *Explorations in Theology*, vol. 2, *Spouse of the Word* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1991), 143–191, at 175. [Methodius, said to have been bishop in Lycia in the latter part of the third century, wrote influential theological and ascetical treatises in Greek, of which few are extant, and is reported to have suffered martyrdom under Diocletian about 311 AD. (Translator's Note)]

What has been shown so far is the representative bearing of burdens by the faithful along with our Lord in the inner life of the church, that is, in the community of believers in Christ. In contrast, a well-known motif of Alexandrian theology is more ample. Here the church senses itself oriented beyond itself toward the whole of humanity, especially by the parable of the shepherd who brings home the lost sheep, when this is applied allegorically to the Logos who brings humanity back to its origin. The church as well does not stand simply for itself, but "can know herself (in the humble awareness of her election), as representative for mankind before God, in faith, prayer, and sacrifice, in hope for all, and still more in love for all."²⁹

The succeeding centuries saw the christological aspect of vicarious representation largely displaced by the theory of satisfaction, which does imply the notion of representation but in fact overlaid it so much with juridical categories that its original power of illumination could hardly have any effect.

One can ascertain the same juridicizing of thought in ecclesiology, in which the doctrine of *thesaurus ecclesiae* [the treasure of the church] came to dominate ongoing thinking about bearing burdens in and by the church. The historical-theological perception of the church's service to all humanity disappeared almost completely from the field of vision. In modern times the idea of vicarious representation came back in the Sacred Heart devotion and then in the Marian devotion of Lourdes and Fatima, in which it was admittedly cut off from the mainstream of theological thinking. The latter had imprisoned itself in its own juridical concepts and thus vicarious representation was condemned at times to a peculiar devotional diminishment and hesitancy.

III. Systematic Theological Consideration of Vicarious Representation

Today the doctrine of vicarious representation is again gaining influence, above all because of Karl Barth's understanding of predestination and in this by his important interpretation of Romans 9–11. In fact this doctrine may well come to have decisive importance for understanding Christian existence in the world of today, in so far as it can help to give new meaning to what we say about the absolute character of Christianity and, closely related to this, about the notion of no salvation outside the church. The concept of vicarious representation can revitalize once again these endangered ideas which at first glance seem hardly tenable today. Our topic can thus enrich the total self-understanding of Christians and can open afresh the very possibility of our being Christian.

Christians of today will surely not hold stubbornly that they alone can attain salvation, nor will they fictitiously interpret non-Christians as being somehow intentional Christians or even Catholics. This would undermine the seriousness of our own Christian status, as often occurs quite simplistically by inventing a

29 Balthasar, "Who is the Church?," 183.

Christianity based on a desire of which people are themselves not aware. Instead, Christians can come to see that in the body of humanity there are works of service, which while not being required of all are nonetheless necessary for all, since all live from them. One will realize that the central service on which this whole body depends is the service rendered by Jesus Christ and one will further grasp that the community of believers in him carries on this service without which humanity cannot live.

One will thereby understand in a fresh way the meaning of the church's absolute value and how it is strictly necessary for salvation. Those who grasp in this way the content of the Christian reality will stop comparing themselves fallaciously with others in questions and calculations about the advantage they have in being Christian, as by helps toward living morally and by a higher sense of spiritual well-being and existential balance. One will realize that being called to the church, at least to judge humanly, quite possibly makes life not easier but more burdensome, simply because one is taken into a service that benefits all humanity. One will realize that being Christian is being-for-the-others and one does not have to deny that in many respects this is a burden, which though is the holy burden of serving humanity as a whole.

Being Christian appeals to human beings in their generosity and in the large-heartedness of being ready, like Simon of Cyrene, to serve under the world-historical cross of Jesus Christ, and so to take on the burden of all of history and thereby to render service to true living. Christians will thus not look aside enviously to compare the weight of the burdens laid on them with what seem to be much lesser burdens laid on the others, whom we do believe will arrive in heaven. Christians will instead happily lay hold of the commission given them and it will be indeed their humbling pride and joy, even in the darkest hours of testing, that God has called them, precisely them, to such a holy service. This service does not have its greatness in our being saved while the others are lost—which would be the attitude of the envious older brother and of the workers of the first hour—but it is great because the others also reach salvation *through* this our service!

Such an understanding of Christian existence then makes possible a new theology of history. Believers need no longer to worry about the Christian era being so extremely brief when compared with the total duration of humankind's history. It is also no longer puzzling that during the Christian era the Christian message has reached only a fraction of humanity. For the church to be the means of salvation for all, it does not have to extend itself visibly to all, but has instead its essential role in following Christ, who is uniquely "the one," and therein the church is the little flock, through which God however intends to save "the many." The church's service is not carried out *by* all human beings, but is indeed carried out *for* all of them.

One hardly needs to mention that understanding vicarious representation as the task of the church has no connection with a conception of *apokatastasis* or

universal salvation which would eliminate individual responsibility or the possibility of guilt and damnation. Instead this view really shows the true responsibility of individuals much more clearly and demonstrates how serious this is. This is the deeper seriousness that never arises from a semi-pelagian conception of a *votum ecclesiae* [desire of being in the church], taken as some kind of good faith or sincerity. Vicarious representation makes it clear that in the differentiation of services there is no place for indifference about rendering one's service. In fact, resisting the inalterable commission given the individual makes one guilty of going contrary to God's saving will, which wants to make use of just this service for the benefit of the others.

It is also clear that the salvation arising in virtue of vicarious representation does not arrive mechanically in a person, but requires in the recipient some kind of openness and readiness, as we saw was inherent in the Old Testament theme of solidarity. A Pauline type of *pistis* [faith] must be somehow present, but we do not have to determine in detail what this could be. One might then even speak of this attitude of openness as a *votum ecclesiae* [desire of being in the church], but one must not forget that this is only the subjective side of a totality which only has sense and meaning through the objective reality of the vicarious representation of the *Christus totus* [the whole Christ]. Neglect of this leads to practically declaring that human good will is itself the sufficient principle of salvation for the larger portion of humanity—which is to surrender the whole doctrine of grace.

In conclusion, one may say both that the notion of vicarious representation is one of the fundamental ideas to which Scripture gives witness and that its rediscovery can in the present hour of world-history decisively help Christianity toward renewing and deepening its self-understanding.³⁰

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Buchsel, Friedrich. "anti" [in place of]. In *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, eds. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich; trans. and ed., Geoffrey

30 Translator's Note: This essay appeared in translations of the *Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe* into Italian (1966), French (1967), and Spanish (1979). Shortly after the original publication, the Swiss Catholic theologian, Johannes Feiner, adopted J. Ratzinger's main argument in an exposition of the mission of the Church in its association with Christ in representative service and worship within the divine economy of saving grace given universally to human beings. Feiner's essay came out in *Gott und Welt*, a collection honoring Karl Rahner in 1964, with an English translation appearing as "Particular and Universal Saving History," in *One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic*, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler (London: Sheed & Ward, 1968), 163–206. Karl-Heinz Menke developed J. Ratzinger's main topic his ambitious work, *Stellvertretung. Schlüsselbegriff christlichen Lebens und theologische Grundkategorie* [Vicarious Representation. Key Concept of Christian Life and Basic Category of Theology] (Einsiedeln: Johannes Verlag, 1991).

31 Translator's Note. Volumes translated into English are given here with reference to the translation, adding an indication of the date of the original work to which J. Ratzinger made reference in his original text of 1963.

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