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The Bread of the Eucharistic Celebration  
as a Sign of Justice in the Community

A YEAR has passed since the tragic death of Archbishop Romero, that zealous pastor who was murdered on 24 March 1980, while he was celebrating holy Mass. He crowned his ministry, devoted particularly to the poorest and most marginalised, with his blood. It was a supreme witness, which has become the symbol of the tribulations of a whole people; but also a motive of hope for a better future.'

(Pope John Paul II, 24 March 1981.)

This article seeks to explore the links between bread as the fruit of common human labour, exchanged among those who produce it, and bread as the substance of the eucharistic offering. On a deeper level, the bread of the sacrifice also has to be linked to the body of the prophet offering himself throughout history in struggles for justice, for the building of the kingdom. Bread of labour; bread of the offering; the body of the martyr as eucharistic bread. That is, how to link economy and Eucharist, the essence of Christianity.

As I have done elsewhere, I would like to take a particular episode in the history of the Church as a starting-point.<sup>1</sup> Here it will be the prophetic conversion of Bartolomé de las Casas in April 1514, an episode related in the *Historia de las Indias*, Book III, ch. 79.<sup>2</sup> Bartolomé had reached America on 15 April 1502, nearly ten years after Columbus discovered the continent, and had taken part with Ovando in the violent conquest of the Tain Indians. He was the first priest to be ordained in the New World, saying his first Mass in 1511, having been sponsored by Diego de Colón, son of the *conquistador*. In Hispaniola he became acquainted with the Dominicans Pedro de Córdoba and Antón de Montesinos. In January 1513 he accompanied Pánfilo de Narvaez in the conquest of the island of Cuba, where European, Christian, domination was imposed 'with blood and fire'. In recompense for his services, he was given a band of Indians to work for him (the 'sharing-out' system). He had spent twelve years as a participant in the violence in the Caribbean.

'The cleric Bartolomé de las Casas', he wrote of himself, 'was very concerned and busy with his harvests, as were others, sending his "shared-out" Indians to work in the mines, to dig for gold, and to sow the crops, taking as much advantage of them as he could.' When Diego Velázquez came to the 'villa of the Holy Spirit', and since there was no other priest or friar on the island, he asked Bartolomé to say Mass and preach the gospel to him and his companions. So Bartolomé decided to 'leave the house he had

beside the river Arimao' and began 'to consider some authorities on Holy Scripture' in preparation. The biblical text that became the prop for the prophetic conversion of this great sixteenth-century fighter is important:

'The first and main passage he considered was this, from the Book of Ecclesiasticus, chapter 34:

A sacrifice derived from ill-gotten gains is contaminated.  
 a lawless mockery that cannot win approval.  
 The Most High is not pleased with the offering of the godless.  
 nor do endless sacrifices win his forgiveness.  
 To offer a sacrifice from the possessions of the poor  
 is like killing a son before his father's eyes.  
 Bread is life to poor,  
 and it is murder to deprive them of it.  
 To rob your neighbour of his livelihood is to kill him.  
 and the man who cheats a worker of his wages sheds blood.

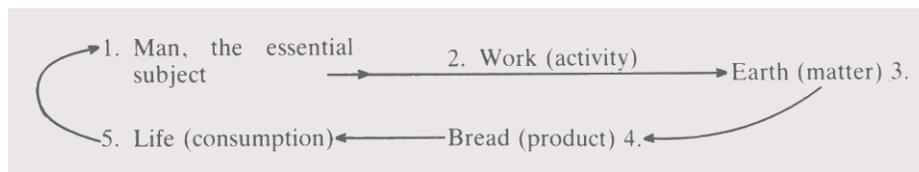
And he began ( writes Bartolomé of himself) to consider the misery and slavery those people (the Indians) were suffering. Applying the one (the biblical text) to the other (the economic conditions in the Caribbean). he decided in himself. convinced of the very truth, that everything that was being committed against the Indians in these Indies was unjust and tyrannical.'

Bartolomé found himself unable to celebrate his Mass. his eucharistic offering. First he freed his Indians ('he agreed to let them go completely free'), and began his prophetic career. first in Cuba, then in Santo Domingo, later in Spain, and finally throughout the West Indies. 'while all were amazed and even horrified by what he said to them'.<sup>3</sup> 'Dealing with contemplative and active life, which was the subject-matter of the gospel for that Sunday, and touching on the works of mercy. he was obliged to show them the obligation they had to fulfil them and carry them out with those people they were using so cruelly'. The text of Ecclesiasticus 34:18-22 is indeed striking in its structure.

### 1. 'BREAD'

The text Bartolomé re-read in Cuba says: 'Bread is life to the destitute'<sup>4</sup> In the Mediterranean, a corn-growing region. 'bread' is the symbol and the reality of the product of human labour. That is, it is the basic fruit of the man-nature relationship. of work. This relationship belongs to the productive order (the *ordo* of *factibilia*)<sup>5</sup> referred to in the Offertory prayer of the Catholic Mass: 'this *bread* ...which *earth* has given and human hands have *made*'. (The phrase used of the wine. '*work* of human hands. must be substituted here to follow the author's argument.-Trans.) So let us examine these three elements: earth, bread. work.

Diagram 1- The Circle of Production



This subject-nature relationship through work is a *material* relationship. Earth becomes the *material* (*in quo* and 'with which.') of work. Without work, there is the earth and the cosmos, but there is no 'material'. This 'material' (the materialism of the sacrament) is constituted by and is *a posteriori* to the human and subjective *a priori* of work. Cosmological materialism ('everything is matter.') is ingenuous and easily refuted. Productive materialism is irrefutable and sacramental: earth is the material of work. Without earth and work there is no bread. Without bread, there is no Eucharist. But what is *bread*?

Bread is a pro-duct, it is that which comes forward (*pro-*) to our view as a phenomenon in the world. It is human creation; it is an extension of the divine creation. It is an exteriorisation, distancing, objectivation of human subjectivity. It is the Cultivation of the earth. It is culture, technique, technology. It is the products that surround us as a system, as a civilisation. Above all this 'bread is the fruit of what is more worthy than bread itself: work. In the Hebrew of the Bible, *habodah*.<sup>6</sup> It is manual work (but it is also, as we shall see in Section VII below, the work of the temple, divine 'service').<sup>7</sup> The 'servant, (*hebed*) of Yahweh is the 'worker, of the Lord. The prophets work, so do the Pharisees, the Apostles and Jesus himself. Work is the worthy human activity *par excellence* which objectivises human dignity in nature. Without work, man would be a mere fruitless subjectivity without 'bread, for the sacrifice: his hands would be empty.

## 2. BREAD IS 'LIFE'

The text that brought about Bartolomé's prophetic conversion says that 'bread is life'.<sup>8</sup> What lives is what is 'other, than any other; that is free; that is self-determining; that is autonomous in its existence; that moves itself in its corporeality in order to accomplish its aims, that enjoys, that is satisfied; that adores; that as a living thing offers homage to the living God.

Life is opposed to death. Any *necessity* is a sort of death (see level 1 of Diagram 1). 'I was hungry ...' is the first necessity. Hunger is lack of food. Bread is food of the first order. That is, while bread is a product of work, it is first the requirement of a necessity we produce bread because we need to eat. Bread is a sustenance of life before it is a product of work (the 1-5 relationship in Diagram 1 is still more basic than 2-4). The consumption of the product is the denial of denial; it brings death to death; gives life to life. Therefore 'I was hungry and you gave me to eat, is, in its sacramental materialism, the *absolute* criterion of the Last Judgment.

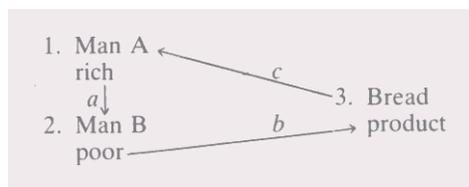
Therefore Jesus says, in the eucharistic and so productive sense, 'I am the bread of life. (John 6:35). The bread that feeds, before being a product (Manna was a 'bread from heaven.'<sup>9</sup> and so a free gift from the pre-economic God: bread without work), is satisfier, enjoyment, life, the Kingdom brought about.<sup>10</sup>

To 'eat' ('take and eat: this is my body': Matt. 26:26) the bread is to destroy it, to break it up, chew it, deny it. The death of the bread is life to life. Bread was a sort of death to man in his work, in a mysterious and sacred dialectic of death-life destruction-resurrection. What is certain is that life is the original and final cause of bread. The 'bread of life' that feeds and dies as it gives life.

## 3. 'BREAD IS LIFE TO POOR.

The biblical text does not say: 'Bread is life to man' 'but the destitute', the poor. 'Man' would include us all: the 'poor' are only some of us.

Diagram 2  
The Practical-productive Circle: Economics



If we are to understand 'poor' in the biblical sense, we need to make some prior distinctions. For there to be poor people, there needs to be more than one person. Robinson Crusoe quite alone would be neither poor nor rich, but simply 'a man'. To be poor means occupying a precise place in the man-man relationship. If the man-nature relationship is *productive*, the man-man relationship is *practical* (*operabilia*). The interpersonal relationship is *ethical*; the man-nature relationship is *technical*. Ethical relationships concern good and evil, virtue and vice. Technical relationships deal with efficiency or productivity. The relationship between persons is one of service to or respect for the other or of domination or alienation of the other. Sin is a *practical*, ethical relationship. If there are to be 'poor', there must be 'rich'. Without the poor, there are no rich and vice-versa. It is a dialectical concept: it includes its opposite. But the two terms are not interchangeable: one cannot be both poor and rich in the same relationship *hic et nunc*. The rich man is the dominator, the sinner: the poor man is the dominated, who suffers the sin of the sinner (so, in this relationship, he is the just man, the present subject of the kingdom of Heaven). The practical or ethical rich-poor relationship is one of dominator-dominated (arrow a in the diagram above). A rich man poor in intention cannot be 'poor in spirit' or 'spiritual'. Intention is not the Holy Spirit.<sup>11</sup> The 'poor in spirit' are those who make a prophetic option for the condition of dominated: 'though he was in the form of God ...emptied himself, taking the form of a servant' (Phil. 2:7). But this is not all.

The poor are those who produce or labour their product to satisfy their own needs (arrow b in the diagram). The 'bread' (3 in the diagram), however, does not come back to the producer in the form of consumption, but, by a process of alienation (arrow c) goes to the dominator. In practice, the dominator becomes 'the rich man' (there can be a dominator who does not become rich because, for example, he frees those whom he dominates immediately after his act of domination) when he appropriates to himself the product of others' work. In this way he accumulates the fruit of his own work and of other people's. 'Rich', as a biblical category, means not simply the sinner, but the structural, historical, economic sinner;<sup>12</sup> that is, he who enjoys, consumes, utilises the product of others' work as an instrument of domination over them.

So that when the Bible speaks of the 'poor', it does not mean simply those who have no goods, or who take a free 'take it or leave it' attitude to goods. This is not enough: for there to be poor, there have also to be rich, there has to be domination, production, product, alienation from it and productive structuration of that domination. The poor are the dominated; those who are structurally alienated from the fruits of their work.

Now we can understand the biblical phrase, 'Bread is life to the destitute'. Bread is the product-food for the alienated-poor who are forced to work but do not consume: their life is objectivised in the product but it does not come back to them in the form of life-consumption. When bread is not life to the poor, the poor die.

#### 4. 'IT IS MURDER TO DEPRIVE THEM OF IT'

When someone dominates another person it is a practical, ethical sin, like striking another person with no regard for his sacred dignity as a person. But when someone deprives another of the product of his work, the relationship is not only practical (man-man), not only productive (man-product), but practical-productive: economic. Another person is dominated, but by means of the product of his work. 'Thou shalt not steal' operates on a practical-productive level: an economic level. But in the last analysis, it refers back to 'thou shalt not kill. The text Bartolomé read made this plain: 'Bread is life to poor and it is murder to deprive them of it. To rob your neighbour of his livelihood is to kill him, and the man who cheats a worker of his wages sheds blood.' The logic of Hebrew theology is coherent: if the bread consumed is life, the bread that is not consumed leaves the subject who works (and who un-lives by objectivising his life in the product of his work) in the state of pure negativity of necessitating need: death. The bread that is produced and not consumed is 'bread of death'-and he who eats this 'eats damnation to himself as St Paul said.

This is why death is the fruit of sin-in its original, radical meaning: those who dominate their neighbours and deprive them of the fruit of their work leave them hungry: 'I was hungry and you did not feed me' is the absolute criterion of Eternal Damnation. Leaving the producer without his product is murdering, killing, destroying the epiphany of God: as much of his revelation as of his worship:<sup>13</sup> the dominated 'other', the poor.

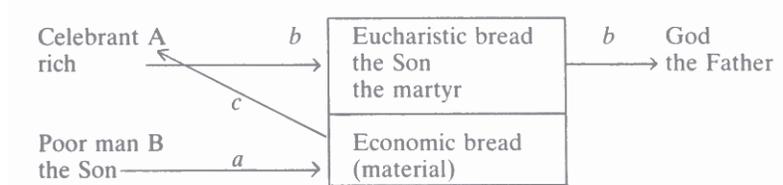
The Indians of the Arimao river had to hand over to Bartolomé part of the crops they grew and part of their working day, as a form of tribute and under the violence of domination, according to the economic system of 'sharing-out'. Bartolomé then came to understand 'the misery and slavery (of) those peoples', and to discover 'the blindness, injustices and tyrannies' of the *conquistadores*. He suddenly discovered that the 'bread' he was about to offer had been snatched from the poor; that it was unconsumed bread; that it was murdering the Indians to deprive them of the fruits of their work. And as he was 'about to say Mass' he told the Europeans there that they 'could not be saved' if they treated the Indians in this way. He saw the relationship between the eucharistic liturgy and the economic system of oppression. He saw the bread stained with blood. There is a story about St Francisco Solano, OFM, a holy preacher in Peru and Argentina in the sixteenth century. When he was invited to eat by some *conquistadores*, he said the blessing and took a piece of bread, which he squeezed in his hands and blood began to ooze out of it. He then said: 'This is the blood of the Indians', and went back to his convent without touching a mouthful, leaving the rich Europeans amazed and dismayed.<sup>14</sup>

#### 5. THE BREAD OF THE ECONOMY IS THE BREAD OF THE EUCHARIST

The first thing to realise is that the bread of the Eucharist, the bread prepared for the sacrifice, is *real* bread; it is *really* the product of someone's work, in time, specific, human work. This means that offering something to God not only has a sacramental meaning (if by sacrament we understand an 'outward-material-sign of grace' indicating the man-nature relationship-water, oil, salt, bread. ...) but also an economic meaning. Giving, offering, presenting something to someone, or exchanging it with him, or stealing it from him is an economic relationship. Offering God a piece of bread ('We have this bread to offer, which earth has given and human hands have made') is an act of worship, of *theological economy*.<sup>15</sup>

Diagram 3

Productive.practical relationships or worship: the Eucharist



Bartolomé, the conquistador (A in the diagram), had dispossessed the Indian (the exploited poor man, B) of the fruit of his work. The Indian's work (arrow a) does not come back to him as life, but goes to the dominator by a process of alienation (arrow c). This stolen bread, the same bread, is now placed on the altar as 'eucharistic bread'. The prophet of Latin America understood the economic-eucharistic dialectic in the text of Ecclesiasticus:

'To offer a sacrifice from the possessions of the poor  
is like killing a son before his father's eyes.  
Bread is life to poor,  
and it is murder to deprive them of it.'

And the immediately preceding phrase:

'The Most High is not pleased with the offering of the godless.'

What he saw was the identity between the bread-product of everyday work, changed and exchanged, respected or stolen, and the bread on the altar. The bread contains the objectivised life of the worker, his blood, his intelligence, his efforts, his love, his enjoyment, his happiness, the kingdom. And what was being done was taking this bread unjustly from him and offering it to God. For this bread to become the very 'body' of the 'lamb that was slain' it has to be bread of life, bread that has satisfied, fed, denied the denials of death, need, domination, sin: the bread of justice.

## 6. IDOLATRY IS NOT EUCHARIST

So those who offer God bread stolen from the poor give God the life of the poor as their offering. The poor is 'the Son' (the Indian) and the celebrant (Bartolomé, the 'rich man') who offers this bread unjustly snatched from the poor is offering the 'Father' (God) the very life of his Son: 'kill-a son before his *father's* eyes'. The father who perversely desires the sacrifice of his son, who wants his blood, cannot be a loving father, but only a bloodthirsty idol-Moloch, Mammon, Money.

This is why the text says: 'The Most High is not pleased with the offering of the godless'. How could he accept such an offering, which is sacrifice to the Idol, the Fetish, Satan? God does not want the life of his Son to be offered by killing him in his presence. God wants the life of his Son to be a free existence: what he justly wants in sacrifice is the denial of the death of the dead, which death is the need of the poor, the oppressed. Giving the hungry to eat, giving life back to the dead, giving life to those who lack life is the worship required by the Most High. Fetishistic worship offers the Idol stolen bread,

the blood of the poor; eucharistic worship offers the Father of goodness the bread of justice, the bread that has satisfied hunger: 'All whose faith *had drawn them together* held everything, *in common*: they would sell their property and possessions and make a general distribution as the *need* of each required. With one mind they kept up their daily attendance at the temple, and, *breaking bread* in private houses, shared their meals with unaffected joy, as they praised God ...' (Acts 2:44-46).

The eucharistic bread of those 'whose faith had drawn them together' was bread that had satisfied *need*, in justice ('made a general distribution ...') in the joy of consuming of eating, of satisfaction. It was a bread of life, of the community, of love. It is the Utopia of primitive Christianity and the Utopia of the final kingdom; it is the horizon of critical understanding of every economic system in history: justice as the *practical condition* which *makes possible* the eucharistic celebration which saves.

### 7. THE 'BODY' OF THE MARTYR AND FETISHISTIC WORSHIP

The bread that is eaten gives life by being destroyed, consumed, negated. The death of the bread is the beginning of life for those who receive it. Jesus is 'the bread of life'. 'The Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give up his life as a ransom for many' (Matt. 20:28). Serving (the Greek *diakonein* translates the Hebrew *habodah*) means working and offering worship. The 'servant' (deacon and worker) struggles on God's behalf and thereby offers worship to Yahweh. Christ's historical 'work' was not merely that of an artisan producing products (houses, tables, chairs, as he would have done in Nazareth), but making his own body the product offered to God so that the 'many'<sup>16</sup> would become 'a people'.<sup>17</sup> Giving life involves death. Jesus himself is life (John 11:25), and is the bread (John 6:35) offered in sacrifice: 'Take and eat; this is my body' (Matt 26:26). His 'body', his very martyr's 'flesh' becomes historically 'the lamb that is slain'. Now the corporeality, the carnality, the very being of the prophet, in history, in the class contradictions between rich and poor, in political events, in the struggle for the oppressed, in opposition to the dominators, their armies, their armaments ...now the flesh of the Redeemer is offered on the altar of history: 'There they crucified him, and with him two others, one on the right, one on the left, and Jesus between them' (John 19:18). His hanging body is now the 'bread' of the sacrifice so that many will *live*.

The 'body' of the poor man is killed when bread is snatched from him: hunger is the alienation of the bread of work. Interposing one's own 'body' (.material) between the poor and the rich, against the dominator and in favour of the dominated, is making one's own 'body' the object of the brutal act of domination, the mortal act, the very Satanic action of the Fetish, the 1.'1. The Fetish lives off the blood of the poor: the life of the Idol is the death of the poor. To take the Fetish's life for justice's sake kills him. But before dying, the Fetish kills. He kills the martyr (he who shows the poor the possibility of consuming the bread he produces: the kingdom as a feast of justice) who fights for the life of the poor. The life of the poor is bread; struggling for them to have this bread is offering one's own 'body' as an object of the violence of sin, of the domination of the Idol. The Idol seeks to take the life of the Son, wants him to die. The Son offers the life taken by the Idol to the Father-who does not wish his death but accepts it because the death of the just man, the poor, the Son, is the passage from death to life; passage through the desert of the slavery in Egypt to the promised land, the land of this earth and the eschatological land of the kingdom, which has already begun when the poor eat, satisfy their hunger, in history.

Christ identified himself with the material body, the suffering and needy carnality of the poor: 'As often as you did it to one of the least of my brethren, you did it to

(Matt. 25:40). But Christ become the 'bread' of history and offered up his body for the liberation of the poor. As did Mgr. Antonio de Valsivieso in Nicaragua in the sixteenth century, and Mgr. Oscar Romero in El Salvador in the twentieth. As Pope John Paul II says, his body was martyred 'while he was celebrating holy Mass. He crowned his (priestly) ministry with his blood'. The bread of justice made Mgr. Romero identify himself with the struggle of the people of El Salvador, the struggle to give the poor back the fruits of their work. But the Idol and his forces took life away from the body of the prophet just as they had previously taken life away from the poor by stealing their bread. We'll could Mgr. Romero celebrate the Eucharist, because his eucharistic bread was economic bread in justice! He had preached to the military and the Christian Democrat Junta, asking them to stop squeezing the poor body of his people. In reply, they murdered his martyr's body. And so once again Jesus' prophecy, which links the martyr's death with the liturgy, was fulfilled: 'Indeed the time will come when anyone who *kills* you will suppose that he is performing a *religious duty (latreian)*. (John 16:2). Those who deprive the martyr's body of life-having previously deprived the body of the poor of life through domination and theft-are offering homage to the Fetish. That is why Christ said 'will suppose', that is, will think they are performing a duty to God whereas in fact they are performing it to the Fetish. And this brings us to the basic question: By what criterion can we distinguish between idolatrous worship and eucharistic worship?

#### 8. THE 'PRACTICAL CONDITIONS' THAT MAKE EUCHARISTIC WORSHIP 'POSSIBLE'

The same group of people, around the same priest, can offer breads that are alike in their real structure. But some will be paying homage to the Idol and 'eating damnation to themselves' while others will be communing in the life of the lamb that is slain. How do we discern the righteousness of those who make the offering (*ex opere operantis*)?

After all that has been said, I think the conclusion is clear enough. God cannot accept bread that is stolen from the poor, the bread of injustice. But it is not just a question of personal, individual, occasional injustice. How do we see structural injustice, the historical sin of systems? Can the fruit stolen from the poor, the oppressed classes, the exploited nations, be offered as eucharistic bread? Have the practical conditions for eucharistic bread which can be offered to God been met in a system where the wage-earner under capitalism (the successor of the 'shared-out' Indian of the sixteenth century) is structurally deprived of part of the fruits of his work? Does the structural sin not stain the bread and prevent one from having a bread that can be offered in justice? How can those who live on dividends from the multinationals in the rich countries (such as Nestlé with its campaigns in the Third World to encourage mothers to use industrial 'powdered milk' instead of their own milk) offer the Eucharist?

When Bartolomé worked all this out-the relationship between work, life, the products of work, the offering of the sacrifice, the poor, the alienation of the fruits of work as a death, offering the stolen fruit as an offering by the son to the father. ... When he found that the poor were the Indians. ...When he realised that he was the one who was exploiting the Indians. ...When he saw that he as a priest was thinking of offering the bread stolen from the Indians under the system in the Eucharist. ...When he perceived the relationship between Eucharist, liturgy and economy, the unjust system of distribution and exchange. ...He could not celebrate the Eucharist! Rather, he set his Indians free, on 15 August 1514, and 'decided, as best he could, though he had not a single cent to his name, nor any means of earning, apart from a mare that he could sell for a hundred gold *pesos*, to go to Castile and give the King an account of what was going on'.<sup>18</sup>

So he began his struggle for justice which was to occupy the rest of his life, fifty-two long years of much persecution. But of course he could go back to celebrating his Eucharist ...because he had bread that was not snatched from the poor. He had the bread of justice, the *manna* from heaven, bread kneaded in his commitment to the interests of the poor, to the development of juster economic structures, the *practical conditions* that make it *possible* to offer the eucharistic bread, the 'bread of life'

Translated by Paul Burns

#### Notes

1. See 'Christian Art of the Oppressed in Latin America' in Concilium 132 (1980), sec. 1, 'Economic status of the Eucharist' 40-41; 'Analysis of the Final Document of Puebla: The relationship between economics and Christian ethics' in Concilium 140 (1980) 101ff.; on Bartolomé de las Casas, see ch. 1 of the collective work being produced by CEHILA, *Historia General de la Iglesia en América Latina* (1982) I.
2. BAE, II (Madrid 1961) pp. 356ff.
3. Ibid. p. 358.
4. See Kittel, art. *ártos* in TWNT I. 475-476 (biblio. brought up to date in Vol. X, 2, p. 993).
5. 'Ordo quem ratio considerando facti in rebus exterioribus constituit per rationem humanam, pertinet ad artes mechanicas', Th. Aquinas, In Ethic. Expos., L. 1, lect. 1 (Turin 1949) p.3.
6. See Bertam, art. *égon* in TWNT II, 631-653 (biblio. in X, 2, 1084-1085); also Various, art. *pafs*, in ibid. V, 636-712. The art. by Bornkamm, *latreúo*, in IV, 58-68 is important, showing that the Greek *latreia* and *latreúein* indicate the Hebrew *habodah* and *habad* (p. 59, I. 45; p. 61, II, 27-28).
7. See my art. 'Domination-Liberation: A New approach' in Concilium 96 (1974), sec. 6, 'The Prayers of Liberation-Redemption and the Prophet' 42-45. It is suggestive that *látris* (from which 'worship' comes in Greek) means 'worker's wages': to offer worship is to pay the worker his wages (see Kittel in TWNT IV, 59).
8. See Bultmann, arts. *záo*, *zoé* and *thánatos* in TWNT II, 834-874 and 111,7-21. Life (*Jaiim*) is the supreme good (Prov. 3:16; Mac. 8:36).
9. The 'bread of heaven' (*ártos ek tou ouránou*), John 6:31, referring to Exod. 16:4; Neh. 9:15, Wis. 16:20, etc. See *Dict. de la Bible* VI (1960) cols. 965-976.
10. 'Happy the man who shall sit at the feast in the kingdom of God' (Luke 14:15). The kingdom is described from the experience of eating and being filled, satisfied.
11. The 'spiritual' (*pneumatikós*; see art. *pneúma* in TWNT VI, 330-453) should not be confused with something purely 'mental' in intention. As though it were an act of an anthropological faculty (intelligence in action). This confuses *intentio* with the Holy Spirit. The *psikhikós* (animic or human) must be distinguished from the *pneumatikós* (which proceeds from the Holy Spirit), as in Matt. 5:3, where the Spanish translator Juan Mateos gets it right: 'Blessed are those *who choose* to be poor', in contrast to, e.g., the French *Bible de Jérusalem*.
12. See my remarks on 'Social sin' in Concilium 140 (1980) 104 and 106.
13. See art. in *Concilium* 96 (1974) 49-51, on the poor as the 'epiphany'. But the poor are equally the epiphany of religious duty: to serve the poor is to serve God; giving the hungry food is offering the same bread to God himself. God reveals himself to us *through* the poor and we worship him *through* the poor (the practical circle of revelation-worship).
14. The saint said afterwards: 'I cannot eat bread kneaded with the blood of the humble and the

oppressed at this table': E. Vidal de Battini, 'Leyendas de San Francisco Solano', in *Selecciones folklóricas Codex*, V (Buenos Aires 1965) 78.

15. See the article cited in *Concilium* 132 (1980) diagram on p. 41

16. See Mever-Katz, art. *okhlós* in TWNTV, 582-589. This is the theme of the *ham haarets*. the 'mass' (Mac. 3:20; Luke 5:1; Acts 7:9, etc.). It means a group of people without organisation, without a future, without consciousness, without historical memory.

17. See Strathmann, art. *laós* in TWNT IV, 29-57. The Hebrew word *ham* appears more than 2,000 times in the text of the Bible, *goi* only forty times, and *Ihom* only eleven. The .people. already conveys a community with unity, in alliance, with a historical memory, a future. hope. It is a positive category, as is 'holy people' (*ham gadosh*) in Rabbinic theology.

18. The *Historia*, referred to at the beginning of the article, and cited in note 2. at p. 359.