

**JESUS AS MANSEREN MANGGUNDI AND OTHER CHRIST-IMAGES:
CHRISTOLOGY FROM PAPUAN PEOPLE’S PERSPECTIVES**

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DEDICATION

**To my beloved husband Ferdinand Marisan
and my two sons: Marthen and Faleomavaega**

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ABSTRACT

This study asserts that it is essential to elicit and celebrate a christology that articulates Papuan people's faith in Jesus as the Christ, manifesting in the Papuan culture and struggles to claim their land, life, and identity. It answers the question, who is Jesus for Papuan People? Contemporary third-world theologians and Christians have searched for Christ's images of Jesus according to their lived experiences and cultural contexts.

However, the Papuan churches, influenced by traditional western christology such as Nicaea-Chalcedon, Anselm, Calvinist, and other christologies from mother churches, have not been open to developing a truly Papuan christology. Although Papuan grassroots theologians and Christians have encouraged the development of Papuan christology, this has not yet occurred due to the strength of the old paradigm of traditional christology and harsh political reality.

In response to this reality, this study promotes a Papuan liberation of christology that can set Papuan Christians free to explore materials from traditional Papuan beliefs, culture, and real-life experiences. These may remain hidden and need to be explored to develop a relevant christology for Papuan churches and the world. Christ images of Jesus as Manseren Manggundi, Sago of Life, Fish of Life, and Cenderawasih are the result of the emergence of Christ images in the Papuan context of the struggle for land, life, and identity.

These arise from Papuan art and literature in encountering and exploring Christ images in day-to-day life struggles. The Papuan liberation of christology also empowers and accompanies Papuan women in claiming and recognizing their power to construct christology according to the Papuan context. Reclaiming and inserting Papuan Christ images into Christian theology is essential to introduce Papuan christology to theology worldwide. The analogy method emphasizes the concept of likenesses. It effectively relates Christ images of Jesus in the four Gospels and Paul's letters with the Papuan Christians' perspectives of Christ's images of Jesus.

A christology cannot be absolute; rather, it should be dynamic—able to answer to the needs of the Christian community, church, and the world across the ages. However, the reality is that Papuan churches do not easily accept Papuan christology. Changing the old paradigm of Christology takes a long time and is not easy. However, the churches of Papua must return to their homeland and develop a christology according to the Papuan context and situation. This is what the Papuan liberation of christology is all about.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL SHEET	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
Background and Context of the Study	1
Statement of the Problem	8
Thesis statement and Significance of the study	8
Scope and Limitations	9
Methodology	9
Description of Chapter	12
Ethical Consideration	14
CHAPTER II REVIEW OF LITERATURE and BIBLICAL- THEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK in THE DEVELOPMENT of CHRISTOLOGIES	15
Review of Literature in the Development of Christologies	15
Biblical – Theological Framework in the Development of Christology: Seeing Jesus in the Sacred Text through the Lenses of Postcolonial Theories	22
The Need to Search for a Relevant Christology in Papua	66
CHAPTER III THE PREVAILING TRADITION OF CHRISTOLOGY IN PAPUAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES	68
The Christ of Traditional Western Christianity	70
Jesus as Savior: Why Can't this Jesus Save Papuan People from their Suffering?	77
What does Matter in Papuan Traditional Christology: Jesus? Or Christ?	99
CHAPTER IV DISCOVERING CHRISTOLOGY in the PAPUAN CONTEXT and CULTURE	106
The Emergence of Christ Images in the Papuan Context of Struggle for Land, Life and Identity	108

Jesus as Manseren Manggundi	110
Jesus as the Sago of Life	122
Jesus as the Fish of Life	125
Jesus as Cenderawasih	129
Encountering Jesus Christ in the Works of Papuan Artists, Art and Literature	134
Exploring Christ Images in the Day-to-Day Life Struggles of Papuan Christian Women	140
CHAPTER V RECLAIMING and INSERTING the PAPUAN CHRIST IMAGES into CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY	149
The Refusal of the Papuan Church to Abandon Western Christologies: What Really is at Stake?	150
Empowering Papuan Christians to be Audacious to Construct their Christology	158
Accompanying Papuan Women to re-image Christ to recognize Christ images in Papuan culture	167
The Papuan Liberation of Christology	173
CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	177
Conclusion	177
What Happens When Papuan Christians Own the Cultural and Contextual Christ Images	178
Recommendations to Theological Schools and Seminaries, Churches in Papua and the Indonesian Ecumenical Community	183
BIBLIOGRAPHY	190
APPENDICES	202
A: Sample of the letter for key informant interview	202
B: Sample of the application for authorization to examine and analyse the Customary Council of Papuan Documents	203
C: Research Informed Consent Form	204
D: Clearance certificate from UREC	207
E: Curriculum Vitae	208

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background and Context of the Study

Christology is the centerpiece of Christian faith. A Christian community effort is to understand who Jesus as the Christ is in their everyday experiences. The theology of western mission shapes the Christological understanding of the Papuan people. The theology of Papuan churches remains based on the legacy of western theology. That theology is far from becoming owned by the churches of Papua. Theological education in seminaries is based on western theologies. Seminary students learn only the theologies of Karl Barth, Paul Tillich, etc.¹ I learned about views of Jesus from Indonesians who continued what they had inherited from the Netherlands reformed church. The theology of Papuan churches has been constructed from the West. This results in the churches not being sensitive to Christian Papuan people's perspectives of Jesus as the Christ.

Christian Papuan people have understood Jesus as the Christ through their political experiences before and since integrating with Indonesia in 1963, and also through their culture and relation with indigenous religions still alive. This different understanding of Jesus as the Christ has impacted the Papuan people. The churches see Papuan christology as an effort to go back to paganism and syncretism, and to uphold a certain political agenda. That is why Papuan Christology has become rare in the process of doing theology

¹ Paul D. Molnar, "Barth, Karl," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. Ian A. McFarland, David A. S. Fergusson, Karen Kilby, and Iain R. Torrance (United Kingdom, United States of America: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 57. See also Mark Lewis Taylor, "Tillich, Paul," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. Ian A. McFarland, David A. S. Fergusson, Karen Kilby, and Iain R. Torrance (United Kingdom, United States of America: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 508-509. Barth (1886-1968) was a Swiss Protestant theologian, probably the most influential of the 20th century. Tillich (1886-1965) became one of the most influential Protestant systematic theologians of the twentieth century.

in Papua. Papua is an island in eastern Indonesia. Bounded by the country of Papua New Guinea,² its ethnic composition is complex. Papuans speak some 250 different languages.³ The official language in Papua is the Indonesian language known as *Bahasa*. The original Papuan people have a similar structure of body and culture to Melanesian Groups in the Pacific. Papuan people have dark skin and curly hair. According to statistical data, the total population of Papua Province is 3,322,526, and West Papua Province is 871,510.⁴ The population in the two provinces consists of Indigenous Papuans and immigrants from other parts of Indonesia. In addition, culturally, Papuan ethnic groups are rich in folk songs, myths, dances, carvings, poems, traditional houses, rituals, and initiations, among others. Unfortunately, many of these cultural elements have been lost because they were replaced by more dominant culture and political elements from outside. The government has long suspected that Papuan cultural expressions are part of an independent Papua campaign, resulting in a ban.⁵

Papua is a land that has many problems. The primary problem is its political status. Previously, Papua was not known by colonizers. However, in 1545, Spaniard Yñigo Ortiz de Retes began his exploration from Mexico and landed in Papua, which he named Nueva Guinea. According to him, the people were similar to Africans who lived on the coast of Guinea. The purpose of his exploration was to look for gold; however, he did not find it. Because of this, the Spanish did not occupy Papua. Sixty years later, in

² Jhon RG Djopari, *Pemberontakan Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 1993), 26.

³ M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig, eds., *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Nineteenth Edition* (Dallas, Texas: Summer Institutes of Linguistics International, 2016), 1-2.

⁴ ICP Secretariat & Budi Tjahjono, *Human Rights in West Papua 2017* (Wuppertal, Geneva: International Coalition for Papua, 2017), 120 -121.

⁵ Enos H. Rumansara dan Ferdinand Marisan, *Apresiasi Seni Budaya Papua Sebagai Identitas Orang Papua* (Jayapura: UNCEN, 2017), 1.

1606, the first Dutch ships sailed along the coast of Papua but were not willing to occupy Papua. However, when the Dutch heard rumors that the British wanted to take over the whole Papuan island, they responded by building a fort in Triton's Bay, in Kaimana, western Papua, in 1828. The Dutch started to control western Papua when two Protestant missionaries from Germany, namely William Carl Ottow and Johan Geissler were sent to Papua by a Dutch Protestant Christian foundation called the Christian Workman on February 5, 1855.⁶ Politically, in 1895, the colonizers divided the island of Papua into two parts: eastern and western Papua. Eastern Papua belonged to British colonizers and was known as Papua New Guinea, and western Papua belonged to the Dutch and was known as Netherlands New Guinea.⁷ Today, Netherlands New Guinea is known by the name Papua or West Papua.

On August 17, 1945, when Indonesia declared independence from the Dutch colonizers, the territory of Indonesia only stretched from the island of Sumatera to the Moluccas without including Papua. In 1960, the Dutch government made a regulation establishing the Morning Star flag as a symbol and the song "My Land of Papua" as a national anthem, together with the Papuan People's Council, which prepared for the independence of Papua. On December 1, 1961, the Dutch Government declared the Independence of Papua. However, the first Indonesian President, Soekarno, through his three people's commandments (*Trikora*), on December 19, 1961 in Jogjakarta, Indonesia, legislated the dissolution of the Papuan state that was built by the Dutch.⁸ In order to

⁶ Kal Muller, *Mengenal Papua* (Indonesia: Daisy Worlds Books, 2008), 94 – 95.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁸ John Saltford, *United Nations and the Indonesian Takeover of West Papua 1962 – 1969: The Anatomy of Betrayal* (London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 5.

control Papua, the Indonesian government used the cold war between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Deliberately, Soekarno sought military support from the Soviet Union regarding the matter of Papua. The U.S. government found this Indonesian move a threat to the Pacific region. In order to placate a communist-friendly Indonesia, America pressed the Dutch to hand over Papua to Indonesia. The New York Agreement on August 15, 1962, ruled that Papua be transferred by the Dutch to the United Nations.⁹ Therefore, between 1962 and 1969, Papua was administered by the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA), and the Indonesian military was allowed in as a part of UNTEA. In 1969, the United Nations called for a Referendum for the Papuan people based on the New York Agreement, saying that the Act of Free Choice should be organized based on the “One Man, One Vote” principle. However, the referendum was actually performed through the representation of only 1,025 Papuans from a population of 800,000. The vote took place through military intimidation, psychological pressure, and holding people at gunpoint. After the ratification by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in September 1969, Papua was officially stamped by the UN as part of Indonesia.¹⁰

Since Indonesia secured control over Papua on May 1, 1963, and established formal sovereignty over the territory in 1969, Papua was designated a military operation area (abolished in 1999). The first thing Indonesia did was to erase all matters relating to the name of Papua. The name Papua was replaced and prohibited. However, as of 2000,

⁹ P. J. Drooglever, “Penentuan Pendapat Rakyat (PEPERA) 1969 Kajian Akademis,” in *Yubelium dan Pembebasan Menuju Papua Baru*, ed. Karel Phil Erari (Jakarta: Aksara Karunia, 2006), 6-7.

¹⁰ Jhon RG Djopari, *Pemberontakan Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 1993), 26. Cf. Karel Phil Erari, *Yubelium dan Pembebasan Menuju Papua Baru* (Jakarta: Aksara Karunia, 2006), 57-58.

the name Papua could be used generally in Indonesia. This was only allowed by President Abdul Rahman Wahid. From 1963 to 2000, the Papuan people had lived as second-class citizens in their own land, deprived of their right to self-determination and experiencing serious human rights abuses at the hands of Indonesian authorities. Violent Indonesian military campaigns and extrajudicial killings claimed the lives of thousands of Papuans. Papuan people living in places where military operations were conducted, had horrific stories to tell about the abuses they had suffered.¹¹

Furthermore, the Indonesian Government evicted Papuans from their land, exploited resources, destroyed property and crops, denigrated and attacked Papuan culture, and excluded Papuan people from the upper levels of government, business, and education.¹² This situation made many Papuan people feel betrayed by the Dutch, who arranged for the surrender of Papuan-owned lands to the Indonesian government through the United Nations without the consent of the Papuans who owned the lands. This caused the Papuan people to struggle for justice and self-determination. Many people died because of the struggle to achieve independence.¹³ In socio-economic terms, Papua, divided by the Indonesian government into two provinces—Papua and West Papua—has suffered. Since joining Indonesia, Papua and West Papua have been the poorest regions in Indonesia, although they are rich with natural resources. According to the Central Agency on Statistics, Papua province has the highest percentage of poor people in Indonesia, at

¹¹ Francesca Restifo, Budi Tjahjono, and Silvia Palomba, eds., *Report of Human Rights in West Papua 2010/2011* (Hongkong: Asian Human Rights Commission and Clear-Cut Publishing and Printing Co, 2011), 8.

¹² Elizabeth Brundige, Winter King, Priyeha Vahali, Stephen Vladeck, Xiang Yuan, eds., *Indonesian Human Rights Abuses in West Papua: Application of the Law of Genocide to the History of Indonesian Control* (The Allard K. Lowenstein International Human Rights Clinic: International Human Rights Clinic, 2004), 7.

¹³ Genevieve Woods, Norman and Budi Tjahjono, eds., *Human Rights and Peace for Papua, Laporan Hak Asasi Manusia Di Papua 2015* (Geneva Swiss: Franciscans International, 2015), 76. More than 100,000 local Papuans have been murdered in their struggle for independence.

27.74% of the total population of 3,322,526. Meanwhile, West Papua province has the second highest percentage of poor people in Indonesia, at 23.01% of a population of 871,510.¹⁴ In the Papua province, big companies have licenses from the government to exploit natural resources. These companies include the American-owned Freeport-McMoRan Copper and Gold Inc. (USA), the biggest producer of gold and copper in the world since 1967,¹⁵ and has owned palm oil and timber industry companies. In the West Papua province, the British Petroleum Company has been given a license from the Indonesian government to explore petroleum and gas.¹⁶

In terms of health services, Papua (both Papua and West Papua provinces) lags behind other regions in Indonesia. Human rights organizations have reported that the provinces of Papua and West Papua continue to be among the regions with the highest prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS infections, and the quality of health services is alarmingly low. Furthermore, maternal and child mortality rates are very high in Papua. Moreover, severely ill patients are referred to hospitals with good health facilities due to inadequate health facilities outside Papua.¹⁷ Regions in other parts of Indonesia have left behind the educational system in Papua. In 2015, the rate of illiteracy in Papua and West Papua provinces remained the highest in Indonesia, with 28.47% amongst residents aged between 15 and 44 years and 31.57% amongst people over the age of 45.¹⁸ Even though both Papua and West Papua have been given special autonomy since 2001 as a response

¹⁴ ICP Secretariat & Budi Tjahjono, *Human Rights in West Papua 2017* (Wuppertal, Geneva: International Coalition for Papua, 2017), 3.

¹⁵ Karel Phil. Erari, *Tanah Kita, Hidup Kita: Hubungan Manusia dan Tanah di Irian Jaya Sebagai Persoalan Teologis* (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1999), 136-137. Cf. Tjahjono, *Human Rights in West Papua 2017*, 135-147.

¹⁶ Francesca Restifo, Budi Tjahjono, and Silvia Palomba, eds., *Report of Human Rights in West Papua 2010/2011*, (Hongkong: Asian Human Rights Commission and Clear-Cut Publishing and Printing Co, 2011), 41.

¹⁷ ICP Secretariat & Budi Tjahjono, *Human Rights in West Papua 2017*, 80.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 87.

to the clamor for formal independence, such autonomy is limited. Autonomy is enjoyed only by Papuan people who hold government positions and by those who are close to the Indonesian government. However, most Papuan people are poor, suffering in a land with natural resources and wealth. The government labeled them as separatists when the Papuans struggled to retain their land. On the one hand, the Indonesian government considers Papua part of the Republic of Indonesia, but on the other hand, Papuan people believe that Indonesia forcibly seized Papua. This has been debated up to now.

In Papua, indigenous religious movements or messianic movements always appear when the political conflict between the Indonesian government and pro-Papuan groups arises. One of the indigenous religious movements known in Papua is the Koreri movement. Before Papua became part of Indonesia, from 1861 – 1868, there was a Koreri movement in Mansinam- Biak Numfor. This movement believed that Manseren Manggundi or God or the Biak-Papuan Messiah would come and raise the dead, promote welfare, and give freedom from oppression and suffering.¹⁹ The Koreri movement still exists today. Papuan indigenous religions are still alive today and trying to connect with the Christian message. Therefore, in developing christology in Papua, one needs to understand the meaning of Jesus as the Christ according to the Christian Papuan people.

¹⁹ Kamma, F. C. *Ajaib Di Mata Kita I: Masa J.G. Geissler 1855 – 1870* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1981), 245- 246. See also Freerk Cr. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak – Numfor Culture Area* (The Netherlands: The Hague · Martinus Nijhoff, 1972), 105-107. Cf. Marthinus Th. Mawene, “Christology and Theology of Liberation in Papua,” in *The Exchange Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research*, ed. Freek L. Bakker (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014), 163.

Statement of the Problem

It is difficult for a Papuan Christian person to express their faith. In seminaries, students have never been taught a Papuan reflection on christology from their own experiences. Even if this topic is discussed, it is always associated with indigenous religions tied back to paganism and political efforts to separate from Indonesia. Papuan reflections on Jesus are always avoided in theological debate and given a negative charge, and existing western christologies are perpetuated in Papuan churches. The problem I want to address in this study is this: the Papuan people's strong identity and the struggle for justice and the right to practice their culture are not reflected in the christology of the Papuan churches. This needs to change. This study proposes the development of a christology that is anchored in Papuan identity and community. Therefore, this study aimed to answer the following questions:

1. What are the Christ images or potential Christ images from Papuan culture that have been subjugated by western colonization through the Dutch?
2. When re-claimed, how will these Christ-images, especially Jesus as the Manseren Manggundi, empower Papuan people in their struggle for their land, life, and identity?

Thesis statement

Papuan people's reflection on Jesus as the Christ in political experience, culture, and indigenous religions give spirit to Papuan people's struggles to stand up for their land, life, and identity. Therefore, I will argue that reclaiming the Papuan Christ images will empower the Papuans to struggle for their freedom, land, life, and Melanesian identity.

Significance of the Study

This study examines the extent of the Christian Papuan people's understanding and discourse about the Christ-images and Jesus in light of the Papuan political experience, culture, and indigenous religions.

This study also challenges theologians in Papuan churches to study and develop a theology based on the context of Papua.

Finally, this study calls on the Indonesian ecumenical community, the Fellowship of Churches in Indonesia, to see Papuan christology as a theology that enriches the Christian faith in Indonesia. This christology will build solidarity among Papuan people who struggle to stand for their land, life, and identity.

Scope and Limitations

This study is limited to the works and primary sources that emerged from thinkers and writers from the provinces of Papua and West Papua. Materials written by Indonesians and from other parts of the world are considered secondary sources and references.

Methodology

Considering the nature of theological studies, I used the qualitative method to examine, understand, and describe the nature of Papuan christology and the social interactions inherent in it.²⁰ Furthermore, document analysis²¹ was used to examine the documents of Papuan writers and thinkers. Key informants with first-hand knowledge

²⁰ David Silverman and Amir Marvasti, *Doing Qualitative Research: A Comprehensive Guide* (Los Angeles- London- New Delhi-Singapore: Sage Publications, 2008), 14.

²¹ Uwe Flick, *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* (London: SAGE Publication Ltd, 2014), 369.

about the community and issues dealt with in this study will be identified and selected. Key informants may consist of church leaders and Papuan thinkers. Interviews were conducted with them. The material gathered from the interviews and the documents gathered were examined from a particular lens. While the relationship between Gospel and culture would be helpful in this research in some ways, this study tends to lean toward the effects of colonialism in the theological discourse of Papuans. In other words, the lenses to examine the texts were postcolonial, as Papua has been and still is a colony.

The influential postcolonial works of Edward Wadie Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha, and Frantz Fanon helped examine the texts. I used the work of Said primarily because, in his book, *Orientalism*,²² he discussed the notion of the “other.” This is relevant as Papuans are considered as “the Other” in Indonesia. Another work that cannot be left out is Homi K. Bhabha’s “*The Location of Culture*.”²³ It helps in examining the effects of mixing one’s identity and culture, the interdependence between the colonized and the colonizer, which is also the Papuan reality. This reality of hybridity becomes a critique of cultural imperialism in Papua and has produced ambivalence between the colonized and the colonizers.

While I used Said and Bhabha primarily, I also brought in the voice of Indian scholar Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s landmark article “Can the Subaltern Speak?”²⁴ She highlights the situation of the Papuans. In reality, Papuans are the subalterns because they

²² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

²³ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

²⁴ Rosalind Morris, *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. Available at. <https://cup.columbia.edu/book/can-the-subaltern-speak/9780231143851>. Spivak examines colonialism through the lens that affirms the relevance of Marxist theory, but with the influence of Jacques Derrida’s deconstructionist method in exploring labor (or the colonized) and capitalism (of the colonizer). It digs into the historical and ideological facts that hinders those in the periphery to be heard, and explores the meaning of political subjectivity, of having access to the state and to “suffer the burden of difference in a capitalist system that promises equality yet withholds it at every turn.

are outside the realm of power, especially the hierarchy of power of the colonizer. I also brought in the voice of Frantz Fanon. Among the three mentioned above, he is the only one who offers, through his book *The Wretched of the Earth*,²⁵ an incisive analysis of the issue of decolonization, the psychopathology of colonization, the psychology of the colonized, and their path to liberation. He gives insight into the rage and frustration of colonized peoples such as the Papuans and the role of violence in effecting historical change.

Therefore, the postcolonial theory will be used as a lens to gain insights from the literature gathered, sermons, liturgies, etc., to lift and articulate a christology that must have been subjugated. This dissertation project sought to raise awareness of Papuan culture before colonization, at least the liberating ones. It identified the effects of colonization--both Dutch and Indonesian--in shaping a western christology and the loss of a christological concept in Melanesian-Papuan culture, even if the terminology used is not the word "Christ."

The starting point in this study is my experience as a Papuan woman: I used storytelling, political history, sacred texts, values, cultures, arts and literature, indigenous religions, myths, gender, and race. Moreover, the norm and goal of this study are to elicit and celebrate a Papuan christology. My community of accountability is the ordinary people I work with and serve in Papua.

²⁵ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Translation (New York: Grove Press, 1963). Fanon's book pointed out the danger or "twin perils" of post-independence colonial politics: the disenfranchisement of the masses by the elites on the one hand, and intertribal and interfaith animosities on the other.

Description of Chapters

The first chapter, the Introduction, is a discussion of the rationale of the study. This consists of the background of the study that elucidates how problematic doing christology in Papua is. The domination of western theology in Papuan churches made it challenging to express Papuan people's faith and political experience after the integration of Papua with Indonesia in 1963, although indigenous religions still exist. Furthermore, the problem and the thesis statements are fundamental problems essential to Papuan christology. Therefore, the significance of the study, the scope and limitations, the methodology, the composition of writing, and ethical considerations are all a part of looking at Papuan christology.

Chapter Two reviews the relevant literature and biblical-theological framework in developing christologies. In this development of christologies, seeing Jesus through the lenses of the sacred text and postcolonial theories is described as a biblical and theological framework of Christology. This consists of the faith confession of Jesus as the Christ in the early Christian community, including the response of the early Christian community toward the images of Jesus. Moreover, it includes christological constructs across the centuries as a review of the literature on Third World christology, Asian christologies, and feminist christology. Every generation has a different understanding of Jesus as the Christ. Lastly, the need to search for a relevant christology in Papua is discussed as an effort to articulate the Papuan people's faith in Jesus, the Christ of Papua. Hence, the voice of the Papuan Christian people is important to be heard.

Chapter Three discusses the prevailing tradition of christology in Papuan Christian communities. The current prevailing christology can be described as the Christ of traditional western Christianity, such as the Nicaea – Chalcedon, Anselm’s *Cur Deus Homo*, and Calvin. This writing expresses why these christologies do not speak to the Papuan context of theologies. This christology often does not resonate with Papuan people’s view of Christ. This is a critique of western christology on the faith of the Papuan people. In response, the image of Jesus as Savior is discussed and correlated with the critical question: “Why can’t this Jesus save Papuan people from their sufferings?” Hence, an image of Jesus is described in response to the question, “What does matter in traditional Papuan christology?” Which image prevails in traditional Papuan christology: Jesus? Or Christ? Or both? What is the implication of such prevailing image or images? This discussion describes the different understandings of Papuan Christian communities about Jesus as the Christ of Papua.

Chapter Four discusses discovering christology in the Papuan context and culture. This discovery of christology describes the emergence of Christ images in the Papuan context of the struggle for land, life, and identity. Therefore, encountering Jesus Christ in the works of Papuan artists, arts and literature is discussed as part of the developing christology to articulate the Christian Papuan people’s faith in Jesus as the Christ of Papua. Lastly, exploring Christ images in day-to-day life struggles of Papuan women is done to give space for the Papuan women’s voices, as Papuan men’s perspectives currently dominate the common christological discourses.

Chapter Five is a reclaiming and inserting of Papuan Christ images into Christian theology. Resistance to abandoning western christology is discussed by asking, “What is the reason for the resistance to abandoning western christologies? What is at stake?” These questions are addressed to challenge the Papuan Christian communities in formulating their christology. Therefore, empowering Christians to claim the power to construct christology using the Papuan contextual and cultural resources is vital. Lastly, accompanying Papuan women to re-image Christ to recognize Christ images in Papuan culture is discussed.

Finally, Chapter Six presents the conclusion and recommendations. The conclusion is a discussion of the question of what happens when Papuan Christians own the cultural and contextual Christ images. Lastly, recommendations encourage seminaries and churches in Papua to develop a theology based on Papuan contexts.

Ethical Considerations

Clearance from the Silliman University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) was secured to assure readers and stakeholders that this study did not harm any individual. The permission to access documents of Papuan writers and thinkers was also secured before gathering data. Concerning the key informants, their informed consent was secured, and they can withdraw at any time of the study. Data collected shall be stored in a secure place and disposed of within a year. The identity of the informants was treated with confidentiality.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE and BIBLICAL-THEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK in THE DEVELOPMENT of CHRISTOLOGIES

Christianity has been known as a religion since the disciples of Jesus were called Christians at Antioch (Acts 11:26). Therefore, Christian theology began with how Christian communities and scholars understood Jesus as the Christ in the context and history of human life. Christology is a branch of theology that talks about the position of Jesus Christ in Christianity. Christology for Christians discusses Jesus as Christ, who is the revelation of God. 'Christology' comes from the Greek word Χριστός which means Christ, and λόγος, which means words or knowledge. In short, christology is about the understanding of Christians about Jesus as the Christ from the past to the present.

Christology covers the journey of Jesus and continues to discuss this because Jesus' journey is still relevant in every age. Christology and the teachings of the Trinity cannot be separated from one another. Also nother important aspect in christology that is discussed is redemption and salvation. Moreover, the debate on the divinity and humanity of Jesus continues up to this day. Therefore, christology, the heart of Christianity,²⁶will be discussed throughout the Christian community's lives across the centuries.

Review of Literature in the Development of Christologies

Every Christian has the right to freely claim who Jesus is in the context of their life experience and culture. In this light, Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro, having studied

²⁶ Ibid., 45.

christologies in Asia and Asian women's christological discourses, concluded that "christologies are human attempts to make sense of Jesus the Christ in life realities. They are never absolute."²⁷ Every Christian community in each era has had different understandings of Jesus as the Christ. S. J. Samartha, Sri Lankan Theologian says:

Jesus Christ is the center of Christian life and is the substance of Christian faith. Christologies are human efforts to formulate the meaning and message of Jesus Christ to the church and the world. Therefore, every Christology is a quest to grasp the content and explain the meaning of the mystery of Jesus Christ, to discover and articulate how God is related to humanity and how humanity is related to God in Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is "the same yesterday, today and tomorrow" (Hebrews 13:8). Therefore, Christologies need to change, redefined, and revised themselves constantly to make sense to the church and the world at different ages and cultural situations. Such revisions have gone on at different times in the history of the church. They should be regarded as signs of vitality and the renewing power of the Christian faith in the world.²⁸

Christians have confessed Jesus as Messiah or Christ, such as Seiichi Yagi,²⁹ a Japanese theologian who says:

Jesus is the proper name, while "Christ" means Anointed One," So that Jesus Christ means in abbreviated form the confession, "Jesus is Christ." Though in the New Testament "Jesus" and "Christ" are often synonymous, New Testament scholarship has made a distinction between "Jesus" and "Christ." "Jesus means the historical Jew who preached the "Reign of God," while the primitive Christian church understood him as Christ, the divine Anointed One or Savior. The New Testament, as a whole, is the document that proclaimed the faith of the church.

There was no absolute christologies. However, it must also be understood that christology can be absolute in a certain context following a community's context of life experience and culture. For example, the European or western christology will be absolute

²⁷ Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro, *The Jesus of Asian Women* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2006), 49.

²⁸ S. J. Samartha, *One Christ — Many Religions Toward a Revised Christology* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1991), 92.

²⁹ Seiichi Yagi, "Christ and Buddha," in *Asian Faces of Jesus*, ed. R.S. Sugirtharajah (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1993), 33.

for the churches' christologies in that continent because it is relevant to their whole context. Furthermore, western christologies cannot be absolute in places such as the Third World. The dominance of western christology that came with the western missionaries influenced Third World christology.

This has kept Third World Christian communities from freely confessing whom Jesus is according to their lived experience and culture. Instead, they have depended on traditional western christology. Hence, it is essential to look deeper at the postcolonial theories and meaning of freedom in developing a christology for Third World Christian communities.

Postcolonial Theories in Developing Christology

The dominance of western christology is strong among Third World Christians. This is because the West colonized most parts of the Third World. The colonizers viewed the colonized as people who could not think for themselves. Palestinian-American scholar Edward Wadie Said, in his book, *Orientalism*, notes how Westerners define Third World people as of the Orient and themselves as of the Occident. Said also mentions "the other" to emphasize that Europe or the West views Asian or Third World people as "the other." He notes that the West is perceived as rational, developed, humane, and superior. At the same time, Orient—in this case, represented by Asia and the Middle East—is considered aberrant, undeveloped, and inferior.

The West or European views manifest imperialism, racism, and ethnocentrism.³⁰ Said's underpinning belief of the West is that western people have a higher culture than the east or the Orient. As a result of this belief, traditional western christology has often been recognized in doing and developing christology in Third World countries, particularly in Papua. This is visible in Said's concept of "the other" that is still alive in the thought of western and Third World traditional theologians. The latter still holds firmly to traditional christology.³¹

However, Christians in the Third World also resist by endeavoring to create their own christology. Third World Christians' resistance to discrimination and racism aligns with the notion expressed by Indian-American postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha in "*The Location of Culture*."³² Bhabha examines how the fetish or stereotype brought about by the impact of this stereotype offers confidence to the colonized to defend their identity.³³ The interdependence between colonized and colonizer contributes to the development of self-identity in the work of Third World people. This reflects Bhabha's

³⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, 204. Edward Said states it is therefore correct that every European, in what he could say about the Orient, was consequently a racist, an imperialist, and almost ethnocentric. Some of the immediate stings will be taken out of these labels if we recall that human societies, at least the more advanced cultures, have rarely offered the individual anything but imperialism, racism, and ethnocentrism for dealing with "other" cultures. So, orientalism aided and was aided by general cultural pressures that tended to make more rigid the sense of the difference between the European and Asiatic parts of the world. One is the absolute and systematic difference between the West, which is rational, developed, humane, superior, and the Orient, aberrant, undeveloped, and inferior.

³¹ H. Soedarmo, *Ikhtisar Dogmatika Cetakan Keempat* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1984), 134-151. H. Soedarmo is an Indonesian theologian who still upholds western traditional christology. Soedarmo's book of Dogma has been used as a standard book in Indonesian Seminaries including in Papua.

³² Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

³³ Ibid., 107. Homi K. Bhabha says the fetish or stereotype provides access to an 'identity' which is predicated as much on mastery and pleasure as it is on anxiety and defense, for it is a form of multiple and contradictory belief in its recognition of difference and disavowal of it. This conflict of pleasure/unpleasant, mastery/defense, knowledge/disavowal, and absence/presence has a fundamental significance for colonial discourse. For the scene of fetishism is also the scene of reactivation and repetition of primal fantasy-the subject's desire for a pure origin that is always threatened by its division, for the subject must be gendered to be engendered, to be spoken. The stereotype, then, as the primary point of subjectification in colonial discourse, for both colonizer and colonized, is the scene of a similar fantasy and defense-the desire for originality, which is again threatened by the differences of race, color, and culture.

hybridity concept, which states that new forms of culture produce cross-cultural interactions. These interactions are then used by the colonized to fight the colonizer. Hybridity means that the colonized does not directly oppose the colonizer but instead takes the colonizer's culture and transforms it into a new identity and style. Third World Christians, including Papuans, as the colonized, have learned to use and adopt the colonizer's or western christologies. They shape or fashion an identity that is a mixture of Third World and western christologies.

Third World people, especially Christians, try to use and adopt Western thought as a part of their struggle to speak out about their identity. This is also reflected in the Indian postcolonial scholar Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's landmark article "Can the Subaltern Speak?"³⁴ Subaltern refers to subordinate social groups not included in elite groups. Spivak examines the Subaltern as oppressed subjects. Subaltern groups are the lowest classes that become targets of insult, hatred, and violence. Every human being has agency or the capacity to act independently in making decisions for themselves; however, social structures limit one's agency. Third World people are Subalterns. Subalterns have difficulty accessing the public realm. Subaltern groups are unable to express their aspirations. Subaltern groups do not have space to define their conditions—although they are the ones doing the actual work of being. Thus, they need intellectuals as mediators to encourage them to speak of their agency and rights.³⁵ Hence, Spivak's view gives new insight to Third World Christians for speaking about their theology, especially

³⁴ Rosalind Morris, *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. Available at <https://cup.columbia.edu/book/can-the-subaltern-speak/9780231143851>.

³⁵ Ibid.,

christology. Third World Christians, especially Papuans, need theologians as mediators to empower them to speak about the christology they, as true grassroots theologians, are already doing and developing according to their whole situation.

Indeed, Third World people, particularly Papuans are subalterns because they are outside the power realm, especially the hierarchy of the colonizer's power.³⁶ Consequently, Third World people have become the subaltern and wretched, as reflected in the work of African- French postcolonial scholar, Frantz Fanon, in his book *The Wretched of the Earth*.³⁷ This book is an incisive analysis of decolonization, the psychopathology of colonization, the psychology of the colonized, and their path to liberation. Its insight into the rage and frustration of colonized peoples and the role of violence in effecting historical change are manifest in Third World people, including Papuans. On the one hand, Third World people are angry because they feel they are imprisoned in their land and are forced to become a part of the colonizer. On the other hand, Third World people are psychologically pressured because they do not have the freedom to think for themselves. This experience is also present in Third World churches and theology, including christology. Psychologically, Third World and particularly Papuan churches have chosen to be "safe" by adapting traditional western theology. They do this to avoid being accused by the colonizer (or Indonesia) as an opponent of the ruler.

Indeed, the postcolonial theory will be applied well through the freedom to do christology according to Christians' lived experiences and culture.

³⁶ Alex Rumaseb, *Ironi Papua* (Jayapura: Alex R, 2013), 5-7.

³⁷ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*.

Freedom to Develop Christology

Freedom is one of the foundations of human rights and dignity. The word “freedom” correlates with liberty and justice. Scholastic theologians such as Peter Lombard³⁸ describe freedom with the word choice or willing. They distinguish three forms of willing, namely liberty of exercise (whether to act or not act), liberty of specification (the choice of this or that good), and liberty of indifference (freedom for both good and evil).³⁹ Thus, the scholastic theologians’ arguments help to construct the meaning of freedom. Therefore, I argue that freedom is every human being’s right to act, speak and think without pressure or coercion from others.

Freedom also relates to the concept of justice. According to Anselm of Canterbury (c1033–1109), the source of justice is God because God is justice (existit Justitia). Anselm sees in justice the values of goodness, mercy and pardon of God.⁴⁰ The God who rewards both good and evil is more just than the God who rewards the merits of the good alone. God will punish human evil but at the same time will pardon humans who confess their sinfulness. All the ways of God are just and exhibit mercy and truth.⁴¹ Anselm declares

³⁸ Gillian R. Evans, “Peter Lombard,” in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. Daniel Patte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 949-950. Peter Lombard (c1100–60) was author of the standard textbook of systematic theology used in the later Middle Ages, the *Sentences* (1155–58). Lombard was born in Lombardy. He studied in Italy, Reims, and Paris, where he was a master who taught in the cathedral school from c1143. He became bishop of Paris in 1159.

³⁹ Eugene TeSelle, “Freedom, Free Will,” in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. Daniel Patte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 437. See also Constant J. Mews, “Scholasticism,” in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. Daniel Patte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1132-1133. Scholasticism is a method of inquiry, influenced by Aristotle that developed in the schools and universities of the Latin West between the 12th and 15th c., in relation both to the liberal arts and to theology. The scholastic theologians are Peter Lombard (mid-12th c.), Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.

⁴⁰ Coloman Viola, “Anselm of Canterbury,” in *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology Volume 1, A-F*, ed. Jean-Yves Lacoste (New York – London: Routledge, 2004), 45-50. Cf. Irène Fernandez, “Justice,” in *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology, Volume 2, G-O*, ed. Jean-Yves Lacoste (New York-London: Routledge, 2005), 842.

⁴¹ Brian Davis and G.R. Evans, ed., *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Work* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1998), 94.

that God is the source of justice. Therefore, God's justice is a standard of Christians' stand for the equality, righteousness, and dignity of human beings.

Humans are creatures free to express themselves without pressure from others. From the whole meaning of freedom, Christian communities must have the freedom to make decisions to declare who Jesus is for them. The freedom to confess who Jesus is appears in the changing face of Jesus across the centuries. Basically, Christology begins with the perspective of the early Christian communities in the four Gospels and the letters of Paul in the New Testament. Thus, it is important to use postcolonial theories to see how the early Christian community understood who Jesus was to them.

Biblical - Theological Framework in the Development of Christology: Seeing Jesus in the Sacred Text through the Lenses of Postcolonial Theories

Postcolonial theories can be used to look more deeply at early Christians who struggled not to be seen as "the other" and the subaltern. Postcolonial theories reveal that in the early Christian community's era, there was oppression and discrimination towards Christians, women, marginalized people, the poor, people considered sinners and gentiles, and so on. They were second-class citizens in society and the Judean community of faith. White theologians such as Dennis C. Duling, Norman Perrin, Raymond E. Brown, Jaroslav Pelikan, and Marla J. Selvidge undertake investigations of sacred texts in the New Testament that help Christians today to understand the situation of the early Christians.

The New Testament becomes one of the sources in doing christology because it is from the New Testament that Christian communities and scholars learned about Jesus the

Christ. In Christianity, the birth of Jesus was prophesied since the days of prophets in the Old Testament Scriptures such as Nathan, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah.⁴² The Messiah in the Old Testament emerged from the line of David. The Israelites awaited the Messiah in the Old Testament to restore Israel from problems, especially political ones. Therefore, the Messiah present is a liberator in times of crisis when Israel was taken captive by other nations. Historically, there was no Messiah that emerged from the Davidic line to liberate Israelites from their captivity; thus, they waited for the coming of a Messiah who would liberate them from captivity in the future. Moreover, Christians believe the Messianic prophecy is fulfilled in Jesus.

In the New Testament, Jesus as the Messiah or Christ is confessed. Through biblical-hermeneutical approaches, it can be found that Jesus is Christ. The word Christ has the same meaning as the Messiah, which means "the Anointed One." They had different experiences in response to Jesus as the Christ.

Christology in the Gospels

In the Gospel, it can be seen how the first Christian community confessed to Jesus. Although the Gospels were written around 30 to 70 years after the ministry of Jesus, Christian scholars argue that the Gospels are verbatim accounts of what Jesus said.⁴³ Dennis C. Duling and Norman Perrin argue that most Christian scholars agreed that the Markan Gospel was written first around 70 C.E during or after the temple destruction in Jerusalem. The Gospel of Matthew and Luke were written around 85-90 C.E., and the

⁴²Stephen Neill, *Jesus Through Many Eyes: Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 11. Cf. C. Kavin Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology: The Lord in the Gospel of Luke* (Berlin · New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 33-34.

⁴³ Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to New Testament Christology* (New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1994), 7.

Gospel of John was written around 90-100 C.E.⁴⁴ Marla J. Selvidge poses the argument that Jesus was born around 4 B.C.E. and died around 28 C.E. and that oral traditions and collections of Jesus' life, death, and sayings were known in the early Christian community around 30 – 50 C.E.⁴⁵ That means the gap between the oral traditions with the first Gospel writer, Mark, was about 20 years.

Hence, the four Gospels writers have tried to rewrite the oral traditions and collections of Jesus' life, death, and sayings that were lived in the early Christian community. They had different concerns and goals in their writing. We can see that the Gospels of Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John have different ways of witnessing who Jesus is. Marla J. Selvidge notes broad structural differences in the Gospels. The Markan Gospel is concerned with the ministry of Jesus and the death of Jesus, the Gospel of Matthew documents the genealogy of Jesus, the birth story of Jesus, the ministry of Jesus, the death of Jesus, and the resurrection of Jesus as an important part of the Gospel. The Lukan Gospel has a different way of introducing who Jesus is. Luke began with the birth story, genealogy, ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Differently, the Gospel of John introduces who Jesus is. John began his Gospel with a prologue and continued with signs sources, farewell stories, and the resurrection of Jesus.⁴⁶

The difference between every writer in the Gospels can be seen in their witness of Jesus. The Gospels have given different images of Jesus. The Gospels show how early Christians formed images of Jesus according to their lived experiences. Every writer of

⁴⁴ Dennis C. Duling and Norman Perrin, *The New Testament: Proclamation and Parenthesis, Myth and History* (The United States of America: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1994), 103-104.

⁴⁵ Marla J. Selvidge, *The New Testament: A Timeless Book for All Peoples* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1999), 41.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

the Gospels had different contextual experiences. In the way they express their christology, the Gospels' writers do the same. Every writer has a different approach to forming images of Jesus. Christian scholars have argued that the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke are copied from the Markan Gospel, and the two Gospels also used the Q source, which is not found in the Gospel of Mark.⁴⁷ Marla J. Selvidge states,

Matthew and Luke use Mark as a source and then rewrite the material taken from Mark in order to fit into their own points of view regarding the life and death of Jesus and the early Christian community.⁴⁸

This can be shown in the story of Jesus' temptation. The Markan Gospel just told the story in two verses (Mark 1:12-13). However, the Gospel of Matthew is eleven verses (Matthew 4:1-11), and the Lukan Gospel is thirteen (Luke 4:1-13). Matthew and Luke used Mark as a source and rewrote the story by adding the conversation between Jesus and the devil. In putting forth the composition of the event, Matthew and Luke are also different. Matthew and Luke have the same opinion in the first conversation of bread (Matthew 4:3-4; Luke 4:3-4). In the second conversation, Matthew and Luke have different goals. Matthew, written for the Jewish community, looks at the story of how the devil took Jesus to the holy city and placed him on the pinnacle of the temple (Matthew 4:5-7).

This is important because the readers are from the Jewish Christian community. It is different from Luke, which is written to the gentiles. Luke stressed the kingdom of the world. The glory and authority will be given to Jesus if Jesus worships the devil. Here,

⁴⁷ Ibid., 64. Q means Quelle or source. Q is a hypothetical document that contained (primarily) the sayings of Jesus. Both Luke and Matthew contain similar, almost identical, sermon material that is not found in the Gospel of Mark. Q is the name given to this material.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 58-59.

Luke targets gentiles who converted to Christianity and will tend to be tempted (Luke 4:5-8). The third conversation of Jesus and the devil between Matthew and Luke was different because of the different goals. Matthew put the kingdom of the world (Matthew 4:8-10) as the third temptation. Luke described the third temptation as the story of how the devil took Jesus to Jerusalem and placed Jesus on the pinnacle of the temple.⁴⁹ Hence, it can be clear that every writer of the Gospels has different aims in writing the story of Jesus' images because of the different background of their readers. That the Gospels express images of Jesus through their lens is helpful for contemporary Christians, especially Papuan Christians, in confessing who Jesus is. Furthermore, it is better to look deeper into the Christology of the four Gospels in the New Testament.

Markan Christology: Jesus as the Miracle Worker

The Gospel of Mark looks at Jesus as the miracle worker. The Gospel was written at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple in 70 C.E.⁵⁰ The Markan Gospel aimed to warn Judean Christians not to trust the words of the false prophets and Messiahs in Judea at the time. Mark wanted to offer hope to Judean Christians that, while the end is not yet, it is still not far off. Mark's Gospel was apocalyptic in character, giving warning and hope to Judean Christians who were under oppression and persecution during the crisis of 70 C.E.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Ibid., 59.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 300. According to early Christian tradition, the Markan Gospel is preserved in the writing of Eusebius, a fourth century church historian. The fourth Gospel, the Markan Gospel was written first from the other Gospels. The early Christian tradition also agreed that Mark was the translator or maybe interpreter of Peter. Moreover, Mark also was known with name, John Mark who was with Paul and Barnabas in the journey to Asia Minor on the first missionary journey. Moreover, in the first half of the second century, early Christianity accepted the Gospel of Mark.

⁵¹ Ibid., 300-301.

The Markan community confessed to Jesus as a miracle worker. Miracles are signs or wonders beyond simply an unusual use of power like magic. Instead, miracles relate to a sign with a character and a message.⁵² The miracle stories of Jesus always relate to human needs. These include the need for liberation from oppression, problems, or illness. Jesus did not conduct magic for the recipients. Instead, he engaged in conversation with them to know their problems and guide them to solutions. Miracles happened to recipients when they confessed Jesus was and promised to live according to God's will. Hence, Jesus' miracles were a process of transformation of human lives from bad acts, thoughts, and behaviors to better ones. Furthermore, the message of the miraculous Jesus reveals who Jesus is. Jesus is a miracle worker.

The message of Jesus's miracles in the Markan Gospel made Judean Christians believe that Jesus is with them in hopeless situations such as the destruction of Jerusalem and the suffering of Jewish Christians. Jesus as the miracle worker can be seen in Jesus' work as a healer. The signs of faith that put Judean Christian's hope in Jesus can be seen in Jesus' healing of a paralytic (Mark 2:1-12), Jesus' healing of the Gerasene Demoniac (Mark 5:1-20), Jesus' resurrection of Jairus' daughter and the healing of the hemorrhaging woman when touching Jesus' clothes (Mark 5:21-43). Jesus healed the sick in Gennesaret (Mark 6:53-56), cured a deaf man (Mark 7:31-37), cured a blind man at Bethsaida (Mark 8:22-26), healed a boy with a Spirit (Mark 9:14-29), healed the blind Bartimaeus (Mark 10: 46-52), stilled a storm (Mark 4:35-40), walked on water (Mark 6:45-52), fed the four

⁵² Eugene TeSelle, "Miracle," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. Daniel Patte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 812-813. Paul Beauchamp, "Miracle," in *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology Volume 2, G-O*, ed. Jean-Yves Lacoste (New York – London: Routledge, 2005), 1138-1041.

thousand (Mark 8: 1-9), and the five thousand (Mark 6: 30-44). These miracle stories strengthened Judean Christians to put their hope in Jesus. When Jewish Christians read the miracle stories about Jesus, they became convinced that Jesus was a miracle worker who would be able to restore their condition.

Therefore, the Gospel of Mark looks at Jesus as an apocalyptic prophet, preacher, and healer. These images of Jesus in Mark's Gospel have encouraged the Judean Christians to put their hope in Jesus as the Son of God (Mark 1:1) and the Holy One of God (Mark 1:24). The two images of Jesus as the Son of God and the Holy One of God are images that give strength in the difficult situation of the time. They needed to be faithful to their faith because Jesus is the Bridegroom (Mark 2:19-20); therefore, the Judean Christians did not need to worry because Jesus was with them. Furthermore, the Judean Christians who lived in persecution must learn from Jesus as the Servant (Mark 10:45). Jesus as the servant will lead them through the way of suffering because Jesus is a servant. Therefore, the disciples are called to become preachers and healers (1:39; 3:14-15; 6:13).⁵³

The disciples or Judean Christians have been tasked to witness who Jesus is. This can be seen in the question of Jesus to his disciples about their confession to himself (Mark 8: 27-29). Jesus asked his disciples about what they said about him. In Mark 8: 29, Peter answered the question with the confession that Jesus is the Christ or Messiah. In Greek, Σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός means "You are the Christ or Messiah." This confession is also in Matthew and Luke. However, Mark's aim toward the image of Jesus was different. Mark

⁵³ Ibid.,

wanted the disciples or Judean Christians who suffered from Jesus as their Messiah and Christ who would be there with them. Therefore, it can be seen that Jesus is a miracle worker who gives hope to Judean Christians that Jesus will protect and save them from their suffering and oppression. They needed to believe that Jesus was a miracle worker who would be there with them. Therefore, Mark's christology opened a new lens for contemporary Christians, especially Papuan Christians, to learn about Jesus as a miracle worker from the side of suffering or oppressed people. The image of Jesus as a miracle worker is close to the Papuan Christic images of Manseren Manggundi, Sago, and many others. However, the Gospel of Matthew has a different approach to images of Jesus.

Christology of Matthew: Jesus is the Anticipated Messiah

The christology of Matthew views Jesus as the anticipated Messiah. Matthew related Jesus to Abraham (Matthew 1:1). Matthew wanted to show Jesus as the Messiah who had already come. Jesus is the fulfillment of the Messiah the Jews were waiting for. christology from Matthew has a different way of looking at the images of Jesus. The Christian scholars argue that Matthew's Gospel was written using the Markan Gospel as a source. The Gospel of Matthew was written after 70 C.E.⁵⁴ Matthew wrote his Gospel in the context of Judaism. The Matthean group was a struggling, marginal group in conflict with outsiders and facing some internal disarray.

Matthew contrasts with the Pharisees who claim promises of the Torah as their own. They looked at money collectors like Matthew's group and sinners as outsiders, not as a part of God's community. Therefore, Matthew's christology claims that the promises

⁵⁴ Ibid., 331-332.

of the Torah are fulfilled in Jesus as a new revelation. The Pharisees perceived the “others” as outsiders; therefore, Matthew contrasts his writing with the Pharisees who claimed to have the right to interpret the Torah and its proper observance.⁵⁵ Matthew in Matthew 23:8-10 argued that no one should be called rabbi, father, and instructor except Jesus. Matthew perceived that the Pharisees could not claim themselves as Rabbi, Father, and instructor. Therefore, the christology of Matthew is part of a protest toward the Jewish Group or Pharisees who have claimed to be close with God. Matthew has a different understanding than Mark and Luke. The confession of Peter (Matthew 16:16) that Jesus is the Christ or Messiah has shown Jesus as the fullness of God’s Revelation. That means when Peter confessed Σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστός meaning “You are the Christ or Messiah,” it shows that Jesus is the only one who is close to God. Jesus is the anticipated Messiah. Therefore, the Pharisees cannot claim themselves as the only ones with the right to have a relationship with God.

The christology of Matthew shows that sinners also have the right to come to God as a part of God’s family. Thus, Matthew uses images of Jesus as the son of David and the son of Abraham (Matthew 1:1, 21:15). Matthew tried to relate the images of Jesus with Jewish ancestors. The coming of Jesus on earth is to erase boundaries and expand the claims of the covenant. Sinners are also a part of the covenant people because of Jesus. When Matthew introduced the image of Jesus as Immanuel, meaning ‘God with us’ (Matthew 1:23), he meant Jesus came for all people, not just for Jewish groups but also for sinners.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 336.

Here, Matthew stressed to the Jewish Christian community not to worry because they were not strangers in their community. Jesus is the anticipated Messiah, and Immanuel also came for them. They needed to understand that they were still a part of God's covenant. Moreover, the Jews looked at them as betrayers of the Jewish faith. This is different from the Gospel of Luke. Luke was writing to the gentiles as his intended readers. The image of Jesus as a prophet from Nazareth in Galilee (Matthew 21:11), a fisherman, a prophet (Matthew 21:46), a teacher (Matthew 22:24), a brother (Matthew 25:40), a king (Matthew 25:40), and a son of man (Matthew 20:28), shows Jesus as the fulfillment of God's revelation and Jesus as the anticipated Messiah. Therefore, the christology of Matthew can help contemporary Christians, including Papuan Christians, to look at images of Jesus as a fulfillment of God's revelation who comes to the world for all people. All people are the same in God's eyes. The image of Jesus as the anticipated Messiah can be expressed in images of Manseren Manggundi, Sago, and other images in Papuan understanding. Moreover, the christology of Luke will be explained below.

The Christology of Luke: Jesus as Boundary Breaker

The christology of Luke has stressed the image of Jesus as a Boundary Breaker. This can be seen in Luke's heritage which related Jesus to the son of Adam (Luke 3:8). It is different from Matthew, which connected Jesus to Abraham, the believer and father of Israel. Moreover, Christian writers of the second century identified Luke as a follower of Paul.⁵⁶ The second-century tradition argued that the author of the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles was the same person who was the companion of Paul (2 Tim 4:11;

⁵⁶ Ibid., 365.

Col 4:14, Philemon 24). They argued that the author is Luke, the beloved physician. The beginning of the Gospel of Luke is addressed to Theophilus. This is a Greek name that means “Lover of God.” However, the name of Theophilus is unknown in early Christianity. Therefore, scholars argued that the target audience for the Lukan Gospel is those with a higher position in Greco-Roman society.

That means the Gospel of Luke is not exclusive for Jews, expressly Jewish Christians, but breaks boundaries of exclusiveness. The intended audience of Luke is gentiles, especially Romans who had already converted to Christianity. The Jews and Jewish Christians viewed gentiles as strangers. Moreover, Luke has stressed that the new family of God is not just Jewish but also includes outsiders such as women, sinners, the poor, Jews, Samaritans, gentiles, and among the gentiles, expressly the Romans.⁵⁷ The Gospel is open to all people. The Gospel of Luke differs from the Gospel of Matthew in looking at Jesus as the boundary breaker. Matthew viewed Jesus as the boundary breaker between the Jews and Jewish Christians. In contrast, Jews and Jewish Christians claimed God's covenant is only for them as the chosen people. Luke viewed Jesus as the boundary breaker between Jews, Jewish Christians, and outsiders such as gentiles and the Romans who converted to Christianity. They have the same right in front of God.

Therefore, in the confession of Jesus as Messiah or Christ in Luke 9:20, Peter says *Τον χριστόν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, meaning “The Christ of God or Messiah of God.”⁵⁸ This means Jesus as Messiah (the Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ, Mashaiah) or Christ (Greek χριστός) whom the

⁵⁷ Ibid., 369.

⁵⁸ Donald A. Hagner, *World Biblical Commentary Matthew 14 – 28 Volume 33 B* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1995), 468. Cf. Craig A. Evans, *Word Biblical Commentary Mark 8: 27 – 16: 20 Volume 34 B* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1988), 9. See also John Nolland, *World Biblical Commentary Luke 1-9:20 Volume 35 A* (Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1989), 452-453.

people of Israel were waiting for as the Lord and Savior who came to break boundaries between nations, ethnicities, and races. Luke shows the work of the Spirit through Jesus, the time of preaching the good news of the Kingdom of God, and the time to witness from Galilee to Jerusalem and Jerusalem to Rome (Luke 1:5-12, 2:39-52, 3:1-20, 24:47-48). Therefore, the christology of Luke portrays images of Jesus as Rabbi, Jesus as a healer (Luke 7:1-17), Jesus as Master (Luke 17:13), Jesus as Prophet (Luke 13:33), and Jesus as Savior (Luke 2:11).

This is to show Jesus as Rabbi, not exclusively one just for the Jews but also for outsiders. Jesus is the master that the Christian community needs to follow. Jesus is a Prophet for whom people wait. Finally, Jesus is the savior who shows that only through Jesus will human beings be saved. Jesus comes to save all people and proclaim the Kingdom of God for all people. Jesus is a boundary breaker. The boundary breaker can be seen in the images of Manseren Manggundi and Cenderawasih, which will be explained in the next chapters. The Gospel of John shows a different way of looking at the images of Jesus. John has seen the images of Jesus in the “I am” Saying. Hence, the Gospel of John does not fall into the category of Synoptics, as do Mark, Matthew, and Luke. John’s Christology used symbolic languages or metaphors in the description of who Jesus is.

The Christology of John: Jesus is Logos and the “I am” Sayings

John’s christology emphasizes both Jesus as Logos and the “I am” saying. Logos comes from the Greek word meaning “the word.” Moreover, John’s christology introduced Jesus’ “I am” sayings to confess who Jesus is. The Gospel of John differs from the three synoptic Gospels. The Gospel of John has a different style of witnessing who

Jesus is. In the synoptics, Jesus teaches in aphorisms, parables, and short discourses. However, John teaches in long discourses on symbolic themes such as logos, light, life, way, water, and the other images. Scholars such as Marla J. Selvidge, Dennis C. Duling, and Norman Perrin argue the Gospel of John was written between 90-100 C.E. In the late second century around 125-202 C.E., Irenaeus of Lyons introduced the Gospel of John. The second-century Christians refer to John, who was the disciple of Jesus, as the author. This became a debate and the author of the fourth Gospel is never explicitly identified as John in the Gospel itself.

During that time, the Johannine community conflicted with Jewish monotheism. Jews perceived Jesus as human and not God (John 8:48-9:41). The Gospel of John shows a major conflict between Johannine Christians and the world, those labeled as “the Jews.”⁵⁹ This can be seen in the Gospel of John when he stated that the Christian community or Johannine Christians must live in the world, but not be of the world (John 17:16). Johannine Christians used Gnosticism to confess Jesus. The term gnostic or gnosis in Greek means “knowledge.” Gnosticism in diverse religious groups taught knowledge as the key to understanding the Divine. Knowledge was more important than faith. The Gospel of John used gnostic language to counter Gnosticism or gnostic practices and Jews.⁶⁰ The Gospel of John has a high christology which witnesses Jesus as the fulfillment of the Old Testament Messianic expectations.

It can be found that the Gospel of John introduced Jesus as the Logos or the Word (John 1:1-3). Jesus is the chosen one of God, or Jesus is the reason of God. The Gospel of

⁵⁹ Duling and Perrin, *The New Testament: Proclamation and Parenthesis, Myth and History*, 420 -421.

⁶⁰ Selvidge, *The New Testament: A Timeless Book for All Peoples*, 158.

John began, such as in Genesis, which stated “in the beginning” was the Logos or Word, the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God. Therefore, the christology of John introduces Jesus as God. The Gospel of John argues that Jesus was already before creation. Jesus is with God, and Jesus is God. That can be seen in John 1:2-5, which says Jesus was with God in the beginning. Through Jesus, all things were made; without Jesus, nothing was made that has been made. Jesus is the light that shined in the darkness, but the darkness has not understood it. The darkness is the symbol of the world, Jews who do not believe in Jesus.⁶¹ The Gospel of John has confessed the Logos incarnated as a human being in Jesus (John 1:14). However, the world has rejected Jesus.

The christology of John introduced Jesus as Logos, using Gnosticism to argue that Jesus is Savior and God. This is an apologetic confession to the world, expressly the Jews, who do not believe in Jesus as the Savior. The Johannine Christian community confessed Jesus as the Logos or the word. The Christology of John started with what Jesus, as Logos, said. This is known as the “I am” sayings. Jesus said, “I am” the bread of life. Jesus is the bread of life (John 6:35). Jesus, as Logos, declared that people who come to Jesus would never go hungry, and those who believe in Jesus would never be thirsty (John 6:35). Jesus confessed that those who believe what he has taught will never hunger. That means they will be satisfied in their lives because Jesus is God’s messenger (John 6:39).

⁶¹ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Illustrated Jesus Through the Centuries* (London: Yale University Press and New Haven, 1997), 66-67. The Logos incarnate in Jesus was the reason of God. Logos is the very structure of the universe. Combining the account of creation in Genesis with the Platonic doctrine of Forms. Here, created out of nonbeing, the cosmos manifested in its “order and providence” the ordering presence of “the Logos of God who is over all and who govern all. The Universe was not absurd, that is, bereft of the Logos, but made sense because of the Logos. The Logos as the Savior of the cosmos, became incarnate in Jesus Christ, who rose from the dead victorious over sin, death and hell.

Jesus also says, “I am” the light of the world. Jesus is the light of the world (John 8:12). Here, Jesus used the symbol of the light to express his teaching that will guide people to understand the will of God. Jesus stated that whoever follows Jesus will never walk in darkness but will have the light of life. The Johannine Christian community confessed to the world and Jews that Jesus, as Logos, is the light of the world. The christology of the Johannine Gospel also introduced Jesus as the good shepherd (John 10:11). Jesus says, “I am” the good shepherd. Jesus says the good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep. This is symbolic of Jesus, who will sacrifice himself for people who believe in Jesus and hear his teaching. Jesus compares his ministry with the hired hand. The hired hand is not the shepherd who owns the sheep. So when the hired hand sees the wolf coming, the hired hand abandons the sheep and runs away. The wolf attacks the flock and scatters it (John 10:12-13). The christology of the Johannine Gospel expresses that Jesus as Logos is a good shepherd and the world; the Jews are the hired hand.

Moreover, the christology of the Johannine Gospel introduced Jesus as the true vine (John 15:1-8). Here, Jesus says, “I am” the true vine. In christology, Jesus is the true vine, using the fruit known in Israel. Jesus describes himself as the true vine and God as the gardener. Those who have believed in Jesus are the branches. Jesus says that God would cut off every branch in me that bears no fruit, while every branch that does bear the fruit that God prunes will be even more fruitful. The Johannine Gospel has remained in the world, and the Jews need to believe in Jesus. If not, they will be like the branch that bears no fruit, and God will cut it off. That means they will not be in God’s salvation. The Johannine Gospel also introduces Jesus as the way, the truth, and the life (John 14:1-14).

Jesus' saying to his disciples is that "I am" the way and the truth and the life. This christology is a confession of Jesus as Logos, who is the way for human beings to come to God. The Johannine Christian community has confessed that through Jesus as Logos, human beings will have salvation because Jesus is the way, the truth, and the life. That means that outside of Jesus, there is no salvation.

Jesus is the living water when He talked with a Samaritan woman (John 4:1-42). This situation shows how God loves human beings. The Jews considered Samaritans as sinners, but the Johannine Gospel asserts that God, through the coming of Jesus in the world, is for all people. Johannine Christians contrast with the exclusiveness of the Jews who claim the salvation of God just for themselves. Johannine Christians confess that Jesus as the Logos or the Word of God comes as the living water. The water symbol of the salvation of God is given for all people, including Samaritan groups, who confess Jesus as Messiah or Christ (John 4:25).

Therefore, the christology of John shows the glorification of Jesus as Logos or the Word of God. That means a symbolic time when Jesus on the cross will be lifted and Jesus will return to his Father, and he will come again (John 4:21,23;5:25;28-29;16:2,25,32). It is important for the Christian community to learn from the Johannine Gospel to express their faith in Jesus. These images of Jesus as Logos in John can be helpful for Papuan Christians to express their faith in Jesus. Specifically, the "I am" sayings apply to finding parallels with the concepts of Manseren Manggundi, Fish, and other images in the Papuan understanding of Christ.

Therefore, the Gospels show that the confessions of Jesus came from the early Christian community's experience of faith in their context of understanding. From witnesses of the Gospels, it can be seen how early Christian communities viewed Jesus as a figure who was very close to God. They also witnessed and spoke of the acts of Jesus Christ, who has already broken boundaries of injustice between men and women, poor and rich, and rulers and people. The Gospels also have witnessed a Jesus who suffered with suffering people. Jesus is a liberator figure (Luke 4:18-19). Jesus stood up for the rights of oppressed and marginalized people. In addition to the Gospels, it is essential to look at Pauline christology, which the Apostle Paul writes.

Pauline Christology: The Resurrected Christ

Pauline christology introduced the image of the Resurrected Christ. In Pauline christology, Paul did not look at the figure of Jesus, but he mentioned Christ. Dennis Duling, Norman Perrin, and Geza Vermes argue that the Gospels in the New Testament were written at least twenty to fifty years after Paul's letters; therefore, the Gospels could not be the source for Paul's work. That Paul worked to reach the Hellenistic Gentile world can be seen in the First Corinthians.⁶² The letters of Paul do not focus on the life and teaching of Jesus. Instead, Paul looks at the meaning of Jesus' death. This can be seen in Paul's statement, "We preach Christ crucified: a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness

⁶² Duling and Perrin, *The New Testament: Proclamation and Parenesis, Myth and History*, 105. Cf. Geza Vermes, *The Changing Faces of Jesus* (New York: Viking Compass, 2001), 83-84. See also Selvidge, *The New Testament: A Timeless Book for All Peoples*, 230-237. Paul is known in early Christianity. His letters comprise over one fourth the New Testament. Paul arrived in Corinth about 49/50 C.E. and stayed eighteen months (the Gallio discussion), he wrote 1 Thessalonians there about 51 C.E and the other six letters such as 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Philemon, Galatians and Romans were written in the 50s. According to scholars, these letters are original letters of Paul. The others letters of 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Ephesians, Colossians and 2 Thessalonians are deuterio-Pauline or secondary Pauline, written by other followers of Paul.

to Gentiles, but to those whom God has called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God” (1 Corinthians 1:23-24). That means the Christ crucified is important for Paul. Hence, Marla Selvidge states about the Apostle Paul:

The human side of Jesus does not concern Paul. He does not know the person or the saying of Jesus, preferring to use titles such as Christ, Jesus Christ, Christ Jesus, Lord, and occasionally Son of God. For him, Jesus’ crucifixion or death is of prime importance. Jesus’ death justifies but also bring peace, grace and freedom from the curse. As Children of God, people are baptized in Christ and serve him. Paul has complete faith in Jesus the Messiah.⁶³

Therefore, Paul looks at the image of Jesus as the Christ. Paul states that people who believe in Christ are declared innocent of all sins, crimes, and abolition of Jewish law. Jesus’ death satisfied all of the sentences given for breaking the law.⁶⁴ The christology of Paul opened new understandings about who Jesus was. As a Jewish person who learned the Torah and repented, Paul found a different way to confess to Jesus. The repentance of Paul was vital to his work as an apostle. In Acts 9:1-19, the story of Paul’s repentance explains how Paul saw the light from heaven that flashed around him, and he heard a voice saying to him, “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?” Paul asked, “Who are you, Lord?” The voice said, “I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting.” At that moment, Paul repented.

Paul did not see Jesus; he just heard a voice. This impacted the development of Paul’s christology. Paul is different from the Gospel writers when looking at the images of Jesus. For Paul, the important thing in christology is Christ or the Messiah who will come to redeem the sin of human beings. Therefore, Jesus is the righteous one. Jesus

⁶³ Selvidge, *The New Testament: A Timeless Book for All Peoples*, 237.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 238.

Christ is the Lord. He witnessed that Jesus Christ is the Lord for humans, so humans need to learn from Christ how to become servants. Christ, who has the face of God, came for the salvation of human beings (Philippians 2: 1-11). The image of the Resurrected Christ is essential in Pauline christology. Geza Vermes⁶⁵ states,

To understand Paul's mind, one has to be familiar with some of the presuppositions of his Jewish religious culture. Both in the Bible and in early postbiblical Judaism, sin was seen as rebellion against God, punished by sickness and ultimately by death. Virtue was the result of obedience to God, rewarded by health and a long happy life, and by the time of Jesus and Paul by the prospect and eternal life or renewed existence in a resurrected body. The latter belief was championed by the Pharisees (to whose party Paul claimed to belong), but not by other religious groups such as the Sadducees who rejected the idea of an afterlife, and the Essenes who, according to Flavius Josephus, believed only in the survival of the soul. The evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls in this respect is equivocal, and in any case possible allusions to bodily resurrection are few and far between. But while in the Gentile milieu of his ministry Paul had no great difficulty in abandoning other Pharisee teaching, such as the centrality of the strict observance of the Torah (Circumcision, ritual laws, etc.) the doctrine of bodily resurrection became an indispensable part of his majestic mystery drama.

This influenced the letters of Paul, which gave the resurrection of Christ importance in the Christian faith. In the First Corinthians 15:1-156, Paul reminds his readers that Christ's death and resurrection are important for the salvation of human beings. This is the basis of the Gospel. According to Paul, salvation has not been possible without the resurrection of Christ.

Therefore, Paul emphasized the importance of the spiritual resurrection of the Christian community for their witness of Christ, who was already resurrected and gave them salvation. The Christian community should follow what Christ did (Romans 1:4, 6:5; Philippians 3: 10-11). Therefore, it can be said that the Christology of Paul is

⁶⁵ Vermes, *The Changing Faces of Jesus*, 91-92.

apologetic confessing Jesus Christ or Christ Jesus as the Lord or God. From the christology of Paul, Christian communities learn the different images of Jesus introduced by one person who converted to Christianity.

This is also important to Papuan Christians. Just like the Christology of Paul, Papuan people will be free to confess their faith about who Jesus is in their context of life experience. Paul is known as the Apostle to the Gentiles. From Pauline Christology can be learned an image of Jesus, which can help to develop Papuan Christology. The images of the Resurrected Christ will be related to the Papuan concepts of Manseren Manggundi, Cenderawasih, and other images in Papuan understanding.

The Gospels and Pauline christologies have witnessed who Jesus is. The Gospels and Pauline christology have given images of Jesus according to their context of faith experiences. Hence, contemporary Christians, particularly Papuan Christians, can learn how to express the images of Jesus from the witness of the Gospels and Pauline christologies. Every Christian has a right to express his/her faith in Jesus. The images of Jesus cannot be limited. Christian communities, especially Papuan Christian, can describe Jesus's image according to their context of lived experiences. Furthermore, it is essential to look at how, after the New Testament, christology is confessed across the centuries.

The Changing Face of Jesus Across the Centuries

Communities of faith throughout the centuries have articulated their views of who Jesus was and is for them as they experienced Jesus as Christ in their contexts. In the of the early church era in the first century, congregations tried to understand and witness

who Jesus was as the Christ among believers at that time. This appeared in the debate about christology among theologians in the fourth century C.E.

The Nicaea- Chalcedon Debate of Christology

In the fourth century C.E, the debate on the divinity of Christ took place seriously between Arius and Athanasius.⁶⁶ Arius denied the divinity of Christ. The Son has the same substance or essence as the Father (*homoousios*). Therefore, God is still God, and there is only one. God cannot be united with something limited. Calling Jesus the "Son of God" means to blaspheme God because the divine and infinite are united with the physical and limited. Believing the Son is God and the Father meant that there were two Gods, and Christianity would be idolatry. Christ is the first and highest of all created beings. Christ does not exist from eternity and is not of the same substance or essence as the Father (*homoousios*).

However, Athanasius argued that Christ is the very God. Jesus is the Redeemer and cannot be less than God.⁶⁷ Therefore, bishops from the East attended the first Council of Nicaea held in 325 C.E. At that time, Arius and Athanasius received the status of the Word of God or Logos, which emphasized that Logos was incarnated in Jesus Christ.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Richard Vaggione, "Arius," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. Daniel Patte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 70. Cf. David Brakke "Athanasius," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. Daniel Patte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 80-81. Arius, a Libyan theologian and presbyter of the Alexandrian church, was excommunicated by Bishop Alexander in 318. Athanasius (c295–373), bishop and theologian, was deacon and secretary to Bishop Alexander of Alexandria, with whom he attended the Council of Nicaea (325), as well as bishop of Alexandria (328–73).

⁶⁷ B. K. Kuiper, *The Church in History* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: WM. B. Eerdmans Publishing CO, 1978), 30- 31.

⁶⁸ Eugene TeSelle. "Nicaea, First Council of (325)," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. Daniel Patte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 868. Christology took place in the strong debate in Nicaea, First Council. Hence, the ecumenical council for the first time was called by Emperor Constantine the Great to solve the conflict between Athanasius and Arius. At the time, Constantine achieved power in the East.

The christology of Nicaea debated who Jesus was. The Nicaean christology continues to be influential until today in how Christian communities confess who Jesus is for them. This can be seen in the doxology in the churches, liturgy, etc. That can be seen in the Nicene Creed, which is still recited and sung by the church today. Jesus is recognized as "God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God; born, not made, as close to the Father." "If this creed is not true, we would not be saved by Jesus," they said.⁶⁹

Through the Nicaean christology, one can see how the divinity and humanity of Jesus were debated. The debate shows the understanding of Jesus the Christ in early Christianity. In addition, the creed of Chalcedon in 451 C.E. stated that Jesus Christ was truly a God and human. Until today, the creed of Chalcedon is still considered a foundational claim of many Christian communities worldwide. This is explicit in the church teaching today that recognizes Jesus as truly God and truly human.

Moreover, the debate on the Nicaean Council's christology continued. This can be seen in 444 C.E., Cyril of Alexandria, an Eastern theologian, taught about the person of Christ. "The human flesh of Christ was not old Adam." Jesus is the new Adam. This means that though Christ had an authentic human body, he transfigured his own flesh to

⁶⁹ Williston Walker, *A History of The Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), 106-107. Cf. Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity: The Early Church to the Present Day* (New York: Prince Press, 2007), 165. Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (United Kingdom: Wiley -Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 16-19. This was a political decision to maintain the stability, security, and integrity of the Roman Empire. Constantine converted to Christianity around 314 CE. Christianity became the official state religion in 391 CE.

make it radiant with life-giving divine presence.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Maximus the Confessor (580-662 C.E) taught:

Jesus had no human will, only the divine will of God, made his humanity into a sham and rendered his human life completely worthless as offering any example to disciples who were tempted. Christ had two wills, each belonging to its own nature. In other words, a divine will as the eternal word of God, and a human will as the man Jesus. So Jesus is truly and really both human and divine.⁷¹

Later, Nicaean christology became the primary christology of traditional western Christianity and churches; this became the christology of the missional heritage of the traditional western churches. Christianity and state religion became one. Therefore, western countries' exploration for new countries to conquer came along with Christianization. European countries colonized the Third World countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. However, the view of Jesus as the western Christ, when brought to Third World contexts, resulted in different experiences and responses. Hence, it can be said that there is no absolute christology because western christologies sometimes could not be appropriated into Third World contexts.

Jesus through the Centuries

Third World countries consist of many tribes, cultures, religions, and histories of Christianity, including conflicted identities as ex-colonies of Europe. Today, Third World theologians are conscious that the theology of the Third World has been influenced by western theology. All theologies of the church, including christologies, remain oriented to western Christian concepts. In criticizing the influence of traditional western christology,

⁷⁰ John A. McGuckin, "The Eastern Christian Tradition (4th to 18th centuries)," in *The Story of Christian Spirituality: Two Thousand years, from East to West*, ed. Gordon Mursell (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 127-129.

⁷¹ Ibid., 142-143.

the contemporary Third World theologians and Christians have searched for Christ-images of Jesus according to their contexts of lived experience and culture. Therefore, some African-American, Native American, Latin American, and Asian theologians have tried to develop new understandings of Christian theology, especially christology, based on the contexts of the Third World.

Jesus as the Black Christ: Christology through an African-American Lens

The image of Jesus as The Black Christ is introduced by James Cone, the Father of Black Theology. Cone takes the white Jesus as the Christ seriously, which has already shaped the minds of Christians. Therefore, Jesus as the Christ does not arise from the perspectives of people's understanding but the understanding of white theologians. Hence, Cone considers it important to develop an understanding of Jesus as Christ according to one's own understanding. Cone argues that the historical Jesus will keep us from making Christ into our own image.⁷² James Cone's theological formulations in this work derive from the social conditions of African Americans (maybe between 1960 to 1970), which gave rise to the Civil Rights and Black Power movements.

James Cone examines the white conservative and liberal images of a white Christ that are completely alien to the liberation of the black community. They use Christianity as an instrument of oppression. Their Christ is a mild, easy-going white American who can afford to mouth the luxuries of "love," "mercy," and "long-suffering." Moreover,

⁷² James H. Cone, *Liberation: A Black Theology of Liberation* (Philadelphia & New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970), 202 - 210. James H. Cone (1938) is best known for his advocacy of Black Liberation Theology, and he has been called the Father of Black Theology. He was a member of Macedonia African Methodist Episcopal Church and he also became the ordained minister of that church.

black existence is in a hostile world without the protection of law.⁷³ White theology has informed that Jesus Christ is the content of the Gospel, but it has failed to free the black community.

Therefore, here, according to Cone, a task of black theology is to find the meaning of Christ in the Black community in America. Cone states, “the finality of Jesus lies in the totality of his existence, in-complete freedom as the oppressed one, who reveals through his death and resurrection that God himself is present in all dimensions of human liberations.”⁷⁴ Therefore, Cone argued that Christ must be black to make the resurrection have significance for the oppressed black community and necessary for the liberation of the black community.⁷⁵ Strictly, he asserted that Jesus was for the poor and against the rich. Thus then, Jesus is the Black Christ. The definition of Christ as black means that he is the complete opposite of the values of white culture.⁷⁶ Cone looks at the white church as the enemy of Christ or unchristian because it took the lead in establishing slavery.⁷⁷ To participate in God’s salvation is to co-operate with the Black Christ as He liberates his people from bondage.⁷⁸

Therefore, salvation is to see his people rise against their oppressors, demanding that justice become a reality now and not tomorrow.⁷⁹ This christology will be helpful developing Papuan christology because Papuan people have a similar experience to

⁷³ Ibid., 198.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 210.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 214.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 215.

⁷⁷ James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1969), 73. The white church has not merely failed to render services in the poor, but has failed miserably in being a visible manifestation to the world of God’s intention for humanity and in proclaiming the Gospel to the world.

⁷⁸ Cone, *Liberation: A Black Theology of Liberation*, 227.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 227.

African-Americans in racism and oppression. Thereby, developing christology from the context of lived experiences is needed to express images of Jesus. The images of Jesus must be confessed from the faith experience of Christian communities. Hence, Jesus as the Liberator will be described to look at a different christology from the Latin-American community's lived experiences.

Christology from the eyes of Latin- American, Jesus is the Liberator

Latin American liberation theologian, Gustavo Gutiérrez (Peru, 1928), stated that oppression by capitalism must be opposed. According to Gutiérrez, Christ must be interpreted as the Deliverer of all oppression and ongoing injustice. Liberation christology has a strong foundation rooted in understanding Christ as the deliverer. Liberation is seen as a form of oneness with Jesus Christ as the Deliverer. It is a form of worship to God who listens to the cries of His people and wants justice. The theology of liberation is convinced in the active love as that of Christ's and God's good purpose for his creation, especially for the marginalized and the poor.⁸⁰

In the same way, Jon Sobrino, a Jesuit theologian who escaped assassination in El Salvador, assumes that liberation theology concentrates on christology insofar as it reflects on Jesus himself as the way to liberation. Jesus worked against oppression, injustice, and exploitation. Jesus is on the side of poor and suffering people. Jesus struggled against injustice.⁸¹ The image of Jesus in Latin America is Jesus as the Liberator. The christology of Latin America, which looked at Jesus as the Liberator, will be seen in

⁸⁰ Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1973), ix, 35.

⁸¹ Jon Sobrino, *Christology at the Crossroads* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1994), xiii.

the Papuan concept of Manseren Manggundi, Sago, and other images. The christology of Latin America will help construct Papuan christology. Enriching Papuan christology also can be developed from the context of traditional beliefs. That can be seen in the christology of Native Americans.

Christology of Native Americans: Jesus as a Corn Mother

Jesus as a corn mother is introduced by George Tinker, a Native American theologian. Tinker examines how some Euro-Christian language is not suitable for American Indian communities. He offered that there might be more appropriate metaphors, both scriptural and indigenous, for referencing Jesus and Christ in the Christian Indian context. He also tries to make a healing process for the Indian community, which has already been damaged socially, emotionally, and spiritually by the past five hundred years of conquest and destruction.⁸²

Therefore, George Tinker sees that it is hard to declare Jesus to the Indian community who already suffered because of the implicit and explicit participation of the church's missionaries in the oppression and cultural genocide of the Indian community.⁸³

Hence, George Tinker makes this statement:

The initial problem is not with Jesus but with Christianity and the Church, if Jesus is not necessarily a problem, language about Jesus can be quite problematic, and the churches might reasonably make some linguistic or theological shift that might be more inclusive of Indian peoples and their cultures and values. However, the historical experience of colonization and conquest may continue to make any use of Jesus problematic for American Indian people⁸⁴.

⁸² George Tinker, "Jesus, Corn Mother, and Conquest," in *Native American Religious Identity: Unforgotten Gods*, ed. Jace Weaver (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1998), 134.

⁸³ Ibid., 136-137.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 137.

So to call Jesus the Lord is to admit the colonial reality of new hierarchical social structures that become the genocidal death of Indian people.⁸⁵ Tinker argues that the Lord in biblical metaphor has already lost its meaning in the modern American society. In American society, the term Lord is not biblical. However, he uses the word in English history and literature that predates the American revolutions.⁸⁶ The word *Lord* which had already lost its meaning, became a religious language used by colonizers to claim universal truth. The impact is the white Missionaries' claims of Christian exclusivity and superiority.⁸⁷

George Tinker states that Indian Americans must interpret the bible in different ways from the interpretation of colonizer's (Amer-European) own texts.⁸⁸ George says God has not only spoken Good News through Jesus or that only salvation is through European or Amer-European messages brought by the colonizer to the conquered but also through American Indian traditional beliefs.⁸⁹

Tinker introduced the image of Jesus as the *Corn Mother*. Therefore, Native American christology has a model to help Papuan christology to develop christology in the Papuan context of experience and culture. The image of Jesus as the *Corn Mother* will be related to the concept of Cenderawasih, Sago, and other images in Papuan understanding. In addition, it is important to look at images of Jesus through Asian eyes.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 139.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 140.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 141.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 142.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 149.

Christology through Asian Eyes

Asian Countries consist of many tribes, cultures, religions, and histories of Christianity, including conflict as ex-colonies of Europe. Christianity which was first born in Asia was brought to Europe. From Europe, Christianity was brought again to Asia. The second time Christianity started in Asia was “in 1498 Vasco da Gama landed on the coast of Malabar in South India, and with that event, Portugal's influence in Asia began.”⁹⁰ This caused Asian Christianity to be based on western theology.

Hence, Kwok Pui-Lan, a feminist Asian theologian, responds to this by critiquing western biblical scholarship, which does not pay attention to Asian culture and its plurality of religions.⁹¹ The most critical element in doing christology arises from the question, ‘Who do you say that I am?’ It is an important question for every generation for them to understand Jesus as the Christ in their own era and context.⁹² A christology that does not relate to Asian peoples’ lives makes Christianity meaningless and irrelevant.⁹³ However, the theology of Asian churches still uses western theology to look at Asian problems.

Mostly Asian churches cannot answer the problems of Asian people. Jesus as the Christ of Asian churches becomes a stranger to Asian people. Although many Asian theologians are conscious of the Asian context in doing theology, most Asian theologians

⁹⁰ Arnulf Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History, 1965-1998* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2000), 13. See also Orevillo-Montenegro, *The Jesus of Asian Women*, 19. Spanish expansion was mostly in America and Portuguese expansion mostly in Asia, except for the Philippines, which were colonized by Spain, and Brazil, which was 'discovered' in 1500 by the Portuguese Pedro Cabral.

⁹¹ Kwok Pui Lan, *Discovering the Bible in the Non-Biblical World* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1995), xi, 1.

⁹² Kwok Pui-Lan, *Introduction in Feminist Theology* (England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 79.

⁹³ Orevillo-Montenegro, *The Jesus of Asian Women*, 45.

still use the thought of western traditional christology. Hence, R. S. Sugirtharajah, a Sri Lankan Theologian says:

Images of Jesus imported to Asia are so wrapped up in various Christological configurations that one often overlooks the fact Jesus came from Asia or to be precise, west Asia. It took nearly fifteenth hundred years before the rest of Asia could feel the full impact of Jesus personality and significance of his teaching. It was only through the western missionary irruption beginning in the fifteenth century that the rest of Asia came to know Jesus. Therefore, Asian faces of Jesus is not help people to understand their Christian faith but equally to help them change the desperate in human situation in which many of them are placed.⁹⁴

Hence, the images of the western Jesus in Asia do not help Asian Christians understand their faith in the Asian context of experience. Most Asian countries experience poverty, oppression, and discrimination. The global challenge today is that more than 1.4 billion people live in poverty. The rich countries or the First World countries exploit the natural resources of the Third World countries, including Asia. Ineffective regulation and innovative but immoral financial instruments impact a global financial crisis, especially in the Third World, which lives in poverty.⁹⁵

Indonesian theologian, A. A. Yewangoe, examines Asians who perceive that their poverty means they are in an oppressive structure and thus do not have an opportunity to develop themselves.⁹⁶ The suffering of Asian people because of poverty somehow has not

⁹⁴ R.S. Sugirtharajah, "Prologue and Perspective," in *Asian Faces of Jesus*, ed. R.S. Sugirtharajah (New York: Maryknoll, 1993), viii.

⁹⁵ World Council of Churches, *An Ecumenical Call to Just Peace*, Central Committee, February 2011 (Geneva, Switzerland: World Council of Churches, 2011), 6. See also Daniel G. Groody, *Globalization, Spirituality and Justice* (Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Book, 2008), 4. Groody says, "in our global village of 100 people, the resources are unevenly distributed. The richest person in the village has as much as the poorest 57 taken together. Fifty people do not have a reliable source of food and are hungry some or all of time, and 30 suffer malnutrition. Forty people do not have access to adequate sanitation: 31 people live in substandard housing; 31 people do not have electricity; 18 people can't read; 15 people do not have access to safe drinking water. Only 16 people have access to the Internet. Only two people have a college education. In brief, as the World Bank describes it, two thirds of the planet live in poverty."

⁹⁶ Yewangoe, *Theologia Crucis Di Asia*, 12-13.

been attended to by Asian churches. This is shown in the work of Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro, who says:

The church seemed too far away. It did not impress as the body of the liberating Christ. It seemed to be just another social club, one that maintains the ethos of classism and perpetuates patriarchy. The fellowship of the politically progressive Christian did not impress as an alternative to the institutional church and did not seem to make a big difference at all.⁹⁷

This is right. The church did not impress as the body of the liberating Christ, which liberates Asian people from suffering. Moreover, Western christology shaped Asian christology. This shaped the Christologies of Asian churches based on a tradition, not their own. The Asian churches encounter indecisiveness in looking at images of Jesus as the Christ through Asian culture, experience, and the plurality of religions.

Therefore, efforts at reinterpreting Jesus as the Christ through the eyes of Asian Christians are important.

Christology of Struggle: Jesus as the Christ in the Filipino Context

In christology of Struggle, Filipino theologians such as Victor Aguilan developed a christology of Struggle to reinterpret Jesus as the Christ in the context of the Filipino struggle against all forms of domination, oppression, and injustice. Jesus' cleansing of the temple is proof of Jesus' struggle against religious and political elites.⁹⁸ A christology of Struggle showed that Jesus proclaimed the message of peace based on justice. Jesus' method was non-violent. Theologian José M. de Mesa states that cultural elements are

⁹⁷ Orevillo-Montenegro, *The Jesus of Asian Women*, 5.

⁹⁸ Victor Aguilan, "Encountering Jesus in the Midst of Struggle: A Christology of Struggle," in *Christologies, Cultures, and Religions: Portraits of Christ in the Philippines*, eds. Pascal D. Bazzel and Aldrin Peñamora (Manila, Philippines: OMF Literature, 2015), 30. The Philippines was colonized by Spain and America resulting in oppression, violation and discrimination upon Filipinos and indigenous people. These are still experienced by Filipinos until now.

important to express true meaning.⁹⁹ Culture must set the parameters of a local christological endeavor. Relevant christologies take the local community's issues, questions, and concerns seriously. The use of the vernacular is also crucial in developing truly local theologies.

Theologians Pascal Bazzel and Omar Abu Khalil look at Jesus from outside Christian traditions and resources. They include the Islamic tradition, which claims that Jesus Christ is also part of the Muslim Scripture, the Qur'an. Bazzel and Khalil describe that Jesus Christ can be found in the Qur'an, which states that Mary is the mother of Jesus. The Qur'an also confirms that Jesus is the Messiah (Isa Al-Masih). *Isa* is the Arabic name used for Jesus in the Qur'an, whereas *Masih* is the Hebrew translation for Christ or Messiah. As Christianity is familiar with the term *Logos* (John 1), the word is indicated in the Qur'an as the term *Kalimah*. Therefore, Muslims spell *Isa Kalimat-ul-Allah*, meaning Jesus is the Word of God (Al Imran 3:45-47, Qur'an). Other texts also mention that Jesus Christ is the Spirit of God, the Prophet, and the Savior.¹⁰⁰ The theology of Struggle's christology will be helpful to developing Papuan christology, specifically as Papuan people have experienced suffering because of oppression and discrimination by the state, similar to the Filipino experience.

⁹⁹ José M.de Mesa, "The Faith of Jesus As "Pagsasaloob At Pangangatawan: A Cultural Approach," in *Christologies, Cultures, and Religions: Portraits of Christ in The Philippines*, eds. Pascal D. Bazzel and Aldrin Peñamora (Manila, Philippines: OMF Literature, 2015), 36. He writes, "the faith of Jesus as *Pagsasaloob at Pangangatawan*," [interiorizing and embodying]. With this vernacular expression, he identifies the core of Jesus' faith based on "seek the Kingdom of God" (Matt. 6:33), an invitation to see the willingness of Jesus to enter the cross in order to reach the Kingdom of God.

¹⁰⁰ Pascal D. Bazzell and Omar Abu Khalil, "Islamic Christology: Insights into the Filipino Christian-Muslim Dialogue," in *Christologies, Cultures, and Religions: Portraits of Christ in the Philippines*, eds. Pascal D. Bazzel and Aldrin Peñamora (Manila, Philippines: OMF Literature, 2015), 159 -163. The Philippines has a Christian majority which dominates other religions. However, some theologians have become conscious of the role of other religions, especially Islam. Moreover, Pascal D. Bazzell is a Swiss national who married a Filipina from Dumaguete.

Therefore, Papuan people also struggle against all forms of domination, oppression, and injustice. On the one hand, a christology of struggle uses cultural elements that Papuan christology can learn so that Papuan Christians can use their cultural elements in developing Papuan christology. On the other hand, Papuan communities are not only Christians but also have different religions such as Islam and others. Hence, it is essential to develop an interfaith understanding.

Furthermore, the images of Jesus can be answered in the plurality of religions in the Papuan context. Moreover, the Crucified People and Christa christology are two more vital Asian christologies from the Taiwanese perspective, which will be discussed below.

Taiwanese Christology: Jesus as the Crucified People and the Christa

The Crucified People and Christa christology were raised by Choan-Seng Song, a Taiwanese theologian.¹⁰¹ Song contributes to the exploration of interactions between the Christian faith and contemporary social-political and cultural-religious situations in Asia. In the christology of Jesus as the Crucified People, Jesus associated himself with those women, men, and children who suffered from social, political, and religious discrimination. Jesus broke the social and religious taboos and revolutionized what God's salvation must mean for human beings.¹⁰² Jesus is not the Passover lamb. He is "people" because he suffered on behalf of the people. Jesus is crucified people. To understand Jesus is to understand crucified people. "People" means those women, men, and children who

¹⁰¹ Huang Po Ho, *From Galilee to Tainan: Towards a Theology of Chhut-Thau-Thi* (Association for Theological Education in South East Asia, 2005), vii. Taiwan was colonized by the Netherlands, Spain, Manchuria, Japan, and Nationalist China. Christianity came to Taiwan with Roman Catholic missionaries. Protestant mission work began with the English Presbyterian church in 1865. The Presbyterian church in Taiwan has a strong sense of social concern. In spite of preaching the Gospel, the church also emphasizes people's self-determination independence.

¹⁰² Choan-Seng Song, *Jesus, the Crucified People* (New York: Fortress Press, 1990), 210.

were economically exploited, politically oppressed, culturally and religiously alienated, sexually and racially discriminated in Jesus' day, and who suffer the same today and in the days to come.¹⁰³

Furthermore, Jesus-Christ is Christa, the symbol of the female Christ in suffering. Jesus is a symbol of the new humanity of women. From suffering, life comes again. Many women are suffering like Christa. That means God is suffering with women who are being oppressed by society, by families, and even by their own selves. Christa receives all the suffering of women, so women should stand up and walk with joy and love into the world for peace. "God's image in Christa changes societies shaped by patriarchy transforms Christian faith, and creates room for the God of women as well as the God of men."¹⁰⁴ Christa means to change the society shaped by the long traditions of patriarchy. God's image in Christa transforms the Christian faith.

This christology is important in viewing the images of Jesus in the Papuan context related to images of Manseren Manggundi, Cenderawasih, and others. Those images are crucial to be expressed in the Papuan understanding. Papuan people live in the contexts of suffering, racism, oppression, discrimination, and injustice by the state. Papuan situations are similar to the Taiwanese and other Asian contexts. Furthermore, the Crucified People and Christa christology help develop images of Jesus in the Papuan context of lived experienced. Moreover, another Asian christology is Minjung christology, which is developed from the experience of the people of Korea.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 215–216.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 226–227.

South Korean Christology: Jesus as the Minjung

Minjung christology, developed in Korea, comes from *Minjung*. It is a Korean word that means masses of people. Minjung christology articulates the suffering of the Korean people resulting from the division, and it organizes struggles toward the establishment of peace and peaceful reunification of the nation and the people.¹⁰⁵ Their experience is called *han*. Han is a Korean word that explains a deeply embedded feeling of anger, frustration, and resentment that lies in the Korean psyche's deepest subconsciousness.¹⁰⁶

David Kwang-sun Suh, a Korean theologian, describes the millions of people who died in the Korean War. This war is still a painful memory for the Korean people. The division between North and South is the loss and separation of close family members. The Korean Minjung looks at the cross of division which has robbed them of freedom, justice, and fundamental human rights.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, Minjung christology is the spirituality of love from the life of Jesus. Jesus, in Luke 4:1, 2, chose hunger and poverty. Jesus' spirituality is not only about feeding the poor but also being with them and on their side. Therefore, the spirituality of Jesus is a love spirituality. Jesus was not tempted by the devil to change stone to bread. Jesus was not tempted to have wealth. Jesus gave his life for people. Kang-sun Suh explains that the spiritual politics of Jesus opened up an entirely

¹⁰⁵ David Kwang-sun Suh, *The Korean Minjung in Christ* (Chiangmai, Thailand: Glang Vieng Printing Co.,Ltd, 2002), 5. The Korean Minjung suffered from Japanese colonialism for the first half of the 20th century. For the last half, they suffered the division of the country. The cross of division was imposed at the end of World War II. The liberation of Korea was the beginning of the Korean War.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 179.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 180-181.

new power relationship between rulers and ruled, dominant power and dominated, first world and third world, men and women, masters and slaves, blacks and whites.¹⁰⁸

Hence, the ministry of Jesus is related to Jesus' declaration of mission which is Jesus' spiritual politics. The spiritual politics of Jesus is to love proclaiming the year of the Lord. Jesus created the kingdom of God amongst human beings. Jesus gave the good news to the poor, proclaimed release for prisoners, recovered sight for the blind, and set broken victims free. Jesus' spirituality is open to the world and struggles to establish a new political relationship (Luke 4:18-19). Jesus was crucified because his politics which opposed the dominant Roman political ideology. Therefore, the cross of Jesus is the decisive point at which the bond between faith and ideology breaks down.¹⁰⁹ The crying of the Korean people on the cross of division is like the cry of Jesus on the cross; *Eli, Eli, lama sabachtani?* This cry of *han* is a cry to God from the forsaken people on the cross of division.

This means Jesus is a Minjung who feels the suffering and crying of the Korean people. Moreover, the image of Jesus as Minjung will help look at the concept of Manseren Manggundi, Sago, and other images in Papuan understanding. Amid the Korean political situation, another vital Asian christology arises out of the experience of the Dalit Christians in India.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 127.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 129.

Dalit Christology: Jesus as the Dalit in the Context of India

Dalit christology arose to look at the caste system in Hinduism with injustice, racism, and discrimination against Dalit people. Indian theologian K. Rajaratnam sees the caste system as a big problem in India.¹¹⁰ In the same way, V. Devasahayam explains that the Dalits are a group outside the pale of Hindu *Varna Vyavastha* (the caste system). The Dalits are untouchables.¹¹¹ When a poor Dalit, becomes rich due to hard work, they cannot change their caste. The same is true when a Dalit converts to Christianity.

This cannot change their caste. If a Dalit converts to Christianity, they call that person a Christian Dalit.¹¹² The caste system has made the Dalit suffer.¹¹³ Therefore, Dalit christology looks at the church as the body of Christ. Dalit christology involves the idea of the church of the poor and the servants. Arvind Nirmal states Jesus is a Dalit.

Jesus as a Dalit has christological implications that must be faced boldly. This means Jesus is first himself a Dalit—despite being a Jew. It further means that his humanity and divinity are to be understood in his Dalitness. The Dalitness of Jesus is the key to the mystery of his divine-human unity.¹¹⁴ Jesus' life showed solidarity with people in society who could not be touched. Therefore, the life of Jesus can be identified with the

¹¹⁰ K. Rajaratnam, "Contemporary Challenges Our Theological Task" in *Dalits and Women: Quest for Humanity*, ed. V. Devasahayam (Madras: Department of Research and Publications and Gurukul Theological College and Research Institute, 1992), 4-5. The dalits have polluting work: skinning, moving carcasses, carrying night soil on their heads.

¹¹¹ V. Devasahayam, "Pollution, Poverty and Powerlessness: A Dalit Perspective" in *A Reader in Dalit Theology*, ed. Arvind P Nirmal (Madras, India: Department of Dalit Theology U.E.C.I. Gurukul Madras, 1992) 17-18.

¹¹² Saraswathy Govindarajan, "Caste, Women and Violence," in *Dalits and Women: Quest for Humanity*, ed. V. Devasahayam (Madras, India: The Gurukul Summer Institute, 1992), 151 – 153. Brahmins are 5% of the population, Kshatriyas 1%, Vaisyas 1%, Shudras 10 % and nearly 70 % are the Backward Classes and Dalits. The majority have to bear the entire burden of the society while the upper caste people command and enjoy, the lower caste live work and suffer for the happiness of others.

¹¹³ Aruna Gnanadason, "Dalit Women- the Dalit of the Dalit," in *A Reader in Dalit Theology*, ed. Arvind P. Nirmal (Madras, India: Department of Dalit Theology U.E.C.I. Gurukul Madras, 1992), 129-130.

¹¹⁴ Arvind P. Nirmal, "Towards a Christian Dalit Theology," in *Frontiers in Asian Christian Theology: Emerging Trends*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Oregon: Orbis Books, 2010), 36 – 39.

Dalits who suffer because of the caste system. Jesus always visited, ate, and drank with publicans, tax collectors, and sinners (Mark 2:15-16). Jesus broke the divisions between rulers and people. Jesus was sympathetic to all people who suffered and were oppressed. Dalit christology will help to develop Papuan christology. Papuan people who lived in discrimination and racism by the state can build christology through their experiences. Hence, the Dalitness of Jesus opens new understandings of the images of Jesus. Therefore, the images of Jesus can be expressed with the images of Manseren Manggundi, Cenderawasih, and other images in Papuan understanding. All Papuan images show how Papuan people understand who Jesus is through their context and experiences. In Asia, Indonesian christology also arose out of the Indonesian experience of living a Christian life in their context.

Indonesian Christology: Jesus as the Liberator Christ

Indonesian christology looks at the divinity and humanity of Jesus as the liberating Christ who liberates all forms of poverty and discrimination and Jesus as the Christ who can break the walls of ideological and religious differences. Jesus is on the side of suffering people and struggles with them. Indonesian theologian S.A.E. Nababan is concerned with the poverty problem. He looks at poverty as a result of dependence. This situation is the reality for Indonesian people living in poverty. People are struggling to look for a relationship between faith and poverty. Most people think poverty is due to destiny. Therefore, Nababan says God did not create rich people and poor people. What creates poverty is humanity. Poverty cannot be seen as a Christian virtue or punishment for sin. Poverty occurs because of the greed of other humans who control everything.

Hence, the resolution of the problem of poverty cannot be separated from faith in Jesus Christ, who experienced the meaning of poverty throughout his life and his death on the cross. The reality of Jesus' cross has gripped all human poverty, transforming it into a source of blessing and abundant life for everyone.¹¹⁵

In the same way, Eka Darma Putra, a pastor of the West Java Christian Indonesian Church, argues that the Indonesian nation is different from the western nations that approach the problem of suffering as a technical dislocation. Indonesians never regard suffering as a strange experience. To encounter suffering, people must first accept suffering as part of their lives. Eka Darma Putra uses Javanese culture to explain this. There are *narimo* (accept), *sabar* (patient) and *iklas or rila* (willing). The three Javanese attitudes should not be considered fatalistic because, for the Javanese tribe, life is not static at all. Life moves, but in every movement, harmony is challenged and disturbed. This inaction causes problems and suffering.

It is the duty of the Christian faith that functions to restore harmony. To overcome human suffering, one must recover fully. A human being is *selaras* (harmony) or full in Jesus Christ. He is called Pilatus Ecce Homo. He is the firstborn of a complete and true human being. Furthermore, when Jesus, the harmonious man, the firstborn of a whole and true human, struggled against suffering, he did so by throwing himself, the whole of himself, into the depth of suffering itself. By doing this, he showed what total solidarity of people who have suffered could be. He did not become a victim. This belief gives one

¹¹⁵ S.A.E.Nababan, *Iman dan Kemiskinan* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1966), 30. See Yewangoe, *Theologia Crucis Di Indonesia*, 304, 306-307.

true hope.¹¹⁶Moreover, Indonesia does not have a specific name for its theology. Indonesian theology still uses contextual theology to build all theologies, including christology.

One significant difference between Jesus as the liberator in Indonesia and Papua is the different lens used to view the liberator Christ. According to Indonesian theologians, the Indonesian society struggled to be free from 350 years of Dutch colonialization, and Jesus as the liberator Christ is a part of this Indonesian struggle. However, Indonesian people still struggle to be free from poverty and capitalism. On the other side, Papuan Christians view Jesus as the liberator Christ from the lens of people who still experience oppression, discrimination, and marginalization by the state. Therefore, the image of Jesus as liberator is hope in the Christ who will come to give freedom. Furthermore, images of Jesus as a liberator can be seen in the images of Manseren Manggundi, Cenderawasih, and other images in the Papuan context. In addition, it is essential to look at images of Jesus through a feminist lens.

Christology through a Feminist Lens

Women in the Third World are also conscious of the situation of women; therefore, feminist theologians have examined images of Jesus through the life experience of women. Filipino women theologians such as Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro describes the core of the christological task as re-examining the meaning of the incarnation to liberate the concept from stifling and marginalizing views and make it meaningful, especially to

¹¹⁶ Eka Darmaputera, *Pancasila, Identitas dan Modernitas* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1987), 2, 5, 13. Cf. Yewangoe, *Theologia Crucis Di Asia*, 318-320.

women. She argues that the traditional concepts of the incarnation of Jesus Christ must be interrogated and problematized due to their patriarchal views for articulating the incarnation. That has been detrimental to women.¹¹⁷

She proposes that christology must become an impetus for Christians to live a spirituality that seeks to balance personal and social dimensions of life. In the Asian context, missions cannot afford to turn their gaze away from issues concerning justice and peace. Moreover, Chung Hyun Kyung, a Korean woman theologian, perceives Asian women's struggle for liberation. The life experiences of western male intellectuals cannot serve as a source of Asian women's theology.¹¹⁸ Moreover, western male intellectuals were the brains of the cultural hegemony, which reduced poor Asian women to the status of non-persons. Therefore, the resources for Asian women's liberation theology must come from the life experiences of Asian women themselves. The oppressed Korean women are the *minjung* within the *minjung* and the *han* of the *han*. The image of Jesus as the suffering servant causes believers to receive suffering as part of Christian belief. The other image of Jesus is Lord. Jesus is Lord has a negative meaning.

The Asian woman calls man her lord. In Confucianism, feudalism, and systems of empire, there was not much space for the women's self-determination.¹¹⁹ The other image of Jesus that cannot be appropriated with the Korean context is Jesus as Immanuel (God with us). The cultural framework of christology from above (God becoming human) is

¹¹⁷ Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro, "Christology from a Filipino Woman's Perspective," in *Christologies, Cultures, and Religions: Portraits of Christ in the Philippines*, eds. Pascal D. Bazzel and Aldrin Peñamora (Manila, Philippines: OMF Literature, 2015), 48, 51.

¹¹⁸ Chung Hyun Kyung, *Struggle to be the Sun Again* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1990), 5. Cf. Chung Hyun Kyung, "Han-pu-ri: Doing Theology from Korean Women's Perspective," in *Frontiers in Asian Christian Theology: Emerging Trends*, ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah (Oregon: Orbis Books, 2010), 52-61.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

difficult to understand for ordinary masses of people (minjung). The appropriate images of Jesus in Asian contexts, especially in Korean contexts, are Jesus as the liberator, revolutionary, political martyr, mother, woman, shaman, worker, and grain.¹²⁰ The new images of Jesus answer the need of Korean people, especially for women who suffer, are oppressed and are discriminated against in Korean society and the church. Moreover, the new images of Jesus are also based on Asian women's experiences of survival and liberation.¹²¹

Evangeline Anderson-Rajkumar is an Indian ecumenical feminist activist and theologian.¹²² Anderson-Rajkumar gave attention to Asian Feminist christology and challenged it in the context of violence. After September 11, 2001, Rajkumar sees the extreme potential of violence in the name of religion, faith, culture, and of peace. Asia has been the locus of wars and violence between nations, ethnic wars, and communalism. Rajkumar raised some questions: Can christology say something new and challenging in such a context? How does the "now" climate in Asia challenge theology/christology? Can we imagine new and creative ways of escaping the cycle of violence? What is the basis for a new Christ-Talk in Asia?¹²³ How can women in Asia articulate christology in the light of Jesus' suffering on the cross?¹²⁴ She argues that christology in the light of Asian

¹²⁰ Ibid., 61-66. Korean indigenous religion is shamanism and most shamans are women. Therefore, Korean women easily accept the Jesus of the synoptic gospel, who exorcised and healed like a Korean shaman. Jesus as grain means the greatest love of God for the starving people is food. When grain from the earth sustains their life, they understand God gives them food through other concerned human beings, God gives them God's "beloved Son," Jesus Christ.

¹²¹ Ibid., 73.

¹²² Evangeline Anderson-Rajkumar, "Asian Feminist Christology," in *In God's Image*, 22 No.4 (December 2003), 2-12.

¹²³ Ibid., 2.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 4.

women's experience needs to reject the idea of suffering as necessary and redemptive.¹²⁵ Suffering cannot be romanticized or spiritualized because God is against the suffering of any life.

Furthermore, Indian female theologians address the issue of the Dalit and Dalit women's suffering because of the caste system in India. Saraswathy Govindarajan, an Indian woman theologian, describes a poor Dalit who, because of working hard, becomes rich but cannot change his or her caste. The same is true when a Dalit converts to Christianity. This cannot change their caste. If a Dalit converts to Christianity, they call that person a Christian Dalit.¹²⁶

The caste system has made Indian women, especially Dalit women, suffer. Aruna Gnanadason, an Indian woman theologian, describes Dalit women as the Dalit of Dalit in Indian society, the thrice oppressed victims of centuries. Dalit women in India live a precarious existence combining object poverty with grinding labor in the fields/workplaces. In the home, they are abused, used, powerless, and exploited.¹²⁷ Hence, Dalit women theologians articulate Jesus as a Dalit who showed solidarity with people in society who could not be touched. Therefore, the life of Jesus can be identified with the Dalits, especially Dalit women who suffer because of the caste system. Jesus was sympathetic to all people who suffered and were oppressed. Jesus has broken the boundary between rulers and people. Jesus does not discriminate.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 9.

¹²⁶ Govindarajan, "Caste, Women and Violence," in *Dalits and Women: Quest for Humanity*, 151 – 153.

¹²⁷ Gnanadason, "Dalit Women- the Dalit of the Dalit," in *A Reader in Dalit Theology*, 129-130.

An example is when Jesus talked with a Samaritan woman (John 4:1-42), showing how God loves human beings. The Jews considered Samaritans as sinners, but God, through the coming of Jesus into the world, is for all people, expressly women. Furthermore, Dalit women theologians view Jesus as a Dalit, expressly a Dalit woman who does not recognize class division. Human beings create such division. Before Jesus, all people have the same rights and positions. No one is higher than another.

Moreover, black female theologians address the issue of suffering differently by articulating Jesus as the black Christ through African – American Christology. They found African- American male images of the black Christ could not meet what black women needed. Therefore Jacquelyn Grant, a pioneer of womanist christology, states that Christ today is a black woman. Furthermore, Kelly Brown Douglas, a feminist theologian, argues that the black Christ can be a black woman who is truly on the side of the situation of black women. The black Christ is an image of anyone, man or woman, who struggles for life, freedom, and the wholeness of black communities.¹²⁸

The christology that Third World women theologians develop will help build in building the self-consciousness of Papuan women to express their christology. Hence, the images of Jesus by Papuan women can be expressed in images of Cenderawasih, Sago, and other images. The images of Cenderawasih and Sago in the Papuan context are symbols of femaleness, beauty, and the sustainability of the lives of communities. Therefore, Papuan images of Cenderawasih, Sago, and others that are related to female symbols can be used to enrich Papuan christology. Papuan women have the same

¹²⁸ Kelly Brown Douglas, "Christologies," in *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*, ed. Virginia Fabella and R.S. Sugirtharajah (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis books, 2000), 44-45.

experiences as Third World women who have experienced discrimination, oppression, and other forms of suffering at the hands of the state, which is constructed by a patriarchal system.

Therefore, it is vital to building christology by understanding Papuan women about who Jesus is which can be implemented in Papuan women's context of lived experiences. Therefore, it can be said that Third World and feminist christology articulate Christian people's faith in Jesus as the Christ in their context of politics, life experience, culture, and the plurality of religions. Theologians develop the Third World and feminist christologies to raise Third World and feminist values through enriching Christian Faith. Furthermore, theologians look at the values of traditional western christologies as inappropriate to Third World contexts. Therefore, reinterpreting Jesus as the Christ in the third world, especially in Asian contexts, is also necessary for Papuan christology.

The Need to Search for a Relevant Christology in Papua

Christology is based on the experiences and needs of a community. Inevitably, this will create a plurality of christology. There is no single christology. There is no absolute christology.¹²⁹ Developing christology is based on the Christian lived experiences from early Christians to Christians across the centuries. Images of Jesus cannot be limited to those found in the sacred texts. However, the contemporary Christian community can be freed to create images of Jesus according to their understanding. Third World and Asian theologians have already answered their understanding of Jesus as the Christ from their perspectives. One of the crucial things is the voices of ordinary Asian Christians

¹²⁹ Orevillo-Montenegro, *The Jesus of Asian Women*, 49.

expressing Jesus. Theologians have always analyzed what they have seen and heard of who Jesus is in their context of life, culture, and plurality of religions.

However, ordinary Third World Christians, especially Asian Christians, are also important in developing Asian christology. Therefore, Christian Papuan people's voices in Asian christology must be heard. christology from the perspective of Papuan people that looks at Jesus as the Manseren Manggundi and other Papuan images needs to have a place in theology. Papuan christology is an effort to articulate Papuan people's faith in Jesus the Christ as they struggle to stand up for their land, life, and identity.

Hence, the voice of Papuan Christian people needs to be heard. It is vital to search for a relevant christology in Papua. Papua is one area in Asia that does not correlate with Asian cultures. This is because Papuan cultures are related to Melanesian or Pacific cultures. Therefore, studying and hearing the prevailing christology in Papuan Christian communities is important. To achieve this objective, I discussed the Papuan people's lived experiences and how they encounter Christ within the reality of their lives.

CHAPTER III

THE PREVAILING TRADITION of CHRISTOLOGY in PAPUAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

I grew up in a pastor's family. My father was an ordained pastor for thirty-nine years in Gereja Kristen Injili Di Tanah Papua (The Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua)¹³⁰ and taught Christian dogma in the seminary for twenty-two years.¹³¹ He always asked his children questions about who is Jesus. My father told us that Jesus is Manseren of Bawei Papua Manseren, in my mother tongue of the Biak-Papua tribe, means "the God or the Lord," and Bawei is my village in Papua.

Every time my father led a prayer, he would begin with the evocative sentence: "God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, God who introduced yourself in Jesus Christ to the world as Manseren Jesus of Bawei, Papua, come and bless my whole family." I noticed different things from what I had learned in Sunday school and the Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua. When the Sunday school teachers or the other pastors led a prayer, they said, "God in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, and Savior." They did not mention specific names of God, as my father did.

Moreover, what my father did became controversial in The Evangelical Christian

¹³⁰ F.J.S. Romainum, *Sepuluh Tahun G.K.I. Sesudah Seratus Satu Tahun Zending Di Irian Barat* (Sukarnapura Irian Barat: Kantor Pusat G.K.I, 1966), 24. The Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua (in the Indonesian language called Gereja Kristen Injili Di Tanah Papua) is the fruit of the work of the Gossner Mission from Germany which started on February 5, 1855, and of the mission of the Netherlands Reformed Church which began in 1870. The church became autonomous on October 26, 1956. Moreover, my father's name is Rev. Leonardus Jenbise, M.Th. He was born in Bawei, Papua, March 16, 1939 and died in Jayapura, Papua, September 2, 2017. He worked as Pastor from September 1, 1967 to August 8, 2006.

¹³¹ The Seminary of The Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua I.S. Kijne Jayapura started on September 21, 1954.

Church in the Land of Papua because what he built was different from the Netherlands' Reformed Christian tradition. In a class session on the dogma of Jesus Christ, my father added the image of Jesus as a Papuan Christ. He used the viewpoint of the Papuan indigenous religion to understand who Jesus is to the Papuan Christian community. He highlighted that Jesus Christ must become a part of the Papuan Christian community life and was proud to confess Jesus as Manseren Manggundi. He encouraged the Papuan seminary students to develop a christology based on their understanding of Jesus as the Papuan Christ. Some Papuan pastors worried about what my father taught about mixing his knowledge of God and Jesus in the Bible with the Papuan indigenous religion's view of God.

They thought it was dangerous to the church's faith confession, a heritage from the Netherlands' Reformed tradition. It was dangerous because they felt it represented a compromise between paganism and syncretism. The most important and influential western Christian mission in Papua is the Netherland reformed mission beginning in 1855. Around 1907, the Dutch government permitted the Catholic mission to serve in southern Papua. In 1939, during the Second World War, the Christian and Missionary Alliance Mission from the United States arrived and worked in Papuan highland areas. When the Dutch left in 1963 after the annexation of Papua to Indonesia, many Christian mission groups came to Papua to evangelize.

The Christ of Traditional Western Christianity

Christianity in Papua started with Rev. Ottho Gerhard Heldring from Christian Workmen in Zetten, Netherland, in 1848. Later Heldring joined with Rev. Johannes Gossner, an Evangelist from Berlin, Germany. He sent two young German Missionaries, William Carl Ottow and Johann Geissler, who arrived in Mansinam on February 5, 1855.¹³² Mansinam is a small island off the coast of northwestern Papua. Ottow and Geissler were trained in theology. They were young people who wanted to go to a difficult place in the world to introduce Jesus Christ to indigenous tribes. Their aim was to make the indigenous tribes believe in Jesus Christ and have salvation.¹³³ Ottow and Geissler came from a pietist Lutheran group in Germany led by Gossner. Pietism emphasized human forgiveness because of Jesus Christ's grace rather than humanity's repentance efforts.¹³⁴

Gossner's apocalyptic vision characterized his work. He anticipated the coming of Jesus Christ soon. Hence, the urgent mission was to save the so-called pagans. In 1850,

¹³² At Ipenburg, "Christianity in Papua," in *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, ed. Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), 345. Successively called Papua Land or Tanah Papua, Nieuw Guinee, Netherlands Nieuw Guinea, Irian Barat, Irian Jaya, Papua and West Papua.

¹³³ Kal Muller, *Mengenal Papua* (Indonesia: Daisy Worlds Books, 2008), 94 – 95. See also Rumainum, *Sepuluh Tahun G.K.I Sesudah Seratus Satu Tahun Zending Di Irian Barat*, 7-10. Cf. F.C. Kamma, *Ajaib Di Mata Kita I: Masa J.G. Geissler 1855 – 1870*, 87-92. See also Agus A. Alua, *Karakteristik Dasar Agama – Agama Melanesia* (Jayapura, Papua: STFT Fajar Timur, 2008), 1. Cf. E. Baltin, *Fajar Merekah Di Tanah Papua*, ed. Rainer Scheunemman (Jayapura: Panitia Jubelium Emas 150 Tahun HPI di Tanah Papua, 2004).

¹³⁴ Jan S. Aritonang, *Berbagai Aliran Di Dalam Dan Di sekitar Gereja* (Jakarta: PT BPK Gunung Mulia, 1995), 39-40. Cf. Hommo Reeders, *Mendalami Beberapa Pokok Sejarah Gereja* (Abepura-Jayapura: STT GK I.S.Kijne, 1993), 19-22. Philipp Jacob Spener calls as the father of Pietism in Germany. Spener has argued that Christianity does not look at an idea's activity but as a spiritual experience with God and a holy life attitude. Moreover, the Moravian, Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf emphasized a Christian life that followed Marthen Luther's teaching of justification by faith and grace alone. It differed from Lutheran church orthodoxy, which viewed Christianity as mental activity and the laity's obedience to church leaders. Gossner influenced by the pietism teaching of Philip Jacob Spener, a German theologian (1635-1705 C.E) and Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, a German religious and social reformer (1700-1760 C.E). Spener, in his book *Pia Desideria* (in English means ideal's pietism), wrote the essential personal transformation through spiritual rebirth and renewal. According to Zinzendorf, Christianity's primary principle is Jesus Christ's blood and wound for human forgiveness and not human repentance. The pietism teaching has influenced the way of Gossner prepared the young German people to do Mission's work.

Gossner met Heldring from the Netherlands, who comes from a pietist family. Heldring fully surrendered to Christ and devoted himself to helping the poor. To him, the Christian must be justified through faith. He developed the organization of Christian Workmen to send missionaries to different regions to introduce Christianity.¹³⁵ The western missionaries' teaching influenced the way Papuan churches understood Jesus. Papuan churches have combined Nicaea-Chalcedon, Anselm of Canterbury, and Calvinist christology and used them as the christology of the church.¹³⁶

Nicaea-Chalcedon and Anselm's Christologies in the Christology of Papuan Churches

Nicaea-Chalcedon christology began with the debate between Arius and Athanasius about Christ as the "Son of God." Athanasius equated the "Son of God" with Logos. The Logos is God from God, true God from true God, and the word of God. This Nicæan christology affirmed Christ's divinity and Logos incarnated in Jesus Christ.¹³⁷ Moreover, Chalcedon's creed in 451 C.E. stated that Jesus Christ was truly God and

¹³⁵ Reeders, *Mendalami Beberapa Pokok Sejarah Gereja*, 42. Gossner's based his work on the words of Jesus in Matthew's Gospel 10: 9-10. When he sent his disciples to do a mission, Jesus said, 'Do not take along any gold or silver or copper in your belts; take no bag for the journey, extra tunic, or sandals or a staff; for the worker is worth his keep'. It meant a missionary should go to do the mission without salary with trusts that Jesus Christ will provide everything.

¹³⁶ Williston Walker, *A History of The Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), 106-107. See also Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity: The Early Church to the Present Day* (New York: Prince Press, 2007), 165. Cf. Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (United Kingdom: Wiley - Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 16-19. Cf. Badan Pekerja Am Sinode, *Tata Gereja Dan Peraturan – Peraturan Gereja Kristen Injili Di Tanah Papua* (Jayapura: Percetakan GKI/CV. Anna Grafika, 2007), 3-4. See also W. F. Rumsarwir and Sauyai, *Liturgi Gereja Kristen Injili Di Tanah Papua* (Jayapura: Sinode GKI Di Tanah Papua, 1989). It can find in the doxology in the churches, the liturgy, etc. The confession of the Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua, Chapter II, article 2 verses four states, *As a part of the holy and universal church, the church receives and confesses the Apostle's, the Nicene, and Athanasius' Creeds that do not contradict God's Word and the church's principles*. In the Evangelical Christian Church's confession in the Land of Papua, it is clear that the church used the three creeds based on its faith confession.

¹³⁷ TeSelle, "Nicaea, First Council of (325)," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, 868.

human.¹³⁸ Nicaea-Chalcedon christology affirms the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ. Nicaea-Chalcedon christology results from the theologians' debates on who Christ is and a liturgical concept that later became the Nicene creed. The Nicene creed became part of the churches' liturgy that rejected Arius' christology.

The Nicene creed recognized Jesus as "God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God; born, not made, as close to the Father. If this creed is not true, we will not be saved by Jesus."¹³⁹ There are notable differences between Nicaea –Chalcedon and the early Christian community's christology in the four Gospels of the New Testament. The first Christian community did not limit the image of Jesus to the Son of God, Logos, or God's Word, truly God and truly human. Every Gospel writer looked at Jesus to answer the questions of early Christians regarding who Jesus was in their context, lived experience, and culture. The Nicaea Chalcedon's christology has influenced Christians today to see Jesus in particular terms. However, Jesus cannot be limited to one universal image for all Christians worldwide. Every Christian has the right to identify whom Jesus is according to their lived experience and culture. Hence, Nicaea-Chalcedon christology, although an essential historical moment in the formation of christology, cannot become the standard for developing Papuan christology.

Another formative theologian for the christology of Papuan churches is Anselm of Canterbury (c1033–1109). Nicaea-Chalcedon christology states that Jesus is the

¹³⁸ Walker, *A History of the Christian Church*, 106-107. Cf. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity: The Early Church to the Present Day*, 165.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 106-107. See also Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity: The Early Church to the Present Day*, 165. Cf. Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion*, 16-19. See also Bernhard Lohse, *Pengantar Sejarah Dogma Kristen Dari Abad Pertama Sampai Dengan Masa Kini*, trans. A.A. Yewangoe (Jakarta: Gunung Mulia, 2013), 60-83. Cf. Anthon Rumbewas, *Berteologi Menjawab Permasalahan Konteks* (Jayapura: Kanwil Kementerian Agama Prov. Papua, 2016), 33-45. It was a political decision to maintain the stability, security, and integrity of the Roman Empire. Constantine converted to Christianity around 314 CE. Christianity became the official state religion in 391 CE.

incarnation of God, the word of God, or Logos, truly God and truly Human. Moreover, Anselm declares that God is the source of justice. Anselm argues that God's justice incorporates the values of goodness, mercy, and forgiveness.¹⁴⁰ God's justice and mercy can be seen in why God becomes human. Anselm's thought was within the sociological context of feudalism. He argued that on one side, humans do evil and have sinned, but on the other side, God is justice; therefore, humans need mercy, pardon, or atonement from God. He questioned whether there was no other way to save humanity. According to Anselm, a human was needed to save humans from sin. Therefore, Jesus Christ came as a human and brought about the atonement of God for humanity through the cross.¹⁴¹ Without that choice, the order of the universe would be chaotic forever.¹⁴² Anselm's christology also explores the philosophical and ontological argument of why God became human in Jesus Christ as the nature of being to prove that God exists.

Anselm's christology, which affirms the divinity of Jesus Christ and salvation only through Jesus Christ,¹⁴³ led Christians to receive Jesus' death on the cross as a part of God's plan. Anselm focuses his christology on atonement through Christ's death in response to humanity's sin. In contrast to the writers of the gospels, Anselm does not give the life, work, and resurrection of Jesus essential meaning. Instead, he states that the God

¹⁴⁰ Gillian R. Evans, "Anselm of Canterbury," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. Daniel Patte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 46. Anselm was against King William II, the English royal who desired to control both the church and the state. Anselm argued that church and state must be separate. This is important because the church needs to be free from the influence of the state.

¹⁴¹ Brian Davis and G.R. Evans, ed., *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Work* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1998), 261-279.

¹⁴² Ibid., 268. Anselm of Canterbury was a theologian and abbot of Bec and Archbishop of Canterbury who lived in the middle ages. Anselm's most famous work was titled *Cur Deus Homo?* (Why God became Human). Anselm is a pioneer in the history of western theology called the scholastic era.

¹⁴³ Daniel A. Dombrowski, *Rethinking the Ontological Argument: A Neoclassical Theistic Response* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 13-14. The ontology is the branch of metaphysics dealing with the nature of being. However, the Ontological argument is an argument to state God exists from the reason one supported to have from some sources other than the world's observation.

became human in Jesus Christ only because of human sin. If humans did not sin, there would have been no incarnation.

In addition, Anselm's christology emphasizes God's authority in Jesus Christ towards human beings. Anselm's christology understands Jesus Christ through the juridical approach. Jesus Christ is the Judge, and humans are servants. Jesus Christ is a ruler who demands the obedience of his servants. God in Jesus Christ has already sacrificed himself to human beings. Therefore, human beings need to respect and do what the ruler wants. This christology evidences hierarchical and patriarchal thought.

When reflecting on Anselm's christology, it is important to note the danger of limiting the work of God in Jesus Christ to one aspect, such as the redemption of human sin through death on the cross. Anselm's concept of atonement refers to correlating the forgiving of sin through Jesus' death on the cross with the Christian life. However, there is a broader understanding of atonement when we incorporate Jesus' life and example. It relates to a change in human attitudes, actions, and thoughts so that there will be reconciliation between God in Jesus Christ, humans, and nature. Atonement is the human awareness of the need to reconcile with God in Jesus Christ, fellow humans, and nature. Hence, atonement makes humans confess that God's redemption of sin will occur when they do God's will. That is what Jesus has done in his work and service.

Calvinism in the Christology of Papuan Churches

Calvinist christology began with the thoughts of John Calvin. John Calvin (1509-1564), a reformed Protestant leader in Switzerland, taught that God gives salvation in Christ as a gift. Calvin defended the divine character and humanity of Christ and argued

that Jesus Christ is God's incarnation.¹⁴⁴ The teaching of John Calvin has become the basis for reformed churches around the world in developing christology, including the Papuan churches. Christians depend entirely on God's initiative for salvation. Christians cannot expect to save themselves. They can only turn to God's grace and praise God for the gift of new life.¹⁴⁵

The truth of Jesus Christ, according to Calvinist reformed tradition, uses the Christian sacred texts and the Old and New Testaments as the standard to look for Christ's images of Jesus. This perspective has become a weakness of the reformed churches' christology as it deems idolatrous images outside of the sacred text. This is visible in Calvinist churches such as the Evangelical Christian Churches in the Land of Papua. They base their understanding of Jesus on the church's interpretation of the Bible and not through the perspective of Christians' experience and culture.

Hence, the reformation carried out by John Calvin has influenced the understanding of the reformed churches about who Jesus is. The reformed churches emphasize that Jesus Christ is the sole source of salvation. This is apparent in the opening statement of the Evangelical Christian Churches in the Land of Papua that states the following,

That truly God the Father almighty already bestowed heaven and earth and all of its contents. In God's love and blessing, God is ready to save human beings from the power of sin and death (John 3:16; 6: 39-40). The Will of God repeatedly

¹⁴⁴ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion Volume I*, ed. John T. McNeill (Louisville, Kentucky: The Westminster Press, 1960), 464-467. Cf. Bauswein and Vischer, *The Reformed Family Worldwide: A Survey of Reformed Churches, Theological Schools, and International Organizations*, 174-175. See also Joseph Haroutunian, ed., *Calvin Commentaries* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster, 1958), 41-43. Cf. Th. Van de End, *Enam Belas Dokumen Dasar Calvinisme* (Jakarta: PT. BPK Gunung Mulia, 2001), 26-27.

¹⁴⁵ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion Volume I*, 464-46. Cf. Bauswein and Vischer, *The Reformed Family Worldwide: A Survey of Reformed Churches, Theological Schools, and International Organizations*, 174-175. See also Joseph Haroutunian, ed., *Calvin Commentaries*, 41-43.

states in the history of salvation, when God itself deigned to come into the world and to become human manifest in Jesus Christ (John 1:14), who suffered, died on the cross, and on the third day rose from death to save and to renew the life of human beings.¹⁴⁶ This statement shows how the Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua inculcated the Calvinist-Netherlands reformed confession on who Jesus Christ is. Calvin argued that sin began with Adam's fall and spread to the human race. Sin is powerful; therefore, humans need redemption that can only be found in Christ.¹⁴⁷ Calvinist Christology asserts that God's presence through Jesus Christ redeems sin. This redemption is only for Christians who confess their sin before God through Jesus Christ. Essentially, God's presence through Jesus Christ does not just save humanity from sin and give eternal life and restores the relationship marred by sin between God, human beings, and creation.

The Calvinist understanding of salvation leaves out the meaning of Jesus' presence for human beings, as confessed in Luke 4:18-19,

¹⁸The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, ¹⁹to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor. (NRSV)

When understood literally, the passage says that Christ is God's servant who will bring to reality the longing and the hope of the poor, the oppressed, and the imprisoned. Christ will also usher in the amnesty, the liberation, and the restoration associated with the jubilee's proclamation. The Jubilee year refers to Leviticus 25:8-13. The way of release Jesus offers is through nonviolence, and his vision is a restored relationship between people and the land. The need for liberation to be inclusive means that the

¹⁴⁶ Badan Pekerja Am Sinode, *Tata Gereja Dan Peraturan – Peraturan Gereja Kristen Injili Di Tanah Papua* (Jayapura: Percetakan GKI/CV. Anna Grafika, 2007), 1.

¹⁴⁷ Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 244-246.

oppressed liberates from the oppressor, and the oppressor liberates from wrong thoughts and actions that make the oppressed suffer. Hence reconciliation can take place. It is the aim of Jesus's presence in the world.¹⁴⁸

Indeed, every Christian community faces different problems and needs; hence christology needs to answer their context and lived experience. All humans have sinned; so do all Papuans. However, much of the suffering in Papua results from rulers and some Papuans who are complicit in yielding to authorities' exploitation of land, resources, and people. Papuan Christians understand sin as egoism in acts and behaviors detrimental toward others and against God's will rather than something that merely keeps them from eternal life. They want a christology that can answer their real needs and can save them from suffering.

Jesus as Savior: Why Can't this Jesus Save Papuan People from their Suffering?

For a long time, Papuans have faced suffering. The western Jesus as Savior did not save the Papuans. Confessing Jesus as the Savior of humans' sin for eternal life's salvation is not enough for the Papuan context. Papuans need Jesus as a Savior who could answer their needs today. Western christology emphasized philosophical images of Jesus. On

¹⁴⁸ Fred B. Craddock, *Interpretation A Bible-Commentary for Teaching and Preaching Luke* (Louisville, Kentucky: John Knox Press, 1990), 62. Cf. Marthinus Th. Mawene, *Teologi Kemerdekaan: Suatu Ontologi Tentang Kemerdekaan dan Pembebasan Dalam Perspektif Kerajaan Allah* (Jakarta: PT. BPK Gunung Mulia, 2004), 201-203. Jesus began his ministry by proclaiming the Jubilee (Luke 4:16-19) when he read from Isaiah 61 in the synagogue. By reading Isaiah 61:1-2, Jesus not only announces the fulfillment of prophecy (Luke 4:21) but also defines what his messianic role is. Isaiah 61 is a servant song, and when Jesus reads the words "anointed me," they mean "made me the Christ or Messiah." At the close of the reading, Jesus said, "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing" (Luke 4:21). It is interesting that in Luke's Gospel, the first word spoken publicly by Jesus as an adult, apart from reading scripture, is "today." The time when God's promises are fulfilled signifies the eschatological time. God's purpose has come to fruition. Therefore, there will be changes in the conditions of those who have waited and hoped. Those changes for the poor, and the wronged, and the oppressed will occur today. It is the beginning of the jubilee. According to Luke-Acts, the time of God is today, and the ministries of Jesus and the church demonstrate that today continued. The word "today" as used in the text is never allowed to become yesterday or to slip again into a vague someday. The history of the church does not, however, bear unbroken testimony to Jesus' announcement. Today this scripture has been fulfilled.

the contrary, the Papuan Christian view puts Jesus within their struggle amid their suffering. If Jesus had just come for Papuans to repent for their sins, then Jesus' coming would become meaningless. The Papuans as a people have sinned. They yielded complacently to the early colonizers. Some Papuans enriched themselves at the expense of fellow Papuans. Having forgotten their identity, they collaborate with the current rulers in controlling the land. That means the Papuan people or the rulers do evil against the other. Papuans suffer because of their rulers' greed to dominate, oppress, and marginalize Papuans in their land.

This egotistical abuse of power used to control others is a sin God in Jesus Christ rejects. Theologically, sin is human acts and behaviors that violate God's will. Therefore, in the Papuan context, rulers and some Papuans who are part of Papuans' suffering must repent, confess their sins, and restore their relationship with God and others. God in Jesus Christ comes to reconcile broken relationships resulting from sin. Jesus Christ's presence saves and leads human beings towards good. The concept of salvation in Jesus Christ is not only for eternal life but also for the present life.

There are three reasons why western christology cannot save Papuans from their suffering. First, the western Jesus as Savior causes Papuans to become the other. Second, western christology does not speak to the grassroots Papuan Christians in their search for liberating Jesus's images. Third, traditional western christology argues for an absolute christology that hinders the Papuans to meet Jesus in the changing times. Every Christian encounters Jesus Christ in different situations. Those reasons show that the western Jesus as Savior cannot be the standard of christology worldwide.

The Western Jesus as Savior causes Papuans to Become “the Other”

After conversion to Christianity, Papuans encountered the Jesus of the western missionaries. On the one hand, Papuan Christians believe in Jesus as Lord and Savior, but on the other hand, they find that accepting Jesus Christ as Savior makes them suffer. Before the western mission came, Papuans were free. Then, the western missions came with the Dutch colonizers. Later, the Dutch gave Papua to Indonesian colonizers in 1963. The Jesus introduced by the Dutch did not and cannot save the Papuans from suffering. Instead, the Jesus of the Dutch missionaries became part of Papuan suffering.

A postcolonial lens is pertinent in constructing a Papuan christology. Papuan Christians lost their identity in adhering to western christology. They have been colonized in all aspects of their lives. Their experience of racism and discrimination caused some Papuan Christians to create a christology according to their contexts, experiences, indigenous beliefs, and culture. When they did this, missionaries and Indonesians treated them as “the other.” Edward Wadie Said speaks of this phenomenon as “*Orientalism*.”¹⁴⁹

Europeans viewed people in the Orient, in this case, Papuans, as people who lag and are culturally backward. The underpinning belief here is that western people have a higher culture than the east or the Orient. Hence, European mission organizations and missionaries assumed the Papuan map was dark and that Papuan people were primitive. Thus, Papuans needed the light of Christ to be saved. In addition to this

¹⁴⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, 204.

view, western missions also brought racist and discriminatory views of Papuans. The western missionaries viewed Papuans as “the other.”¹⁵⁰

Papuan people believed their lives would be better than their previous primitive conditions because the western missions came to civilize Papua. Despite this, the Papuan Christian community has tried, across centuries, to understand Jesus Christ through their encounter with Jesus in the context of their life experience, indigenous belief, and culture. When we examine Papuan people’s life experiences, we can see that their lives have always depended on people from the outside.

Papuan Christians have never been free to think and develop christology according to their understandings. This is evident in the period after the western missionaries and the Dutch left, and a new invader occupied Papuan land. Many Papuan people died in their struggle to reject Papua's integration with Indonesia. Thousands sought asylum abroad.¹⁵¹

That era was a dark history for the Papuan people. They were colonized and lost their land. Papua is a land rich in gold, copper, forests, seas, and natural resources, but its people are poor. Educational and health facilities are inadequate. Papua was categorized as a disadvantaged area in Indonesia with the highest poverty rate.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Helmut Bentz, *Tanda – Tanda Kehidupan Dari Zaman Batu*, trans. Rainer Scheunemann (Germany: Wahine Susanne Reuter, 2012), 13-17. Cf. Kamma, *Ajaib Di Mata Kita I: Masa J.G. Geissler 1855 –1870*, 10-13.

¹⁵¹ Restifo, Budi Tjahjono, and Palomba, eds., *Report of Human Rights in West Papua 2010/2011*, 8. Cf. Genevieve Woods, Norman and Budi Tjahjono, eds., *Human Rights and Peace for Papua, Laporan Hak Asasi Manusia Di Papua 2015*, 76. See also Asia Human Rights Commission, and the Human Rights and Peace for Papua, The International Coalition for Papua, *The neglected Genocide Human Rights abuses against Papuans in The Central Highland, 1977-1978* (Hong Kong: Asian Human Rights Commission, 2013), 5. Cf. Neles Tebay, *Interfaith Endeavours for Peace in West Papua*, Human Rights Issue 24, Aachen, Germany: Missio, 2004, 5. Eliezer Bonay, the Indonesian-appointed Governor of West Irian since 1963 later estimated that by 1969, 30,000 Papuans had already been killed by the Indonesian military.

¹⁵² Benny Mawel and Bernard Korten, eds., *Memoria Passionis Papua: Potret Hak Asasi Manusia Selama 2015* (Jayapura: SKPKC Fransiskan Papua, 2016), 21-42. See also Bernard Korten and Daniel Gobay, ed., *Papua Bukan Tanah Kosong: Beragam Peristiwa dan Fakta Hak Asasi Manusia Di Tanah Papua 2018* (Jayapura: SKPKC Fransiskan Papua, 2018), 129-145.

Papuan people are, in all aspects of their lives, under pressure. Curtailment of basic human rights, for instance, the restriction of the right to speak, is pervasive. Some believed that the scale of discrimination and racism toward Papuans might be due to their distinct racial differences from other Indonesians. Such discrimination and racism have been rampant since integration with Indonesia. This made the Papuan people yearn for the time before western missions when they had the freedom to regulate their own lives.¹⁵³

At present, Papuans live in bondage. Moreover, the church's presence as the symbol and body of Jesus Christ does not help Papuan people oppressed by the state system. Papuan churches chose to keep silent about the concerns of Papuans. Papuan theologians and thinkers who raised their voices for Papuan rights are considered separatist supporters. Papuan churches tend to prohibit theologians and thinkers from being vocal in their criticism of the state system. Papuan churches have chosen to play safe as a way of doing christology. However, some Papuan theologians and thinkers understand that all aspects of Papuan life and even christology have been colonized. They know christology cannot be limited to the traditional western understanding of Jesus.

Hence, they emphasize the importance of developing a christology that answers the needs of Papuans. Papuans with dark skin and curly hair have always been second-class citizens in Indonesia. They believe that they cannot develop themselves. Sadly, Papuan churches do not hear the voices of the Papuans' as they encounter Jesus Christ in the first period of Christian mission in Papua. Those people are forgotten. However, the Papuan history of Christian missions clearly shows that before the western missionaries

¹⁵³ Karel Phil. Erari, *Tanah Kita, Hidup Kita: Hubungan Manusia dan Tanah di Irian Jaya sebagai Persoalan Teologis*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1999), 135. Cf. Erari, *Yubelum Dan Pembebasan Menuju Papua Baru: Lima Puluh Tahun Gereja Kristen Injili Di Tanah Papua 26 Oktober 1956- 26 Oktober 2006*, 177-181.

came, the Papuans already had some christological notions and created analogies between Jesus Christ and their ancestors. Nevertheless, a new era began when Papuans were converted to Christianity. Even now, some Indonesians still consider Papuans primitive and lacking in humanity. Papuan theologians such as Benny Giay, Dorman Wandikbo, and Socrates Yoman¹⁵⁴ have articulated this reality of being regarded as ‘the other.’ Said’s concept of the “other” continues in Papuans' lives.

Categorized as Melanesians with dark skin and curly hair, Papuans are the original occupants of Papuan land. They are racially different from the primarily Malay Indonesian community. Papuans have been called monkeys, cannibals, primitive, barbaric, and stupid people who cannot think.¹⁵⁵ Such treatment has caused the Papuans to protest against discrimination and racism. Unfortunately, the government responded to these protests with violence. Such insensitivity led Papuans to struggle for self-determination. The Papuan resistance to discrimination and racism aligns with the notion expressed by Indian-American postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha in “*The Location of Culture*.”¹⁵⁶ Bhabha examines how the fetish or stereotype brought about by the impact of this stereotype offers confidence to the colonized to defend their identity.¹⁵⁷ Papuans, as the colonized have learned to think, act, and adopt the colonizer’s culture. They even shaped an identity mixture of Papuan and colonizer culture. Subtle colonialism under the Dutch allowed the Papuan identity to flourish culturally. Christianity bonded the two together and helped construct the sanitized view that the Dutch did not control Papua as a

¹⁵⁴ Benny Giay, ed., *Surat – Surat Gembala: Forum Kerja Oikumenis Gereja – Gereja Papua 2012-2018* (Jayapura: Gereja Injili Di Indonesia, 2018), 73.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 11-15.

¹⁵⁶ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 107.

colonial power. Most Papuans were not conscious that they were being colonized. Papuans enjoyed becoming a part of Dutch rule and culture. After the Dutch left following the United Nations-sponsored Act of Free Choice in 1969 that turned Papua over to Indonesian rule, things changed dramatically.¹⁵⁸ Papuans became conscious that they were colonized. Five decades have passed, with Indonesia being the de facto ruler of Papua. Papuans have suffered under Indonesian rule. Long seen as an inferior race by Indonesia, Papuans have worked to protect their race, culture, and land. They fought to keep their identity apart from their colonizers.

In order to do this, Papuans learned their colonizers' actions, behaviors, life, and cultures and used them to defend themselves. Interdependence between the colonized and colonizer has developed in the self-identity of Papuans. This reflects Bhabha's hybridity concept, which states that new forms of culture produce cross-cultural interactions. These interactions are then used by the colonized to fight the colonizer. Hybridity means that the colonized does not directly oppose the colonizer. Instead the colonizer's culture transforms it into a new identity and style.

This reality of hybridity has become a critique of cultural imperialism in Papua. Papuans modified the colonizer's culture and used it as a part of Papuan culture. This produces ambivalence in the colonized, the Papuans, and the colonizer, Indonesia. Indirectly, the Papuans have learned to become new colonizers in their thoughts and actions. Cultural imperialism is like a circle that will continue to create new colonizers. At

¹⁵⁸ Erari, *Yubelium Dan Pembebasan Menuju Papua Baru: Lima Puluh Tahun Gereja Kristen Injili Di Tanah Papua 26 Oktober 1956-26 Oktober 2006*, 168-169. See also Djopari, *Pemberontakan Organisasi Papua Merdeka*, 54-60. Cf. Socrates Sofyan Yoman, *Pintu Menuju Papua Merdeka: Perjanjian New York 15 Agustus 1962 Dan Pepera 1969 Hanya Sandiwara Politik Amerika, Indonesia, Belanda Dan PBB* (Papua Barat: Lembaga Rekonsiliasi Masyarakat Koteka, 2000), 31-32.

this point, colonizers are not just westerners but also other Papuans. When people adopt and internalize the colonizer's mentality, it means colonialism will continue in new forms.¹⁵⁹

Papuan Theologian Karel Phil Erari¹⁶⁰ has argued that the Papuan people's struggle to recognize their identity as a nation is one of the essential elements of human rights. The Papuan people have experienced a history of encountering western civilization through the Dutch and Asian cultures throughout Indonesia. Such a struggle has brought about extraordinary changes in Papuan culture. To reconstruct a new identity, today's Papuan people are rising and demanding that Indonesia and the world recognize their rights, aspirations, and identity. Since 1963, Papuan people have resisted external elements forced into Papuan life and culture. However, the Papuan people's resistance movements were effortlessly crushed. Thousands of Papuan people were imprisoned, killed, disappeared, and women were raped. Although Indonesia is a democratic country, it does not ensure the human security of the Papuan people. The Papuan people's freedom to speak out of their rights and aspirations as Indonesian citizens have not been heard. In reality, the Indonesian government rules over Papuan lives, controls them, and renders them powerless.

The Papuan people's situation is reflected in the Indian postcolonial scholar Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's landmark article "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Subaltern

¹⁵⁹ Steve Jones, *Antonio Gramsci* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 41. Antonio Gramsci, the Italian socialist talks about cultural hegemony whereby 'the ruling class who manipulate the culture of that society — the beliefs and explanations, perceptions, values, and more — so that the imposed, ruling-class worldview becomes the accepted cultural norm.

¹⁶⁰ Erari, *Yubelum Dan Pembebasan Menuju Papua Baru: Lima Puluh Tahun Gereja Kristen Injili Di Tanah Papua 26 Oktober 1956-26 Oktober 2006*, 168-169.

refers to subordinate social groups that are not included in elite groups.¹⁶¹ Indeed, the Papuan people are the subalterns because they are outside the power realm, especially the hierarchy of the colonizer's power. The Papuan people have raised their voices to the state, but those who speak out are accused of being separatists who disrupt the Indonesian government's unity. Under Indonesian rule, Papuan people do not enjoy their fundamental rights, including freedom of speech and freedom of choice.

Indonesia has become an apartheid state where racism and other forms of discrimination are rife.¹⁶² Consequently, as reflected in African-French postcolonial scholar Frantz Fanon's book *The Wretched of the Earth*, Papuans have become the subaltern and wretched.¹⁶³ This book is an incisive analysis of decolonization, the psychopathology of colonization, the psychology of the colonized, and their path to liberation. The rage and frustration of colonized peoples Fanon identifies are manifest in Papuans. So too is the role of violence in effecting historical change. On the one hand, the Papuan people are angry because they are imprisoned in their land and forced to be part of Indonesia.

On the other hand, psychologically, Papuan people are pressured because they do not have the freedom to think for themselves. This experience is also present in Papuan churches and theology, including christology. Psychologically, Papuan churches have chosen to be "safe" by adapting traditional western theology. They do so to avoid Indonesia's accusation of supporting the Papuan liberation movement. The Papuan

¹⁶¹ Rosalind Morris, *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. Available at <https://cup.columbia.edu/book/can-the-subaltern-speak/9780231143851>.

¹⁶² Alex Rumaseb, *Ironi Papua* (Jayapura: Alex R, 2013), 5-7.

¹⁶³ Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*.

churches still do christology using a western lens. They do not encourage the search for christological truth in the Papuan context. In Papuan people's lived experience and culture, they need Jesus as a Savior who works with them towards liberation from all forms of oppression, discrimination, and racism. Papuans do not need Christ images expressed only in philosophical articulations; they also need Christ images of Jesus present in their reality. Hence, there is a need to develop a Papuan grassroots christology.

Western Christology Does Not Speak to the Grassroots Papuan Christians

Western christology does not speak to the grassroots Papuan Christians in their search for liberating Christ images of Jesus. For sixteen decades, the Papuan Christians were not free to express their knowledge of Jesus according to their encounters with Jesus Christ. Until this writing, Papuan christology is limited to understanding Jesus's divinity and humanity in terms of obedience up unto his death on the cross. Jesus took all the sufferings of humankind upon himself and saved them from sin. After the resurrection of Jesus, he received the title of "Christ." This Jesus Christ will come as a judge, and those who believe in Jesus Christ will be saved. For those who do not, there is no salvation. Papuan Christians follow this Christology without thinking critically.

Papuan churches do not dare to exit from the old way of thinking. As a result, they have forgotten one crucial thing—that the early Christian community understood who Jesus was in their contexts, political experience, and culture. One should not limit one's understanding of who Jesus is to the narrow teaching of the churches. Every person has the right to understand Jesus according to his/her experience. Moreover, the Christian

community has the right to articulate its understanding of Jesus. Therefore, some Papuan theologians have introduced and promoted Papuan grassroots christology.

Papuan grassroots christology emerged in the 1970s when Arnold Ap and his Papuan artist friends developed the Mambesak group of artists that promoted Papuan identity through their portrayal of Papuan lived experience, indigenous beliefs, and culture. It motivated the Papuan theologians to search more deeply for appropriate Papuan christology. Some Papuan theologians promoted grassroots christology and collaborated with Papuan and Pacific (Melanesia) theologians and thinkers.¹⁶⁴ However, the Papuan theologians who supposedly developed grassroots christology still used traditional western paradigms. M.Th. Mawene, a Papuan theologian, explains the importance of developing christology from the grassroots. Mawene asserts that christology from the grassroots reflects a Jesus Christ who dwells within the Papuans' daily experiences.

This is different from the traditional western Christian theologians. They study and articulate a theology that they have inherited from their mother churches, which is detached from the daily life of ordinary people. Most Papuan conservative Christians do not accept grassroots christology as a part of Papuan churches' christology. Traditional Papuan conservative Christians view grassroots christology as syncretistic and not adhering to Christian sacred texts. Grassroots christology uses analogy as its methodology.

¹⁶⁴ Benny Giay, *Kargoisme Di Irian Jaya* (Sentani-Jayapura: Region Press, 1986). See also David Sulistyio and Feije Duim, ed., *Dengan Segenap Hatimu* (Jayapura: STT GKI & Sinode GKI Irian Jaya, 1988). Cf. M.Th. Mawene, *Kristus Papua Sang Manseren Korero Dan Sang Tarop Tim Dari Allah*. Yogya: Teologi Pembebasan Gaya Papua, 2002. See also M.Th. Mawene, "Christology and Theology of Liberation in Papua," in *The Exchange Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research*, ed. Freek L. Bakker. (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014), 153-179. The grassroots christology has been promoted by some of the Papuan theologians such as Rev. Benny Giay, Rev. Lukas Noriwari, Rev. W.F. Rumsarwir, Rev. Leonardus Jenbise, Rev.K.Ph. Erari, Rev. J. Deda, and Rev. M.Th. Mawene.

This method tries to relate Christian grassroots understanding of charismatic figures in their indigenous religions, cultural symbols, and life experiences with Christian christology in the New Testament. An analogy method is an approach that uses a theory of analogy that has three parts: analogy of being (i.e., reality between God and the world and among created reality), the analogy of meaning (i.e., words and concepts), and analogy of thinking (i.e., conception by proportionalities). The analogy method emphasizes the concept of likenesses. Theologians, who use the analogy method, describe God in Jesus Christ using views of anthropomorphism, transcendentalism, metaphor, symbolism, and literalism.¹⁶⁵ Although the term analogy comes from western philosophy as its basis, it provides more space to discuss the being, nature and sacred meaning of Christ images of Jesus from ordinary Christians' perspectives. Thus, the analogy method is a dynamic' method and therefore is more appropriate in the Papuan Christian context than the correlation method of Paul Tillich. The correlation method is a way to adapt Christian messages to a contemporary human cultural situation without losing their characteristics. Tillich's method, however, places theologians in charge of connecting christology with the modern human cultural context.

In contrast, the analogy method begins with Christians using their sacred cultural symbols to develop a christology. The analogy method frees Christians from all levels to explore who Jesus Christ is according to their perspectives. Grassroots Papuan Christians draw an analogy between their myth figures and liberator heroes and Jesus or specific

¹⁶⁵ James F. Ross, "Analogy in Theology," in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy Volume 1, Second Edition*, ed. Donald M. Borchert (New York: Thomson Gale, 2006), 138-139. Theory of Analogy is introduced by Plato and Aristotle. Later Christian theologians used analogy's theory to develop their theology. They are Thomas Aquinas Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Karl Barth.

figures in the New Testament who have a role in liberating God's suffering people.¹⁶⁶ A Papuan christology must be a grassroots Christology. Benny Giay, a Papuan grassroots theologian, guided Papuan Christians in their search for Jesus by teaching their indigenous beliefs, culture, and political experience. Jesus was a stranger, not part of the Papuan's life. Giay explains that christology must come from the Papuan people's understanding of who Jesus is. Critical of the established church's christology, he proposed using elements and symbols of Papuan indigenous beliefs and culture to establish Papuan christology.¹⁶⁷ Papuans considered Giay's teachings a strange christology. The notion of Jesus as a liberator Christ, a part of the Papuan context, is more acceptable. Moreover, understanding Jesus as the Peace Christ has become essential in developing christology in the Papuan context. The Papuan people need to live in a peaceful situation without conflict, and they yearn for the land of Papua to be a land of peace.¹⁶⁸

In developing a Papuan christology that answers people's needs, one must go back to early Christian christology. Jesus lived in specific cultural and political contexts. Jesus responded to the challenges of his time. Jesus was the Christ who preached liberation to all who were not free and upheld justice for all mistreated. His presence preached the year

¹⁶⁶ Mawene, *Kristus Papua Sang Manseren Korero Dan Sang Tarop Tim Dari Allah*, 3.

¹⁶⁷ I interviewed with Rev. Dr. Benny Giay on October 29, 2019.

¹⁶⁸ Iriani Nussy, *Tanah Damai: Suatu Tinjauan Misiologi Bagi Peranan Gereja Kristen Injili (GKI) Di Tanah Papua Untuk Mewujudkan Papua Sebagai Tanah Damai* (Jayapura: Magister STT GKI I.S.Kijne, 2012), 64. Understanding of Papua as a Land of Peace initially arose when the Papuan people realized that there had been many problems such as violence and injustice that spurred them. Papuan people yearned for a peaceful situation that was better, safer, and more controlled. It is expressed by Papuan people's voices to wish, dream, and hope for Papua as the land of peace. Papuan people have campaigned through several peaceful demonstrations; however, there were several clashes with security forces, which resulted in chaos and the death of Papuan people. This situation caused Papuan churches to conduct dialogue within their environment. That started from the Evangelical Christian church in the Land of Papua, followed by the Catholic Church, the Evangelical Camp Church (Kingmi), and other religions. Coming out of this dialogue was the Christian celebration's Mission day in the Papuan land on February 5, 2002, which became the day of the declaration of Papua Land of Peace. Since then, Papua's concept as the Land of Peace has always been discussed, disseminated, and campaigned.

of God's grace, meaning that Jesus is a peacemaker for those who need peace. The perspective of Christ must become the basis of Papuan christology. Developing and applying christology must be grounded on earth with the people's struggle to live in peace, justice, and prosperity. According to Papuan theologian Herman Saud, it is crucial to create Papua as a peaceful land. The Papuan people have lived in conflict for a long time; therefore, they need an image of Jesus that truly brings peace. Papuan churches, as symbols of the presence of Jesus Christ in the land of Papua, must express the sovereignty of God in the natural form of peace for the Papuan people and land. As a representative of God's will, the church needs to stand with Papuans who suffer because of the power of rulers. The church must reject all forms of discrimination, injustice, oppression, racism, and violence. In the same way, according to Papuan ordained Pastor Fritz Mambrasar,¹⁶⁹ Papuan Christians need a Christ image of Jesus that reconciles all interests in the land of Papua. The Papuan situation requires Papuan churches to become a peace symbol of Jesus Christ that can reconcile all opposing groups. With such a sign, they can sit together and find a way to create peace in Papuan land. The image of Jesus as the reconciler will open a path for peace.

The values of peace, reconciliation, justice, and solidarity for the Papuan people and the land are vital. Papuan people have already lived under pressure not to raise their voices for their rights. Jesus' position stands for justice and righteousness. Reconciliation can bridge the political interests of the state and the victimized Papuans. Jesus is the reconciler and peacemaker who reconciles all different groups to respect humanity's value

¹⁶⁹ I interviewed with Rev. Herman Saud on October 14, 2019 and Rev. Fritz Mambrasar on December 2, 2019.

before God. The humanity problem is not a problem of particular groups; it is a universal problem not limited by race, ethnicity, religion, class, or state. Every human needs to look at the other as a neighbor and equals. However, history has proven that some people and countries still see others as of a lower status. Oppression, discrimination, and racism are still alive. It is expressed in the following prayer of the oppressed Papuans.

God who created trees, grasses, mountains here, come to set us free. We have no weapons; we only have God. Help us, Lord, so that we will remain peaceful and protected from violence. Finally, we will fight with the weapons of the Scriptures. Oh, God, where are you? Where were you hiding, when we were oppressed and shot, oh Lord, all this happened by our mistake, we beg, forgive us. We believe that other independent countries are all righteous before you, God, let the struggle for the liberation of Papua's nation be the same as other nations. Oh God, look at the Indonesian Armed Forces and Police of the Indonesian Republic, armed with modern weapons and aid. Russia, America, Britain, the Netherlands, Australia continuously chase us and kill us on our land when we fight for our right to live freely. We will continue to fight against violence and those who deny and hide our rights.¹⁷⁰

This prayer shows that all victims of violence are helpless, and in their helplessness, they ask God to reply. Papuans believe that God in Jesus Christ understands their struggles. God itself plays an active role in freeing them from oppressive theology or political ideology.¹⁷¹ Although Papuan theologians already have ideas of Papuan christology that arise from the grassroots, they do not sit together to discuss the shape of christology in the Papuan context.

The Papuan theologians' thoughts are still in the armpit of traditional western christology. As a result, Papuan churches do not have a christology that can answer the Papuan contextual challenges. Indeed, the traditional western images of Christ cannot

¹⁷⁰ Yafet Tetoby Pigay, *Biografi Uskup Agung Desmond Mpilo Tutu: Pelayanan Pimpinan Gereja Afrika Selatan Sebagai Model Perjuangan Kemanusiaan Di Tanah Papua* (Jakarta Timur: Tollelegi, 2017), 41.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 76-77.

answer the needs of the Papuan people! However, Papuan grassroots Christology has opened to the changing times.

The Absolutism of Western Traditional Christology Hinders Papuans to Meet Jesus in the Changing Times

Traditional western christology argues for an absolute christology that hinders the Papuans from meeting Jesus in their changing times. Traditional western christology tries to construct a general Christ image of Jesus, but it cannot answer the Third World's needs and the Papuan context. Moreover, christology is always dynamic because every community has a different understanding of who Jesus is. Each era comes up with a christology that addresses the challenging times. Therefore, grassroots christology as a base for Papuan christology has also opened to the changing times. Papuan grassroots christology shares some commonalities with Asian and Pacific christologies that emerged from their respective contexts.

People from Asian and Pacific countries have similar western colonialism experiences and were exposed to traditional western theologies. Using a postcolonial lens to construct their christologies as a critique of traditional western christologies, Asian christologies have been part of Asian liberation theologies. It addresses the Asian context of religious plurality and cultures. Indonesian christology is one example of Asian christology that Papuan christology has drawn. The Indonesian Christian community has

based their application of christology in the contexts of a plurality of religions and poverty.¹⁷²

The Indonesian Christian community has experienced challenges as a minority religion in Indonesia. Indonesian christology has tried to understand Jesus Christ amid the domination of the majority religion. One Indonesian theologian, Wahyu Satria Wibowo, introduced Jesus as Kurban (sacrifice) in Islam in Indonesia. Wibowo looks at Jesus as Kurban, who has been sacrificed for the benefit of others. Wibowo has related Jesus as Kurban with the Islamic tradition of a ritual to celebrate solidarity that calls Idul Adha or Idul Qurban. In Idul Adha, the Muslims commemorate Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Ismael as proof of his faith in Allah or God. During the Idul Adha celebration, the Muslims express solidarity with the poor by first distributing the meats of animals, especially buffalos and goats, to the poor. Jesus, as Kurban, is a mediator who also has sacrificed his life for the poor, marginalized, and needy.¹⁷³

At this point, Christians and Muslims can build dialogue to create Indonesia as a better place to live together amid religious differences. Thus, the Indonesian situation has made the Christian community understand Jesus in the context of an interfaith dialogue that acknowledges the religious diversity or pluralistic religions in Indonesia. Papuan Christians as a part of Indonesia have dealt with Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia. Understanding Jesus as Kurban brings Papuans to do as Jesus did, namely

¹⁷² Sulaiman Manguling, "Identitas, Pluralisme dan Kemiskinan: Sebuah Pergumulan Kristiani," in *Agama Dalam Dialog: Pencerahan, Perdamaian, dan Masa Depan*, ed. Olaf Herbert Schumann (Jakarta: PT. BPK Gunung Mulia, 1999), 343-379. Cf. Nababan, *Iman dan Kemiskinan*, 30. Cf. Yewangoe, *Theologia Crucis Di Indonesia*, 304, 306-307.

¹⁷³ Wahyu Satria Wibowo, *Jesus as Kurban: Christology in the Context of Islam in Indonesia* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 2014), 181 -189.

respect other believers. Jesus stands for justice, rights, and dignity for human beings without differentiating according to religion.

Furthermore, Christians must struggle for equal rights and positions for all people. They must understand that religion is a tool for every believer to encounter the almighty one in whom they believe. Our beliefs cannot be forced on anyone if we respect their religion. Thus, Papuan Christians need to respect Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia even though, locally, the majority of Papua is Christian. Besides this, the major problem facing Indonesia is poverty. In Indonesia, the poverty rate is high, and many are suffering. Poverty is a problem in Indonesia and other parts of the world, especially in developing countries. Thus, Indonesian christology has upheld Christ's images of Jesus Christ, who is in solidarity with the poor in Indonesia and the world. Indonesian theologian S.A.E. Nababan has noted that poverty happens because of other humans' greed who control everything.

Hence, the resolution of the poverty problem cannot be split from faith in Jesus Christ, who experienced the meaning of poverty throughout his life and death on the cross. Jesus' cross's reality holds all human poverty, transforming it into a source of blessing and an overflow of life for everyone.¹⁷⁴ In the Indonesian context, the Christ image of Jesus is the liberator Christ who liberates humans from poverty and suffering. Indeed, Papua has experienced poverty, suffering, and religious diversity as a part of Indonesia. However, Papuan grassroots christology tends to have more remarkable similarities with Pacific christology because Papuans and Pacific people come from

¹⁷⁴ Nababan, *Iman dan Kemiskinan*, 30. Cf. Yewangoe, *Theologia Crucis Di Indonesia*, 304, 306-307.

Melanesian ethnic groups and cultures. The nature of Pacific christology has used culture and indigenous religion to understand who Jesus Christ is for the people of the Pacific.¹⁷⁵

The ways they articulate the images of Christ are also similar. In 1977, Melanesian theologians published a book entitled “*Search for Salvation*”¹⁷⁶ that discussed Melanesian christology. This book was developed in Papua, Papua New Guinea, and other Pacific regions. This christology was an effort to search the Melanesian identity, ancestors' role, the attempt to search for salvation, and the meaning of salvation. This christology has used the context of Melanesian indigenous religions and cultures to see images of Christ that are appropriate for Melanesians. In the 1980s, the Indonesian government banned all discussion of Melanesian thought because it was considered linked to the Papuans' effort to separate from Indonesia as the legal government. This is one of the reasons why Papuan grassroots christology could not develop. Papuan grassroots christology has one crucial difference between Asian and Pacific christologies. Asian and Pacific countries have already achieved freedom from the control of colonizers. Papuans still struggle to be free.

Moreover, the Papuan context of indigenous religion and culture is also different. Asian and Pacific Christians have tried to look at Christ's postcolonial images according to colonialism's impacts on their social, cultural, economic, political, and religious systems. Papuan Christians are still living within colonialism and the resulting poverty and violence. Papuan Christians' life experience is much different from Pacific and Asian

¹⁷⁵ John G. Strelan and Jan A. Godschalk, *Kargoisme Di Melanesia: Suatu Studi Tentang Sejarah Dan Teologi Kultus Kargo* (Jayapura, Irian Jaya, Indonesia: Pusat Studi Irian Jaya, 1989).

¹⁷⁶ John G. Strelan, *Search for Salvation: Studies in History and Theology of Cargo Cults* (Adelaide, Australia: Lutheran Publishing House, 1977).

Christians' life experiences, particularly Indonesian Christians. In Indonesia, the Christian community was a part of the Indonesian struggle to gain independence from the Dutch on August 17, 1945. The Papuan people were not a part of the Indonesian struggle against the Dutch colonization. At the time, Papua was not a part of Indonesia. Dutch colonized Papua. The Dutch recognized Papua as a part of Melanesian culture and different from Indonesia. Thus, until 1961, the Dutch had prepared Papua for its independence.

On December 1, 1961, the West Papuan Congress declared Papuan independence and flew the Morning Star as its flag; however, at the time, there was a cold war between the United States and China. As a strategic region in the Pacific, Indonesia was targeted by China for control. At the same time, the Dutch and Indonesia conflicted, claiming Papua as part of their respective territories. Because of the United States of America's (USA) interests in Indonesia, the USA pressured the Dutch to make Papua become a part of Indonesia. Politically Papua was forced to become part of the Indonesian nation through USA's influence on the United Nations, causing the Dutch to hand over Papua to Indonesia in 1963. Hence, the United Nations-led referendum was as follows: only 1,025 Papuans from a population of 800,000 in 1969 chose to integrate with Indonesia.

Thus, Papuans need freedom and yearn for a reality where their humanity is fully respected. Papuans are not poor but impoverished by the state.¹⁷⁷ Culturally, Papuan people are forced to follow the Malayan culture, which is very different from Papuan culture. Such difference can be seen clearly in the naming of the land of Papua. In the era of the Dutch colonizers, Papua was named Papua Netherland Nieuw Guinea. When Papua

¹⁷⁷ Erari, *Yubelium Dan Pembebasan Menuju Papua Baru: Lima Puluh Tahun Gereja Kristen Injili Di Tanah Papua 26 Oktober 1956-26 Oktober 2006*, 168-169. See also Djopari, *Pemberontakan Organisasi Papua Merdeka*, 54-60.

became a part of Indonesia in 1963, the name changed to several terms. The first name was Irian Barat, interpreted by Papuans as joining Indonesia, not the Netherlands. After that, the name was changed to Irian Jaya, and today it is called Papua and West Papua because Indonesia has been divided into two provinces.

There has been considerable effort to give Papuans a sense of nationalism with Indonesia. However, these efforts' violent nature has caused Papuan people to resist all attempts to change Papuan culture and identity and adopt Indonesian-Malayan culture. The Papuan people, as Melanesians, feel that they are strangers among the Indonesian communities. Moreover, since Papua integrated with Indonesia, the Papuan people found their identity was intentionally wiped out. When the Papuan people resist such erasure of identity, the Indonesian state has seen them as enemies. The Papuan people struggled and tried to reclaim their life, identity, and culture that suppressed them. From this struggle, christology must arise. Thus, understanding who Jesus is in the Papuan context differs from other Christian contexts in Indonesia.

The contextual christology that builds in Indonesia differs from the contextual christology in Papua. Indonesian Christians reject what is being fought for by the Papuans, which is freedom. This issue often emerges in theological debate among Indonesian theologians and churches. Indonesian Christians do not accept Papuan christology because they consider Papuan christology to be a separatist effort. As a result, Papuans feel like strangers even among their Christian brothers and sisters in Indonesia. Indonesian Christians cannot feel and understand what Papuan people have experienced. The Papuan people's situation is clearly illustrated in the song of the Mambesak group

created by Arnold Ap entitled “Silent Song,” which compares the life of Papuan people to a silent song that does not hear. Papua is a rich country, but its people are impoverished. The land of Papua is like a heaven that is abandoned and unnoticed.

The black sea pearl symbolizes the black Papuan people with rivers, fertile land, and gold. Again, Papuans sing in silence because there is no one to understand them as people. The Papuan people were always judged as rebels who wanted to separate themselves from Indonesian authority. This struggle expresses in the song written below.¹⁷⁸

Lagu nan sendu dan syair yang menawan	Wistful song and charming poetry
Mengalun di sana, menyayat hatiku	Floating over there, lacerated my heart
Dan nada yang sendu	And the sad tone
Puisi yang menawan terjalin bersama	Charming poetry which is woven together
oh nyanyian sunyi	oh silent song
Tanah yang permai yang kaya dan melarat	Beautiful land which is rich and destitute
Terhampar di sana	outspreed over there
Ditimur merekah	in the east shines
Dan bunyi ombaknya	And the sound of the waves
dan siul unggasnya	and the whistling of the birds
Melagu bersama oh nyanyian sunyi	Sing together oh silent song
Surga yang terlantar	Heaven which is neglected
Yang penuh senyuman	which is full of smiles
Laut mutiara yang hitam terpendam	the pearl sea which is a black pearl
Dan sungai yang deras mengalirkan emas	And a swift river which flows with gold
Dan bunyi ombaknya	And the sound of the waves
dan siul unggasnya	and the whistling of the birds
Melagu bersama o nyanyian sunyi	Sing together oh, silent song
Oh nyanyian sunyi	oh, silent song

The song articulates the Papuan people's life experiences. Whenever they cry, but no one hears, they write their struggle in music, songs, poems, and engravings to express what they have felt and struggled. In the silent lamentation of the Papuan people, Jesus

¹⁷⁸ Arnold Ap, *Lagu – Lagu Mambesak* (Jayapura: Mambesak Group, 1984).

Christ has joined in solidarity with the struggle of the Papuans to claim their life, culture, and land. The Papuan christology, therefore, aims to elicit and celebrate a christology that articulates the Papuan people's faith in Jesus as the Christ, who is manifest in Papuan culture and struggles to claim their land, life, and identity. To interpret Jesus as the Papuan Christ is an effort to develop a christology in the Papuan context. It is a critique of the dominance of traditional western christology in Papua. Papuan christology claims Papuan self-identity. Claiming self-identity means Papuan christology uses culturized images of Jesus.

Papuan christology does not reduce the meaning of Jesus as the Christ. According to the cultures and lenses of indigenous beliefs in Papua, Christ's images of Jesus have opened new pathways to christology. Absolutism can be dangerous in developing and doing christology. Christology needs to answer to changing times. No single christology can claim the truth and standard in developing and doing christology. All Christian communities of different ages and contexts have the right to answer who Jesus Christ is according to their understanding and experiences. Hence it is vital to look at what matters in Papuan christology that has already shaped traditional Papuan christology.

What does Matter in Papuan Traditional Christology: Jesus or Christ?

Papuan churches, being western Christian mission's heritage, continue to uphold traditional western christology. It does not distinguish any difference between Jesus and Christ. The teaching of the church looked at Jesus as human and God. Jesus, as a man, has shown feminist thought in his teaching and serving. Jesus did not perceive women as second class in the patriarchal culture at the time. Even though the case of the

Syrophoenician woman in Mark 7:24-30 seems to argue that Jesus did not respect women, what Jesus said to the Syrophoenician woman as among the "dogs" was a common understanding of Jews toward outsiders. According to Jews, God's salvation was only for them. This text shows that this woman's faith is worthy. She breaks the view that salvation is only for the Jews—expanding it to those considered infidels. Jesus never meant to degrade women's dignity and worth. Although the four Gospels' writers are men, the witness of Jesus Christ gives a place for women's concerns.

Western traditional christology tends to emphasize the masculine Christ images of Jesus. There is no room to discuss Jesus and Christ's images through women's lenses. A christology needs to address women's concerns without gender bias. The view of traditional Papuan christology reflects in the Evangelical Christian Churches in the Land of Papua's faith confession. There is no separation between Jesus and Christ. However, the church teaching begins with the question, "Who is Jesus Christ?" This means Jesus is the Christ or the Christ is Jesus, and this can be seen in the church confession and mandate in chapter 2, article 5, verse 2, which says the following:

Jesus Christ is the Lord and head of the church who governed and maintained the church with his word and spirit.¹⁷⁹

The name used is Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is the eternal word of God who became human and dwells among us (John 1:1,14). It is the essence and highest divine proclamation that God has manifested itself in Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is truly God and Human.¹⁸⁰ F. C. Kamma, one of the former leaders of the Evangelical Christian Church in

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹⁸⁰ Bruce Milne, *Mengenali Kebenaran: Panduan Iman Kristen Cetakan ke-5* (Jakarta: PT BPK Gunung Mulia, 2003), 42.

the Land of Papua, states, "Whoever calls the name of Nieuw Guinea or Papua, that means they mention Jesus Christ's Gospel."¹⁸¹ Furthermore, the mention of Jesus Christ in the church's faith confession appears in its liturgy book.

The function of the book of the church's liturgy is to organize worship. The church's liturgy consists of Sundays I and II, baptism I and II, confirmation, holy communion I and II, ordination, marriage, the inauguration of new church buildings, and burial. The church liturgy consists of opening prayer, confession of sin, the prayer of confession, assurance of God's pardon, the Lord's commandments, the proclamation of God's word, offering, doxology, commonly using the Apostle's creed, pastoral prayer, and blessing. All contents of the liturgy use the name Jesus Christ. Therefore, it can say that Jesus in history is the person who will come as Christ or Messiah. Therefore, the teaching of the church just only uses Jesus Christ or Christ Jesus. This shows the church's understanding of Jesus as truly God and human.

Hence, traditional Papuan christology has looked at Jesus Christ, who has come to save human beings from sin. This view of Christ has become the basis of traditional Papuan christology. Papuan christology must dig deeper to search for the feminist thought of the historical Jesus on the side of women in his time. Papuan christology needs to discuss Jesus Christ without gender bias. Today Papuan churches need to put Jesus as a Papuan woman Christ. It is essential to build an understanding of Jesus Christ for all people and creation. Concepts of the Christ images of Jesus cannot be limited to traditional western cristology based on patriarchy. The four Gospels in the New

¹⁸¹ Leonardus Jenbise, *Tradisi Pengakuan GKI di Irian* (Jakarta: Makalah - SEA-GST, 1990), 44.

Testament have confessed that Jesus Christ has become a part of women's problems. Jesus has shown that God is not just limited to men but is also for women. Traditional Papuan Christology affirms that Jesus is Christ or Christ is Jesus and does not differentiate between Jesus and Christ. I also find no separation between Jesus and Christ. Jesus is Christ, but not all Christs are Jesus because every belief has its own holy figures; it believes and worships as Christ. Historically, Jesus was born in Bethlehem as a Jew man, and He is the incarnation of God.

From the New Testament, especially the four Gospels, we can find that Jesus is a figure who has given his life to people who are in need. He went around Palestine to teach God's word, heal people who were sick, provide food to people, protect people who suffered and were hopeless, and sit and talk with the lowest class in the Jewish community. Jesus also discussed with Jewish leaders and struggled against injustice, and he was sacrificed on the cross because he was considered an absorbing teacher and a rebel against the state. After Jesus rose from death, early Christians believed that Jesus was the Christ who would come again into the world. In the Old Testament, Christ means the Messiah who will come to save human beings and all creation. In the figure of Jesus, the Christ is found, so when we call on Jesus Christ, it means that Jesus is Christ who has already come and will come to save humanity and all creation. Christ is not a figure but an image of Jesus. Moreover, Christ can be found in every culture and tradition worldwide. We cannot limit Christ to Jew and western Christian thinking, but we can see the figure of Christ in our tradition or culture. Hence, humans meet with God in Jesus.

Christianity was born because of the understanding; Jesus is the Christ who has come to salvation in the world. Through Jesus, the incarnation process happened, and God declared itself to humans. Through this, Jesus is God's proclamation to humans and all creation. Through Jesus, the incarnation of God is exclusive for Christians who could not force other religions to confess the divinity of Jesus. I believe Jesus is the way for Christians to meet God. In Jesus, God exists and talks with humans and all creation. Hence, we can confess Jesus Christ. It is a part of how the Christian community looks at Christ's images of Jesus.

Christology's present form arose because of the work, service, and teaching of Jesus that inspired the first Christians' confessions. The word "Christian" originally meant the follower of Christ. This means that Christians are followers of Jesus. Hence, I argue that Papuan christology, inhabited by Papuan followers of Jesus, can search for Christ images of Jesus through Papuan indigenous religions and culture. Early Christians confessed images of Jesus as Christ or Messiah, God itself (Logos), Lord, Savior, Rabbi, Son of God, Servant of God, Healer, Living Water, Bread of life, *etc.* The christology of the early Christian community is found in the New Testament, especially in the four Gospels and Pauline letters. Early Christians confessed that Jesus came to protect, save, liberate, and give peace to all who live in oppression, discrimination, suffering, racism, and so on. Jesus Christ was against all kinds of evil (Luke 4:18-19). Christ's images of Jesus can also be found in Papuan contexts of lived experience, indigenous religion, and culture. The important thing is that Papuan churches must reconstruct their understanding of christology. If we look at history, Jesus was born in Asia in the Middle East, and grew

up and worked in Asia. As Sri Lanka theologian Aloysius Pieris,¹⁸² reminds us, Jesus was carried to western countries for hundreds of years and brought back to Asia in a new form influenced by the West. In this light, Jesus was brought to Papua by European missionaries' efforts to evangelize, but Papuan indigenous religions already had a concept of God and salvation. Papuan indigenous religion has values that can be used to enrich Papuan christology. Here the important thing is to build a christology based on Papuans' context, or like Pieris has said, not to develop a church in Asia, but to develop a church of Asia.

This means the churches in Papua must not cultivate and construct the church's christology in the West, but the church in Papua must be based on the Papuan context and answer the problems of the Papuan church and its members. Doing so is essential because the church's task is to proclaim the messages of Jesus Christ. Talking about christology means that this concept must come from the context that reflects who Jesus Christ is in people's real lives and how they can build a christology to answer their problems. Christology must be free from the impacts of colonial thinking, as the postcolonial theories mentioned earlier in this chapter emphasize. Papuan christology needs to clarify the teaching and liturgy of Papuan churches. The wrong perspectives of the missionaries from Europe or the West cannot take hold in Papuan churches. In other words, Papuan churches cannot continue to follow the old paradigm of teaching, which does not respect Papuan indigenous religion and culture. In the Papuan context, which faces political

¹⁸² Aloysius Pieris, *An Asian Theology of Liberation*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1988), 59.

conflict, churches must confess images of Jesus according to Papuan Christian perspectives. Discovering christology in the Papuan context and culture will engage traditional western christology with Papuan grassroots christology. Papuan christology cannot deny that it inherits from classic western christology. Papuan christology, therefore, attempts to collaborate between classic western christology and Papuan grassroots christology. From the collaboration of these two, christologies will be raised grounded on the Papuan Christian context.

CHAPTER IV

DISCOVERING CHRISTOLOGY in the PAPUAN CONTEXT and CULTURE

Discovering christology in the Papuan context and culture reminds me of my father. My father always invoked my siblings and me to call Jesus Manseren Manggundi, the Christ of Bawei, Papua. He told us that Jesus is close to our culture and identity as Papuan people, and we must, as Papuans, be proud. He told us that a system that wants us to erase our identity as Papuans oppressed us. Many Papuan people suffer when they try to stand up for their lives. He said Jesus is always on the side of suffering people. To be a follower of Jesus means to be faithful and to do what Jesus did. As I reflect on my father's words, I find that he wanted us to develop self-awareness and claim our self-identity. He wanted us to establish our christology from our understanding rather than simply imitating traditional western christology without understanding the deeper meaning of Jesus Christ. From my father, I discovered that my knowledge of Jesus Christ must develop from my encounter with Jesus.

Therefore, when I became an ordained pastor in The Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua, I wanted to develop my understanding of Jesus as a Papuan woman. It means I need to explore my Papuan sources—my political experience and culture in constructing my christology. I do not want Jesus to become a stranger, far away from my life and Papuan people's experiences. I am proud to be a Papuan who worships Manseren Jesus Manggundi of Bawei, Papua. Papuan Christians have understood Jesus according to Papuan traditional christology. They do not differentiate between Jesus and Christ. They perceive that the image of Jesus is Christ. Hence, they call on Jesus Christ. From this

point of view, I also understand that Jesus is Christ. Jesus is the way for Christians to meet God. Jesus does not exhaust the meaning of Christ, and in other faith traditions, they recognize some figures as embodiments of the holy, like the way Christians look at Jesus. Jesus is the way for Christians to meet God. Every belief has holy figures that they look to as their Christ. Like Buddhism, Buddhist adherents look to Gautama Buddha or Siddhārtha Gautama as their holy figure who teaches compassion and the way to enlightenment or nirvana.¹⁸³ Buddhist adherents do not look to Buddha as a Christic figure who came and will come as Christians look at Jesus. Buddhism is not a theistic religion, but Buddha taught his adherents about compassion, and the way to enlightenment. This is similar to Jesus' teaching of the way, truth, and life. (John 14:6). On this point, I could say that Buddha and Jesus are the figures of holiness for their adherents. The understanding of Jesus is Christ. It is exclusive to the Christian community and cannot impose Jesus Christ on adherents of other religions.

As mentioned in chapter III, the fellowship of Christians arose because the early Christians recognized Jesus as Christ. As followers of Jesus, the early Christians in the four Gospels of the New Testament described Jesus with various Christ images such as Logos or Word of God or God, Son of God, the living water, the bread of life, Lord, and so on. The early Christians freely claimed who Jesus was according to what they understood him to be. They were not limited by a particular thought that claimed one true way to confess who Jesus is like traditional western christology has done. The development of christology must be born from how the followers understand Jesus. The

¹⁸³ Michael Keene, *Agama – Agama Dunia* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2006), 66-85.

people and institutions who create the doctrine of christology cannot depend on a rigid traditional western christology. Western theologians should not set their christology as the true standard for all Christians. In this chapter, I use the analogy method to understand Christ's images of Jesus. Thus, Jesus' images as Christ can be discovered in the Papuan context of indigenous beliefs, life experiences, and cultures.

The Emergence of Christ Images in the Papuan Context of Struggle for Land, Life, and Identity

The Papuan people's community, beliefs, and culture relate to Melanesian cultures. The Papuan culture relates to the culture of Papua New Guinea that belongs to a family of cultures found in the islands of New Hebrides (Vanuatu), New Caledonia (Kanaki), Fiji, and the Aboriginal people in the Australian continent. The Papuans are of the Negrito groups, the dark-skinned people native to the Austronesian region. Among the features of Melanesian culture are the religious cargo cults, leadership, and economy.¹⁸⁴ Every Papuan ethnic group has cultural, economic, and religious systems to control and direct social interactions and their communities' activity. Papuan ethnic groups look at society, economy, status, and natural order as part of their belief system. All things relate to one another—supreme beings, human beings, and the universe's natural order. They are not separate.

I consider religion is a serious attitude of an individual or community towards one or more powers considered to have the highest authority over life. Hence, hope

¹⁸⁴ Erari, *Tanah Kita, Hidup Kita: Hubungan Manusia dan Tanah di Irian Jaya Sebagai Persoalan Teologis*, 70-71.

concerning all aspects of their existence and beliefs characterized indigenous religions.¹⁸⁵ By nature, the ethnic group practices indigenous religion and not missional - instead, the indigenous religion functions to continue the ethnic group's life. In indigenous belief, every ethnic group relates supreme beings with their ancestors and promises their descendants' protection. They can achieve this through the ceremonies and the direction of life order. However, the Papuan indigenous religion is dynamic and open to new values due to its encounter with new cultures outside of Papua. It has enriched the contents of the Papuan indigenous religion.

Some Papuan Christians, especially theologians and thinkers, learn from the context of their lived experience infused with indigenous religion and culture. Consequently, the challenge for Papuans is to develop a christology according to the Papuan context. Informed by these Papuan theologians and thinkers, I am conscious of the importance of developing Papuan christology. I argue that Papuan christology will break the classic christology already rooted in Papuan churches' christology. However, Papuan churches do not readily receive Papuan christology into the christology of Papuan churches. These are the Papuan churches that remain firmly committed to traditional western christology. These Papuan churches are suspicious of the concepts of Papuan christology and consider it a compromise with syncretism and paganism.

This suspicion has caused the Papuan churches' christology to be static and not dynamic. Lukas Noriwari, a Papuan theologian, emphasizes that the relationship between

¹⁸⁵ Giay, *Kargoisme Di Irian Jaya*, 26. See also J.R. Mansoben, *Pandangan Suku- Suku Bangsa Irian Terhadap Kehidupan Nasional* (Jayapura: Kanwil Depdikbud- Uncen, 1988), 4-5. Cf. Johszua Robert Mansoben, *Sistem Politik Tradisional Di Irian Jaya, Indonesia Studi Perbandingan*, 31-33. J.R Mansoben, a Papuan anthropologist, explains that Papuan ethnic groups consist of five cultural regions. Those are Dofonsoro-Tabi, Saireri Bay, Bird's Head-Bomberai Etna, the Highlands, and Southern Papua.

church and culture is not warm because the orthodox or fundamentalist Christians do not welcome culture. The fundamentalist Christians' view considers culture as a habit that, in many ways, is contrary to the Gospel. In orthodox Christian societies, there are tendencies to establish a separation between church and culture. The church and culture are two different sides that cannot be reconciled. The view that cultural things are pagan elements that should be discarded or avoided motivates such an assumption.¹⁸⁶ This thought needs to be changed. I find that some Papuan Christians, especially theologians and thinkers, have already started constructing Papuan christology.

However, they have not given a specific name for their christology. I believe that a christology of the Papuan context needs a particular label. I promote a Papuan christology that is appropriate for Papuans. Such a christology still needs to be introduced into the Papuan churches. Papuan christology starts with searching for Christ images according to the grassroots Papuan Christian understanding. It shows how grassroots Papuan Christians believe in and look at Jesus Christ. I see these Christ images of Jesus revealed through Manseren Manggundi, Jesus as the Sago of Life, Jesus as the Fish of Life, and Jesus as Cenderawasih.

Jesus as Manseren Manggundi

When the western Christian Mission entered the land of Papua, the Papuan people already had a social life order and religious systems. It explains why there was a debate

¹⁸⁶ Lukas Noriwari, "Hubungan Antara Gereja Dan Kebudayaan: Suatu Pemikiran Tentang Kesaksian Akan Kristus Dalam Konteks Kebudayaan," in *Dengan Segenap Hatimu*, ed. Feije Duim and David Sulistyo (STT GKI I.S.Kijne & Sinode GKI Irian Jaya, 1988), 2-4. Cf. Jack Deda, "Suatu Usaha Untuk Mengarahkan Pemikiran Tentang Pengembangan Theologia Kontekstuil Dalam GKI Di Irian-Jaya," in *Dengan Segenap Hatimu*, ed. Feije Duim and David Sulistyo (STT GKI I.S.Kijne & Sinode GKI Irian Jaya, 1988), 37-38.

between the missionaries and Papuan people. On the one hand, the western missionaries introduced Jesus as the Christ who came for human beings' salvation. On the other hand, the Papuans believed in deities incarnated in their ancestors. The Papuan people hold that God lives in the sky, but this God has created human beings and all things. Without God, human beings cannot do anything. God will come into human beings' lives through their ancestors. That clears in the Biak-Numfor people's understanding of God. They call God as Manseren Nanggi, and Manseren Nanggi lives in the sky. Sky in Biak-Numfor language is Nanggi.

However, God became human as Manseren Manggundi. In the Biak-Numfor language, Manseren means God, Lord, or Messiah, and Manggundi means itself. Biak-Numfor people do not distinguish between the concept of Manseren Nanggi and Manseren Manggundi, Biak's Messiah. They have combined the two ideas to become one meaning. Thus, Manseren Manggundi means God/Lord/Messiah. Biak-Numfor People have found a personification of Manseren Manggundi in their charismatic figure, Yawi Nushyado, known by the name Manarmakeri. Manarmakeri in the Biak-Numfor language consists of two words: *man* meaning human and *armakeri* meaning scabies. Therefore, Manarmakeri means a human with scabies. Manarmakeri transformed his body into the fire to become young, free from scabies, and have eternal life. He went westward and promised that he would be back and bring Koreri. Koreri is from the Biak-Numfor language, meaning a change of skin or new life. Therefore, Koreri is hope for eternal life, freedom, or life in heaven. Koreri means life in welfare, peace, justice, freedom, well-being, and eternal life. Hence, Koreri symbolizes heaven for the Biak-Numfor people.

From 1861 to 1868, there was a Koreri movement in Mansinam-Biak Numfor, Northwestern Papua.

The Koreri movement is one of the biggest cargo cult movements in the Papuan context. Cargo cults are systems of belief based on the expected arrival of ancestral spirits in ships bringing a cargo of food and other goods.¹⁸⁷ However, the Koreri movement is different from the general cargo cult movements. The Koreri movement concerns with waiting for wealth from the ancestors; it concerns with salvation from a Messiah explicit in an ancestral figure. The Koreri movement began with the mystical Biak-Numfor ancestor named Yawi Nushado. He lived in the Yamnaibori mountain in Sopen village, West Biak. One day, Yawi saw a beautiful village inhabited by young people. Yawi recognized some of them as people who had died of old age. But in this village, they had all become young again, and happiness filled the people's voices.

When Yawi had seen all this, he heard voices saying, "Your time has not yet come; you cannot come here yet. Therefore, you may return home now, for you are still a part of the old world, the world of people with the old skin. What you see here is Koreri."¹⁸⁸ Because Yawi spent so much time pondering about the Koreri, he neglected his hygiene and became covered with scabies (*armaker*). He left the village of Sopen and headed to Wundi island in East Biak. In Wundi, he wrestled with and would not let go of

¹⁸⁷ Lamont Lindstrom, "Cargo Cult," in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, ed. Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 106-107. Cf. D.J. Black man, "Cargo Cult," in *The Encyclopedia Americana International Edition* (New York: Americana Corporation, 1973), 653. The Cargo cult is named an anthropologist used for the type of religious movement developed in Melanesia since 1913. Cargo Cult is a belief system based around the expected arrival of ancestral spirits in ships bringing food and other goods cargoes. The cargo cult believes that wealth can be obtained through religious ceremonies.

¹⁸⁸ Hans-Martin Thimme, "Manarmakeri Theological Evaluation of an Old Biak Myth," in *Christ in Melanesia: Exploring Theological Issues*, ed. James Knight (Goroka-PNG: Melanesian Institute for Pastoral, 1990), 23. Cf. Hans-Martin Thimme, *Koreri* (Abepura: STT GKI, 1988), 3.

Mak Meser, the Morning Star (Venus), until the morning star imparted to him the secrets of life after death and a life of well-being. One day, Yawi Nushado burned himself by jumping into the hottest part of the flaming fire. When he came out of the fire, his body had been transformed and became a strong young man. After that, he left Wundi, went to northwestern Papua, and created Numfor Island. He performed many miracles on his journey. Unfortunately, many of the Biak people he met did not believe his teaching of justice, peace, good health, well-being, miracles, and new life in Koreri. Therefore, he left towards north Yapen Island, the Raja Ampat Islands, and further westward. He promised he would return when the Biak-Numfor people believed in him, and they would live in Koreri, a state of new life, of well-being with no suffering.

However, Yawi Nushado's departure to go westward annoyed the Biak-Numfor people because they did not believe he would return. However, the Biak-Numfor people experienced difficulties and suffered. Since then, they had tried to follow Yawi Nushado's teachings, and they waited for his coming as the Manseren, a christic figure. They believed Yawi Nushado, known as Manarmakeri, would liberate them from suffering and bring about Koreri. Therefore, the Biak-Numfor ethnic group call Manarmakeri, Manseren Manggundi, meaning God/Lord or the Messiah itself.¹⁸⁹ Surely, the story of how Manarmakeri became Manseren Manggundi is different from the story of Jesus, who is understood as the Messiah or Christ according to the four Gospels. The Biak-Papuans inherited the narrative of Manarmakeri through oral tradition. The story may have changed or varied in every Biak-Numfor Papuan generation.

¹⁸⁹Thimme, "Manarmakeri Theological Evaluation of an Old Biak Myth," in *Christ in Melanesia: Exploring Theological Issues*, 21-23. See also Thimme, *Koreri*, 5. Cf. Jenbise, *Ritus Wor Fan Manseren Nanggi Biak Numfoor: Merupakan Suatu Ungkapan Pengakuan Iman Kepada Allah Israel*, 110.

F. C. Kamma, the Dutch Theologian, and pioneer of The Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua wrote the story of Manarmakeri in his published book entitled “*Koreri*” in 1972.¹⁹⁰ The story that we have today is not original because it comes from the interpretation of an outsider from a western perspective. Every Biak-Numfor-Papuan tribe has different versions of the story of Manarmakeri. Yet, they have similarities with the early Christian traditions’ witness of Jesus who came to humanity from according to the four Gospels’ accounts and interpretations. Moreover, the Koreri movement believed that Manseren Manggundi (God/Lord or Biak-Numfor’s Messiah) would come and raise the dead, give welfare, and give them freedom from oppression and suffering.¹⁹¹

The Biak-Numfor ethnic groups still believe that Manseren Manggundi will come. The Biak-Numfor ethnic group creates rituals to invite Manseren Manggundi when facing problems such as the danger of famine, illness, or political conflict. They invoke the blessing and intervention of Manseren Manggundi to solve their problems. These rituals could last for a month, where people make *dow* and *wor*. *Dow* means to lift something, such as an offering while singing. *Dow* is a combination of a song, a tone, rhythm, and poetry. *Wor* comes from the verb to call and invite for singing and dancing with the beating of small traditional drums, the Tifa or Sireb, simultaneously. Therefore, in the

¹⁹⁰ Freerk Cr. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak – Numfor Culture Area* (The Netherlands: The Hague · Martinus Nijhoff, 1972).

¹⁹¹ Kamma, *Ajaib Di Mata Kita I: Masa J.G. Geissler 1855 – 1870*, 245- 246. Cf. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak – Numfor Culture Area*, 105-107. See also Mawene, “Christology and Theology of Liberation in Papua,” in *The Exchange Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research*, 163.

ritual of Biak-Numfor people, dancing and singing are sacral elements.¹⁹² The following Biak-Numfor song illustrates this ritual.¹⁹³

Neno, Neno	Oh, oh
Neno mami Manseren Beba e	oh Manseren on the highest place
Wado mufes, wado mufes	coming down, coming down

Manseren Manggundi is God/Lord/Messiah, who has power and can determine the destiny of human beings. Manseren Manggundi lives in the sky and has promised to come. Meanwhile, human beings can communicate with Manseren Manggundi through the leader of the traditional religion, the *Mon*. The *Mon* has supernatural power and is capable of understanding the divinity of Manseren Manggundi. The *Mon* has the right to pray to Manseren Manggundi, which can be observed in the following old formula of prayer:¹⁹⁴

Manseren ro Nanggi,	Manseren on the sky,
Ro nanggi sub bekaki	You in the highest place.
Ngor au, ngo ma snonkaku ebesasar	We are not proper to call your name,
Waswar ngo, ro romarandan ine	Love us, in our difficult life.
Be au monda Manseren ngo benadi	Just to you Manseren we pray.

Moreover, after this prayer, the members of the traditional religion and the *Mon* will sing and dance in the hope that Manseren will answer their prayer. They engage in ritual worship for one week to wait for the answer of Manseren. They call this ritual of singing and dancing *Wor Fan Nanggi*; it means singing and dancing to God in the sky. In this

¹⁹² Jenbise, *Ritus Wor Fan Manseren Nanggi Biak Numfoor: Merupakan Suatu Ungkapan Pengakuan Iman Kepada Allah Israel*, 21. Cf. Mika Awom, *Sireb Sebagai Alat Musik Pujian* (Jayapura: STT GKI I.S. Kijne, 2005), 29.

¹⁹³ Noak Bonggoibo, *Makna Wor Dalam Budaya Suku Biak* (Jayapura: Skripsi STFT GKI I.Z. Kijne, 2018), 22.

¹⁹⁴ Jenbise, *Ritus Wor Fan Manseren Nanggi Biak Numfoor: Merupakan Suatu Ungkapan Pengakuan Iman Kepada Allah Israel*, 193.

worship, the members give an offering to Manseren, and in the prayer, *Mon* says the following to Manseren:

O, Nanggi barakat	O, blessing up in the sky
Mam fre ro inggo	Look at us
Inggor au kuker ro	we have called you
Yoba imboi nggor au	yes, we have called you.
Snar susah kero	because of our suffering
Ma bemar anmngo kako	and to all dead people's souls
Saprop, keru, ai kaem	to all land, stones, trees power
Bemar kaem	and to all dead people's souls! ¹⁹⁵

In this prayer, the people call upon the sky, dead people's souls, and the universe's power to come and help them in their suffering. Biak-Numfor people believe that Manseren blesses them after the ceremony. The *Mon* or the traditional worship leader will explain the message from Manseren. People believe in Manseren as the creator, who protects and has a relationship with the ancestors.

They hold that Manseren gives him/herself to human beings and all creation. In the concept of Papuan religion, Manseren, the ancestors, the living human beings, and other creations in the universe have a relationship with one another and all lives in harmony. For the Biak-Numfor people, the ritual or ceremonial custom is essential in the relationship among Manseren Manggundi, who is God or the Lord itself, human beings, nature, and the universe. The tradition of singing and dancing, known as *Wor* is needed to continue Biak-Numfor's generations.

The Biak-Numfor people say that our ancestors have already conducted the *Wor* ritual for our descent, and therefore we can save. Thus, now we have to introduce *Wor* to our children so that they will have well-being. Without *Wor*, we will die. The Biak-

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 11.

Numfor language says “*ngo wor ba indo nari ngo mar.*” We sing, *wor* (dance) in the past, present, and future.¹⁹⁶ The ritual *Wor* is essential to invite the presence of Manseren Manggundi, who gives Koreri. When the European missionaries came to Papua and tried to evangelize Papuan people, particularly the Biak–Numfor people, the Dutch missionary F.J.F van Hasselt dialogued with the Papuan tribal Chief, Rumsaro. They had a conversation about who Jesus was. Rumsaro explained that the Biak-Numfor people say Jesus is Manseren Manggundi, who created the Papuan Island. In Woranda, the Biak-Numfor word for the Netherlands, the people say “Jesus Christ,” but the Papuan people say, “Jesus Manseren Manggundi.” Both names are the same. There is only one Manseren (God/Lord) because there is only one sky.¹⁹⁷

The early Christians in Biak-Numfor received Jesus as God/Lord or Messiah. After all, they found that the story of Jesus has similarities with their Messiah, Manseren Manggundi. Jesus and the Manarmakeri are both figures of a religious movement with messianic expectations. In messianic expectations, some general realities that include the hope of the teacher's return as the Messiah. During the waiting period for the Messiah's coming, believers promise to do what the teacher has taught, particularly regarding justice, peace, prosperity, and eternal life. Thus, Jesus and Manarmakeri have similarities as Messianic figures.

Moreover, Jesus and Manarmakeri are two persons representing different ethnic groups, histories and cultures who are both understood as incarnations of God. Their believers ascribe to them the images of God itself, Lord, Messiah, or, in the Biak-Numfor-

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 274.

¹⁹⁷ Jenbise, *Ritus Wor Fan Manseren Nanggi Biak Numfoor: Merupakan Suatu Ungkapan Pengakuan Iman Kepada Allah Israel*, 45.

Papuan language, Manseren Manggundi. At this point, I argue that the Biak-Numfor people became Christian because they found no difference between the teachings of Jesus and Manarmakeri. As a Christian from the Biak-Numfor ethnic group, I find that the Biak-Numfor people's old beliefs showed how the Biak-Numfor ethnic group met God in their life experiences and culture. We cannot deny this. Hence, if Biak-Numfor Christians call Jesus Manseren Manggundi, it is not paganism. Instead, doing so is a part of the Biak-Numfor people's confession of who Jesus is.

Understanding the Christ images of Jesus should come from Biak-Numfor Christians' reflections of their life experience, culture, and belief. According to the report of the Reformed Mission in Papua, the Koreri movement rose in 1855, 1860, 1868, 1882, 1900, and 1910 on Numfor and Biak islands and spread to mainland Papua. The Koreri movement often arises when there is a situation of political conflict in Papua. The Koreri symbol that the Papuan people used to fight the colonial rulers is *Mak Sampari* or Morning Star. It is the name of the Papuan flag. The Morning Star symbolizes new life in peace, justice, and well-being, relating to the Biak-Numfor myth of how Yawi Nushado met the Morning Star.¹⁹⁸ Over time, the Dutch and Indonesian governments have looked at the Koreri movement as separate from the Papuan indigenous religion.

They have viewed it as a Papuan resistance movement against the state. Therefore, the government banned the Koreri movement. Nevertheless, this movement persists and still exists. To the Biak-Numfor people, Manseren Manggundi answers all the community's prayers and blesses all human beings' needs. When they became Christians,

¹⁹⁸ Thimme, "Manarmakeri: Theological Evaluation of an Old Biak Myth," in *Christ in Melanesia: Exploring Theological Issues*, 21-27. Cf. Thimme, *Koreri*, 1-10. See also Jenbise, *Ritus Wor Fan Manseren Nanggi Biak Numfoor: Merupakan Suatu Ungkapan Pengakuan Iman Kepada Allah Israel*, 110.

they recognized Jesus as Manseren Manggundi. They have found that Jesus is God, Lord, Savior, and Messiah, who gives the community good things.¹⁹⁹F.C. Kamma reported that when the missionaries came to Mansinam, Northern Papua, Biak-Numfor people found nothing new in the missionaries' teaching and preaching about Jesus Christ.²⁰⁰For these people, Jesus was already explicit in Manseren Manggundi. In Jesus, the Biak-Numfor people found Manseren Manggundi, in whom they have believed. They believe that Manseren Manggundi does not live far from human beings.

The Biak- Numfor people understand that Manseren Manggundi is the messenger of Manseren Nanggi. Manseren Nanggi consists of two words: Manseren means God/Lord/Christ, and Nanggi means sky. Manseren Nanggi lives in the sky, but Manseren Nanggi can speak to the Biak-Numfor people through their ancestors. The most famous ancestor is Yawi Nushado or Manarmakarei, whom people believe to be Manseren Nanggi's messenger. Later, the believers regarded the messenger as the embodiment of Manseren Nanggi. They called the messenger Manseren Manggundi or God/Lord itself. Thus, Manseren Manggundi is close to human beings and all creation. Manseren Manggundi is a part of the circle of life of all creation.

Leonardus Jenbise, a Papuan theologian who explored the construction of a christology based on the Biak-Numfor people's context, says that to call Jesus Manseren Manggundi is similar to calling Jesus as the Christ.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Jenbise, *Ritus Wor Fan Manseren Nanggi Biak Numfoor: Merupakan Suatu Ungkapan Pengakuan Iman Kepada Allah Israel*, 24-25. Cf. A. Mampioper, *Mitologi dan Pengharapan Masyarakat Biak-Numfor* (Jayapura: STT GKI I.S.Kijne, 1976), 22, 37.

²⁰⁰ Jenbise, *Ritus Wor Fan Manseren Nanggi Biak Numfoor: Merupakan Suatu Ungkapan Pengakuan Iman Kepada Allah Israel*, 350. F.C. Kamma is a Reverend from Holland who wrote about the evangelism of Europeans in Papuan. He is one of the Evangelical Christian Churches in the Papuan land founders, which arose on October 26, 1956.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 81.

Jesus Manseren Manggundi is the Biak-Numfor Christian's christology. The early Christians gave Jesus the titles the Son, Son of God, Son of Man, Servant of God, and Messiah. All these titles are related to the prophetic apocalypse from early Christians awaiting the covenant of salvation. In Jesus, there was hope for the early Christians. The coming of Jesus as the Messiah broke down the boundaries between Jew and Gentile, rich and poor, and the state and its people. Jesus showed the meaning of equality, peace, and justice of God for all people.

Jesus, as Manseren Manggundi, is parallel to the christology of the early Christians. Jesus, as Manseren Manggundi, is an incarnation of God for Biak-Numfor Papuan people who need equality, peace, and justice. I agree with Papuan theologian M.Th Mawene, who, in his writing on "*Christ and the Theology of Liberation in Papua*,"²⁰² explains that the image of Jesus as Manseren Manggundi is one of the symbols of the liberation movement of Papuan people from all suffering and oppression by the colonizers. Manseren Manggundi comes as a liberator and a reconciler when the community needs liberation and reconciliation. With Jesus as Manseren Manggundi, the Papuan people believe that Koreri will come. Naming Jesus as Manseren Manggundi means that Jesus is the Papuan Messiah. Jesus as Manseren Manggundi is on the side of the Papuan people who struggle to claim their land, life, and identity. Papuan

²⁰² Mawene, "Christology and Theology of Liberation in Papua," in *The Exchange Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research*, 164-165. Like Manseren, Jesus will fulfill all expectations of the Koreri about a just, prosperous, and peaceful society. In the eyes of sympathizers and the Manseren faithful, Jesus is not only the Saviour of humankind at the end of time, but he will also save in this time Papua from all oppression, injustice, suffering, sickness, war, and death. Jesus is not a political lord who thinks that there is a taboo on politics, but he is a lord who provides political freedom to the Papuan people. Here Jesus receives a new image as political Messiah, a concept that was also fostered by many Old Testament Jews to be fulfilled by Jesus.

anthropologist, Frans Rumbrawer²⁰³ also describes Jesus as Manseren Manggundi. Other Papuan people call Jesus by different names, but they have the same meaning. When the Biak-Numfor people pray and call on the name of Jesus Manseren Manggundi and create songs, they affirm the image of Jesus in the Gospel according to Matthew in the New Testament as the anticipated Messiah who will come. This affirmation allows people around the world to look for Jesus within their traditions and cultures. In the world, no culture or tradition is better than another. There is one sky, so there is just one God. The concept of Manseren gives hope for a better life and for solidarity with the Papuan people. In real life today, Papuans are suffering because the Dutch colonialists gave Papua to Indonesia.²⁰⁴ Consequently, Papuan churches do not allow a christology that relates to the idea of Manseren Manggundi and the other indigenous images for Jesus.

Nevertheless, the Papuan Christians in Northwestern Papua of the Biak-Numfor ethnic group have already been calling Jesus Manseren Manggundi. Papuan-Biak-Numfor ethnic groups use indigenous belief concepts without fear of any negative label of syncretism or paganism. The Papuan church's christology could have been dynamic had it opened itself to embracing the image of Jesus as the Papuan Christ. In this manner, Jesus would no longer be a stranger to Papuan Christians. In the next section, I will explore another image of Jesus in the Papuan context: Jesus as the Sago of Life.

²⁰³ I interviewed with Frans Rumbrawer on November 3, 2019. Cf. Frans Rumbrawer, "Munara: Ritual Penganugerahan Maninsyowi; Ritus Wor Tertinggi Dalam Fase Kehidupan Sosial Orang Biak," in *Dengan Segenap Hatimu 2*, ed. Misere Cordias Domini Mawene & Herman Swom (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2017), 142-156.

²⁰⁴ Erari, *Tanah Kita, Hidup Kita: Hubungan Manusia dan Tanah di Irian Jaya sebagai Persoalan Teologis*, 135.

Jesus as the Sago of Life

Santi Daimoi,²⁰⁵ a theological student in the Seminary of I.S. Kijne Jayapura, Papua had introduced Jesus as the Sago of Life. Sago is a palm tree (*Metroxylon sagu* Rottb) of medium height, throwing up stems in succession, each stem in turn flowering, fruiting, and having a life span of about 15 years. Sago leaves are pinnate, about six to nine meters long. Sago grows in freshwater swamps and contains 80% starch from the stem, 16% water, 2% nitrogenous substances, and very little ash.²⁰⁶ In Papua, Sago is an important food. The Papuan people cook its starch in boiling water and stir the wet starch into a glue. They call this food *Papeda*, which they eat *Papeda* with fish and vegetable dishes. The Papuans would save the sago starch for a long time to sustain their families for survival.

For Papuan people, Sago has many functions. Papuans use it as a staple food. They make crafts, walls, and flooring of houses from its bark. They use its leaves as roofing material for their houses, and use its starch for medicine. Papuans use Sago as a remedy for skin irritation due to allergies, burns, and other skin problems. They mix sago flour with water and then rub it over the affected skin. Also, sago is a source of energy. Unfortunately, due to development projects, the sago swamps are starting to decrease. Papuan newspapers in 2019 indicated that corporations planned to use around 2,800 hectares of land for palm oil development. The people were upset. When the government and settler development projects reduce the land available for sago planting, the government replaces sago with imported rice from other parts of Indonesia without

²⁰⁵ Santi Daimoi, *Yesus Kristus Sagu Kehidupan: Suatu Kajian Kontekstual Dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Sentani di Klasis GKI Sentani Dan Sentani Barat Moi* (Jayapura: Skripsi- STT GKI I.S.Kijne, 2010), 7.

²⁰⁶ Adhy Asmara, *Mengenal Irian, Mutiara Hitam Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: CV Nurcahaya, 1980), 37.

introducing the planting of rice for Papuan people. The Papuan culture of planting sago trees is replaced by the culture of buying rice in the market. Replacing sago with rice or bread is like killing Papuan culture.²⁰⁷

Moreover, sago gives the Papuan people life.²⁰⁸ A characteristic food in Papua, Sago, is far more important than bread. If John's Gospel portrays Jesus as the bread of life and assures that those who believe in Jesus will never go hungry and live forever (John 6:35-51), in Papua, Jesus can be said to be the Sago of Life. Jesus, as the Sago of Life, enculturates the Christ image of Jesus into the Papuan context. Jesus is not merely Sago that feeds the physical need of human beings; Jesus is the Sago of Life itself.²⁰⁹ The function of Sago for a healthy human body is also related to the witness of the early Christians in the four Gospels about the Jesus' healing for humans, both physical and psychic (Mark 1:34,3:2,5, 5:28, 6:56, Matthew 8:8, 9:21,10:8, 12:10,15, 12:22, 13:15, 14:14, 36, 15:30, 17:16, Luke 4:23, 5:17, 6:10,18, 7:7,21, 8:2, 43,9:1,2, 10:9,13:12,32, 22:51 and John 4:47, 5:6, 11:12).

Politically, the Papuan people are experiencing the trauma, pressure, and lack of freedom in their land under colonization. Thus, Papuan people need trauma healing, and Jesus as the Sago of Life can provide this. As the Sago of life, Jesus heals Papuan people from trauma, and encourages them to forgive the oppressor and become an instrument of

²⁰⁷ Berita Papua, "Manfaat Pohon Sagu Dari Daun Hingga Akar Di Papua," Berita Papua, February 5, 2020.

<https://beritapapua.id/manfaat-pohon-sagu-dari-daun-hingga-akar-di-papua/#:~:text=Sagunya>.

²⁰⁸ J.R. Mansoben, *Pandangan Suku- Suku Bangsa Irian Terhadap Kehidupan Nasional* (Jayapura: Kanwil Depdikbud-Uncen, 1988), 4-5. Mansoben, *Sistem Politik Tradisional Di Irian Jaya, Indonesia Studi Perbandingan*, 31-33. Papuan ethnic groups also have distinguished livelihood systems (economy systems) according to their ecological zones. The first environmental zone is the swamp and coastal areas. The livelihood of people in these areas comes through squeezing Sago, fishing, and gardening. The second ecological zone is hill and valley areas. These people are farmers and hunters. The third zone is Papuan people who live in the central highlands; they are farmers, hunters, and raise pigs.

²⁰⁹ Mansoben, *Pandangan Suku- Suku Bangsa Irian Terhadap Kehidupan Nasional*, 4-5.

peace to fight for truth for the oppressed. Mansoben, a Papuan Anthropologist, explains that the Sago tree's function is like a mother who gives birth and sacrifices herself for human beings' new life. Sago also sacrifices her body to be cut, have her starch removed, and be eaten. Moreover, the Sago tree sacrifices herself to feed the Papuan people. In this way, Papuan people liken Jesus to Sago. Jesus sacrificed his life for the people in his Jewish context, as the New Testament Gospels witnessed.²¹⁰ Jesus suffered rejection and death. Jesus is the Sago of Life who gives his life to stand with suffering and intimidated people. His life and presence were liberating for those who suffered from all kinds of oppression. Jesus also freed the rulers from wrong thoughts and actions that brought suffering. Jesus is the Sago who struggles for justice so that all who are poor may find food security. Food is an essential component of peace.

Papuan Christians who struggle for food in their day-to-day lives resonate with Jesus' manifestation in the Sago that saves people from hunger. Seeing the value of Sago, Harold Maran, a Papuan theologian, wrote a poem entitled *Kristus Dari Rawa – Rawa* (Christ from the Swamp Areas)²¹¹

Hijau terhampar sejauh pandang,	Green spread as far as one can see.
indah menghias panorama	Beauty decorates the panorama
Di atas rawa – rawa bumiku,	upon the swamp areas of my land
negeri Cenderawasih	the land of Cenderawasih.
Tertegun pada tegakmu	Stunned by your straightness
dan pesona lambaian tangan – tangan itu	and the beautiful wave of your hands
Teguh penuh hikmat	Sturdy, full of wisdom
dan lembut penuh cinta	and graceful, full of love
Sarat makna dan guna	Full of meaning and benefit
gambaran sempurna Sang penyelamat	perfect image of the savior
Engkau yang ketika genap waktumu terkapar,	you die when your time is coming, lying
mati tercabik	lacerated death

²¹⁰ I interviewed with J. Mansoben on November 5, 2019.

²¹¹ Harold Maran, *Ceramah Teologi Sagu* (Wondama – Papua: Unpublished, 2009).

Engkau yang oleh pecahan–pecahan tubuhmu	Because of the pieces of your body
aku hidup	I have life
Telah kulihat Kristus padamu	I already see Christ in you.
Ya, aku melihat Kristus di rawa –rawa	Yes, I see Christ in the swamp areas.
Teguh pada kebenaran	Stand up for righteousness
tegak bagi keadilan	Stand up for justice
Tenaga untuk kelemahanku	Energy for my weakness
obat bagi sakitku	Medicine for my sickness
Sungguh tak terbayangkan	Indeed, I cannot imagine
Aku berjumpa Kristus dari rawa – rawa	to find Christ in the swamp areas
Yang lembut menyapa dan rela berbagi	Soft to greet and willing to share
Bahkan hidup- Nya untuk hidupku	Even, giving her life for my life
Aku bertemu Engkau penebusku	I meet you my Savior
Dibelantara hijau negeri	In the forest of the green land
Berdiri kokoh dalam kelembutan cinta	Standing up in soft love
Sebagai pohon sago di rawa – rawa.	As a sago tree in the swamp area.

Jesus, as the Sago of life, is a model of enculturated christology in Papuan culture.

Sago's function and benefit create community, peace, protection, repentance, power, and healing. Moreover, Sago has given livelihood to the Papuan people who work as sago squeezers. A christology that lifts the image of Jesus as the Sago of Life is an effort to break the old, traditional paradigm of Papuan churches that avoid using Papuan culture in developing christology. Besides Manseren Manggundi and Sago, the Papuan fisherfolks also find Jesus in an image close to their daily lives. The following section will explore the image of Jesus as the Fish of Life.

Jesus as the Fish of Life

Another theological student at the I.S. Kijne Seminary in Jayapura, Papua, Yohanis Calvin Nerotouw, introduced the image of Jesus as the Fish of Life.²¹² Nerotouw explored the culture of his tribe, the Tanah Merah tribe in Tablasupa village, eastern

²¹² Yohanis Calvin Nerotouw, *Ikan Kehidupan: Suatu Kajian Teologis Kontekstual Terhadap Lambang Ikan Di Jemaat Wibong Tablasupa Klasik Tanah Merah* (Jayapura: Skripsi STT GKI I.S.Kijne, 2003), 34-35.

Papua. He discovered that fish is a sacred symbol of his community. The Tablasupa people relate fish to their ancestors. They believed that fish is a part of nature that helps the fisherfolks. When danger comes in the ocean, the sacred fish appears and helps the fishers. Hence, Tablasupa people cannot eat sacred sea creatures related to their ancestors like sailfish (marlin), tuna, and sharks. Therefore, the Tablasupa people have the fish symbol on every roof of their traditional houses. The fish symbol has a social function and role in distinguishing status in the community. First, only the Ondoafi's (chieftain) tribe uses the sailfish symbol. It cannot be used by other tribes, not of Ondoafi's heritage. The sailfish symbol protects, directs, and helps people in community life's social aspects. Second, tribes that provide economic services in the customary structures use the symbol of tuna. Tuna represents fellowship and service. These tribes catch tuna to provide fish and food to poor people, widows, orphans, older people, and disabled people. The tuna-catcher tribes take the role of feeding the community. Third, the tribes that use the symbol of the shark deal with security. The shark symbolizes the power to protect the ethnic group from other tribes or outside forces.²¹³

However, the symbol of the fish is not only the symbol of the Tablasupa people. It is also a symbol that benefits other people. The Tablasupa people's symbol of the fish on their houses' rooves is a communication tool for outsiders who visit the Tablasupa community. When visitors from outside Tablasupa come, they only need to look up at the roof carvings to know which homes belong to which tribe. The Tablasupa people hold the traditional belief that they have a relation with the sacred Fish. Consequently, they do

²¹³ Ibid., 44-46.

not eat the sacred Fish, and they need to protect the Fish. It reflects the Tablasupa people's recognition of the connection between human beings and nature. The Fish symbol shows the roles and functions that the Tablasupa people enact in their community life. Tablasupa people acknowledge that humans benefit from the fish's life and are responsible for protecting the fish habitat. The Tablasupa Christians try to look deeper into the fish symbol in connection to the image of Jesus. They hold that Jesus is the Fish of Life, who has already been with their ancestors. Through their ancestors, Jesus has given them the wisdom to carve the fish symbol on the roof of their customary house. They believe that Jesus is the Fish of Life for their community. Relating to the image of Jesus as the Fish of Life shows the connection or interrelation between Jesus, human beings, and nature. The Christ image of Jesus as the Fish of Life is the christology of the Tablasupa Papuan people. They see the Fish as the embodiment of Christ, who always protects their life when they are at sea and struggle to maintain their community.

The Fish of Life is a symbol of Jesus for fisherfolks. The Fish symbolizes Jesus' solidarity with the people who struggle to sustain their livelihood from the ocean. The Tablasupa Christians interpret the work of Jesus to be closely related to the nature of fish and the role of their lives--feeding them, protecting them from hunger, and caring for them. The fish is significant to sustaining people's lives in Jesus' context. Some of his disciples took fishing as their livelihood (Matthew 4: 18-22; Mark 1:16-20 and Luke 5:1-11).

Moreover, fish also became part of Jesus' work and service. Jesus fed 5000 people with five loaves and two Fish (Matthew 14:13-21; Mark 6:30-44; Luke 9:10-17 and John

6:1-13). Jesus, by pointing to the area that teemed with fish, Jesus provided the disciples with fish to eat (John 21:1-25).

Furthermore, the Christian community used the fish symbol in the second century as a sacred symbol for the early church during the Roman Empire's persecution. They placed this sacred symbol so the Christian community would know the place for their fellowship. The fish is *ichthus* in Greek, and it served as an acronym for Ιησοῦς Χριστός Θεός Υἱός Σωτήρ (Iesous Christos, Theou Yios, Soter or Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior). From the early church, I learn that the fish is an important symbol of confessing who Jesus is.²¹⁴ The image of the Fish as a symbol for Jesus in the early church and among Papuan people shows the people's faith confession of who is Jesus. Calling Jesus as the Fish of Life means Jesus becomes a part of sustaining the Tablasupa community, Papuan people, and all of creation. Jesus, as the Fish of Life, shows God's presence to protect and save human beings and nature from damage. Jesus as the Fish of Life reconciles relations between rulers and people, people and their neighbors, and human beings and nature.

Life on earth needs harmony. Moreover, fish is essential for human life. It is helpful for the human body's nutrition. Seeing the benefit of fish to human life and avowing Christ's image of Jesus as the Fish of Life shows how Jesus's teachings provide services to human life. Jesus' teachings are like nutrients beneficial to human life. Jesus teaches about kindness and honesty and strives to withstand the storms of life like an angler on the sea, which is sometimes calm but sometimes choppy. When the apostles and

²¹⁴ H. Berkhof and J.H. Enklaar, *Sejarah Gereja* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1996), 71-72.

Jesus were on the boat, and there was a storm, Jesus calmed the frightened apostles. Jesus told them to have hope in him so they would be saved (Mark 4:35-41; Matthew 8:23-27 and Luke 8:22-25). Human life is not easy; sometimes, they need others to help. Therefore, Jesus, as the Fish of life gives hope that Jesus will come and provide help in any problematic situation,. Thus, Jesus, as the Fish of life, is a symbol of maintenance and a provision of human needs, especially for the Papuan people. Understanding the Christ image of Jesus as the Fish is enculturation. Papuan Christians on the coast see the Fish's sacred value in their lives and implement its meaning in their daily lives and beliefs. I have discussed the Christ images of Jesus as Manseren Manggundi, Sago of the Life, and the Fish of Life. Below, I will discuss further Jesus as Cenderawasih.

Jesus as Cenderawasih

Jesus, as Cenderawasih, emerges from a study of the importance of Cenderawasih to Papuan people. For the Papuans, Cenderawasih is a symbol of greatness and the presence of a supreme being in their lives. Indeed, Cenderawasih is the name of a Papuan bird known as the bird of Paradise (*Paradisaeidae*). Cenderawasih birds live in Papua, Papua New Guinea, and East Australia. The Cenderawasih has 43 species characterized by extravagant plumage in gorgeous colors such as black, brown, reddish, orange, yellow, white, blue, green, and purple, with long and colorful antennae.²¹⁵Based on the meaning of the name or its etymology, Cendrawasih combines two words: *cendra* meaning God or goddess, and *wasih* meaning messenger. Thus, Cenderawasih means the messenger of the

²¹⁵ Frino Bariarcianur and Ahmad Yunus, *Papua Jejak Langkah Penuh Kesan: An Expedition to Remember* (Jakarta: PT. Gramedia, 2011), 81-83. Cf. F.J.F. van Hasselt, *Di Tanah Orang Papua*, ed. Joost W.Mirino (Jayapura: Yayasan Timotius Papua, 2002), 9-11.

gods and goddesses.²¹⁶Traditionally, Papuan people believed that Cenderawasih was an incarnation of the deity. Papuan people believe that Cenderawasih is a bird from heaven.

In traditional ceremonies, Papuan people use the Cenderawasih bird or feathers as traditional hats and clothes. Papuan traditional leaders wear Cenderawasih as a symbol of the deity's greatness. Moreover, the colors of the bird of Paradise make up the primary form of painting that covers Papuan peoples' bodies when they perform traditional ceremonies. Papuans equate Cenderawasih's color with the Papuan people's skins, and the bird's feathers reflect the shape of Papuan hair, which is curly. Papuan people are very proud to be called Cenderawasih. One uniqueness of the Cenderawasih bird is that it likes to dance and whistle beautifully. Papuan people create traditional dances and songs that use the way of the dance and whistle of Cenderawasih. Cenderawasih's feather colors are so beautiful that they amaze people who see them. Cenderawasih is a smart bird in terms of protecting itself.

For instance, when humans approach Cenderawasih, it goes to a safer place that humans do not touch. Cenderawasih avoids danger when threats come. Unfortunately, the population of Cenderawasih is decreasing due to the hunting and logging of forests in Papua. These birds have migrated into Papua's untouched interior areas To protect themselves further. These birds of Paradise are diverse and spread evenly throughout the land of Papua. The Papuan people, consisting of 250 tribes, are united under the symbol of the bird of Paradise. The Papuan people also believe that the map of Papua Island resembles the form of a Cenderawasih bird. The Papuan people use Cenderawasih to

²¹⁶ Diki Setiadi Permana, "Burung Cenderawasih, Bird of Paradise," *Forester Act News*, November 12, 2019. <https://foresteract.com/burung-cendrawasih/#:~:text=Burung%20Cendrawasih%20memiliki%20ciri%2Dciri,putih%2C%20ungu%2C%20dan%20hijau>.

describe their characteristics and land that differ from other people and places in the world. Cenderawasih has a special meaning for Papuan people. They see Cenderawasih as a Papuan bird and a unique symbol of Papuan identity. They use Cenderawasih to claim their identity. Cenderawasih appears in the song *Sup Mambesak* (The Land of Cenderawasih). The song was written by Papuan musicians Simon Wambrau and Sam Kapisa.²¹⁷

Sup mambesak Manseren byuk be aya,	the land of Cenderawasih, Lord gives to me
ya newen da man be a wawaos	the land which has become a conversation
Bon bekaki mandif nary or ro bo	the with the highest mountains
Randak ro so ron isof maroke	spreading from Sorong to Merauke
Kuker sawarwar swa ruser yena	with all my love and my mind
Manser'n Ryo us aya kada	Lord protects us
Sup beryan Manser'n byuk be aya	the land which is given by Lord to us
Kuker payam yum na	with their beautiful panorama
Yawaren warek na?	May I be able to keep and protect?

I contend that the Cenderawasih symbolizes the presence of deity, beauty, protection, plurality, and unification among Papuans. Furthermore, mentioning Jesus as the Bird of Paradise or Cenderawasih tells who Jesus is for the Papuan people. For Papuan Christians, Jesus symbolizes beautiful grace that unifies all Papuan tribes. Thus, the Christ image of Jesus as the Cenderawasih of the Papuan cultural and natural symbol shares similarities with early Christian symbols.

The New Testament exhibits the analogy method of similarity, metaphor, and symbolism, specifically the Gospel of John. In the Gospel of John, Jesus teaches in aphorisms, parables, and short discourses; however, John teaches in long discourses on symbolic themes. The christology of John witnessed that Jesus refers to himself by using

²¹⁷ Arnold C. Ap, *Songger Berok* (Jayapura: Manyouri Group, 1978), 23.

symbols or metaphors relating to the time's culture and nature. This is evident when the Johannine Christian community confesses Jesus as Logos or the Word (John 1:1-3). Moreover, the christology of John begins with what Jesus said about himself. Jesus said, "I am" the bread of life (John 6:35), "I am" the light of the world (John 8:12), "I am" the good shepherd (John 10:11), "I am" the way, and the truth and the life (John 14:1-14), "I am" living water (John 4:1-42), and "I am" the true vine (John 15:1-8). The christology of John witnessed that Jesus used the "I am" sayings to address himself as Christ. The christology of John shows that the Christ images of Jesus can be found in the form of symbols that exist in culture and nature. Thus, as a Papuan person, I confess Jesus as Cenderawasih. This confession asserts that Jesus is part of the Papuan peoples' lives. Understanding Christ's images of Jesus must come from the encounters of Jesus with Papuan Christians. Papuan Christians believe that Jesus is Cenderawasih, the symbol of the beauty and prosperity of the Papuan people and their land. The Papuan song created by Yance Rumbino in 1985 entitled *Tanah Papua* reflects this,²¹⁸

Tanah Papua	The Land of Papua
Di Sana Pulauku yang ku puja slalu	In the distance is my island that I praise
Tanah Papua, pulau indah	The Land of Papua, the beautiful island
Hutan dan lautmu yang membisu slalu	Your forests and your oceans leave me speechless
Cenderawasih, burung emas	Cenderawasih, golden bird
Gunung gunung lembah lembah	The mountains and the valleys,
Yang penuh misteri	Filled with mystery
Yang ku puja slalu	And I praise them always,
Keindahan alammu	I praise the beauty of your nature
yang mempesona	that humbles me
Sungaimu yang deras	Your rushing rivers
mengalirkan emas	filled with gold

²¹⁸ Satu Harapan Magazine Jayapura Second Edition, 21 Mei 2017, 1.

<http://www.satuharapan.com/read-detail/read/lagu-tanah-papua-ajak-oap-jadi-tuan-di-negerinya-sendiri>.

Syo ya, Tuhan terima kasih

Oh Lord, I offer my thanks.

Accordingly, Cenderawasih, the bird of Paradise, has become a symbol of honor for the Papuan people. To say that Jesus as Cenderawasih is to confess that Jesus is a Papuan who shares the Papuan people's life experience and culture. Up to this time, however, the iconography in Papuan churches portrays Jesus as a Westerner or a person from another part of Indonesia. It is, therefore, about time for the people to see Jesus as the unique Cenderawasih. Jesus understands the hopes and prayers of the Papuan people to live in unity to protect Papuans and the land.

The Papuan people, like the Cenderawasih, are beautiful with curly hair and dark skin. Unfortunately, they are hunted down and marginalized in their land. The Papuan population is small compared to the other parts of Indonesia. According to the Central Agency on Statistics, the whole Papua province's population is 3,322,526, and West Papua Province's population is 871,510. Papua's population is only a small fraction of the 250 million Indonesians.²¹⁹

Jesus the Cenderawasih is one with the Papuan peoples' struggle to protect their identity, land, and for liberation. In the image of Cenderawasih, Papuan Christians encounter Jesus for the whole of their lives. Through the Christ images of Jesus as Manseren Manggundi, the Sago of Life, the Fish of Life, and Cenderawasih, a new path can open to understanding Christ's images of Jesus. Papuan Christian christology introduces images of Jesus that Papuan Christians have developed from encountering Jesus in their culture, life experiences, and indigenous beliefs. Papuan Christians have

²¹⁹ ICP Secretariat & Budi Tjahjono, *Human Rights in West Papua*, 3.

gained new understandings of whom Jesus is based on the history of their cultural contexts. They enact these in Papuan art, literature, and artists' work.

Encountering Jesus Christ in the Works of Papuan Artists, Art, and Literature

Encountering Jesus Christ in the Papuan context started when Papuan people encountered the non-Papuans. The outside culture has had both positive and negative impacts on Papua. In response, through their artists, art, and literature, the Papuan people struggled to protect their culture from the negative impact of foreign cultures. Culture is the identity of ethnic groups in the world. Commonly, every ethnic group has seven cultural elements; art, language, religion, livelihood, social organization, local knowledge systems, and technology.²²⁰ Art is one element of culture commonly used to distinguish between ethnic groups around the world. Art can be found in many forms. These include dances, music and songs, paintings, carvings, architecture, and drama. Papuan Anthropologist Enos Henok Rumansara said:

Papuan people who have Melanesian characteristics look to art to reveal their identity. Art shown in customary ceremonies is a part of the life cycle and rites of family members. Therefore arts are an essential part of Papuan people's lives. One of the best Papuan people's proverbs says if we do not sing and dance, we will no longer be alive.²²¹

Henok Rumansara's argument shows how the Papuan people look at their identity. Art is a part of Papuan people's lives. Papuan arts such as music, song, dance, and carving are a part of Papuan culture. Every Papuan ethnic groups' art has a different characteristic. Through art, Papuan people tell and express their experiences, their love of and devotion to land, village, family, and their idea of how to live in harmony. For the first time, the

²²⁰ W. A. Haviland, *Antropologi Jilid I* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 1988), 10.

²²¹ Enos H. Rumansara, *Tari Yosim Pancar* (Jayapura: Kepel, 2014), 1-2.

consciousness of the importance of Papuan art and literature was raised by the Papuan activist and anthropologist Arnold C. Ap in the 1970s. Ap gathered Papuan musicians, Sam Kapisa, Yuslin Monim, J. Sawaki, Edu Mofu, and friends to build a music group named the Mambesak or Cenderawasih group. Ap went to all parts of Papua and collected Papuan folk songs, poetry, literature, humor, and carvings. He placed them in the Anthropology Museum of Cenderawasih University, Jayapura, Papua.

Moreover, he wrote a book of 101 folk songs entitled *Manyouri*. The songs related to Papuan nature, people, and land. The songs were joyful but also lamenting to God.²²² Of 101 folk songs, about 13 are spiritual; that is, they relate to the concepts of Manseren Jesus or Jesus Christ. Ap encouraged new generations of Papuans to keep and save their culture. The Mambesak music group led by Ap produced five volumes of Papuan folk songs from thirty Papuan languages. Arnold Ap's project mobilized cultural performance (song, dance, music) to articulate the differences among Papuan ethnic groups. One member of the Mambesak group explained that at that time, the Cenderawasih University Museum was the place for performance artists to sing, dance, play guitar, ukelele, and *tifa*-drum, and narrate satirical skits known as *Mop* or humor.²²³

The cultural performance movement, notably Arnold Ap's Mambesak performance troupe, was more likely to inspire Papuan people's nationalism among followers. The Mambesak limited its repertoire to songs and dances considered Papuan in origin. Arnold Ap and his collaborator, composer Sam Kapisa, took specific liberty to represent west

²²² Ap, *Songger Berok*.

²²³ I interviewed with Frans Rumbrawer on November 3, 2019. Cf. Ap, *Songger Berok*. See also Frans Rumbrawer, "Munara: Ritual Penganugerahan Maninsyowi; Ritus Wor Tertinggi Dalam Fase Kehidupan Sosial Orang Biak," in *Dengan Segenap Hatimu* 2, 142-156.

Papuan performance art and material culture in the broader national culture. Ap and the Mambesak group allowed a sense of alternative identity to be sustained. In Arnold Ap's essay, "Inventory of basic dance steps from Irian Jaya,"²²⁴ he described in detail the dance steps from four Papuan regions and proposed that each dance's foundation movements responded to the surrounding environment of its location.

He explained that each element presented information or data from the Papuan region of that dance material.²²⁵ For example, the lifted hands relate to worshipping supreme beings that bless their ancestors and descendants. Moreover, the body and feet movements relate to celebrating life in the rich land. Later, Papuan Christian artists developed dance from Papuan regions to show that God was already with their ancestors before Christianity came to Papua. According to Ap, the voices, feet, and hands can touch the land and make sense of the love of Papuan land while praising God in Jesus Christ. For example, Papuans transformed and used traditional spiritual dance with singing from the Biak-Numfor-Papuan tribe called *wor* into Christian worship dances and songs to express the divinity of Jesus. Sam Kapisa, a Papuan Christian artist, transformed *wor Neno Neno* on November 15, 1980, into Christian *Wor*,²²⁶

Neno neno neno	oh oh oh
Syowi sanandik kuker papoik farao au	Praise and glory to You
Yore mamo mamo ro bebor nanekam	I beg You to look at my offering
Na jadi snaro baba	Let everything happen according to
Ma marisen beja	Your greatness and will
Neno neno neno Manseren Yesus	oh oh oh Jesus Manseren (Christ)
Syowi sanandik kuker papoik faro au	Praise and glory to You

²²⁴ Arnold Ap, "Inventarisasi Gerak Dasar Tari Daerah Irian Jaya," in *Aspek Dan Prospek Seni Budaya Irian Jaya*, ed. Don Flassy (Jayapura: Cenderawasih Universitas, 1974), 117.

²²⁵ Rumansara, *Tari Yosim Pancar*, 19-22. Cf. Ap, "Inventarisasi Gerak Dasar Tari Daerah Irian Jaya," in *Aspek dan Prospek Seni Budaya Irian Jaya*, 117.

²²⁶ F. Duim, ed., *Segala Yang Bernafas Jilid I: Buku Himpunan Nyanyian Rohani Iriani Gereja Kristen Injili Di Irian Jaya* (Jayapura: STT GKI I.S.Kijne, 1988), 7.

Yore mamo mamo ro bebor nanekam	I beg You to look at my offering
Na jadi snaro baba	Let everything happen according to
Ma marisen beja	Your greatness and will

Singing and dancing are part of Papuan life. Without singing and dancing, there is no life. Before Papuans became Christians, singing and dancing were the ways traditional Papuan people worshiped a deity incarnated in their ancestors. After the Papuan people became Christians, they transformed traditional singing and dancing to confess their faith to God incarnate in Jesus Christ. For them, God in Jesus Christ is with them at all times--the past, present, and future. The works of Arnold Ap and the Mambesak group symbolized Papuan identity. This group consciously decided to engage Papuan people in preserving their cultural identity despite their existence within the Indonesian state. The Indonesian military arrested Ap in November 1983 and killed him on April 26, 1984.

They accused Arnold Ap and his friend Edu Mofu of pro-Papuan independence activists. The government considered Arnold Ap and his friends' music to be a potent source of cultural resistance in Papua.²²⁷ Ap and the Mambesak group are still popular today, and the new generation of Papuan artists continues the work of Mambesak. One of Ap's favorite proverbs says, "If we do not sing and dance, we will no longer be alive."²²⁸ Singing for life is a significant source of cultural identity in Papua. Ap's last song tells of the mystery of life. He sang that the only thing he desired and waited for was nothing else but the freedom to express the Papuan struggle to claim their culture, identity, and land.

²²⁷ Edward Wolfers, "West Irian 1: The Bird of Paradise State University" *Institute of Current World Affairs Newsletter*, 1969, 18. See also D.C. Ajamiseba and A.J. Subari, *Pengabdian Pada Masyarakat di Universitas Cenderawasih, Disampaikan Dalam Seminar Lokakarya* (Jayapura: Unpublished report, Cenderawasih University, 1983). Cf. Ap, "Inventarisasi Gerak Dasar Tari Daerah Irian Jaya," in *Aspek dan Prospek Seni Budaya Irian Jaya*, 117.

²²⁸ Wolfers, "West Irian 1: The Bird of Paradise State University" *Institute of Current World Affairs Newsletter*, 18.

Arnold Ap's music and life show that words come from Papuans' hearts and voices' desire to be free. Moreover, Arnold Ap and the Mambesak group's lyrics and tunes celebrate Papua's mystery and natural beauty. They retell Papuan legends, teach knowledge and wisdom, lament, laugh, express anger, and speak about the ordinariness of daily life and struggle. Arnold Ap's song entitled *Awin Sup Ine* (Oh Mother, This Land) tells of the Papuan people's connection to their homeland: "At dusk, the lights of the sun paint beautiful skylines, exciting the eye and heart."²²⁹

Twenty years after Arnold Ap and Edu Mofu's death, that spirit of Mambesak rose again in the music group called Black Paradise and Eyuser led by Papuan Musician and Human Rights activist Ferdinand Marisan. Black Paradise and Eyuser have a simple message, "We are here to show that West Papuan culture is still alive."²³⁰ Papuan culture is an expression of praising God in Jesus Christ in Mambesak's land and hope for the dream that Papuan people will be free one day. They will glorify God in Jesus Christ, who has already given the Papuan land to the people with black and curly hair.²³¹

For the Papuan Christian artists, praising God incarnate in Jesus Christ in their lives must be through music, song, dance, and literature.²³² If worship is monotonous and not alive, this means human beings are no longer alive.²³³ We can see this belief in two spiritual songs: the first is a natal song in the Biak-Numfor-Papuan language created by

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Rumansara and Marisan, *Apresiasi Seni Budaya Papua Sebagai Identitas Orang Papua*, 17.

²³² I interviewed Ferdinand Marisan in March 10, 2019.

²³³ Enos Henok Rumansara, *Grup Mambesak Tampil Memperjuangkan Sebuah Identitas* (Netherland: Seminar Papuan Ethnic Group, 2017), 1-12.

Arnold Ap around the 1970s, entitled *Mans'ren Ryir Koba*; the second song is an invocation song created by Ferdinand Marisan around 2009 entitled *Pusakaku Papua*.²³⁴

(1) Mans'ren Ryir Koba

God does not abandon us

Rofandun sasar barbor bilis dauninyan dunia
Mans'ren ryoyusko, Mans'ren Ryir Koba
Sawar-war byedi iba fyasnai ma be kokaem
ryir rumgun byedi mandos barari
Menu Kasun iwa ro sub Yudea
Menu Bethlehem fyarser beko
Kampirare kasun Yesus Manseren
Jouw manfun suba,
suba jouw manfun

When the world is full of evil
God is with us; God does not abandon us
God shows amazingly love to us
God gave his/her only child to the world
there is a small town in the land of Judea
in Bethlehem's town has presented to us
a little boy, Jesus Manseren (Christ)
Respect and praise only to God,
Only to God respect and praise

(2) Pusakaku Papua

My heritage, Papuan Land

Pusakaku papua,
kupuja selalu
karna Kau (Yesus) bri teduh,
insan insan lemah
Kau beri tanaman yang subur
di tanah yang jelas
memberi kekuatan yang teguh
kukenang masa lalu dahulu di sana
laras senjatanya kepala ku peri
kupilih satu cara tinggalkan kampungku
tinggalkan anak dan kekasihku.
kumohon pada Tuhan lindungi kami hu
lepaskan belenggu dari sang seteru
kenegeri idaman, Papua negeriku
negeri yang Tuhan beri padaku

My heritage, Papuan land,
always I praise
Lord (Jesus) protect us,
weak humans
Lord, you give plants
in the blessed land
give us unwavering strength
I remember my experience before
the barrel of a gun, my head hurts
I choose one way, leaving my village
leaving my children and beloved
I beg to the Lord to protect us
remove the shackles from the enemies
to the dream land, Papua my land
the land, the Lord gives to me

When Papuan Christians sing the two songs above and dance, they believe that Jesus is near them and Jesus hears their needs and problems. Encountering Jesus Christ, the Papuan Christians ground themselves in their grassroots understanding of who Jesus is through their living reality. They have built a christology on the earth and not in the sky

²³⁴ Komnas Perempuan, *Stop Sudah: Kesaksian Perempuan Papua Korban Kekerasan Dan Pelanggaran HAM 1963-2009* (Jayapura: Komnas Perempuan-Pokja Perempuan MRP-ICTJ, 2009), 90.

that is, far from the Papuan context. Papuan people articulate their meeting with Jesus through songs, dances, poetry, carving, and literature.

They have praised God in Jesus Christ, who is in solidarity with them in their struggles to claim their culture, identity, and land. Therefore, Jesus is the Papuan Christ. Another important component in Papuan christology is about encountering Jesus in Papuan Christian women's struggles.

Exploring Christ Images in the Day-to-Day Life Struggles of Papuan Christian Women

Traditional western christology, long dominated by patriarchal thought, has influenced Papuan churches' christology. As a result, this christology oftentimes do not give Christian Papuan women room to reveal who Jesus is from women's perspective. This section will present how Papuan Christian women describe Jesus from their point of view. Specifically, I explored the Christ images in the daily life struggles of Papuan Christian women. First, I examined who and where Jesus Christ is according to the Papuan Christian women's context and experiences. Second, I explored the Christ's images in the stories of courageous Papuan women in the political situations and how the Christ's images of Jesus bring hope to Papuan Christian women.

Who and Where is Jesus Christ for Papuan Christian Women?

Papuan Christian women tried to answer the question of who and where Jesus Christ is amidst the patriarchal culture in Papua. Papuan women's lives are not easy. They struggle to break the patriarchal system that is a part of Papuan culture. Budi Tjahjono and

Silvia Palomba report on violence in Papuan households.²³⁵ They assert that one cause of discrimination towards women is the custom and culture of Papua. The strong patriarchal system in Papua limits attention to the violence against women.

In other words, this is not an important issue within the community's customs. Moreover, the position of Papuan women in cultural institutions is unfair. Women cannot make decisions regarding crucial problems concerning customs, tribe, family, and individuals. When traditions are not neutral towards both men and women, women become victims, and there is increased violence against women. Papuan customs and culture challenged women at all levels of life.²³⁶

In the past, Papuan women enjoyed highly valued and honored positions in the Papuan community. For example, during the Second World War, on the island of Insubabi-Biak in Papua, Angganita Manufandu, a Papuan Christian woman, was regarded as the bearer of Koreri or messenger from heaven. She combined traditional Biak-Numfor- Papuan beliefs with the Christian faith about Jesus. Hence, the Biak-Numfor-Papuan people called her the Bin Dame, meaning Peace-making Woman. People around Biak came to hear advice and messages from heaven and receive healing from illnesses. Then around 1942, the Japanese soldiers captured and killed Angganita because they suspected her of being the leader who activated the Papuan Biak-Numfor people to rise against the Japanese rulers.²³⁷

²³⁵ Budi Tjahjono and Palomba, *Human Rights in Papua*, 43. Indigenous women (Papuan Women) report high rates of domestic violence perpetrated by their husbands or partners. In Papua, it is found 98 cases of violence occurred in the household.

²³⁶ I interviewed with Fientje S. Jarangga on October 18, 2019 and Fransina Yoteni, Ph.D. Ed on January 28, 2020.

²³⁷ Strelan, *Kargoisme Di Melanesia-Suatu Studi Sejarah Dan Teologi Kultus Kargo*, 36.

Angganita's story illustrates how great are the Papuan women's cultural values and how Papuan women often become leaders because their competence is higher than that of Papuan men. Angganita was a Papuan Christian woman who used her Papuan Biak-Numfor indigenous beliefs to understand who Jesus for her community is. Her story shows that Papuan Christian women have, for a long time, brought Jesus to be a part of their lives and struggles to maintain their identity. Indeed, other parts of Papua also have stories of how, Papuan women had a respected position in the past. Unfortunately, many Papuan women's narratives have not been heard again because of the dominant Papuan patriarchal culture.

To this day, I find that Papuan Christian men, and even women theologians, have not yet articulated Christ's images of Jesus that can answer the patriarchal cultural challenges faced by Papuan women. Hence, Papuan Christian women must search for an image of Jesus who becomes part of their struggle to have the same rights as Papuan men. Learning from Angganita's story, I find that a Christ's image for Papuan women is Jesus as a Papuan woman. Understanding the Christ's image of Jesus as a Papuan woman shows that Jesus was male, but he showed a feminist character that took the side of women. The Christ's image of Jesus as a Papuan woman can make Papuan Christian women aware that Jesus becomes part of Papuan women's struggles for dignity, respect, and on an equal position with Papuan men.

I find Jesus in the four Gospels in the New Testament to be a part of women's struggles. Jesus showed solidarity with women in their suffering when Jesus talked with the Samaritan woman (John 4:1-42) and in the way that Jesus responded to the woman

accused of adultery (John 8:1-11). These passages help to answer the question, "Where is Jesus Christ?" Jesus Christ is always with women in their struggles and problems. Jesus came as a boundary breaker, as the Gospel of Luke reveals. A Papuan woman theologian, Yemima Krey said, "God, Papuan women, who are black-skinned and curly-haired, are also created by your hands."²³⁸ According to Krey, Papuan women, being the image of God, need to struggle for their dignity as human beings created by God. Papuan women cannot just wait for help, especially from Papuan men.

Instead, Papuan women need to develop self-awareness about their capacity and rights as human beings. The old culture and mindset of Papuan men that they are superior to women must be broken so that Papuan men and women's lives become equal.²³⁹ Although the historical Jesus was a man, his work and service were always on the women's side. Moreover, the four Gospels' authors are men, but they still give space for women's concerns. Jesus, in his work and service, stands up for women. Papuan Christians can use this reality to speak to Papuan patriarchal culture and domestic violence against women. However, it is also important to look at Christ's images in telling the stories of Papuan women's valor in their political situation.

Christ Images in the Stories of Papuan Women's Valor in their Political Situation

Aside from the patriarchal system in Papuan culture, Papuan women also struggle to keep their identity as Papuan people. Papuan women have had difficult political experiences with the state when they struggle to claim their identity, culture, and land.

²³⁸ Yemima Krey, "Suatu Usaha Untuk Memahami Perkembangan Gerakan Feminisme Di Amerika Dalam Rangka Pelayanan Wanita Irian Jaya," in *Dengan Segenap Hatimu*, ed. David Sulisty and Feije Duim (Jayapura: STT GKI & Sinode GKI Irian Jaya, 1988), 162.

²³⁹ Ibid.,

One Papuan woman, Yosepha Alomang, who has struggled to save the Amungme land, said:

Nemangkawi mountain is me, Wanagong Lake is my marrow, the sea is my feet, the middle land is my body. You already eat me; which part of my body do you not eat and destroy? You, as a Government must-see and be conscious; you already eat me. Please, you must respect my land and my body!²⁴⁰

Yosepha Alomang's view of the mountain, lake, sea, and land as a woman's body reflects the Amungme people's understanding of nature's meaning. Yosepha Alomang struggled for her land and suffered people against the state system. She struggled to protect her land and people as God gave them in Jesus Christ to them. The Amungme tribe lives in Papua's highlands or the Ersts-berg and Grass-berg mountains in the middle of the Papuan Islands. Today, most Amungme land is under the concession of the Freeport-Indonesia gold mining company. Yosepha Alomang views Jesus Christ as a companion in her struggle to protect the Amungme land. The Amungme people have suffered because the Indonesian government and the United States of America control their land. The Amungme people have become victims of state policy. However, Jesus is the boundary breaker between the ruler and the ruled, between the powerful and the powerless. Always, Jesus has stood against injustice and untruth, as Luke's christology emphasizes (Luke 4:18-19).

Yosepha Alomang believes that Papuan people have the responsibility for the ancestors and God in Jesus Christ to protect their people, culture, identity, and land. Yosepha Alomang, in her struggle, was arrested and imprisoned for several months.

²⁴⁰ Benny Giay and Yafet Kambai, *Yosepha Alomang: Pergulatan Seorang Perempuan Papua Melawan Penindasan* (Abepura: ELSHAM PAPUA, 2003), 1.

However, for Yosepha Alomang, protecting her people and land is part of her duty to her ancestors and God in Jesus Christ. Alomang's resistance against the injustice of the ruler, Indonesia, shows that Papuan women also have the same abilities as men in fighting for human rights. From 1963 to 2009, there were 138 cases of state violence against Papuan women. These included murder, shootings, detention, torture, and rape. Most of these cases of violence occurred in Papua during military operations.²⁴¹

Reflecting and honoring the Papuan women, I describe two stories of valor of Papuan Christian women under Papuan current political situation. The first story is of Naomi Masa from Besum Village in Jayapura Regency, Papua. She narrated that in 1983, Indonesian military officers came to her house searching for her husband who was a member of the Papuan Freedom Movement. At the time, the military arrested both Naomi and her husband. She said:

Five officers raped me in military jail. My genital organ was lacerated, and I had twelve sutures. I became traumatized and very ashamed. In 1986, fortunately, the church advocated for my husband and me. Therefore, we were free and went back to our village of Besum, Jayapura. Moreover, in 2005 my husband married another woman in our village. I was sad because I underwent torture to save my husband. Even though I did this, he left me and married another woman because my husband thought my body was dirty.²⁴²

²⁴¹ Komnas Perempuan, *Stop Sudah: Kesaksian Perempuan Papua Korban Kekerasan dan Pelanggaran HAM 1963-2009*, 20.

²⁴² Dodi Yuniar and Matt Easton, ed., *Bertahan Dalam Impunitas: Kisah Perempuan Penyintas Yang Tak Kunjung Meraih Keadilan* (Jakarta: AJAR-Komnas Perempuan-JPIT-Kipper-LAPPAN, LBH Aceh, Elsham Papua, 2015), 145-147. Cf. Tony Francis, ed., *Penyiksaan di Papua: Kekerasan Yang Terus Berlanjut* (Jakarta: Ajar, Elsham & Tapol, 2015), 10.

Naomi Masa involved herself in church activities to forget her unpleasant experience, and praying was her way to talk with God. In her prayers, she demanded nothing else but peace. Faith in Jesus Christ is the source of her strength.²⁴³

The second story is from Martince from Wari- Northern Biak Village, Papua. In 1968, when Martince was ten years old, the Indonesian military burned her village as they pursued the Papuan independence activists. Everyone fled to the forest. Martince, with her parents and two younger brothers, was arrested. She witnessed her parents being tortured. The military shot her father dead. Later, Martince married a man who became a good husband. She has five children. Martince's faith in the Lord Jesus and her love for the family gave her strength and happiness to live.²⁴⁴

These two stories show that Papuan Christian women can recover from the trauma resulting from Indonesian state violence. They can find hope and healing from Jesus and support from their family, friends, and faith community. Papuan Christian women confess that Jesus Christ has touched their lives, and they find hope to continue living and struggling for justice. I find the presence of Jesus as a Papuan woman and a sister who sits and hears Papuan women's crying hearts and tears, and lifts them from their adversity so profound in helping these women reach a better future.

The experience of Papuan women, who are victims of violence both in Papuan culture and the Indonesian state, teaches Papuan Christian women to overcome their problems and have hope for Papua to become the land of peace. Apart from Jesus as a Papuan Woman and a Sister, Papuan Christian women also need the Christ's images of

²⁴³ Yuniar and Easton, ed., *Bertahan Dalam Impunitas: Kisah Perempuan Penyintas Yang Tak Kunjung Meraih Keadilan*, 149.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 152-153.

Jesus as the Sago of Life and Cenderawasih. The Papuan Christian women need to be freed from all discrimination, racism, and suffering. Papuan women need Christ's images of Jesus as the protector, liberator, and reconciler explicit in the Sago of Life and Cenderawasih to answer their struggles. The Papuan Church herself needs to be transformed with Jesus Christ's teaching. To understand how the christological teaching of Papuan churches, I used a capital and lowercase "c." I use a capital "C" to show that the true Church must stand firm on the teachings of Jesus. Jesus' teachings to respect women must be a foundation of the true Church in developing a christology without gender bias. The true Church will break patriarchal domination in developing and doing Christology. The true Church will give space for women to reflect Christ images of Jesus according to their experiences.

Moreover, the word, "herself" for the Papuan Church shows that the Church must have the character of a woman or a mother who loves her children and sacrifices herself to save and protect them--the Papuan people. This is important because when the church, which is an image of Jesus Christ, has closed her eyes and ears, what will happen to church members' lives? If Papuan churches have confessed their faith as the body of Jesus Christ, they must become part of women's struggles, just as Jesus Christ did. I use a lowercase "c" for Papuan churches to show the reality of Papuan churches not giving serious attention to affording equal rights between women and men sometimes.

Hence, exploring Christ in the daily lives of Papuan women shows that Papuan Christian women need images of a Jesus who has understood Papuan women's dreams. Papuan Christian women want the freedom to express their lives, identity, and faith

confession to Jesus Christ in the land of Papua. However, Papuan women's journey to struggle for their rights is still ongoing. Papuan women need to develop self-confidence to continue the struggle and be recognized as Papuan men's partners. As images of Jesus,

Papuan women should be as proud as Cenderawasih and the Sago of life in the land of Papua. Papuan Christian women need to develop a Papuan liberation of christology that can answer their vision.

CHAPTER V

RECLAIMING and INSERTING the PAPUAN CHRIST IMAGES into CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

Papuan christology is an effort to reclaim and insert Papuan Christ images of Jesus into Christian theology. Papuan Christians share similar experiences of colonization with Asian and Pacific communities by the Dutch. They also experience evangelization by the Netherlands Reformed Church missions, the Catholic mission, the Christian and Missionary Alliance Mission from the United States, and many Christian mission groups. Papuan theologians must answer the challenge to develop their christology from their own life experiences. However, the Papuan theologians who hold on to traditional christology tend to suspect the work of fellow theologians who developed a theology based on Papuan context and culture.

Traditionalists see the attempt to develop christology based on life experiences, indigenous beliefs, and culture as a break from the truth held by the Christian tradition. Traditional western theologians in developing christology always claim to have the truth of who Jesus is. Therefore, traditional christological understandings need to be changed or updated. Papuan christology needs to be dynamic and use sources from the context of culture, indigenous beliefs, and Papuan people's life experiences. It must search for Papuan Christ images of Jesus. This means Papuan christology should answer the Papuan Christian community's realities in every age and life experience. I have emphasized in Chapter III that there is no absolute christology. To understand the Christ's images of Jesus, one must encounter and immerse oneself in the Papuan Christian

community's life. For one hundred and sixty-five years, Papuan christology has been dependent on the traditional western formulae. Claiming and inserting Papuan Christ's images into Christian theology shows that Papuan Christians are members of the Christian family worldwide. Papuan Christians have developed christology according to their context of life experiences and culture. It is important to examine the refusal of the Papuan church to abandon western christology.

The Refusal of the Papuan Church to Abandon Western Christologies: What Really is at Stake?

Papuan churches refuse the efforts of Papuan Christians to construct a christology based on Papuan context and culture. It is difficult for Papuan churches and some theologians to accept a non-western christology. There are two reasons causing the Papuan church to refuse to abandon western christology. First reason is the dependence of the Papuan churches on traditional western christology. Second is that Papuan churches look at traditional western christology as the absolute christology.

Dependence of Papuan Churches on Traditional Christology

It is essential to understand that the Papuan churches inherited traditional western christology. Papuan people became Christians because of western Christian evangelization. Therefore, Papuan churches' christology followed the mother church's christology. It is hard because the Papuan churches and many Papuan theologians still perceive Papuan christology as an abandonment of the so-called "proper" christology. Papuan christology is often seen as an illegal christology. I find two reasons that cause Papuan churches to worry about establishing or accepting a Papuan christology. The first

cuase is the strong influence of traditional western christology on Papuan churches, and the second is the suspicion of Papuan christology as a form of resistance to the Indonesian state.

The Strong Influence of Western Traditional Christology on the Papuan Churches

The Papuan churches' christology traces its roots to traditional western christology. Thus, abandoning traditional western christology is not easy. Papuan churches and some theologians hold fast to the belief that traditional western christology is the standard christology. Papuan Christian' efforts to search for Christ's images of Jesus within the Papuan context and culture is considered syncretism and paganism. Papuan traditional theologians consider an emerging Papuan christology as a compromise with paganism and syncretism. The Papuan churches and some theologians believe that the concepts of paganism and syncretism are deterrents to the growth of Papuan christology.²⁴⁵

Many traditional churches including Papuan churches and some theologians have embraced traditional western christology as a the foundation for understanding Christ's images of Jesus. Traditional churches and some theologians emphasized that searching for images of Jesus outside traditional western christology was sinful. The term sinful indicates the strong influence of traditional western christology in the traditional churches' christology.

²⁴⁵ Christopher Duraisingh, "Syncretism," in *Dictionary of Third World Theologies*, ed. Virginia Fabella, MM and R. S. Sugirtharajah (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2000), 192-193. Cf. Arthur James, "Pagan, Paganism," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. Daniel Patte (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 918.

Indonesian theologian, R. Soedarmo asserts the importance of traditional images of Jesus as God, Lord, and Savior. Soedarmo said that

Jesus Christ is Lord. Whoever does not confess the Lord Jesus as God and does not worship him violates the Lord's first commandment. Therefore, Jesus would become the true Savior.²⁴⁶

Soedarmo tends to follow the traditional western theologians' thought of Christ's images of Jesus rather than using Christ images from his own culture. This shows that some Indonesian theologians, specifically Papuans, still hold firmly to traditional christology. Thus, other Christ's images of Jesus outside of the traditional western Christ's images are considered sinful and violate the Lord's first commandment in Exodus 20:3, which states, "You shall have no other gods before me (NRSV)." Hence, the Papuan churches and some traditional theologians view Papuan christology as idolatry. This shows that the Papuan churches and some traditional theologians have a limited understanding of traditional western christology. The four Gospels and Pauline christology were based on the life experiences of early Christians' context and culture to describe Christ's images of Jesus. Thus, life-giving elements from indigenous cultures are useful in constructing a contextual christology.

The framework of traditional western christology has already shaped the thoughts of Papuan churches and their theologians. They are afraid to step outside of the traditional western christology without trying to subject it to critical thinking. Papuan churches, particularly The Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua, is entrenched itself in the Calvinist tradition. It is afraid of losing its Calvinist identity and heritage. It has no

²⁴⁶ R. Soedarmo, *Ikhtisar Dogmatika Cetakan Keempat* (Jakarta Pusat: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1984), 136.

capacity to revisit its Calvinist christology to make it relevant to the present context. The church remains stagnant in the misunderstanding that taking into a christological discourse elements from culture is a sin. The Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua perceives that it cannot live without a Calvinist identity.

The discussion within the Papuan churches about christology appropriate to the Papuan context has been a slow one. The Papuan churches have avoided discussing a truly Papuan christology. They are dependent on traditional western christology. Hence, what is really at stake? The strong influence of traditional christology has limited the freedom of Papuan Christians to develop a christology that emerges from the whole Papuan situation. The Papuan churches hold very firmly to the tradition of the mother church's christology, and it is not to be replaced by other christologies, including Papuan christology. Another reason why Papuan churches worry about creating a genuinely Papuan christology is the suspicion of Papuan christology as a vehicle of resistance to the Indonesian state.

Suspicion of Papuan Christology as a Discourse of Resistance to the State

The Papuan christology's concerns are the socio-political, cultural, and life experiences of the Papuan people. Papuan people have had negative experiences since the integration with Indonesia. Papuan theologians and Christians must search for Christ's images of Jesus that can address Papuan realities because traditional western christology provides no answers. However, Papuan churches see Papuan christology as a form of resistance to the Indonesian state. This is because Papuan christology uses the analogy method as used in the Gospels and Paul's letters in the New Testament to look for Christ

images of Jesus. Papuan christology sees Jesus as a liberator, reconciler, and protector from all kinds of suffering. The Indonesian state views these images in Papuan christology as arousing the enthusiasm of the Papuan people to oppose the government. Therefore, it is risky to discuss a genuinely Papuan christology within Papuan churches. Activities that uphold freedom of speech and protests against racism and discrimination of Papuan people gain the attention of the Indonesian government as resistance efforts.

Papuan churches are contented with the status quo and with the traditional western christology. The state is happy with a subservient Papuan church. The Papuan churches avoid the possibility of being suspected as supporters of the Papuan freedom movement. In avoiding the stigma of being supporters of Papuan freedom' movement, the Papuan churches choose to hold on to traditional western christology. Yet, the Papuan churches must free themselves from the fear of the state. The church's task is to carry out the teachings of Jesus about the value of truth, justice, and partiality for the weak and marginalized. Jesus' teachings are the source of Papuan christology. That means Papuan churches are called to move out of their comfort zones, and status quo. Thus, Papuan churches must claim to their identity as the church of Papua. The christology of Papuan churches needs to be opened, discussed, and no longer depend on the claim of one true christology based on western thought. There must no longer be absolutism within the churches' christology.

The Absolutism of Traditional Christology

The second reason for the Papuan churches' refusal to abandon traditional western christologies is the concept of absolutism. Papuan christology promotes the search for

appropriate Papuan Christ's images of Jesus. Traditional western christology cannot limit the Christians' understanding of the meaning of Christ. Every Christian community worldwide has different contexts and life experiences. There are no absolute christologies. That Jesus is Lord and Savior is a universal statement. However, the reality of how people in different contexts understand the meaning of "Lord and Savior" depends on the people's experience. Therefore, a christological image may be absolute only to a specific western context.

Papuan churches do not accept a christology that addresses Papuan realities as a true Papuan christology does. Certainly, as traditional western christology could not be held as the standard for all Christians, Papuan christology could not also be regarded as the standard for the world. Yet, Papuan christology can enrich the development of christology to the Christian communities worldwide by identifying sources for doing christology from Papuan indigenous religion and culture. Hence, a genuinely Papuan christology can develop from the christology of the four Gospels and Paul's letters, and from the Papuan context. Understanding Christ's images of Jesus is dynamic.

Engaging Papuan Christology with Traditional Western Christology

It is important for Papuan theologians to engage with these traditional western christological concepts of the Papuan churches. This christology claims that Jesus is Lord and Savior of humankind and promises eternal life. This christology carries with it an essence of hope for life after death and recognizes that suffering is part of the Christian journey. If Christians focus on the hope of life after death only, they would forget their crucial tasks. The tasks of Christians are to work for peace, justice and equal rights of life

for all humans and nature. Papuan Christians need Christ's images of Jesus that relate to their ancestors' reality and culture and that address the Papuan crisis situation.

Papuan grassroots theologians need to encourage traditional, conservative Papuan theologians to search for Christ's images of Jesus in the Papuan context. Papuan grassroots theologians must engage with them in the search for a genuine Papuan christology that grows out of the Papuan context. As Papuans, we must search together for the Christ images of Jesus in Papuan contexts and life experiences. Traditional western christology teaches Papuan Christians that it is good to forgive repentant sinners. However, forgiving those who have committed crimes does not mean forgetting what they have done. Papuan culture teaches that Papuan Christians must deliver the sinner that needs to repent, confess their sins, and restore their relationship with God, nature, and others.

This is crucial in Papuan christology. Jesus Christ's presence and service to Papuan Christians in their real life experiences is also essential in christology. Papuans struggle daily for their dignity, rights, and identity as a people whom God has placed in the land of Cenderawasih. For one hundred and sixty-five years, the Papuans have not been free to express their faith in a Jesus who is for *them*. This is because there is pressure from the state. All this happens because of humanity's sin; specifically, the state and some Papuan people who benefit from the things that harm their fellow Papuans. The impact of human's sin is a broken relationship between neighbors and nature. Papuan christology leads Christians to restore their relationship between neighbor and nature that humanity's sin has damaged. Moreover, Papuan christology is a way for Papuan Christians to confess

who Jesus is for them. The purpose of Jesus' presence is to reconcile the relationship between God and humans, humans with humans, and humans with nature that have been destroyed by sin. The different Christ's images of Jesus grew from early Christian communities that showed the meaning of Jesus' presence according to their contexts. The first Christian communities in the four Gospels witnessed that Jesus was born in Bethlehem as a Jew from Judea. Jesus gave His life for people in their whole situation. He went around Palestine to teach the word of God, healing sick people, providing food, and sitting and talking with the lowest class in the Jewish community. He also engaged in dialogues with Jewish leaders and struggled against injustice. The Jewish priests considered Jesus guilty and accused him as a revolutionary against the Roman empire. The Romans crucified him.

Moreover, the early Christian communities confessed Jesus' crucifixion for the salvation of human beings and all creation. Then the early Christians confessed that Jesus rose from death, and Jesus is the Christ who will return to the world. Early Christian communities showed us who is Jesus for them. The Johannine christology claims that the Christ's images of Jesus could be referred to by symbols of culture, parables, etc. Therefore, Papuan Christology uses the christological understanding of the four Gospels and the letters of Paul to search for Christ's images of Jesus in Papuan indigenous beliefs, culture, and life experiences. Thus, if traditional western theologians define Christ as the Lord and Savior, Papuan Christians define Christ images of Jesus as Manseren Manggundi, Cenderawasih, Fish of Life, Sago of Life, Brother, Sister and Papuan. Papuan christology uses the method of analogy to garner ideas from native Papuans to

acknowledge who Jesus is. Although the term analogy comes from the western philosophy as its basis, it provides more space to discuss the being, nature, and sacred meaning of Christ's images of Jesus from ordinary Christians' perspectives. It has brought the Christ's images of Jesus as part of the Papuan Christian context. Therefore, one concern of Papuan christology is empowering Christians to construct christology.

Empowering Papuan Christians to be Audacious to Construct their Christology

As a part of the Third World Christian community, the Papuan Christians need to confess Jesus Christ from their life experiences and culture. Papuan Christians authentically belong to the Melanesian culture. They are not from Asia. They have different beliefs and ways of thinking. Papuan Christians search for Christ's images from their understanding of culture and real life experiences. After the Dutch colonizers left Papua in 1963,²⁴⁷ Indonesia took over and treated negatively the Papuan Christians as "the other." Indonesia claims to uphold democratic governance and asserts that all Indonesian citizens have the same rights.

However, when Papua became a part of Indonesia, the government system practices injustice, discrimination, and racism against the Papuans. The Papuan people have become second-class citizens. Some Indonesians tend to categorize the Papuans as people who cannot think or develop. Some Papuans could not find the courage to get out from this stigma persisting until today. Politically, there is an attempt by the state to

²⁴⁷ Erari, *Yubelium Dan Pembebasan Menuju Papua Baru: Lima Puluah Tahun Gereja Kristen Injili di Tanah Papua 26 Oktober 1956-26 Oktober 2006*, 168-169. See also Djopari, *Pemberontakan Organisasi Papua Merdeka*, 54-60. Cf. Socrates Sofyan Yoman, *Pintu Menuju Papua Merdeka: Perjanjian New York 15 Agustus 1962 Dan Pepera 1969 Hanya Sandiwara Politik Amerika, Indonesia, Belanda Dan PBB* (Papua Barat: Lembaga Rekonsiliasi Masyarakat Koteka, 2000), 31-32.

suppress the Papuans to raise their voices in defending their rights as human beings. Papuan people are subalterns in Indonesia, to borrow Spivak's word in her article, *Can the Subaltern Speak?*²⁴⁸ The situation is challenging for the Papuans. To claim their lives and identity is essential for the people to develop the self-confidence as created in the image of God.

Thus, it is crucial to empower Papuan Christians to dare construct their christology. Raising a native Papuan christology encourages Papuan Christians to claim their identity. This becomes a starting point to raise awareness about their identity as a gift from God in Jesus Christ that must be preserved and appreciated. Papuans must not depend on the thinking of non-Papuans. The basic norms for Papuan christology are the justice and peace of Jesus Christ. Surely, the aim of Papuan christology is to declare who Jesus is for Papuans. They are a part of the worldwide Christian family who have their own uniqueness that God has given. Papuan people live under pressure and unfreedom. Papuan christology must be based on the freedom from all these stigmas. Papuans can stand on equal footing with others and claim their human dignity.

Formulating Papuan christology can assist Christians to understand that Jesus' presence is to liberate oppressed and marginalized people. The purpose of theologians constructing christology is for the understanding of who Jesus is still makes sense to the church and the world in different ages and cultural situations. Such revisions have gone on at times in the history of the church. I regard these as signs of vitality and the renewing

²⁴⁸ Rosalind Morris, *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. Available at. <https://cup.columbia.edu/book/can-the-subaltern-speak/9780231143851>.

power of the Christian faith in the world.²⁴⁹ Indeed, the Papuan context provides the sources and resources to construct a christology.

Sources Available in Papua to Construct a Christology

The Papuan context provides sources to Papuan Christians, such as the indigenous beliefs, traditions, and cultures, to construct a Papuan christology. The two hundred and fifty Papuan ethnic groups with different mother tongues provide Papuan Christ's images that may still be hidden. Hence, exploring Christ's images in the Papuan context is needed. Papuan Christians, through their songs, dances, poetry, art, and literature are a vital resource for confessing who Jesus Christ is for the Papuan people. Papuan grassroots theologians need to empower Papuan Christians to transform christology from traditional western christology to Papuan christology.

Papuan Christians should have courage to confess the Christ's image of Jesus as the Papuan. The Papuan Christ is in solidarity with Papuan people who live under oppression, discrimination, and racism. The Papuan Christ gives the hope of justice, peace, and liberation for Papuan people and the land. The Papuan Christ liberates human beings from wrong thought and action to create reconciliation between God with humans, humans with neighbors, and humans with nature. Papuan Christian reflections on Jesus as the Papuan Christ give spirit to Papuan peoples to express their identity.

Jesus and Kristus Papua	Jesus as the Papuan Christ
Yang memberi	who has given
Tanah Papua, tanah yang kaya	Papuan land, rich land
Surga kecil jatuh ke bumi	A small heaven dropped down to the earth
Seluas tanah, sebanyak madu	As wide as the land, as much as honey

²⁴⁹ Samartha, *One Christ — Many Religions Toward a Revised Christology*, 92.

Adalah harta harapan	is the wealth of hope
Tanah papua, tanah leluhur	Papuan land, the ancestors' land
di sana aku lahir	there, I was born
bersama angin, bersama daun	together with wind, together with leaves
ku dibesarkan	I grew up
Hitam kulit, keriting rambut	Dark skin, curly hair
Aku Papua	I am Papua
Biar nanti langit terbelah	Even when the sky is split
Aku Papua	I am Papua ²⁵⁰

The Papuan Christians have the right to reinterpret Christ images of Jesus. Jesus as Manseren Manggundi, Sago of Life, Fish of Life, Cenderawasih, a Papuan woman, a brother, a friend, a sister, and other Christ's images not mentioned in my writing, could enrich the existing christologies. In the world, no culture is better than another. There is one sky, so there is just one God. God has placed all human beings in their contexts with their unique traditions and cultures. Every church worldwide must build a contextual christology. Thus, Papuan churches must develop a christology from the Papuan context. To do this, it is essential that Papuan churches look back to their Papuan origins. Unfortunately, Papuan churches have not realized the importance of developing a christology based on their own context. The Papuan churches' view of traditional western christological content as better than their own would lead them to deem the inclusion of Papuan context unnecessary. This reflects a form of colonialism, which still exists in Papuan churches today. It is the challenge to Papuan churches to teach new generations about claiming their identity as Papuans.

The risk of Papuan Christians' development of christology is the potential romanticization of all aspects of Papuan indigenous religions, traditions and cultures. For

²⁵⁰ Tanah Papua is song created by Papuan Artist, Edo Kondologit

example, some Papuan cultures justify tribal wars on the grounds of revenge for tribal members' deaths. There is an understanding that killing enemies is a way to maintain the pride of tribe. This happens in Papuan tribes in interior areas. Papuan churches have not addressed these issues theologically. However, Jesus used a non-violent approach to solve conflict, modeling reconciliation that can take place in human beings' lives (Luke 4:18-19; Matthew 26:52). Papuan christology elicits respect for life, peace, justice, and human dignity, and criticizes the wrong practices in the Papuan culture.

We can use the sacred texts as a source when constructing christology. Commonly, people understand that the sacred texts refer to holy books or texts of every belief. For Christians, understanding sacred texts refers to the Old Testament and New Testament. However, there are Christian theologians like Elsa Tamez who argues that the real life experience of every Christian in encountering Jesus can become a sacred text. The life journey of Christian communities is the sacred text. Every Christian who reads the four Gospels and Paul's letters will have a different interpretation. They encounter a Jesus who connects with their context of life experiences. Early Christians have discerned, reflected and used their own source to understand who Jesus is. For them, God in Jesus Christ was present in their context of real life experiences and cultures. Learning from the early Christian christology reveals that it is also essential to form Papuan christology by reading the Scripture through a postcolonial lens.

Shaping Papuan Christology through Reading the Scripture with a Postcolonial Lens

Since the arrival of Christianity, reading the Scripture in Asian, Pacific, and Papuan churches as Third World churches, has taken place under the influence of a

traditional western lens. These churches have claimed the traditional western lens as the truth and standard to read and interpret Christian scripture. Anything outside the traditional way of western thinking is definitely unacceptable. Postcolonial theory is a critical tool for Christians to see clearly how the dominant groups use culture, society, and the economy for their interests. Postcolonial theory criticizes wrong hegemonic practices and encourages oppressed groups to exit from all forms of oppression.

Hence, it is important for Papuan Christians to shape Papuan christology through reading with a postcolonial lens. From a practical point of view, Edward Wadie Said's concept of "the other" is evident. All forms of oppressions, such as curtailment of basic human rights, marginalization, and discrimination, assert that the majority of the Indonesian population have viewed Papuans as "others." Shaping a christology of Papua must return to the Gospels that understand the presence of Jesus as Boundary Breaker as Lukan christology emphasizes it. Jesus is a boundary breaker between nations, ethnicities, and races. All people have the same status before Jesus. Sometimes, churches, in maintaining their status quo, fall into what Homi K. Bhabha calls hybridity. Bhabha's concept of hybridity states that new forms of culture produce cross-cultural interactions, which are then used by the colonized to fight the colonizer. This reality of hybridity has become a critique of cultural imperialism in the churches. For instance, the concept of hybridity plays into how the scriptures are put into written form. Papuan churches and their theologians adopt and modify traditional christology and use it as a part of churches' christology.

This is evident in the writing of some theological words such as christology, church, and some others, whose first letters must start with uppercase, such as christology and Church. This shows the superiority of Christians among other beliefs. When theologians try to use lowercase letters for these words, it is debated in the theological world. The influence of traditional theological understanding is still alive in the minds of Christian communities around the world and is not easily changed. This is a new model of colonization in the theological field. Indeed, it is essential in Papuan christology to change traditional paradigms that reveal superiority when reading the Scripture through a postcolonial lens. Today, colonizers are identified as western people and all people who have behavior, thought, and action to control and oppress others. The Christ's images of Jesus as King and Lord need to be interpreted as a metaphor that brings forth Christ's images of Jesus as the liberator, peacemaker/reconciler, among others; a Christ who brings about the right relationship between human beings and creation before God. Human beings create with two eyes and ears, right and left, to examine, think, hear, and discover that all human beings are one family of God without discrimination, racism, and oppression.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's theory of the Subaltern occurred in Papuan context and the churches. Subaltern refers to subordinate social groups that are not included in the elite groups. Spivak examines the Subaltern as oppressed subjects. Indeed, the Papuan people are the *subalterns* because they are outside the power realm. Subaltern groups do not have a space to define their conditions and thought. Thus, they need intellectuals as

the mediators for encouraging them to speak of their agency and rights.²⁵¹ This shows that grassroots Papuan Christians who read scripture through the method of analogy are subalterns. This has been going on for a long time because of the dominance of traditional western christology within the church's christological framework. Papuan Christian communities need grassroots theologians as mediators for encouraging them to raise a christology that will become part of the Papuan church's christology.

Franz Fanon's theory is an incisive analysis of decolonization, the psychopathology of colonization, the psychology of the colonized, and their path to liberation. Its insight into the rage and frustration of colonized peoples are manifested in the Papuans, and the role of violence in effecting historical change. Psychologically, Papuan churches still see traditional western christology as the best and safest way to apply christology in the political situation of Papua. Papuan churches and their theologians as the dominant groups have considered Papuan christology as unimportant. Therefore, it is important to empower the Papuan Christian community to read the Scripture using a postcolonial lens to raise the self-identity of Papuans.

This is important in developing a christology based on the Papuan context. Papuan christology is an effort to claim identity. Papuan churches must respond to the calling to reconstruct traditional christology and raise a christology based on the Papuan context of life, culture, and identity. Papuan churches need to return home. Therefore, Papuan christology can contribute Christ's images of Jesus to Christian communities around the world.

²⁵¹ Rosalind Morris, *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. Available at. <https://cup.columbia.edu/book/can-the-subaltern-speak/9780231143851>.

Contribution of Papuan Christology to the Theological World and Society

It is vital that both the theological world and society understand Papuan christology. Every area in the world has a different context of life experiences and cultures; therefore, christology will be diverse from one location to the next. However, traditional western christology has almost dominated the way of doing christology worldwide, especially in Asian and Pacific countries. Asian Pacific countries and Papua as ex-colonies are still colonized in their way of thinking and developing christology. Papuan churches, as a heritage of western mission, continue traditional western christology without examining its wrong and right sides. Papuan christology calls for a return to the dignity of Papuan people and their culture. Moreover, Papuan christology is a teaching or a doctrine to rectify the misunderstanding of traditional theologians who refuse to dialog with those who have different christological perspectives.

Furthermore, Papuan christology opens a dialogue with people of other faiths like Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists, and other beliefs and cultures to discuss Christ's images of Jesus. The coming of Jesus Christ is universal for every human being and all of creation; hence, traditional Christ's images of Jesus cannot limit Christian views on the images of Christ. A christology will develop and will search for forms according to what a Christian community faces in their life experiences. Thus, Papuan christology needs to elicit and celebrate a christology that articulates the Papuan people's faith in Jesus as Christ who manifests in the Papuan struggles to claim their land, life, and identity. It introduces Christ's images of Jesus as the Papuan Christ to the theological world. Moreover, for the society, it has contributed to the values of justice and peace that become human beings'

dignity as Anselm of Canterbury discussed in his concept of Justice. According to Anselm, the source of justice is God because God is justice. Anselm sees in justice the values of goodness, mercy, and the pardon of God.²⁵²

Therefore, God's justice is a standard of Papuan Christians' stand for the equality, righteousness, and dignity of human beings. Papuan christology promotes a liberation of christology. The liberation of christology opens a space for theologians and Christians to freely articulate their understanding about Jesus. The concept of liberation of christology is different from the liberation christology in the sense that, on the one hand, the latter explicates Jesus Christ as the liberator of the oppressed and marginalized people. Liberation christology is an aspect of liberation theologies. On the other hand, liberation of christology is the process of setting the believer free to articulate or confess one's understanding of who Jesus is according to their situation and experience. Every Christian has the right to express their view about Jesus beyond the usual teachings. Moreover, empowering Papuan Christians to claim the power to construct christology also takes shape in accompanying Papuan women to recognize Christ's images in Papuan culture.

Accompanying Papuan Christian Women to Re-image Christ to Recognize Christ Images in Papuan Culture

Rev. Jemima Krey is a pioneering Papuan feminist theologian who pays attention to the status of Papuan women in the Papuan culture. Krey has encouraged Papuan

²⁵² Brian Davis and G.R. Evans, ed., *Anselm of Canterbury: The Major Work* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1998), 94. See also Coloman Viola, "Anselm of Canterbury," in *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology Volume 1, A-F*, ed. Jean-Yves Lacoste (New York – London: Routledge, 2004), 45-50. Cf. Irène Fernandez, "Justice," in *Encyclopedia of Christian Theology, Volume 2, G-O*, ed. Jean-Yves Lacoste (New York-London: Routledge, 2005), 842.

Christian women to claim their self-identity as women created according to the image of God. However, until today, no Papuan woman theologian has developed a christology according to a Papuan woman's perspective. Papuan feminist theologians' struggles have become a foundation for accompanying Papuan Christian women to re-image Christ and to recognize Christ's images in Papuan culture. Women's christology has already shown the possibility of reconstructing a christology dominated by the patriarchal system or culture. It is essential to accompany Papuan women to re-image Christ for Papuan women. There are two things that we can do to accompany Papuan Christian women to re-image Christ: the first is to re-image the traditional Christ into a Papuan women's Christ. The second is the Papuan Christian women's reconstruction of Christ Images of Jesus.

Re-image the Traditional Christ into a Papuan Women's Christ

The strong patriarchal culture in early Christian communities has influenced faith over the centuries. The male Christ images of Jesus still live in the church around the world. For example, using the words *he*, *his*, *him*, and *himself* to describe God or Christ images of Jesus has become familiar among Christian women. Commonly, Christian women do not feel the discrimination present within these words. That must change. The Christ images of Jesus as King and Lord show the predominantly masculine characters of Jesus who, therefore, portray no concern for women. Learning from the four Gospels in New Testament that Christ's images of Jesus as King (Mat 2: 2, 27:11,42; Mark 15:2, 32; Luke 23:3; John 1:49,18:33) were not from the early Christian community. Instead,

outsiders related Jesus with the historical kings of Israel. This image erased the essential meaning of Jesus' presence.

The aim of Jesus' presence is not to build a human kingdom with political interests; instead, it is to break the boundaries among human beings that include both men and women. The kingship of the early Christian community is a metaphor that shows the meaning of God's presence in Jesus Christ for human beings. It differs from the concept of Kings in the Old Testament. Moreover, the term King has brought negative connotations to the Christ's images of Jesus. It is essential to clarify that, for too long, Christian communities around the world have used the Christ image of Jesus as King without criticizing the negative impacts of this image. Christian communities have always related the meaning of Jesus as the "anointed one" to Jesus as the King (Luke 4:18-19).

That is an incorrect interpretation. Jesus has never identified himself as the King. Jesus, as the anointed one, means Jesus has come to liberate ruler's paradigms that use power to control the other, namely, the oppressed and marginalized people, women and men, and second-class citizens. In the Gospels, Jesus was always in solidarity with the women's situation. This is explicit when Jesus responded to the woman accused of adultery (John 8:1-11). Jesus did not accuse the woman of adultery. Instead, he challenged the men who felt they were innocent be the first to throw a stone at the woman. Jesus is there as an advocate for this woman. Therefore, Christ's image of Jesus as the king strengthens the men's position that men are indeed leaders and have the right to oppress women. Thus, understanding the Christ image of Jesus Christ literally as a king will strengthen the patriarchal culture in seeing women as second class in the society, the

church, and Papuan context of lives and culture. Furthermore, the Christ image of Jesus as Lord in the four Gospels (Matt 7:21, 12:8, Mark 2:8, Luke 2:11,6:46, 24:34, John 6:68, 13:13, 20:18, 20:38) and in the letters of Paul (Rome 10:9, 12, 14:8, 14:9, I Cor 8:6, 12:3, 2 Cor 13:13, 8:9, Phil 2:11) reveals metaphors for images of Jesus.

Initially, Lord is from the Greek word κυρίος (kyrios). In the Greco-Roman era, *kyrios* refers to a person who has the highest position in the society to differentiate that person from ordinary people, mostly slaves. Kyrios also means master (Eph.6:5, 9).²⁵³

Across centuries, Christian historical missions have shown that Jesus is Lord or Master. Lord as a biblical metaphor has lost its meaning in modern times. Hence, the Christ image of Jesus as Lord does not fit into a Papuan women's context. Thus, Christ's images of Jesus as the King and Lord must be changed by seeing the feminist character of Jesus who cares for women in the Gospels. When Jesus talked to a Samaritan woman (John 4:1-42), it showed a Christ image of Jesus as a brother and friend who cares about his sister's or friend's situation. Indeed, the Christ image of Jesus as a brother and a friend is not stated in the Gospel of John. However, from the conversation, Jesus did not place himself as a King or a Lord to judge the Samaritan woman. In contrast, he presented himself as a brother and a friend who cared about the Samaritan woman's situation.

Therefore, the images of Jesus as a Papuan woman Christ, Sister, Sago of Life, and Cenderawasih are appropriate for Papuan women. These images show solidarity with Papuan women's struggle to be equal with men. They form a symbol of a Papuan woman Christ. For example, Sago of Life and Cenderawasih give life for the others and carry

²⁵³ Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 108.

beauty. This reflects Papuan women's self-confidence as images of God that have the same rights and positions as Papuan men. Papuan women's christology is an effort to break the influence of both traditional western and male christology. Surely, Papuan women have the task to reconstruct Christ's images of Jesus.

Papuan Christian Women's Task to Reconstruct Christ Images of Jesus

The life journey of women across the centuries has not been easy. Women have faced discrimination in society and religious institutions. Women in the world have shared the same experience, becoming second-class members of culture and society. Hence, as part of Christian women worldwide, Papuan Christian women struggle to exit from the traditional paradigm that divides humans according to sex and gender (social construction). Hence, the existence of Papuan Christian women's task to reconstruct Christ's images of Jesus without gender bias. Papuan christology endeavors to retell the stories of Papuan women from their bodies and life experiences—seeing how they connect with God in Christ Jesus. Papuan women's stories become sacred texts. As mentioned above, the scripture and sacred texts are not only the holy books of every religion but also human life experience. Women's sacred texts consist of women's bodies, lives and experiences as they struggle to escape from suffering, discrimination, and marginalization in the society and the church. As the first one to articulate this idea, Latin-American woman theologian, Elsa Tamez said,

Women's bodies can then manifest themselves as sacred text setting out their stories to be read and reread and generate liberating actions and attitudes. Women's lives enshrine a deep grammar, whose morphology and syntax need to be learned for the sake of better human inter-relationship. For Christian women,

when women's lives tell or reveal something similar to the liberating story of Jesus Christ, the human face of God, there is a sacred text.²⁵⁴

Elsa Tamez's thought shows that women's, especially Christian women's life experience is a sacred text. This is called a sacred text because women's life stories can be read. Women's lives and bodies perpetuate a deep language for the sake of better human relationships (men and women) just as the liberating story of Jesus Christ does. Learning from Elsa Tamez, Papuan Christian women theologians are tasked to encourage oppressed people, especially women, to create new texts from their experiences or confessions.

They are invited to tell stories, to develop new oral traditions, texts, and canonical traditions. Moreover, Papuan women need to re-image Christ to recognize the feminine images of Christ in Papuan culture. In the same way that Dalit feminist theologian Saraswathy Govindarajan²⁵⁵ asserted that Jesus is a Dalit woman, and African American feminist theologian Kelly Brown Douglas examined Jesus as a black women Christ.²⁵⁶ Thus, Papuan Christian women must move forward to discover the Christ who accompanies them in their journey to find freedom and peaceful life. I have written one poem of prayer, entitled "*Dear Jesus*" based on my reality as a Papuan woman.

Ya Yesus Kristus kami perempuan Papua	Dear Jesus, the Christ of Papuan women
Hadirlah bersama dengan kami	come with us
perempuan papua	Papuan women
Yang berkulit hitam dan berambut keriting	who have dark skin and curly hair
Yang terkadang terlihat jauh berbeda	we are different
dengan yang lain	from others
Kadang kami tidak percaya diri	sometimes we are not confident
Karena kami di anggap tidak cantik	because we are considered not pretty

²⁵⁴ Elsa Tamez, "Women's Lives as Sacred Text," in *Women's Sacred Scriptures, in Concilium*, vol. 3, ed. Kwok Pui-Lan and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (London-Maryknoll: SCM Press-Orbis Books, 1998), 63.

²⁵⁵ Govindarajan, "Caste, Women and Violence," in *Dalits and Women: Quest for Humanity*, 151 – 153. Cf. Gnanadason, "Dalit Women- the Dalit of the Dalit," in *A Reader in Dalit Theology*, 129-130.

²⁵⁶ Douglas, *Christologies: "Dictionary of Third World Theologies"*. 44-45. See also Douglas, *The Black Christ*, 4-7.

Namun kami adalah buatan tanganMu	however we are made by your hand
Engkau akan mengangkat martabat kami	you will raise our dignity
Kami berada di atas tanah yang kaya	we live in a rich land
Namun telah diambil oleh mereka	but it is taken away
Para penguasa	by powerful rulers
Yesus yang hitam	dark skinned Jesus
Jaga dan lindungi kandungan kami	keep and protect our womb.
Mama mama Papua.	As Papuan mothers
Sehingga kami melahirkan anak anak papua	we give birth to Papuan children
Yang akan membela	who will defend
Tanah leluhur ini	this ancestors' land
Beri kami bangga	give us pride
Menjadi perempuan papua.	to become Papuan women

Accompanying Papuan Christian women to re-image Christ to recognize Christ images in Papuan culture brings about the Papuan liberation of christology. The Papuan liberation of christology is the freedom to express who Jesus is according to Papuan Christians' perspectives.

This is different from the concept of a Papuan christology of liberation that is more directed towards a liberation christology which sees the Christ image of Jesus as a liberator. Seeing the differences between these christological concepts in building a Papuan christology, I promote to develop the Papuan liberation of christology.

The Papuan Liberation of Christology

Christians worldwide believe that Jesus is Christ. Moreover, every Christian community worldwide has a different perspective about Christ's images of Jesus. Hence, the christological task is to reconstruct the incarnation's meaning to liberate traditional paradigms from their limitations so that christology can arise from the whole human situation. christology is Christians' momentum to elicit and celebrate life as a responsibility to declare norms of justice and peace in personal, social, and natural

dimensions. Every Christian around the world comes from a particular culture and Christian tradition. Understanding who Jesus is begins with the biblical stories. Christians worldwide have different approaches in applying their Christology.

Papuan churches still hold to traditional western christology, exhibiting no freedom in developing the church's christology according to the Papuan context. Nevertheless, Papuan grassroots Christians have tried to apply Papuan christology based on indigenous religions, cultures, traditions, and life experiences. Papuan christology endeavors to elicit and celebrate a christology that articulates Papuan people's faith in Jesus as the Christ who is manifested in the Papuan culture and struggles to claim their land, life, and identity. Indeed, lifting the values of Papuan culture and indigenous beliefs to understand Christ images of Jesus is no mistake!

The liberation of christology is vital in the Christian life. In the Papuan context, the concept of who Jesus is remains hidden from the Papuan context. In Papua, there is the christological concept to confess Jesus as the Papuan people's ancestor. I do not mention this in this writing because I am concentrating on the Christ's images of Jesus. Therefore, we need the liberation of christology to be free in exploring who Jesus is according to the two hundred and fifty Papuan tribes. Moreover, two conditions cannot be denied. First, Papuan people yearn for release from all the oppression through a sense of self-determination. Here, Papuan Christians raise a christology of liberation. They see Jesus as a hero who will liberate the Papuan people from oppression, discrimination, and racism. Second, for fifty-nine years, Papuan people have suffered. Thus, they need a Christ image of Jesus as a reconciler who brings peace for the Papuan land and people.

The Christ image of Jesus as a reconciler is required to reconcile oppressor (state) and oppressed so that peace can occur. The oppressor's thought should be changed to respect the values of justice and peace and to hear the crying of the oppressed people. Jesus Christ's presence is to declare justice, peace, and prosperity for all people without differentiating them according to social class, gender, ethnicity, and race. Christ's images of Jesus show that Jesus is never compromised with evil and violence. So too, the Papuan people's struggle uses a non-violent approach. Jesus' presence declares that all people have the same right to live together before God.

For one hundred and sixty-five years, Papuan people have been oppressed by a system that has kept them from experiencing the freedom of raising a christology according to their context. Hence, Papuan people need a Papuan liberation of christology. Papuan Christians must be freed to confess who Jesus is. christology should not be limited to one Christian tradition. Christians must be free to search for appropriate Christ images of Jesus that can answer their context.

Christians should not be trapped in a christology that only upholds one truth to confess who Jesus is. For example, Paul's letter of Philippians in chapter 2, verse 11 says, "and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the father" (NRSV). We cannot use one christology as a standard of the christology worldwide. We understand christology not only from Paul's letter which was Paul's perspective on who Jesus was but also from the four Gospels. God in Jesus Christ never stopped speaking to humans and nature in every era.

Christians have the right to confess Jesus Christ according to their understanding. Jesus Christ can talk to all people—children, teenagers, youth, adults, parents, men, women, gay people, transgender people, disabled people, *etc.*—without differentiating them according to social status, sex, gender, ethnicity, race, or culture. Papuan christology promotes the Papuan liberation of christology based on the meeting of Papuans with Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION and RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

Papuan christology introduces Christ's images of Jesus as Manseren Manggundi, Sago of Life, Fish of Life, Cenderawasih, a Papuan person, a Papuan woman, a Brother, a Sister, and a Friend. These concepts arise from the encounter with Jesus Christ in the daily life struggles of Papuan Christians and their real-life experience as they engage with the Papuan traditional beliefs and culture. The works of Papuan artists also inform the understanding of these Christ's images. These concepts are compatible with the four Gospels and Pauline christologies in the New Testament. Thus, the Papuan christology is based on the Papuan Christians' response to the question of what happens when Papuans own and lift cultural and contextual Christ's images.

The liberation of christology becomes the basis of Papuan christology. A christology should be open to discussing the meaning of incarnation in Christian lives. It should not be fixed in one christological construct as "the" standard of christology worldwide. Every area has a different context and people have different experiences. Papuan christology is dynamic, and Papuans must continually update it in response to changing contexts. Christology is an articulation of how Christians encounter Jesus Christ in their real-life experiences across time.

What Happens When Papuan Christians Own the Cultural and Contextual Christ Images?

When Papuan Christians accept Papuan christology as the christology of churches in Papua, they will begin to think critically rather than simply accepting traditions from outside and considering Papuan traditions and culture as primitive. Moreover, by accepting Papuan Xhristology, Papuan Christians will increase their awareness that the churches in Papua are products of colonization. Apart from that, the churches in Papua and their theologians will be open to research and study.

They will explore the Papuan culture, tradition, and indigenous beliefs to enrich the theology or christology of the church worldwide. Also, the churches in Papua will realize their weakness in adhering only to the traditional christological tradition rather than giving space to their own culture. Papuan christology allows churches in Papua to return to their identity as the church *of* Papua. Papuan christology denotes self-esteem for the churches in Papua. It highlights their uniqueness that differs from other churches in the world. Therefore, the churches in Papua will have the confidence to introduce the Papuan christology to the theological world.

By developing a Papuan christology, the churches in Papua and Papuan Christians will leave the old paradigm that sanctifies traditional christology. Instead, they will find their own identity in developing a christology based on Papuan culture and context. They can do this by reflecting on the question of who esus Christ is to the Papuan people and their lives.

Who is Jesus Christ in the lives of Papuan People?

It is not for the people outside the Papuan context to answer who Jesus is for the Papuan people. The Papuans must answer the question of who Jesus Christ is who comes to their lives. The encounter with Jesus as the Christ in Papua's context must be the basis of Papuan christology. Jesus has spoken not only to Westerners and others. Jesus has also revealed himself as the Papuan Christ in the Papuan life and culture.

The development of Papuan christology is not easy. Papuan theologians must establish the Papuan christology by understanding the Papuan context well. The political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions, including education, health realities, and indigenous beliefs must be part of developing Papuan christology. It is essential to seek the Christ's images of Jesus in the Papuan context; otherwise, Jesus will not become part of Papuan Christian lives. As Papuan Christians are part of the Christian world community, they must take part in continuing christological development that has taken place throughout Christian history.

The four Gospels bore witness to the development of christology in the early Christian community. The development of this christology reveals the first Christian community's effort to express a Jesus who entered the Christian community's cultural understanding and heard their aspirations. The example of this early development of context-based theology pushes us to go deeper in analyzing the impact of western mission in Papua. Until this point, traditional christology has taken pride of place in Papuan churches and has resulted in the closure of any dialog with grassroots Christian Papuans who develop christology based on the Papuan context.

Finding Christ images of Jesus according to the Papuan's cultural context and life experiences is a way for Papuan Christians and churches to claim self-awareness and self-identity. To do this, churches must read the Scriptures using the postcolonial lens to determine how far traditional western christology has influenced the Papuan churches' thought. They must see the need to liberate the Papuan christology from its western captivity. Christians should base their understanding of christology not on force but on their understanding of their context, their life experiences, cultures, and scriptures. A christology should not be a stranger to believers; rather, it must be integral to their faith life. There is no absolute christology. Hence, even the Papuan christology must not become the only truth in doing christology. Every christology will find a new form in its development because changes will occur in the future.

The Direction of Papuan Christology and its Future

The direction of Papuan christology is the liberation of western-influenced Papuan christology. Papuan christology is looking for new paths to develop the Papuan churches' understanding of Christ that is not static but dynamic. Papuan christology liberates through the expression of Christ's images of Jesus that can become a part of the real Papuan Christian life. Papuan christology is also an attempt to explore the value of Papua's traditional beliefs, cultures, and almost extinct traditions. These beliefs can be revisited to enrich christology in the world. Papuan christology is a dialogue between people and theologians to unite the perception of who Jesus is for the Papuan Christians. In its development, Papuan christology needs Papuan theologians and thinkers who can understand Papuan cultures, beliefs, and real situations.

Papuan christology does not constitute a form of resistance to the Papuan churches' christology. If Papuan christology is seen as an attempt to betray traditional christology, Papuan christology will have no place in Papuan churches' christology. Papuan christology must be understood as part of the Papuan Christians' efforts to reveal Jesus for themselves. Papuan christology is based on the Papuan Christians' understanding of Jesus and not on traditional theologians' ideas. The church that embodies the spirit and work of Jesus Christ must follow His footsteps. Throughout His life on earth, Jesus healed the sick and offered comfort to the oppressed and downhearted. He fed the hungry. Likewise, the church must stand firm in protecting its congregation against oppression and wickedness. Such is the nature of christology that Papuan churches should adopt.

A christology rooted among believers is far more important than the understanding of some theologians, who hold on firmly to the traditional christology. Instead, theologians as intellectuals may take a new path of acknowledging the hope and wishes of the people they serve. Together they can create an appropriate christology to better equip the people of Papua to confront reallife and its challenges. Hence, Papuan christology and its future depend on how Papuans, theologians, and Papuan churches realize themselves as people or as churches of Papua and not in Papua. The church of Papua with a home-grown christology will instill an immense sense of ownership among Papuans and cement their faith in Jesus Christ. It will be the foundation upon which the faith of Papuans stands and moves forward. Papuan Christians' understanding of self-awareness and self-identity as images of God in Jesus Christ will lead Papuan Christians to appreciate their identity and human dignity.

A well-meaning christology is not static. It responds to its context. A christology must be born with the awareness that Jesus exists for every individual and Christian community. Papuan christology must open itself to criticism that is useful for its development. Papuan christology must deliver Christians to confess that Jesus is the Papuan Christ who has become a part of Papuans' struggle to claim their identity and land. Papuan christology must also search to engage in dialogue with other religions to see Christ's images of Jesus from a different perspective. Hence, a christology that is relevant for Papuan Christians is needed.

A Relevant Christology for Papuan Christians

The journey of faith of the Papuan Christians in the Land of Papua will continue, as christology can never be articulated absolutely to answer the question of who Jesus is. Every Christian in each era has a different understanding of the Christ images of Jesus. Jesus Christ is the center of Christian life and faith. Christology is a Christian's effort to formulate the meaning and message of Jesus Christ for the church and the world. Therefore, every christology functions to explain the essence and the meaning of the mystery of the incarnation. It articulates the relationship between God in Jesus Christ, humans, and nature, and vice versa. Thus, the church continually needs to change, re-define, and improve its christology to be relevant in every age and cultural situation. Hence, a christology cannot be absolute. In this understanding, Christ's images of Jesus for Papuan Christians will continue to be updated over time as the context of life experiences change. In the present time, the presence of Jesus Christ answers Papuan

needs. In the future, Papuan christology may change to be relevant to the context of the life experiences of Christians and churches in the Land of Papua.

Recommendations to Theological Schools and Seminaries, Churches in Papua and the Indonesian Ecumenical Community

The Papuans want to introduce images of Jesus according to Papuan people's perspectives to Christian theology globally. Understanding Papuan christology is part of enriching Christian christology. It is essential for Papuan christology, as part of its togetherness with the global Christian theology, to have a place in the Christian community. I therefore offer the following recommendations for consideration to develop a Papuan contextual christology in seminaries, churches and ecumenical community.

To the Theological Schools and Seminaries

Theological schools and seminaries are the ground for developing a christology of the church. They are needed to understand the importance of Papuan christology.

The first location is the Papuan theological schools and seminaries. Theologians in Papuan theological schools and seminaries need to develop a christology based on the Papuan context. The context of Papua is rich in culture and indigenous religious beliefs. Papuan theological schools and seminaries should conduct research and explore the values in Papuan indigenous religions and culture as sources in doing christology. Papuan theological schools and seminaries must base and establish their christology on the Papuan context and not just continue to imitate the traditional western christology. The theologians who seek to develop the Papuan christology need to work together with

the theologians from Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Pacific to formulate their christological concepts according to Melanesian culture and community. Collaboration is important because the materials to develop Papuan christology are also found in other Melanesian areas. The Papuan christology will be enriched with finding its unique forms in the context of Papuan life experiences and cultures to share with Christians worldwide. Theologians should be open to explore relevant theologies and christologies. The seminaries and theological communities of Papua must produce pioneers in articulating timely and contextual christologies.

Second, the Papuan theological schools and seminaries must connect the Christian Papuans with the Christians worldwide. This means that Papuan theologians, together with the Papuan theological school and seminaries, must publish theological books including ones on christology that consider the Papuan context.

Third, Papuan theological schools and seminaries must revise the curriculum and give space for Papuan christology to be a subject of systematic theology. Old ways of thinking that have colonized theologians' thoughts in Papuan theological schools and seminaries must change so that Jesus, the Papuan Christ, becomes the foundation of christology and theology in Papua.

Fourth, theologians, particularly women, in Papuan theological schools and seminaries need to raise women's issues considering the Papuan context and engage with Christian women in other parts of the world who constructed their contextual christologies. They should collect and recognize the stories of Papuan women as sacred texts that shed light in understanding who Jesus is for Papuan Christian women. Papuan

Christian women need to depart from the traditional and patriarchal christological paradigms. They must search out new methods and source in doing christology to address their realities. So far, most Papuan theologian women only build their theology classically, following the western traditional theology and christology. As a result, Papuan Christian women's christology became static and not dynamic. Thus, it behooves upon the Papuan women theologians to develop a christology that articulates women's christological views. This would give a new color to the Papuan theology and christology, which has long been dominated by male and western thought.

To the Churches in Papua

The churches in Papua have a very important role to encourage the development of Papuan christology. The teaching of churches in Papua influences how Papuan Christians understand who Jesus is, considering the Papuan context. In this light, I offer some recommendations for the churches in Papua.

First, the churches in Papua must establish a theological forum where the theologians and Christians discuss and formulate a relevant and contextual Papuan christology. The churches must be pioneers and motivators for Papuan theologians and thinkers to develop and do theology, especially christology, based on the Papuan context of needs. The churches must open spaces to the grassroots theologians and Christians for introducing Papuan christology in the christology of churches in Papua. It is important in the Papuan church to introduce Papuan christology through preaching, liturgy, worship services, and training for church members to build Papuan Christians' and churches' self-confidence.

The Papuan liberation of christology from western captivity happens when Papuans claim their contextual christology. The churches must no longer fear doing christology in the Papuan context. Papuan churches as manifestations of God in Jesus Christ must raise the voices of Papuan people. Papuan churches serve Papuan people. Papuan people are people who have suffered, are oppressed, and have experienced discrimination and racism. This is the contextual christology that the churches must no longer be afraid of doing. Second, it is essential, for churches in Papua to conduct a self-critique through theological consultations that involve all stakeholders of church leaders, theologians, Papuan thinkers and grassroots Christians.

The Papuan churches must acknowledge their own culpability in perpetuating the western colonization of their own faith. It is time for them to claim their self-identity as Papuan churches. Third, the churches in Papua must build a common understanding with the fellowship of churches in Indonesia to appreciate the importance of building Papuan christology. Hence, from their side, the churches in Papua must initiate and organize forums involving the leaders in the fellowship of churches in Indonesia, the leaders of churches in Papua, Papuan theologians, and thinkers. The fellowship of churches in Indonesia will hopefully appreciate and make a contextual christology viable that is relevant to Papua.

To the Indonesian Ecumenical Community, *etc.*

Finally, the Indonesian Ecumenical Community, the Fellowship of Churches in Indonesia (Persekutuan Gereja – Gereja Di Indonesia) must face the challenge of a contextual Papuan christology, as part of the Indonesian contextual theology. I outline

several recommendations for them. First, the Indonesian Ecumenical Community needs to revisit and better understand the political history of Papua, from pre-Dutch colonization period until its integration with Indonesia on May 1, 1963. An education campaign program on this matter must be launched by the Indonesian Ecumenical Community. The ecumenical church stays away from a revisionist view of the political history of Papua. The ecumenical circle must also connect the historical colonization with the experiential and theological persuasions of the Papuan people.

Second, the Indonesian Ecumenical Community, and the Fellowship of Churches in Indonesia should support the calling to the theological and christological voices of the Papuans. The Indonesian Ecumenical Community in Indonesia must become a pioneer in holding theological conferences to wrestle with the people's life experiences and context. The outputs of these conferences will be published to reach a wider readership within and outside of Indonesia.

Third, the Indonesian ecumenical community needs to engage in conversation with the proper Indonesian government agencies to protect the Papuan rights and dignity as Indonesian citizens and members of the Papuan Christian community. This also implies forging an interfaith understanding and dialog among the Indonesian people. through the recommendations for Papuan schools and seminaries, churches in Papua and the Indonesian Ecumenical Community, I hope that these three institutions will provide space for the development of Papuan christology. Christology is essential in efforts to enrich the Christian faith in Christian theology. Christian theology must be developed considering the context of the Papuan people's lives and culture. The Papuans must respect their

roots, value their cultures, and let these sources enrich their Christian faith. Papuan christology is not paganism. It is giving respect and value to God's gift of land and culture.

A christology that does not give value to these gifts from God negates the theological assertion that God is the creator of this earth, and all people are God's children. When Papuans use a christology from the outside as their own without trying to find a christology rooted in their context, they justify the claim that they cannot think for themselves. Hence they confirm that outsiders deserve to determine their reality. It is useless to be churches and theologians who claim to be Papuan but whose ways of life and thinking are still colonized. For this reason, Papuan people must refute the claim that they are less capable than other people in Indonesia who view Papuans as "the other."

Papuan Christians must develop and do christology in and through their context. Thus, Papuans believe that Jesus is the Papuan Christ, then Jesus must belong to Papuans. The recognition of who Jesus is arises from the context of Christians' own lived experience and culture. Papuan christology will enrich worldwide christology through its uniqueness in the context of Papuan life experience, tradition, and culture. Papuan christology is an effort to claim an identity, and it will continue to search for new forms of christology to answer the needs of Papuans. Seminaries, theological schools, Papuan churches, and the Indonesian Ecumenical Community must perceive and acknowledge the Papuan experience and the need for a christology to arise from that experience. A christology will become a part of Christians' lived experience when they can freely confess who Jesus is to them.

Hence, a christology must be there is not a definite christology. However, christology will continue to find its form according to the articulation of Christians to answer the question of who Jesus is for them at every different age. This is what the Papuans are doing.

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Interviews

Ferdinand Marisan, S.Sos, I interviewed in Padang Bulan, March 10, 2019.

Rev. Herman Saud, M.Th, I interviewed in Padang Bulan, October 14, 2019

Dra, Fientje S. Jarangga, I interviewed in Abepura, October 18, 2019.

Fransina Yoteni, Ph.D.Ed, I interviewed in Abepura, January 28, 2020.

Rev. Dr. Benny Giay, I interviewed in Jayapura, October 29, 2019.

Dr. Frans Rumbrawer, I interviewed in Abepura, November 3, 2019.

Johszua Robert Mansoben, I interviewed in Abepura, November 5, 2019.

Rev. Fritz Mambrasar, S.Si, I interviewed in Jayapura, December 2, 2019.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sample of the Letter for Key Informant Interview

To : Rev. Herman Saud, M.Th

Former Chairperson of The Evangelical Christian Church in The Land of Papua

Subject: Key Informant Interview (KII)

Dear Rev. Herman Saud, M.Th:

Greetings!

I am writing a dissertation with the title “Jesus as Manseren Manggundi and Other Christ-Images: Christology from Papuan People’s Perspectives.” My purpose is to develop a christology that will articulate the Christian Papuan people’s faith in Jesus as the Christ of Papua. This project will desperately need documents on how christological understanding of the Papuan churches and Papuan people are articulated in Papuan sermons, essays, song, liturgies, Bible Studies, and other pertinent documents.

In this light, I would like to ask your permission for me to use these documents and material to inform my dissertation writing.

Furthermore, I would like to request you to serve as one of my Key Informants. Thus, I wish to ask for your precious time for an interview with you concerning my research.

Your responses are crucial to the completion of my writing. Thank you very much.

Best Wishes,

Diana Binkor Jenbise

**Appendix B: Sample Application of Authorization to Examine and Analyse the
Customary Council of Papua documents**

To : Chairperson of the Customary Council of Papua

Subject : Application for Permission to analyse The Customary Council of Papua
documents for my Dissertation

Dear Madam/Sir:

Greetings!

I am writing a dissertation with the title “Jesus as Manseren Manggundi and Other Christ-Images: Christology from Papuan People’s Perspectives.” My purpose is to develop a christology that will articulate the Christian Papuan people’s faith in Jesus as the Christ of Papua.

This dissertation project will desperately need an examination of the documents on how the Papuan people have related the ancestral God of Papua with the figure of Jesus the Christ. I would, therefore, request for your permission to allow me to use these documents as resources to inform the writing of my dissertation.

Best Wishes,

Diana Binkor Jenbise

Appendix C: Research Informed Consent Form

UREC FORM #03

RESEARCH INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title

This study is titled **Jesus as the ManserenManggundi and Other Christ Images: Christology From Papuan People's Perspectives** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree **Doctor of Theology**.

Researcher

This study is to be conducted by **Diana Binkor Jenbise** who is pursuing the degree in **Doctor of Theology** at the **Divinity School**, Silliman University, with **Muriel Orevillo-Montenegro, Ph.D** as the adviser. The researcher can be contacted through this mobile number **+639272538875** or email address **jenbisediana@yahoo.com**.

Purposes of the Research

This study aims to find out the following:

A development of a christology that is anchored in Papuan identity and community.

Description of the Research

This study is **non-experimental, qualitative theological research** and the data will be gathered through **documents analysis** and **key informants interview** within **October – November 2019**.

Potential Benefits

This study will benefit:

1. For Christian Papuan people, this study will build consciousness to elicit and celebrate a Christology that articulates the Papuan people's faith in Jesus as the Christ, who is manifest in the Papuan culture and struggles to claim their land, life, and identity.
2. For theologians in Papuan churches, this study will give awareness to study and develop theology based on the context of Papua.
3. This research will be useful in the Indonesian ecumenical community, and the Fellowship of Churches in Indonesia.

Confidentiality

In the conducted of the study, full confidentiality will be assured. No information that discloses your identity will be released or published without your specific consent to the disclosure and only imperatively necessary.

Storage and Disposal of Data

The materials that contained the raw information derived from you will be destroyed after data processing within a given period.

Publication

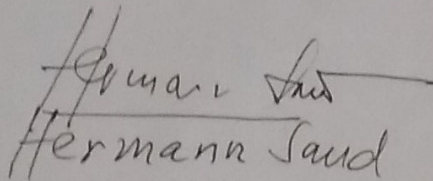
The results of this study may be published in any form for public and scholarly consumption or used in classroom instruction to enrich learning and generate more knowledge for future research.

Participation

Your participation in this study must be voluntary and you have the right to withdraw if you feel uncomfortable in the process of gathering information from you.

Informed Consent


Given the information above, I confirm that the potential harms, benefits, and alternatives have been explained to me. I have read and understood this consent form, and I understand that I am free to withdraw from my involvement in the study any time I deem it to be necessary or to seek clarifications for any unclear steps in the research process. My signature indicates my willingness to participate in the study.


Hermann Saud

Printed Name and Signature of the Research Participant

October 14, 2019
Date

Appendix D: Clearance Certificate from UREC

		UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE SILLIMAN UNIVERSITY 6200 Dumaguete City Philippines	
Sub-Committee Review December 18, 2019			
Principal Investigator	Diana Binkor Jenbise		
Date Submitted:	September 24, 2019	Department	Ph.D. Theology
Semester:	2 nd Semester 2019-2020		
Research Title	JESUS AS MANSEREN MANGGUNDI AND OTHER CHRIST-IMAGES: CHRISTOLOGY FROM PAPUAN PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVES		
Meeting Date	October 3, Nov 6 & 13, 2019	Venue: UREC Office	
Sub-Committee Members	Dr. Ferdinand M. Mangibin Dr. Walden R. Ursos Dr. Theorose June Q. Bustillo		
<input type="checkbox"/> Full Review Sub-committee		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Approved	<input type="checkbox"/> Non-Coverage
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Expedited Review		<input type="checkbox"/> Deferred	
SEE ATTACHED			
This is to certify that the Ethics Committee has reviewed the proposal.			
		Dr. Karl James E. Villarnea _____ Print Name & Signature	December 18, 2019 _____ Date
		Diana Binkor Jenbise <i>[Signature]</i> Print Name & Signature	December 18, 2019 Date

/file

Appendix E: Curriculum Vitae

CV of Principal Investigator and the Relevant Co-investigators

Name : Diana Binkor Jenbise

Student : Doctor of Theology, Divinity School, Major in Systematic Theology

Term of Study: Silliman University Divinity School from the second semester of 2015-2016 until 2020/2021.

Nationality : Indonesian

Work : Ordained Pastor of Gereja Kristen Injili Di Tanah Papua (The Evangelical Christian Church in the Land of Papua)