

NOTES

Preliminares

- 1 Page 33 and 34 of this book's first chapter.
- 2 Page 18 of this book's introduction.
- 3 “Os injustamente executados voltarão, com a bandeira branca da vida. O verdadeiro sentido da ressurreição se mostra como insurreição contra as injustiças deste mundo que condena o justo e dá razão ao criminoso.” Boff, Leonardo. “A ressurreição como insurreição” (April 7, 2012). <https://leonardoboff.wordpress.com/2012/04/07/a-ressurreicao-como-insurreicao/> [Accessed: July 5, 2018].
- 4 See Arendt, Hanna. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (London: Penguin Books, 2022).
- 5 Agamben, Giorgio, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attel (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005).
- 6 Butler, Judith, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London and New York: Verso, 2020).
- 7 Mbembe, Achille. *Critique of Black Reason*, trans. Laurent Dubois (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).
- 8 Mbembe, Achille. *Necropolitics*, trans. Steven Corcoran (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2019).
- 9 De Sousa Santos, Boaventura. *Decolonizar el saber, reinventar el poder* (Montevideo: Trilce, 2010).
- 10 Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia. *Violencias (re)encubiertas en Bolivia* (La Paz: La Mirada Salvaje, 2010).
- 11 Illich, Iván. *Obras reunidas*, Vol. I (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2015).

CHAPTER I

- 1 “Theology is a reflection, a critical attitude. A commitment to charity and service comes first and theology comes *later*, as a second act.” Gutiérrez, Gustavo. *La teología de la liberación. Perspectivas* (Salamanca: Sígueme, 1972) p. 35.
- 2 See Boff, Clodovis. *Theology and Praxis: Epistemological Foundations* (New York: Orbis Books, 1987).
- 3 See Boff, Leonardo. “El Cristo Cómico: la superación del antropocentrismo,” *Numen. Revista de estudos e pesquisa da religião* Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 125–139. <https://numen.ufjf.emnuvens.com.br/numen/article/viewFile/889/772> [Accessed on October 8, 2018].
- 4 Milbank, John. *Radical Orthodoxy: A New Theology* (London: Routledge, 1999).
- 5 Torres Queiruga, Andrés, Susin, Luiz Carlos y Sobrino, Jon (eds.). “Teología del pluralismo religioso. El nuevo paradigma,” *Concilium* 319 (February 2007).
- 6 Tamayo, Juan José. *Teologías del Sur. El giro decolonizador* (Madrid: Tropa, 2017).
- 7 Santos de Sousa, Boaventura. *Si Dios fuese un activista de los derechos humanos* (Madrid: Tropa, 2018).
- 8 See Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. “Variaciones teológicas sobre el pensamiento post-abismal,” in Esteva, Gustavo, Mendoza, Carlos y Reyna, Pablo (eds.). *Para decolonizar la democracia. Conversaciones con Boaventura de Sousa Santos* (México: Ibero/Siglo XXI, 2019) [forthcoming].
- 9 One of the main sources of the testimonies provided by family members of the forcibly disappeared that are cited in this book can be found in Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos, Reyna Estévez, Pablo, and Robledo, Carolina. *De las fosas clandestinas a la tumba vacía. Narrativas de dignidad y esperanza en tiempos de horror* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana) 2020.
- 10 Leyva, Xóchitl. “Pueblos en resistencia, justicia epistémica y guerra.” *Cuadernos de Antropología Social*, No. 44 (2016), pp. 37–50. <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/1809/180951093003.pdf> [Accessed on October 8, 2018].
- 11 We shall particularly focus on a trilogy of books by René Girard that seems to contain the core argument of his mimetic theory: Girard, René. *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); *I See Satan Fall Like Lightning*, trans. James G. Williams (New York: Orbis Books, 2001); and *Battling to the End: Conversations with Benoît Chantre*, trans. Mary Baker (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010). For a panoramic view of his work, see Girard, René, Antonello, Pierpaolo and De Castro Rocha, Joao. *Evolution and Conversion. Dialogues on the Origins of Culture* (London: Continuum, 2007).

- 12 Illich, Ivan. *Obras reunidas*, Vol. I (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2015).
- 13 Schürmann, Reiner, *Heidegger on Being and Acting: From Principles to Anarchy*, trans. Christine Mary Gros (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1987).
- 14 See Girard, René. *Battling to the End*, *op. cit.*
- 15 The annual seminars organized by *Colloquium on Violence and Religion* (COV&R) describe the interdisciplinary nature of mimetic theory. Visit the network's portal: <https://violenceandreligion.com>. For the last ten years, the Ibero-American group of mimetic theory has regularly organized colloquiums. See, for example, the special issue of the journal *Philosophica Xaveriana* Vol. 27, No. 55 (Bogotá, 2009) "René Girard: Mímesis e Identidades," coordinated by Roberto Solarte; Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos (comp.). *Caminos de paz. Teoría mimética y construcción social* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2015); and Atienza, David de Frutos and García-Ramos, David. *La construcción de la identidad en tiempos de crisis. El papel de la violencia y la religión* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 2017).
- 16 This concept was coined by João Cezar de Castro Rocha, a Brazilian thinker and has been discussed with Latin American colleagues from a diversity of disciplines. See Jobim, José Luis, Méndez Gallardo, Mariana and Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos (comps.). *Mímesis e invisibilización social. La interindividualidad colectiva en América Latina* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2017).
- 17 See Vinolo, Stéphane. *René Girard: Do Mimetismo à Hominização* (São Paulo: E-Realizações, 2012).
- 18 The dialogues between Ivan Illich and David Cayley should be mentioned here since they are of crucial importance to understand the "incarnational" logic of Illich's thinking as a theologian, historian, and social scientist: Cayley, David. *Ivan Illich in Conversation* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 2007).
- 19 Agamben, Giorgio. "Introduzione: Iván Illich y la corrupción de lo mejor", in Ivan Illich, *Genere* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 2013). Translation into Spanish by the journal *Artillería Inmanente* (January 10, 2017). <https://artilleriainmanente.noblogs.org/post/2017/01/10/giorgio-agamben-ivan-illich-y-la-corrupcion-de-lo-mejor/> [Accessed: October 8, 2018].
- 20 See a study on the current validity of Ivan Illich's rigorous analysis as pertaining to a new generation of thinking in México: Beck, Humberto. *Otra modernidad es posible. El pensamiento de Iván Illich* (Madrid: Malpaso Ediciones, 2018).
- 21 Illich, Ivan. *Tools for Conviviality* (London: Marion Boyars, 2009).
- 22 Agamben, Giorgio. "Introduzione: Iván Illich y la corrupción de lo mejor," *Genere* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 2013), n. 6.
- 23 See the special issue published by the journal of the University Communication Department (Secretaría de Comunicación Universitaria) from the Autonomous

- University of the State of Morelos (Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Morelos): “Simposio Iván Illich. Lo político en tiempos apocalípticos”, *La Voz de la Tribu*, No. 10 (November 2016 – January 2017).
- 24 See Robert, Jean and Rahnema, Majid. *La potencia de los pobres* (San Cristóbal de Las Casas: Cideci-Unitierra, 2011).
- 25 Comisión Sexta del EZLN. *El pensamiento crítico frente a la hidra capitalista*, Tome I (San Cristóbal de Las Casas: Cideci-Unitierra, 2015).
- 26 *Abya Yala* is the name given by the Kuna people from Panama and Colombia to refer to the known lands. It was an expression adopted by the field of Latin American studies during the mid-twentieth century in order to reassert ‘indigenous affairs.’ Since 1992, this expression was adopted by a diversity of social movements of the original peoples of the Americas in order to thus express their rejection of European colonization. See Muyulema, Armando. “De la ‘cuestión indígena’ a lo ‘indígena’ como cuestionamiento. Hacia una crítica del latinoamericanismo, el indigenismo y el mestiz(o)aje,” in Rodríguez, Ileana (ed.). *Convergencia de tiempos: estudios subalternos/contextos latinoamericanos. Estado, cultura. Subalternidad* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001). Also see Beverley, John. *Latinamericanism After 9/11* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).
- 27 See Cohen, Hermann. *Religion of Reason: Out of the sources of Judaism*, trans. Simon Kaplan (Atlanta Scholar Press, 2004); *El Prójimo* (Madrid: Anthropos, 2004).
- 28 See Arendt, Hannah. *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Cleveland and New York: Meridian Books, 1962).t;
29 See Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. *Deus absconditus. Deseo, memoria e imaginación escatológica. Ensayo de teología fundamental posmoderna* (México: Cátedra Kino, 2007), chap. II.
- 30 Schürmann, Reiner, *Le principe d'anarchie. Heidegger et la question de l'agir* (Paris: Diaphanes, 2013), 13.
- 31 Schürmann, *Le principe d'anarchie*, 13.
- 32 Schürmann, *Le principe d'anarchie*, 14.
- 33 Schürmann, *Le principe d'anarchie*, 14.
- 34 Schürmann, *Le principe d'anarchie*, 16.
- 35 Schürmann, *Le principe d'anarchie*, 16-17.
- 36 See Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. *Deus ineffabilis. Una teología posmoderna de la revelación del fin de los tiempos* (Barcelona: Herder, 2015), Chap. II.
- 37 “Well, what we Zapatista men and women see and hear is that a catastrophe is coming, a catastrophe in all senses of the word, a storm.” Sub-commander

- Galeano, “La tormenta, el Centinela y el Síndrome del Vigía.” Call for participation “El pensamiento crítico frente a la hidra capitalista”, April 2015. <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2015/04/01/la-tormenta-el-centinela-y-el-sindrome-del-vigia/> [Accessed on October 8, 2018].
- 38 See Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. “Forced Migration as a Theo-Political Challenge Facing Global Violence” in Dias, Darren (ed.) *The Church, Migration, and Global (In)difference (Pathways for Ecumenical and Interreligious Dialogue)*? (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2021).
- 39 “Large rises in top-wealth shares have also been experienced in China and Russia following their transitions from communism to more capitalist economies. The top 1% wealth share doubled in both China and Russia between 1995 and 2015, from 15% to 30% and from 22% to 43%, respectively.” World Inequality Lab / Chancel, Lucas (coord.) *World Inequality Report. Executive Summary* (Berlin, 2018) p. 11. <https://wir2018.wid.world/files/download/wir2018-summary-english.pdf> [Accessed on October 8, 2018].
- 40 See Zibechi, Raúl. *Latiendo resistencia: mundos nuevos y guerras de despojo* (Madrid: Zambra Baladre, 2016); *Política y miseria* (Madrid: Zambra/Baaladre, 2012).
- 41 Rivera-Cusicanqui, Silvia. *Sociología de la imagen. Miradas ch'ixi desde la historia andina* (Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón, 2015).
- 42 Comisión Sexta del EZLN. “Palabras de las mujeres zapatistas en la clausura del Primer Encuentro Internacional, Político, Artístico, Deportivo y Cultural de Mujeres que Luchan”, Caracol Zapatista de la Zona Tzotz Choj (March 10, 2018). <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2018/03/10/palabras-de-las-mujeres-zapatistas-en-la-clausura-del-primer-encuentro-internacional/> [Accessed on October 8, 2018].
- 43 Luis Miguel Modino, “Vicenta Mamani: ‘Muchos valores cristianos ya estaban presentes en la cultura indígena’” *Religión*, January 28, 2016 <http://www.periodistadigital.com/religion/america/2016/01/28/vicenta-mamani-muchos-valores-cristianos-ya-estaban-presentes-en-la-cultura-indigena-ecumenico-indigena-metodista-iglesia-religion-jesus-dios.shtml> [Accessed on July 9, 2018].
- 44 See Mamani, Vicenta and Quispe Huanca, Calixto. *Espiritualidades originarias: Pacha*, Tome 1 (Cochabamba: UCD, Instituto de Misionología, 2005). For information about Aymara spirituality, see Mamani, Vicenta. *Ritos espirituales y prácticas comunitarias del aymara* (La Paz: Creart Impresores, 2002).
- 45 This is how a Latin American commission of the Catholic Church describes the role played by indigenous theology in present day Latin America and the Caribbean: “Each people’s theology has its roots and nourishes itself in its own territory and historical context. For this reason, indigenous theologies are also contextual theologies. Given that there are hundreds of indigenous peoples, each

one with its own theology, cosmovision, and cosmo-experience, the Gospel's inculturation process must respect their timing, spaces, processes, which demands listening without any preconceived ideas, aware that the Gospel is a proposal rather than an imposition. It is imperative to enrich our understanding of theology's traditional sources (the Bible, tradition, and Magisterium: See DV 10) and to be able to read them in the light of past and present human experiences, such as myths, rites, dreaming, fasting, traditions, customs, and the creation itself; as well as their symbolic and dynamic dimension. We reassert that the method used by indigenous theologies is strongly symbolic, narrative, cosmic, and celebratory. The spirituality of the original peoples is a life force that strengthens them as protagonists of their own history." Secretaría General del Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano. "Conclusiones del VI Simposio de Teología India" (Asunción, Paraguay, September 18–23, 2017). <http://www.celam.org/conclusiones-del-vi-simposio-de-teologia-india-2286.html> [Accessed on October 8, 2018].

- 46 Estermann, Josef. *Apu Taytayku: Religion und Theologie im andinen Kontext Südamerikas* (Ostfildern: Grünwald, 2011).
- 47 See Mamani, Vicenta. *Mujer aymara migrante: hermana, ponte derecha y anda* (Cochabamba: Verbo Divino, 2007).
- 48 Tomichá Charupá, Roberto. Voz: "Teologías amerindias: una introducción." De Mori, Geraldo Luiz (dir.) *Theologica Latinoamericana. Encyclopédia Digital* (Belo Horizonte: FAJE, 2017). <http://theologicalatinoamericana.com/?p=1503> [Accessed: October 8, 2018].
- 49 See Tomichá Charupá, Roberto. "Teologías de la liberación indígenas. Balance y tareas pendientes" in *Horizonte: Revista de Estudios de Teología e Ciencias da Religiao*, Vol. 11, No. 32 (2013) pp. 1777-1800.
- 50 See Tomichá Charupá, Roberto. "Espiritualidades amerindias relationales. Aproximaciones preliminares" in *Perspectiva teológica*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (2017) pp. 329-352.
- 51 See Tomichá's brilliant contribution to the dialogue between the three streams of postmodern thinking in the Americas: the Latin American Liberation Theology, the theology of the people from the Southern Cone, and the Latino theology of migrant communities in the United States. See Tomichá Charupá, Roberto. "Interculturalidad y misión en Indoafroamérica," in Aranguren, Luis Alfonso and Palazzi, Félix (eds.). *Desafíos de una teología iberoamericana inculturada en tiempo de globalización, interculturalidad y exclusión social* (Boston: Convivium Press, 2017), pp. 464-481.
- 52 Tomichá Charupá, Roberto. "Espiritualidades amerindias relationales. Aproximaciones preliminares" in *Perspectiva teológica*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (2017) p. 331.
- 53 Ibid., pp. 342-343.
- 54 Ibid., p. 337.

- 55 “For the last eight days, we have been here at this sit-in that is not only a sign of an open wound in our homeland, but is also—in its poverty and instability—a sign of defenselessness and vulnerability experienced by the citizens who for years have been hit by the corruption of its institutions and crime’s devilish irrationality.” Sicilia, Javier. “Mensaje previo a la Caravana por la Paz con Justicia y Dignidad,” *Proceso* (April 13, 2011). <https://www.proceso.com.mx/267910/disco-integro-de-javier-sicilia> [Accessed on October 8, 2018].
- 56 Sicilia, Javier. “Lo sistémico” in *Proceso* (November 26, 2016). <https://www.proceso.com.mx/464014/lo-sistemico> [Accessed on July 10, 2018].
- 57 Sicilia, Javier. *Tríptico del desierto*, Panel 3 “La estría en el yermo”, Poem III (México: Era, 2009), in Manzano Añorve and María de los Ángeles. “El misterio de Dios, la poesía de Javier Sicilia” in *Revista Iberoamericana para la Investigación y el Desarrollo Educativo*, Vol. 6, No. 12 (January–June 2016) pp. 15–16. Dialnet-ELM isterioDeDiosLaPoesiaDeJavierSicilia-5850202.pdf [Accessed on July 10, 2018].
- 58 Ibid., Panel 3, Poem II.
- 59 See Zavala, Osvaldo. *Los carteles no existen: narcotráfico y cultura en México* (México: Malpaso, 2018).
- 60 Sicilia, Javier. “Advierte Javier Sicilia que México vive ‘el tiempo del fin.’” *Chicago Tribune* (April 1, 2016). <http://www.chicagotribune.com/hoy/ct-hoy-8588283-advierte-javier-sicilia-que-México-vive-el-tiempo-del-fin-story.html> [Accessed on October 8, 2018].
- 61 <http://hazquesevean.org/project/maria-herrera-juan-carlos/> [Accessed on July 10, 2018].
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Herrera, María. “Palabras de María Herrera, madre de cuatro hijos desaparecidos” in *Marcha de la Dignidad Nacional* (May 10, 2015). <https://reverdeser.wordpress.com/2015/05/13/palabras-de-maria-herrera-magdaleno-madre-de-cuatro-hijos-desaparecidos-en-la-marcha-del-10-de-mayo/> [Accessed on July 10, 2018].
- 64 Programa de Derechos Humanos, Dirección General del Medio Universitario de la Universidad Iberoamericana Ciudad de México and Comisión Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos, A.C. *Violencia y terror. Hallazgos sobre fosas clandestinas en México* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2017). This 2017 report can be consulted online: http://www.ibero.mx/files/informe_fosas_clandestinas_2017.pdf [Accessed on July 10, 2018].
- 65 Ibid. p. 82.
- 66 Ibid. p. 83.
- 67 Ibid.

- 68 See the documentary “Bojayá le canta a sus muertos” [“Bojayá Sings to their Dead”] that includes a testimony by Saulo Enrique Mosquera Palacio. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UbvSF-C0eig> [Accessed on October 26, 2018].
- 69 See Fornet-Betancourt, Raúl. *La Philosophie Interculturelle. Penser autrement le monde* (Paris: Éditions de l'Atelier, 2011); *Crítica intercultural de la filosofía latinoamericana actual* (Madrid: Trotta, 2004); Fornet-Betancourt, Raúl and Tamayo Acosta, Juan José. *Diálogo interreligioso y liberación. I Simposio internacional de teología intercultural e interreligiosa de liberación* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 2005).
- 70 Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. *Si fuese un activista de los derechos humanos* (Madrid: Trotta, 2018).
- 71 Metropolitan Community Church, <https://www.mccchurch.org/how-we-work/council-of-elders/rev-elder-margarita-sanchez-de-leon/> [Accessed on October 9, 2018].
- 72 See Althaus-Reid, Marcella. *The Queer God* (London: Routledge, 2003); *From Feminist Theology to Indecent Theology: Readings on Poverty, Sexual Identity and God* (London: SCM Press, 2004).
- 73 See the current state of the debate about queer theologies in: Knauss, Stéphanie and Mendoza-Álvarez Carlos (eds.). “Queer Theologies: Becoming the Queer Body of Christ,” *Concilium* 2019/5 (November, 2019).
- 74 See Musskopf, André Sidnei. *Via(da)gens teológicas. Itinerários de uma teologia queer no Brasil* (São Paulo: Fonte Editorial, 2012); “A Gap in the Closet: Gay Theology in Latin American Context.” In: *Men and Masculinities in Christianity and Judaism*, edited by Björn Krondorfer (London: SCM Press, 2009), pp. 460–471.
- 75 See Rojas Salazar, Marilú. “La ‘Ecosofía’. Una propuesta ecofeminista liberadora desde América Latina.” <http://www.donesesglesia.cat/documentos/ecosofia.pdf> [Accessed on October 9, 2018].
- 76 Méndez Montoya, Ángel Francisco. *The Theology of Food: Eating and the Eucharist* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); “The Theology of Food: Eating and the Eucharist” in Azaransky, Sarah (ed.) *Religion and Politics in America's Borderlands* (Minneapolis: Lexington Book, 2013).
- 77 Brauer-Rieke, Dave. “There will be an answer...,” *Sources of Authority in the Church* (Minneapolis: Lutheran University Press, 2011).
- 78 Formed by Janet Parker from the United States, Margarita Sánchez de León from Puerto Rico, Glafira Jiménez from Peru, Juan Carlos La Puente from Peru and the United States, Saúl Espino and Carlos Mendoza-Álvarez from México.
- 79 Cf: <https://www.echo-eco.space>

CHAPTER II

- 1 Mate, Reyes. *El tiempo, tribunal de la historia* (Madrid: Trotta, 2018); *La piedra desechada* (Madrid: Trotta, 2013); *La herencia del olvido. Ensayos en torno a la razón compasiva* (Madrid: Errata Natura Ediciones, 2008); *Filosofía de la historia* (Madrid: Trotta, 2005).
- 2 Dussel, Enrique Domingo. *Hacia una filosofía política crítica* (Bilbao: Desclée, 2001). Dussel is about to publish the third volume of his masterpiece: *Política de liberación*, Vol. III La crítica (Buenos Aires: Editorial Docencia, 2019), in which he specifically analyzes the issue of political messianism. See the two previous volumes, published in 2013: *Obras selectas 26/I Historia mundial y crítica; 26/II Arquitectónica*, [https://enriquedussel.com/txt/Textos_indice_Ed.Docencia/\(26.2\)Politica_liberacion_II.pdf](https://enriquedussel.com/txt/Textos_indice_Ed.Docencia/(26.2)Politica_liberacion_II.pdf) [Accessed on October 9, 2018].
- 3 Dussel, Enrique Domingo and Apel, Karl-Otto. Ética del discurso y ética de la liberación. *Obras selectas 21* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Docencia, 2013).
- 4 See Mignolo, Walter. *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).
- 5 See Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice et al. *Does capitalism have a future?* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); *World-Systems Analysis* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
- 6 Davis, Angela Y. *Women, Race & Class* (New York: Vintage House, 1983).
- 7 See Butler, Judith. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London and Brooklyn: Verso, 2020); *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990)
- 8 See Marcos, Sylvia. *Cruzando fronteras. Mujeres indígenas y feminismos abajo y a la izquierda* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Quinamntú, 2017).
- 9 See Segato, Rita Laura. *Críticas de la残酷* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2018); *La guerra contra las mujeres* (Buenos Aires: Traficantes de sueños, 2016); *Crítica de la colonialidad en ocho ensayos* (Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2015); *Las estructuras elementales de la violencia* (Madrid: Prometeo Libros, 2010).
- 10 See Romo Cedano, Pablo. “El obispo de Chiapas: la acción pastoral de Don Samuel Ruiz García” (April 19, 2012). <https://serapaz.org.mx/el-obispo-de-chiapas-la-accion-pastoral-de-don-samuel-ruiz-garcia-pablo-romo-cedano/> [Accessed on October 9, 2012].
- 11 Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against Epemicide* (Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2014).
- 12 Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. *The World Social Forum: A Users' Manual* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2004).

- 13 Mbembe, Achille. *Critique of Black Reason*, Chapter 5: “Requiem for the slave.” trans. Laurent Dubois (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2017).
- 14 Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. “The University at a Crossroads,” in Grosfoguel, Ramón, Hernández, Roberto and Rosen Velásquez, Ernesto (eds.). *Decolonizing the Westernized University. Interventions in Philosophy of Education from Within and Without* (London: Lexington Books, 2016) pp. 3-14.
- 15 A new debate at the Mexican universities. See the results of this collective debate: PISoR Group (Pluralism, Interculturality, Sociality, Resistances). *Movimientos sociales, resistencias y universidad. Sobre la incidencia social del conocimiento* (México: GEDISA, 2018).
- 16 See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xjgHfSrLnpU> [Accessed on October 9, 2018].
- 17 Dussel, Enrique. *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of “the Other” and the Myth of Modernity*, trans. Michael D. Barber (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1995).
- 18 Rivera-Cusicanqui, Silvia. *Violencias (re)encubiertas en Bolivia* (Santander: Otramérica, 2012); *Ch'ixanakax utxiwa: una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadores* (Buenos Aires: Retazos-Tinta Limón, 2010).
- 19 Regarding Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui’s opposition to Evo Morales’ reelection project of 2016, Raúl Zibechi remarked: “But the most devastating critique was made by Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, an Aymara anthropologist who has become a myth for both intellectuals and social movements. [...] In a letter disseminated on Tuesday 16, in which she defends the vote against the reelection, she accuses García Linera of having concocted an alliance with the large-scale landowners from Santa Cruz to whom he had offered ‘to change any law or decree in order to favor them.’ She goes beyond this position highlighting that ‘I recognize him as one of the many upstarts who have filled our trajectory with shame, indignity, and defeat.’ She calls the ‘energies of our rebellious awareness and the light of indigenous and grassroots teachings of our history’ in order to avoid his winning the reelection.” Zibechi, Raúl. “El patriarca en problemas.” *Brecha*, Issue 1578 (February 18, 2016) Montevideo. <https://brecha.com.uy/el-patriarca-en-problemas/> [Accessed on October 9, 2019].
- 20 Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia. *Oppressed but not defeated: peasant struggles among the Aymara and Qhechwa in Bolivia, 1900-1980* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1987).
- 21 See a good description of the differences between Boaventura de Sousa Santos’s epistemology of the South and Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui’s notion of internal decoloniality in: Salatino, Maximiliano. “Más allá de una epistemología desde el Sur.” *Revista de Filosofía*, No. 77 (2014/2), pp. 61-84. Universidad Nacional de Cuyo Mendoza, Argentina. <https://www.researchgate.net/>

- publication/296341655_Mas_alla_de_una_epistemologia_desde_el_Sur [Accessed on October 9, 2018].
- 22 Mbembe, Achille. *Critique of Black Reason*, trans. Laurent Dubois (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017); “The Society of Enmity,” *Radical Philosophy* 200, Nov/Dec 2016; *Necropolitics*, trans. Steen Corcoran (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2019); *On the Post-Colony* (Studies on the History of Society and Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
- 23 Mbembe, Achille, *Critique of Black Reason*, *Op. cit.*, chapter VI “The Clinic of the Subject,” No. 6.1., “The Master and His Black.” p. 152.
- 24 Mbembe, Achille, *Critique of Black Reason*, *Op. cit.*, chapter VI “The Clinic of the Subject,” No. 6.3., “The Rise of Humanity.” 158.
- 25 Other original peoples from North America are currently retrieving their diversity of gender practices. For instance, the Tamarack are recognizing “two-spirit” people. See Leland, John. “A Spirit of Belonging, Inside and Out.” *New York Times* (October 8, 2006). https://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/08/fashion/08SPIRIT.html?_r=0 [Accessed on December 8, 2017].
- 26 The theme regarding the human rights of the *trans* community is in the spotlight of transfeminisms today, as part of a broader issue pertaining to global capitalism: “DLF: Do you consider that access to employment is one of the main forms of discrimination faced by the trans population? ARC: I would say that it is one of the main forms of discrimination existing in the world, in Spain, in Greece, and in other European countries. This is one of the consequences of capitalism. It happens in the more developed countries and their cyclical crises, because capitalism is an amoral system that does not pay attention to people. It pays attention to the States, governments, churches, societies, political parties. It is relentless and when there is a production crisis, a cyclical crisis, millions of people need to be dispensed with and it becomes a problem for the State, having to figure out what to do with these people.” Rueda Castillo, Angie. “Derechos laborales de la población trans. Entrevista de David Ledesma Feregrino con Angie Rueda Castillo. *Asilegal* (May 1, 2013). <https://asilegal.wordpress.com/2013/05/01/derechos-laborales-de-la-poblacion-trans-entrevista-con-angie-rueda-castillo/> [Accessed on October 10, 2018].
- 27 Valencia, Sayak Margarita. “Teoría transfeminista para el análisis de la violencia machista y la reconstrucción no-violenta del tejido social en el México contemporáneo.” *Universitas Humanistica Javeriana* 78 (July–December, 2014) p. 68. <http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/unih/n78/n78a04.pdf> [Accessed on October 10, 2018].
- 28 The political and cultural relevance of the first same-sex marriage in México City should be highlighted. This marriage took place between two women activists of the LBGTQ community rights: Lol Kin Castañeda, a lawyer, and Judith Vázquez, a theologian. They were supported by David Razú, a politician and member of the Mexican House of Representatives. See: Villalobos, Juan

- Manuel. "La madre de todas las batallas será insertar la diversidad sexual en la educación. Entrevista con el Dr. Jordi Díez." *Revista Interdisciplinaria de Estudios de Género*, El Colegio de México, Year 2, No. 3 (January-June, 2016), pp. 191-199.
- 29 For example, her main choreographies: *I'm not a Person, I'm a Butterfly* (2016), *Facilities for the Human Body* (2014), *Requiem for a Stone-Curlew* (2012), in which she combines political criticism with the defense of the *Muxe* body-territory. A sample of her choreographic work can be seen in the following video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ALTMCDq5J9U> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 30 See the research we conducted on *Muxe* spirituality as epistemic and cultural resistance: Mendoza-Álvarez Carlos and Espino Armendáriz, Saúl. "A Critical Approach to Gender Identities in the 'Muxe' Case," *Humanities and Social Sciences* 2018, Vol.6, Issue 4 (July 2018) pp.130-136. <http://www.sciencepublishinggroup.com/journal/paperinfo?journalid=208&doi=10.11648/j.hss.20180604.16> [Accessed on October 10, 2018].
- 31 See Miano Borruso, Marinella. "Muxe": 'Nuevos liderazgos' y fenómenos mediáticos." *Revista Digital Universitaria*, Vol. 11, No. 9 (September 1, 2010), UNAM. <http://www.revista.unam.mx/vol.11/num9/art87/art87.pdf> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 32 Cultural studies address *Muxe* spirituality, which has not yet been studied from a queer theological perspective. A social science approach merely considers the religious expression of the *Muxe* feasts as performativities. See Tenoch Laaksonen, Sami Tapio. *Entre fantasía y realidad. Existencias transformadoras de los muxes juchitecos: explorando identidades discursivas y performativas de hacer género más allá de la heteronormatividad* (PhD Thesis in Anthropology (CIESAS, July 2016). https://www.academia.edu/26971164/Entre_fantas%C3%ADA_y_realidad._Existencias_transformadoras_de_los_muxes_juchitecos_julio_2016_.pdf [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 33 Avendaño, Lukas. *Buscando a Bruno* (Barcelona, June 2018). <https://vimeo.com/277627522> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 34 Adam, Tania. "Entrevista a Lukas Avendaño, performer i antropòleg muxe", *Terrícoles / betevé* (July 4, 2018). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UejleyPEbaM> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 35 Segato, Laura Rita. "A Manifesto in Four Themes," *Critical Times Journal*. No. 1, Issue 1, Special Section: McGlazer, Ramsey (ed). "Transnational Feminist Strikes and Solidarities" (International Consortium of Critical Theory Programs, 2018) pp. 212-225. <https://read.dukeupress.edu/critical-times/article/1/1/198/139314/A-Manifesto-in-Four-Themes> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].

- 36 See the interview that Jorge Santiago made Jtatik Samuel before he passed away, which is like a spiritual testament: Santiago, Jorge. *La pasión de servir al pueblo* (San Cristóbal de Las Casas: Centro de Derechos Humanos Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2016).
- 37 Aubry, Andrés. *Saberes en el camino (Compilación de artículos 1984-2007)* (San Cristóbal de Las Casas: cideci-unitierra, 2017); *Fray Pedro Lorenzo de la Nada: misionero de Chiapas y Tabasco* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2013); *Oro verde. La conquista de la selva lacandona por los madereros tabasqueños* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988); *La paz de Dios y del Rey. La conquista de la selva lacandona, 1525-1821* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988).
- 38 See Vos, Jan de. *Una tierra para sembrar sueños. Historia reciente de la selva lacandona* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002).
- 39 See Villoro, Juan. “¿Prohibido pensar?” *Reforma* (April 20, 2018). <https://www.reforma.com/aplicacioneslibre/preacceso/articulo/default.aspx?rval=1&id=133188&urlredirect=https://www.reforma.com/aplicaciones/editoriales/editorial.aspx?id=133188> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 40 Turati, Marcela. *Fuego cruzado. Las víctimas atrapadas en la guerra del narco* (México: Penguin Random House, 2011).
- 41 See Rea, Daniela. *Nadie les pidió perdón: historias de impunidad y resistencia* (México: Ediciones Urano, 2016).
- 42 See the interview published by *In Motion Magazine* regarding the University of the Earth project: Paget-Clarke, Nic. “Una universidad sin zapatos. Entrevista con Raymundo Sánchez Barraza” in *In Motion Magazine* (September 3, 2005). http://www.inmotionmagazine.com/global/rsb_int_esp.html [Accessed on October 11, 2018]. For an analysis of the pedagogy of this education project based on the Illichian idea of “conviviality,” developed in Oaxaca and Chiapas, see Zaldívar, Jon Igelmo. “La Universidad de la Tierra en México. Una propuesta de aprendizaje convivencial” in Hernández Huerta, José Luis, Sánchez Blanco, Laura, and Pérez Miranda, Iván (eds.) *Temas y perspectivas sobre educación. La infancia ayer y hoy* (Salamanca: Ediciones Anthema, 2009) pp. 285-298.
- 43 Their methodology is based not only on conviviality, as aforementioned, but also on non-directive and communal learning, as an experience of collectively constructing knowledge. See Mausner, Gideon. https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1686&context=isp_collection [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 44 The two main conversatories organized by the EZLN at CIDEKI Unitierra were: the Seminar entitled “El pensamiento crítico frente a la hidra capitalista” [Critical Thinking in the Face of the Capitalist Hydra] (May, 2015). <http://seminarioscideci.org/category/seminario-pensamiento-critico-frente-a-la->

hidra-capitalista/ [Accessed on October 11, 2018], followed by the Conversatory entitled “Miradas, escuchas, palabras: ¿prohibido pensar?” [Looks, Deep Listening, Words: Is Thinking Forbidden?] (April, 2018). The Colloquium program can be visited at: <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2018/04/03/programa-del-conversatorio-miradas-escuchas-palabras-prohibido-pensar/> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].

- 45 The process entitled “Tejiendo voces por la casa común” [Interweaving Voices for A Shared Home] was an initiative launched by social movements and some Mexican universities in order to promote a critical dialogue geared to thinking about México’s future “from a grassroots leftist perspective,” so as to strengthen a democracy beyond partocracy, in view of the electoral process in 2018. See Esteva, Gustavo “Tejidos y deshilados.” *La Jornada* (November 23, 2015). <http://www.jornada.com.mx/2015/11/23/opinion/024a2pol> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 46 A process through which to “unlearn” the traditional educational information based on the experience of the Zapatista communities. In August, 2013, it opened its doors to academia and social movements worldwide, offering an “immersion experience” at the *caracoles* or autonomous territories undergoing a critical thinking process inspired in the experience of the original peoples. See Comisión Sexta del EZLN. “Fechas y otras cosas para la escuelita zapatista” (March, 2013). <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2013/03/17/fechas-y-otras-cosas-para-la-escuelita-zapatista/> [Accessed on October 11, 2018]. Two levels of this alternative education process have been developed. See the four Level-one books: “La libertad según l@s zapatistas.” <https://www.centrodemedioslibres.org/2017/08/02/libros-en-pdf-de-la-escuelita-zapatista-la-libertad-segun-ls-zapatistas/> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 47 You can listen to Carlos González’s intervention as president of the Indigenous Government Council pertaining to the National Indigenous Council, in which he describes the three stages of the original peoples’ movement in México, founded in 1996 following the Zapatista uprising in 1992. <https://radiozapatista.org/?p=26778> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 48 The international press highlighted the relevance of this political event. See Concheiro, Luciano. “Los pueblos indígenas de México eligen a su vocera e irrumpen en el escenario político.” *New York Times* (May 28, 2017). <https://www.nytimes.com/es/2017/05/28/los-pueblos-indigenas-de-M%C3%A9xico-eligen-a-su-vocera-e-irrumpen-en-el-escenario-politico/> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 49 See Villoro, Juan. “Paradojas de la honestidad.” *Reforma* (March 30, 2018) <https://www.reforma.com/aplicacioneslibre/preacceso/articulo/default.aspx?id=131978&urlredirect=https://www.reforma.com/aplicaciones/editoriales/editorial.aspx?id=131978> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].

- 50 The reader can listen to Juan Villoro's intervention as co-organizer of the conversatory together with Raymundo Sánchez and Sub-Commander Galeano, at the panel entitled "Y en este grito de silencios, ¿cómo hablamos la verdad?" [And in This Screaming Silence, How Shall We Speak the Truth?] *Conversatorio Miradas, escuchas, palabras: ¿prohibido pensar?* <https://radiozapatista.org/?p=26778> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 51 <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/2017/12/29/convocatoria-al-primer-encuentro-internacional-politico-artistico-deportivo-y-cultural-de-mujeres-que-luchan/> [Accessed on July 18, 2018].
- 52 Eleven years after the uprising, the diagnostic made by the EZLN in 2005 remains valid. See EZLN. *Sexta Declaración de la Selva Lacandona* (June 2005). <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/sdsl-es/> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 53 See Castellanos, Rosario. *The Book of Lamentations*, trans. Esther Allen (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1998).
- 54 See Sylvia Marcos's blog with lectures, videos, and publications: <https://sylviamarcos.wordpress.com/category/librosbooks/> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 55 See Marcos, Sylvia. *Cruzando fronteras: Mujeres indígenas y feminismos abajo y a la izquierda* (San Cristóbal de Las Casas: CIDEKI-UNITIERRA, 2010).
- 56 See their network portal. <https://feminismosdescoloniales.wordpress.com> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 57 See EZLN. *Ley Revolucionaria de Mujeres* (December 1, 1993). <http://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/1993/12/31/ley-revolucionaria-de-mujeres/> [Accessed on October 11, 2018].
- 58 See Gutiérrez Aguilar, Raquel. *Horizontes comunitario-populares. Producción de común más allá de políticas estado-céntricas* (Madrid: Traficantes de sueños, 2017); *Desandar el laberinto. Introspección en la feminidad contemporánea* (Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón, 2011); *Los ritmos de Pachakuti: movilización y levantamiento indígena popular en Bolivia* (Buenos Aires: Tinta Limón, 2008).
- 59 Holloway, John. *La tormenta* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Herramienta, 2017); *Contra el dinero* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Herramienta, 2015); *Crack Capitalism* (London: Pluto Press, 2010); *Change the World Without Taking Power: The Meaning of Revolution Today* (London: Pluto Press, 2019).
- 60 Tzul Tzul, Gladys. *Gobierno comunal indígena y Estado Guatemalteco* (San José: Universidad de Costa Rica, 2018); "Mujeres indígenas: historias de reproducción de la vida en Guatemala. Una reflexión a partir de la visita de Silvia Federici," *Bajo el Volcán*, Year 15, No. 22 (March-August, 2015), pp. 91-99.

- 61 Throughout almost three decades, this research institute in social sciences, founded by Alfonso Vélez Pliego, has explored a *decolonial* model of the university. Through its graduate courses in history, sociology, and language sciences, with seven different research fields, it has connected with social movements resisting global capitalism. This university research is carried out with critical rigor, attentive to the aforementioned social movements in order to thus generate knowledge that is germane to a fair and inclusive society. <http://148.228.173.140/icsyhweb/> [Accessed on October 12, 2018].
- 62 I Congreso Internacional de Comunalidad. Luchas y estrategias comunitarias: horizontes más allá del capital (October 26-29, 2015). <https://kutxikotxokotxikitxutik.wordpress.com/2015/10/23/i-congreso-internacional-de-comunalidad-luchas-y-estrategias-comunitarias-horizontes-mas-all-a-del-capital-26-27-28-y-29-de-octubre-2015-benemerita-universidad-autonoma-de-puebla-puebla-mexic/> [Accessed on October 12, 2018].
- 63 Following the format of an ‘assembly,’ inspired by the communal practices of the Ayuujk people in Oaxaca, this Second Congress revolved around three linchpins: Education, Land-Territory, and Communication. <http://unicem.tlahuitoltepec.com/blog/ayuujk/segundo-congreso-internacional-de-comunalidad-tlahuitoltepec-mixe/> [Accessed on October 12, 2018].
- 64 The full *Statement* of the Second International Conference on Community held on March 9, 2018 coincided with the *International Encounter of Women In Struggle*, called by the EZLN in Chiapas. <http://www.segundocongresodecomunalidad.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/PronunciamientoII.pdf> [Accessed on July 18, 2018].
- 65 See, for instance, the thirteen principles of *Sumak Kawsay* or Aymara Harmonious Living, expressed by Fernando Huanacuni Mamani, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Plurinational State of Bolivia since January 23, 2017. <http://rcci.net/globalizacion/2017/fg2953.htm> [Accessed on July 18, 2018].
- 66 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yLabZLEXbl0> [Accessed on October 12, 2018].

CHAPTER III

- 1 Dupuy, Jean-Pierre. *How to Think About Catastrophe: Toward a Theory of Enlightened Doomsaying*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise and Mark R. Anspach (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2022); *A Short Treatise on the Metaphysics of Tsunamis*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2015); *The Mark of the Sacred*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013); “Rational Choice before the Apocalypse,” *Anthropoetics* XIII, No. 3 (Fall 2007/Winter 2008). <http://anthropoetics.ucla.edu/ap1303/1303dupuy/> [Accessed on October 12, 2018].
- 2 Rose, Gillian. *Mourning Becomes the Law: Philosophy and Representation* (Cambridge: University Press, Cambridge, 1996); *Love’s Work. A Reckoning with Life* (New York: New York Review Books, 2011).
- 3 See Benjamin, Walter, “On the Concept of History,” *Selected Writings*, Vol. IV, 1938-1940. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).
- 4 Derrida, Jacques. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York and London: Routledge, 2006).
- 5 See Zibechi, Raúl. *Territorios en resistencia. Cartografía política de las periferias urbanas latinoamericanas* (Buenos Aires: La Vaca Editora, 2008); “Movimientos sociales: nuevos escenarios y desafíos inéditos.” Observatorio Social de América Latina (OSAL), Year VII, No. 21 (September-December, 2006) pp. 221-230. Mendoza García, Jorge. “Movimientos sociales: entre la resistencia y la confrontación, entre lo privado y lo público.” *Polis* 2006, Vol. 2, No., pp. 179-215 (México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Iztapalapa). <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/726/72620107.pdf> [Accessed on October 12, 2018].
- 6 See Buscaglia, Edgardo. *Lavado de dinero y corrupción política* (México: Grijalbo, 2016); *Vacío de poder en México. Cómo combatir la delincuencia organizada* (México: Debate, 2013).
- 7 See Giberovitch, Myra. *Recovering from Genocidal Trauma: An Information and Practice Guide for Working with Holocaust Survivors* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).
- 8 See the recent research that links the Dirty War in México in the 1970s with the war against “organized crime” in recent years. See Gamiño Muñoz, Rodolfo. *La Patria de los ausentes: Un acercamiento al estudio de la desaparición forzada en México* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2022).
- 9 We took the expression ‘systemic victim’ from mimetic theory, as developed by Jean-Pierre Dupuy. See Halévy, Sonia, Bourbaki, Pierre, and Robert, Jean. *Jean-Pierre Dupuy: la crisis económica, su arqueología, constelaciones y pronóstico* (San Cristóbal de Las Casas: CIDECI-Unitierra, 2012). Also see the following

studies from the perspective of social sciences from the Global South: Rosemberg Seifer, Florence. "Algunas reflexiones sobre la violencia sistémica: México como escenario," in Zárate Vidal, Margarita and Hita, María Gabriela (coords.) (México: Juan Pablos Editores, 2014).: https://www.academia.edu/32029709/ALGUNAS_REFLEXIONES_SOBRE_LA_VIOLENCIA_SISTÉMICA_MÉXICO_COMO_ESCENARIO_1 [Accessed on October 12, 2018]; Salazar Gutiérrez, Salvador. "Violencia sistémica, subjetividad del riesgo y socialidad de resguardo en el escenario de la ciudad fronteriza de Ciudad Juárez, México," *Frontera Norte*, Vol. 26, No. 51 (January–June, 2014). http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0187-73722014000100006 [Accessed on October 12, 2018].

- 10 See Rancière, Jacques. *Hatred of Democracy*, trans. Steve Corcoran (London and New York: Verso, 2014); *The Spectator Emancipated* trans. Gregory Elliott (London and New York: Verso, 2021).
- 11 See Sedmak, Clemens. *Hacia una ética para pensar el terrorismo* (Guadalajara: Cátedra Kino SUJ, 2008).
- 12 Ross, Daniel. "Politics, Terror and Traumatypical Imagery," in: Noonan, Murray, Sharpe et al. *Trauma, History, Philosophy* (2007) p. 231.
- 13 See Franco, Jean. "Rape: A Weapon of War," *Social Text*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (91) (Summer 2007), pp. 23–37. [https://read.dukeupress.edu/social-text/article-abstract/25/2%20\(91\)/23/33529/RapeA-WEAPON-OF-WAR?redirectedFrom=fulltext](https://read.dukeupress.edu/social-text/article-abstract/25/2%20(91)/23/33529/RapeA-WEAPON-OF-WAR?redirectedFrom=fulltext) [Accessed on October 12, 2018].
- 14 See Stolorow, Robert D. "World, Affectivity, Trauma: Heidegger and Post-Cartesian Psychoanalysis" (*Psychoanalytic Inquiry*, Vol. 35) (New York: Routledge, 2011).
- 15 Stiegler, Bernard. *Dans la disruption: Comment ne pas devenir fou? Suivi d'un Entretien sur le christianisme* (Paris: Les Liens qui Libèrent, 2018). See also: Cyrulnik, Boris. *Mémoire et traumatisme: L'individu et la fabrique des grands récits. Entretien avec Denis Peschanski* (Paris: 2012).
- 16 Ross, Daniel. "Politics, Terror and Traumatypical Imagery," in: Noonan, Murray, Sharpe Matthew et al. *Trauma, History, Philosophy* (2007) p. 235.
- 17 Ibid. p. 237.
- 18 Giberovitch, Myra. Op. cit., "Impact and Trauma: Vulnerability and Resilience," p. 67.
- 19 Ibid. p. 70.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Krell, 1989, 216. Apud Giberovitch, Myra. Op. cit., p. 69.

- 22 Research regarding Jewish victims of the Holocaust, published in Canada and the United States at the end of the twentieth century, reported that between 39 and 65% of the survivors developed PTSD (Yehuda et al 1998). Apud. Ibid., pp. 69-70.
- 23 See Iraheta Monroy, Mario Roberto. "Psicotrauma en sobrevivientes de guerra en Guatemala." *Medicina Legal de Costa Rica*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Heredia, September 2003). http://www.scielo.sa.cr/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1409-00152003000200009 [Accessed on October 12, 2018].
- 24 Regarding the case in Chile, see Eyya J., Evelyn (ed.). "Dictadura, trauma político y psicología. El quehacer de la psicología en el contexto de las violaciones a los derechos humanos en Chile." *Psicología Hoy*, No. 28 (August, 2008), Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago de Chile. http://mailing.uahurtado.cl/2017/comunicaciones/psico_hoy/28/pdf/PsicologiaHoy_28.pdf [Accessed on October 14, 2018].
- 25 Sepúlveda, Daniela. "Memoria y reparación: el tratamiento institucional a las víctimas de violación de derechos humanos en Chile," in *Política. Revista de Ciencia Política*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (2014) pp. 212-213.
- 26 Ibid., p. 226.
- 27 Lira, Elizabeth. "El testimonio de experiencias políticas traumáticas: terapia y denuncia en Chile (1973-1985)," in Pérotin-Dumon, Anne (dir.). *Historizar el pasado vivo en América Latina* (Santiago de Chile: Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2007) p. 40. <http://www.historizarelpasadovivo.cl/downloads/lira.pdf> [Accessed on July 31, 2018].
- 28 Ibid., p. 38.
- 29 Ibid., p. 27.
- 30 See Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), particularly chapter 2: "The Exercise of Memory: Uses and Abuses," pp. 56-91.
- 31 See Godwin Phelps, Teresa. *Después de la violencia y la opresión: ¿es posible crear justicia?* (León: Cátedra Kino SUJ, 2007); Chávez Aviña, Mónica. *Un problema filosófico para la vida. La reconciliación, camino posible para la paz.* PhD thesis in Philosophy (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, December, 2017).
- 32 This commission was guided by the idea of achieving national reconciliation: "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission understands 'reconciliation' as the implementation of a process of reestablishing and re-founding the fundamental ties between Peruvians, bonds voluntarily destroyed or deteriorated by the outbreak of a violent conflict initiated by the Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path in recent decades in which the whole of society was involved. The reconciliation process is made possible, and is necessary because of the

- discovery of the truth of what happened in those years—both with regard to the recording of violent events and the explanation of the causes that produced them—as well as by justice’s reparative and punitive action.” Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación en el Perú. *Informe final* (August 31, 2003), Vol. IX. Part Four: Recomendaciones de la CVR, hacia un compromiso nacional por la reconciliación. Chapter 12: “Fundamentos de la reconciliación.” <http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ifinal/pdf/TOMO%20IX/1.%20RECONCILIACION.pdf> [Accessed: October 14, 2018].
- 33 Based on a model of ‘transitional justice’ as an act of memory, justice, and reparation in view of reconciliation: “Given the magnitude of this exercise, the Commission’s quest for truth should be viewed as a contribution to a much longer-term goal and vision. Its purpose in attempting to uncover the past had nothing to do with vengeance; it had to do, rather, with helping victims to become more visible and more valuable citizens through the public recognition and official acknowledgement of their experiences [...] In addition, by bringing the darker side of the past to the fore, those responsible for violations of human rights could also be held accountable for their actions. In the process, they were given the opportunity to acknowledge their responsibility to contribute to the creation of a new South African society.” South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. “Concepts and Principles.” *Report* (October 29, 2008). Vol. 1, chapter 5, pars. 27–28. <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/finalreport/Volume%201.pdf> [Accessed on October 14, 2018].
- 34 Giberovitch, Myra. Op. cit., p. 76.
- 35 Ibid., p. 80.
- 36 Ibid., p. 82.
- 37 Almedom, 2005: 255. Apud. Ibid., p. 85.
- 38 Cohen et al, 2010: 531. Apud. Ibid., p. 86.
- 39 Lira, Elizabeth. Op. cit., pp. 27–28.
- 40 Ibid., p. 26.
- 41 See Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), in particular, “Epilogue: Difficult Forgiveness.”
- 42 See Ricoeur, Paul. *Living up to Death*, trans. David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
- 43 Ricoeur, Paul. *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli* (Paris: Seuil, 2000) p. 655.
- 44 Freud, Sigmund. “Trauer und Melancholie” in *Internationale Zeitschrift für Ärztliche Psychoanalyse*, IV Jahrgang, 1916/17, Heft 6 (1918) pp. 288–301.

- 45 See Rousset, Marion. "Una travail de deuil pour Sigmund Freud," in *Le Monde* (August 3, 2017).
- 46 See, for example, the critique of the Oedipus complex made by Freud's contemporary women psychoanalysts: "Horney and Riviere were the most radical [women psychoanalysts contemporary to Freud]. They insisted on reconsidering issues such as penis envy, the masculinity complex, and castration. Although Ernest Jones defended the difference of the Oedipal passage between man and woman and also the importance of the preoedipal phase, he did so by sustaining the difference using biological arguments, stating, for example, that femininity was innate, a position that was not shared either by Freud or the other women psychoanalysts." Bochar Pizarro, Jacqueline Elizabeth. "Feminismos, perspectiva de género y psicoanálisis," *Géneros. Revista de investigación y divulgación sobre los estudios de género*, No. 20, Epoch 2, Year 23 (September 2016 – February 2017) p. 52. http://bvirtual.ucol.mx/descargables/5_35-64.pdf [Accessed on October 15, 2018].
- 47 Lacan, Jacques. *Seminar 6: Desire and its Interpretation*. "Seven Classes on Hamlet." Class 18 "Mourning and Desire" (April 22, 1959), trans. Bruce Fink (Cambridge: Policy Press, 2019) p. 323-337.
- 48 See Zeitoune, Marcos. "Duelo y 'Disposición enfermiza' en la melancolía," *Revista de Psicología de Tucumán*, Year 15, No. 19 (December 2011). http://www.colpsicologostuc.org.ar/wordpress2016/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Revista_2011.pdf [Accessed on October 15, 2018].
- 49 See Panikkar, Raimon. *The Trinity and the Religious Experience of Man: Icon—Person—Mystery*. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1973).
- 50 Melloni, Javier. *El Cristo interior* (Barcelona: Herder, 2010).
- 51 See Tomichá, Roberto. "Teologías de la liberación indígenas," in Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT). *III Minga / Mutirão. Teología de la Liberación 40 años*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2013/4 (October–December 2013) pp. 113-130.
- 52 Elmiger, María Elena. "La subjetivación del duelo en Freud y Lacan," in *Revista Mal Estar e Subjetividade*, Fortaleza (March, 2010).
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid., Conclusion.

- 58 See Dri, Rubén. *La Fenomenología del Espíritu de Hegel. Perspectiva latinoamericana, tomo II: Intersubjetividad y reino de la verdad. Hermenéutica de los capítulos I-IV* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2006).
- 59 See Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. Deus ineffabilis. *Una teología posmoderna de la revelación del fin de los tiempos* (Barcelona: Herder, 2015).
- 60 See Benjamin, Walter. *On the Concept of History (often referred to as ...) Thesis on the Philosophy of History.* <https://www.sfu.ca/~andrewf/CONCEPT2.html>
- 61 See Cohen, Hermann. *Religion of Reason: Out of the Sources of Judaism*, trans. Simon Kaplan (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1995).
- 62 Dussel, Enrique. “Benjamin y el mesianismo” in *La Jornada* (August 1, 2018). <http://www.jornada.com.mx/2018/08/01/opinion/019a2pol> [Accessed on August 7, 2018].
- 63 Agamben, Giorgio. *The Time that Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*, trans. Patricia Dailey (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005). However, that secular and non-theological nature of messianism continues to be reasserted: Liceaga, Gabriel. “Variaciones mesiánicas: reflexiones a partir de Sobre el concepto de historia”, *Revista de Estudios Críticos*, pp. 174–189. Centro de Estudios y Actualización en Pensamiento Político, Decolonialidad e Interculturalidad, Universidad Nacional del Comahue, Argentina. <http://www.ceapedi.com.ar/otroslogos/Revistas/0003/10.%20Liceaga.pdf> [Accessed on October 16, 2018].
- 64 Schick, Kate. *Gillian Rose: A Good Enough Justice* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012) pp. 73–74.
- 65 Ibid., pp. 75–76.
- 66 See Torres-Queiruga, Andrés. *Creo en Dios Padre. EL Dios de Jesús como afirmación plena del hombre* (Santander: Sal Terrae, 1986).
- 67 Žižek, Slavoj. *Living in the End Times* (London: Verso, 2010); *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections* (New York: Picador, 2008).
- 68 Rancière comments and “corrects” Badiou with his own idea of democracy in the streets: “Indeed, democracy is perhaps first of all a politicity of the historic — the fact that there is a history, a *longue durée* of events; the fact that days of action, declarations, combats leave their trace, making their mark not only on institutions and memories but also on situations themselves, the constitution of sites that are the consequences of events and thus lend themselves to other events, without this implying any need to pull a name out of a void surrounding them. If the street, the factory or the university are to lend themselves to a resurgence — a reinscription — of the event, this depends not simply on the subjectivity constituted in the intervening organisation, but also on the fact that there are sites, singularities, and rules that allow the persistence of an event,

the persistence of its declaration. Democracy, thus understood, is a certain node of the state and the event, a node of inequality and equality. “Equality is politics,” Badiou insists. But is this not first of all true of its revolutionary declaration, of the historicity that this declaration opens up — that is, in its condition as an undoubtable event, which gives us no choice to decide on its existence, but only the form of its repetition?” Rancière, Jacques. “Time is nothing other than intervention’ Jacques Rancière on Alain Badiou’s *Being and Event*.” A Verso blog post (April 1, 2016). <https://www.versobooks.com/en-gb/blogs/news/2579-time-is-nothing-other-than-intervention-jacques-ranciere-on-alain-badiou-s-being-and-event> [Accessed on October 16, 2018].

- 69 Žižek, Slavoj. *Event: A Philosophical Journey Through a Concept*, trans. (Brooklyn, New York: Melville House, 2014), p. 4.
- 70 Ibid., p. 5.
- 71 Ibid., p. 7.
- 72 Žižek, Slavoj. *Event: A Philosophical Journey Through a Concept*, trans. (Brooklyn, New York: Melville House, 2014); *Absolute Recoil: Towards a New Foundation of Dialectical Materialism* (London: Verso, 2014); *Did Somebody Say Totalitarianism?: Five Interventions in the (Mis)Use of a Notion* (London: Verso, 2011). In México, Pablo Lazo has worked most on this idea of the interstices matrix: Lazo, Pablo. J. M. Coetzee. *Los imaginarios de la resistencia* (Madrid: Akal, 2017); “La resistencia intersticial y la crítica de la biopolítica en Giorgio Agamben.” *Reflexiones Marginales*, No. 39. <http://reflexionesmarginales.com/3.0/la-resistencia-intersticial-y-la-critica-de-la-biopolitica-en-giorgio-agamben/> [Accessed on October 16, 2018].
- 73 Žižek, Slavoj. *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology* (London and New York: Verso, 2020), pp. 187–190.
- 74 See Rose, Gillian. *Judaism and Modernity: Philosophical Essays. Radical Thinkers* (London: Blackwell Pub, 1993); *Mourning Becomes the Law: Philosophy and Representation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- 75 See an introductory study about Rose’s concept of ‘good enough justice’ in: Schick, Kate. *Gillian Rose: A Good Enough Justice* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).
- 76 See the translation into English, Ricoeur, Paul. *The Course of Recognition*, trans. David Pellauer (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2005).
- 77 “Je termine sur l’interrogation qui est la mienne : jusqu’à quel point peut-on donner une signification fondatrice à ces expériences rares [d’un échange du don]? Je tendrais à dire que tant que nous avons le sentiment du sacré et du caractère hors-ouvrage de la cérémonie dans l’échange sous son aspect cérémoniel, alors nous avons la promesse d’avoir été au moins une fois dans notre vie reconnu ; et si nous n’avions jamais eu l’expérience d’être reconnu, de

- reconnaître dans la gratitude de l'échange cérémoniel, nous serions des violents dans la lutte pour la reconnaissance. Ce sont ces expériences rares qui protègent la lutte pour la reconnaissance de retourner à la violence de Hobbes.” Ricoeur, Paul. “La lutte pour la reconnaissance et l'économie du don” in: Various authors *Hermenéutica y responsabilidad. Homenaje a Paul Ricoeur. Actas VII Encuentros Internacionales de Filosofía en el Camino de Santiago* (Compostela: 2003) pp. 26-27. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf000137527> [Accessed on August 7, 2018].
- 78 Schick, Kate. *Gillian Rose: A Good Enough Justice* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012) p. 79.
- 79 Mate, Reyes. *Tratado de la injusticia* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 2011).
- 80 Levinas, *Difficult freedom: Essays on Judaism*, trans. Sean Hand (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). See a theological analysis that is still framed within the opposition between Judaism and Christianity, without stepping into the ‘anthropological’ ground of messianism in the chapter entitled “Messianic Texts.”
- 81 A theme that we have already developed in a previous book: Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. *Deus ineffabilis. Una teología posmoderna de la revelación del fin de los tiempos* (Barcelona: Herder, 2015), Chapter V.
- 82 See Levinas, Emmanuel. *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press, 1998).
- 83 The idea of “taking charge of reality,” initially proposed by Xavier Zubiri, was taken up in El Salvador by Ignacio Ellacuría and then by Jon Sobrino. See Ellacuría, Ignacio. “El pueblo crucificado. Ensayo de soteriología histórica.” Various authors in *Cruz y resurrección. Presencia y anuncio de una Iglesia nueva* (México: CRT/Servir, 1978) pp. 49-82; Sobrino Jon. *Resurrección de la verdadera Iglesia, Los pobres, lugar teológico de la eclesiología* (Santander: Sal Terrae, 1984).
- 84 The ontology of givenness, although articulated in a post-Heideggerian phenomenological sense, has a close correlation with the love of gratuitousness characteristic of messianic existence. See Marion, Jean-Luc. *Being Given: Toward a Phenomenology of Givenness*, trans. Jeffrey L. Kosky (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002).
- 85 The concept of the ‘individual in relationship’ was developed by Barbara Andrade in México: Andrade, Barbara. *Cuéntanos tu experiencia de Dios. Reflexiones sobre el Dios cristiano* (Salamanca: Secretariado Trinitario, 2001); *Dios en medio de nosotros. Esbozo de una teología trinitaria kerigmática* (Salamanca: Secretariado Trinitario, 1999).
- 86 See Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. *Deus liberans. La revelación en diálogo con la modernidad. Los elementos fundamentales de la estética teológica* (Freiburg: Éditions Univesitaires, 1996), chap. III .”La vía fenomenológica..”

- 87 Levinas, Emmanuel. *Otherwise than Being or Beyond Essence*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Pittsburg, Duquesne University Press, 2011) p. 8.
- 88 In a similar sense, Jean Vincent argues in his scholarly study of the biblical texts: "I leave it to the New Testament exegetes to decide whether the authors who have taken up the words of the Septuagint do not, despite everything, have in their mind or hearts the meaning that the Hebrew Bible gives to this verse. Isn't the lesson that Jesus conveys through the parable of the good Samaritan (Lk 10:25-37), for example, more congruent with the meaning of the Hebrew text than with that of the Septuagint? When it is a question in the texts of Paul or James (not to mention John) of loving one's neighbor (with or without reference to Lv 19:18b), is it not basically a love that protects the weak, of a love geared to serve, requested by God, based on an equality between sinners who have been forgiven, who are always fragile, with a different social or ecclesial status, but equal in their common recognition of God as a savior and their submission to his authority? Isn't the formulation in the New Testament that reads: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" also elliptical and concise? Shouldn't we understand it to mean: "You will love your neighbor as you yourself have been loved." Vincent, Jean M. "Tu aimeras ton prochain comme toi-même?" Lv 19:18b dans son contexte." *Revue d'Études Théologiques et Religieuses*, Tome 81 (2006/1) p. 112. Institut Protestante de Theologie, Paris. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-etudes-theologiques-et-religieuses-2006-1-page-95.htm> [Accessed on October 16, 2018].
- 89 See: Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Third Part, Question 60, Article 3.
- 90 See Chauvet, Louis-Marie. *Symbol and Sacrament: Sacramental Reinterpretation of Christian Existence*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1994).
- 91 See Madera Vargas, Ignacio Antonio. "Performatividad y autoimplicación: hacia un lenguaje teológico significativo." *Revista de Cultura Teológica*, Year XXV, No. 87 (Jan/Jun 2016) pp. 12-42. <https://revistas.pucsp.br/index.php/culturateo/article/view/rct.i87.28525> [Accessed on October 16, 2018].

CHAPTER IV

- 1 “As they entered the tomb, they saw a young man dressed in a white robe sitting on the right side, and they were alarmed. “Don’t be alarmed,” he said. You are looking for Jesus the Nazarene, who was crucified. He has risen! He is not here. See the place where they laid him” / ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐταῖς, μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε· οἵσοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν ναζαρηνόν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον· ἡγέρθη, οὐν̄ ἔστιν ὃδε· ίδε ὁ τόπος ὅπου ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν (Mk 16:5-6). Given the primal character of the grieving community’s narrative, we shall use the Christological title “the Crucified One Who Awakened” to refer to the resurrection as an uprising.
- 2 See this phrase by Spinoza who pioneered the historical approach to the Bible: “The universal rule, then, in interpreting Scripture is to accept nothing as an authoritative Scriptural statement which we do not perceive very clearly when we examine it in the light of its history.” Spinoza, Baruch. *Tractatus theologicopoliticus*, in Dawes, Gregory (ed.). *The Historical Jesus Quest: Landmarks in the Search of the Jesus of History* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999) p. 322.
- 3 There are even those who speak today of a “Fourth Quest” conducted in recent decades in order to trace the non-canonical sources, particularly the pre-Pauline sources that make it possible to re(de)construct the historical Jesus. See: Lataster, Raphael. “The Fourth Quest: A Critical Analysis of the Recent Literature on Jesus’ (a)Historicity.” *Literature & Esthetics* 24/1 (June, 2014). <https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/LA/article/viewFile/8328/8466> [Accessed on October 20, 2018].
- 4 Thus, for example, the importance that Käsemann gave to the relationship of the kerygma and the historical Jesus: “The question of the historical Jesus is, in its legitimate form, the question of the continuity of the Gospel within the discontinuity of the times and within the variation of the kerygma. [...] The Gospel is tied to him who, both before and after Easter, revealed himself to his own as the Lord, by setting them before the God who is near to them and thus translating them into the freedom and responsibility of faith [...] To this extent the problem of the historical Jesus is not our invention, but the riddle which he himself sets us. The historian may establish the existence of this riddle, but he is unable to solve it. It is only solved by those who since the Cross and the Resurrection confess him as that which, in the days of his flesh, he never claimed to be and yet was—their Lord, and the bringer of the liberty of the children of God, which is the correlate of the kingdom of God. For to this particularity there corresponds the particularity of faith, for which the real history of Jesus is always happening afresh; it is now the history of the exalted Lord, but it does not cease to be the earthly history it once was, in which the call and claim of the Gospel are encountered.” Käsemann, Ernst. “The Problem of the Historical Jesus” in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, in Dawes, Gregory (ed.). *The Historical Jesus Quest: Landmarks in the Search of the Jesus of History* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999) p. 313.

- 5 See Meier, John P. "The Historical Jesus: Rethinking Some Concepts." *Theological Studies*, 51 (1990) 3-24. [Accessed on October 20, 2018].
- 6 The experts proceed to comment: "Despite this open result, it must be stated that both the possibilities which we think probable presuppose an 'empty tomb', whether in that its existence explains the origin of a corresponding story or that conversely the narrative was an apt explanation of its existence. By contrast, most historical reconstructions which regard the story of the empty tomb as an unhistorical legend feel compelled to attack both the existence of an empty tomb and the burial of Jesus. For had it been known where Jesus was buried, it is hard to imagine how the Easter message could have been preached in Jerusalem without reference to this tomb. So if one wanted to arrange the considerations developed here into a spectrum of different views, the balance would tilt towards the possibility that the tradition of the empty tomb has a historical nucleus. But only a little way. For at the same time we are attempting to show that even if Christians in Jerusalem in the forties or fifties could have pointed to an empty tomb, this is no proof for the resurrection. At all events this state of affairs shows that the story of the empty tomb can only be illuminated by the Easter faith (which is based on appearances); the Easter faith cannot be illuminated by the empty tomb." Theissen, Gerd and Merz, Annette. *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide*, trans. John Bowden (Minnesota: Fortress Press, 1998), pp. 502-503.
- 7 The complete text reads as follows: "In particular, any who insist on being post-Enlightenment historians must look in the mirror and ask some bard methodological questions. The underlying rationale of the Enlightenment was, after all, that the grandiose dogmatic claims of the church [...] needed to be challenged by the fearless, unfettered examination of historical evidence. It will not do, after two hundred years of this, for historians in that tradition to turn round and rule out, a priori, certain types of answer to questions that remain naggingly insistent. The larger dreams of the Enlightenment have, in recent years, been challenged on all kinds of levels. In some cases (colonialism, the global triumph of western capitalism, and so on) they have been shown to be politically, economically and culturally self-serving on a massive scale. What if the moratorium on speaking of Jesus' bodily resurrection, which has been kept in place until recently more by the critics' tone of voice than by sustained historical argument [...] should itself turn out to be part of that intellectual and cultural hegemony against which much of the world is now doing its best to react? [...] Indeed, the holding apart of the mental and spiritual on the one hand from the social, cultural and political on the other, one of the most important planks in the Enlightenment platform, is itself challenged by the question of Jesus' resurrection. To address the final historical question is to face, within the worldview model, not only questions of belief but also of praxis, story and symbol." N. T. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003) pp. 712-713.
- 8 Theissen, Gerd and Merz, Annette. Op. Cit., pp. 560-561.

- 9 Theissen, Gerd and Merz, Annette. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 562-563.
- 10 See Sobrino, Jon. "La centralidad del 'reino de Dios' en la teología de la liberación." *Revista latinoamericana de teología*, No. 68 (May-August, 2006) pp. 247-261.
- 11 Bravo, Carlos. *Galilea, año 30* (México: CRT, 1986).
- 12 See Meier, John. *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*. Volume II: "Mentor, Message, and Miracles" (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1994).
- 13 "The final judgement, the resurrection of the dead, the restoration of Israel, and the great tribulation were scarcely new ideas. They were rather part of Jesus' Jewish heritage, part of an archetypically compelling eschatological scenario, part of the 'little tradition' that came to him through the institutions of his village life. What he did with them was twofold. First, like other before and after him, he made them overwhelmingly relevant to his own time and place through the notion of imminence. Nearness was designed to make people attend to the one thing needful. Second, his association of eschatological expectations with events and persons around him gave traditional myths a fresh and inventive application." Allison, Dale C. *Jesus of Nazareth, Millenarian Prophet* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998) p. 171.
- 14 Theissen, Gerd and Merz, Annette. *The Historical Jesus*, p. 561.
- 15 Duquoc, Christian. *Mesianismo de Jesús y discreción de Dios. Ensayo sobre los límites de la cristología* (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1989).
- 16 Theissen, Gerd and Merz, Annette. *Op. cit.*, p. 513.
- 17 Allison, Dale C. *Jesus of Nazareth, Millenarian Prophet* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998) p. 171.
- 18 Theissen, Gerd and Merz, Annette. *Op. cit.*, p. 561.
- 19 Regarding Jesus' relationship with power, Aguirre specifically points to the alternative ground of service, which Jesus proposes as key to building a life in common: "In 9:35 he said: "Anyone who wants to be first must be the very last, and the servant (*diakonos*) of all." In 10:44, he does not say servant (*diakonos*), but slave (*doulos*), which is much stronger. Slaves at that time performed very diverse functions and some required a certain degree of training (for example, as pedagogues or teachers), but their status was very low on the social scale, because they lacked freedom, they belonged to their masters, they had to be fully available to them, serve them, and be at their beck and call. Jesus uses a metaphor of total radicality. It is a reversal of conventional values in human relationships. The Christian community proposes a radical alternative." Aguirre, Rafael. "La mirada de Jesús sobre el poder." *Teología y vida*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (March 2014) Santiago de Compostela. <https://scielo.conicyt.cl/scielo>.

- php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0049-34492014000100005 [Accessed on October 20, 2018].
- 20 Jesus' conviviality is an essential criterion of the superabundance of divine Wisdom that prepares a banquet for all nations, as a messianic sign of the times to come. See: Méndez Montoya, Ángel Francisco. *The Theology of Food: Eating and the Eucharist* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).
- 21 “A exegese judaica nao aplica a imagen do ‘servo de Isaias’ às qualificações pessoais messiânicas, exceto se aí estiver presente a figura do próprio Israel coletivo, o ‘servo de Deus’ por excelênciia. Assume-se, portanto, que somente Israel, a nação eleita de Iahweh no sentido coletivo, pode ser considerada o ‘servo do Senhor’ e nao a pessoa exclusiva do messias. A interpretação do ‘servo’ de Isaías, feita à luz do sofrimento de Jesus na cruz, adquiriu atribuições messiânicas até entao desconhecidas ao judaísmo normativo, cristalizando-se como novo criterio de redenção, alem de se construir num divisor de aguas entre as tradições crista e judaica, acentuando no sofrimento vicário do Cristo.” Scardelai, Donizete. *Movimentos messiânicos no tempo de Jesus* (São Paulo: Paulus, 1998) p. 300.
- 22 A poetic eschatological imagination, that is, with the capacity to create new worlds. See Mendoza-Álvarez Carlos, Deus absconditus. *Deseo, memoria e imaginación escatológica. Ensayo de teología fundamental posmoderna* (Guadalajara: Cátedra Kino SUJ, 2007) pp. 281 ff.
- 23 González Faus thus commented these very words of Jesus (“ipssima verba Iesu”) that the synoptics bore witness to: “God’s way of being made Jesus rejoice (Lk 10:21). This joyfulness gives rise to an awareness of the intimacy between them (Mt 11:27). There is a very dim possibility of attributing these words to Jesus. If that were the case, it would seem that Luke had preserved the original context, claiming that these words had been spoken when the disciples had returned from their mission. This clarifies the meaning of ‘these things’: it is an expression that alludes to the mysteries of the Kingdom that the apostles had gone out to preach about. At the same time, it shows that the ‘little children’ are precisely the disciples. They are praised for being simple rather than for being disciples. Thus, the passage’s Lukan context makes it possible to suspect that the disciples (at least most of them) had been recruited among the *nepioi*.” González Faus, José Ignacio. *La humanidad nueva. Ensayo de cristología* (Santander: Sal Terrae, 2000) p. 99.
- 24 With regard to the discipleship of Jesus’ community, Rafael Aguirre Monasterio highlights the need to translate it for our time into a logic of givenness and gratuitousness: “Jesus’ disciple strives to introduce the logic of givenness and gratuitousness into both personal and social relationships. This emerges from the very heart of his experience of God, in which he discovers that God loves and forgives him, calls him to freely receive a gift that goes beyond all his possibilities.” Aguirre Monasterio, Rafael. “Discípulos y testigos de Jesús en la sociedad actual.” Aula de teología. Universidad de Cantabria (March 16, 2010). <https://web>.

unican.es/campuscultural/Documents/Aula%20de%20estudios%20sobre%20religión/2009–2010/CursoTeologíaDiscípulosyTestigosDeJesus2009–2010.pdf [Accessed on October 20, 2018].

- 25 An ambiguous messianism in the first century C.E.: “Ceux qui approchèrent Jésus et furent sensibles à son message ne savaient sans doute quel titre lui donner car ils ne savaient pas eux-mêmes ce qu'ils attendaient: était-il un prophète, était-il Elie? était-il le fils de David? Ils ne savaient pas si sa mission était céleste ou terrestre: “Est-ce en ce temps que tu rétabliras le royaume d'Israël?” demandent les apôtres (Actes I, 6). Dans un premier temps, c'est la résurrection qui est l'événement fondateur du christianisme sans que titre ou mission soient vraiment précisés.” Fairies-Lebel, Mireille. “Depuis quand existe-t-il un messianisme juif.” *Bulletin du Centre de Recherche Français à Jérusalem* 17 (2006) p. 11. <https://journals.openedition.org/bcrfj/177?lang=en> [Accessed on October 20, 2018].
- 26 A complex genesis of the origins of Christianity as a “communal” project. See Aguirre Monasterio, Rafael. *Ensayo sobre los orígenes del cristianismo. De la religión política de Jesús a la religión doméstica de Pablo* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 2001).
- 27 See Allison, Dale C. *Jesus of Nazareth, Millenarian Prophet* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998).
- 28 See Aguirre Monasterio, Rafael. *La Cena de Jesús: historia y sentido* (Madrid: Colegio Mayor Chaminade. 1986).
- 29 Baena Bustamante, Gustavo. “Exilio y desplazamiento: un desafío a la esperanza,” *Theologica Xaveriana*, Vol. 60, No. 170 (July–December 2010) pp. 552–553.
- 30 Theissen and Merz. Op. cit., pp. 571–572.
- 31 This is how the French historian Mimouni describes what happened after Jesus' death on the cross: “En 30 de notre ère, à Jérusalem, Jésus de Nazareth, qui est depuis deux ans prédicateur itinérant originaire de Galilée prophétisant l'annonce de l'imminence du Règne de Dieu, est arrêté, jugé et exécuté pour des raisons politico-religieuses – Ponce Pilate étant préfet de la province romaine de Judée. Au lendemain de la mort de leur maître, ses disciples, dans un premier moment, paraissent s'être dispersés à travers toute la Palestine. Toutefois, on les retrouve, dans un second moment, à Jérusalem, proclamant qu'a été ressuscité ‘celui’ qui a été crucifié. Ils annoncent un temps nouveau et l'imminence, lors du retour de Jésus, de la réalisation de l'antique promesse de salut faite par le Dieu d'Israël aux ancêtres de son peuple. Un mouvement religieux aux origines prophétiques et aux tendances de plus en plus messianiques est en train de naître. Il est constitué par des Juifs qui, disciples de Jésus, vivent de son Esprit, dont ils héritent la puissance créatrice, guérissant les malades et expulsant les démons comme leur maître l'a fait avant eux.” Minouni. Simon C. “Origines

du christianisme. L'histoire de la communauté chrétienne / nazoréenne de Jérusalem des origines à 135 (II). *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études* (EPHE), Section des sciences religieuses [on line] 115 (2008). <https://journals.openedition.org/asr/230> [Accessed October 20, 2018].

- 32 “Jésus était donc mort. Et mort en croix: la plus déshonorante des morts. Rejeté par les chefs religieux de la ‘nation,’ livré à des autorités d’occupation que les Juifs les plus attachés à leur tradition détestaient, mis à mort sur l’ordre du gouverneur romain qui bafouait l’orgeuil national en le crucifiant sous le titre de ‘roi des Juifs’... Pour ceux qui l’avaient suivi, et surtout pour ceux qui s’étaient attachés à lui en qualité des disciples, c’était vraiment la fin des espoirs qu’ils avaient nourris pendant deux ou trois ans: l’espoir de la conversion des masses juives à une nouvelle école de vie axée sur l’Évangile du Règne de Dieu, avec ses exigences très radicales; Mais aussi l’espoir de la joie qui s’attachait à l’accomplissement des promesses prophétiques. Devant l’épilogue affreux de ce drame, les disciples les plus proches, c’est-à-dire le troupe des Douze amputé de Judas, avaient été saisi par la peur et s’étaient enfuis. Dans la crainte de se voir inquiétés à leur tour, ils se calfeutraient dans une maison de Jérusalem, peut-être celle où ils avaient pris avec Jésus leur repas d’adieu” Ibid., pp. 351.
- 33 See, for example, the series of papers written by the research team at the University of Deusto regarding the origins of Christianity seen through an interdisciplinary and postmodern lens. <https://www.deusto.es/cs/Satellite/deustoresearch/es/inicio/centros-equipos-e-investigadores/equipos-de-investigacion/origenes-del-cristianismo-en-perspectiva-interdisciplinar/equipoinvestiga?idPest=4&pag=3> [Accessed on October 20, 2018]. Regarding the specific role played by Mary of Magdala’s grieving in the proclamation of the kerygma, see Bernabé Ubieto, Carmen. “Los ritos de duelo en la formación del Kerigma pascual” in Aguirre Monasterio, Rafael (ed.). *El Nuevo Testamento en su contexto. Propuestas de lectura* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 2013) pp. 99-112.
- 34 “Quelques femmes s’étaient montrées plus courageuses: ayant servi Jésus et son groupe de disciples intimes depuis la Galilée au cours de ses missions, elles avaient suivi les soldats qui conduisaient Jésus en croix, afin d’observer à distance son agonie et sa mort, puis l’acte de Joseph d’Arimathie et de Nicodème qui descendaient son corps de la croix et l’ensevelissaient à la hâte dans un tombeau voisin du lieu du supplice. Elles observaient soigneusement ce lieu, parce qu’elles avaient l’intention de rendre à leur Maître les honneurs funèbres en entourant son corps de parfums. [...] Ce qu’elles ne savaient pas, c’est que les autorités du Temple, pressées par les circonstances, ont rompu les obligations du sabbat et de la fête pascale en faisant une démarche auprès du gouverneur: elles voulaient obtenir de lui qu’il fit grader le tombeau. Éconduites sur ce point, elles ont pris sur elles, pressées par les circonstances, de placer leur propre garde auprès du sépulcre de Jésus (Mt 27, 62-66). Le jour du sabbat, qui coïncide avec la Pâque, passe ainsi dans le silence et dans l’angoisse pour tous ceux qui se sont attachés à lui. C’est le deuxième jour de leur deuil. Or, un matin du troisième jour.” Ibid., pp. 352-353.

- 35 “Por isso a teologia ‘orthodox’ [post-enlightened] não procura suprimir o núcleo aporético do discurso (a não ser quando contaminado por uma metafísica que não mudó de chave). Queda com a impossível necessidade de determinar a indeterminável relação entre o próximo e o remoto, mas não pretende ‘conhecer’ esta relação apenas mediante o poder de uma compreensão representacional sozinha. Ao invés, interpreta-a de acordo com seu próprio logos de amor como a prioridade do desejo indistinto e no entanto abnegado. A confirmação aqui não brota do ‘olhar’ mas da entrega e da práxis.” Milbank, John. “O fim do iluminismo: pós-moderno ou pós-secular?” “O fim do iluminismo: pós-moderno ou pós-secular?”, *Concilium* 244 (1992/6) p. 34 [834].
- 36 Pannenberg referred to this Pauline account as an early historical source of the phenomenon of the appearances of the Risen One, later narrated by the Evangelists. See Pannenberg, Wolfhart. *Systematic Theology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2004). Postmodern feminist exegesis has emphasized the resurrection experience narrated by Saint Paul as a present issue in which life is transformed: Janssen, Claudia. “Bodily Resurrection (1 Cor 15)? The Discussion of the Resurrection in Karl Barth, Rudolf Bultmann, Dorothee Sölle and Contemporary Feminist Theology.” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* (January 1, 2001). <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0142064X0102307906?journalCode=jnta> [Accessed on October 21, 2018].
- 37 Sanders, E.P. “In Quest of the Historical Jesus.” *The New Yorker Review of Books* (November 15, 2001). <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2001/11/15/in-quest-of-the-historical-jesus/> [Accessed on October 20, 2018].
- 38 “É preciso destacar também que a afirmação de que corpo de Jesus não foi encontrado no túmulo não deve levar a pensar que suas células vão fazer parte do corpo ressuscitado. Este corpo, renovado pelo Espírito Santo, não vem do túmulo, mas de Deus, que transforma an pessoa física de Jesus Nazareno. Não se pode, portanto, afirmar que o corpo de Jesus foi levado para céu da forma como fora sepultado. Proclamando que a manhã de Pascoa o corpo de Jesus não foi encontrado no sepulcro, os evangelhos nada dizem a respeito do destino do cadáver. Discutir sobre sua aporté é uma questão ociosa; sua ausência representa o simples “sinal” de transformação que ocorreu an pessoa de Jesus, sem possibilidade de maior precisão. É, portanto, suficiente dizer que o túmulo vazio constitui um sinal ‘aberto’ a várias interpretações, orientando para a fé an resurreição, obra exclusiva de Deus, fiel a sua Aliança.” Casalengo, Alberto. “É o Senhor!” *Estudo dos relatos da ressurreição no Evangelho de João* (São Paulo: Loyola, 2013) p. 61.
- 39 “Dans le récit biblique, l’homme et la femme ne sont pas portés à s’unir spontanément. Cette union se produira après la mise à distance du site d’Eden et de la commotion de conscience qu’elle produit (Gn, 4, 1). De ce premier accouplement – l’on ne peut encore parler d’union –, deux êtres seront issus, désignés – et non nommés – par les vocables successifs : Caïn et Abel. Ces deux êtres ne pourront coexister, ni leurs corps se supporter. Caïn tuerà Abel. C’est

seulement avec la naissance du troisième rejeton – leur premier *vrai fils* – qu’Adam et Eve répondront à l’injonction originelle d’avoir justement à se conjuguer en formant non pas une seule chair, confusionnelle, protoplasmique, mais “une chair – Un(e), unifiée et unifiante (*bassar eh’ad*), cela en donnant naissance à un autre être qui reçut les caractéristiques originaires de *Haadam*Lorsqu’il fut créé de la seule dilection divine : *Tselem* et *demout*. Ce qui advient avec la naissance de Chet, expressément qualifié de *Ben*, de fils, et expressément doté d’un nom, d’un *Chem* (Gen, 4, 25 and 5, 3). C’est à ce moment et à ce moment seulement que la vocation de l’humain se modifie: qu’il repasse d’une gravitation terrestre ou tellurique (*erets* puis *adamah*) à un tropisme céleste, *Chamaym.*” Draï, Raphael. “L’humain, corps et âme, ou ‘haadam’ dans la pensée juive.” *La pensée de Midi* No. 30 (2010/1) pp. 58–65. <https://www.cairn.info/revue-la-pensee-de-midi-2010-1-page-58.htm> [Accessed on October 21, 2018].

- 40 Wright N.T. *The Resurrection of the Son of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003) p. 710.
- 41 See Juel, Donald H. “A Disquieting Silence: The Matter of the Ending” in Juel, Donald H. *A Master of Surprise: Mark Interpreted* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994) pp. 107–121.
- 42 Aguirre Monasterio, Rafael and Rodríguez Carmona, Antonio. *Evangelios sinópticos y Hechos de los Apóstoles* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 1994) p. 122.
- 43 Bock, Darrell L. *Jesus segundo as escrituras* (Sao Paulo: Shedd Publicações, 2006) p. 366. [available in English: Bock, Darrell L. *Jesus According to Scripture: Restoring the Portrait from the Gospels* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Publishing Group, 2021)].
- 44 Skiba, Paulette. “Narrative Criticism: A Narrative on Mark 16:8,” in Albl, Martin, Eddy, Paul R., and Mirkes, Renée. *Directions in New Testament Methods* (Markette University Press, 1993) p. 77.
- 45 See Aguirre Monasterio, Rafael. *Ensayo sobre los orígenes del cristianismo. De la religión política de Jesús a la religión doméstica de Pablo* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 2001).
- 46 Pannenberg, Wolfhart. *Teología sistemática*, vol. II (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Comillas, 1996) pp. 396–397.
- 47 Theissen and Merz’s full assessment of Pannenberg’s contribution is given as follows: “Pannenberg’s concern is to show the probability of the New Testament message of the resurrection of Jesus as a historical event [*Systematische Theologie* II, 385–405]. To achieve this he formulates three postulates which modify the modern picture of the world in such a way that it becomes compatible with belief in the resurrection:

The postulate of universal history: history as a purposive process can be understood only as a totality. But the whole can only be surveyed in the light of the end.

The key to universal history would therefore be an event in which the end is anticipated (prolepsis). If the modern understanding of history becomes aware of its implicit presuppositions, it is open to proleptic end-events, though their ultimate verification is still to come.

The anthropological postulate: ‘appearances’ of a dead person become the prolepsis of the general resurrection only against an apocalyptic horizon of expectation. This horizon of expectation can be verified anthropologically: personal life does not fulfil itself in this life but seeks unlimited continuation. Therefore ‘resurrection,’ too, is an anthropological postulate of meaning.

The scientific postulate: parapsychological phenomena show that our picture of the world is incomplete. According to Pannenberg, the sciences cannot give a definitive verdict that the resurrection of a dead man to eternal life is impossible.

These three postulates are combined with a historical analysis of the sources in which the Easter event is attested historically by ‘visions,’ which Pannenberg attempts to demonstrate as probably having a trans-subjective content, and by the ‘empty tomb,’ which provides confirmation independently of that. *Easter faith verifies a general apocalyptic horizon of expectation (relating to universal history). In it what universal history is about becomes clear.*” Ibid., p. 507.

- 48 Ibid., p. 508.
- 49 Agamben, Giorgio. *The Kingdom and the Glory: For a Theological Genealogy of Economy and Government*, trans. Lorenzo Chiesa (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), p. 259.
- 50 See Horsley, Richard. *Hearing the Whole Story: The Politics of Plot in Mark’s Gospel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001).
- 51 Dettwiler, Andreas. “Le mystère de la résurrection. Considérations théologiques à propos de Marc 16, 1–8.” in: Rose, M. *Histoire et herméneutique. Mélanges offerts à Gottfried Hammann* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2002), p. 145.
- 52 This is underlined by Barbara Cassin and Jacqueline Lichtenstein when commenting on the famous treatise *On the Sublime*, attributed to Pseudo-Longinus, written under the influence of Philo of Alexandria in the first century C.E., who quotes Homer, Cicero, and “the lawgiver of the Jews.” The text that describes “*ekstasis*” as the sublime is as follows: “It is not through persuasion (*eis peithō*) that the sublime passages lead the listener to ecstasy (*ei ekstasis*). Whenever a shocking event is accompanied by a trauma, it goes beyond what persuades us or what we like. The act of persuasion most often depends on us. The sublime, on the contrary, entails an invincible power and strength that is completely beyond the listener [...] When the sublime explodes at the right moment (*Kairiōs*), it is like lightning: it disperses everything along its path and reveals the speaker’s concentrated power” (*On the sublime* I, 4), in Cassin, Barbara and Lichtenstein, Jacqueline (eds.). “L’*ekstasis* sublime: Vocabulaire Européen des philosophies.” (Paris, Seuil, 2004), p. 1228.

- 53 The Anchor Yale Bible. *Mark 8-16. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary by Joel Marcus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009) p. 1081.
- 54 Ibid. p. 1093.
- 55 See Mitchell, Joan L. *Beyond Fear and Silence: A Feminist Literary Reading of Mark* (New York: Continuum, 2001).
- 56 See the scholarly analysis—of great relevance to contextual theology—on the divergences between the figures of Mary of Magdala and Peter in the origins of Christianity: Bernabé Ubieta, Carmen. “María Magdalena: la autoridad de la testigo enviada,” in Bernabé, Carmen (ed.). *Mujeres con autoridad en el cristianismo primitivo* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 2007) pp. 19-48. https://www.academia.edu/3127793/_Mar%C3%ADa_Magdalena_la_autoridad_de_la_testigo_enviada_en_Carmen_Bernab%C3%A9_ed._Mujeres_con_autoridad_en_el_cristianismo_primitivo_Estella_EVD_2007_19-48 [Accessed on October 20, 2018].
- 57 Bernabé Ubieta, Carmen. “La importancia de los ritos de duelo en la formación del kerigma pascual.” *Medellín* 143, Vol. XXXVI (July-September, 2010) p. 406. A more developed version can be found at: Bernabé Ubieta, Carmen. “Duelo y género en los relatos de la visita a la tumba,” in Bernabé, Carmen and Gil, Carlos. *Reimaginando los orígenes del cristianismo. Homenaje a Rafael Aguirre en su 65º cumpleaños* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 2008).
- 58 Theisen and Merz. Op. cit., p. 572.
- 59 Ibid., pp. 503-504.
- 60 Sean Freyne comments: “The final injunction of Mark’s Gospel declares: ‘Go back to Galilee; there you will see him as he told you’ (Mk 16:7). Yet Mark never tells us whether that meeting took place. Instead, the disciples in Mark must remember that he had said, ‘I will go before you to Galilee’ (Mk 14:28). Their challenge was to discover the risen Jesus as leader by following in his way. Theirs was a journey to discover how, in the light of his earthly activities and words, everyday encounters with a variety of others –especially the weak and the marginalized– could ultimately lead to a disclosure of the ultimate Other, God.” Freyne, Sean. “The Galilean Jesus and a Contemporary Christology.” *Theological Studies*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (May 1, 2009) p. 297. On the importance of the Galilee as a Paschal hermeneutic lens, also see Johnson, Elizabeth. “Galilee: A Critical Matrix for Marian Studies.” *Theological Studies*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (May 1, 2009) pp. 327-346.
- 61 “καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κατακλιθῆναι αὐτὸν μετ’ αὐτῶν λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον εὐλόγησεν καὶ κλάσας ἐπεδίδου αὐτοῖς· αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὄφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφαντος ἐγένετο ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. 32.καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν [ἐν ἡμῖν] ὡς ἐλάλει ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ὡς διήνοιγεν ἡμῖν τὰς γραφάς” (The Septuagint Bible).

- 62 For the recent state of the question regarding the abrupt end of Mark's gospel, see Wargnies, Philippe. "Marc 16, 1-8 — Les femmes et le jeune homme dans le tombeau." *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, Tome 132, No. 3, 2010, pp. 368-385.
- 63 Christoph Rico describes Hebrew midrashic hermeneutics as a free interpretation of words rather than statements pertaining to a tradition: "Ainsi, à en juger d'après les commentaires rabbiniques de l'Antiquité ou du Moyen-Age que nous avons conservés, l'interprétation y repose souvent sur les rapprochements entre racines et sur la pluralité de significations possibles pour un terme précis: un mot demeure toujours le symbole d'une réalité plus élevée. Ce type d'interprétation se rencontre dès la *Mishna*. A cet égard, l'exemple fourni par les textes du *Midrash subtract* emblématique. La multiplicité des significations de chaque mot de l'Ecriture s'appuie souvent sur les occurrences variées d'un terme dans d'autres passages de la Bible. L'Ecriture étant conçue comme un tout unitaire, l'intertextualité (il faudrait plutôt parler d'*intratextualité* au sein d'un livre unique constitué par la Bible) est ici de règle. Elle fonde le caractère multiple de l'interprétation, où la diversité des sens invoqués pour un mot particulier (principe de la *Mahloqet*) conduit à une conservation cumulative des différentes opinions." Rico, Christoph. "Aux sources de l'herméneutique occidentale: les premiers commentaires dans les traditions grecque, juive et chrétienne." *Rhétoriques méditerranéennes*, No. 7 (2003). p. 45. <https://journals.openedition.org/babel/1404> [Accessed on October 24, 2018].
- 64 "C'est à nouveau auprès d'une source d'eau, un puits, que Yaaqov rencontre celle qui deviendra sa femme, Rahel. Elle arrive avec son troupeau pour l'abreuver. Mais la pierre qui recouvre le puits ne pourra être retirée que lorsque tous les troupeaux seront réunis, vers le soir. Yaaqov n'attend pas l'heure, il roule la pierre, abreuve le troupeau de Laban, son oncle, père de Rahel et pleure d'émotion." De Souzenelle, Annick. "Le principe féminin dans la Bible," *Revue 3ème Millénaire*, ancienne série, No. 13 (March-April, 1984). <https://www.revue3emillenaire.com/blog/le-principe-feminin-dans-la-bible-par-annick-de-souzenelle/> [Accessed on December 30, 2018].
- 65 Barth, Markus and Blanke, Helmut. "Colossians." *The Anchor Bible*, Vol. 34b (New York: Doubleday, 1994) p. 209.
- 66 Manns, Frédéric. "Col 1, 15-20: Midrash chrétien de Gen 1,1," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 1979, Vol. 132, No. 3, p. 109.
- 67 "L'eau que donnerait Jésus, au contraire, c'était l'eau définitive, l'eau des temps messianiques que en serait jamais caduque, l'eau qui jaissait jusqu'à la vie éternelle. Comme dans l'épisode des noces de Cana où l'eau des purifications juives était remplacée par le vin excellent que fournissait Jésus, l'eau bondissante de Jacob serait remplacée par l'eau bondissante de Jésus, le régime ancien par le régime nouveau, l'esprit de sainteté que animait." Jaubert, Annie. "La symbolique du puits de Jacob," in: *L'homme devant Dieu. Mélanges offerts au père Henri de Lubac* (Lyon: Aubier, 1963) p. 73.

- 68 Name of Rabanus Maurus's ancient Christian tradition and Thomas Aquinus's medieval tradition. Until recent times, recognized by a Papal document, published by Pope Francis, the liturgical celebration of Saint Mary Magdalene was decreed as a 'feast' for the whole universal Church. See Congregation for Divine Worship. *Decreto Apostolorum Apostola* (Vatican City: June 3, 2016). https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/articolo-roche-maddalena_en.pdf [Accessed on October 24, 2018].
- 69 Acharya, Francis (ed.). "The Great Fast of the Resurrection. Hymn." *Prayer with the Harp of the Spirit. The Prayer of Asian Churches*, Vol. III. The Crown of the Year, Part II (Kerala: Kurisumala Ashram, 2009) p. 619.
- 70 For a personal description of this Syro-Malakara Eucharistic liturgy, see Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. *Travesías indias Prólogo de Javier Sicilia y pinturas de Paulo Medina* (México: Samsara, 2019).
- 71 Denzinger. *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 4, 4b (PL 21, 335B). Van Geest comments: "From the end of the fourth century on, the phrase appears in the *Apostolicum*, though not in all versions. Scholars therefore assume that the article of the descent into hell was added to the text in the Northern Italy at the end of the fourth century, and that it spread from there to other regions over the course of centuries. The Latin version of the *Apostolicum* has: *descendit ad inferos*; the Greek version has: *He descended to the lowest regions*; i.e., the term *Hades*, *Gehenna* and *infernum* are not used. The Athanasian Creed does contain the article on the descent into hell (Art. 36), but the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed does not. It is not mentioned either in the creed recorded by Augustine himself, in *Sermo 215*." Van Geest. "Augustine's Certainty in Speaking about Hell," in Sarot, Marcel and Van Wieringen, Archibald L.H.M. (ed.) *The Apostles' Creed 'He descended into Hell'* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018) p. 44.
- 72 See Sarot, Marcel and Van Wieringen, Archibald L.H.M. "Theology from the Abyss. A Multidisciplinary Approach to Christ's Descent into Hell," in Sarot, Marcel and Van Wieringen, Archibald L.H.M. (eds.) *The Apostles' Creed 'He descended into Hell'* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018) pp. 1-8.
- 73 See Rouwhorst, Gerard A.M. "The Descent of Christ into the Underworld in Early Christian Liturgy," in Sarot, Marcel and Van Wieringen, Archibald L.H.M. (eds.) *The Apostles' Creed 'He descended into Hell'* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018) pp. 54-78.
- 74 Crossan, John Dominic. *O Jesus histórico. A vida de um camponês judeu do Mediterrâneo* (Rio de Janeiro: Imago, 1994) p. 426.

CHAPTER V

- 1 *The Nestle 1904 Greek Edition of the Bible.*
- 2 See Lefèvre, Philippe. *Livres de Samuel et récits de résurrection: le Messie ressuscité selon les Écritures* (Paris: Cerf, 2004).
- 3 Andrés Manuel López Obrador, as president-elect of México, made the following commitments with the parents of the 43 teachers-in-training forcibly disappeared on September 26, 2013: “1. Create a Commission of Inquiry for Truth and Justice with or without sentencing power. 2. Issue a decree at the beginning of his administration to ensure that the federal public administration will cooperate in the corresponding search and investigation. 3. Request the support and technical assistance of the United Nations (UN) and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), as well as the National Human Rights Commission to accompany the investigation.” “Se compromete AMLO a crear Comisión de Investigación para Ayotzinapa.” *Rompieviento*. Accessed on October 25, 2015 from: <https://www.rompieviento.tv/?p=52582>
- 4 Sicilia, Javier. “Vuelta de tuerca,” *Proceso*, No. 2182 (September 2, 2018). Accessed on September 4, 2018 from: <https://www.proceso.com.mx/549188/vuelta-de-tuerca>
- 5 “Perdón sí, a cambio de la verdad: María Herrera.” *Pie de página* (August 28, 2018). Accessed on October 25, 2018 from: <https:// piedepagina.mx/perdon-si-a-cambio-de-la-verdad-maria-herrera/>
- 6 “Introducción.” Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos, Reyna Estévez, Pablo, and Robledo, Carolina (comp.) *De las fosas clandestinas a la tumba vacía. Narrativas de dignidad y esperanza en tiempos de horror* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2020).
- 7 See Mendoza-Álvarez Carlos. Deus liberans. *La revelación cristiana en diálogo con la modernidad. Los elementos fundacionales de la estética teológica* (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1996); Deus absconditus. *Désir, mémoire et imagination eschatologique. Essai de théologie fondamentale postmoderne* (Paris: Cerf, 2007); Deus ineffabilis. *Una teología posmoderna de la revelación del fin de los tiempos* (Barcelona: Herder, 2015).
- 8 Mendoza-Álvarez Carlos. Deus absconditus. *Désir, mémoire et imagination eschatologique. Essai de théologie fondamentale postmoderne* (Paris: Cerf, 2007). See Chapter IV, pp. 187-207.
- 9 Mendoza-Álvarez Carlos. Deus ineffabilis. *Una teología posmoderna de la revelación del fin de los tiempos* (Barcelona: Herder, 2015). See Chapter V, Part I: “El eje antropológico: las potencias de la experiencia de la subjetividad vulnerable,” pp. 341-414.

- 10 See Alison, James. *Raising Abel: The Recovery of the Eschatological Imagination* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1996).
- 11 See Gesché, Adolphe. “L’agonie de la Résurrection ou la Descente aux Enfers,” *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 25. Fasc. 1 (1994), pp. 5–29.
- 12 See the phenomenology of for-giveness/for-givenness as a path of forgetting: Ricoeur, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004).
- 13 Ivan Illich, René Girard, and more recently Jean-Pierre Dupuy—in a dialogue between them in which they took the approach of a post-devastation economy—already noted the role played by instrumental reason in the announcement of the apocalypse that is to come. See Dupuy, Jean-Pierre. *La Marque du sacré* (Paris: Flammarion, 2010); *Pour un catastrophisme éclairé. Quand l'impossible est certain* (Paris: Seuil, 2009).
- 14 See Ricoeur, Paul. *Finitude et culpabilité. Tome II: La symbolique du mal* (Paris: Seuil, 1960).
- 15 See Berselli, Constant, Badenchi, M.L. and Barucq, André (eds.). *Hymnes au Christ d'avant l'an mille serties de miniatures* (Paris: Mediaspaul & Éditions Paulines, 1982).
- 16 “Saturday of the Good Tidings. Evening Prayer. Hymn.” Kurisumala Ashram. *Prayer with the Harp of the Spirit, Vol. III. The Crown of the Year, Part II* (Vagamon: Kurisumala Ashram, 2009) p. 565.
- 17 See Ehrman, Bart D. *Jesus: Apocalyptic Prophet of the New Millennium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- 18 See, in this regard, the description of the chapel of the Trappist Abbey in Kentucky as an analogy to a mother’s womb: Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. *Escritos de un incierto peregrino* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2015).
- 19 See Girard, René. *Battling to the End: Conversations with Benoît Chantre* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, 2009).
- 20 Dussel, Enrique. “Walter Benjamin y el mesianismo.” *La Jornada* (August 1, 2018). Accessed on September 4, 2018 from: <https://www.jornada.com.mx/2018/08/01/opinion/019a2pol>
- 21 We are here using John Milbank’s idea of “counter-history,” however, without the connotation it takes within his proposal regarding a new postmodern Augustinian theocentrism. See Milbank, John. *Theology and Social Theory: Beyond Secular Reason* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006).
- 22 A leitmotif in René Girard’s work that became more evident at the end of his life. See Girard, René, Antonello, Pierpaolo, and Rocha, João Cesar de Castro.

- Evolution and Conversion. Dialogues on the Origins of the Culture* (New York: Continuum, 2008).
- 23 See Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. Deus ineffabilis. *Una teología posmoderna de la revelación del fin de los tiempos* (Barcelona: Herder, 2015), chap. V.
- 24 Girard, René. *Battling to the End: Conversations with Benoit Chantre* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2009), p. 27.
- 25 See Agamben, Giorgio. *The Time That Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*, trans. Patricia Dailey (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).
- 26 See Boff, Leonardo. *Ecología: grito de la Tierra, grito de los pobres* (Madrid: Trotta, 2011).
- 27 An interdisciplinary theme for the construction of intersubjectivity. See its mimetic dimension in: Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos (comp.). *Caminos de paz. Teoría mimética y construcción social* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2015).
- 28 To delve more deeply into the interdisciplinary and intercultural approach of mimetic theory, see Atienza de Frutos, David and García-Ramos Gallego, David (coords.). *La construcción de la identidad en tiempos de crisis. El papel de la violencia y la religión* (Madrid: Anthropos, 2017).
- 29 For a Latin American contribution to mimetic theory, see Jobim, José Luis, Méndez Gallardo, Mariana and Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos (comps.). *Mimesis e invisibilización social. La interindividualidad colectiva en América Latina* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2017).
- 30 See Girard, René. *I See Satan Fall Like Lightning* (LeoMinster, UK: Gracewing, 2006) pp. 32–46.
- 31 In this regard, Girard comments: “Whereas the ‘Satan who casts out Satan’ well and truly represents order, the *Katéchon* is situated in a Christian world, in a world freed from Satan’s rule, a world that wants no part of it. At the same time, *Katéchon* still retains a little of the old order, without which nothing would stand in the way of absolute violence. *Katéchon* holds back violence, which is to say what is left once Satan has been cheated, duped. It must be admitted that, in order to prevent violence, we cannot do without a certain amount of violence. We are therefore obliged to think in terms of least possible violence. But, as a practical matter, it’s difficult to say how little the least violence would have to be.” Girard, René. *The One by Whom Scandal Comes*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, 2017) p. 98.
- 32 Nicoletti, M. “Tra filosofia della storia e relazioni internazionali. Il concetto di *Katéchon* in Carl Schmitt,” *Politica e Religione* 2008/2009. *Il Kathéchon* (2

- Thes 2:6-7) e l'Anticristo: Teología e política di fronte al mistero dell'anomia* (Bresci: Morcelliana, 2009) pp. 233–258.
- 33 See Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. Deus ineffabilis. *Una teología posmoderna de la revelación del fin de los tiempos* (Barcelona: Herder, 2015) chap. II.
- 34 Nestle-Aland. *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th Edition. Accessed on September 4, 2018 from: <http://www.nestle-aland.com/en/read-na28-online/text/bibeltext/lesen/stelle/61/30001/39999/>
- 35 Letter to the Colossians 3:1–5.9b–10. *The Jerusalem Bible*. We choose here to replace the proper name “Christ” with that name with which tradition identifies Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, using instead the generic word “messiah” with lower case. Our intention is thus to open up the readers’ imagination in order to describe a broader and more inclusive meaning of the messianic condition: it refers to the life of the righteous who have been able to reach this “messianic temporality” through the gesture of giving unconditional love.
- 36 See the lecture “Phenomenology and Theology” (July 8, 1927) in: Heidegger, Martin. *Pathmarks*, chap. 4, trans. William McNeil (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- 37 See Xolocotzi, Ángel. “Religare factico” in Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos. *Subjetividad y experiencia religiosa posmoderna* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2010) pp. 69–80.
- 38 “If, however, someone said, ‘Could not God have exhibited man as perfect from the beginning?’ Let him know that, inasmuch as God is indeed always the same and unbegotten (*Agennetos*) as respects Himself, all things are possible to Him. But created things must be inferior to Him who created them, from the very fact of their later origin; for it was not possible for things recently created to have been uncreated. But inasmuch as they are not uncreated, for this very reason do they come short of the perfect.” Saint Irenaeus. *Against Heresies*, trans. Alexander Roberts and William Rambaut, chap. XXXVIII, in Philip Schaff (ed.), *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library) p. 874.
- 39 See the section devoted to divine Sophia as a relationship between the Word and the Divine Spirit within the Orthodox tradition: Bulgakov, Sergius. *The Paraclete*, trans. Boris Jakim (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, UK: William B. Erdmann Publishing Company, 2004) pp. 177–188.
- 40 See Schürmann, Reiner. *Heidegger on Being to Acting: From Principles to Anarchy*, trans. Christine-Marie Gros (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987) pp. 6–7.
- 41 The transliterated *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* transcribes Gen 1:2 as follows: “vehaaretz hayeta tohu vavohu vechoshekh al-pene tehom veruach elohim merachehet al-pene hamayim.” [Accessed on September 5, 2018]: <https://>

es.scribd.com/doc/259502974/BIBLIA-HEBRAICA-STUTTGARTENSIA-TRANSLITERADA-pdf. The Latin Vulgate Bible translates this verse as: “terra autem erat inanis et vacua et tenebræ super faciem abyssi et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas.” Whereas, the *Septuagint Bible* translates it as: ἦ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὄντος. [The letters in bold are meant to show the two key expressions germane to our reflection: “chaos and confusion” and “wind of God.”]

- 42 “A terra era desordem e deserto / uma treva sobre as faces do abismo / mas o sopro de Elohim plana a sobre as faces das águas.” Chouraki, André. *A Bíblia. No princípio (Gênesis)* (Rio de Janeiro: Imago, 1995) p. 36.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 See Marion, Jean-Luc. *Being Given: Toward a Phenomenology of Givenness*, trans. Jeffrey L. Kosky (Red Wood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002).
- 45 See Milbank, John. *The Future of Love: Essays in Political Theology* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2009).
- 46 Some refer to this fissure as an “interstice,” particularly denoting the contradictions of the hegemonic political system that are crossed by different expressions of resistance. Without denying the importance of this form of thinking, we prefer to focus on a phenomenological and theogical approach to this fissure in order to understand the scope of messianic temporality.
- 47 Sometimes attributed to Coteau, according to the interview with André Verdet, the phrase belongs to Georges Braque. See Verdet, André. *Entretiens, notes et Écrits sur la peinture* (Paris: Galilée, 1988).
- 48 For information about the theologians who deconstructed the name of divine “omnipotence” from the perspective of unconditional love throughout the twentieth century, following the path opened up by Dietrich Bonhoeffer, see Andrade, Barbara. *Dios en medio de nosotros. Esbozo de una teología kerigmática* (Salamanca: Secretariado Trinitario, 1999). Also, seen through the lens of fundamental theology: Torres-Queiruga, Andrés. *Creo en Dios padre. El Dios de Jesús como afirmación plena del hombre* (Santander: Sal Terrae, 1986).
- 49 For an expression of the queerness of the messianic body, see: Knauss, Stefanie and Mendoza-Álvarez, Carlos (eds.). “Queer Theologies: Becoming the Queer Body of Christ,” *Concilium* (December 2019).