

“Reading this book, one understands how Ignatius of Loyola’s words are true for Pope Francis: ‘it is not much knowledge that fills and satisfies the soul but feeling and tasting inward.’ *Discovering Pope Francis* testifies that, as for Dostoevsky, Bergoglio’s logic is not rigidly algebraic: it is flexible, elastic, alive. It never loses sight of the human. Many of these pages show how his way of thinking liberates the energy needed for the evangelical logos that balances a deep connection and strong engagement to the theological and ecclesial traditions of the Church, as well as a deep commitment to reality and all its challenges and complexity.”

— Fr. Antonio Spadaro, SJ, editor-in-chief of *La Civiltà Cattolica*

“Pope Francis has said that ours is not an age of change, but a change of age. In this important collection, we see how the Holy Father is drawing creatively from a range of thinkers and movements—European and Latin American—to bring the people of this age to a new encounter with Jesus Christ and the mercy of God. May these fine essays inspire deeper reflection on the Church’s evangelical imperative and the urgency of our calling to be missionary disciples in these times.”

— Most Reverend José H. Gomez
Archbishop of Los Angeles

“This work is certainly an excellent interpretation of the ‘Theology of the People,’ from different people, and for all the people. It is an effective demonstration of a true sign of the times: the catholicity of the theological-pastoral message of Pope Francis. The point of view of each one of the authors is the incarnation of his missionary imprint and a sign of an outgoing Church.”

— Emilce Cuda, Argentinian theologian and author of *Para leer a Francisco. Teología, ética y política* and *Catolicismo y Democracia en Estados Unidos*

“*Discovering Pope Francis* offers a much-needed panorama of voices necessary to understand the theological roots of a pontificate—roots that are not only in Latin America but also found in 20th-century French (Gaston Fessard and Henri de Lubac) and German-speaking theology (Hans Urs von Balthasar and Romano Guardini). This book provides an appreciation of this pontificate coming from authors who cannot be labeled as ‘liberal Catholics.’ It is a remarkable contribution because it fills a lacuna in the literature on Pope Francis who is still too often framed, especially in the USA, in purely political and ideological terms.”

— Massimo Faggioli, coeditor, *Pope Francis: A Voice for Mercy, Justice, Love, and Care for the Earth*

Discovering Pope Francis

The Roots of Jorge Mario Bergoglio's Thinking

Edited by

Brian Y. Lee and Rev. Thomas L. Knoebel



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*This book is dedicated to our Holy Father, Pope Francis.
May the Lord Jesus continue to guide your way and
grant you the wisdom of his Sacred Heart as you
shepherd the holy, faithful people of God.*

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September 27, 2018

Your Excellency,

I have been asked by the Secretariat of State to transmit to you the following papal message on the occasion of an International Symposium entitled *Discovering Pope Francis: Theological, Philosophical, Cultural and Spiritual Perspectives*:

The Most Reverend Jerome E. Listeki
Archbishop of Milwaukee

His Holiness Pope Francis was pleased to learn of the International Symposium entitled Discovering Pope Francis; Theological, Philosophical, Cultural and Spiritual Perspectives sponsored by Sacred Heart Seminary and School of Theology from 8 to 11 October 2018, and he sends warm greetings to all gathered for this event. As participants reflect on the theme of the Symposium, His Holiness prays that this gathering may contribute to the advancement of a spirit of missionary discipleship, a commitment to serve human dignity and the common good and the zeal to proclaim the joy of the Gospel to local communities and to the global human family. Upon all present Pope Francis invokes Almighty God's blessings of wisdom and strength.

Cardinal Pietro Parolin
Secretary of State

With cordial regards and prayerful best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours in Christ,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Christophe Pierre".

+ Christophe Pierre
Apostolic Nuncio

Most Reverend Jerome E. Listeki
Archbishop of Milwaukee
P.O. Box 70912
Milwaukee WI 53207-0912

Papal Foreword



Presentación

En el ensayo “Teología y Santidad,” Hans Urs von Balthasar escribe que “El Cristiano [no] necesita salir de su centro en Cristo con el fin de mediar en el mundo, para comprender su relación con el mundo, para construir un puente entre la revelación y naturaleza, filosofía y teología. . . . En esto los santos son plenamente conscientes. Ellos nunca, en ningún momento abandonan su centro en Cristo. . . . cuando ellos filosofan lo hacen como cristianos, lo que significa como creyentes, como teólogos.”

La idea sobre el gran teólogo suizo vino a mi mente al presentar esta colección de documentos, los cuales son el fruto de un simposio internacional de cuatro días organizado por el Seminario y Escuela de Teología Sagrado Corazón de Jesús en Hales Corners, Wisconsin en octubre del 2018. Filósofos y teólogos de tres continentes, unidos en su fe común en Cristo y en la comunión con el Sucesor de San Pedro, vinieron juntos a explorar, como eruditos y creyentes, las formas de llevar la alegría del Evangelio, “que llena los corazones de todos los que se encuentran a Jesús” en el mundo.

Esta colección trae al mundo anglófono la riqueza de las ideas de hombres y mujeres que influyeron mi propio desarrollo espiritual, teológico, y filosófico. Estamos experimentando y viviendo un verdadero cambio de época con cambios culturales y tecnológicos que han marcado este periodo de la historia, haciendo que la transmisión de la fe sea cada vez más difícil. Precisamente en este tiempo, por el

bien de la evangelización, los teólogos y filósofos deben comprometerse en investigar, dialogar y sobre todo en orar para desarrollar una síntesis creativa que proponga el atractivo de Cristo para el mundo que necesita desesperadamente de su misericordia. Muchos de los ensayos recogidos aquí resaltan también la síntesis única de fe, políticas y cultura que ha ocurrido en el continente Latinoamericano, el cual en este momento de la historia puede ser un servicio a la misión universal de la Iglesia en obediencia al mandamiento de Cristo de hacer discípulos de todas las naciones.

Ha sido muy apropiado que el mencionado simposio se celebrara en un seminario y escuela de teología, bajo el auspicio de los Sacerdotes del Sagrado Corazón, quienes devotamente se han dedicado a la Eucaristía y dar a conocer la justicia y la misericordia de Dios. Un seminario y escuela de teología es no solo un lugar donde los seminaristas, religiosos, hombres y mujeres pueden venir juntos para conocer a Dios a través del estudio (*ad Deum per scientiam*), sino también es una comunidad de fe reunidos para adorar, produciendo una "teología de rodillas" (*kniende Theologie*), como el santo y fiel pueblo de Dios.

La colección que ahora se publica es entonces el fruto de un encuentro, no solo de teólogos y filósofos, clérigos y laicos, sino también de personas y culturas. En estos ensayos uno no puede dejar de pensar en el encuentro primario, el encuentro con Cristo. Nunca me canso de repetir esas palabras de Benedicto XVI que nos lleva al corazón del Evangelio: "Ser cristiano no es el resultado de una elección ética o una idea noble, sino el encuentro con un acontecimiento, una persona, que le da a la vida un nuevo horizonte y una nueva dirección."

Espero que, a través de estos ensayos, los lectores encuentren a Cristo para que se abran nuevos horizontes.

Vaticano, 15 de marzo de 2019

Francisco

Translation of Papal Foreword

In his essay “Theology and Sanctity,” Hans Urs von Balthasar wrote that “the Christian [does not] need to leave his center in Christ in order to mediate him to the world, to understand his relation to the world, to build a bridge between revelation and nature, philosophy and theology. . . . This is what the saints are fully aware of. They never at any moment leave their center in Christ. . . . When they philosophize, they do so as Christians, which means as believers, as theologians.”

This insight of the great Swiss theologian came to mind upon being presented with this collection of papers, the fruit of a four-day international symposium hosted by Sacred Heart Seminary and School of Theology in Hales Corners, Wisconsin in October 2018. Philosophers and theologians from three continents, united in their common faith in Christ and in communion with the Successor of Saint Peter, came together to explore, as scholars and believers, ways of bringing the joy of the Gospel, which “fills the hearts of all who encounter Jesus” to the world.

This collection brings to the English-speaking world the richness of the ideas of the men and women who influenced my own spiritual, theological, and philosophical development. We are living and experiencing a true change of epoch, and the cultural and technological shifts which have marked this period of history have made the transmission of faith increasingly difficult. Precisely at this time, for the sake of evangelization, theologians and philosophers must engage in research, dialogue, and, above all, in prayer to develop a creative synthesis that proposes the attractiveness of Christ to a world that desperately needs his mercy. Many of the essays collected here also

highlight the unique synthesis of faith, politics, and culture that occurred on the Latin American continent, which, at this moment in history, can be of service to the universal mission of the Church in obedience to the commandment of Christ to make disciples of all the nations.

It was quite fitting that such a symposium should be held at a seminary and school of theology, under the auspices of the Priests of the Sacred Heart, who devote themselves to the Eucharist and to making known God's justice and mercy. A seminary and school of theology is not only a place where seminarians, religious, men and women can come together to know God through study (*ad Deum per scientiam*), but it is also a community of faith, which gathers in worship, producing a theology "on its knees" (*kniende Theologie*), as the holy, faithful, people of God.

Thus, this collection, which is now being published, is the fruit of an encounter—of theologians and philosophers, of clergy and laity, and of peoples and cultures. In these essays, one cannot help but think of the primary encounter—the encounter with Christ. I never tire of repeating those words of Benedict XVI which takes us to the heart of the Gospel: "Being a Christian is not the result of an ethical choice or a lofty idea, but the encounter with an event, a person, which gives life a new horizon and a decisive direction."

It is my sincere hope that through these essays, readers will encounter Christ and that new horizons will be opened.

Vatican, March 15, 2019
Francis

Foreword

Archbishop Christophe Pierre
Apostolic Nuncio to the United States

My Dear Friends in Christ,

As the Apostolic Nuncio, the Holy Father's representative to the United States, I want to express His Holiness's spiritual closeness and paternal affection for all those who read these pages seeking to deepen your understanding of the theological, philosophical, and spiritual underpinnings of Pope Francis, who has guided the church for more than six years at the time of my writing. I am particularly grateful to Father Tom Knoebel, the President and Rector here at Sacred Heart Seminary and School of Theology, as well as to the outstanding faculty and staff here. This symposium had its origins during my visit here in November 2017 to give the Dehon Lecture. At that time, I began speaking with the faculty about how few people really understood the thought of Pope Francis and how necessary it was for the church in the United States to grasp this for the mission of evangelization. A year later, I was pleased to see the hard work of so many come to fruition in the symposium, *Discovering Pope Francis*,¹ which features many of the world's leading experts in the thought of Pope Francis. Today I am glad to see it made available in book

¹ "Discovering Pope Francis: Theological, Philosophical, Cultural, and Spiritual Perspectives," held at Sacred Heart Seminary and School of Theology in Hales Corners, WI, October 8–11, 2018.

form to a wider audience through the editorial work of Fr. Knoebel and Dr. Brian Lee and with the help of Liturgical Press.

As I have traveled around the United States over the last two years, many people have described the pope as one who does not leave us indifferent. By his words and gestures, Pope Francis conveys to many the tenderness and mercy of God. His charisma and his attentiveness, not just to the small things in life but also to people at the margins, have left a lasting impression upon the people of this country and the world.

Nevertheless, many people have asked, “Who is Pope Francis?” Some answers were obvious. He is a Jesuit. He is a Latin American pope, the former archbishop of Buenos Aires. He is a pastor. However, in saying that he is a pastor, there is a temptation to dismiss him as lacking the intellectual sophistication of John Paul II or Benedict XVI. Certainly, critics of the pope have opposed him on these grounds, demanding greater clarity and precision in his thought. Others oppose the Holy Father and his call for pastoral conversion for ideological reasons or simply because they do not understand him.

The symposium that brought forth this book is both timely and necessary, for it allows us to explore the depths of the Holy Father’s thought in a scholarly and nonideological way. To date, I have attended or read about different conferences on the Holy Father, but they often remain at a superficial level: “I like Pope Francis, and so I agree with him”; “Pope Francis is a reformer and previous popes were obstructionists”; “Pope Francis is on the side of the poor and those at the margins and agrees with our politics.”

These attitudes do not do justice to what the Holy Father offers to the universal church and certainly will not help persuade or convince others of the Holy Father’s approach to theology and pastoral activity. Something more is needed; this book provides that something more. Just as Austen Ivereigh’s book *The Great Reformer*² provided a comprehensive examination of the essential biographical elements to the pope’s life and pastoral activity, so, too, last year I began reading the Italian version of the book by Massimo Borghesi, *The Mind of Pope Francis: Jorge Mario Bergoglio’s Intellectual Journey*, now translated

² Austen Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope* (New York: Henry Holt, 2014).

into English.³ It opened my eyes to a new world, or, rather, it helped me realize why the Holy Father's words and actions spoke directly to my heart.

In 1969, I arrived at the Catholic University of Paris to begin my Masters in Theology. It was a two-year program that involved studies in theology, philosophy, history, and Scripture. Father Kowalski, my advisor, suggested to me that in theology I should study Hans Urs von Balthasar. At that time, only the first volume of the *Herrlichkeit*⁴ had been translated into French. Forty years later, I am still reading von Balthasar; he has helped me throughout my priesthood—theologically, spiritually, and even pastorally.

My philosophy advisor, Claude Bruaire, thought that I should take up the philosophy of Gaston Fessard, who was still alive. I began reading works like *Le Mystère de la Société* and *La dialectique des exercices spirituels de saint Ignace de Loyola*, exploring the philosophy of Fessard but also of Hegel.⁵ In the field of history, I was directed toward Maurice Blondel, Paul Ricoeur, and Henri de Lubac. At the time, I did not understand why they were directing me to these authors, but they were obviously preparing me for the future—for life in the church and in the world, a rapidly changing church and world. Later, during my diplomatic missions, I also encountered the movement *Communion and Liberation* and the thought of Luigi Giussani. These authors have been a part of my intellectual formation and have shaped and formed my pastoral activity in my service to the Holy See.

When I arrived in Mexico in 2007 to begin my diplomatic mission, it was the time of *Aparecida*, when the Latin American bishops had to confront epochal change and the challenges it was posing to the transmission of the faith and evangelization. The approach to evangelization, articulated by the *Aparecida* document, whose ghostwriter was Cardinal Bergoglio, immediately resonated with me, but I never understood exactly why until I read the work of Massimo Borghesi.

³ Massimo Borghesi, *The Mind of Pope Francis: Jorge Mario Bergoglio's Intellectual Journey* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2018).

⁴ Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics*, vol. 1: *Seeing the Form*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2009).

⁵ Gaston Fessard, SJ, *Le mystère de la société. Recherches sur le sens de l'histoire*, ed. Michel Sales (Namur, Belgium: Culture et Vérité, 1997); *La Dialectique des Exercices Spirituels de Saint Ignace de Loyola*, 3 vols. (Paris: Aubier, 1956–84).

His work explores how the Holy Father's pastoral activity, his words, and his gestures have been influenced by the theologians and philosophers whom he has studied and appropriated over the years, including Fessard, Guardini, von Balthasar, de Lubac, and Giussani—the same authors whom I had studied! The pope's ability to synthesize many great thinkers allows him not only to touch the reality of people's concrete situations and circumstances but also provides him with an instrument for dialogue with today's culture. It is my sincere hope that this book will help scholars and pastoral ministers understand these theologians and philosophers who have influenced the Holy Father, so that they too can share in his vision for pastoral ministry and in the work of evangelization.

The scholars who have contributed to this book help us better understand the Holy Father's Latin American background, including the decisive role played by the Holy Father at Aparecida and why Aparecida is so pivotal for evangelization. To understand the Holy Father in that context helps us better understand him now in the post-Aparecida context. This book will also broaden the perspective of English speakers, exposing them to the thinking of men and women like Alberto Methol Ferré and Amelia Podetti, philosophers from Latin America who deeply influenced Pope Francis and his ideas about the holy, faithful, People of God and about listening to those at the peripheries. When Pope Francis is accused of not being a Thomist, one will be able to point to the existential Thomism of Methol Ferré and to see how the Holy Father has appropriated it. When critics unfairly call the Holy Father a Marxist or a Marxist liberation theologian, you will be able to distinguish the elements of liberation theology from the Holy Father's "theology of the people."

In addition to understanding the Holy Father's Latin American background, the book also highlights the fact that Pope Francis was formed thoroughly in the spiritual tradition of the Jesuits, with its emphasis on discernment and engagement with reality. The vision of Pope Francis goes beyond abstract ideas to see the concrete reality of life—of persons, cultures, and the conditions of our world. In his exhortation, *Evangelii Gaudium*, he writes:

There also exists a constant tension between ideas and realities. Realities simply are, whereas ideas are worked out. There has to be continuous dialogue between the two, lest ideas become de-

tached from realities. It is dangerous to dwell in the realm of words alone, of images and rhetoric. . . . Realities are greater than ideas.⁶

The vision of the pope requires seeing people and their situations for what they truly are. In considering the vision of Pope Francis, one must remember his Jesuit training. Father Antonio Spadaro, SJ, editor of *La Civiltà Cattolica*, has described the pope as a Jesuit—a man with an “incomplete thought.” In academics, when writing an essay, if a thought is incomplete, a professor might count this against a student. However, here by “incomplete” thought is meant an “open thought,” one that is in continuous development. This is how the mind of the Jesuit works: to reflect upon reality to discern the will of God. Just as the Holy Father wants to bring Aparecida’s approach to evangelization to the whole church with his exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*, so too we see him bringing the Ignatian approach to spirituality to the universal church, envisioning himself as the “world’s spiritual director.”

The bulk of the book’s essays deal with Pope Francis’s intellectual formation, including the influence of von Balthasar, Methol Ferré, and Podetti, and, importantly, Romano Guardini and Gaston Fessard. The idea of polarity in Guardini and Fessard is particularly significant. I think there are many theologians who want everything to be simply black and white. Pope Francis is a man for whom, in many matters, discernment is essential. We must be able to live in tension—between the poles—and from a creative tension, in openness to the Spirit, to find a path forward to many of the world’s problems. In a sense, this polarity affords us the opportunity to dialogue and through dialogue to discover the Truth.

While Pope Francis has not elaborated a systematic theology, he has studied and been formed in the Catholic intellectual tradition. He is well aware of the intellectual challenges of our times. He has contemplated ideas and made his own personal synthesis of some of these ideas, applying them to reality in a pastorally effective way. We are the beneficiaries of this synthesis, and this book, I believe, will

⁶ Pope Francis, apostolic exhortation, *Evangelii Gaudium*, November 24, 2013, par. 231; http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html.

be a major step in equipping the church in the United States to understand, receive, and defend the magisterium of Pope Francis and to meet the challenges of our day. Once more, I thank Fr. Knoebel and Dr. Lee and all at Sacred Heart for organizing this conference and editing this volume, and I thank you for your attention.

PART ONE

Latin American Roots

Chapter 2

**Close and Concrete:
Bergoglio's Life Evangelizing a
World in Flux**

Austen Ivereigh

*Fellow in Contemporary Church History,
Campion Hall, Oxford University*

With the turmoil in American Catholicism following further revelations of past abuse and its cover-up within the church, our task of unpacking the mission and thinking of Pope Francis has been made even more urgent and necessary. Strange as it may first seem, the two are closely related. His vision for evangelizing the contemporary world speaks very directly to this time of tribulation, which he sees as a chance for change, for a new humility through humiliation, which will lead to a renewal of evangelizing fervor and closeness to the poor. It is the transformation that lies at the heart of his program as pope, captured in the phrase used by the Latin American church in 2007: “a pastoral and missionary conversion.”

As with any conversion, it is not automatic, because our freedom and will are in play; just when the need for it is greatest, the resistance to it is at its most intense. True reform requires patience, gradually overcoming the temptations attendant on any apostolic body in desolation and tribulation, temptations to which the church has often

succumbed in response to secularization—which is why it needs that conversion.

It also requires humility, a capacity to admit and embrace failure as an opportunity for a humble and joyful dependence on God’s mercy. As Francis put it in October 2018 to some French priests in Rome, describing “a context in which the boat of the church faces violent headwinds as a result of the serious failings of some of its members,” the pastors were called “to witness to the strength of the Resurrection in the wounds of this world.” The wounds are part of the witness. Do not fear, he told them, to look on the wounds of our church, not in order to lament them but to be led to where Christ is.¹

This is never easy to do, for it means renouncing our own illusion of power and leaning on the power of God’s mercy, precisely at the moment when the fear of turmoil leads us to trust more firmly in our own methods. At times of crisis, Pope Francis observed in 2017, discernment does not work; we prefer to seek out saviors who we think will restore our identity and protect us with barbed wire fences.² There are not a few of those saviors offering themselves in the wake of the revelations of the torrid summer of 2018: people of wealth and power who are calling for a “cleansing” by self-proclaimed “faithful Catholics” who speak as if the pope’s path of reform either did not exist or needs replacing with punitive, purgative methods.

Theirs is the way of accusation of others; Francis’s way, based on ancient spiritual wisdom, is the way of *self*-accusation: being willing to suffer as a body, as Pope Francis urged in his remarkable letter to the people of God the week before his Dublin visit in August 2018. The first way (accusation) blames, divides, and slows reform; the second creates the unity of purpose and humility required for authentic reform.³

¹ Pope Francis, “Discours du Pape François aux prêtres du diocèse de Créteil (France),” October 1, 2018, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/fr/speeches/2018/october/documents/papa-francesco_20181001_sacerdoti-creteil.html.

² Pope Francis, “El peligro en tiempos de crisis es buscar un salvador que nos devuelva la identidad y nos defienda con muros,” interview by Antonio Caño and Pablo Ordaz, *El País* (Madrid), January 22, 2017, http://elpais.com/internacional/2017/01/21/actualidad/1485022162_846725.html.

³ Pope Francis, “Letter of His Holiness to the People of God,” August 20, 2018, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/letters/2018/documents/papa-francesco_20180820_lettera-popolo-didio.html. See Christopher White, “Wealthy Catholics to Target Cardinals with ‘Red Hat Report,’” *Crux*, October 1, 2018, <http://cruxnow.com>

Francis's experience of spiritual leadership of apostolic bodies facing precisely such tribulations, combined with his mastery of the discernment in St. Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* as well as his own life experience of desolation and being accused, have left him uniquely equipped to guide the church at times like these. His insights of the late 1980s—when he experienced such tribulations at first hand—have been deployed to great effect in his guidance of the universal church this year, and in particular cases such as Chile.⁴

He knows that tribulation always brings with it mimetic phenomena: polarization and mutual recrimination, blame and scapegoating, false accusations and crusades. Like St. Peter leaving the boat, we too easily focus on the high waves rather than on Christ calling us out. In falling silent, we allow the truth to emerge, and the spirits involved to be exposed. This is not passivity, or evasion, but the wisdom of one who has faith in God's methods of change, not ours. As he wrote in 1990: "The meekness of silence will show us to be even weaker, and so it will be the devil who, emboldened, comes into the light, and shows us his true intentions, no longer disguised as an angel, but unmasked."⁵

Francis sees this current crisis as part of a broader tribulation that the church has been undergoing in the Western world, triggered by its response to technological change, and the rapid expulsion of Christianity from Western culture and law. Describing in a 1987 text the apostles' dismay following Christ's crucifixion, he observed how, "at such times, when the tempest of persecutions, tribulations, doubts and so forth, is raised by events, it is not easy to find the path to follow. These times have their own temptations: to debate ideas, to avoid the matter at hand, to be too concerned with our enemies. . . . And

/church-in-the-usa/2018/10/01/wealthy-catholics-to-target-cardinals-with-red-hat-report/; Heidi Schlumpf, "At 'Authentic Reform,' Conservative Catholics Rally to 'Fix' Church Failures," *National Catholic Reporter*, October 5, 2018, <http://www.ncronline.org/news/accountability/authentic-reform-conservative-catholics-rally-fix-church-failures>.

⁴ Austen Ivereigh, "A Time to Keep Silence," *Thinking Faith*, August 30, 2018, <https://www.thinkingfaith.org/articles/time-keep-silence>. See also Diego Fares, SJ, "Contro lo spirito del 'Accanimento,'" *La Civiltà Cattolica* 4029 (2018), 216–30, <http://www.laciviltacattolica.it/articolo/contro-lo-spirito-di-accanimento/>.

⁵ "Silencio y Palabra," in Jorge Mario Bergoglio, *Reflexiones en esperanza* (1992; repr., Madrid: Romana Editorial, 2013), 115–53.

I believe that the worst temptation of all is to keep dwelling on our discouragement."⁶

This is essentially his explanation of the contemporary church's inability to evangelize. Rather than discern the spiritual forces at work in our time, we have blamed secularization. Rather than offer the person of Jesus Christ, we have focused on ethics and ideas and so end up offering truth at the expense of charity, or charity at the expense of truth. Rather than a body of joyful believers offering the transforming experience of Jesus's relationship with the Father of Love and Mercy, we become defensive dogmatists, or peddlers of banalities. At the origin of our failure is our refusal humbly to ask: *How is the Holy Spirit asking us to change that we might evangelize in this new context?*

His call to the church to a "pastoral and missionary conversion" in order to evangelize our contemporary age of liquidity is Francis's response to this crisis. It is not his alone, but the product of a deep and far-ranging discernment of our age by the Latin American church at the turn of the century. Bergoglio was very involved in this process, which culminated in the great meeting of the Latin American bishops at Aparecida, Brazil in May 2007.

Nor is Francis's vision some theory or hypothesis drawn up on a desk, but the fruit of decades of pastoral and missionary experience—above all in three places where he has developed his evangelizing vision.

The first is the Colegio Máximo in San Miguel, Buenos Aires, where Jorge Mario Bergoglio spent most of his Jesuit life: first in the 1960s as a student or scholastic, then, in the 1970s and 1980s, as novice master, provincial, and finally rector of the College. It was in this last phase that he created a vast new parish, Patriarca San José, and missioned the hundred or so Jesuits training in the college at the time to evangelize and minister to the area.

The second place was, of course, the city of Buenos Aires, where in the 1990s he was auxiliary bishop and regional vicar of Flores, a lower middle-class area of the city where there are a number of sanctuaries and shrines. From 1998, he was head of the archdiocese of the original city of Buenos Aires, with close to 3 million people, but his canvas was in reality much broader, for his was one of eleven dioceses

⁶ Jorge Mario Bergoglio, prologue to *Las Cartas de la Tribulación* (Buenos Aires: Diego de Torres, 1988).

of the so-called Buenos Aires region, essentially an urban sprawl of around 13 million, of whom perhaps 85 percent are Catholics. Under Bergoglio's leadership, these eleven dioceses worked closely together in a common urban pastoral mission, especially after the gathering of the Latin American church at Aparecida.

Aparecida is the third locus in our story. In May 2007 the bishops of Latin America met collectively there for the first time in twenty-five years to define their continental mission. Bergoglio was not just a key contributor to the discernment process, but redactor-in-chief of the concluding document. His experience of mission in Buenos Aires is reflected above all in those sections on the *pastoral urbana* that ended with a series of concrete proposals for what it called a new urban ministry, as well as in the mindsets and attitudes for which such a ministry call.⁷

Francis has often compared Aparecida to *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, Paul VI's great 1975 document on evangelization. *Evangelii Gaudium* is, in turn, the fruit of both, drawing on the five years from 2007 to 2012 in which Bergoglio and the other bishops of the Buenos Aires region sought to implement Aparecida. It was this experience that flowed into Cardinal Bergoglio's famous brief speech to the cardinals prior to the conclave, in which he imagined Jesus not on the outside knocking to be let in, but on the inside, asking to be let out; and in which he portrayed the church as paralyzed by introversion, reflecting its own light rather than Christ's.

He used the powerful image from Luke 13:10-17 of the bent-over woman who can see little beyond the ground she is standing on. He contrasted that woman with the image of a fruitful, outgoing mother, who lives out the joy of evangelizing. He suggested that the next pope was the one to lead the church from one to the other. That has been his mission.

My task in this essay is to fill out this picture, in two parts. The first, longer part is about Francis's discernment of the era in which we are now living; where he sees that the church has been tempted to withdraw when faced with the invitation of the Holy Spirit to evangelize. The second, shorter part flows from this: on the nature

⁷ CELAM, Aparecida: Concluding Document, sec. 509-18, <https://www.celam.org/aparecida/Ingles.pdf>.

of the pastoral and missionary conversion he is calling for—and why we need now to be, as he puts it, “close and concrete.”⁸

Mission in Response to Epochal Change

The Colegio Máximo was founded in the early 1930s in an area an hour or two outside the city of Buenos Aires, in what was then mostly *pampa*, fertile agricultural plains. In the following decades the local area of San Miguel came to be occupied by hundreds and thousands of migrants from the interior of the country and neighboring nations who came in search of a better life. The people who arrived were generally Catholic, but unchurched, poorly catechized, with strong popular devotions but little formal practice.

At the end of his time as provincial, Bergoglio founded a huge parish, Patriarca San José, to minister to the new arrivals, sending out the Jesuit students each weekend to organize and evangelize by visiting house by house, blessing homes, saying prayers with those inside, inviting children to catechesis, discovering where there was suffering and need and connecting these with others who had time and resources to give. For the migrants of San Miguel, it was the experience of becoming a “people of God”; for the Jesuits, it was an encounter with God in the lives of ordinary people.

Today, the parish is run by Fr. Rafael Velasco, SJ. It covers a large area: some forty thousand people across seven *barrios*, five of which have churches with Sunday Mass and other liturgies, social projects, and catechesis. In Bergoglio’s day “Rafa” was among the Jesuit students sent out by their rector each weekend; these days the missions are carried out by the young people in his parish. I sat down in July 2018 with eight of them following their four-day mission. I saw how moved they had been at discovering God’s presence in people’s lives as they went from house to house, praying with people, learning about their lives and their challenges. One of the leaders, filled with emotion, said: *misionando, fuimos misionados*, “in going out on mission, we were missioned to.”

⁸ On Pope Francis’s fondness for this language, see, for example, Pope Francis, “El peligro en tiempos de crisis”; Austen Ivereigh, “The Papal Obsession with Getting Close and Concrete,” *Crux*, January 23, 2017, <http://cruxnow.com/analysis/2017/01/23/papal-obsession-getting-close-concrete/>.

That sums up what Francis means by the *Iglesia en salida*, the “Church that goes out,” and what he said to his catechists after Aparecida, when he spoke of the church that “evangelizes and is evangelized constantly through the proclamation of the *Kerygma*.” It is what the first Christians discovered: that, as Cardinal Bergoglio put it in 2008, “God is present in, encourages, and is an active protagonist in the life of his people.”⁹ The insight of Aparecida was to recall that the church was born precisely in a context of urban pluralism, which it made use of to grow. Further, that which now prevents the church from growing was an attitude of fear and defensiveness that caused its leaders and the institution to withdraw from God’s people.

Aparecida was by far the most sophisticated signs-of-the-times discernment happening in the church anywhere in the world at that time. What it grasped were the implications for evangelization in this “change of era,” this *cambio de época*.¹⁰ It understood that beyond the losers and winners, our globalized technocracy brings a new anguish, because of the erosion of the bonds of belonging, a way of being described in terms of “liquidity,” to use Zygmunt Bauman’s famous metaphor.¹¹

The anguish was *affective*, in the sense of suffering the loss of the ties of love and trust we need for a healthy life; but also *existential*, in that the impermanence of contemporary life made it hard to dream a future. It was also *spiritual*, in that the geography and architecture of modern existence was increasingly empty of signs of the transcendent.¹² Noting how the old transmission belts of faith were now

⁹ Jorge Mario Bergoglio, “Volver a las raíces de la fe: la misión como propuesta y desafío,” in *En tus ojos está mi palabra: Homilias y discursos de Buenos Aires, 1999–2013*, ed. Antonio Spadaro (Madrid: Claretianas, 2018), 753. Jorge Mario Bergoglio, prologue to *Dios en la ciudad* (Buenos Aires: San Pablo, 2011), 5.

¹⁰ This phrase can be traced back first to the work of the Mexican Bishops’ conference and then to CELAM: see, for example, Conference of Mexican Bishops, *Carta pastoral del encuentro con Jesucristo a la solidaridad con todos: El encuentro con Jesucristo, camino de conversión, comunión, solidaridad y misión en México en el umbral del tercer milenio* (Mexico: Conferencia del Episcopado Mexicano, 2000), sec. 246; CELAM, *Globalización y nueva evangelización en América Latina y el Caribe. Reflexiones del CELAM 1999–2003*, no. 165 (Bogotá: CELAM, 2003), sec. 16. See Rodrigo Guerra López, “Cristianismo y cambio de época: Transformaciones educativas y culturales de la sociedad y de la Iglesia en América Latina” (forthcoming).

¹¹ See Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000).

¹² CELAM, *Globalización y nueva evangelización en América Latina*.

largely broken, Aparecida saw that the church had to go out to the people and facilitate the personal encounter with Christ.¹³ What was needed now, as Bergoglio put it to his priests after Aparecida, was a return to the “attitude that planted the faith in the beginnings of the Church,” when faith was the product of a personal encounter with Jesus Christ and the experience of his transforming mercy.¹⁴ The challenge to the church now was how to enable this encounter in the context of technocracy and liquidity. Bergoglio called this *el encuentro fundante de nuestra fe*, the “foundational experience of faith,” which it described as “a personal and communal encounter with Jesus Christ which will raise up missionary disciples.”¹⁵

The most important thing about this discernment was not its analysis of the changes of contemporary society, but the way it believed the church should respond to them. Aparecida’s response was not to lament and condemn, but to discern and reform. Rather than asking, “How can we defend ourselves against this?” or “How can we go back to how things were?” the question was, “What is the Holy Spirit calling us to do? What changes must we make?” This humble, discerning response was in itself part of the conversion it called for.

A key insight was that mission had to become a way of being, both “permanent” and “paradigmatic.” Not just *ad extra*, but *ad intra* at the same time. In going out on mission, the church is itself evangelized; in missioning, the church is itself converted. If the church is not missionary in a context of liquidity, it cannot evangelize; and if it does not evangelize, it shrinks. Hence the necessary spiritual, pastoral, and also institutional reforms “to make the Church visibly present as a mother who reaches out, a welcoming home, a constant school of missionary communion.”¹⁶ Hence, too, Francis’s famous

¹³ CELAM, Aparecida: Concluding Document, sec. 243–57, 258–65.

¹⁴ Jorge Mario Bergoglio, “La misión de los discípulos al servicio de la Vida Plena,” in Spadaro, ed., *En tus ojos*, 852–59.

¹⁵ Jorge Mario Bergoglio, “Propuesta de Aparecida para la Pastoral de la Iglesia en Argentina,” message to the meeting of the Sociedad Argentina de Liturgia, June 15, 2009, http://www.arzbaires.org.ar/inicio/homilias/homilias2009.htm#Propuesta_de_Aparecida_para_la_Pastoral_de_la_Iglesia_en_Argentina. “La memoria del encuentro fundante de nuestra fe aparece desde el comienzo y llega hasta el final del Documento.” Cf. CELAM, Aparecida: Concluding Document, sec. 13.

¹⁶ See Pope Francis’s addresses in Spadaro, ed., *En tus ojos*, esp. “Volver a las raíces de la fe,” 745–54, “El mensaje de Aparecida a los presbíteros,” 797–806, and “La misión de los discípulos al servicio de la Vida Plena,” 852–59.

dream in *Evangelii Gaudium* of a “missionary option,” that is, “a missionary impulse capable of transforming everything, so that the Church’s customs, ways of doing things, times and schedules, language and structures can be suitably channeled for the evangelization of today’s world rather than for her self-preservation” (EG 27).

It is easy to miss the sting at the end there. As Bergoglio put it after Aparecida, the purpose of evangelization is not to recruit adherents, but to raise up disciples. If the aim is to fill pews and restore market share, that is spiritual worldliness; it is to put the institution in the center, rather than Christ, and to leave it untouched and unconverted, and so to compound the problem. The aim is the encounter with Christ in his people, and the institution must adapt to that end. Evangelization is to make possible the encounter with the God of mercy and to raise up missionary disciples who can communicate that experience.¹⁷ It is not to restore the success or prestige of the institution, but to open the gates of God’s grace.

In Asunción, Paraguay, in July 2015 Francis noted: “How many times do we see evangelization as involving any number of strategies, tactics, maneuvers, techniques, as if we could convert people on the basis of our own arguments. Today the Lord says to us quite clearly: in the mindset of the Gospel, you do not convince people with arguments, strategies or tactics. You convince them by learning how to welcome them.”¹⁸

This Pelagianism of methods—evinced in a certain triumphalism in some apologetics—is one obstacle to evangelizing. But the greater obstacle in the past decades has been a Gnostic temptation to present Catholicism as a kind of ethical system or a moral code. In the final chapter of *The Mind of Pope Francis*, Massimo Borghesi calls this “the moralistic drift that characterizes Catholicism in the era of globalization,”¹⁹ although I think his original Italian, *deviazione etica*, is easier to connect to Francis’s critique in the Spanish version of *Evangelii*

¹⁷ Jorge Mario Bergoglio, “La misión de los discípulos al servicio de la Vida Plena,” sec. 1, in Spadaro, ed., *En tus ojos*, 852–59.

¹⁸ Pope Francis, Homily, Campo grande, Ñu Guazú, Asunción (Paraguay), July 12, 2015, http://m.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/homilies/2015/documents/papa-francesco_20150712_paraguay-omelia-nu-guazu.html.

¹⁹ Massimo Borghesi, *The Mind of Pope Francis: Jorge Mario Bergoglio’s Intellectual Journey*, trans. Barry Hudock (Collegetown, MN: Liturgical Press, 2018), 228–29.

Gaudium of eticismo sin bondad, or “heartless moralism” (EG 8).²⁰ “It is not enough for our truth to be orthodox and our pastoral action to be efficient,” Cardinal Bergoglio said in 2011; “without the joy of beauty, truth turns cold and even pitiless and arrogant.”²¹

Borghesi points out that Benedict XVI shared this discernment of where contemporary Catholicism had gone wrong, which is why right at the start of his first encyclical, *Deus Caritas Est*, he said that “being Christian is not the result of an ethical choice or a lofty idea, but the encounter with an event, a person, which gives life a new horizon and a decisive direction.” The quote appears in the Aparecida document and again in *Evangelii Gaudium*, where Francis says he never tires of repeating these words, “which take us to the very heart of the Gospel” (EG 7).²² The beauty of God is his mercy, which, because it is relationship, is experience, not knowledge.

What gets lost in this “ethicist deviation,” in other words, is the primary truth about our faith: the love of God for us in Jesus Christ. When we evangelize, we communicate Jesus’s “Abba” relationship with the Father.²³ So “mission starts precisely from that divine enchantment, the amazement of the encounter,” as Francis told the Brazilian bishops, recalling Aparecida. The church loses people, he

²⁰ See also CELAM, Aparecida: Concluding Document, sec. 12; Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, “Letter *Placuit Deo* to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on Certain Aspects of Christian Salvation,” February 22, 2018, 8, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20180222_placuit-deo_en.html. “*Eticismo sin bondad*” is badly rendered in the official English translation of *Evangelii Gaudium* as “ethical systems bereft of kindness.” He is not referring to “systems” but to the reduction of the Christian offer to an ethical idea.

²¹ Jorge Mario Bergoglio, “La verdad que más brilla es la verdad de la misericordia,” in Spadaro, ed., *En tus ojos*, 1013–16. His Communications Day message in 2016 says something similar: “Only words spoken with love and accompanied by meekness and mercy can touch our sinful hearts. Harsh and moralistic words and actions risk further alienating those whom we wish to lead to conversion and freedom, reinforcing their sense of rejection and defensiveness” (Pope Francis, “Communication and Mercy: A Fruitful Encounter,” January 24, 2016, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/messages/communications/documents/papa-francesco_20160124_messaggio-comunicazioni-sociali.html).

²² CELAM, Aparecida: Concluding Document, sec. 12, 243.

²³ Pope Francis, “Lettera a chi non crede. Papa Francesco risponde al giornalista Eugenio Scalfari,” *La Repubblica* (Rome), September 4, 2013; the English translation of the article archived on the Vatican website is more accurate, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/letters/2013/documents/papa-francesco_20130911_eugenio-scalfari.html.

warned, when it imports a rationality that is alien to people, forgetting the “grammar of simplicity.”²⁴

The two greatest evangelizers of our age, arguably, are Mother Teresa and Pope Francis, famous for their gestures as much as their words. Their graciousness, attentiveness, and compassion perform the God they proclaim.

As Francis puts it in his letter to Chile’s Catholics, “the salvation offered by Christ is always an invitation, a gift which calls for and demands freedom.”²⁵ That is why the attempt to reduce the Christian offer to some kind of moral code or dazzling ethical system leads quickly to the Gnosticism of which Francis warns in the second chapter of *Gaudete et Exsultate*. As Thomas Merton says in *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander*, “an exclusively ethical emphasis on right and wrong, good and evil, in Christian education, breeds doubt and not faith.”²⁶

In a 2004 talk he gave in praise of *Veritatis Splendor*, St. John Paul II’s great defense of objective truth against the threat of relativism, Cardinal Bergoglio made a similar point to Merton’s, that the reduction of Christianity to a series of precepts had in effect produced relativism. When we seek to evangelize through the state and its laws, we turn morality into a judicial code or a dazzling ethical system imposed from the outside, to which the only response can be resistance or surrender rather than a free response of the heart to the experience of God’s mercy. Faith becomes ideology, and ideology is an instrument of power.²⁷

As St. Augustine famously insisted, it is not the keeping of the commandments that earns God’s love but the other way around: we are offered God’s mercy and love unconditionally, and in receiving it, we are morally transformed.²⁸ Bergoglio made this point with

²⁴ Pope Francis, “Meeting with the Bishops of Brazil, Archbishop’s House, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil),” July 27, 2013, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2013/july/documents/papa-francesco_20130727_gmg-episcopato-brasile.html.

²⁵ Pope Francis, “Al Pueblo de Dios que peregrina en Chile,” Letter to Chilean Church, May 31, 2018, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/es/letters/2018/documents/papa-francesco_20180531_lettera-popolodidio-cile.html.

²⁶ Thomas Merton, *Conjectures of a Guilty Bystander* (New York: Image, 2014), 164.

²⁷ See Bergoglio’s essays in *La verdad los hará libres: Congreso internacional sobre la Encíclica Veritatis splendor*, ed. Carlos Alberto Scarponi (Buenos Aires: Paulinas, 2005), 19–36.

²⁸ For example, Augustine, *On Rebuke and Grace*, 3; *Sermons on John*, 17:6; *Against Two Letters of the Pelagians*, 1:37; 4:11, 13–15; *On the Spirit and the Letter*, 5; *On Nature and Grace*, 4–5; *On the Grace of Christ and Original Sin*, 1:27, 34.

wonderful directness in a retreat he gave just months before his election. The Gospel does not tell us if the adulterous woman whom Jesus forgave in John 8:1-11 returned to her sinful, promiscuous life, he said, but you could be sure that she did not, “because whoever encounters such great mercy cannot depart from the law, it’s the result.”²⁹

In suggesting the opposite, that we are loved by God because we are good, we eliminate grace and turn the moral journey into a human achievement rather than a response to God’s mercy. Such Pharisaism or Pelagianism is paralyzing, and deadly for evangelization. Because it is easier for the prosperous and well educated to be moral, the church soon becomes intolerable to the poor and those most in need of mercy. In withdrawing from the people of God and making itself, rather than Christ, the object of worship, the church becomes decadent, finally collapsing into the abusive, cover-up, clericalist culture of which we have been made brutally aware in news reports: a church famous for the sins of its institution, rather than for the love and beauty of Christ’s mercy.

All this helps explain why, in *Evangelii Gaudium*, Francis is so fierce in deploring “doctrines that are at times more philosophical than evangelical” (EG 165), of people who speak more of law than grace, or who imply that Christianity is a form of stoicism or self-denial. The Gospel invites us to respond to the God of love who saves us, to see God in others and to go forth from ourselves to seek the good of others. “If this invitation does not radiate forcefully and attractively,” Francis says in *Evangelii Gaudium*, “the edifice of the Church’s moral teaching risks becoming a house of cards, and this is our greatest risk” (EG 39). The paradox that many of Francis’s critics find hard to grasp is that his bid to restore grace and mercy is not about diluting the church’s moral teaching, but restoring its foundations. In the absence of a culture and law permeated with Christian moral and ethical wisdom, that wisdom must be the result of a response to God’s grace, or else it will be built on sand.

For Francis, evangelizing means to reconnect the church with God’s presence in his holy faithful people, with those whom Francis

²⁹ The quote is from a Caritas retreat he gave in November 2012, mentioned in Austen Ivereigh, *The Great Reformer: Francis and the Making of a Radical Pope* (New York: Picador, 2015), 210. Cf. Luke 7:36-50.

called in a leaked letter to the bishops of Chile “the Church’s immune system,” those who “know themselves to be sinners but never cease asking forgiveness because they believe in the Father’s mercy.”³⁰ *Evangelii Gaudium* notes how “in all the baptized, from first to last, the sanctifying power of the Spirit is at work, impelling us to evangelization” (EG 119). As Francis said to the Jesuits in Colombia, “sadly we are often tempted to evangelize *for* the people, *toward* the people, but *without* the People of God. Everything for the people, but nothing with the people.”³¹ Yet “the People of God does not have first, second or third-class Christians,” Francis tells Chile’s faithful, “their participation is not a question of goodwill, concessions, rather it is constitutive of the nature of the Church.”³²

Aparecida’s great insight, Bergoglio told his clergy in 2008, was to see that the greatest danger to the church came not from outside but from within, “from the eternal and subtle temptation of enclosing ourselves and putting on armor in order to be protected and secure.” He used this same word for putting on armor, *abroquelamiento*, in his 1984 writing on self-accusation in which he shows how the devil sows division and confusion with a series of “reasons”—which may be true, false, or most often half-truths—that create confusion. The result is to *abroquelar el corazón*, to “armor-plate our hearts,” in “egotistical convictions that lead to a world closed off from all objectivity.”³³ Over time, this leads to a distorted hermeneutic which colors the way we view the world: a sense of persecution, a sense of victimhood, a tendency to divide the world into good and bad, becoming anxious, controlling and accusatory. In other words, a state of spiritual sickness that eventually separates a person or people from the body as well as from reality.

³⁰ Private letter of Pope Francis to Chile’s bishops, May 15, 2018, leaked to Chilean news outlet Tele 13, <http://www.t13.cl/noticia/nacional/la-transcripcion-completa-del-documento-reservado-papa-entregado-obispos-chilenos>.

³¹ Antonio Spadaro, SJ, “Grace Is Not an Ideology: Pope Francis’ Private Conversation with Some Colombian Jesuits,” *La Civiltà Cattolica*, September 28, 2017, <http://laciviltacattolica.com/grace-is-not-an-ideology-a-private-conversation-with-some-colombian-jesuits/>.

³² Pope Francis, “Al Pueblo de Dios que peregrina en Chile.”

³³ Jorge Mario Bergoglio, “La Acusación de sí mismo,” in *Reflexiones espirituales sobre la vida apostólica* (1987; repr., Bilbao: Mensajero, 2013), 118–25.

Chapter 3

The “Theology of the People” in the Pastoral Theology of Jorge Mario Bergoglio

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Toward a Better Understanding of His Pontificate

If we set out to examine the intellectual and pastoral biography of Jorge Mario Bergoglio, a matter of great importance for a deeper understanding of Pope Francis’s pontificate, we must bear in mind, among many other influences, the current of thought that has been called the “theology of the people.” As Juan Carlos Scannone explains, this theological current was born out of the Episcopal Pastoral Commission established in 1966 by the Argentine Bishops’ Conference to welcome and contextualize the spirit and teachings of the Second Vatican Council into Argentina. Members of this commission included bishops—such as Vicente Zazpe and Enrique Angelelli—and theologians and pastoral theologians—among them Lucio Gera, Rafael Tello, Justino O’Farrell, Gerardo Farrell, Fernando Boasso, and others.¹ It was within this atmosphere that the theology of the people

¹ See Juan Carlos Scannone, SJ, “Pope Francis and the Theology of the People,” *Theological Studies* 77 (2016): 118–35; Scannone, *La teología del pueblo: Raíces teológicas*

began to incubate, as is visible in the Argentine bishops' declaration in 1969, known as the "Document of San Miguel," which stated that "the Church's action must not only be directed towards the people but also, and principally, derive from the people itself," especially from "the poor, the sacrament of Christ."²

Father Lucio Gera, its greatest exponent, taught generations of young priests, above all in Buenos Aires, with his strong theological and spiritual heritage. Founder of the Argentinian Theological Society and Dean of the Faculty of Theology in Buenos Aires, he was part of the CELAM Theological and Pastoral Reflection Team and the first International Theological Commission called by Pope St. Paul VI. He was also invited to be an adviser to the Latin American Bishops' Conferences in Medellín and Puebla. Cardinal Bergoglio had great esteem for Fr. Gera and, upon his death in 2012, expressed his desire that Fr. Gera's body be buried in the cathedral of his archdiocese.³

del papa Francisco (Maliaño: Sal Terrae, 2017); Rafael Luciani, *Pope Francis and the Theology of the People*, trans. Phillip Berryman (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2017); Josep-Ignasi Saranyana, *Teología en América Latina*, vol. 3, *El siglo de las teologías latinoamericanistas (1899–2001)* (Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2002). Fernando Boasso, *¿Qué es la Pastoral Popular?* (Buenos Aires: Patria Grande, 1974), writes that the book expresses the commission's thinking. Those widely recognized as the most significant authors of the theology of the people include Lucio Gera, Rafael Tello, Fernando Boasso, and Justino O'Farrell, to name but a few. They all studied between 1948 and 1956 in Europe, receiving doctorates from German universities or from the Angelicum in Rome, and thereby came into contact with the currents of *nouvelle théologie*. Gera completed his Licentiate in 1956 in Bonn, along with the dogmatic theologian Johannes Auer, who later became Joseph Ratzinger's colleague in Regensburg, wherein prevailed a spiritual climate influenced by the works of Romano Guardini and Max Scheler. Their Catholic formation in Europe was later "Latin Americanized," based on the hermeneutics of those who reflect on the Americas from a Latin American outlook.

² Conference of Bishops of Argentina, *San Miguel Document* (Conferencia Episcopal Argentina, Documento de San Miguel, *Declaración del Episcopado Argentino sobre la adaptación a la realidad actual del país de las Conclusiones de la II Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano [Medellín]*, 1969, <http://www.familiasnacional.org.ar/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/1969-ConclusionesMedellin.pdf>).

³ Virginia R. Azcuy, Carlos M. Galli, and Marcelo González, as members of the Editorial Theological Committee, published substantial tomes compiling the numerous and varied texts authored by Lucio Gera: *Escritos Teológicos Pastorales de Lucio Gera*, vol. 1, *Del Preconcilio a la Conferencia de Puebla (1956–1981)* (Buenos Aires: Agapé-Facultad de Teología, 2006), and vol. 2, *De la Conferencia de Puebla a nuestros días* (Buenos Aires: Agapé-Facultad de Teología, 2007). See also Juan Carlos Scannone, SJ, "Lucio Gera: un teólogo 'dal' popolo," *Civiltà Cattolica* 3954 (March 2015), 539–50.

Another friend and collaborator of Fr. Gera was Fr. Rafael Tello, who helped found the popular yearly pilgrimages from Buenos Aires to the Sanctuary in Lujan, and who received Pope Francis's gratitude and affection.⁴ It is important, moreover, to mention Alberto Methol Ferré from Uruguay, who can also be considered part of this intellectual movement. Pope Francis referred to him as "that great thinker from Río de la Plata" who "helped us to think."⁵ The theology of the people heavily influenced the document produced by the Third General Conference of the Latin American Bishops in Puebla de los Angeles (January 1979), and its legacy proved important for the Fifth General Conference of the Latin American Bishops in Aparecida (May 2007).⁶

Numerous studies and doctoral theses are being published in Argentina on the writings of Lucio Gera.

⁴ In the presentation of Enrique Ciro Bianchi's book, *Pobres en este mundo, ricos en la fe (Sant 2,5): La fe de los pobres en América Latina, según Rafael Tello* (Buenos Aires: Agape libros, 2012), Cardinal Bergoglio expressed his affection and gratitude for Tello, writing in the prologue: "An admirable person, a man of God, sent to open new paths . . . Like every prophet, he was misunderstood by many of his time. Under suspicion, slandered, chastised . . . he did not escape the destiny of the cross with which God marks the great men of the Church. . . . He therefore opened many roads that we travel today in our pastoral work, and he knew how to join prophetic impetus with adhesion to the Church's sound doctrine." "Tello faithfully sought paths for the integral liberation of our people by striving ahead with evangelical newness, without falling into ideological reductionisms . . .": these are the words pronounced on May 10, 2012 by the then archbishop of Buenos Aires to the Faculty of Theology at the Catholic University of Argentina. Recently, Father Tello's body was transferred to the Shrine and Basilica of Our Lady of Luján, Patroness of Argentina.

⁵ The Methol Ferré Association has collected the numerous, scattered writings of Alberto Methol Ferré on its website. A summary of some of his most significant texts was published in Italian by CSEO-Incontri, Bologna, 1983. Of particular interest is the book by Alver Metalli, *El Papa y el filósofo* (Siena: Cantagalli, 2014). The similar lines of thought shared by Bergoglio and Methol Ferré are well illustrated by Massimo Borghesi, *The Mind of Pope Francis*. Numerous studies and doctoral theses in Latin America have been written and are being written on Methol Ferré's thought.

⁶ Cardinal Bergoglio was present and very active at the Fifth General Conference of Latin American Bishops in Aparecida (2006) as part of the drafting team of its Concluding Document, along with younger proponents of this current of thought, such as the theologian Carlos M. Galli—a prominent figure at the Faculty of Theology of Buenos Aires, whose doctoral thesis on "The People of God in the Peoples of the World" was directed by Father Lucio Gera, Father Victor Eduardo Fernandez, then rector of the Pontifical Catholic University of Argentina and currently archbishop of La Plata, and the author of this text, Dr. Guzmán Carriquiry Lecour, then under-secretary of the Pontifical Council for the Laity and currently vice-president of the

Nevertheless, for decades these authors were almost completely unknown in academic institutions and in American and European publications. In the 1970s and '80s, however, due to the ideological influence of secularizing progressivism and radical Marxism, the books of Gustavo Gutiérrez, Hugo Assman, Leonardo Boff, and other proponents of liberation theology received much attention. Perhaps it had to do with the fact that the prolific literary output of authors such as Gera, Tello, and Methol Ferré touched on so many diverse topics. But it was above all because they were subjected to the suspicion of coming from "conservative" churches, of being critical of Marxist-inspired ideological and political currents, and of falling into a cultural and populist romanticism.

Today, after the fall of communist regimes and revolutionary messianism, we should recognize that while the theology of the people should be understood as a variant of liberation theology, it goes beyond it and yet is no less prophetic in its criticism of "social sin." Neither is it inferior regarding the "preferential love for the poor" or the struggle to liberate people from oppressive and dominating structures. It is, however, distinct from secularist theologies and the attraction to Marxism, which many authors of Liberation Theology, including Gustavo Gutiérrez—perhaps the best of them—have now abandoned. Some of the prophetic intuitions and major themes coming from liberation theology have resisted the flow of time. After undergoing the discernment of the church's magisterium,⁷ they have been assimilated by the Latin American church through the framework provided by "theologians of the people" from the Río de la Plata school and today find global influence in Pope Francis.

A line of continuity emerges between the Third General Conference of the Latin American Bishops in Puebla de los Angeles (January 1979), the Fifth General Conference of the Latin American Bishops in Aparecida (May 2007), and the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*—the most important programmatic document of the current

Pontifical Commission for Latin America. Father Diego Fares, SJ, one of the many Jesuit disciples of Bergoglio, was also present.

⁷ Important documents related to this discernment included the following produced by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, whose prefect was Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger: *Libertatis Nuntius* (1984) and *Libertatis Conscientia* (1986), as well as the dialogues and reflections carried out by CELAM. In the encyclical *Centesimus Annus* (1991), John Paul II promoted the positive aspects of an "integral liberation theology."

pontificate. Each of these documents is heavily influenced by the theology of the people.

Once the initial impact and surprise of Pope Francis's pontificate was overcome, an awareness emerged of the need to dedicate serious and systematic study to the writings of Jorge Mario Bergoglio as well as to those of his favorite authors, such as Lucio Gera, Juan Carlos Scannone, and Methol Ferré. Likewise, a more in-depth study of the magisterium of the Latin American bishops is needed, especially of Puebla and Aparecida.

Several theological and pastoral concerns present in Pope Francis's writings can only be understood when placed in the context of the theology of the people and the writings surrounding it. This raises the question: How do we define the Theology of the People?

Who Are the "People"? Echoes and Implications

For those who follow Pope Francis's teachings, one word resonates deeply and strongly: "*pueblo*" (people). It has been said that Pope Francis has a certain sparkle in his eyes every time he says the word. The term "people" has been a part of the pope's vocabulary ever since his first papal greeting, when he said, "the people and their Bishop together." "People" is the most frequently used noun in the most important programmatic document of his pontificate, the apostolic exhortation *Evangelii Gaudium*, appearing there 164 times. Do not the people of the United States feel the same profound echoes and implications when they declare in the Preface to the Constitution: "We, the people of the United States of America . . .?"

The "people" cannot be reduced to a simple sum total of individuals, nor to the body of citizens who compose a society, nor to the gray and impersonal term "population." "The term 'citizens' is a logical category," writes Jorge Mario Bergoglio. "People is an historical and mythical category. We live in a society, and together we understand it and explain it logically. 'People' cannot be explained in a merely logical way. It contains a wealth of meaning that eludes us if we don't resort to other modes of comprehension and other hermeneutics. . . . To be in a society and to belong to it as citizens, in the sense of order, is a great step forward in functionality. But the social person acquires their fullest identity as a citizen in belonging to a 'people.'" This is key, Bergoglio affirms, because identity is founded on "belonging." "There is no identity without belonging. A

person's identity as a citizen is directly proportional to the extent that he or she lives their belonging. To whom? To the people in which he or she was born and lives. . . . Being a faithful citizen is a virtue, and participation in political life is a moral obligation. But to become a people is something greater, and requires a constant process in which each generation is involved."⁸ Just as "the fatherland" evokes the notion of paternity—where the traditions of past generations are passed on as a patrimony that must be made fruitful in the present, and just as "the nation" comes from the Latin for "born" (*natus*)—evoking a notion of maternity that always welcomes new generations, so also does "people" relate to a form of solidarity, of fraternity, that goes beyond lineage.

Thus the theology of the people has resisted the tendency to think that the "people" can be fully explained through sociological and economic analysis. It is acutely aware that a people's reality is wrought in the awareness of its origins and historical vicissitudes, in the heritage of its tradition, in its cultural and religious background, in its social ethos, in its capacity to integrate diverse components into an ethnic and cultural fusion, in the social framework of family and work, and in its shared destiny with the goal of a worthy and good life for all members. It is enriched by a historical-cultural method that is vastly more capable of penetrating into the deepest fibers of the identity of a people.⁹ Bergoglio defined the "people-nation" as "a shared experience of life centered on values and principles, on history, customs, language, faith, causes, and collective dreams."¹⁰ Within the concept of "people" that derives from this theological current, a current embraced by Pope Francis, there exists an understanding of the social and cultural experience of the people—a substantial, daily experience of solidarity—that is not to be confused with the mass-produced commercialized culture of its people. It is permeated by deep, rich, and fruitful roots, by an awareness of whole-hearted citizenship that exercises its rights and expresses its collective aspirations, by an inclusive participation in a common project of nation building that is united by a passion that is in itself liberating. The experience of "we as a people"—that is, of this unique form of

⁸ Jorge Mario Bergoglio, *Nosotros como ciudadanos, nosotros como pueblo: Hacia un bicentenario en justicia y solidaridad 2010–2016* (Buenos Aires: Claretiana, 2013).

⁹ See Scannone, *La teología del pueblo*.

¹⁰ Bergoglio, *Nosotros como ciudadanos*.

a “communion of persons” involved in an intrinsic search for goodness, truth, and beauty, joined by a common fight for peace, justice, and solidarity—is what gives flesh and blood to participatory democracies, dynamic realities that cannot be reduced to the vacuous rules of procedural systems.¹¹ In this sense, “the people” is a collective subject aimed at the construction of a nation and driven by a *telos*—a historical project, a utopian horizon, a “way toward” (or “final cause” in scholastic terms) that draws a person and leads them toward their goal: in other words, the “common good.”¹²

It is not surprising, then, that Pope Francis writes about the joy of belonging to a people and of living the experience of the people. He entrusts the peoples with a mission of the “globalization of hope”—including the poor, whom he recognizes as the backbone of grassroots organizing efforts—in contrast to a “globalization of exclusion and indifference.”¹³ Fr. Lucio Gera spoke of the “anti-people” when referring to the oligarchies that abandon the interest of the common good of the people and nation and think only of defending their own privileges, those responsible for situations of exploitation and exclusion.

Tendencies to Fracture the Awareness and Experience of Being a People

This is no romanticized, idealized vision. Pope Francis makes it clear that the tides of hedonistic and asocial neo-individualism—widespread in our time—erode the experience and awareness of being a people. The pope calls these tides the “globalization of indifference.” Their effects are manifested in the rupture of familial and

¹¹ See Mario Toso and José Paradiso, prefaces to Jorge Mario Bergoglio, *Noi come cittadini, noi come popolo* (Milan: Jaca, 2013), 7–17, the Italian translation of Bergoglio, *Nosotros como ciudadanos*.

¹² Bergoglio, *Noi come cittadini*. Elsewhere, Bergoglio speaks of the “soul” of a people as “a hermeneutic, a way of viewing reality, an awareness . . . of one’s own dignity,” in Jorge Mario Bergoglio, “Una istituzione che vive il suo charisma: Discorso di apertura della Congregazione provinciale” (San Miguel, Buenos Aires, February 18, 1974), in Jorge Mario Bergoglio, *Pastorale sociale*, ed. Marco Gallo, trans. A. Taroni (Milan: Jaca Book, 2015).

¹³ Pope Francis, “Address to the Second World Meeting of Popular Movements,” Santa Cruz de la Sierra (Bolivia), July 9, 2015, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papa-francesco_20150709_bolivia-movimenti-popolari.html.

social bonds. They create "liquid societies": fragmented realms of conflicting individual interests that augment polarized oppositions and make dialogue and social cohesion impossible. This process of erosion is manifested and quickened by the takeover of genuine politics by the power games and media shows put on by corporations that make up an "establishment," falling short of the needs and hopes of the people. It is also manifested in the colonization of culture by ideologies that militate against the shared ethos. The end result is the absence of collective passions and ideals—a hostile environment, without communal memory, where cohesion depends more on an ephemeral succession of images and perceptions transmitted by the media for social control rather than on the awareness of a common destiny lived over time. Individuals are reduced to passive spectators of television and electronic devices. In the global village built by the communications revolution, what is most lacking are authentic human relationships, friendship, and communion. On the one hand, separation and indifference prevail; on the other, manipulation and exploitation triumph.

In this way, the fragmentation of the experience of being a "people" reduces society to a chaotic and confused group of individuals, oscillating between narcissism and depressed loneliness. Vulnerable to the influence of a powerful and persuasive cultural assimilation determined by the dominant powers, peoples are reduced to masses ruled by the dictates of political, economic, technocratic, and ideological elites. These "enlightened" minorities, warns the pope, try to appropriate collective identities and pretend to be teachers and guides policing the masses, whom they consider uncultured and easily manipulated. The devil works among the elites, through the idolatries of money, power, and ideologies.

Bipolar Tensions Along the Path toward Becoming a People

Pope Francis makes it clear that to belong to a people—to be part of a common identity—is the fruit of a process, a journey of "becoming a people." It requires individuals to grow in the awareness and experience of being a people in which every generation must take part, throughout the important stages of its history. Pope Francis sees this long path of the creation of a people through history as marked by a series of bipolar tensions, tensions that characterize any form of

human society (EG 217–37).¹⁴ “It is an arduous and slow effort,” he writes in *Evangelii Gaudium*, “calling for a desire for integration and a willingness to achieve this through the growth of a peaceful and multifaceted culture of encounter” (EG 220).

One of these bipolar tensions is that between unity and conflict. The unity of the people must prevail over the conflicts that threaten to tear it apart, and yet conflicts are often intrinsic to the healthy development of a people. These insights are forged and tested by history: the Argentine people, and certainly the former Jesuit Provincial of Río de la Plata, suffered a great deal from civil war and the unparalleled violence caused by the tragically blinding passions of guerrilla violence and the murderous repression of armed forces. The “unity” in question is not “a consensus on paper or a transient peace for a contented minority” (EG 218). It is not brought about by fleeing conflict, ignoring it, or silencing dissent. Many conflicts are legitimate and necessary. One must know how to suffer conflict—working through it with respect and authenticity—in order that it might be resolved in a greater fusion of the people’s unity and prevented from tearing the nation apart and rendering it impotent. Unity in diversity is required. Such are the insights conceptually represented by the image of the “polyhedron” that Bergoglio proposes for national societies and the international community. It is neither a global, stateless, technocratic, and managerial “sphere” that nullifies the richness of plurality, nor is it the impoverishment of an “isolated, sterilizing partiality” born of localisms and petty xenophobic tendencies (EG 234–35).

Another of these bipolar tensions is that between reality and ideas. An awareness that reality is always greater than ideas must prevail over those who want to impose the narrow molds of ideology on the people. Oligarchs and liberal technocrats on the one hand and Marxist-Leninists on the other both despise the theology of the people; they cling to their ideological programs in order to impose them by force on a reality that transcends them. For them, people, and especially the poor, are merely electoral clients, mass labor, or the uninformed recipients of the politics of the “enlightened”—in no way protagonists of their own lives and destinies, capable of living

¹⁴ In *The Mind of Pope Francis*, Massimo Borghesi delves into Bergoglio’s unique thought on bipolar tensions and the intellectual influences related to it.

according to their own wisdom and preferences, and capable of forming new, life-giving paths inspired by their own cultural resources.

Growing as a people, therefore, means being able to generate consensus and convergence in pursuit of a project of integral and mutually supportive development. It means attacking the causes of inequality and discrimination while privileging dialogue and affirming what unites more than what divides and opposes. An authentic people is an inclusive, egalitarian reality where everyone can be integrated within an enriching diversity, where the poor are not excluded but are protagonists who share in the common project of society, where there are no second-class, discarded, or excluded citizens, where there is movement along paths of peace, justice, and solidarity.

Neither can the autocratic hierarchy of the state nor the utopia of market self-regulation pretend to replace democratic participation wrought through a people's varied forms of association. When everything revolves around power plays, the bureaucratic management of the state, or confidence in the "invisible hand" of the market, without taking into consideration the dignity and centrality of real subjects—persons, families, communities, associations, companies, popular movements, and social initiatives—a people's agency is obfuscated, the democratic fabric of the state comes unraveled, and the possibilities of the formation of virtues within the social economy are blocked.

"People" and "Populism"

Some commentators have identified certain literary roots in Bergoglio's hermeneutics on the "people," especially Fyodor Dostoevsky, one of the pope's beloved authors, for whom the concept of "people" (particularly as interpreted by Romano Guardini) defines and summarizes what is most genuine, profound, and substantial in society. Even more important are the author's political roots, which greatly influenced the proponents of the theology of the people. Bergoglio also experienced a certain political and cultural affinity with the vast national and popular movement of Peronism in Argentina. His interaction with it was influenced by the social doctrine of the church, which expresses the needs and rights of a nation's laborers and seeks a "third way" beyond capitalism and communism. Jorge

Mario Bergoglio was part of an entire generation that was outraged by the violent repression against Peronism and the ban imposed by the armed forces on the political and electoral participation of its representatives. At the same time, Bergoglio neither professed adherence to the messianic ideology of Peronism nor participated in its political activities. He has never declared himself a Peronist.

Still less was he ever a “populist,” “a word so overused and worn out lately, due to intellectual laziness, that it has already lost all meaning.”¹⁵ No one is more removed from irresponsible demagoguery, from superficial responses to the problems of people, and from “bread and circus” handouts to the needy as political clients than Jorge Mario Bergoglio. He makes clear that welfare subsidies should only be provisional and supplementary; they cannot substitute for striving for sustainable and meaningful work for all members of an inclusive society.¹⁶ Workers and their popular movements are fundamental protagonists of a people on a journey. These organizations seek to organize the labor of those excluded from the job market in the struggle for an inclusive society in which full employment is achieved.

¹⁵ Víctor Manuel Fernández, ed., *Hacia una cultura del encuentro: La propuesta del papa Francisco* (Buenos Aires: EDUCA, 2017), 12. Pope Francis makes many clear statements against the evils of “populism.” In *Evangelii Gaudium* 204 he affirms his interest in “the creation of sources of employment . . . which goes beyond a simple welfare mentality,” and he also maintains that “welfare projects, which meet certain urgent needs, should be considered merely temporary responses” (EG 202). In his encyclical *Laudato Si'* (May 24, 2015, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si.html), he repeats the need “to prioritize the goal of access to steady employment for everyone” and affirms that “helping the poor financially must always be a provisional solution in the face of pressing needs” (LS 127–28). In response to a question on the same subject posed by Hernan Reyes Alcaide in his book-interview *Papa Francisco: Latinoamérica* (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2017), 58–59, Pope Francis affirms the following: “Today the word ‘populism’ is abused and used without nuance to refer to an excess of different situations. In the first place, I would distinguish ‘populist’ from ‘popular.’ The term ‘popular’ is used to refer to someone who manages to interpret the feelings, tendencies, and culture of a people. There is nothing wrong with this in itself. It could even form the basis for a transforming and lasting project.” The Pope here explicitly criticizes “populism” “when it expresses someone’s ability to politically manipulate a people’s culture to serve their own ends.” “The problem is that today,” the Pope concludes, “this word has been turned into the ‘battle horse’ of ultra-liberal programs to serve selfish interests, (such that) anyone who tries to defend the rights of society’s weakest members will be presented as a ‘populist’ with a markedly derogatory tone.”

¹⁶ Cf. Alcaide, *Papa Francisco*, 58–59.

How can a laudable polyhedral society be built if everyone's capabilities, sense of freedom and responsibility, gift of sacrifice and solidarity, and culture of work and creativity are not encouraged to flourish? "To be popular," Pope Francis has said, "is so different from being populist."¹⁷

The Holy, Faithful People of God

"It is evident in our usage," wrote Jorge Mario Bergoglio many years ago, "that 'people' has become an ambiguous term due to the influence of ideological presuppositions with which this reality is affirmed and perceived."¹⁸ Bergoglio prefers the expression "faithful people," which captures what is essential to an authentic people. The pope assumes the major themes presented in the ecclesiology born out of the biblical and conciliar notion of the "people of God." This concept, found 184 times in the documents of the Second Vatican Council, was developed in chapter 2 of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, under the title: "The People of God." For this reason, Bergoglio has always presented the church as God's holy and faithful people (EG 95, 130). In an interview granted to Father Spadaro, he states it very simply: "The image of the Church that I like most is that of the holy, faithful people of God. This is the definition I use most often . . . from paragraph 12 of *Lumen Gentium*. Belonging to a people has a strong theological value. God, in the history of salvation, has saved a people. There is no full identity without belonging to a people. . . . The people itself constitutes a subject. The Church is the People of God who journey through history, with their joys and sorrows."¹⁹

The Faculty of Theology in Buenos Aires, under the guidance of Lucio Gera, led the way in commenting on *Lumen Gentium* in 1965, emphasizing the unity of its two chapters on "Mystery" and "People." *Evangelii Gaudium* reflects this understanding when it affirms that

¹⁷ Alcaide, *Papa Francisco*, 58–59.

¹⁸ Bergoglio, "Una istituzione che vive il suo charisma."

¹⁹ Antonio Spadaro, SJ, "Intervista a Papa Francesco," *La Civiltà Cattolica* 3918 (September 19, 2013), 449–77; English translation published as "A Big Heart Open to God," *America*, September 19, 2013, <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2013/09/30/big-heart-open-god-interview-pope-francis>.

Contributors

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Massimo Borghesi is professor of moral philosophy at the Department of Philosophy, Social Sciences, Humanities and Education at the University of Perugia. He was professor of history of moral philosophy at the Faculty of the University of Lecce (1992–96). He taught aesthetics, ethics, and philosophical theology at the Pontifical Theological Faculty of St. Bonaventure in Rome (1981–2007) where he held the Bonaventuriana Chair (2000–2002). He taught philosophy and religion at the Pontifical Urban University (2008–17). He is a member of the advisory and editorial boards of several publishers and journals (*Studium*, *Atlantide*, and *Humanitas*). He was a member of the editorial board of the quarterly magazine *Il Nuovo Areopago* (1993–2002) and collaborator of the international magazine *30Giorni* (1984–2012).

Rocco Buttiglione is an Italian politician and philosopher. He studied law at the Universities of Turin and Rome, where in 1970 he obtained a degree with a thesis on the history of political doctrines. He belongs to the first group of disciples and friends of don Luigi Giussani who created the movement *Comunione e Liberazione* (Communion and Liberation). Since 1994 he has served in the Chamber of Deputies in the Italian Parliament, has been a member of the European Parliament since 1999, and was minister of European affairs (2001–5) and minister for Culture (2005–6). His main intellectual concerns have been philosophy, social ethics, economics, and politics. He has been the director of the St. John Paul II Chair at the Pontifical Lateran University in Rome, and has held professorships at the International Academy of Philosophy in Liechtenstein, at Saint Pius V University in Rome, and at the University of Urbino. He is currently professor at the IFES (Istituto de Filosofia Edith Stein) in Granada (Spain). He has been a member of the Pontifical Commission Justice and Peace and is a member of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences. He has published twelve books, including *Risposte amichevoli ai critici di Amoris Laetitia* (Friendly Answers to Critics of *Amoris Laetitia*), more than 130 essays (on philosophy and cultural topics), and several hundred articles in the national and international press.

Guzmán Carriquiry Lecour, a native of Uruguay and an attorney, received a doctorate of law and social sciences at the University of the Republic, in Montevideo. He has served the Holy See since 1977 when he was appointed bureau chief of the Pontifical Council for the Laity by Pope Paul VI. In 1991 Pope John Paul II appointed him undersecretary of the Pontifical Council for the Laity, the first layperson chosen as undersecretary of a Vatican dicastery, a position reconfirmed by Pope Benedict XVI in 2009. In 2011 Pope Benedict appointed him secretary of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America, the first layperson to serve in that role. He has numerous publications to his credit, including *Una apuesta por America Latina* (A Wager for Latin America; 2003) and *El bicentenario de la Independencia de los Paises latino-americanos; ayer y hoy* (The Bicentennial of the Independence of the Countries of Latin America: Yesterday and Today; 2011), both prefaced by Jorge Mario Bergoglio, whom Carriquiry has known since he was the provincial head of the Argentine Jesuits. He has been a visiting professor at various Italian pontifical universities and those

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Archbishop Christophe Pierre, a native of Rennes, France, was appointed as apostolic nuncio of the United States of America by Pope Francis on April 12, 2016. He was parochial vicar of the St. Peter and St. Paul Parish in Colombes, Diocese of Nanterre, France (1970–73). His service in the Diplomatic Corps of the Holy See began on March 5, 1977, with an appointment to the pontifical representation in New Zealand and the Islands of the Pacific Ocean (1977–81). Subsequently he served in Mozambique (1981), in Zimbabwe (1982–86), in Cuba (1986–89), in Brazil (1989–91), and at the Permanent Mission of the Holy See to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland (1991–95). He was elected titular archbishop of Gunela on July 12, 1995, and received the Episcopal Consecration on September 24, 1995, in Saint-Malo, France. Archbishop Christophe Pierre was appointed apostolic nuncio to Haiti (1995–99), to Uganda (1999–2007), and to Mexico (2007–16). Archbishop Pierre speaks French, English, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. He has a master's degree in sacred theology (Paris,

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