"With remarkable speed, Pope Leo XIV has established himself as an enormously consequential leader of the Roman Catholic Church. Few are better placed to explain how this happened than Massimo Faggioli, a shrewd and exceptionally insightful scholar who has long shed light on the Vatican, the global church and the struggles within them. He brings to life the rich interaction of influences on Leo—Augustinian, American, Peruvian—that led to his election and shape his Pontificate."

—E. J. Dionne, Jr., university professor in the foundations of democracy and culture, Georgetown University

Leo XIV and the Global Church

Unity and Peace

Massimo Faggioli

Translated by Sr. Bernadette M. Reis, fsp



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In memory of my mentors and friends
Peter Hünermann (1929–2025) and
John W. O'Malley, SJ (1927–2022)

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Introduction

The conclave's choice of Leo XIV on May 8, 2025, opened a new chapter in the Catholic Church's relationship with the contemporary world after Pope Francis's pivot toward the global South. The election of the first pope from the United States is a further sign that the world order that arose in the aftermath of the Second World War and after the end of the Cold War has come to an end. We are on the threshold of a new world order of countries and powers in which religion plays no less a role on the "political" (in the broadest sense) level than it did in the recent past. Therefore, we cannot separate the struggle to understand the world in which we are living from the struggle to understand the Roman papacy and this pontificate.

We do not yet exactly know what the papacy and pontificate of this Chicago-born Augustinian, missionary to Peru, prior general of his religious order, then diocesan bishop again in Peru, and finally cardinal in the Roman Curia will mean for the global Catholic Church. We already know that he is a pope from a different America, one that is less known abroad—a non-Trumpian Catholic, neither from the East Coast nor the West Coast, a missionary who belongs to a religious order that is not as well-known as the Jesuits to which Pope Francis belonged. Leo XIV is also a pope steeped in a "different" Catholicism than that which is more familiar in the West and throughout the world—he comes from a multiethnic family with a different Catholicism than an Irish-American or Italian-American family, and as an Augustinian

religious with significant differences compared to a culture typical of priests and diocesan bishops in the United States.

From the very first days of his pontificate—days which the author of this book spent on the campus of the Augustinian university near Philadelphia where Leo XIV was a young student in the 1970s—the binomial *unity and peace* was heard insistently on the new pope's lips and would become a strong theme for his pontificate: unity with God, unity in the church, and peace.

This theme emerged right from the beginning in the homily he gave during the celebration of Mass for the inauguration of his Petrine ministry: "Brothers and sisters, I would like this to be our first great desire: *a united Church, a sign of unity and communion, which becomes leaven for a reconciled world.*"[1] This theme would return during moments of mounting tension in relations between the papacy and politics, such as when Leo XIV said on March 13, 2026, in an indirect response to the press conference that was glorifying massacres resulting from airstrikes in Iran:

> The Sacrament of Reconciliation is thus a "laboratory of unity": it restores unity with God through the forgiveness of sins and the infusion of sanctifying grace. This generates the interior unity of the individual and unity with the Church. Consequently, it also fosters peace and unity within the human family. It makes one want to ask: do those Christians who bear serious responsibility in armed conflicts have the humility and courage to make a serious examination of conscience and go to confession? But—again we ask ourselves—can a person, a small and simple creature, truly "break unity" with the Creator? Is this not

[1] Leo XIV, Homily, Holy Mass for the Beginning of the Pontificate of Pope Leo XIV, May 18, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiv/en/homilies/2025/documents/20250518-inizio-pontificato.html (emphasis in the original, translation edited).

> perhaps a partial and, ultimately, demeaning image of the Revelation that Jesus gave us about God?[2]

The word pair *unity and peace* is no less important for Leo than his better-known phrase "unarmed and disarming," which was among the first words he spoke after the conclave, which need to be read along with the following:

> This dynamism of unity with God, with the Church, and within ourselves is a prerequisite for peace among people and nations. Only a reconciled person is capable of living in an unarmed and disarming way! Those who lay down the weapons of pride and allow themselves to be continually renewed by God's forgiveness become agents of reconciliation in everyday life. The words attributed to Saint Francis of Assisi are fulfilled in him or her: "Lord, make me an instrument of your peace."[3]

The binomial *unity and peace* was also obvious in his catechesis on the constitution *Lumen Gentium*, during the general audience of March 11, 2026, which is part of a series of catecheses on the documents of the Second Vatican Council initiated in January:

> It is a tremendously hopeful sign—especially in our day, fraught by so many conflicts and wars—to know that the church is a people in which women and men of different nationalities, languages, and cultures live together in faith.

[2] Leo XIV, Address to Participants in the Course on the Internal Forum Promoted by the Apostolic Penitentiary, March 13, 2026, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiv/en/speeches/2026/march/documents/20260313-corso-penitenzieria-apostolica.html (translation edited).

[3] Leo XIV, Address to Participants in the Course on the Internal Forum Promoted by the Apostolic Penitentiary.

> This is a sign placed in the heart of humanity itself, a reminder and prophecy of that unity and peace to which God the Father calls all his children.[4]

Leo XIV emphasized the connection between unity and peace in his chrism Mass homily during his first Holy Week. He concluded that homily thusly, addressing "the dramatic *possibility of the misunderstanding and rejection*" of the Christian mission:

> The saints make history. This is the message of Revelation: "Grace to you and peace from . . . Jesus Christ, the faithful witness, the firstborn of the dead, and the ruler of the kings of the earth" (Rev 1:4-5). This greeting synthesizes Jesus's journey in a world torn apart by the powers that devastate it. A new people arises within it, not of victims, but of witnesses. In this dark hour of history, it has pleased God to send us to spread the fragrance of Christ where the stench of death reigns. Let us renew our "yes" to this mission that requires unity and brings peace.[5]

In his homily during his first Easter Vigil as pope, Leo XIV made an appeal that we not allow ourselves to be paralyzed by distrust, fear, egoism, resentment, war, injustice, and closure between peoples and nations. He recalled a text from Augustine from which Leo drew his motto—a church in mission to "give life to a new world of peace, of unity":

[4] Leo XIV, General Audience, March 11, 2026, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiv/en/audiences/2026/documents/20260311-udienza-generale.html (translation edited).

[5] Leo XIV, Homily, Chrism Mass, St. Peter's Basilica, April 2, 2026, http://vatican.va/content/leo-xiv/en/homilies/2026/documents/20260402-crisma.html (emphasis in the original, translation edited).

> We too want to leave this Basilica tonight to bring to all the good news that Jesus is risen, and that, risen with him, through his power, we too can give life to a new world of peace, of unity as "we a multitude have become one since, although Christians are many, Christ is one" (Saint Augustine, *Exposition on the Psalms*, 128:3).[6]

Finally, in his message to the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences dated April 1, 2026 (but published on April 14, 2026, in the midst of the unprecedented verbal attacks against Pope Leo by US President Donald Trump and Vice President J. D. Vance reacting to Vatican criticism of the war in Iran), Pope Leo spoke of politics as "human activity inspired by charity [that] helps to shape the 'earthly city' in unity and peace, rendering it—however imperfectly—an anticipation and a prefiguration of the 'City of God.'"[7]

Leo brings together unity and peace inspired by Augustine and is injecting that binomial into the church's message in today's world: a world more vast and complex, not only compared to the world of the fifth-century Bishop of Hippo, but also to the one portrayed by Vatican II, particularly in its final document, the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et Spes* of December 1965. At the same time, there are many analogies between the political and cultural scenario that Augustine faced 1,600 years ago and those facing Leo today, especially regarding relations between the church and empire, between West and East, between history and the eschaton, between Christianity and new forms of paganism.

[6] Leo XIV, Homily, Easter Vigil in the Holy Night Papal Mass, April 4, 2026, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiv/en/homilies/2026/documents/20260404-veglia-pasquale.html (translation edited).

[7] Leo XIV, Message to Participants in the Plenary Session of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, April 14, 2026, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiv/en/messages/pont-messages/2026/documents/20260401-messaggio-pass.html.

To explore this observation, a new series entitled *The Church in the Contemporary World*, for which I will serve as editor, is being launched with this volume. The publisher Morcelliana has generously agreed to publish it. It is the result of a series of conversations with its editorial director, Ilario Bertoletti, and vice director, Sara Bignotti, building on two books on Catholicism in the United States published by Scholè.[8] A heartfelt thanks also to Paolo Infantino for his careful and thoughtful editing, and the whole staff at Morcelliana. This new series begins with the election of the first Catholic from the United States to the chair of Peter—an American in Rome who finds himself facing the global crisis created for the most part by his country of origin. It is a series that looks beyond the temporal confines of the Trump presidency and that sees in Leo's pontificate, after Francis's, a sign of the times, the beginning of a new relationship between the Catholic Church and the global world.

I also want to thank the publishers at Editrice Morcelliana for encouraging and facilitating the simultaneous translation of the book into English. Once again, I have experienced with Liturgical Press the art of curating the production of a book—the art that I already witnessed at work from the beginning of my experience in the United States. My sincere thanks go to the director, Therese Ratliff, to Hans Christoffersen, and to Tara Durheim. A heartfelt thanks also to Sr. Bernadette M. Reis, fsp, for the translation, to Stephanie Lancour for the editing, and to Michelle Verkuilen for the launch of a book that analyzes a pontificate in progress, with all the difficulties that this entails.

This book opens a new series, but is also, *si parva licet*, a story in itself. It was written during the first year of Leo XIV's pontificate, which was a period during which the author was on leave from

[8] See Massimo Faggioli, *Joe Biden and Catholicism in the United States* (Bayard, 2021, also in Italian and French), and Faggioli, *Da Dio a Trump. Crisi cattolica e politica americana* (Morcelliana, 2025).

Villanova University as he joined the Loyola Institute at Trinity College in Dublin. It is, therefore, the result of an analysis of the beginning of Leo XIV's papacy undertaken from a geographically and culturally distant position situated between continental Europe and North America. It is a reflection that owes a lot to the "Augustinian conversations" had during these months in Dublin with my wife, Sarah, an echo of her experience as associate teaching professor in the Augustine and Culture Seminar Program in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at Villanova University. This temporary distancing, providing the particular vantage point of Ireland, "the island of saints and scholars," could not have been possible without the help of friends and colleagues who have made that year in Dublin possible for the Faggioli family: the director of the Loyola Institute Fáinche Ryan, Cornelius Casey, Tom Layden, SJ, Michael Kirwan, SJ, the provost of Trinity College Dublin Linda Doyle, the dean of the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences at TCD Carmel O'Sullivan, the head of School of Religion, Theology and Peace Studies Gillian Wylie, Alana Harris, Ormond Rush, Corinna Salvadori Lonergan, Linda Hogan, Alexandra Grieser, Andrew Pierce, Cathriona Russell, David Shepherd, Jean Callanan, Patrick Houlihan, Tobias Winright, Donata and Lucio, Garry O'Sullivan, Bishop Niall Coll and Bishop Paul Dempsey, Maeve Louise Heaney, Fr. Alan Hilliard, Fr. Ferghal MacDonagh, and, last but not least, Linda Rainsberry and Patrick Treacy.

In Italy, the editorial staff of the journal *Il Regno* in Bologna and the Community of Bose remain an irreplaceable point of reference. The scientific committee of the Leo XIV International Study Center at the Augustinian Community of Santo Spirito in Florence has offered an important place for the sharing and maturation of these reflections. Many thanks to Br. Severino Bussino, OSA, who passed away suddenly on June 26, and to Fr. Giuseppe Pagano, OSA, president of the Study Center and prior of the Community of Santo Spirito.

I can never forget the support I received from Villanova University, Robert Francis Prevost's alma mater, the Augustinians,

and from university president Fr. Peter Donohue, OSA; from the William and Julia Moulden Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Adele Lindenmeyr; from the foundress of the Strategic Initiative for Migrants and Refugees, Michele Pistone; from the Department of Theology and Religious Studies and its chair, Kevin Hughes; from the community in the Philadelphia area, especially Kim Christopher, Fr. Kevin Gallagher, Tony Godzieba, Jennifer Constantine Jackson, and Mary Catherine O'Reilly-Gindhart. To all of them, my—and our—sincere and heartfelt gratitude.

June 13, 2026
Saint Anthony of Padua, Doctor of the Church

Chapter One

The Global Church and the Post-European Papacy

Governing the Church, Between Old and New Empires

There is an innate tension between the Catholic Church and the empire. To ignore or underestimate that tension presents risks which the church in Europe has particularly experienced, in terms of both its credibility and its very survival.[1] A strictly materialist view of history, dominated by the idea of empire, is even less helpful in understanding the connection between religion and the world.[2] One of the most fascinating historiographical theses is that the Roman Catholic Church is the true heir and successor of the Roman Empire, having replaced it not only geographically but also in its forms of power and as a focal point of the spirit of the West. During the turbulent but successful marriage between

[1] See Renato Moro, "Il mito dell'impero in Italia fra universalismo cristiano e totalitarismo," in *Cattolicesimo e totalitarismo. Chiese e culture religiose tra le due guerre mondiali (Italia, Spagna, Francia)*, ed. Daniele Menozzi and Renato Moro (Morcelliana, 2004), 311–71.

[2] For two opposing views, both equally inattentive to the dialectic between Christianity and empire, offering two reconstructions intended for a broad audience, see Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Harvard University Press, 2000), and Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (Penguin, 2003).

the church and political power that spanned the fifteen centuries after the emperors Constantine and Theodosius, Catholicism not only survived but experienced its period of greatest expansion.

Within America's twenty-first-century crisis, politicians, business leaders, and intellectuals, either reluctant to admit or simply ignorant of the historical reality of the end of medieval Christendom—a fact already solemnly accepted in the church's official teaching—yearn for a new *translatio*, this time from Europe to the United States, which they see as the new geographic center of a divine project, far from both the secularized Europe they despise and the Latin America embodied first by Pope Francis and now, in a different way, by Pope Leo XIV. But those who bear this neo-westernist dream of shifting Christianity's spiritual center of gravity along the North Atlantic axis must come to terms with the fact that Rome and the Vatican still elicit a respect and enjoy an authority that, even in the age of virtual reality, derives from a specific location that is impossible to move or replace, and from a history that cannot be replicated or imitated in California's Napa Valley or on the Potomac River in Washington, DC.

Today, Rome is the capital of one of the founding members of the European Union and NATO, as well as the headquarters of numerous international governmental and non-governmental organizations. But the role of Rome and the Vatican does not depend on the existence or well-being of the EU or NATO. Italy's capital and the headquarters of the Roman papacy host more accredited foreign diplomatic representations than any other place in the world, surpassing even those hosted by the United Nations in New York. Although the pope's power as sovereign over a physical territory and an independent state disappeared in 1870 after a long decline during the nineteenth century (which reappeared in an altered form in 1929, thanks to the Lateran Treaty), a distinctive type of "Roman court" around the pope continued and still exists. Today this reality persists stronger than ever, not only in the dicasteries of the Roman Curia, but also in the pontifical universities and academies, in the general curia of

religious orders, in the vast network of volunteer work associated with the Holy See, and in the international press present in "the Eternal City." In the secular sphere, the papacy nourishes and is nourished by the work carried out silently for the most part, but not secretly, in the embassies of foreign countries and headquarters of international organizations connected to the Holy See, in cultural and academic institutions, in clubs and think tanks, in NGOs and human rights groups, as well as in the restaurants and villas that host the relationships that have evolved over the centuries in that unique reality of global Catholicism that exists in and around the Vatican. Rome is a city where the rivalries and complicities between church and empire are particularly reflected in the architectural fabric itself—a papacy born in the bosom of the empire has now become the emblem of the anti-empire, or rather of an "other" empire, yet always visibly in contrast to the invisible architecture of the power of the dataism of "big data."[3]

The bond between the papacy and global Catholicism reflects a special connection between the *urbs* and the *orbis*—the city of Rome and the world outside of Rome. From one perspective, Rome's importance for global Catholicism is due to Italy's relative irrelevance on the international stage compared to previous centuries, to the various golden ages in the city's long history, and to today's great powers and their megacities. Both continuously and periodically, this ancient world capital gathers Catholic leaders who can speak Italian as a third or fourth language even though their lingua franca is no longer Italian, and certainly not Latin, but is, rather, English, Spanish, or French. Rome is an ideal place for global encounters precisely because it is not the economic, political, or military center of Europe, nor a reference

[3] On the relationship between architecture and power, see Deyan Sudjic, *The Edifice Complex: How the Rich and Powerful Shape the World* (Penguin, 2026); Jan-Werner Müller, *Street, Palace, Square: The Architecture of Democratic Spaces* (Penguin, 2026).

point for the great powers. This illustrates the multipolarity of global Catholicism and the experience of connection that can take place in Rome—between Catholics of different orientations, between Catholics and non-Catholics, between believers of different faiths, between believers and nonbelievers. The relevance of Vatican-Rome lies in its apparent irrelevance.

But from another perspective, the papacy has already migrated outside of Rome, projecting its authority in different directions around the globe. One of the most recent and widely accepted narratives depicts the Catholic Church as the spiritual, cultural, and political force that, during the pontificate of John Paul II, succeeded, with the help of Ronald Reagan's United States, to dismantle the Berlin Wall and bring an end to communism in Eastern Europe and the Russian world. Less reliable, or still under scholarly scrutiny, in light of the political and social evolution of postcommunist Europe from 1989 to 1991 on, is the thesis that the Catholic Church took over the dominant role of historical materialism and the communist empire and emerged as the only alternative to the neoliberal capitalist system and the moral decay of the West.[4]

These examples demonstrate an extremely strong attraction-repulsion mechanism at work in the history between Catholicism and empire.[5] But while these examples say a lot about Catholicism's dependence on the powers that be of each epoch (from Constantine to Charlemagne to Napoleon; from Mussolini to Trump) in the formation of its cultural and political identity, they say little instead—positively—about the institutional features of the church as the "last empire," and of the pope as the last emperor

[4] See Anthony M. Annett, *Cathonomics: How Catholic Tradition Can Create a More Just Economy* (Georgetown University Press, 2022); or, in a neo-exilic version, Rod Dreher, *The Benedict Option: A Strategy for Christians in a Post-Christian Nation* (Sentinel, 2017).

[5] See Stewart J. Brown, Charlotte Methuen, and Andrew Spicer, eds., *The Church and Empire*, Studies in Church History 54 (Cambridge University Press, 2018).

in an era of resurgent feudalism, in which massive companies who have become more powerful than nation-states write and change the laws governing the world.

Even less explored is the question of how this last empire, the papacy, has managed to survive as an institution in a rapidly changing social and political context through the course of European and Western history. The last century alone has brought shifts from the end of European and colonial empires to multinational economic-financial empires; from the age of nationalisms to the crisis of the legitimacy of the nation-state in the West; from a world dominated by Western powers to a global one increasingly oriented toward the South and the East; from the world of "state religions" to various systems of protection or denial of religious freedom; from the return of religion (Christianity, Judaism, and Islam) to the international political scene in the late 1970s to the "clash of civilizations" beginning in the 1990s[6]; and the return, since the 2010s, of a muscular and militant form of Christianity amidst the global crisis of liberalism, almost a second phase of the "neocons" in the United States and of Italy's "devout atheists" phenomenon at the beginning of the second millennium.[7]

The question of the papacy is all the more important when we consider the growing fascination with which some numerically small but politically and culturally influential segments of the Western world regard the church of Rome, its symbols, and its traditions. There are some scattered nostalgics for the power of the Marxist cultural hegemony over the Western world in representing

[6] See Gilles Kepel, *The Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism in the Modern World*, trans. Alan Braley (Penn State University Press, 1994); Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (Simon & Schuster, 1996).

[7] The expression "devout atheists" comes from the Italian Catholic economist and politician Beniamino Andreatta (1928–2007). See Alberto Melloni, *Chiesa madre, chiesa matrigna. Un discorso sul cristianesimo che cambia* (Einaudi, 2004).

a social-moral message of liberation from materialism. Much more visible, however, are those who, in their despair over liberal thought, have sought refuge in the arms of neo-integralist thinkers who consider liberal culture the worst calamity of the modern era, prophets against the decadence of the West, who are apparently disenchanted, but extremely enchanted by the imagined immutability of the institutional church.[8]

Those who are known as "cradle Catholics" in the language of the sociology of religion in the United States—Catholics born and raised in Catholic families who have not converted to another church—are generally more aware of the ambivalences and contradictions inherent in the governing system of the global church. It is striking to notice how many of the new admirers of Roman Catholic Christianity are nostalgics or standard-bearers for the empires that dissolved during the last century: the British Empire, the Marxist-communist cultural hegemony, and the United States of the "American century." On the Anglo-American side, the ideologized circles of traditionalist Catholics, and recently converted British and North American Catholics, constitute the elite troops of an identity-based Catholicism that has little to do with the legacy of the most celebrated convert to Catholicism, Cardinal John Henry Newman (proclaimed a blessed by Benedict XVI in 2010, a saint by Francis in 2019, and a Doctor of the Church by Leo XIV in 2025). On the side of the religious studies devoted to social criticism of Marxist, Frankfurt School, or Foucaultian extraction, there is instead a tendency to eliminate the invisible, transcendent, and sacramental elements of being Catholic as well as the institutional dimension of the church in its visible heaviness. For the defectors from the ideologies of the twentieth

[8] Among the most influential, see Patrick Deneen, *Why Liberalism Failed* (Yale University Press, 2018); Deneen, *Regime Change: Toward a Postliberal Future* (Sentinel, 2023); Adrian Vermeule, *Common Good Constitutionalism: Recovering the Classical Legal Tradition* (Polity, 2022).

century who turn to or merely look to Catholicism as an anchor of salvation, the papacy remains a concrete and irresistible object of desire, which has, however, generally resisted their advances.

The aim of this book is to help unravel the competing and paradoxically opposing phenomena that are active (and interactive) at the beginning of the papacy of Leo XIV, the first pope from the United States of America, as part of a new relationship between the church and the global world.

On the one hand—despite everything from the sexual abuse scandal onwards—Roman Catholicism persists as the most socially and culturally homogeneous, recognizable, and stable form within an indescribably fragmented global Christianity, with its appeal to people who are searching, in flux from various backgrounds (former Protestants, communists, liberals), who are driven by different needs (the re-formation of a psychological and social identity, spiritual quest, attempts to create a "civic religion," or basic political opportunism). On the other hand, in recent years, this phenomenon has been accompanied by a decline in the study of church history in favor of other disciplines that are apparently less confessional, such as "religious history" or "religious studies" (in anglophone academic terminology, it is more often the latter term, which often becomes, in the version called "Catholic studies," a kind of Roman Catholic "identity studies"—often more Roman than Catholic). The stronger the attraction to the "imperial" characteristics of Catholicism from the era of the postcolonial and decolonial shift has become, there seems to be diminishing interest in the study of those aspects of the church that through the course of history made it first a temporal kingdom and then a spiritual and cultural empire—starting from its focal point, the papacy.

In such a historical moment as the present, more than sixty years after the end of the Second Vatican Council, it is clear that there are forces internal to Catholicism that seek to moderate or deny the innovative impetus of the council, if not silently dismantle

it. Yet, global Catholicism is more centralized than ever. The Vatican and the papacy have increasingly dominated media attention in its reporting on religion, at the expense of the local churches. In this post-conciliar era, the church of Rome and its bishop are at home in every nation on the globe like never before; likewise, like never before, are the nations of the globe at home in papal Rome and the Vatican.[9] It is a papacy, however, that stands firm as a guarantee in the face of attempts to return to the past of that council that foresaw and made possible Catholicism's exodus from the Euro-Western paradigm.[10]

The Papacy: Ancient, Medieval, Modern, and Postmodern

The papacy is one of the world's oldest, uninterrupted leadership roles, even though its history is complicated because of antipopes and schisms that make the list of popes a retrospective construction—accurate if understood as an act of faith, but by no means neutral.[11] The papacy is characterized by a claim to universality linked both mimetically and dialectically to the notion of empire. The Christian claim, after all, is about being a citizen in a kind of empire—Christ's—rather than that of the Caesars of the various incarnations of Rome—the first, the second (Constantinople), and even less so the

[9] In the Roman Curia today, the diversification of countries of origin is noticeable at the levels of dicastery secretaries and undersecretaries, not to mention the professors and students in the pontifical universities.

[10] See Karl Rahner, "Towards a Fundamental Theological Interpretation of Vatican II," *Theological Studies* 40, no. 4 (1979): 716–27.

[11] See Klaus Schatz, *Papal Primacy: From Its Origins to the Present*, trans. John A. Otto and Linda M. Maloney (Liturgical Press, 1996). On the methods and intentions regarding the construction of the lists of popes, see Antonio Menniti Ippolito, "La costruzione del catalogo dei papi," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 1 (2016): 55–105; Stefan Bauer, *The Invention of Papal History: Onofrio Panvinio Between Renaissance and Catholic Reform* (Oxford University Press, 2020).

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