

# ONLINE APPENDIX

## (NOT INTENDED FOR PUBLICATION)

### Habemus Papam? Polarization and Conflict in the Papal States

Francisco J. Pino and Jordi Vidal-Robert

September 16, 2025

#### A. Brief description of the papal territories

The possessions of the pope were acquired through political donations, such as the one made by emperor Constantine I (272–337), and their successive confirmations.<sup>1</sup> The most significant donation came from Pepin, King of the Franks, in 751, and was later confirmed by his son Charlemagne.<sup>2</sup>

Over the course of the next centuries the size of the states of the church varied considerably. The pope relied heavily on the support of the Carolingian emperors, and according to [Schnürer \(1912\)](#) this alliance remained the necessary condition for the existence of the papal states until the end of the Staufen dynasty in 1268. During this period a more coherent papal state starts to emerge in central Italy, with some recognised boundaries ([Chambers, 2006](#)). The first king of the Habsburg dynasty, Rudolph I, renounced all imperial rights in the Romagna region in 1279, allowing it to be integrated into the papal states ([Collins, 2009](#)).

From 1309 until 1377 the popes resided at Avignon instead of Rome, exercising control of the papal states through military legates who often had to compromise with those in effective control there ([Chambers, 2006](#)). The popes regained control in 1353, to face another set back during the Great Schism (1378–1417). Since then, and until the outbreak of the French Revolution, the papal states comprised most of the territory that had belonged to them at the time of Charlemagne ([Schnürer, 1912](#)).

After the French Revolution the States of the Pope experienced important changes. In 1797 the pope had to give up Avignon to France, as well as other territories in Italy to the Cisalpine Republic. In 1809 the Papal States suffered from occupation by Napoleon, but were again restored in the Congress of Vienna (1815). However, the idea of national unification and the hatred against foreign rulers were already widespread in Italy ([Schnürer, 1912](#)). This is also the period regarded as the start of the process of unification of Italy with Count Cavour. The States of the Church

---

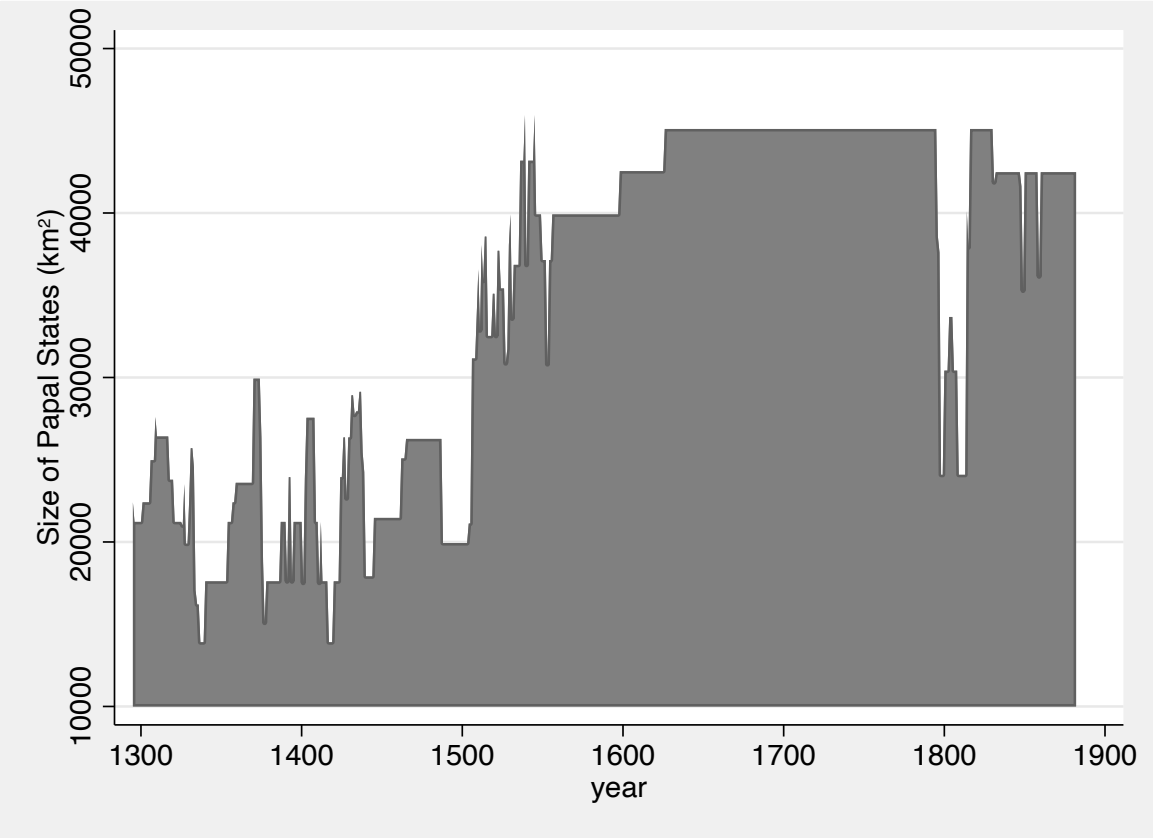
<sup>1</sup>The “Donation of Constantine” allegedly gave the pope privileges and possessions in Italy, but there is consensus that the document is an eighth-century forgery.

<sup>2</sup>For details and more references on the states of the church, see [Schnürer \(1912\)](#) and [Chambers \(2006\)](#).

were finally occupied in 1870, when France withdrew its troops because of the Franco-German war. In 1871 the law of the Papal Guarantees declared the Vatican, the Lateran Church and Castel Gandolfo as extra-territorial. However, pope Pius IX refused to accept this law, and locked himself in the Vatican. The Roman Question, as this conflict became known, was only resolved by the Lateran Treaty of 1929, establishing the Vatican City as an independent state.

Figure A-1 shows the size of the Papal States over time.

**Figure A-1:** Size of the Papal States



**Notes:** The figure plots the size of the Papal States in km<sup>2</sup>. Source: [Gordon \(2013\)](#).

## B. Data construction of cardinals' birthplaces

Information on cardinals is directly extracted from the short biographies contained in [Miranda \(2012\)](#) and [Cheney \(2012\)](#).

Birthplaces have been grouped considering the political entity that was ruling them at the time cardinals were born. In order to classify birthplaces we collected information from Encyclopedia Britannica and Euratlas ([www.euratlas.net/history/europe/](http://www.euratlas.net/history/europe/)). We describe the details of the most relevant regions of the classification below.

Savoy, including Turin, was independent until 1714, when it became part of the Kingdom of Sicily. In 1720 it passed to the Kingdom of Sardinia and after a short period under France (1792-1815) it returned to Sardinia.

Genoa remained independent until 1528, with the exception of two short periods, one under France (1394-1409) and one under Milan (1421-1435). After 1528 it was a Spanish political satellite. In 1746 it passed under the Austrian Habsburgs and afterwards, in 1797, to France and in 1814 to Savoy.

Milan was under French rule between 1499-1513 and it fell under Spanish rule between 1535 and 1706. From that year onwards it remained under the Austrian Habsburgs (and then Austro-Hungarian Empire) with the exception of a small period (1796-1815) when it was under France.

Vercelli was annexed to Milan in 1335. In 1427 it became part of Savoy until the end of the period of analysis, except for years 1638-1659 in which it was under Spain.

Trent was part of the Holy Roman Empire.

Venice was independent until 1797, when it was conquered by France. In 1814, it passed to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and it regained independence in 1849.

Verona was annexed to Venice in 1405.

Udine was annexed to Venice in 1420. In 1797 it was annexed to Austria.

Treviso was annexed to Venice in 1339. In 1797 it was annexed to Austria.

Padua was annexed to Venice in 1405. In 1797 it became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, except for a short period of time (1805-1814) when it was part of France.

Pavia was annexed to Milan in 1361. Spain gained its possession in 1525 and it kept Pavia under its control until 1713, when it became part of Austria until the end of our period of analysis; with the exception of the period between 1796-1815 when it was part of France.

Mantua was annexed to the Austrian Empire in 1707. Except for a brief period (1797-1814) in which Mantua was under French rule, it was part of the Austrian Habsburg's Empire.

Modena remained independent until 1598, when it joined the Papal States. In 1816 it fell under the Austrian rule.

Parma was annexed to Milan in 1341. After a short period under French rule (1500-1521), it became part of the Papal States until 1545, when it regained its independence. In 1731 was annexed to Austria. With the exception of the French period between 1797 and 1815, it remained under the Austrian rule.

Ravenna was annexed to Venice in 1440. In 1509, it joined the Papal States until the end of the period, except for years 1796-1814 in which France took it.

Siena became part of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in 1555. Pisa became part of Florence in 1406; it regained independence in 1494, but it was conquered by Florence (afterwards Grand Duchy of Tuscany) in 1509. Prato became part of Florence in 1350.

Lucca was independent until 1799, when it was annexed to France. In 1847 it passed to Tuscany.

Arezzo fell into the dominion of Florence in 1384 and later on was part of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

Urbino remained independent until 1626, when it joined the Papal States. Cesena joined the Papal States in 1645. Todi joined the Papal States in 1367. Rimini joined the Papal States in 1509. Perugia joined the Papal States in 1540. Ferrara remained independent until it became part of the Papal States in 1598. Benevento, just the city, was part of the Papal States. Bologna joined the Papal States in 1506. Ancona joined the Papal States in 1532. Rieti was part of the Papal States except for a short period of time (1309-1354) when it was part of Naples. Senigallia was annexed to Ravenna in late 15th century and then to Urbino; it became part of the Papal States in 1631.

Naples was annexed to Aragon in 1442. It was part of Spain from 1468 until 1714 when it regained independence.

Sicily became part of the Crown of Aragon in 1409, and then part of Spain, when Aragon unified with Castile, until 1714. From then onwards it was part of the Kingdom of Naples.

Carpentras was part of the Papal States until 1791, when it was annexed to France.

Arras was part of Burgundy from 1329 until 1477, when it became part of France. In 1556 it became part of the Spanish Netherlands. In 1659 it became part of France. Dax was English until 1451, when it became part of France. Douai belonged to Flanders until 1384, when it passed to Burgundy. In 1667 it became French. Aquitaine was English until 1453, when it became part of France. Cambrai was frequently conquered, but it finally became part of France in 1678. Lyon belonged to the Holy Roman Empire until it was annexed to France in 1312. Gascony was English until the Hundred Years War; from 1453, it was annexed to France. Burgundy joined France in 1477. Brittany was English until it was annexed to France in 1488.

Provence was annexed to France in 1486. Avignon was part of Provence until 1309, when it became part of the Papal States until 1791. That year it was annexed to France.

Narbonne was part of Aragon, and then Spain, until 1659, when it was annexed to France.

Douai was part of Flanders until 1384, when it was annexed to Burgundy. Douai became French in 1667.

Nice was part of Provence until it was annexed to Savoy in 1388. Although France occupied it several times, the Dukes of Savoy kept its control until 1860 when it became part of France.

Saint-Omer was annexed to Burgundy in 1340. In 1493 it was annexed to Spain, which kept its possession until 1677 when Saint-Omer was annexed to France.

Montpellier was part of Aragon until 1349, when it became part of France. Narbonne was under Aragonese rule, and then Spanish rule (from 1469 onwards) until 1659, when it became French.

Flanders, including Therouanne, was annexed to Burgundy in 1384. In 1477 it became part of Austria. Spain took its control from 1680 until 1714, when it returned to Austria until 1801. In 1830 became part of Belgium.

Liege was part of Burgundy first (end of 15th century) and then part of the Holy Roman Empire, although it had a large degree of independence. During the French Revolutionary Wars it was part of France. In 1815 became part of the Netherlands and in 1830 part of Belgium.

Krakow was annexed to Austria in 1795.

Thebe was under France until 1311, when it became part of Aragon. In 1379 it was annexed Navarra and in 1458 to the Ottoman Empire. The latter ruled it until the end of the period, with the exception of a brief period under Venice (1687-1699).

Cyprus was annexed to Venice in 1473. In 1570 it became part of the Ottoman Empire.

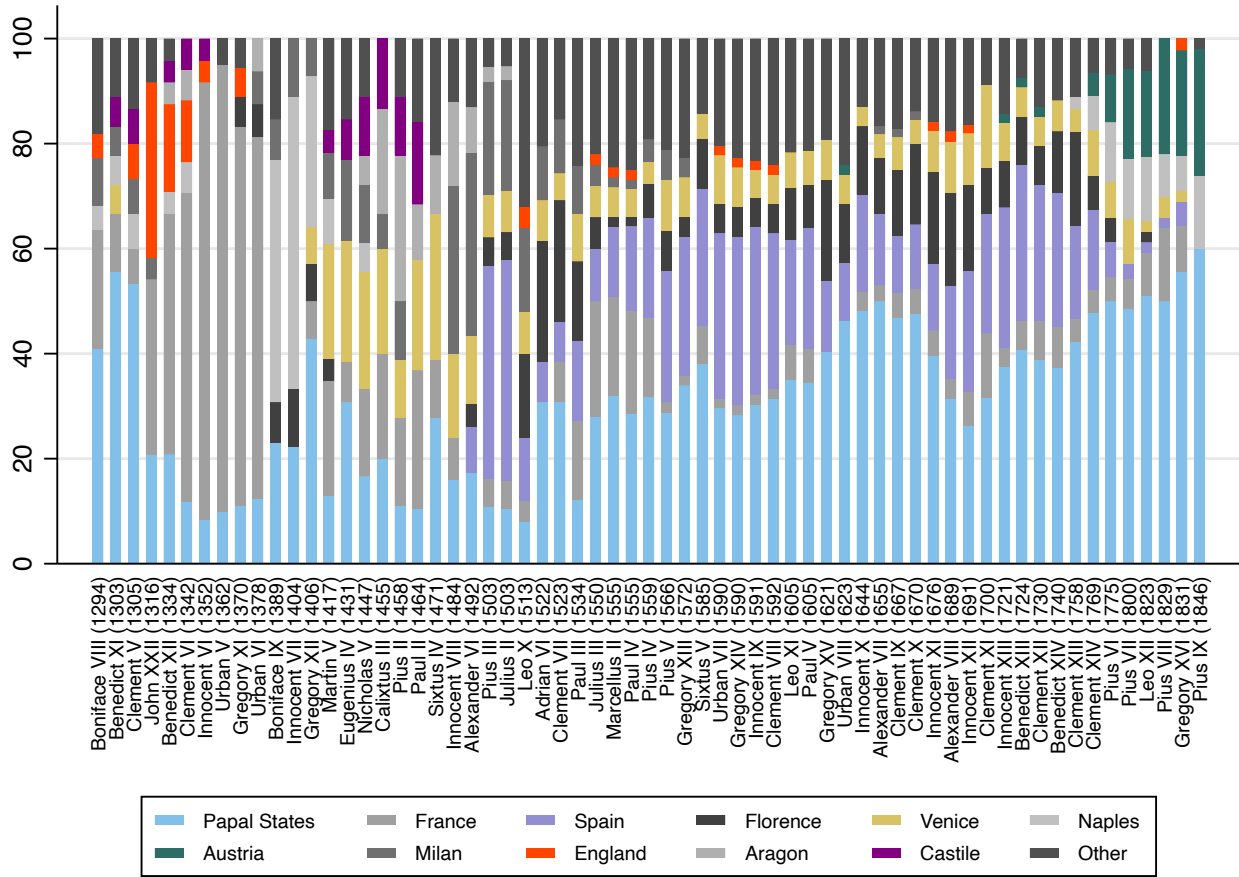
Table B-1 shows the resulting groups, while Table B-2 lists all conclaves included in our sample, with the breakdown of groups participating in each conclave.

**Table B-1:** Grouping of Cardinals' place of birth

Origin	Number	Percent	Origin	Number	Percent
Aragon	14	1.08	Milan	34	2.63
Austria	39	3.02	Modena	3	0.23
Baden	1	0.08	Naples	38	2.94
Bamberg	2	0.15	Papal States	398	30.80
Bavaria	1	0.08	Parma	6	0.46
Belgium	1	0.08	Perugia	1	0.08
Bologna	3	0.23	Poland	6	0.46
Burgundy	3	0.23	Portugal	20	1.55
Castile	11	0.85	Prato	1	0.08
Cyprus	1	0.08	Provence	2	0.15
England	26	2.01	Ravenna	1	0.08
Ferrara	8	0.62	Sardinia	5	0.39
Flanders	2	0.15	Savoy	18	1.39
Florence	86	6.66	Saxony	2	0.15
France	188	14.55	Sicily	1	0.08
Genoa	43	3.33	Siena	9	0.70
Hesse-Darmstadt	1	0.08	Spain	185	14.32
Holy Roman Empire	25	1.93	Swiss Confederation	1	0.08
Hungary	11	0.85	Todi	1	0.08
Lithuania	1	0.08	Urbino	2	0.15
Lorraine	2	0.15	Venice	76	5.88
Lucca	5	0.39			
Mantua	8	0.62	Total	1,292	100

**Notes:** All sources are listed in the text. The unit of observation is a cardinal.

**Figure B-1:** Cardinals' place of birth by conclave, 1295–1846



**Notes:** Each bar shows the percentage of cardinals from each place of birth participating in the conclave. The horizontal axis shows the name of the pope elected in each conclave, with the conclave year in parenthesis. The sample includes a total of 62 conclaves.

**Table B-2:** Conclaves and cardinals according to their birthplace group

Pope elected	Conclave year	Largest group	%	Second largest	%	Third largest	%	Fourth largest	%	Other groups	%	Cardinals in conclave
Boniface VIII	1294	<b>Papal States</b>	0.41	France	0.23	Milan	0.09	Burgundi	0.05	England, Naples, Parma, Provence, Todi	0.23	22
Benedict XI	1303	Papal States	0.56	France	0.11	Castile	0.06	Genoa	0.06	Milan, Naples, Siena, <b>Venice</b>	0.22	18
Clement V	1305	Papal States	0.53	Castile	0.07	England	0.07	<b>France</b>	0.07	Genoa, Milan, Naples, Prato	0.27	15
John XXII	1316	England	0.33	<b>France</b>	0.33	Papal States	0.21	Genoa	0.04	Milan, Prato	0.08	24
Benedict XII	1334	<b>France</b>	0.46	Papal States	0.21	England	0.17	Aragon	0.04	Castile, Genoa, Naples	0.12	24
Clement VI	1342	<b>France</b>	0.59	England	0.12	Papal States	0.12	Aragon	0.06	Castile, Naples	0.12	17
Innocent VI	1352	<b>France</b>	0.83	Papal States	0.08	Castile	0.04	England	0.04		0	24
Urban V	1362	<b>France</b>	0.85	Papal States	0.10	Burgundy	0.05					20
Gregory XI	1370	<b>France</b>	0.72	Papal States	0.11	England	0.06	Florence	0.06	Provence	0.06	18
Urban VI	1378	France	0.69	Papal States	0.12	Aragon	0.06	Florence	0.06	Milan	0.06	16
Boniface IX	1389	<b>Naples</b>	0.46	Papal States	0.23	Florence	0.08	Genoa	0.08	Milan, Perugia	0.15	13
Innocent VII	1404	<b>Naples</b>	0.56	Papal States	0.22	Florence	0.11	Milan	0.11		0	9
Gregory XII	1406	Papal States	0.43	Naples	0.29	Florence	0.07	France	0.07	Milan, <b>Venice</b>	0.14	14
Martin V	1417	France	0.22	Venice	0.22	<b>Papal States</b>	0.13	Milan	0.09	Naples, Savoy, Castile, Florence, Genoa, Ravenna	0.35	23
Eugenius IV	1431	Papal States	0.31	<b>Venice</b>	0.23	Milan	0.15	Bologna	0.08	Castile, France, Siena	0.23	13
Nicholas V	1447	Venice	0.22	<b>France</b>	0.17	Papal States	0.17	Castile	0.11	Milan, Aragon, Naples, Portugal, Sicily	0.33	18
Calixtus III	1455	<b>Aragon</b>	0.20	France	0.20	Papal States	0.20	Venice	0.20	Castile, Milan	0.20	15
Pius II	1458	Aragon	0.28	France	0.17	Castile	0.11	Milan	0.11	Papal States, Venice, Portugal, <b>Siena</b>	0.33	18

**Table B-2:** (continued)

Pope elected	Conclave year	Largest group	%	Second largest	%	Third largest	%	Fourth largest	%	Other groups	%	Cardinals in conclave
Paul II	1464	France	0.26	<b>Venice</b>	0.21	Castile	0.16	Aragon	0.11	Papal States, Siena, Mantua	0.26	19
Sixtus IV	1471	Papal States	0.28	Venice	0.28	Aragon	0.11	France	0.11	Mantua, <b>Genoa</b> , Siena	0.22	18
Innocent VIII	1484	<b>Milan</b>	0.32	Aragon	0.16	Papal States	0.16	Venice	0.16	France, Portugal, Savoy, Siena	0.20	25
Alexander VI	1492	Milan	0.35	Papal States	0.17	Venice	0.13	<b>Aragon</b>	0.09	Spain, Florence, Portugal, Savoy, Siena	0.26	23
Pius III	1503	Spain	0.41	Milan	0.22	Papal States	0.11	Venice	0.08	Florence, France, Aragon, Portugal, <b>Siena</b>	0.19	37
Julius II	1503	Spain	0.42	<b>Milan</b>	0.21	Papal States	0.11	Venice	0.08	Florence, France, Aragon, Ferrara, Portugal	0.18	38
Leo X	1513	<b>Florence</b>	0.16	Milan	0.16	Genoa	0.12	Spain	0.12	Papal States, Venice, Bologna, England, France, Hungary, Mantua, Siena, Swiss Confederation	0.44	25
Adrian VI	1522	Papal States	0.31	Florence	0.23	Milan	0.10	Spain	0.08	Venice, Genoa, Siena, Bologna, Mantua, Savoy, Swiss Confederation	0.28	39
Clement VII	1523	Papal States	0.31	<b>Florence</b>	0.23	Milan	0.10	France	0.08	Spain, Genoa, Venice, Bologna, Mantua, Savoy, Siena	0.28	39
Paul III	1534	Florence	0.15	France	0.15	Spain	0.15	<b>Papal States</b>	0.12	Genoa, Milan, Venice, Savoy, Holy Roman Empire, Mantua, Siena	0.42	33
Julius III	1550	<b>Papal States</b>	0.28	France	0.22	Spain	0.10	Florence	0.06	Venice, Genoa, Holy Roman Empire, Milan, England, Ferrara, Lorraine, Mantua, Modena, Portugal, Savoy, Urbino	0.34	50
Marcellus II	1555	<b>Papal States</b>	0.32	France	0.19	Spain	0.13	Venice	0.06	Ferrara, Genoa, Modena, Portugal, England, Florence, Holy Roman Empire, Lorraine, Mantua, Milan, Siena, Urbino	0.30	53
Paul IV	1555	Papal States	0.29	France	0.20	<b>Spain</b>	0.16	Venice	0.05	Ferrara, Genoa, Holy Roman Empire, Modena, Portugal, England, Florence, Lorraine, Mantua, Milan, Siena, Urbino	0.30	56

**Table B-2:** (continued)

Pope elected	Conclave year	Largest group	%	Second largest	%	Third largest	%	Fourth largest	%	Other groups	%	Cardinals in conclave
Pius IV	1559	Papal States	0.32	Spain	0.19	<b>France</b>	0.15	Florence	0.06	Genoa, Holy Roman Empire, Milan, Venice, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, Urbino	0.28	47
Pius V	1566	Papal States	0.29	Spain	0.25	Venice	0.10	Florence	0.08	Genoa, Holy Roman Empire, <b>Milan</b> , Savoy, Ferrara, France, Mantua, Urbino	0.29	52
Gregory XIII	1572	<b>Papal States</b>	0.34	Spain	0.26	Holy Roman Empire	0.08	Venice	0.08	Florence, Genoa, Milan, Savoy, Ferrara, France, Mantua, Poland, Urbino	0.25	53
Sixtus V	1585	<b>Papal States</b>	0.38	Spain	0.26	Florence	0.10	France	0.07	Holy Roman Empire, Venice, Ferrara, Parma, Savoy	0.19	42
Urban VII	1590	Spain	0.31	<b>Papal States</b>	0.30	Venice	0.09	Florence	0.06	Genoa, Holy Roman Empire, Savoy, England, Ferrara, France, Lucca, Mantua, Modena, Parma	0.24	54
Gregory XIV	1590	<b>Spain</b>	0.32	Papal States	0.28	Venice	0.08	Florence	0.06	Holy Roman Empire, Genoa, Savoy, England, Ferrara, France, Lucca, Mantua, Modena, Parma	0.26	53
Innocent IX	1591	Spain	0.32	<b>Papal States</b>	0.30	Florence	0.05	Holy Roman Empire	0.05	Venice, Genoa, Parma, England, Ferrara, France, Lithuania, Lucca, Mantua, Modena, Savoy	0.27	56
Clement VIII	1592	<b>Papal States</b>	0.31	Spain	0.30	Florence	0.06	Holy Roman Empire	0.06	Venice, Genoa, Parma, England, Ferrara, France, Lithuania, Lucca, Mantua, Modena, Savoy	0.28	54
Leo XI	1605	Papal States	0.35	Spain	0.20	<b>Florence</b>	0.10	Ferrara	0.07	France, Venice, Genoa, Parma, Savoy, Mantua, Modena	0.28	60
Paul V	1605	<b>Papal States</b>	0.34	Spain	0.23	Florence	0.08	Ferrara	0.07	France, Venice, Genoa, Parma, Savoy, Mantua, Modena	0.28	61
Gregory XV	1621	<b>Papal States</b>	0.40	Florence	0.19	Spain	0.13	Ferrara	0.08	Genoa, Venice, Parma, Savoy	0.19	52
Urban VIII	1623	Papal States	0.46	<b>Florence</b>	0.11	Spain	0.11	Ferrara	0.07	Genoa, Venice, Parma, Savoy, Austria, Holy Roman Empire	0.24	54

**Table B-2:** (continued)

Pope elected	Conclave year	Largest group	%	Second largest	%	Third largest	%	Fourth largest	%	Other groups	%	Cardinals in conclave
Innocent X	1644	<b>Papal States</b>	0.48	Spain	0.19	Florence	0.13	Genoa	0.06	France, Venice, Holy Roman Empire, Lucca, Parma, Savoy	0.15	54
Alexander VII	1655	Papal States	0.50	Spain	0.14	<b>Florence</b>	0.11	Genoa	0.09	Venice, France, Hesse-Darmstadt, Holy Roman Empire, Lucca, Milan, Parma, Savoy	0.17	66
Clement IX	1667	<b>Papal States</b>	0.47	Florence	0.12	Genoa	0.11	Spain	0.11	Venice, France, Hesse-Darmstadt, Holy Roman Empire, Lucca, Milan, Parma	0.19	64
Clement X	1670	<b>Papal States</b>	0.48	Florence	0.15	Spain	0.12	Genoa	0.09	France, Venice, Hesse-Darmstadt, Lucca, Milan, Savoy	0.15	65
Innocent XI	1676	Papal States	0.40	Florence	0.17	<b>Spain</b>	0.13	Genoa	0.11	Venice, France, Baden, England, Holy Roman Empire, Lucca	0.19	63
Alexander VIII	1689	Papal States	0.31	Florence	0.18	Spain	0.18	Genoa	0.10	<b>Venice</b> , France, England, Holy Roman Empire, Hungary, Poland, Savoy	0.24	51
Innocent XII	1691	Papal States	0.26	<b>Spain</b>	0.23	Florence	0.16	Venice	0.10	Genoa, France, England, Flanders, Hungary, Lucca, Poland, Savoy	0.25	61
Clement XI	1700	<b>Papal States</b>	0.32	Spain	0.23	Venice	0.16	France	0.12	Florence, Genoa, Holy Roman Empire, Savoy	0.18	57
Innocent XIII	1721	<b>Papal States</b>	0.38	Spain	0.27	Florence	0.09	Venice	0.07	France, Holy Roman Empire, Hungary, Austria, Flanders, Genoa, Lucca, Parma	0.20	56
Benedict XIII	1724	Papal States	0.41	<b>Spain</b>	0.30	Florence	0.09	France	0.06	Venice, Austria, Genoa, Lucca, Parma, Portugal	0.15	54
Clement XII	1730	Papal States	0.39	Spain	0.26	<b>Florence</b>	0.07	France	0.07	Venice, Genoa, Hungary, Austria, Holy Roman Empire, Parma, Savoy	0.20	54
Benedict XIV	1740	<b>Papal States</b>	0.37	Spain	0.25	Florence	0.12	France	0.08	Venice, Genoa, Flanders, Hungary, Mantua, Savoy	0.18	51
Clement XIII	1758	Papal States	0.42	Florence	0.18	Spain	0.18	France	0.04	Genoa, Sardinia, <b>Venice</b> , Holy Roman Empire, Naples	0.18	45
Clement XIV	1769	<b>Papal States</b>	0.48	Spain	0.15	Venice	0.09	Florence	0.07	Naples, Austria, France, Genoa, Sardinia	0.22	46

**Table B-2:** (continued)

Pope elected	Conclave year	Largest group	%	Second largest	%	Third largest	%	Fourth largest	%	Other groups	%	Cardinals in conclave
Pius VI	1775	<b>Papal States</b>	0.50	Naples	0.11	Austria	0.09	Spain	0.07	Venice, Florence, France, Genoa, Sardinia	0.23	44
Pius VII	1800	<b>Papal States</b>	0.49	Austria	0.17	Naples	0.11	Venice	0.09	France, Holy Roman Empire, Sardinia, Spain	0.14	35
Leo XII	1823	<b>Papal States</b>	0.51	Austria	0.16	Naples	0.12	France	0.08	Florence, Holy Roman Empire, Hungary, Sardinia, Spain, Venice	0.12	49
Pius VIII	1829	<b>Papal States</b>	0.50	Austria	0.22	France	0.14	Naples	0.08	Venice, Spain	0.06	50
Gregory XVI	1831	Papal States	0.56	Austria	0.20	France	0.09	Naples	0.07	Spain, England, <b>Venice</b>	0.09	45

**Notes:** The table lists the groups present at each conclave, as well as the share of cardinals in each group. Groups in bold indicate the group to which the elected pope belonged. Ties are broken based on alphabetical order. Clement V, elected in 1305, was not a cardinal (and therefore was not present in the conclave) but was archbishop of Bordeaux (France). Urban V, elected in 1362, was not a cardinal, but a French abbot acting as a papal emissary in Naples. Urban VI, elected in 1378, did not belong to any of the groups present in the conclave since he was from Naples. Adrian VI, elected in 1522, was born in territories of the Holy Roman Empire. Neither he nor the other two cardinals from the Empire attended the conclave.

**Table B-3:** Cardinals and families (1295–1846)

Family	Number	Percent	Cumulative
Albani	6	0.46	0.46
Aldobrandini	6	0.46	0.93
Barberini	7	0.54	1.47
Boncompagni	5	0.39	1.86
Borgia	5	0.39	2.24
Borromeo	5	0.39	2.63
Caetani	6	0.46	3.10
Carafa	14	1.08	4.18
Cesi	5	0.39	4.57
Cibo	5	0.39	4.95
Colonna	15	1.16	6.11
Conti	8	0.62	6.73
Cornaro	7	0.54	7.28
Corsini	5	0.39	7.66
D'Este	6	0.46	8.13
Delfino	5	0.39	8.51
Farnese	5	0.39	8.90
Fieschi	6	0.46	9.37
Gonzaga	7	0.54	9.91
Medici	10	0.77	10.68
Orsini	16	1.24	11.92
Rovere	5	0.39	12.31
Savelli	5	0.39	12.69
Sforza	6	0.46	13.16
Spinola	12	0.93	14.09
Other families	1110	85.91	100.00
Total	1292	100.00	

**Notes:** The table lists families with at least 5 cardinals in 1295–1846.

## C. List of internal disturbances in the Papal States

**Table C-1:** List of internal disturbances in the Papal States

Year	Disturbance	Source	Intensity
1296	Coup d'etat at Rimini	Sorokin (1937)	5.60
1303	Armed attack of Pope	Sorokin (1937)	3.91
1308	Civil war at Ferrara, Modena and Reggio	Sorokin (1937)	12.05
1317	Insurrection at Ferrara	Sorokin (1937)	6.60
1327	Revolution at Rome	Sorokin (1937)	7.92
1332	Disturbances at Bologna	Sorokin (1937)	5.82
1349	Roman revolution (Cola di Rienzi)	Sorokin (1937)	16.14
1375-8	Uprising in the Pope's province	Sorokin (1937)	24.1
1393	Disturbances at Viterbo and Perugia	Sorokin (1937)	9.08
1405	Disturbances at Rome	Sorokin (1937)	9.66
1410-2	Civil war at Bologna	Sorokin (1937)	15.52
1416	Insurrection at Bologna	Sorokin (1937)	15.17
1434	Republican insurrection at Rome	Sorokin (1937)	17.10
1488	Murder of the tyrant at Forli-Fachino	Sorokin (1937)	4.54
1502	Uprising of the condottieri in Romagna	Sorokin (1937)	9.06
1511	Disturbances at Rome	Sorokin (1937)	9.66
1528	Anti-Spanish uprising in Aquila	Alfani (2013)	-
1545	Farnese vs. The Papal States	Alfani (2013)	-
1590	Disturbances at Mantua	Alfani (2013)	-
1635	Disturbances at Nonantola	Alfani (2013)	-
1648	Disturbances at Bologna	Alfani (2013)	-
1796-7	Republican insurrection in middle Italy	Sorokin (1937)	15.17
1831	Revolution at Romagna, Parma, and Modena	Sorokin (1937)	15.17

**Notes:** The table shows all conflicts in the Papal States included in our sample. The name of the disturbance is taken from the source. Intensity is an index that ranges from 0 to 100 constructed based on four elements: the extent of the area of the disturbance, the population involved, its duration, and the amount of violence.

## D. Fractionalization and Polarization, additional details

We present the time series of `FRACBIRTH` and `POLBIRTH` in Figure D-1. An example of a conclave with high fractionalization and low polarization is the election of pope Leo X in 1513, where cardinals of 13 different birthplace groups participated and none of these groups accounted for more than 16% of the total number of cardinals. Conversely, the election of pope Innocent VII in 1404 presented high polarization but low fractionalization, with cardinals of only 4 birthplace groups participating in the conclave.

We follow [Montalvo and Reynal-Querol \(2005\)](#) and present the relationship between polarization and fractionalization in Figure D-2. The pattern observed is a positive correlation for low values of fractionalization, zero correlation for intermediate values, and a slightly negative correlation for high values, more evident when using cardinals' birthplace groups. [Montalvo and Reynal-Querol](#) observe that the pattern for low values of fractionalization is expected, since the ratio of fractionalization to polarization is  $1/2$  when there are only two groups. Interestingly, we observe a similar pattern to [Montalvo and Reynal-Querol \(2005\)](#) for intermediate and high values of fractionalization.

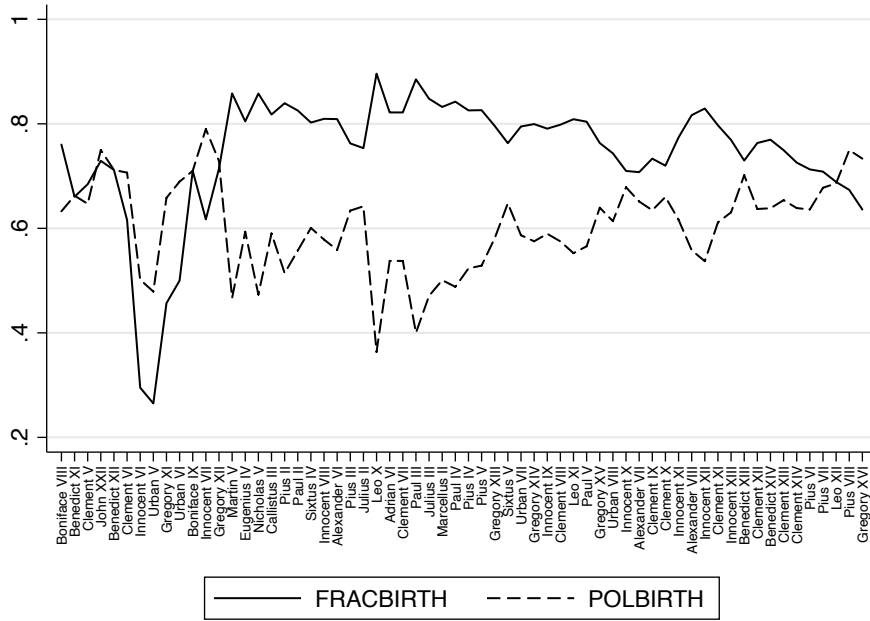
A final note on our measures of divisions. There are years in our sample with two or three officially recognized popes in power.<sup>3</sup> Given that our conflict data varies by year, in case of multiple popes per year we assign the pope (and therefore the measures of divisions during his election) that was in power for the longest time during that year. There are also 2 years where the see was vacant (1315 and 1416). Given that we consider only cardinals present until the last day of the conclave, we assign to these years the measures of divisions of the following year (i.e. the indexes at the time the conclave ended).

We have explored an alternative strategy in which, for years with multiple popes, we assign the pope that was first elected during that year. We obtain quantitatively the same results. Our papacy-level regressions (Table 4 as well as additional tables in Online Appendix F), which do not suffer from these issues, confirm our main results.

---

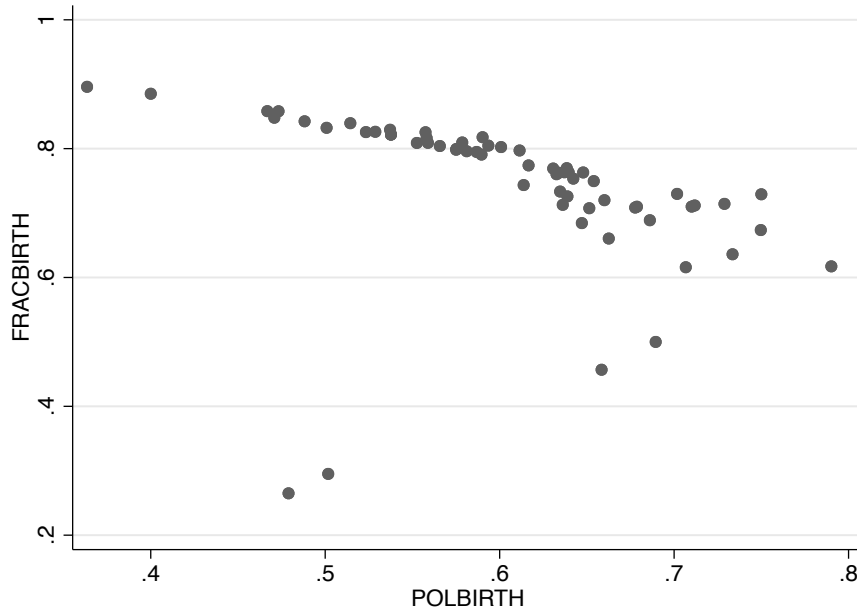
<sup>3</sup>For example, in August 18, 1503 pope Alexander VI died, and pope Pius III was elected in September 22. However, he died only 27 days after his election, and Julius II was elected in October 31.

**Figure D-1: Polarization and fractionalization, 1295–1846**



**Notes:** FRACBIRTH and POLBIRTH are computed as indicated in the text. The sample includes a total of 62 conclaves.

**Figure D-2: Fractionalization versus polarization**



**Notes:** FRACBIRTH and POLBIRTH are computed as indicated in the text. The sample includes a total of 62 conclaves.

## E. Deaths and nominations of cardinals

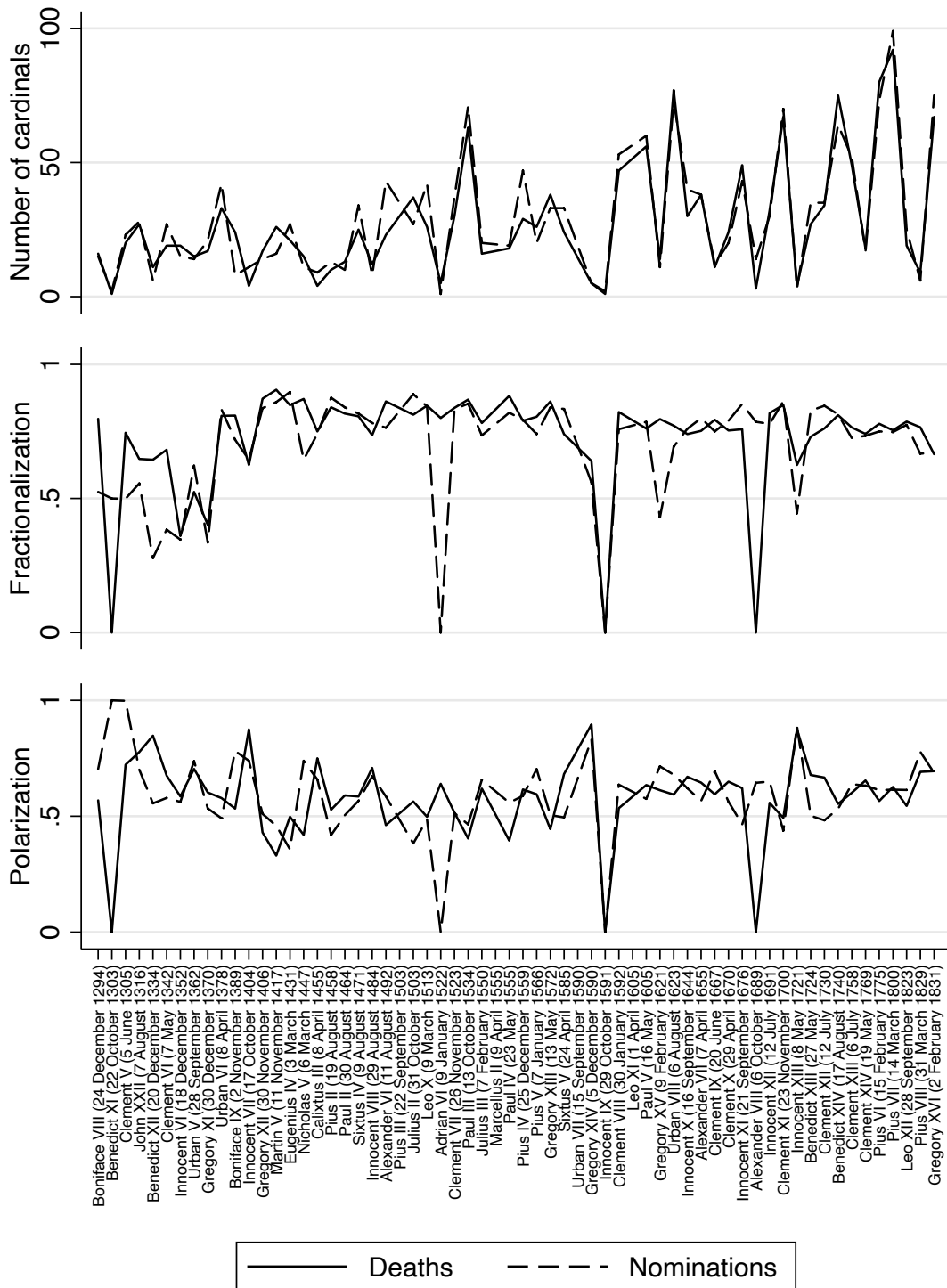
In this section we assess whether there are differences in the deaths and nominations of cardinals, both in terms of numbers and geographical distribution. To do this we construct time series of deaths and nominations of cardinals by each papacy. Since there are cardinals for whom the exact date of death is not known, we use the following criteria: 1) If the year and month of death are known, we assign the day of death as 15; 2) if only the year of death is known, we assign July 1 as the date of death; 3) if the year of death is not known, we assign the date of nomination as the date of death; 4) if a cardinal dies during the interregnum or the conclave, we assign him to the next papacy, since it is the duty of the next pope to replace him. The time series of nomination of cardinals is easier to construct, since for each cardinal we know the pope who nominated him.

In the top panel of Figure E-1 we plot the number of cardinals' deaths and nominations. Nominations of new cardinals closely follow the number of deaths, despite some notable differences. For example, Alexander VIII (r. 1689–1691) nominated 14 cardinals, even though only 3 died during his reign. In contrast, Boniface IX (r. 1389–1404) nominated only 8 cardinals despite three times more cardinals died during his papacy. These differences are in part due to unexpected deaths of popes, who did not have time to nominate more cardinals, and also to unexpected deaths of cardinals.

We construct measures of polarization and fractionalization for both groups of cardinals (deaths and nominations), and plot them in the middle and bottom panels of Figure E-1. Similar to the number of cardinals, the indexes of fractionalization and polarization for both groups move together. Some of the largest differences occur in short papacies with few deaths or nominations. One example is the papacy of Adrian VI (r. 1522–1523), who nominated only one cardinal despite having five cardinals dying during his term (all of them with different birthplaces).

In Table E-1 we assess whether differences in the number of deaths and nominations of cardinals, as well as in the measures of fractionalization and polarization, attenuate the effect of polarization on conflict. We include the lagged difference between the number of cardinal deaths and nominations,  $\text{NDIFF}_{p-1}$ , as well as analogous differences for fractionalization ( $\text{FRACDIFF}_{p-1}$ ) and polarization ( $\text{POLDIFF}_{p-1}$ ). None of these measures have a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of conflict. On the other hand, our measure of polarization,  $\text{POLBIRTH}$ , is positive and statistically significant in all specifications. The magnitude and significance is comparable to that found in our main regressions (Table 3).

Figure E-1: Deaths and nominations of cardinals



**Notes:** The top figure shows the number of cardinals’ deaths and nominations in each papacy. The middle and bottom figures show the indexes of fractionalization and polarization constructed using the birthplaces of deaths (continuous line) and nominations (segmented line) of cardinals in each papacy. Papacies with no deaths or nominations of cardinals are excluded.

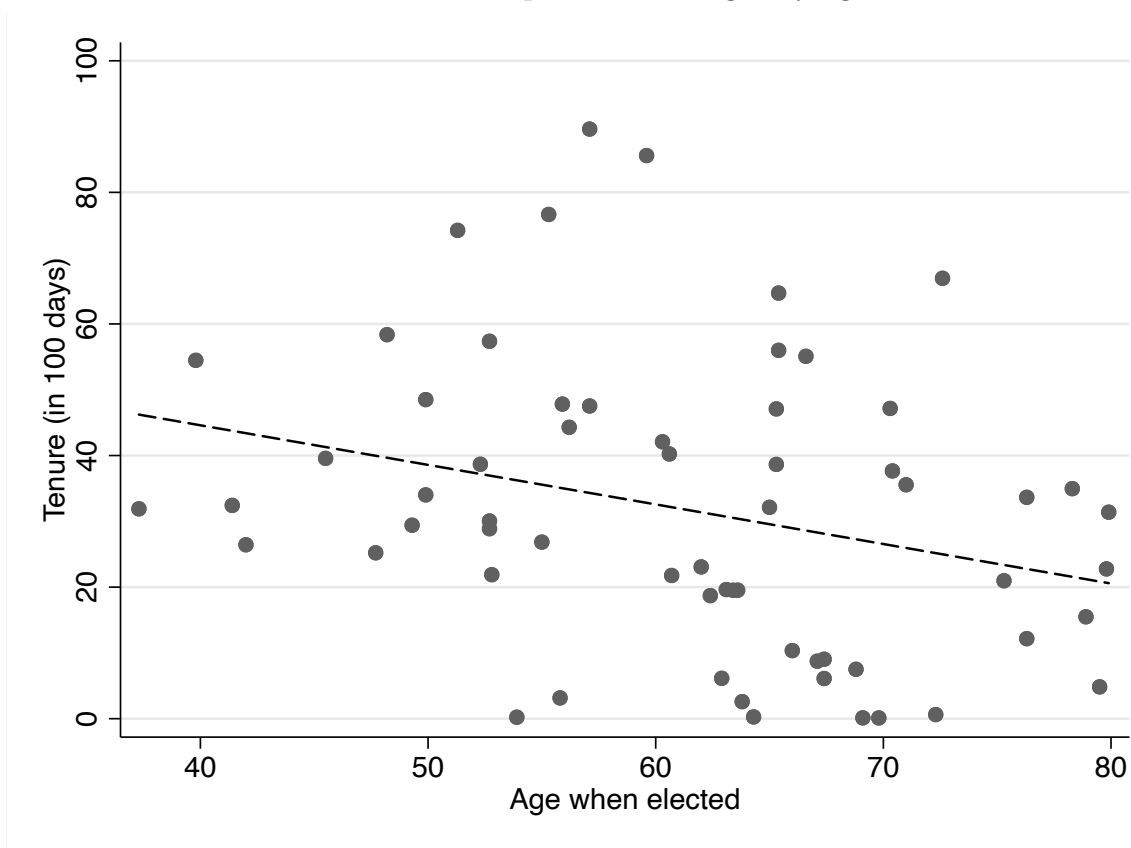
**Table E-1:** Differences in polarization and fractionalization between cardinals nominated and cardinals' deaths

Dep. Variable: Disturbances within the Papal States <sub><i>t</i></sub>			
	(1)	(2)	(3)
FRACBIRTH <sub><i>p</i></sub>	-0.019 (0.114)	-0.048 (0.118)	-0.169 (0.113)
POLBIRTH <sub><i>p</i></sub>	0.311** (0.127)	0.275*** (0.093)	0.527*** (0.136)
ncard <sub><i>p</i></sub>	-0.002*** (0.001)	-0.002** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)
FRACDIFF <sub><i>p-1</i></sub>	-0.022 (0.063)	0.006 (0.063)	0.023 (0.064)
POLDIFF <sub><i>p-1</i></sub>	0.019 (0.048)	0.007 (0.045)	0.025 (0.040)
NDIFF <sub><i>p-1</i></sub>	0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Additional controls	no	yes	yes
Century dummies	no	no	yes
Observations	541	541	541
R-squared	0.042	0.081	0.101

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with standard errors clustered at the papacy level in parentheses. The dependent variable is a dummy indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during year *t*. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

## F. Additional figures

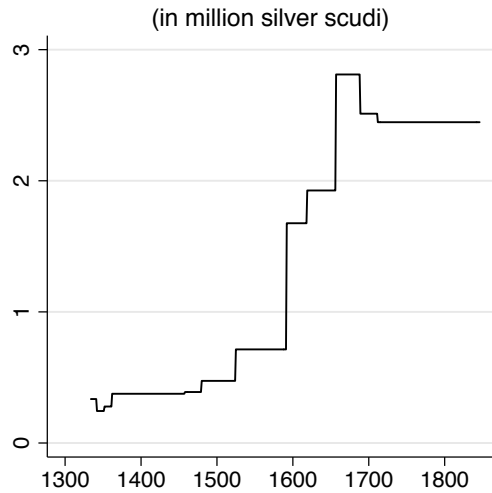
Figure F-1: Popes' tenure length by age



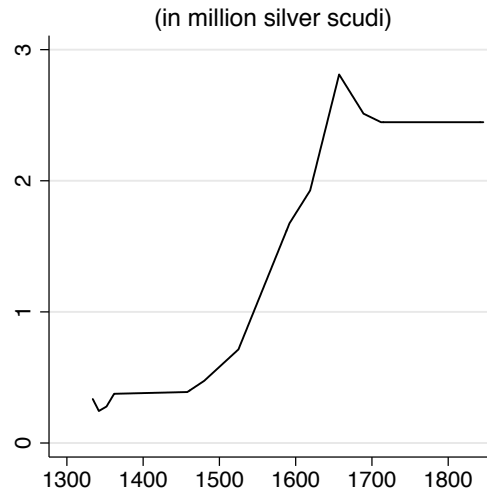
Notes: The sample includes a total of 62 popes. The segmented line shows the linear fit.

Figure F-2: Papal Finances

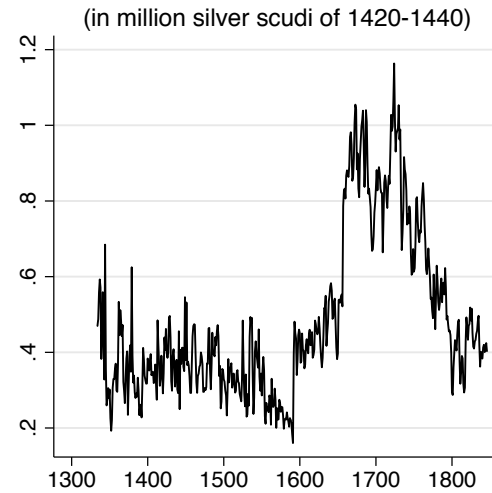
A. Last known value of revenue



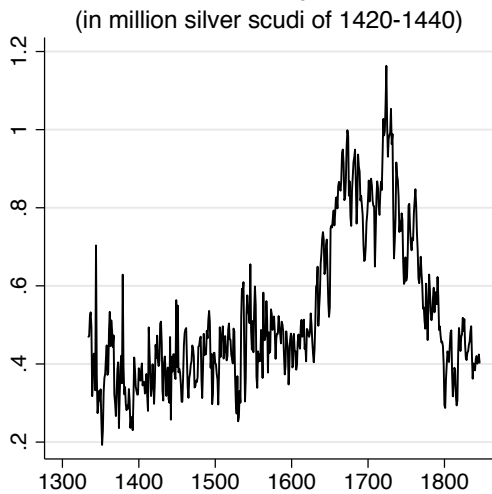
B. Linear interpolation of revenue



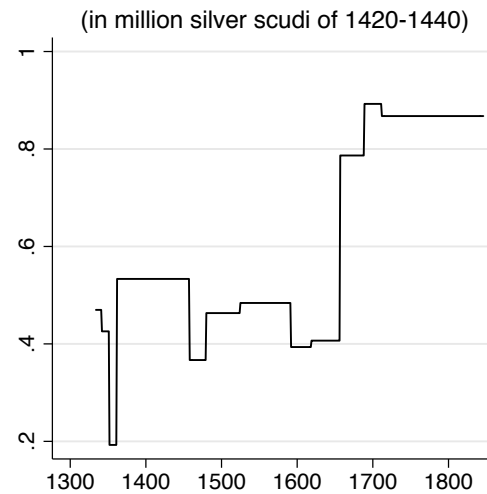
C. Last known value of revenue, deflated by CPI



D. Linear interpolation of revenue, deflated by CPI



E. Revenue, deflated by CPI, last known value

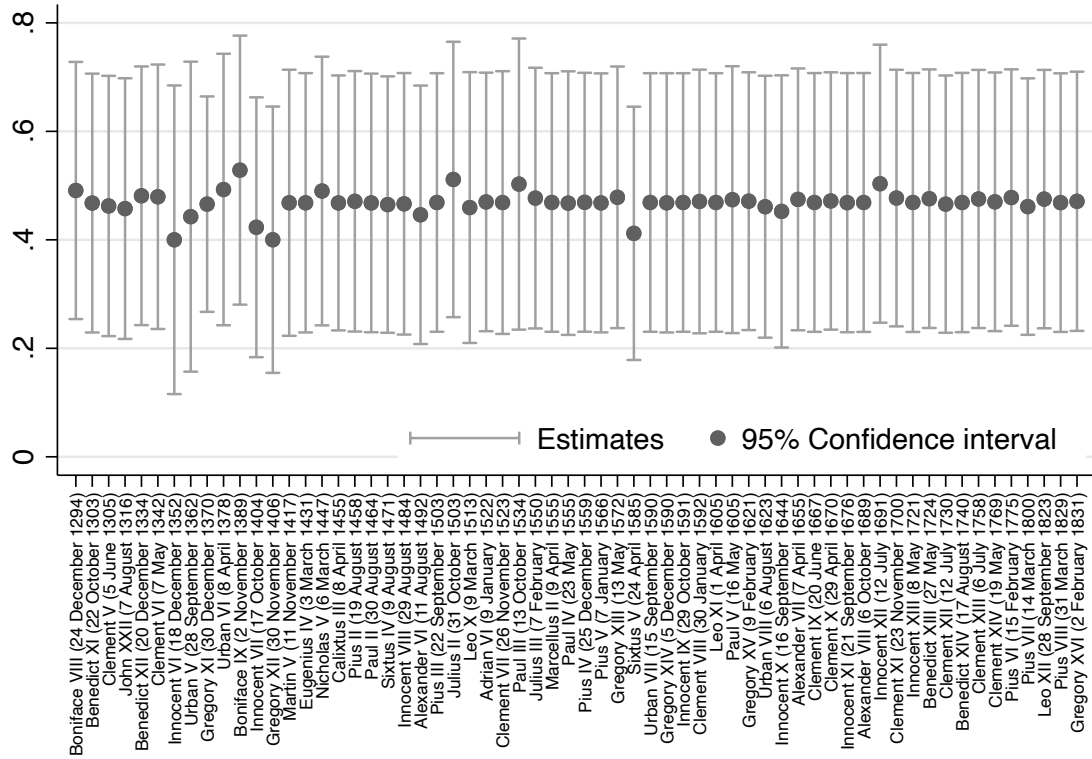


F. Revenue, deflated by CPI, linear interpolation



Notes: Each figure shows a different method for imputing missing revenue values and deflating. Revenue data comes from Caselli (2014). In figures C-F revenue is adjusted by CPI from Malanima (2013).

**Figure F-3:** The effect of polarization on conflict: dropping one papacy at a time



**Notes:** The figure shows estimates and 95% confidence intervals of POLBIRTH when one papacy is excluded from the sample. The horizontal axis shows the name of the pope whose papacy is excluded, with the date of election in parenthesis.

## G. Additional tables

**Table G-1:** Fractionalization, polarization, and disturbances in the Papal States:  
Unexpected popes' deaths and cardinals' nominations

Dep. Variable:	Disturbances within the Papal States <sub>t</sub>					
	Benchmark	Only unexpected popes' deaths	Exclude last year nominations	Exclude last 3 years nominations	Exclude last 5 years nominations	Exclude last pope nominations
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
FRACBIRTH	-0.094 (0.110)	0.114* (0.061)	-0.179 (0.139)	-0.161 (0.137)	-0.148 (0.128)	-0.253** (0.110)
POLBIRTH	0.471*** (0.119)	0.337*** (0.105)	0.538*** (0.142)	0.205* (0.109)	0.171* (0.096)	0.214*** (0.077)
$ncard_p$	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Century FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Controls	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Observations	550	311	550	550	550	535
R-squared	0.099	0.065	0.101	0.093	0.090	0.093

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with standard errors clustered at the papacy level in parentheses. The dependent variable is a dummy indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during year  $t$ . Column 1 replicates the results in column 7, table 3 of the paper. Column 2 restricts the sample to popes elected in conclaves that took place after a pope's unexpected death. In column 3 we construct FRACBIRTH and POLBIRTH excluding cardinals nominated in the last year of the previous pope's mandate. Columns 4 and 5 do the same for the last 3 and 5 years, respectively. Column 6 drops all cardinals nominated in the previous pope's mandate.  $ncard_p$  is the number of cardinals in the conclave. Controls include  $lpapacy_{p-1}$ ,  $interregnum_p$ ,  $ageelected_p$ ,  $tenure_t$ ,  $distitaly_t$ ,  $wars_t$ ,  $weather_t$  and  $jubilee_t$ . \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

**Table G-2:** Interaction with Papal finances (papacy-level regression)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
<b>A. Dep. Variable: DIST</b>						
FRACBIRTH	0.951 (0.846)	0.840 (0.852)	-0.360 (2.706)	-0.336 (3.605)	-0.357 (1.015)	0.959 (2.008)
POLBIRTH	4.221*** (0.714)	4.770*** (0.817)	4.352** (2.149)	7.060** (2.965)	3.872** (1.861)	5.347*** (1.873)
Revenue <sub>t</sub>	4.894** (1.871)	4.992*** (1.810)	2.619 (8.201)	6.645 (10.556)	2.521 (2.877)	6.103 (5.522)
FRACBIRTH*Revenue <sub>t</sub>	-3.383** (1.518)	-3.500** (1.476)	0.302 (6.808)	-0.343 (8.607)	-0.219 (2.267)	-2.569 (4.503)
POLBIRTH*Revenue <sub>t</sub>	-3.816*** (1.273)	-4.064*** (1.210)	-4.385 (5.419)	-9.759 (6.931)	-2.635 (3.621)	-5.753 (4.292)
Century dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Observations	54	54	54	54	54	54
R-squared	0.633	0.647	0.599	0.623	0.626	0.617
Joint test POLBIRTH variables	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
<b>B. Dep. Variable: PROPDIST</b>						
FRACBIRTH	-0.304 (0.223)	-0.348 (0.215)	-1.202 (0.965)	-1.487 (1.402)	-0.348 (0.282)	-0.235 (0.533)
POLBIRTH	1.207*** (0.305)	1.446*** (0.291)	0.649 (0.718)	1.472 (0.958)	1.061** (0.517)	1.574** (0.603)
Revenue <sub>t</sub>	0.809** (0.357)	0.951*** (0.353)	-1.779 (2.644)	-1.017 (3.837)	0.682 (0.928)	1.424 (1.503)
FRACBIRTH*Revenue <sub>t</sub>	-0.321 (0.254)	-0.413 (0.250)	2.212 (2.162)	2.645 (3.235)	-0.066 (0.651)	-0.238 (1.181)
POLBIRTH*Revenue <sub>t</sub>	-0.920*** (0.315)	-1.112*** (0.307)	0.258 (1.725)	-1.475 (2.297)	-0.757 (1.003)	-1.808 (1.186)
Century dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Observations	54	54	54	54	54	54
R-squared	0.625	0.675	0.585	0.651	0.589	0.589
Joint test POLBIRTH variables	0.002	0.000	0.044	0.004	0.017	0.013

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with robust standard errors in parentheses. DIST is a dummy variable indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during papacy  $p$ . PROPDIST is the proportion of the papacy under disturbances. FRACBIRTH and POLBIRTH are fractionalization and polarization measures using the birthplace of cardinals as grouping.  $ncard_p$  is the number of cardinals in the conclave,  $lpapacy_p$  and  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  are the length of the current and previous papacy, respectively.  $interregnum_p$  is the number of days between the death of the pope and the start of the conclave.  $lpapacy_p$ ,  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  and  $interregnum_p$  are measured in hundreds of days.  $ageelected_p$  is the age of the pope when elected, in years. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

**Table G-3:** Fractionalization, polarization, and disturbances in the Papal States

Dep. Variable:	Disturbances within the Papal States <sub>t</sub>							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
FRACBIRTHALT	-0.116 (0.147)		-0.003 (0.109)	0.008 (0.116)	-0.031 (0.127)	-0.018 (0.120)	-0.041 (0.115)	-0.076 (0.114)
POLBIRTHALT		0.359*** (0.118)	0.357*** (0.120)	0.343*** (0.103)	0.311*** (0.087)	0.299*** (0.085)	0.344*** (0.111)	0.381*** (0.118)
<i>ncard<sub>p</sub></i>	-0.002*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.001)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.004 (0.002)
<i>lpapacy<sub>p-1</sub></i>				-0.001** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
<i>interregnum<sub>p</sub></i>				-0.005** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.004)	0.003 (0.006)
<i>ageelected<sub>p</sub></i>				0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)
<i>tenure<sub>t</sub></i>					0.000 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)
<i>distitaly<sub>t</sub></i>					0.030 (0.033)	0.030 (0.032)	0.032 (0.033)	0.032 (0.034)
<i>wars<sub>t</sub></i>					0.077** (0.032)	0.080** (0.033)	0.081** (0.035)	0.080** (0.038)
<i>weather<sub>t</sub></i>						0.059 (0.041)	0.043 (0.042)	0.037 (0.047)
<i>jubilee<sub>t</sub></i>						-0.045*** (0.016)	-0.043** (0.018)	-0.041** (0.017)
Century FE	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no
Half-century FE	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes
Observations	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	550
R-squared	0.029	0.048	0.048	0.058	0.081	0.086	0.095	0.095

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with standard errors clustered at the papacy level in parentheses. The dependent variable is a dummy indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during year  $t$ . FRACBIRTHALT and POLBIRTHALT are fractionalization and polarization measures using the birthplace of cardinals as grouping, considering the political entities of the cardinals' birthplace at the time they were nominated cardinals.  $ncard_p$  is the number of cardinals in the conclave,  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  is the length of the previous papacy.  $interregnum_p$  is the number of days between the death of the pope and the start of the conclave.  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  and  $interregnum_p$  are measured in hundreds of days.  $ageelected_p$  is the age of the pope when elected, in years.  $tenure_t$  is the length of the papacy up to year  $t$ , in years.  $distitaly_t$  is a dummy indicating whether there were disturbances in Italy (not including the Papal States) during year  $t$ .  $wars_t$  is a dummy indicating whether the Papal States were at war with other European states.  $weather_t$  is a measure of temperature anomalies.  $jubilee_t$  is an indicator for Holy years of Jubilee. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

**Table G-4:** Fractionalization and polarization computed using cardinals' workplace (papacy-level regression)

Dep. Variable:	DIST			PROPDIST		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
FRACWORK	-0.675* (0.344)	-0.721** (0.315)	-0.861* (0.485)	-0.126** (0.059)	-0.159** (0.067)	-0.227 (0.144)
POLWORK	0.732* (0.403)	0.452 (0.443)	0.519 (0.498)	0.248** (0.100)	0.218** (0.104)	0.310* (0.162)
$ncard_p$	-0.020*** (0.003)	-0.020*** (0.003)	-0.014* (0.008)	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.004** (0.002)
$lpapacy_p$		0.003 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)		-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
$lpapacy_{p-1}$		-0.005** (0.002)	-0.004* (0.002)		-0.001* (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
$interregnum_p$		-0.048** (0.019)	-0.055** (0.024)		-0.003 (0.003)	-0.006* (0.003)
$ageelected_p$		-0.001 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.005)		0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)
Century dummies	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
Observations	62	62	62	62	62	62
R-squared	0.374	0.475	0.492	0.335	0.369	0.417

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with robust standard errors in parentheses. DIST is a dummy variable indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during papacy  $p$ . PROPDIST is the proportion of the papacy under disturbances. FRACWORK and POLWORK are fractionalization and polarization measures using the workplace of cardinals at the time of their elevation to cardinalate as grouping.  $ncard_p$  is the number of cardinals in the conclave,  $lpapacy_p$  and  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  are the length of the current and previous papacy, respectively.  $interregnum_p$  is the number of days between the death of the pope and the start of the conclave.  $lpapacy_p$ ,  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  and  $interregnum_p$  are measured in hundreds of days.  $ageelected_p$  is the age of the pope when elected, in years. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

**Table G-5:** Fractionalization and polarization computed using cardinals' nominators (papacy-level regression)

Dep. Variable:	DIST			PROPDIST		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
FRACNOM	-0.074 (0.382)	-0.431 (0.463)	-0.438 (0.523)	-0.081 (0.100)	-0.088 (0.089)	-0.122 (0.124)
POLNOM	0.175 (0.387)	0.200 (0.372)	0.295 (0.397)	0.178 (0.122)	0.153 (0.116)	0.182 (0.123)
$ncard_p$	-0.014*** (0.003)	-0.014*** (0.003)	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)
$lpapacy_p$		0.005** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)		0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)
$lpapacy_{p-1}$		-0.005** (0.002)	-0.005* (0.003)		-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
$interregnum_p$		-0.057*** (0.019)	-0.055** (0.026)		-0.007* (0.004)	-0.007* (0.004)
$ageelected_p$		0.002 (0.005)	-0.000 (0.005)		0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)
Century dummies	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
Observations	62	62	62	62	62	62
R-squared	0.301	0.433	0.468	0.295	0.321	0.360

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with robust standard errors in parentheses. DIST is a dummy variable indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during papacy  $p$ . PROPDIST is the proportion of the papacy under disturbances. FRACNOM and POLNOM are fractionalization and polarization measures using the popes who nominated the cardinals as grouping.  $ncard_p$  is the number of cardinals in the conclave,  $lpapacy_p$  and  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  are the length of the current and previous papacy, respectively.  $interregnum_p$  is the number of days between the death of the pope and the start of the conclave.  $lpapacy_p$ ,  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  and  $interregnum_p$  are measured in hundreds of days.  $ageelected_p$  is the age of the pope when elected, in years. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

**Table G-6:** Fractionalization and polarization weighted by distance

Dep. Variable: Weight:	Disturbances <sub><i>t</i></sub>			
	log( <i>distance</i> )		$\frac{distance}{max(distance)}$	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
FRACBIRTH*	-0.008 (0.018)	-0.018 (0.017)	-0.726* (0.423)	-0.792 (0.500)
POLBIRTH*	0.163** (0.062)	0.267*** (0.082)	2.658* (1.536)	3.357 (2.115)
<i>ncard</i> <sub><i>p</i></sub>	-0.002*** (0.001)	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.004** (0.002)
<i>lpapacy</i> <sub><i>p-1</i></sub>		-0.000 (0.000)		-0.000 (0.000)
<i>interregnum</i> <sub><i>p</i></sub>		0.006 (0.004)		0.002 (0.003)
<i>ageelected</i> <sub><i>p</i></sub>		0.001 (0.001)		0.001 (0.001)
<i>tenure</i> <sub><i>t</i></sub>		0.001 (0.002)		0.001 (0.002)
<i>distitaly</i> <sub><i>t</i></sub>		0.037 (0.034)		0.034 (0.033)
<i>wars</i> <sub><i>t</i></sub>		0.080** (0.035)		0.086** (0.034)
<i>weather</i> <sub><i>t</i></sub>		0.039 (0.039)		0.037 (0.042)
<i>jubilee</i> <sub><i>t</i></sub>		-0.043** (0.020)		-0.040** (0.018)
Century dummies	no	yes	no	yes
Observations	550	550	550	550
R-squared	0.039	0.096	0.036	0.087

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with standard errors clustered at the papacy level in parentheses. The dependent variable is a dummy indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during year *t*. FRACBIRTH\* and POLBIRTH\* are measures of fractionalization and polarization that take into account inter-group distances, and are defined in the text. *ncard*<sub>*p*</sub> is the number of cardinals in the conclave, *lpapacy*<sub>*p*</sub> is the length of the previous papacy. *interregnum*<sub>*p*</sub> is the number of days between the death of the pope and the start of the conclave. *lpapacy*<sub>*p-1*</sub> and *interregnum*<sub>*p*</sub> are measured in hundreds of days. *ageelected*<sub>*p*</sub> is the age of the pope when elected, in years. *tenure*<sub>*t*</sub> is the length of the papacy up to year *t*, in years. *distitaly*<sub>*t*</sub> is a dummy variable indicating whether there were disturbances in Italy, excluding the Papal States, in year *t*. *wars*<sub>*t*</sub> is a dummy indicating whether the Papal States were at war with other European states. *weather*<sub>*t*</sub> is a measure of temperature anomalies. *jubilee*<sub>*t*</sub> is an indicator for Holy years of Jubilee. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

**Table G-7:** Fractionalization and polarization weighted by linguistic distance (papacy-level regression)

Dep. Variable:	DIST			PROPDIST		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
FRACBIRTH*	-0.550 (0.915)	-0.531 (0.867)	-1.335 (0.893)	-0.305 (0.288)	-0.272 (0.290)	-0.683** (0.316)
POLBIRTH*	9.403*** (2.745)	9.638*** (2.790)	16.827*** (3.710)	2.060*** (0.703)	2.146** (0.893)	5.401*** (1.740)
$ncard_p$	-0.014*** (0.003)	-0.014*** (0.003)	-0.014** (0.007)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.004** (0.002)
$lpapacy_p$		0.003 (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)		-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)
$lpapacy_{p-1}$		-0.005*** (0.002)	-0.004* (0.002)		-0.001** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
$interregnum_p$		-0.039** (0.016)	-0.031 (0.026)		-0.003 (0.002)	0.001 (0.004)
$ageelected_p$		-0.003 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)		0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
Century dummies	no	no	yes	no	no	yes
Observations	62	62	62	62	62	62
R-squared	0.424	0.533	0.586	0.357	0.394	0.566

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with robust standard errors in parentheses. DIST is a dummy variable indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during papacy  $p$ . PROPDIST is the proportion of the papacy under disturbances. FRACBIRTH\* and POLBIRTH\* are measures of fractionalization and polarization that take into account inter-group linguistic distances, and are defined in the text.  $ncard_p$  is the number of cardinals in the conclave,  $lpapacy_p$  and  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  are the length of the current and previous papacy, respectively.  $interregnum_p$  is the number of days between the death of the pope and the start of the conclave.  $lpapacy_p$ ,  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  and  $interregnum_p$  are measured in hundreds of days.  $ageelected_p$  is the age of the pope when elected, in years. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

**Table G-8:** Disturbances in the rest of Italy (papacy-level regression)

Dep. Variable:	DISTITALY		PROPDISTITALY	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
FRACBIRTH	-0.211 (0.440)	-0.054 (0.660)	-0.271 (0.170)	0.092 (0.366)
POLBIRTH	0.573 (0.574)	0.602 (0.750)	0.285 (0.217)	0.118 (0.280)
$ncard_p$	-0.009*** (0.003)	0.007 (0.009)	-0.006*** (0.002)	-0.003 (0.003)
$lpapacy_p$	0.010*** (0.003)	0.011*** (0.003)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
$lpapacy_{p-1}$	-0.006** (0.002)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.002** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
$interregnum_p$	0.028 (0.017)	0.011 (0.021)	-0.012** (0.005)	-0.011 (0.007)
$ageelected_p$	0.003 (0.006)	0.003 (0.007)	0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)
Century dummies	no	yes	no	yes
Observations	62	62	62	62
R-squared	0.394	0.442	0.357	0.475

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with robust standard errors in parentheses. DISTITALY is a dummy variable indicating whether there were disturbances within states in Italy, excluding the Papal States, during papacy  $p$ . PROPDIST is the proportion of the papacy under disturbances in Italy, excluding the Papal States. FRACBIRTH and POLBIRTH are fractionalization and polarization measures using the birthplace of cardinals as grouping.  $ncard_p$  is the number of cardinals in the conclave,  $lpapacy_p$  and  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  are the length of the current and previous papacy, respectively.  $interregnum_p$  is the number of days between the death of the pope and the start of the conclave.  $lpapacy_p$ ,  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  and  $interregnum_p$  are measured in hundreds of days.  $ageelected_p$  is the age of the pope when elected, in years. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

**Table G-9:** Foreign popes, antipopes and papal territories (papacy-level regression)

Dep. Variable:	DIST (1)	PROPDIST (2)	antipope (3)	size (4)
FRACBIRTH	-0.169 (0.493)	-0.296 (0.190)	0.230 (0.469)	-0.198 (0.240)
POLBIRTH	2.466*** (0.501)	0.639*** (0.212)	1.356** (0.568)	-0.275 (0.343)
popeitalian <sub>p</sub>	0.034 (0.090)	-0.001 (0.018)		
popeforeign <sub>p</sub>	0.108 (0.201)	0.019 (0.042)		
ncard <sub>p</sub>	-0.011 (0.007)	-0.003* (0.002)	-0.007 (0.005)	0.004 (0.004)
lpapacy <sub>p-1</sub>	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)
interregnum <sub>p</sub>	-0.025 (0.025)	0.001 (0.005)	0.090*** (0.026)	-0.023** (0.010)
Century dummies	yes	yes	yes	yes
Observations	62	62	62	62
R-squared	0.599	0.546	0.497	0.878

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with robust standard errors in parentheses. In column 1, the dependent variable is a dummy indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during papacy  $p$ ; in column 2 it is the proportion of the papacy under disturbances; in column 3 it is a dummy indicating whether an antipope existed in papacy  $p$ ; and in column 4 it is the log of the size of the papal states, measured in  $km^2$ . DIST is a dummy variable indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during papacy  $t$ . PROPDIST is the proportion of the papacy under disturbances. FRACBIRTH and POLBIRTH are fractionalization and polarization measures using the birthplace of cardinals as grouping.  $ncard_p$  is the number of cardinals in the conclave,  $lpapacy_p$  and  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  are the length of the current and previous papacy, respectively.  $interregnum_p$  is the number of days between the death of the pope and the start of the conclave.  $lpapacy_p$ ,  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  and  $interregnum_p$  are measured in hundreds of days.  $ageelected_p$  is the age of the pope when elected, in years. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

**Table G-10:** Persistence of the Effect

	(1)	(2)
Years since conclave:		
0	-1.529*** (0.478)	-1.246** (0.477)
1-4	0.434*** (0.125)	0.593*** (0.139)
5-9	0.244 (0.188)	0.428* (0.218)
10-14	-0.183 (0.209)	0.105 (0.226)
15-19	1.392*** (0.392)	1.752*** (0.353)
20-24	-5.764* (2.968)	-4.831 (3.463)
Additional controls	yes	yes
Century dummies	no	yes
Observations	550	550
R-squared	0.130	0.144

**Notes:** The table reports marginal effects of POLBIRTH on the probability of conflict for each 5-year interval after the conclave. Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with standard errors clustered at the papacy level in parentheses. Additional controls are FRACBIRTH, dummies for 5-year intervals after the conclave and interactions with POLBIRTH and FRACBIRTH,  $\text{ncard}_{p-1}$ ,  $\text{lpapacy}_{p-1}$ ,  $\text{interregnum}_{p-1}$ ,  $\text{ageelected}_{p-1}$ ,  $\text{tenure}_t$ ,  $\text{distitaly}_t$ ,  $\text{wars}_t$ ,  $\text{weather}_t$  and  $\text{jubilee}_t$ . \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

**Table G-11:** Wars (papacy-level regression)

Dep. Variable:	Wars		Wars in Italy	
	DIST (1)	PROPDIST (2)	DIST (3)	PROPDIST (4)
FRACBIRTH	-0.297 (0.716)	-0.521 (0.391)	-0.556 (0.626)	-0.522* (0.307)
POLBIRTH	0.701 (0.873)	1.171* (0.590)	1.445* (0.790)	1.486*** (0.436)
$n\text{card}_p$	-0.007 (0.008)	-0.012** (0.006)	-0.025*** (0.009)	-0.015*** (0.005)
$lpapacy_{p-1}$	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.005* (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)
$interregnum_p$	-0.096*** (0.025)	-0.034* (0.018)	-0.045 (0.029)	-0.012 (0.017)
$ageelected_p$	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.000 (0.006)	0.001 (0.003)
Century dummies	no	yes	no	yes
Observations	62	62	62	62
R-squared	0.430	0.348	0.475	0.521

**Notes:** Coefficients are estimated from a linear probability model with robust standard errors in parentheses. DIST is a dummy variable indicating whether there were disturbances within the Papal States during papacy  $p$ . PROPDIST is the proportion of the papacy under disturbances. FRACBIRTH and POLBIRTH are fractionalization and polarization measures using the birthplace of cardinals as grouping.  $n\text{card}_p$  is the number of cardinals in the conclave,  $lpapacy_p$  and  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  are the length of the current and previous papacy, respectively.  $interregnum_p$  is the number of days between the death of the pope and the start of the conclave.  $lpapacy_p$ ,  $lpapacy_{p-1}$  and  $interregnum_p$  are measured in hundreds of days.  $ageelected_p$  is the age of the pope when elected, in years. \*\*\*, \*\* and \* indicate statistical significance at the 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.