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“Worldwide vigilance and pastoral care”: a genealogy of the concept of “propaganda”

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the genealogy of the concept of “propaganda” within the context of the Catholic Church’s response to the challenges of early modernity. It examines the establishment of the *Congregation de Propaganda Fide* by Pope Gregory XV in 1622, highlighting the role of Francesco Ingoli in shaping its mission and activities. The article delves into the transformation of the term “propaganda” from its classical meanings to its new political and religious connotations, emphasising its significance in the Church’s global missionary strategy. By analysing the papal bull *Inscrutabili Divinae* and Ingoli’s *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo*, the study reveals how the Church sought to extend its pastoral care worldwide, responding to the fragmentation of the *respublica christiana* and the new geographical discoveries. The article also discusses the intellectual and cultural background of seventeenth-century Rome, the strategic use of scientific and geographical knowledge, and the establishment of the Collegio Urbano to train indigenous clergy. Overall, it provides a comprehensive understanding of how the concept of “propaganda” evolved to become a crucial tool for the Catholic Church’s universal mission.

KEYWORDS

Francesco Ingoli; propaganda; Counter-Reformation; *Congregation de Propaganda Fide*; *Inscrutabili Divinae*; *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo*

1. “Ad Fidem in universo mundo propaganda”: thinking territorially from a global perspective

1.1. *Spiritual government and spatial revolution at the dawn of the first globalisation*

When Alessandro Ludovisi ascended to the papal throne as Gregory XV in 1621, the Church was facing existential challenges. The world was changing rapidly: transoceanic exploration had ushered in a radical spatial revolution, while confessional fragmentation had eroded the foundations of the *respublica christiana*, which for over a millennium had served as the normative horizon of European political and juridical order. These shifts heralded a profound redefinition of the nexus between geography and governance, prompting a reassessment of how the physicality of space interacted with legal and

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political frameworks. As territorial claims proliferated and polities sought to consolidate control over expanding domains, the physicality of space – its materiality, measurability, and divisibility – emerged as a privileged site of intervention.¹ Space ceased to be the passive stage upon which sovereignty unfolded and became instead a contested field of political production.² As Tamar Herzog has shown,³ the frontier, once a fluid zone of contact and negotiation, was reimagined as a boundary to be fixed, mapped, defended, and legally inscribed. Possession was no longer derived exclusively from dynastic or theological claims, but also from cartographic visualisation, economic exploitation, and juridical narration.⁴

Within this transformation, cartography assumed a central epistemological and political function. As Katharina Piechocki has demonstrated,⁵ early modern mapmaking was not merely a tool of discovery, but a discursive and material practice through which Europe sought to constitute itself as a coherent and bounded space. What she terms “cartographic humanism” names the convergence of classical philology, visual representation, and political rationality in the effort to render the world intelligible and governable. In this sense, maps were not passive reflections of space but active instruments of world-making: they produced order by abstracting and recomposing the spatial multiplicity of the globe into legible and administrable forms. Franco Farinelli⁶ pushes this insight further by arguing that the modern map does not represent the world, but replaces it – substituting a geometric, homogeneous, and disenchanting space for the thick, symbolic, and cosmological terrains of the premodern imagination. This transformation, which he describes as the “crisis of cartographic reason”, is not merely technical but ontological: the modern subject knows and governs through abstraction, by constructing a world whose truth coincides with its visibility and calculability.⁷

In this context, as Ferrone and Motta have argued,⁸ the modern age is defined by the ambivalent coexistence of *sapere universale* and *governo tecnico*: an aspiration to conceptual totality is constantly crossed by processes of spatial fragmentation and strategic reterritorialisation. The early modern world is thus not unified by a coherent project of Enlightenment, but structured by tensions between imperial ambitions, state formation, and ecclesiastical strategies of spiritual jurisdiction. Space becomes the matrix in which these tensions are negotiated. The cartographic ordering of the world is, in this sense, both a product and a condition of the new legal-political rationality: to govern means to stabilise boundaries, to define zones of influence, to organise human presence according to spatial logics. In the transition from medieval *ordo* to modern *territorium*, sovereignty no longer transcends space but emerges from its very manipulation.⁹ Territorial control is no longer the external sign of authority but its constitutive mechanism.¹⁰

Against this backdrop, the Catholic Church, confronted with the disintegration of its medieval spatial horizon and the rise of modern statehood, was forced to rethink its own modalities of spatial intervention. The political relevance of geographical knowledge, missionary mapping, and universalist discourse must therefore be understood not as residual elements of an archaic worldview, but as integral to the Church’s engagement with the very mechanisms that defined the emerging global order. The interplay between the physicality of space and its juridical-political codification becomes, in this light, not a peripheral theme but a structuring axis of early modern power.

Alongside the above-mentioned reconfiguration of space, the dawn of modernity also brought with it the fragmentation of Europe’s spiritual unity, a process that Carl Schmitt

likened to the breakdown of a specific spatial *Ordnung*,¹¹ and the unveiling of new geographical horizons through exploration. The collapse of the cohesion once provided by the *respublica christiana* led the Church to develop a new kind of universalism, inspired by the geographical discoveries of the time and mirroring, from a political standpoint, the ambitious intellectual projects of scientists and cartographers, who aimed to map and conceptualise the world as a whole (Ayesha Ramachandran aptly describes such scientists and cartographers as “worldmakers”).¹² In other words, in the early seventeenth century, the Church was forced to move away from the pre-modern quest for universalism, articulated in *Nomos of the Earth* as the convergence of “two distinct lines of order [i.e. *potestas* and *auctoritas*] of the same encompassing unity”.¹³ In the face of growing claims to state sovereignty and the challenge of adopting a defensive posture against confessional fragmentation, the Church grounded its universal aspirations upon the development of conceptual and administrative tools that would allow it to establish a new kind of spatial orientation (*Ortung*).

In this context, Rome saw the emergence of a new concept of “propaganda”, embodied in the dicastery of the same name. This concept began to signify an innovative strategy to ensure that “vigilance and pastoral care”¹⁴ could have a truly global reach, responding to the new geographical discoveries, while at the same time reinvigorating the Church’s position in the face of confessional fragmentation. This change was intertwined with the philosophical and theological debates that had emerged from the mid-sixteenth century, encompassing the redefinition of the canonical distinction between *potestas directa* and *indirecta*,¹⁵ the creation of an intellectual arsenal to engage with emerging theories of sovereignty,¹⁶ and the renewal of discourse on the nature of the Petrine pastorate,¹⁷ which together contributed to the emergence of a concept of “propaganda” as a means of extending pastoral care worldwide.¹⁸ This article examines such a transformation by studying the establishment of the *Congregation de Propaganda Fide* through the papal bull *Inscrutabili Divinae* and the development of the neologism “propaganda”. It then delves into the conditions that enabled the development of “propaganda” as a concept and as an arsenal of administrative tools for governance: the cultural background of seventeenth-century Rome and the choice of Francesco Ingoli, namely a man of science, to lead the Congregation and define its mandate. Finally, the article turns to the *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo* (Report on the Four Parts of the World, hereinafter *Relazione*), an extensive institutional document drafted in the early years of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Initiated under the supervision of Francesco Ingoli, its first secretary, and revised with the collaboration of Giovanni Battista Agucchi – who brought to the task his diplomatic acumen and curial experience – the *Relazione* is a work of extraordinary scope and strategic intent. It draws upon a wide array of archival sources, missionary correspondence, and geographical knowledge to articulate a comprehensive vision of the Church’s global mission.

Rather than simply recording the activities of the Congregation, the *Relazione* reflects the emergence of a new epistemic and administrative regime – one in which the universal aspirations of the Church are reframed through the conceptual tools of early modern governance. It presents an integrated account of the world’s religious, political, and cultural landscapes, structured around the operative categories of the dicastery and inflected by the representational logics of cartographic and ethnographic knowledge. As such, the *Relazione* constitutes a privileged site for observing the entanglement of theological

ambition and institutional rationality: it does not merely describe the world to be evangelised, but organises it into a governable totality, thereby contributing to the construction of a Catholic geopolitics adapted to the epistemological conditions of early modernity.

In this sense, the *Relazione* offers a rare glimpse into the reflexive dimension of *Propaganda Fide*'s operations. It embodies the institutional gaze by which the Church sought to comprehend and administer its expanding spiritual domain – an operation of knowledge and power that transforms “propaganda” into a foundational category of global Catholic governance.

Before Ludovisi's papacy, the Church's leadership had already recognised the urgent need to redefine its spiritual and political authority in the face of a rapidly expanding global context.¹⁹ However, attempts to develop a robust and efficient conceptual and administrative framework to meet these challenges were only partially successful. One notable initiative came from Pope Pius V, who, in 1568, inspired by Francisco de Borja, established a congregation of cardinals to undertake missionary work in the New World and the East Indies, and another to address Church issues in Germany and areas affected by Protestantism. However, these early efforts to systematise missionary work met with resistance, especially from King Philip II of Spain and the Council of the Indies, who were reluctant to allow external influences on colonial religious matters. These initial efforts were followed by the establishment, under Clement VIII, of a new congregation *Super negotiis Fidei et Religionis Catholicae*. But even this initiative was short-lived, hampered by opposition from the Iberian *Patronatos* and the untimely death of Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santori, highlighting the difficulty of establishing a consistent missionary operation. Yet this was only the most formalised expression of a series of earlier attempts by the Holy See to assert greater control over the global dissemination of the faith. As early as 1574, Pope Gregory XIII had convened the *Congregatio cardinalium pro negotiis Indiarum et aliarum partium infidelium mundi*, a commission of cardinals tasked with overseeing missionary activity in the newly discovered territories. Although this body lacked the juridical structure and continuity of a permanent dicastery, it represents one of the first coordinated efforts by the papacy to respond to the challenges of global evangelisation beyond the structures of Iberian patronage.

These initiatives were further complemented by the involvement of other Roman congregations in missionary affairs. The Holy Office, for example, played a role in regulating doctrinal orthodoxy in mission territories, especially in relation to catechetical materials and the activities of religious orders. Likewise, the Congregation of the Index intervened in the circulation and translation of religious texts destined for non-European audiences, and various ad hoc commissions were established to monitor the work of specific missionary actors, especially the Jesuits in Asia. In 1546, during the Council of Trent, the creation of the *Congregatio de interpretatione Sacrae Scripturae* reflected the emerging concern with regulating theological instruction across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Together, these dispersed yet interrelated mechanisms contributed to the emergence of an embryonic infrastructure of missionary governance.

As documented in the foundational chapters of Metzler's *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, these pre-1622 efforts reveal a gradual conceptual shift: from episodic and reactive interventions to the ambition of a more centralised, continuous, and strategically coordinated structure for the universal propagation of the faith. It was precisely the institutional instability and political constraints of these earlier bodies

– exacerbated by the privileges claimed by the Spanish and Portuguese crowns – that underscored the need for a new and autonomous Roman organ dedicated solely to the missions.

Compared to his predecessors, Gregory XV marked a turning point in the Church's response to the challenges of early modernity. On 6 January 1622, he officially founded the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Propaganda Fide*, hereinafter *Propaganda*), whose members included 13 cardinals, two prelates, and a secretary. This was a significant step forward in the Church's global missionary and evangelising strategy. Gregory XV's choice of Francesco Ingoli as Secretary was key to the early development of the institution, particularly in the context of the efforts to enhance the Church's global outreach. From 1622, for some three decades, Ingoli's efforts shaped the dicastery's work and ensured his lasting influence on the identity of *Propaganda*.

Cardinals Bandini, Millini, and Ubaldini, together with Ingoli, all contributed to the drafting of the papal bull that officially established the Congregation. This foundational document, outlining the Congregation's goals, status, and operating framework, was issued by the Pope as *Inscrutabili Divinae Providentiae Arcano* on 22 June 1622. It marked a significant milestone in the Church's efforts to extend its reach and influence on a global scale. The importance of this moment, however, should not obscure the crucial role played by Gregory XV's successor, Urban VIII. As Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, he had already been involved in the early stages of the Congregation's activity, and as pope, he was instrumental in ensuring its institutional consolidation and future development. Among his first acts was the appointment of his nephew, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, as prefect of *Propaganda*, a move that guaranteed political support and curial stability for the new body.

The first meeting of the members of *Propaganda* on 14 January 1622 was a critical moment in the definition of the Congregation's goals. Working closely with Apostolic nuncios, they compiled detailed reports on the religious and socio-political conditions of mission territories, formulating strategies to bolster the Catholic Church's worldwide presence. From the outset, the Congregation focused on securing the resources necessary for its missionary work, which included not only the production and dissemination of religious materials, but also the collection of information on the languages, customs, and political structures of the areas concerned.

Although the flow of data to Rome was often uneven and mediated by local contingencies, these efforts nonetheless contributed to the emergence of a new model of ecclesiastical governance that was attentive – at least in principle – to the complexity of extra-European contexts. While recent studies have shown that the material reaching *Propaganda* was frequently fragmentary and shaped by competing interests and delays, the Congregation nonetheless positioned itself as a central node in the circulation and interpretation of global knowledge. The gradual construction of this knowledge regime did not eliminate ambiguity or lacunae, but it redefined the relationship between the centre and the peripheries, situating Rome as a point of reference – if not always of full comprehension – for the Church's global engagement.²⁰

The establishment of *Propaganda* must be read not only as a theological and administrative innovation, but also as a strategic response to the enduring resistance posed by sovereign states, particularly those benefiting from the Iberian Patronatos. The Portuguese and Spanish crowns retained extensive control over missionary activity through

rights of nomination, oversight of evangelisation routes, and jurisdictional privileges embedded in colonial governance. These constraints did not disappear, but *Propaganda* sought to bypass them through the construction of a parallel, Rome-centred apparatus of governance that blended spiritual authority with knowledge production.

This circumventive logic was embodied in the creation of dedicated institutions such as the Collegio Urbano, designed to train a new generation of missionaries outside the control of the Iberian monarchies, and the Polyglot Press, which equipped the Church with the means to circulate doctrinally standardised materials in multiple languages. Moreover, *Propaganda* developed a centralised system for gathering and codifying reports from the missions, which functioned as a cartography of Catholic universality that was epistemically autonomous from the colonial states' own representations of their territories. Through these instruments, *Propaganda* established a form of informational sovereignty, enabling Rome to project spiritual influence in regions where direct political control was structurally precluded.

Thus, the Church overcame sovereign resistance not by direct confrontation but by articulating an alternative form of soft power, wherein the global expansion of the faith was administered via infrastructures of knowledge, pastoral care, and cultural translation, all coordinated from the Roman centre yet adaptable to local contexts. This form of sovereignty, diffuse and non-territorial, redefined the exercise of power in the mission fields – no longer purely colonial but epistemic and spiritual.

2. *Inscrutabili Divinae*: a genealogy of propaganda

Propaganda's founding document, the bull *Inscrutabili Divinae*,²¹ marks a first shift – surprisingly overlooked in wider discussions of the evolution of this term – in the meaning of the concept of propaganda, giving it a political dimension for the very first time. A thorough examination of the bull reveals a deep connection between the use of the term propaganda and the process of territorialisation²² – understood as the notion that the exercise and conceptualisation of power require a close engagement with the territory involved in all its various dimensions (physical, political, economic, social, and geopolitical). This process proved crucial to political thought, particularly in Italy, from the sixteenth century onwards and shaped the evolution of the term “propaganda” towards its contemporary meanings.

In addressing the dual challenge of outright conquest and of bringing “the wretched and errant sheep back to the folds of Christ”,²³ the *Inscrutabili Divinae* draws on two scriptural allegories to guide the Congregation's mission of care and vigilance. The allegory of the Good Shepherd, who tirelessly searches for the lost lamb, underscores the renewed focus on pastoral care in the wake of the Council of Trent. Conversely, the allegory of the farmer weeding around a fruit tree to protect it from being overrun symbolises the Congregation's mandate to take repressive measures against perceived threats.

These allegories merge into a third symbol that defines the Church's historical position at the beginning of the modern era: the interpretation of Peter's vision in *Acts* 10 as a precursor of Catholic universalism. In the vision, Peter sees a variety of animals descending from heaven, epitomising the diversity of God's creation. Peter's initial reluctance to “kill and eat”²⁴ because of traditional dietary laws reflects the early Church's dilemma in expanding its mission beyond Jewish communities. The divine injunction,

“What God has made clean, you must not call profane”,²⁵ is seen as a pivotal endorsement of the Church’s universal mission. This vision sets the stage for Peter’s encounter with a Gentile centurion, which leads him to proclaim:

I now understand how true it is that God has no favourites, but that in every nation all those who fear God and do what is right are acceptable to him. He sent his word to the children of Israel and proclaimed the good news of peace through Jesus Christ, who is the Lord of all.²⁶

By highlighting the universal order “surge Petre, occide, et manduca”, the bull articulates a clear exegesis of the passage:

[it] prefigures the task of Peter and his successors to gather together people from every corner of the world, steeped in various forms of impiety, and to convert them by ‘killing’ them – that is, stripping them of their former lives – and ‘eating’ them in their stripped state – that is, transforming them into members of the Church, under the visible head of the Church, making them part of the invisible head as well.²⁷

This narrative highlights the dual function of *Propaganda*, namely to use both repression and evangelisation to seek the spiritual conversion of individuals from all over the world, including newly discovered territories, into the Church’s mystical body. Against this background, it is unsurprising to note that a prominent feature of *Inscrutabili Divinae* is its emphasis on institutionalising missionary activities.²⁸ In the bull, faith becomes explicitly spatial. In particular, the bull sets a double spatial stage for the Congregation’s activities: the “internal stage”, namely those parts of Europe where the Catholic Church is threatened, and the “external stage” of the new worlds to be conquered. Along these lines, the Congregation’s mission is defined by a twin strategy of defence and expansion. Internally, the Congregation aims to recover the northern territories lost to the Reformation by taking action against Protestantism, defined as “hostis”, i.e. an enemy, albeit a peculiar one in its dual status as both part of the *respublica christiana* and something instrumental in its division. Externally, it seeks to embrace the newly discovered “parts of the world” revealed by the Age of Exploration. In these new territories, the Church’s mission grows to include not just foes like “heretics” (the Reformers), “schismatics” (Orthodox Christians), and “infidels” (Jews and Muslims), but also populations that have never encountered the Catholic faith before. These populations are not enemies to be fought. Rather, they are new peoples to be understood before they can be incorporated into the Catholic universe. Reports such as Ingoli’s *Relazione* show that the encounter with new peoples deeply affected the operational structure of the missionary Church and its global (“Catholic”) worldview, giving rise to a new outlook, grounded in human and political geography.²⁹ By adopting this broadened geographical and cultural viewpoint, missionaries could thus describe isolated and rural areas of the Old Continent as “our Indies”,³⁰ reflecting an understanding of the world in which human geography took precedence over latitude.

In sum, the *Inscrutabili Divinae* paints the age of great geographical discoveries as a providential opportunity for Rome to tackle the fragmentation of the *respublica christiana* and to spread its ideology to new territories. Inspired by a revivalist view of the early Christian period, the Catholic leadership aspired to bring diverse populations around the world into the fold of the Church, aiming for a global renaissance of the Catholic faith. The consequently broad mandate emerging from the bull prompted Ingoli and his

colleagues in the Congregation to give careful consideration to territorial factors in the management of Catholic communities in heretical lands and border areas threatened by ideological expansion. It also led to the decision to strategically tailor the Church's message to different geopolitical realities and cultural sensitivities. The latter choice inevitably sparked conflicts with colonial authorities and was key to defining the Church's role and its expanding influence on the newly opened global stage.

3. Surge, Petre, occide, et manduca!

In the early seventeenth century, the radical reconfiguration of spatiality, epochal discoveries, an epistemological revolution,³¹ and the advent of polities with novel legal-political claims to territory³² challenged the traditional *Ordnung-Ortung* framework that had supported the Church's temporal and spiritual sway.³³ Faced with formidable challenges to its spiritual dominance and the task of worldwide evangelisation, the Church was compelled to redefine its mission.³⁴ This redefinition required new conceptual and practical tools of spiritual leadership to ensure the Church's survival and blossoming in the new spatial dimensions introduced by globalisation and the emergence of modern state powers. The creation of *Propaganda* provided such novel tools and embodied the Church's strategic territorial thinking and self-awareness in response to these historical challenges. It entailed not only the creation of an innovative administrative structure, but also the strategic use of scientific and intellectual advances as integral elements of the Counter-Reformation strategy, including cartographic knowledge, linguistic surveys, ethnographic data, and forms of classificatory logic developed in early modern political geography.

In this context, the work of Giovanni Botero emerges as particularly significant.³⁵ In *Della ragion di Stato* and *Le relazioni universali*, he combined theological argument, statistical reasoning, and geopolitical description to offer a vision of global order that could support both secular and ecclesiastical authority. As Federico Chabod has shown,³⁶ Botero's synthesis of Christian universalism with a pragmatic concern for territorial control and demographic distribution laid the groundwork for a new understanding of Catholic sovereignty in a rapidly expanding world. His influence on the intellectual environment in which *Propaganda* took shape was not abstract but programmatic: his work served as a model for how knowledge could be structured to guide governance.

The epistemic model that emerged from this tradition found institutional embodiment in the functioning of *Propaganda*. Drawing on reports from missionaries and apostolic nuncios, the Congregation collected and organised information on the religious, linguistic, and political conditions of mission territories. These were not neutral descriptions, but operational data: they informed decisions about jurisdictional boundaries, language instruction, catechetical uniformity, and the appropriate forms of liturgical and disciplinary intervention. As recent work by Carta and Descendre has shown, such cartographic and statistical knowledge allowed the Church to establish a regime of visibility over the global field of its operations, turning information into a strategic asset of pastoral governance. This is why, in a sense analogous to what Yves Lacoste³⁷ famously observed of modern states, geography became for *Propaganda* "a means of waging war" – not a war of territorial annexation, but one of symbolic and spiritual conquest.

This strategy connected the pastoral mission with the new spatial realities of the time, demanding a novel conceptualisation of dominion that would allow effective influence to be planned and exercised. In embarking on this conceptual and practical mission, Rome positioned itself as the first entity to claim universal jurisdiction, with a view to ensuring that Catholicism would be a truly global religion.³⁸ This claim required a significant epistemological shift, starting with a redefinition of the concept of space and the authority wielded over it. Beyond the mere reclamation of lost territories or the evangelisation of unexplored lands, the Church made an intellectual transition to a globally expansive perspective that was considered essential for its survival and relevance in an ever-changing world. Central to this transition were the concept of “propaganda” and the activities that fell under its umbrella, and which went beyond traditional notions of territorial conquest to articulate a new regime of planetary government.

Despite the key role of the concept of propaganda within the context of the Catholic Reformation and beyond, its origins have often been overlooked in historical and conceptual analyses.

Prior to 1621, “propagare” was predominantly used in humanistic Latin within the context of medical and naturalistic treatises. This is evident in works such as Rudolph Göckel’s *De vita propaganda* or the various uses of the phrase “propaganda vitae”, which even appears in the writings of Leibniz. In its classical usage, “propagare” carries four fundamental meanings. The first meaning refers to agricultural multiplication: as seen in Cato’s *De Agricultura* and Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia*, it refers to the propagation of plant by cuttings. Cicero also used it metaphorically to denote the continuation of one’s lineage. The second meaning refers to biological generation: it covers aspects of life propagation and procreation, as in Cicero’s *Philippics* and *Verrines*, and Cornelius Nepos’s *Atticus*. However, this usage is primarily poetic, as attested by the works of Lucretius, Ovid, and Virgil. The third meaning refers to the extension of existence: in Cicero’s *De Inventione*, *De Finibus*, and *Catiline Orations*, “propagare” can mean to extend, prolong, or perpetuate one’s life. This meaning also covers the transmission of one’s fame, works, or the state in good order to future generations. The fourth meaning refers to territorial expansion: relevant to our discussion, it indicates conquest and the broadening of imperial boundaries and can be found in historical accounts by Cicero (*De Republica*), Tacitus (*Annals*), and Livy (*Ab Urbe Condita*), as well as in Cornelius Nepos’s portrayal of *Hamilcar*.

As the above account makes clear, the use of “propagare” to imply territorial expansion was uncommon and non-standard in Renaissance Latin. Nevertheless, the Gregorian bull encapsulated the broad array of activities it intended to initiate by coining the expression “propaganda fide”, which subsequently lent its name to the Congregation it founded. The use of the gerundive form “propaganda” was a neologism³⁹ and its use was not accidental. The drafters of the bull were likely well-acquainted with the historical works listed above, given their importance in humanistic education. By choosing the verb “propagare” and coining the term “propaganda” in *Inscrutabili Divinae*, they imbued the document with the essence of a religious crusade, a connotation often suggested by its association with “bellum” in Cicero’s writings.

The creation of the Congregation *Propaganda* marked the beginning of the semantic journey that would lead to the contemporary use of the term to denote any endeavour aimed at spreading an ideology through deliberate influence exercised within – and

taking into account – a given socio-political framework. The Church’s novel use of the word “propaganda” – and the array of activities it designated – quickly gained currency, leading state authorities to the use of the word in its newly acquired sense as well.

For example, in 1701, King William III founded the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts⁴⁰ to oversee the spiritual care of British subjects overseas, educate colonists, and evangelise non-Christian populations within the empire. The creation of the Society was the result of an assessment of the state of Anglicanism in the American colonies that Henry Compton, Bishop of London, had tasked Reverend Bray with in 1700. The assessment had revealed organisational weaknesses and a lack of centralised authority, which contrasted with the Catholic approach and led the Church of England to emulate the Catholic Church, both in terms of its model and its conceptual arsenal. It is therefore unsurprising that the Society’s effort, centred on missionary work, borrowed from the Catholic Church’s “propaganda” not only its name, but also the tools and activities to which it referred, reflecting a burgeoning interest in ethnographic and anthropological concerns to provide the British government with improved means of colonial administration. Although the Anglican Church had a distinct national and ecclesiastical identity, the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts represented a pivotal incorporation of Catholic propaganda methods into government operations.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the concept of propaganda had evolved from a primarily religious to a predominantly political context. Definitions from the *Trésor de la langue française* in 1790 and 1792 illustrate this shift: “propagande” is defined, respectively, as an “association for the dissemination of specific opinions (especially political)” and as “organised action for the dissemination of a viewpoint or doctrine (mainly political)”. This development brought the concept and activities of propaganda ever closer to the world of political influence and governance strategies.

4. “Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo”: a new kind of universalism for a conquering church

4.1. Francesco Ingoli: science and knowledge in the service of propaganda

In our analysis, we have traced the significant evolution of the term “propaganda” within the context of the bull *Inscrutabili Divinae Providentiae*, observing its transformation from a relatively marginal term to one of profound significance in the political lexicon, indicating a specific way of politically grasping space by leveraging and thereby influencing the relevant socio-political framework.

The bull and the Congregation’s subsequent activities show that the mission of *Propaganda* could not have been accomplished without an understanding of the varied cultural, anthropological, and linguistic environments across different evangelisation territories,⁴¹ which in turn could only be approached through emerging disciplines such as comparative historiography, human geography, and demographic analysis.⁴² The all-important role of these fields in shaping both the conceptual and operational instruments of *Propaganda* must be read in connection with the broader epistemic transformations of early seventeenth-century Rome,⁴³ and with the intellectual profile of its secretary, Francesco Ingoli.

As Romain Descendre has observed in his reading of Giovanni Botero's *Relazioni universali*, the elaboration of a Catholic geopolitics depended not only on the compilation of information but on its integration into a coherent vision of global order aligned with the objectives of the Counter-Reformation.⁴⁴ In this regard, *Propaganda* represented a decisive institutionalisation of such ambitions.

At the same time, the early seventeenth century witnessed growing tensions around the authority of historical and philological knowledge.⁴⁵ Figures such as Joseph Justus Scaliger and Isaac Casaubon had destabilised core Catholic narratives by exposing textual anachronisms and undermining the continuity of ecclesiastical history.⁴⁶ While their critiques were framed within the new methods of historical philology, their political resonance was immediate: the Petrine mandate and the apostolic legitimacy of Rome were implicated. The Roman response was not merely defensive but adaptive. Catholic scholarship reacted by refining its methods and, crucially, by repositioning historiography, geography, and ethnographic inquiry as tools of discernment and government.

Far from being ancillary, these disciplines were charged with structuring the Church's newly conceived universal presence. This revitalisation affected communities previously unfamiliar with historiographical practices, introducing interpretive frameworks with profound political implications.⁴⁷ As its authority in Europe was being challenged, the Church sought to establish a new domain of influence in the New World, in part by reinterpreting and dominating the historical narratives of these regions. This cultural strategy was reflected in the European dissemination of the *Histories of the Indies*, which pioneered a historiographical approach that initially flourished within Catholic milieus.⁴⁸ Its development was made possible by the help of indigenous intermediaries, marking a novel course of cultural mediation⁴⁹ and laying the foundation for *Propaganda*'s global mission as envisioned and carried out by Ingoli. The epistemological shift operated by this institution did not amount to a radical rupture, but to a rearticulation of older theological and missionary grammars through a new spatial and statistical sensibility, forged in a context where the politics of knowledge had become inseparable from the geography of faith.

Propaganda's actions and methods, which ended up shaping a Catholic epistemology, as will be discussed in more detail below, were nothing but the culmination of long-standing efforts by Catholic intellectuals. Figures such as Toribio of Benavente "Motolinía"⁵⁰ had developed hermeneutical and historiographical tools to reconcile the Christian narrative with the global expansion that followed the Age of Discovery. Moreover, a distinctive Counter-Reformation figure like Giovanni Botero had developed a geopolitical perspective that articulated a Catholic understanding of global order, shaped by a militant conception of space and sovereignty. As recent scholarship has shown,⁵¹ Botero's synthesis of religion, demography, and statistic⁵² produced a framework in which territorial expansion and the propagation of the faith were tightly interwoven. His works, especially the *Relazioni universali* and *On the Causes of the Greatness of Cities*, exemplified the application of statistical reasoning and human geography to the challenges of governing a diversified and expanding world.

This intellectual architecture resonated with the strategic orientations that later found institutional expression in the work of *Propaganda*. Francesco Ingoli, who played a decisive role in defining the Congregation's global mission, operated within an intellectual landscape that had assimilated such approaches. Ingoli is better known for his

consultancy for the Index and the Tribunal of the Inquisition, as well as for his involvement in the Galileo Galilei case.⁵³ Yet his contribution went beyond his deep engagement with the cultural policies of the Tridentine Church. While working as secretary to Cardinal Bonifacio Caetani, he pursued his scientific interests – particularly in astronomy – within the vibrant intellectual circles active in Rome, producing notable works such as *De Cometa* and *De Stella*, as well as anti-Copernican arguments in writings like *De situ et quiete Terrae contra Copernici systema Disputatio* and *De emendatione sex librorum Nicolai Copernici De Revolutionibus*. Hence, it can be assumed that although Ingoli engaged in scientific debates through the ideological lens of a Catholic prelate, he approached his functions as secretary of *Propaganda* through the lens of a man of science. Unsurprisingly, he took a proactive stance on emerging domains of knowledge, in line with the mandate of the Council of Trent and with the post-Tridentine awareness that conceptualising the world was essential to its spiritual and political understanding. He actively contributed to the formulation of the mandate set out in the *Inscrutabili Divinae* and gave propaganda a practical and operational dimension. Under his leadership, the dicastery made adept use of newfound knowledge as a powerful tool to achieve its objectives. Seventeenth-century Rome was an unparalleled space for exchanges and debate.⁵⁴ Ingoli's writings bear witness to the fact that this debate was enriched by the contributions of non-European scholars and *Propaganda* collaborators such as the Creole Diego Valadés or Pedro Nieto. These scholars demonstrated his commitment to establishing the Church as a centre of global knowledge in the first half of the seventeenth century, fully aware of the strategic value and political potential of such knowledge.⁵⁵ Ingoli's efforts in this sense went beyond his writings. Not only did he promote collaboration between the various institutions and individuals engaged in the study of the areas to be evangelised, but he also played a key role in establishing the Polyglot Press. This institution significantly advanced the understanding of cultural specificities across different regions and facilitated the spread of Roman Catholic ideology, articulated in the different languages and conceptual frameworks of a wide audience. From the outset, the Press encouraged cooperation between the various religious communities in Rome and attracted scholars from various countries, fostering the study of languages such as Nahuatl and Quechua, and supporting the production of grammar books, as well as research into the histories and cultures of different peoples. Consequently, the Press emerged as a veritable site of mediation,⁵⁶ leveraging the skills of linguists, translators, and intellectuals from numerous backgrounds and solidifying Rome's status as a leading centre for the exploration of non-European philosophies and languages.

As secretary of *Propaganda*, Ingoli also had a decisive say in the establishment of the Collegio Urbano, an institution that was designed to ensure the training of secular indigenous clergy in Rome, to be employed directly under the command of the Congregation. This initiative, which was only partially successful because of internal opposition, was intended to serve a double purpose. Traditionally, orders like the Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, and Theatines had a capillary presence, positioning Rome at the centre of a widespread official network. This network gave the Church a unique operational capacity, but it was regularly hampered in its mission by jurisdictional disputes and the complexities of aligning itself with various state powers, sometimes against ecclesiastical interests. Ingoli's correspondence indicates that the primary objective of the Collegio

Urbano was to reduce the dicastery's exposure to conflicts between religious orders, often exacerbated by political interference. A second aim of the Collegio Urbano was to accomplish the Petrine mission of bringing believers from all nations into the Church's fold. Ingoli placed significant emphasis on this goal, deeming it crucial to enlist indigenous clergy in order to effectively disseminate the faith within native communities, endowing Rome with a more unified and extensive coordination network, and to overcome the limitations on missionary work imposed by the Iberian Patronatos. The latter exercised strict control over the missionaries sent to their colonies and often opposed the ordination of local clergy and their elevation to the episcopal rank.

Against this background, it becomes clear that the creation of the Collegio Urbano represented a strategic and conscious effort to fundamentally redefine and reconfigure Catholic universalism. Some historians have interpreted this development as part of a broader effort to reconfigure the narrative of Catholicism by de-centring Europe, thereby reframing the Church not as the exclusive expression of a European dynamic, but as the outcome of a plurality of interactions on a global scale.⁵⁷ Certainly, the creation of the Collegio Urbano must be seen within the wider context of the evolving relationship between the Church and the emerging notion of the nation-state: confronted with the emergence of statehood, the Roman Church not only sought to adopt some of the nation-state's features, but also to find its own way of strategically addressing the crisis of pre-modern spatial concepts and repositioning itself within a modern global framework. Rather than being a linear or uniform development, this evolution has been viewed as one of the multiple pathways of the Counter-Reformation.

5. Propaganda: unifying the entire globe under one stewardship

A key outcome of Ingoli's tenure as Secretary of *Propaganda* was the drafting of *Relazione*. Interestingly, the text originated as an authentic piece of propaganda aimed at showcasing the Congregation's contributions and reinforcing the Church's spiritual authority, in response to a request from Valerio Magni.⁵⁸ The latter was a Capuchin who sought the support and financial backing of the Imperial princes in Bohemia. It was in this frontier area that *Propaganda's* efforts were most intense, since the Congregation had to constantly forge and manage alliances with secular authorities, positioning itself as a pillar of political stability in their eyes. As we learn from the correspondence between Ingoli and Giovan Battista Agucchi, a seasoned diplomat and papal nuncio in Venice, the former was asked by Magni, around 1629, to draft an account on the Congregation's operational successes to be circulated at the Bohemian court. In response to this request, Ingoli set about compiling the extensive data accumulated in the *Acta* – a collection of documents, correspondence, and reports sent to *Propaganda* – since its inception. Agucchi later refined the text, making it more accessible and imbuing it with his diplomatic and political insights. By 1633, through a collective effort in keeping with the bureaucratic structure of the Congregation, what had begun as a propagandistic handbook had become a comprehensive survey that, in the author's own words, "fashioned the world" in its entirety. The *Relazione* mirrored *Propaganda's* global awareness and its understanding of the world's dynamics on a truly universal scale and depicted the dicastery's activities within this broad framework.

The *Relazione* provided a comprehensive account of the political, cultural, and religious landscapes of the four regions into which *Propaganda* divided the world, detailing the initiatives undertaken in Rome to spread the faith in the different political, cultural, and religious contexts. The *Relazione* garnered considerable interest from the cardinals of the Congregation from the early stages of its drafting. The sensitive nature of its final content meant that its distribution had to be restricted to internal use, turning the text into a tool for understanding and planning missionary work that would have a lasting impact well into the eighteenth century and beyond. The bureaucratic nature of the text was both a reflection and a manifestation of its mandate: from its inception, *Propaganda* was intertwined with a bureaucratic system aimed at harnessing scientific insights and methodologies for ideological purposes.

The *Relazione* shows how Ingoli implemented the papal directive, connecting the idea of propaganda to the theoretical and political understanding of a new global landscape emerging from the breakdown of the *respublica christiana*'s traditional political and legal frameworks and the emergence of new global dynamics. The title and structure of the text point to the fact that, for the first time, a political entity such as the Catholic Church recognised the entire globe as its field of action. Ingoli himself highlighted this in the introduction to the *Relazione*:

The vigilance and pastoral care of the Congregations span the entire globe, reaching even those parts previously unknown or unexplored. Indeed, never since the creation of the world has such focused and comprehensive care been extended simultaneously across the earth by a single organisation and its limited membership, as is now being undertaken by our Congregation.⁵⁹

The Age of Discovery opened up a new realm of knowledge which required cartographic re-imagining. Conceived at a time when the unifying vision of geographers, who were making the Earth visible in its entirety for the first time, mirrored the divine act of shaping and ordering the world, the *Relazione* emerges first and foremost as a geographical work or, better, as a concrete means of cartographic evangelisation. The text is divided four main geographical areas and is filled with geographical knowledge. Ingoli chose a geographical structure in order to outline the Congregation's goals, accomplishments, and future paths. This decision aligned with the advancements in political geography witnessed in the latter half of the previous century, particularly in Italy. It has been observed that "before the second half of the 16th century, geographical writings were not employed for explicit political purposes ... and political theorists rarely dealt deeply with the concept of territorial space, nor organised it into a comprehensive framework".⁶⁰ The geopolitical foundation of this approach thus lies in its comprehensive examination of how human and social factors interact with territorial contexts, coupled with an in-depth exploration of the spatial dimensions underpinning power relations. Within this framework, Ingoli's contributions reflect established practices and draw on a rich tradition. His compilation of legations and missionary exchanges reflects the methodologies prevalent among Jesuits and the reporting practices of Venetian diplomats to the Senate, both of which served as foundational governance tools and inspired a vast literature, despite their controlled distribution.

Works such as Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Delle navigazioni et viaggi*, a pioneering contribution to modern political geography, are likely to have influenced the *Relazione*.

Similarly, Giovanni Botero's *Relazioni universali*, which reflected the Counter-Reformation ethos, finds an echo in Ingoli's text. Botero's work, with its militant underpinnings, aimed to organise contemporary geographical knowledge in order to promote a worldview aligned with the objectives of the Counter-Reformation Church. These texts, produced by secretaries with unparalleled access to global information and a methodical approach to organising it, resonate within the *Relazione*.

By navigating the complex relationship between territoriality and human dynamics, the *Relazione* distinguished itself as a significant piece of propaganda, particularly in transforming geographical study into a vital tool for asserting the Church's stance during the Counter-Reformation. Geography thus emerged as a critical asset of the Counter-Reformation, especially as the knowledge base for this endeavour was concentrated in Rome and derived from mission reports and correspondence.

This investment in geographic and human knowledge was not a neutral enterprise: it entailed a subtle reworking of the Church's approach to otherness and enmity. What emerges from this epistemic apparatus is not so much the disappearance of the enemy paradigm as its displacement into a new mode of pastoral government. The traditional dichotomy between the Christian self and the infidel other does not vanish, but is reframed within a classificatory matrix that enables differentiation, gradation, and strategic engagement. In this respect, *Propaganda's* knowledge production signals a shift from a logic of juridico-political enmity to a logic of spiritual governance, where alterity is not simply opposed but situated within a spectrum of convertibility. The Church thus transforms the political grammar of the enemy by absorbing it into a regime of intelligibility: what cannot be converted remains, implicitly, inassimilable or resistant, but the conceptual priority is now given to understanding and orienting rather than eliminating or excluding.

This reconfiguration does not abolish conflict, but repositions it: warfare is transposed onto the terrain of knowledge, where the other is rendered knowable, classifiable, and potentially governable. The production of geographic, ethnographic, and linguistic knowledge becomes, in this light, a form of epistemic pacification – yet one that paradoxically constitutes a reconfiguration of conflict itself, now articulated on the plane of representation, classification, and spiritual intervention. It is through this dynamic that *Propaganda* exercises a mode of power in which pacification and conflict are no longer opposed, but co-implicated within the same apparatus of governance.⁶¹

The *Relazione* is therefore more than a mere catalogue of the world as it was then known: it is a sophisticated construct rooted in the geopolitical thought of the Counter-Reformation. It introduces a novel viewpoint on the evolving global landscape, crucial for rearticulating the Church's universalist mission in response to the disintegration of the *respublica christiana* and the rise of modern nation-states. Its composition and organisation not only acknowledge the imperative to evolve from pre-modern universalism, but also champion a renewed form of universalism that symbolises a reformed and assertive Catholicism.

The mission of universalism at the heart of *Propaganda* marks a profound departure from its historical antecedents, grounded in a comprehensive perception of the Earth. The *Relazione*, penned by a staunch critic of Copernicanism, confronts a world now fully discernible and comprehensible for the first time. Ingoli compellingly contends

that the outlook and endeavours of his department play a crucial role in forging a world imbued with a universal calling. Through the work of his office, disparate communities from every corner of the globe are integrated into the mystical body of a genuinely Catholic Church.

Ingoli's approach goes beyond mere knowledge, veering into the realm of political action: he envisions giving a single entity a mission that spans the whole Earth. This planetary scope of the mandate enables the dicastery to eclipse traditional dichotomies such as those between temporal and spiritual powers, direct and indirect *potestas*, which seem inadequate to the novel challenges of burgeoning state sovereignties. Under Ingoli's leadership, the Congregation rethinks its role as an instrument of propaganda, carrying out pastoral duties worldwide. This strategy, which recognises the rich diversity of human existence in a world with a multitude of peoples, languages, and cultures, seeks to unify the entire globe under one stewardship, echoing the act of creation. This extraordinary mandate, unique in the history of political thought, extends its embrace not only to the known world but also to territories yet undiscovered, thereby coupling the apostolic mission with an anticapatory, globally oriented perspective.

The conceptual history of propaganda reconstructed here exposes the foundational articulation between governance, epistemology, and the strategic management of human diversity. In its seventeenth-century Catholic formulation, propaganda did not simply aim to spread a doctrine, but to produce a world intelligible and governable through the selective visibility of differences. This logic of propagation established a principle of political ordering: to discern, classify, and hierarchise populations not in the name of mere knowledge, but in view of an action oriented towards their differential incorporation within a universal structure.

What modernity inherits from this configuration is not a technique of persuasion in the narrow sense, but a mode of world-making where representation is already an intervention, where the rendering of populations, spaces, and beliefs intelligible is the precondition of their subjection and modulation. The legacy of propaganda, in this sense, does not lie in the ideological coercion of consent, but in the more profound capacity to pre-arrange the perceptual and cognitive conditions under which power can be exercised over a plural and potentially unruly world. From the ecclesiastical epistemic regimes of the seventeenth century to the modern state apparatuses of information and perception management, what persists is the intimate tie between the governance of diversity and the production of ordered visibility.

Notes

1. See Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth*, and Galli, *Spazi politici*, 27–32, where the author provides further bibliography on this topic. See also Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*; Padrón, *The Spacious World*; Edney, *Cartography*; Winther, *When Maps Become the World*; Casey, *Getting Back into Place*.
2. See Blomley, *Law, Space*; Harvey, *Justice*; Sack, *Homo Geographicus*.
3. Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession*.
4. Galli, *Spazi politici*, 26. My English translation.
5. Piechocki, *Cartographic Humanism*.
6. Farinelli, *Blinding Polyphemus*; Farinelli, *La crisi della ragione cartografica*; Farinelli, *L'invenzione della Terra*.

7. See Galli, *Ordine e Contingenza*, 81–106; Galli, “Contaminazioni. Irruzioni del Nulla”, 139–58; Bredkamp, *Thomas Hobbes visuelle Strategien*, 117–22.
8. Ferrone and Franco, *L’età dell’oro e del ferro*.
9. See Descendre, “L’État, le droit, le territoire”, 11–25; Besse, *Les grandeurs de la terre*, 27–45; Carta and Descendre, *Géographie et politique au début de l’âge moderne*.
10. See Buisseret, *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps*; Consarelli, *La politica degli spazi*; Consarelli, *Metafore dello spazio*.
11. Cf. Schmitt, “The Respublica Christiana as a Spatial Order”, 57–9.
12. Ramachandran, *The Worldmakers*.
13. Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth*, 61. See also Nederman, “The Roman Empire and the Universal Church”, 109–24; Wild, *A Catholic Reading Guide to Universalism*; Talbot, “Universalism”, 446–61.
14. See Ingoli, *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo*, 12. See also O’Malley, “Catholic Pastoral Care”, 141–61.
15. See Frajese, “Una teoria della censura”, 139–52; Rizzi, “Plenitudo potestatis”, 49–60; Link, “Potestas directa/indirecta/directiva”, online edition, https://doi.org/10.1163/1877-5888_rpp_SIM_024652 (accessed 13 January 2025).
16. This issue is addressed in the current cluster by Baldin. See also Quaglioni, *La sovranità; Sacerdoti, Sacrificio e sovranità*.
17. See Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice*, 117–32; Ditchfield, “Papal Prince or Papal Pastor?”, 37–47; Quaglioni, “Il potere politico del papa”, 37–47.
18. See Ditchfield, “The ‘making’ of Roman Catholicism”, 189–205; Ditchfield, “One world is not enough”, 15–35.
19. See Pizzorusso, “Governare le missioni”; Pizzorusso, *Propaganda Fide* and in particular chapter I.1, “Prima di Propaganda”, 3–34; Ardura, Sileo, and Belluomini, *Euntes in mundum universum*; Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, 86–92.
20. Heyberger, “Pro nunc, nihil respondendum”.
21. See Prendergast and Prendergast, “The Invention of Propaganda”, 19–27.
22. See Descendre, “L’État, le droit, le territoire”, 11–25.
23. Prendergast and Prendergast, “The Invention of Propaganda”, 19–20.
24. *CTS New Catholic Bible*, <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Acts10&version=NCB>
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Inscritabili divinae*, <https://lacabalesta.it/biblioteca/DocumentiPapali/GregorioXV/InscritabiliDivinae.html> (accessed 13 January 2025): “surge Petre, occide, et manduca, ut praefiguraretur Petri et successorum eius munus ex quatuor mundi partibus homines variā impietate insipientes congregandi quo eos quasi occidendo, hoc est, veteri vitā exuendo, et exutos manducando, idest in sua membra, qui visibile erat caput Ecclesiae, convertendo, etiam membra Christi redderet, invisibilis Ecclesiae capitis”. My English translation.
28. As Prendergast and Prendergast also note; cf. Prendergast and Prendergast, “The Invention of Propaganda”, 23. On the institutionalisation of Catholicism, see Barnes, “On the Necessity of Shaping Men”, 217–49.
29. See Gliozzi, *Scoperta dei selvaggi*; Gliozzi, *Adamo e il Nuovo mondo*; Gruzinski, *La Colonisation de l’imaginaire*; Gruzinski, *La Machine à remonter le temps*.
30. See Luongo, *Silvestro Landini e le «nostre Indie*.
31. See Koyré, *From the Closed World*; Grant, *Much Ado about Nothing*; Jammer, *Concepts of Space*; Granada, “New visions of the Cosmos”, 270–86; Vermeir and Regier, *Boundaries, Extents and Circulations*.
32. See Descendre, “L’État, le droit, le territoire”.
33. See Prodi, “Nuove dimensioni della Chiesa”; Gaudemet, *Formation du droit canonique*; Quaglioni, “Il potere politico del papa”; Fournel, “Écritures géographiques et lectures restreintes”.

34. See Marcocci et al., *Space and Conversion in Global Perspective*; Ditchfield, “Decentering the Catholic Reformation”; Ditchfield, “Translating Christianity in an Age of Reformations”.
35. See Descendre, *L’État du Monde*; Descendre, “Une géopolitique pour la Contre-Réforme”; Descendre, “Dall’occhio della storia all’occhio della politica”; Descendre, “Une monarchie ‘presque universelle’”.
36. Chabod, *Scritti sul Rinascimento*, 271–374.
37. Lacoste, *La géographie, ça sert d’abord à faire la guerre*.
38. See Ditchfield, “The ‘making’ of Roman Catholicism”; Ditchfield, “Romanus et Catholicus”.
39. See Pizzorusso, *Propaganda Fide*, <https://www.letture.org/propaganda-fide-la-congregazione-pontificia-e-la-giurisdizione-sulle-missioni-giovanni-pizzorusso>
40. See Maghenzani and Villani, *British Protestant Missions*.
41. See Andretta, Descendre, and Romano, *Un mondo di Relazioni*; Raviola, “Giovanni Botero e gli itinerari del sapere fra Umanesimo e prime inquietudini barocche”; Ingold, *Being Alive*.
42. See Berns, *Gouverner sans gouverner*.
43. See Romano, *Rome et la science moderne*; Jones, Wisch, and Ditchfield, *Companion to Early Modern Rome*.
44. See Andretta, Descendre, and Romano, *Un mondo di Relazioni*; Raviola, “Giovanni Botero e gli itinerari del sapere fra Umanesimo e prime inquietudini barocche”.
45. See Descendre, *Une géopolitique pour la Contre-Réforme*, 52.
46. See Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, 133–78; Popkin, *The History of Scepticism*, 91–127.
47. See Gruzinski, *La Machine à remonter le temps*; Tutino, “Historical Authenticity and the Expanding Horizons”.
48. See Andretta, Descendre, and Romano, *Un mondo di Relazioni*.
49. See Colletta, *Il memorial di Pedro Nieto*; Gruzinski, *Visions indiennes, visions baroques*; Gruzinski, *Les Quatre Parties du monde*; Gruzinski, *Conversation avec un métisse de la nouvelle-Espagne*; Gruzinski, *Quand les Indiens parlaient latin*.
50. See Gruzinski, *La Machine à remonter le temps*.
51. See Chabod, *Scritti sul Rinascimento*, 271–374; Descendre, *Une géopolitique pour la Contre-Réforme*, 52; Raviola, “Giovanni Botero e gli itinerari del sapere fra Umanesimo e prime inquietudini barocche”.
52. Berns, *Gouverner sans gouverner*.
53. See Bucciattini, *Contro Galileo*; Bucciattini, *Il caso Galileo*; Pizzorusso, “Francesco Ingoli”; Pizzorusso, “Ingoli, Francesco”.
54. See Romano, *Rome et la science moderne*.
55. See Tosi, “La memoria perduta di Propaganda”; Metzler, “Francesco Ingoli, des erste Sekretär der Kongregation”.
56. See Burghartz, Burkart, and Göttler, *Sites of Mediation*.
57. See Ditchfield, “The ‘making’ of Roman Catholicism”.
58. See Tosi, “Francesco Ingoli autore della *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo*”; Ditchfield, “Rome Calling?”.
59. See Ingoli, *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo*, 12.
60. See Descendre, “Dall’occhio della storia all’occhio della politica”, 157. My own translation. See also Ditchfield, “*Historiae Oculus Geographia*”.
61. On the conceptual shift from juridico-political enmity to forms of government grounded in knowledge, see Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, 87–114; Berns, *Gouverner sans gouverner. Une archéologie politique de la statistique*, 25–48. For a critical reflection on the enduring grammar of the enemy, see Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, especially 26–37.

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