



THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF MONARCHY,
TRADITIONAL GOVERNANCE, AND SOVEREIGNTY

The Zahedi Center

List of Theocratic States and Their Leaders

As at November 2016

Vatican City

Pope Francis I

Iran

Supreme Leader *Ayatollah* Ali Hoseini-Khamene'i

Sovereign Military Order of Malta

Grand Master Robert Matthew Festing

Sources: Ban Cahoon: "World Statesmen.org", <http://www.worldstatesmen.org/>; B. Schemmel: "Rulers", rulers.org.