and the Catholics. In so doing she opens up areas for future research. For example, Pope Pius IV's proposal at the Council of Trent in the summer of 1563, merits further investigation. Unfortunately, the author did not include a transcription and translation of the bull; I recommend that a conscientious reader have one at hand.

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Stephan Bauer

The Invention of Papal History: Onofrio Panvinio between Renaissance and Catholic Reform. Oxford-Warburg Studies. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020. Pp. xi + 262. Hb, \$90.00.

The Invention of Papal History joins a series of renovating studies that, over the last decade, have drawn out controversial practices that transformed early modern historical writings into vectors for political and theological debates. Far from a disembodied history of ideas, Stephan Bauer delivers an intellectual biography of the Augustinian church historian, Onofrio Panvinio (1530–68), that brings to life the social complexity that underpinned his work on church history.

Bauer considers the correlation between changes in historical methodology and the state of Catholic Reformation before the era dominated by Cardinal Cesare Baronio and his famous *Annales ecclesiastici* (1588–1607). Bauer's book animates a short-lived period of historiographical experimentation, which favored the development of critical history and of which Panvinio was a clear representative. Thanks to a great command of sixteenth-century intellectual history that contextualizes Panvinio's work and archive, Bauer demonstrates how, in the 1550–60 period, church history operated as a shared field of inquiry among scholars of multiple confessions. Bauer challenges the myth that ecclesiastical history was governed by an almighty papacy controlling every aspect of its production, and his book provides a superb addition to recent game-changing work dedicated to the Catholic Reformation by scholars who insist on the creative and ubiquitous influence of history-writing in all aspects of the reforms across the Catholic world.

In the first two chapters, Bauer introduces his reader to Panvinio's trajectory from his birthplace in Verona. He follows Panvinio's education and professional trajectory across the Italian Peninsula (Naples and Rome), and parts

of modern-day Germany. His relationship with Cardinal Alessandro Farnese junior, with whom he went into exile from Rome in the 1557–59 period, offered access to libraries, archives, and private circles outside the Papal States, in Parma and Venice for example. Panvinio's stay in German-speaking lands during the summer of 1559 strengthened his connections with patrons including the powerful banker Hans Jakob Fugger and Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Walburg, and even the Holy Roman Emperors Ferdinand I (r.1556–64) and Maximilian II (r.1564–76). Panvinio returned to Rome in September 1559 familiar with historiographical traditions that challenged concepts such as “papal primacy.” In 1565, he was appointed briefly to the Biblioteca Vaticana, though Pius V, newly elected, did not renew his position. Panvinio died in Spanish Sicily (Palermo) two years later in 1568 without ever having committed to one patron. In Bauer's study, Panvinio's work reflects this relative freedom.

The Invention of Papal History is a much-needed update to Panvinio's biography, which explains that his profile as an antiquarian can only be fully comprehended if his work as a church historian is put at the center of analysis. Bauer's pages dedicated to Panvinio's manuscripts literally bring to life the ways through which Late Renaissance scholars hunted, annotated, organized, and prepared historical sources to be processed as historiography. Thanks to these personal archives historians applied humanistic methods of source criticism while engaging with historical forgeries and developing the arguments that fed religious polemics.

Starting with Panvinio's contribution to the history of popes, Bauer's research confirms what other experts have identified regarding the status of historical research around the sessions of the Council of Trent (1545–63). This research shows that history writing during the 1550s and 1560s in Western Europe was not exclusively motivated by confessional considerations. Historians demonstrated how history writing experienced a political and confessional turn after 1580. Bauer also organizes the second part of his book (chapters 3 and 4) to show how historians like Panvinio were posthumously censored, revealing some of the tenants of the aforementioned political and confessional turn as applied to ecclesiastical history before Baronio's era.

Jesuits played a significant role in this censorship. Cardinal Robert Bellarmine censored the manuscript of Panvinio's ecclesiastical history in 1587, following a thorough philological, theological, and historical review. The cardinal pushed back against Panvinio whenever the latter's research showed that church traditions were not connected to apostolic times. Bauer explains how Panvinio's work was then adapted when Baronio proposed an official answer to the Protestant *Magdeburg Centuries* (1559–74).

Appropriations of Panvinio's work started during his lifetime in the context of polemics with Protestants. In fact, censorship practices operated as a

motor of historiographical creation both before and after Panvinio's death. Here, Bauer uses an idea that may initially seem counterintuitive, but which has been confirmed by the specialists of early modern censorship. Departing from this premise, that censorship can be a factor in historiographic creativity, Bauer explores how Jesuits Peter Canisius and Jacob Gretser censored (or expurgated) Panvinio's work, before Bellarmine and Baronio's confessionalization of his work. Canisius was asked in 1567 by Francisco de Borja to formulate an attack against the *Magdeburg Centuries*. Canisius wanted to edit Panvinio's work to weaponize it against Protestant historiography. Later on, like Canisius, Gretser was quick to question Panvinio's use of historians who defended earlier historical interpretations contradicting the sixteenth-century Catholic Church. Gretser also complained about Panvinio's reliance on Johannes Aventinus, who was sympathetic toward some aspects of the Reformation and defended pro-imperial positions against the pope. Ultimately, Bauer explains, Gretser achieved with his marginal notes on Panvinio's histories a kind of *Index expurgatorius*.

Alluding to another Jesuit, Heribert Rosweyde, Bauer demonstrates that the censorship of Panvinio helped transmit his methods of source criticism to an intellectual tradition that would foster the later hagiographical work of the Mauristas and the Bollandists on the *Acta sanctorum*. However, Bauer posits that lack of interest in church history from the Catholic Church after 1580 may explain the intensity with which Panvinio's histories were censored. Church history was almost absent from university curricula and the 1599 *Ratio studiorum* echoed Bellarmine's, Canisius's, and Gretser's censorship practices and "compounded this negative tendency" (207) toward church history while strengthening the moral and rhetorical use of ancient history. Bauer closes this observation by recalling that the first chair of ecclesiastical history at the Collegio Romano was founded in 1742.

Censored in Rome, Panvinio's work was instrumentalized by Protestant historians such as the Lutheran Hermann Conring, the Calvinist Melchior Goldast, and men of letters like Hugo Grotius, or even the French polymath and Gallican sympathizer, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc. Panvinio's historical contributions thus remained important for intellectuals who were interested in his research for reasons that were not tied to confessional matters. Indeed, Bauer suggests that church history was cultivated by private circles in Rome, illustrating a Catholic world not fully united around its alleged tradition. Church history was a polemical instrument among Catholics as much as a tool for Catholic-Protestant controversies.

This last point concerning the polemical use of Panvinio's histories across the global Catholic world remains to be developed. Such approach could shed

light on the promising thread that Bauer excavated through Panvinio's ties with the Spanish monarchy. Bauer argues that Panvinio suffered from a lack of projection since he had "bet" on the wrong horse when dedicating some works to Philip II of Spain, contrasting with Baronio who dedicated his research to the papacy. However, Baronio's *Annales* were also a political work aiming to undermine the Spanish ecclesiastical *real patronato*. Bauer explains in passing that Spain did not really produce a systematic answer to Protestant historiography. However, it is more probable that the historians working on behalf of the king of Spain were concerned with inter-confessional polemics among Catholic rulers who wished to extend control over ecclesiastical institutions and subjects. In addition, many church historians in the Iberian world were concerned with the Spanish king's ecclesiastical patronage in Iberian colonies instead of Catholic-Protestant controversies. Panvinio did not show much interest for these questions but it would be interesting to see how, beyond a Roman-centered perspective, Jesuit historians who were closer to the Spanish or Portuguese monarchy interpreted Panvinio's work and if their interpretation differed or not from the ones produced by Bellarmine, Canisius, and Gretser.

The erudition diffused across Bauer's book is impressive and the arguments are delivered with convincing elegance. Tackling the works and the papers of early modern scholars like Panvinio is daunting, especially considering the heteroclite documents that these men generated. The logic of these scholarly archives can only be appreciated by historians today after spending infinite hours in archives. Bauer's book reads as a tribute to the heuristic power of archives, ours today and those of Panvinio during the sixteenth century. The merging of the two makes this book a joy to read.

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Markus Friedrich

The Birth of the Archive: A History of Knowledge. Cultures of Knowledge in the Early Modern World. Trans. John Noël Dillon. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2018. Pp. xii + 284. Hb, \$75.00.

Archives are the cornerstone on which historical method is built. The traditional narrative of their development focused on the nineteenth century. Yet Markus Friedrich's *Birth of the Archive*, first in German in 2013 and more recently