

JOHN HOWE

BARONIUS AND ST. DOMINIC OF SORA

BARONIO E LE SUE FONTI

ATTI DEL CONVEGNO INTERNAZIONALE DI STUDI
SORA 10-13 OTTOBRE 2007

A CURA DI
LUIGI GULIA

CENTRO DI STUDI SORANI «VINCENTO PATRIARCA» - SORA
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To commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Baronius, I have chosen to discuss two of Sora's local heroes, Caesar Baronius (d. 1607) and Dominic of Sora (d. 1032)¹. They share not only their connections to Sora but also an academic link in that Baronius wrote about Dominic on several occasions. How he treated a saint of Sora raises some interesting questions not only about how he related to his home town but also about how he used hagiographical materials in his historical work.

2. Although one would have expected that Baronius would have been quick to extoll a local saint of his native city, the reality is more complex. A native of Sora would not necessarily have shared those intense local patriotic feelings for his birthplace that characterize so many cinquecento and seicento Italians. Sora was situated within the borders of the Kingdom of Naples, on the edge of the mountainous world of the Abruzzi, where traditions of civic humanism remained largely undeveloped. Baronius actually spent much of his life trying to distance himself from Sora, at first from parents who desperately wanted to bring him back to his hometown and to keep him there²; then, later from a more extended network of relatives who hoped to benefit in various ways from his increasing prominence in Rome³. The tension was so great that, when re-

¹ Dominic's traditional obituary date is 1031. On the reason for correcting this to 1032, see J. HOWE, *Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Central Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons*, Philadelphia 1997, p. 28; translated by P. Golinelli, as *Riforma della Chiesa e trasformazioni sociali nell'Italia dell'XI secolo: Domenico di Sora e i suoi patroni*, Sora 2007, p. 34.

² C. K. PULLAPILLY, *Caesar Baronius: Counter-Reformation Historian*, Notre Dame 1975, pp. 11-25, describes tensions between Baronius and his father about returning to Sora. These are documented in letters written by Baronius, some of which survive in an autograph in a damaged volume, Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS Q.46, described in M. MAZZAROLI, *Bibliografia Baroniana*, in *Baronio storico e la controriforma*, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Fonti e studi Baroniani, 1) Sora, 6-10 ottobre 1979, ed. R. De Maio, L. Gulia, and A. Mazzacane, Sora 1982, p. 840. See N. VIAN, *Lettere domestiche di Cesare Baronio*, in *A Cesare Baronio, scritti vari*, Sora 1963, pp. 239-44, esp. 242-45.

³ On problems posed by the relatives of Dominic, see PULLAPILLY, *Caesar Baronius* cit., pp. 58, 76, 83, 99-100, 133, and 140.

SUMMARY

1. A connection between Baronius and Dominic of Sora. 2. A complex relationship between Baronius and Sora. 3. Baronius did see himself as one of its citizens. 4. His writings on Sora are rare. 5. His first published mention of Dominic in the *Roman Martyrology*. 6. The *Annales Ecclesiastici*. 7. Dominic appears toward the end of this work. 8. Volume XI where Dominic finally appears. 9. Baronius on Sora [includes long indented quotation]. 10. Baronius on San Domenico's foundation charter [includes long indented quotation]. 11. Baronius on charters for San Silvestro and Casamari. 12. Baronius on the «obit» of Dominic. 13. Evaluation of the Dominic material. 14. The alleged «unpublished life» of Dominic by Baronius. 15. Was Baronius a hagiographer? 16. Gallonio as hagiographer. 17. Problems with the assumption that Baronius used Gallonio's materials. 18. Later cooperation of Baronius and Gallonio? 19. Methodological reasons why Baronius did not use the material of Gallonio. 20. Rhetorical reasons why Baronius did not emphasize hagiography. 21. Questions raised by the failure of Baronius to use Gallonio's hagiographical material on Dominic of Sora.

jecting one of his father's attempts to lure him back from Rome, he once vehemently protested that «I am not going to leave Jerusalem to return to Babylon»⁴. What a metaphor! Sora was a picturesque, conservative town, a most improbable Babylon. And Rome, if we are to judge by the comments of its many critics, was no new Jerusalem, but rather a place characterized by sophisticated hypocrisies that had shocked people ranging from young Benedict of Nursia to young Martin Luther. But to Baronius Rome really was a new Jerusalem, the center of the counterreformation spiritual revival that claimed his primary loyalty. He belonged to the universal Church, not to Sora. It is even possible to read his greatest literary project, the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, as a deliberate attack on *campanilismo*, an implicit but systematic attempt to replace local histories with a universal historical perspective.

3. Nevertheless, Baronius did not completely reject Sora. He contributed to its local charitable and catechetical projects⁵. He continuously communicated with his relatives, and, although he punctiliously strove to avoid the abuse of nepotism, he did help some of them in various ways⁶. That he remained attached to his original home is evident from the way he identified himself in his published works. On title pages he could present himself as he wished. He even decided to refashion his family name, «according to the Roman custom» (*more Romano*), from «Barone» to the more universal Latin form «Baronius»⁷. Nevertheless, he also added a geographical qualifier, so that he claimed authorship as «Caesare Baronio Sorano»⁸. The «Sorano» was not necessary since there

⁴ Baronius, Letter to his father (July 7, 1562), as translated in PULLAVILLY, *Caesar Baronius* cit., p. 23, from Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS Q.46, p.34.

⁵ V. SIMONCELLI, *Cesare Baronio. Discorso letto per l'inaugurazione dell'Ospedale di Sora*, in *Per Cesare Baronio scritti vari nel terzo centenario della sua morte*, ed. V. Simoncelli, Perugia 1911, pp. 295-308, with the speech itself printed pp. 307-08; G. SQUILLA, *Cesare Baronio, la famiglia e Sora*, in *A Cesare Baronio, scritti vari* cit., pp. 223-49, esp. 229-32; F. CARAFFA, *Cesare Baronio e la sua azione caritativa*, in *Ibid.*, pp. 351-61, esp. 351-54.

⁶ PULLAVILLY, *Caesar Baronius*, pp. 76, 99, 100, 133, and 140.

⁷ BARONIUS, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (anno 1030), Rome 1588-1607, XI, p. 104.

⁸ The name form «Caesare Baronio Sorano» appears in the earliest published editions of the *Roman Martyrology* and of the *Annales Ecclesiastici*: see MAZZARUOI, *Bibliografia baroniana* cit., pp. 816-952, esp. 844-45 and 849-52.

was no competing «Caesare Baronio». Later reprints of his works often drop it⁹. Did he adopt this geographical label as a humility topos, a self-effacing invocation of provincial origins? Perhaps, but even if this were so his willingness to identify himself geographically demonstrates that he did see himself as a citizen of Sora.

4. The writings of Baronius reflect this complex relationship. He did not proclaim the glories of Sora at every opportunity. A scholar who studied *Sora negli «Annali» del Baronio*, was shocked to discover that «Nella vasta mole degli *Annales ecclesiastici*, rari, brevi, isolati son gli accenni a fatti sorani...»¹⁰. This is the context in which Baronius treats St. Dominic. He writes relatively little about him, but clearly remains aware of him. And the precise way in which he deals with this local saint may reveal something about how he approached hagiography in general.

5. In print Baronius first mentions Dominic in the reedition of the *Roman Martyrology*. Although Baronius was officially one member of an editorial committee, he played a major role in compiling the first official version in 1584. The annotated version of 1586 bears his name as author. In the *Martyrology*, at the very end of the entry for January 22, tacked onto end of the main entry, one reads: «Sorae Sancti Domnici Abbatis, miraculis clari». It is not clear whether Dominic of Sora had been previously celebrated in Roman martyrologies or in other martyrological sources that Baronius used¹¹. However, it is tempting to attribute

⁹ The qualifier «Sorano» disappears from Baronius's name in the version of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* first published in 1612 by Henri de Sponde and in its numerous subsequent editions and translations; it disappears from almost all of the later biographical treatments noted in MAZZARUOI, *Bibliografia Baroniana* cit., pp. 913-14.

¹⁰ D. SANTORO, *Sora negli Annali del Baronio*, in *Per Cesare Baronio scritti vari* cit., pp. 431-70, esp. 433.

¹¹ The base text used by Baronius was a version of the martyrology of «Pseudo-Bede», whose core appears to have been composed in Germany between about 1035 and 1050: see H. QUENTIN, *Les Martyrologies historiques du moyen âge: Étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain*, Paris 1908, p. 468; and J. MCCULLOH, *The "Pseudo-Bede of Cologne": A Martyrology of the "Gorzean" Reform*, in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte: Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz, Stuttgart 1998, pp. 81-99, esp. 81-82 and 94. Some medieval martyrologies do add a commemoration for Dominic on 22 January: see, for example, a variant of Usuard's martyrology noted in

his presence in this new *Roman Martyrology* to Baronius himself because the wording seems to echo the language of one of his favorite sources, the *Monte Cassino Chronicle*. There, for the year 1031, Leo Marsicanus had inserted an obituary notice which begins: «[...] beatus Dominicus mirabilium patratior magnorum [...]»¹². In the annotated edition of the *Martyrology*, where Baronius explains what sources he and the other members of the committee had used, he specifically cites Leo to support Dominic's historicity and he quotes Leo's complete obituary notice in full¹³. Thus Baronius was well aware of Dominic.

6. At the time when the *Roman Martyrology* appeared, Baronius was already at work on the *Annales Ecclesiastici*. That massive history would ultimately involve nearly a half century of scholarly research. Back in 1558, St. Philip Neri (d. 1595) had asked his young follower Baronius to produce a series of lectures on ecclesiastical history. Over the course of his life, Baronius would present this cycle of lectures seven times, increasingly refining his narrative. He would always attribute the idea for a universal Church history to Philip Neri, not to himself⁴. The project

Migne, *Patrologia Latina* CXXIII, p. 684; or, again, an early twelfth-century Regensbug redaction of Herman the Lame's martyrology, whose author, perhaps Paul of Bernried, adds a number of saints from the Monte Cassino region to his work (McCulloh, who has a study on the origin and significance of this martyrology in progress, personal communication 16 Jan 1988). Such additions presumably originated in the martyrological and necrological commemorations of Dominic which first appear in eleventh-century Monte Cassino circles: see QUENTIN, *Martyrologies historiques* cit., p. 44; H. HOFFMAN, *Der Kalendar des Leo Marsicanus*, «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters», XXI (1965), fasc. 1, pp. 82-149, esp. 101; and G. ANCIDEL, *Il Calendario necrologio di Veroli*, «Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria», 106 (1983), pp. 5-61, esp. 18. But it has not been demonstrated that Baronius was working from such a source.

¹² LEO OF OSTIA, *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* II xxxix (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores, 34), ed. H. Hoffmann, Hannover 1980, p. 283.

¹³ *Martyrologium Romanum ad novam kalendarij rationem & Ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum, Gregorii XIII Pont. Max. jussu editum, Caesaris Baronii notationibus illustratum...* Antwerp 1613, pp. 41-43. On the fate of this entry, see H. DELEHAYE, *Proplacum ad Acta Sanctorum Decembris: Martyrologium Romanum*, Brussels 1940, p. 31; and *Martyrologium Romanum ex decreto Sacrosancti Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani II instauratum auctoritate Ioannis Pauli PP. II promulgatum*, Rome 2004², p. 111.

¹⁴ *Annales Ecclesiastici* VIII (1599), prologue, contains a long autobiographical tribute to Philip Neri's inspiration. An English translation of the relevant passages is found in J. NEDLEY, *Caesar Baronius the Master*, in *A Cesare Baronio* cit., pp. 363-67, esp. 364-67. Baronius retold this story when he presented evidence as part of the canonization process for Philip Neri, in a section of the doc-

became more important once Matthias Flacius Illyricus (d. 1575) and the other centuriators of Magdeburg published in 1559 the first three folio volumes of what would become a thirteen-volume, century-by-century history of «the beginnings, the development, and the ruthless designs of the Anti-Christ» (i.e., of the Roman Church)¹⁵. Although Baronius never mentions this huge Lutheran *Ecclesiastica Historica* by name, he clearly had it in his thoughts. His published response was intended to be an even bigger project, proceeding year by year rather than century by century, starting at the birth of Christ, organized so that the running titles would be the regnal years of popes and emperors¹⁶. The first volume did not actually appear in print until 1588, nearly thirty years after Baronius had first begun his research. It was enthusiastically received, and the project then moved forward more quickly, ultimately reaching twelve published volumes¹⁷. The thirteenth remains in manuscript as he left it at the time of his death in 1607¹⁸.

7. Because of the strict annalistic organization of the *Annales*, Baronius had no occasion to mention Dominic of Sora in the early year-by-year volumes. In theory, Dominic could have appeared in Vol. X, published in 1602, which covered the years 843 to 1000, but there he is absent even though his hagiographical tradition places his birth around 950. With this omission he almost lost his chance to appear at all, since Baronius toyed with ending the work at the year 1000, a point

umentation presented in English translation in PULLABILLI, *Caesar Baronius* cit., pp. 16 and 144.

¹⁵ So Flacius described his project in his initial proposal, a version of which is found in Wolfenbüttel's Herzog-August-Bibliothek MS Guelf. 11.20, 12^v-14^r, transcribed in RONALD DENER, *The Magdeburg Centuries: A Bibliographical and Historiographical Analysis*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University 1978, pp. 541-45. On this document, see G. LYON, *Baudouin, Flacius, and the Plan for the Magdeburg Centuries*, «Journal of the History of Ideas», LXIV (2003), fasc. 2, pp. 253-72.

¹⁶ The manuscript version, Vatican BAV MS Lat. 5684-95 is described in MAZZARIOL, *Biografia baroniana* cit., pp. 816-952, esp. 823-26.

¹⁷ MAZZARIOL, *Biografia baroniana* cit., pp. 849-51, offers the original publication data. The magnitude of the effort involved in publishing the *Annales* is suggested by a carton, surviving in the Archivio Vallicelliana, containing 193 bills related to expenses from January 1593 to April 1594; see C. GASBARRI, *I Documenti Baroniani dell'Archivio Vallicelliano*, in *A Cesare Baronio* cit., pp. 67-93, esp. 73-75.

¹⁸ Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS Q.7, 106 fols., described in MAZZARIOL, *Biografia baroniana* cit., p. 829.

at which it already constituted a satisfactory response to the Magdeburg centuriators. Proceeding further had become increasingly onerous because the responsibilities of Baronius now included serving as prior general of the whole Oratorian Congregation, supervising the Vatican Library, and promoting the canonization of his old spiritual guide Philip Neri¹⁹. But donations to continue the *Annales* project kept arriving, so in 1605, 47 years after Baronius had first begun to devote himself to universal church history, the 67-year-old cardinal oversaw the publication of Vol. XI, devoted to the eleventh century.

8. The original manuscripts of the twelve volumes of the *Annales Ecclesiastici* are preserved today in the Vatican Library²⁰. The eleventh (Vatican Latinus MS 5694) is not entirely in the hand of Baronius, but also contains some unnumbered inserts, presumably supplied by collaborators, which Baronius added into the body of the manuscript.

9. Under the year 1030, a lengthy treatment of the churches of the region of Sorra appears (pp. 75-81). Although this section includes some excisions, and although several half-pages and one full page remain blank, it was written in the hand of Baronius himself. And here the elderly cardinal does look back to his birthplace:

But lest I might seem to have treated matters of the fatherland ("res patrias") with contempt, passing over them ungratefully while intent on other things, it is necessary to speak of the noble monastery erected this year in the lands of Sorra, in that very place, where the Fibrenio flows into the Liri, long ago made famous as the birthplace of Cicero, as he himself testified in his book *On the Laws*. Here at this time Peter, son of Rainerius, ruled Sorra and Arpino, and he himself caused it to be built[...]

(at this point Baronius embarks on a digression concerning whether Peter ought more properly to be titled a count or a gastald).

¹⁹ G. CALENZIO, *La Vita e gli scritti del Cardinale Cesare Baronio*, Rome 1907, p. 583.

²⁰ Descriptions include CALENZIO, *La Vita e gli scritti* cit., pp. 966-77, who reproduces some of the signs and monograms employed; A. MAGNANELLI and L. SALVATORELLI, *Gli autografi di Cesare Baronio esistenti in Roma*, in *Per Cesare Baronio scritti vari* cit., pp. 27-84, esp. 31-46; MAZZAROLI, *Bibliografia baroniana* cit., pp. 823-26.

Peter therefore, the son of Rainerius, successor to his father both in his magistracy and in his piety, erected an ample monastery by his expenditures and enriched it with his goods. Concerning this foundation and endowment a written instrument still survives unaltered in an ancient parchment codex of the Abbey of Casamari, whose text we received from Michele Bonelli, the commendatory abbot of this monastery, the nephew of Pope Pius V of blessed memory (1566-72), from which we describe this document [...]

10. The next two paragraphs transmit the text of the foundation charter, which names «Dominic priest and abbot» as the first abbot of this house.

It happened, however, that this monastery – erected in the name of the Mother of God, after the aforesaid Dominic the first abbot of this place, celebrated for the sanctity of his life and famed for the grace of miracles, had died (whose death, according to Leo of Ostia, happened in the following year) – would begin to be called by the name of Saint Dominic, as it is even up to the present day, which also Leo testifies, [...]

(here Baronius transcribes a diploma of Innocent III which uses both names).

11. He then proceeds to describe the foundation of San Silvestro by Peter Rainerius and the foundation of the monastery of Casamari by an assortment of local clerics. In this context he proudly notes two donations that members of the Barone family «*antecessores nostros*» had made to Casamari in the thirteenth century. It would appear that the commendatory abbot of Casamari had sent Baronius a copy of his monastery's chronicle, which included the Casamari foundation charter and the text of the papal letter which assigns the decayed monastery of San Domenico to Casamari in 1222. A transitional sentence notes that, in the next year of the *Annales*, Dominic's death will be reported.

12. And so indeed it does appear in 1031:

In this year died St. Dominic Abbot, the first abbot of the Soran monastery which was spoken of in the year above, concerning whose time of death Leo of Ostia in the *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* says this "In these days, namely in

the year of the Lord 1131 blessed Dominic, the worker of innumerable miracles and the founder of many monasteries, now almost eighty years old, migrated to the Lord at the city of Sora in the Campania, and was buried in a monastery near Sora, which now is called by his name."²¹

13. In the *Annales*, this long digression on Sora breaks the flow of the narrative and the symmetry of the entries. It expands the treatment of the year 1030 to more than six printed folio pages, whereas the entry for 1031 is only about two pages long, and that for 1032 little more than one. It explicitly anchors Baronius himself in Sora. But it does not really say much about St. Dominic, who, beyond his mention in the Sora foundation charter, is no greater presence here than he was in the *Roman Martyrology*.

14. Baronius is also said to have written a short unpublished *Vita*... *di S. Domenico di Sora*, found today in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana²². The alleged *vita* is actually only a short paragraph on the sacred geography of Sora: it compares «the mountains and forests of Soran territory», where «St. Dominic is believed to have lived the anachoretic life», to the Nitrian desert of Egypt. Then it goes on to specify a half dozen places in the region which bear the names of holy men, evidence of the *vestigia sanctorum*²³. This piece occurs in a collection of miscellaneous writings, some in the hand of Baronius, some sent to him by his correspondents and collaborators, items that appear to have been collected to aid in the composition of the *Annales Ecclesiastici*. Baronius is much more concerned with sacred geography than with the saints themselves, just as he was when he did actually mention Dominic in the *Annales*.

15. What has happened here to Dominic's hagiography? Baronius has been hailed as a precursor of the Bollandists and their *Acta Sanctorum*²⁴.

²¹ According to the current way of reckoning years, that date would actually be 1032. See note 1 above.

²² S. MOTTIRONI, *Cesare Baronio agiografo*, in *A. Cesare Baronio* cit., pp. 307-13, esp. 309.

²³ Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS Q.74, p. 316 (consulted by photograph), described in MAZZAROLI, *Bibliografia baroniana* cit., pp. 816-952, esp. 830-31.

²⁴ MOTTIRONI, *Cesare Baronio agiografo* cit., pp. 307-13, esp. 307.

This reputation rests on his contributions to the *Roman Martyrology*²⁵, on his *life* of Ambrose which was appended to an edition of Ambrose's collected works²⁶, and on a *life* of Gregory Nazianzus which was first published when it was incorporated into the *Acta Sanctorum* one century later²⁷. These were all projects of the 1580s. Each was prompted by a special request that Baronius could not refuse because it came from the highest levels²⁸. Inasmuch as these projects were completed within a very limited segment of a much longer scholarly career, they do not necessarily demonstrate that Baronius thought of himself as a hagiographer. In fact, if hagiography is defined as writing seeking to promote the cult of a saint then Baronius may not have had too great an affection for the genre: he justifies his *life* of Gregory on the grounds that the prior biography deserves to be replaced just because it was not so much a *life* as a panegyric («non tam vitam quam laudationem»)²⁹.

16. One reason scholars have assumed that Baronius was a hagiographer is the fact that he had an Oratorian colleague, Antonio Gallonio (d. 1605), who certainly was³⁰. Gallonio was attempting to create a universal library of the lives of the saints, a project later successfully executed by the Bollandists. Although his collection was never published, except for a couple of ephemeral related studies, twenty volumes of hagiographical material collected by Gallonio and several more volumes of his other papers are preserved today in the Vallicelliana Library.

²⁵ See note 14 above.

²⁶ MAZZAROLI, *Bibliografia baroniana* cit., pp. 848-49.

²⁷ *Acta Sanctorum Maii*. II, Antwerp 1680, pp. 373-429, esp. 373 / Paris 1868³, pp. 371-427.

²⁸ The revision of the *Roman Martyrology* was sponsored by Pope Gregory XIII, together with the calendrical reforms that resulted in the Gregorian calendar. Gregory also requested a *vita* of Gregory Nazianzus, apparently in connection with the translation of his namesake's relics into a new altar in St. Peter's. Cardinal Felice Peretti, the future Sixtus VI, requested the *Vita Ambrosii* as a complement to his edition of Ambrose's complete works.

²⁹ *AASS Maii*. II, Antwerp 1680, pp. 373-429, esp. 373 / Paris 1868³, pp. 371-427, esp. 371.

³⁰ There is no extensive scholarly treatment of Gallonio. An unedited panegyric biography exists in *Le Vite... de Padri e Fratelli della Congregazione dell'Oratorio*, 3 voll., in Biblioteca Vallicelliana MSS 0.58-60, vol. 1, fols. 301-312v. A much more hostile view appears in A. CISTELLINI, *San Filippo Neri. L'Oratorio e la Congregazione Oratoriana. Storia e spiritualità*, Brescia 1989, vol. 1, pp. 409, 522, 701, 730-31 e 762; vol. 2, pp. 778, 781-86, 790-93, 810, 878, 910-911, 947, 1094, 1167-72, 1262, 1333, 1362-65, 1403; and vol. 3, pp. 2130.

Among them are four copies of lives and a collection of miracles for Dominic of Sora³¹.

17. Scholars presume that when Baronius wrote his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, he exploited the materials assembled by Gallonio. For example, Cyriac Pullapilly, the leading English language biographer of Baronius, writes that «There is no doubt that Baronius profited by the researches of Gallonio»³². Eric Cochrane claimed that Gallonio served Baronius as a «research assistant»³³. Nevertheless, it is necessary to be very cautious about assuming that these two men collaborated closely. There is likely to have been considerable tension between the two inasmuch as the resources that the Oratorians devoted to the publication of Baronius's *Annales* probably doomed Gallonio's huge parallel project. A psychologically-oriented historian might also speculate on whether two extremely devoted disciples of Philip Neri could have been in competition in other ways. In any case, in 1592 Gallonio shocked the brethren of the Oratory by proposing to publish a critique of the early volumes of the *Annales*. Philip Neri managed to quash this project, but not until it had given rise to the considerable consternation that is reflected in letters from Baronius³⁴.

18. Perhaps later on, as both men labored mightily to secure the canonization of Philip Neri, they may have collaborated more harmoniously. This outcome is suggested by an odd literary partnership. In 1603, some Benedictines, outraged that the seventh volume of the *An-*

nales Ecclesiastici had denied that Gregory I's monastic foundations had followed the *Benedictine Rule*, produced a weighty response which they dedicated to the pope himself. Under such circumstances, it might have seemed heavy handed if a response were to come from the papal librarian, Cardinal Baronius. Instead he chose to publish his answer in 1604 under Gallonio's name³⁵. This might have been a closing gesture of fraternity—within a year Gallonio would be dead.

19. There could also have been methodological reasons why Baronius failed to exploit Gallonio's treasure trove of texts. As a doctor of law, Baronius was trained to privilege legal texts such as charters and council enactments. Because he was writing history in an annalistic format, he needed fixed dates, such as those found in annals, chronicles, and dated legal texts. Hagiographical lives, on the other hand, are notorious for favoring timeless sanctity over strict chronology. Perhaps the procedure that Baronius followed in composing the *Annales* militated against using the materials that Gallonio assembled: he seems to have created sheets for each year of the Christian era and then to have filled them in systematically by deconstructing a few sources he regarded highly: for the early eleventh century, for example, he drew much of his material from the *Monte Cassino Chronicle*, Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon*, and Rodulfus Glaber's *Five Books of History*³⁶. Then he added documents and texts from very famous published hagiographical pieces such as Peter Damian on Romuald of Ravenna and Rupert of Deutz on Heribert of Cologne. Given the magnitude of the task and his need for firm dates, he may have had neither the time nor the inclination to examine systematically the hagiographical materials in Gallonio's huge collection.

20. Or did he deliberately slight hagiography as a rhetorical strategy? Although in practice the primary purpose of his writings was to

³⁵ CALENZIO, *La Vita e gli scritti* cit., pp. 647-49; MAZZAROL, *Bibliografia baroniana* cit., pp. 876 and 883.

³⁶ Baronius did describe this method, as he employed it in earlier volumes, in an *Ordo, qui servandus proponitur in historia Ecclesiastica pervestiganda*, found in Biblioteca Vallicelliana MS Q.46, p. 47. See PULLAPILLY, *Caesar Baronius* cit., pp. 34-35; S. ZEN, *Baronio storico. Controriforma e crisi del metodo umanistico*, Naples 1994, pp. 73-80, with an appended edition, pp. 347-54.

³¹ Rome Biblioteca Vallicelliana MSS G.98, H.1-20, and H.21-23, described in A. PONCELET, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinarum bibliothecarum Romanarum praefer quam Vaticanarum* (Analecta Bollandiana Subsidia Hagiographica, 9), Brussels 1909, pp. 8-99 and 400-43. On the Dominic material, see pp. 399, 432, and 441-42; and Howe, *Church Reform* cit., pp. 163-78 / *Riforma della Chiesa* cit., pp. 185-202.

³² PULLAPILLY, *Caesar Baronius* cit., p. 157, supports this assertion only by noting that Baronius had been the librarian of the Vallicelliana in 1584-85; Gallonio in 1590-93, not by documenting any actual textual borrowings.

³³ E. COCHRANE, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago 1981, pp. 459-60.

³⁴ CALENZIO, *La Vita e gli scritti* cit., pp. 298-308, describes the controversy provoked by Gallonio's intended challenge, and prints Baronius' lengthy defense of his position in the affair, pp. 299-304, which survives in at least two copies.

strengthen the conviction of his fellow Catholics, the *Annales* were written to answer Protestant scholars who rejected the cults of saints and their associated records. A lawyer responding to an audience of doubters might have preferred to showcase the historical and legal texts that they would have found more convincing.

21. Whatever the reason, although the «researches of Gallonio» were certainly important for preserving texts related to Dominic of Sora, they have no connection at all to the way that Dominic is treated in the *Annales*. However attached Baronius might have been to Sora itself, he did not use the hagiographical lives available in the Oratory to present Dominic. This individual case suggests the need to investigate certain questions. Was Baronius closely involved with Gallonio's hagiographical project? Did he use Gallonio's materials at all? How exactly did Baronius use hagiographical sources? Did he markedly prefer historical and legal texts over hagiographical ones? Did he have a certain prejudice in favor of writings from the Classical world, giving more weight to the *passiones* of martyrs and to patristic hagiography than to medieval hagiography? Further research on such questions, identifying the sources of the *Annales* and Baronius' methodology, might reveal how much his treatment of Dominic is typical or atypical³⁷. But Baronius certainly was writing at the dawn of a new era of critical historiography, participating in the polemical reformation debates that transformed history into a critical academic discipline. His somewhat arbitrary selectivity here seems to have been, for better and for worse, one aspect of his attempts at methodological rigor.

³⁷ COCHRANE, *Historians and Historiography* cit., pp. 458-63, situates the project of Baronius in its broader context.