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CARTE ALLACCI: NOTES ON THE FATE
OF LEONE ALLACCI'S PAPERS IN SEVENTEENTH-
AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ROME*

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the history of the collection *Carte Allacci* of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome, attempting to piece together what information remains about its creation and transfer to the Vallicelliana. The purpose is to provide the historical background for a series of forthcoming studies focusing on individual items of this collection, which contains Leone Allacci's unpublished works on classical antiquity. The article provides an account of the events following Allacci's death and summarizes the contents of Allacci's will, then focuses on Raffaele Vernazza and Agostino Mariotti, respectively the creator of the collection and the scholar responsible for its donation to the Vallicelliana. A transcription of Vernazza's will is given in the Appendix.

INTRODUCTION

The present article is the first of a series of studies focusing on the manuscripts kept at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome that preserve the (mainly unpublished) production on classical antiquity authored by the Greek scholar Leone Allacci (1588ca.-1669)¹. The collection containing Allacci's manuscripts, the so-called *Carte Allacci*, is quite large, has no catalog², and has only been partially studied. Its relevance is well established among scholars who work on Allacci, but the manuscripts preserving works on Latin and Greek

* I would like to thank Professor Giovanni Benedetto for his valuable help and guidance during the complex research that has led to this paper, for the many revisions and for his constant presence through the years.

¹ On Allacci see the article by D. MUSTI in «DBI» 2 (1960), pp. 467-471; T. CERBU, *Leone Allacci (1587-1669): The Fortunes of an Early Byzantinist*, diss. Harvard University, 1986; and the biography by D. SURACE, *Vita e opere di Leone Allacci*, in C. MONTUSCHI (ed.), *Storia della Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana*, t. III. *La Vaticana nel Seicento (1590-1700). Una biblioteca di biblioteche*, Città del Vaticano 2014, pp. 199-204.

² There are partial catalogs, particularly useful for an overview of the collection: H. LAEMMER, *De Leonis Allatii codicibus qui Romae in Bibliotheca Vallicelliana asservantur*, Friburgi Brisgoviae 1864; E. MARTINI, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, Milano 1902; P. O. KRISTELLER, *Iter Italicum VI*, Leiden-Boston 1992, pp. 185-202. As far as I know, no one is working on a catalog of the *Carte Allacci* collection, except for T. Cerbu's forthcoming work on Allacci's correspondence, which however will only be concerned with the manuscripts containing letters. Although certainly a massive undertaking, the value of this collection demands that a more complete catalog be produced soon.

texts have never been the object of a specific study³: scholarly attention has focused mainly on the correspondence and on aspects related to Allacci's life, his activities as *Scriptor Graecus* at the Vatican Library and his work as a Byzantinist, while his interest in ancient Greek and Latin literature, his approach and methodologies in his work on classical antiquity have remained unexplored. This collection can give back to us a significant portion of Allacci's intellectual feats, reconstructing an aspect that has stayed in the shadow but was not of secondary importance in his life and for his scholarly profile⁴. Forthcoming articles will deal with specific works (beginning with cod. V, which contains Allacci's translation and commentary to Aristotle's *Hymn to virtue*), but the first and most essential task is analyzing the history of these manuscripts, namely understanding how the collection was created, how and when it reached the Vallicelliana. In fact, a study of any of these manuscripts is immediately faced with difficulties due to their current complex, almost 'messy' state, which is a direct result of the vicissitudes they went through before arriving at their present location: retracing their history, though also interesting in and of itself, is essential in order to be able to conduct a proper analysis of the individual manuscripts, as we will see. This article will therefore begin by discussing the fate of Allacci's papers and library, the first, and perhaps most complex as well as most fascinating chapter in the whole story.

ALLACCI'S WILLS

The figure of the prolific *scriptor Graecus* of the Vatican Library Leone Allacci has always attracted the attention of scholars and keeps drawing some interest in light of his many intellectual pursuits, still largely unstudied⁵. Born in Chios, Allacci studied at the «Pontificio Collegio Greco di S. Atanasio» in Rome since 1599, becoming *doctor* and *magister* in philosophy and theology in 1610⁶. Allacci was one of the most influential men in the cultural scene of the 17th century: his 1635 treatise *De erroribus magnorum virorum in dicendo dissertatio rhetorica* is considered a work of great impact, «fondamentale per le

³ There are also a few works that are not directly concerned with classical texts, but that to my knowledge remain unpublished and unstudied to this day, such as the *De conscribendis epistolis* (cod. XI) and the *Mandragora* (cod. XXXI).

⁴ E.g. these manuscripts confirm that Allacci was interested in Latin as much Greek authors: Allacci's works on Tacitus and on Cicero occupy two whole large manuscripts, codd. LV and IV.

⁵ Among recent publications see L. CANFORA, *La Biblioteca Palatina di Heidelberg e una lettera dimenticata di Leone Allacci*, «Byzantinische Zeitschrift» 96/1 (2003), pp. 59-66; C. SOJER, *Leo Allatius als Philologe und Verleger aus einer neuen Perspektive: Vergleichendes Studium des editio princeps seiner Graecia orthodoxa (Band 2) und des ihr zugrunde liegenden Autographon (Rimini, Biblioteca civica Gambalunga SC-MS 87)*, «Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae» 50 (2010), pp. 295-315; C. SANDER, *Magnetism for Librarians. Leone Allacci's De Magnete (1625) and its Relation to Giulio Cesare LaGalla's Disputatio de Sympathia et Antipathia (1623)*, «Erudition and the Republic of Letters» 5 (2020), pp. 274-307.

⁶ The archive of the Greek College still preserves Allacci's official diploma, dated 1610.

idee dell'epoca»⁷; he managed the transfer of the Palatine Library from Heidelberg to the Vatican in 1622-1623 and was strongly connected to cardinal Francesco Barberini, for whom he acted as a librarian. Allacci was the author of ca. sixty publications, whose focus ranged from the relations between Roman and Greek Church to byzantine historiographers, epigraphy and Etruscology⁸: in addition to this already vast production, Allacci had completed and intended to print many other works, which, however, have remained unpublished and are now preserved in the *Carte Allacci* of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome.

The history of the collection *Carte Allacci* has been illustrated by Th. Papadopoulos in various publications, and especially in an article of 1982⁹: we will review the facts that have been established with certainty by scholars until now, identify what still remains obscure, and attempt a reconstruction as comprehensive as possible.

It has been stated that this collection represents Leone Allacci's 'papers', but this is not an accurate definition of the *Carte Allacci*: there is a substantial difference between what comprised Allacci's papers at the time of his death in 1669 and what is now preserved at the Vallicelliana. The *Carte Allacci* are a collection of 237 manuscripts which contain (I) material by the hand of Allacci himself, together with (II) eighteenth-century copies of this material and (III) other eighteenth-century material that is only indirectly related to Allacci. The *Carte Allacci* can be more accurately described as the result of the lifelong work of collection by Raffaele Vernazza (1701-1780), with the addition of what Agostino Mariotti (1724-1806) had gathered (though mostly his own material), and possibly with the *subtraction* of some (unfortunately unspecified) material, made by Mariotti himself.

The false notion that Allacci bequeathed his manuscripts to the Vallicelliana in his will, which circulated in some scholarly publications at the beginning of the 20th century, has generally been abandoned for some time now¹⁰. As noted by Papadopoulos, and by G. Mercati before him¹¹, Allacci's testament was published by E. Legrand in 1895, and it is now easily accessible online¹²; the original documents are preserved at the Archivio di Stato di Roma and are publicly – though perhaps not too easily – accessible. The will

⁷ J. IJSEWIJN, *Scrittori Latini a Roma dal Barocco al Neoclassicismo*, «Studi Romani» 36/3-4 (1988), pp. 229-249, p. 244.

⁸ C. JACONO, *Bibliografia di Leone Allacci (1588-1669)*, Palermo 1962, is still a useful reference.

⁹ TH. PAPADOPOULOS, Περὶ τῶν Ἀλλατιανῶν χειρογράφων in «Praktika tēs Akadēmias Athēnōn» 55 (1980), pp. 500-534 (republished in TH. PAPADOPOULOS, ΛΕΩΝ ΑΛΛΑΤΙΟΣ (1588-1669), Athēna 2007, pp. 203-237).

¹⁰ Although S. LEUCÀ – V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Due documenti greci inediti provenienti dall'archivio del Patir*, «Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Leucania» 73 (2006), pp. 71-93 still talk about Raffaele Vernazza and Agostino Mariotti as «esecutori testamentari».

¹¹ G. MERCATI, *Un eucologio ciprio che si cercava*, «Traditio» 7 (1949-1951), pp. 223-232.

¹² At the following link: https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/php/pdf_pager.php?rec=/metadata/d/8/0/-metadata-01-0000754.tkl&do=108718_03.pdf&pageno=465&pagestart=1&width=481&height=718&maxpage=584&lang=en

is made of two main documents¹³: the first was made in February 1668, and the other is an addendum written on 17.1.1669, a few days before Allacci's death; except for the initial and final standard statements in Latin (date, name, notary, situation, location, witnesses), the rest of the text is in Italian. Having seen the documents preserved at the Archivio di Stato, I can confirm that Legrand's copy is a faithful reproduction of the two wills: I would only like to add that there is also a third, short document connected to the wills and preserved among the «Strumenti» for the year 1669¹⁴, bearing the same date as the addendum. This document – a simple order to procure money on his behalf – informs us more clearly of Allacci's deteriorating health, letting us know why the wills are not written and signed by him personally:

«[...] Leo Allatius filius bo. me. Nicolai Allatii nobilis Chius de Scio Insulae Arcipelagi S.^{mi} D. N. Papae honoris Cubicularius ac Bibliothecae Vaticanae primus custos mihi notario benecognitus *in lecto iacens corpore infirmus sed mente sana non valens propter hanc infirmitatem suis manibus scribere vel subscribere*¹⁵ pro conficiendi ordine infrascriptarum¹⁶ pecuniarum quarum indiget pro expensis quotidianis sponte etc ac omni mel. modo etc constituit et deputavit [...]»¹⁷

The first will reveals that Allacci had left to various cardinals and prominent members of the contemporary political scene a copy of each of his publications, «un esemplare di ciascun libro delli libri da esso signor testatore stampati, sciolti»; among the names men-

¹³ The complete reference is «Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio dei Trenta Notai Capitolini, Testamenti, Ufficio 9, vol. 1045, 1667-1675», the first will (28.2.1668) is at ff. 90r-92v, and 115r-117r (the will is separated in two sections because of the binding), the second (17.1.1669) at ff. 202r-203v, 230r-v (same issue with the binding). The notary is Jo. Franciscus Abinantes (active between 1632 and 1679), Ufficio 9, and his papers are organized as follows: the «Strumenti» (or «Instr.») are separated from the wills, «Testamenti»; the volume «Instr.» (which is vol. n. 419) contains a brief document in Latin related to Allacci's will, dated January 17, at ff. 297r-297v, while the aforementioned vol. 1045 of the «Testamenti», containing all wills dated between 1667 and 1675, preserves Allacci's two wills. On this collection at the Archivio di Stato di Roma, cf. R. DE VIZIO, *Repertorio dei notari romani dal 1348 al 1927 dall'Elenco di Achille Francois*, Roma 2011. A partial copy of the will is in the archive of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, SC Collegi Vari vol. 30, *Collegio Greco di Roma dall'anno 1577 all'anno 1779*, f. 75r. A copy of the will should also have been preserved at the Greek College according to an old catalog dated 1677 (volume 44 of the Archive) and to the letter from the Greek student Pietro Schilici to Vernazza, ms. Carte Allacci 157, f. 60r: «al Vescovo di S. Atanasio Monsignor Crisostomo scrivo [the reading of this word is uncertain] di procurarmi una copia del testamento d'Allaccio e son contento che spenda 20, o il più 25».

¹⁴ Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio dei Trenta Notai Capitolini, Strumenti, Ufficio 9 vol. 9 notaio Abinante f. 297r-v.

¹⁵ Emphasis mine.

¹⁶ This word is difficult to read, «infrascriptarum» is my conjecture based on the sense.

¹⁷ f. 297r. The document was written in Allacci's home: «Actum Romae domi sol. habitationis dicti Ill.mi D. Allatii positae in Reg. Transtiberim prope Plateam V. Eccl. B. Mariae de Scala».

tioned in the will are cardinal Giacomo Rospigliosi (1628-1684), cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio (1592-1675), cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici (1617-1675), and the young prince Rinaldo d'Este (1655-1737). Allacci then stated that what was left of his publications after these donations should go to the Greek College of Saint Athanasius in Rome, which also received a substantial bequest¹⁸.

With regard to manuscripts, they were to be divided as follows: manuscripts of George Pachymeres (1242-1310)¹⁹ and Allacci's own *Dramaturgia* were to be delivered to the Vatican Library; the *Historia manuscripta latina* and the oration of Nicephoros, «con tutti gli altri libri manoscritti originali che da esso signor testatore sono stati fatti stampare» (i.e. manuscript copies of published material) to cardinal Barberini; his «biblioteca» was left to the Greek College, with the caveats that it had to be placed in a special room separate from the common library used by the young scholars of the college; that no book should be sold or lent or altered in any way; and that an inventory had to be made every year. The Greek College still owns Allacci's extensive library, which is hosted in a room along with the library that belonged to Pietro Arcudi (1563-1633), and appears to have been almost forgotten there²⁰.

The addendum of 1669 clearly states that all manuscripts, «tutti li manoscritti» – whether they be manuscript copies of published works or unpublished material – should go to cardinal Barberini²¹, and contains an additional request made by Allacci to the cardinal to publish the *Symmikta*²², i.e. the remaining unpublished volumes that Allacci had already planned, as per the index of 1668 (which includes the material on the *Hymn to Virtue* along with many other works preserved in the *Carte Allacci*)²³. The cardinal died

¹⁸ Many scholars were able to study there thanks to Allacci's endowment: cf. Z. N. TSIRPANLES, *To Ελληνικό Κολλέγιο της Ρώμης και οι μαθητές του (1576-1700)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1980.

¹⁹ On the story of this edition cf. C. FORTUZZI, *La Biblioteca Barberina. La raccolta libraria di Urbano VIII e Francesco Barberini*, ebook open access, pp. 146-147.

²⁰ A first catalog was drafted by E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique du dix-septième siècle*, vol. III, Paris 1895, pp. VII-XIII, then supplemented by M. ΦΩΣΚΟΛΟΣ, *Τα παλαιά ελληνικά βιβλία του Ελληνικού Κολλεγίου του Αγίου Αθανασίου της Ρώμης, «Ο Ερανιστής»* 9 (1971), pp. 1-69. See also L. VOS, *L'Archivio del Pontificio Collegio Greco di Roma* in A. CIFRES (ed.), *Memoria Fidei. Archivi ecclesiastici e Nuova Evangelizzazione* Roma 2016, pp. 167-172. The library would certainly require a more extensive study listing what works he possessed and checking which books contain handwritten notes. I would like to thank the Greek College for giving me access to the library and to the archive.

²¹ On Allacci's long relationship with the Barberini see R. BARBIELLINI AMIDEI, *Leontos toy Allatiou, Barberinokomis*, in L. MOCHI ONORI - S. SCHÜTZE - F. SOLINAS (edd.), *I Barberini e la cultura europea del Seicento*, Roma 2007, pp. 143-146, and F. CONDELLO - M. MAGNANI, *Il ms. Vat. Barb. gr. 69 e lo pseudo-Archiloco (fr. °°327 e °°328 W²). Testo, contesto e ipotesi attributiva, «RHT»* 14 (2019), pp. 69-140. On the Barberiniana cf. FORTUZZI, *La Biblioteca Barberina* cit.

²² «All'eminentissimo signor Cardinal Francesco Barberino [...] lascia anco tutti li manoscritti, supplicando sua Eminenza di voler far stampare quelli intitolati Simmithi».

²³ *Leonis Allatii SYMMIKTON sive Opusculorum Graecorum et Latinorum Vetustiorum ac Recentiorum Libri X*, Romae 1668; this is a reprint of the first edition of 1653, *Leonis Allatii SYMMIKTA sive Opusculorum Graecorum et Latinorum Vetustiorum ac Recentiorum Libri duo*, Coloniae

in 1674 before being able to accomplish this task, which apparently was left to Ferdinand von Fürstenberg (1626-1683), who also died before publishing Allacci's work²⁴.

AFTER ALLACCI'S DEATH

At this point the reconstruction becomes difficult: the *Fondo Barberini* of the Vatican Library (i.e. the former Biblioteca Barberiniana, acquired by the Vatican Library in 1902) currently preserves some of Allacci's autograph manuscripts, but this material – though of course extremely valuable – is far less rich than what is kept in the Vallicelliana²⁵. Papadopoulos believes that «most of Allacci's manuscripts were given after his death to the Barberiniana»²⁶, although not exactly as specified in the will, and that many of them were subsequently removed and ended up in the Vallicelliana.

When Allacci died, Carlo Moroni (†1685), his friend and executor of his will²⁷, was the librarian of the Barberiniana (1637-1684). A catalog of the library was printed in 1681 by his initiative: it should have comprised three volumes, the first two listing printed books and the third listing all manuscripts²⁸, but unfortunately only the first two volumes were published. No record of the transmission of Allacci's manuscripts to the Barberiniana has emerged yet. The extant eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century catalogs of the Barberiniana preserved in the Vatican Library (*Barb. Lat.* 3138, 3139 and 3166) shed no particular light on this matter²⁹.

From the (scarce) information we are able to gather, it seems, in fact, that Allacci's manuscripts, letters and papers were at least partially dispersed, and remained scattered among various institutions and scholars until Raffaele Vernazza – probably around the Thirties of the 18th century – began to collect them along with Allacci's published works, 'recreating' Allacci's library and papers.

Agrippinae 1653. Cerbu, *Leone Allacci (1587-1669)* cit., p. 40, describes the *Symmikta* as «a kind of testament to Allacci's unrealized editorial ambitions».

²⁴ CERBU, *Leone Allacci (1587-1669)* cit., p. 101.

²⁵ A rough estimate – based on the online catalog, the digital library and references in other articles – of Allacci's autograph manuscripts currently preserved in the Fondo Barberini, suggests ca. 30 manuscripts. This count includes manuscripts containing either Allacci's own works or copies of other texts made by himself, as well as manuscripts bearing Allacci's autograph annotations in the margins: in other words, material that may have been part of Allacci's personal papers.

²⁶ PAPAPOULOS, Περὶ τῶν Ἀλλατιανῶν cit., p. 506.

²⁷ He witnessed all three documents.

²⁸ Cf. FORTUZZI, *La Biblioteca Barberina* cit., p. 154; the manuscript version of this index is now codd. *Barb. Lat.* 3194-3200.

²⁹ The only works by Allacci mentioned in these catalogs are: «Allatii (Leonis) oratio dicta cardinali Mapheo Barberino, cum collegium Graecorum inviseret» (*Barb. Lat.* 3138 f. 4 and 3139 f. 2v and f. 34); «Gerogii Acropolitae Magni Logotheta Historia interprete Leone Allatio» (*Barb. Lat.* 3166 f. 16r, now this work is *Barb. Gr.* 191); «Leonis Allatii de rebus in italia suo tempore gestis liber 1 mss.» (*Barb. Lat.* 3166 f. 16r, now *Barb. Gr.* 177).

For example, a letter written in 1674 by the General Procurator of the Congregation of St. Maur in Rome, Dom Antoine Durban (procurator from 1672 to 1681), to Luc D'Achery (1609-1685, librarian of the Abbey in St.-Germain-des-Prés) informs us that there was a «catalog des livres qui à present se trouvent encore a vendre de Leo Allatius»³⁰: I believe that this statement is slightly ambiguous and we cannot be sure that the ones mentioned here are books *owned* by Allacci and not perhaps *published* by Allacci (and if this is a reference only to printed material and not also to manuscripts), although it is more likely. However, it certainly testifies to the fact that as soon as five years after Allacci's death his possessions were circulating and available to others. In addition to this, there is also an interesting statement found in J. Mabillon's *Iter Italicum*, referred to the year 1685: Mabillon writes that Giovanni Pastrizio (1636-1708)³¹, who was a former student of Allacci and prefect of the College of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide at that time, told him that he was in possession of «Allatii [...] nonnullis ineditis»³². Pastrizio was in fact mentioned in Allacci's will³³, but he was not supposed to inherit unpublished manuscripts. Propaganda Fide, connected to the Greek College since its creation, took over its management in 1773³⁴; Allacci had multiple ties with the Congregation, he especially had a prominent role in the Tipografia Poliglotta, where some of his works were also printed³⁵.

³⁰ Noticed by J. BIGNAMI ODIER, *La bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI*, Vaticano 1973, p. 128 n. 111; the letter is published in G. CHARVIN, *La correspondance de Procureurs Généraux de la Congregation de Saint Maur près la Cour de Rome – Les lettres de Dom Antoine Durban*, «Revue Mabillon» 24 (1934), pp. 31-52, at pp. 40-41, and it is preserved in the Bibliothèque National de France, ms. Fr. 17688, ff. 95r-96r, the reference to Allacci is on f. 96r. I was hoping to find D'Achery's reply to this letter but unfortunately it seems it has not been preserved (Bibliothèque National de France, mss. Fr. 17682-17689).

³¹ On Pastrizio, the Croatian Ivan Paštrić, cf. the article by T. MRKONJI in «DBI» 81 (2014), pp. 703-705.

³² *Iter italicum litterarum*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1687, p. 61.

³³ Called Giorgio instead of Giovanni: «Un altro [scil. esemplare di ciascuno libro delli libri da esso signor testatore stampati] al signor D. Giorgio Pastritio, che sta nel Collegio de Propaganda Fide ecc.».

³⁴ For a history of the Greek College cf. V. PERI, *Inizi e finalità ecumeniche del collegio Greco in Roma*, «Aevum» 44 (1970), pp. 1-71.

³⁵ In the Archivio storico of Propaganda Fide, in addition to the partial copy of Allacci's will mentioned *supra* n. 12, there are some other documents connected to Allacci: there are a few records of the donation made in the will and the scholarship created with it, and there is Allacci's 1655 nomination to 'relatore' of the Tipografia, i.e. the person responsible for the prior evaluation of texts to be published (SOCG 182 f. 5v: «Il sig Leone Allatio vien dichiarato Relatore dell'opere che si dovranno stampar con provision di scudi diece il mese»); cf. G. PIZZORUSSO, *I satelliti di Propaganda Fide: il Collegio Urbano e la Tipografia Poliglotta*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome» 116 (2004), pp. 471-498. One text written in SC Collegi Vari vol. 30, *Collegio Greco di Roma dall'anno 1577 all'anno 1779*, ff. 67r-72, which discusses the oaths taken by students of the Greek College, is marked «manu Leonis Allatii» but this does not resemble Allacci's hand at all, and Allacci is in fact actually mentioned in the text as a prominent authority on the matters under discussion, so altogether we can be reasonably sure that this text should not be attributed to Allacci.

RAFFAELE VERNAZZA

About seventy years after Allacci's death, Raffaele Vernazza, another Greek scholar from Chios, student at the Greek College with Allacci's scholarship and *Scriptor graecus supranumerarius* at the Vatican Library in 1741, then *Scriptor graecus* in 1758³⁶, began a very intense collecting activity, feverishly gathering all material related to Allacci: his correspondence (codd. CLVI and CLVII of the *Carte Allacci*) testifies to his efforts in searching for manuscripts and printed books, having copies made or buying originals as well as copies³⁷. From what is preserved of his letters (naturally we have more letters sent to Vernazza than letters sent by him), it is clear that the main focus of Vernazza's research were Allacci's letters and his printed works.

Letters sent to Vernazza by his former student Susanna Le Maistre, cod. *Carte Allacci* CLVI, ff. 405r-414r, dated between 1743 and 1745, inform us that Vernazza had asked his student to look for Allacci's letters in Gubbio (where she was living after her marriage), particularly at the archive that belonged to Vincenzo Armanni (1608-1684), one of Allacci's correspondents. In a letter from 1743, Le Maistre informs Vernazza that she has found one letter from Allacci to Armanni (cod. CLVI, f. 405v)³⁸, but in the subsequent letters she clearly relates the difficulties she and others were having in finding anything else at all³⁹. On the other hand, a single letter from the Greek scholar Niccolò Timoni (1744-1814), a close friend of Vernazza who lived in Naples, talks about «la spesa fatta per la copia delle lettere Allaziane» (cod. CLVII f. 249r).

With regard to Allacci's printed works, it is interesting to note that even though the Greek scholar was still very well known in the mid-eighteenth century, apparently copies

³⁶ Not much is known about Vernazza: Papadopoulos's article gives some biographical information throughout, PAPAPOULOS, Περὶ τῶν Ἀλλατιανῶν cit.; in addition to this see M. VITTI, Στίχοι τοῦ Χίου Ραφαήλ Βερνάτσα γιὰ τὴν Κύπρο, «Parnassós» 2 (1960), pp. 577-580 and S. G. MERCATI, *Testi volgari neoellenici tra le Carte Allacciane della biblioteca Vallicelliana*, «Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici» 3 (1931), pp. 283-290 on Vernazza's short, Greek poetic compositions. Vernazza's *stichourgema* is also printed in M. PERANTHES, *Megalē Hellenikē anthologia tēs poiēseōs*, vol. 1, Athena 1970, p. 277, along with a brief biographical note. The Vatican Library preserves no particular material related to Vernazza except for an official nomination of 1758 (*Arch. Bibl.* 2, ff. 209r-210v – copy of *Sec. Brev.* 3429 f. 96r-v), cf. Ch. M. GRAFINGER, *Regolamenti, modalità di accesso frequentatori e consultazioni: i documenti* in B. JATTA (ed.), *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana IV, La biblioteca Vaticana e le arti nel secolo dei lumi (1700-1797)*, Città del Vaticano 2016, pp. 413-440, p. 425.

³⁷ In addition to acquiring material from friends and acquaintances, Papadopoulos also believes that Vernazza may have actually removed items from libraries, cf. PAPAPOULOS, Περὶ τῶν Ἀλλατιανῶν cit., p. 511.

³⁸ We also have Vernazza's reply to this letter (or rather the rough draft of his reply), where he shares his excitement for this news and his hopes of finding other letters: cod. CLVII f. 526r.

³⁹ See for example f. 414r: «torno con questa a dirle che se potrà procurerò portarle qualche altra cosa di Leone Allazio, ma lo stimo difficile perché P. anche non è riuscito a trovar altro, benché non si sia cessato di farne ricerche».

of his publications were quite rare⁴⁰: Angelo Fumagalli explains that he has asked booksellers all over Milan, and sent letters to booksellers in Turin, Bologna, Piacenza, Venice⁴¹. In 1768, one of Vernazza's most frequent correspondents, Franz Paul von Smitmer (1741-1796) in Vienna, states «mi pare che il buon Sig. Allacci non abbia stampato delle sue opere mai più esemplari che dieci o dodici, e che di questi o non anno [*sic*] mai avuti in Vienna o sono stati portati via» (cod. CLVII, f. 170r); in 1770, talking about what seems to be a liquidation of the books owned by a certain «Sig. Nevenstevi»⁴², Smitmer says that only the *Apes Urbanae* were among such books, «ma nessuna opera di quelle che lei desidera» (cod. CLVII, f. 178r). From a letter dated February 1775 we also learn that Giuseppe di San Verano had sent word from Carpentras to a friend in Paris, to look for Allacci's published works: «Scripsi ad amicum Parisiis degentem ut sedulo apud librarios huius civitatis quaerat ea que de Allatio aliisque peroptas» (cod. CLVII f. 37r). Another witness of the difficulties in finding these texts is provided by a letter dated April 1773 from the abbot Martin Gerbert (1720-1793): «Nec pepercit opera nec parcam ut quorundam operum Leonis tui Allatii editiones, quae in schaedā mihi notata dedisti, perquirerem, sed incassum hactenus quidem. Spem facit reperiundi in Belgio Ill.mus Garampius» (cod. CLVI, f. 314r).

The search for material connected to Allacci was also extended to private libraries: Fumagalli in Argelati's library, because apparently Argelati had declared that he wished to print some of Allacci's unpublished works (however, it seems that he actually had nothing ready, cf. the letter in cod. CLVI, ff. 289r-289v: «non aveva nulla in pronto per fare la promessa edizione dell'Allazio»); Smitmer in the Mannagettiana (cod. CLVII, f. 170v), since Johann Wilhelm Mannagetta (1588-1666) was Allacci's friend and correspondent, as well as dedicatee of some of his publications; Giuseppe di San Verano in the library of the archbishop de Crochans in Avignon (cod. CLVII, ff. 33r-33v, «la libreria di Monsig.r di Crochans non è ancora venduta, onde ci vuol pazienza, credo che si trovano in detta libreria alcune opere di Leone Allacci, se saranno segnate nel di lei catalogo le comprerò, ho già presa la strada per non lasciarle scappare»). From subsequent letters we know that none of these searches was successful.

A couple of letters prove that two of Allacci's publications were indeed found abroad: Gerhoh Steigenberger (1741-1787)⁴³ from the abbey of Polling says «scrissi subito a vari corrispondenti per trovarmi le opera di Demostene ed Isocrate ed altre di Leone Allatio,

⁴⁰ On the other hand, in the list of books «Da vendersi con profitto» reported in *Barb.lat.* 3166, f. 57v, written by Guglielmo Manzi between 1817 and 1821 we find that the Vatican Library owned as many as twenty-one copies of one of Allacci's published works, and was therefore selling the excess copies: «Allatii Leonis Melissolyra de laudibus Dionysii Petavii. Romae 1653 8° copie 20».

⁴¹ Cod. CLVI, f. 286v. Fumagalli is the one who sent to Vernazza a copy of the famous *Istruzione* for the transfer of the Palatine library, which he had found in the library of Borromeo (cod. CLVI, ff. 281r-284r, letter dated 1756).

⁴² Both readings are uncertain.

⁴³ Born Caspar Steigenberger, cf. the article by H. REUSCH in «Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie» 35 (1893), p. 577.

ma per diligenza mia sin adesso non ho ottenuto che il libro di Allatio De consensione Ecclesiae orient. et occident. Coloniae 4° 1648⁴⁴. Edizione in verità bellissima colle note di Nihusio⁴⁵ la quale neanche si trova nella libreria nostra» (cod. CLVII ff. 215r-215v). Smitmer, in a letter dated January 1768, mentions gifting to Vernazza Allacci's translation of George Akropolites: «Rilevo dalla stimatissima di VSillma del 19 mese passato che le sia stato consegnato l'Acropolita tradotto da Leone Allacci della stampa di Parigi che mi son preso la libertà di regalarle» (cod. CLVII f. 161r)⁴⁶.

Vernazza's correspondence is obviously incomplete but it seems clear that the scholar had a very strong network and could resort to a significant number of contacts in order to detect and acquire material. Altogether we have the impression that most manuscripts were probably within Vernazza's grasp and did not in fact travel very far from Rome.

AGOSTINO MARIOTTI

Vernazza was planning to publish the *Opera omnia* of Allacci, but died before being able to complete this task: in 1780 he left all of his belongings, including the material on Allacci and the mission of publishing his complete works, to Agostino Mariotti, his friend and former student⁴⁷. Vernazza's will unfortunately does not mention the material on Allacci in particular (or any specific item in fact), it merely indicates Mariotti as «erede fiduciario» of everything Vernazza owned⁴⁸. Mariotti was a lawyer, an abbot and an extremely famous art collector in his time – but his fame did not last and not much is

⁴⁴ *Leonis Allatii De Ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione libri tres*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1648.

⁴⁵ Barthold Nihusius (1589-1657).

⁴⁶ The edition is ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΗ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗ [...] *Leone Allatio interprete cum eiusdem notis et Theodori Douzae Observationibus*, Parisiis 1651. In the same letter, Smitmer tells Vernazza that he is looking for Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Graeca* in bookstores in Vienna and that as soon as he finds it he will let him know the price and acquire it if he so desired (f. 162r); in 1770, in another letter, Smitmer asks Vernazza if he wants him to send the last volume of the *Bibliotheca Graeca* (f. 178r). Another of Vernazza's correspondents, Gianfrancesco Lancelotti, sent in 1767 a letter containing specific references to Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Latina*, together with other texts containing mentions of Allacci's publications (cod. CLVI ff. 394r-396r). Fabricius is in fact a most valuable source for Allacci's published as well as unpublished works, and it is certainly interesting that Vernazza did not own a copy of either the *Bibliotheca Graeca* or the *Bibliotheca Latina* as late as 1768.

⁴⁷ As noted by BIGNAMI ODIER, *La bibliothèque* cit. p. 128 n. 111, the Vatican Library had an interest in keeping Vernazza's collection, but due to the «négligence des responsables de la Bibliothèque qui n'avaient pas su contenter Vernazza et qui se désintéressèrent des papiers Allacci», anything belonging to him was ultimately given to Mariotti, who had submitted a written request to the Pope: cf. *Carte Allacci* CLXXII, f. 20r.

⁴⁸ The will, dated 34th of November 1780, is preserved at the Archivio di Stato di Roma, «Archivio dei Trenta Notai Capitolini, Ufficio 17, vol. 428», ff. 479r-480v; the notary is Butius Carolus. See Appendix.

known about him today⁴⁹: he had studied Greek with Vernazza and was extremely close to him, so it is likely that any specific agreement between the two concerning the delivery and publication of Allacci's works would have taken place verbally and privately. Mariotti, although writing a letter in 1783 to Mons. Garampi, Apostolic Nuncio, asking for his approval of the imminent publication, again failed to accomplish the project of publishing Allacci's *Opera omnia* in his lifetime⁵⁰. The manuscripts eventually arrived at the Vallicelliana in 1803, after having remained for two decades in Mariotti's care, and they now bear Mariotti's handwritten notes, both on Allacci's works and on material belonging to Vernazza.

Papadopoulos believes that if both Vernazza and Mariotti were confident enough to privately and publicly declare that they were ready to publish Allacci's *Opera omnia*⁵¹, their work must have been at a more advanced stage than what the material currently comprising the collection *Carte Allacci* suggests: both scholars may very well have exaggerated the advancement of their work, but the manuscripts of the collection rather look like 'working material', still very chaotic, roughly put together and with several handwritten annotations. Forthcoming studies on individual manuscripts will provide a more precise description, but, in general, while there are some entirely autograph manuscripts, written from beginning to end by Allacci, whose appearance indicates that they are still in the exact same condition they were when they belonged to Allacci (e.g. cod. XI), many manuscripts appear truly confusing, and 'layered': autograph portions are accompanied by eighteenth-century copies, papers with notes that comment on Allacci's work⁵², marginalia and annotations recording alternative readings to the texts analyzed by Allacci, or to other texts entirely; most of the eighteenth-century texts are in Vernazza's handwriting, some in Mariotti's, and many are by an unidentified hand. At present, there are no traces of any other work further advanced than what is currently in the Vallicelliana. Mariotti's will unfortunately contains no mentions of Allacci and his work, nor of Mariotti's own papers and library⁵³. While the *Carte Allacci* contain many of Mariotti's personal papers (mainly codd. CLVIII, CLXVIII, CLXXV) – including detailed reports of the trial he faced in connection to Vernazza's inheri-

⁴⁹ The most comprehensive work on Mariotti is G. Odone, *L'avocat Agostino Mariotti (1724-1806) et son musée, «une des curiosités de Rome»*, unpublished dissertation Université de Lorraine – Sapienza Università di Roma; I would like to thank Dr. Odone for sending me a copy of her thesis.

⁵⁰ The letter was published in vol. LII of the *Anthologia Romana*, and is now available online at the following link: <http://digitale.bnc.roma.sbn.it/tecadigitale/giornale/TO00176564/-1783/unico/00000415>.

⁵¹ A couple of Smitmer's letters talk about an apparently imminent publication, which Vernazza intended to dedicate to Smitmer's brother in law, «Sig. Antonio de Stöck, medico e consigliere di SM Imperiale»: cf. cod. 157 ff. 151r-151v, letter dated 1766, and cod. 157 ff. 196r-197r, letter dated 1774.

⁵² Cod. V also has a small sheet of paper with a neatly written note that comments on Allacci's work, judging it worthy of publication and noticing a few 'barbarismi' in the Latin style.

⁵³ Archivio di Stato di Roma, Trenta Notai Capitolini, ufficio 15, Notaio Delfini, 27 maggio 1801, ff. 309r-310v.

tance⁵⁴ –, nothing commenting on the publication of Allacci's works has emerged yet. Once the inspection of the entire collection is completed and all manuscripts, including handwritten annotations, have been analyzed, we could perhaps grasp something more of Mariotti's plans for the publication.

The matter of the numeration and organization of the *Carte Allacci* is also quite complex and does not shed much light on the transition of the manuscripts from Mariotti to the Vallicelliana. The manuscripts are numbered with Roman numerals and most of them have a 'title page' at the beginning, which lists the contents of the manuscript. In cod. CCXXXV we find a partial catalog (mss. I-XC), dated 1838, «cum notis Vernazzae et Mariotti redacta»⁵⁵. In 1887, A. Berthelot stated that among the «papiers d'Allatius» of the Vallicelliana only 91 were «classés et catalogués»⁵⁶: Berthelot used this 1838 catalog for his purposes and reproduced its contents, stating that it was the work of Ruggiero Falzacappa (1763-1843)⁵⁷. The reasons for this attribution remain unclear. Altogether, this indicates that the numeration of most manuscripts was done long after they arrived at the library and we do not know whether or not they had a previous numeration when they were in Mariotti's hands.

The 1838 catalog is also inaccurate in terms of the contents of the manuscripts, each entry is quite brief and does not give much detail. The title page at the beginning of each manuscript is in a different hand from the one of this catalog, and does not coincide with either Vernazza's or Mariotti's. These title pages are equally inaccurate in the description of the contents the manuscripts, but bear the indication «ineditum» when the manuscript preserves an unpublished work by Allacci. This indicates a genuine notion of the value of these manuscripts (though not accompanied by an interest for a true and thorough representation of all contents, however obscure). Papadopoulos believes that this was the work of an unknown librarian from the second half of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century⁵⁸.

CONCLUSIONS

Admittedly, there is little information regarding the fate of Allacci's manuscripts after his death; we currently have no notion of what was given to the Barberiniana, and the fact

⁵⁴ On which see especially PAPADOPOULOS, Περὶ τῶν Ἀλλατιανῶν cit.

⁵⁵ The first page reads «Volumina XC Mss. Allatii cum aliquibus notis Vernazzae et Mariotti kal. Mai 1838 redacta».

⁵⁶ A. BERTHELOT, *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, III s., vol. XIII Paris 1887, pp. 846-854, specifically p. 850.

⁵⁷ Member of the Confederazione dell'oratorio di San Filippo Neri – an essential institution in the history of the Vallicelliana – and Uditore di Rota, Falzacappa donated many of his manuscripts to the library, the now «Fondo Falzacappa» of the Vallicelliana.

⁵⁸ PAPADOPOULOS, Περὶ τῶν Ἀλλατιανῶν cit., p. 503. In a note, Papadopoulos hints to the fact that it may have been Falzacappa, but the hand of these pages is very different from the one of the catalog, so Falzacappa can only be the author of one of the two.

that Allacci's bequeath was not properly preserved by the Cardinal (and by Carlo Moroni) is in a way unusual. Another of Allacci's close friends and former director of the Barberiniana, Lucas Holstenius (1596-1661), had in fact made a similar donation, leaving the majority of his manuscripts to Cardinal Barberini⁵⁹: contrary to what happened for the Greek scholar, Holstenius' manuscripts arrived at their intended destination, have been preserved and are still available there⁶⁰. It is interesting to note how close Allacci was with the Barberiniana and all the people working in or near it, and especially with Carlo Moroni, librarian and executor of his will, as we have seen; however cautious one has to be in judging the management of wills on the part of friends and acquaintances of the deceased in the 17th century, such intimate connections to the Barberini family and household would have suggested a smoother transition of Allacci's intended donation to the library, and a more attentive care in its preservation.

Vernazza clearly played a key role in gathering the manuscripts but, given the information found in early documents and in Vernazza's own correspondence, we must imagine a situation in which the manuscripts were not properly and entirely transferred to the Biblioteca Barberiniana as requested by Allacci – rather than having Vernazza 'subtract' the manuscripts after they were already part of the library, as has been suggested. No other paths are currently known to me that could be further explored in order to gain more information, but the hope is that this series of studies will raise new interest in the *Carte Allacci*, its history and contents, and encourage others to investigate these matters, therefore possibly uncovering new material.

Forthcoming articles on manuscripts containing Allacci's works on texts such as Aristotle's *Hymn to virtue*, the treatise *On the sublime*, Tacitus, the epistles of pseudo-Heraclitus etc., will illustrate even more clearly the outstanding value of this collection. Mostly, these works consist of ample commentaries, organized by *lemmata* that report portions of the Greek or Latin text and then proceed to discuss them under a linguistic, literary, historical, philosophical and philological point of view. Some works – such as those on Aristotle's *Hymn to virtue* and on the treatise *On the sublime* – also contain translations from Greek to Latin. While they are all generally lengthy and erudite, each has unique traits due to the specific interest for the text Allacci was working on. Some of these works are also connected to Allacci's published opus: the work on the treatise *On the sublime* is

⁵⁹ On the learned environment surrounding Allacci, Holstenius and the Cardinal see S. CANNAVALE, *Jean-Jacques Bouchard e l'antiquaria campana nella prima metà del Seicento. Con osservazioni a partire da una corrispondenza inedita*, «Atene e Roma» XIV/1-2 (2020), pp. 1-22, especially pp. 4-7, 14-16 and 19-20. Among the many publications on Holstenius and his connection to Allacci, an interesting document is offered by the case of the pseudo-archilochean verses analyzed in CONDELLO – MAGNANI, *Il ms. Vat. Barb. gr. 69* cit.

⁶⁰ cf. P. RIETBERGEN, *Lucas Holste (1596–1661), scholar and librarian, or: the power of books and libraries*, in P. RIETBERGEN (ed.), *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, Leiden/Boston 2006, pp. 256-295, particularly p. 294, where Rietbergen mentions Holste's testament, published in the *Analecta Monumentorum omnis aevi Vindobonensia* and now digitized and available at the following link: <https://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ihd/content/pageview/2087923>.

clearly of great relevance for Allacci's famous *De erroribus magnorum virorum in dicendo dissertatio rhetorica* (1635). Beginning with Allacci himself, several scholars have attempted and failed to publish these works in the past three and a half centuries: cardinal Barberini, Ferdinand von Fürstenberg, Raffaele Vernazza and Agostino Mariotti. Let us hope that they can now finally meet the public and find their proper place among the great works in the history of classical scholarship.

APPENDIX

Vernazza's will: Archivio dei Trenta Notai Capitolini, Ufficio 17, vol. 428, ff. 479r-480v

I report here a transcription of Vernazza's will, given that this document was previously unknown and may be useful to scholars who work on Vernazza. The layout reproduces the original pages of the will.

Testamentum condit. per R. D. Raphaellem Vernazza

Die tertia Novembris 1780 = hora 3^a Noctis cum quadrante circiter cum tribus luminibus accensis, Ind.^c XIII sedente Ill.mo D.N.D. Pio P.P. VI anno eius 60.

Avanti di me Not.o e Testimonii Inf.tti presente e personalmente Cos.to il R.ndo Sig. Rafele Vernaza figlio della b. m. Nicola della città di Scio, scrittore di Lingua Greca nella Libreria Vaticana e Professore della Med.^a Lingua nel Ven. Collegio di Propaganda Fide a Me cog.^{to} sapendo esser mortale e non esservi in questo mondo cosa più certa della morte, incerti però l'ora e punto di essa né volendo morire ab Intestato acciò fra suoi Posterì e successori non naschi lite, o controversia di sorte alcuna, ha perciò stabilito e determinato di fare il suo ultimo nuncupativo testamento che de Iure Civili dicesi sine scriptis il quale ora che per la Dio grazia si trova sano di mente, senso, vista, udito, loquela ed intelletto, benché infermo di corpo e giacente in letto di sua spontanea volontà ed in ogn'altro miglior modo etc lo fa e dispone nel modo e forma seguenti cioè

E primieramente incominciando dall'anima, come più nobile e degna del corpo questa con ogni somnessa umiltà la raccomanda all'onnipotente Iddio suo Creatore e Redentore, alla Gloriosissima sempre vergine Maria, a S. Michele Arcangelo, al suo S. Angelo, ch'è alla corte del cielo acciò vogliano degnarsi di concedere e rispettivamente intercedergli da S. D. M. il perdono delle sue commesse colpe in questa fragil vita e la gloria eterna del S. Paradiso nell'altra, e così sia

Il corpo poi separato dall'anima e quello fatto cadavere, ordina vuole e comanda che sia asportato e tumulato in quella Chiesa che verrà destinata dall'Infrascritto erede fiduciario con quella pompa funebre, celebrazione di messe e suffraggi per l'anima sua [...] ⁶¹ a tenore della fiducia comunicatagli e non altro.

In tutti poi e singoli suoi beni tanto mobili che stabili, semoventi, crediti, raggioni, azzioni, nomi di debitori ed altro qualsiasi in qualunque luogo posti ed esistenti, et ad esso Sig. Testatore spettanti ed appartenenti e che gli potranno spettare ad appartenere in avvenire fa, istituisce e di sua propria bocca nomina erede fiduciario l'Ill.mo Sig. Avv^o D. Agostino Mariotti fig.^o della b. m. Antonio Romano al quale ha di già comunicato la sua intenzione e fiducia con condizione di non manifestarla né prima né dopo la morte di esso Testatore, ma a suo piacere ed arbitrio in una, o più volte e secondo i tempi che crederà opportuni, ed in alcun tempo non possa esser molestato ed astretto da qualsiasi persona, Superiori e tribunali sotto qualsiasi pretesto e causa, essendo questa la precisa la volontà di d.^o Sig. Testatore perché così e non solo in questo ma in ogni altro miglior modo etc.

E questa dice e dichiara esso Sig. Testatore esser l'ultima sua volontà e disposizione che vuole che vaglia per la raggione di testamento nuncupativo che de Iure civili dicesi sine

⁶¹ There is an abbreviated word here that I could not make out.

scriptis, e se per tal raggione non valesse, vuole, che vaglia per raggione di Codicilli, donazione a causa di morte, e per qualunque altra ultima volontà, e disposizione, cassando ed annullando qualunque altro testamento ed ultima volontà dal med.^o fatti avanti il presente benché concepiti sotto qualsiasi parole e cle [clausole] derogatorie, delle derogatorie, alle derogatorie, e consegnati e rogati per gl'atti di qualsiasi pubblico Not.^o, volendo che il presente a tutti gli altri sia preferito e prevaglia, e non solo in questo ma in ogn' altro miglior modo etc

Actum Romae domi per d.^m R. D. Testatorem in habitat. posita in Regione Transtiberim in Vico Nuncupat. di Benedetti, juxta etc ibid. praesentibus

P.^{mo} R. P. Sebastiano Ferrari Ordinis Ministrantium Infirmis Parocho S. Ioannis de Malva

S.^{do} R. D. Francisco Casalini fil. q.^m Alexandri de S. Georgio D. S. Benigni Nullius

3^o R. D. Ludovico Coucco fil. b. m. Augustini de Terra S. Maritimi Nullius

4^o R. D. Ignatio de Porto fil. q.^m Vincentii de Civitate [...] ⁶²

5^o D. Clemente Sant fil. q.^m Michaelis de Casteltort [...] Diocesis

6^o D. Venantio Piatti fil. q.^m Augustini Romano et

7^o D. Gaspare Pechini q.^m Ioanni Baptistae Romano Testibus

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⁶² The name of the city as the name of the dioceses of the following line are in the inner margin very close to the binding and very difficult to read.