the earliest instance of this comparison in medical literature and could have been Lucretius' source for the idea of the simile (if he needed one).

The Hippocratic treatise says nothing about the victim's cry, which Lucretius goes on to describe (495–98). But Lucretius' attribution of this cry to the *semina vocis* being carried forth and violently ejected from the mouth can be compared with an earlier passage in *On Breaths*, an explanation of yawning before fever (chap. 8, 238. 18–24 in Jones' translation = VI, 102, Littré):

> Gapes precede fevers because much air gathers together, and, passing upwards in a mass (ἀθροισθείς; cf. *glomerata*, III. 494), unbolts the mouth and forces it open, as through it there is an easy passage (ταύτῃ γὰρ εὐδιέξοδός ἐστιν; cf. *qua quasi consuerunt et sunt munita viai*, III. 498). For just as copious steam rises from pots when the water boils, even so, as the body grows hot, the air rushes through the mouth compressed and violently carried along (διαΐσσει διὰ τοῦ στόματος ὁ ἀὴρ συνεστραμμένος καὶ βίῃ φερόμενος).

It is obviously difficult, if not impossible, to assess the degree of indebtedness in the case of an author so original as Lucretius in his manner of expression. But the parallels accumulated here suggest that the structure of the argument and a few turns of phrase, perhaps also the sea simile of 3. 492–94, in this section of the poem may have been stimulated by the Hippocratic *On Breaths*. If this is so, we have further evidence for Lucretius' extensive knowledge of Greek scientific writing.[10]

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10. I wish to thank Professor Phillip H. De Lacy for reading an earlier draft of this paper.

AN UNKNOWN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY COMMENTARY ON SUETONIUS AND CAESAR

In the course of a seminar at Fordham University in 1967, Codex Barberinianus latinus 148 was discovered to contain the previously unknown commentary of Gasparino and Guiniforte Barzizza on Suetonius' *De vita Caesarum*, Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* and *Bellum civile*, and the three anonymous monographs *Bellum Alexandrinum*, *Bellum Africum*, and *Bellum Hispaniense*.

Gasparino Barzizza was probably born in 1360, in Barzizza, a tiny hamlet near Bergamo. Hence his double surname: Barzizius and Bergomensis. The events of his early life are not well documented, although his earliest studies most probably began in Bergamo. He began his teaching career at Pavia from 1403 to 1407 under the title of "magister ad lecturam gramaticae rethoricae et auctorum." His varied career includes sojourns at Venice and Padua. In 1414 he was appointed to the post of apostolic secretary. He finally settled at Milan where he taught from November, 1421, until his death in February, 1431.[1]

In the age of the revival of learning in Italy, Gasparino Barzizza's importance rests not only upon his dedicated teaching career, but also upon the influence of his scholarship and writings. His library included copies of Livy, Terence, Valerius Maximus, the elder Pliny, Gellius, Seneca, the *Historia Augusta*, Quintilian, and Cicero, in particular his rhetorical works. And of his devotion to Cicero, Guarino of Verona remarks: "cuius ductu et auspiciis Cicero amatur, legitur, et per Italorum gym-

1. For the facts of Gasparino Barzizza's life and writings see G. Mazzuchelli, "Gasparino Barziza," *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, II: 1 (Brescia, 1758), 498–503; D. Magni, "Gasparino Barzizza: Una figura del primo umanesimo," *Bergomum*, N.S. XI (1937), 104–18, 143–70, and 205–22; R. Sabbadini, "Gasparino Barzizza," *Enciclopedia italiana*, VI (1949), 262; M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy*, 1300–1800, I (Boston, 1962), 455–59; G Martellotti, "Gasparino Barzizza," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, VII (Rome, 1965), 34–39. See in general G. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Altertums oder Das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1893; repr. 1960). For a complete discussion of the problems raised in this paper, see my dissertation, "Unknown Commentaries of Gasparino and Guiniforte Barzizza on Suetonius and Caesar in *Barberinianus latinus* 148" (Fordham University, 1969; University Microfilms, Ann Arbor). In writing this article I have had the advantage of discussions with Professor H. Musurillo, S.J.

nasia summa cum gloria volitat."[2] He was, we are told, a man of generous and genial disposition, gentle, affable, religious, incapable of anger, jealousy, or pride—qualities uncommon among scholars of his time. Magni concludes by characterizing *magister* Gasparino as "a solid point of departure for the innumerable other students and creators of beauty."[3]

However, the contribution of Gasparino to the newly discovered *commentaria* on Suetonius and Caesar was slight in comparison with that of his son Guiniforte. It is almost as if Guiniforte continued and expanded the work that his father began. The notes of each, however, are clearly distinguishable, as will be seen farther on.

Guiniforte Barzizza, the son of Gasparino, was born at Pavia in 1406 and after receiving the *laurea* there in 1422, he taught moral philosophy from 1425 until 1427. After a varied career in the diplomatic service he lectured at Milan from 1434 to 1441. We know that some of the subjects of his lectures were the rhetorical works of Cicero and the *Epistles* of Seneca. But little by little he moved away from classical studies to the service of the Duke of Milan. He died at Milan in September, 1463. Of his works there survive some orations and letters, a piece entitled *De liberis educandis*, and an *esposizione* of Dante's *Inferno*.[4] Thus our discovery of his previously unknown commentary on Suetonius and the Caesarian corpus adds a new dimension to Guiniforte's classical scholarship.

Codex Barb. lat. 148[5] is one of an impressive collection of over 11,000 manuscripts, both Greek and Latin, purchased from the Barberini family in 1902 and now housed in the Vatican library. A catalogue of the Latin manuscripts of the Fondo Barberini is being undertaken by Professor Sesto Prete.

Barb. lat. 148 consists of 159 folia bound in fourteen signatures. The text of Suetonius runs from fols. 1^r to 66^v and that of Caesar from fols. 67^r to 159^r. At the top of fly leaf I^r the name *Gasparinus Berzizius* is written in a modern hand; fly leaf II^v, which precedes the text of our manuscript, contains a maxim from Seneca, the name Janus Parrhasius who purchased our codex at Milan, and an extensive table of contents.

In discussing Barb. lat. 148, we must distinguish between the handwriting of Gasparino and Guiniforte Barzizza and the actual scribe who wrote the entire text (B).[6] The hand of *B* is an elegant, clear, and very legible minuscule which displays an admixture of the characteristics of both Gothic and Humanistic script; we may therefore date it without difficulty to the second half of the fourteenth century.[7]

It was most fortunate that Guiniforte Barzizza wrote his own name to one of his notes in our manuscript. The name *Guinifortus Berzizius* appears on fol. 68^v. Furthermore, the abbreviated signature *gb* appears seven times after notes written in the same hand. The authenticity of Guiniforte's handwriting was checked against a letter written by him now in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples (Naples cod. IV.A.43).[8] The hand of Gasparino Barzizza is markedly different from that of his son. None of his notes in our manuscript are signed, but the authenticity of the script was also checked against a sample of Gasparino's

2. Bodleian MS Laud. lat. 64 fol. 3, as quoted by W. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (Cambridge, Mass., 1921), p. 10.

3. Magni, "Gasparino Barzizza: Una figura del primo umanesimo" (see n. 1 above), pp. 221–22.

4. For an extensive treatment of Guiniforte Barzizza's life and writings, see Mazzuchelli, II: 1, 504–9; Sabbadini, VI, 262; Cosenza, I, 459–60; Martellotti, VII, 39–41; Voigt, *passim*.

5. For recent mention of Barb. lat. 148 see P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II (Leyden, 1967), 443. A complete description of our manuscript will be found in S. Prete, *Codices Barberiniani* 1–150 (Vatican City, 1969).

6. Actually, we can distinguish two other minor *correctores*, whom I designate as B^2 and B^3. B^2 corrected the text of Suetonius at some time before the Barzizzas' work, whereas B^3 added only a few unimportant corrections after the Barzizzas in a humanistic cursive hand. For our present purpose, however, only the original *B* and the comments of the Barzizzas will be considered.

7. For a similar hand, cf. the Petrarch hand of 1370 described as *fere humanistica* in F. Ehrle and P. Liebaert, *Specimina codicum latinorum Vaticanorum*[2] (Berlin, 1932; repr. 1968), p. 45. See also B. L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rome, 1960), pp. 11–19.

8. The correctness of this conclusion was also confirmed in a letter from Prof. Msgr. Luigi Chiodi, Director of the Biblioteca civica in Bergamo, March 29, 1968.

writing together with his signature, also included in Naples codex IV.A.43.[9]

It should be said at the outset that the text of Suetonius and Caesar as we find it in Barb. lat. 148 is not a significant contribution to our study of the textual transmission; it is rather the existence of the Barzizza commentaries that gives the manuscript its importance. At any rate, we may tentatively locate this fourteenth-century text of Suetonius among the contaminated *recentiores* deriving from X' through X, as designated by Ihm.[10] Using the sigla of Klotz,[11] the text of the *Bellum Gallicum* may be located among the late representatives of the α-family and the remainder of the Caesarian corpus similarly within the β-family. Further precision in this area should be the result of more extensive study and collation.

As a commentator on the text, Guiniforte Barzizza frequently cites variant readings from a MS tradition different from the text of Barb. lat. 148. In these cases he simply cites the variant reading and does not indicate a choice. Apart from a number of corrections and minor changes in the text, Guiniforte's most interesting contribution is contained in sixty-one notes which may be divided into three types: the summary, the explanation, and the expression of personal opinion. An interesting example of the summary can be seen at Caesar *BG* 5. 23. 3, 24 (Klotz): "nulla ⟨navis⟩ enim dum milites veheret perijt aut tempestate discussa fuit. Non sic accidit inanibus navibus gb."

The explanatory type of note is less frequent; Guiniforte sometimes offers a clarification of the text, sometimes synonyms, and once an etymology. For example at Suet. 1. 55. 3, 7 (Ihm) we read *notarij veluti actuarij gb*, and at Suet. 6. 31. 2, 10 (Ihm) *uniones margaritas vocat*. The third type of comment, the expression of Guiniforte's personal opinion, is by far the most interesting for the modern reader. We have the following kinds of comment in this category: (1) an occasional moral judgment on the actions of the historical characters, (2) advice to the contemporary statesman, and (3) opinions on the authorship of the *Bellum Africum*. Thus at Suet. 2. 15. 17 (Ihm) he characterizes Augustus *crudelis Octavi⟨anus⟩*; at Suet. 2. 17. 5, 11 (Ihm) Augustus' action is qualified as *humane*; Nero at Suet. 6. 32. 4, 17 (Ihm) is branded *Tyra⟨n⟩nicus*. There is an interesting note on *BG* 1. 13. 2, 15 (Klotz), where Caesar is entertaining the ambassadors of the Helvetii; here Guiniforte comments: "disce, senator,[12] dissuadere ne is ad pacem conciliandam mittatur legatus qui bello antea praefuerat. Guinifortus Berzizius."

Finally, in his notes of the *Bellum Africum*, Guiniforte twice expresses doubt about Caesar's authorship. At 5. 7. 4, 23 (Klotz) we read "Nota hunc scriptorem non fuisse Caesarem. non enim is de se ipso dixisset ut arbitror gb"; and 5. 9. 2, 6 (Klotz): "Non fuit Caesar horum scriptor gb."

The contributions of Guiniforte's father, Gasparino, are extremely infrequent throughout our MS text. Unlike his son, he is never concerned with textual criticism, and all of his twenty notes are original comments. Once again, we may divide them into three types: (1) the summary, (2) the explanation, and (3) the personal opinion. Twice, at *BC* 3. 105. 3, 23 (Klotz), and *BC* 3. 110. 6, 3 (Klotz), Gasparino refers the reader in general to corresponding passages in Valerius Maximus. Gasparino's longest note is a summary of *BC* 3. 106. 1, 14 (Klotz): "Caesar cum duabus legionibus et equitibus viij^{c} et decem navibus longis R⟨h⟩odijs et paucis alijs Alexandriam pervenit. In quibus legionibus erant hominum iij^{m} CC. Reliqui ex vulneribus et proelijs et labore ac magnitudine itineris confecti consequi non potuerunt." His comments on Suet 4. 7. 2 (Ihm) is historically inaccurate: "Cave, vir

9. I am again indebted to Msgr. Chiodi for his kindness in sending me a photograph of the relevant portions of the Naples manuscript.

10. M. Ihm, *Opera: De vita Caesarum libri VIII*, I (Leipzig, 1907), xv.

11. A. Klotz, *C. Iuli Caesaris commentarii*, I (Leipzig, 1927), iii; II (1926), iii.

12. It is not immediately clear to whom the *senator* refers. More likely it is a general apostrophe to contemporary statesmen for whom the text in Guiniforte's view might be instructive, especially when we consider Guiniforte's own activity in the diplomatic service of the Duke of Milan. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the *senator* is a definite person for whom the commentary was perhaps intended. Gasparino Barzizza has a similar address at Suet. 4. 7. 2 (Ihm) where he writes: *cave, vir eloquentissime*.

eloquentissime, quando eadem Agri⟨p⟩pina et Tiberij Caesaris et huius Germanici filij adoptivi eius uxor fuerat. Puto ego Iuliae ex Iulia filia Octavianj fi⟨liae⟩. ut potius nescio." We have but two marginal notes in which Gasparino offers a moral commentary on the text. At Suet. 6. 1. 2, 7 (Ihm) he observes on Nero's character that "virtute suorum relicta. vitia generis sectatus est." And at *BC* 3. 104. 2, 10 (Klotz), where the murder of Pompey is described, he laconically writes *scelerate*.

Thus, Barb. lat. 148 is clear evidence of the collaboration of two Italian humanists in a commentary previously unknown to scholarship. What its precise purpose was we are not certain. Most likely it was the work of leisure hours and quiet reflection. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the work was ultimately intended for the eyes of an individual, designated perhaps by the *senator* of Guiniforte's note and the *vir eloquentissime* of Gasparino. Though at first sight the contributions of the Barzizzas to our knowledge of the text of Caesar and Suetonius may appear disappointing, at the same time their comments, however meager, reflect the Italian humanists' growing concern with a more philological and historical approach to the classical authors. In this sense, therefore, the new Barzizza *commentaria* on Suetonius and Caesar should be of interest to both classical and Renaissance scholars.

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FINAL VOWEL PLUS *-M*: A NOTE ON THE READING OF QUANTITATIVE LATIN VERSE

A hint about Latin pronunciation *ca.* 83 B.C. is offered by a passage in the anonymous *Ad Herennium*, to which my attention was called recently by Frances A. Yates' *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966; esp. pp. 11–15). Since Miss Yates' interest was in something else, she did not draw the phonological inference to be suggested here; but it deserves attention because of continued scholarly interest in the oral reading of classical Latin poetry.

The *ars memorativa*, or *ars memoriae*, discussed in this section of the *Ad Herennium* was important to orators because it taught them ways of holding firmly in mind whatever they wished to include in their speeches. A favorite technique, illustrated profusely by Miss Yates, involved associating sections of the speech with portions or areas of a temple or other public building. The method was thus partly visual: the orator pictured one pedestal or niche or intercolumnar space after another, visiting them in a prearranged order for the purpose of retrieving facts or ideas or arguments or illustrative *exempla* he had associated with them. The technique was widely known in antiquity, hung on through the Middle Ages, and was resuscitated and strongly re-emphasized in the Renaissance treatises on memory to which Miss Yates has drawn attention.

The special interest of the passage to be cited here is that it suggests visual images which will assist the recall of *verba*, as other images assist the recall of *res*. The problem is that of imagining pictures which will somehow contain or imply words—interestingly, not single words but two or more together, presumably because the total number of images will be smaller. Two images only are offered, the line to be remembered being an iambic senarius otherwise unknown: "Iam domum itionem reges Atridae parant." Of these we shall look first at the latter, partly because it is simpler but also, and more importantly, because it offers a little practice in visualizing before we approach the former and harder illustration.

The second image is meant to assist recall of the final two words of the verse, *Atridae parant*. Let the orator, the author suggests, conjure up a mental image of Aesopus and Cimber, evidently two tragic actors, being dressed for the roles of Agamemnon and Menelaus in the play *Iphigenia:* "Aesopum et Cimbrum subornari ut ad Iphigeniam in Agamemnonem et Menelaum—hoc erit 'Atridae parant'" (3. 21; LCL text, ed. H. Caplan, 1954). We are to picture the actors backstage, in the tiring room, as they put on robes and masks for the parts of Agamemnon and