

*Tinturae Romanorum:*

Social and Cultural Constructions of Color-Terms in Roman Literature

by

Rachael Goldman

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the  
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dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Jennifer T. Roberts

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Chair of Examining Committee

Stephen Remy

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Executive Officer

Dee L. Clayman

Margaret L. King

Sulochana R. Asirvatham

T. Corey Brennan

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

## ABSTRACT

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Advisor: Jennifer T. Roberts

Literary sources in poetry, prose and inscriptions offer many examples of the use of color-terms in Latin texts, which carry connotations of value, both negative and positive, based on their associations with contemporary social groups. In this study I discuss several themes dealing with color-terms and their use in Latin literature which have not been explored in previous scholarship. I examine the debate on color-terms in Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* 2.26; the Roman dye industry and Roman clothing; class distinctions in Roman society, with particular emphasis on the freedman; color-terms as applied to physiognomic principles in descriptions of people and ethnic groups; and a special category of color-terms which cover multiple colors, such as *versicolor* and *bicolor*. By exploring the use of color-terms in these cultural contexts, we may gain a deeper understanding of the Roman mind.

## Acknowledgements

My study of Latin color-terminology came at the best possible time. To have completed my dissertation at the CUNY-GC represents one of my best efforts to confront the subject and embrace it fully. I first discovered the subject of Latin color-terms in the fall of 2003 in an independent study taught by Prof. T. Corey Brennan. Over the past few years, I have heard phrases like “your true colors are beautiful,” “green with envy,” “rose-tinted glasses,” and “yellow-bellied coward.” I presume that this one of the challenges of tackling a subject that has wide appeal and I could not be more grateful for it. I would like to express my gratitude to my dissertation committee for without their help I might not have completed the work, especially Jenny Roberts, who graciously accepted me as a graduate student. I cannot imagine tackling the early modern world without the kind and generous assistance of Dr. Margaret King and Executive Officer Helena Rosenblatt. Both have introduced me to some friends in the Renaissance world, eagerly letting me share my ideas at the annual meetings of the Renaissance Society of America, no matter how premature or latent my thoughts about color-terminology may have been.

A summer fellowship at the American Academy in Rome in 2007 proved to be fertile ground to test my ideas and discover all the wonders of Rome with the thoughtful guidance of Dr. Myles McDonnell and Dr. Lisa Mignone. My fellowship through the New York Classical Club made this adventure possible. Subsequent publications in the *Bryn Mawr Classics Review* and the *Sixteenth Century Journal* during that summer also gave me the jumping off point for which I am grateful. My attendance at various academic and professional conferences was facilitated by travels awards from the Sue

Rosenberg Zalk Fund at the CUNY Graduate Center, the College Art Association, Abbe Raven and Martin Tackle Award for Travel from the Jewish Studies Dept. CUNY-GC, an IRB Grant from CUNY-GC, and the American Society for Greek and Latin Epigraphy Award for Graduate Study. In 2009 I was extremely fortunate to showcase my ideas at the Association for Ancient Historians Annual Meeting and received the Betty Coate Award and Graduate Subsidy. Two years as a Writing Fellow at the College of Staten Island, under the supervision of Peter Miller and Hildegard Hoeller, have given me much experience in pedagogy, learning to write and how to do more with less in the classroom. To say that those weekly meetings were enjoyable is an understatement and I've heard that the baked scones and cookies I made for the meetings could not be duplicated easily by anyone else.

For inspiration over the years I would like to extend my thanks to the following people: Henry Bender, John Bodel, Martin Burke, Christina Clark, Dee Clayman, Sarah Covington, Daniel DeSalvo, Betty Einerman, Anne Ellis, Gary Farney, Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Keely Heuer, Lisa Koenigsberg, Donald Lateiner, Matthew Perry, Adele Puccio, Lisa Ramaci, Tracy Robey, Vava Roczniak, Lucille Roussin, Itai Sneh, Francesca Vassalle, Michael and Natalie Wildermuth and Ellen Zitani. My dissertation would probably not have the depth of research without the kind assistance of Glenn Sandberg and the Interlibrary Loan Staff of Rutgers University. I do not know how you were able to get me some of the books I requested, but in whatever ways you did, you deserve more than a legion.

Over the course of my time as a Graduate Student I taught at Rutgers- Newark, John Jay School of Criminal Justice, Pratt School of Art, the College of Staten Island and

Bronx Community College. To the people, many adjuncts, assistants and colleagues, all too numerous to name individually, I thank you for giving me a chance in your classrooms to try out my tricks and lectures.

I will never forget the kindness and humor of Dr. Keith Jordan in May 2006 when he helped me to make sense of some gibberish I had with color-terms and clothing. I cannot thank you enough for helping me to get to this stage of my career without your gentle prodding and overall enthusiasm for my project. The days we spent in Study Hall of the Art Library of Rutgers University going over my Latin verbs and placement of each sentence were probably the most exciting time in the formation of this dissertation. It reminds me how lucky and fortunate I am to have friends who were passionate about my subject from other disciplines.

My dissertation may not have taken any tangible form if Robin Johnson had not taken up the helm and told me that I could write. From my early years at Sotheby's Art Institute, Robin has been my editor and I often heard the chorus "But haven't you already said that." I cannot adequately express in words my gratitude for her help over this period of time.

Finally, above every one else, I want to thank my parents, Karen and Gerald Goldman, and my brother, Jonathan, for their unconditional love, patience and understanding throughout this process. As a twelve year old, I begged them to take me to the Met Museum to see the Greek vases and without delay they took me. I can only think that if this nurturing had not occurred, I might be doing something else. It was during one summer at the ancestral home that the idea of color and the ancients came to me and I

shared this thought with my Mom. I promise that I'll finally take care of my books in your shore house. Now show me that horizon!

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## Note on Abbreviations and Translations

The translations from Greek and Latin in this thesis are adopted or adapted from the Loeb Classical Library. For those texts not in the Loeb series, the translations are my own except where noted.

Texts and periodicals are cited according to the abbreviations listed in the Oxford Classical Dictionary (3<sup>rd</sup> edition). All other references are listed in full.

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History
AJPhil.	American Journal of Philology
André, <i>Etude</i>	<i>Étude sur les Termes de Couleur dans la Langue Latin</i> Paris: Libraire C. Klincksriek, 1949.
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
Armstrong, <i>Colors in Roman Ritual</i>	Armstrong, Mary Emma. <i>The Significance of Certain Colors in Roman Ritual</i> , Menasha, WI: George Banta, 1917.
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, London
BM	British Museum
C & M	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CPhil	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
Dar.- Sag.	C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, <i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments</i> (1877-1919)
Dessau, <i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (1892-1916)
Dial. Di Arch.	Dialoghi di archeologia

Firm. Mat. <i>Err. prof. rel.</i>	Firmicus Maternus, <i>De errore profanum religionum</i>
Forbes, <i>Stud. Anc. Technol.</i>	R.J. Forbes, <i>Studies in Ancient Technology</i> , 9 vols. (1957-64); 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn., 9 vols. (1964- 72)
Frontin. <i>Aq.</i>	Frontinus, <i>De aquae ductu urbis Romae</i>
G & R	Greece and Rome, N.S. (1954/5)
Gell. <i>NA</i>	Aulus Gellius, <i>Noctes Atticae</i>
Harv. Stud.	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
Hdt.	Herodotus
JCS	Journal of Classical Studies
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i> (1886 - )
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (1981- 1999)
MAAR	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
MÉFRA	<i>Mélanges d' archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome</i>
OCD <sup>3</sup>	Hornblower, Simon, and Antony Spawforth (eds.) <i>Oxford Classical Dictionary: The Ultimate Reference Work on the Classical World</i> 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed. Oxford and New York
PBSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
PHI	Packard Humanities Institute CD-Rom #5 (Latin Texts)

RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Munich, 1894-1980.
Rev. Arch.	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
Rev. Bibl.	<i>Revue biblique</i>
Rev. Ét. Anc.	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
Rev. Ét. Lat.	<i>Revue des études latines</i>
RGVV	<i>Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten</i> , ed. A. Dieterich, R. Wünsch, L. Malten, O. Weinreich, L. Deubner (1903 -)
Rh. Mus.	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i> (1827 - ); N.S. (1842 - )
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
TAPhS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>



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Introduction

The study of color-terms in the works of Roman writers can illuminate our understanding of social stratification and *mores*. Color, both in ancient theories of perception and in general literary use, was a unit of information. It was used as an evaluative category of "character" in the broadest sense. The Romans attached specific meanings to color-terms which went beyond their literal meaning, using these terms as a form of cultural assessment, defining their social values and order. By using color, they were able to make judgments about social class, gender roles, and ethnic groups, and in turn keep the status quo in order. An appreciation for this notion can enrich our understanding of *ekphrasis* and other forms of literary description and evaluation. Against this background, the translator and commentator faced with color categories will be more equipped to appreciate the descriptions at work in such expressions as *viridem thoraca*, *Tyrios amictus* and *discolor aura*, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Color is a basic cultural building block by which the historian can measure how the Romans saw the world around them. It is time to revisit the basic philological and literary data without the preconceptions that have accumulated in the literature. By analyzing their use in specific contexts, it is possible to derive more concrete definitions of classical color-terms and a greater insight into the Roman understanding of color.

## *Different Hues, Different Views*

Ancient color-terms are difficult for us to understand because of the temporal distance between our world and that of antiquity. The experiences and materials that dominated and shaped the ancients' perceptions are not familiar to citizens of the twenty-first century who live in a world of synthetic dyes, electric lights and a proliferation of high-tech visual media. Scholars have rarely discussed color-terms and ancient attitudes toward color.<sup>1</sup> On account of their abstract and subjective nature, classical color-terms are difficult to understand unless they are anchored to specific objects. For instance, ancient writers tend to employ more color-terms when describing clothing and human complexions.

One of the characters in Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* charges that there are more ways to describe color and there are more color-terms in Greek literature than there are in Latin.<sup>2</sup> Speaking for the cultured life under the Antonines in mid second-century Rome, Favorinus declares that Greek is richer in color-terms than Latin, but Fronto's rebuttal suggests that Latin has far more nuanced language for certain colors. Their dialogue poses for the historian of color a useful linguistic debate on color-terminology. We recognize that the Romans seemed to be highly aware of the interaction of light and darkness with color. In the absence of modern technology, interiors of houses would have been dimmer than our own, and the light produced by candles and oil lamps was limited and flickering, making the Romans more conscious of the play of light and shade upon various colors. Dyeing fabric was an inconstant process, because the dyes

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<sup>1</sup> Frank Fletcher says "colour descriptions both in Greek and in Latin tend to be vague." Fletcher, *Aeneid VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941): 57. C.J. Fordyce says "Latin colour-words are difficult to define." C.J. Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961): 73, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Gell. *NA* 2.26. This debate is discussed in Chapter One.

employed were rather impure and the dyeing process was not controlled with modern instruments. As a result there could have been a great variation of hues from one dye lot to another.<sup>3</sup> These material factors may have contributed to apparent differences in the color vocabulary employed by Roman authors from 21<sup>st</sup> century concepts of color.

### Historiography

Greek color usage has traditionally posed the most difficult problems for translators and visual historians. The various collections of Greek color-terms compiled by F.E. Wallace, A.E. Kober and Eleanor Irwin are seriously outdated.<sup>4</sup> F.E. Wallace's 1927 work was a compilation of all the Greek color-terms in Homer. A.E. Kober's 1933 dissertation examines a collection (which is incomplete) of color-terms from poets, trying, with difficulty, to define the exact hue indicated by each word. More recently, Irwin's important *Colour-Terms in Greek Poetry* (1974) discusses at length the terms *χλωρός*, *κυάνεος* and *λειριόεις/λείριος*. She introduces the idea that Greek color-terms encompass texture, contrast and luster, but she does not discuss colors outside of the blue-green range, she does not include all the possible texts, and she only discusses color-terms from a philological perspective, without any reference to social and cultural context.

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<sup>3</sup> This phenomenon could account for some of the vagueness and confusion surrounding certain color-terms such as *luteus* and *ferrugineus* and explains why the Romans did not always distinguish between the shades of scarlet, violet, and purple. R.J. Edgeworth explained this concept in his article "Luteus: Pink or Yellow?" *Glotta* 63 (1985): 212. See also Judith Sebesta, "Tunica Ralla, Tunica Spissa: The Colors and Textiles of Roman Costume," in *The Worlds of Roman Costume*, ed. Larissa Bonfante and Judith Sebesta (Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Studies in Classics, 1994): 65-79.

<sup>4</sup> F.E. Wallace, "Colour in Homer and in Ancient Art," *Smith College Classical Studies* 9 (1927): 1-65; A.E. Kober, "Some Remarks on Color in Greek Poetry," *CW* 27 (1934): 189 and *The Use of Color Terms in the Greek Poets, Including all the Poets from Homer to 146 B.C., Except the Epigrammatists* (Geneva, N.Y.: The W.F. Humphrey Press, 1932) and Eleanor Irwin, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974).

To excavate the foundation of modern treatments of ancient Roman color, we must return to the first study conducted by Thomas Price, who was concerned with defining the chromatic range of the terms (such as all the different shades of red) and their deployment in the Vergilian corpus.<sup>5</sup> His study, published in 1883, represented the first attempt as far as I can tell at listing Roman color-terms and their alleged etymological roots. He demonstrated that Vergil used color in all types of descriptions, but he did not categorize the usages of the color-terms and did not attempt to analyze their precise meaning. As Price intended his work merely to bring the subject of color to the forefront, he did not go further than this level of research.

The study of Roman color-terms was not taken up again until 1949 when J. André, the French linguist, went on to conduct studies of Latin and Greek botanical categories. This book was the first major attempt to classify and interpret a complex and awkward linguistic system so that it would make sense to philologists. His *Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine* (Paris, 1949) provided a thorough and careful approach that was weakened by the ambition of the first and main section — 'the *Étude sémantique*' — to determine the precise shades denoted by the Latin color-term.<sup>6</sup> Here, André forces the terms to match their closest modern equivalents, starting with what he considered to be the most important - *le blanc, le noir, le gris, le rouge, le brun, le jaune, le bleu, le vert, le violet*. Within each of these sub-chapters, André undermines his many useful observations about the contextualization of certain terms by insisting on subcategories of shade. A second chapter (*Étude lexicologique*) is concerned with the morphology and formation of various color words (various adjectival usages, substantives and verb

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<sup>5</sup> Thomas Price, "The Color-System of Vergil," *AJP* 4 (1883): 1-20.

<sup>6</sup> J. André, *Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksreick, 1981): 4-26.

forms). Finally, in '*Étude stylistique*', he attempts to deal with broader topics such as color usages peculiar to each literary genre, differences in prose and verse patterns of color, epithets and formulae. André built upon Price's limited research, but added more color-terms resulting in a massive concordance that is divided into different color groups or families charting the usage and frequency of specific words in different texts. André tabulates the frequency of color-terms and their specific reference by author, giving some attention to individual writers' preferences for color and how their personalities are revealed by their use of color-terms. As a comprehensive research tool, his book remains an invaluable source; but since his field of study was so wide, he touches only briefly on social and cultural aspects of colors.

Following André's method, in 1983 N. Baran elaborated on the study of color-terminology in *Les Caractéristiques essentielles du vocabulaire chromatique latin*. He organizes the material in an outline manner, by author and genre rather than by color-term. He includes many lesser-known Latin works, such as Apuleius' *Florida* and Celsus' scientific writings, and includes some brief references to mosaics and minor arts. Baran spends a considerable amount of time defining what made color-terms specific to Latin, drawing connections between authors of the same period such as Vergil and Ovid, Tacitus and Lucan, Vitruvius and Pliny. He describes the special associations of each term as well, such as the use of *caeruleus* versus *caesius* for eyes. He tries to show how color-terms evoke mood and feeling for each period, such as the golden age, *auratus*. The most rewarding aspect of the article is how many authors and works Baran has surveyed, including the Greek Archaic through the Hellenistic periods. His conclusions, however, are always delivered in bullet points, rather than in full essay mode, which

seems disjointed, as if there is some missing information: for example, although he discusses color-terms as applied to deities and mythological stories, he does not discuss color-terms as applied to descriptions of ordinary people. Nor does he consider color-terms with prefixes, such as *versicolor* and *discolor*. Where his survey succeeds is in his extensive bibliography and notes.

In modern times attention has often turned to in-depth studies of single colors.<sup>7</sup> Francis Marion Dana's dissertation of 1919, *The Ritual Significance of Yellow Among the Romans*, examined the religious function of yellow in Roman rituals, especially marriage; however, she confuses various elements of the marriage ceremony and the function of the *flammeum*, the marriage veil. Her use of primary sources is limited, and she does not consider *luteus* a color-term for yellow; instead she considers it a red hue. Perhaps her greatest contribution to the study of color-terms is her consideration of the colors from the standpoint of gender. Eric Laughton's two articles on *flavus pudor* (1948, 1950) examine the use of the term *flavus* in writers from Vergil through the elgiac poets.<sup>8</sup> The color that has received the most attention from scholars is purple, *purpura*. Meyer Reinhold's *The History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (1970) has become the standard text concerning the sea-purple and imitation purple dye and trade industry from the Assyrians through the early Byzantine Empire, but although it draws attention to the political, social and economic dimensions of the actual dye and its manufacture, it is only

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<sup>7</sup> Several recent studies discuss the development of a single color in modern times. Simon Garfield's *Mauve: How One Man Invented a Color that Changed the World* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), gives a focused account of the invention of synthetic chemical dyes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the impact this innovation had on the distribution and diversity of color in the Western world. Amy Butler Greenfield's *A Perfect Red* (New York: Harper, 2005) is a careful consideration of the economic aspects of the production of red dye from the Florentine Renaissance to modern South America.

<sup>8</sup> Eric Laughton, "Flavus Pudor," *CR* 62 (1948): 109-111; "Flavus Again," *CR* 64 (1950): 88-89.

superficially concerned with the semiotics of purple as a color.<sup>9</sup> Donald Lateiner's article "Blushes and Pallor in Ancient Fiction" (1998) draws attention to the use of the color-terms *rubor* and *pallor*; he tabulates the number of times terms for blushing and turning pale appear in both Greek and Latin literature. His survey of the literature shows how non-verbal gestures were significant in our understanding of ancient peoples.<sup>10</sup>

There has been a flood, particularly in recent years, of treatments of color-terms in late Roman republican and early imperial poetry.<sup>11</sup> R.J. Edgeworth's *The Colors of the Aeneid* (1992) identifies six patterns in Vergil's color-usage: formulaic (Homeric-type repetition); functional (supplying an idea essential to the narrative); allusive (picking up usages in other texts); decorative (supplying description); cumulative (clusters of color for dramatic purposes); and associative (linking one scene with another). Edgeworth develops some interesting ideas, although the connections he makes sometimes seem a little contrived (e.g. the color-term *purpureus* is always equated with Roman death rites) and his psychological interpretations can seem somewhat fragile and artificial.<sup>12</sup>

Edgeworth also seems uninterested in the use of verb forms (e.g. *rutilare* - to turn one's hair, face and skin, or flower petals red, or *rubesco*, *rubere* - to blush) as expressions of color. His alphabetical catalogue of 78 color terms in the *Aeneid* (65-118) alerts the

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<sup>9</sup> Meyer Reinhold, "History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity," *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History VI* (Brussels: Latomus, 1970).

<sup>10</sup> Donald Lateiner, "Blushes and Pallor in Ancient Fiction," *Helios* 25 (1998): 163-189.

<sup>11</sup> Recent studies include: Jacqueline R. Clarke, *Imagery of Colour and Shining in Catullus, Propertius and Horace* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003). See also R.J. Edgeworth, "Luteus: Pink or Yellow?" *Glotta* 63 (1985): 215. Although some scholars included passing descriptions of color, it is not their major focus. For example, in a commentary on Tibullus' use of the color term *rubere* in 1.1.17-18, Michael Putnam asserts "red was used to paint the statues of gods especially on festive occasions" but no further investigation is included. Michael C. J. Putnam, *Tibullus: A Commentary* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma, 1973): 53.

<sup>12</sup> Edgeworth posits on pp. 29 and 53 the idea that other colors combined together have abstruse connections. The most puzzling example is how green + white = release of tension—suggesting that the study of Roman color-terminology in the 20<sup>st</sup> century can be excessively subjective. R.J. Edgeworth, *The Colors of the Aeneid* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992): 43-52.

reader to the use of color-terms derived from common objects (e.g. *lilium, nix, trabea, viola*), but the implications at work here are not developed.<sup>13</sup>

Other literary studies have tended to deal with the stylistic "mood" and emotion of poetic color usage. Most recently, Jacqueline Clarke's *Imagery of Color and Shining in Catullus, Propertius and Horace*, explores the role of color as part of the *enargeia* and *ekphrasis* in selected passages of Latin verse.<sup>14</sup> Clarke's work is an important contribution to literary criticism, but the ease with which she translates Latin color-terms into modern abstract colors (red, white, green), her simple schemes for color contrast (dark-light, white-red, etc.) is questionable. Paul Barolsky's "Ovid's Colors" is more concerned with demonstrating that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* exploited rich and diverse color motifs and contrasts than exploring the patterns or implications in Ovid's color-object connections.<sup>15</sup>

There have been some brief treatments of the social connections between colored materials (particularly purple and gold) and Roman *luxuria*, and attempts by the state to monitor and control them, for instance Phyllis Culham (1986) on the *lex Oppia* and Christopher Jones (1999) on Graeco-Roman processed colors, 200 B.C.-A.D. 200.<sup>16</sup> Their research is substantial and contributes to the current discussion, but they do not explore what seem to me repeated pairings of color-terms and clothing-terms or the role of such terms in the styles of individual authors. Kelly Olson's text (2008) focuses on the use of clothing for the Roman woman's whole life-cycle, drawing attention to some

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<sup>13</sup> Edgeworth's scholarship is expanded upon in his previous articles on color terms in Latin. The complete list of his works is included in my bibliography.

<sup>14</sup> This monograph grew out of Clarke's earlier work, *Colours in Conflict: Catullus' Use of Colour Imagery in c. 63* (2001), where she offered an analysis of color-usage in Catullus 63.

<sup>15</sup> Paul Barolsky, "Ovid's Colors," *Arion* 10 (2003): 51-56.

<sup>16</sup> Phyllis Culham, "The Lex Oppia," *Latomus* 41 (1982): 786-793; Christopher Jones, "Processional Colors" in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, eds. B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 247-57.

elements of color, particularly in clothing, make-up, hair-coloring and jewelry.<sup>17</sup>

Elizabeth C. Evans was known for her elaborate work on the study of physiognomy of the ancient world (1935, 1950, 1969). In each of these works she discusses the physiognomic treatises of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. by Polemo and the Pseudo-Aristotelian School to explore this unique world, in which the color-terms used to describe the hair, eyes and complexion are supposed to reveal the inner qualities or ailments of the person described.<sup>18</sup>

In the last decade there has been a great deal of scholarly interest in the examination of painted Greek and Roman sculpture, with many surprising results. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway addresses the issue of painted sculpture in a chronological manner in a chapter of *Prayers in Stone* (1999).<sup>19</sup> She examines basic pieces from the Siphnian Treasury and several *korai*, explaining that the presence of red paint is often the result of the chipping away of black and blue paint. Vinzenz Brinkmann's important texts (1998, 2003, 2007) address the use of polychromy in Greek and Roman sculpture by studying paint samples from a variety of well-known works, including the Augustus of Prima Porta. A major exhibition in Munich in 2007 included recreations of these works with possible original colors.<sup>20</sup>

The most recent contribution to the literature is Mark Bradley's book, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome* (2009) which examines categories of color in Roman systems

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<sup>17</sup> Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman* (London: Routledge, 2008).

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth C. Evans, "Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance in History and Biography," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 46 (1935), 43-84; "Physiognomics in the Roman" *CJ* 45 (1950): 277-282; "Physiognomics in the Ancient World," *TAPhS* 59 (1969): 1-101.

<sup>19</sup> Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Prayers in Stone* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>20</sup> Vinzenz Brinkmann, *Der torso: Ruhm und rätsel*, (Munich: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, 1998); *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur* (Munich: Biering und Brinkmann, 2003);

*Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity* (Munich: Stiftung Archäologie, Glyptothek, 2007).

of expression and communication.<sup>21</sup> Bradley is also concerned with how the word *color* and *colores* are understood by Epicurean and Stoic philosophers and how authors like Lucretius and Pliny analyze the optical effects of color. He devotes a complete chapter to a discussion of the rainbow and its effect on ancient philosophy and science. One chapter deals with marble and its colorful qualities in building structures, a study that is more archaeologically and scientifically based. But his text continually plays on the old-fashioned notion of categorizing and organizing the color-terms, rather than dealing with their subject matter in context and taking into consideration the historical narrative. Nor does Bradley consider or consult *CIL* or other inscriptions that feature color-terms. This shortcoming limits his conclusions considerably since it prevents him from demonstrating how real Roman folk may have been affected by color-terms.<sup>22</sup>

There are many useful studies of color-terms that focus on periods and cultures other than Greece and Rome. John Gage's *Color and Culture* (1993) and *Color and Meaning* (1999) surveys the history of color from Classical Greece through the twentieth century, principally focusing on appearances in Medieval and Renaissance fine and decorative arts.<sup>23</sup> Berlin and Kay's *Basic Color Terms* (1969) surveys the etymological development of color-terms in various languages; they devised the phrase "color term" to describe words for colors.<sup>24</sup> Liza Cleland and Karen Stears organized an archaeologically based conference, whose proceedings were published as *Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (2004), which deals with all aspects of the use of color in the ancient world from

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<sup>21</sup> Mark Bradley, *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> The same goes for authors like André and Price, who lived at a time when these databases and collections did not exist or were not in a complete form.

<sup>23</sup> John Gage, *Color and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction* (North America: Bulfinch Press, 1993), *Color and Meaning: Art, Science and Symbolism* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>24</sup> Brent Berlin. *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969).

Roman Britain to Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and North Africa.<sup>25</sup> Umberto Eco's "How Culture Conditions the Colours We See" (1985) clearly articulates many of the linguistic and conceptual issues that are present when we try to describe colors, taking into account our cultural background and preconceptions.<sup>26</sup>

Because of the relative paucity of previous scholarship on color in the Roman world and lack of focus on the precise meaning of color-terms based on the associated objects, oversimplified or incorrect translations have been repeated uncritically in literature. Without specific and nuanced understanding of the context of color-terms, the significance ascribed to them by the writers is lost. By examining the color-terms at play in certain texts, we may be able to grasp more readily the interplay between roles of gender, ethnicity, religion, economic and class differences, political affairs, and passions of the day.

#### *A Thematic Approach to the Subject*

Instead of the traditional method of treating the subject by individual color, or chronologically by period, I plan to examine the subject of color-terms through thematic chapters. The literary evidence for color-terms does not display a clear chronological development, nor did it seem logical to analyze or discuss color-terms by literary genre or author-based studies, as had been studied previously. Rather I sorted the color-terms into subject areas in which color-terms are most frequently found in literature, such as clothing, physiognomy, and associations with particular social classes. These categories

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<sup>25</sup> Liza Cleland and Karen Stears, eds. *Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (BAR International Series, 1267, 2004).

<sup>26</sup> Umberto Eco, "How Culture Conditions the Colours We See," in *On Signs*, ed. M. Blonsky (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1985): 157-75.

then generated other fields to investigate: for example, in order to study colored clothing, one must examine the dye industry. There is a whole category of literary color-terms that deal with the concept of multicoloredness, which have not all been considered in previous scholarship. This method provides a more productive method for studying Roman attitudes towards color-terms and how they were used.

To begin, Chapter One examines Aulus Gellius's dialogue in his *Attic Nights* between Marcus Cornelius Fronto and Favorinus of Arles on the subject of color-terms. This passage requires special attention as a unique contemporary discussion of color-terms in the ancient world. It demonstrates the importance of the subject of color-terms to prominent Roman intellectuals of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. It is a discussion about the differences between Greek and Latin color-terms, with each of the two men arguing for his preference of one language system over another. Understanding the world of Fronto and Favorinus requires some background in the subject of Greek color-terms, and also raises the subject of Roman material culture, including painting and interior decoration. There is no other passage that reveals so clearly the issues that concerned Romans about the use of color-terms in literature.

Chapter Two deals with the Roman dye industry. Studying colored clothing, an important aspect of material culture, is problematic because of the limited survival of the textiles and painted depictions in the archaeological record that would provide us with a clear frame of reference. Without the physical evidence of garments and their painted representations to illustrate the objects in the text, it is difficult to understand how the ancients understood exact hues or shades of color. There is, however, plenty of evidence concerning dye production, weaving, and trade because of the way in which colors were

derived from natural products.<sup>27</sup> Occupations of dyers and fullers, named for the colors that they produced, are documented in inscriptions. From these sources we can also learn about the effects of the production of these colors on the environment of the period. Strabo says that the dyeworks of Tyre and Sidon smelled so badly that these cities with their tall *insulae*, while rich, were “unpleasant for residence.”<sup>28</sup> This study will examine some of the technical processes of ancient dyeing, and their relationship to commercial trade, offering a detailed treatment of this material in order to understand how some of the color-terms earned their names.

Chapter Three deals with colored clothing, which was viewed as a source of pride by Roman men and women, both slave and free. The evidence suggests that Roman writers distinguished many gradations and tonalities within the same color than has been previously acknowledged by modern scholarship. Previous scholarship overlooks many of the examples that I include in my sample, which suggest that pairings of specific colors with specific garment types had common and readily recognizable meanings, which would have been apparent to the authors’ intended audience.<sup>29</sup> These combined descriptive terms are repeated sufficiently in the literature to identify them as standard tropes, formulae, or stereotypes. These stock phrases are considered codes for social types and the sentiments they aroused among their contemporaries. For example, slaves,

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<sup>27</sup> Plin. *HN* 9.139. The subject of trade and sources on the dye industry are extensive. A selection of works containing primary sources includes: R.I. Curtis, *Garum and Salsamenta: Production and Commerce in materia medica* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), P.W. Garnsey, “Independent Freedmen and the Economy of Roman Italy under the Principate,” *Klio* 63 (1981): 359-371 and Lloyd B. Jensen, “Royal Purple of Tyre,” *JNES* 22 (1963): 104-118.

<sup>28</sup> Strabo, *Geography* 2.23.757.

<sup>29</sup> Juvenal comments that “it is *purpura* clothing, whatever it be, foreign and unknown to us, that leads to crime and wickedness” (*Sat.* 14.185-188), while Martial describes a man who “loves sad-colored cloaks and Baetic wool and ash-gray colors, who thinks that scarlet clothes are unmanly, and calls amethyst clothes the dress of women.” He praised natural shades, yet although he is always in dark colors, his morals sport a different color. (*Ep.* 1.96.4-7).

male and female, are marked with distinctive colored clothing, which has never received much scholarly attention.<sup>30</sup> The castrated male, or eunuch, is also distinctively marked.<sup>31</sup>

Chapter Four deals with the application of color-terms to class distinctions in Roman society, with particular emphasis on the class of freedmen, whose position in Roman society was never completely accepted. Petronius's *Cena Trimalchionis* is one of the most important literary sources in which color-terms abound; many color-terms appear here that recur nowhere else in Latin literature. There is no other work that so vividly describes the class attitudes of Roman society: certain combinations of color-terms project a satirical caricature of the freedman in contrast to the aristocrat. In Petronius' work every item of clothing is described with a color-term and suggests something about Trimalchio's staff and Petronius' attitudes to the liminal status of a freedman. It is the only instance in Latin literature in which the freedman class is described with a set of color-terms which draw direct attention to their inescapable status. In one passage the narrator and his group come to the entrance of Trimalchio's house and are introduced to a butler dressed "in green clothes, with a cherry-colored belt, shelling peas in a silver dish. A golden cage hung in the doorway."<sup>32</sup> This passage illustrates one of the most vivid examples of costumed attire — a man in a highly colored uniform. The *Cena* also informs us about Roman entertainment. The four chariot teams in Rome were identified by color and were also named for the colors that they represented. The color-terms – in

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<sup>30</sup> See K.R. Bradley, *Slavery and Society at Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); N.R.E. Fisher, *Slavery in Classical Greece* (Newcastle: Bristol Classical Press, 1993); Y. Garlan, *Slavery in Ancient Greece*, Trans. J.P. Lloyd (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); and T. Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery* (London: Croom Helm, 1981). These surveys deal specifically with the laws governing slavery, but the subject of clothing is not mentioned at length.

<sup>31</sup> Craig Williams, *Roman Homosexuality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 129. The notion that eunuchs wore yellow colored garments was a staple. Marion Francis Dana, *The Ritual Significance of Yellow Among the Romans* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1919): 12-15. Dana says that *luteus* was a basic yellow mainly used for dresses of women.

<sup>32</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 27.

particular, *venetus* and *prasinus* – were derived from specific nouns and geographical locations to create abstract terms. From the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. to Late Antiquity there is little change in the color-terms' use; they were specifically used for these teams. Satirists and biographers often use the color-terms specifically for the social context of games.

Chapter Five is devoted to the use of color in ancient physiognomy. There is a whole range of color-terms devoted to descriptions of one's body, face, hair, skin and eye color: for example, *rubor* and *ruber* are used only for skin and complexion; *rutilus* and *rufus*, only for hair. These color-terms are regularly employed for all types of people, from royal or aristocratic figures to ordinary men and women. In the socio-political realm, negative and positive color-terms are used to characterize an individual's personality traits and political leanings, and a whole array of Roman attitudes toward foreigners and non-Roman ethnic groups.

Lastly, Chapter Six discusses a special group of color-terms: *versicolor*, *decolor*, *discolor*, *bicolor*, *multicolor*, *omnicolor*, *unicolor*, and *concolor*. Roman writers, like their practical counterparts in art, architecture, engineering and politics, took necessary steps to create different types of lexical conventions. While scholars like Culham and Edgeworth have tried to define what ancient authors meant by these specific color-terms, my goal is to demonstrate the literary contexts in which they are used. These words are indicators of the creative possibilities that Romans had when expressing multiple ways of describing things. While we cannot always perceive the exact way in which Romans looked at the world, it is interesting to note that they were ready to construct new ways of seeing things on top of older conventions, by adding prefixes to the root word *color*.

### Methods of Research and Presentation of Data

Besides the works cited in the bibliography, my research on color-terms would not have been possible without the aid of the databases *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. I derived the color-terms used in my TLG and TLL searches from André's concordance and from the range of color terms provided by Judith Sebesta.<sup>33</sup> In studying clothing, for example, the search revealed that references to colored clothing were more plentiful in the writings of satirists, poets and epigrammatists of the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Some epigraphic examples cite the occupations of dyers and are found in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. I also employed commentaries from the selected primary works to aid my study, and used the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* as a means of isolating lesser-known examples of color-terms from primary sources. The translations of color-terms are necessarily subjective; I have used my own translations and defined the color-terms based upon context.

At the end of the dissertation I have appended three charts. The first chart is organized chronologically by author, listing the color-terms cited in the text of the dissertation (appearing in the nominative case to avoid confusion). The second chart is organized alphabetically by color-term. The third chart is exclusively drawn from Suetonius' descriptions of the Twelve Caesars, showing the physiognomic application of color-terms.

### Conclusion

The subject of color-terms in ancient literature has been examined little and only in piecemeal fashion over the past few decades. Literary sources both poetry and prose

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<sup>33</sup> Sebesta (1994): 68.

offer many examples of the use of color terms in Latin texts. I am investigating a hypothesis that specific color-terms acquired connotations of value — both negative and positive — based on their associations with contemporary social groups. These associations and value judgments appear in Roman literature of both the Republic and the Empire and give us insight into the Roman mind on a variety of important subjects.

## Chapter One: Aulus Gellius' Colorful Digression

The dialogue in Gellius' *Attic Nights* 2.26, a debate between Marcus Cornelius Fronto and Favorinus of Arles concerning the relative merits of Greek and Latin color-terms, is useful for revealing the diverse cultural climate of the Antonines and the attitudes of the educated upper class of Romans towards the use of color-terms in literature, particularly in poetry.<sup>34</sup> The form of this conversation is loosely based upon the Platonic dialogues, so it may record an actual intellectual debate or it may be fiction; but whether the conversation occurred or not, it demonstrates the importance that Roman intellectuals placed on color-terms, their derivation and meaning. A detailed analysis of this debate, in the order in which Gellius records it, allows us to examine certain difficult passages with greater understanding.

The Latin grammarian Aulus Gellius (125 A.D.-after 180 A.D.) was particularly interested in capturing conversations and anecdotes reflective of the social climate in the philosophical schools of Athens. The only information about him as a grammarian, rhetorician and recorder of antiquarian tales is in his *Attic Nights*, a compilation of stories, mathematical equations (a mathematical equation is the first anecdote in Book One), questions about law, and anything else that interested him during one winter which he spent in Athens.<sup>35</sup> He reports the views of the famous thinkers and orators of his day,

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<sup>34</sup> The conversation has been a classic reference for scholarship on color categories. See Rowe (1972): 351; Dürbeck (1977): 38-42; Eco (1985): 157-159; Gage (1993): 31; oddly the conversation is never referenced by André (1949). The conversation is referenced in passing by the scholars of Aulus Gellius: Baldwin (1975): 22; LHS (1989): 47; Fögen (2000): 207-209; Beall (2001): 89.

<sup>35</sup> See Leofranc Holford-Strevens (LHS), *A Commentary on Aulus Gellius Chapter 2* (unpublished dissertation, Oxford University, 1971); Stephen Beall, "Aulus Gellius 17.8: Composition and the Gentleman Scholar," *CP* (1999): 55-65. According to scholars, there is no clear order in the sequence of the tales. LHS, *Aulus Gellius: An Antonine Scholar and his Achievement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 26-29; LHS, *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*, (Oxford University Press, 2004): 46-50.

but never inserts himself into the conversation. Although the people and their works that he reports on are real, the conversations in his book may be embellished or fictional.<sup>36</sup> In 2.26 two famous thinkers try to make the case for their favorite language, Latin or Greek, as being more expressive when discussing color and perception.

The pairing of Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c. 100-170 A.D.) and Favorinus of Arles (c. 80-160 A.D.) is one of contrasts and reveals much about citizens of the Roman Empire and their different cultural perspectives. Neither man was born in Rome; one was an ex-consul born in Numidia, and the other a philosopher born in Gaul. Both, however, were fully conversant in Latin and in the philosophy of the day and were excellent orators. Favorinus makes frequent appearances in *Attic Nights*, discussing such diverse subjects as law, breastfeeding, philosophy, oration, astrology, and Greek and Roman literature.<sup>37</sup> Fronto's appearance in this dialogue, however, is his only appearance in *Attic Nights*. In 2.26, the two men exchange barbs over who knows more about poetry and in which language the best color-terms are found, citing Homer, Ennius, Pacuvius, Vergil and Nigidius. It is rare for us to see ancient Romans citing other writers with passages including color-terms, and quite welcome for our understanding of the ancients' perceptions and how they grappled with these notions, too.

The dialogue addresses color-terms and their nature as discussed by Favorinus and Fronto.<sup>38</sup> The narrator, Gellius, is present but does not directly insert his opinions into the dialogue; he acts as a passive observer. It is interesting to note that Gellius says that

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<sup>36</sup> Stephen Beall suggests that although Gellius worked from notes, they are primarily works of literary fiction. Beall (1999): 56.

<sup>37</sup> Gell. *NA* 1.10, 2.5, 2.26, 4.1, 8.2, 11.16, 12.1, 14.1, 14.2, 15.8, 15.10, 18.1, 18.7, 20.1.

<sup>38</sup> There are only passing references in scholarly literature that address this debate. It is difficult to place this debate in other intellectual contexts such as the Second Sophistic or the Platonic Dialogues, rather I believe it should be appreciated and examined on its own merits.

there were other men in the room listening to the discussion, suggesting that it was a public debate, and might have actually taken place:

*...sermones de coloribus vocabulisque eorum agitentur, quod multiplex colorum facies, appellationes autem incertae et exiguae forent, "plura" inquit "sunt" Favorinus "in sensibus oculorum quam in verbis vocibusque colorum discrimina. Nam ut alias eorum inconcinnitates omittamus, simplices isti **rufus** et **viridis** colores singula quidem vocabula, multas autem species differentis habent. Atque eam vocum inopiam in lingua magis Latina video, quam in Graeca.*

...a conversation about colors and their respective terms were considered, with respect to the many different appearance that colors have. The names, however, are uncertain and few, Favorinus says that there are more ways to distinguish them by eyesight than there are ways of expressing them verbally. For if we omit other kinds of clumsy types of colors, the simple types of colors of red and green, have a separate vocabulary, indeed, many other different shades exist. And thus I see a lacking in Latin language for color-terms than that in the Greek language.<sup>39</sup>

The first part of their discussion deals with color-terms for red. Favorinus argues that it is easy for Romans to classify color-terms under an umbrella-term for red (***rufus color***) but it does not take into account the different shades of red:

*quippe qui 'rufus' color a **rubore** quidem appellatus est, sed cum aliter **rubeat ignis**, aliter **sanguis**, aliter **ostrum**, aliter **crocum**, aliter **aurum**, has singulas **rufi** varietates Latina oratio singulis propriisque vocabulis non demonstrat omniaque ista significat una 'ruboris' appellatione...*

Obviously the color-term ***rufus*** indeed has the equivalency and derives its name from ***rubore*** but since in another way comes from fire, and another from blood, and another from an oyster, and another from a crocus, and another from gold, but the Latin vocabulary does not reveal different ways of expressing these colors by individuals and specific speech, but instead groups them all under one color-terms ***rubor***.<sup>40</sup>

It is interesting to note that Favorinus is using the word ***color*** next to ***rufus*** to emphasize that ***rufus*** is a color-term and not just an ordinary adjective. Favorinus, the defender of

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<sup>39</sup> Gell. NA, 2.26.1-5.

<sup>40</sup> Gell. NA, 2.26.5. LHS (1971): 301. LHS says that the "Romans could apply *ruber*, *rubor* and *rubere* to any red, orange or yellow."

Greek culture, discusses how typically fond the Latin language is of borrowing color-terms from substantive nouns to create subjective adjectives; as “fiery” from “fire”:

*ipsis rebus vocabula colorum mutuatur et 'igneum' aliquid dicit et 'flammeum' et 'sanguineum' et 'croceum' et 'ostrinum' et 'aureum'*

The color-term borrows the names of the vocabulary from things on its own, and calls anything ‘fire’, and ‘fiery red’ and bloody and saffron-like and oyster-purple and golden.<sup>41</sup>

He looks down upon the Latin culture for not being able to define color-terms on their own.

In a heated rebuttal, Fronto, approaching the question from the standpoint of a sophisticated Roman, defends the Latin language:

*'non infitias,' inquit, 'imus quin lingua Graeca, quam tu videre elegisse, prolixior fusiorque sit quam nostra; sed in his tamen coloribus quibus modo dixisti denominandis, non proinde inopes sumus ut tibi videmur.*

He said, ‘I do not deny that indeed the Greek language, which you seem to consider, is more extensive and spread out than our own language, but nevertheless designating the names of colors which you have spoken about, not according to you we are not in such a bad shape as it may seem.’<sup>42</sup>

He contradicts Favorinus’ statement, saying that there are more red color-terms in Latin than in Greek, which include more words than *russus* and *ruber*.<sup>43</sup> He then provides in list form all the different color-terms in Latin for varieties of red:

*"fulvus" enim et "flavus" et "rubidus" et "poeniceus" et "rutilus" et "luteus" et "spadix" appellationes sunt rufi coloris aut acuentes eum quasi incendentes aut cum colore viridi miscentes aut nigro infuscantes aut virenti sensim albo illuminantes. Nam "poeniceus", quem tu Graece phoinika dixisti, et "rutilus" et "spadix" poenicei synonymos, qui factus e Graeco noster est, exuberantiam splendoremque significant ruboris, quales sunt fructus palmae arboris non admodum sole incocti, unde spadici et poeniceo nomen est: spadika enim Dorici vocant avulsum e palma termitem cum fructu.*

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<sup>41</sup> Gell. NA, 2.26.5.

<sup>42</sup> Gell. NA, 2.26.6.

<sup>43</sup> Gell. NA, 2.26.6.

For *fulvus*, *flavus*, *rubidus*, *poenicus*, *rutilus*, *luteus* and *spadix* are names of the color red, which either brighten it (making it fiery, as it were), or combine it with green, or darken it with black, or make it luminous by a slight addition of gleaming white. For *poenicus*, which you call '*phoenix*' in Greek, belongs to our language, and *rutilus* and *spadix*, a synonym of *poenicus*, which is taken over into Latin from the Greek, indicate a rich, gleaming shade of red, like that of the fruit of the palm-tree when it is not fully ripened by the sun. And from this *spadix* and *poenicus* get their name; for *spadix* in Doric is applied to a branch from a palm-tree along with its fruit.<sup>44</sup>

While it is a subjective list, Fronto does defend the Latin language. In some respects Fronto is comical in his view of color-terms, stretching the definition of red so far as to include a range of colors under the red umbrella from yellow to purple: *fulvus*, *flavus*, *rubidus*, *poenicus*, *rutilus*, *luteus* and *spadix*.<sup>45</sup> He also admits to adding other colors to the list such as green (*viridi*), black (*nigro*), or white (*albo*). Fronto also includes the use of the Latin color-term *poenicus*, but admits that it is a transliteration of the Greek word Φοίνικα. Fronto does not see this as a problem and he does not wish to challenge the status quo.

The discussion of *fulvus*, which Fronto considers a mixture of red and green, broadens and complicates the definition of a color-term:

*"Fulvus" autem videtur de rufo atque viridi mixtus in aliis plus viridis, in aliis plus rufi libere. Sic poeta verborum diligentissimus "fulvam aquilam" dicit et "iaspidem", "fulvos galeros" et "fulvum aurum" et "arenam fulvam" et "fulvum leonem", sic Quintus Ennius in annalibus "aere fulvo" dixit. "Flavus" contra videtur e viridi et rufo et albo concretus: sic "flaventes comae" et, quod mirari quosdam video, frondes olearum a Vergilio "flavae" dicuntur, sic multo ante Pacuvius aquam "flavam" dixit et "fulvum pulverem".*

<sup>44</sup> Gell. NA, 2.26.8-9.

<sup>45</sup> *Spadix* is a shade that André categorizes separately and comes at the end of his chapter of *Le Rouge*. André (1949): 120. Perhaps now is the time to consider *spadix* a brown shade, along with the related job title, *spadicarii*, for the dye industry. (See Chapter Two on the dye industry.) Holford-Strevens is unclear about the placement of *spadix* because of the confusion between gleaming red and brown; LHS (1971): 314.

But *fulvus* the color-term appears to be a mixture of red and green, in which the other color is more sometimes red appears more brightly. Thus the poet who is most careful in his speech, ‘a golden eagle’ and ‘jasper’, ‘a golden fur cap’ and applied to the color of golden metal, sand and lion, and thus Quintus Ennius used in his *Annals* ‘golden air.’ *Flavus* it appears on the other hand is mixed from green, red and white: thus the golden tresses and because I seem to be marveled at and use the adjective for the leaves of olive trees, for Vergil says ‘*flava* can be used, thus much earlier, Pacuvius called water *flava* and dust *fulvus*.’<sup>46</sup>

Here Fronto cites a bewildering variety of examples from Vergil's *Aeneid*. All these terms take the color-term *fulvus*: eagle, jasper stone, fur caps, gold, sand and lion.<sup>47</sup> He also cites Ennius, who uses *fulvus* to describe air.<sup>48</sup> In discussing *flavus* and *fulvus*, Fronto presents the most complicated definitions for yellow color-terms in the corpus of Latin literature. These two terms are most commonly defined as yellow and shades thereof. But in this passage Fronto actually describes *flavus* as a combination of green, red and white, making his ideas seem slightly ridiculous unless one considers both colors shades of brown and not yellow. He quotes the early Republican poet Pacuvius:

*Cuius versus, quoniam sunt iucundissimi, libens commemini:  
 ‘Cedo tuum pedem mi, lymphis flavis fulvum ut pulverem  
 Manibus isdem, quibus Ulixi saepe permulsi abluam  
 Lassitudinemque minuam manuum mollitudine.’*

With regards to the verses, I am able to remember them because they are most charming: ‘Give me your foot, with the very same softened hands, the gold water and gold sand, which often Ulysses did smooth away and lessen the weariness.’<sup>49</sup>

Fronto may be quoting Pacuvius because doing so lends him more authority as a Roman, given Pacuvius’ venerable antiquity. The verses that Fronto cites, however, are not the most recognizable, nor the best chosen passages to illustrate how the color-terms *flavus*

<sup>46</sup> Gell. *NA*, 2.26.10-12.

<sup>47</sup> Verg., *Aen.* 11.751, 4.261, 8.688, 8.279, 5.374, 2.722.

<sup>48</sup> Enn. *Ann.*, 454.

<sup>49</sup> Pacuvius 5.244.

and *fulvus* can be used to describe objects.<sup>50</sup> This example shows how Fronto wants the color-terms to conform conveniently to his very broad definitions in the Latin language.

Fronto proceeds to describe other color-terms in Latin for red: *rubidus*, which is a darker red with a mixture of black, *luteus*, which he describes as a diluted form of red. He directly addresses Favorinus and proclaims that there are indeed just as many color-terms in Latin than in Greek. Therefore in Fronto's estimation, Latin and Greek are equal. It is surprising that he uses *luteus* as his example, because usually it is translated as yellow.<sup>51</sup> Once again Fronto is defining color-terms in a broad sense.

When he gets to the color-terms for green, Fronto asserts that Greek does not have more color-terms for green than Latin does. His example seems rather odd, because he cites Vergil describing a horse as “green” — *neque non potuit Vergilius colorem equi significare viridem volens caerulum magis dicere eum quam 'glaucum'* — he says that Vergil used the word *glaucus*, which is Greek, instead of a Latin word, *caerulus*. Fronto justifies this by saying that Vergil chose a well-recognized Greek word rather than a rare Latin word. Here Fronto points out to Favorinus what seems to us to be a blatant inaccuracy on Vergil's part, by trying to show once again the fluid vocabulary and multiple definitions that one color-term may have in Latin. Fronto actually misquotes Vergil, who does not actually say that the horse is “green”: he describes it as *gilvus*, dun-colored.<sup>52</sup> To the modern historian it would seem strange to call a horse green in the first place; but Fronto's point is that it was permissible for Vergil to use Greek words in his

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<sup>50</sup> André (1949), 128-129 considers *flavus* first in his study of *Le Jaune*. Some examples of *flavus* are documented in Laughton's articles (1948, 1950). See also Seneca, *Phaedra* 646-9, 651-2; Verg. *Aen.*, 10.324-25; Silius Italicus, *Punica* 2.318-9; Valerius Maximus 1.7.ext.6; and Seneca, *De Ira*, 2.19.5.

<sup>51</sup> Gell. *NA*, 2.26.14-16.

<sup>52</sup> The reference is to Verg. *G.* 3.82: *honesti spadices glaucique, color deterrimus albiset gilvo* —Chesnut and grays are handsome, the least desirable are white and dun.

Latin poetry. There is no requirement for a Latin speaker to use only Latin. Fronto continues with the color blue; he quotes the Republican poet Nigidius, who says that earlier poets used the color-term *caesia* for blue instead of *caelia*.<sup>53</sup> In this instance Fronto is admitting that both color-terms are derived from the color of the sky—an example of precisely what Favorinus had charged earlier about Latin color-terms being derived from the names of things.

Favorinus rather surprisingly accepts Fronto's pro-Latin stance towards color-terms and even suggests that Fronto's knowledge of Greek permitted the two to have this conversation. Favorinus first says that if it were not for Fronto, the Greek language would win; but Favorinus resorts to quoting Homer saying that either Fronto would have won or made the result doubtful.<sup>54</sup> Favorinus then goes on to say that Fronto's explanation of the color *flavus* has helped him understand a passage of from Ennius' *Annales*, which he had never understood before, which is the most convoluted in its use and definition of color-terms:

*'Verrunt extemplo placide mare marmore flavo  
caeruleum, spumat sale conferta rate pulsum;  
non enim videbatur "caeruleum mare" cum "marmore flavo"  
convenire. Sed cum sit, ita ut dixisti, flavus color e viridi et albo mixtus,  
pulcherrime prorsus spumas virentis maris 'flavom marmor' appellavit.'*

‘They are swept along immediately on the calm sea, golden marble, blue, foaming with salt, beating packed into the boat.’<sup>55</sup>  
For ‘the blue seas’ with ‘golden marble’ does not seem at all appropriate. But if it is so, just as you have said, that flavus is a color mixed from green and white, in the most beautiful way, in short, he calls the foam of the green sea ‘golden marble.’<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Gell. *NA*, 2.26.17-18.

<sup>54</sup> Gell. *NA*, 2.26.20, quoting Hom. *Il.*, 23.382.

<sup>55</sup> Enn. *Ann.* 384 V2. See Julia H. Gaisser, “Tibullus 1.7: A Tribute to Messalla,” *CP* 66 (1971): 224.

<sup>56</sup> Gell, *NA*, 2.26.22.

Even without considering the color-terms, the poetic comparison made between the foam of the sea and the hard marble is indeed strange. Favorinus' tone may be sarcastic, as he concludes by conceding completely to Fronto and complimenting him on his excellent ability to argue. Perhaps this is an attempt to ingratiate himself with Fronto; but perhaps Favorinus (and Gellius, too) genuinely felt that Fronto had won the argument.

Aulus Gellius' own interest in color-terms appears again in a later passage in *Attic Nights*, in which he quotes the rhetorician Gavius Bassus on the color of a famous horse belonging to Seius. Bassus, who saw the horse at Argos, says that it was a beautiful horse of a very striking color — *colore exuberantissimo* — which he describes as *poeniceus*, or purple: *Quem colorem nos sicuti dixi, 'poeniceum' dicimus, Graeci partim phoinika, alii spadika appellant, quoniam palmae terms ex arbore cum fructu avulsus 'spadix' dicitur.*<sup>57</sup> Gellius, now speaking in his own voice, explains that this color-term is *phoinika* in Greek, but others call it *spadika* because the branch of a palm tree is called *spadix*. Here Aulus Gellius draws attention to the derivation of color-terms in both Greek and Latin. His comment about the derivation of the word *spadix*, which is usually translated brown, is almost exactly the same as Fronto's, so clearly he found it very significant; but was the horse purple or was it brown? Gellius links the two color-terms of purple and brown, which can be very similar depending on the shade; but more likely the horse is described as *poeniceus* because it is beautiful with a shiny coat; purple color-terms are often used as synonyms for shiny in texture.<sup>58</sup> At the beginning of the discussion, Favorinus had said: "More distinctions of color are detected by the eye than

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<sup>57</sup> Gell. *NA.* 3.9.8-9.

<sup>58</sup> The concept of purple as shining will be further developed in Chapters Two and Three.

are expressed by words and terms." His comment suggests that the ancients grappled with the same confusion we do when interpreting Latin color-terms.

In order to understand these two passages in *Attic Nights*, it is useful to consider Greek color-terms and their development. Modern scholars have tended to agree with Fronto that Greek literature does not have as many color-terms as Latin. As Alice Kober says, "there are in Greek poetry few descriptions of nature, and absolutely no certain mention of the blue sky or blue sea, green trees, or a brown anything."<sup>59</sup> Eleanor Irwin has posited that there are no specific terms for colors, as terms such as *γλαυκός* and *χαροπός* have multiple purposes and evoke degrees of luminosity and cloudiness, rather than specific hues.<sup>60</sup> Homer uses the term *οἶνον* (wine colored) to describe both the sea and cattle. Anacreon uses the term purple *πορφυρέας* to describe both a girl's dress and her hair.<sup>61</sup> By the Classical period, more color-terms have developed and authors are more precise in applying color-terms to specific objects: for example, in Aeschylus' *Persae*, a young man is described as having a red beard freshly dyed with purple blood and riding on a black horse; Xenophanes uses three colors to describe a rainbow — *πορφύρεος*, *φοινίκεος* and *χλωρός*.<sup>62</sup> Maurice Platnauer says, "it is a luster or superficial effect that struck the Greeks and not what we call color or tint."<sup>63</sup> He points out, however, that Aristophanes used bright color-terms for specific objects, such as *φοινικιοῦς* for a flamingo, *φοινικόπτερος*.<sup>64</sup> Color-terms do not make their way into the works of historians, such as Thucydides, Polybius or Arrian. Herodotus, however, provides a

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<sup>59</sup> A. E. Kober, "Some Remarks on Color in Greek Poetry," *CW* 27 (1934): 189.

<sup>60</sup> Eleanor Irwin, *Color Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974): 9-10.

<sup>61</sup> Kober (1934): 189.

<sup>62</sup> Kober (1934): 190.

<sup>63</sup> Maurice Platnauer, "Greek Colour-Perception," *CQ* 15 (1921): 154.

<sup>64</sup> Platnauer, 157.

colorful description of the palace of Ecbatana, describing the seven stades of the building with their different tile colors.<sup>65</sup> Xenophon employs the color-term **φοινικίδων** once to describe dyed cloth.<sup>66</sup> Some color-terms are physically drawn from natural substances and elements, such as **κροκέας**, derived from the crocus flower, an expensive natural item, which also functions as an adjective to describe the **κροκόπεπλος**, worn on the sculpture of Athena in the Panathenaic festival.

The principal text on color-terms attributed to the Hellenistic period is the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De Coloribus*, which equates Greek color-terms with the four elements, fire, air, water and earth.<sup>67</sup> The author tries to define color in terms of reflected light and the various changes in materials when they are heated or burned, or when natural substances such as trees and plants ripen and decay. This treatise is of great significance in the history of science, comparable to Pliny's *Natural History* or Lucretius *De Rerum Natura*, but color-terms are not plentiful in Hellenistic poetry.

Another way to understand the world of Aulus Gellius, Fronto and Favorinus is by looking at Roman material culture as reflected in art and interior decoration. We know from other sources that Fronto was familiar with the visual arts. After coming to Rome in the reign of Hadrian, he gained attention as an orator and amassed a great amount of money. He was a consul in Rome, but refused the pro-consulship of Asia in 142 A.D. because of illness, most likely gout. He founded a school of rhetoric in Athens, giving

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<sup>65</sup> Hdt., 1.98.

<sup>66</sup> Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.3, Platnauer, 156.

<sup>67</sup> Gottschalk, H.B., "The *De Coloribus* and its Author," *Hermes* 122 (1964): 59-85. Georg Wörhle connects the authorship of *De Coloribus* to the school of Theophrastus; Georg Wörhle, "Ps-Aristoteles *De Coloribus* — A Theophrastean Opusculum?" in William W. Fortenbaugh and Georg Wörhle (eds.), *On the Opuscula of Theophrastus: Akten der 3. Tagung der Karl-und-Gertrud-Abel-Stiftung vom 19.-23. Juli 1999 in Trier* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002): 91-97.

him knowledge of Greek as well as Latin. Fronto was well known for his epistolary exchanges with the Emperor Verus, in which he discusses a great range of topics. In his first letter, he protests to the Emperor that he cannot do something for which he lacks innate talent. He invokes the styles and gifts of the great masters of the Greek and Roman world, including painters, poets, orators and historians. The passage on painters is of particular interest:

*Quid, si Parrhasium **versicolora** pingere iuberet aut Apellen **unicolora**, aut Nealcen magna aut Protogenen minuta, aut Niciam obscura aut Dionysium inlustria, aut lascivia Euphranorem aut Pausiam t<ristiti> a sa<tura>?*

What, if somebody requested Parrhasius to paint multicolored hues, or Apelles in a uniform hue, or Nealcles large works or Protogenes small canvases, or Nicias darkened palette or Dionysius brighter hues colors, or Euphranor, playful scenes or Pausanias, pensive scenes.<sup>68</sup>

It is interesting to note that he refers to the famous painters of the ancient Greek world, showing his interest in and knowledge of fine arts, but also of the more obscure and sophisticated color-terms such as **versicolor** and **unicolor**.

Our surviving literary sources show that other educated Romans besides Fronto were interested in the famous works of Greek painters. Cicero notes that the earliest Greek painters, Zeuxis, Polygnotus, Timanthus, Aetion, Nichomachos, Protogenes and Apelles, used only four colors, though he does not further elaborate on what the colors were.<sup>69</sup> Pliny the Elder shows which Greek artists were partial to certain colors, marveling that even though they did not employ a multicolored palette, their works were worth a lot of money:

*Quattuor coloribus solis immortalia illa opera fecere — ex **albis** Melino, e **silaciis** Attico, ex **rubris** Sinopide Pontica, ex **nigris** Atramento — Apelles, Aetino, Melanthus, Nicomachus, clarissimi*

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<sup>68</sup> Fronto, Imp. Ver. 1.1.1

<sup>69</sup> Cic. *Brutus*, 70.

*pictores, cum tabulae eorum singulae oppidorum venirent opibus.*

Only four colors were used by the immortal painters in those works — of white from Melinum, of yellow ochres from Attica, of reds from the Pontic Sinopis; of blacks from Atramentum, since their pictures of each painter sold for a wealth of a whole town.<sup>70</sup>

By contrast, Pliny describes the wide palette that was available to Roman painters during his time:

*Sunt autem colores austeri aut floridi, utrumque natura aut mixtura evenit. Floridi sunt — quos dominus pingenti praestat — **minium, Armenium, cinnabaris, chrysocolla, Indicum, purpurissum**; ceteri austeri. Ex omnibus alii nascuntur, alii fiunt. Nascuntur **Sinopis, rubrica, Paraetonium, Melinum, Eretria, auri pigmentum**; ceteri finguntur, primumque quos in metallis diximus, praeterea e vilioribus **ochra, cerussa usta, sandaraca, sandyx, Syricum, atramentum.***

Some colors, however, are somber or brilliant, either one of the other the nature or their composition. The brilliant colors, which the patron supplies the painters, blood red, Armenium, cinnabar, blue-green indigo, and the brightest purple, the rest are synthetically made. The natural colors are Sinopis, red, paraetonium, melinum, Eretrian earth and gold. We call the first ones in the group derived from naturally occurring metals, thereafter from the cheaper materials, yellow ochre, burnt lead, acetate, sandaraca, sandyx, Syrian color and black.<sup>71</sup>

Pliny makes several distinctions: the cost of colors, whether they are natural or artificial, their rarity and their luster. The more expensive the color, the brighter the hue.

Many literary sources attest to the use of colorful materials in Roman architecture, sculpture and mosaic decoration. The importation of colored marble into the Roman Empire became commonplace during the reign of Augustus.<sup>72</sup> Colored marble was criticized by moralists, such as Seneca, who deploras the use of variegated marbles imported from Alexandria and mosaics made of Numidian stone, which the Romans were eager to adopt and use in their homes. By the time of Seneca, *trompe l'oeil* wall designs

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<sup>70</sup> Plin. *HN*, 35.50.

<sup>71</sup> Plin. *HN*, 35.30. Pliny describes in great detail how these colors were mined and manufactured in *HN*, 33.158-171.

<sup>72</sup> Hazel Dodge, "Decorative Studies for Architecture in the Roman Empire," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1988): 65-80.

had become popular among the Roman elite, which he castigates as well.<sup>73</sup> Pliny also complains about the new style for decorating one's house with colored marble with fake veining, which he says was invented in the reign of Claudius, but has become fashionable under Nero. Pliny's reaction to the decoration of marble itself — *ut ovatus esset Numidicus, ut purpura distingueretur Synnadicus* — “representing the marble of Numidia decorated with ovals and that of Synnada veined with marble” — is that it was wasteful and indicative of the bad popular taste of the time.<sup>74</sup>

Recent scientific analysis of painted Greek and Roman sculpture has spurred on significant developments in the study of colored decoration. The Augustus of Prima Porta, the head of Caligula in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, and the Column of Trajan have been reconstructed to show colored hair, clothing, and facial features, including eyes, mouth and complexion. These studies show how color aided in conveying the three-dimensionality of the object, especially when a piece of sculpture is examined from different vantage points: the contrast of hues, shades of red and green, black and white, used in the delineation of anatomical structure and backgrounds aids the viewer. These reconstructions suggest dramatic changes in our modern perception of these sculptures, especially since none of it is attested in contemporary literature, but Romans of Gellius' day must certainly have been accustomed to seeing and appreciating colorful sculpture.<sup>75</sup>

The interior of the Roman house was also brightly colored in all of its elements: wall paintings, floor mosaics and portable objects such as glass, mirrors, jewelry and ceramics. Color played a major role in interior decoration, as it served as a boundary marker. Ellen

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<sup>73</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 86.6.

<sup>74</sup> Plin. *HN*, 53.1. Mark Bradley, “The Importance of Colour on Ancient Marble Sculpture,” *Art History* 32 (2009): 430.

<sup>75</sup> Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, *Prayers in Stone: Greek Architectural Sculpture (c. 600 – 100 B.C.E.)* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999): 105-106.

Swift says that the main function of color was to act as a separation between spaces, as in mosaic designs on the floor, and “other decorative media were also used to mark out corridors and small rooms from other interior space – notably the use of simpler wall paintings.”<sup>76</sup> Apparently certain colors were consistently joined together, such as red and green, or red and yellow, and white and black.<sup>77</sup> According to Swift, the primary function of these decorations was not only to entertain or inspire guests, but also to express the dominant status of the owner over the guest.<sup>78</sup> She says that “the value of color in both wall painting and *opus sectile* is apparently related to the cost of the luxury pigments and marbles used, and this is one of the ways in which it is used to reinforce the hierarchical divisions of domestic space.”<sup>79</sup> Jean-Paul Descoedres points out that in the ground floor insulae at Ostia, the main rooms tend to have polychrome decorations, whereas auxiliary rooms have wall-paintings with a monochrome background in red and yellow; Andrew Wallace-Hadrill catalogues the differences in colors and motifs chosen for more or less prestigious spaces for the earlier villas of Pompeii and Herculaneum.<sup>80</sup>

Swift also discusses the expensive colored marble used in *opus sectile* floors. In the House of the Samnites, for example, two rooms in particular have surviving decoration that designates them as elite spaces; complex colored *opus sectile* floors and wall veneers incorporate stone from disparate areas of the Roman world. The sources of marble would show the reach of the Roman Empire, and thus its power. Color, Swift writes, “is

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<sup>76</sup> Ellen Swift, *Style and Function in Roman Decoration* (London: Ashgate, 2009): 55.

<sup>77</sup> John Clarke, *Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C. –A.D. 250* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991): 358.

<sup>78</sup> Swift (2009): 187.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 54. She says: “Red and green as complimentary colors are favored throughout the Roman period; an early example is found in the Samnite House at Pompeii.”

<sup>80</sup> Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994): 31; Jean-Paul Descoedres, *Ostia: Port et Porte de la Rome Antique* (Geneva: Georg Éditeur, 2001): 344.

associated — indeed, almost synonymous — with a particular high-status material, in this case marble (especially *giallo antico*) and red and green porphyry.”<sup>81</sup> Similar schemes can be seen in the Baths of Caracalla, in the *opus sectile* floor of the Senate house as rebuilt by Domitian, and in the threshold motif of the Domus dei Pesci at Ostia.<sup>82</sup> In each instance, as well as the color opposition of red and green, the same combination of different types of high-status stone is used. The popularity of painted wall-decoration with panels of red and green in less wealthy houses is perhaps related to their imitation of similar prestigious stone veneers, in the same way that painted patterns are sometimes imitative of veining in marble, and such painted imitations of precious materials have been argued to be part of the same “discourse of luxury.”<sup>83</sup>

The other member of Gellius’ dialogue in *Attic Nights*, Favorinus of Arles, has some interesting connections with the visual arts. Favorinus was a flamboyant orator; he described himself as a Gaul who spoke Greek, a eunuch accused of adultery, and a citizen who disagreed with an emperor and lived.<sup>84</sup> The only work of literature attributed to Favorinus is the *Corinthian Oration*, in which he berates the Corinthians for having torn down a statue of him.<sup>85</sup> There were apparently statues of him in several cities, including Athens, which were removed because he quarreled with Hadrian. In the course of his

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<sup>81</sup> Swift, 78.

<sup>82</sup> Swift, 80-81.

<sup>83</sup> Swift, 74, 80; Eleanor Winsor Leach, *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 242; H el ene Eristov, “Corpus des faux-marbles peints   Pomp ei,” *MEFRA* 91 (1979): 695-696.

<sup>84</sup> Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1.8, 489-491; Elizabeth C. Evans, “The Study of Physiognomy in the Second Century A.D.,” *TAPA* 72 (1941): 98.

<sup>85</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 37. This oration was originally attributed to Dio Chrysostom, but is generally accepted to be Favorinus’ work. For additional information on this subject see H.J. Mason, “Favornius’ Disorder: Reifenstein’s Syndrome in Antiquity,” *Janus* 69 (1971): 1-13; Jason K onig, “Favorinus’ Corinthian Oration in its Corinthian Context,” *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 47 (2001): 141-171.

oration, he addresses his statue, citing many episodes from Greek history and mythology; he says he had adopted “not merely the language but also the thought and manners and dress of the Greeks.”<sup>86</sup> He bemoans this threat to his memory and he feels deceived, he says, because he thought that the Corinthians liked him; he intensely felt the importance of a piece of sculpture to represent the *persona* of an individual. He was also involved in a famous and bitter quarrel with the leading exponent of the physiognomic school, Polemo of Laodicea. Polemo holds nothing back in his description of Favorinus, calling him “lustful and dissolute, having eyes that possess a brilliance comparable to marble, indicating a shameless character;” he also claims that he was “a eunuch.”<sup>87</sup> We do not know if any of these accusations is true. This quarrel, however, shows how physiognomy was used in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. as an acceptable way of attacking one’s opponents (which, as will be seen in Chapter Five, often involved the use of color-terms).

Much can be learned from this small debate in *Attic Nights* about how the Romans themselves felt about the relative richness of Greek and Latin color-terms and how they derive their meanings. Though the conversation involving these men may be imaginary, their cases for their prospective languages are important and necessary. It is interesting to note that the historical Favorinus places so much importance on statues as representing the *persona* of an individual, whereas Fronto was knowledgeable about the skill of painters, suggesting that Fronto was more sensitive to colors and their application than Favorinus was. The color-terms are substitutes for weightier issues: urbanity and worldly refinement represented by Fronto, versus symbolism and abstract meanings of art

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.25.

<sup>87</sup> Evans (1941): 98, paraphrasing Polemo 160-162. *Ubi oculus apertus est habetque coruscationem qualem marmor habet, acie acuta, parum pudicitiae indicat.* Lucian also describes him in a similar way: *Lucian Demon.* 12-13; *Eun.* 7.

as represented by Favorinus. Fronto's attitude may be compared to Cicero's definition of *urbanitas*, in *De Officiis* and elsewhere, which alludes to the refined nature of speaking within the Latin language.<sup>88</sup> Cicero suggests that how a person says something is just as important as what he says. When Fronto retorts that Latin color-terms are varied enough, he is subscribing to the notion of *urbanitas*: Rome's urbanity is revealed in its ability to invent color-terms from Latin nouns.

In this dialogue there are no positive or negative colors, but rather simple and complex ones. Through it we also understand Aulus Gellius' personal interest in color-terms, which is documented in the later passage in *NA* 3.9.8-9. Whether the dialogue is fact or fiction, Gellius chooses to report a conversation between two men who are skilled in language, probably more so than most Roman-born citizens. Gellius not only reported the debate, he disseminated it; he raises the consciousness of the reader by showing that Latin color-terms are significant, that he and his presumed audience cared about their meaning and derivation and their use in poetry. There is no easy conclusion to the argument and the debate over color-terms continues.

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<sup>88</sup> Cic. *De Off.* 1.104. "Jesting takes two forms: there is the one kind that is low, base, shameful and ugly, while the other is in good taste, refined (*urbanum*), clever and generally witty (*facetum*)."<sup>88</sup> The phrase *urbanitatis facetiarum* appears in Cic. *De Ora.* 1.159 and 2.236. Here Cicero discusses *urbanitas* as a virtue, defined as an adherence to the rules of society, but keeping a good sense of humor.

## Chapter Two: Ancient Dyes: Color Me Beautiful

Color-terms are inextricably linked to the dye industry in Rome. A wealth of color-terms is found in literary passages and inscriptions about the dyes, the materials being dyed and social attitudes towards these colorants. An understanding of the dyeing and fulling industry in Rome illuminates the way that colors were derived.<sup>89</sup> The most important industry, the making of purple, requires special attention, as it is the most attested in literature; red and other colors are less frequently mentioned but are worth examining. Finally, Vitruvius' *De Architectura* is a particularly rich source of information on a variety of colors.

We know from literary sources that colorful fabrics were abundantly available in the Roman marketplace. In his advice to women who are trying to attract male suitors, Ovid mentions Tyrian purple first of all, which they might not need because there are so many cheaper alternatives, including yellow (*crocum* and *cera*), lavender (*purpureas amethystos*), the color of white roses (*albentes rosas*), Thracian gray (*Threiciam gruem*), and a wide range of browns (*glandes* and *amygdala*).<sup>90</sup> He not only names the colors, but also describes their origins from all over the Roman Empire, such as Tyre, Paphnos and Thrace. Unlike many moralistic authors of the early Empire, he seems to be celebrating the variety of available hues.

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<sup>89</sup> A familiar wall painting from the Workshop of Verecundus in Pompeii, dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. shows images of dyeing, fulling, bleaching, carding, and cleaning services that were available at the time. It is the only visual evidence we have that this activity took place in a well-organized manner. Jinyu Liu investigates the complex process of clothing making in her text *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). She makes significant note of the *collegia* of the *centonarii*, *sagarii* and *vestiarii*, who were responsible for supplying Romans, both military and civilians, with ample clothing; she does not, however, discuss the dyers' guilds.

<sup>90</sup> Ov., *Ars am.*, 3.169-184.

The names of dyers and their *collegia* are known from literature and also from *columbaria* inscriptions.<sup>91</sup> The inscriptions suggest that there were whole families that specialized in the production of one dye color (for a representation of a dyer’s workshop in Pompeii, see Fig 1. and 2.). This fact is confirmed by Plautus, our chief source for dyers and clothing specialists in the early Roman Republic, 200 years before Ovid. Magdorus in *Aulularia—Pot of Gold* gives a vivid picture of the crowd of dyers who swarm in front of a wealthy Roman’s villa, along with cloth fullers, goldsmiths, woolworkers, weavers, dealers for gloves, balsam scented footgear, lingerie dealers, *calcei* makers, squatting cobblers, sandal merchants, beltmakers, girdle makers, lacemen, and cabinetmakers.<sup>92</sup> Plautus’ text mentions five examples of dyers: *flammarii*, *violarii*, *cerinariii*, *molocinariii* and *crocotarii*. In combination with archaeological evidence, this single passage suggests that there were at least five popular dyes that were common between 204-184 B.C. The dyers receive their names from the colors with which they worked — red-orange, violet, wax-yellow, mauve, and saffron-yellow. The *flammarii*, the dyers of the *flammeum* bridal veil and other pieces of cloth with this particular red-orange shade, were a recognized example of this phenomenon; *flammeum* is a color-term that recurs continuously through the entire span of Latin literature and is mentioned by many different authors.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Two important *columbaria* inscriptions mention a *purpurarius*: *CIL* 6.9848 and *CIL* 11.1069a.

<sup>92</sup> Plaut., *Aulularia*, 505-521.

<sup>93</sup> By definition, according to Sebesta, it was the bride’s rectangular, enveloping veil, dyed with yellow *luteum* pigment. As the word is cognate with the Latin *flamma*, literary sources make clear that the veil was a deep yellow, like the flame of a candle; Sebesta (2002): 156. According to André, *flammeus* was originally considered orange but approaches a red hue; André (1949): 126-129. R.J. Edgeworth discusses the only instances in which this term occurs in *Aen*, 7.448, *flammea torquens/lumina allecto*, “which turns her fire-red (or is fire-filled) eyes” on Turnus and forces him back. The context is one of terror and menace. Edgeworth (1992): 114.

Plautus is the only writer to name dyers for their colors in early Latin literature. Several questions remain: whether the name of the color was derived from the dye or the other way around; whether the dyers used the same color-terms among themselves; whether they worked in one district or were distributed among various areas of a city; and whether they were consistently producing the same shade of the color. Plautus' passage reveals the social and cultural status of the dyers and their industry, by contributing to the noise and bustle of the city, and suggests that the dyers were welcomed by the wealthy people who bought the cloth.

### Purple Dyers

Surprisingly, one type of dyer that Plautus does not mention, the *purpurarii*, or dyers of the *purpura* dye, is found in a wide assortment of Latin inscriptions. *Purpura*, or purple, is the most common color-term in Latin literature. Literature from a variety of sources shows that there were at least seven purple dyes used; there were many shades within the violet-scarlet range, and even a bluish-green could be obtained by mixing the dyes from different species and by dipping it twice as *dibaphos*.<sup>94</sup>

Relative to the other dyes of the day, purple was probably the easiest to produce and retain. From the Republican and Imperial period there are inscriptions of sellers of purple and *coloratores* from the Marian monuments. In an inscription from the Esquiline a *purpuria Marianeis* is identified in *CIL* I.1413 and in *CIL* 6217. An undated inscription commemorates a *purpurarius* named L. Plutarius Eros from the Vicus Tuscus. He is connected to the *Veturii* family in *CIL* 14.2433. There is another freedwoman *purpuraria*

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<sup>94</sup> Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, "Purple" in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): 1280.

at Capua in *CIL* 6217. They were recognized for their occupation as purple dyers, which was not a particularly pleasant or respected profession. The production of any purple dye was a smelly job at best. Strabo says the dye works of Tyre and Sidon smelled so badly that these cities with their tall *insulae*, while rich, were "unpleasant for residence."<sup>95</sup>

An important variant of purple mentioned by the writers of the Republic and Empire is *murex*, derived from the dye-producing mollusk (*Murex brandaris*) that bears its name (Fig. 3). *Murex* was the source of *purpura* and used in the production of the varying colors of "Tyrian purple." The large shell of this organism yielded a more intense dye than those of related mollusks. While it is difficult to specify this shade in terms of 21<sup>st</sup> century equivalents, Pliny describes the desired *murex* as a rich, dark purple of the color of coagulated blood, matte-like in texture, which when held up to the light showed a crimson hue.<sup>96</sup>

In the *Fourth Eclogue*, Vergil imagines a Golden Age in which sheep will change the colors of their fleeces spontaneously to murex purple (*rubenti murice*) or saffron yellow (*croceo*); the grazing lambs will be reddish brown (*sandyx*).<sup>97</sup> The actual process by which wool was dyed was far more difficult. Pliny tells us that dyes would not adhere to black fleece — *Lanarum nigrae nullum colorem bibunt*— making their color difficult to change.<sup>98</sup> Persius describes how the fleeces needed to be boiled with the dye — *Et*

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<sup>95</sup> He also mentions *murex* dye factories along the North African coasts (late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.), doubtless an inheritance from the Carthaginians. Strabo, *Geography*, 16, 2, 23, 757; 17, 3, 18.

<sup>96</sup> Plin. *HN*, 9.62 *laus ei summa in colore sanguinis concreti, nigricans aspectu idemque suspectu refulgens. Unde et Homero purpureus dicitur sanguis.* — In the greatest praise when in the color of congealing blood, darkening in its appearance and also glittering to be admired.

<sup>97</sup> Verg. *Ecl.*, 4.42-45. Eleanor Irwin analyzes this imagery in "Colourful Sheep in the Golden Age of Vergil, *Eclogues* 4.42-45," *Échos du Monde Classique* 33 (1989): 23-37.

<sup>98</sup> Plin. *HN*, 8.73.193.

*Calabrum coxit vitiato murices vellus.*<sup>99</sup> Pliny discusses the standard method of making purple wool in great detail. Purple was one of the expensive pigments that patrons had to pay an additional fee to painters to acquire, especially the most intense shade of purple, which he calls “*purpurissum*” — *quos admonis dari diximus propter magnitudinem pretii, ante omnes est purpurissum.*<sup>100</sup> He describes how the manufacturing process could produce weaker or brighter shades of purple, the brighter shades being most highly prized by the Romans. Pliny is our best source for where the shades of purples come from, listing Puteoli, which has the best because it is combined with *hysginum* and red-madder, then Tyre, Gaetulia, Laconia, and finally Canosa, known for the cheapest dye.<sup>101</sup>

The purple manufacturing process is discussed in a more detailed fashion by Martial than by any other ancient writer. Martial notes that the wool fleece had to be dyed twice in order to reach the maximum saturation desired for the deep purple shade — *te bis Afro murice... muricibus Tyris iteratae vellera lanae.*<sup>102</sup> The garment is not specified but it was not necessary to do so since his use of the term *murex* is sufficient for the reader to understand that he is speaking about the richest and highest quality garments. Martial is the only Roman writer of his time of comment on the odors of purple clothing:

*lunata nusquam pellis et nusquam toga  
olidaque vestes murices.*

On no occasion is the crescent-shaped shoe or a purple dyed toga not filled with the smell of the purple dye.<sup>103</sup>

The unpleasant odors associated with *murex* dye were apparent from the production process to the wearing of the final product. Because the dye was produced by boiling

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<sup>99</sup> Persius, 2.65.

<sup>100</sup> Plin., *HN*, 36.44.

<sup>101</sup> Plin., *N.H.* 35.44.

<sup>102</sup> Mart. 2.16.

<sup>103</sup> Mart., 9.62.1-4.

mollusks, a strong and unpleasant scent of rotting shellfish was an unfortunate but necessary by-product. For this reason the manufacturing plants were situated in less desirable districts of the city. Martial recognized the negative aspects of *murex* because even if it was desirable to the elite, its stench, which he may have experienced at first hand, was repulsive.<sup>104</sup>

Other purple dyers and their *collegia* are mentioned in inscriptions. One such inscription mentions an *amarantus*, a *colorator* or dyer of the color *amaranthus*.<sup>105</sup> The reddish-purple liquid dye *ostrum*, mentioned by Martial and Petronius, was extracted, like *murex*, from sea shells and mixed with honey or fish glue as a preservative.<sup>106</sup> The basic hue of this liquid was frequently called *ostrinum*, *ostrum rubens*, *ostrum sanguinem*, or *ostrum puniceum*. It was used as a dye for clothes and coverlets. Other examples include: *amethystinus*, *ianthinus*, *ostiarius* (derived from oysters), *poeniceus* (Tyrian purple), and *tyrianthinus* (a variation on Tyrian purple), but there is no literary evidence of dye industries for these colors. Possibly these dyes were imported. By citing these exotic color-terms, Roman authors of the late Republic and Empire show their knowledge of foreign trends and imported customs that flooded into Rome in this period.<sup>107</sup>

Ovid also describes the process of dyeing cloth purple. He notes that purple was not native to Rome and required a special manufacturing process:

*Illic et Tyrium quae purpura sensit auro  
Textur et tenues parvi discriminis umbra*

Over there the purple and golden threads which are

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<sup>104</sup> Moeller (1976): 57.

<sup>105</sup> *CIL* 6.6217, 6.6250, 6.6391. The spellings in these inscriptions vary between *amaranthus* and *amarantus*.

<sup>106</sup> Moeller (1976): 63-67.

<sup>107</sup> Suet. *Ner.* 32; Juv. 7.130; Mart. 1.96.

woven into the fabric in the Tyrian garments, and the lighter hues  
give off a distinct shadow.<sup>108</sup>

Explaining this technical process, Ovid offers an explanation for this diversity of hues: dyeing is not an exact science and dyes yielded more than one shade depending on the nature of the fabric. Though the fabric that is being dyed in this instance is not specified, his use of the verb *textitur* suggests that it was woven wool. Perhaps Ovid's knowledge of the ancient dyeing process came from first-hand accounts, indicating that the process of manufacturing clothing was not isolated from daily life. Addressing his beloved from his exile in Tomi, on the Black Sea, he remarks upon the shining quality of the purple border of her robe:

*Purpura saepe tuos fulgere praetexit amictus  
Sed non sarmatico tingitur illa mari*

Often the shining purple adorns the border of your garment  
But there is no similar dye as that by the Sarmatian Sea.<sup>109</sup>

For the poet, the absence of purple dye symbolizes his isolation from civilization and his exclusion from the familiar luxuries of his native Rome.

Returning to Plautus, in *Aul.* 514, *molocinarii* are dyers of the color mauve, for which there is no Latin color-term, but there is a Greek color-term, **μολόχη**. Translation from Greek was an easy way to create Latin equivalents, but it does not explain why there is no evidence for the color-term in Latin, though it was transferred to the occupation of these dyers. This term is only used by Plautus, suggesting that this dye was used in the 2nd century B.C., still comparatively early in the growth and spread of the empire and at a time when Rome was still heavily under the cultural influence of the Greeks. A century later, Pliny, describing the mallow plant, says "*aliis in malva ad purpuram inclinans*" —

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<sup>108</sup> Ov., *Met.*, 6.61.

<sup>109</sup> Ov., *Pont.*, 3.7.

"this mallow plant tends to look purple."<sup>110</sup> The Romans still do not have a separate word for the shade mauve in Latin that corresponds to the Greek word. It suggests that mauve dyers or *molocinarii* had a limited profession before they moved on to more desirable shades. Plautus simply groups all the dyers together as a show of the plenty and production that existed in Rome and as a further sign of the extravagance of the day.

### Red Dyers

Although some modern translators freely use purple and red or scarlet interchangeably, it is clear that the Romans considered them to be separate colors, even if scarlet was considered to be almost as decadent as purple itself. Martial refers to both scarlet and purple when talking about extravagant clothing — *non nisi vel cocco madida vel murice tincta* — and it clearly had aristocratic significance as well, no doubt because of its cost.<sup>111</sup> The production of the red color was just as costly and messy as the production of sea-snail based purple dye. In ancient texts, the color of red garments occurs with great frequency as *coccinus*. *Coccum*, at first considered a berry by the Romans, but then known to have been a product of the insect *Kermococcus vermilio*, was used in the East to produce the scarlet color for generals' cloaks.<sup>112</sup> Pliny the Elder is the first to document the process of obtaining the red colored dye.<sup>113</sup> The female *kermes* insect retains eggs in her body and these developing young actually yielded the coloring agent. The egg sacs resembled berries (*cocci*) clinging to bushes and were thought to be fruit.

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<sup>110</sup> Plin. *HN*, 21.46.

<sup>111</sup> Mart. 4.28.1, 5.23.5-6.

<sup>112</sup> Plin. *HN*, 22.3.3, Sebesta (1974): 69. Red is always associated with the Roman army, but research by N. Fuentes suggests that it may have been worn only by officers, including centurions, while the common soldiers wore white. N. Fuentes, "The Roman Military Tunic," in Dawson, M. (ed.) *Roman Military Equipment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) 45-47.

<sup>113</sup> Plin. *HN*, 9.140-141.

Just before the eggs hatched, the female insects were collected. The egg sacs were killed by exposure to vinegar, left to dry, and exported in the form of cakes or granules.<sup>114</sup>

*Coccinus* or *coccineus* was the color-term for the pure brilliant hue produced by this method. By Julius Caesar's time it was a hue particularly reserved for the *paludamenta* of generals.<sup>115</sup> It is first mentioned by Horace in 27 B.C., just after the battle of Actium and at the beginning of the reign of Augustus.<sup>116</sup> Since thousands of insects were needed to yield an ounce of dye, *coccinus* was a most expensive hue. In the early Empire, the color was in such demand as a luxury dye that in addition to the unknown original Asian source of the dye, a large *kermes* dye industry also developed in Hispania. The dye produced from the *kermes* living in the holm oaks around Emerita in Lusitania was particularly prized for its color and served as a cash crop for the poor; Pliny estimates that the average Spaniard was able to pay at least one out every two tribute installments by collecting the insects. In addition to the *kermes* industry in Galatia, Cilicia, Pisidia and Spain, *kermes* production centers also existed in Gaul, Africa and Sardinia, the latter producing the poorest quality dye.<sup>117</sup>

Another documented red dye, *conchyliatus*, is first mentioned by Cicero, Catullus and Lucretius, suggesting that it too was introduced at this time. According to Sebesta, "to make this hue, dyers diluted the juice of the *Murex pelagium* with water and human urine in equal quantities, using a lesser amount of the juice than in producing the hue *purpura dibapha Tyria*."<sup>118</sup> Pliny adds that the pale pink of *conchyliatus* was much admired.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Sebesta (1994): 66.

<sup>115</sup> Caes. *B Gall.* 3.125. See Croom (2002): 28.

<sup>116</sup> Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.35, *Ep.* 1.19.8.

<sup>117</sup> Plin. *HN*, 9.141, 16.32, 22.3.

<sup>118</sup> Sebesta (1994), 69, 75. Plin. *HN*, 22.3. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.101.

<sup>119</sup> Plin. *HN*, 9.139.

Other shades of red were developed in this period in the early empire, but were not as treasured for their hue. Pliny says the demand for pure luxury dyes was so great that it led to the creation of counterfeit dyes.<sup>120</sup>

### Other Dyers

Less known and absent from Plautus' passage are the makers of brown and black cloth dyes: *spadicarii* and *atramentarii*, dyers whose names are known from inscriptions.<sup>121</sup> *Spadix*, which Pliny describes as a brownish red, is translated from the Greek word *σπάδιξ*.<sup>122</sup> *Spadicarii* are also mentioned by Firmicius Maternus.<sup>123</sup> No dyers of blue or green cloth are known from any inscriptions or job titles, but blue hues were obtainable from woad, a plant introduced to Northern Europe from the south.<sup>124</sup> Pliny mentions Vestorius, a friend of Cicero, who was the inventor of a certain shade of blue dye.<sup>125</sup> As time went on some dyes and colors were probably more in vogue than others; it would be hard to imagine that all color-terms were used in all times and worn at all times.

Pliny, who was a procurator of the *provincia* of Africa, observed the Egyptian manner of dyeing cloth. He recognizes it as different from the Roman manner of dyeing: the Egyptians, prior to dyeing, rub fabrics with some medicinal unguent (*colorem sorbentibus medicamentis*) that causes the fabric to absorb color in different ways, so that the resulting fabric has a series of different colors which cannot be washed out. He notes

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<sup>120</sup> Plin. *HN*, 35.48.

<sup>121</sup> *CIL* 4.9127, *CIL* 4.9129. Moeller discusses the presence of *atramentarii* at Pompeii: Moeller (1976): 35.

<sup>122</sup> Plin. *HN*, 13.49.

<sup>123</sup> Firm. Mat. *Err.prof.rel.* 3.7.11.

<sup>124</sup> Sebesta (1994): 66.

<sup>125</sup> Plin. *HN*, 33.162-165.

that the fabric is stronger after it has been dyed in this manner.<sup>126</sup> Unfortunately for us, Pliny does not specify what sort of unguent was used, but the passage suggests that Romans were interested in adopting foreign methods of dyeing textiles, to enhance their own industry and to exploit methods from other provinces of the Empire.

### Vitruvian Colors

Book Seven of Vitruvius' *De Architectura* is another major source for natural and unnatural colorings in the Augustan age. Like Pliny, he had a scientific interest in the application of color and how it was processed. He discusses the various methods of obtaining the colors from stones, metals, and sand; he identifies different methods of developing color: natural, which he prefers, and man-made. While ancient authors do not often compare color-terms side by side or in context, Vitruvius distinguishes among a range of colors, assigning them names according to their origins. He is also the only Roman writer who attempts to establish historical criteria for how long the colors have been in use.

Vitruvius first discusses naturally obtained colors — *quae per se nascentia fodiuntur*. He begins with yellow ochre, which, he says occurs in many places even in Italy.<sup>127</sup> It is interesting that he does not use the ordinary Latin color-terms for yellow, *flavus* or *fulvus*. Instead he relies on the Greek color-term for yellow — *quod Graece ochra dicitur* — translating it into Latin. Vitruvius describes two red shades, which are identified by their Latin names in two different ways. The first is *rubica*, which is usually translated as “red ochre,” which he says is found in many places, including

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<sup>126</sup> Plin., *HN*, 35.150.

<sup>127</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.8.1.

Sinope, Egypt, the Balearic Islands and Lemnos.<sup>128</sup> Another red shade, *sandraca*, usually translated as “red arsenic,” is also found in many places, but the best quality in the Pontus region near the Hypanis River.<sup>129</sup> He proceeds to discuss *subrufo*, which is usually translated as “vermilion,” which is a dust found with iron ore — *Vena uti ferram, magis subrufo colore, habens circa se rubrum pulverem*.<sup>130</sup> In this description the use of the prefix *sub* in *subrufo* suggests that it is a lighter tone of red. Vitruvius describes the dust that accompanies it as *rubrum*, or red. The addition of a prefix suggests a variation of the color.

Vitruvius considers all colors in terms of their constructive purposes: their use in substantial building projects, activities related to consumer interests, and the betterment of the city. Because of his concern with the acquisition of new materials —he often explains often how these colors were imported into Rome proper — he offers a rare glimpse into the Roman production industry. In the next passage, he mentions natural materials, some named for the places that they came from:

*Chrysocolla* adportatur a Macedonia; foditur autem ex is locis, qui sunt proximi aerariis metallis. *Armenium* et *indicum* nominibus ipsis indicatur, quibus in locis procreatur.

Chrysocolla is imported from Macedonia. However it is dug out or mined from this location, which is then placed next to metal copper mines. Ultramarine and Indigo are indicated by their names, which are created from where they came from.<sup>131</sup>

As early as the late Republican period, it seems, the Romans had made inroads into places as far away as Armenia and India and had access to exotic shades at their fingertips that could be used to decorate Roman interiors.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.7.2.

<sup>129</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.9.1.

<sup>130</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.8.1. This natural material was used in unusual situations like Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* where the substance is sprinkled on the banqueting floor in its natural form. Petron. *Sat.* 68.

<sup>131</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.6.

According to Vitruvius, the blue dye industry began not in Rome but in Alexandria and was an example of a man-made process for making blue. For the first time, Vitruvius credits an individual Roman, Vestorius of Puteoli, with the invention of a new process related to color. He describes the complex chemical process of making this type of blue, by grinding up sand, sulfur and copper to make a paste that is rolled into balls and then heated in a furnace. He recognizes that heating up the two major ingredients, sand and copper, take on different qualities from one another — *inter se dando et accipiendo sudores a proprietatibus discedunt suisque rebus*.<sup>133</sup> This particular dye industry encompassed different members of society: Vestorius was a banker of Puteoli in Campania and a friend of Cicero and Atticus. He advised Cicero about building materials.<sup>134</sup> Cicero says he was not interested in philosophy, but was a sound accountant, recognizing the financial possibilities in the production of blue dye.<sup>135</sup> Vitruvius' discussion about this time-consuming process suggests how valuable it was.

Vitruvius was also concerned with how colors changed in the manufacturing process. He describes the change from white lead to red achieved by cooking in a furnace — *Cerussa vero, cum in fornace coquitur, mutato colore ad ignem incendi efficitur sandaraca*.<sup>136</sup> He also describes how yellow can turn into purple, by heating it red hot and quenching it in vinegar — *Glaeba silis boni coquitur, ut sit in igni candens; ea autem*

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<sup>132</sup> For examples see Roger Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Mary Beard, et. al. *Classical Art: From Greece and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Peter Stewart, *The Social History of Roman Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Carol Mattusch, *Pompeii and the Roman Villa: Art and Culture Around the Bay of Naples* (London, Thames and Hudson, 2008).

<sup>133</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.11.

<sup>134</sup> Cic. *Att.* 14. 9.1.

<sup>135</sup> Cic. *Att.* 14.12.3.

<sup>136</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.12.2.

*aceto extinguitur et efficitur purpureo colore.*<sup>137</sup> He shows how the Romans could manipulate dyes to their liking by using heat.

Like most other Latin authors Vitruvius is concerned with the natural and unnatural origins of the color purple. He begins the passage on the origins of purple, *purpura*, from sea shells, but he is particularly interested in showing how the different places that the purple dye comes from affects the quality of the color: purple from Northern countries such as the Pontus region and Gaul is black (*atrum*) because they do not receive as much sunlight; paler shades (*lividum*) come from the south and west; violet (*violacio*) comes from equinoctial regions (*ad aequinoctialem orientem et occidentem*); southern regions produce a redder shade (*rubra*), which is also found in the Island of Rhodes because it is near the sun's orbit (*quae proximae sunt solis cursui*). Vitruvius is the only author who describes the process of harvesting the dye from the shells by breaking up the shells with iron bars, making the purple liquid flow out like tears (*purpurea sanies, uti lacrima profluens*). Lastly, he says that the resulting *ostrum* is so salty that it dries quickly, thus it is mixed with honey as a binder.<sup>138</sup>

Vitruvius' text attests that purple was a popular and sought-after color during the Roman Republic, and was associated with aristocrats no matter how the color was produced. He notes that the color varies according to its geographical origin — *quibus nascitur, unius generis colorem, sed solid cursu naturaliter temperatur.*<sup>139</sup> These considerations are part of the whole purple color industry. Vitruvius uses an assortment of color-terms to express the shades of purple: *purpura*, *conchylio marino*, *violacio colore* and even *rubra*. But most telling is Vitruvius' mention of the violet blue shade,

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<sup>137</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.11.2.

<sup>138</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.13.1-3.

<sup>139</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.13.1.

*violacio* — *quod autem legitur ad aequinoctialem orientem et occidentum invenitur*

*violacio colore* — which is found in the equinoctial region in the east and west.<sup>140</sup>

*Violacio* is directly related to the blue dyeing industry, but this color-term does not make its way into literature after the Republic and the Early Empire.<sup>141</sup> This supports the conclusion that there were preferences for particular colors at certain times in the Roman Empire, just as colors go in an out of vogue in modern times.

Vitruvius must have spent considerable time with the dyers and producers of color to note these properties, which other authors could not have noted. Another color he discusses that has a special process associated with it is black ink — *atramento*, which was made into a liquid substance by heating resin in a furnace with various other ingredients. He describes how the process by which the black pigment is made determines the use to which it will be put — for example, ink for writing, which is mixed with gum; or black resin for house walls, which is mixed with glue. He even provides alternative recipes for making black if the resin cannot be obtained. Vitruvius notes, however, that the color black, no matter what material it is made of, is always achieved through fire and heat.<sup>142</sup> It is different from the group of hard powders that needed to be mixed up with other natural substances, such as water, oil, fish oil, *garum* and eggs.<sup>143</sup>

Here Vitruvius notes the textural qualities of color materials after they have been obtained. The black dye of *atramentarius* was presumably shiny and slick, possibly more illuminated in the dark when lit with a candle; thus it became the preferred medium

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<sup>140</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.13.2.

<sup>141</sup> Moeller (1976): 14. Moeller discusses the entire Pompeii dyeing industry from an archaeological viewpoint. The dyers are noted as *violarii*, or *coloratores*. André and other purple color specialists do not note its existence.

<sup>142</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.10.1-4.

<sup>143</sup> Robert I. Curtis, *Garum and Salsamenta: Production and Commerce in Materia Medica* (Leiden: Brill, 1991): 1-27. See also R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology, Part III* (Leiden: Brill, 1993): 213-217.

to write with as ink, because of its flexibility and composition. Other dyes may not have had a similar effect.

Finally, Vitruvius devotes one chapter to cheaply obtained or imitation colors. These include violet (*violam*), purple (*purpurei*), red (*rubiae*), blue (*caeruleum*), and green (*viridissimum*) are made from a whole variety of substances including flowers and herbs, chalk, glass (to make *isatin*, which imitates indigo) and even milk. These are what he calls “fictitious colors” (*haec autem infectiva appellatur*).<sup>144</sup> Vitruvius prefers to confine his color-term vocabulary to a set that involves natural resources. He is concerned with those colors because they will be used in the construction of homes and in providing decorative resources to the Romans. He is aware of the practicality and costs of these materials as an important issue for the architect and painter, when it comes to production methods and consumption, either for building or decoration.

The industry of color making was spread all over the Roman Empire. There were specialists in each color. For each color there was a variety of shades and color-terms reflect this: for purple, *purpureus*, *amethystinus*, *ostiarius*, *amaranthus*, *ostrum*; for red, *coccinus*, *conchyliatus*, *sandraca* and *subrufo*. Romans were interested in acquiring all types of dyeing methods and all types of materials and did not restrict their sources; nothing was out of bounds or off limits. The tremendous variety of colors that was available to the Roman consumer, male or female, shows that there was an eager market for the consumption of colored fabric. As will be shown, laws and moralistic writers were not so eager to embrace this colorful display and railed against this abundant variety of colorful materials.

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<sup>144</sup> Vitr. *De arch.* 7.100.14.1-2.

### Chapter Three: Colored Clothing: You Are What You Wear

In this chapter I discuss how color-terms appear in Latin literature as connected with clothing terms. In order to make the discussion more cogent, garments will be discussed according to their respective color, which to a large extent determined their use. Specific colors and types of clothing are associated with gender, status, or religious use. An examination of each color, in turn, will reveal the attitudes that a variety of Roman writers, including historians, satirists, poets and biographers had towards each category of clothing and its wearers.

In the Roman Republican and Imperial periods, colored clothing was viewed as a source of pride by men and women, slave and free. It also aroused emotion and conflict: in his *Life of Nero*, Suetonius describes how Nero, upon seeing a woman dressed in purple, a color that he limited to his own use, pointed her out to the procurators, who dragged her out of the theater and stripped her of her clothes and her property as well.<sup>145</sup> For Nero, this display shocked and enraged him; in this particular instance, the color she wore was not merely inappropriate, it was illegal. This anecdote shows how far the restrictions on clothing in Roman society could extend.

Previous interpretations of Roman attitudes towards colored clothing tend to be based on the assumption that the chromatic values signified by the color-terms were monolithic. Roman writers distinguished many gradations and tonalities within the same color and their conception is more broadly polychromatic than has been previously acknowledged

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<sup>145</sup> Suet. *Ner.*, 32. *Et cum interdixisset usum amethystini ac Tyrii coloris summisissetque qui nundinarum die pauculas uncias venderet, praeclusit cunctos negotiatores. Quin etiam inter canendum animadversam matronam in spectaculis vetita purpura cultam demonstrasse procuratoribus suis dicitur detractamque ilico non veste modo sed et bonis exiit.*

by modern scholarship. An equally wide range of attitudes regarding colored clothing existed in the late Republic and Empire. Pairings of specific colors with specific garment types had common and readily recognizable meanings which would have been apparent to the authors' intended audience. These combined descriptive terms are repeated sufficiently in the literature to identify them as standard tropes, formulae, or stereotypes. These stock phrases were used as codes for social types and for the sentiments they aroused among their contemporaries.<sup>146</sup>

### Purple Colored Clothing

The reference to *purpura* and *purpureus* by a variety of ancient authors testifies to its great popularity in the Republican and Imperial periods. From earliest times purple played a distinct role in the Roman triumph.<sup>147</sup> Writing in the Republican period, the poet Lucretius associates the colors purple and gold with flashy but empty visual effects rather than nobility. Lucretius' comments about the purple clothing are resoundingly negative because he felt that people had invested too much money and effort in the color. For him a rational person is not moved or intimidated by the trappings of wealth and power:

... *Inter reges rerumque potentis versatur neque fulgorem reverentur  
ab auro nec clarum vestis splendorem purpureai...*

...Among kings and powerful things  
dwell not near the revered gleam of gold nor the bright gleam  
of purpura garments.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> References connecting costume and dyed fabrics with *luxuria* and moral/social degeneracy are extensive; for a full list, see Roy K. Gibson, *Ovid's Ars Amatoria: Book Three* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 162-163.

<sup>147</sup> Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008): 81.

<sup>148</sup> Lucr. 2.48.

Here Lucretius associates *purpura* with brightness, but its power to make the wearer seem brilliant compares unfavorably with the light of reason. The adjectives *fulgorem* and *splendorem* are paired with the color purple because it was a shade that made the being more divine. The wearers of this color, however, can shine only temporarily — the garments can be removed and are not fixed to one's person. The wise person's innate wisdom constantly illumines him or her.

Besides paling before the light of wisdom, purple for Lucretius is a barbarous and foreign color. Because it was produced from imported materials Lucretius sees it as alien. His negative assessment of the color was reinforced by its use by corrupt nobles and vulgar freedmen, who also adopted Greek customs that were considered foreign and effeminate. Of all the poets Lucretius is most explicit in his linkage of purple with barbarism:

*Iam tibi, barbaricae vestes Meliboaea quae fulgus  
Purpura Thessalico concharum tacta colore...*

Then for you, barbaric robes and shining Meliboean purple  
touched with the dye from Thessalian shells...<sup>149</sup>

He addresses the purple color as a *pars pro toto* representation of the social types that he rails against, as if purple were a person. For Lucretius the groups represented by the personified colors have brought down the traditional morals of society. They have caused the wearers of the clothing to commit grave crimes against Rome and disrupt the *gravitas* and *dignitas* of the old Republic. Lucretius considers that the people who wear purple clothing are simply showing off their status with their ostentatious display of color.

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<sup>149</sup> Lucr. 2.500-501.

In contrast, Vergil's *Aeneid* shows several examples of characters who wore the purple garment as a sign of victory. Here the color-term *purpura* is accompanied with the trait of brightness or shining.<sup>150</sup> Vergil describes the hero Aeneas using a common literary formula in which a purple cloth hung from the shoulder is a signifier of royal status:

*Tyrioque ardebat murice laena demissa ex umeris*

And a cloak hung from Aeneas' shoulders ablaze with Tyrian purple<sup>151</sup>

He uses the verb *ardeo*, which designates a burning quality and makes Aeneas appear more heroic. In this instance color was used to designate the radiant appearance of the divine ruler. In the same book the tragic heroine Dido is shown clasping her purple cloak and her prancing steed stands brilliant in purple and gold as well —*cui pharetra ex auro crines nodantur in aurum, aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.*<sup>152</sup> Vergil's wording would have been understood by contemporary readers as identifying Dido as a queen; the pairing of purple and gold in this context reinforces the association of royalty. The garment that she wears is referred to as a *vestis*, the generic term for clothing; it is the combination of purple and gold that illustrate her privileged rank in a way that would produce a substantial and lasting impression on the reader's mind. In another passage, Vergil pairs the shining quality of *murex* with the brightness of yellow embroidered decoration. Like other authors, he employs a phrase, *picta murice vestis*, as an active adjective in the plural form to describe the specific shade of purple, suggesting that this was a common literary formula of the time:

*Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis...  
Et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae.*

But you are clothed in embroidered saffron

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<sup>150</sup> R.J. Edgeworth, "Does 'purpureus' mean 'bright?'" *Glotta* 57 (1979): 281.

<sup>151</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, 4.260.

<sup>152</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, 4.138.

and gleaming purple...your tunics have sleeves and your turbans have feminine ribbons.<sup>153</sup>

At the same time Vergil's description of Dido could be interpreted as reflecting garish barbarism or decadence. As queen of Carthage, the historical rival to Rome's power during the Republic, she represents the embodiment of all that is foreign and therefore suspect. Even more than a century after the destruction of Carthage by the Romans, all his readers would have understood this reference. Vergil's attitude towards the color *purpura* may not have been without ambivalence.<sup>154</sup>

Later in the text, the tyrant Mezentius, a formidable opponent of Aeneas, fights in battle attired in *purpura* and in another shade of purple, *ostrum*:

*Huic ubi miscentem longe media agmina vidit  
Purpureum pinnis et pactae coniugis ostro*

When he saw him in the distance, embroiled  
among the ranks, with purple plumes, and in lavender robes  
given by his promised bride.<sup>155</sup>

The purple clothing that Mezentius wears serves as a highly visible sign of his status in the midst of battle. The brilliance of the color ensures that it can be seen from far away.<sup>156</sup> This verse suggests that Vergil was cognizant of the different hues that purple existed in: *purpureus* and *ostrum*. Yet the description in its context suggests that Vergil also wanted to depict Mezentius as a heroic figure dressed out in purple, even though he is an opponent of Aeneas. These two Greek figures are fated to duel on the battlefield.

One passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* features *purpura*-dyed garments related to gods. The divine figure of Phoebus is portrayed wearing a purple robe decorated with

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<sup>153</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, 9.614.

<sup>154</sup> As the descendants of Phoenician colonists from the Levantine coast, the Carthaginians would also have been associated for the reader with Tyre, if Tyre was the main source of *purpura* for the Romans.

<sup>155</sup> Verg., *Aen.*, 10.721.

<sup>156</sup> The translator in the Loeb Edition interpreted Vergil's term *ostro* as crimson. Yet Sebesta interprets *ostrum* as another part of a range of purples known to the Romans: Sebesta (1994): 68. *Ostro* can mean eastern, which is probably where the species of this particular shell came from.

emeralds. This visually striking image of purple and green is used as a signifier of royalty in Ovid's characters:

*Purpurea velatus veste sedebat in solio  
Phoebus claris lucente smaragdis*

Clad in a purple robe, Phoebus sat  
On his throne, gleaming with brilliant emeralds.<sup>157</sup>

Ovid is far less descriptive and nuanced than Vergil. In some instances he does not specify the particular form of clothing that he describes, using a color-term instead as a substitute. Even without a specific identification of the type of garment, Ovid's readers would immediately understand that the character described was of great importance. Ovid's Narcissus, for example, wears the color purple along with a red pectoral. These colors together create a startling presentation suitable for a youthful divine being:

*Pectora traxerunt roseum percussa, ruborem non aliter quam poma solent,  
quae candida parte, parte rubent aut ut varris solet uva racemis ducere  
purpureum nondum matura colorem.*

Having beaten his rosy breast, the redness not different from apples,  
part gleaming white, in part he blushes like grapes that  
remain on the branch, but are not yet purple in maturing.<sup>158</sup>

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* there is only one instance of a garment dyed with *murex*. The poet mentions that the garment was long:

*Verrit humum Tyrio saturata murices palla*

And his mantle, dipped in Tyrian dye, swept the ground<sup>159</sup>

The garment's colossal scale implies that the wearer, Phoebus, is a divine figure. The use of *saturata palla* was probably a formulaic expression to stress the intense brightness of garments dyed with *murex*.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 2.23.

<sup>158</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 3.482-485.

<sup>159</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 11.146.

<sup>160</sup> J.E.B. Mayor, *A Commentary on the Thirteen Satires of Juvenal* (New York: Putnam, 1966): 99-100.

In another passage, Ovid refers to garments made from wool with finely molded gold and embroidered decoration. The form of the clothing that the subjects of this verse wear is unclear, but the combination of gold and purple denotes its importance:

*Pars ibi de septem genitis Amphione fortes  
conscendunt in equos **Tyrioque rubentis**  
suco terga premunt **auroque** graves moderantur habenas.*

There are the seven sons of Amphion on horses,  
bearing the Tyrian purple and with red colored backs,  
as they are pressing on with gold reins.<sup>161</sup>

Plainly purple and gold clothing could be worn while the wearers were engaged in battle or hunting and was not restricted to sedentary ceremonial occasions. Riding horses with gold embroidered bridles reinforced the image of royalty throughout the literature of the time. Royal status affected all aspects of life and the wearing of purple went with it. In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid even includes the story of King Nisus and his purple lock, *purpureum crinem*, which was stolen by his daughter. His royal status was symbolized by that lock: without it, he lost his power.<sup>162</sup>

In the *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid provides advice for gentlemen seeking girlfriends:

*Sive erit in **Tyris**, **Tyrios** laudabis amictus  
Sive erit in **Cois**, **Coa** decere puta.*

If she be in Tyrian attire, then praise her Tyrian gown  
Or in Coan, then find the Coan style becoming.<sup>163</sup>

Once again Ovid employs the phrase *Tyrios amictus*; it did not matter what form the garment took but rather the type of material and the dye. Ovid compared two expensive garments, one dyed in Tyrian purple and the other woven of silk, a material in great

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<sup>161</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 6.221.

<sup>162</sup> Ov. *Meta.* 8.90. See also Tib. 1.4.63: *Carminum purpurea est Nisi coma: carmina ni sint.*

<sup>163</sup> Ov. *Ars Am.*, 1.315.

demand among elites during Ovid's time.<sup>164</sup> A similar phrase, *purpureos amictus*, occurs in Statius' *Silvae*, in which he equates the wearing of purple clothing with noble birth and royalty, as the purple garment is paired with a gold pectoral, *pectoris aurum*.<sup>165</sup> Worn together purple and gold project an image of wealth and power. Statius does not need to specify the type of garment in order for the reader to understand the allusion to nobility.

In poetry the giving of a purple garment by a female draping it on the male's shoulders is a common motif. This act further designates the divine nature of the wearer:

*Sic ornat crines; Tyrios sic fundit amictus,  
Dat radios ignemque suum.*

So she arranges her hair and drapes him with a Tyrian purple  
cloak, gives him beams of her own fire.<sup>166</sup>

Statius continues with this image when he describes the power of a Tyrian tunic, suggesting that it commands respect and demonstrates authority from the wearer's shoulders:

*Mox Tyrios ex more sinus tunicamque potentem agnovere umeri*

Soon your shoulders recognized the customary Tyrian folds and mantle of power.<sup>167</sup>

The writings of Martial reflect both the use of *purpura* across different strata of Roman society and its ability to call attention to the wearer, to make him stand out. Martial's subjects are not gods and kings, but his friends and passersby, and his observations about purple clothing are part of his description of the daily couture of the

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<sup>164</sup> Coan silk, *Coae vestes*, was frequently mentioned by Augustan poets like Vergil and Ovid but not later: Olson (2008): 14. This type of silk was actually imported from the Greek island of Cos, which was the only home to the silk moth in the Mediterranean. The period in which Ovid was writing was the height of this material's popularity. By the time of Tiberius local sources of silk were no longer available and it was difficult to import from the Orient. Tiberius himself contributed to the decline in its use by condemning it as effeminate and foreign, associating it with the decadent Greeks: Tac. *Ann.* 3.52. Pliny the Elder suggests that the invention or start of the wearing of Coan silk began with a woman named Pamphile: Plin. *HN* 11.76. For more on Coan silk see: Barber (1991): 31-2; Dalby (2000): 151-2; Vons (2000): 356-9.

<sup>165</sup> Stat. *Silv.*, 5.3. 118-120.

<sup>166</sup> Stat. *Silv.* 3.4. 55-56.

<sup>167</sup> Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.29.

Romans of his time. By the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., Tyre had been formally annexed to the empire as part of the *provincia* of Syria. In addition the Romans were able to import more clothing from other far-flung reaches of the empire. Non-royal persons now display purple clothing in full view. Martial does not distinguish between different shades of purple, but he expresses strong opinions about the color in general. The royal color of purple had such everlasting effects that even the Calydonian boar would submit to its power:

*Frenis Libyci domantur ursi  
et, quantum Calydon tulisse fertur  
paret **purpureis** aper capistris.*

Libyan bears are tamed with a bridle and  
A boar as big as that Calydonian one  
is said to have been submitted to a purple harness.<sup>168</sup>

On the other hand he seems resentful that although the color is no longer the exclusive prerogative of royalty, it is still extremely costly. In one verse he considers the cost of wearing purple exceptional —five *denarii*, an expensive amount for the unnamed garment. He complains:

*Nec roges Atrectum hoc nomen dominus  
gerit tabernae- de primo dabit alterove  
nido rasum pumice **purpuraque** cultum  
denaris tibi quinque Martialem.*

Unless you ask for this name Atrectus, for this is name of the owner of the shop, at first, he will give you from the first and second shelf, a Martial shaved with pumice and attractive with purple, for five denarii.<sup>169</sup>

This luxurious treatment, complete with a facial and purple clothing, is too expensive for the writer; at the same time he seems to have great respect for the color, he would not

<sup>168</sup> Mart. 1.104. A *capistrum*, which in this context means a halter for an animal, could also mean a smaller style shirt covering, specially woven for the man of authority and commands attention because of the brightness of the hue. See Sebesta (1994): 243. Also see Mayor, 100.

<sup>169</sup> Mart. 1.117.

seem to mind wearing it and does not view it as barbarous or foreign. But a negative attitude towards purple appears elsewhere in his writing:

*Te Cadmea Tyros, me pinguis Gallia vestit;  
Vis te **purpureum**, Marce, sagatus amem?*

Cadmean Tyre clothes for you, greasy Gaulish clothes for me;  
Do you wish that I should love your purple cloak, Marcus?<sup>170</sup>

Martial's reference reflects the fact that forms of clothing in his day were bought, traded or copied from all sections of the Empire. He knows that his friend prefers these foreign types of clothing and colors, and his attitude is critical. Yet one can detect under his scandalized attitude the taste of sour grapes. The attention Martial devotes to his friend's clothing may amount to an admission of admiration for foreign luxury goods that he could not afford. Whoever his friend is, he has a good deal of money. Elsewhere he arraigns the Roman aristocracy of his time:

*Dimisit nostras **purpura** vestra togas.*

He dismissed our togas with your purple.<sup>171</sup>

Here Martial creates an opposition between his group and people who wear purple-dyed garments, accusing the latter of abandoning Roman *dignitas* for foreign fashions.

Martial comments twice on the financial costs and social status reflected in the wearing of *murex*. He uses specific terms associated with the technical aspects of manufacturing this dye such as *tinctoria* and *nites*, dyed or tinted, and described how the wearer of the *murex* shone. Bassus purchased a garment for 400,000 *denarii* and Martial delivers this barbed epigram as a backhanded tribute to him. Martial criticizes his friend's use of the color and rejects it as foolish luxury:

*non nisi vel **cocco** madida vel **murice** tinctoria  
veste nites et te sic dare verba putas*

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<sup>170</sup> Mart. 4.11.

<sup>171</sup> Mart. 10.10.

*quadringentum nullae sunt, Basse, lacernae*

You shine in garments steeped in scarlet or dyed in purple, nothing else and thus you think to cheat him  
No cloak, Bassus, is worth 400,000.<sup>172</sup>

Martial's sarcastic attitudes towards *murex* are reflective of his critique of the social classes who could afford it. Since only the rich could afford *murex* garments, a better and more efficient way of getting them is by theft. A thriving second-hand clothing market existed which dealt in garments stolen from the patrons from the bathhouses and gymnasia, and even from private homes.<sup>173</sup> Martial suggests that given the expense of the *murex* clothing, it would be far easier to obtain a garment of this type by stealing it:

*Non quicumque capit saturatas murices vestes  
Nec nisi deliciis convenit iste color  
Si te praeda iuvat foedique insania lucri  
qua possis melius fallere, sume togam*

Not everybody can wear garments saturated with murex colored dye.  
That very color is suitable for fashionistas. If loot and the madness of vile gain are, what you want, take the toga! You would look better that way!<sup>174</sup>

The participle *saturatas*, besides being associated with excess (fully saturated), connotes full color saturation, reflecting Martial's knowledge of the technical processes employed in the use of the *murex* dye. Although it produced a rich purple color, it was equally famous for its terrible smell, so that while wearers might look impressive, people could smell them coming from a long way off. Martial refers to a woman, Philaenis, who wore *murex*-dyed clothes day and night so that the smell of the dye overwhelmed her own body odor:

*Tinctis murice vestibus quod omne  
et nocte utitur et die Philaenis*

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<sup>172</sup> Mart. 5.23.

<sup>173</sup> There was a second-hand clothes industry, and clothes were a target for thieves. Tibullus talks about walking warily through the *Subura* neighborhood of Rome afraid of someone attacking him with a weapon or being mugged, not for his money but for the very clothes on his back (1.2.26).

<sup>174</sup> Martial, 9.48.

*non est ambitiosa nec superba:  
delectatur odore, non colore.*

Because Philaenis night and day wears  
garments dipped in every kind  
of purple, she is not ambitious or proud.  
She is pleased with the smell, not with the color.<sup>175</sup>

Wearing the color may have had its privileges, but it left an after odor or stench similar to the very creature it came from.

By contrast, the court biographer Suetonius uses the word *purpura* as the choice color for emperors. Suetonius records that Emperor Caligula's reign (37 A.D.- 41 A.D.) was marked by the introduction of sumptuary laws.<sup>176</sup> Caligula once generously distributed purple and red clothing to women and children — *feminis ac pueris fascias purpurae atque conchylii distribuit*. Gifts that were extravagant symbols of the emperor's love to the citizens of Rome, and an indication that he had gone too far.<sup>177</sup> Later Suetonius records that Caligula ordered an increased restraint on the general use of purple, restricting purple garments to the emperor and members of his family. He thus granted purple greater exclusivity as a royal symbol. Suetonius even reports that when the Roman client King Juba III Ptolemaeus of Mauretania appeared in Rome at public spectacles, his purple regalia attracted so much attention that Caligula ordered him put to death:

*quam quod edente se murrus ingressum spectacula  
convertisse hominum oculos fulgore purpuram  
abollae animadvertit.*

On account of observing him coming into the show  
All had turned their eyes to the blinding purple cloak.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Martial, 9.62.1-4.

<sup>176</sup> *Purpura* was already policed in the Twelve Tables (Tabula 10.3= Cic. *Leg.*1.13.27).

<sup>177</sup> Suet. *Calig.* 17.

<sup>178</sup> Suet. *Calig.* 35. Reinhold (1970): 49-50.

The combination of the color-term *purpura* and the adjective *fulgore* designates a shining brilliance, a spectacle that was intended to impress but also ignited jealousy. The incident also suggests that the use of *purpura* was widely accepted in other parts of the Roman Empire. While the ancient historiographers and chroniclers of the emperors usually ignored the details of clothing and sumptuary consumption, Suetonius recognized that it was the purple cloak that made the instance memorable and commented on it accordingly.

Apuleius, the second-century Numidian novelist, discusses the religious function of purple garments. In his novel *The Golden Ass*, he provides a description of priests wearing white togas with bright purple stripes:

*Mitellis et crocotis et carbasinis et bombycinis  
iniecti quidam tunicas albas in modum lanciolanum  
quoquo versum fluente purpura depictas cingulo subligati*

They went out wearing turbans and saffron-colored robes and silk and linen tunics. Some had white tunics decorated with purple lance-shaped designs flowing in every direction, gathered up into a tight banded halter, and on their feet they wore yellow shoes.<sup>179</sup>

He describes methods for creating the special purple stripes, which seem to sparkle against the white background. It is unclear exactly what he means by this process, but the term employed here, *depicta*, usually refers to painting. Combined with the saffron-colored robes, the visual image produced by purple is quite powerful and positive, in direct contrast to Lucretius and Martial's depictions. Apuleius was interested in showing how the colors together produced a harmonious effect. The saffron vestments suggest that the people described in this passage were probably worshippers of Isis or another foreign deity (see the discussion below on yellow). The use of these colors together connotes wealth and membership in the cult.

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<sup>179</sup> Apul. 8.27.

In a later passage Apuleius illustrates how the combination of *murex* with gold made the colors more luxurious. In this instance the generic use of the term *veste* makes it clear that the clothing is not important, rather the colors are of supreme importance:

*Sed et strangula veste auro ac murices Tyrio depicta probe consternunt*

The garment was kept close and was made of gold and Tyrian purple dye.<sup>180</sup>

Apuleius again employs the term *depicta*, implying that the color was painted on rather than woven or sewn, a more labor-intensive process. Elites preferred painted purple clothing precisely because of the increased labor expended in its production: according to Mark Bradley, "by the late Republic there is some evidence that the trained eye could decipher one's political character from the shade of *purpura* one chose to wear the senatorial *toga praetexta*." Bradley suggests that the color was so institutionalized within Roman politics that there emerged an elaborate discriminatory vocabulary of light purples versus dark purples, imported Tyrian purples in contrast to locally-made Italian/Sicilian/Greek purples, and double-dyed purples.<sup>181</sup>

The satirists, such as Juvenal, comment on the status that Tyrian purple clothing afforded the wearers:

*Spondet enim Tyrio stlattaria purpura filo*

He promised with his thread of imported Tyrian purple.<sup>182</sup>

Juvenal says that the new fashionable attire would have scandalized an earlier generation:

*Si Tyrios sumpsi cultus unxive capillos  
Exclamas: 'numquam fecerat ista pater.'*

If I put on Tyrian clothes or gel my hair,  
you exclaim: 'your father never did that.'<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Apul. 10.20.

<sup>181</sup> Bradley (2004): 148.

<sup>182</sup> Juv. 7.134.

His comments are reflective of a period when any color of purple garment was available and could be worn by anyone without shame; Juvenal, as a satirist, still disapproves.

Besides *murex* there were other shades of purple. The color-term *amethystina* first appears during the Augustan age when a wider range of pigments became available to Roman citizens to create luxury clothing for social display. Ovid mentions the color amethyst purple (*purpureae amethysti*); Pliny later simplifies this to *amethystina*.<sup>184</sup> Like the precious stone, this was a violet color derived from a mineral source. Horace describes the violet robe of a lawyer which helps him to attract clients — *purpura vendit causicum, verdant amethystine*.<sup>185</sup> On the other hand, Horace uses the phrase *vestem purpuream* when describing the general clothing of aristocracy, distinguishing it from the shade of the orator's garment.<sup>186</sup> In the late Republican period of Horace's time, purple garments were special for the wearer. They were available in silk or wool, from Greece or Tyre, embellished with gold or worn unadorned. From the Augustan period on, the range of shades of purple remains stable, what did change, however, were the sumptuary laws. Following Caligula's restrictions of the use of *purpura* to members of the imperial family, Nero prohibited the general use of *purpura amethystina*, restricting its display to the emperor only, closing down public dealers of purple garments.<sup>187</sup> In the epigram to his life of Nero, Suetonius describes how the emperor punished violators of his decrees. Suetonius' account shows how widespread the practice of wearing purple had become by

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<sup>183</sup> Juv. 11.39.

<sup>184</sup> Plin. *HN*, 9.139; André (1949): 146-7; Sebesta (1994): 75.

<sup>185</sup> Hor. *Epod.*, 7.135-6.

<sup>186</sup> Hor. *Epod.*, 12.38.

<sup>187</sup> Suet. *Ner.* 32.3. *Et cum interdixisset usum amethystini ac Tyrii coloris summississetque qui nundinarum die pauculas unicas venderet, praeclusit cunctos negotiatores.*- Having forbidden the use of amethystine or Tyrian purple dyes, he secretly sent a man to sell a few ounces on a market day and then closed the shops of all the dealers.

Nero's day. After his death, there was a return to complete freedom of manufacture, sale, and use of purple.<sup>188</sup>

Even in the later Empire, shades of purple were still associated with power and divinity, as in the *Historia Augusta*'s description of the emperor of Antoninus Diadumenos in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.:

*Hic ubi primum coccea et purpurea ceteraque castrensia imperii insignia accepit, quasi sidereus et caelestis emicuit, ut amaretur ab omnibus gratia venustatis.*

And when first he assumed the scarlet and purple garments and other imperial insignia used in the camp, he was radiant as a being from the stars or a dweller in heaven with the result that he was beloved of all because of his beauty.<sup>189</sup>

The combination of the color-terms *coccea* and *purpurea* suggest that these two colors were worn because of his role as an emperor of the state as well as a commander in the army (the *paludamentum* was always a shade of red). The wearing of the combination of these colors elevated his status to a quasi-divine level; like purple, red was also regarded as a highly prized color, as will be discussed below.

### Red Colored Clothing

The social importance of red dyes is illustrated when Juvenal discusses how the use of the *coccinus* dye became a status symbol. He remarks that the man who has a *coccina* cloak and a long line of male followers — *quem coccina laena vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo* — ought to be avoided.<sup>190</sup> The *laena* was a heavy rounded mantle, Etruscan in origin, worn by priests during sacrifices. It was shaped like a toga but was

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<sup>188</sup> Suet. *Ner.* 32.3.

<sup>189</sup> HA, *Diadumenos Antoninus* 3.3.

<sup>190</sup> Juv. 3. 282.

draped over both shoulders and hung in a curve, front and back, and fastened with a *fibula*, or pin in back.<sup>191</sup> By his dress the wearer was obviously of a distinctive rank and the innkeeper gives him preferential treatment. Juvenal eschews this type of behavior toward people based on appearance. His negative attitude towards these people seems to reflect the fact that they presumably do not perform up to the expectations created by their luxury garments. While Juvenal does not state the job this cloaked man performs, he is probably a general, a *flamen* or an augur.<sup>192</sup> Juvenal criticizes the social values of the innkeeper for preferring the rich man to one who cannot afford such opulent attire.

Like other authors, Martial comments on the brilliance of the color and how it had a visually commanding effect on the viewer:

*Sed magnum vitium, quod est poeta  
 Pullo Mevius alget incucullo  
 Cocco mulio fulget, Incitatus.*

Mevius' only fault (a great fault; it's true) is that he is a poet, who shivers in a black cloak while Incitatus the Muleteer blazes in scarlet.<sup>193</sup>

Again Martial is complaining: Incitatus, who was actually a successful charioteer, can afford to buy a red cloak, while a poet who has real substance and contributes to the cultural life of the city can only wear a worn cloak of rough wool.<sup>194</sup> The formulaic combination of the color-term and the present-tense verb *fulget* demonstrates the luxurious quality of this shade of crimson, such that the poet cannot put it out of his

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<sup>191</sup> Sebesta (1994): 245.

<sup>192</sup> Sebesta (1994): 248. A *flamen* is a priest of a particular deity, while an *augur* leads the process of divination. He searches for and interprets signs in nature. The roles of both these priests were considered vital to the welfare of the Roman state.

<sup>193</sup> Mart. 10.76.

<sup>194</sup> Incitatus wears a red cloak because he is a member of the red chariot team. He also appears in Martial 11.1. Henry George Bohn, *Martial's Epigrams* (London: G. Bell and Daldy, 1871): 486, 500.

mind. Here its brilliance commands not his respect but considerable resentment and irritation.

Members and fans of the scarlet chariot team wore *coccina* dyed cloaks. The title of an epigram by Martial, *Lacernae coccineae* (Scarlet Cloak), alludes to supporters of both sexes who attended these games. A *lacerna* is a cloak or mantle worn by both men and women originally over the tunic and toga:

*Si Veneto prasinove faves, qui coccina sumis,  
Ne fias ista transfuga sorte vide.*

If you, who put on scarlet, support the blue or the green,  
mind this lot doesn't make a deserter of you.<sup>195</sup>

Martial is the only author who comments on the cost of the red garments:

*Misit Agenoreas Cadmi tibi terma lacernas;  
Non vendes hummis coccina nostra tribus.*

The land of Cadmus has sent you an Agenorian cloak;  
you won't sell my scarlet for three sesterces.<sup>196</sup>

While the type of the red garment is not stated, he complains that scarlet clothing was no bargain.

In the realm of the freedmen who rose up from slavery and acquired new wealth, the color of choice was any shade of the scarlet family. Since they were not aristocrats who could wear the purple color, scarlet was the next best thing. There are two instances in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* where the lead character, a vain and boorish caricature of a freedman, wears a red garment to show off his wealth and hopes that his status will be improved:

*Hinc involutus coccina gausapa lecticae impositus est*

Then he was rolled up in a scarlet woolen coat and put in a litter.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Mart. 14.131.

<sup>196</sup> Mart. 2.43.

He wears a distinct article of clothing called a *gausapa*, or felt waterproof cloak, one of the most expensive garments of the day because of the extreme difficulty of the process of manufacturing felt, and because considerable effort was required to press the dye into this fabric.<sup>198</sup> In another description he wears a scarlet *pallium*, or a large rectangular mantle worn by non-Romans, especially by Greeks. His use of this garment, as well as the depilatory treatment of his head, is shown negatively as an unnatural effeminate trait:

*Pallio enim coccineo adrasum excluserat  
caput circaque oneratas veste cervices  
laticlaviam immiserat mappam fimbriis hinc  
atque illinc pendentibus.*

His head was shaven and peered out of a scarlet cloak  
and over the heavy clothes on his neck he was inserted  
into a cloth with fringes hanging this way and that from  
all sides.<sup>199</sup>

From the detailed descriptions of his obvious and ostentatious displays of luxury, Trimalchio is shown as a disreputable person who desires to look like the great man that he is not naturally. Paired with his small physical size and his humble social origins, the scarlet cloak creates a strange and awkward appearance, hinting that he is not suited for anything other than his original status as a slave.

Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* gives a description of the female slave Fotis:

*Ipsa lintea tunica mundule amicta et russea  
fasceola praenitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas  
succinctula...*

She had about her middle a linen apron, and she  
was girded high about her body beneath her breasts with a  
girdle of red shining silk...<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 28.

<sup>198</sup> Pliny discusses the process for making felt for clothing and slippers in *HN* 8.192 and 19.32. Athenaeus describes the purple felt shoes of Demetrios Poliorketes, 12.535. For further discussion about the manufacture of felt and its waterproof properties, see Sebesta (1994): 66.

<sup>199</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 28.

<sup>200</sup> Apul. *Met.*, 2.7.

By his choice of the word *russea*, Apuleius infuses a description of a woman doing an ordinary menial job with sexuality and even possibly passion which is visually marked by her clothing. Her visage appears to glow brightly as she sways while performing her cooking responsibility. She is thus characterized as being filled with lustful desires as she performs her responsibilities, dressed in a fitting lascivious manner.

Even as late as the third century, the author in the *Historia Augusta* provides another use of the color-term *russeus*:

*Paraverat sane paenulas populo coloris russei dare Macrinus  
imperator in honorem Antonini filii sui, quae vocarentur  
Antoninianae, ut caracallae Bassiani dictae sunt.*

Now Macrinus, as emperor, proposed in honor of his son Antoninus to present to the populace mantles of a reddish hue, to be called 'Antoninian' as Bassianus' Gallic mantles had been.<sup>201</sup>

The appearance of *russeus* with the manufacture of mantles suggests that the color was still readily available at the time of the Severans and had still retained its favor among the aristocracy. As the Roman Empire declined, the hues of purple, which had been favored by emperors and aristocrats, experienced a downturn; shades of red were now the preferred color for royalty and aristocracy.<sup>202</sup>

### *Blue and Green Colored Clothing*

While the most sought-after, and therefore most frequently mentioned, colors of the late Republic and early Empire were purple and red, other colors are mentioned to a lesser degree by contemporary writers. One interesting observation is that use of these color-terms is confined to poetry. Both epic and mythological poets like Vergil and Ovid

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<sup>201</sup> HA, 2.8.

<sup>202</sup> André (1949): 133; Rheinhold (1971): 56.

and satirists like Juvenal and Martial help to us identify and understand the social uses of and symbolic meanings of these colors both singly and in combination.

Blue- and green-colored clothing was not easy to produce; these colors are rarely mentioned by Roman writers.<sup>203</sup> *Venetus* was the color manufactured for the use of wearable blue cloaks by the chariot faction bearing its name. There is no mention of *caeruleus* or *caesis*-colored clothing, except when Juvenal approvingly describes one of his literary contemporaries:

*caerulea inclutus scutulata aut galbina rasa.*

fond of wearing blue checks or smooth faced yellow.<sup>204</sup>

This tunic (*inclutus*) was a fashionable garment for the rich moralist poets whom Juvenal rigorously dislikes for their excessive toadying to their political patrons. The expensive garments are the fruits of their dishonorable labor. Juvenal criticizes both the smooth felt-like fabric and the bright colors of this clothing as decadent and unbecoming to a proper Roman.<sup>205</sup> *Callainus* is a green color mentioned by Pliny, associated with women's garments.<sup>206</sup> In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid describes the river god Achelous struggling to take off a piece of clothing:

*reieci viridem de corpora vestem,  
bracchiaque opposui, tenuique a pectore varas...*

I then threw back from my body the green coat,  
I put up my arms, and I held my arms out in front  
of my chest...<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> For types of green dye used see Blümner (1875): 252; Sebesta (1994): 70.

<sup>204</sup> Juv. 2.97.

<sup>205</sup> The texture of the garment is smooth, or *rasa*. Pliny (*HN*, 8.195) describes how this texture was achieved by having the wool spun into a finely woven material. Impurities were taken out of the wool with combs prior to being dyed. During the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., it was the traditional toga that was changed under Augustus from a rough-textured garment into one with a smooth, even finish, the *toga rasa*, by alternating teasing the woolen nap with hedgehog bristles or thistles and then clipping it closely with shears. Sebesta (1994): 68. See also J. P. Wild, "The Textile Term Scutulatus," *CQ* 14 (1964): 263-266.

<sup>206</sup> Plin. *HN*, 37.110. A silk dyed dress in *purpurea* and *callaina* was given to Isis at her shrine in Nemi. See also Solinus 21, Isidore, *Origines* 16.7.10. *CIL* 6.2125.

<sup>207</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 9.31-33.

This is the only extant instance in Latin literature of a deity wearing a green garment, but it shows that both men and women could wear green.

### Yellow Colored Clothing

The color-term yellow was applied only to women's garments, or to the robes of priestly eunuchs.<sup>208</sup> Women wearing yellow appear in the wall paintings of Pompeii and Herculaneum: in the House of the Tragic Poet, Iphigenia, about to be offered as a sacrifice, is pictured in a yellow robe (Fig. 4); Medea also wears yellow as she contemplates the death of her children (Fig. 5). The three distinct color-terms for yellow used by writers of the late Republic and early Empire are *luteus*, *croceus* and *flavus*.

The most common yellow garment mentioned by writers was the flame-colored mantle called the *flammeum*, part of the bridal costume worn at Roman weddings. Pliny uses the word *luteus* to describe the color of the *flammeum*. Since he uses the same color-term to describe an egg-yolk, it was possibly dark yellow to orange in color.<sup>209</sup> Although Pliny's employment of *flammeus* implies a fiery or reddish-yellow, the color-term *luteus* appears to be far less specific and its significance is a subject of debate among modern classicists.<sup>210</sup> The *flammeum* was worn in the same fashion as the *palla*, the mantle worn by Roman women for everyday use, but instead of the edge of the cloth resting on the top of the woman's head, the *flammeum* was pulled forward to cover half

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<sup>208</sup> Olson says: "This color strongly denoted clothing as female, and a man who wore a yellow garment risked being branded as effeminate." Olson (2008): 13). For various yellow colorants of antiquity, see Blümner (1875): 242; André (1949): 151-155; Forbes, *Stud. Anc Technol.* 3: 122-126.

<sup>209</sup> Plin. *HN*, 21.46,10.128.

<sup>210</sup> Edgeworth, "Luteus: Pink or Yellow?" *Glotta* 63 (1985): 212. According to Edgeworth, the color *luteus* is used inconsistently across Roman writers to describe shades ranging from pale-yellow to flame red.

of the bride's face. Petronius parodies the wedding ceremony in an orgy scene in the *Satyricon*:

*Iam Psyche puellae caput involverat flammeo*

And now Psyche put a flame-colored veil upon the girl's head <sup>211</sup>

This flame-colored mantle was originally the costume of the *Flaminica Dialis*, the wife of the priest of Jupiter. Since she was unable to divorce, the mantle may have come to represent marital fidelity and was adopted for wedding celebrations.<sup>212</sup> It was believed to protect the bride from bad omens and negative spiritual forces as she passed through the liminal space between leaving the protection of her family to her new husband's home. Not surprisingly, these veils were in high demand and required a whole class of specialists to produce an adequate supply. Plautus refers to these *flammeum* makers as *flammarii*.<sup>213</sup> The bride's shoes were also dyed yellow to match the *flammeum*. In the writings of Catullus, Hymen, the god of love and marriage, is pictured wearing a *luteus soccus*:

*cinge tempora floribus  
suave olentis amaraci  
flammeum cape, laetus huc  
huc veni niveo gerens  
luteum pede soccum*

Join together the brows with fragrant  
flowers of amaranth.  
Put on the flammeum,  
Approach joyfully  
Come hither wearing the snowy white slipper  
on your foot.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 25.

<sup>212</sup> Croom (2002): 112.

<sup>213</sup> Plaut. *Aulularia*, 510; André, 115-116; Festus, 89M.

<sup>214</sup> Catull. 61.5-10.

The *soccus*, a low light shoe, originating in Greece, was adopted by the Romans, but its use was restricted to women or to effeminate men and actors portraying female roles.<sup>215</sup>

It is not clear why the shoes needed to match the *flammeum*. I suspect that the symmetrical display of yellow at the opposite ends of a woman's body may have signified visual balance and wholeness. In the context of the wedding ceremony this would have connotations of propriety emphasizing the bride's virginity as well as producing a pleasing visual effect. I also suggest that the fiery red and yellow of the *flammeum* functioned as a symbol of the change of status that a woman underwent in a wedding ceremony from a *puella* to a *matrona*, just as the *flammeum* combines the color yellow of virginity with the red blood of its loss. Catullus' association of the color *luteus* with *flammeum* is the only instance in elegiac poetry that is paired with a specific garment. Despite the lack of literary allusions, scholars such as Susan Treggiari note that this tradition of Roman bridal costume from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. remained consistent through the late Empire.<sup>216</sup> Pliny, for example, also suggests that the color yellow was confined almost entirely to women:

*lutei video honorem antiquissimum in nuptialibus flammeis  
totum feminis concessum.*

I observe that the most ancient honor in nuptials is the  
adornment of the yellow mantle on the female.<sup>217</sup>

According to Dana, it is possible that the yellow *socci* were worn by women for daily use and only the *flammeum* was strictly confined to the marriage ceremony.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Sebesta (1994): 246. Suet. *Calig.*, 52.

<sup>216</sup> Susan Treggiari, *Roman Marriage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991): 68-83.

<sup>217</sup> Plin. *HN*, 21.46.

<sup>218</sup> Dana (1919): 34.

Another color-term for yellow that appears more frequently in literature is *croceus*, the preferred color-term for yellow in Vergil's *Aeneid*. The source of this color is unknown, although Sebesta speculates that it may have been produced by pulverizing yellow flowers of unknown and multiple species to create a paste.<sup>219</sup> A yellow-colored mantle or *palla* is described twice as *croceo velamen* and is always used in conjunction with unmarried female characters; in both instances this *palla* is hand-decorated with embroidered designs executed in golden thread and representing acanthus foliage, as in Vergil's description of Helen:

*pallam signis auroque rigentem et circumtextum croceo velamen acanthus*

a mantle stiff with figures wrought in gold and a veil fringed with yellow acanthus.<sup>220</sup>

The same formula is used again later describing Dido:

*pallamque et pictum croceo velamen acantho*

the mantle embroidered with saffron acanthus.<sup>221</sup>

The similarity of the yellow mantles suggests that Vergil is linking Dido with the famous seductress Helen; both women were foreigners to the men that they seduced. The *palla* was originally intended as protection against bad weather or the cold, but it soon became a necessary covering for a modest woman, and no respectable woman would leave her house without her head covered and her body concealed by it.<sup>222</sup> It was not a comfortable garment to wear for the active lower classes and slaves, because it would slip off the shoulder when they were engaged in manual labor.<sup>223</sup> The gold embroidery mentioned in the *Aeneid* implies that it is an elite garment. As an epic poet working for

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<sup>219</sup> Sebesta (1994): 69.

<sup>220</sup> Verg. *Aen*, 1.648-9. Dana (1919): 15.

<sup>221</sup> Verg. *Aen*, 1.711.

<sup>222</sup> Croom (2002): 89. As noted from archeological evidence, the *palla* was fastened with a *fibula*, or brooch. Sebesta (1994): 115.

<sup>223</sup> Olson (2008): 16-19; Croom (2002): 34-5.

an elite patron, Vergil writes only about the clothing of the aristocratic class and divine figures.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the bridal god Hymen presides over the wedding ceremony; he is also associated with a saffron-colored mantle:

*Inde per immensum croceo velatus amictu.*

Thence through the boundless air Hymen clad in a saffron mantle.<sup>224</sup>

Both the color-term and the name employed for the garment imply that Ovid is not alluding to the *flammeum*. Perhaps he refers to a wedding garment analogous but not identical. He shows Hymen dressed in a similar fashion to a mortal bride, demonstrating the divine or mythological origins of the wearing of the saffron mantle.

A variation on the term *croceus* appears in the word *epicrocum*, a thin, transparent yellow garment worn by women. Nonius, however, recalls that Varro said:

*Utrumque mulieres,  
et epicrocum virum quoque habitarunt*

Women and also men were accustomed to wearing the *epicrocum*.<sup>225</sup>

This passage suggests that at one point in the early Republic men were accustomed to wear yellow clothing. Another yellow garment was the *calthula*, a short undergarment worn by women like a shift or a nightgown. It is described twice in Latin literature from the early Roman Republic. Plautus describes the *calthula* as worn with another yellow garment, the *crocotula*:

*indusiatam, patagiatam, calthulam aut crocotulam*

The inclusion and containing of the *calthula* or the *crocotula*.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>224</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 10.1-3.

<sup>225</sup> Nonius P. 318M, *Varro de sermone latino lib. III.*

<sup>226</sup> Plaut. *Epid.* 231.

Varro also describes the *calthula* as “a little wrapping device which binds the nude breasts”— *calthula est palliolum praecinctui quod nudae infra papillas praecinguntur*.<sup>227</sup>

There are several instances in which the color yellow is worn by men. As mentioned above, Juvenal ridicules the man who goes home and wears blue checked felt and yellow clothing together — *caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa*.<sup>228</sup> Varro quotes Naevius who chides the man who wears a saffron robe and slippers — *erat amictus epicroco*.<sup>229</sup> In his oration attacking Publius Clodius, Cicero includes a lurid accusation that Clodius cross-dressed and profaned the rituals of the Bona Dea. He describes Clodius’ misdeeds in what may be exaggerated detail — *a crocota, a mitra, a muliebris soleis purpureisque fasceolis* — his saffron robe, his turban, his women’s shoes and his purple stockings.<sup>230</sup> The whole image conveys the outrageously inappropriate behavior to which Clodius would stoop. Cicero seems especially shocked that Clodius was able to acquire such clothing. How possible was it for a man to access women’s private sphere? Cicero seems to be offended not only by the clothing that he wore, but rather that he went out of his natural boundaries as a man and passed himself off as a member of the female sex. Much later, the satirist Persius describes Caligula's wife preparing *lutea gausapa* — yellow cloaks — for captive Gauls. These particular garments may have been chosen in accordance with their status as captives, thus humiliating them. The color *luteus* was not a color chosen for honoring men:

*frigidus excutitur cinis aciam postibus arma  
iam chlamydas regum, iam lutea gausapa captis  
essedaque ingentesque locat Caesaonia Rhenos*

the cold ashes are being raked out from the altars;

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<sup>227</sup> Varro, *Ling.* 194.

<sup>228</sup> Juv. 2.97.

<sup>229</sup> Naev., *Fr.com.* 54.

<sup>230</sup> Cic. *De Harus. Res.* 21.1. See Sebesta (1994): 127.

Caesonia is contracting for arms to put up over the gates,  
with regal mantles, and yellow coverings for the prisoners,  
and chariots, and life-sized effigies of the Rhine.<sup>231</sup>

Yellow was a cheaper dye that was easy to obtain, as compared to the red dye (*coccina*) of Trimalchio's *gausapa*. The garment type was not considered humiliating, but rather the color of the dye. In the religious realm, however, priests of foreign cults are often described as wearing yellow. Vergil describes the priest of Cybele, Chloreus, as wearing a yellow *chlamys*. Priests of Cybele, an Anatolian earth goddess worshipped by eunuchs, whose cult became popular in Rome during the Republic, ritually castrated themselves as a part of their initiation rite. In Vergil's account Chloreus assumes the role of general, and the garment functions as a visual symbol of his improper role as a war leader. The specific association of *croceus chlamys* served to underline his lack of manliness:

*...tum croceam chlamydemque sinusque crepantis  
carbaceos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro  
pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum.*

...his saffron chlamys and its rustling folds made of linen  
were gathered into a knot by yellow gold;  
his tunic and his barbarous stockings were embroidered with a needle.<sup>232</sup>

In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the initiates of the mystery cult are described strictly by their clothing. The narrator observes the scene of the initiates with curiosity:

*Die sequenti variis coloribus indusiati et deformiter quisque formati  
facie caenoso pigmento delita et oculis obunctis graphice prodeunt,  
mitellis et crocotis et carbasinis et bombycinis iniecti, quidam tunicas  
albas, in modum lanciolarum quoquoversum fluente purpura depictas,  
cingulo subligati, pedes luteis induti calceis...*

On the following day they put on multicolored robes and decorated their faces in an ugly fashion by spongeing makeup and outlining their eyes with grease pencil. They set out wearing turbans, saffron-colored garments, made of linen and silk, some of which were white, painted with miniature purple spears standing upright and flowing in every direction, gathered into tightened belts, and yellow shoes on their feet...<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Pers. 6.46-47.

<sup>232</sup> Verg. *Aen*, 11.777.

Here are several colors that have religious significance, *luteis*, *alba* and *crocotis*, which are lighter shades all reserved for the initiates.<sup>234</sup> They are necessary elements for completing this ritual associated with Isis, one which is not Roman, and Apuleius is fascinated by this exotic spectacle. It seems as if color is being employed by Apuleius to show how colorful non-Roman rites were, and how ready some Romans were to embrace these cults. It is possible that the trade network with Egypt resulted in an influx of linen, which became an affordable staple of Roman costume.<sup>235</sup>

### White, Gray, Black and Brown

White linen garments are the dominant clothing for cultic rituals in Apuleius' world. Linen was a relatively new material, imported into the Roman Empire from Egypt, compared to the austere toga made from wool, native to Rome. Apuleius elevates the low fashion and wardrobe of foreign cults, encouraging Romans to consider how their treatment of non-Roman customs was perceived:

*Eas amoenus lectissimae iuventutis, veste nivea et cataclista praenitens  
sequebatur chorus, carmen venustum iterantes, quod Camenarum favore  
sollers poeta modulatus edixerat...*

There followed a chorus of charming youths chosen for the occasion, shining in snow-white garments that were reserved for special occasions. They were singing a beautiful song, which was composed by a clever poet, with the blessing of the muses...<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Apul. *Met.*, 8.27.

<sup>234</sup> Dana (1919): 136.

<sup>235</sup> Liu (2009): 86 n. 133. Liu provides extensive documentation on the preparation and distribution of linen for the Roman army, including a series of 4<sup>th</sup> century price declarations collected in *P.Oxy. LIV* which mentions preparations of raw flax, bleachers of flax, sellers of linen textiles, wool-sellers, fullers, and dyers, showing their importance in the Roman economy.

<sup>236</sup> Apul. *Met.*, 11, 9.

By making the garments gleaming, pure and otherworldly, Apuleius challenges his audience to consider how other religions of the Roman Empire operated. Roman attitudes towards foreign religious cults are usually negative, but here Apuleius suggests that other religious practices can be striking and appropriate.<sup>237</sup> In another passage, Apuleius shows the beautiful effect of the initiates' garments as they proceed through the streets:

*Tunc influunt turbae sacris divinis initiatae, viri feminaeque  
omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis linteae vestis  
candore puro luminosi...*

Then in came a large crowd of initiates, both men and women of all ranks and all ages, dressed in linen clothing of a pure and luminous white.<sup>238</sup>

The garments are described as *candore*, a gleaming white, which is a color normally associated with the toga worn by men of stately age, but here the adjective is used to describe men and women of a markedly different status and geographical location.<sup>239</sup> As a result of their initiation into a new cult, Apuleius implies that they have been reborn and appear bright and shining in their newfound wisdom, according to the author.

When describing the Tiber river god, Vergil likens him to an old man wearing a gray garment:

*huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno  
populeas inter senior se attollere frondes  
visus (eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu  
carbasus, et crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo)...*

And then the god of this pleasant river, the River Tiber, he lifted his aged face among the poplar leaves, (which covered him like a gray linen cloak, and the shadowy reeds covered him like hair)...<sup>240</sup>

<sup>237</sup> See Eric Orlin, *Foreign Cults in Rome: Creating a Roman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 7, 12, 33, 70-71.

<sup>238</sup> Apul. *Met.*, 11.10.

<sup>239</sup> On the association of the *toga* with *candida*, see Titin. *com.* 167, Livy 39.39.2, Val. Max. 3.5.1, Plin. *HN* 7.120.

<sup>240</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, 8.31-33.

This garment, the *amictus*, is a general body covering and is derived from the word *amicire* — “to wrap.” In this passage, the river god Tiber is veiled with a *glaucio amictu*, or a gray wrapping, for he personifies the landscape of the Rome of the past, desolate and barren as a result of its endless wars. Later, clad in a similar gray wrapping, which visually links her with the Tiber, Juturna dives to her death:

*tantum effata caput glaucio contextit amictu  
multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto.*

having said these things, the goddess covered  
her head with a gray mantle and moaning greatly,  
plunged herself into the river.<sup>241</sup>

The gray color was probably the natural shade of the undyed wool, though Vergil does not specify the material, beyond implying that it is rough in texture.<sup>242</sup>

There are two color-terms for black: *ater* and *niger*. *Ater* is used to describe ink, *atramentus*; *niger*, which was frequently used to describe leather, may refer to a glossy black. Black could be obtained via the natural hues of fleece. If black wool was not readily available, the color could also be produced using a dye of iron salts, with tannic acid from oak galls serving as the mordant, but this process reduced the strength of the textile fibers. According to Sebesta, black was also obtained by successively dyeing fibers the primary colors.<sup>243</sup> Black color-terms were most commonly used with shoes, as in Juvenal’s description:

*Felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosis adpositum nigrae lunam subtexit alutae*

The man is happy, wise, noble and generous, yet  
He sews on his black shoe the crescent of the senator.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, 12.885-886.

<sup>242</sup> The *amictus* is mentioned ten times in the *Aeneid*. Since this mantle or draped covering lends its wearer greater importance, it is associated with individuals who have high profiles rather than commonplace roles in the poem. Henry Bender cites all examples of the *amictus* in Vergil's writings with color-terms or alone, in Sebesta (1994): 149.

<sup>243</sup> Sebesta (1994): 73.

<sup>244</sup> Juv. 1.191-192.

The text implies that the person was smart, noble and generous and therefore entitled to wear leather shoes, a luxury item; magistrates had crescents on their black shoes.<sup>245</sup> It was important for a respectable man to wear the correct form of shoe in the proper circumstances; closed boots, for example, with the toga, but openwork shoes with the mantle. By contrast poor people wore shoes made from wool.<sup>246</sup> Roman authors never provide many details about the form or decoration of shoes.<sup>247</sup> There are a variety of different words for shoes, boots, slippers and socks, not all of which are easy to identify from the scanty literary references, even when they are compared to surviving shoes from the archaeological record or from artistic representation.<sup>248</sup>

As for brown colored clothing, Petronius describes a catamite in a brown suit, using the rare color-term *myrtea*:

*Ultimo cinaedus supervenit myrtea subornatus gausapa cinguloque succintus...*

At last there arrived a catamite in a fine brown suit with a waist band.<sup>249</sup>

The context and the garment, *gausapa*, also worn by Trimalchio on his litter, certainly do not suggest mourning.

### Pullus

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<sup>245</sup> Plaut. *Ep.* 640; Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.12.; Juv. 7.192.

<sup>246</sup> Croom (2002): 88-89.

<sup>247</sup> Sebesta (1994): 67.

<sup>248</sup> N. Goldman shows the variety of shoes from the Tomb of the Baron, Tomb of the Shields, the Ara Pacis, the young courtiers' shoes from the Piazza Armerina in Sicily and Justinian wearing flowered, jeweled latchet shoes that are tied at the angle. She provides a detailed list with reproduction drawings, suggesting that shoes were indeed noticeable. Goldman in Sebesta (1994): 102-110.

<sup>249</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 21L. Both André and Baran suggest that *myrtea* is brown in these instances. André (1949): 167; Baran (1983): 78.

There are two ways to define the color-term *pullus*. It was used to describe dark, gray or black-colored material, and it was also used to describe mourning garments.<sup>250</sup> In *The Metamorphoses*, Ovid describes Phoebus and his dealings with the Cimmerians:

*...custos in limine nullus;  
at medio torus est ebene sublimis in antro,  
plumeus, atricolor, pullo velamine tectus...*

...[There is] no guard on the threshold;  
But there is a bed made of ivory in the middle of the cave, raised on high,  
feathery, dark-colored, spread about with a *pullo* coverlet...<sup>251</sup>

The use of the color-term *atricolor* (known only from this passage) and *pullo* are significant as they mean approximately the same thing. *Pullo* in this instance reasserts that the blanket covering is really dark and thus unpleasant. The overall mood of the scene is dictated by the repetition of the color-terms.

Earlier in *The Metamorphoses*, Ovid describes a scene in which Naiads and Dryads mourn over Orpheus, with disheveled hair and wearing garments that are described as *pullus*.<sup>252</sup> Both the naiads and dryads are described as wearing an ambiguous type of cloth — *obstrusa carbasa pullo*. Only the color-term suggests that the figures are mourning. Both naiads and dryads wear the same garment even though they come from different realms. Ovid also uses the word *pulla* in his poem *Ibis* to describe the type of thread spun by the *Parcae*, and the color is once again a solemn one:

*Dixerat; at Clotho iussit promissa valere,  
nevit et infesta stamina pulla manu;*

She had spoken: but Clotho ordered her promise to prevail,  
With a dangerous hand, she spun dark threads,<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> Croom says that black and dark brown were normally associated with grief and self-abasement. Croom (2002): 23-24. In the case of clothing, however, the literary evidence shows no such association; *pullus* is the preferred term.

<sup>251</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 11.611.

<sup>252</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 11.48.

<sup>253</sup> Ov. *Ib.*, 240-242.

Martial uses the same color-term *pulla* to describe the dark colored threads woven by the three Fates:

*Si mihi lanificiae ducunt non pulla sorores  
stamina nec surdos vox habet ista deos...*

If the spinning sisters draw me not dark threads and  
this voice finds the gods not deaf...<sup>254</sup>

These examples suggest that *pullus* was used consistently as a trope when describing the Fates.

Martial also employs the color-term *pullo* to describe what garments a poor writer would wear, in contrast to Incitatus, the charioteer, who wears scarlet colored garments:

*pullo Mevius alget in cucullo,  
cocco mulio fulget Incitatus.*

The poet Mevius shivers in a black cowl;  
Incitatus the muleteer blazes in scarlet.<sup>255</sup>

Martial, in his satire, points out that these two men from different occupations are recognized by the color of their garments. He addresses the invisible Fortune who is responsible for this mismatched luck in life. Clearly, Martial takes the side of the poor poet. He describes the type of garment as a *cucullo*, a hooded cape or cloak, which is a garment he mentions several times.<sup>256</sup> The poet's garment, though gray and dismal in color, has a definitive shape in contrast to the brightly colored scarlet cloth worn by the charioteer.

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<sup>254</sup> Mart. 6.58.7.

<sup>255</sup> Mart. 10.76.8. On Incitatus the charioteer, see footnote 192 above.

<sup>256</sup> Martial discusses the *cucullo* in 5.14.6 and 3.2.5.

The use of the color-term *pullus* in Roman history functions as a premonition or a form of surrender. In Roman historical works, descriptions of colored garments are rare, but Livy makes note of the garment, *pullo amictu*, of Perseus:

*Pullo amictu cum filio Perseus ingressus est castra  
nullo suorum alio comite, qui socius  
calamitatis miserabiliorem eum faceret.*

Perseus entered the camp in dark-colored garb,  
with his son, but unattended by any other of his people  
whose presence as a sharer of his downfall might have  
made his loss intolerable.<sup>257</sup>

The shape of the garment is not described but Livy notes that it is dark-colored, showing Perseus' fall from a higher status. Velleius Paterculus describes Lepidus being granted a pardon by Caesar while wearing a very similar garment — *pulloque velatus amiculo* — befitting a man of his humiliated status.<sup>258</sup> Lepidus submits himself to Caesar, wrapped in a darkened covering, showing that he is lower in rank. Tacitus' *Histories* includes an account of the unpopular emperor Vitellius, who lost a whole legion at Narnia and in distress wore a *pullo amictu* and staged a mock funeral for the loss of his troops.<sup>259</sup> The historical writers use *pullo amictu* as a trope and consistently use it to describe a personage who wears this color garment to show sadness or submission. Florus also mentions a type of mourning garment, a *pullo pallio*, a sign of misfortune:

*Dux ipse in nocturna imagine plausu  
theatri sui in modum planctus circumsonatus et mane cum pullo pallio  
— nefas— apud principia conspectus est.*

Pompeius himself dreamed  
that he was surrounded in his own theater by a clapping of hands which  
resembled the beating of breasts, and in the morning appeared at his

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<sup>257</sup> Livy 45.7.4.

<sup>258</sup> Vell. Pat. 2.80.4.

<sup>259</sup> Tac. *Hist.*, 3.67.

headquarters clad in a dark cloak — an omen of misfortune.<sup>260</sup>

The *pallio* was another type of garment, worn particularly by non-Romans. Rectangular in shape, it could cover a full-sized man. Pompey the Great arriving at his headquarters in this garment seems to be in mourning for himself.

Even in non-military contexts the *pullo* carries an association of destruction and misfortune. In Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, the word *pulla* is repeated three times to describe the garment and the color of Briseis' skin:

*Pulla decent niveas: Briseïda pulla decebant:  
Cum rapta est, pulla tum quoque veste fuit.*

Snow-white skins accompany the dark gray colors, dark gray was suitable for Briseis;  
Having been seized she was in her robe dark gray.<sup>261</sup>

Her garment or *veste* is *pulla*, too, but the repetition puns on the fact that she is a *puella* or girl, and is *pulla*, or ashen. The garment she wears matches her skin tone, creating a homogeneous appearance that her skin takes on the appearance of the very garments she wears.

Finally, *pullo* is sometimes used in a more metaphorical sense. In his speech against Verres, the debauched governor of Sicily, Cicero equates the *pulla* dark mantle with the traditional Roman virtues, evoking a time of simpler pursuits:

*ipse tamen praetor, qui sua vigilantia pacem in Sicilia  
dicit fuisse, in hac officina maiorem partem diei cum tunica pulla sedere  
solebat et pallio.*

while our governor himself, who tells us that it was his own watchful  
attention that kept Sicily at peace, used to sit in this workshop for  
most of the day, wearing a gray tunic and a Greek mantle.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Flor., *Epit.* 2.13, 4.2.45.

<sup>261</sup> Ov. *Ars am.*, 3.189.

<sup>262</sup> Cic. *Verr.* 4.54.

Cicero denounces Verres as a vicious hypocrite, using as evidence the contrast between his mantle and his greed and love of possessions.

In the texts that have been surveyed, Roman clothing has often been characterized as bright, gleaming, new and therefore clean. Literary and archaeological evidence shows that the Romans cleaned their clothing with soap and rendered fat.<sup>263</sup> There was a huge industry dedicated to the manufacture of soap and a highly developed laundry system.<sup>264</sup> To describe dirtiness, however, the Romans used *pullus*. In his speech on rhetoric, Quintilian compares a base or debauched circumstance to the production of clothing. He knows that a bad beginning cannot produce a good outcome, just as a purple-striped toga does not originate in dirty threads:

*...Non possum togam praetextam sperare, cum exordium pullum videam;  
et contra, non dominationis causa Sullam arma sumpsisse,  
argumentum est dictatura deposita.*

I am not able to hope for a purple striped toga, when I see the preface the black cloth, by contrast, for example on account of Sulla's control of the army and having been in the dictatorship role, took up control.<sup>265</sup>

It is interesting to note how the notion of proper dress is woven into Quintilian's consciousness. In his estimate Quintilian wants Roman people to wear clean clothing, which cannot originate from soiled threads.

By examining their descriptions of clothing based on the evidence of terminology, it is possible to clarify the attitudes of Roman writers towards this subject. In some instances, overt hostility to luxury garments thinly masks an envious desire for such clothing. The description of colored clothing by these authors also reflects the fashion tastes and sensibilities of the Roman street. Colored clothing provides specific social contexts for

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<sup>263</sup> Theoc. *Id.*, 16.30, Plin. *HN*, 28.191, Gal. *Nac. Fac.* 12.170,180. Moeller (1976): 12-14.

<sup>264</sup> Forbes (1993): 187-188.

<sup>265</sup> Quint. *Inst.* 5.10.71.

the actions of characters, whether on the battlefield or at a dinner party. While we do not have plentiful material remains that would provide physical examples of these specific colors, the contemporary documents show how Romans wore clothing, where they wore it, how they obtained it from neighboring provinces, and perhaps most important, how others viewed the social and moral status of the wearer.

## Chapter Four: Clothes Make the Man: Class and Color-Terms

In the previous chapter, I have touched upon the issue of appropriateness of certain colors as worn by men and women. There are many other aspects of Roman society, however, in which appropriateness of color becomes important. Class distinctions are most vividly shown through appearance in Roman literature, and this is seen most prominently in descriptions of Roman freedmen, former slaves. In Roman sculpture the tomb portraits of freedmen carry a high degree of austerity, showing that they have “arrived,” but in Roman literature, descriptions of freedmen give an entirely different picture.<sup>266</sup> The two most famous examples of Roman freedmen which appear in Latin literature are Petronius’ Trimalchio and Martial’s Zoilus. The descriptions of these two establish a vivid and extremely negative image of the freedman’s place in Roman society, much of which is established by color-terms. These descriptions are worth examining in detail.

Trimalchio's liminal place in society is marked by excess. The rapid pace of his initial appearance in the novel, his ill-suited activities and household decorations, lavishly painted walls, and indulgent feast with items unrecognizable to the middle and lower class Roman, are reflected through a lens of color. The abundance of color-terms and clothing-terms used together in this work is significant, and Trimalchio’s selection of certain colors suggests much about the perceptions of the freedman’s social class. Throughout *The Satyricon*, in fact, excluding the *Cena Trimalchionis*, there are three instances in which Petronius uses a color-term to define a piece of clothing of which no

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<sup>266</sup> Diana E.E. Kleiner, *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire* (New York: Garland, 1977): 125-7.

other examples exist.<sup>267</sup> From the outset, the use of colors in a positive and negative manner is a priority for Petronius when describing particular scenes, people and material wealth. For Petronius, color is a way to mark a person's status and level of luxury.<sup>268</sup> Petronius shows how Trimalchio's misuse of color shows his inability to be a true aristocratic Roman. When the novel was written, in 50-66 A.D., during the reign of Emperor Nero, there was a great influx of rare consumer goods, which especially found favor with freedmen. According to Petronius, and Martial as well, color and wealth are not bad things in themselves, but freedmen do not fill out their roles in an acceptable manner.<sup>269</sup>

What happens outside Trimalchio's house is just as bizarre as what happens on the inside. The servant of Agamemnon says to Eumolpus:

*'Quid?' vos 'inquit nescitis, hodie apud quem fiat? Trimalchio, lautissimus homo, horologium in triclinio et bucinatorem habet subornatum'*

Do you know at whose home the dinner is taking place? Trimalchio, a very rich man, who has a clock with a horn in his dining room.<sup>270</sup>

Trimalchio is immediately situated as a man known for his possessions. He has no ancestors, no family history, and thus no ancestral masks or trophies of honor to decorate his home — a circumstance which allows him to decorate his home with anything else

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<sup>267</sup> The three instances are as follows: *Sat.* 21 L (*myrteus subornatus gausapa* — a brown overcoat), 25 (*Iam Psyche puellae caput involverat flammeo* —the flammeum), 97 (*amicus discoloria veste* —a multicolored garment).

<sup>268</sup> Bodel posits that Roman law made freedmen a class apart, creating tension that is exhibited in every aspect of Trimalchio's behavior. John Bodel, "The Cena Trimalchionis," In *Latin Fiction: The Latin Novel in Context*, ed. Heinz Hoffmann, (London: Routledge, 1999): 42.

<sup>269</sup> Edward Courtney discusses the marginalization of freedmen like Trimalchio, who cannot rise above the glass ceiling of Roman society: Edward A. Courtney, *A Companion to Petronius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 40-42. Harriet Flower also discusses this subject at length, particularly the absence of *imagines* or ancestor masks in freedmen's houses: Harriet Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): 212-213.

<sup>270</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 26.

that would lend him due status, such as brightly colored clothes and adornments.<sup>271</sup>

Petronius relies on surprise to create and add to the dramatic tension, as in the first instance of a color-term, the red shirt:

*...cum subito videmus senem calvum, tunica vestitum russea, inter pueros capillatos ludentem pila. Nec tam pueri nos, quamquam erat operae pretium, ad spectaculum duxerant, quam ipse pater familiae, qui soleatus pila prasina exercebatur.*

Suddenly we saw a bald old man in a reddish shirt, playing ball with some long-haired boys. It was not so much that made us watch, although the boys alone were worth the trouble, but the head of the family, himself, who was taking his exercise in slippers with a green ball around.<sup>272</sup>

Neither term used here, *russea* and *prasina*, is a commonly used color-term to describe red and green. *Russea* has its roots in shades of red and rust, which modern commentators link to maroon or deep red; but the color-term *russea* is found again only in Pliny's *Natural History*, when describing the outrageous behavior of a fan of the red chariot faction.<sup>273</sup> The color-term *prasina* means pea-colored, which suggests that the ball the young boys are tossing around resembled a pea, probably made from leather, which becomes a symbol of the former humble life that Trimalchio lived.<sup>274</sup> Both colors, however, carry direct references to the chariot factions, and possibly show an allegiance that Trimalchio had to these teams.<sup>275</sup> Given the narrator's position as a spectator, I suggest that Petronius makes this scene into a mock-game as entertainment for

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<sup>271</sup> John Bodel, "Trimalchio's Underworld," In *The Search for The Ancient Novel* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994): 245.

<sup>272</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 27.

<sup>273</sup> See footnote 280 below.

<sup>274</sup> In the mosaic of the "Bikini Women" at the Piazza Armerina, there are two women tossing around a ball that is decorated in four colors: yellow, red, green and blue. This image demonstrates that tossing around a colored ball did happen in the Roman world. Anna Maria Dragotta, *The Mosaics at Villa del Casale* (Rome: Poligraf, 1989): 13-16.

<sup>275</sup> Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976): 46-73. Cameron devotes Chapter Three to the subject of the colors but his analysis is devoted to the latter part of the empire in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries. André lists the color-terms and where they can be found in the corpus of Latin literature. André (1949): 85-86, 192.

Eumolpus, the narrator, alone. Here Trimalchio is wearing his version of the red team jersey.<sup>276</sup>

Elsewhere in the *Cena*, Trimalchio chides his comrades Philargyrus and Carius: “you are such terrible fans of the *Prasinae* [The Greens].” The use of color in games, particularly as reflected in literature, makes a powerful statement about the Romans and their loyalty to teams.<sup>277</sup> There are vivid descriptions of the colorful nature of entertainment in the Roman arena. Nero built more than one amphitheatre covered with an awning, or *vela*, which Pliny the Elder describes in detail:

*vela nuper et colore caeli, stellata, per rudentes iere etiam in amphitheatris principis Neronis.*

Recently an awning of sky blue and spangled with stars had been stretched with ropes even in the emperor Nero’s amphitheaters.<sup>278</sup>

The color is described as *colore caeli*, that of the sky, which suggests that Pliny did not have a color-term for light blue or sky color. The fabric could have been dyed or painted in order to receive this color, while the stars were either painted or sewn on. Suetonius describes colored sand that was strewn on the circus floor — *minio et chrysocolla constrato circo*.<sup>279</sup> Since *minium* and *chrysocolla* were natural stone materials, it is assumed that Caligula had these materials ground up into a powder and used like glitter

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<sup>276</sup> One garment that Trimalchio is not wearing is the *pileus* (πίλεον...λευκόν) a white cap associated with the freeing of slaves: Dio Sic. 31.15.2.9.

<sup>277</sup> Alan Cameron has published two books on the chariot factions in Rome and Byzantium, but he does not discuss the instances of the color-terms or their significance in Latin literature. Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), ch. 3; and *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973). Cameron says that up until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, there was always a Red and White team in every race, and they won every race; after that time it seems plausible that the Reds and Whites disappeared completely, which prompted the Greens and Blues to receive all of the attention. Cameron (1976): 44. I conclude that the Red and White teams are only mentioned with the appearance of the Greens and Blues in literature and in art. There is no mention of the Red and White teams in Greek sources.

<sup>278</sup> Plin. *HN*, 19.6.23. Since the awning was *stellata* or starry, possibly the *vela* might have been black, but it seems more likely that it was light blue.

<sup>279</sup> Suet. *Calig.*, 18.3.

to be showered on the performers. This act is viewed as a ritual to ensure future success to those involved. Pliny describes a similar event under Nero, using the same color-term

***chrysocolla***:

*Visumque iam est Neronis principis spectaculis harenam circi **chrysocolla** sterni, cum ipse **concolori** panno aurigaturus esset.*

We have already seen at the shows given by the Emperor Nero the sand of the circus sprinkled with green when he himself was a charioteer, wearing a coat of that same color.<sup>280</sup>

The Romans were the first in the ancient world to identify and name their sports teams by color (see Figs. 6, 7, and 8). The earliest mention of these team colors is in Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis*, in which he discusses the suicide of a supporter of the **russea** team with particular poignancy:

*Invenitur in actis Felice **russei** auriga elato in rogum eius unum e faventibus iecisse se, frivolum dictu, ne hoc gloriae artificis daretur. Adversis studiis copia odorum.*

It is found in official correspondence that at a funeral of Felix, the charioteer of the Reds, in a state of ecstasy, one of his fans threw himself on the funeral pyre — unfortunate to recount — lest this artificial glory happen again, rather he fainted on account of the odors.<sup>281</sup>

Pliny the Younger expresses a skeptical view of the whole chariot racing industry in a letter, in which he comments on the blind loyal of the fans to the team colors, not the individual players. Pliny laments that suddenly the fans would suddenly shift their loyalty to a different horse and charioteer depending on what team color they were wearing.<sup>282</sup> Pliny presents the fanaticism of the wearers of the colors without naming the teams, but the purpose of the colors, as he says, must have been to make the racers recognizable from a distance despite the dust in the arena; though the fans could not tell one charioteer from another, or one horse from another, they cheered for the colors

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<sup>280</sup> Plin. *HN*, 33.90.

<sup>281</sup> Plin. *HN*, 7.186.

<sup>282</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 9.6.

themselves, a habit which Pliny regards as ridiculous. It is interesting to note that the color-terms chosen for these teams are the brightest out of their color group: *prasinus* rather than *viridis*, *venetus* rather than *caeruleus* or *caesius*, *russatus* rather than *coccinus* or *puniceus*, *albatus* rather than *canus* or *niveus*.<sup>283</sup> The color-terms emphasize the visibility of these colors in the arena. These terms also have neutral connotations: for example, *puniceus* is associated with Tyre and Carthage but *russatus* is not; *canus* is associated with old age and white hair, and *niveus* with snow, but *albatus* has no such associations.

Returning to the *Cena*, when Trimalchio is at last introduced, his ambiguity is enhanced: he is surrounded by servants, but he is bald and wearing a brightly colored shirt. This is Petronius' way of showing how Trimalchio subverts all normal roles by not wearing acceptable clothing for a man of his age.<sup>284</sup> His baldness is a physiognomic quality that makes him look less socially acceptable, virile or attractive.<sup>285</sup> Trimalchio makes his departure in a scarlet woolen coat before he is put into a litter:

*hinc involutus coccina gausapa lecticae impositus est praecedentibus phaleratis.*

Then he was rolled up in a scarlet woolen coat and out in a litter.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>283</sup> Baran (1983): 397 n. 156. Compare Incitatus the charioteer who wears *cocco* in footnote 192.

<sup>284</sup> According to Quintilian, bright colors like red and purple are not suitable for an older man — *Sicut vestibis quoque non purpura coccoque fulgentibus illa aetas satis apta sit/ in iuvenibus etiam uberiora paulo et paene periclitantia feruntur* — Just as in clothing, indeed, neither purple nor red clothing is appropriate; in that time there are other suitable items. Even in youths, we are able to endure a more flashy and even risky taste. Quint. *Inst.* 11.1.31-32. Trimalchio wears both *purpura* and *cocco*.

<sup>285</sup> Maud Gleason, “The Semiotics of Gender,” in *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. Halperin et al. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990): 391-393.

<sup>286</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 28.

A *gausapa*, as mentioned earlier, is a type of covering worn specifically outdoors in inclement weather; Trimalchio wears it because he can afford to own more than one piece of red clothing. *Coccina*, meaning a type of red made from *cocceus* or cochineal berries, in a time-consuming process, also suggests that the clothing was most expensive. We do not know how much clothing was in the average Roman wardrobe, but the wealthy new Roman Trimalchio has enough clothing to change at every interval.

The narrator and his group come to the entrance of the house and are introduced to the butler:

*In additu autem ipso stabat ostiarius prasinatus, cerasino succinctus cingulo, atque in lance argentea pisum purgabat. Nuper limen autem cavea pendebat aurea.*

In the entrance the butler was standing wearing green clothes, with a cherry-colored belt, shelling peas in a silver dish. A golden cage hung in the doorway.<sup>287</sup>

Petronius holds nothing back in describing the uniforms of Trimalchio's staff, adding a rare view of the culture in the Bay of Naples region that does not appear in other texts. It was probably a surprise for the narrator to see such a colorful individual after coming from an otherwise nondescript environment. The silver bowl that he mentioned also demonstrates the material culture found in the home of a freedman: an example is found on a wall painting in Pompeii.<sup>288</sup> The decoration on silver bowls in Pompeii ranges from acanthus leaves to small animals and even to skeletons, perhaps suggesting the brevity of

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<sup>287</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 28.

<sup>288</sup> John Clarke explains that in the Tomb of Vestorius Priscus, the entire suite of silverware was used to show his unusual status as a freedman. The painting of the bowl is also used to demonstrate the high standard and complexity of the level of painting performed by artists at the time: the three-dimensionality of the bowls was a technique of *trompe l'oeil*. John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003): pl. 14 and Fig 1.

human life.<sup>289</sup> The butler is putting a staple and humble food item into his silver bowl, suggesting an inappropriate use of this costly item.

In describing the butler's uniform, the color *prasinatus* is used, a pastel shade that may also be associated with a green chariot team.<sup>290</sup> Within Trimalchio's household there may be a clash of opinions on chariot team loyalty, as Trimalchio wears *russea*, while his butler and his guests wear *prasinus*. The color-term *prasinus* is a Latin word derived from a Greek origin, *πράσινος*, which is translated to mean pea-green. It is comparable to a Greek color-term for fabrics or clothing (*βατράχειος* — *batracheios*) which is a leek-green or lighter green shade.<sup>291</sup> The literature suggests that the Greens were the winning faction of the period, as Martial describes:

*Saepius ad palmam prasinus post fata Neronis  
pervenit et victor praemia plura refert.  
Nunc, livor edax, dic te cessisse Neroni:  
vicit nimirum non Nero, sed prasinus.*

Since Nero's death the Green often wins the race and brings back many prizes of victory. Go now, gnawing envy, and say you yielded to Nero; for sure, it was not Nero who won, but the Green.<sup>292</sup>

In *CIL* 6.10047, a member of the *prasinus* team is mentioned as winning the first prize:

*Si prasinus proximis circensibus primam palmam.* It is interesting to note that there is no formal mention of a green dyeing or fulling industry attested from archaeology or

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<sup>289</sup> K. Dunbabin discusses the appearance of skeletons in a range of activities on silver drinking cups. A. Kuttner's examination further suggests that these bowls, made during the reign of Augustus, were used to show the flip-side of life and what happens after death, a particularly grim reminder to live to one's fullest even during times of destruction. Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, "Sic Erimus Cuncti: The Skeleton in Graeco-Roman Art," *JDAI* (1986): 185-188; Ann Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1995): 27-35.

<sup>290</sup> André (1949): 192.

<sup>291</sup> In fact, frogs and serpents contribute their very name to the color-terms for green, with an associated constellation of negative meanings. Thus in the play *The Knights*, the Demos urges the sausage-maker to grab his "froggy-green" cloak and go to dinner: Put on this froggy-green robe and follow me — ἔπου δὲ ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν τὴν *βατραχίδα*. (Aristophanes, *The Knights*, 1406). The Greek word *βατραχίδα* meaning a "frog-green thing" is used rather than an abstract color-term. The significance of this term is its rarity, because it occurs only once in the corpus of Greek literature.

<sup>292</sup> Mart. 11.33.

inscriptions. Walter Moeller and Judith Sebesta explain that the color green was not easy to obtain on its first rinse through the vats and was produced through multiple rinses and blends.<sup>293</sup> In addition to character descriptions of humans and their surroundings,

Petronius is also keen to mention the ill-cared-for dog:

*Puer autem lippus, sordidissimus dentibus, catellam nigram atque in decenter pinguem, **prasina** involvebat fascia panemque semissem ponebat super torum [atque] ac nausea recusantem saginabat.*

The servant [Croesus] had inflamed and watery eyes and very unclean teeth, was tying up an unnaturally obese black puppy in a green handkerchief, and then putting a broken piece of a bread on a chair, and cramming it down the throat of the dog.<sup>294</sup>

Once again the word **prasina** is used, indicating the household's preference for this color and showing how far the household staff would go to show support for their favorite team.

Trimalchio's butler's belt is **cerasino**, a word that appears only in Petronius.<sup>295</sup> The color-term **cerasinus** was probably derived from cherry trees imported from the Pontus region beginning in 74 B.C. by Lucullus, whose interest in cuisine led him to appreciate their fruit. It is possible that **cerasinus** was favored by the freedmen because it, like them, was new.<sup>296</sup> The long-drawn-out dinner provides strange surprises at every turn:

*inter haec tres pueri **candidas** succincti tunicas intraverunt*

Meanwhile three boys came in with their white tunics all bunched up.<sup>297</sup>

The three boys are adorned in the brightest white cloth, made from wool or cotton, which was intended for the most elevated members of society and was costly to make.

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<sup>293</sup> Moeller (1976): 64-65. Sebesta (1994): 112.

<sup>294</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 64.

<sup>295</sup> André (1949): 118.

<sup>296</sup> The specific tree was the dwarf cherry tree, *P. Cerasus*, which was small enough to have in one's garden. The Romans further introduced this cherry tree to Britain in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. It is possible that given the location of Trimalchio's home, he could manufacture this color on his property. He further brags that everything served at the meal was home-grown; Petron. *Sat.* 38. Peter Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 24.

<sup>297</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 60.

Trimalchio's desire to be accepted into aristocratic society emerges in every aspect of his household. Their tunics might be compared to the *toga virilis* which was also pure white and worn by Roman male citizens.

At long last another character emerges, but only after she has been summoned several times. Fortunata, a freed slave as noted by her name, is described in an equally detailed fashion. Her attire is as colorful as her husband's. The narrator says:

*Nisi signo dato Fortunata quater amplius a tota familia  
esset vocata. Venit ergo galbino succincta cingillo, ita ut  
infra cerasina appareret tunica et periscelides tortae  
phaecasiaeque inauratae...*

A slave called Fortunata four times and more, so she came in with a yellow waistband on, which allowed a cherry-red skirt to appear under it, and twisted anklets, and shoes embroidered with gold...<sup>298</sup>

Petronius uses the color-terms *galbino* and *cerasina*, rather than the standard *aureus* or *flavus* and *puniceus*. The color *galbinus*, named for the canary, was introduced to the Roman world during the early Empire.<sup>299</sup> According to Sebesta, the vulgar rich, specifically freedmen, admired the color both because it was new and because it was expensive to produce.<sup>300</sup> This reference supports the suggestion noted above that women were able to wear as expensive clothing as men. The reference to a high green waistband alludes to women's fashion of the day.<sup>301</sup> It is interesting to observe that Fortunata does

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<sup>298</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 67.

<sup>299</sup> Pliny likened it to the oriole called *galgulus*, whose pale yellow plumage had a green tinge and a sickly hue. Plin. *HN*, 30.96. André (1949): 148-150.

<sup>300</sup> Sebesta (1994): 70.

<sup>301</sup> According to A. Croom, "Roman women always tied their tunics high under the bust rather than on the waist. Depiction of women wearing their tunic belted at the waist or hips are likely to be of goddesses, their priestesses, mythological figures or figures, copied from Hellenistic models." Croom (2002): 87. I agree with Kampen, Sebesta and Clarke that based on the textual evidence, Roman women could wear expensive clothing provided they could afford it and they were not in violation of sumptuary laws. In brief, Natalie Kampen asserts that women had the independence to wear whatever clothing they could obtain. It was not restricted to their class structure either. John Clarke asserts that a freedwoman could own better

not wear any garment described as *prasinus* or *russeus*, once again suggesting that these color-terms are associated with sports favored by men.

Fortunata shows off all of her jewelry:

*Eo deinde perventum est, ut Fortunata armillas suas crassissimis detraheret  
lacertis Scintillaeque miranti ostenderet.*

Fortunata then went so far as to take the bracelets off her fat arms to exhibit them to Scintilla so that she might admire them.<sup>302</sup>

More important than the details of the bracelets' appearance is the fact that Fortunata has many of them and takes time to show them off to another woman. Tension is thus created between the women and illustrates how one freedwoman succeeds in life while the other has not yet reached her level, despite her status as free. It also shows how big Fortunata may be — her gold bracelets are large and commensurate with her girth. The gold material accents her outfit completely:

*Ultimo etiam periscelides resolvit et reticulum aureum, quem ex obrussa esse dicebat.*

At last she even took off her anklets and her hair net, which she said had been tested for gold.<sup>303</sup>

There are relatively few descriptions of women and jewelry together because it was usually not of interest to male writers, or it was a subject of criticism and censure.<sup>304</sup>

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clothing than some aristocrats because of the desire to get the new colored clothing. See Natalie Kampen, *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (Berlin, 1981): 82, and Clarke (2003): 124.

<sup>302</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 67.

<sup>303</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 67. Hair nets seem to have gone out of fashion after the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. as hairstyles grew more complicated, although they are mentioned by the author of the *Historia Augusta*: *...matronas autem regias contentas esse debere uno reticulo atque inauribus et bacato monili et coronas* — "...women of royal status should be able to be content with one hairnet, one pair of earrings, one pearl necklace and one coronet." *HA Marcus Aurelius*, 41.1.

<sup>304</sup> At *HN*, 9.56.114, Pliny explains his distaste for the types of pearl earrings that women wore in his time. He suggests that the extravagance will lead to the downfall of Roman virtues and values. *Hos digitis suspendere et binos ac ternos auribus feminarum gloria est, subeuntque luxuriae eius nomina externa, exquisita perdito nepotatu, siquidem, cum id fecere, crotalia appellant, ceu sono quoque gaudeant et collisu ipso margaritarum; cupiuntque iam et pauperes, lictorem feminae in publico uninem esse dictitantes.* — "Those hanging in a circle suspended, and two fold and three at a time for single earring, made of gold in great supply for them, and placed under names that were created for their own purpose of luxury by morally depraved exquisite assuredly, accordingly when what has been done and considered,

Valerius Maximus recounts the famous tale of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, whose friend was showing off her beautiful jewellery; when Cornelia's children returned home from school, she said, "These are my jewels." She is portrayed as the virtuous Roman *matrona*.<sup>305</sup> In her display, Fortunata reveals that she is the antithesis of the Roman *matrona*, who was known for her patience and *modestas*. She is not respected by her husband, but rather receives the brunt of Trimalchio's quick and abrasive temper. As her name suggests she may be fortunate enough to have material goods — her own slaves, friends to host and her freedom — but her past as a slave still follows her. As Bodel suggests, the freedmen were never to escape their past and lived in a liminal state for their entire lives.<sup>306</sup>

Like any person who feels emotion, however, Fortunata is so embarrassed that she blushes when Habinnas lifts her up, causing her to expose her privates to all of the guests. Since she is humiliated and inebriated, she can only do what is natural and blush bright red, *in censissimam rubore faciem* or burning extremely red in the face. This type of bodily function is always described by the color-terms *rubor* or *rubens*.<sup>307</sup> These two words are interchangeable and are equated with the bodily function of embarrassment or anger.

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called crocotalia. They have been called castanets, as if the women delighted in the sound and the mere rattling of the pearls; and even less desirable people want them."

<sup>305</sup> Val. Max., *Mem.* 4.4.

<sup>306</sup> Bodel (1999): 45.

<sup>307</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 67. Donald Lateiner has given considerable attention to blushes, which occur with great frequency in Latin literature. He suggests that there are multiple ways to describe the blush. He mentions the five times that blushes occur in the *Satyricon*, suggesting that the blush is related to sexuality and personal modesty rather than shame and considers the color-terms or patterns that arise. Donald Lateiner, "Blushes and Pallor in Ancient Fiction," *Helios* 25 (1998): 178. Blushing is a result of an impromptu and ill-suited situation and that blushing was a reaction to surprise, enough that a writer would bring it to our attention.

The preparation of the elaborate meal also involved decorating the table with a variety of colors, in a way that Eumolpus had never seen before. Trimalchio had carefully orchestrated this meal to include colors, in the form of powders and fabrics in order to create a sensory experience for his guests. At one point the ceiling opened:

*Ecce autem diductis lacunaribus subito circulus ingens, de cupa videlicet grandi excussus, demittitur, cuius per totum orbem coronae aureae cum alabastris unguenti pendebant.*

Behold, however, suddenly the whole ceiling parted and a huge circle opened up. From this whole circle, it could be clearly seen that golden crowns and alabaster boxes of perfume came trembling down.<sup>308</sup>

In the interval spent preparing for the second course, or the dessert, the slaves sprinkled and decorated the tables with a variety of powders. To the audience it seems like a strange experience that warrants an explanation:

*Sustulerunt servi omnes mensas et alias attulerunt, scobemque croco et minio tinctam sparserunt et, quodunquam ante videram, ex lapide speculari pulverem tritum.*

The slaves took away all the tables, brought in others, and sprinkled about sawdust colored with saffron [*croco*] and vermilion [*minio*], and what I have never seen before, powdered the table.<sup>309</sup>

The combination of the yellowish hue with the striking vermilion would certainly have caught the attention of viewers. Even the narrator comments that he had never seen such extravagance before. These two colors would have created the illusion of being at the theatre: the sprinkling of the stage with a solution of saffron is mentioned by several other Roman writers.<sup>310</sup> Like all of Trimalchio's luxuries, the process of obtaining these pigments was extremely expensive and time-consuming.

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<sup>308</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 60. This could be a direct reference to Nero, who thought of his house, the *Domus Aurea* as *per totem orbem*.

<sup>309</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 68.

<sup>310</sup> Lucret. 2.416-417, *et cum scena croco Cilici perfusa recens est* — “and when the stage is freshly sprinkled with Cilician saffron.” Martial also mentions the sprinkling of expensive natural materials in

Petronius does not hold back in his description of the Freedman's interior, as even Trimalchio's books are decorated in red: "*libra rubricata*" — thus, like epigraphic inscriptions they are highlighted in red, and are expensive books that reveal an extravagant style.<sup>311</sup> Trimalchio says:

*Vides tot culcitras: nulla non aut conchyliatum aut coccineum tomentum habet.*

You see all the cushions here: every one has purple or scarlet stuffing.<sup>312</sup>

When one is a guest in Trimalchio's house, there is a perverse form of egalitarian behavior — everyone eats and drinks what he has, and everyone has a purple or scarlet cushion.

A similar example of a freedman is Zoilus, a figure found in Martial's epigrams, who is a rich social climber like Trimalchio and is portrayed as being just as obnoxious. Zoilus' name suggests that he was originally from Asia Minor, possibly the province of Cappadocia or Pergamene. This scenario reads as a historical trope.<sup>313</sup> Martial does not hold back in describing the way Zoilus is attired. It is a signifier of his status and was a by-product of his wealth. Martial describes him:

*Conviva quisquis Zoili potest esse,  
Summemmianas cenet inter uxores  
curtaque Ledaе sobrius bibat testa:  
hoc esse levius puriusque contendo.  
Iacet occupato galbinatus in lecto  
cubitisque trudit hinc et inde convivas  
effultus ostro Sericisque pulvillis.  
Stat exoletus suggeritque ructanti  
pinnas rubentes cuspidesque lentisci,  
et aestuanti tenue ventilat frigus*

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5.27.5: *Hoc, rogo, non melius quam rubro pulpita nimbo spargere et effuso permaduisse croco?* — “Is not this, I ask, better than to sprinkle the stage with a ruddy shower and be drenched with streams of saffron?”

<sup>311</sup> Pliny mentions in *HN*, 33.122 that cinnabar was a hard red-colored stone that was used for the specific purpose of decorating incised letters of inscriptions. The process was an expensive one.

<sup>312</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 38.

<sup>313</sup> L.R. Shero analyzes each scene of a *Cena* in Latin literature, pointing out how each *Cena* has a ridiculous scene involving a fight, a choice of usually cheap wine served by an ostentatious host and the choice of expensive but inedible food offered to uncomfortable guests. See L.R. Shero, "The *Cena* in Roman Satire," *Classical Philology* 18 (1923): 126-143.

*supina prasino concubina flabello,  
fugatque muscas myrtea puer virga.*

Whoever is able to stand being around as a guest of Zoilus among the wives should dine among them and should drink, and remain not intoxicated out of Leda's broken jar. This act is more fun to do and the more decent thing — I suggest. Garbed in yellow, he lies on a couch he alone fills and with his elbows thrusts off his guests on either side, propped up as he is on purple and on silken cushions. A youth stands by, supplying red feathers and toothpicks as he belches, while a concubine, lying on her back, makes a gentle breeze with a green fan to relieve his heat, and a boy keeps off the flies with a sprig of myrtle.<sup>314</sup>

In describing Zoilus' luxurious surroundings, the color-terms *galbinatus* and *ostro* are used instead of the more common color-terms for yellow and purple. These extravagant and exotic color-terms, which are not present in Latin literature prior to Martial, suggest that Zoilus is a foreign character. *Ostro*, as mentioned earlier, is a deep purple shade, but not the royal purple hue. Perhaps this is a direct hit by Martial to suggest that Zoilus is not a member of the aristocratic class but rather that he is aping that class by wearing this shade. It was a color that was used specifically for dyeing silk draperies and rugs, and would not take well to certain fabrics like wool.<sup>315</sup> The dining experience is not a pleasant one, and Martial emphasizes the tension and the awkwardness of the scene with these two words. According to scholars, Martial may have relied on Petronius' *Cena* at 38.5, where he asserts that all of Trimalchio's cushions were stuffed with purple or scarlet, but again suggesting that it was not the "right" shade of purple or scarlet. Martial's colors are not the same shades that Petronius uses, but color and freedmen are always linked together as a trope for literary measure.<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Mart. *Ep.* 2.16

<sup>315</sup> Walter O. Moeller, *The Wool Trade of Ancient Pompeii* (Leiden: Brill, 1976): 29, 111-113.

<sup>316</sup> The scenes are exact mirror images: Zoilus uses a mastic wood toothpick in 3.82, just as Trimalchio uses a silver toothpick (Petron. 33.1), Watson (2003): 267-9. Even the name *Malchionis* used at the end

Zoilus is being fanned with bright red or pink feathers; although there is no exact term to describe the color pink in Latin, Martial uses the phrase *pinnas rubentes*, the feathers blushing red; in another poem he describes the feathers of the flamingo — *phoenicopterus* — as *rubentes*.<sup>317</sup> Zoilus further holds onto a pea-green colored fan — *prasino flabello*. Croom and Olson say that the practice of carrying a fan originated in the East, where public attendance of a fan-bearing slave symbolized royal status.<sup>318</sup> Martial describes the gouty Zoilus being fanned with a *prasino flabello*, which suggests that he is exotic and non-Roman. The modern scholarly perception that green was effeminate as well as foreign seems at odds with the success of the Green chariot faction which had many fans, including the emperors Caligula and Nero.<sup>319</sup> This suggests that the perception may be wrong. The *prasino flabello* could also be a prop that showed his allegiance towards the Green team in a marked fashion.<sup>320</sup>

Readers are again introduced to Zoilus in 2.16, in which he is sick and lying on some extravagant *coccina* colored pillows and bedspreads.<sup>321</sup> The fact that he is ill and is surrounded by these luxurious goods signifies that not even these goods can help him get better. Martial suggests that these goods and his manner of life cause his illness:

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of this poem, recalls the name of Petronius' Trimalchio (*trimalchio* means thrice a *malchio*, indeed a slave). The term *malchio* is attested in Latin inscriptions: Putnam (1973): 53.

<sup>317</sup> Mart. *Ep.* 14.148. According to D'Arcy Thompson, the flamingo also has associations with sumptuous dining. D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966): 67, 68, 135-6.

<sup>318</sup> Mart. 3.82.11. Women generally carried the fans: Ter. *Eun.* 595; Croom (2002): 108-9; Olson (2008): 57. Martial also mentions a purple one (10.30.15); Ammianus Marcellinus discusses gold fans, *aurata flabella* (28.4.18). Claudian mentions a fan with pink feathers: Claud. *Eutrop.* 1.109 — *et cum se rapido fessam proiecerat aestu, patricius roseis pavorum ventilat alis* — “And when overcome by the heat she threw herself upon her couch, there would stand this patrician fanning her with peacock feathers.”

<sup>319</sup> Mart. 11.33; Suet. *Calig.*, 55.2; *Ner.* 22.1

<sup>320</sup> Mart. 3.82.11. See Hopmann below.

<sup>321</sup> It is common in Latin literature for men of luxury and wealth to be portrayed as sick in bed. Women are never so portrayed. For instance, in a passage to be discussed in the chapter on Aulus Gellius *NA*, 2.26, the philosopher Favorinus visits Marcus Fronto, who is ill with gout, just as they are about to discuss color-terms. Perhaps certain authors link the presence of color with illness.

*Zoilus aegrotat: faciunt hanc stragula febrem.  
Si fuerit sanus, coccina quid facient?  
quid torus a Nilo, quid Sidone tinctus olenti?  
ostendit stultas quid nisi morbus opes?  
quid tibi cum medicis? dimitte Machaonas omnis.  
vis fieri sanus? strangula sume mea.*

Zoilus is ill: it is his bed-sheets that cause this fever.  
Suppose him well; what will be the use of scarlet coverlets?  
What of a mattress from Nile, or one dipped in strong-smelling  
purple of Sidon? What but illness displays such foolish wealth?  
What do you want with doctors? Dismiss all your physicians  
Do you wish to become well? Take my sheets.<sup>322</sup>

In this instance the color-terms are related to their places of origin, either Sidon or the Nile, both known for their natural resources. In this passage, Martial acknowledges the Roman dependency on the provinces for their extraction of goods. But the important issue is how once again through these color-terms Martial shows distaste for this leisure class and indicates that they are not capable of becoming aristocratic Romans.

Martial satirizes two additional freedmen in similar terms. Red-faced Phasis sits in the theatre, happy with his purple cloak — *Phasis purpureis ruber lacernis* — and boasts that he does not have to sit with lower-class people, thanks to an edict of Domitian that segregated the classes in their respective seating area. Martial juxtaposes two bright colors, red for his complexion and purple for his clothes, which make him stand out in the crowd, although he thinks he fits in.<sup>323</sup> In another epigram, Euclides boasts about the income from his farms and claims to trace his pedigree back to Leda, but suddenly out of his pocket falls a key, revealing that he is merely a doorman. Like Trimalchio, he is introduced as *coccinatus Euclides* — wrapped up in red.<sup>324</sup> Both men are ejected from

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<sup>322</sup> Mart. 3.82.

<sup>323</sup> Mart. 5.8.

<sup>324</sup> Mart. 5.35.

the elite section by the same guard, Leitus, exposing their social climbing and showing that their position is actually quite precarious.

Another example of ambiguous inappropriateness appears in Juvenal's *Satires* describing the behavior of a boorish rich man Virro, who distributes a curious series of presents to the children of his impoverished client Trebius: a *viridis thorax*, nuts, and *as*, the smallest denomination of a bronze coin at the time of the writing:

*sed tua nunc Mycale pariat licet et pueros tres  
in gremium patris fundat semel, ipse loquaci  
gaudebit nido, viridem thoraca iubebit  
adferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,  
ad mensam quotiens parasitus venerit infans.*

But as things are now, though your Mycale pour into your paternal bosom three boys at a birth, Virro will be charmed with the chattering brood, and will order green turtlenecks to be given them, and little nuts, and pennies too if they be asked for, when the little parasites present themselves at his table.<sup>325</sup>

Juvenal considers these gifts trivial and perverse; according to Marianne Hopman's reading of the text, "the *viridis thorax* has un-Roman and effeminate connotations akin to the description of patronage and unusual control over the poor."<sup>326</sup> However, for purposes of translation, there are several ways to look at the *viridem thoraca*. One possibility is as an oxidized metal thorax with rusty encrustations of verdigris, but this would be a strange and inappropriate gift; Trebius, his impoverished client, would have no need for this worn-out display and grandeur. A better translation for *viridem thoraca* would be as a type of textile, not a piece of metal armor. The colored garment is given by a rich aristocrat to a poorer member of society; one who would not know what to do

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<sup>325</sup> Juv. 5.141-145.

<sup>326</sup> Marianne Hopman, "Satire in Green: Marked Clothing and the Technique of *Indignatio* at Juvenal 5.141-45," *American Journal of Philology* 124 (2003): 557.

with such a garish piece of clothing might find it insulting, incongruous, and socially useless. There is also a possible play on words since Virro is giving a garment which is etymologically related to his name, suggesting manliness (*vir*), youth, and strength, but the *thorax* as a garment originating in Greece suggests the opposite of masculinity.<sup>327</sup> Since it was a gift from an important man, and because any hue of green was expensive and not easy to produce, Trebius could not reject the questionable present. But there is another possible interpretation: if it was a trophy from the winning Green faction, then it would be an exceptional gift for anyone.

Trimalchio, Zoilus, Phasis, Euclides and Virro are shown through the eyes of hostile writers as the epitome of the Roman freedman who has left behind his life as a slave and tries to become accepted in high society. They use all their clothing and household possessions in pursuit of this goal, but instead end up only reasserting their incongruous position, with colors that the writers consider grossly inappropriate for an acceptable member of the Roman upper class. Colors are used in these texts more than in any other works of Roman literature to convey these standards of appropriateness.

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<sup>327</sup> According to Hopman, “the thorax seems to bear other connotations that make it a garment which is not only foreign but also effeminate. It is difficult to have a precise idea of what it actually was, since Lucilius and Suetonius are the only other Latin authors who use the word to designate a piece of clothing. However, their references suggest that it was quite unusual for a Roman male to wear a thorax. In Suet. 82.1 there are references to it as unmanly.” Hopman (2003): 566-7.

## Chapter Five: Color Physiognomy: You Are What You Look Like

Early Roman historians such as Sallust, Livy and Valerius Maximus do not discuss the physical appearance of historical figures, but many Roman authors provide descriptions of people and nations with vivid color-terms. The color traits are considered an extension of personality. When certain color-terms are used together with physiognomic traits, the writers amplify their feelings about the person's inner workings. Since color-terminology is a descriptive aid and not considered part of an ancient historian's rubric, it is especially interesting when a passage in a history text includes a detailed description with color. The emperors, as the rulers, receive the most attention. Ordinary individuals receive little attention, unless they have distinguishing traits that an author wishes to emphasize. Women hardly receive any attention at all. But poets devote much attention to descriptions of women, indicating their preferences for particular types of complexion and hair color. Finally, Roman authors such as Tacitus, Pliny the Elder and Martial describe non-Romans, such as the Gauls and Britons, with characteristic color-terms.

### Emperors

Suetonius uses color to describe the hair, eyes and complexion of eight of the twelve Caesars. According to the physiognomic theorists of the day, particularly Polemo of Laodicea, physical traits corresponded to moral and psychological characteristics.<sup>328</sup>

Suetonius adhered to these handbooks precisely. Pliny the Elder also subscribed to the

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<sup>328</sup> Simon Swain, ed., *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007): 218-224; Maud Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995): 97-104. Polemo Leiden (A5, A6, A8, A11, 31-5, B31-2); the work of Polemo, which was written in Latin, survives in a 14<sup>th</sup> century Arabic translation, which was translated into Latin in modern times. It is not possible to determine what Polemo's original color-terms were.

notions of physiognomy in his *Historia Naturalis*, devoting particular attention in his work to the study and interpretation of eyes.

Suetonius is the first writer to draw links between the emperors' appearance and their deeds. He begins with Julius Caesar, whose description consists of five attributes:

*fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore **candido**, teretibus membris,  
ore paulo pleniore, **nigris** vegetisque oculis, valitudine prospera*

He is said to have been tall in stature, with a bright complexion, smooth limbs that are in proportion, and with lively black eyes, with favorable health.<sup>329</sup>

Julius Caesar's complexion color is emphasized because it would indicate his overall health. His white complexion is *candido*, his black eyes are *vegetis*, indicating sharpness and alertness. His complexion and eyes are traits that would make him a respected orator and leader. By contrast Catullus had thrown a barb at Caesar, chiding him with:

*Nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi velle placere,  
nec scire utrum sis **albus** an **ater** homo.*

I do not really try to kiss up to you, Caesar,  
Nor do I care if you are a white or black man.<sup>330</sup>

The color-term *ater* means black ink, meaning that Catullus sees through Caesar's facade and uses color-terms associated with painting materials. He literally paints Caesar with his faults.<sup>331</sup>

Suetonius' description of Augustus is lengthier and incorporates more elements. It may appear that he had more sources to consult, but it may also be that this emperor generated more of his interest. There are twelve characteristics related to his physical appearance: his handsome form (*forma*), his beard (*barba*), his face (*vultu*), his eyes

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<sup>329</sup> Suet., *Iul.*, 45.1.

<sup>330</sup> Catull., 93.

<sup>331</sup> Catullus wrote many verses criticizing Caesar, but according to Suetonius in *Iul.* 73, when Caesar wanted to reconcile, Catullus did not refuse. S. Posch, "Albus an ater homo. Zu C.c.93," *Serta Philologica Aenipontana* 3 (1979): 319-36; V. Ingemann, "Albus an ater — a double entendre in C. 93?," *Classica et Medaevalia* 33: 145- 50.

(*oculos habuit claro ac **nitidos***), his teeth (*dentes*), his curly golden hair (*capillum leviter inflexum et **subflavum***), his brow (*supercilium coniuncta*), his ears (*aures*), nose (*nasum*), complexion (*colorem inter **aquilum candidumque***), stature (*staturam brevem*) and his body (*corpore*) covered in birthmarks.<sup>332</sup> An unusual color-term, *subflavum*, is used in the description of his hair, suggesting that Augustus' hair was not as bright as it had been and may have grayed.<sup>333</sup> Suetonius recognizes the importance of Augustus' eyes: according to the pseudo-Aristotelian school, clear and bright eyes were a good sign of an emperor's leadership.<sup>334</sup> Pliny also discusses the traits of the divine Augustus, focusing on his eyes:

*divo Augusto equorum modo **glauci** fuere, superque hominem **albicantis** magnitudinis, quam ob causam diligentius spectari eos iracunde ferebat.*

The Divine Augustus had gray eyes like those of horses and the whites were larger than in average men. For this reason he would get angry if people observed his eyes too attentively.<sup>335</sup>

Suetonius and Pliny describe Augustus as a hero. Gray eyes are an ancient trope for descriptions of gods and goddesses found in the works of Cicero and Quintilian following Greek precedents.<sup>336</sup>

Suetonius' physical description of Tiberius is entirely different from his negative description of the emperor's acts. Suetonius describes him as *colore erat **candido*** — he

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<sup>332</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 1.79-80.

<sup>333</sup> On *subflavum* see André (1949): 132-3. Recent reconstructions of the Augustus of Prima Porta sculpture show Augustus with reddish-brown hair. This feature came as a shock to art historians and classicists because they had come to identify Augustus as blond. There are also reconstructions of Emperor Caligula. Paolo Liverani, *I Colori del Bianco* (Musei Vaticani: Vaticani, 2003): fig. 107, 115.

<sup>334</sup> Aristot. *Hist. anim.* 491b12.

<sup>335</sup> Plin. *HN*, 11.54.

<sup>336</sup> In one passage Cicero describes the goddess Minerva as gray-eyed. *Nat. D.* 1.83. Ovid also describes the eye color of Minerva. *Am.* 1.1.7-8; *Met.* 2.749, 6.130, 8.275; *Fast.* 6.652; *Tr.* 1.10.1. This is a trope that follows the standard Greek description of Athena as gray-eyed: γλαυκῶπις ἄθηνᾶ.

was of fair complexion — suggesting noble character.<sup>337</sup> His eyes are described in depth:

*cum praegrandibus oculis et qui quod mirum esset,  
noctu etiam et in tenebris viderent...*

He had unusually large eyes and, incredible to say, he had the power of night vision...<sup>338</sup>

While no author describes the exact color of his eyes, Polemo asserts that eyes that are blue or green can see in the dark, therefore it might be suggested that Tiberius had blue or green eyes.<sup>339</sup>

Suetonius' description of Gaius Caligula is filled with a wide range of negative descriptions. The description is brief and consists of seven physical traits easily translated into physiognomic coordinates: stature (*statura*), complexion (*colore expallido*), body (*corpore*), thin neck and legs (*gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum*), eyes and temples (*oculis et temporibus*), forehead (*fronte*), hair (*capillo*) and facial expression (*vultum*).<sup>340</sup> Here Suetonius describes Caligula as a goat, but also as extremely pale — *colore expallido*. The entire description focuses on the ugliness associated with goats, which could be equated with satyrs, or other lascivious and sexually charged beings. It is rare for Suetonius to outwardly compare a human with an animal, but in this instance he does, stressing the negative aspects, which was encouraged by the pseudo-Aristotelian school.<sup>341</sup> Suetonius' analysis of Caligula is associated with

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<sup>337</sup> M. Sassi, *The Science of Man in Ancient Greece* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001): 47; [Aristot.] *Physiogn.* 809b14-35, 806b9, 810b6, 811a16, 20, 34, b28, 35 and 812b7.

<sup>338</sup> Suet. *Tib.*, 68.2. Pliny also describes Tiberius' keen eyesight. Plin. *HN*, 11.54

<sup>339</sup> *Physiogn.* 806b33, 809a25, 814a8. [Aristot.] *Physiogn.* 811b30.

<sup>340</sup> Suet. *Calig.*, 50.1.

<sup>341</sup> Aristot. *Hist. Anim.* 492a1, 492a30. Sassi (2001): 45, 48-9. According to Eric Varner, "In the ancient physiognomical human physical traits were linked to those of animals. Caligula's small eyes and bodily appearance are characteristic of panthers, known for being thieving and deceitful, as well as goats, who were sensual." Eric Varner, ed. *Tyranny and Transformation: From Caligula to Constantine in Roman Portraiture* (Atlanta, Ga: Carlos Museum, 2000): 96.

his weakness as a ruler. Pliny says that Caligula had staring eyes — *Gaio principi rigentes*.<sup>342</sup> Here is Seneca's description:

*C. Caesar inter cetera vitia, quibus abundabat, contumeliosus mira libidine ferebatur omnis aliqua nota feriendi, ipse materia risus benignissima: tanta illi palloris insaniam testantis foeditas erat, tanta oculorum sub fronte aiuli latentium torvitas, tanta capitis destituti et emendicaticiis capillis aspersi deformitas.*

Gaius Caesar, who amid the multitude of his other vices had a bent for insult, was moved by the strange desire to brand everyone with some stigma, while he himself was a most fruitful source of ridicule; such was the ugliness of his exceedingly pale face bespeaking his madness, such the wildness of his eyes lurking beneath the brow of an old hag, such the hideousness of his bald head with its sprinkling of beggarly hairs.<sup>343</sup>

All the descriptions of Caligula are similar except Seneca adds more details: the feet which made him ill-proportioned, and the pale complexion, which is here interpreted as a symptom of madness.<sup>344</sup>

The description of Claudius in Suetonius' *Lives* is as negative as the description of Caligula. Suetonius lists his physiognomic attributes as follows: form (*forma*), body (*corpore*), his appearance (*specie canitique pulchra*), neck (*cervicibus*), weak knees (*poplites minus firmi*), runny nose (*umentibus naribus*), stuttering tongue (*linguae titubantia*) and shaking head (*caput tremulum*).<sup>345</sup> For the first time in a description of a Caesar, the eyes and hair are not specifically mentioned, which suggests that Suetonius is breaking away from the physiognomic handbooks. Suetonius says that Claudius' whole being appeared to be turning white — *et specie canitique pulchra* — which was not a positive attribute to have according to the physiognomic handbooks, as it appeared as the person was disappearing or not entirely there. Pliny, however, does provide a description

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<sup>342</sup> Plin. *HN*, 11.45.

<sup>343</sup> Sen. *Dial.*, 2.18.1. Couissin provides a side-by-side comparison of the passages of Suetonius and Seneca. See J. Couissin, "Suétone Physiognomiste dans *les Vies des XII Césars*", *REL* 31 (1953): 607.

<sup>344</sup> Donna Hurley, *An Historical and Historiographical Commentary on Suetonius' Life of C. Caligula*, (Atlanta, Ga: The Scholars Press, The American Philological Association, 1993): 178.

<sup>345</sup> Suet. *Claud.*, 1.30.

of his eyes — *Claudio Caesari ab angulis candore carnososanguineis venis subinde suffusi* — that his eyes were bright but frequently bloodshot and had a fleshy gleam at the corners.<sup>346</sup>

The description of Nero lists nine physical attributes that correspond to the physiognomic traits: stature (*statura*), body spotted and stinking (*corpore maculoso et fetido*), blondish hair (*subflavo capillo*), expression (*vultu*), dim blue eyes (*oculis caesis et hebetioribus*), thick neck (*cervice obesa*), projecting belly (*ventre proiecto*), thin legs (*gracillimis cruribus*) and fortunate good health (*valitudine prospera*).<sup>347</sup> Nero's hair was a grayish blond — *subflavo capillo* — the same term used in the description of Augustus — and his eyes were blue — *oculis caesis*.<sup>348</sup> This description also fits the appearance of the god Helios, who is regularly shown with blond curls and light blue eyes in mosaics, painting, and literature.<sup>349</sup> *Caesis* is a word that was usually reserved for the description of animals, as in Catullus' description of a blue-eyed lion:

*solus in Libya Indiaque tosta caesio veniam obvius leoni.*

Alone in Libya or the sunburnt India, I shall encounter a blue-eyed lion.<sup>350</sup>

This convention became a trope, used by other writers such as Ammianus Marcellinus, concerning the Emperors Jovian and Valentinian — *cum oculis caesiis*.<sup>351</sup> According to

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<sup>346</sup> Plin. *HN*, 11.45.

<sup>347</sup> Suet. *Ner.*, 1.51.

<sup>348</sup> In Aulus Gellius' *NA* 2.26, *caesia* is translated by Leofranc Holford-Strevens as "having light-blue eyes." In Cicero's *Natura Deorum* 1.83, Minerva and Neptune have light-blue eyes, too — *caesios oculos Minervae caeruleos esse Neptuni*. Holford-Strevens suggests that these eyes were not admired in women, because Terence says in *HT* 1061-2 — *rufamne illam virginem caesiam*. Other occurrences of this trope are Plaut. *Curc.*, 231, Ter. *Hec.* 440, Apul. *Met.* 2.2.7. Holford-Strevens (1971): 315.

<sup>349</sup> Ovid describes Helios in *Met.* 2.22-24: *neque enim propiora ferebat lumina: purpurea velatus veste sedebat in solio Phoebus claris lucente smaragdis* — "He made his way into the presence of Helios and there stood afar, unable to approach the dazzling light. Enrobed in purple vestments Helios sat, high on a throne of gleaming emerald." In a mosaic discovered in the mausoleum of Julius, beneath St. Peter's in Rome, Sol Invictus is seen riding in a sun chariot, crowned by a halo with seven rays. The mosaic has also been recognized as Helios riding the sun chariot. As late the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. the Galilean synagogue of Hammath Tiberias features a blonde and blue-eyed Helios riding a quadriga.

<sup>350</sup> Catull., 45.

André this term is used consistently for descriptions of eyes.<sup>352</sup> Suetonius describes Nero's skin as *maculoso et fetido*, which could mean that his body was covered in sores perhaps because of some skin ailment; but E. Evans suggests that Suetonius has included details that compare Nero to a panther because of the spotted skin, which corresponds directly with thievery, pettiness, and deceit.<sup>353</sup> While Nero appears to have good physical proportions and hair coloring resembling the lion, Suetonius did not want him to be described as a hero; there are several faults which Suetonius shows, revealing that Nero was not fit to be a ruler. According to the pseudo-Aristotelian text *On Physiognomy*, weak eyes are a sign of orderliness yet cowardice.<sup>354</sup>

Suetonius's description of Galba is brief: he had blue eyes — *oculis caerulis*.<sup>355</sup> It is interesting to note that he uses the word *caerulis* instead of *caesis* to indicate blue. The difference between the color-terms *caesis* and *caeruleis* is significant as they do not have a similar root.<sup>356</sup> *Caeruleis* is a color-term used for landscape and various substances such as paint, stone and ink, as in Catullus' address to Venus born from the blue sea:

*Nunc, o caeruleo creata ponto,  
quae sanctum Idalium, Uriusque aperto  
quaeque Ancona Cnidumque harundinosam...*

Now, O blue sea is created,  
who is inhabited by the sanctified Idalium  
and the exposed Urli, who are located in Ancona and  
and the reed-filled Knidos...<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>351</sup> Amm. Marc. 25.10.14 and 30.9.

<sup>352</sup> André (1949): 178-9. According to him the Greek equivalent is *γλαυκωπις*.

<sup>353</sup> According to Evans: "The panther, on the other hand, of all animals accounted brave approximates more closely to the feminine type and has its whole body ill-articulated and ill-proportioned. In soul it is mean and thievish, and in a word, a beast of low cunning." E. Evans, "Physiognomics in the ancient world." *TAPhS* 59 (1969): 67.

<sup>354</sup> Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Physiognomici*, 807b; 808a.

<sup>355</sup> Suet. *Galb.*, 21.

<sup>356</sup> André (1949): 63.

<sup>357</sup> Catull. 36.

This color-term is not regularly used for eyes. It is interesting that Suetonius employs it for Galba but not for Nero. Perhaps Suetonius thinks Galba was more attractive in appearance than Nero, but according to Polemo, still blue eyes indicate that the owner is remote from women, remote from blessings, and very desirous in hoarding money.<sup>358</sup>

The last of Suetonius' Caesars who has a detailed description with color-terms is Domitian:

*Statura fuit procera, vultu modesto ruborisque pleno,  
grandibus oculis verum acie hebetiore...*

He was tall in proportion with a poker-faced expression and ruddy complexion. He had large eyes and his eyes were dull at best.<sup>359</sup>

Once again this is a negative description: people with red faces in Rome were thought to be subject to fits, anger, rage and other unbalanced tendencies they were also assumed to be shameless and rude.<sup>360</sup> Furthermore the dim eyesight suggested cowardice. Domitian was not a person to be trusted or respected.

The descriptions of the later emperors in the *Historia Augusta* also include physical descriptions with distinct color-terms. While there is debate over the authorship of the *HA*, the authors' attitudes towards these emperors is considerably more positive than that of any other historian. Their purpose is clearly to glorify the emperors, with particular attention to their crowning glory, their hair. The emperor Verus is described in the usual manner, listing *corpore, vultu, barba, fronte*; but the most attention is given to the pride that he felt for his yellow hair (*flaventium capillorum*) and to his practice of sprinkling his hair with gold dust to make it even more brilliant —*quo magis coma inluminata*

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<sup>358</sup> Polemo, *De Physiognomici*, Leiden, A6-A8.

<sup>359</sup> Suet. *Dom.*, 18.

<sup>360</sup> Pseudo-Aristotle, 812a. W.C. Helmbold, "The Complexion of Domitian," *Classical Journal* 45 (1950): 388-389. The association of red faces with rage is discussed more fully in the section about ordinary men below.

*flavesceret*.<sup>361</sup> Commodus is described as doing this as well, in his case contributing to a more negative impression:

*Fuit forma quidem corporis iusta, vultu in subido, ut ebriosis solent, et sermone in condito, capillo semper fucato et auri ramentis in luminato, adurens comam et barbam timore tonsoris.*

Physically he was very well proportioned. His expression was dull, as is usual in drunkards, and his speech uncultivated. His hair was always dyed and made lustrous by the use of gold dust, and he used to singe his hair and beard because he was afraid of barbers.<sup>362</sup>

Herodian describes Commodus in a Greek source in a more positive fashion. He claims that Commodus's hair was naturally blond, and some thought some thought that he sprinkled his hair with gold dust before appearing in public, while others thought his hair looked like a halo.<sup>363</sup> The author's intent was intended to portray Commodus in the best possible light, like a god. In order to achieve the otherworldly appearance necessary to look like Helios, the author describes the process by which he achieved this appearance through artificial means. Previous emperors did not rely on these cosmetics to look their best. The authors of these texts do not regard Verus and Commodus as unsuccessful leaders, but they reflect a changing opinion towards the office of the emperor and its increased distance from ordinary humanity.

Other emperors follow in this fashion. Saloninus was also known to sprinkle gold dust into his hair — *crinibus suis auri scobem aspersit*.<sup>364</sup> Saloninus dyed his hair for a slightly different reason. According to *HA*, he did so to look like the barbarians:

*Et dilexit Piparam nomine barbaram regis filiam quare Saloninus cum suis semper flavo crinem condit.*

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<sup>361</sup> *HA, Verus*, 10.7.

<sup>362</sup> *HA, Comm.*, 17.3.

<sup>363</sup> *Herodian*, 1.7.5.

<sup>364</sup> *HA, Saloninus*, 16.4.

He loved also a barbarian girl named Pipara who was the daughter of a king. On account of this, Saloninus, along with his followers always dyed his hair yellow.<sup>365</sup>

The description of Severus, in contrast, shows his prominent gray hair:

*ipse decorus, ingens, primissa barba, cano capite et crispo, vultu reverendus...*

In person he was large and handsome. His beard was long; his hair was gray and curly, his face was such as to inspire respect.<sup>366</sup>

Here is an entirely different manner of inspiring respect. The approach that Severus takes required little maintenance. The description of Antoninus Diadumenianus lists the usual traits: stature (*statura longiuscula*), golden hair (*crine flavo*), black eyes (*nigris oculis*), aquiline nose (*naso deducto*), attractive chin (*mento*), “mouth designed for a kiss” (*ore ad oscula parato*), his overall health strong and graceful (*fortis naturaliter, exercitio delicatior*). But then the description returns to a deity-like image: he was radiant as a being from the stars — *quasi sidereus et caelestis emicuit*.<sup>367</sup> Even though Antoninus began his rule as a young boy, he was required, like other emperors, to maintain or take on a god-like image, with golden hair and all the trappings of a code for divine beauty. The black eyes, like those of Julius Caesar, suggest an otherworldly intelligence as well.

Gordian I, who reigned only thirty-six days, is described according to the usual list of characteristics (*longitudine, facie bene lata, oculis, ore, fronte verendus, corporis subcrassulus*). But the most striking characteristic was his face (*vultu*) that was characterized as being more red than white (*ruber magis quam candidus*).<sup>368</sup> He does not have the requisite god-like appearance and he was not willing to enhance it with hair color or makeup. There seems to be an implied correlation between the length of his

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<sup>365</sup> HA, *Saloninus*, 21.3.

<sup>366</sup> HA, *Sev.*, 19.9.

<sup>367</sup> HA, *Sev.*, 10.2

<sup>368</sup> HA, *Gordian* I.6.1-3.

reign and his ugly appearance. These passages show how often Roman writers equated good looks with good rulership.

### Descriptions of Ordinary Men

Faults in ordinary people are described at length in public declamations and speeches. Cicero and Quintilian point out all sorts of faults in people in their invectives and guides to rhetoric. The Romans viewed physical peculiarities as marks of deviation from the pure and natural state, and extended them further to suggest that individuals were responsible for their own deformities. Catullus remarks negatively on the gleaming white teeth of the Roman Egnatius, which he cleans in urine, implying that his endless smiling is improper and probably false:

*Egnatius quod candidos habet dentes renidet usque quaque.*

Egnatius, because, he has white teeth, is everlasting smiling.<sup>369</sup>

It appears from the extant literature that good-looking people were regarded as good-willed and well accepted, while those who were perceived as ugly and deformed were considered wicked. With this in mind, Catullus is pointing out that people, such as Egnatius, tried to deceive others by enhancing their appearance. He suggests that Roman society needed to recognize that good looks were not necessarily a sign of good character.

The protagonist of Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*, Lucius, is described with attributes corresponding to the desirable physiognomic traits of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Lucius' aunt

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<sup>369</sup> Catull. 39. On Egnatius see J.P. Small, "Verism and Vernacular: Late Roman Republican Portraiture and Catullus," *Parola del Passato* 202 (1982): 47-71. Compare Martial 5.43 and his description of women with white and black teeth in the section on women below.

Byrrhena comments how much he resembles his mother: he is well-proportioned, slim, has a ruddy complexion (*rubor temperatus*) and naturally golden hair (*flavum et inadfectatum capillitium*), sparkling blue eyes like those of an eagle (*oculi caesii quidem, sed vigils et in aspectu micantes, prorsus aquiline*), his face was blooming with innermost beauty (*os quoquoversum floridum, speciosus et immeditatus incessus*).<sup>370</sup> The overall positive description of Lucius is somewhat deceiving, because he is insatiably curious and wants to experiment with magic, only to end up transformed into an ass. Apuleius' careful placement of the color-terms suggests how important it is to cast Lucius as a hero: first his countenance is described, his hair, then his eyes. The organization and placement of the physiognomic attributes, as well as the combination of the color-terms, should alert Apuleius' readers — because Lucius may be attractive with his blond hair and blue eyes, but the placement of *rubor* as the first attribute suggests more about his inner traits: being impetuous and having an overwhelming curiosity to meddle with magic.

*Rubor*, meaning ruddy or blushing, is often a negative characteristic in Roman literature.<sup>371</sup> Perhaps the act of blushing was not considered appropriate for a leader or orator. Pliny says: "*femineus pallor in corpore, in ore impudentia multo rubore suffusa*" — "he has a feminine complexion in his body, and in his full face a severe redness with impudence."<sup>372</sup> Tacitus repeats: *saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat* — "he had a wide cruel and reddened face, with which he was not

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<sup>370</sup> Apul. *Meta.* 2.2.9.

<sup>371</sup> According to Sassi, "The color associated with shameless and impudence, but also with passion and irascibility, is red. A shameless man is incapable of blushing (today we might call him 'brazen-faced'), unlike the modest man, while passionate and angry men have a permanently heated look about them, typical of bouts of anger and other violent emotions." Sassi (2001): 52.

<sup>372</sup> Plin. *Pan.*, 48.

able to control his temper.”<sup>373</sup> The word *rubor* is consistent for all descriptions of a red face, suggesting that color-terms are used for specific functions in the same way that *caesius* and *caeruleus* are the preferred terms for eyes and body.<sup>374</sup> Martial describes his book as being so proper that even Germanicus could read it without blushing (*ore non rubenti*) in front of a virgin goddess.<sup>375</sup> *Rubenti* is the participial form of the color-term *rubor*, suggesting that Martial is conforming to the formula of using *rubor* for the complexion. When one blushes or turns red from delivering a speech loaded with emotion, the blush implies a lack of equilibrium and sound judgment; the speaker is allowing emotions to emerge that should not be there. Plautus describes the act of blushing accompanied with the bursting and puffing out of cheeks.<sup>376</sup> By blowing out their cheeks, orators do not actually say anything and are really full of hot air, with nothing substantial to contribute.

When describing a part of the body or insulting someone, Roman writers were careful to use certain shades of red such as *rufus*, *ruboris*, *rutilus*, *rubra*, and *rubidus*, but not terms like *coccium*, *puniceus*, *cocchylatum*, *cerasinus*, *russeus* and *russatus*. Insults had their own shades of meaning and had to conform to the strict rules for physiognomy. Those who were red-faced were perceived as being either aggressive or zealous.<sup>377</sup> According to the pseudo-Aristotle, *vultu modesto ruborisque pleno* — “too ruddy a hue marks a rogue, as in the case of the fox... a red hue indicates hastiness. A flaming skin

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<sup>373</sup> Tac. *Agr.*, 45.

<sup>374</sup> There is one exception in Tac., *Hist.* 4.40 in which he does not use any color-term: *ignotis adhuc moribus crebra oris confusion pro modestia accipitur* — “He was graceful in his bearing, and, his real character being yet unknown, the frequent blush on his countenance passed for modesty.” His reference is unusual and suggests more about how the authors use color-terms for a specific natural reaction.

<sup>375</sup> Mart., 5.2.6-8.

<sup>376</sup> Plaut., *Bacch.* 603; *Cas.* 325-326.

<sup>377</sup> Anthony Corbeil, *Controlling Laughter* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996): 85-86.

denotes mania."<sup>378</sup> In his treatise *De Ira*, Seneca claims that fair-haired and red-faced (*flavi rubentesque*) people are naturally hot tempered because they have restless and agitated blood (*mobilis enim illis agitatusque sanguis est*).<sup>379</sup> The extremities of the body, such as the skin and hair, are natural markers that show the agitation in the blood. He compares the physical traits of an angry man with one who is insane: his face is red with the blood that comes from the lowest depths of his heart (*multus ore toto rubor ex aestuante ab imis praecordiis sanguine labra quatiuntur*), his teeth are clenched, his hair stands on end, his breathing is harsh and he can barely articulate his speech.<sup>380</sup> The *Epiticus Matrimus* declares that “red countenances indicate fierce and cruel men, or a drunk... not a modest and reticent and meek person.”<sup>381</sup> Two more examples, in Greek, appear in Plutarch's *Lives*, showing how authors of the day tried to capture a man's inner character by describing the more noticeable features of his appearance. In his *Life of Cato Maior*, Plutarch describes Cato as having reddish hair (ὀπόπυρρος) and gray eyes (γλαυκός); he describes Cato as trying to gain entrance into the underworld, but with his red hair, defiant manner and gray eyes — πυρρόν, πανδακέτην, γλαυκόμματος — will be thrown back.<sup>382</sup> There is a similar attention to physical detail in his *Life of Sulla*; the general who besieged Athens is described with violent gray eyes (ὀμμάτων γλαυκότητα δεινῶς) and an equally violent complexion with a mixture of red and white patches on his skin (ἐξήνθει γὰρ τὸ ἐρύθημα τραχὺ καὶ σποράδην καταμεμιγμένον τῇ λευκότητι) so

<sup>378</sup> Pseudo-Aristotle, 812a.

<sup>379</sup> Sen. *De Ira*, 2.19.5.

<sup>380</sup> Sen. *De Ira*, 1.1.3-4.

<sup>381</sup> Chapter 38, in *Scriptores Physiognomici*, 1.246 (ed. Forster; Anon. Lat. no.108); Chapter 23 in *Scriptores Physiognomici*, 1.389 (ed. Forster; Polemo, *De Physiognomici*, Leiden, B33). According to Evans there have been two schools of physiognomic interpretation of a permanently red face. One school equated the red face with shyness or alcoholism, and the other considered it to be crafty, sly and cruel. Evans (1969): 66-67.

<sup>382</sup> Plut. *Vit. Cat. Mai.*,1.

that he was mocked with the phrase “Sulla is a mulberry sprinkled with meal.”<sup>383</sup> Sulla’s appearance was one that inspired fear and contempt in the Athenians.

Throughout literature and history Roman *cognomina* have used physical deformities to label individuals: Strabo — "squinty-eyed," Naso — "the Nose," Plautus — "Bigfoot," Cicero — "Chick-pea," and Varro — "knock-kneed." These names suggest that the Romans had a fascination or preoccupation with labeling individuals according to their physical deformities. "**Rufus**," a common name which means "Red," was often used for slaves.<sup>384</sup> There is no consistent reason as to why the person received the name — either he had red hair, or his complexion was that shade, or he had a distinguishing birthmark or a red beard. Catullus describes an unnamed man whom he does not like:

*praeterea addebat quendam, quem dicere nolo  
nomine, ne tollat rubra supercilia.*

She added besides one whom I do not choose  
to mention by name, lest he should arch his red brows.<sup>385</sup>

Ancient sources like Plutarch and Tacitus say that the cognomen *Rufus* was originally a label for a red-haired non-Roman.<sup>386</sup> André considers it a term of ridicule and derision.<sup>387</sup> **Rufa**, moreover, was a common female slave name, a fact that further indicates the ancient association between red hair and foreign descent, condemning those with unusual traits.<sup>388</sup> In this respect color-terms have the ability to create a language about origins of nationality and social attitudes about identity.

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<sup>383</sup> Plut., *Vit. Sull.*, 2.

<sup>384</sup> In ancient inscriptions the *nomen Rufreius* appears frequently as a slave name: *CIL* 10.5817 and *CIL* 10.1216. There are a number of inscriptions stating the name *Rufus*: *CIL* 1.728, 737, 1032, 1068; *CIL* 2.4970,440; *CIL* 4.1847; *CIL* 6.6514,4632; *CIL* 9.6700,597; *CIL* 15.5651-5663.

<sup>385</sup> Catull., 67.

<sup>386</sup> Plut., *Vit. Cat. Min.* 3; Tac., *Agr.*, 11.

<sup>387</sup> André (1949): 123.

<sup>388</sup> By contrast the names *Flavus* and *Flava*, “Blond,” were rare names for slaves. *CIL* 6.10730; 8724; 24161, *CIL* 10.1807. There are number of inscriptions that mention *Rufa*: *CIL* 1.1034, 1094, 1102, 1242, 1260; *CIL* 6.3927; *CIL* 9.3527. See Balsdon (1979): 294. Plutarch says in *Coriol.* 11: ὦν δὲ σωματικῶν

In *The Captives*, Plautus makes use of the color-term *subrufus* for a description of Philocrates, a foreign and not well respected man:

HEG. *Sed qua faciest tuos sodalis Philocrates?*  
ARIST. *Dicam tibi: macilento ore, naso acuto, corpore albo, oculis nigris,*  
*Subrufus aliquantum, crispus, cincinnatus.*  
HEG. *Convenit.*

HEG: But what does your friend Philocrates look like?  
ARIST. I'll tell you: thin face, sharp nose, complexion fair.  
Black eyes, hair a little reddish, waving, and curled.  
HEG: That's about it!<sup>389</sup>

He is described with curly reddish hair, which makes him an easy target for barbs; in short, he comes across as a buffoon. In another example from Plautus' *Pseudolus* the same concept is featured:

**BAL.** *eho tu, qua facie fuit, dudum quoi dedisti symbolum?*  
**HAR.** *Rufus quidam, ventriosus, crassis suris, subniger, magno capite,*  
*Acutis oculis, ore rubicundo, admodum magnis pedibus.*

**BAL.** What did he look like, that fellow you gave the token to some time ago?  
**HAR.** A red-haired chap, pot belly, thick calves, swarthy, big head,  
Sharp eyes, red face, and tremendous feet.<sup>390</sup>

Plautus once again draws upon these negative features — red hair, red face, dark complexion — which taken together present a standard trope for a Roman comic character. Julius Pollux, a rhetorician of the time of Commodus, catalogues all types of theatrical masks from the New Comedy in his *Onomastikon*. In this catalogue he describes three types of comic male slaves, all of them red-haired. One is even described as having hair as red as his skin: εἰσὶ δὲ **πυρραὶ** ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ χρῶμα.<sup>391</sup> Pollux shows

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οὐ μόνον Σύλλας οὐδὲ Νίγρους οὐδὲ Ρούφους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Καίκους καὶ Κλωδίους— "Names derived from physical features like Sulla (meaning pale and blushing), *'Niger'* (Black), *Rufus* (Red-Head) include also Caecus (Blind) and Clodius."

<sup>389</sup> Plaut., *Capt.*, 648. See also Catharine Saunders, *Costume in Roman Comedy* (New York: AMS Press, 1966): 102-3.

<sup>390</sup> Plaut. *Pseudo.*, 1214-1220.

<sup>391</sup> Pollux, *Onomast.* 4. David Wiles, *The Masks of Menander* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991): 76.

that certain color-terms were associated with certain characters in comedy as late as the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.

In his oration *Pro Sestio*, Cicero belittles and mocks Numerius Quintus Rufus, emphasizing his *cognomen*, rather than addressing him with his *nomen* or family name. Cicero belittles **Rufus** through a game of his origins; he compares him to a *nitedula*, a red (**rufus**) field mouse. According to Corbeill, an ancient scholiast on this passage recognizes the significance of **Rufus'** mouse-like qualities: “*quod esset non tantum statura depressus, verum etiam colore rubidus, nitedulam nominavit,*” — “he called him *nitedula* because he was not only short in stature, but red in color.”<sup>392</sup> Cicero marks him as an opponent because he is of foreign descent and does not have the true Roman values of *dignitas*, *urbanitas*, and *virtutis*. Rather this man is a little rat determined to upset the Roman state. By contrast in the *Pro Caelio*, where Cicero defends his friend Marcus Caelius Rufus, he never refers to him as “**Rufus**,” suggesting that the cognomen had negative connotations.<sup>393</sup> When addressing the Senate in *Pro Milone*, Cicero uses the name **Rufio** to represent the average Roman, suggesting that even a man named **Rufio** would understand the treacherousness of Clodius’ actions. By Cicero’s time the name **Rufio** was a slight on one’s identity.<sup>394</sup>

Red was not the only sign of bad temper. In Plautus’ *Menaechmi*, written in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., the wife of Epidamnus exclaims that her husband must be mad because of the “greenness” of his complexion:

*viden tu illi oculos virere?  
ut viridis exoritur colos ex temporibus  
atque fronte, ut oculi scintillant, vide.*

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<sup>392</sup> Cic. *Sest.* 72; Scol. Bob. 134, 28-29; Corbeill (1996): 112-4.

<sup>393</sup> Cic. *Pro Cae.*, *passim*.

<sup>394</sup> Cic. *Mil.* 60.

Don't you see how his eyes shine?  
How a green color is arising on his temples  
and his forehead; look how his eyes do glisten.<sup>395</sup>

Perhaps this was an earlier way of describing anger.<sup>396</sup>

In Petronius' *Satyricon*, Eumolpis meets a man with white hair:

*Ecce autem, ego dum cum ventis litigo intravit  
pinacothecam senex canus,*

Suddenly as I strove thus with the empty air,  
a white-haired old man came into the gallery.<sup>397</sup>

Other writers only use the word *senex* to denote an older man: perhaps this older man was distinctive because he still had an abundance of white hair on his head. He is used as a foil to Trimalchio, who is described as bald, *calvo*, but may be of comparable age.

Scholars like André, Edgeworth and Clarke suggest that *canus* is exclusively a color-term to describe gray or white hair, specifically human hair, not animal fur.<sup>398</sup> Another example appears in Pliny's description of Euphrates in his *Letter to Attius Clemens*:

*At hoc proceritas corporis, decora facies, demissus capillus, ingens et cana barba.*

His outward appearance is agreeable to all the rest: he had a tall figure, a comely aspect, long hair, and a large white beard.<sup>399</sup>

This description suggests that men with white hair are perceived as positive and dignified, in contrast to the negative descriptions of people with red hair. Vergil uses the same terminology, creating a trope concerning the supremely white beard and hair of a king of Rome:

*...nosco crinis incanaque menta  
regis Romani primam qui legibus urbem*

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<sup>395</sup> Plaut. *Menach.* 828.

<sup>396</sup> W. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2004): 35-38. Harris delves into the subject of anger in literature, but does not mention the colors.

<sup>397</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 70.

<sup>398</sup> See R.J. Edgeworth, *The Colors of the Aeneid* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992): 119. He says "the term often means white-haired." André suggests that the term also means "venerable" or "white-clad."

<sup>399</sup> Plin. *Ep. Letter to Attius Clemens*, 1.10.

*fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra  
missus in imperium magnum.*

I know the locks and hoary chin of that king of Rome,  
who, shall base the infant city of his laws,  
called from the poor land of lowly Curia to sovereign might.<sup>400</sup>

In Plautus' *Rudens*, however, the character Plesidippus asks Daemones Senex to describe the odd fellow that he has seen. This description is ridiculous and hints at his extravagant nature, with wild curly gray hair:

**PLES:** *Dic quod te rogo, ecquem tu hic hominem crispum, **incanum** videris, malum, periurum, palpatores —*

**DAEM:** *Plurimos, nam ego propter eius modi viros vivo miser.*

**PLES:** Tell me, this, then — have you seen a curly-haired fellow here, a grey old rascal full of lies and flattery

**DAEM:** Plenty of them. Why, worthies of that description have wrecked my life for me.<sup>401</sup>

Plautus' comedies present a generally negative view of old age, as in the flirtatious exchange between the slave-woman Sophoclidisca and the boy Paegnium in his *Persa*:

**SOPH.** *Temperi hanc vigilare oportet formulam atque aetatulam, ne, ubi **versicapillus** fias, foede semper servias.*

**SOPH:** It befits these youthful looks and age to be on the watch for pleasure in good time; so that, when your hair comes to change its hue, you may not be always in a grovelling servitude.<sup>402</sup>

Plautus is the only writer who employs the term *versicapillus*, which means hair that is changing color — hair that is turning grey. His views about old age, which are common in comedy, emerge from his plot, suggesting that old age was not pleasant and that a youthful appearance was valued.

Another view of old age appears in Petronius' *Satyricon* as Trimalchio and his guest Phileros describe Chrysanthus, a recently deceased friend:

*Septuaginta et supra, sed corneolus fuit; aetatem bene ferebat, **niger** tamquam corvus.*

But he was a tough old thing, carried his age well, as black as a crow.<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>400</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, 6.809-812.

<sup>401</sup> Plaut. *Rud.* 122-126.

<sup>402</sup> Plaut. *Per.* 230.

Here Petronius contradicts the physiognomic theory that people with good character are white or shining-bright, while a person of bad character is described as black or dark.<sup>404</sup>

Vergil's description of old age is the most unusual, but he is describing the old age of a god, Charon, the boatman of the underworld:

*Ipsa ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat  
et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,  
iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.*

Unaided, he poles the boat, tends the sails,  
and in his murky craft brings the dead  
now aged, but a god's old age is hardy and green.<sup>405</sup>

Contrary to the modern perception that green is filled with negative connotations as applied to people, including associations with youth, inexperience and even foreignness ("greenhorn"), the Roman perception of green included many positive associations relating to nature, being fresh and vibrant, and these connotations carry over into perceptions of people; Vergil says that the older a god was, the more vital and bursting with green energy he appeared.

### Descriptions of Women

In Latin literature, physical descriptions of individual historical women are rare.<sup>406</sup> Cassius Dio, writing in Greek, provides the only description of Boudicca, Queen of the Iceni who rebelled against Rome, using a very similar physiognomic trope to the descriptions of male rulers. Boudicca is described by her tall stature (τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη), an intimidating appearance (τὸ εἶδος βλοσυρωτάτη τό τε βλέμμα δριμυτάτη), fierce eyes

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<sup>403</sup> Petron. *Sat.*, 43.

<sup>404</sup> [Aristot.] *Physiogn.* 806b10, 811a25.

<sup>405</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 6.304.

<sup>406</sup> Concerning the realm of the Roman woman, see Wilson (1938): 146-172; Sebesta (1994); Bartman (1999): 40-46. On basic women's clothing, see Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Kunst bei Griechen und Romern* (Bonn, 1875): 215-253, esp. 238; Wilson (1938): 6-13; André (1949): 293-296; Forbes, (1993): 3.98-127; Healy (1999): 136-141.

(καὶ τὸ φθέγμα τραχὺ εἶχε), tawny hair (τὴν τε κόμην πλείστην τε καὶ **ξανθοτάτην** οὖσαν), harsh voice (μέχρι τῶν γλουτῶν καθεῖτο), and a multicolored tunic (χιτῶνά τε **παμποίκιον** ἐνεκεκόλπωτο).<sup>407</sup> For a frightening foreign ruler, she is given a surprisingly favorable physiognomic description and appears just like a lion, with tawny hair. In the *Historia Augustae*, there is a description of Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, which also follows the physiognomic principles: face (*vultu **subaquilo***), coloring (***fusci** coloris*), powerful black eyes (*oculis supra modum vigentibus **nigris***), a divine spirit (*spiritus divini*), incredible seductiveness (*venustatis incredibilis*), and teeth as white as pearls (*tantus **candor** in dentibus, ut margaritas eam plerique putarent habere, non dentes*).<sup>408</sup> She has most impressive attributes which include dark eyes like Julius Caesar's, white teeth, a clear voice indicating a good orator and leader and severe at some times and at other times merciful when it was appropriate. The color-terms of *subaquilo* and *fusci* are used in this portrait diminish an overall pleasing description, also emphasizing her foreignness.

Descriptions of Roman women however are far less detailed and tend to focus on women's hair. Pliny describes Poppaea, the wife of Nero, which is a rare instance of a physical description of an imperial woman in ancient literature. It is not a complete physiognomic description because it is entirely confined to her hair, which Nero referred to as *sucini*, or amber-colored. Pliny says that from that time on other Roman women were eager to adopt this hair color.<sup>409</sup> The fact that Roman women are not included in the typical physiognomic handbook descriptions suggests that it was not considered

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<sup>407</sup> Cass. Dio, 62.1-2.

<sup>408</sup> HA, Tyr. Trig., Zenobia, 15-16.

<sup>409</sup> Plin. HN, 37.50. D. E. Eichholz says amber is a third color "besides 'dark' and 'fair'". D. E. Eichholz, *Pliny Books 36-37 LCL* (1912): 202-203.

appropriate to describe Roman women in this fashion. The elegiac poets, however, have a fascination with their object of desire, usually in the form of a blonde girlfriend.

Propertius provides a vivid and luscious description of his beloved Cynthia, highlighting her golden hair:

*Fulva comast longaeque manus, et maxima toto  
corpore, et incedit vel Iove digna soror,  
aut ceu Munychias Pallas spatiat ad aras.*

She has auburn hair and thin hands; her tall figure  
is regal and she walks worthy even of Jove, as his sister,  
or like Pallas as she steps up to Athenian altars...<sup>410</sup>

Propertius' vocabulary is unusual for his genre as he uses the color-term *fulva*. Other authors use the color-term *flava* and each of the women that they extol is marked with this color-term trope. Horace admires the way that Pyrrha ties back her yellow (*flavam*) hair in simple elegance:

*[Pyrrha] cui flavam religas comam  
simplex munditiis?*

Fair Pyrrha, say, for whom  
Your yellow hair you braid,  
So trim, so simple!<sup>411</sup>

Pyrrha's name is based on the Greek color-term *πύρρος*, which means red. It suggests that she is the embodiment of a red flame. Contrary to the color-term *Rufus*, which has negative connotations, this color-term is not considered negative but is rather a term of endearment.

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<sup>410</sup> Prop. 2.3. In 218D.26 he uses the term "*fulva coma*" rather than *flava coma*. When he does describe Cynthia's hair, it is with the color-term *fulvus*. It suggests according to some commentators that he felt that it is an indication of his dislike for artificial hair coloring in Prop. 2.2.5. R. J. Baker, *Propertius I: Translation with Introduction and Literary Commentary* (Armidale, Australia: The University of New England, 1990): 45-47; W. A. Camps, *Elegies Book Two, Propertius* (1967): 101-106. Both Vergil and Ovid use the term *fulvus* for the hair of men (*Aen.* 10.562, 11.642, *Met.* 12.273, *Pont.* 3.2.74)

<sup>411</sup> Hor., *Carm.*, 1.5.4.

Horace employs the term *flava* again in his description of Phyllis — *Phyllidis flavae decorent parentes*<sup>412</sup> — and in his description of Chloe, he employs the same color-term, *si flava excutitur Chloe*.<sup>413</sup> Tibullus, another elegiac poet, says that his beloved Delia bewitched him, not with words, but with her physical beauty, tenderness, and blonde hair — *flavis nostra puella comis*.<sup>414</sup> Vergil describes prominent women, queens and heroines, with the color-term *flava* suggesting its special nature. Vergil refers to the blonde hair color of Dido twice, once before her suicide and once afterwards. Dido beats her breast and cries “*Pro, Iuppiter*” while tearing her golden hair (*flaventis comas*); then after her death Proserpine is described as not yet having taken a lock of her golden hair (*flavum crinem*).<sup>415</sup> Later in the *Aeneid*, the silent Lavinia tears at her blonde hair (*flavos crinis*) and her rosy cheeks.<sup>416</sup> Finally, Catullus describes an imaginary speech by a lock of hair belonging to the Ptolemaic queen Berenike II, which desires to shine in the sky as the sacred relic of a golden head — *devotae flavi verticis exuviae*.<sup>417</sup> The attractive woman to all poets’ eyes is clearly a blonde.

It seems that there is a preference for blonde women, natural or dyed, in Western culture. This fact may have been established not just by the men who preferred the women, but also from the women themselves. Ovid and Pliny tell us that red hair also found favor with Roman women, who went to such extremes to dye their hair red that some, like Propertius’ Cynthia, even suffered the unfortunate side-effect of losing their

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<sup>412</sup> Hor., *Carm.*, 2.4.14.

<sup>413</sup> Hor., *Carm.*, 3.9.19. Horace also describes Ganymede as being blond, using the same color-term: *expertus fidelem Iuppiter in Ganymede flavo* — “once the divine king had found him faithful in snatching blond Ganymede.” Hor., *Carm.*, 4.4.4.

<sup>414</sup> Tib., 1.5.44.

<sup>415</sup> Verg., *Aen.*, 4.589-590; 4.697-698.

<sup>416</sup> Verg., *Aen.*, 12.605-606.

<sup>417</sup> Catull., 66.62.

hair.<sup>418</sup> Ovid, however, does not approve of wigs or hair dyes. He thinks that Corinna will be embarrassed at having to wear a wig.<sup>419</sup> Roman women went so far as to use the natural resource of *sapo* to lighten their hair color.<sup>420</sup> Pliny reveals what *sapo* was composed of: a combination of beech ash and goat suet, which, he says, originated with the Germans, among whom it was used more by men than by women. He uses the color-term *rutilandis capillis*, emphasizing the process of reddening one's tresses.<sup>421</sup> E. Bartman says further that hair from Germanic slaves and tribes was the best quality to endure the trials and exotic hairstyles to which Roman women subjected their tresses.<sup>422</sup> Ovid refers to this widespread phenomenon, addressing women in *Ars Amatoria* — *Nunc tibi captivos mittet Germania crines* — “Now imprisoned Germans give you hair.”<sup>423</sup> Martial echoes the sentiments that the best wigs were thought to be of German hair:

*Arctoa de gente comam tibi, Lesbia, misi,  
ut scires quanto sit tua flava magis.*

I sent you hair from a northern people, Lesbia,  
to let you know how much yellower is yours.<sup>424</sup>

Therefore it seems that reddish tresses were the object of women's desires, but were utterly mocked if worn by men.<sup>425</sup> Roman women were warned by the moralists against

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<sup>418</sup> Prop. 2.2.5; Ov. *Ars am.*, 3.159-164.

<sup>419</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.141-2, Corinna's hair was ruined by *sapo* and she is forced to don a wig, described as "captive tresses." *Alterius crines umero iactentur utroque: talis es adsumpta Phoebe canore, lyra* — “Other hair that is snatched from another person hangs on your shoulders: Just as captive Phoebus is with his singing lyre.”

<sup>420</sup> According to Olson *sapo* did not redden the hair, although Pliny says "*rutilandis capillis*" at 28.191. Olson (2007): 73. Green notes that dark Mediterranean hair would have been turned reddish or auburn by bleaches, not pure blonde; perhaps this would explain the vacillation between "red" and "gold" in the sources. Green (1979): 392, n. 86.

<sup>421</sup> Plin. *HN*, 28.191; André (1955-6): 348-350.

<sup>422</sup> Bartman (2001): 10-14.

<sup>423</sup> Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.14-45-6; see also Bartman (1999): 39.

<sup>424</sup> Mart. 14.26. See also Mart. 5.37.8: *Chattica Teutonicos accendit spuma capillos captivis poteris cultior esse comis* — “Chattian foam lights up Teutonic locks. You can be more beautiful with captive hair.” Mart. 68: *quae crine vicit Baetici gregis vellus, Rhenique nodos aureamque nitelam* — “whose hair surpassed the golden fleece of a Baetic flock, and Rhine knots...”

these fashions because they stripped away the natural beauty that they possessed in favor of more artificial effects. Juvenal does not mask his contempt for Messalina, the wife of the cuckolded emperor Claudius, going so far as to describe the blonde wig she wore on her nightly shifts in the brothel — *sed nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero, intravit calidum veteri centone lupanar.*<sup>426</sup> This passage suggests that even when she was slumming, blonde was the preferred hair color of the Roman woman.

When Roman poets mention non-blonde women, their descriptions are not as flattering, but Roman men still fancy the *fusca* woman. In Plautus' *Rudens*, a conversation between Sceparnio and Ampelisca includes a description of the stolen girl, Palaestra. Sceparnio exclaims to Ampelisca his amazement at the girl's beauty:

*Pro di immortales, Veneris effigia haec quidem est. Ut in ocellis hilaritudo est, heia, corpus cuius modi, subvulturium — illud quidem, subaquilum volui dicere.*

Oh Immortal Gods! She indeed has the image of Venus. Just see that merry twinkle in her eye! Wow! Her body looks like a vulture —and she is indeed somewhat darkish.<sup>427</sup>

Sceparnio describes her complexion as *subaquilum*, meaning a rather dark complexion. Plautus is the only Latin author to employ this color-term; it is especially unusual in that he suggests that it is a positive expression for a woman. Normally Roman women were expected to maintain a pale complexion: a dark complexion was the sign of working hard outside. Her name, Palaestra, which means wrestling school in Greek, suggests that she is athletic. Plautus does not give her the typical passive feminine attribute, rather she is described as “vulture-like,” which suggests a predatory character. Given the context of this play, it would seem that Plautus is ridiculing the man who finds this type of woman

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<sup>425</sup> Leary (1996): 79; Ov., *Am.*, 1.14.45-6, Claud., *Cons. Hon. Cons. Stil.* 4.446-447, *Eutr.* 1.3843. These authors suggest that men who wore these hues were considered traitors and effeminate. Dalby (2000): 262.

<sup>426</sup> Juv. 6.115-132.

<sup>427</sup> Plaut., *Rud.*, 422.

attractive. In another play, *Poenulus*, the color-term *perniger* is used to conjure up an image of a Carthaginian nursemaid, suggesting that *perniger* is a negative description used for race. Since the play concerns Rome's foe of old, Carthage, one would expect the word to show the contempt that Romans still had for those people:

**Hanno Poenus:** *Sed earum nutrix qua sit, mi expedi*  
**Milphio Selvus:** *Statura hau magna, corpore aquilost.*  
**HAN.:** *Ipsa est.*  
**MIL.:** *Specie venusta, ore atque oculis pernigris.*

**HAN.:** But the girl's nurse — describe her appearance!  
**MIL.:** She's not very tall, swarthy.  
**HAN.:** It's the very one!  
**MIL.:** An attractive person, a real black-eyed brunette.<sup>428</sup>

In this context, however, the color-term *pernigris* is used in a positive manner; here she is presented as an attractive woman with intensely black eyes. Since Plautus is the only Latin writer to use this color-term, he may have created the term. Milphio, the character who uses the word, is telling Hanno, who is himself a Carthaginian, that this nursemaid is a countrywoman of his. By using *pernigris* to describe her, Milphio implies that Hanno will find her attractive.<sup>429</sup>

The poets describe dark-skinned women in a number of instances. For example, Lucretius ironically describes various kinds of women and their pet-names:

*Nigra "melichrus" est, immunda et fetida "acosmos,"*  
*caesia "Palladium," nervosa et lignea "dorcias," parvula*  
*pumilio, "chariton mia," "tota merum sal,"...*

The dark girl is a brown servant, the fetid smell is a sweet disorder,  
the blue-eyed girl is a little Pallas, the stringy and wooden girl is a gazelle,  
the squat little dwarf is one of the Graces, a pinch of embodied salt..<sup>430</sup>

<sup>428</sup> Plaut. *Poen.*, 1109-1114.

<sup>429</sup> Amy Richlin, *Rome and The Mysterious Orient: Three Plays by Plautus* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005).

<sup>430</sup> Lucret. 4.1160-1165.

In the same vein Propertius exhorts a young man that all women, regardless of color, are dangerous, but that young men are drawn to them regardless. He tells the youth that he has seen the fair-faced girl (*candore puellam*), the dark-skinned girl (*fuscam*), the Greek-figured girl (*Argiva figura*), the Roman girls (*nostras*), girls dressed either in plebeian or *sandyx* clothing (*plebeio vel sit sandycis amictu*) — and that they will all break his heart.<sup>431</sup> In each line he addresses the boy with *vidisti*, suggesting that he knows each type of woman. He laughs at the fact that the dark-skinned girl is just as attractive to a young man as a fair-skinned girl. He also suggests that the youth does not care what the girl is wearing: he mentions plebeian garments and also *sandyx* garments, using this color-term rather than a more respectable color-terms such as *puniceus*, *murex*, or *coccinus*. As a more experienced older man, Ovid, however, tells his audience that the most desirable girls should be light-skinned, by suggesting that a girl's dark skin reflects dark blood:

*Nominibus mollire licet mala: fusca vocetur,  
Nigrior Illyrica cui pice sanguis erit.*

With names you can soften evils: but let her be called dark-skinned  
Whose blood is blacker than Illyrian pitch.<sup>432</sup>

Certainly, his comparison of blood with tar emphasizes the prejudices of his day. In *The Fasti*, Ovid recounts how Ariadne, bemoaning her abandonment by Theseus, thinks that he has left her for a fair-skinned woman:

*Ut puto, praeposita est fuscae mihi candida paelex:  
Eveniat nostris hostibus ille color!*

I think that a fair mistress has been preferred to dark me;  
May that color always be of my enemies!<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> Prop. 2.25.42.

<sup>432</sup> Ov. *Ars Amat.* 2.6.57.

<sup>433</sup> Ovid. *Fast.* 3.493.

In the Roman imagination the fate of the darker haired woman is marked by tragedy. This is a curious situation since most Italian women were probably dark-haired and probably explains their fashion preference for blonde and red wigs.

Horace bitterly condemns the gross excess of jewelry worn by Roman women. Like other moralists, he thinks that women look better unadorned without white and green stones (*niveos viridisque lapillus*). In his mind a woman with extensive jewelry is like a prostitute (*togata*).<sup>434</sup> Along with jewelry, color-terms are used to describe makeup. Ovid describes to what extent Roman women would go, including smearing honey on one's skin, suggesting that they would smear honey from yellow combs (*flavis favis*) on their darkened skin to make them blonder or lighter.<sup>435</sup> In another passage, Ovid describes how pale women darken their skin with purple rouge, and how dark-skinned women might use the Pharian fish, that is, the dung and intestines of the Egyptian crocodile to lighten the skin:

*Pallida purpureis spargat sua corpora virgis,  
nigrior ad Pharii confuge piscis opem*

Let a pale woman adorn her person with purple stripes,  
and one who is darker have recourse to the aid of the Pharian fish.<sup>436</sup>

Martial comments on the foul odor of a certain Roman woman, who covers her face with a green depilatory called *psilothum*:

*virus et hoc alio fallax per mutet odore,  
deposita quotiens balnea veste petit,  
psilothro viret aut acida latet oblita creta  
aut tegitur pingui terque quarterque faba.*

In order to exchange this stench for a different odor,

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<sup>434</sup> Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.80. The *toga muliebris* was worn by prostitutes: Sebesta (1994): 53 n. 50, 140-141. This garment is mentioned by Cicero when he attacks Antony in *Phil.* 2.44.

<sup>435</sup> Ov. *Medicamina Faciei*, 81-82.

<sup>436</sup> Ov. *Ars am.* 3.269-270. The "Pharian fish" derives its name from Pharos in Egypt where crocodiles abounded: Dymock, *Biblioteca Classica*, 592.

whenever she takes off her clothes to get into the bath, the crafty lady is green with depilatory or lurks under a lining of chalk and vinegar, or is coated with three or four layers of thick bean meal.<sup>437</sup>

Martial also criticizes the dental care of two Roman women, saying that Thaïs has black teeth, (*nigros*), while Laecania has white teeth (*niveos*); he explains this sarcastically by saying that the woman with white teeth bought hers.<sup>438</sup> The satirists use color-terms as a way of criticizing women, just as the elegiac poets discuss their beloved in terms of color, and the historians describe famous women in terms of color. For all these writers, color figures as an important element, or physiognomic trope, in descriptions of women as in descriptions of men. The physiognomic treatises never considered the description of women, other than identifying “feminine” traits in men; but Roman writers invented their own tropes.

### Descriptions of Non-Romans

The ancient sources often present a negative view of non-Romans, and they often include color-terms. For example, Pliny describes a forest tribe, the Choromandae, with special attention to their horrible screams, hairy bodies, menacing gray eyes (*oculis glaucis*) and dog-like teeth.<sup>439</sup> It is noteworthy that Pliny includes gray eyes among their negative characteristics; gray eyes were a trope for divine beings, including Augustus. Perhaps gray eyes were a mark reserved for special beings who were not part of ordinary humanity. Seneca, however, considers the variety of peoples that inhabit the Roman Empire, and concludes that each group considers its own coloring perfectly normal: the

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<sup>437</sup> Martial mentions this depilatory in 3.74.1; so does Pliny in *HN*, 24.79, but he does not describe the color.

<sup>438</sup> Mart. 5.43. On Roman dental care, see R. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (London: Bristol, 1988): 118-121.

<sup>439</sup> Plin. *HN*, 7.2.24.

Ethiopians' skin color is not notable to them (*non est Aethiopsis inter suos insignitus color*); the Germans wear their long red hair tied up in a knot, which they do not consider unmanly (*nec rufus crinis et coatus in nodum apud Germanos virum dedecet*).<sup>440</sup> At the time that Seneca was living, the Roman Empire had reached critical mass. One way that Romans distinguished themselves from non-native born citizens was through color. It seems logical that these features would make their way into the writing of the time. Seneca does not comment on these new peoples' customs, habits, language or costume; instead he notices their physical characteristics, as do the other authors cited below.

### Gauls, Germans, and Britons

Roman authors tend to describe the Gauls with awe and a degree of admiration. In the *Aeneid*, Vergil describes the Gauls in an impressive manner, showing that their hair and their clothing and collars were the same golden color — *aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis... tum lactea colla auro innectuntur*.<sup>441</sup> The use of the word *caesaries* for hair may be notable, given its placement in a text that glorifies Augustus. In the *Aeneid*, the sack of Rome is an event that will take place in the future, and while Aeneas does not fight the Gauls, they are described so as to make them appear as worthy foes, who are frightening to the Romans. The use of the color-term *aurum* three times emphasizes their importance in Roman history.

Some authors pay significant attention to the Gauls' hair color. Tibullus notes that some were fair-haired, like the *flavi Carnutes* who live on the Loire River — *Carnutis et*

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<sup>440</sup> Sen. *De Ira*, 3.26.3.

<sup>441</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, 8.657-661. See Dalby (2000): 84. A Roman period sculpture featuring a Dying Gaul wears a torque around his neck, which would have been gold.

*flavi caerula lymphæ Liger* — the blue stream of the blonde tribes of Chartres.<sup>442</sup> It is notable that Tibullus’ use of the color term *flavi* for the hair color is juxtaposed with *caerula* for the river. This is a striking instance where two very different nouns (*Carnutis* and *Liger*) are described with color-terms that are placed together and seem to sum up the two qualities of the people and their geographical location. Tacitus describes how the barbarian Civilis dyed his hair red (*rutilam crinem*) and let it grow long until he had conquered the Romans.<sup>443</sup> In this respect the red hair functioned in an apotropaic manner, similar to other ancient figures such as Nisus and Samson. According to Tacitus the red hair was a such an important distinguishing characteristic for Gauls, that in order for Civilis to be successful in battle he needed to have the long red hair.

Descriptions of the German tribes are far less positive. Tacitus’ description in *Germania* is the most complete — *truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida* — “fierce blue eyes, red hair, tall frames, powerful only spasmodically.”<sup>444</sup> The satirists also cast their jibe at this group, reinforcing a stereotyped image of an uncivilized people. Juvenal exclaims: *caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro?* — “Who is amazed to see a German with blue eyes and yellow hair, twisting his greasy curls into a horn?”<sup>445</sup> It is noticeable that both authors use *caeruleus* for descriptions of the eyes, once again reinforcing the idea these warring people are not Roman. In one of his satires, Martial puts these words into the mouth of a German rebel against the imperial power of Rome:

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<sup>442</sup> Tib. 1.7.9-12.

<sup>443</sup> Tac. *Hist.*, 4.61.1.

<sup>444</sup> Tac. *Germ.*, 4.2.

<sup>445</sup> Juv. 13.165.

*Sic leve flavorum valeat genus Usiporum,  
Quisquis et Ausonium non amat imperium.*

So let the weak race of the yellow-haired Usipi be strong,  
and whoever doesn't love Rome's rule.<sup>446</sup>

Once again there is the perception that the Germans' yellow hair and their hostility toward Rome are joined together.

Suetonius describes Caligula's plan for a mock triumph over Germany.<sup>447</sup> He orders the tallest men of the Gauls to dye their hair red (*rutilare*), to learn the German language, and even to assume German names.<sup>448</sup> It is curious to note that Suetonius here associates red hair with Germans, and not with Gauls. It appears that Suetonius was not adhering to the usual physiognomic description of Germans and Gauls. In this anomaly, perhaps Suetonius assumed that all barbarians had red hair and the distinctions between Gauls and Germans had no relevance to him. It could also be a matter of translation: while there is a color-term *rutilare*, to turn one's hair color red, there is no corresponding color-term to turn one's hair color blonde. These authors may be inconsistent in their description of hair color: sometimes Gauls and Germans are blond, *flavus*, and sometimes red-haired, *rutilus*; but these color-terms are always employed in descriptions of hair color — as opposed to *croceus*, *luteus*, *rubor*, *coccinus*, *cerasinus*, or *russeus*.

Lucan is the first to describe the attributes of the British conquered by Julius Caesar:

*Ut vincula Rhino, Oceanoque daret, celsos ut Gallia currus  
Nobilis et flavis sequeretur mixta Britannis.*

The chains [Julius Caesar] would have bestowed upon the Rhine and the Ocean,  
his lofty chariot followed by noble Gauls together

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<sup>446</sup> Mart. 6.61.3-4.

<sup>447</sup> The details of this event are murky; see Hurley, commentary on Suet. *Calig.*, 170. According to Bradley, "*Rutilus* was the category that denoted the red hair of Nordic barbarians, the verb *rutilare* an evocative expression of the chromatic manipulation - linguistic as well as physical - to which Caligula was complicit." Bradley (2004): 135.

<sup>448</sup> Suet. *Calig.*, 47.

with fair-haired Britons.<sup>449</sup>

He describes them strictly by their hair color, *flavis*, as opposed other characteristics. Tacitus describes other physiognomic qualities of the British tribes: the Caledonians have red hair (*rutilae comae*) and they are tall (*magni*), so Tacitus suggests that they are related to the Germans; the Silures have dark faces (*colorati vultus*) and curly hair (*torti plerumque crines*) which suggests that they are related to the Spanish.<sup>450</sup> Strabo, writing in Greek, also describes the traits of the Britons: height (οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εὐμηκέστεροι τῶν Κελτῶν εἰσι), not as blond as the Celts (ἦσσον ξανθότριχες), body type (δὲ χαυνότεροι τοῖς σώμασι). He says that their boys are half a foot taller than the average Roman, but they are not very attractive.<sup>451</sup> Greek writers use color-terms that are combinations of a noun and an adjective (never an adverb), as in the case of ξανθότριχες — yellow-haired. This phenomenon is never found in Roman color-terms.

Most notable in descriptions of the Britons is the vividness of the people who decorate themselves with blue. Julius Caesar describes the Britons with their blue war-paint:

*Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt,  
quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque  
hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu.*

All the Britons, indeed, dye themselves with woad, which occasions a bluish color, and thereby have a more terrible appearance in fight.<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>449</sup> Lucan 3.76-78.

<sup>450</sup> Tac. *Germ.*, 11. In a rare instance Tacitus, who does not use color-terms in great supply, uses a color-term to describe the natural resources of Britannia, a province that Claudius conquered — *Gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia* — “Their sea also produces pearls but somewhat clouded and leaden-hued...” Tacitus suggests that the grey color of the pearls, which are not gleaming or purely white, is a punishment for the Romans’ greediness. Tac., *Agr.*, 12.6.

<sup>451</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2.200.

<sup>452</sup> Caes. *B Gall.*, 5.14.3.

Here Caesar is using a color-term normally used for eyes to describe their blue paint.

The best-known anecdote about the Britons was that they were fierce and blue *caerulei Britanni*, *picti Britanni* using blue woad as war-paint; it was also reported that they wore baggy pants.<sup>453</sup> In a list of peoples best left unvisited, Horace includes *Britanni hospitibus feri* — “Britons, fierce to their guests.”<sup>454</sup> Martial takes a less negative angle, and sympathizes with a former slave, Claudia Rufina:

*Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis  
edita, quam Latiae pectora gentis habet!  
quale decus forma! Romanam credere matres  
Italides possunt, Athides esse suam.*

Claudia Rufina is a daughter of the blue Britons,  
And yet how Latin is her mind!  
And what beautiful form she has! Italian mothers could take her to be Roman,  
Greek mothers to be one of their own?<sup>455</sup>

As Claudia’s *cognomen* is *Rufina*, which means “little red,” Martial is keen to play on the juxtaposition of red and blue, two contrasting colors. There is a parallelism here with the pairing of the two color-terms, and Martial’s account of her character, as she is described as distinctly British, but could also pass for a Roman.

Propertius also writes about the color of the Britons in poetic form, making a specific point of denouncing the new fashions that Roman women were adopting from this foreign culture — *An si caeruleo quaedam sua tempora fuco / tinxerit, idcirco caerulea forma bonast?* — “Why do you insist on dyeing your forehead blue, Is a blue face a good one?”<sup>456</sup> The pigment, *caeruleus fucus*, generally understood as “woad,” had by Propertius’ time become emblematic of outlandish cosmetics. It colored the whole body,

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<sup>453</sup> Martial is perhaps the most vocal of the satirists for his declamation against the Britons: *quam veteres braciae Brittonis pauperis* — “as the old leggings of a poor Briton.” Mart. 11.21.

<sup>454</sup> Hor. *Carm.*, 3.4.33.

<sup>455</sup> Mart. 11.53.

<sup>456</sup> Prop. 2.18.23-30.

skin and hair of Gauls and Britons, and was imported to Rome to be used more selectively by Roman ladies as a hair color and eyeliner.<sup>457</sup>

Assyrians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Etruscans and Indians

Dark skin was portrayed by the physiognomic writers in a negative manner. The Pseudo-Aristotelian text says: “Those whose skin is too dark are cowardly: witness the Egyptians and the Ethiopians.”<sup>458</sup> *Subfuscus*, a color-term for dark skin, is always used negatively. Apuleius pointedly uses it in a description just prior to giving the person’s name:

*Ad haec renidens Milo, “Qua” inquit “Corporis habitudine  
praeditus quove nomine nincupatus hic  
Iste Chaldaeus est?” “Procerus” in quam “Et subfuscus, Diophanes nomine.”*

After that Milo laughed again, and asked me “How tall is this Chaldean and what is his name?” “Tall” I said “And somewhat dark-skinned, his name is Diophanes.”<sup>459</sup>

Milo and the narrator mock Diophanes because of his swarthy complexion. The ancient stereotypes portray people from Eastern Asia as deceitful and without character.

In several of his epigrams, Martial refers to the people of *fusca* Syene.<sup>460</sup> He discusses the preferred attributes of a catamite imported from Egypt, which reveals much about the racial attitudes of Rome. He suggests that the boy should be whiter than snow (*nive candidior*) because that complexion is rare in dark Mareotis (*in mareotide fusca*) and his hair should not be curly (*tortas non amo... comas*), and he should have a

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<sup>457</sup> Juv. 2.94; Ov. *Ars Am.* 3.203; Plin. *HN* 28.166; see also Olson (2007): 62.

<sup>458</sup> [Aristot.] *Physiogn.* 812a12. Sassi (2001): 50.

<sup>459</sup> Apul. *Met.*, 2.13.

<sup>460</sup> Mart. 9.35.7. On the use of *fuscus* to describe blacks, see Frank Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983): 8 and n.16 (112): 77. There are a number of inscriptions that mention *Fuscus* as a masculine name and *Fusca* as a female name: *CIL* 6.4276, 4716, 13911; *CIL* 8.12748; *Fusca*: *CIL* 13112, 13042.

proportioned forehead (*frons brevis*) and his nostrils should not be large (*modus leviter sit naribus uncis*) and his lips should be as red as the roses of Paestum (*Paestanis rubeant aemula labra rosas*).<sup>461</sup> Once again this is a physiognomic description. The preferred attributes of a lover are always described in the same way, whether girls or boys are desired. Light skin was the desired trait. Martial says that it is more beautiful because it is so rare among the *fusca* people of Egypt. Petronius, by contrast, provides a rather attractive, if lascivious, image of Egyptian dancers:

*Memphitides, puellae,  
Sacris Deum paratae,  
Tinctus colore noctis  
Manu puer loquaci,  
Aegyptias choreas.*

Young girls of Memphis,  
prepared in the rites of the gods,  
colored deep as the night  
the hand of the chirping boy,  
dancing Egyptian dances.<sup>462</sup>

Even in the later part of the Empire, Ammianus Marcellinus describes the Egyptians with the negative term *subfuscus*:

*Homines autem Aegyptii plerique subfusculi sunt et atrati, magisque maestiores gracilenti et aridi, ad singulos motus excandescantes, controversi et reposcenes acerrimi.*

Now the men of Egypt are, as a rule, somewhat swarthy and dark of complexion, and rather gloomy-looking, slender and hardy, excitable in all their movements, quarrelsome, and most swift to demand their rights.<sup>463</sup>

This is a negative description suggesting once again that because they are dark, the Egyptians must be evil people with designs for deeds of ill will, especially in their defiance of Rome. Complexion in the ancient world suggested much about a person's inner working.

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<sup>461</sup> Mart. 4.42.

<sup>462</sup> Petron. *Frag.* 2.

<sup>463</sup> Amm. Marc. 22.16.23.

Ovid contributes his thoughts on the Ethiopians in his *Metamorphoses*. Instead of focusing on sexuality or beauty, he talks about the scientific causes by which people in hot climates might have dark skin:

*Sanguines tum credunt in corpora summa vocato  
Aethiopum populos **nigrum** traxisse colorem*

It was then, as men think, that the peoples of Aethiopia became black-skinned, since the blood was drawn to the surface of their bodies by the heat.<sup>464</sup>

Roman descriptions of dark skin color commonly suggested they had been "colored" by the sun — *coloratus* was a trope which offered pertinent information about the individual's background. As noted above, Tacitus describes the *colorati Silures* of Britain as part of his argument that the Silures must have emigrated from Spain. Martial also uses this term to describe the darkened skins of the Etruscans — *deque coloratis numquam lita mater Etruscis* — “was a daughter of the sunburnt Etruscans.”<sup>465</sup>

Etruscans were easily pictured as *colorati Etrusci* — their skins darker than the typical Italian, their bodies more rotund, their religion and its ritual (Etruscan *disciplina*) utterly distinct.<sup>466</sup>

Finally, from the outlying portions of the Roman Empire, Strabo the geographer records the many exotic colors (*πολλοῖς εὐανθεστάτοις χρώμασι*) that the men of India used to change the color of their beards; the Indians make amazing dyes (*χρόας θαυμαστάς*) for both their hair and their garments, and they are very fond of adornment.<sup>467</sup> Arrian, writing considerably later, comments on this same behavior,

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<sup>464</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 2.235-236.

<sup>465</sup> Mart. 10.68.

<sup>466</sup> See Chapter Six on multicolored terms, which further highlights the attitudes of authors towards dark-skinned people.

<sup>467</sup> Strabo *Geography*, 15.1.30.699.

utterly foreign to Rome. He quotes Nearchus as saying that they dye their beards various colors, including white, as white as possible (λευκοῦς φαίνεσθαι οἶους λευκοτάτους), blue (κυανέους), purple (φοινικέους and πορφυρέους), and pea-green (πρασοειδέας).<sup>468</sup> When the Romans began actively trading with India, they discovered many surprising and unexpected aspects to its exotic riches. While these passages do not imply that the Romans intended to adopt these foreign customs, they do suggest that Romans were thinking of manipulating these colors for their own purposes.

Writers in Latin literature present diverse and rich descriptions of all parts of one's appearance, which frequently involve color-terms as markers of distinction. The largest variety of color-terms is devoted to Roman emperors: their eye color, complexion and hair color receive the most attention. The color-terms employed in these descriptions are directed by underlying physiognomic principles outlined by the Aristotelian schools and Polemo of Laodicea. The few women of royal status who are described in detail were seen as extraordinary in their accomplishments. Zenobia and Boudicca, rather than appearing brazen and wildly fierce, are portrayed as victorious and impressive. Color-terms in writings about the deeds of such people served as a visual reminder and mark of bravery, even if the person or group of people were enemies or opponents of Rome. I suggest that perhaps authors who describe such opponents as the Gauls were displaying a certain respect for them, thus giving them more humanity. In descriptions of ordinary people, color-terms had greater meaning when describing human emotions and health defects. Cicero, Martial, Seneca and Plutarch connect color-terms directly with emotions, associating a red face with anger and mania. Plautus also employs color-terms

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<sup>468</sup> Arrian, *Indica*, 16.4.

in a trope manner: the red-haired slave was a foolish buffoon who did not receive respect from Romans. In Cicero's *Orations*, red-haired men are not shown respect either.

Writers also use color-terms as a way of showing their sexual fantasies. In this chapter I have demonstrated how certain color-terms have been used for specific parts of the body to describe men and women with desirable and unattractive traits: young women with blonde hair are consistently the object of men's desire. Foreign peoples are often given colorful descriptions, which are all too revealing of racial prejudices. Although historians, orators, poets and biographers do not employ color-terms in the same way, they all follow certain physiognomic formulae. The Romans were a visually-oriented people, set on seeing both their leaders and their opponents in a visual way. By describing them with color-terms, the Romans followed the philosophical principles of *ekphrasis* that had been in place for centuries.

## Chapter Six: The Multicolored World of the Romans

The Romans understood color perception far better than modern scholarship acknowledges. Ancient Romans knew how to express the variegation of color in nature as well as in man-made materials, suggesting that they observed change in objects, whether it be from life to death, sickness to health, beauty to ugliness. These color-terms were able to express many possibilities in a single instance. Romans used six different color-terms to convey the concept of many colors: *versicolor*, *decolor*, *discolor*, *bicolor*, *multicolor*, and *omnicolor*. Each color-term expresses a different aspect of many-coloredness. Finally the terms *concolor* and *unicolor* are used to describe the opposite situation: a homogeneous quality of color.

### *Versicolor*

In all of Latin literature there are about a dozen passages that incorporate the color-term *versicolor*, or multi-colored, many colored. *Versicolor* is an ambiguous color-term employed by a select group of authors, primarily in scientific descriptions of nature, and for woven garments of cloth that were worn or used for decoration. This sample encompasses both poetry and prose, including Vergil, Propertius, Livy, Ovid, Pliny, Quintilian and Columella. Perhaps the most troubling nature of this term is why Roman writers would resort to lumping all of the color possibilities into one word. I posit that the universality and the one-size-fits-all use of the word filled a need in particular situations, which will be examined below.<sup>469</sup>

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<sup>469</sup> It is interesting to note that André (1949) does not include the word *versicolor* in his study. This situation is probably as a result of André's approach, which was to understand each color-term separately.

The term *versicolor* is also one of the few color-terms that were introduced into law, as early as 215 B.C. in the *Lex Oppia*.<sup>470</sup> This sumptuary law banned women from having more than one *semuncia* of gold, wearing *versicolor* garments, and riding in carriages within one mile of the city of Rome except in the course of performing a public rite; it also prevented women from showing off their gold jewelry.<sup>471</sup> The *Digesta*, a late compilation of Roman laws, is explicit in its regulation of colored garments, as in this section in which Ulpian discusses different types of wool that can be bequeathed to an heir:

*Versicoloribus videndum est. Et constabat apud veteres lanae appellatione versicoloria non contineri, sed ea omnia videri legata, quae tincta sunt, et neta, quae neque detexta neque contexta sunt. Proinde quaeritur, an purpura appellatione versicolorum contineatur. Et ego arbitror ea, quae tincta non sunt, versicoloribus non adnumerari et ideo neque album neque naturaliter nigrum contineri nec alterius coloris naturalis: purpuram autem et coccum, quoniam nihil nativi coloris sunt, contineri arbitror, nisi aliud sensit testator.*

Where wool has changed its color, this should be taken into consideration. It was decided by the ancient authorities that wool which has changed its color should not be included under the term wool, but all which had been spun and not woven should be included. Hence the question arises whether the term "changed in color" is applicable to purple. I think that what has not been dyed is not included under this term, and therefore that neither wool which is naturally white or black, or of any other natural hue, is meant. I hold, however, that purple and scarlet, as they are not natural colors, should be included under the term dyed wools, unless the testator intended otherwise.<sup>472</sup>

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He was evidently more interested in distilling the very nature of each color-term in a pure sense. It would seem out of place in André's mission to consider a term that combines all the color-terms into one word.

<sup>470</sup> No actual text of the *Lex Oppia* survives, but it is mentioned in many ancient sources: Livy 34.1-8; Tac. *Ann.* 3.33-34; Val. Max., 9.1.3; Aul. Gell. *NA*, 10.23, 17.6, Oros. 4.20.14, Zonar. 9.17.1, Vir. *Ill.* 47. According to P. Culham, "it is impossible to tell from Livy's literary account what the actual wording of the law would have been... none of the ancient accounts presents significant variations in the provisions of the law." Culham (1986): 236 and n.8.

<sup>471</sup> A number of modern scholars suggest that the *versicolor* is related only to purple: John Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981): 44; Phyllis Culham, "The *Lex Oppia*," *Latomus* 41 (1982): 786 n. 1; Emily A. Hemelrijk, "A Group of Provincial East-Greek vases from South Western Asia Minor" *BABesch* 62 (1987): 218. Livy does not give specific prohibitions against purple in book 34 (34.3.9, 34.4.10, 34.7.1-10). Culham suggest that the meaning of the term afterward changed and "in the later legal literature *versicolor* garments seem to have been reasonably distinct from purple." Culham (1986): 237. Olson thinks that there is no real restriction of *versicolor* as defined as purple in Livy. All that is revealed from Livy is the use of *versicolor* referring to garments dyed with a luxury dye, including but not limited to purple. Olson (2007): 148.

<sup>472</sup> Ulpian, *Dig.* 32.70.12.

This passage clearly shows that *versicolor* is one of those color-terms that needed to be defined precisely. Ulpian defines and establishes a hierarchy of the types of natural and dyed wool.

Given its institution into law, this color-term has a documented past. The evidence in Latin poetry, however, provides no instances of mortal women wearing *versicolor* garments. Ovid describes the *versicolor* garment that the goddess Flora wears in the Spring; when she moves, flowers drop from her hair.<sup>473</sup> Ovid does not describe her dress other than to set her apart from the rest of the officiants of Ceres. Flora seems to stand out from amidst a white sea. She is the personification of the flowering fields, who is different from Ceres, goddess of the harvest.

In his account of the Samnite Wars in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., Livy describes the military garments of the Samnites, in two separate groups. One group (*auratis militibus*) was outfitted with goldern accoutrements and wore versicolor tunics (*tunicae versicolores*); the other group had silver battle attire and wore white linen.<sup>474</sup> In its purest definition a tunic (*tunica*) was a garment worn by men and children under the toga, and by women under the *stola*.<sup>475</sup> According to Phyllis Culham, the term *versicolor* may have referred primarily to garments banded with a contrasting color, including purple.<sup>476</sup> But it is possible that this term referred to a garment finished and dyed in such a way that its surface presented a shimmering or chameleon-like appearance. Given the conditions in the dyeing and clothing industry, colorfast dyes were not in existence and generally the colors were presented in an inconsistent manner, which could account for the variegated

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<sup>473</sup>Ov. *Fast.*, 5.355-360.

<sup>474</sup>Livy, 9.40.3.

<sup>475</sup>Sebesta (1994): 247.

<sup>476</sup>Culham (1986): 236-237.

shading and multi-colors.<sup>477</sup> This suggests that *versicolor* refers to garments of poor quality, but that does not apply to Livy's passage. He portrays the Samnites as worthy foes, arrayed in an impressive manner. Ordinarily Livy as historian rarely employs color-terms, but here he uses the example of the Samnite tunics to point a moral: the Romans needed no such finery to win a victory.

Vergil also employs this color-term in the catalogue of the Etruscans, which mentions Astyr, who trusted in his horse and his multi-colored weapons and armor:

*Sequitur pulcherrimus Astyr,  
Astyr equo fidens et versicoloribus armis.*

Following the most fetching Astyr,  
that very Astyr relying on a horse and multicolored armor.<sup>478</sup>

Once again the foreign enemy is shown in brilliant colors. The Etruscans were not considered as valiant as contemporary Romans. The character Astyr put his faith into his horse and colorful armor, rather than relying on his own wits and strength.

Pliny describes how the sails of ships were dyed or woven in many colors, an idea that began with Alexander the Great in India. His multicolored sails or flags (*versicoloria insignia*) aroused the astonishment of everyone who saw them.<sup>479</sup> Here Pliny is interested in the different cloth fibers and materials, such as linen, which was an exotic material imported from Egypt. He describes the sudden appearance of colored sails used by Alexander the Great as an amazing spectacle, suggesting that the colored sails were

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<sup>477</sup> Moeller (1976): 24.

<sup>478</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, 10.180-182.

<sup>479</sup> Plin. *HN*, 19.22.

another way of showing one's wealth in the navy.<sup>480</sup> Pliny also talks of turbans of different colors worn by Greek women in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.:

*Alii quoque post hos clari fuere ante LXXXX olympiadem, sicut Polygnotus Thasius, qui primus mulieres tralucida veste pinxit, capita earum mitris versicoloribus operuit plurimumque picturae primus contulit.*

But after all this were evident even after the 90<sup>th</sup> Olympiad, in the same way Polygnotus of Thasos, who was the first who painted women in transparent Garments, and showed their heads covered with multicolored mitras.<sup>481</sup>

Only Greek women and courtesans were recognized for wearing these multicolored headdresses. Pollux's catalogue includes a "mitered courtesan" — ἡ δὲ διάμιτρος μίτρα ποικίλη τὴν κεφαλὴν κατείληται — who wears a painted turban on her head.<sup>482</sup>

In his discussion of oratory, Quintilian remarks on the excessive nature of multi-colored garments, suggesting that they are not appropriate, even when worn by well-known leaders such as Demetrius of Phalerum, who wore a multicolored cloak (*versicolorem vestem*).<sup>483</sup> Demetrius was of course not a Roman, and his garments would not have been appropriate in the Roman forum. Here Quintilian may be echoing Plato's similar sentiments from *The Republic*, in which he compares democracy to "garment of many colors, embroidered with all kinds of hues" which could easily deceive the populace "like boys and women when they see bright-colored things."<sup>484</sup>

*Versicolor* also describes the colored feathers that were always a sign of extreme luxury because they involved the killing of an exotic animal. Feathers and fans in literature are always considered a form of decadence that was not tolerated by traditional

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<sup>480</sup> Perhaps Pliny thinks that Alexander the Great got the notion to dye the sails of his ships after arriving in India.

<sup>481</sup> Plin. *HN*, 35.58.

<sup>482</sup> Poll., *Ono.* 4.154. Juvenal also mentioned different colored turbans in 3.66: *ite, quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra!* — Get out, all that you delight in foreign whores with painted turbans.

<sup>483</sup> Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1.33.

<sup>484</sup> Plato, *Resp.*, 8.557c.

Romans, as previously discussed on Freedmen. Propertius describes the feathered plumage of a bird in the form of a pillow:

*Non tulit hoc Paetus, stridorem audire procellae  
et duro teneras laedere fune manus,  
Sed Chio thalamo aut Oricia terebintho  
et fultum pluma **versicolor** caput.*

Paetus could not endure the shrieking of the wind nor to wound his delicate hands with hard ropes. But he preferred to lie in a bedroom of Chian marble or on a couch of Orician terebinth wood, his head on a multicolored feathered pillow.<sup>485</sup>

The taste for luxury in this situation leads to the death of Paetus by drowning. Like Zoilus' *prasino flabello*, these costly feathers from the bird evoke bitter sentiments about the lives of Romans. Propertius is employing *versicolor* in association with themes of corruption and the ultimate futility of wealth.<sup>486</sup>

Propertius describes the fruits of a harvest including Cydonian apples, blackberries, violets, lilies, grapes or multicolored bird with various colored feathers (*variam plumae versicoloris avem*).<sup>487</sup> Here he suggests that the plumes of the wild bird are actually still on the bird; its feathers have not yet been plucked. The plumage description is the last color-term used in his corpus and implies that this is the end of the golden age for the Romans. As the term *versicolor* is used only twice in his corpus as a poet, the term was special and was used sparingly.

The color-term *versicolor* is used again when Columella describes the complexities involved in growing grapes. He exclaims in frustration that grapes do not conform to any plan in nature, but he praises the abundance of autumn which shines with multicolored

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<sup>485</sup> Prop. 3.7.46-50.

<sup>486</sup> Clarke (2003): 143-4. Clarke considers how this unusual color-term is employed in Propertius 3.13, creating a link between the two poems.

<sup>487</sup> Prop. 13.27-32.

apples — *undique versicoloribus pomis gravidus collucet autumnus*.<sup>488</sup> No other color-term can hint at the different and variegated shades that the apples have. This passage gives the most defined way to understand the color-term *versicolor*: a term to denote the changing of colors in nature. Pliny describes the mullet, a small Italian fish whose scales would change colors when it died (*Mullum expirantem versicolori*), and its scales would constantly change color (*rubentium squamarum multiplici mutatione*) when it was put in a glass bowl.<sup>489</sup> Pliny describes the chameleon in a similar fashion, claiming that it was shy creature and that is the reason for its many changes in color (*ideo versicoloris esse mutationis*).<sup>490</sup> The fact that chameleons change their coats is a powerful tool for the practical reason of hiding, thus making the color-term *versicolor* an indicator of change as paired with the term *mutatio*. In observing two different animals, he applies the same color-term to indicate quality of changeableness.

When discussing flowers, Pliny uses the term *versicolor* in its other meaning — *Floret versicolor specie, sicut arcus caelestis, unde et nomen* — “The flower is multi-colored, like the rainbow; hence the name ‘iris’.”<sup>491</sup> The name of the flower reminds Pliny of the rainbow and further of the goddess Iris. These examples provide a small window into the description of multicolored objects, which is difficult and would make for an awkward and elaborate list of color-terms. It is clear that authors of all types were familiar with the single color-term *versicolor*, which allowed for a range of meanings, from many-colored to variable in color.

### Decolor

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<sup>488</sup> Columella, *Rust.* 3.21.3.

<sup>489</sup> Plin. *HN*, 9.30.66.

<sup>490</sup> Plin. *HN*, 28.13.

<sup>491</sup> Plin. *HN*, 21.44.

There are two other terms that are used by Latin authors to suggest multicolored in nature and form. The color-term *decolor* means a removal of color, or stained.<sup>492</sup> It is not a color-term that has positive connotations, and often conjures up images of something befouled and dirty from unnatural means. Latin writers such as Juvenal and Pliny the Elder use *decolor* to show discoloration or change in a particular hue, or in an object, always for the worse. In one instance, Juvenal uses *decolor* to show how the pages of a certain book of Horace have aged and grown old:

*quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset  
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni*

How many students had clung to a discolored Horace  
Or a soot-blackened Vergil tablet.<sup>493</sup>

By the time Juvenal arrived on the scene in the early second century, Horace, a champion of the Augustan Age, was considered old-fashioned. Juvenal suggests how out-of-date Horace's book was, although we do not know which book it is, may have been.

Pliny shares with his audience how some natural resources, such as tar or pitch, can be described in negative terms:

*Pix optima ubique ex apricis aquilonis situ, exopacis horridior  
virusque praeferens, frigida hieme deterior ac minus copiosa et decolor.*

The best kind of pitch anywhere is from a sunny place rather than darkened place and the location is always preferable. It presents itself in a cold winter and a little more plentiful in quality and is discolored.<sup>494</sup>

Since Pliny concerns himself with the nature of pitch, which was used in building projects, he is concerned with all its aspects, including its color and smell. Perhaps its

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<sup>492</sup> The *TLL* explores all ranges that *decolor* can describe including natural changes in composition, bodily functions, and complexion. *TLL*, 198-199.

<sup>493</sup> Juv., 7.226.

<sup>494</sup> Plin., *HN*, 16.59.

original color was different and changed, prompting Pliny to use a color-term that implied change. Pliny uses *decolor* once again to show the change and oxidation in bronze and silver:

*Nec vero omnes quae sint calidae medicatas esse credendum, sicut in Segesta Siciliae, Laris Troade, Magnesia, Melo, Lipara. Nec decolor species aeris argentine, ut multi existimaverunt, me dicaminum argumentum est, quando nihil eorum in Patavinis funtiber.*

We must not believe that all kinds of waters have medicinal properties, like those at Segesta in Sicily, at Laris in the Troad, at Magnesia, in Melos, and Lipara. Nor has it been proved to me that the discolored kind of bronze and silver, as many people had considered, in the furnace of the springs of Patavium [has medicinal properties either].<sup>495</sup>

The color-term *decolor* shows how certain metals change composition. Pliny illustrates this change from a scientific point of view.

Roman writers used the verb *decolorare* in the same manner as the adjective *decolor* for an array of organic objects. In his treatise on agriculture Columella uses *decolorare* in a literal sense. He marks the change in ripeness as a critical aspect in the manufacturing and preparation of olives:

*Est et illud conditurae genus, quod in civitatibus Graeci plerumque usurpatur, idque vocant epityrum. Oliva Pausea vel orchita cum primum ex albo decoloratur, fitque luteola, sereno caelo manu destringitur, et in cannis uno die sub umbra expanditur: et si qui adhaerent pediculi foliaque aut surculi, leguntur.*

There is a kind of preservative, which is commonly made use of in Greek cities, called 'epityrum.' The Pausean olive or the orchite olive, as soon as it loses its white color and becomes yellow as the calm sky, is picked out by hand and in one day they are spread out: and if any twigs or leaves cling, they are removed.<sup>496</sup>

Columella also describes the preferred shade of color for olives. In this case the term *decolorare* does not have any negative connotation, but rather it is a natural process:

*Oleum ad unguenta sic facito. Ante quam oliva nigrescat, cum primum decolorari coeperit nec tamen adhuc varia fuerit, maxime Liciniam...*

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<sup>495</sup> Plin. *HN*, 31.61.

<sup>496</sup> Columella 12.49.9.

Oil for ointment should be made in the following way. Before the olive turns black, as soon as it begins to change color but when it is not yet mottled, pick by hand preferably Lician olives...<sup>497</sup>

In his *Quaestiones Naturales*, however, Seneca discusses the negative effects of lightning. He says that there is type of lightning that has the capability of blackening objects (*fuscantur*); he observes that it either discolors objects or it colors them (*hoc aut decolorat aut colorat*). He defines something as “discolored” when its color is spoiled but not changed (*decoloratur id cuius color vitiatur, non mutatur*); and defines something as “colored” when it looks different than when it did before, for example, blue, black or whitish, or pale (*coloratur id cuius alia fit quam fuit facies, tamquam caerulea vel nigra vel pallida*).<sup>498</sup> He explicitly equates *decolorare* with spoiling, *vitiatur*. Celsus also uses the verb *decolorare* to describe various parts of the body, implying that they have changed color in a significantly negative fashion, such as a skin condition that could not be changed, when the eyelids become pale (*quem palpebrae pallent*) and the lips and nostrils become discolored (*idem pallor labra et nares decolorat*).<sup>499</sup> He uses this verb as a symptom for skin that is diseased and not normal. He uses *decolorare* again when describing abscesses under the surface of the skin (*quoque eutem decolorent*).<sup>500</sup> Suetonius reports an incident in the life of Augustus, when Cassius of Parma taunted him that his success was based on unclean money. Cassius further suggested that Augustus was unfit to rule, taunting him that he was descended from a money-changer from Nerulum, with his hands discolored with filthy money (*hanc finxit minibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarii*).<sup>501</sup> Here Suetonius, like Seneca and Celsus, applies

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<sup>497</sup> Columella 12.54.1.

<sup>498</sup> Sen. *Q. Nat.* 2.40.6.

<sup>499</sup> Celsus 2.6.4.

<sup>500</sup> Celsus 2.8.23.

<sup>501</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 4.2.

the verb *decolorare* to describe a body part that has changed physically and not for the better.

*Decolor* takes on its most potent usage when applied to the mythological realm. Cicero describes what happens when Deianira betrays her husband Hercules, receiving a shirt from a centaur. She was tricked into smearing poison on the garment, causing his death. Cicero describes the incident in his inflammatory speech, the *Tusculan Disputations* as Hercules dies that this shirt has drained out his poisoned blood (*iam decolorem sanguinem omnem exorbuit*).<sup>502</sup> Hercules' flesh is burned as the garment sucks out all of his blood. In this process his blood is changed in color, from red to black and brown, suggesting his imminent death. Blood in this situation has been “befouled” and is no longer in its pure state.

In a similar manner, *decolor* is often used to describe the horrific nature of war. Lucan describes how every aspect of the universe is affected, including the innocent blades of grass — *quae seges infecta surget non decolor herba?/ Quo non Romanos violabis vomere manes?* — “What crop of grass will not rise up discolored? / With what plow will you turn up a Roman spirit of the dead?”<sup>503</sup> He describes how the natural and fresh-colored crop will be destroyed. Lucan is critical of Roman imperialism and need for war, and he shows his preference for the agricultural life. The crops that will arise may be drenched in blood and gore. Statius also comments on the nature of war and its effect on a river:

*haud procul Ismeni monstrabant murmura ripas,  
qua turbatus adhuc et sanguine decolor ibat.*

Not far away a roar betrayed the channel of Ismenos

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<sup>502</sup> Cic. *Tusc.*, 2.8.20.

<sup>503</sup> Luc. 7.851.

where he was flowing still soiled and discolored by gore.<sup>504</sup>

A body of water choked with blood and gore is a common motif used by Roman poets to describe nature polluted by the waste of humankind in war. These examples are typical of writers of the time who criticized the imperial administration. The poets lament the changing landscape of the day with passionate and blood-filled descriptions.

The next most common usage of the color-term *decolor* occurs when applied to certain geographical regions or provinces of the Roman Empire. The poets apply it frequently as a trope, as when Ovid describes the characteristic features of India and Indus:

*Oriens tibi victus, adusque  
decolor extremo qua tinguitur India Gange.*

The East is conquered by you, as far as  
the far-off Ganges which washes the tinted India.<sup>505</sup>

In describing India as dirtied or befouled, Ovid reflects his prejudices as a pure-bred Roman. His use of the color-term *decolor* suggests a negative quality to anything brought back from India:

*Vos quoque nec caris aures onerate lapillis  
Quos legit in viridi decolor Indus aqua,  
Nec prodite graves insuto vestibus auro.*

Do not decorate your ears with precious stones,  
which the discolored Indian gathers from the green water,  
or come forth heavy with garments of gold covering.<sup>506</sup>

Ovid juxtaposes the green water "*viridi...aqua*" and the dark or discolored Indian divers.

The trope "*decolor Indus*" suggests that the color of the people is contrasted with the

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<sup>504</sup> Stat. *Theb.*, 12.410.

<sup>505</sup> Ov., *Met.* 4.20-21.

<sup>506</sup> Ov., *Ars Am.*, 3.130.

other materials mentioned in the passage. Propertius follows the same trope by describing the "*decolor Indus*" as a synecdoche for the dark Indians:

*te modo viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,  
te modo munito Neuricus hostis equo,  
hibernique Getae, pictoque Britannia curru,  
tunsus et Eoa decolor Indus aqua.*

Now Bactra saw you in the much visited East,  
Now the enemy of Neuricus with his armored horse,  
the northern Getans, and the Britons  
with their painted chariot, and the discolored Indians washed by the  
Eastern water.<sup>507</sup>

With the abundance of color-terms for black, brown and dark, it is surprising that these authors choose the word *decolor* to describe dark-skinned people. This usage reveals the racial prejudices of the day. These attitudes are made more explicit when Juvenal warns a Roman what could happen if he sleeps with an Ethiopian slave:

*Aethiopsis fortasse pater, mox decolor heres  
impleret tabulas numquam tibi mane uidendus.*

You might perhaps find yourself the father of an Ethiopian;  
and soon a colored heir, whom you would rather not meet by daylight,  
would fill all the places in your will.<sup>508</sup>

Racial distinctions were considered an immutable trait and the use of the color-term *decolor* reveals this negative quality.

### Discolor

In his *Amores*, Ovid describes the scene of a horserace, which was a prime hunting ground for searching out women. He comments on the wide variety of horses and their colors, all too numerous to describe in detail:

*Iamque patent iterum reserato carcere postes;  
evolat admissis discolor agmen equis.*

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<sup>507</sup> Prop., 4.3.10.

<sup>508</sup> Juv., 6.600.

*nunc saltem supera spatioque insurge patenti!  
sint mea, sint dominae fac rata vota meae!*

Already the cases in posts have been opened and  
The line of horses opened up in a multicolored group.  
Now occupy the lead and fly into the open space!  
Make my bet a sure one, may my wishes for this girl come true.<sup>509</sup>

Here the word *discolor* is used to describe many colors, without any negative connotations, making it quite different from both the Latin word *decolor* and the English word “discolored.” The color-term *discolor* has a neutral or even a positive connotation when applied to natural objects. Pliny makes use of this color-term to describe multicolored birds:

*Aethiopiae atque Indis discolors maxime et inenarrabiles esse  
ferunt aves et ante omnes nobilem Arabiae phoenicem, haut scio  
an fabulose, unum in toto orbe nec visum magno opere.*

And it is agreed upon that Ethiopia and India have birds that are of all types of colors and are indescribable, and that Arabia has one well-known example of birds, one that is more famous than all others (but I hardly know if it is fabulous) the phoenix, the one in the whole world and hardly ever seen.<sup>510</sup>

Here he suggests the many shades of exotic birds, whose colors are all too numerous to mention. Pliny gives a positive expression of the abundance and luxury that Ethiopia and India have when they are counted among the Roman provinces. Another possible reason that Pliny describes the phoenix with the term *discolor* is that Pliny had not seen the bird at first hand; the phrase *esse ferunt* aids in the distance.

Pliny also uses *discolor* to describe a certain type of old wood which is marked with blotches of various colors (*maculaeve discolors*).<sup>511</sup> Pliny is trying to show how nature created the multiple colors in this table; its faults were not created by man. In a passage in the *Thebaid*, Statius describes seas that are not of a uniform shade, which appear to

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<sup>509</sup> Ov. *Am.* 3.2.78-83.

<sup>510</sup> Plin. *HN*, 10.3.

<sup>511</sup> Plin. *HN*, 13.98.

change color with the coming and going of the tides. His preference for the word *discolor* stresses the importance of this lack of uniformity. The sea clearly changes and *discolor* shows its diversity — *adiuvat unda fidem pelago, nec discolor amnis* — The river is not the same color as the waves, which help belief.<sup>512</sup> Other passages use *discolor* as an indication of difference or opposition, as when Martial shows the distinction between two players in a board game:

*Tabula Lusoria*  
*Hac mihi bis seno numeratur tessera puncto;*  
*Calculus hac gemino discolor hoste perit.*

Gaming Board  
On this side of me the die scores with double sixes.  
On this other a piece of different color is killed by two opponents.<sup>513</sup>

As an account of how Romans spent their leisure time, it is interesting to show that there is evidence in literature of games similar to checkers or chess. The different colors on the board are not named, but by using the single word *discolor* Martial stresses the opposing forces of the colored pieces. *Discolor* is able to point out the differences between two opposite colors — the color-term could refer to any pair of colors, whether they are named or not. Cicero uses the same color-term to describe the different colors of wax that were used on voting tablets in the Senate:

*Iam vero quo modo illam labem ignomianiam calamitatemque*  
*totius ordinis conquerar, hoc factum esse in hac civitate,*  
*cum senatorius ordo iudicaret, ut discoloribus signis iuratorum*  
*hominum sententiae notarentur?*

Already indeed the types of words that I am able to ascribe are foul and calamitous in the whole senate. The fact is that it happened in our own land, within the guidelines of the laws and regulations of the Senatorial order. Shall this be the conduct for people who have taken the oath, that they mark with different colors on the types of wax on the tablets?<sup>514</sup>

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<sup>512</sup> Stat. *Theb.*, 9.338.

<sup>513</sup> Mart. 14.8.

<sup>514</sup> Cic., *Verr.*, 1.13.40.

Cicero draws attention to the corruption in the Roman Republic, describing how the wax tablets used in voting and delivering judicial sentences were tampered with by using several layers of wax of different colors.

Petronius uses the color-term *discolor* for descriptions of clothing. In *The Satyricon* the word is associated with a lascivious and extravagant character, Ascyltos:

*Nec longe a praecone Ascyltos stabat amictus discoloria veste,  
atque in lance argentea indicium et fidem praeferibat.*

Ascyltos stood close by the crier in clothes of many colors,  
holding out the reward on a silver disk to prove his faith.<sup>515</sup>

Lucan describes a Thessalian witch using the same term:

*Discolor et vario furialis cultus amictu induitur, voltusque aperitur crine  
remoto, et coma vipereis substringitur horrida sertis.*

She put on a multi-colored garment, whose multi-colored fur was just as  
appropriate for an enemy to wear; and she threw back her stringy hair and  
revealed her horrid face.<sup>516</sup>

*Discolor* in these two instances presents a negative attitude towards a wastrel and a sorceress, which is unusual given its neutral connotations in other works, but perhaps this is only because it is applied to negative characters. Lucan also employs the color-term *discolor* to describe Cleopatra's slaves:

*Tum famulae numerus turbae populusque minister.  
Discolor hos sanguis, alios distinxerat aetas*

There waited slaves in number as a people,  
Some in ranks by varied blood distinguished, some by age<sup>517</sup>

In this passage the number and variety of her slaves commands attention, not their supposed racial inferiority as the color-term *decolor* might have suggested. Persius' use

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<sup>515</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 97.

<sup>516</sup> Luc. 6.654-656.

<sup>517</sup> Luc. 10.125-128.

of the word *discolor* also highlights the varied nature of humankind, as each person's type and character is as different as their many colors:

*mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus;  
velle suum cuique est nec voto vivitur uno.*

Men are of a thousand kinds, and diverse are the colors  
of their activities. Each has his own desires;  
no two men offer the same prayers.<sup>518</sup>

In one of Vergil's most recognized passages is an extraordinary use of the color-term *discolor*. Aeneas must pluck a golden bough from a tree sacred to Persephone in order to gain entrance to the underworld:

*Inde ubi venere ad fauces grave olentis Averni,  
tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aera lapsae  
sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt,  
discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.*

then, when they came to the jaws of Avernus, with their heavy stench,  
they swiftly rise and, dropping through the full air,  
settled on the site longed for, the two-fold tree, whence,  
with diverse hue, the breath of gold shone out amid the branches.<sup>519</sup>

Robert Brooks says that *discolor* as used here is "a curious and baffling expression."<sup>520</sup> I suggest that *discolor* is used to set this special bough apart in opposition to the other boughs on the tree. In this context the word *discolor* itself may even be a combination of the words *Dis*, god of the underworld, and *color*. Here the color-term exists to convey a state of being and is evocative of the mood, as Aeneas plunges into the murky deep and an equally murky future. I further suggest that this color-term has the ability to convey

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<sup>518</sup> Pers. 5.50-53.

<sup>519</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, 6.204. R.G. Austin translates the last line as "from which a breathing of gold glinted in color-contrast among the branches." R.G. Austin, *A Commentary on The Aeneid Book VI*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977): 100. He compares Claudian, *rapt. Pros.* 2.192f: *rutilos obscurat anhelitus axes / discolor* — "of the breath of Pluto's horses, darkening the brightness of the Sicilian sky." K. Maclennan comments on "the assonance of *auri* and *aura* — words which unite in sound two utterly contrasting substances. *Discolor* because the gold contrasts with the dark green of the branches through which it gleams." Keith Maclennan, *A Commentary on The Aeneid VI* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 2003): 100-101.

<sup>520</sup> Robert Brooks, "Discolor Aura: Reflections on the Golden Bough," *AJPhil* 74 (1953): 273.

whether something is alive, dead, or able to be resurrected because of the very ambiguity of the term.

### Bicolor

Vergil uses the color-term **bicolor** to describe the leaves of a poplar tree that is sacred to Hercules:

*dixerat, Herculea, **bicolor** cum populus umbra  
velavitque comas foliisque innexa pependit,  
et sacer implevit dextram scyphus.*

He spoke, and the two-toned poplar, dear to Hercules,  
veiled his hair, hanging down with woven leaves,  
and the sacred goblet was filled in his right hand.<sup>521</sup>

Vergil employs **bicolor** rather than expressing the individual colors explicitly. Pliny also describes the poplar from a scientific viewpoint, highlighting the different varieties of the tree. He describes the white poplar with a leaf of two colors, white on the upper side and green on the underside — *alba folio **bicolor** superne **candicans** inferiore parte **viridi***.<sup>522</sup>

Unlike other writers who use the color-term **bicolor**, Pliny, the scientist, tells us which colors are implied by the single term: **candicans** and **viridi**, and their position on the leaf.

Ovid's poetic scale makes use of the **bicolor** term as well, to describe a certain type of berry that is sacred to Minerva (***bicolor** sinceræ baca Minervæ*).<sup>523</sup> He also uses this term to describe the myrtle bush, ***bicolor** myrtus*, considered desirable among Romans and ancient Mediterranean peoples for its aromatic qualities and not only for its

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<sup>521</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, 8.273-278.

<sup>522</sup> Plin. *HN*, 16.85-86.

<sup>523</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 8.664-668.

appearance.<sup>524</sup> The color-term *bicolor* can also be applied to animals, which Vergil readily employs in his description of a horse:

*quem Thracius albis  
portat equus **bicolor** maculis, uestigia primi  
alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus **albam**.*

whom a dappled Thracian horse carries, showing white scars  
as it steps, and a high white forehead.<sup>525</sup>

Not all uses of the color-term *bicolor* are related to nature and landscape; sometimes it was used for descriptions of books. Persius describes in detail the experience of writing with pen and ink on parchment (*iam liber et positus **bicolor** membrana capillis*).<sup>526</sup> The parchment comes in two colors, although he does not describe precisely what that refers to. He bitterly complains about the supplies that poets and writers must use for their profession, that the act of writing and its technology are difficult. Martial gives a bittersweet recollection of his many years of friendship with Julius. He assesses the friendship with color-terms — *et si calculus omnis huc et illuc diversus **bicolorque** digeratur, vincet **candida** turba **nigriorem*** — “and if all the pebbles were sorted into two separate colored piles, one here and one there, the white crowd would be victorious over the black crowd.”<sup>527</sup> He compares their 34 years of friendship to two groups of pebbles representing their good and bad times. This type of comparison is a trope employed by Martial when setting up an opposition for positive and negative situations. As in the passage cited above in which he uses *discolor*, Martial prefers to use the single color-term *bicolor* before listing the specific color-terms for black and white. This technique

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<sup>524</sup> Ov. *Met.*, 10.98. Along with Ovid, Artemidorus, Aristophanes, Pindar and Vergil all prize the myrtle branch. Pindar describes that it was given to champions of the Olympic games; Vergil says that it was associated with Venus and used for wedding rituals. Pindar, *Isthmian Ode IV*, Verg. *Ec.* 7.61-63.

<sup>525</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 5.566.

<sup>526</sup> Pers. 3.10.

<sup>527</sup> Mart. 12.34.

provides a clearer explanation for his readers and also emphasizes the dual nature of good and bad in friendship.

### Multicolor

When Roman authors described many colors at one time, they had several options, of which *versicolor* has already been discussed. When they chose the rare color-term *multicolor*, it may suggest that there was no change to the object; the authors will sometimes follow the color-term with the specific colors that comprised the object. For example, in describing the *mithrax* stone, probably derived from the rites of Mithras in Persia and the Eastern provinces, Pliny suggests that it was a bright color, reflecting the sun:

*Mithrax e Persis venit a Rubri maris montibus multicolor ac contra solem varie refulgens.*

Mithrax comes from Persia and the mountains of the Red Sea.  
It is a stone of many colors and reflects their changing tints in sunlight.<sup>528</sup>

Pliny follows the color-term up with some further explanation of its physical properties. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, he describes the dress of an unnamed goddess, which is described as *multicolor* — now white and shining (*nunc albo candore lucida*), now yellow like a crocus-flower (*nunc croceo flore lutea*), now burning red like a rose (*nunc roseo rubore flammida*), was covered with a very dark cloak that sparkled with black glitter (*palla nigerrima splendescens atro nitore*).<sup>529</sup> Here he lists the individual color-terms that comprise the general color-term *multicolor*. Her dress gives off the appearance of texture as if it were covered with sequins. There is no limit to what can be

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<sup>528</sup> Plin. *HN*, 37.173.

<sup>529</sup> Apul. *Met.*, 11.3.

described with the color-term *multicolor*, although it appears only twice in Latin literature. There appears to be little difference between *multicolor* and *versicolor*, although *versicolor* seems to suggest constant flux and change in appearance.

### Omnicolor

There is only one instance in all of Latin literature of the color-term *omnicolor*, in Lucilius. Here he describes the different colors of the first milk derived from a cow:

*permulsam fomento, omnicolore, colustra*

milk with stroking nourishment in every color<sup>530</sup>

Given the fragmentary nature of the passage, it is not possible to determine its entire context, although Lucilius seems to use it for scientific purposes. Other authors may have had a difficult time employing this word because it was rather specific in its definition and probably could have been used in combination with different words.

### Unicolor and Concolor

Roman scientific writers tried to convey the most amount of information in the fewest words. In order to describe a uniformly colored object, they would use *unicolor*. In his treatise on agriculture, Varro considers color an important criterion in selection of the best herd animals:

*Ergo qui suum gregem vult habere idoneum, elegere oportet primum bona aetate, secundo bona forma (ea est cum amplitudine membrorum, praeterquam pedibus capite), unicoloris potius quam varias.*

Therefore a man who wants to keep the herd pleasantly, should select, first animals of a good age, secondly

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<sup>530</sup> Lucil. 311.

in good shape (that is with good body parts, except for their feet and head), of only one uniform color throughout rather than mottled.<sup>531</sup>

Pliny also uses this term when describing eyes and cuttlefish:

*oculus unicolor nulli communi candore omnibus medius colos differens*

Nobody has eyes of only one color: with everyone the general surface is white but there is a different color in the middle.<sup>532</sup>

*urinam mares movent; dulciores feminae sunt et unicolores  
[saepiae quoque ova urinam movent et renes purgant.]*

The males are diuretic; the females are sweeter and of a uniform color [The eggs of the cuttle-fish are also diuretic and cleanse the kidneys.]<sup>533</sup>

**Concolor**, however, has a more complex meaning; this term is used frequently by a wide range of authors. Pliny uses **concolor** when he discusses gemstones and crystals:

*Ab his Aethiopici laudantur ab Copto dierum itinere, ut auctor est  
Juba, 25 acriter virides,  
sed non facile puri aut concolores.*

...After these stones, the Ethiopian stones are praised even according to Juba. They are found at a distance of 25 days' journeying from Coptos, and are bright green, although they are not pure or the same color throughout.<sup>534</sup>

Here he notes the flaws of Ethiopian emerald stones, which are not as consistent in color as the very best stones. Another example is Vergil's description of a bright white sow which was the same shade throughout, suggesting her purity and magical nature:

*Ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum,  
candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo  
procubuit viridi que in litore conspicitur sus;*

Behold! However, suddenly a sight to be seen with the eyes and wondrous!  
Gleaming white through the wood, of one color  
with her milk-white brood, there lay outstretched  
on the green bank before their eyes a sow!<sup>535</sup>

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<sup>531</sup> Varro, *Rust.*, 2.4.3.

<sup>532</sup> Plin. *HN*, 11.145.

<sup>533</sup> Plin. *HN*, 32.103.

<sup>534</sup> Plin. *HN*, 37.69.

<sup>535</sup> Verg. *Aen*, 8.81-83.

Since in nature there are imperfections and colors appear in inconsistent order, Vergil uses the color-term *concolor* suggesting the perfect quality of the sow being the same color of her brood as well. Columella also uses the term in his discussion of raising sheep:

*Itaque non solum ea ratio est probandi arietis, si vellere candido vestitur,  
sed etiam si palatum atque lingua concolor lanae est...*

And so if the ram only had white fleece, that is not a reason enough for approving it, its palate and tongue also the same color as the wool.<sup>536</sup>

Again the best animal is the one that has the same color in its body and its wool.

Ovid follows suit, applying this color-term in the *Metamorphoses* to the flower, the anemone, that springs up when Adonis is killed by a boar. He says that it is the same color as the hero's blood — *cum flos de sanguine concolor ortus* — which he compares to the red of pomegranate seeds (*punica ferre solent*).<sup>537</sup> The color-term *concolor* can be applied to any color, in this case a pure red. Ovid considers how this flower is fleeting, like time and love and the relationship of Venus and Adonis. Venus compares her love of Adonis to the blooming flower, knowing that its petals will soon wilt. Ovid links the color-term *concolor* with blood, *sanguine*, suggesting an association with the death of Adonis, and also with the pomegranate, *punica*, which carries an association with fertility and rebirth.

Ovid also applies to the color-term *concolor* to the clean garments of worn by the people for a religious process to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus:

*vestibus intactis Tarpeias itur in arces,  
et populus festo concolor ipse suo est,  
iamque novi praeueunt fasces, nova purpura fulget,  
et nova conspicuum pondera sentit ebur.*

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<sup>536</sup> Columella, *Rust.*, 7.3.1.

<sup>537</sup> Ov. *Met.* 10.734-739.

In spotless garments the process passes through the Tarpeian citadels,  
And the people are all festooned in the same color,  
and now new rods of office lead the way, new purple gleams,  
and a new weight is felt by the far-seen ivory chair.<sup>538</sup>

The color of the “spotless garments” is not specified but it is interesting to note that the people were required to appear in identical clean garments for a religious festival. Ovid recognizes that their uniformity on this religious occasion made quite a striking visual impression.

In a comical manner, Statius describes a gold miner so hard at work that he came home gilded:

*... Ubi Dite viso  
pallidus fossor redit erutoque  
concolor auro?*

... when the miner returns with a pale complexion  
having seen Dis and wearing the same color as the gold he has  
unearthed?<sup>539</sup>

Here Statius comments on the same shade of gold, *auro*, with the color-term *concolor*. He shows how the man really became a part of his job, becoming like the very gold that he extracted from the mines. In a similar vein, Martial describes an extravagant dinner party where the host owns more than his share of exotic goods. The dinner is filled with luxurious items that can be described in detail with color-terms. He shows how all of the food items are elaborately displayed — the mullet fishes which were difficult to obtain and luxurious to eat, compared to the common red crab which the poet eats at home:

*"κοινά φίλων" haec sunt tua,  
Candide, κοινά, quae tu magnilocus nocte dieque sonas?...  
immodici tibi flava tegunt chrysendeta mulli:  
concolor in nostra, cammare, lance rubes.*

"Friends must share" — Is this your sharing, Candidus, that you boom about so

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<sup>538</sup> Ov. *Fast.*, 1.79-82.

<sup>539</sup> Stat. *Sil.* 4.7.13-16.

grandly night and day?...  
For you outsize mullets cover yellow dishes gold-inlaid;  
a crab blushes on my plate, red like himself.<sup>540</sup>

Martial contrasts his friend's extravagant taste with his own condition. His hosts have yellow dishes covered with gold replete with large fish, but Martial only has a small red crab, which is the same color as the plate. It implies that this red plate is cheaper than a gold plated dish. The blushing crab echoes Martial's own embarrassment at his poverty.

*Concolor* was also used to talk about race. Lucan uses the term to describe the various tribes that made up the army of Juba, an ally of Rome: Autololes, Numidians, Gaetulians, Moors who are the same color as Indians, (*tum concolor Indo Maurus*) Nasamonians, and Garamantes.<sup>541</sup> Lucan emphasizes the ethnic differences of these troops from Romans. His remark about the Moors being as black as Indians implies an insult. Lucan believes in the superiority of the Roman people, and it did not matter if these peoples were black or brown, to him they were all the same shade and considered equally bad and harmful to the Roman ideals. He uses the color-term *concolor* to suggest their uniform strangeness.<sup>542</sup>

In an epitaph from a *columbarium*, the title *Concolor* is given to a freedman who was both gentle and faithful:

*Concolor Victor Suavis Fidus*

Victor was uniformly gentle and faithful<sup>543</sup>

This is the only instance where the word *concolor* is not applied to color descriptions, but the virtues of a person were considered a shade of color for the owner of this tomb.

*Concolor* was used as a metaphor for this person's characteristics.

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<sup>540</sup> Mart. 2.43.1-12.

<sup>541</sup> Luc. 4.675-679.

<sup>542</sup> Paolo Asso suggests "in Lucan the crowds are more significant than the individuals." Paolo Asso, *Commentary on Lucan Book IV* (Rome: DeGruyter, 2010): 254.

<sup>543</sup> *CIL*, 6.33953.

When describing a complex object or scene, Roman authors instituted equally complex color-terms. Color-terms such as *versicolor*, *decolor* and *discolor* could be applied scientifically to natural objects and landscape, and more abstractly to human relationships and emotions. These color-terms had the capacity to express multiple meanings in a single expression. These terms could acquire positive, negative and neutral connotations: always negative with *decolor*, and almost never with *discolor*. *Versicolor* seems to be a color-term recognized early on and was chosen by a wider range of writers, even being distinguished from other colors in law. *Discolor* is used to show the concept of difference, just as *concolor* shows the concept of uniformity. Roman writers had the ability to expand their vocabulary by adding a prefix to the root word *color* and thereby expanding the Latin vocabulary to allow for a wider dimension of expression.

## Conclusion: Did Color-Terms Have an Ancient History?

Ancient Romans loved to use and show themselves off in color. From the literary evidence, including inscriptions, there was a wide array of color-terms, which made their way into literary expression and equally into every aspect of their lives. From the things that they ate, traded, decorated themselves and interiors with, the Romans knew color was a valuable commodity.

My dissertation focuses on what is known from literary evidence about color. When I began with the subject of the color and the Romans, I realized that there was a history prior to the development of Latin color-terminology. The study of color in Rome must be understood in context with Greek color-terms. The attitudes of the Romans towards color-terms and their descriptions are unlike those of the Greeks, which had no connotations of positive, negative and neutral opinions. The Greeks also did not employ multiple color-terms in the same sentence, while the Romans frequently do. The sparring and discussion between Fronto and Favorinus in Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* raises the issue of the differences between Greek and Latin color-terms, and shows how complex and frustrating the interpretation of color-terms could be, even for educated upper-class Romans. Although Favorinus makes a case for the Greeks, Fronto asserts that Roman vocabulary is richer and more inclusive and has multiple terms for the same color. The Romans, he would suggest, have come a long way since their origins and Greek predecessors. He cites passages from Vergil and Pacuvius, possibly because they are derivative from the Greek epic poets, but he tries to show the improvements of the

Romans. The dialogue begins with a discussion of two contrasting colors, red and green, or *rufus* and *viridis*. These two colors were also very frequently used in Roman interior decoration. What was seen in Roman material culture is reflected in the literature of the day.

In my second chapter I examine the historical use of and hierarchy of dyes. Through my survey, I show how Romans manufactured colors from natural and unnatural substances and which colors were more preferred and appropriate. The process of dyeing and the names of occupations connected with it further enriched and expanded the vocabulary of the day. The most valuable sources of information reveal which were the best dyes and paints available, as well the best shades and hues within each color. Colors in the Roman mind were infused with a sensory experience: sulfuric ochres produced yellow; smelly dyes like that of *murex* purple were the most valuable. How the colors were obtained is reflected in color terminology, as in the case of *armenium* (ultramarine) and *indicum* (indigo), Tyrian and Sidonian purple, and *cerinus* (cherry) describe their various origins. Writers of all fields seem to have employed color-terms in a scale of brightness and luminosity as well as hue. The brighter the color, as noted in comparison with other dyes and natural stones, the more expensive it was to purchase and even obtain, as noted in Vitruvius' book *De Architectura*. Equally the color dyes that were created eventually ended up adorning all types of people in the Roman Empire. Colors for the Romans certainly carried positive and negative connotations. We learn that the Romans admired color dealers and the colors themselves: in interior decoration, the more pure and essential the color the more it was prized; mixed or imitation colors were condemned and regarded with contempt.

Certain colors were associated with specific types of clothing, used during the Roman cycle of life, for men and women, various occupations and religious functions. Chapter Three illustrates what colored clothing really existed during the Republic and Imperial period as described in literature. With a clear delineation of which color-term goes with which piece of clothing, historians can create a narrative about what was actually worn. Though it is difficult to say what colors were in vogue and fashionable at exactly what period, it is possible to show gender-specific garments, and attitudes toward what was suitable for each social group. The concept of appropriateness — what is suitable to wear at every age and on every occasion — is a necessary guide to the Roman psyche and something rare to observe in ancient literature. It can be stated that when you are wearing color in the Roman mind, you are on display and performing, whether it is in the public or private realm.

Color-terms also create visual testimony for what makes social hierarchy and class distinction so powerful. Freedmen who were social climbers were mocked for wearing bright colors that did not fit the image of Roman virtue. In the case of Trimalchio and Zoilus, they are literary examples of what Romans should not aspire to. The satires cited in Chapter Four concerning the social class of freedmen are laden with negativity, and may not be the most reliable sources of information, but what is consistent is that the freedmen are always marked with a type of hue that is not of the aristocratic order. Thus I propose that color-terms for the freedman class, whether or not they come from the pens of moralists or satirists, are social markers for this group. In addition, sources such as Petronius' *Cena* tell us that Romans were as passionate about their sports and the winning of their teams as they were dedicated on the battlefield. The use of color-terms shows the

Romans' strong attachment and loyalty to specific chariot teams, running from the poor man all the way up the ladder to the aristocratic order and even to the Emperor himself. The color-terms illustrate how these four teams penetrated into the social arena; color-terms related to clothing often show an allegiance to a particular team, both in inscriptions and literature as well. It is interesting to note that even a slave, such as Photis in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, could be dressed in the team colors of her master's favorite chariot faction.

Color-terms play a large role in physiognomy — that is, the description of people. In Chapter Five I have demonstrated how certain color-terms have been used for specific parts of the body — hair, eyes, and complexion. Historians, biographers and poets all describe men and women with desirable and undesirable traits, creating literary tropes linking people and color-terms. The choice of color-terms was often directed by underlying physiognomic principles outlined by the Aristotelean schools and Polemo of Laodicea. Color-terms are used to create a flattering image for good emperors and a less attractive image for bad ones. *Cognomina* based upon color-terms are often used in oratory to attack political opponents. By contrast, love poems are usually directed at blondes, although brunettes are described in more lascivious terms. In describing foreign people or non-Romans, color-terms which mark some people as *fusca*, *flavus* or *rufa*, show that the Romans labeled their fellow men in shades, just as many modern people see race. This is perhaps the only way some Latin writers, such as Martial, Juvenal, Persius and even Julius Caesar, can describe foreigners. Comedies often feature a red-haired slave, usually a Thracian, who is always personified as a provincial country bumpkin unaware of his social faux pas.

Long dismissed as a way to describe many colors as once, a select group of color-terms — *versicolor*, *decolor*, *discolor*, *bicolor*, *multicolor*, *omnicolor*, *unicolor* and *concolor* — provide a glimpse into the Roman understanding of the concept of many-coloredness. Each of these color-terms is used in very specific contexts with particular meanings. *Decolor* is used to describe the horrors of war and to insult other races, whereas *discolor* describes the opposing colors of a game board, or wax tablets in the Senate. *Unicolor* and *concolor* describe the perfection of something that is only one color throughout. Studying these terms gives a better sense of how the Roman gaze can be understood.

These thematic chapters suggest certain general conclusions about the way to interpret Latin color-terms based upon their context. For example, many color-terms are employed in stock tropes or phrases that appear consistently in all kinds of literature, especially when applied to clothing and physiognomic descriptions. Such phrases include *Tyrios amictus*, *murices vestes*, *glauco amictu*, *oculis caesiis* and *oculis nigris*. Writers employ them, regardless of their genre, including poets, historians, orators and scientists. Another category of color-terms is those built from the root word “color,” which has been examined in detail in Chapter Six, including *versicolor*, *decolor*, and the like; these may be related to the group of color-terms which are composed of prefixes, such as *perniger*, *subfuscus* and *incanus*. These prefixed terms seem to have been invented by such authors as Plautus, Pliny and Celsus. It is interesting to note that these two groups seem to be purely literary constructions, which do not make their way into inscriptions. Finally there are color-terms that we need to guess from their context, such as Gellius’ observation about Bassius’ “purple” horse, which probably refers to its shiny

coat rather than its precise hue. Another example would be Vergil's *discolor aura*, a certain golden bough that stands out from all the others. Aulus Gellius' dialogue certainly shows how Romans valued precision in their own interpretation of color-terms. For the modern scholar misunderstanding can arise from the translation of texts without considering their context.

A study of Roman color-terms covers a great deal of territory, from the occupations that create the colors, to the people who wear these colors, how they adorn themselves, artificially and naturally, and equally how they are able to entertain themselves. Color-terms were able to evoke associations with social attitudes, sensory perception, and cultural values which enhanced their literal meaning. If we understand color-terms in this capacity, then historians can have even greater insight into the Roman mind.

## Appendices

Appendix 1. A list of color-terms, organized by author, from the passages cited in this dissertation. Authors are listed in chronological order, from the Republican period to the late Empire.

Appendix 2. A list of the cited color-terms, organized alphabetically by color-term, with the citations of the works in which they appear. The color-terms are listed in the nominative case, in all the genders.

Appendix 3. This chart summarizes the anatomical and physiognomic qualities of the Caesars as found in Suetonius' *Lives*, as discussed in Chapter Six.

Appendix 1: Color-terms by author

<b>Plautus 250- 184 B.C.</b>	Albus/a/um	Epidicus 429
	Calthulam	Epidicus 223-234
	Carinam	Epidicus 223-234
	Cerasinus	Epidicus 223-234
	Cerinarii	Aulularia 505-521
	Crocotarii	Aulularia 505-521
	crocotulam	Epidicus 223-234
	cumatile	Epidicus 223-234
	ferrigineus	Miles Gloriosus 1178
	flammearii	Aulularia 510
	flavus/a/um	Captives 648
		Mil. 792
	incanus/a/um	Rudens 122-126
	linteolum caesicium	Epidicus 223-234
	molocinarii	Aulularia 505-521
	patagiatam	Epidicus 223-234
	perniger	Poenulus 1109-1114
	refulus	AS 400
	subaquilus	Rudens 422
	subniger	Mercator 640
		Pseudolus 1214-1220
	subrufus	Captives 648
	violarii	Aulularia 505-521
<b>Ennius 239- 169 B.C</b>	caeruleus-caeruleus	Ann. 65
		Ann. 143
		Ann. 385
		Ann. 509
		Scen. 30
		Ann 5.384
<b>Pacuvius 220- 130 B.C.</b>	flavus/a/um	5.374
	fulvus/a/um	5.374
<b>Terence 190 -159 B.C.</b>	flavus/a/um	Haut. 1061
<b>Lucilius 168/7-103/2 B.C.</b>	marmoreus/a/um	860
	omnicolor	311
<b>Varro 116- 27 B.C.</b>		
<b>Cicero 106- 43 B.C.</b>	Albus/a/um	Ad. Fam. 7.28.2
	burrus	Or. 48.160
	caeruleus-caeruleus	Acad. 2.105
		Arati Phaenomena 204
		Nat. D. 423
	caesis	Nat. D. 423
	decolor	Tusc. 2.8.20
	discolor	In Verr. 1.13.40
	nitidissimi	In. Verr. 3.47
	pullus/a/um	In. Verr. 4.54
	purpureus/a/um	Acad. 2.33.105
	viridis	In Verr. 1.45
	viridiora	Republic
	viridissimum	In Verr. 3.47
	viriditas	Tusc. 3.75
<b>Julius Caesar 100- 44 B.C.</b>	caeruleus/caeruleus	B. Gall. 5.14.3
	coccineus/a/um	B. Gall. 3.125

<b>Lucretius 94– 55 B.C.</b>	albescere	2.757-794
	Albus/a/um	2.757-794
	caerulus/caeruleus	1.1089-1090
		2.772-775 (twice)
	caesis	4.115
	candens	2.757.794 (twice)
	Canus/a/um	2.757-794
	fulvus/a/um	5.901
	marmoreus/a/um	2.772-775
		2.757-794
	Niger	2.757-794 (twice)
	purpureus/a/um	2.48
		2.500-501
		3.275
	viridans	5.783-785
	viridis	5.783-785
<b>Catullus 84- 54 B.C.</b>	albescere/albico	63.87
	albus/a/um	29.8
		61.187
		63.40
		93.2
	ater/atra/atrum	39.12
		93.2
		108.5
	aureus/a/um	63.39
		64.5
		66.60
	caerulus-caeruleus/a/um	36.11
		64.7
	caesis/a/um	45.7
		64.14
		64.45
		64.318
	candidus/a/um	8.3
		8.8
		13.4
		35.8
		39.1
		61.108
		64.162
		64.235
		64.308
		68.70
		68.134
		68.148
		80.2
		86.1
		107.6
	canities	64.224
	canus/a/um	61.155
		64.18
		64.350
		66.70

		68.124
		108.1
	crocinus	68.134
	expallesco	64.100
	ferrugineus/a/um	64.227
	ferrugo	64.227
	flavus/a/um	64.63
		64.98
		64.354
		66.62
		67.33
		68.130
	fulgeo	8.3
		8.8
		64.44
		64.387
		66.9
		66.61
		66.94
		68.71
		68.134
	fulgor	64.100
	inauratus/a/um	81.4
	incanescio	64.13
	lacteus	55.17
		64.65
	luteus	61.10
		61.188
	niger	17.16
		43.2
		68.63
	niveus/a/um	58b.4

		61.9
		63.8
		64.240
		64.303
		64.364
		68.125
	pallidus/a/um	65.6
	purpureus/a/um	64.49
	purpureus/a/um	45.12
		64.163
		64.275
		64.308
	roseus/a/um	55.12
		63.74
		64.49
		64.309
		80.1
	rubeo	3.18
	ruber	22.7
		67.46

	rubor	42.16
		65.24
	russus/a/um	39.19
	rutilus	63.83
	tyrius	61.165
	vireo/virido	34.10
		64.285
		64.293
	viridis	17.14
<b>Vergil 70- 19 B.C.</b>	albus/a/um	Aen. 7.517
		Aen. 12.67
		Georgics 3.82
	ater/atra/atrum	Aen. 3.28
		Aen. 3.33
		Aen. 3.622
		Aen. 4.687
		Aen. 6.272
		Aen. 9.333
		Aen. 9.472
		Aen. 9. 472
		Aen. 10.646
		Georgics 3.507
	aureus/a/um	Aen. 4.138
	aurus/a/um	Georgics 1.232
	bicolor	Aen. 5.566
		Aen. 8.273-278
	caeruleus/caeruleus/a/um	Aen. 3.64
		Aen. 3.194
		Aen. 5.10
		Aen. 5.87-89
		Aen. 8.64
		Aen. 8.622
		Aen. 12.182
		Georgics 1.453
		Georgics 4.482
	candidus	Aen. 8.83
	croceus/a/um	Aen. 1.648-9
		Aen. 1.711
		Aen. 4.700-702
		Aen. 9.603-620
		Aen. 11.777
		Georgics 4.182
	cruentus	Georgics 1.306
	decolor	Aen. 8.326
	discolor	Aen. 8.273-278
		Aen. 8.273-278
		Aen. 5.566
		Aen. 4.697-698
	ebur/eburnus	Aen. 12.67
	ferrugineus/a/um	Aen. 6.303
		Aen. 6.410
	ferrugo	Georgics 4.183
	flammeus/a/um	Aen. 7.448

	flavus/a/um	Aen. 1.592
		Aen. 10.324-325
		Georgics 1.73
		Georgics 1.316
		Georgics 3.350
		Eclogues 4.28
	fulvus/a/um	Aen. 1.275
		Aen. 2.722
		Aen. 4.159
		Aen. 8.552
		Aen. 11.777
		Aen. 12.247
	glaucus	Aen. 8.31-33
		Aen. 12.885
	hyalus	Georgics 4.335
	igneus/a/um	Georgics 1.453
		Aen. 4.352
		Aen. 8.97
	incanus/a/um	Georgics 3.311
		Aen. 6.808-812
	lividus	Aen. 7.687
	luteola	Eclogues 2.50
	luteus/a/um	Aen. 7.26
	minium	Eclogues 10.27
	murex/murice	Aen. 4.262
		Aen. 9.614
	ostrum/a	Aen. 10.721
		Aen. 12.67
	pallidus/a/um	Aen. 4.644
	piceus	Aen. 9.813
	pullus/a/um	Georgics 3.389
	puniceus/a/um	Eclogues 5.17
	purpurus/a/um	Aen. 4.138
		Aen. 10.721
	purpureus/a/um	Ciris 37
		Aen. 1.590
		Aen. 6.640
		Georgics 1.405
		Georgics 2.95
		Georgics 4.373
		Eclogues 9.40
	roseus/a/um	Aen. 1.402
		Aen. 9.5
	ruber	Georgics 4.47
	rubeo/rubent/rubesco	Aen. 12.67
	rutilus	Georgics 4.93
	sandyx	Georgics 2.430
	sanguineus/a/um	Eclogues 4.45
		Eclogues 6.22
		Eclogues 10.27
		Aen. 12.67
		Aen. 2.207
	spadix	Georgics 3.82

	Tyrius	Aen. 4.138
	versicolor	Aen. 10.180-182
	viresco/virescunt	Georgics 1.55
		Eclogues 8.59
	viridis	Aen. 6.304
		Georgics 3.82
	vitreus	Aen. 7.759
<b>Horace 65- 8 B.C.</b>	adfulgeo/adfulsit	4.5.7
	albicans	1.4.4
	albescens	3.14.25
	albus/a/um	1.7.15
		1.12.27
		1.35.21
		2.2.15
		2.3.9
		2.5.18

		2.20.10
		3.8.6
		3.27.19
	ater/atra/atrum	1.28.13
		1.37.27
		2.3.16
		2.13.34
		2.14.17
		2.16.2
		3.1.40
		3.27.18
		3.4
		4.11.35
	aureus/a/um	1.10.19
		2.19.29
		4.3.17
	caesis/a/um	1.2.31
	candidus/a/um	1.9.1
		1.13.9
		1.18.11
		3.7.1
		3.9.2
		3.15.6
		3.25.10
		4.1.27
	canities	1.9.17
		2.11.8
	cereus/a/um	1.13.2
	cocceus/a/um	2.6.100-105
	decolorare	2.1.35
	ebur/eburnus	2.6.100-105
	erubesco	1.27.15
	flavus/a/um	1.2.13
		1.5.4
		1.8.8
		1.8.83

		2.3.18
		2.4.14
		3.9.19
		4.4.4
	fulgeo	2.12.8

		1.7.19
		2.12.15
		3.2.18
		3.16.31
		3.28.14
		3.3.43
		4.11.5
	fulgor	2.1.19
		4.2.60
		4.4.14
	luridus	3.4.74
		4.13.10
	murex/murice	2.16.36
	murreus	3.14.22
	niger	1.5.7
		1.6.15
		1.21.7
		1.32.11
		2.8.3
		3.6.4
		3.27.23
		4.12.11
		4.12.26
		4.4.58
	niveus/a/um	1.2.80
		2.4.3
		3.27.25
		4.2.59
	ostrum/a/um	3.29.15
	pallidus	1.4.13
	pallor	3.10.14
	praecanus	Ep. 1.20-24
	pullus/a/um	1.25.18
	puniceus/a/um	4.10.4
	purpurus/a/um	2.16.7
		2.18.8
		3.1.42
		4.13.13
	purpureus/a/um	Elegies 1.62
		2.5.12
		2.12.3
		Odes 3.3.11

		Odes 3.15.15
		Odes 4.1.10
		Epodes 7.135-6

	roseus/a/um	1.13.2
	rubeo	1.2.2
		2.11.10
	ruber	1.35.32
		Sat. 2.6.100-105
		3.13.7
	rubor	Sat. 2.6.100-105
	sanguineus/a/um	1.27.4
	vireo/virido	1.9.17
		1.25.17
		2.5.5
		4.13.6
	viridis	1.2.80
		1.17.8
<b>Tibullus 54- 19 B.C.</b>	albus/a/um	1.8.45
		3.4.34
	ater/atra/atrum	1.3.4
		1.3.76
	aureus/a/um	2.4.45
	caerulus/caeruleus/a/um	1.3.74
		1.4.12/13
		1.4.45
	candidus	2.10.68
		3.2.10
		3.4.34
	canus/a/um	1.4.86
		3.5.15
	ebur/eburnus	1.7.6-7
	ferrigineus/a/um	1.4.29
	flavus/a/um	1.1.15.
		1.5.44
		2.1.48
	fulvus/a/um	1.1
		2.1.88
	murex/murice	2.4.27
		3.3.18

	niger	2.1.90
		3.2.10
		3.2.17-18
		3.5.15
	niveus/a/um	2.4.27
		3.3.25
		3.4.30
	puniceus/a/um	2.3.57
	purpureus/a/um	1.4.29
		1.4.63
		2.3.57
		3.4.30
	rubeo/rubent/rubesco	3.4.34
	Tyrius	2.4.27
	viridis	1.2.40
		1.8.44

		2.1.88
		2.4.27
<b>Propertius 50/45 -15 B.C.</b>	albus/a/um	2.3.10
		3.5.24
		3.25.13
		4.1.32
		4.1.35
		4.11.54
	argenteus	4.4.25
	ater/atra/atrum	2.5.12
		2.11.4
		3.5.34
		3.5.40
		4.7.28
	aureus/a/um	2.26a.6
		2.26b.50
		3.3.14
		3.11.12
	caerulus-caeruleus/a/um	2.9.15
		2.18c.31-32
		2.26a.16
		2.28b.40
		3.7.62
		4.2.43
	caesis/a/um	2.18b.5
		4.7.35
	candidus/a/um	1.17.26

		1.20.38
		2.3.9
		2.3.24
		2.9.10
		2.15.1
		2.16.24
		2.22a.5
		2.22a.8
		2.26a.16
		2.28c.51
		2.29b.30
		2.32.58
		3.11.16
		3.16.3
		3.17.29
		4.1.67
		4.4.40
		4.6.71
		4.8.32
	canities	1.8b.46
	cruentus	4.1.96
		4.1.112
	decolor	4.3.10
	ebur/eburnus	2.1.9
		2.13.21

	erubesco	3.14.20
		4.11.42
	flavus/a/um	2.9.12
		2.16.44
		4.4.20
	fulgeo	2.1.5
		4.3.51
		4.10.21
	fulvus/a/um	2.2.5
	inauratus/a/um	1.16.3
	lacteus	4.2.14
	liveo	4.2.13
		4.7.65
	luridus	4.7.2
		4.11.8
	minium	2.3.11
	murex/murice	3.10.22
	murreus/a/um	3.10.22

	niger	2.12.23
		2.15.32
		4.6.83
		2.24.34
		2.27.10
		2.28b.38
		3.7.56
	nitor	2.18.23-30
	niveus/a/um	2.13b.53
		2.19.26
		3.3.39
		3.6.12
		3.14.11
	ostrinus	1.14.20
		2.29b.26
		3.13.7
	ostrum/a	4.3.51
	palleo/pallesco	1.1.22
		1.15.39
		4.8.54
	pallidus/a/um	3.8.28
		4.7.36
	pallor	1.5.21
		2.5.30
	puniceus/a/um	3.3.32
		3.13.28
		4.9.27
		4.9.52
	purpureus/a/um	1.3.41
		1.20.38
		2.26a.5
		3.5.32
		3.17.17
		3.3.12

	purpureus/a/um	4.3.51
	roseus/a/um	3.24.7
	rubeo	1.10.8
		3.10.2
		4.2.16
	ruber	3.13.6
		3.13.16
	sandyx	2.25.45
	tyrius	3.14.27
	versicolor	3.7.50
		13.32
	vireo/virido	2.34b.78
Livy 59 B.C.- A.D. 17	pullus/a/um	45.7.4
	versicolor	9.40.3
	vireo/virido	6.22.7
	viridis	29.14
Seneca the Elder 55 B.C.- A.D. 39	albus/a/um	Ep. 58.12
	caeruleus-caeruleus/a/um	Q. Nat. 1.3.4
		Herc. O. 1874
		Oedipus 729
	cruentus	Q. Nat. 7.17.3
		Med. 960
		Rhet. Contr. 2.7.10
	decolorare	Q. Nat. 2.40.6
	discolor	De Ira 2.19.5
	flammeus/a/um	Q. Nat. 1.3.4
	flavus/a/um	De Ira 2.19.5
		Ep. 58.12
		Phaedra 646-9, 651-2
	luteus	Q. Nat. 1.3.4
	niger	Ep. 58.12
	purpureus/a/um	Herc. O. 1838
	rubeo/rubent/rubesco	De Ira 2.19.5
	rubor	De Ira 1.1.3-4
	rufus/a/um	De Ira 3.26.3
	subalbus	Apocol. 13.3
	subrubeundum	5.4.1
	viridis	Ep. 66.1
Strabo 63 B.C.- A.D. 23		
Ovid 43 B.C.- A.D. 17	amethystos	Ars Am. 3.169-184
	amaryllis	Ars Am. 3.169-184
	amygdala	Ars Am. 3.169-184
	aurus/a/um	Met. 6.61
	bicolor	Met. 8.664-668
		Met. 10.98
	caeruleus-caeruleus/a/um	Fasti 3.449
		Ex Pont. 7.94
		Met. 3.38
		Met. 14.555
	candidus/a/um	Amores 2.4.39
		Heroides 4.71-2
		Met. 3.482-485

	cerus/a/um	Ars Am. 3.169-184
	concolor	Fasti 1.79-82
		Met. 10.734-739
	croceus/a/um	Amores 2.4.37-44
		Ars Am. 3.169-184 (x 2)
		Met. 10.1.3
	decolor	Met. 4.20-21
		Ars Am. 3.130
	discolor	Amores 3.2.78-83
		Met. 8.664-668
		Met. 10.98
	flavus/a/um	Amores 1.1.7/8
		Amores 2.4.37-44
		Heroides 4.71-72
		Met. 14.448
		Ars Amatoria 2.418
		Fasti 4.476
		Met. 3.487
		Met. 8.198
		Met. 8.670
		Met. 9.36
	fuscus	Amores 2.4.39
		Heroides 15.36
	glandes	Ars Am. 3.169-184
	incanus/a/um	Met. 8.799-888
	lacteus/a/um	Heroides 16.251
	murex/murice	Ars Am. 3.169-184
	myrteus	Ars Am. 3.169-184
	niger	Amores 2.4.37-44
	niveus/a/um	Amores 2.4.37-44
	praecanus/a/um	Met. 8.799-800
	pullus/a/um	Ars Am. 3.189 (x 3)
		Met. 11.48
		Met. 11.611
	purpurus/a/um	Met. 2.23
		Met. 6.61
		Ex. Ponto 3.7
	purpureus/a/um	Amores 2.1.38
		Amores 2.4.33-40
		Ars Am. 3.169-184
		Met. 3.482-485
		Fasti 3.518
		Fasti 2.74
		Heroides 4.160
		Heroides 21.88
		Remedia Amoris 701
	roseus/a/um	Met. 3.482-485
	rubentem/rubentis	Met. 6.221
	rubeo/rubent/rubesco	Met. 3.482-485
	rubor	Heroides 4.71-72
		Met. 3.482-485
	sanguineus/a/um	Met. 2.607
		Met. 9.728

	Tyrius	Met. 1.315 (x 2)
		Met. 6.221
		Met. 11.146
	versicolor	Fasti 5.355-360
	viridentur	Hal. 90
	viridis	Amores 2.16.39
		Ciris 225
		Ep. Sapph. 38
		Ibis 235
		Met. 9.31-33
Seneca the Younger 4 B.C.- A.D. 65		
Valerius Flaccus d. 92 A.D.	caeruleus-caeruleus/a/um	7.378
	flavus/a/um	1.70
		1.613
	purpureus/a/um	Argonautica 3.422

	viridis	1.77
Pliny the Elder 23-79 A.D.	albus/a/um	HN 3.10
		HN 3.48
		HN 10.15.38
		HN 10.74.144-47
		HN 12.130
		HN 14.11.80
		HN 15.33.109
		HN 21.27
		HN 21.64
		HN 35.50
	albatus/a/um	HN 8.65
	armenium	HN 35
	aureus/a/um	HN 10.2.3
		HN 10.15.38
	balaustium	HN 13.113
	bicolor	HN 10.74.144-147
		HN 16.85-86
		HN 10.74.144-147
	buxeus	HN 8.71
	colore caeli	HN 19.6.23.-25
	caeruleus/caeruleus	Ep. 8.20.4
		HN 8.30.74
		HN 8.40.141
		HN 10.2.3
		HN 15.129
		HN 21.44
		HN 31.55-56
		HN 33.158
		HN 33.161-5 (x 2)
	callainus	HN 37.110
	candens	HN 2.16.79
	candidus	HN 2.16.79
		HN 8.33.78
		HN 8.50.117

		HN 10.45.87
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		HN 10.57.89
		HN 10.74.144-147 (x 2)
		HN 12.130
		HN 15.33.109
		HN 16.144-146 (x 3)
		HN 16.153-155
		HN 18.54
		HN 18.96
		HN 19.100
		HN 19.34
		HN 19.105
		HN 19.124
		HN 21.25
		HN 21.44
		HN 22.92
		HN 33.162-165
		HN 35.37
		HN 37.181
	candicans	HN 14.3.15
	candor	HN 11.45
		HN 19.6.23-25
	canit	HN 10.57.89
	cerasinus/a/um	HN 15.102
	chrysocarum	HN 16.147
	chrysocollus/a/um	HN 35
	cinnabaris	HN 35
	clarus/a/um	HN 2.16.79
	cocceus/a/um	HN 114
		HN 21.49
	conchylius/conchyliatus	HN 9.139
	concolor	HN 37.69
	coccineus/a/um	HN 19.32
		HN 37.181
	crocatus/a/um	HN 16.147
	croceus/a/um	HN 13.104-5
		HN 16.106
		HN 16.153-155
		HN 21.23
	cyanea	HN 10.41

		HN 10.57.89
	decolor	HN 16.59
		HN 31.61
	discolor	HN 10.2.3
		HN 13.98
		HN 16.85-86
	ebur/eburnus	HN 10.52.80
	erythraeus	HN 8.191
	exalbidus	HN 16.147
		HN 12.78
		HN 23.40
		HN 24.172
	flammeus	HN 10.128

		HN 21.46
		HN 21.64
	flavidioris	HN 19.110
	flavus/a/um	HN 37.191
	fulvus/a/um	HN 8.30.73-74
		HN 8.40.141
		HN 14.11.80
		HN 24.11
	fuscus/a/um	HN 4.88
		HN 6.53
		HN 7.9-12
		HN 8.30.72
	glaucus	HN 8.30.75
		HN 11.54
	herbaceus/a/um	HN 19.110
		HN 37.191
	horrem	HN 2.16.79
	igneus/a/um	HN 2.16.79
		HN 37.47
		HN 37.161
	incanus/a/um	HN 24.173
	indicum	HN 33.162-165
	lacteus	HN 15.33.109
		HN 21.64
	lividus/a/um	HN 22.92
	luridus	HN 10.74.144-147
	luteus/a/um	HN 10.74.144-147

		HN 19.100
		HN 21.27
		HN 32.42.146
		HN 34.171 (x 2)
	marmoreus/a/um	HN 9.115
		HN 9.107, 109, 112, 113
		HN 27.98
	minium	HN 35
		HN 112
		HN 33.122
	mulleus	HN 9.65
	multicolor	HN 37.173
	murex/murice	HN 2.16
	niger	HN 8.30.72-73
		HN 8.56.165
		HN 10.7.19
		HN 10.45.87
		HN 10.52.80
		HN 14.3.15
		HN 14.11.80
		HN 15.30.102-103
		HN 15.33.109
		HN 16.147
		HN 16.153-5
		HN 18.54

		HN 19.34
		HN 16.144-146,147
		HN 21.26
		HN 22.47
		HN 33.161
	nigrescunt	HN 10.52.80
	nigerrimus	HN 15.30.102-103
	nigriorem	HN 33.161
	pallidus/a/um	HN 10.41
		HN 10.74.144-147
		HN 22.92
	pallor	HN 2.16.79
	perviridis	HN 6.87
	phoeniceum	HN 21.64
	porraceus/a/um	HN 21.64

	prasinus/a/um	HN 37.181
	puniceus/a/um	HN 8.40.141
	purpurus/a/um	HN 16.144-146
	purpureus/a/um	HN 10.2.3
		HN 10.57.89
		HN 14.3.15
		HN 18.54
		HN 19.100
		HN 19.124
		HN 21.25 (x 2)
		HN 21.27
		HN 21.44
		HN 21.64
		HN 22.47
	purpurissum	HN 35
	radians	HN 2.16.79
	refulgens	HN 2.16.79
	roseus/a/um	HN 10.2.3
		HN 12.102
		HN 14.15
		HN 24.81
		HN 37.123
	rubentem/rubentis	HN 12.102
		HN 15.30.102-103
	ruber	HN 10.74.144-147
		HN 23.61.114
		HN 31.55-56
	rubigo	HN 31.90
	rubeo/rubent/rubesco	HN 15.30.102-103
	rubor	HN 2.16.79
		HN 16.153-5
		HN 22.92
		Panegyricus 48
	rufescit	HN 10.52.80
	rufescentibus	HN 14.4.35
	rufulus	HN 25.147
	rufus/a/um	HN 12.131

		HN 16.54
		HN 18.54
		HN 19.34

		HN 19.105
		HN 22.92
	russeus/a/um	HN 7.186
	rutilus	HN 10.15.38
		HN 16.53
		HN 24.37
	sanguineus/a/um	HN 8.30.75
		HN 14.4.37
		HN 14.11.80
		HN 15.109
		HN 37.169
	spadix	HN 8.49
		HN 13.9
	subalbidus	HN 21.168
		HN 26.30
	subcandidus	HN 21.168
		HN 26.30
		HN 27.61
		HN 27.120
	subrubicundus	HN 25.167
	subrufus	HN 21.44
		HN 37.170
	subrutilus	HN 10.41
		HN 37.50
	versicolor	HN 19.22
		HN 35.58
		HN 9.30.66
		HN 28.13
		HN 21.44
	violaceus	HN 22.47
	viret	HN 16.88
	viridis	HN 12.102
		HN 12.130
		HN 13.17
		HN 15.30.102-103
		HN 17.74
		HN 19.105
Aulus Cornelius Celsus (fl. under Tiberius)	albus/a/um	5.28.19A
	caeruleus/caeruleus/a/um	7.7.14
	decolorare	2.6.4

		2.8.23
	percandida	5.19.24
	perpallidus	2.6.2
	perviridis	5.19.4
	subalbidus	5.26.20B
		5.28.8
	subcaeruleus	6.5.3

	subcruentus	4.25.1
		5.18.24
	sublividus	5.26.20B
		5.28.4B
		5.28.11
		5.28.15C
	subpallidus	2.4.9
		5.28.13B
		11.4.9
	subruber/subrubra	2.4.8
		5.28.8
		6.8.2A
	subrubieundum	5.28.4A
	subrubicundus	5.26.20D
	subviridis	5.28.13B
Quintilian 33/5-before 100 A.D.	cocceus/a/um	Inst. 11.1.31-2
	decolorare	Decl. 360
	praetextam	Inst. 5.10.71
	pullus/a/um	Inst. 5.10.71
	purpureus/a/um	Inst. 11.1.31-2
	versicolor	Inst. 10.1.33
	viridis	Inst. 12.63
Persius 34-62 A.D.	albus/a/um	3.115
	bicolor	3.10
	discolor	5.50-53
		3.10
	luteus	6.46-7
	murex	
Lucan 39-65 A.D.	concolor	4.675-679
	decolor	7.581
	discolor	6.654-656
		10.122-135
		10.125-128
Frontinus 40-130 A.D.	caeruleus/caeruleus	Aq. 13-14
	praeviridis	Aq. 1.7
Martial 40-104 A.D.	amethystina	1.96
	bicolor	12.34
	candidus	4.2
	canus/a/um	4.36
	cereus/a/um	10.64
	cocceus/a/um	5.23.5-6
		10.76.8
	concolor	2.43.1-12
	coccinatos	1.96
	coccineus/a/um	1.103
		2.29
		2.43
		4.28.1

		10.76
		14.131
	discolor	14.8
	ebur/eburnus	8.50.5
	erubesco	3.82
	flavus/a/um	1.55
		2.43.11
		6.61
		8.50.5
		12.656
		14.12.1
	fuscus/a/um	7.13
	galbinus	1.96
	galbinatus/a/um	2.82
	herbaceus/a/um	5.23.1
	murex/murice	1.49
		3.82
		4.4
		5.23.5-6
		9.48
		9.62.1-4
	niger	2.3
		4.36
		5.43
		5.88
		6.39
		6.52
		11.46
	niveus/a/um	5.43
		8.50.5
		8.73.2
	ostrum	3.82

	piceus	11.18.24
		13.107.1
	prasinus/a/um	3.82.11
		4.36.1
		4.36.4
		10.48.23
		11.33 (x 2)
		14.131
	pullus/a/um	6.58.7
		10.76.8
	purpureus/a/um	1.104

		1.117
		4.11
		10.10
	rubellus	1.103
	rubentem/rubentis	5.2.6-8
		11.46
	ruber	1.55
	rubeo/rubent/rubesco	2.43
		3.83
	rufus/a/um	6.39
	sidone	1.103
	Tyrius	4.28.1
		8.10
		8.48
	venetus/a/um	6.46.1
		14.131
	vireo/virido	12.32
	viridis	5.71
Stattius 45-96 A.D.	caeruleus/caeruleus	Silvae 1.5.11-13
		Theb. 9.242
	concolor	Silvae 4.7.13-16
	decolor	Thebaid 12.410
	discolor	Thebaid 9.338
	flavus/a/um	Silvae 1.5.36
		Silvae 2.3.16
		Thebaid 4.737
		Thebaid 5.269
	incanus/a/um	Thebaid 6.60

	murex/murice	Silv. 3.4
	purpureus/a/um	Silv. 3.3.130
		Silv. 5.3
		Thebaid 7.148
Plutarch 46-120 A.D.		
Petronius died 66 A.D.	canus/a/um	Satyrica 70
	cerasinus/a/um	Satyrica 28.8
		Satyrica 67.7
	coccineus/a/um	Satyrica 28
	discolor	Satyrica 97
	flammeus	Satyrica 25
	galbinus	Satyrica 67.7
	inauratus	Satyrica 67.7
	lacteus	Satyrica 86.5
	marmoreus/a/um	Satyrica 131.9
	minium	Satyrica 68
	myteus/a/um	Satyrica 21L
	ostiarius	Satyrica 1.28

	russeus/a/um	Satyrica 27
	salax	Satyrica 43
	spississimam	Satyrica 79
<b>Columella (mid 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.)</b>	concolor	7.3.1
	flavus/a/um	4.30.4
	purpureus/a/um	4.30.4
		10.256
	rutilus	4.30.4
	sanguineus/a/um	10.402
	versicolor	3.21.3
	virescent	11.2.67
<b>Vitruvius 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.</b>	armenium	De arch. 7.100.6
	ater/atra/atrum	De arch. 7.100.13.1-3
	atramentum/a/um	De arch. 7.100.10.1-4
	caeruleus/caeruleus/a/um	De arch. 7.100.11 (x 2)
		De arch. 7.100.14.1-2
	chrysocollus/a/um	De arch. 7.100.6
		De arch. 7.100.14.1-2
	indicum	De arch. 7.100.6
	ochra	De arch. 7.100.8.1
	ostrum/a/um	De arch. 7.100.13.1-3
	purpureus/a/um	De arch. 7.100.11.2
		De arch. 7.100.14.1-2
	purpureus/a/um	De arch. 7.100.13.1-3 (x 2)
		De arch. 7.100.14.1-2
	ruber	De arch. 7.100.8.1
		De arch. 7.100.13.1-3
	rubiae	De arch. 7.100.14.1-2
	rubricae	De arch. 7.100.7.2
	sandaraca	De arch. 7.100.12.2

	subrufus	De arch. 7.100.8.1
	violaceus	De arch. 7.100.13.1-3 (x 2)
		De arch. 7.100.14.1-2 (x 2)
	viridissimum	De arch 7.100.14.1-2
<b>Tacitus 56-120 A.D.</b>	caeruleus/caeruleus	Germania 4.2
	cruentus	Ann. 14.32
	pullus/a/um	Hist. 3.67
	rubor	Agricola 45.2
	rufus/a/um	Agricola 11
	rutilus	Germania 4.2
	subfusca	Agricola 12.6
<b>Juvenal 60-140 A.D.</b>	albus	3.176
		14.137
	amethystina	7.130
	caeruleus/caeruleus	2.95
		2.97
		13.164-5
	candidus	13.40

	cereus/a/um	14.5
	conchylus/conchylatus	3.81
	coccineus/a/um	1.16
		3.282
	croceus/a/um	13.40
	decolor	6.600
		7.226
	flavus/a/um	6.120
		6.352
		13.164-5
	fuscus/a/um	14.129
	galbinus	2.97
	niger	1.191-192
		6.120-121
		14.5
	niveus/a/um	7.221
		13.19
		14.5
	pallidus/a/um	8.7
	pallentes	12.17
	purpureus/a/um	7.130 (x 2)
		11.39

	purpureus/a/um	4.28-31
		12.38-40
	rubentem/rubentis	7.196
	ruber	8.7
		14.106
	rufus	14.129 (X 2)
	russatus	7.114-115
	sanguineus/a/um	13.86
	Tyrius	7.130
		11.39
		14.134
	venetus/a/um	3.170
	viridis	3.19/20
		5.141-145
		6.228
		6.458
		7.118
		9.50
		11.98
		12.17
		13.19
		13.39
		14.147

Pliny the Younger 61-112 A.D.		
Suetonius 69-112 A.D.	amethystina	Nero 32
	caeruleus/caeruleus	Claudius 20.1
		Galba 21
	caesis/a/um	Nero 1.51
	candidus/a/um	Div. Iul. 45.1
		Tiberius 58.2
	canities	Claudius 1.30
	chrysocollus/a/um	Tiberius 67.2
		Caligula 18.3
	conchylius/conchyliatus	Caligula 35
	decolorare	Div. Aug. 4.2
	minium	Tiberius 67.2
		Caligula 18.3
	prasinus/a/um	Caligula 55.2
		Nero 22.1
	purpureus/a/um	Caligula 35

	rubor	Domitian 13
	subflavus	Div. Aug. 1.79-80
		Nero 1.51
	subrutilus	Dom. 20.4
	venetus	Vitellius 7.1
		Vitellius 14.3
	viridis	Div. Iul. 54
Apuleius born A.D. 123	albus/a/um	Meta. 8.27
		De mundo 20.334
	aureus/a/um	Meta. 10.20
	candor	Meta. 11.10
	crocatu/a/um	Meta. 8.27
	multicolor	Meta. 11.3
	murex/murice	Meta. 10.20
	niveus/a/um	Meta. 11.9
	peralbus	Meta. 1.2
		Meta. 5.28
	piceus	Florida 4.110
	purpureus/a/um	Meta. 8.27
	purpureus/a/um	Meta. ?????
	subfuscus/a/um	Meta 2.13
	subluteus	Florida ???????
	Tyrius	Meta. 10.20
Aulus Gellius born A.D. 130	albus/a/um	Praef. 11
		N.A. 2.26.8
		N.A. 2.26.12
		N.A. 2.26.23
	aureus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.5
	aurus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.5

	caeruleus/caeruleus	N.A. 2.26.18
		N.A. 2.26.21 (Aulus Gellius quoting Ennius 5.384)
		N.A. 2.26.22
	caesis/a/um	N.A. 2.26.19
	croceus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.5 (x 2)
	flammeus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.5
	flavus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.8
		N.A. 2.26.12 (x 3)
		N.A. 2.26.13
		N.A. 2.26.21
		N.A. 2.26.22
		N.A. 2.26.23

	fulvus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.8
		N.A. 2.26.11 (x 5)
		N.A. 2.26.13
	glaucus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.18
	igneus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.5
	luteus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.8
		N.A. 2.26.15
	niger	N.A. 2.26.8
		N.A. 2.26.14
	ostrinus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.5
	ostrum/a/um	N.A. 2.26.5
	poeniceus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.8
		N.A. 2.26.9 (x 3)
	puniceus/a/um	N.A. 2.26
	ruber	N.A. 2.26.6
		N.A. 2.26.8
	rubidus	N.A. 2.26.8
		N.A. 2.26.14
	rubor	N.A. 2.26.4-6 (x 3)
		N.A. 2.26.9
	rufus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.4-5 (x 2)
		N.A. 2.26.6 (x 2)
		N.A. 2.26.8 (x 2)
		N.A. 2.26.11 (x 2)
		N.A. 2.26.12
		N.A. 2.26.14
		N.A. 2.26.15
		N.A. 2.26.16
	russus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.6
		N.A. 2.26.8
	rutilus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.8
		N.A. 2.26.9
	sanguineus/a/um	N.A. 2.26.5 (x 2)
	spadix	N.A. 2.26.8

		N.A. 2.26.9 (x 2)
	vireo/virido	N.A. 2.26.8
		N.A. 2.26.23
	viridis	N.A. 2.26.4
		N.A. 2.26.8
		N.A. 2.26.11 (x 2)
		N.A. 2.26.12

		N.A. 2.26.17
		N.A. 2.26.18
		N.A. 2.26.23
<b>Cassius Dio 155 or 163/4 A.D. - 229 A.D.</b>		
<b>Tertullian 160- 240 A.D.</b>	albus	De Spec. 9
	prasinus/a/um	De Spec. 9
	russeus/a/um	De Spec. 9
	venetus	De Spec. 9
<b>Ammianus Marcellinus A.D. 330-395 A.D.</b>	caerulus/caeruleus	20.11.27
		20.11.28
		20.11.29
		25.10.14
		25.10.14
		30.9
	candidus/a/um	20.11.29
	fulvus/a/um	20.11.27
		20.11.28
	luteus/a/um	20.11.27
		20.11.28
	puniceus/a/um	20.11.27
		20.11.28
		20.11.28
	purpureus/a/um	20.11.27
	subfuscus	22.16.23
	viresco	20.11.28
	viridis	20.11.27
<b>SHA</b>	aureus/a/um	Commodus 17.3
		Gallienus 16.4
	candidus/a/um	Gordian I 6.1-3
	candor	Zenobia 15-16
	canities	Gordian I 6.1-3
	canus/a/um	Severus 19.9
	discolor	Saloninus 21.3
		Gallienus 16.4
		Antoninus Diadumenianus 10.2
	fuscus/a/um	Zenobia 15-16
	multicolor	Antoninus Diadumenianus 10.2
		Zenobia 15-16

	prasinus/a/um	Verus 6.1 (x 2)
		Antoninus Elagabalus 19.2
	purpureus/a/um	Antoninus Diadumenianus 10.2
	ruber	Gordian I 6.1-3
	russeus/a/um	Antoninus Diadumenianus 2.8
	subaquilus	Zenobia 15-16
	venetianis	Verus 6.1
	venetus	Antoninus Elagabalus 19.2
	vitreus	Antoninus Elagabalus 19.2

Appendix 2: Color-Terms alphabetically with citations by author

<b>adfulgeo- adfulsit</b>	Horace	4.5.7
<b>albescio/albico</b>	Catullus	63.87
<b>albicans</b>	Horace	1.4.4
<b>albescens</b>	Horace	3.14.25
<b>albus/a/um</b>	Plautus	Epid. 429
	Cicero	Ad. Fam. 7.28.2
	Catullus	29.8
	Catullus	61.187
	Catullus	63.40
	Catullus	93.2
	Horace	2.5.18
	Horace	1.35.21
	Horace	1.7.15
	Horace	1.12.27
	Horace	2.2.15
	Horace	2.3.9
	Horace	2.20.10
	Horace	3.8.6
	Horace	3.27.19
	Tibullus	1.8.45
	Tibullus	3.4.34
	Propertius	2.3.10
	Propertius	3.5.24
	Propertius	3.25.13
	Propertius	4.1.32
	Propertius	4.1.35
	Propertius	4.11.54
	Lucretius	2.757-794
	Vergil	Aen. 7.517
	Vergil	Aen. 12.67
	Vergil	Georgics 3.82
	Pliny	HN 3.10
	Pliny	HN 3.48
	Pliny	HN 10.15.38
	Pliny	HN 10.74.144-147
	Pliny	HN 12.130
	Pliny	HN 14.11.80
	Pliny	HN 15.33.109
	Pliny	HN 21.27
	Pliny	HN 21.64
	Pliny	HN 35.50
	Celsus	5.28.19A
	Juvenal	3.176

	Juvenal	14.137
	Persius	3.115
	Seneca	Ep. 58.12
	Apuleius	Meta. 8.27
	Apuleius	De mundo 20.334
	Aulus Gellius	Praef. 11
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.12
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.23
	Tertullian	De Spec. 9
<b>albatus/a/um</b>	Pliny	HN 8.65
	ILS	8753
<b>albescere</b>	Lucretius	2.757-794
<b>amethystos</b>	Ovid	Ars Am. 3.169-184
<b>amethystina</b>	Suetonius	Nero 32
	Juvenal	7.130
	Martial	1.96
<b>amaryllis</b>	Ovid	Ars Am. 3.169-184
<b>amygdala</b>	Ovid	Ars Am. 3.169-184
<b>armenium</b>	Pliny	HN 35
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.6
<b>argenteus</b>	Propertius	4.4.25
<b>ater/atra/atrum</b>	Catullus	39.12
	Catullus	93.2
	Catullus	108.5
	Vergil	Aen. 3.28
	Vergil	Aen. 3.33
	Vergil	Aen. 3.622
	Vergil	Aen. 4.687
	Vergil	Aen. 6.272
	Vergil	Aen. 9.333
	Vergil	Aen. 9.472
	Vergil	Aen. 9.472
	Vergil	Aen. 10.646
	Vergil	Georgics 3.507
	Horace	1.28.13
	Horace	1.37.27
	Horace	2.3.16
	Horace	2.13.34
	Horace	2.14.17
	Horace	2.16.2
	Horace	3.1.40
	Horace	3.27.18
	Horace	3.4
	Horace	4.11.35

	Tibullus	1.3.4
	Tibullus	1.3.76
	Propertius	2.5.12
	Propertius	2.11.4
	Propertius	3.5.34
	Propertius	3.5.40
	Propertius	4.7.28
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.13.1-3
<b>atramentum/a/um</b>	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.10.1-4
	CIL	1.583.14
<b>aureus/a/um</b>	Catullus	63.39
	Catullus	64.5
	Catullus	66.60
	Horace	1.10.19
	Horace	2.19.29
	Horace	4.3.17
	Tibullus	2.4.45
	Propertius	2.26a.6
	Propertius	2.26b.50
	Propertius	3.3.14
	Propertius	3.11.12
	Vergil	Aen. 4.138
	Pliny	HN 10.2.3
	Pliny	HN 10.15.38
	Apuleius	Meta. 10.20
	SHA	Commodus 17.3
	SHA	Gallienus 16.4
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.5
<b>aurus/a/um</b>	Vergil	Georgics 1.232
	Ovid	Met. 6.61
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.5
<b>balaustium</b>	Pliny	HN 13.113
<b>bicolor</b>	Vergil	Aen. 5.566
	Vergil	Aen.8.273-278
	Ovid	Met. 8.664-668
	Ovid	Met. 10.98
	Pliny	HN 10.74.144-147
	Pliny	HN 16.85-86
	Persius	3.10
	Martial	12.34
	Pliny	HN 10.74.144-147
<b>burrus</b>	Cicero	Or. 48.160
<b>buxeus</b>	Pliny	HN 8.71
<b>colore caeli</b>	Pliny	HN 19.6.23-25

<b>caerulus- caeruleus/a/um</b>	Ennius	Ann. 65
	Ennius	Ann. 143
	Ennius	Ann. 385
	Ennius	Ann. 509
	Ennius	Scen. 30
	Naevius in Varro	Ling. 7.7
	Catullus	64.7
	Catullus	36.11
	Julius Caesar	B. Gall. 5.14.3
	Cicero	Acad. 2.105
	Cicero	Arati Phaenomena 204
	Cicero	Nat. D. 423
	Lucretius	1.1089-1090
	Lucretius	2.772-775 (twice)
	Tibullus	1.3.74
	Tibullus	1.4.12/13
	Tibullus	1.4.45
	Vergil	Aen. 3.64
	Vergil	Aen. 3.194
	Vergil	Aen. 5.10
	Vergil	Aen. 5.87-89
	Vergil	Aen. 8.64
	Vergil	Aen. 8.622
	Vergil	Aen. 12.182
	Vergil	Georgics 1.453
	Vergil	Georgics 4.482
	Ovid	Fasti 3.449
	Ovid	Ex. Pont. 7.94
	Ovid	Met. 3.38
	Ovid	Met. 14.555
	Propertius	2.9.15
	Propertius	2.18c.31-32
	Propertius	2.26a.16
	Propertius	2.28b.40
	Propertius	3.7.62
	Propertius	4.2.43
	Valerius Flaccus	7.378
	Seneca	1.3.4
	Seneca	Herc. O. 1874
	Seneca	Oedipus 729
	Pliny	Ep. 8.20.4
	Pliny	HN 8.30.74
	Pliny	HN 8.40.141
	Pliny	HN 10.2.3
	Pliny	HN 15.129

	Pliny	HN 21.44
	Pliny	HN 31.55-56
	Pliny	HN 33.158
	Pliny	HN 33.161-5 (twice)
	Celsus	7.7.14
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.11 (twice)
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.14.1-2
	Juvenal	2.95
	Juvenal	13.164-5
	Persius	6.33
	Persius	1.94
	Frontinus	Aq. 13-14
	Propertius	2.18.30-31 (twice)
	Stattius	Silvae 1.5.11-13
	Stattius	Theb. 9.242
	Suetonius	Claudius 20.1
	Suetonius	Galba 21
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.18
	Aulus Gellius quoting Ennius 5.384	N.A. 2.26.21
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.22
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.27
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.28
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.29
	Ammianus Marcellinus	25.10.14
	Ammianus Marcellinus	30.9
	Veg.	Mil. 4.41
	CIL	6.1257
<b>caesis/a/um</b>	Catullus	45.7
	Catullus	64.14
	Catullus	64.45
	Catullus	64.318
	Horace	1.2.31
	Propertius	2.18b.5
	Propertius	4.7.35
	Cicero	Nat. D. 423
	Suetonius	Nero 1.51
	Lucretius	4.115
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.19
<b>callainus</b>	Pliny	HN 37.110
<b>caltulam</b>	Plautus	Epidicus 223-234
<b>candens</b>	Lucretius	2.757-794 (twice)
	Pliny	HN 2.16.79
<b>candidus/a/um</b>	Catullus	8.3
	Catullus	8.8

	Catullus	13.4
	Catullus	35.8
	Catullus	39.1
	Catullus	61.108
	Catullus	64.162
	Catullus	64.235
	Catullus	64.308
	Catullus	68.70
	Catullus	68.134
	Catullus	68.148
	Catullus	80.2
	Catullus	86.1
	Catullus	107.6
	Horace	1.9.1
	Horace	1.13.9
	Horace	1.18.11
	Horace	3.7.1
	Horace	3.9.2
	Horace	3.15.6
	Horace	3.25.10
	Horace	4.1.27
	Propertius	1.17.26
	Propertius	1.20.38
	Propertius	2.3.9
	Propertius	2.3.24
	Propertius	2.9.10
	Propertius	2.15.1
	Propertius	2.16.24
	Propertius	2.22a.5
	Propertius	2.22a.8
	Propertius	2.26a.16
	Propertius	2.28c.51
	Propertius	2.29b.30
	Propertius	2.32.58
	Propertius	3.11.16
	Propertius	3.16.3
	Propertius	3.17.29
	Propertius	4.1.67
	Propertius	4.4.40
	Propertius	4.6.71
	Propertius	4.8.32
	Tibullus	2.10.68
	Tibullus	3.2.10
	Tibullus	3.4.34
	Vergil	Aen. 8.83

	Ovid	Amores 2.4.39
	Ovid	Heroides 4.71-2
	Ovid	Met. 3.482-485
	Pliny	HN 2.16.79
	Pliny	HN 8.33.78
	Pliny	HN 8.50.117
	Pliny	HN 10.45.87
	Pliny	HN 10.57.89
	Pliny	HN 10.74.144-147 (twice)
	Pliny	HN 12.130
	Pliny	HN 15.33.109
	Pliny	HN 16.144-146 (x three)
	Pliny	HN 16.153-155
	Pliny	HN 18.54
	Pliny	HN 18.96
	Pliny	HN 19.100
	Pliny	HN 19.34
	Pliny	HN 19.105
	Pliny	HN 19.124
	Pliny	HN 21.25
	Pliny	HN 21.44
	Pliny	HN 22.92
	Pliny	HN 33.162-165
	Pliny	HN 35.37
	Pliny	HN 37.181
	Juvenal	13.40
	Martial	4.2
	Suetonius	Divus Jul. 45.1
	Suetonius	Tiberius 58.2
	SHA	Gordian I 6.1-3
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.29
<b>candicans</b>	Pliny	HN 14.3.15
<b>candor</b>	Pliny	HN 11.45
	Pliny	HN 19.6.23-25
	Apuleius	Meta. 11.10
	SHA	Zenobia 15-16
<b>canit</b>	Pliny	HN 10.57.89
<b>canities</b>	Catullus	64.224
	Propertius	1.8b.46
	Horace	1.9.17
	Horace	2.11.8
	Suetonius	Claudius 1.30
	SHA	Gordian I 6.1-3
<b>canus/a/um</b>	Catullus	61.155
	Catullus	64.18

	Catullus	64.350
	Catullus	66.70
	Catullus	68.124
	Catullus	108.1
	Tibullus	1.4.86
	Tibullus	3.5.15
	Lucretius	2.757-794
	Petronius	Satyricon 70
	Pliny	Epistulae: Letter to Attius Clemens, 1.10
	Martial	4.36
	SHA	Severus 19.9
<b>carinum</b>	Plautus	Epidicus 223-234
<b>cerus/a/um</b>	Ovid	Ars Am. 3.169-184
<b>cereus/a/um</b>	Horace	1.13.2
	Martial	10.64
	Juvenal	14.5
<b>cerasinus/a/um</b>	Plautus	Epidicus 223-234
	Pliny	HN 15.102
	Petronius	Cena 28.8
	Petronius	Cena 67.7
<b>cerinarii</b>	Plautus	Aulularia 505-521
<b>chrysocarum</b>	Pliny	HN 16.147
<b>chrysocollus/a/um</b>	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.6
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.14.1-2
	Pliny	HN 35
	Suetonius	Tiberius 67.2
	Suetonius	Caligula 18.3
<b>cinnabaris</b>	Pliny	HN 35
<b>clarus/a/um</b>	Pliny	HN 2.16.79
<b>cocceus/a/um</b>		
	Horace	2.6.100-105
	Pliny	HN 114
	Pliny	HN 21.49
	Quintilian	<i>Inst.</i> 11.1.31-2
	Martial	5.23.5-6
	Martial	10.76.8
<b>conchylius/conchyliatus</b>	Pliny	HN 9.139
	Suetonius	Calig. 35
	Juvenal	3.81
<b>concolor</b>	Vergil	Aen. 8.81-83
	Ovid	Fasti 1.79-82
	Ovid	Met. 10.734-739
	Pliny	HN 37.69
	Martial	2.43.1-12

	Columella	7.3.1
	Lucan	4.675-679
	Stattius	Silvae 4.7.13-16
	CIL	6.33953
<b>coccineus/a/um</b>	Julius Caesar	Bellum Gallicum 3.125
	Pliny	HN 19.32
	Pliny	HN 37.181
	Martial	1.103
	Martial	2.29
	Martial	2.43
	Martial	4.28.1
	Martial	10.76
	Martial	14.131
	Juvenal	1.16
	Juvenal	3.282
	Petronius	Cena 28
<b>coccinatos</b>	Martial	1.96
<b>crocatus/a/um</b>	Pliny	HN 16.147
	Apuleius	Meta. 8.27
<b>croceus/a/um</b>	Vergil	Aen. 1.648-9
	Vergil	Aen. 1.711
	Vergil	Aen. 4.700-702
	Vergil	Aen. 9.603-620
	Vergil	Aen 11.777
	Vergil	Georgics 4.182
	Ovid	Amores 2.4.37-44
	Ovid	Ars. Am. 3.169-184 (x 2)
	Ovid	Meta. 10.1.3
	Pliny	HN 13.104-105
	Pliny	HN 16.106
	Pliny	HN 16.153-55
	Pliny	HN 21.23
	Juvenal	13.40
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.5 (twice)
<b>crocinus</b>	Catullus	68.134
<b>crocotarii</b>	Plautus	Aulularia 505-521
<b>crocotulam</b>	Plautus	Epidicus 223-234
<b>cruentus</b>	Vergil	Georgics 1.306
	Propertius	4.1.96
	Propertius	4.1.112
	Tacitus	Ann. 14.32
	Seneca	Q. Nat. 7.17.3
	Seneca	Med. 960

	Seneca	Rhet. Contr. 2.7.10
<b>cumatile</b>	Plautus	Epidicus 223-234
<b>cyanea</b>	Pliny	HN 10.41
	Pliny	HN 10.57.89
<b>decolorare</b>	Horace	2.1.35
	Seneca	Q. Nat. 2.40.6
	Quintilian	Decl. 360
	Suetonius	Aug. 4.2
	Columella	12.49.9
	Columella	12.54.1
	Celsus	2.6.4
	Celsus	2.8.23
<b>decolor</b>	Cicero	Tusculum Disputations 2.8.20
	Lucan	7.581
	Statius	Thebaid 12.410
	Vergil	Aen.8.326
	Ovid	Met. 4.20-21
	Ovid	Ars Amatoria 3.130
	Propertius	4.3.10
	Pliny	N.H. 16.59
	Pliny	N.H. 31.61
	Juvenal	6.600
	Juvenal	7.226
<b>discolor</b>	Ovid	Amores 3.2.78-83
	Ovid	Met. 8.664-668
	Ovid	Met. 10.98
	Petronius	97
	Lucan	6.654-656
	Lucan	10.122-135
	Lucan	10.125-128
	Vergil	Aeneid 8.273-278
	Vergil	Aeneid 6.204
	Vergil	Aeneid 5.566
	Pliny	HN 10.2.3
	Pliny	HN 13.98
	Pliny	HN 16.85-86
	Statius	Thebaid 9.338
	Cicero	Against Verres 1.13.40
	Martial	14.8
	Persius	5.50-53
	Persius	3.10
	Vergil	Aeneid 4.697-698
	Seneca	De Ira 2.19.5
	SHA	Saloninus 21.3

	SHA	Gallienus 16.4
	SHA	Antoninus Diadumenianus 10.2
<b>ebur/eburnus</b>	Horace	2.6.100-105
	Tibullus	1.7.6-7
	Vergil	Aen. 12.67
	Propertius	2.1.9
	Propertius	2.13.21
	Pliny	HN 10.52.80
	Martial	8.50.5
<b>erubesco</b>	Propertius	3.14.20
	Propertius	4.11.42
	Horace	1.27.15
	Martial	3.82
<b>erythraeus</b>	Pliny	HN 8.191
	Columella	7.2.4
<b>erythranum</b>	Pliny	HN 16.147
<b>exalbidus</b>	Pliny	HN 12.78
	Pliny	HN 23.40
	Pliny	HN 24.172
<b>expallesco</b>	Catullus	64.100
<b>ferrugineus/a/um</b>	Plautus	Miles Gloriosus 1178
	Catullus	64.227
	Tibullus	1.4.29
	Vergil	Aen. 6.303
	Vergil	Aen 6.410
<b>ferrugo</b>	Catullus	64.227
	Vergil	Georgics 4.183
<b>flammearii</b>	Plautus	Aulularia 510
<b>flammeus/a/um</b>	Vergil	Aeneid 7.448
	Festus	89 M
	Pliny	HN 10.128
	Pliny	HN 21.46
	Pliny	HN 21.64
	Petronius	Cena 25
	Seneca	Q. Nat. 1.3.4
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.5
<b>flavidioris</b>	Pliny	HN 19.110
<b>flavus/a/um</b>	Plautus	Captives 648
	Plautus	Mil. 792
	Pacuvius	5.374 (as quoted by Aulus Gellius in N.A.2.26.13)
	Terence	Haut. 1061
	Valerius Flaccus	1.70
	Valerius Flaccus	1.613
	Stattius	Silvae 1.5.36

	Statius	Silvae 2.3.16
	Statius	Thebaid 4.737
	Statius	Thebaid 5.269
	Catullus	64.63
	Catullus	64.98
	Catullus	64.354
	Catullus	66.62
	Catullus	67.33
	Catullus	68.130
	Propertius	2.9.12
	Propertius	2.16.44
	Propertius	4.4.20
	Cato	Orig. 114
	Horace	1.2.13
	Horace	1.5.4
	Horace	1.8.8
	Horace	1.8.83
	Horace	2.3.18
	Horace	2.4.14
	Horace	3.9.19
	Horace	4.4.4
	Tibullus	1.1.15
	Tibullus	1.5.44
	Tibullus	2.1.48
	Vergil	Aen. 1.592
	Vergil	Aen. 10.324-325
	Vergil	Georgics 1.73
	Vergil	Georgics 1.316
	Vergil	Georgics 3.350
	Vergil	Eclogues 4.28
	Ovid	Amores 1.1.7/8
	Ovid	Amores 2.4.37-44
	Ovid	Heroides 4.71-2
	Ovid	Met. 14.448
	Ovid	Ars Amatoria 2.418
	Ovid	Fasti 4.476
	Ovid	Met. 3.487
	Ovid	Met. 8.198
	Ovid	Met. 8.670
	Ovid	Met. 9.36
	Columella	4.30.4
	Pliny	HN 37.191
	Juvenal	6.120
	Juvenal	6.352
	Juvenal	13.164-165

	Martial	1.55
	Martial	2.43.11
	Martial	6.61
	Martial	8.50.5
	Martial	12.656
	Martial	14.12.1
	Seneca	De Ira 2.19.5
	Seneca	Epistle 58.12
	Seneca	Phaedra 646-9, 651-2
	Silius Italicus	Punica 2.318-319
	Valerius Maximus	1.7 ext. 6
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.12 ( X 3)
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.13
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.21
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.22
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.23
	CIL	6.14023
	CIL	12.5686, 364
<b>fulgeo</b>	Catullus	8.3
	Catullus	8.8
	Catullus	64.44
	Catullus	64.387
	Catullus	66.9
	Catullus	66.61
	Catullus	66.94
	Catullus	68.71
	Catullus	68.134
	Horace	2.12.8
	Propertius	2.1.5
	Propertius	4.3.51
	Propertius	4.10.21
	Horace	1.7.19
	Horace	2.12.15
	Horace	3.2.18
	Horace	3.16.31
	Horace	3.28.14
	Horace	3.3.43
	Horace	4.11.5
<b>fulgor</b>	Catullus	64.100
	Horace	2.1.19
	Horace	4.2.60
	Horace	4.4.14
<b>fulvus/a/um</b>	Pacuvius	5.374 as quoted by Aulus Gellius in N.A.2.26.13

	Lucretius	De Rerum 5.901
	Vergil	Aen. 1.275
	Vergil	Aen. 2.722
	Vergil	Aen. 4.159
	Vergil	Aen. 8.552
	Vergil	Aen. 11.777
	Vergil	Aen. 12.247
	Tibullus	1.1
	Tibullus	2.1.88
	Propertius	2.2.5
	Pliny	HN 8.30.73-74
	Pliny	HN 8.40.141
	Pliny	HN 14.11.80
	Pliny	HN 24.11
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.11 (X 5)
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.13
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.27
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.28
<b>fuscus/a/um</b>	Ovid	Amores 2.4.39
	Ovid	Heroides 15.36
	Pliny	HN 4.88
	Pliny	HN 6.53
	Pliny	HN 7.9-12
	Pliny	HN 8.30.72
	Juvenal	14.129
	Martial	7.13
	SHA	Zenobia 15-16
	CIL	6.4276,4716,13911
	CIL	8.12748
	CIL	13042
	CIL	13112
<b>galbinus</b>	Petronius	Cena 67.7
	Martial	1.96
	Juvenal	2.97
<b>galbinatus/a/um</b>	Martial	2.82
<b>glandes</b>	Ovid	Ars Am. 3.169-184
<b>glaucus/a/um</b>	Vergil	Aen. 8.31-33
	Vergil	Aen. 12.885
	Pliny	HN 8.30.75
	Pliny	HN 11.54
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.18
<b>herbaceus/a/um</b>	Pliny	HN 19.110
	Pliny	HN 37.191

	Martial	5.23.1
<b>horrem</b>	Pliny	HN 2.16.79
<b>hyacinthina</b>	Persius	1.32
<b>hyalus</b>	Vergil	Georgics 4.335
<b>igneus/a/um</b>	Vergil	Georgics 1.453
	Vergil	Aen. 4.352
	Vergil	Aen. 8.97
	Pliny	HN 2.16.79
	Pliny	HN 37.47
	Pliny	HN 37.161
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.5
<b>inauratus/a/um</b>	Catullus	81.4
	Propertius	1.16.3
	Petronius	Cena 67.7
<b>incanescio</b>	Catullus	64.13
<b>incanus/a/um</b>	Plautus	Rudens 122-126
	Vergil	Georgics 3.311
	Vergil	Aeneid 6.808-812
	Ovid	Met. 8.799-888
	Pliny	HN 24.173
	Statius	Thebaid 6.60
<b>indicium</b>	Pliny	HN 33.162-165
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.6
<b>lacteus</b>	Catullus	55.17
	Catullus	64.65
	Propertius	4.2.14
	Ovid	Heroides 16.251
	Pliny	HN 15.33.109
	Pliny	HN 21.64
	Petronius	86.5
<b>linteolum caesicium</b>	Plautus	Epidicus 223-234
<b>liveo</b>	Propertius	4.2.13
	Propertius	4.7.65
<b>lividus</b>	Vergil	Aen. 7.687
	Pliny	HN 22.92
<b>luridus</b>	Plautus	Capt. 595
	Propertius	4.7.2
	Propertius	4.11.8
	Horace	3.4.74
	Horace	4.13.10
	Ovid	Met. 14.791
	Ovid	Met. 15.351
	Pliny	HN 10.74.144-147

	Pliny	Epist. 6.20.18
<b>luteola</b>	Vergil	Eclogues 2.50
<b>luteus/a/um</b>	Catullus	61.10
	Catullus	61.188
	Vergil	Aen. 7.26
	Pliny	HN 10.74.144-147
	Pliny	HN 19.100
	Pliny	HN 21.27
	Pliny	HN 32.42.146
	Pliny	HN 34.171 (twice)
	Seneca	Q. Nat. 1.3.4
	Persius	3.95
	Persius	5.169
	Persius	6.46-7
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.15
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.27
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.28
<b>marmoreus/a/um</b>	Lucretius	HN 2.772-775
	Lucretius	2.757-794
	Pliny	HN 9.115
	Pliny	HN 9.107, 109, 112, 113
	Pliny	HN 27.98
	Lucilius	860
	Petronius	131.9
<b>minium</b>	Vergil	Eclogues 10.27
	Propertius	2.3.11
	Petronius	Satyrica 68
	Pliny	HN 35
	Pliny	HN 112
	Pliny	HN 33.122
	Suetonius	Tiberius 67.2
	Suetonius	Caligula 18.3
<b>molocinarii</b>	Plautus	Aulularia 505-521
<b>mulleus</b>	Cato	Origines 7.7
	Pliny	HN 9.65
<b>multicolor</b>	Pliny	HN 37.173
	Apuleius	Met. 11.3
	SHA	Antoninus Diadumenianus 10.2
	SHA	Zenobia 15-16
<b>murex/murice</b>	Vergil	Aen. 4.262
	Vergil	Aen. 9.614
	Tibullus	2.4.27
	Tibullus	3.3.18
	Ovid	Ars. Am. 3.169-184

	Horace	2.16.36
	Propertius	3.10.22
	Pliny	HN 2.16
	Persius	2.65
	Martial	1.49
	Martial	3.82
	Martial	4.4
	Martial	5.23.5-6
	Martial	9.48
	Martial	9.62.1-4
	Stattius	Silv. 3.4
	Apuleius	Meta. 10.20
<b>murreus</b>	Propertius	3.10.22
	Horace	3.14.22
<b>myrteus</b>	Ovid	Ars Am. 3.169-184
	Petronius	Satyrica 21L
<b>niger</b>	Catullus	
	Catullus	17.16
	Catullus	43.2
	Catullus	68.63
	Propertius	2.12.23
	Propertius	2.15.32
	Propertius	4.6.83
	Propertius	2.24.34
	Propertius	2.27.10
	Propertius	2.28b.38
	Propertius	3.7.56
	Horace	1.5.7
	Horace	1.6.15
	Horace	1.21.7
	Horace	1.32.11
	Horace	2.8.3
	Horace	3.6.4
	Horace	3.27.23
	Horace	4.12.11
	Horace	4.12.26
	Horace	4.4.58
	Ovid	Amores 2.4.37-44
	Tibullus	2.1.90
	Tibullus	3.2.10
	Tibullus	3.2.17-18
	Tibullus	3.5.15
	Lucretius	2.757-794 (twice)
	Pliny	HN 8.30.72-73
	Pliny	HN 8.56.165

	Pliny	HN 10.7.19
	Pliny	HN 10.45.87
	Pliny	HN 10.52.80
	Pliny	HN 14.3.15
	Pliny	HN 14.11.80
	Pliny	HN 15.30.102-103
	Pliny	HN 15.33.109
	Pliny	HN 16.147
	Pliny	HN 16.153-5
	Pliny	HN 18.54
	Pliny	HN 19.34
	Pliny	HN 16.144-146,147
	Pliny	HN 21.26
	Pliny	HN 22.47
	Pliny	HN 33.161
	Martial	2.3
	Martial	4.36
	Martial	5.43
	Martial	5.88
	Martial	6.39
	Martial	6.52
	Martial	11.46
	Juvenal	1.191-192
	Juvenal	6.120-121
	Juvenal	14.5
	Seneca	Ep. 58.12
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.14
<b>nigrescunt</b>	Pliny	HN 10.52.80
<b>nigerrimus</b>	Pliny	HN 15.30.102-103
<b>nigriorem</b>	Pliny	HN 33.161
<b>nitidissimi</b>	Cicero	Verr. 3.47
<b>nitor</b>	Propertius	2.18.23-30
<b>niveus/a/um</b>	Catullus	58b.4
	Catullus	61.9
	Catullus	63.8
	Catullus	64.240
	Catullus	64.303
	Catullus	64.309
	Catullus	64.364
	Catullus	68.125
	Horace	1.2.80
	Horace	2.4.3
	Horace	3.27.25
	Horace	4.2.59

	Tibullus	2.4.27
	Tibullus	3.3.25
	Tibullus	3.4.30
	Propertius	2.13b.53
	Propertius	2.19.26
	Propertius	3.3.39
	Propertius	3.6.12
	Propertius	3.14.11
	Ovid	Amores 2.4.37-44
	Martial	5.43
	Martial	8.50.5
	Martial	8.73.2
	Juvenal	7.221
	Juvenal	13.19
	Juvenal	14.5
	Apuleius	Meta. 11.9
<b>ochra</b>	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.8.1
<b>omnicolor</b>	Lucilius	311
<b>ostiarius</b>	Petronius	1.28
<b>ostrinus/a/um</b>	Propertius	1.14.20
	Propertius	2.29b.26
	Propertius	3.13.7
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.5
<b>ostrus/a/um</b>	Vergil	Aen. 10.721
	Vergil	Aen. 12.67
	Propertius	4.3.51
	Horace	3.29.15
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.13.1-3
	Martial	3.82
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.5
<b>palleo/pallesco</b>	Propertius	1.1.22
	Propertius	1.15.39
	Propertius	4.8.54
<b>pallidus/a/um</b>	Vergil	Aen. 4.644
	Catullus	65.6
	Propertius	3.8.28
	Propertius	4.7.36
	Horace	1.4.13
	Pliny	HN 10.41
	Pliny	HN 10.74.144-147
	Pliny	HN 22.92
	Juvenal	8.7
<b>pallentes</b>	Juvenal	12.17
<b>Pallor</b>	Propertius	1.5.21
	Propertius	2.5.30

	Horace	3.10.14
	Pliny	HN 2.16.79
<b>patagiatam</b>	Plautus	Epidicus 223-234
<b>peralbus</b>	Apuleius	Met. 1.2
	Apuleius	Met. 5.28
<b>percandida</b>	Celsus	5.19.24
<b>perniger</b>	Plautus	Poenulus 1109-1114
<b>perpallidus</b>	Celsus	2.6.2
<b>perviridis</b>	Pliny	HN 6.87
	Celsus	5.19.4
<b>phoeniceum</b>	Pliny	HN 21.64
<b>Piceus</b>	Vergil	Aen. 9.813
	Martial	11.18.24
	Martial	13.107.1
	Apuleius	Florida 4.110
<b>poeniceus</b>	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.9 (X 3)
<b>porraceus/a/um</b>	Pliny	HN 24.11
<b>praecanus/a/um</b>	Horace	Ep. 1.20-24
	Ovid	Met. 8.799-800
<b>praetextam</b>	Quintilian	Inst. 5.10.71
<b>praeviridis</b>	Frontinus	Aqua. 1.7
<b>prasinus/a/um</b>	Pliny	HN 37.181
	Martial	3.82.11
	Martial	4.36.1
	Martial	4.36.4
	Martial	10.48.23
	Martial	11.33 (appears twice)
	Martial	14.131
	Suetonius	Caligula 55.2
	Suetonius	Nero 22.1
	SHA	Verus 6.1 (appears twice)
	SHA	Antoninus Elagabalus 19.2
	Tertullian	De Spec. 9
	CIL	6.10047
	ILS	5285
	ILS	5288
	ILS	8753
<b>pullus/a/um</b>	Cicero	Ver. 4.54
	Florus	Epit. 2.13, 4.2.45
	Horace	1.25.18
	Vergil	Georgics 3.389
	Ovid	Ars Am. 3.189 (X 3)
	Ovid	Meta. 11.48
	Ovid	Meta 11.611

	Livy	45.7.4
	Velleius Paterculus	2.80.4
	Quintilian	Inst. 5.10.71
	Martial	6.58.7
	Martial	10.76.8
	Tacitus	Hist. 3.67
<b>puniceus/a/um</b>	Tibullus	2.3.57
	Vergil	Eclogues 5.17
	Propertius	3.3.32
	Propertius	3.13.28
	Propertius	4.9.27
	Propertius	4.9.52
	Horace	4.10.4
	Pliny	HN 8.40.141
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.27
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.28
<b>purpurare</b>	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.28
<b>purpurus/a/um</b>	Catullus	64.49
	Propertius	4.3.51
	Horace	2.16.7
	Horace	2.18.8
	Horace	3.1.42
	Horace	4.13.13
	Vergil	Aen. 4.138
	Vergil	Aen. 10.721
	Ovid	Met. 2.23
	Ovid	Met. 6.61
	Ovid	Pont. 3.7
	Pliny	HN 16.144-146
	Quintilian	<i>Inst.</i> 11.1.31-2
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7. 100.13.1-3. (twice)
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.14.1-2.
	Juvenal	7.130 (twice)
	Juvenal	11.39
	Apuleius	Meta. 8.27
<b>purpurarius/a</b>	CIL	1.1413
	CIL	6217
	CIL	3.5824
	CIL	6.9848
	CIL	10.540
	CIL	11.1069a
<b>purpureus/a/um</b>	Lucretius	2.48
	Lucretius	2.500-501

	Lucretius	3.275
	Catullus	45.12
	Catullus	64.163
	Catullus	64.275
	Catullus	64.308
	Vergil	Georgics 2.95
	Columella	Rust. 4.30.4
	Columella	Rust. 10.256
	Propertius	1.3.41
	Propertius	1.20.38
	Propertius	2.26a.5
	Propertius	3.5.32
	Propertius	3.17.17
	Propertius	3.3.12
	Horace	Elegies 1.62
	Horace	2.5.12
	Horace	2.12.3
	Horace	Odes 3.3.11
	Horace	3.15.15
	Horace	Odes 4.1.10
	Horace	Epodes 7.135-6
	Tibullus	1.4.29
	Tibullus	1.4.63
	Tibullus	2.3.57
	Tibullus	3.4.30
	Valerius Flaccus	Argonautica 3.422
	Seneca	Herc. O. 1838
	Cicero	Acad. 2.33.105
	Vergil	Ciris 37
	Vergil	Aen. 1.590
	Vergil	Aen. 6.640
	Vergil	Georgics 1.405
	Vergil	Georgics 4.373
	Vergil	Eclogues 9.40
	Ovid	Amores 2.1.38
	Ovid	Amores 2.4.33-50
	Ovid	Ars Am. 3.169-184
	Ovid	Met. 3.482-485
	Ovid	Fasti 3.518
	Ovid	Fasti 2.74
	Ovid	Heroides 4.160
	Ovid	Heroides 21.88
	Ovid	Remedia Amoris 701
	Pliny	HN 10.2.3
	Pliny	HN 10.57.89

	Pliny	HN 14.3.15
	Pliny	HN 18.54
	Pliny	HN 19.100
	Pliny	HN 19.124
	Pliny	HN 21.25 (twice)
	Pliny	HN 21.26
	Pliny	HN 21.27
	Pliny	HN 21.44
	Pliny	HN 21.64
	Pliny	HN 22.47
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.11.2
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.14.1-2
	Juvenal	4.28-31
	Juvenal	12.38-40
	Martial	1.104
	Martial	1.117
	Martial	4.11
	Martial	10.10
	Stattius	Silv. 3.3.130
	Stattius	Silv. 5.3
	Stattius	Thebaid 7.148
	Suetonius	Calig. 35
	Apuleius	Met. ??????
	Amm. Marc.	20.11.27
	SHA	Antoninus Diadumenianus 10.2
<b>purpurissum</b>	Pliny	HN 35
<b>radians</b>	Pliny	HN 2.16.79
<b>refulgens</b>	Pliny	HN 2.16.79
<b>roseus/a/um</b>	Catullus	55.12
	Catullus	63.74
	Catullus	64.49
	Catullus	64.309
	Catullus	80.1.
	Propertius	3.24.7
	Horace	1.13.2
	Vergil	Aen. 1.402
	Vergil	Aen. 9.5
	Ovid	Met. 3.482-485
	Pliny	HN 10.2.3
	Pliny	HN 12.102
	Pliny	HN 14.15
	Pliny	HN 24.81
	Pliny	HN 37.123
	Pliny	Met. 5.232
<b>rubellus</b>	Martial	1.103

<b>rubeo</b>	Catullus	3.18
	Propertius	1.10.8
	Propertius	3.10.2
	Propertius	4.2.16
	Horace	1.2.2
	Horace	2.11.10
<b>rubentem/ rubentis</b>	Ovid	Meta. 6.221
	Pliny	HN 12.102
	Pliny	HN 15.30.102-103
	Martial	5.2.6-8
	Martial	11.46
	Juvenal	7.196
<b>ruber</b>	Catullus	22.7
	Catullus	67.46
	Horace	1.35.32
	Horace	2.6.100-105
	Horace	3.13.7
	Vergil	Georgics 4.47
	Propertius	3.13.6
	Propertius	3.13.16
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.8.1
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.13.1-3
	Pliny	HN 10.74.144-147
	Pliny	HN 23.61.114
	Pliny	HN 31.55-56
	Juvenal	8.7
	Juvenal	14.106
	Persius	5.182
	Martial	1.55
	SHA	Gordian I 6.1-3
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.6
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
<b>Rubiae</b>	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.14.1-2
<b>Rubidus</b>	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.14
<b>Rubigo</b>	Pliny	HN 31.90
<b>rubeo/rubent/rubesco</b>	Tibullus	3.4.34
	Vergil	Aen 12.67
	Ovid	Met. 3.482-485
	Seneca	De Ira 2.19.5
	Pliny	HN 15.30.102-103
	Martial	2.43
	Martial	3.83
<b>Rubor</b>	Catullus	42.16
	Catullus	65.24

	Seneca	De Ira 1.1.3-4
	Ovid	Heroides 4.71-72
	Ovid	Met. 3.482-485
	Horace	Sat. 2.6.100-105
	Pliny	HN 2.16.79
	Pliny	HN 16.153-155
	Pliny	HN 22.92
	Suetonius	Domitian 13
	Pliny	Panegyricus 48
	Tacitus	Agricola 45.2
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.4-6 (X 3)
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.9
<b>rubrica</b>	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.7.2
	Persius	1.66
	Persius	5.90
<b>Rufescit</b>	Pliny	HN 10.52.80
<b>rufescentibus</b>	Pliny	HN 14.4.35
<b>rufulus</b>	Plautus	AS 400
	Pliny	HN 25.147
<b>rufus/a/um</b>	Seneca	De Ira 3.26.3
	Pliny	HN 12.131
	Pliny	HN 16.54
	Pliny	HN 18.54
	Pliny	HN 19.34
	Pliny	HN 19.105
	Pliny	HN 22.92
	Juvenal	14.129 (twice)
	Martial	6.39
	Tacitus	Agricola 11
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.4-5 (twice)
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.6 (twice)
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8 (twice)
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.11 (twice)
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.12
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.14
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.15
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.16
	CIL	1.728
	CIL	1.737
	CIL	1.1032
	CIL	1.1068
	CIL	1.1034
	CIL	1.1094
	CIL	1.1102
	CIL	1.1242

	CIL	2.4970, 440
	CIL	4.1847
	CIL	6.3927
	CIL	6.6514, 4632
	CIL	9.3527
	CIL	11.6700, 597
	CIL	15.5651-5663
<b>russatus</b>	Juvenal	7.114-115
<b>russus/a/um</b>	Catullus	39.19
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.6
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
<b>Russeus/a/um</b>	Pliny	HN. 7.186
	Apuleius	Met. 2.7
	Petronius	Cena Trimalchionis 27
	SHA	Antoninus Diadumenianus 2.8
	Tertullian	De Spectaculis 9
<b>Rutilus</b>	Catullus	63.83
	Vergil	Georgics 4.93
	Pliny	HN 10.15.38
	Pliny	HN 16.53
	Pliny	HN 24.37
	Columella	4.30.4
	Tacitus	Agricola 11
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.9
<b>Salax</b>	Petronius	Satyrica 43
<b>sandaraca</b>	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.12.2
<b>Sandyx</b>	Propertius	2.25.45
	Vergil	Georgics 2.430
<b>sanguineus/a/um</b>	Vergil	Eclogues 4.45
	Vergil	Eclogues 6.22
	Vergil	Eclogues 10.27
	Vergil	Aeneid 12.67
	Vergil	Aeneid 2.207
	Ovid	Met. 2.607
	Ovid	Met. 9.728
	Horace	1.27.4
	Pliny	HN 8.30.75
	Pliny	HN 14.4.37
	Pliny	HN 14.11.80
	Pliny	HN 15.109
	Pliny	HN 37.169
	Columella	10.402
	Juvenal	13.86
	Aulus Gellius	2.26.5 (twice)

<b>sidone</b>	Martial	1.103
<b>spadicarii</b>	Firm. Mat. Math.	2.7.1
<b>spadix</b>	Vergil	Georgics 3.82
	Pliny	HN 8.49
	Pliny	HN 13.9
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.9 (twice)
<b>spississimam</b>	Petronius	Satyrica 79
<b>subalbidus</b>	Pliny	HN 21.168
	Pliny	HN 26.30
	Celsus	5.26.20B
	Celsus	5.28.8
<b>subalbus</b>	Varro	R.R. 1.9.5
	Seneca	Apocol. 13.3
<b>subaquilus</b>	Plautus	Rudens 422
	SHA	Zenobia 15-16
<b>subcaeruleus</b>	Celsus	6.5.3
<b>subcandidus</b>	Pliny	N.H. 21.168
	Pliny	N.H. 26.30
	Pliny	N.H. 27.61
	Pliny	N.H. 27.120
<b>subcruentus</b>	Celsus	4.25.1
	Celsus	5.18.24
<b>subflavus</b>	Suetonius	Aug. 1.79-80
	Suetonius	Nero 1.51
<b>subfusca</b>	Tacitus	Agricola 12.6
<b>subfuscus</b>	Apuleius	Met. 2.13
	Ammianus Marcellinus	22.16.23
<b>sublividus</b>	Celsus	5.26.20B
	Celsus	5.28.4B
	Celsus	5.28.11
	Celsus	5.28.15C
<b>subluteus</b>	Apuleius	Florida
<b>subniger</b>	Plautus	Mercator 640
	Plautus	Pseudolus 1214-1220
<b>subpallidus</b>	Celsus	2.4.9
	Celsus	5.28.13B
	Celsus	11.4.9
<b>subruber/subrubra</b>	Celsus	2.4.8
	Celsus	5.28.8
	Celsus	6.8.2A
<b>subrubicundum</b>	Seneca	5.4.1
	Celsus	5.28.4A
<b>subrubicundus</b>	Pliny	N.H. 25,167
	Celsus	5.26.20D

<b>subrufus</b>	Plautus	Captives 648
	Pliny	HN 21.44
	Pliny	HN 37.170
	Vitruvius	7.100.8.1
<b>subrutilus</b>	Pliny	HN 10.41
	Suetonius	Dom. 20,4
<b>subviridis</b>	Celsus	5.28.13B
<b>Sucinos</b>	Pliny	N.H. 37.50
<b>Tyrius</b>	Catullus	61.165
	Propertius	3.14.27
	Tibullus	2.4.27
	Vergil	Aen. 4.138
	Ovid	Meta. 1.315 (X 2)
	Ovid	Meta. 6.221
	Ovid	Meta. 11.146
	Martial	4.28.1
	Martial	8.10
	Martial	8.48
	Juvenal	7.130
	Juvenal	11.39
	Juvenal	14.134
	Apuleius	Meta. 10.20
<b>unicolor</b>	Does Not appear in texts	
<b>venetianis</b>	SHA	Verus 6.1
<b>Venetus/a/um</b>	Martial	6.46.1
	Martial	14.131
	Suetonius	Vitellius 7.1
	Suetonius	Vitellius 14.3
	Juvenal	3.170
	SHA	Antoninus Elagabalus 19.2
	Claudian	In Ruf. 11.31
	Tertullian	De Spectaculis 9
	CIL	6.10047a3
	CIL	6.37835
<b>versicolor</b>	Quintilian	Inst. 10.1.33
	Ovid	Fast. 5.355-360
	Livy	9.40.3
	Vergil	Aen. 10.180-182
	Pliny	HN 19.22
	Pliny	HN 35.58
	Pliny	HN 9.30.66
	Pliny	HN 28.13
	Pliny	HN 21.44
	Propertius	3.7.50
	Propertius	13.32

	Columella	3.21.3
<b>violaceus</b>	Pliny	HN 22.47
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.13.1-3 (twice)
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.14.1-2 (twice)
<b>violarii</b>	Plautus	Aulularia 505-521
<b>vireo/virido</b>	Catullus	34.10
	Catullus	64.285
	Catullus	64.293
	Propertius	2.34b.78
	Horace	1.9.17
	Horace	1.25.17
	Horace	2.5.5
	Horace	4.13.6
	Livy	6.22.7
	Martial	12.32
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.23
<b>viridentur</b>	Ovid	Hal. 90
<b>Viret</b>	Pliny	HN 16.88
<b>Viresco---virescunt</b>	Vergil	Georgics 1.55
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.28
<b>virescunt</b>	Vergil	Eclogues 8.59
<b>virescunt</b>	Columella	Rust. 11.2.67
<b>viridans</b>	Lucretius	5.783-785
<b>Viridis</b>	Catullus	17.14
	Lucretius	5.783-785
	Cicero	Verr. 1.45
	Horace	1.2.80
	Horace	1.17.8
	Tibullus	1.2.40
	Tibullus	1.8.44
	Tibullus	2.1.88
	Tibullus	2.4.27
	Valerius Flaccus	1.77
	Vergil	Aen. 6.304
	Vergil	Georgics 3.82
	Livy	29.14
	Ovid	Amores 2.16.39
	Ovid	Ciris 225
	Ovid	Ep. Sapph. 38
	Ovid	Ibis 235
	Ovid	Meta. 9.31-33
	Quint.	Inst. 12.63
	Pliny	HN 12.102
	Pliny	HN 12.130

	Pliny	HN 13.17
	Pliny	HN 15.30.102-103
	Pliny	HN 17.74
	Pliny	HN 19.105
	Martial	5.71
	Juvenal	3.19/20
	Juvenal	6.228
	Juvenal	6.458
	Juvenal	7.118
	Juvenal	9.50
	Juvenal	11.98
	Juvenal	12.17
	Juvenal	13.19
	Juvenal	13.39
	Juvenal	14.147
	Juvenal	5.141-145
	Seneca	Epi. 66.1
	Suetonius	Iul. 53
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.4
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.8
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.11 (twice)
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.12
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.17
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.18
	Aulus Gellius	N.A. 2.26.23
	Ammianus Marcellinus	20.11.27
<b>viridiora</b>	Cicero	Republic 68
<b>viridissimum</b>	Cicero	Ver. 3.47
	Vitruvius	De arch. 7.100.14.1-2.
	Sil. Pun.	5.569
<b>viriditas</b>	Cicero	Tusc. 3.75
<b>Vitreus</b>	Vergil	Aen. 7.759
	SHA	Antoninus Elagabalus 19.2

Appendix 3: Physiognomic Qualities of the Caesars

	<b>Julius Caesar</b>	<b>Augustus</b>	<b>Tiberius</b>	<b>Gaius Caligula</b>	<b>Claudius</b>	<b>Nero</b>
<b>Stature and Height</b>	excelsa statura	statura brevem	corpore fuit amplo atque robusto, statura quae iustam excederet	statura fuit eminenti	namet prolixo nec exili corpore erat	statura fuit prope iusta
<b>Head/ Hair</b>	-----	capillum leviter inflexum et subflavum	capillo pone occipitium summissiore	capillo raro et circa verticem nullo, hirsutus cetera	-----	subflavo capillo...ut comam semper in gradus formatam peregrinatione Achaica etiam pone verticem summiserit ac plerumque synthesinam indutus ligato circum collum
<b>Complexion</b>	colore candido	colorem inter aquilum candidumque	colore erat candido	colore expallido	-----	corpore maculoso et fetido
<b>Eyes/Eyebrows</b>	nigris vegetisque oculis	oculos habuit claros ac nitidos  supercilia coniuncta	praegrandibus oculis et qui	oculis et temporibus concavis	-----	oculis caesis et hebetioribus
<b>Face: Mouth/Neck/ Ears</b>	ore paulo pleniore	vultu erat adeo tranquillo serenoque...nasum et a summo eminentiorem et ab imo deductiorem mediocres aures	facie honesta subiti tumors	fronte lata et torva vultum vero natura horridum actaetrum	et specie canitieque pulchra opimis cervicibus...ira turpior spumante rictu umentibus naribus	vultu pulchro magis quam venusto....cervice obesa
<b>Teeth</b>	-----	dentes raros et exiguos et scabros	-----	-----	-----	-----
<b>Arms/Legs</b>	teretibus membris	sed quae commoditate et aequitate membrorum	Latus ab umeris et pectore, ceteris quoque membris usque ad imos pedes aequalis et congruens...sinistra manu agilore ac validiore	corpore enorme gracilitate maxima cervicis et crurum	ceterum et ingredientem destituebant poplites minus firmi	gracillimis crucibus
<b>Other notable features</b>	-----	eximia forma/ gradus venustissima	-----	-----	auctoritas dignitasque formae nondefuit ei	ventre proiecto validitudine prospera circa cultum habitum que adeo pudendus....



Fig. 1

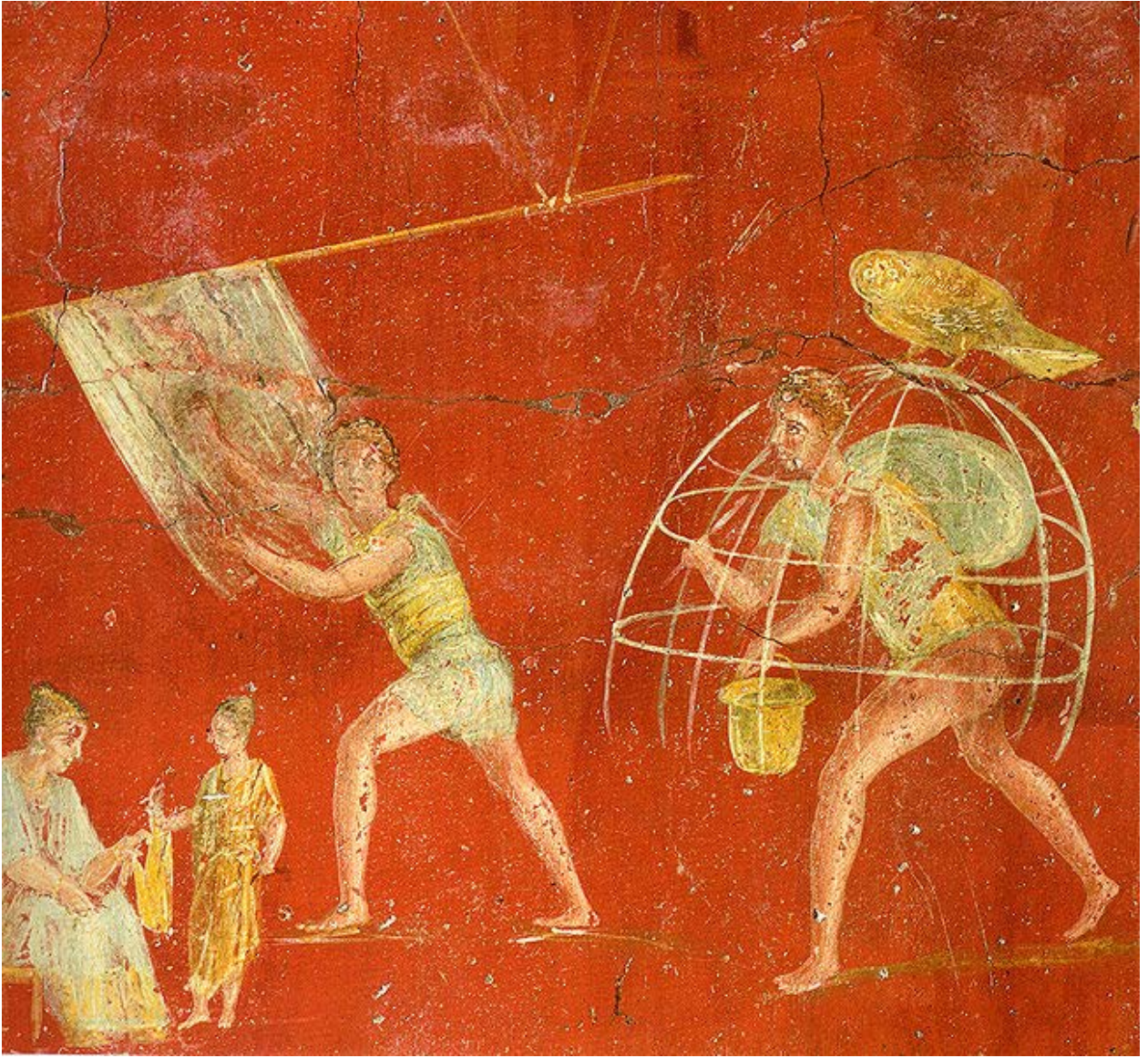


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8.

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