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THE USES OF COLOR TERMS IN THE AENEID

by
Robert Joseph Edgeworth

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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INTRODUCTION

The application of terms of color in ancient literature has frequently been a source of confusion to modern readers.[1] The beginning student is puzzled by Homer's "purple sea," "green honey," "black blood," and so forth; and the editors and annotators who explain the color terms in such phrases as mere equivalents for "beautiful," or as instances of vague and general uses of the terms, are no closer to the truth. Some of this confusion has been dispelled by recent work;[2] much remains to be done.

Vergil's particular sensitivity to color has been noted before now.[3] It is my contention that Vergil used color terms in the Aeneid in ways different from those of his major literary predecessors and contemporaries, and that in so doing he achieved certain noteworthy special effects. In our examination of this subject, several of these special effects will first be considered. Next, a listing will be made of each occurrence of every color term in the Aeneid, with citation, phrase, brief summary of context, and comments wherever necessary. Finally, a specific comparison of Vergil's uses of color terms in the Aeneid will be made with the

uses of color terms in certain writings of seven other major classical authors.

The reader who wishes to observe the progression from data to conclusions may read the chapters in the sequence Two - One - Three. However, the sequence actually observed by the writer has the advantage of enabling the reader to examine the data with the conclusions already in mind, whereby the better to judge whether particular items have been properly accounted for in reaching those conclusions.

Seventy-seven terms have been selected for consideration with regard to the Aeneid. In general I have been guided by the list of Jacques André,[4] but I have omitted several terms (such as "aereus," "cruentus") the color connotations of which did not seem to be in evidence at any point in the poem.[5] A few terms have been considered which are not on M.André's list (such as "populeus," "trabea"); the reasons for their inclusion are given individually in Chapter Two. Only terms with some chromatic content were included, plus black, white, gray, brown, and the various forms and compounds of the word "color" itself. Terms of mere brightness and darkness (Glänzwörter) such as "fulgens," "clarus," "obscurus," "umbrosus" and so forth were omitted.

Within the range of the terms selected, some disagreement is inevitable over the question of "non-color" uses of the terms. For example, most critics do not take

the "purpureum lumen" of Aeneid i.591 and vi.641 to be a light of literally purple or reddish hue. Yet it should be remembered that our concern is with Vergil's use of the terms themselves; it is not only hues that have connotations, but also terms; and the connotations of a term which is normally used chromatically do not entirely vanish even if the term is used in a context which seems non-chromatic.

The main reason for the limitation of the subject matter of the present study to the Aeneid, to the exclusion of the Eclogues and Georgics, is the profusion of flowers and plants in those poems. The color of flowers is important in the Aeneid; but in the earlier poems many flowers and plants are mentioned the very identities of which (not to mention their precise hues) are not known with any degree of certainty.[6] In any case, there is no reason to presume that Vergil's uses of colors would have been uniform in all his works. The other authors considered have generally been represented by only one or two major works (thus, of Horace, only the Odes; of Ovid, only the Metamorphoses; and so forth) because it was felt that a consideration of their complete works would have been of value only in the context of a study of color in all of classical literature, the sizable proportions of which study were felt to be unnecessary for purposes of the present inquiry.

All quotations and citations from the Aeneid are

taken from the edition of R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

CHAPTER ONE

SPECIAL EFFECTS THROUGH COLORS IN THE AENEID

The Selective Use of Color "Film"

Viktor Pöschl has remarked on the fact that certain books, groups of books, or portions of books in the Aeneid feel "bright" in an emotional sense, while others feel "dark."[7] This variation in mood is accompanied by a variation in the frequency with which terms of color are used in the books and in sections of books.

First, the totals for the use of color terms in each book should be considered. They are given in the following table.[8]

TABLE 1.--Aeneid: Color Terms per Book

Book	Total	Book	Total
One	35	Seven	50
Two	14	Eight	59
Three	34	Nine	50
Four	37	Ten	43
Five	56	Eleven	44
Six	54	Twelve	46

The terms of interest for this study occur 522 times in the Aeneid, an average of 43.5 terms per book. The average is higher for the second half of the poem than for the first half: 48.7 occurrences per book as

opposed to 38.3.

The most striking total in the list is that for Book Two. Only fourteen instances of the use of color terms occur, well below the average figure. Five of these fourteen are instances of "ater," the associations of which will be seen to be quite negative and fear-linked; in a sixth instance ("erubuit" at ii.542) the idea of color is present only slightly if at all. It is not sufficient explanation to point out that the action of Book Two takes place mostly at night, when colors are less evident to the sense of sight and hence less likely to be noticed or remarked upon by Aeneas; in fact Vergil could and did depict many colors in his night passages when he so desired, as in Book Nine.[9] I suggest that this paucity of color is linked to the atmosphere of terror, of utter devastation, which fills this book.

This sense of pervasive terror is succeeded by a shocked numbness which lingers after the destruction of the Trojans' city and world and continues through the events narrated in Books Three, One, and Four, which are the books next lowest in frequency of color use. Then at the core of the poem occur those events which are accompanied by the greatest surge of positive emotions--relief, pride, hope--namely the funeral games, Elysium and the pageant of heroes, the arrival in Latium, the site of Rome, and the Shield of Aeneas.

These books, Five through Eight, exhibit four of the five highest totals for color use in the poem. After Book Nine the totals fall during the narrative of the Latin War itself. The totals throughout the last four books (Latin War) remain consistently higher than those of the first four books (Troy, wanderings, Carthage).

That this variation is not due merely to variation in the length of the books may be shown by computing the ratio of lines to color term occurrences for each book. The results are contained in the following table.

TABLE 2.--Aeneid: Lines per Color Term, by Book

Book	Lines/term	Book	Lines/term
One	21.6	Seven	16.3
Two	57.4*	Eight	12.4
Three	21.1	Nine	16.4
Four	19.1	Ten	21.1
Five	15.6	Eleven	20.8
Six	16.3	Twelve	20.7

* If the Helen passage (ii.567-588) is rejected, the ratio is 55.9.

In this table the books retain much the same magnitudes as in the preceding one. The only notable changes are an increase in the relative incidence of color in Book Nine (the total for which is affected by an unusually high proportion of black terms, as can be seen from Table 4) and in Book Seven,and a decrease in the relative incidence of color in Books Ten, Eleven, and Twelve. These last four changes strengthen

TABLE 3.--*Aeneid*: Relative Color Frequency by Book

A. By Totals		B. By Lines/Term	
Rank*	Book	Rank*	Book
1.	Two	1.	Two
2.	Three	2.	One
3.	One	3.	Three
4.	Four	3.	Ten
5.	Ten	5.	Eleven
6.	Eleven	6.	Twelve
7.	Twelve	7.	Four
8.	Nine	8.	Nine
8.	Seven	9.	Seven
10.	Six	10.	Six
11.	Five	11.	Five
12.	Eight	12.	Eight

* In both columns the books are arranged from least colorful to most colorful as one reads down the column.

the hypothesis of the correlation of mood and color frequency.

This hypothesis--that mood and color frequency are correlated in the *Aeneid*--would be unconvincing were it not for the fact that, within individual books, different parts exhibit relatively higher or lower color frequency in correspondence to the mood of those parts. Evidence for this contention will be adduced from five books of the *Aeneid*: Books One, Five, Six, Seven, and Twelve--the beginning, the core, and the conclusion of the poem.

In Book One, the mood of fear is set by the wrathful speech of Juno, by the storm, by Aeneas' almost despairing first speech (94-101), and by the strangeness

of landing on an unknown shore.[10] This apprehension begins to subside with Jupiter's reassuring speech to Venus (257-296), continues through Venus' encounter with Aeneas (314-409; her speech begins at 335), and is not finally dissipated until Aeneas and Achates view the mural of the Trojan War (line 463: "solve metus").

In the 334 lines from the opening of the poem to the beginning of Venus' speech, only five instances of color terms occur. Three of these are instances of "ater" (lines 60, 89, and 165), the connotations of which will be seen to include overtones of fear and dread, unlike the colors of the spectrum. The other two instances ("fulvo" at 275 and "cana" at 292) occur in Jupiter's speech to Venus, already mentioned as one of the lessenings of tension in the book. If one were to assume that color terms were distributed evenly in this book, one would expect about 44% of the terms (fifteen of the total thirty-five) to occur in the first 44% of the book; instead the figure is 14%.[11]

Seven instances of color terms occur from the opening of Venus' speech with Aeneas up to her departure (lines 335-409), already mentioned as a second lessening of tension in this book. In other words, 20% of the instances of color terms in this book occur in these seventy-five lines, which represent only 10% of the length of the book. No other color terms occur before the "solve metus" of line 463; the remaining twenty-

three terms, 66% of the instances in the book, occur in the final 293 lines, which represent 31% of the length of the book and which contain the favorable reception by Dido and the welcoming banquet.

Book Five opens in the shadow of the suicide of Dido which occupies the very close of Book Four. The mood is not at first joyful ("infelicis Elissae," 3; "duri . . . dolores," 5; "furens . . . femina," 6; "triste . . . augurium," 7). Only three instances of color terms occur in the first seventy-one lines of the book; they are: "atros" at line 2, "atro" at line 19 (the negative connotations of black have been noted), and "caeruleus" at line 10 (the term is not negative, but consider the context of this instance: "caeruleus supra caput astitit imber / noctem hiememque ferens et inhorruit unda tenebris"). The sacrifice to the spirit of Anchises begins at line 72 and is followed by the funeral games through line 603, the most colorful passage of comparable length in the poem.

At line 604 the mission of Iris begins and events change to disaster for the Trojans ("Hinc primum Fortuna fides mutata novavit"). The episode of the destruction of the ships and its aftermath occupies 268 lines, which is 31% of Book Five. Thirty-one per cent of the fifty-six color term instances in the book would be seventeen terms, but in fact only ten instances of color terms are found, or 18%. Moreover, five of these ten are in-

stances of the color black (forms of "ater" at lines 666, 693, and 721; forms of "niger" at lines 696 and 736), and three of the remaining instances ("auro," 817; "caeruleo," 819; "albos," 865) occur after Neptune's speech to Venus (800-815) in which he promises safe passage to Italy, and by which the gloom of the ending is somewhat relieved (cf. "blandia . . . gaudia," lines 827-828). The long stretch from 604 to 815, 24% of the book, is relieved by only two color terms other than black ("coloribus," 609; "canae," 744).

Book Six falls into three large sections of unequal length: the golden bough (1-211), Misenus' burial and the descent (212-636; the section begins with the bringing of the bough to the Sibyl's house and ends with its deposition at Proserpina's palace), and Elysium (637-901). These three sections respectively comprise 23%, 47%, and 30% of the length of the book; but the instances of color terms are distributed among them in the respective ratios of 32%, 38%, and 30%.

The gloomy passage of the descent contains twenty instances of color terms, fewer than would have been expected under a normal distribution hypothesis; of these twenty, seven are forms of "ater," two are forms of "niger" or "nigro," another is the only instance of a form of "lividus" in Vergil. Consider also the effect

on the mood of the passage of such shadow words as are to be found in line 268, the first line of the descent proper: "Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram. . ." (emphasis mine). Here, too, the lack of bright colors is not due merely to the fact that Aeneas and the Sibyl are beneath the earth: Vergil could use bright colors there, too, and did so--when he wished to (for example, "roseis" at line 535 and "aurea" at line 604).

The high incidence of color terms in the first section of Book Six may be accounted for almost wholly by its subject: that bough the unusual color and nature of which are stressed repeatedly. Eight of the eighteen instances of color terms in this section are instances of gold or golden, and two of the other terms ("discolor" at line 204 and "croceo" at line 207) also refer to the bough; five of the remainder are instances of black which may be viewed as a foreshadowing of the descent.

The final section of the book contains sixteen terms, all but one of which ("atra" at line 866 in connection with Marcellus' fate, an important tempering touch) are bright whites and golds, yellows and reds and greens.

The Seventh Book also falls into three unequal sections: the arrival and favorable reception (1-285), the outbreak of furor (286-640), and the catalogue (641-817). These sections respectively comprise 35%,

43%, and 22% of the length of the book; the instances of color terms are distributed among them in the respective ratios of 41%, 35%, and 24%.

The joyful arrival section is relatively high in frequency of color terms, and all but one of the twenty instances are of bright colors (the exception is "atra" at line 214). The outbreak of furor, on the other hand, is accompanied by seventeen instances of color terms, a low total in relation to the length of the section; of these, six are instances of black and at least two of the remainder ("sanguineam" at line 399 and "flammea" at line 448) are gruesome in their respective contexts. The catalogue is not remarkable either for the frequency or the selection of its colors (black is used once, at line 801).

The Twelfth Book of the Aeneid could be divided in a number of ways. It is instructive to note the frequency of color terms before and after the breaking of the truce (lines 1-256, 257-952). Before the breaking of the truce, when it is hoped the war may be settled heroically, without further mass bloodshed, color terms are used twenty-six times, or 57% of the instances in this book--in a section of text comprising only 27% of the length of the book. If the dividing point is taken to be the intervention of Juno through Juturna at line 134, then 45% of the instances are seen to fall within the first 14% of the book. Or, if a division is made at

sunrise of the final day of the poem at line 113, then 40% of the color term instances are seen to fall within the first 12% of the book.

The colors used in Book Twelve are thus heavily concentrated at the opening of the book. The distribution over the final three quarters of the book is not even, but becomes thinner as the end of the book approaches, so that the final stretch of 339 lines after the suicide of Amata (614-952; 36% of the book) is relieved by only six instances of color (13%), and the final 160 lines (16%) from the beginning of Jupiter's last speech use color only twice (4%).[12] This striking decrease in the frequency of color terms over the course of Book Twelve may be understood as an avoidance of the tension-relieving effects of the use of color; the tension of the last several hundred lines is not released with a triumphant burst of color because there is no feeling of triumph at the end, only an ugly duty discharged. The final scenes of the Aeneid were "filmed" not in heroic technicolor but in cold, clear black and white.

This argument does not contend that color frequency in itself, that is, a frequency adjusted up or down like a thermostat without regard for any questions of the appropriateness of the particular colors in their own immediate contexts, was a factor in the composition of the Aeneid. In fact, that sort of view will

be opposed in all the sections which follow. Rather, this argument contends that a fluctuation in the relative frequency of color terms, applied or omitted skilfully in given contexts, accompanies the fluctuations of mood in the different parts of the Aeneid.

Two examples may serve to illustrate what is meant. At v.819 Neptune rides over the waves after promising a safe passage to Aeneas and yoking his horses with gold. The line is: "caeruleo per summa levis volat æquora curru." The sound and content of this line suggest Neptune's earlier appearance at i.147: "atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas." The blue-gold association in Five is a bright visual pair, found elsewhere in the Aeneid only on the Shield of Aeneas.[13] But there are no colors mentioned in or near the line cited from Book One. Both lines occur in a context of tension abatement--the calming of the seas --and the colors could have been used or omitted at will. The fact that the colors are omitted in One and used in Five is related to the fact that Book One as a whole is of low color frequency while Book Five as a whole is of high color frequency. The relationship of the former fact to the latter is either that of effect to cause (if Vergil had a conscious, pre-conceived level of color frequency which he was striving to maintain) or that of partial cause to effect (if the general color frequency level of each book is merely the

sum of dozens of discrete and independent choices by Vergil as to whether color would be appropriate to the mood of each individual context).

A second example may be drawn from the use of descriptions of snakes in the Aeneid. Snakes are described three times in Book Two at some considerable length (lines 203-227, 379-381, 471-475; thirty-three lines of description in all).[14] One of these three descriptions is devoid of color terms, the other two use color only once each ("sanguineae" at line 207, "caerula" at line 381). But the snake which appears during the sacrifice to Anchises in Book Five (lines 84-93; ten lines in all) is described with the terms "caeruleae" and "auro" and is compared to the rainbow: "ceu nubibus arcus / mille iacit varios adverso sole colores." Five is a relatively colorful book, Two has a relatively low color frequency.

The symmetry with which color frequency is varied in the Aeneid deserves mention. The four books of highest frequency are in the center of the poem (Five through Eight) flanked by two sets of four books each exhibiting low color frequency.[15] The two books at the very center of the poem, the one containing the re-encounter with and mastering of the past, the other containing the initiation of the future order of events, exhibit the same pattern of color frequency: an opening section of high frequency and bright colors,

followed by a longer section of low frequency with darker colors, followed by a concluding section of moderate frequency and bright colors with an isolated dash of black near the end. These two books are flanked by the two most colorful books in the poem, both of which serve as a relief from the serious tensions of the events of the two halves (wanderings, Latin war). Finally, the first and last books of the poem exhibit mirror image patterns of frequency and tone. One opens in stark black and white, then the frequency rises and the colors of the spectrum appear, rising to a sharp crescendo of colors at the very end of the book.[16] Twelve opens with several splendid bursts of color, then exhibits a sharp decrescendo, after which frequency falls off and variety fades into a stark black and white close.

Images and their Inversions

The poetic art of Vergil was capable of devising or adopting an image possessed of beauty and simplicity, of establishing its connotations by repeated use in his poem, and then of reversing those connotations at a climactic point in the narrative. Two such images are of particular interest: the purple flower and the black cloud. Both have long histories of previous use.[17]

The purple flower is used as an image of death in the Aeneid. The flowers mentioned in this connection

are of several species, and should not be thought of as being "purple" in the modern English sense; Vergil frequently uses the term "purpureus" in connection with these symbolic flowers, and the hue designated by that term, as will be seen in Chapter Two, is among the reds.

The image is used six times in the poem. The first occurrence is at iv.486, early in Dido's first speech after her decision to die ("decrevitque mori," line 475), a speech designed to clear the way for a suicide without interference. The context is heavy with impending death. Dido speaks of an Ethiopian priestess in the Garden of the Hesperides who feeds the guardian dragon honey and poppies: "spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver." The poppy is not called "purpureus" here, but that it is a red or purplish flower is clear,[18] and it is closely linked to the fourth and sixth occurrences of the purple flower image. Because the dragon of the Hesperides was thought to be utterly unsleeping, editors and commentators have criticized the use of "soporiferum" here as inappropriate.[19] That there are good grounds for believing it to be quite appropriate will be contended in commenting on the final occurrence of this image. The connection of the flower with death is least explicit in this first occurrence.

The second occurrence is at v.79, during the rites in honor of Anchises: "purpureos iacit flores

[sc.Aeneas]." Here the color of the flowers is made explicit and is associated with the white color of the milk mentioned in line 78 ("lacte"; "lactrus" is used as a pure color term twice in the Aeneid). As this is an offering to the dead (specifically, to the spirit of Anchises), the death connotations of the flowers could hardly be clearer. This passage looks forward to the third occurrence of the image.

At vi.884 the image recurs: "purpureos spargam flores. . . ." The speaker now is Anchises; as he received the purple flowers as a death offering from his son in Five, so he now casts the purple flowers as a death offering for his descendant Marcellus, whose premature death has been the topic of inquiry and lament since line 860. The association of the purple flower with death is strengthened. These two passages are closely linked, not merely by the verbal echo and the person of Anchises, but also by the fact that only in these two occurrences are the purple flowers linked with the color white (the milk at v.78, the lilies at vi.883).[20,21]

When Euryalus is killed in Book Nine, he is compared to a "purpureus . . . flos" cut off by the plow, or to "papavera" made heavy by rain (lines 435-437).[22] Death and the purple flower are again associated, and the link between death and the poppy is now made expli-

cit.

In his description of the funeral of Pallas, Vergil compares the fallen youth to a flower plucked by a girl, then specifically to a violet or a hyacinth (xi.68-71). The violet of Roman times was not only purple itself but also the source of a purple dye.[23] There has been considerable dispute over the identity of Vergil's hyacinth,[24] but of the various flowers commonly suggested (red lily, purple martagnon, iris, red asphodel, modern hyacinth), all are either red or purple.

Consider the associations of the purple flower thus far. It has appeared at Dido's decision for suicide, at the mourning for Anchises, at the mourning for Marcellus' foreseen death, at the death of Euryalus, at the funeral of Pallas--in short, it has been connected with the death of almost every major character or sympathetic figure (with certain obvious exceptions). After creating this association in the mind of the reader, Vergil then introduces the image for the final time.

Aeneas is seriously wounded at xii.319 and is removed from the fighting. He fails to respond to the ministrations of Iapyx the healer ("nequiquam . . . nequiquam . . ." line 403). The tension increases: "nulla viam Fortuna regit, nihil auctor Apollo /

subvenit. . ." lines 405-406. At this moment Venus intervenes by bringing the dictamnum, a plant crowned with "flore . . . purpureo" (lines 413-414). The reader, who has found purple flowers introduced exclusively in the context of the death of a major character, reads these words with a momentary quiver of foreboding. Surely Aeneas is not going to die?

But Vergil has not introduced the image merely to produce a "cliff-hanger" effect, or merely to invert the image's associations at its final occurrence (though both of these results occur). Rather, the purple flower is here not merely <u>associated</u> with the opposite of what it has hitherto accompanied, no, it is itself the <u>cause</u> of that effect so contrary to what would have been expected. It is this plant with its purple flower which heals Aeneas' wound and saves his life.

Venus invisibly treats the wound with dictamnum, ambrosia, and "odoriferam panaceam." It is this phrase which links the last of the purple flower passages to the first such passage: "soporiferumque papaver" (iv.486). Neither "odorifer" nor "soporifer" occurs anywhere else in the writings of Vergil; and, given that they occupy the same position in the two lines in question,it is difficult to avoid the inference that an intentional link between the first and the last pur-

ple flower passage influenced the choice of the adjective "soporifer." The context in Four did not rule out the application of the adjective, since one would naturally expect honey to be combined with the seeds of the poppy (which, unlike the capsules of the poppy, are not sleep-inducing[25]); and there is a pleasing irony in the picture of the dragon remaining always awake while feeding on a plant which brings sleep to other creatures.[26] The poppy of the Hesperides is a vegetative oxymoron, as well as the source of a perceptible echo eight books afterward.

Vergil's treatment of cloud imagery is more complex than his treatment of the purple flower image. It is, to begin with, only natural that a black cloud should forebode ill, both from the standpoint of meteorology and from that of literary precedent.

Black clouds occur sixteen times in the Aeneid. Fourteen of those instances have foreboding overtones; the remaining two are a pair, occurring in the same sentence and reversing the connotation in a way similar to that of the reversal just mentioned in connection with the purple flower passages.

It seems unnecessary to examine all of these fourteen instances here.[27] A few will serve to make the connotations of the group clear. The black storm whirls away Aeneas' companions: i.511, "ater . . . turbo." Aeneas and his companions are like wolves in a

black cloud (their trip through the darkened streets of Troy proves to be a disaster alike for the Greeks and for themselves): ii.356, "atra in nebula." Hecuba and her daughters are like helpless doves in a black storm cloud: ii.516, "atra ceu tempestate." Juno says she will send a black cloud over Aeneas and Dido (dramatic irony: Juno is sending not merely the rainstorm which occasions their love but also bitter suffering for both of them): iv.120, "nigrantem . . . nimbum." Opis descends to earth shrouded in a black cloud to slay Camilla: xi.596: "nigro . . . turbine." Aeneas' spear flies like a black storm and fells Turnus: xii.923, "atri turbinis."

In one passage, however, the ominous associations of the black cloud are reversed. At v.687-692 Aeneas' fleet is ablaze, his hopes of reaching Italy are going up in smoke, and he prays for help. The answer: "atra / tempestas . . . furit . . . / . . . ruit / . . . imber . . . nigerrimus" (lines 693-696). The downpour extinguishes the flames and saves the ships. It should be carefully noted that here, too, the reversed image does not merely <u>accompany</u> an effect opposite to that which it usually accompanies; rather, as in the case of the purple flower, it is the black cloud itself which is the direct <u>cause</u> of the salvation from disaster. Such artistic economy is very satisfying.

This case differs from the previous one in that the reversal takes place not in the final occurrence of the image but rather in the middle of a long string of such occurrences. It was possible for Vergil to place the reversal here because the association of black clouds with impending disaster was already clear from previous literature; he did not need to hammer the point home by presenting the entire series of such instances before reversing the association.

But not all of Vergil's clouds are black; it will be of interest to examine the significance of several other clouds in the Aeneid, keeping in mind the associations of the black cloud image. There are two colorless clouds which are mere periphrases for invisibility (one for Aeneas at i.411-414, "obscuro aere . . . nebulae"; and, symmetrically, one for Venus at xii.416ff, "obscuro . . . nimbo"). Their Homeric precedents, particularly for Venus' favorites, are clear[28] and they are not of concern to this study.

There are four clouds in the Aeneid, other than black clouds, the colors of which are mentioned. Indeed, given the prevalence of black clouds in this poem and the complete absence of white clouds in the literature considered for this study, the poet who wished to emphasize that the skies were favorable did well to make the chromatic situation explicit.

Twice clouds are used in unambiguously favorable

contexts; they are yellow or golden colored. Early in Book Seven the prophecy of the edible tables is fulfilled, signifying that the wanderings of the Trojans are over. As an indication of blessing, Jupiter thunders three times and displays in the sky "ardentem . . . auro / . . . nubem" (lines 142-143). Again, toward the end of Book Twelve Jupiter looks for Juno, about to have the conversation with her which will result in her final acquiescence in the success of Aeneas and the Trojans. He finds her sitting in a yellow cloud ("fulva . . . de nube," line 792) looking out at the battlefield. For Juno to have been seated in a black cloud would have foreboded the opposite result to that which was actually forthcoming; and the yellow cloud had literary precedent as an indication of divine blessing (Iliad B 670; Pindar Olympian 7.49).

Still more interesting are the colors of the two clouds which appear in Book Eight in connection with the arms of Aeneas. At lines 524-529 the newly forged weapons appear with a cloud which they light up with their red glow ("arma inter nubem . . . / . . . rutilare"). Aeneas takes this as a purely favorable "signum," and in a remarkable speech (lines 532-540) he boasts about the number of Laurentine deaths in the offing and the penalties which Turnus will have to pay, ending with the surprising "poscant acies et foedera rumpant." This is the reaction of an "Aeneas ignarus"

(cf.viii.730, x.25, 85); he does not at this moment perceive that many Trojan and allied deaths are also in the offing (including that of Pallas, placed at this moment by dramatic irony at Aeneas' side; see line 466) and that he himself will have to pay a great price for victory including the loss of the opportunity for magnaminity and clemency. He still has much to learn.[29]

At viii.622 Venus has just brought the weapons to Aeneas, and the breast plate is compared to a blue cloud ("caerula nubes") illuminated by the sun's rays. Now, there is no reason to take either a red or a blue cloud as a clear indication of good or ill fortune;[30] the reader is thus presented with an image of ambiguous significance, just as the weapons themselves are an ambiguous omen (portending both victory and bitter loss), and should have been understood as such by Aeneas.[31]

The phenomenon of the reversal of associations discussed in connection with these two systems of images may also be observed in connection with the connotations of simple terms or pairs of terms. Two examples may be cited.

The term "sanguineus" is used ten times in the Aeneid. It is used as a color term, meaning "blood-colored," bright red; at times it cannot mean "blood-covered" in the context in which it occurs. In nine of these instances the term clearly has a gruesome or ter-

rifying connotation. They may be briefly summarized as follows: ii.206-207, the blood-red crests of the serpents which consume Laocoon; iv.643 and vii.399, the bloody gazes of the frenzied Dido and the frenzied Amata, respectively; viii.622, the blood-red breast plate of Aeneas (here expressing more than color: "letifer" or "fatifer" is implied); viii.703, the bloody scourge of Bellona at Actium; ix.732-733, the blood-red crests of Turnus in battle; x.272-273, the eerie, blood-red glow of comets in the night; xii.332, bloody Mars in battle; xii.339-340, Turnus' horses kick up a bloody dew.

But at the opening of Book Twelve the term occurs in a totally different context. The lines are:

> Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
> si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
> alba rosa, talis virgo dabat ore colores.
> (emphasis mine; xii.67-69)

This is very likely the most beautiful color passage in the Aeneid,[32] the still point around which the turbulent action of the final act of the Aeneid whirls. Before it comes Amata's appeal to Turnus to give up the fighting and her threat to commit suicide if he does not; after it comes Turnus' refusal to give up. In between, for a moment, the life and death of both Amata and Turnus, as well as the future fate of Lavinia, hang in the balance; it is Turnus' last chance to master his own furor and pride, to escape his trag-

edy. In its effect it may be compared to the moment before Beckett's death in Eliot's Murder in the Cathedral; we are not actually to expect that swords hang in the air for long enough to permit the complete text of the Confiteor to be recited, nor are we to think it consistent with Turnus' rash nature for him to hesitate over his answer even for long enough to permit a poet to recite a three-line simile--but it is aesthetically appropriate that these moments be extended . . . there is so much at stake!

In place of Lavinia's private thoughts in this moment before their three fates are virtually sealed, in place of her(no doubt)mixed emotions, one is presented with a picture of mixed colors.[33] Lavinia is blushing, and in this reversal of the connotations of "sanguineus," a term which elsewhere is associated only with the grotesque and the terrifying, it should be noted that, again, it is the inverted element itself--the blood--which is the immediate cause of the effect so opposite to its normal associations, the effect so beautiful and mild: Lavinia's blush.[34]

A final example requires the anticipation of one of the conclusions of a subsequent section of this chapter, in which a connection is established between, on the one hand, the use of the paired colors green and white and, on the other hand, the release of long-sus-

tained tension, particularly at a time of home coming or arrival at a destination. This pair is used five times in the poem to accompany that effect.

However, at the crossing of the Styx in Book Six these same two colors are applied to Charon: mention is made of his "canities" (line 300), which has the gray-white root *cas- built into it, and his old age is called "viridis" (line 304). True, the adjective in this context merely means "vigorous"; but terms have connotations as well as do hues, and they do not completely lose those connotations simply because the immediate context may be achromatic. Vergil did not have to mention Charon's beard, or use an adjective the connotations of which were normally those of the color green; why did he do so? (Charon's boat is a separate problem: it is "ferruginea" at line 303 and "caeruleam" at line 410; but the present question is concerned with the adjectives applied to the god's person.)

The incidence of the pair here is particularly surprising in that, as remarked above, this passage is one of low color frequency and high tension--a tension not dissipated but even increased by the god's arrival on the scene ("horrendus . . . / terribili squalore Charon").

The answer may well be that this is a deliberate inversion: the homecoming theme used precisely where it is least appropriate--in Hades.[35] Yet in one sense

Aeneas *is* approaching his "home"; that is, he is approaching his *past*, which he will be able to actually relive by visiting certain of its representatives--Palinurus, Dido, Deiphobus, Anchises.[36] And here too, Charon is both an immediate *cause* of visible horror (the inversion of the usual association) and also the immediate *means* of conveying Aeneas to his "home" in the past (the transposition of the usual effect to an unexpected context).

Cross Referencing of Episodes

The repetition of the same group of colors may be used to link together two or more episodes in the poem, even if there is no common image to connect them. This section deals with the linking of episodes, usually in groups of two, by means of color; color relationships among more complex groups of episodes will be considered in the following section of this chapter. The present section does not seek to mention *every* simple relationship through color which exists in the *Aeneid*; only a certain number of the more striking instances of this phenomenon will be mentioned here. A more extensive treatment of this subject will be given at the appropriate places in Chapter Two.

One may begin by conparing two passages, one from the Dido episode and one from the arrival in Latium.

> . . . ostroque insignis et auro
> stat sonipes . . .
> . . . . . .
> cui [sc.Elissae] pharetra ex auro, crines
> nodantur in aurum,
> aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.
> (iv.134-135, 138-139)
>
> instratos ostro alipedes pictisque tapetis
> (aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent,
> tecti auro fulvum mandunt sub dentibus aurum)
> (vii.277-279)

In the former passage, Dido and Aeneas are preparing to go forth to the hunt on the day that marks the beginning of their illicit relationship. In the latter, Latinus has just received the Trojan emissaries favorably and is sending some of the horses of the Sun as a gift for Aeneas.

Each passage contains a sequence of six visual terms. Though the parallelism is not rigidly maintained, nevertheless the similarities are striking. Both begin with a description of the trappings of horses, named in similar periphrases ("sonipes"; "alipedes"). In the latter passage the same subject is retained; in the former the subject shifts to the person of Dido herself. Both passages begin with the term "ostro" plus a second term ("auro" in the former, "pictis tapetis" in the latter). Both passages close with a set of four color terms spread over two lines, three of which terms are the <u>same</u> three forms of "aurum" (in different sequences: "auro . . . aurum . . . aurea" in the former, "aurea . . . auro . . .

aurum" in the latter). Even though "fulvum," the remaining term in Seven, is a term which has some affinity for red overtones,[37] it is still quite different from "purpuream," the corresponding term in Four. A possible reason for this difference will be discussed presently.

The selection and distribution of colors suggests that the latter passage is intended to recall the former passage to the reader. But what connection is there between the hunt at Carthage and the presents of Latinus? Examining the contexts, it is of interest that both passages come at the very end of portions of the narrative in which events have gone well for Aeneas. He has arrived safely in a foreigm land and has been favorably received by the ruler; as yet no series of disastrous events has been set in motion. But disaster is not long delayed. The storm begins at iv.160, and at lines 169-170 the poet comments, "ille dies primus leti primusque malorum / causa fuit." Similarly, no sooner is the description of the horses in Book Seven complete than Aeneas' personal nemesis appears: "ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis / saeva Iovis coniunx" (vii.286-287).

It is of interest to compare a similar passage from Book Five. Through most of that book the Trojans enjoy respite from their travails; the heroic world is allowed to display itself in well-ordered array. At the

end of this lengthy games section, a section accompanied by a marked reduction in tension, comes the ludus Troiae. The young men wear gold neck rings (line 559). Vergil throws the narrative spotlight on Priam the younger:

> . . . quem Thracius albis
> portat equus bicolor maculis, vestigia primi
> alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus albam.
> (v.565-567)

Next Atys is mentioned, then Iulus, riding on a horse given him by "candida Dido" (lines 570-572).

This passage, like the other two, deals with horses and describes them colorfully. Like the others, it immediately precedes Aeneas' turn of fortune for the worse (lines 604, 606: "Hinc primam Fortuna fidem mutata novavit. . . . Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno"). Like the others, its core is a group of three bright color terms (here forms of "albus," not of "aurum") joined to a fourth ("bicolor"). Further links between this scene and the one from Book Four are the mention of Dido at v.571 as the donor of Iulus' horse and the mention of Iulus as one of Dido's hunting companions at iv.140, in the very next line after the conclusion of the passage quoted above.

Both the passage from Four and that from Seven have other connections which link them in different ways to other episodes. At iv.139 mention is made of Dido's "purpuream . . . vestem." In the final section

of this chapter it will be contended that the term "purpureus" normally has strong associations of death in the Aeneid; if this is so, it is certainly appropriate (besides the obvious connotations of royal richness and Tyrian origin inherent in purple and gold) for Dido to be dressed in purple on the morning of the day which was "leti . . . causa" (lines 169-170). But the position of the term is as significant as its selection.

The term "purpureus" is used fifteen times in the Aeneid. In thirteen of those instances it occurs as the first word in the line. But at iv.139 and at xi.819 the word is moved back to occupy the second foot and part of the third. At xi.819 the poet says that the "purpureus . . . color" leaves the face of the dying Camilla.[38] It would not be inappropriate for the color of death to be used to link Vergil's two tragic heroines (two rather than three: Lavinia survives, and we never come to know her with any degree of intimacy). Such a connection is implied not only at the time of Camilla's death, but also in the words and colors with which she is first introduced into the poem at the end of Book Seven.

> velet honos levis umeros, ut regius ostro
> auro internectat, Lyciam ut fibula crinem
> gerat ipsa pharetram
>
> (emphasis mine; vii.814-816)

Compare the underlined words to the portrait of Dido in the passage from Book Four cited above.[39]

The horses of Latinus also have other associations. In the council of the Latins in Book Eleven Latinus gives an extended speech in favor of peace with the Trojans. He ends the speech by urging that envoys be sent, offering as gifts "aurique eborisque talenta / et sellam regni trabeamque insignia nostri" (lines 333-334). It is known from a passage from a lost work of Suetonius that the color purple was a constant element present in every trabea.[40]

The situation here is similar in some respects to that of Book Seven. In Seven Latinus gave a speech offering peace and amity with the Trojans ("dabitur, Troiane, quod optas . . . hunc illum [sc.Aenean] poscere fata / et reor et . . . opto," lines 260, 272-273); the description of the horses, which are to be pledges of that peace, begins in the very first line after the conclusion of that speech. In Eleven, Latinus once again proposes peace ("haec omnis regio . . . / cedat amicitiae Teucrorum, et foederis aquas / dicamus leges," lines 320-322); the gifts come at the very end of the speech, and they are clearly intended to be pledges of that peace ("foedera firment," line 330). In both cases Vergil draws attention to the colors of the gifts: purple and gold in Seven, purple and gold in Eleven with the addition of white (the ivory; the addition of this color is significant: its effect will be discussed in the following section of this chapter).

The similarity of the colors is in contrast to the vast difference in the value of the gifts: the peace which could have been had by an ordinary exchange of gifts between rulers can now be obtained only at great cost in lives or treasure.

The gifts given by Aeneas are no less interesting than the gifts offered to him. At vii.243ff the gifts which Aeneas sends to Latinus are of purple and gold ("auro," line 245; "purpura," line 251), which are appropriately regal colors and which match the colors of the gifts which he in turn is to receive from Latinus. This passage echoes the earlier giving of gifts by Aeneas to Dido at i.647-655. There are verbal echoes ("munera praeterea Iliacis erepta ruinis," i.647; "munera reliquias Troia ex ardente receptas," vii.244) as well as similarities among the gifts themselves ("sceptrum," i.653, vii.247; "duplicem . . . coronam," i.655, "tiaras," vii.247). But Vergil did not make the colors mentioned in the two passages parallel; in the case of the gifts in Book One, instead of gold and purple one finds gold and yellow ("auro," lines 648 and 655; "croceo," line 649). It will be contended in the last section of this chapter that "croceus" is normally associated with marriage in the Aeneid. If this is so, then the difference of colors in the two episodes, otherwise so closely parallel, seems to emphasize through the choice of "croceo" and through its

repetition at i.711 the same point which is emphasized by the explicit mention of the "inconcessos hymenaeos" of Helen at i.651:[41] the potential romantic or marital relationship which might develop between Aeneas and Dido--a dangerous relationship, since Aeneas' destiny has made such a marriage just as "inconcessum" as circumstances had made any marriage between Paris and Helen.

But the warning implicit in Helen's veil goes unheeded; the relationship develops and proceeds to the bitter parting of Book Four. In her final speech to Aeneas, Dido places a terrible curse upon him and threatens to carry it out in person: "sequar atris ignibus absens / . . . / omnibus umbra locis adero" (lines 384, 386).

In one sense the fires smoking blackly could be taken in reference to Dido's funeral pyre, the glow from which "follows" the Trojans as they sail away (v.3-4). But no mention is made of the color of the flames at the opening of Five. A more explicit verbal and visual association may be found between the black fires of the curse and the black fires of Book Eleven.

At xi.186-187 the Trojan dead who have fallen in the Latin War are cremated. It is not unreasonable to see their deaths as in part the result of Dido's curse, particularly as she had prayed specifically for their deaths at iv.616-617: "videatque [sc.Aeneas] indigna

suorum / funera." At xi.186 the Trojan dead are laid on the pyres and burned, "subiectis ignibus atris."

Some of these losses are more deeply felt than others. Right beside the bitterest of them the ghost of Dido, so to speak, may be seen in the shadows. Dido had given a purple cloak to Aeneas (and if purple is indeed an ominous color, then the cloak is only too appropriate for what Dido's effect on Aeneas will be); it is mentioned at iv.262-264 (in a scene with several levels of meaning, which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter), then apparently forgotten for a long period. But at xi.72-75, as Pallas lies upon his bier, Aeneas covers him with two cloaks made of purple and gold which Dido had given him.[42] The fact that the cloaks are two in number might make one wonder whether this episode ought to be considered closely linked with iv.262-264--were it not for the fact that Vergil repeats more than a full line of text: "Dido / fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro" (iv.263-264,xi.74-75). The curse lingers on.[43]

The covering of Pallas' body with purple garments is a repetition of an earlier loss, the poignancy of which was not so greatly stressed. At the opening of Book Six, Aeneas is told that if he wishes to visit the underworld he must do two things: find the golden bough and bury the dead Misenus (vi.133-152). As Misenus'

body lies upon the pyre, it is covered with purple garments ("purpureas . . . vestis," vi.221).

The two scenes are linked by more than color and by more than the fact that both are funerals. In Six Aeneas is told, in effect, that if he wishes to visit the underworld (where, one knows,he will attain insight into his own future and that of Rome, as well as achieving some degree of emotional autonomy), he can do so only at the cost of the life of one of his own. In Eleven Aeneas is still achieving insight: he is learning that the business of sparing the weak and subduing the proud which Anchises enjoined upon him and his descendants at vi.853 is a bitter task, one filled with deep personal loss and an acceptance of crushing responsibility. He is gaining this knowledge at the cost of the life of one close to him.

The colors of the cloaks at Pallas' funeral (gold is mentioned as well as purple: "auro . . . rigentis," line 72; "tenui . . . auro," line 75) admit of additional associations. Compare the following detail from the funeral of Julius Caesar (Suetonius, Julius 84): "Lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus et ad caput tropaeum cum veste in qua fuerat occisus." M. E. Armstrong has pointed out[44] that the Roman dead were laid out in the garb of the highest office they had held, and that Julius Caesar was probably the first man (and

by the time of the composition of the Aeneid, still the only man) to be laid out in the purple and gold toga picta, which the Senate had voted him as his personal garb for life. The use of colors brings out the similarity between Aeneas' obligation to avenge the slain Pallas and Augustus' obligation to avenge the slain Julius.[45]

It has been established in the first section of this chapter that certain sections of the Aeneid are composed with an unusual scarcity of color terms. The abrupt use of a bright color term in the course of such a section can be effective in context and can also serve to establish a reference to an episode in another part of the poem in which a similar effect is produced. Several instances of this phenomenon may be found in Books Two and Six.

In Book Two, as mentioned above, the lowest color frequency in the poem is found. But the colorless and shadowy narrative (shadowy: cf.lines 251, 356, 360, 420, and so forth) is interrupted at line 488 in a reference to the shouting and wailing which rises from the palace of Priam ("ferit aurea sidera clamor") and again at line 593 in a reference to the sudden apparition of Venus, who speaks to Aeneas with "roseo . . . ore."

Certain ancient critics found the mention of Venus' rosy lips to be inappropriate in a description

of the sack of a city; modern scholars appear to find nothing remarkable about the choice of adjective, perhaps thinking it to be merely otiose.[46] Otis has pointed out the crucial importance of Venus' apparition: before her appearance Aeneas follows the wrong course of action, acting from dolor and furor; after her appearance his familial pietas is reinforced and he forgoes efforts at futile resistance in order to save his family.[47] The apparition marks a turning point; it is startling and abrupt--as startling as the flash of rose color against the dark background with which Venus' speech begins.

In Book Six, when Aeneas encounters the figures from his past during his descent, he does not wish to leave them. Particularly in the case of Deiphobus the poet states that his hero might have spent all of his allotted time chatting with him (that is, might have remained immersed in the past and missed the maturing experience of Elysium which liberates him from his preoccupation with the past) had not the Sibyl harshly interrupted him (lines 537ff). Vergil anticipates the jolt which the Sibyl's words give to Aeneas by administering a similar jolt to his reader at lines 535-536, in which he states that Dawn had now driven her rosy team of horses to the midpoint of the sky. Now, the Dawn is traditionally rosy; but is it not unusual to speak of the Dawn at all when the hour in question is

noon? Surely one would have expected some reference to Phoebus; but Phoebus is never rosy (except once at sunset, xi.913). An intentional attempt to startle the reader by a bright color reference in a dark passage, and to do so by using the same color term with which the same effect was accomplished in Book Two, in a situation in which, just as here in Book Six, Aeneas is being jolted from the wrong course to the right by external influence, is a very probable inference.

The reference to the golden stars at ii.488 adds a pathetic note to the description of the sack of Troy: only the cries of the victims escape to the beautiful and serene stars--the victims themselves are trapped below in the darkness which the language of Book Two conveys so well. The line is connected by repetition to the death of Camilla. Immediately after her death, which occurs at xi.831, her companions raise a cry of mourning: "ferit aurea clamor / sidera." Why the golden stars? In a literal sense the stars are not even visible at this point, for sunset does not occur until lines 913-914; though in another sense Camilla has already said that for her the dark is now at hand ("tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum," line 824). But the repetition is most appropriate here, for its effect on its first occurrence was to evoke our compassion for the sufferings of the Trojans, whereas by now our compassion has been extended to include the

sufferings of the Trojans' enemies as well.

Vergil, the poet whose aversion to war is manifest,[48] has brought it about through this poem on war ("Arma . . . cano," i.1) that his Roman readers should experience compassion for their own people's enemies--since the death of Camilla can hardly have failed to evoke the sympathies of any reader. And these sympathies are extended even to Turnus, the chief human symbol in this poem of the enemies of Rome and of the Augustan order. This extension is accomplished not by a color link, for the art of Book Twelve, as has been seen, employs an ending devoid of color, and not merely by the fact that Camilla's last thoughts are of Turnus (xi.825-826), but to a large degree by repetition. The moment of Turnus' death is described with a full-line repetition (xii.952, the last line of the epic) of the moment of Camilla's death (xi.831, the line which immediately precedes the re-evoking of our sympathies for the fallen who are mourned alike, friend or foe, beneath the distant and impassive golden stars).

Some associations through color images are much simpler than these. The final spear cast of Aeneas at xii.923 which brings down Turnus is compared to a black whirlwind ("atri turbinis instar"). This is reminiscent of the inexorable rage of Aeneas after the killing of Pallas; in his fury of grief Aeneas is compared to a

black whirlwind ("turbinis atri / more furens," x.603-604). That grief and that rage have led to this moment and this spear cast.

The associations of the rainbow in the Aeneid are almost too obvious to be mentioned. Iris is presented as the messenger and handmaiden of Juno; since Juno's almost unswerving hostility to Aeneas is one of the mainsprings of the plot of the poem, it is to be expected that the rainbow would appear in the poem as a bringer of destruction, without any of the benign associations which the rainbow possesses in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. And so it is: at iv.700-704 Iris delivers the coup de grace to Dido; at v.606ff she persuades the Trojan women to burn the ships; and at ix.2-15 she encourages Turnus to attack the Trojan camp.

Finally, a word about the dawn is in order. Each of the major classical hexameter poets had a characteristic way of describing the sunrise. Homer's dawns show the weakness of formulaic composition: they are repetitious and mechanical. Apollonius' dawns are usually presented with a bare, laconic abruptness. Ovid's dawns in the Metamorphoses are often gaudy productions with great splashes of diverse colors.[49] Vergil displays great diversity in his treatment of the dawn,[50] but his sunrises are usually quiet, undramatic ones and only rarely are they colorful.

On only three occasions in the Aeneid is the sunrise described as red.[51] At iii.521, "Iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis," the sun rises to give the Trojans their first glimpse of Italy (marked by the triple iteration of "Italiam" at lines 523-524). At vii.25-26 the description is more elaborate: "Iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto / Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis." This is the morning which gives the Trojans their first glimpse of Latium at the mouth of the Tiber (lines 29-36). And at xii.76-77 Turnus speaks of the next day's dawn: "cum primum crastina caelo / puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit." The red wheels are an ominous touch, perhaps a foreshadowing of the red dew kicked up by Turnus' horses at xii.339-340; but the day in question is the day which will in fact give to Aeneas and the Trojans the peace and kingship which they have been seeking throughout the Aeneid. Three days of greater importance as milestones of the Trojans' progress toward their goal (I hesitate to call them "red letter" days) could hardly have been chosen: Italy, Latium, Peace.

The Thematic Use of Color Clusters

Pairs or clusters of color terms can be used to link together whole series of scenes in different parts of a long poem, much as the repetition of particular clusters of notes (in other words, themes) can be used

to bind together different parts of a long musical work. This discussion is concerned with the use of three such chromatic themes in the Aeneid and with certain variations on those themes. The discussion differs from that of the second section above in that it is concerned with the effect of the repetition of the colors themselves, even in the absence of a specific common image or object; it differs from that of the section immediately preceding in that it deals with the chromatic relationships existing among large numbers of scenes.

A clear example of the use of a chromatic theme is the use of the color pair green and white in the Aeneid, which is used to accompany the release of long-sustained tension.[52] It is used most frequently in connection with the attainment of a goal, particularly the arrival at the new homeland.

The pair occurs six times in the poem. The first of these is at iii.125-126, when Aeneas and his companions have left Thrace and are en route from Delos to Crete. They sail past "viridemque Donusam / . . . niveamque Paron." It is evident why Paros as a source of beautiful white marble should be called "niveam," but it is not so clear why tiny Donusa should be called "viridem." The guesses of the commentators--perhaps it was covered with green vegetation, perhaps it was the source of a green marble (otherwise unknown)--display

only bewilderment.[53] At first glance the adjectives may appear merely decorative, and, were this same color pair never used elsewhere in the poem, they could safely be considered such. As it is, their possible significance will be considered after the other instances of the pair have been examined.

Near the beginning of Book Six, Aeneas is seeking the golden bough. He is discouraged ("tristi cum corde," line 185) when he considers the size of the forest before him ("silvam immensam," line 186), and he prays to see the bough. Immediately his prayer is answered: two doves appear and land on the green bough ("geminae . . . columbae," "viridi . . . solo," lines 190, 192). His spirits revive and he gives a prayer of thanks, knowing the doves will lead him to the bough.[54]

The third instance occurs at vi.300-304. This passage has been discussed above (pp.29-30) as a possible inversion or transpositiom of the theme.

The remaining three instances all occur early in Book Eight. Father Tiber appears to Aeneas in a dream, surrounded by "populeas . . . frondes" (line 32). (The poplar leaf is both green and white;[55] the green element recurs during the actual trip up the Tiber ["viridesque . . . silvas," line 96], but the white does not, unless it is implied in the abundant sunlight mentioned in line 97.) Was Vergil considering the two colors of the poplar while composing Book Eight? The

answer will be clear after examining the final instance below.

The fifth occurrence is at viii.82-83:

> candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo
> procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus.

It should be noted that the white sow with white piglets is the fulfillment of a prophecy twice given. At iii.390-393 Helenus had told Aeneas:

> litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus
> triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
> alba solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,
> is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.

The prophecy is repeated verbatim by the Tiber at vii.43-46.[56] Note that, though the color of the sow and her offspring is stressed in the prophecy, there is no mention of the color green until the prophecy is actually fulfilled, until Aeneas actually reaches the place for his new home, the place of (eventual) rest from his labors.

That great emphasis is being placed on the fulfillment of the prophecy is evident from three considerations, apart from the presence of the green-white color pair. First, the introductory line is heavily demonstrative: "Ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum" (line 81; emphasis mine). Second, the adjective "candidus," which occurs seven times in the Aeneid, normally occupies the fifth foot of the line.[57] Only here is it moved to the beginning of the line, where its striking position catches the attention much

as the gleam of the white animal would have caught the eye of the beholder, shining through the green foliage. Third, there is a lengthy suspension between the adjective and its noun--two whole lines--which places greater emphasis on the final monosyllable when it eventually does arrive: "There's something white--can it be? It has white offspring; it's on the green shore; yes, it's a sow!"

The sixth and final occurrence comes at viii.276. This is the first line of narrative after the conclusion of the long story of Hercules and Cacus, a story filled with violence and conflict, and with instances of "ater," especially toward the conclusion of the episode.[58] The story is no mere digression; it is a paradigm of the work which Aeneas and Augustus, the other two heroes with whom the spotlight of Book Eight is shared, have in common with Hercules--the work of "debellare superbos."[59] As Evander ends the story and the long sustained tension is released, Vergil comments: "dixerat, Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra / velavitque comas" (lines 276-277; emphasis mine). The effect of this is reinforced immediately by the mention of the poplar wreaths worn by the Salii (line 286). The lines quoted above answer the question posed a little previously by showing that, in the composition of Book Eight, Vergil was thinking not only of the Herculean association of the poplar[60] but also of its two col-

ors: green and white. Appropriately, this final release of tension with this color pair occurs when Aeneas has arrived at "home," the future home of all the Romans, and when the securing of the spot against its enemies has been achieved per exemplum through the paradigm of the subduing of Cacus.[61]

Having seen the strong associations which this color pair has in Book Eight with the arrival in the new homeland, one may reasonably consider that the use of the pair at iii.125-126 may not be merely decorative, but rather may be intended to accompany the false sense of arrival at the new homeland which is present in the context at that point. The Trojans have just been advised to seek their ancient mother (line 96); Anchises has interpreted that to be Crete (lines 103-117). They are on their way to Crete surrounded by a sense of freshness, of relief, of release from the horrors of fallen Troy and ill-omened Thrace: the eager shouting at 128-129, the fresh breeze at 130, the "aviditas" of Aeneas at 132 are all false signs of the nearness of destiny's goal. It is not unreasonable to think the color pair to be another such false indicator.

When the associations of green and white (the release of tension) are combined with the colors purple and gold and their natural associations of richness and nobility (who but the princes and the

nobles can afford gold and purple goods?), a new thematic tetrad emerges with new associations which can properly be called the "games" theme. That these four colors should be associated primarily with the games of the Trojan warriors in Book Five is very much in conformity with the separate associations of the two pairs, since the games section is a picture of the aristocratic world (purple and gold) at play, in relaxation from tension (green and white).

This tetrad occurs four times in the poem. The first three instances occur early in the games section of Book Five. At v.110-112 Aeneas sets out the prizes for the games just before they begin:

> sacri tripodes viridesque coronae
> et palmae pretium victoribus, armaque et ostro
> perfusae vestes, argenti aurique talenta.
> (emphasis mine)

The theme is restated almost immediately as the first event, the ship race, begins:

> ipsique in puppibus auro
> ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori;
> cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus
> (v.132-134; emphasis mine).

Why poplar leaves here, when the poet uses only bay leaves and olive leaves elsewhere in this section?[62] Servius' explanations (ad v.134) to the effect that these are funeral games and Hercules brought the poplar back from the underworld, or that the subject of the sentence is "iuventus" (youth) and Hebe (= Youth) was wife to Hercules, whose plant was the poplar, are very

weak. If funeral associations had been desired, cypress wreaths could have been used (cf.iii.64).

Vergil's explicit interest in the two colors of the poplar's leaves has been noted above, and given the rarity of the isolated purple-gold pair,[63] it is not unreasonable to suppose the choice of words to have been influenced by the wish to complete the tetrad.

The third occurrence is at the distribution of prizes at the end of the ship race:

> viridique advelat tempora lauro,
> muneraque in navis ternos optare iuvencos
> vinaque et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum.
> ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores:
> victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum
> purpura meandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit
> (v.246-251; emphasis mine).

The position of the clusters is noteworthy. They occur at the very beginning of the games, at the beginning of the first event, and at the end of the first event.

This thematic interpretation of certain uses of color terms may serve to explain certain puzzling instances of color use in Book Six. It was noted above (pp.10, 26-27) that the journey through the lower world is frightening in mood and very low in color term frequency. Both mood and color frequency change abruptly as soon as the golden bough is deposited on Proserpina's doorstep at line 636. Immediately, almost with a sigh of relief, the scene changes:

> His demum exactis, perfecto munere divae,
> devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta
> fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas
> (vi.637-639; emphasis mine).

Among the problems posed by this passage (637-647) are: (1.) Why does Vergil use the term "virecta" at line 638, a word so rare as to be virtually unparalleled in classical Latin literature? (2.) What is meant by the "purpureo lumine" mentioned at lines 640-641? (3.) Is there any significance to the fact that Orpheus' plectrum at line 647 is said to be of ivory?

With regard to the second of these questions, commentators have tended to reject the idea of a literally purplish radiance and have attempted to construe the word as meaning merely "beautiful" or "bright."[64] A literally purple or reddish light should not be considered utterly out of the question here, since the scene is a supernatural one and since none of Vergil's other thirty-two uses of this term need necessarily be interpreted other than as indicating a red or purplish hue.[65] But even if the hue is not intended here, the term still retains much of its associations from other contexts.

With regard to the third question, an ivory plectrum seems to be without precedent.[66] Apollo has a golden plectrum in Pindar (Pythian 1.1, Nemean 5.44), and Alcaeus has a golden plectrum at Horace Odes ii.13.26. Special lyres also are mentioned: Amphion has a golden one at Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica A 470, while Apollo has an ivory one at Ovid Metamorphoses xi.167. But it should be noted that in Aeneid

Six the sand has just been described as golden-colored ("fulva . . . harena," line 643; cf."fulvum . . . aurum," vii.279, x.134, "fulvo . . . auro," xi.776); sand is never described as white in any of the works of literature considered for this study, whereas a lyre or its pick could be described as ivory.

I suggest (1.) that Vergil used "virecta" because of its ineradicable connection with green ("vireo" is from the same root); (2.) that the light is "purpureum" both because of the death connotations of the term throughout the Aeneid (the scene here is, of course, in the heart of the kingdom of the dead, albeit of the "blessed" or "fortunate" dead) and because of the term's contribution to the games tetrad; and (3.) that by mentioning the color of the sand and by assigning the unusual ivory plectrum to Orpheus, the games tetrad is completed.

That this theme should be evoked at this point in the narrative is highly appropriate, both because of the great release of tension which accompanies the deposition of the bough and the departure from the more horrid regions of Hades, and also because of what the heroes are actually doing in this passage: they are playing games.[67,68]

> pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,
> contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena
> (vi.642-643)

This occurrence of the theme is at the beginning of its

section; the three instances from Book Five were all at or near the beginning of the games section.

A different effect is achieved by the use of the color triad of gold, white, and purple or red. (It must be remembered that purple is normally one of the reds.[69]) This occurs six times in the poem and provides a spotlight effect whereby the attention and to some extent the sympathies of the reader are directed to a particular individual.

Its first occurrence is at the memorable moment at which Aeneas first is manifested to Dido.

> namque ipsa decoram
> caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae
> purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores:
> quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
> argentum Pariusve lapis circumducitur auro.
> (i.589-593; emphasis mine)

The passage is close to Homer's description of Odysseus at Odyssey ζ 229-235 and ψ 156-162.[70] There the elements are gold, silver, and the hyacinth; here "purpureum" substitutes chromatically for the hyacinth, the poignant connotations of which in this poem render its use in this positive passage inappropriate. The element of white is strengthened by the addition of ivory and probably also by the mention of Parian stone, a marble of fine whiteness. The element of gold is strengthened by the addition of the chromatic adjective "flavo."

The statement of the theme is immediately

repeated at i.639-640: "arte laboratae vestes ostroque superbo, / ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro" (emphasis mine). This is the description of the palace of Dido set for the banquet. It draws heavily upon the description of the palace of Alcinous at Odyssey η 81-132, which makes much use of gold and silver and certain other colors, but not purple. The description may also owe something to Lucretius De Rerum Natura ii.23ff ("nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet / nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque templa," lines 27-28; cf."laquearibus aureis" at Aeneid i.726, "cithara" at 740), where a description of a splendid banquet immediately precedes mention of the purple covers of the rich ("ostroque rubenti," Lucretius ii.35). The present passage is the only one of the group now under consideration which does not have a person as its explicit center; but Aeneas has left the narrative only momentarily at line 631 and returns again at line 643.

Three variations on this theme are found in the fourth, sixth, and eighth books; they will be considered presently. The triad itself is absent from Books Two through Eight.

This color cluster is used four times in the last four books of the poem. In none of these cases is it applied to Aeneas. Instead, the terms are applied to Turnus (twice), to Ascanius, and to Latinus.

It is reasonable to ask why the hero of the poem does not receive the focusing or spotlighting effect of this cluster in these latter books. An answer may be found in Brooks Otis' observation: "The empathetic 'spotlight' in Aeneid vii-xii is no longer on Aeneas mainly but on several Trojan and Latin figures and most positively on Turnus."[71]

At ix.49-50 the relief provided by Book Eight is over and the Latin War is beginning in earnest. Turnus is described thus: ". . . maculis quem Thracius albis / portat equus cristaque tegit galea aurea rubra" (emphasis mine). The position of the words gives them additional emphasis: "albis" and "rubra" are at the ends of lines, "aurea" and "rubra" are immediately adjacent as the last two members of a chiasmus.

In the next book Ascanius is portrayed for the first time as a leader in battle. Attention is drawn to his white neck and golden hair band ("cervix . . . lactea," x.137, "molli . . . auro," line 138); he is compared to a jewel set in gold or to ivory set in wood ("aurum," line 134; "ebur," line 137). The third color is present only faintly, represented by the ruddy undertones present in the adjective "fulvum" (line 134).

In Book Eleven, if it is correct to understand "trabea" as a word the purple color associations of which are always present, the triad recurs at the end of Latinus' lengthy speech on behalf of peace (xi.333-

334). This passage has already been discussed above (pp.35-36).

The last occurrence of these three colors is at xii.87-89 where Turnus, having rejected Amata's appeal, goes out and arms himself for battle. He puts on his breast plate of gold and white orichalcum and his helmet with its red plumes ("auro . . . alboque orichalco," "rubrae . . . cristae"). Two other touches of white are in the vicinity. Turnus' horses are described as "qui candore nives anteirent" (line 84), and his sword is said to have been dipped into the Styx "candentem" (line 91)--white hot.

The symmetry of these last four uses of the cluster is of note. Turnus, who is in many respects the center of interest in these last books, is the subject twice (just as Aeneas, center of the first books, had twice been the subject of these colors)--once at the very beginning of the fighting and again at the end (though not at the very end, for this is precluded by the achromatic composition of the latter portions of Book Twelve; see above, pp.13-14). Framed between these two instances are two others, one of a Trojan figure and one of a Latin, one of a very young man and one of a very old man, one of a leader in war and one of an advocate of peace.

On three other occasions clusters of colors ap-

pear in the poem which approach this thematic cluster but remain distinct from it. At iv.261-264 Mercury looks round Carthage and sees Aeneas:

> atque illi [sc.Aeneae] stellatus iaspide fulva
> ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
> demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido
> fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro.

He is dressed in purple, gold, and--not white, but yellow jasper stone.[72] This passage may be understood on several distinct levels. First, on the simplest and most naturalistic level, the bright colors provide an explanation of why Aeneas was so readily visible at a distance to the searching messenger. Second, the fact that he wears a cloak not merely of purple but of Tyrian purple, and a cloak made by Dido's own hands at that, indicates the degree to which he has wrapped a false role around himself, a role in conflict with his destiny to be, not a Tyrian prince consort, but the founder of Rome. Third, the purple cloak, as mentioned above (pp.38-39), is a foreshadowing of the terrible price which Aeneas will have to pay for his involvement with Dido.

There may be a fourth factor. Evil, according to the Aristotelians, is not simply any absence of good but the absence of a particular good which ought to be present. This color triad differs from that applied to Aeneas in Book One and used on several other occasions

in the poem; a slight jarring effect, a hint through color of something not quite right, like a musical chord gone slightly sour, would certainly be appropriate here.

The splendid pageant of Rome's future history toward the end of Book Six might have been expected to end with some sort of color crescendo. Instead it ends with the purple and white flowers cast for Marcellus (see above, p.19). The only other color in the vicinity is the black of the cloud of night around Marcellus' head at line 866. The triad which the reader might have expected is either left incomplete or else completed with a color which is definitely all wrong for any sort of triumphalism. But there is good reason for this; to quote Otis on Book Six:

> [Vergil] did not wish to close on a note of triumph and exultation. . . . What in the last analysis makes the Aeneid so much more than a piece of Roman propaganda is its mitigation of success by accepted tragedy.[73]

Finally, the giving of the divine arms to Aeneas in Book Eight might also have been expected to be accompanied by considerable color, and so it is. The designs on the shield itself are described with considerable color (viii.626-728), but the color patterns found in this passage do not correspond with any other sets of colors found elsewhere in the Aeneid. The shield passage, from a chromatic standpoint, is a separate set piece along the lines of Achilles' shield (Iliad

Σ 478-608) or Agamemnon's arming (Iliad Λ 15-46), or Jason's cloak (Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica A 721-768) or the catalogues of warriors in this very poem (Aeneid vii.641-817, x.163-214).

However, when the arms are presented to Aeneas a unique color tetrad occurs:

> loricam . . .
> sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum caerula nubes
> solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget;
> tum levis ocreas electro auroque recocto
> (viii.621-624; emphasis mine).

Obviously the breast plate is red in color, certainly not "blood covered" as it is fresh from Vulcan's forge; the choice of adjective foreshadows the blood that will be shed upon it. Electrum is a gold-silver alloy of whitish appearance; white may also be present at Venus' descent ("dea candida," line 608). The tetrad is red-white-gold-blue, the fourth color being the surprise (it is not present in the passage which serves as a model for the simile, Argonautica Δ 125-126). If the addition of the term is significant, then this departure from the usual color pattern would contribute to the ambiguity of the cloud imagery used in this same episode (see above, p.26). The familiar colors are present, but so is another the implications of which are unclear to the reader. The effect is slightly unsettling.[74]

The Refining of Term Connotations

One of the accomplishments of Vergil in the composition of the Aeneid was a refining or narrowing of the range of connotations of certain color terms, so that the use of a particular term is normally accompanied by the same set of associations. This refining is not found in connection with every color term in the poem, but only certain ones; six examples will be considered here.

The criteria used for establishing such correlations with particular sets of associations are the following. A term is considered linked to a particular set of associations if (a) it is frequently found in clear connection with these associations; (b) the appropriate effect of its context will usually be heightened if the term is taken as an indicator of these associations; and (c) it is very seldom if ever found in a passage of clearly conflicting associations.

The adjective "purpureus" occurs fifteen times in the Aeneid.[75] Its first occurrence is at i.337, where Venus remarks to Aeneas that Tyrian girls normally wear purple. Then at i.591 Venus shines a purple light around Aeneas during his first appearance before Dido. At iii.405 Helenus advises Aeneas to put on purple garments upon his first arrival in Italy. At iv.139 Dido dresses in purple for the hunt. Of these four in-

stances, none is explicitly death-linked, but three will carry greatly strengthened mood overtones if purple is taken as a hint or foreshadowing of death: Venus' remark, besides being literally true in the sense that the Tyrians produced and used purple dye, may be applied to a particular Tyrian girl over whom doom hangs heavy; the Trojans will face death and bloodshed virtually from their first arrival in Italy;[76] and it is fitting for Dido to wear death's color on the day that was "leti . . . causa." The special reason for the use of purple at i.591 has been discussed above (p.55).

Thereafter the associations of the term are more explicit. At v.79 Aeneas casts purple flowers for the soul of the dead Anchises. At vi.221 a purple covering is placed over the dead Misenus, and at vi.641 a purple light illuminates the land of the dead. Anchises offers to cast purple flowers in mourning for the doomed Marcellus at vi.884. The Rutulian youths are described as having purple crests at ix.163; this could be taken as a foreshadowing of the slaughter in their camp wrought by Nisus and Euryalus later in this book. At ix.349 Rhoetus, dying, vomits forth his purple life.[77] The dying Euryalus is compared to a purple flower at ix. 435. At x.722 Acron is described as dressed in purple immediately before he is killed by Mezentius. Then at

xi.819 reference is made to Camilla's purple or ruddy complexion as she lies dying. Next, Venus brings the purple flower to Aeneas as he lies near the point of death at xii.414. Finally, Amata commits suicide at xii.602, dressed in purple robes.

Of these fifteen instances,then, the term is found in an immediate context of death ten times; four other occurrences will suitably admit of an implication or adumbration of death; and in only one case is death foreign to the context. The correlation may be considered to have been established.

This narrowing of connotations is quite in conformity with the use of the corresponding term πορφύρεος by Vergil's Greek predecessors in epic, yet there is a significant difference in their use of the term. True, death is explicitly spoken of as purple by Homer (πορφύρεος θάνατος at Iliad E 83, Π 334, Υ 477) and several times πορφύρεος occurs in a death-linked context: the webs of Helen and Andromache (Iliad Γ 126, X 441), the fight over Patroclus' body (P 361), the burial of Hector's remains (Ω 796). But the adjective also occurs with considerable frequency in contexts in which no hint of death would be appropriate: dawn of the day after the plague has lifted (Iliad A 482), the games of the Phaiacians (Odyssey θ 373), the tryst of Poseidon and Tyro (λ 243). Similarly, in Apollonius Rhodius purple is sometimes associated with death

(e.g. the deaths of Apsyrtus, Butes, and Talos, Δ 424, 915, 1661, respectively) but at other times the term occurs in very positive contexts (e.g. the cloak of Jason at A 722 and 728, the apparition of Glaucus at A 1328).

Vergil's refinement of the associations of this term, while in conformity with associations which its cognate already possessed, goes beyond the practice of his predecessors in that it can be taken as consistently ominous. This refinement is Vergil's own, not held in common with other Roman poets. Quite the contrary: Ovid declares,

> nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco:
> non est conveniens luctibus ille color
> (Tristia i.1.5-6).[78]

The term "ater" is regularly used in the Aeneid in negative contexts, particularly those with which the emotion of fear is readily associated. Since the term occurs seventy-one times in the poem, a complete listing here would merely duplicate information to be given in Chapter Two. But it should be noted that the term is used: once of poison, once of the dead Hector, six times of blood, twice of corrupt matter, twice of ashes (once as a periphrasis for death, once in the ship burning in Five), once of funereal cypress and once again of funereal wood, once of a wound, once of the Furies' snakes, once of Dis, once of Cocytus, once of the Styx, once of the jaws of Avernus, once of the

Hydra, once of the rock which menaces Phlegyas, once of Allecto, once of Allecto's torch, once of Fear personified, and once of Terror personified. See also the consideration of black clouds (pp.22-23), of black fires (pp.37-38), and of black in the Cacus passage (p.49 and note 58).[79] In no case is the term used in a clearly positive, happy, or joyful context (except for the reversal at v.693ff, see p.23).

The same narrowing of connotations is found in the case of "niger," which occurs seventeen times in the poem. (Included with this term for the present discussion will be "nigro" and "nigresco," which occur five and two times, respectively.[80]) This term and its relatives are used: five times of animals sacrificed to chthonic or hostile powers, five times of ominous clouds or rainstorms, once of poison, once of Tartarus, once of Lake Avernus, and once each before the deaths of Dido and of Nisus and Euryalus and at the deaths of Bitias and Camilla. On the other hand, the term occasionally occurs in a neutral context: in the mural at Carthage, a depiction of black Memnon is noted; and the slopes of the glen near the river Caere where the arms are given to Aeneas are covered with black pine.[81]

Although Homer's terms for black <u>are</u> used to modify blood (αἷμα κελαινόν, μέλαν αἷμα) and death (κῆρα μέλαιναν, μέλανος θανατοῖο), the terms are more frequently used in formulae the contexts of which are

not particularly negative or fear-linked: the black ship (νῆα μέλαιναν and its variations), black earth (γαῖα μέλαινα), black night (ἐρεβέννη νύξ, more a source of relief to the battle weary than of fear). The situation is similar in the case of Apollonius Rhodius, but black is normally ominous in the case of Vergil's fellow Romans.[82]

"Caeruleus" and "caerulus" are used nineteen times in the Aeneid. The applications of the terms are of interest: five times as a synonym for the sea and once modifying the sea, three times of rain storms, twice of Scylla (once of the sea monster, once of the ship of the same name), once of Neptune's chariot, once of Charon's boat, once of the Tiber, once of the Nile, three times of snakes, and once of funereal fillets. If it is granted that snakes are "felt" psychologically as cold and wet, then eighteen of the nineteen instances are associated with water or wetness.

In Homer, the forms of κυαν- are used in a number of similar ways (thirteen times of ships, eight times of Poseidon, seven times of clouds, once each of Amphitrite, Thetis' veil, and the sea bottom), but they also frequently occur in contexts where no moisture is present (three times of eyebrows, twice of the dragons on Agamemnon's armor, once each of Hector's hair, the ranks of the Achaeans, and Odysseus' beard). In Apollonius Rhodius forms of κυάνεος are applied to the sea

only once, to the Symplegades five times, and to unrelated objects eight times (clothing, hair, and so forth). In Lucretius the forms of "caerul-" are applied four times to the sky, twice to the sea, and twice to unrelated objects. In Catullus the term refers to the sea at its only occurrence in the poems considered (64.7). Horace does not use the term in the Odes. On the other hand, its twenty-four occurrences in Ovid's Metamorphoses are comparable to those in the Aeneid: ten times of sea and river deities, six times of bodies of water, three times of snakes, once of perspiration (!), and four times of unrelated objects.

Again, one finds that Vergil's use of the term is compatible with, but more consistent in its associations than, the uses made by some of his predecessors and contemporaries (Ovid excepted; Catullus and Horace cannot be assessed on this point).

The adjective "roseus" is found eight times in the Aeneid. The rose was Venus' flower, and it would not be surprising to find the corresponding adjective associated with physical beauty or sexual attractiveness.[83]

Vergil's predecessors did not use the rosy color in this way. Homer calls the dawn "rosy-fingered" on twenty-seven occasions, but only uses a form of ῥοδόεις once (Iliad Ψ 186, the oil with which Aphrodite anoints Patroclus' body). Apollonius Rhodius uses ῥοδ- only

once, of the dawn (Argonautica Γ 1020); Lucretius uses "roseus" three times, of the dawn (v.610, 656, 976); Catullus twice in the poems considered (64.49, 309, applied to purple dye and to the Fates); Horace only once in the Odes (i.13.2, of the neck of the swain Telephus, where it does seem to mean "attractive"; and cf. the erotic context in which he uses the noun "rosa" at i.5); and Ovid only twice in the Metamorphoses (iii.482, of Narcissus' chest; vii.705, the rosy mouth of Aurora --the latter combines Vergilian and pre-Vergilian associations of the term).

Vergil applies the term to the neck and to the mouth of Venus; to the mouth of Iris; to the cheeks of Lavinia; twice to the chariot of the Dawn; once to Phoebus, at sunset; and once as a proper name. The four first mentioned of the seven chromatic instances may be taken as references to attractiveness--not a very high proportion, but still an advance over the almost exclusive application of the term to the dawn in Homer, Apollonius, and Lucretius.[84]

Finally, the term "croceus" undergoes some degree of refinement in the direction of a more exclusive association with marriage. This is the color of the "flammeum" or bridal veil of the Romans, as well as of the bride's shoes and accessories.[85]

Homer calls the dawn "saffron-robed" on four occasions, while Apollonius Rhodius never uses any ad-

jective drawn from κρόκος . Lucretius uses the color in his description of the plague (vi.1188), and Catullus uses other terms for yellow in his marriage poetry ("luteum . . . soccum," 61.10; "aureolos pedes," 61.160). Horace does not use the term, while Ovid brings out its marital associations at Metamorphoses x.1-2, "croceo velatus amictu / . . . Hymenaeus" (its other two applications in the Metamorphoses are to the wheels of Aurora's chariot and to the calyx of the narcissus).

Vergil applies the term twice to the veil which Aeneas sends to Dido, a veil which was given to Helen by Leda. The poet does not explicitly state that the veil was a wedding present; that it was one may be inferred from (1) the normal associations of the yellow veil in Roman custom, (2) the presence and associations of the word "hymenaeos" at i.651, and (3) Ausonius poem 355.4, which uses this passage in a list of gifts offered to a bride.[86]

On two occasions Vergil applies this term to the dawn. However, the Homeric precedent is not followed without change: the dawn is not said to be dressed in saffron robes, but to be leaving the saffron-colored chamber of Tithonus. As Tithonus was Aurora's own husband (a fact adverted to elsewhere in Homer), a marriage reference is brought into association with the chromatic allusion.

The other three references are to the wings of Iris, the berries of the mistletoe, and the tunic of Chloreus, none of which are related to marriage. Again, four out of seven is not a high proportion--yet Vergil has made some significant departures from the practice of his predecessors.

CHAPTER TWO

LIST OF COLOR TERMS IN THE AENEID

The color terms will be presented in alphabetical order. Under each term the frequency of the term in Vergil's work is indicated, then references are given in the order in which they appear in the poem. The book and line number are followed by the pertinent phrase; a brief summary of the context is given, then comments are offered if necessary or useful. Superscripts indicate the position of the preceding word according to the system of Eugene G. O'Neill, Jr.[87] After each of the most frequently occurring terms, a comment is added as to that term's stability or mobility relative to position within the line.

ALBEO

Used only once.

xii.36: "campique . . . ossibus albent.[12]"
Latinus, urging peace, tells Turnus that the fields are already white with bones. The picture suggests the rocks of the Sirens at v.865, which were also white with the bones of men (see ALBUS). The formula ὀστέα λευκά may be in mind here; it is used by Homer at Iliad Π 347, Ψ 252, Ω 793, and by Hesiod at Theogony

540, 555, and 557.

ALBESCO

Used 2x in Georgics, 2x in Aeneid.

iv.586: "primam albescere[10] lucem." Dido sees the dawn whiten on the morning of Aeneas' departure. A unique color cluster is formed by the blue sea ("caerula," line 583), the yellow chamber of Dawn ("croceum," line 585), the whitening dawn here, and Dido's yellow hair ("flaventis," line 590). If speculation about color clusters which approach a norm without attaining it (see pp.58-61) was correct, this cluster is a discordant one, prefiguring the disasters of the day. Passages which may have been in mind during the composition of this line include: Euripides, Iphigeneia in Aulis 156-157, λευκαίνει / τόδε φῶς ἤδη λαμπρὸν ἠώς; and Ennius, Annales vi. frag.19 (Vahlen), "ut primum tenebris abiectis indalbabat."

vii.528: "fluctus uti primo coepit cum albescere[10] vento." Allecto's success in stirring up frenzy for war is compared to the gradual growth of a storm at sea, which begins when the waves grow white from the wind. This line is the same as Georgics iii.237, with two words changed: "fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto." In the present context a black/white contrast may be intended, as this simile immediately follows the reference to the "black crop" of war at lines 525-526

(see ATER). The simile at Iliad Δ 422-426 may have been in mind here, but the Homeric passage refers to waves on a beach rather than in mid-ocean, and there is no mention of color there.

ALBUS

Used 3x in Eclogues, 8x in Georgics, 23x in Aeneid, for a total of 34 instances.[88]

iii.120: "pecudem . . . albam.[12]" Anchises at Delos sacrifices a black sheep to Winter (see NIGER) and a white sheep to the west wind (Zephyrus). The contrast is between unfriendly and friendly winds. A similar sacrifice is made at Iliad Γ 103: a white ram and a black ewe are sacrificed to Sun and Earth. See also Aristophanes Frogs 847-848:

ἄρν' ἄρνα μέλαινα παῖδες ἐξενέγκατε·
τὸφὸς γὰρ ἐκβαίνειν παρασκευάζεται.

The west winds (Favonii) are called white ("candidi") at Horace Odes iii.7.1; the south wind (Notus) is called white ("albus") at i.7.5; the west-north-west wind (Iapyx) is called white ("albus") at iii.27.19. The white/black contrast in this line closely precedes the green/white pair at lines 125-126 (see VIRIDIS, NIVEUS).

iii.392 (twice): "[sus] alba[1½] solo recubans, albi[7] circum ubera nati." ("Alba" modifies "sus[12]" in line 390.) Helenus prophesies the sign of the new homeland to Aeneas: a white sow with white piglets. Note

that iii.390-393 = viii.43-46. See discussion on pp.48-49.

v.565f: "quem Thracius albis^{12} / portat equus . . . maculis.^{7}" In the cavalry games, Priam the younger is carried by a dappled horse (see BICOLOR) with white spots, white forefeet, and a white forehead (see immediately below). See discussion at pp.32-33; compare also the triple anaphora with bronze at i.448-449. The presence of "Thracius" in the line suggests the horses of the Thracian Rhesus, said to be whiter than snow at Iliad K 437. Note that the last two and one-half feet of 565 together with the first one and one-half feet of 566 are identical with the corresponding section of lines 49-50 in Book Nine, where the rider is Turnus.

v.567 (twice): "[vestigia] alba^{1½} pedis frontemque ostentans arduus albam.^{12}" ("Alba" modifies "vestigia^{10}" in line 566.) See immediately above.The poet probably had in mind Iliad Ψ 454-455, where one of the horses of Diomedes is described as red with a white forehead. The shape of this description is more complex than Homer's, due in part to Vergil's love of triple anaphora (see R.D.Williams, Aeneidos Liber Quintus p.150 and references there cited).^{89}

v.865: "albos^{12}" (modifies "scopulos^{5}" in 864). The ships pass the rocks of the Sirens, once white with

bones ("ossibus"). The mention of the bones around the Sirens' rocks is from Odyssey μ 45-46, but no color terms are present in the Homeric passage. The bones are also present in Apollonius' account of the Sirens, Argonautica Δ 885-919, but no color terms are used. See also ALBEO.

vii.417: "albos[12]" (modifies "crinis[5]" in 418). Allecto puts on the white hair of an old woman before visiting Turnus. For the phrase, see ix.651 below.

vii.517: "Nar albus.[5½]" The Nar River, white from its sulphurous water, resounds to the force of Allecto's trumpet blast. Ennius Annales vii. frag.22, "sulphureas posuit spiramina Naris ad undas," probably influenced the choice of "sulpurea" in the present line, but the color term appears to be a Vergilian addition.

vii.667: "cum dentibus albis.[12]" (Repeated at xi.681.) In the catalogue of heroes, Aventinus is said to wear a lion skin with white teeth. The picture suggests Hercules; an apposite passage is Euripides Hercules Furens 361-363:

πυρσῷ δ' ἀμφεκαλύφθη
ξανθὸν κρᾶτ' ἐπισωτίσας
δεινῷ χάσματι θηρός.

The Euripidean passage, however, lacks any adjective of whiteness and refers instead to the hero's blond hair and to the fiery color of the lion's maw. Vergil usually avoids the triteness which would have resulted

from an excessive use of "tawny" in connection with lions (see FULVUS, remarks on ii.722, iv.159, viii.552).

viii.45 (twice): "[sus] alba[1½] solo recubans, albi[7] circum ubera nati." ("Alba" modifies "sus[12]" in line 43.) The Tiber repeats the prophecy of Helenus as to the white sow. As previously noted, viii.43-46 are substantially identical with iii.390-393.[90] It is quite possible, as Sparrow suggests,[91] that two separate statements of the white sow prophecy constitute excessive emphasis; one of them may have been intended for deletion in the final revision.

viii.82: "cum fetu concolor albo.[12]" The prophecy is fulfilled, almost immediately after its second occurrence: a sow is found, of the same color as its white offspring. See discussion on pp.48-49; see also CANDIDUS, CONCOLOR, VIRIDIS.

ix.49f: "maculis quem Thracius albis[12] / portat equus." Turnus begins his attack on the Trojan camp, wearing a golden helmet with a red plume (see AUREUS, RUBER) and riding on a horse with white spots. As already noted, the last portion of 49 and the first portion of 50 repeat the corresponding portions of v.565-566; "maculis" has been shifted to the first line. It may be that here, as in Five, the color cluster is intended to occur as a contrast before the turn of the Trojans' fortunes for the worse (see pp.31-33); but even

a correspondence of this general a nature need not necessarily be inferred from the repetition. Book Nine repeats the language of Book Five on some fourteen occasions;[92] this is probably due to the recapitulation in earnest in Nine of those actions performed in sport by the Trojans in Five.[93] In addition, this is an application of the "spotlight" or "heroic" triad (see p.57); this particular triad is applied to Turnus here at the beginning of his warfare against the Trojans, and again at xii.87-89, on the eve of his last fighting. Position is emphatic here: the color words are placed last in 49 and last again, side by side, in 50.

ix.548: "parmaque . . . alba.[12]" Helenor went to Troy undistinguished with his blank shield. This is a non-color use of "albus":[94] the shield need not have been literally "white," it merely lacked any heraldic design--like the shield of Amphiaraus at Aeschylus Seven Against Thebes 590-591, or at Euripides Phoenician Women 1111-1112.

ix.651: "crinis albos.[5]" (Note that the codex Romanus and several eighth century MSS. read "crinis flavos" here, influenced by the almost identical language of iv.558-559: "omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque / et crinis flavos et . . . ." The expanded context here, ix.650-651, is: "omnia longaevo similis vocemque coloremque / et crinis albos et . . . .") Apollo speaks to Ascanius under the appearance of Butes

in voice, complexion (see COLOR) and white hair. At first glance it seems that this passage in Nine was written prior to and influenced the wording of the passage in Four (see FLAVUS); it is reasonable for the disguised Apollo to be called "similar to the long-lived [Butes]"--but why should the form ("forma") of Mercury be said to be "similar to Mercury"? One would think it would be identical with Mercury. But the idea is that the dream image of Mercury is similar to the appearance of Mercury when seen by waking eyes. Moreover, both passages imitate Iliad B 57-58, where the dream image seen by Agamemnon is said to have been similar to Nestor in form and height and build, and Iliad Ψ 66-67, where the dream image of Patroclus is said to be similar to the live Patroclus in height and eyes and voice.[95]

x.539: "insignibus albis.[12]" (The codices read "insignibus armis," a phrase which occurs at x.170 in final position. Donatus accepts "armis"; Servius states that Asper favored "armis" while Probus preferred "albis," and adds, "vestes albas . . . quae sunt sacerdotibus congruae.") Haemonides the priest, shining in white emblems of office, is slain by Aeneas.

x.575: "biiugis[5]. . . albis.[12]" (Palatinus: "bigis.") Lucagus advances against Aeneas, driving a pair of white horses. The phrase recurs in slightly

altered form at xii.164 (see below). This passage, x.575-577, uses an image from Iliad Λ 101-104: two brothers fight from the same chariot, one driving and the other striking. There are no color terms in the corresponding passage in the Iliad.

xi.580: "album[7]. . . olorem.[12]" The young Camilla used to hunt the white swan.

xi.681: "cum dentibus albis.[12]" (Repeated from vii.667.) Ornytus, an Etruscan slain by Camilla, wears a wolf skin with white teeth. See comments on vii.667.

xii.69: "alba[1½]" (modifies "lilia[10]" in previous line). The white lilies are part of the splendid white/red contrast applied to Lavinia: see pp.27-28. This passage has been designed with special care for balance. In line 66 the action is described simply: a redness rushes over Lavinia's pale features ("rubor," "ora"). This simple action is then elaborated into two color chiasmi: in the first, "Indum sanguineo . . . ostro / . . . ebur," the noun of whiteness and its modifier are the outer terms while the two redness terms serve as the inner component; in the second, "rubent . . . lilia . . . / alba rosa," the arrangement is reversed, with the two terms of redness as the extremes and the two terms of whiteness between them. The verb "violaverit" drives home the force of the contrast, and is symmetrically placed in the center of the first chi-

asmus.[96] See also COLOR, EBUR, LILIUM, OSTRUM, ROSA, RUBEO, RUBOR, and SANGUINEUS.

xii.87: "albo[9]que orichalco." Turnus puts on his armor of gold and white orichalcum (a form of brass, sometimes taken to be a gold-bronze alloy). Orichalcum is mentioned only here in Vergil.[97] This is the second application of the spotlight motif to Turnus (see p.58). See also AURUM, CANDEO, CANDOR, NIX, and RUBER.

xii.164: "bigis[7]. . . in albis[12]" (a probable reminiscence of x.575, see above). Turnus advances to meet Aeneas, driving his pair of white horses.

Forms of "albus" are used in the Aeneid: four times at position 1½, once at position 5, once at position 5½, three times at position 7, once at position 9, and thirteen times at position 12. The term does not exhibit stability of position, though there is some preference for the emphatic final position.

ARGENTEUS

Used only once.

viii.655: "argenteus[10] anser." In the description of the shield of Aeneas, the silver-colored goose is said to have announced the Gallic attempt on the Capitol. As in "auratis . . . porticibus" (655-656), the reference is both to the material from which the representation is made and to the natural color of the object represented. Servius says that a silver image of a

goose was actually kept in the Capitol to commemorate this event.[98] A contrast is made between the gleaming silver and gold on the one hand and the darkness of the night on the other: "tenebris et dono noctis opacae," line 658. There is an extended white/gold contrast: "auratis" and "argenteus," line 655; "aurea caesaries," "aurea vestis," line 659; "lactea colla," line 660; "auro," line 661. Purple is here as well, if, as Servius asserts, "virga" may be taken as a Gallic word for purple ("virgatis . . . sagulis," line 660, i.e.striped military cloaks, possible purple-striped ones). Silius Italicus, however, evidently did not understand this phrase as indicating the use of purple; in a passage very closely imitated from the present one (Punica iv.150-156), he describes the Gauls' garments as striped with gold: "auro virgatae vestes," line 155. Ovid Ars Amatoria iii.269 has "purpureis . . . virgis," which is inconclusive: the color adjective may be evoked by the supposed color content of "virga," or it may be simply added to the content of the noun. At Catullus 64.319 the adjective merely means "made out of osiers": "virgati . . . calathisci" are wicker baskets --there is no reason to take them as purple baskets. Servius' comment, then, is neither supported nor disproved by the passages just cited. If his statement is correct, the spotlight triad of white, gold, and purple

(see pp.55-58) is here used inconsistently with its function elsewhere in the poem.

ARGENTUM

2x G, 14x A (16)

It is my practice in this study to include those nouns from which are derived color adjectives used in the Aeneid. "Argenteus," as was noted, is used only once in the Aeneid; but it is also used as a color adjective by several other Roman authors through analogy with "aureus."[99]

i.359: "argenti.[8]" Dido escapes from Tyre with a great amount of silver and gold.

i.593: "argentum.[3]" Aeneas appears before Dido; the effect of his physical appearance is compared to the effect produced when ivory is polished, or when silver or Parian marble is coated with gold. The passage is modelled on Odyssey ζ 229-235 and on the substantially identical ψ 156-162.[100] Both Odyssean passages have strong amorous overtones: in the former, Odysseus' beauty after bathing makes Nausicaa want to marry him (ζ 244-245); in the latter his bathing immediately precedes his final conversation with Penelope before they are reunited as husband and wife. The marital overtones are certainly present here (see also pp.36-37, 70).

Vergil has altered the model by deleting the hyacinth (see p.55) and substituting the "lumen purpureum"

which Venus gives in place of the κάλλος πολύ which Athena gave. Also, a second comparison (that of polishing ivory) is added to the original image, while the original image undergoes a doubling of its color referents: not merely silver, but silver or Parian marble; not merely gold, but yellow gold.

This passage is one of the two richest color passages of comparable brevity in the poem. The other is the description of Lavinia at xii.65-69 (see pp.27-28, 80-81). It is noteworthy that these two passages are balanced as to position--one in the first book of the poem, one in the last--and that they involve the two persons who are destined to marry and (according to some accounts[101]) to be the progenitors of the Roman nation. They constitute both the symbol and the physical embodiment of the two elements which fused in the making of Rome: the Trojan and the Latin traditions.

In this passage the "hero" or "spotlight" theme is deployed for the first time. See p.55; see also AURUM, EBUR, FLAVUS, and PURPUREUS.

i.640: "ingens argentum.[5]" (The phrase is repeated at iii.466.) The palace of Dido is described as set for the welcoming banquet; mention is made of purple coverlets, of silver on the tables, and of great deeds engraved on gold. This section is an imitation of the description of the wedding banquet at Catullus

64.43-49, as is particularly evident from a comparison of the two lines, "tota domus gaudet regali splendida gaza" (64.46) and "at domus interior regali splendida luxu" (i.637). The Catullan passage mentions gold, silver, ivory, and a purple coverlet (lines 44-45, 48-49). The degree to which this passage is indebted to the Odyssey and to Lucretius has already been noted (p.56). This represents the second instance of the use of the "spotlight" color triad. See also AURUM, OSTRUM.[102]

iii.466: "ingens argentum.[5]" (The phrase is repeated from i.640.) Helenus gives gifts of gold, ivory, and silver to Aeneas' party.

v.112: "argenti[7] aurique talenta." (MPp, "talentum"; FR, Servius, Donatus, "talenta." This same phrase is repeated, with separation, at x.531, see below; and cf. xi.333, "auri eborisque talenta.") The prizes for winners in the games shall include green crowns, purple garments, and talents of silver and gold. This detail is in contrast with the similar passages at Iliad Ψ 269, 614, 751, and 796, where mention is made of double talents and half-talents of gold, but no reference to silver talents occurs. The presence of silver here may be due to a desire to complete the "games" thematic tetrad, the first occurrence of which is in these lines (see pp.50-51). See also AURUM, OSTRUM, VIRIDIS.

v.248: "argenti.[5]" The prizes given to the partic-

ipants in the boat race include a green crown, a talent of silver, a purple and gold cloak, and so forth. It is of interest that Vergil does not mention gray, violet, or blue, which are among the few colors mentioned in connection with the awarding of prizes in the corresponding passages in Iliad Ψ (πολιόν τε σίδηρον , line 261; ἰδέην σίδηρον , line 850; and passing references to the mast of the dark blue-prowed ship, νηὸς κυανοπρῴρου , lines 852 and 878). The omission of such terms, again, may have been influenced by a desire to complete the "games" tetrad, of which this is the third occurrence (see p.52). See also AURATUS, PURPURA, and VIRIDIS.

v.267: "argento[5] perfecta." (The entire line, except for the first foot, is repeated at ix.263; and the phrase "argento perfecta" recurs at ix.357; see below.) Continuing to distribute prizes for the boat race, Aeneas gives out two bowls made of silver. All contestants receive red head ribbons at line 269 (see PUNICEUS). A precedent for the silver mixing bowls may be found at Iliad Ψ 741, ἀργύρεον κρητῆρα.

v.307: "argento.[8]" (The phrase here is "caelatamque argento"; cf. x.527, "caelati argenti.") Aeneas proposes a double-bladed axe of silver as a prize for each competitor in the foot race. Other prizes include a yellow olive wreath (line 309) and a quiver with a gold belt (line 312); see AURUM, FLAVUS.

vii.634: "argento.[12]" The Italiots prepare for war, making quivers out of silver. Silver is an unusually precious metal for a plurality of quivers; but even so, I do not believe there is any oblique reference here to the weapons of Apollo ἀργυρότοξος (Iliad A 37, and so forth). The emphasis here is probably more on the material than on the color; cf. "thoracas aenos" in line 633.

viii.673: "argento.[5]" In the description of the shield of Aeneas, silver dolphins are mentioned just before the Actium scene. The context is highly colorful: in 672-677 alone, see AUREUS, AURUM, CAERUL(E)US, CANUS. Compare the references to silver in the description of the shield of Achilles (Iliad Σ 480, 563, and 598; there are, however, no silver dolphins--in fact, the only water scene, the border of Ocean, is described very laconically) and especially Hesiod's Shield of Heracles, which includes a description of two silver dolphins swimming in one scene of the shield (ἀργύρεοι δελφῖνες, line 212). The Hesiodic scene is a quiet harbor protected from the open sea; the picture is in sharp contrast to the churning waters of Actium.

ix.263: "argento.[5]" (The line is, except for the first foot, a repetition of v.267.) Ascanius offers Nisus as a reward for his mission, if successful, two bowls of silver, two tripods, two gold talents (see AURUM), and a mixing bowl presented by Sidonian Dido

(see note 40). In addition, if the war is successfully concluded, Ascanius promises many other presents, including Turnus' horse, shield, and red plumes (see AUREUS, RUBEO). The two sets of promises are separated by a change of thought marked by "si vero" and so forth, lines 267-268. This separation disposes the reader to take the "argento . . . auri" of lines 263-265 separately from the "aureus . . . rubentis" of line 270; consequently the hero motif does not spring to mind.

ix.357: "argento[7] perfecta." (Cf.v.267 and ix.263.) Nisus and Euryalus left behind them many weapons mounted ("perfecta") in silver, but took a golden-studded sword (see AUREUS, line 359) and the fatal helmet. This is a second near-miss of the hero triad; an effect of something missing, something not quite right, may be intentional and would certainly be appropriate.

x.527: "argenti.[5]" Magus offers Aeneas talents of silver and sums of gold (see AURUM) in exchange for his life. This line illustrates Vergil's fondness for variety. Compare the phrases "argenti pondus et auri" (i.359), "argenti aurique talenta" (v.112), "talenta / . . . argenti . . . auri pondera" (x.526-527), and "argenti atque auri . . . talenta (x.531). The idea is the same in each, but never once is it expressed iden-

tically. Even "caelati argenti" in this line differs in form and sense from "caelatamque argento" at v.307, of which it may be a faint reminiscence.

The actual offering of gold or silver as ransom by a vanquished opponent is no doubt taken from Iliad Z 46-50 (compare κεῖται , line 47, "iacent," line 526; πατρός 47 and πατρῷ 49, "patri" 525; and the offer of bronze and gold and iron which Adrastus makes to Menelaus) and K 378-381 (two lines of which are identical with, and the others similar to, the corresponding lines in the passage in Z; here Dolon offers ransom to Odysseus and Diomedes).

x.531: "argenti[2] atque auri . . . talenta.[12]" Aeneas replies that Magus can keep his talents of silver and gold. The answer, which begins by mentioning the two key points of Magus' appeal (money and familial piety) in words which mimic the suppliant's, seems to have no model in earlier epic. The rejection of the appeal to familial piety is probably a foreshadowing of the end of the poem: compare x.524-525 with xii.932-936. See also the similar phrase found at v.112.

Forms of "argentum" are used in the Aeneid: twice in initial position, seven times at position 5, twice at position 7, twice at position 8, and once in final position. The preference for position 5, though noticeable, does not exceed 50% of the occurrences.

ATER

11x G, 71x A, 1x Ap (83)

i.60: "speluncis[8]. . . atris.[12]" Jupiter hid the winds in black caves. This is the first color term mentioned in the poem. The first three instances of color in the Aeneid are all instances of "ater." See pp.22-23 and 65-66 on the negative connotations of the term; see pp.8-10 on the movement of Book One from the colorless to the colorful.

i.89: "nox[8]. . . atra.[12]" (A formula derived from Homer's formulae ἐρεβεννὴ νύξ , κελαινὴ νύξ , νὺξ μέλαινα , and νὺξ ὀνοφερή and their oblique variations, as well as νύκτα ἀμφιπεπλῆγα and ἐρεμνῇ νυκτί ; the formula recurs at ii.360, iv.570 [in dative] , v.721, vi.272, and vi.866.) Black night lies on the sea.

i.165: "atrum[7] nemus." As Aeneas' ships approach the coast of Africa, the black grove on the cliff looms overhead with bristling shadows (see note 10).

i.511: "ater[7]. . . turbo.[12]" Aeneas sees his companions, whom the black storm had whirled away. This phrase serves as another example of Vergil's love of variety. The same idea occurs several times, but never in precisely the same form. Compare "turbinis atri" (x.603), "nigro turbine" (xi.596), "atri turbinis" (xii.923), and also "turbine nigro" (Georgics i.320). Variation is produced by a change of case, a change of

adjective, or a simple reversal of word order.

ii.221: "atro^{9}que veneno." Laocoon is covered with the black poison of the snakes. See also iv.514, "nigri . . . veneni." Compare Odes i.37.27-28, "atrum . . . venenum"; Georgics ii.130, "atra venena"; Georgics i.129, "ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris," where it is the snakes themselves which are black, but where their poison is also mentioned; and Georgics iii.430-431, "atram . . . ingluviem," where the reference is to a serpent's maw. Servius makes the point that this is an instance of a noun which produces the effect mentioned in the adjective (that is, the blackness of a body poisoned by venom); he compares "sera . . . segnities," Aeneid ii.373-374, "tristis . . . senectus," Georgics iii.67, and "pallida Mors," Horace Odes i.4.13. His point is correct; but the drops of venom may also have been actually black in color. It has previously been noted (p.6) that five of the fourteen references to color in Book Two are instances of "ater."

ii.272: "ater^{9}que" (modifies "Hector^{12}" in line 270). Hector, black with bloody dust, appears to Aeneas in a dream. The primary reference is to the dragging of Hector's body in the dust at Iliad X 401ff, where there are several explicit references to dust but only one color term (κυάνεαι , the natural color of Hector's hair). The secondary reference is to Patroclus' dream

apparition to Achilles at Iliad Ψ 65ff. It is probable that the adjective "cruento" in this line is of chromatic significance: Hector is not merely black with dust, but black with blood. Blood is frequently referred to as black; see Aeneid iii.28, 33, 622, 626, iv.687, ix.333, 472, xi.646, Georgics iii.507-508, Ennius Thyestes 297 (Jocelyn), and of course Homer's αἷμα κελαινόν, κελαινεφὲς αἷμα, αἷμα μέλαν. See also Horace Odes i.6.15.

ii.356: "atra[4] in nebula." Aeneas and his companions go through Troy like wolves in a black cloud. The image of the black cloud has already been discussed (pp.22-24). See other instances of its use at Aeneid iii.572, iv.248, x.264, 664; Georgics ii.308-309; Lucretius vi.180; Horace Odes ii.16.2, iii.29.43-44. In Homer clouds are often said to be κυάνεαι, which (as in the case of Hector's hair in the previous instance) is surely to be taken as "dark" rather than as "blue."[103]

ii.360: "nox atra.[5½]" Black night flies about Aeneas and his companions with its enveloping shadow. The phrase is formulaic--see i.89 above. Two-thirds of this line is repeated at vi.866. Austin suggests that Vergil may well have had in mind Horace Satires ii.1.58, ". . . seu mors atris circumvolat alis."[104] The main verb is the same in form and position, but otherwise the similarities are limited to the color black and the sense of doom which accompanies its use. The appli-

cation of "volare" to night is found at Ennius Annales xvi. frag.23 (Vahlen), but without a color term.

ii.516: "atra[5] ceu tempestate." Hecuba and her daughters are compared to doves in a storm. For "ater" as associated with the storm, see i.511 above and the references there given. Earlier dove similes (Iliad Φ 493-494, Aeschylus Suppliants 223-224, Euripides Andromache 1140-1141) do not utilize color terms.

iii.28: "atro[5]. . . . sanguine.[10]" The plant containing Polydorus' soul bleeds with black blood. The phrase recurs at iii.33 (in the nominative) and iii.622 (inverted). It occurs also at Georgics iii.507-508 (nominative) and Ennius Thyestes 297 Jocelyn (ablative). Its ultimate source, as previously noted, is a group of Homeric formulae (see p.92).

iii.33: "ater[1½]. . . . sanguis.[12]" (The variant "alter" has some support from the schedae Vaticanae and from Donatus; but it would not have been unusual for Vergil to repeat himself closely even over this short an interval.) Further black blood comes from the root of this same plant. The phrase is a recurring one; see iii.28 above.

iii.64: "atra[9]que cupresso." In the funeral rites for Polydorus, altars to the Manes are constructed, with blue fillets (see CAERULEUS) and black cypress. The blackness pertains to the boughs, not to the leaves of the cypress. Servius' gloss on "atra" takes the term

as meaning here both "nigra" and "funesta," though the latter sense arises more from the noun here modified than from the adjective itself. That the cypress is closely associated with death cannot be doubted; compare vi.216, "ferialis cupressos"; see also Horace Odes ii.14.22-24, and Ovid Metamorphoses x.106-142, especially 141-142.

iii.572: "atram[5]. . . nubem.[12]" (The phrase is found in the dative at x.664 and in the accusative at Georgics ii.308-309.) Aetna sometimes sends forth a black cloud of smoke and fire. The passage has predecessors in Pindar Pythian i.20-28 and in Lucretius vi.639-702 (especially lines 644, 686-692). Pindar achieves some splendid color effects in his description of Aetna,[105] but neither he nor Lucretius make explicit mention of black smoke in this connection.[106]

iii.622: "sanguine . . . atro.[12]" (Repeated with inversion from iii.28.) The Cyclops feeds on the entrails and black blood of his victims. The presence of the color terms here and at line 626 cannot be explained by reference to the Cyclops episode in the Odyssey. The only references to black in Book Iota are formulaic references to wine, night, and the ship (lines 143, 196, 322, 346). Even the description of the deaths of Odysseus' crewmen are described without color: lines 288-293, 311, 344, and (in a threat) 458-459.

iii.626: "atro[5]. . . tabo.[12]" (The phrase recurs at ix.472.) The limbs of the Cyclops' victims moisten the earth with black corrupt matter. The two occurrences of black in such close succession suggest a similarity between the description of the Cyclops' cave and the description of Cacus' cave at viii.198-262, in which "ater" is used four times. Both creatures are monsters who produce an effect of horror in the reader.

iv.248: "nubibus atris.[12]" (The phrase recurs at x.264.) The head of Atlas is always girded with black clouds. See references at ii.356 above; cf.also "nigrantem . . . nimbum," iv.120.

iv.384: "atris[8] ignibus." Dido tells Aeneas at their parting that she will follow him with black fires. That this passage foreshadows the later Trojan deaths and is closely related to "ignibus atris" at xi.186 has already been noted (pp.37-38). The phrase also occurs at viii.198-199 (in the accusative), and compare such similar expressions as "atro . . . lumine," vii.456-457 (Allecto's torch), "facibus . . . atris," ix.74, "face . . . atra," x.77, and "nigrorum . . . ignium," Horace Odes iv.12.26. On the present passage, Servius remarks that one could take the phrase as a reference to the torches of the Furies (cf. Cicero Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino 67, "furiarum taedis ardentibus"; by this interpretation the thought would be substantially the same as Apollonius Rhodius Γ 703-704 or

Δ 385-386), but that it would be better to take it in reference to the smoke of Dido's funeral pyre which Aeneas sees from out at sea at v.3-7. The latter interpretation is criticized by Henry, Norden, and Heinze; Pease and Austin find intentional ambiguity in the phrase.[107] It should be noted that the passage from the opening of Book Five makes no reference to the smoke of the pyre, but only to its light ("conlucent," line 4).

iv.472: "serpentibus atris.[12]" Dido is compared to the frenzied Orestes, who fled his murdered mother and her black snakes. The same phrase occurs at Georgics i.129; cf. also Horace Odes iii.4.17, "atris corpore viperis." The reference suggests Allecto's snake at vii.346 (see CAERULEUS), just as the previous reference suggested Allecto's torch. Austin's comment: "not merely 'black' but 'ghastly.'"[108]

iv.570: "nocti se immiscuit atrae.[12]" ("Nox atra" is a recurrent phrase, see i.89 above. In addition, the phrase "se immiscuit atrae" recurs at x.664 in connection with a black cloud; compare the use of "se immiscuit" with "armis" at Georgics iv.245 and Aeneid x.796.) Mercury vanishes, blending into the dark night.

iv.633: "cinis ater.[9½]" Black ash (a euphemism for death) held Dido's nurse back at Tyre.

iv.687: "atros[5]. . . cruores.[12]" (The phrase recurs at ix.333 in the ablative singular and at xi.646

in the nominative singular.) Anna tries to stanch the dark blood of Dido with her garment.

v.2: "fluctusque atros.[7]" Aeneas sails through the black waves. The predominance of dark shades at the opening of Book Five has been noted (see p.10). Here Vergil not merely uses the adjective, but also introduces the north wind, Aquilo, which accounts both for the color of the water and for the diversion to Sicily. Aulus Gellius remarks (ii.30): "Austris spirantibus mare fieri glaucum et caeruleum, Aquilonibus obscurius atriusque." For the blackness of the sea's surface, compare also Horace Odes iii.27.18-19, "ater / Hadriae . . . sinus," and line 23 of the same ode, "aequoris nigri." In his discussion of the colors of the sea at Academica ii.33.105, Cicero does not mention blackness.

v.19: "vespere ab atro.[12]" (The variant "alto" appears only in a second hand in the Mediceus alone, as Hirtzel indicates.) Palinurus says the winds are rising from the black west. The phrase is derived from Homer's ζόφον ἠερόεντα and ζόφου ἠεροέντος (Iliad Μ 240 and so forth). See also Hesiod Theogony lines 653, 658, 729.

v.512: "atra[5½]. . . in nubila.[10]" (This is the reading of the codices Romanus and Mediceus and of several later MSS.; Palatinus reads "alta . . . in nubila.") Mnestheus' shot frees the bird, which flies away into the dark clouds. If it is correct, as suggested above (pp.32-33), that Vergil seeks to end the

games section with many bright color terms and then make an abrupt transition to a relatively darker section, then the appearance of a black cloud at this point would seem premature. Nevertheless, the reference to "nigra . . . sub nube" at v.516 is undoubted. Williams defends "atra" (which Hirtzel had rejected), noting that "alta" "is weak after the use of the word in 508 and 511."[109] Either reading seems weak; the line may be a tibicen. There are no color terms in the Homeric model at Iliad ψ 874-881.

v.666: "atram[5]. . . favillam.[12]" The Trojans could see the black ash of their burning ships in the air. Now that the games section is over, the black color terms become frequent again: five appear within seventy lines. Vergil could have described the burning ash as "glowing" (see "candente favilla," iii.573), but black is more suited to the mood of the section.

v.693: "atra[12]" (modifies "tempestas[3]" in next line). A black storm falls on the burning ships and saves them. As previously noted (p.23), this instance of "ater," together with "nigerrimus" at line 696, constitutes a reversal of the normal associations of blackness in the Aeneid.

v.721: "nox atra.[3½]" Night falls after the funeral games. The phrase is a recurring one: see i.89 above.

vi.127: "atri[8]. . . Ditis.[12]" The Sibyl tells Aeneas that the door of black Dis is open every day.

The underworld and its deities are frequently referred to as black. Compare Horace Odes ii.13.21, "furvae regna Proserpinae"; Ovid, Metamorphoses iv.438, "nigri . . . Ditis"; Propertius iii.12.33, "nigrantesque domos."[110]

vi.132: "sinu[5]. . . atro.[12]" The Sibyl speaks of Cocytus which surrounds the underworld with its black recess. Compare Horace Odes ii.14.17-18, "ater / Cocytus."

vi.215: "frondibus atris.[12]" The Trojans cover the sides of Misenus' funeral pyre with black, leafy boughs. These boughs are not of cypress, for cypress is mentioned in the next line as covering the front of the pyre. (See iii.64 above for the funereal associations of the cypress.) Conington suggests the yew. See lines 208-209, and Horace Odes iv.4.58.

vi.240: "atris[12]" (modifies "faucibus[2]" in next line). A poisonous vapor rises from the black jaws of Avernus. Avernus is also called black at vi.238 (see NIGER).

vi.249: "atri[8] velleris." Aeneas sacrifices a ewe of black wool. Odysseus had done the same before communicating with the dead: Odyssey κ 527, ὄϊν . . . βῆλύν τε μέλαιναν. See also κ 524-525, λ 32-33. Other references to the sacrificing of black sheep by Aeneas use forms of NIGER: iii.120, v.736, vi.153.

vi.272: "nox[6]. . . atra.[9½]" (Recurring phrase:

see i.89 above.) As Aeneas and the Sibyl begin their descent, black night takes the color from things (see COLOR). The discussion, found in Servius and repeated by Conington and others, as to whether this statement is scientifically true misses the main point. Vergil uses the reference to black night and colorless things to the same end for which he uses the terms "obscuri," "nocte," and "umbram" in line 268 (see pp.11-12), and "umbra" again at line 271: to evoke an atmosphere of terror, a feeling of being swallowed up in endless darkness. Accurate reporting of scientific data is not likely to have been foremost in Vergil's mind in the composition of this passage. Michael Putnam, in comparing Aeneas' journey through the dark and terrible underworld to his journey through the dark and terrible Trojan city during its sack, finds that this mention of black night near the beginning of the descent recalls the mention of black night near the beginning of his progress through Troy (see ii.360 above).[111] An even closer connection may be seen to exist between this passage and vi.866 (see below): black night is mentioned very near the beginning and very near the end of the underworld journey.

vi.429: "atra[3½] dies." (This line is repeated at xi.28.) Aeneas passes Cerberus and hears the wailing of the infants whom the black day has taken from their mothers. This phrase is a variation on the very common

phrase "nox atra" (see i.89 and references there). Here it is used as a metaphor for death, just as "nox atra" is used as a metaphor for death at vi.866 (see below). These two linked metaphorical uses of black are arranged somewhat symmetrically: the present line describes the first souls (with the exception of the unburied) seen by Aeneas, while line 866 is applied to Marcellus, the last soul seen by Aeneas (with the exception of any he may have met after the pageant of heroes: lines 886-892 are not specific). In both instances the idea of premature death is stressed.

vi.576: "atris[5]. . . hiatibus.[10]" The Hydra with its fifty black throats resides in Tartarus. The image suggests the black jaws of Avernus itself (see vi.240-241 above).

vi.602: "atra[3½] silex." A black flint rock hangs over Phlegyas in Tartarus. Lucretius assigned this punishment to Tantalus, De Rerum Natura iii.980-981. No color terms occur in the Lucretian context.

vi.866: "nox atra.[3½]" (The phrase is a recurring one: see i.89 above. The line repeats two-thirds of ii.360 above.) Black night flies round the head of Marcellus. The description recalls the remark of Theoclymenus at Odyssey υ 351-352: νυκτὶ μὲν ὀμέων / εἰλύαται κεφαλαί. The Odyssean passage contains no color terms (though ζόφος occurs at line 356). Here "nox atra" is used as a metaphor for death. The phrase

normally implies only the literal darkness of night, though associations with death could plausibly be found in the instances of the phrase at ii.360 and vi.272 (see above). See also pp.16-17, 100-101.

vii.214: "atra[1½]. . . hiems.[5]" Ilioneus tells Latinus that it was not black winter which drove the Trojans to Italy. Winter receives a black sheep as a sacrifice at iii.120. Winter is called black probably because it is the time of storms, which are themselves black (see ii.516 and Odes i.5.7) and which make the sea black (see v.2).

vii.329: "atra[9½]" (modifies "Allecto[5]" in line 324). Allecto pullulates, black with many snakes. Snakes are often black (see iv.472 above), and underworld creatures are regularly so (see vi.127 above and note 110). In addition, the frequent use of terms for black in this section of Book Seven (five of them, with one at the very beginning of Allecto's activities in the upper world, line 414, and one at her departure to the underworld, line 565) is appropriate to the negative effect of the total passage (see page 13).

vii.456: "atro[12]" (modifies "lumine[2]" in next line). Allecto's torch shines with a black light in the chest of Turnus. It might be thought that "atro" is used here as a transferred epithet from "facem," since torches are spoken of as black (see ix.74 and x.77 below). But one does not speak of "brands (taedas)

smouldering with light"; the force of "fumantis" is lost unless "atro" is taken with "lumine." The oxymoron "black light" should not, I think, be taken as meaning merely "smoky flame,"[112] but as a periphrasis for darkness. The torch of hell performs a function opposite to that of a torch of this earth: it radiates darkness into Turnus' heart. This darkness is akin to that Ate spoken of in Homer, especially in Agamemnon's apology, Iliad T 86-94 and 126-136: it blinds the judgment and causes men to err. Note the effect of the torch at lines 460-462: "[Turnus] amens fremit"; "saevit . . . insania . . . / et ira."

vii.466: "vapor ater.^{9½}" In the simile of the cauldron, black vapor rises into the air.

vii.525: "atra^{9½}que" (modifies "seges^{6}" in the next line). War's crop stood, black with drawn swords. But drawn swords should not be black, especially in a classical epic: they are made of bronze, which is normally spoken of as gleaming. Contrast the opening simile of the muster of the Achaeans, Iliad B 455-458, where the gleaming of their weapons (ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ θεσπεσίοιο / αἴγλη παμφαανόωσα) is compared to a forest fire. Or consider any of a multitude of Homeric weapon formulae: αἴθοπι χαλκῷ, νώροπα χαλκόν (also in dative), χάλκεα μαρμαίροντα, χαλκοῦ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς, and so forth.

The reason for the difference, I believe, is that Vergil is speaking of the appearance of a close-packed

body of armed men seen from a distance, which (whether swords are drawn or not) gives an impression of a dark, solid mass. Compare "atrum . . . agmen" at xii.450, or φάλαγγες / κυάνεαι at Iliad Δ 281-282, where the soldiers are compared to a cloud blacker than pitch, μελάντερον ἠΰτε πίσσα. Compare also Lucretius' description of warriors in a plain presenting a solid appearance, ii.323-332, which however emphasizes the brightness of their armor seen from a distance ("fulgor," lines 325 and 332).

vii.565: "atrum[12]" (modifies "latus[5]" in the next line). (Note that the last 3½ feet of 565 and the first 2½ feet of 566 are repeated [with the omission of "hunc"] as the last part of xi.523 and the first part of xi.524.) A black side (that is, a cliff) hems in the Amsanctus valley on both sides. This is the scene of Allecto's re-entry into the underworld.

vii.801: "atra[5½] palus." Some of Turnus' followers are described in the catalogue as coming from the black marsh of Satura. "Atra" is linked to "viridi" in the previous line by their proximity; and, if these two terms can be taken in conjunction with "ostro" at line 814 and "auro" at line 816, the result would be a near miss of a major thematic cluster, with the ominous color black substituted for the expected white (see a discussion of such near misses, pp.58-61). However, it seems unlikely that the two pairs of color terms should

be taken as a unit; there is a sharp change of subject with the introduction of Camilla at line 803.

viii.198: "atros^{12}" (modifies "ignis^{5}" in the next line). (The phrase occurs in the ablative at iv.384 and xi.186.) Cacus vomits black flames. It has been noted (note 58) that "ater" occurs four times in the Cacus episode.

viii.219: "atro^{12}" (modifies "felle^{1½}" in the next line). Hercules' anger blazes up with black bile. A similar phrase occurs at Iliad A 103-104, μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφὶ μέλαιναι /πίμπλαντ' .

viii.258: "nebula^{5}que . . . atra.^{12}" (Phrase occurs with elements inverted at ii.356.) Smoke from Cacus fills his cave with a black cloud.

viii.262: "domus atra.^{9½}" (The first hand of codex Palatinus reads "domus alta," influenced no doubt by Georgics ii.461.) The black home of Cacus is opened by Hercules. The constant emphasis on blackness in association with Cacus and his home establishes an implied connection with the underworld.

ix.36: "caligine^{8}. . . atra.^{12}" (The phrase recurs at xi.876.) Caicus asks, "What globe rolls in black gloom [yonder]?" It is the Rutulians, approaching the camp to begin their assault. Vergil opens the war tetrad (Books Nine through Twelve) with a double (or even triple) dose of blackness, complete with a literal

black cloud: see "nigro . . . pulvere nubem" at line 33 and note the dark term "tenebras" at line 34. Terms for black continue to be common throughout the opening stages of Book Nine: see lines 74, 87, 105.

ix.74: "facibus[5]. . . atris.[12]" (The phrase occurs in the singular at x.77; for the sound alone, compare "atris / faucibus" at vi.240-241 above.) The Rutulians arm themselves with black torches--black because the wood itself is black (cf.vi.215), or because the torches are dipped in black pitch (cf.ix.75-76), or because they give off a smoky flame (cf.vii.456 with note 112), or because they are horrible and fear-laden from the Trojans' viewpoint (see note 108), or conceivably because of all of these considerations.

ix.105: "atra[7]que voragine." (Lines ix.104 [last 3½ feet] through 106 are repeated exactly at x.113 [latter part] through 115.) Jupiter swears by the black whirl of the Styx. For black as the color of the underworld, see pp.98-99 on vi.127 and note 110; as the particular color of the underworld rivers, see page 99 on vi.132.

ix.239: "ater[7]que . . . fumus.[12]" Nisus tells the leaders that, from a given point in the encircling camp fires, only black smoke rises.

ix.333: "atro[7]. . . cruore.[12]" (Phrase occurs with change of case at iv.687 and xi.646.) The ground grows wet with the black blood of the men slain by

Nisus. Here Vergil fuses two different Homeric elements: the recurring formulae in which blood is referred to as black (see p.92), and a line in the Doloneia (from a passage followed fairly closely as a model for the present one) in which the earth is said to grow red from the blood of the men slain by Diomedes: ἐφυθαίνετο δ'αἵματι γαῖα , Iliad K 484.

ix.472: "atro[7]que . . . tabo.[12]" (The phrase has already been used at iii.626; the word "fluentia" precedes "tabo" in both instances.) The Trojans catch sight of the faces of Nisus and Euryalus, streaming with black gore.

ix.700: "atri[8] vulneris." Turnus slays Antiphates, and the cavern of the black wound gushes blood.

ix.719: "atrum[9]que Timorem." (The first hand of codex Palatinus reads "furorem.") Mars unleashes Panic and black Fear upon the Trojans. "Fuga" and "Timor" are here personified as the equivalents of Δεῖμος and Φόβος, mentioned twice in the Iliad (Δ 440 and O 119) as the attendants of Ares. The association between "ater" and fear is discussed on pages 65-67. The use of the term in this particular context may have been influenced by the use of "atrae Formidinis" at xii.335 below.

x.77: "face[2]. . . atra.[7]" Juno declares that the Trojans have attacked the Latins with black torch [es]. The phrase suggests a recollection of ix.74, where the reader is told by the narrator that in fact it was the

Latins who attacked the Trojans with black torches. The biased spirit of Juno's remarks is evident even without this verbal echo.

x.114: "atra[7]que voragine." (Note that ix.104 ≃ x.113; ix.105-106 = x.114-115.) Jupiter again swears by the black whirl of the Styx; in Book Nine Jupiter had merely sworn to Berecynthia that the ships would be transformed into nymphs. Here the context is much more solemn, as Jupiter swears that no partiality shall be shown to Rutulians or Trojans. One wonders if the exactly identical wording would have remained standing in Nine after the final revision of the poem.

x.264: "nubibus atris.[12]" (The phrase is repeated from iv.248 above.) The Trojan spear casts were like the cranes of Strymon with the dark clouds of shadow which they cast. Previous mentions of flying cranes at Iliad B 459-463, Γ 2-7, and Lucretius iv.181-182 are concerned with the sound which they make, not with color impressions.

x.603: "turbinis atri.[12]" (The phrase occurs in inverted form at xii.923, and in the nominative at i.511.) Aeneas' rage was like that of a black storm. This phrase serves as a link between the present scene and the death of Turnus: see pp.43-44.

x.664: "nubi se immiscuit atrae.[12]" (The phrase is repeated from iv.570 with the substitution of "nubi" for "nocti.") The phantom Aeneas melts into a black

cloud.

x.730: "atram[12]" (modifies "humum[3]" in next line.) Acron is slain by Mezentius; his heels strike the black earth. The phrase is the equivalent of the Homeric formula γαῖα μέλαινα, used four times in the Iliad and once in the Odyssey.[113] Acron's purple clothing is stressed in line 722 (see OSTRUM, PURPUREUS); but if there is a purple/black contrast here to accompany the splendor/squalor and life/death contrasts, its force is considerably diminished by the eight-line interval between the color elements.

xi.28: "atra[3½] dies." (The entire line is a repeat of vi.429.) Aeneas declares that Pallas lacked no valor when the black day took him. As in the instance of the use of this phrase in Book Six, the phrase is a metaphor for death--in both instances, for premature death.

xi.186: "ignibus atris.[12]" (Phrase occurs at iv.384 in inverted form and at viii.198 in the accusative.) The Trojan dead are cremated; black fires are lit beneath the pyres. The connection of this passage with Dido's threats is noted on pp.37-38. There is a contrast of light and darkness here: "tenebras," "caligine" (line 187), "fulgentibus armis" (line 188), accompanied by considerable use of sound and motion (lines 188-192).

xi.523: "atrum[12]" (modifies "latus[5]" in next

line). (Portions of these two lines are repeated from vii.565-566.) Turnus instructs Camilla to go into a black valley and await the Etruscan cavalry. The repetition provides an ominous link with the destructive Fury of Book Seven.

xi.646: "ater^{3½}. . . cruor.^{7}" (The phrase occurs with change of case at iv.687 and ix.333.) Dark blood was being spilled everywhere in the battle. The phrase is Homeric, as noted on page 92.

xi.876: "caligine^{8}. . . atra.^{12}" (Phrase repeated from ix.36.) Immediately after the death of Camilla, dust rolls toward Laurentum in a whirl of black gloom. The repetition of the phrase and image marks a complete reversal of roles. At the beginning of Nine, black gloom rolled toward the Trojan camp as the Rutulians advanced to invest it; now the Trojans advance to besiege their enemies' city. The image both symbolizes the action and may be understood to arise naturally from the movement of soldiers.[114]

xii.335: "atrae^{7} Formidinis ora." The faces of black Terror and of other attendants gather round blood-red Mars (see SANGUINEUS, line 332), to whom Turnus is likened. The phrase is taken from Lucretius De Rerum Natura iv.173 = vi.254; the passage as a whole is similar to Iliad N 298-303, where Ares is accompanied by Phobos. Compare "atrumque Timorem" at ix.719 above.

xii.450: "atrum[7]. . . agmen.[9½]" Aeneas leads his black column into the open plain. For the phrase, compare "nigrum . . . agmen" at iv.404; for the image, compare war's black crop at vii.525-526 as another visual metaphor for armed men. The source of the phrase is almost certainly Homer's φάλαγγες / κυάνεαι , Iliad Δ 281-282, since the storm metaphor which here follows (xii.451-455) draws extensively on the storm simile at Iliad Δ 275-279.[115]

xii.591: "ater[3½] odor." In the simile of bees scattered by smoke, the black smell (that is, smoke) is said to roll through the hive. In another author one might suspect a palaeographical slip giving rise to the present reading from an original "acer odor"; but the manuscript tradition of Vergil is too old and too firm to warrant such a supposition. The phrase must have arisen through synesthesia by analogy with "vapor ater," vii.466.

xii.923: "atri[8] turbinis." (The phrase occurs at i.511 in the nominative and at x.603 with inversion.) Aeneas' spear flies like a black storm and fells Turnus. This final simile of the poem recalls the first scenes of the epic, which opened with a storm, and also the battle rage of Aeneas after Pallas' death (see pp. 43-44).

This term is mobile throughout the line, though a preference for the final position is noticeable. The

figures are: position 1½, twice; 3½, seven times; 4, once; 5, seven times; 5½, three times; 7, eleven times; 8, five times; 9, four times; 9½, six times; position 12, twenty-five times.

AURATUS

2x G, 10x A, 4x Ap (16)

i.741: "aurata[5]" (modifies "cithara[7]" in previous line). At the banquet, Iopas plays on a gilded cithara. That the cithara was gilded seems to be an original touch. There is no mention of gold when Phemius and Demodocus begin their songs at Odyssey α 325 and θ 499, respectively. And, when songs with themes similar to the present one are begun at Argonautica A 496 and Eclogues 6.31, again no gold is mentioned (though the κίθαρις itself is mentioned at Argonautica A 495). The change has no clear significance apart from the fact that the ending of Book One is a section of relatively high color frequency (see pp.9-10, 17, and note 16).

ii.448: "auratas[3]que trabes." During the sack of Troy, the Trojans throw gilded roof beams down on the Greeks. There is an irony and even a certain pathos in this desperate use of their wealth. The emphasis here is more on the costliness of the beams than on their color. This same phrase occurs at Propertius iii.2.12, "camera auratas inter eburna trabes," where gold is combined with the whiteness of ivory and with the color

of the Taenarian columns mentioned in the preceding line.[116]

v.250: "chlamydem auratam.[7]" As a prize for Cloanthus, Aeneas gives him a gilded cloak with purple edging. This is an instance of the games theme. See VIRIDIS, ARGENTUM, and PURPURA (lines 246, 248, and 251 respectively), and see page 52.

viii.655: "auratis[5]" (modifies "porticibus[3]" in next line). On the shield of Aeneas, a silver goose (see ARGENTEUS) takes flight in the gilded colonnades of the Capitol. This is the first of two gold/white contrasts which occur in the description of the Gallic attack on the Capitol. The second is composed of the golden hair, clothing, and necklaces of the Gauls on their white necks (see AUREUS, AURUM, LACTEUS, lines 659-661). Such a profusion of color in the description of the shield is not surprising: this is characteristic of the "set pieces" of Vergil's predecessors (see Chapter Three).

The particular term "auratis" is used here either because of deliberate anachronism, suggesting the gilded roof of the Capitol in Augustus' time (cf.viii. 347-348: "Capitolia . . . aurea"), or because of the golden yellow color of the straw which no doubt served as the actual thatched roof of the Capitol during the Gallic siege,[117] or because Vulcan represented the roof in gold on the shield, or because of some combination

of these factors.

ix.304: "auratum[3]" (modifies "ensem[12]" in previous line). Ascanius gives his gilded sword with its ivory sheath (see EBURNUS,line 305) to Euryalus.It is probable that in composing this passage Vergil again blended two Homeric scenes: Odyssey θ 403-405, where Euryalus the Phaeacian gives Odysseus a bronze sword with a silver hilt and an ivory scabbard, and Iliad K 255-256 and 260-261, where Diomedes and Odysseus are each given a sword (of no special description) before their night raid.

ix.627: "aurata[8] fronte." Ascanius pledges an annual sacrifice to Jupiter of a white bull (see CANDEO, line 628) with gilded forehead (i.e., gilded horns). Nestor offered a heifer with gilded horns to Athena at Odyssey γ 382-384, 425-426, 432-438. But the more immediate precedent is the heifer with gilded horns which Diomedes pledged to Athena immediately before the night raid at Iliad K 292-294 (which lines are identical with Odyssey γ 382-384). The detail of whiteness in this connection is added by Apollonius at Argonautica Δ 977-978, where he states that all of the cattle of the Sun are white with golden horns: πᾶσαι δὲ γάλακτι/ εἰδόμεναι , χρυσέοισι κεράασι κυδιάασκον .[118] See also the gilded bull mentioned at Aeneid v.366.

Additional instances of the sacrificing of animals with gilded horns include: Livy xxv.12.13 (in

212 BC), "Apollini bove aurato et capris duobus albis auratis, Latonae bove femina aurata"; Ovid, Metamorphoses vii.161-162: "inductaque cornibus aurum / victima"; ibid., xv.130-131: "victima . . . / . . . vittis insignis et auro."

x.171: "aurato[5]. . . Apolline.[10]" The ship of Abas the Etruscan has a stern with a golden figure of Apollo. Note the presence of the Glänzwort "fulgebat."

xi.858: "aurata[5]" (modifies "pharetra[5]" in next line). Opis takes an arrow from her gilded quiver to slay Arruns. Dido's quiver had also been of gold: see AURUM, iv.138.

xii.163: "aurati[3] bis sex radii." Twelve gilded rays gird the brow of Latinus, in commemoration of his ancestor the sun. Apollonius had remarked in connection with Circe that the descendants of the sun could be discerned by the golden gleam from their eyes (χρυσέην . . . αἴγλην, Argonautica Δ 729).[119]

xii.536: "aurata[7] ad tempora." Turnus hurls his spear at the gilded temples of Hyllus and slays him. This is a transferred epithet: logically it modifies "galeam" in the next line. The passage is modelled on Iliad Υ 397ff, where the helmet is equipped with cheek-pieces of bronze (χαλκοταφῆος) rather than of gold. Compare also Iliad Λ 95ff, where the thrust passes through the front of the bronze-heavy helmet

(χαλκοβάρεια). For another golden helmet in the Aeneid, see AUREUS, ix.50.

This term is flexible as to position, occurring three times at position three, four times at five, twice at seven, and once at eight.

AUREUS

4x E, 5x G, 36x A, 7x Ap (52)

i.492: "aurea[2]. . . cingula.[10]" (The phrase is repeated at ix.359-360.) Aeneas sees Penthesilea in the mural at Carthage, with a golden band below her breast. Servius' suggestion that "aurea" here may modify "Penthesilea" in line 491 seems unlikely: surely Penthesilea was not wearing full golden armor, nor can one imagine a reason for her to have been represented wholly or largely in gold paint or enamel. Nor is she a goddess like "golden Venus" (see x.16, below).

Note that this mural, like the engraved doors at the beginning of Book Six but unlike the shield in Book Eight, is described rather achromatically. As mentioned (p.113), such epic set pieces tend to be high in color terms; however, as also mentioned (pp.8-9, 11-12), the color frequency of the opening of Book One is generally low and the use of color at the opening of Book Six is mostly restricted to the golden bough itself, while the general color frequency of Book Eight is unsurpassed. This illustrates the predominance of the mood-linked general color level of a particular book or section

over the color level of the model of a part of that book or section.

i.698: "aurea[2]. . . sponda.[7]" At the beginning of the banquet, Dido takes her seat on the golden couch. It is not absolutely certain that "aurea" here does modify "sponda"; it may modify "regina[9½]" in the previous line.[120] Dido could be described as "golden" if she were dressed in gold finery, as a queen might well be;[121] thus, persons dressed in purple garments are themselves called "purple" at ix.163 and x.722. If the term modifies "sponda," as most modern editors and translators believe, then the word is made a dissyllable through synizesis. Synizesis occurs in other forms of this term at least five times in the Aeneid (see i.726 below and references given there). It is sometimes asserted that a close parallel is found at vii.190, but, as will be noted, it is by no means clear that "aurea" in that line is ablative rather than nominative. Finally, it seems out of the question that this is an instance of deliberate ambiguity, since any oral reading of the poem would necessarily resolve the ambiguity.

i.726: "laquearibus aureis.[12]" At the banquet, lamps hang from the golden panelled ceilings. The term is here shortened into a dissyllable through synizesis. This occurs also in the following instances of "aureus": v.352, viii.372, viii.553, x.116, and pos-

sibly i.698 and vii.190.

ii.488: "ferit aurea[8] sidera clamor." (The phrase recurs with inversion of the last two elements at xi.832-833.) The shouting from the palace of Priam rises and strikes the golden stars. The poignant image is discussed at pp.42-43. Servius is no doubt correct is saying that one is not intended to find an implied parallel between the golden stars hanging over the palace of Priam and the golden laquearia suspended above Dido's banquet hall. For the phrase, compare Horace Epodes 17.41, "sidus aureum."

iv.139: "aurea[2]. . . fibula.[10]" A golden pin fastens Dido's purple cloak. See AURUM, line 138, and PURPUREUS, line 139. This color cluster has been discussed at pp.31-32. The purple clothing of royalty is mentioned frequently in classical literature, e.g. Georgics ii.495, Aeneid vii.251, 814, Horace Odes i.35.12, Ovid Metamorphoses vii.103, viii.33, xiv.345, 393.[122] The phrase "subnectit fibula" in this line is repeated in the same position at v.313; "pharetra" and "auro" from iv.138 are repeated at v.311-312. "Aurea" had been juxtaposed with "subnectens" at i.492 above.

iv.240: "aurea[2]" (modifies "talaria[10]" in previous line). Mercury puts on his golden sandals. The phrase is used by Homer in connection with the beginnings of Hermes' trips: Iliad Ω 340-341 (note that Ω339-345 = Odyssey ε 43-49), πέδιλα / ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια

(separated over the line end, somewhat as in the present instance). Similarly, the rod mentioned in line 242 is mentioned by Homer in the two passages just cited, as well as at Odyssey κ 277 and ω 2-3; in the two latter instances the rod itself is described as golden, as it is also at Horace Odes i.10.18-19.[123]

v.352: "unguibus aureis.[12]" (The phrase recurs at viii.553.) Aeneas gives a lion skin with gilded claws to Salius, who lost the footrace. On the instances of synizesis with this term, see i.726 above.

vi.13: "aurea[10] tecta." Aeneas and his men come to the grove of Diana and the golden building there (the temple of Apollo).

vi.137: "aureus[2]. . . ramus.[12]" (The phrase recurs at vi.187.) The Sibyl says that the golden bough hides on a dark tree ("arbore opaca," line 136). Heyne suggested that the visual image may be inspired by the picture of the golden fleece hanging on the oak at Argonautica Δ 124;[124] however, there is no element of darkness in the Greek passage to provide a close parallel. The present passage is no doubt the source of Ovid's "auro fulgentem ramum" at Metamorphoses xiv.113-114, where the same episode is described.

vi.144: "aureus[2]" (modifies "alter[12] [sc.ramus]" in previous line). The Sibyl declares that another golden bough will grow when the first is removed.

vi.187: "aureus[8]. . . ramus.[12]" (Phrase repeated

from vi.187 with change of interval.) Aeneas wishes the golden bough were visible to him.

vi.604: "aurea[2] fulcra." The Sibyl describes Tartarus, where golden supports of banquet couches gleam for Tantalus.[125] The punishment of Tantalus is described somewhat differently by Homer (Odyssey λ 582-592, where Tantalus is standing in a lake, and the only colors mentioned are those of the black earth and, perhaps, the shadowy clouds), and by Pindar and Lucretius (Olympian i.55-64 and De Rerum Natura iii.980-981, where the suspended stone is assigned to Tantalus, and no colors are used).[126]

The mention of a golden color gleaming ("lucent," line 603) in Tartarus seems at variance with the general gloom of the descent passage (see pp.11-12), and it certainly is in contrast with the nearby color terms and shadow terms: "atris," line 576; "atra," 602; "umbras," 619; "opaca," 633. But its very opposition to the visual norm of Tartarus contributes to the desired effect: it is part of the vision of brightness and happiness, precisely tantalizing, to be glimpsed but never grasped by the damned.[127] And it is also possible that the mention of gold here and at line 621 (see AURUM) is intended to foreshadow the final mention of the golden bough at line 636.

vi.792: "aurea[10]" (modifies "saecula[2]" in next line). (Phrase recurs at viii.324.) Anchises says that

Augustus Caesar will refound the golden age [s]. The golden age is mentioned many times in classical literature.[128]

vii.190: "aurea[2]" (modifies "coniunx[12]" [= Circe] in previous line). The golden wife of Picus (i.e., Circe, who wished to be his wife) changed him into a woodpecker with her magic rod. It is not certain that "aurea" modifies "coniunx"; some take it as modifying "virga[7]" in line 190--Circe transformed Picus with her golden rod. The form can be taken as either nominative or ablative, depending on whether synizesis is present: see remarks on i.698 above. That a beautiful goddess can be described as "golden" is evident from "Venus aurea" at x.16 below. That such a description is particularly applicable to Circe as a daughter of the Sun is clear from the evidence cited in connection with AURATUS at xii.163 (see p.115). Homer repeatedly emphasizes Circe's status as a goddess; he also frequently mentions her rod, but never its color or material.

vii.210: "aurea[2]. . . regia.[10]" Latinus says that the golden palace of starry heaven ("stellantis . . . caeli") has received Dardanus. That the palace of the stars is golden probably arises from association with the phrase "aurea sidera" at ii.488 and xi.832-833.

vii.278: "aurea[2]. . . monilia.[10]" The horses of Latinus are described as having golden necklaces hanging on their chests. See also AURUM, FULVUS, and

OSTRUM in lines 277-278. This passage is discussed at pp.31-32, 35-36.

viii.168: "frenaque^{2}. . . aurea.^{10}" Evander says Pallas has the golden bits given him by Anchises. See also AURUM, line 167. "Aurea" receives a strong emphasis from its long separation from its substantive. This emphasis seems pointless, unless the reader is intended to understand that, although the bits are not really of gold, Pallas regards them ("habet") as being as precious as gold. And yet a princely visitor would normally have given gifts made of gold or other valuable material: see p.36.

viii.324: "aurea^{2}" (modifies "saecula^{2}" in next line). (Phrase repeated from vi.792.) Evander says that the golden age [s] occurred under Saturn's reign. See vi.792 above and references cited in note 128. The term is contrasted with DECOLOR, line 326.

viii.348: "aurea^{2}" (modifies "Capitolia^{10}" in previous line). Vergil remarks that the Capitol, which now is golden, was then bristling with woody thickets. Coming so soon after the mention of the golden age at line 324, the present reference suggests a progression from the golden age of Saturn through the rough days of Evander and his predecessors ("decolor aetas") to the golden age of Augustus ("aurea <u>nunc</u>": emphasis mine), in fulfillment of Anchises' prophecy at vi.792-793. See

also remarks on AURATUS, viii.655: page 113.

viii.372: "thalamoque[7½]. . . aureo.[12]" Venus addresses Vulcan in their golden marriage chamber. The chamber may be said to be golden either from its association with golden Venus (see x.16 below) or from its probable construction by Vulcan, whose skill as a goldsmith is made clear in the descriptions of the shield (viii.655-661, 672-677). Compare Iliad A 606-608, where Hephaestus is said to have made the sleeping chambers of the gods. Synizesis is present here: see i.726 above.

viii.553: "unguibus aureis.[12]" (Phrase repeated from v.352.) Evander provides a tawny lion skin with gilded claws for Aeneas. There is little similarity between the present situation and that described at v.352. Salius was the loser in the footrace and received his lion skin as a consolation prize; but here the emphasis is not on Aeneas' status as one of the defeated Trojans, but rather as a prince and leader in war, and particularly as a second Hercules. Synizesis is present here also: see i.726 above. See also FULVUS, line 552.

viii.659: "aurea[2] caesaries . . . atque aurea[10] vestis." The Gauls depicted on Aeneas' shield had golden hair and golden clothing. As is the case throughout the description of the Gallic siege (with the sole exception of "lactea" at line 660), the color terms may be understood both in reference to the natural color of

the objects described and in reference to the material with which those objects are depicted. The Gauls, as northerners, could easily be imagined to be blond; and the golden clothing while not the normal apparel of barbaric warriors, could be presumed to be stolen booty.[129] See notes on ARGENTEUS and AURATUS at viii.655.

viii.672: "aurea^{2}" (modifies "imago^{12}" in previous line). A golden image of the sea was in the midst of the scenes on the shield. This is the introduction to the Actium passage, a section shining with bright color terms, especially at the beginning: "caerula" and "cano," line 672; "argento," line 673; "auroque," line 677; and the Glänzwörter "clari" in 673 and "effulgere" in 677. Here Vergil's choice of words emphasizes his departure from the principle which he has been following in the description of the shield: the sea is not itself called golden (as that is not its natural color), but rather the image of the sea. The Homeric precedent for the sea on the shield is the border of Ocean on Achilles' shield (Iliad Σ 607-608), but no color terms are used in that laconic statement.

ix.50: "galea aurea.^{10}" In the attack on the Trojan camp and ships, Turnus is wearing a golden helmet. This is an element of the "hero" or "spotlight" color theme (see p.57), here applied for the first time to

Turnus. The other elements are "albis" at line 49 and "rubra" in line 50; see p.78 for a comment on the position of the terms. The juxtaposition of red/gold color terms immediately before the outbreak of fighting is repeated at xii.247: "aurea rubra" here, "rubra fulvus" in Twelve. In both instances a chiasmus is employed: "cristaque . . . galea aurea rubra," "rubra fulvus . . . ales in aethra." And yet Servius comments on ix.50: "sane huiusmodi versus pessimi sunt"!

ix.270: "aureus^{2}" (modifies "Turnus^{5½}" in previous line). Ascanius promises Nisus that he will have the horse on which Turnus rode golden into battle, as well as his red-plumed helmet ("rubentis," line 270). This reference looks backward to the description of Turnus at ix.50 and also forward to the other reference to "golden Turnus" at xi.490 (which is also connected with red: "rutilum" at xi.487). The color triad gold/red/white is left incomplete; the story is now moving into a minor key, and a touch of chromatic glory here would have been inappropriate.

ix.359: "aurea^{10}" (modifies "cingula^{2}" in next line). For the phrase, see i.492 above; the position of the terms is varied. Euryalus takes Rhamnes' sword-belt, golden with its bolts. The "bullis" referred to here may be either functional rivets or, more probably, ornamental bosses. In any event it is very likely the bolts themselves which are to be understood as gold,

rather than the entire sword-belt. The picture may have been suggested by the golden-studded sword of Agamemnon, which also had a golden belt: Iliad Λ 29-31. Euryalus' attraction to bright, costly booty (the sword-belt here, the helmet of Messapus at line 365) is comparable to Camilla's reaction on seeing the brightly garbed Chloreus at xi.768-784. In each case, the rich articles are the cause of destruction both to the wearer and to the would-be plunderer; this is in contrast (probably deliberately so) to the attitude reflected in Homer at Iliad B 872-875, where Nomion's golden battle regalia causes only his own death.

x.16: "Venus aurea,[10]" Golden Venus pleads Aeneas' case to Jupiter. The phrase is Homeric in origin. Examples of its use include: Iliad Γ 64, Ε 427, Ι 389, Τ 282, Χ 470, Ω 699; Odyssey δ 14, θ 337, θ 342, and @ 37 = τ 54; twice in the Homeric Hymns; Hesiod Theogony 822, 962, 975, 980, 1005, 1014; and Ovid Metamorphoses x.277, xv.761-762. The phrase may have arisen from the golden crown which Aphrodite is said to wear (Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, lines 1 and 7; Sappho frag. 9.1 Bergk), or simply from her beauty, as Anderson believes.[130] Compare golden Circe at vii.189-190 above.

x.116: "solio[7]. . . aureo.[12]" Jupiter finishes speaking and rises from his golden throne. Zeus is spoken of as seated on his golden throne at Iliad Θ 442; however, the epithet χρυσόθρονος is not applied

to Zeus, though it is used in both Homeric epics in reference to Hera, Artemis, and the Dawn. Compare also Bacchylides ii.4-5, where Zeus is enthroned[131] in much-golden Olympus: ἐν πολυχρύσῳ τ'Ὀλύμπῳ. Synizesis is present here: see i.726 above.

x.271: "umbo[7]. . . aureus.[10]" (Codex Mediceus reads "aereus," brazen.[132] The present phrase is repeated at x.884 below.) The golden boss of Aeneas' shield spews forth bursts of fire, like blood-red comets. See SANGUINEUS and RUBEO in line 273.

x.884: "aureus[10] umbo." (The phrase is repeated from x.271 above. Both the Mediceus and the Palatinus read "aereus" here [cf.x.271], perhaps influenced by the phrase "aerato . . . tegmine" at line 887 in reference to the shield.) Aeneas' golden boss sustains the attacks of Mezentius' weapons. Servius considers this an instance of synecdoche: "boss" for "shield." This is plausible, since it is the entire shield which is being subjected to blows, not merely the boss; and no special mention of a boss was made in the elaborate description of the shield in Book Eight. The term "umbo" may be used in this same sense at x.271.

xi.490: "aureus[10]" (modifies the subject of "fulgebat,[3]" which is Turnus understood from line 486). Turnus gleams golden as he rushes into battle, just before his exchange with Camilla. This combination of

gold and red (see "rutilum," line 487, and "auro," line 488) is similar to that noted at ix.270 above. Conington suggests a reminiscence of Iliad Z 513, where Paris is described as τεύχεσι παμφαίνων ὡς τ'ἠλέκτωρ . Certainly the horse simile which precedes that Homeric line is the model for the horse simile which follows this Vergilian phrase.

xi.652: "aureus^{2}. . . arcus.^{7½}" (The phrase is repeated at xi.774 below.) The golden bow of Camilla twangs. This is an instance of foreshadowing through a repeated phrase: a golden bow is next spoken of in connection with Camilla's death.

xi.774 (twice): "aureus^{2}. . . arcus^{7½} et aurea^{10}" (modifies "cassida^{2}" in next line). (The first phrase is repeated from xi.652 above.) The clothing of Chloreus is described in vivid colors at the opening of Camilla's death scene; it includes a golden bow and a golden helmet. The bright helmet, together with Camilla's fatal "spoliorum amore" (line 782), brings to mind Euryalus and the helmet of Messapus (see p.126). For the other color terms in this passage, see AURUM (lines 771, 776, and 779), CROCEUS (774), FERRUGO (772), FULVUS (776), and OSTRUM (772). Note also the Glänzwörte "fulgebat" (769) and "clarus" (772). This brilliant, colorful context gives to "insignis" at line 769 the sense of "visible" or "conspicuous."

xi.832: "aurea^{10}" (modifies "sidera^{2}" in next

line). (The full phrase, "ferit aurea clamor / sidera," is repeated with change of position from ii.488.) At Camilla's death, the cry of mourning strikes the golden stars. This passage has been discussed on pp.42-43.

"Aureus" is found in its various forms: seventeen times at position two, twice at position eight, twelve times at position ten, and five times at position twelve.

AURICOMUS

Used only once.

vi.141: "auricomos[3]. . . fetus.[12]" The Sibyl tells Aeneas that no one can safely descend to the underworld unless he gathers the golden-haired (i.e. golden-colored) fruit of this tree. The phrase suggests "croceo fetu," used at line 207 of this same golden bough. The present term may have been coined by Vergil as an equivalent of χρυσοκόμας ; the next earliest instances of its use are in the works of his imitators, Valerius Flaccus and Silius Italicus. The Greek term χρυσοκόμας is used of Dionysus at Hesiod Theogony 947. It is applied to other deities, especially Apollo, by other authors (e.g., Tyrtaeus frag. 3a.2), but the lexica give no example of so metaphorical a use of the term as in the present instance.

AURUM

9x G, 78x A, 3x Ap (90)

"Aurum" is included in this study because I believe it likely that it is impossible for the nouns from which color adjectives are derived[133] to be used without the evocation of some hint, even if only a slight one, of the associated color. Of such nouns, "aurum" is the most frequent in the Aeneid.

i.343: "auri.[12]" (This is an emendation offered by Huet in 1722; all manuscripts read "ditissimus agri," no doubt under the influence of x.563, where the son of Volscens is called "ditissimus agri." The emendation is plausible, since Vergil is very likely to have known that the Phoenicians were merchants, not farmers; moreover, no other mention is made of Sychaeus' lands in this story, whereas the gold is very important to the tale, providing the motive for the murder.) Venus tells Aeneas the tale of the founding of Carthage, and mentions that Sychaeus, the richest of the Phoenicians in gold, was Dido's husband. It is noteworthy that Venus mentions gold four times in the space of a mere twenty-one lines in telling this tale (see next three instances); why is this done? Surely it is not the case that either Venus or Vergil wish Dido to be perceived by Aeneas as desirable because she is rich; Venus is no mortal mother, anxious for a good

financial match for her son.[134] Rather, it would not be surprising, given the light, ironic tone of this apparition,[135] if Venus is represented as hinting at her identity by frequent oblique allusion to her own epithet: golden Venus (see p.126).

i.349: "auri.[8]" Pygmalion, greedy for gold, killed Sychaeus. The fact that avarice was the motive for the murder gives sting to lines 363-364: "portantur avari / Pygmalionis opes pelago."

i.359: "auri.[12]" Dido removes great sums of silver and gold from the royal treasury. See ARGENTUM in this same line.

i.363: "auro.[7]" Dido's followers load the ships with gold.

i.484: "auro.[5]" In the murals at Carthage Achilles is depicted selling Hector's body for gold. The only near parallel to the phrase "auro . . . vendebat" is "vendidit . . . auro" at vi.621, of one of the damned. The verb contains an implicit censure of Achilles' ignoble conduct which the near parallel from Book Six would reinforce.

i.593: "auro.[12]" This is part of the elaborate description of Aeneas' first appearance before Dido, which is discussed at pp.55, 83-84; his beauty was like that produced by the coating of silver or Parian marble by yellow gold. See also ARGENTUM (line 593), EBUR (592), FLAVUS (592--modifying the present term),

and PURPUREUS (591). Note also the element of whiteness present in "Pariusve lapis" (line 593). Gold is described as "flavus" only here in the Aeneid; its more common modifier is "fulvus." Neither adjective is used to characterize gold in the works of Lucretius, Catullus, or Horace considered for this study; in Ovid's Metamorphoses gold is "fulvum" four times, "flavum" never.

i.640: "auro."[12] On the gold plates or cups of the banquet are engraved the exploits of Dido's ancestors. This is a part of a thematic color cluster (see OSTRUM, line 639, and ARGENTUM, line 640) discussed at pp.55-56.

i.648: "auro[9]que." Achates is sent to bring Helen's veil, stiff with gold and woven with a yellow acanthus pattern. See CROCEUS, line 649. The phrase "signis auroque rigentem" (presumably a hendiadys, as Servius suggests) is recalled at xi.72, "auroque . . . rigentis." The source may be Lucretius v.1428, "auro signisque ingentibus,"[136] also in reference to clothing. The implications and associations of the veil are discussed at pp.36-37.

i.655: "gemmis auro[9]que." (The phrase is repeated at i.728.) Another present for Dido is a double crown of jewels and gold. It should be noted that there may be an element of whiteness in this line, as "bacatum"

(which modifies "monile" in the previous line) is sometimes taken to mean "studded with pearls." Servius avers that this is its meaning, then expresses doubt and cites Cicero to contrary effect. The other instances of the use of the word are too few in number to enable one to conclude that the word is always associated with pearls. Its derivation from "baca" makes probable a more general meaning.

i.728: "gemmis auro[9]que." (Phrase repeated from i.655 above.) Dido asks for a drinking bowl heavy with jewels and gold.

i.739: "auro.[12]" Bitias soaks himself in wine from the full gold ("pleno . . . auro"), i.e. from the full golden cup. The episode is probably modeled on Apollonius Rhodius A 472-474, where Idas drinks from the full cup (πλείον δέπας) and drenches his dark-colored cheeks (κυάνεαί τε γενειάδες).

ii.504: "auro.[7]" The pillars of Priam's palace with their barbaric gold crashed down. The present phrase, "barbarico . . . auro," is very probable inspired by Ennius Andromacha frag.xxvii(h): ". . . o Priami domus / . . . / vidi ego te adstante ope barbarica / . . . / auro ebore instructam. . . ." See also note on AURATUS, ii.448.

ii.765: "auro.[5]" Phoenix and Ulysses guard the loot of Troy, including mixing bowls of solid gold.

iii.49: "auri.[5]" Priam had sent Polydorus to

Thrace with a great sum of gold. Cf. Euripides Hecuba line 10, where the ghost of Polydorus alludes to the πολὺν . . . χρυσόν sent with him to Thrace. Forms of "aurum" are used three times here in the space of nine lines: Aeneas is establishing a sympathetic link with Dido by stressing the similarity between the fate of his cousin and that of her husband.

iii.55: "auro.[12]" King Polymestor then killed Polydorus and obtained the gold.

iii.57: "auri.[2]" Aeneas asks rhetorically, "What is there that you do not drive men to do, cursed hunger for gold?"[137] The words "quid non mortalia pectora cogis" are an ironic foreshadowing of iv.412, where they are repeated in an apostrophe to Love, who brought Aeneas and Dido together. Williams has noted that "auri" receives unusual emphasis from being a spondee in initial position.[138]

iii.355: "auro.[5]" Helenus receives his fellow Trojans with a meal; the tables are set with gold.

iii.464: "auro.[5]" Helenus gives the departing Trojans gifts heavy with gold and ivory. See also ARGENTUM (line 466), AURUM (467), and ELEPHANTUS (464).

iii.467: "loricam[3]. . . auro[9]que trilicem." (This phrase is repeated at vii.639-640, and the complete line is repeated [with one word dropped into the following line] at v.259-260.) Also included among Helenus' presents is a corselet triple-woven with gold.

iii.483: "auri.[7]" Andromache gives Ascanius garments embroidered with gold.

iii.517: "auro.[5]" Palinurus gazes at Orion, armed with his gold (i.e. his golden sword) during the crossing to Italy. At Odyssey λ 575 the shade of Orion is said to carry a brazen weapon: ξόανον παγχάλκεον .

iv.134: "auro.[12]" Dido's horse stands caparisoned in purple and gold for the hunt. See OSTRUM in this same line;[139] see also the next instance to be considered; and see the discussion of this passage at pp.31-32.

iv.138: "auro[5]. . . aurum.[12]" For the hunt, Dido wears a gold quiver and a gold hair clasp. In the gold quiver there is a suggestion of the bow of Camilla (xi.652). The verbal links between these two heroines are discussed at pp.33-34. The resemblance between the phrase "nodantur in aurum" here and the phrase "in nodum collegerat auro" (of Chloreus, at xi.776) is slight. See also AUREUS and PURPUREUS at line 139.

iv.148: "auro.[12]" A band of gold holds the hair of Apollo, to whom Aeneas is compared. La Cerda cites instances from Pindar and Callimachus and others for Apollo's golden clothing and accouterments,[140] but there appears to be no precise precedent for a golden head band. The entire passage (lines 143-150) is modeled primarily on the Argonautica A 307-310.

iv.264: "auro.[12]" (Note that this line is

repeated exactly at xi.75; in both instances the last foot of the preceding line is also identical.) Dido had embroidered the purple cloak for Aeneas with gold. This scene is discussed at pp.38, 59-60. See also FULVUS (line 261) and MUREX (line 262).

v.87: "auro.[12]" The snake embodying Anchises' spirit shines blue and gold. The portentous serpent mentioned at Iliad B 308ff bore a different color: δαφοινός. For the snakes in Hesiod's Shield of Heracles and Vergil's Georgics, see CAERULEUS in this same line. See also p.16 above.

v.112: "argenti auri[9]que talenta." (Variations on this phrase occur at x.531 and xi.333; see ARGENTUM for textual note.) The prizes for the games include talents of silver and gold. See ARGENTUM, OSTRUM, VIRIDIS; see also p.51.

v.132: "auro.[12]" The race captains gleam in gold and purple on the sterns of the ships. See OSTRUM and POPULEUS. This tetrad is discussed at pp.51-52.

v.259: "hamis consertam auro[9]que trilicem / loricam." (Phrase repeated from iii.467 above.) Aeneas gives to Mnestheus, second in the ship race, the corselet of triple-woven gold which he had taken from Demoleos at Troy. Demoleos does not appear in Homer. The details of the corselet's antecedents may be added in part to prevent the reader from concluding that Aeneas is so lightly giving away the corselet presented

to him by Helenus in Book Three.

v.312: "auro.[12]" Aeneas says that the second prize in the footrace is a quiver which a strip of wide gold surrounds. It is probable that "lato" logically modifies "balteus," though grammatically it modifies "auro." The phrase "lato balteus auro" is also used by Persius, 4.44; and cf. Ovid Metamorphoses ix.190. The ghost of Heracles is said to posses a χρύσεος τελαμών at Odyssey λ 610. The phrase "subnectit fibula" in the next line is repeated from the gold triad at iv.138-139; see AUREUS.

v.366: "auro.[7]" The award for first place in boxing is a bull covered with gold (presumably on its horns only) and with garlands (presumably not a hendiadys). See AURATUS at ix.627. This instance of "aurum" is preceded by hiatus.

v.559: "circulus auri.[12]" (The phrase recurs at x.138.) A circle of gold passed around the neck and chest of each participant in the mock battle on horseback. Suetonius states (Augustus 43.2) that Augustus gave a golden "torques" or necklace to an injured participant in this "revived" event, the lusus Troiae.

v.817: "auro.[5]" Neptune yokes his horses with gold as he prepares to calm the seas at Venus' request. This passage owes much to Poseidon's journey at Iliad N 17-31, which contains three separate forms of χευσ- and one of χαλκ-, but does not characterize the yoke or

bridle of his horses. There is perhaps a hint of white in "spumantia" in the present line (modifying "frena"); the participle is not likely to be an indicator of wetness here, as the whole scene takes place beneath the sea. But it may mean that the horses' mouths give off bubbles, as divers' do. See also CAERULEUS, line 819.

vi.32: "auro.[12]" Twice Daedalus tried unsuccessfully to depict the death of Icarus in gold on the doors of the temple of Apollo and Diana.

vi.204: "auri.[5]" The contrasting sheen of gold (i.e. the golden bough) shone through the branches. This contrast may be one of brightness ("refulsit" as opposed to "opaca / ilice" in lines 208-209) or of hue, as Donatus maintains.[141] That it is a contrast of hue is made probable by the chromatic content of the mistletoe simile ("virere," "croceo," lines 206-207). The root meaning of "discolor" is ambiguous; in the Aeneid and elsewhere, "color" most frequently means "hue"; but this is not always the case.[142] Both brightness and hue certainly may be contrasted here.

There is a sound play in this line between "auri" and "aura."[143] One might have expected the green-white color pair, which has been associated with release of tension or arrival at a goal (pp.46-50), to be used here. Instead one is given a green-yellow pair of no clear significance. This paraprosdokian is comparable to the effect produced by the word "cunctantem" in line

211 after the use of "volens facilisque" at line 146. See also DISCOLOR.

vi.208: "auri.[7]" The gold growing on the dark tree had the appearance of mistletoe. The language of this line echoes that of the Sibyl's description: "frondentis" here recalls "frondescit" at line 144, and "opaca" here echoes "opaca" at line 136. In the previous line, "fetu" recalls "fetus" at line 141.

vi.621: "auro.[5]" The Sibyl says that among the inhabitants of Tartarus is he who sold his country for gold. The language suggests i.484 above. The reference may be particular but quite possibly it is of more general application. Macrobius (Saturnalia vi.1.39) states that the present passage is closely modeled on two lines of Varius. For the effect of the mention of gold in Tartarus, see note on AUREUS, vi.604.

vii.142: "auro.[12]" Aeneas recognizes the omen of the tables and Jupiter thunders propitiously, showing a cloud glowing with rays of light and with gold ("radiis . . . lucis et auro," hendiadys). See note on FULVUS, xii.792. This passage is discussed on p.25.

vii.245: "auro.[7]" Aeneas, through Ilioneus, offers Latinus the gold (i.e. the golden cup: cf.i.739 above) with which Anchises offered libations. See PURPURA, line 251; see also p.36.

vii.279: "auro[3]. . . aurum.[12]" The horses which Latinus sends to Aeneas are covered with gold and they

bite yellow gold (bits). "Fulvum . . . aurum" occurs also at x.134 and, in the ablative, at xi.779. See pp.31-32, 35-36; see also AUREUS, line 278; FULVUS, 279; OSTRUM, 277.

vii.352: "aurum.[1]" Allecto's snake becomes the twisted gold (i.e. the collar, as at viii.661) of Amata. This metamorphosis, in which a natural object becomes a gold collar, procedes in a direction contrary to that of Ovid's Metamorphoses xiv.345, 393-395, in which a gold collar becomes a natural object. The change is comparable to that frequently experienced upon waking from dreams; but, judging from lines 344-345, Amata is certainly not asleep here.

vii.639: "auro[9]que trilicem / loricam." (Phrase repeated from iii.467 and v.259-260.) In preparation for war, one Italian puts on his corselet triple-woven with gold.

vii.790: "auro.[1]" Io, wrought in gold, is prominent on Turnus' shield. The present passage is adapted from Moschus 2.44: ἓν μὲν ἔην χρυσοῖο τετυγμένη Ἰναχὶς Ἰώ (Io is here placed in final position in line 789). Io is represented partly because of Turnus' descent from the royal house of Argos (see vii.371-372), of which Io was a member, and partly because of Io's transformation into the goddess Isis of Egypt. The emblem looks back to the Trojan War which is now being recapitulated (Trojans versus Argives) and also looks for-

ward to Actium (Romans versus the Egyptians and their strange theriomorphic gods [see viii.685-688 and 698ff]). There may also be a hint of the theme of the eventual escape from the wrath of Juno, a theme prominent in the endings of both the tale of Io and the Aeneid.

vii.816: "auro.[1]" Camilla is introduced and described; a pin binds her hair with gold. See page 34; see also OSTRUM at line 814.

viii.167: "auro.[7]" Anchises had given Evander a scarf woven with gold. The present visual image, "chlamydemque auro . . . intertextam," is somewhat similar to "croceam chlamydemque" at xi.775, but there is little if any similarity of context. The reader is not told whether the "Phrygiam . . . chlamydem" which Andromache gives to Ascanius is among the garments woven with gold which she bestows upon him (see iii.483 above). If it is, the chlamys would serve as a strengthened point of implicit comparison between Pallas and Ascanius. Pallas is a substitute for Ascanius, a means of solving an artistic dilemna: Aeneas loses homeland, wife, father, love . . . in order for the totality of suffering to fall upon him, he must also lose his son. And yet his son must live to found Alba Longa and sire the Julii: both legendary history and the purpose of the poem require it. Hence Pallas--the vicarious son.

See also AUREUS at line 168.

viii.436: "auro[9]que." The Cyclopes were polishing the aegis with scales of snakes and with gold (presumably a hendiadys, similar to that at ix.707 below).

viii.445: "auri[9]que." The forging of Aeneas' weapons begins; brass and the metal of gold flow in streams. With "auri . . . metallum" compare "aeris metalla," Georgics ii.165. The flowing of the metals is probably based on the forging of Achilles' weapons, where bronze and tin and gold and silver are said at the outset to be placed on the fire by Hephaestus (Iliad Σ 474–475).

viii.624: "auro[9]que." Aeneas receives the weapons and turns over in his hands the greaves of electrum and refined gold. This is part of a color cluster discussed at page 61; see CAERUL(E)US and SANGUINEUS at line 622 and ELECTRUM in this line.

viii.661: "auro.[1]" The milk-white necks of the Gauls are described as encircled with gold (i.e. with gold necklaces, as at vii.352; cf.v.559). See the other members of this pair of color clusters: ARGENTEUS and AURATUS at line 655, AUREUS twice in 659, and LACTEUS at 660.

viii.677: "auro[7]que." On the shield, the waters of Actium shine with gold. See note on AUREUS in line 672.

ix.26: "auri.[12]" The Italiot army disappears, rich

in embroidered robes and gold. The sound of the present phrase, "vestis et auri," suggests a phrase which had been used only a few lines before, "vestis et armis," found in the same position at viii.723. The two elements in the present phrase are partly repeated at line 163 below, where the soldiers' "pictai vestis" is exemplified by purple plumes. This final bit of color before the onrush of blackness at lines 33-36 ("nigro," "atra") may well be a muted instance of Vergil's practice, noted at pp.32-33, of using bright colors immediately before the turn of the Trojans' fortunes for the worse. It also serves as a link back to the colorful description of the army of Turnus, which went unmentioned in Book Eight and which was last seen in the catalogue in Book Seven, the final lines of which present the same purple-gold color pair (see vii.816 above).

ix.163: "auro[9]que." The Rutulian soldiers, dressed in purple and gold, begin the siege of the Trojan camp. See remarks on ix.26 immediately above; see also PURPUREUS in this same line.

ix.265: "auri.[7]" Ascanius offers Nisus two talents of gold and other presents. The phrase used here, "auri duo magna talenta," is equivalent to δώω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα at Iliad Ψ 269. Similar phrases are used at v.112, x.531, and xi.333. See also ARGENTUM, line 263.

ix.707: "auro.[12]" The corselet of Bitias, double

woven with scale and gold (hendiadys, as at viii.436 above), cannot resist Turnus' blow. The presence of "duplici" and "lorica" in this line suggests the triple-woven gold corselets of iii.467, v.259-260, and vii.639-640.

x.134: "aurum.[12]" Ascanius gleams like a jewel set in yellow gold. This passage is discussed on p.57. "Fulvum . . . aurum" is found also at vii.279 and, in the ablative, at xi.779. See also EBUR at line 137, FULVUS at 134, LACTEUS at 137, and AURUM immediately below.

x.138: "circulus auro.[12]" (The phrase is repeated from v.559.) Ascanius' hair runs down from his circlet of gold. See the immediately preceding instance. The presence of "subnectens" in this line suggests the occurrence of "subnectit" at iv.139 (see AUREUS) and v.313 (see AURUM at v.312). The visual detail recalls the Apollo simile at iv.148 (see above). Compare also Iliad P 52, where Euphorbus' locks are bound by gold and silver. The present phrase "molli[5]. . . auro" is repeated at x.818 below. Conington states that Codex Mediceus reads "mollis" (modifying "circulus"), but this is noted by neither Hirtzel nor Mynors.

x.142: "auro.[12]" Ismarus (here addressed by the poet) is from Lydia, whose fields the Pactolus waters with gold. The mention of gold is not necessary here; its use may be evoked by the two references to gold in

the eight preceding lines.

x.243: "auro.[12]" The nymph Cymodocea urges Aeneas to use the shield which Vulcan rimmed with gold.

x.314: "squalentem auro.[7]" (The phrase recurs with inversion at xii.87.) Aeneas' sword pierces Theron's tunic, which is rough with gold.

x.499: "auro.[12]" Clonus had decorated Pallas' belt with the story of the Danaids, wrought in gold.

x.527: "auri.[8]" Magus promises Aeneas talents of silver and sums of gold. See note on ARGENTUM in this same line, where mention is made of similar phrases.

x.531: "auri.[5]" Aeneas tells Magus to keep his talents of silver and of gold. See notes on ARGENTUM at x.527 and in the present line, with reference to similar phrases given there. A closely similar phrasing occurs at v.112 above.

x.818: "molli[5]. . . auro.[12]" (Phrase repeated from x.138 above.) Aeneas' sword pierces the tunic of Lausus, woven from gold.

xi.72: "auro[7]que ostroque." (Phrase repeated, with separation of members and deletion of the first "-que," at xii.126.) Aeneas places the purple and gold cloak of Dido over the body of Pallas. This passage is discussed at p.38. With the present phrase "auroque . . . rigentis,[12]" compare "auroque rigentem[12]" at i.648 above.

xi.75: "auro.[12]" (This entire line, together with

the last foot of line 74, is an exact repetition of iv. 264 and the last foot of iv.263.) Dido had embroidered the cloak for Aeneas with gold. See page 38.

xi.228: "aurum.[12]" Neither gifts nor gold persuaded Diomedes.

xi.333: "auri[7]que." Latinus proposes peace offerings of gold, ivory, and the regal throne and trabea. The passage is discussed at pp.35-36, 57-58. The full phrase, "aurique eborisque talenta," is a variation by substitution on the phrase "argenti aurique talenta" used at v.112 and, in slightly different form, at x.531. See also EBUR and TRABEA.

xi.488: "surasque incluserat auro.[12]" (The phrase is repeated at xii.430.) Turnus arms himself, clothing his legs in gold. See also AUREUS in line 490 and RUTILUS in line 487.

xi.576: "auro.[5]" A tiger skin takes the place of a gold hair ornament for Camilla. This reference to Camilla and gold ornamentation is probably a foreshadowing of the cause of her death (see xi.779 below). To say that a tiger skin <u>took the place</u> of a hair clasp is a little odd,[144] especially since the reader is told that the hide hung down Camilla's back (line 577). Perhaps Vergil was thinking of the implied comparison between Camilla and Dido, to which reference has already been made (pp.33-34 and note 80), and in partic-

ular of the phrase "crines nodantur in aurum" at iv.138.

xi.771: "auro.^{7}" Chloreus stood clothed in a skin clasped with gold. The terms "squamis" (or "squama") and "auro" are often found in the same line, but never in precisely the same form and position: "squamis^{5}. . . auroque,^{9½}" viii.436; "squama^{5}. . . auro,^{12}" ix.707; "squamis^{5}. . . auro,^{12}" xi.488; and "squamis auro^{7}" in the present line. Cf. also "auro / squamam" at v.87-88. For other terms used in the description of Chloreus' clothing, see AUREUS twice at line 774, AURUM 776, CROCEUS 775, FERRUGO 772, FULVUS 776, and OSTRUM at 772.

xi.776: "auro.^{12}" Chloreus' yellow scarf (or cloak) was gathered into a knot by some yellow gold. The language used here, "in nodum collegerat auro," is slightly similar to that used at iv.138 above, "nodantur in auro," but no connection can have been intended between Dido and Chloreus. The present phrase, "fulvo . . . auro," is found in the accusative at vii. 279 and x.134 above. See the references given in the immediately preceding instance.

xi.779: "auro.^{12}" Perhaps Camilla the huntress intended to vaunt herself in captured gold. The use of "venatrix" in line 780 may be intended to underline the mistake involved in Camilla's desire for gold, which is not in harmony with the habits reflected by her huntress' attire as described at xi.576 above. This is the

ninth color term in as many lines: color crescendo here precedes catastrophe.

xii.23: "aurum[7]que." Latinus tells Turnus that he (Latinus) still has gold and spirit, even if peace comes. The implication, in view of the lines which follow, is that Latinus can recompense Turnus monetarily for the loss of Lavinia. Conington aptly compares Iliad I 264, where Agamemnon offers Achilles δέκα . . . χρυσοῖο τάλαντα in recompense for Briseis.

xii.87: "auro[5] squalentem." (The phrase is repeated with inversion from x.314 above.) Turnus puts on a corselet stiff with gold and with white orichalcum. The present description of the arming of Turnus, which is discussed on p.58, is modeled on the arming of Achilles at Iliad T 369-399. In the Iliad, mention is made of silver (twice), gold, and electrum; here the elements are gold, white orichalcum (see ALBUS), and red plumes (see RUBER). Additional chromatic contributions are made by "candore," "nives," and "candentem" in lines 84 and 91. The present passage is also influenced by the arming of Patroclus at Iliad Π 130-154 (ten lines of which are identical with the arming of Achilles) which treats extensively of the hero's horses.

xii.126: "auro[5]. . . ostroque.[9½]" (Phrase repeated with separation from xi.72; cf. also iv.134, "ostro[7]que . . . et auro[12]"; v.132-133, "auro[12] / . . .

ostroque.^{9½}") The leaders of the forces of Italy rush about, proud in gold and purple. Mnestheus, Asilas, and Messapus are mentioned by name. The picture is like those used at v.132-133 and ix.163.

(xii.273: "alvo^{12}" is the reading of codex Romanus, the corrector of the Palatinus, Servius, and the consensus of the twelve ninth century manuscripts used by Mynors; "alveo" is the original reading of the Palatinus; "auro" is the reading of the codex Mediceus, perhaps influenced by the similarity between "alvo / balteus et . . . fibula^{10}" here, and "auro / balteus et . . . fibula^{10}" at v.312-313. One of the sons of Gylippus the Etruscan is pierced near the waist, where the belt chafes against the belly--or, less probably, against the gold.)

xii.430: "suras incluserat auro.^{12}" (Phrase repeated from xi.488.) Aeneas covers his legs with gold --that is, he puts on golden greaves. (See viii.624 above.) This passage, as a formal arming sequence, must be in some respects parallel to the arming of Turnus in Book Eleven and, to some extent, to that in Book Twelve. The phrase itself is, with the substitution of gold for silver, an abbreviation of κνημῖδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμῃσιν ἔθηκε / καλάς, ἀργυρέοισιν and so forth, which is used at the opening of several arming scenes in the Iliad: Γ 330-331, Λ 17-18, Π 131-132, and Τ 369-370.

In the Aeneid, instances of "aurum" occur in the following positions: four times at position one, once at two, once at three, fourteen times at five, fourteen times at seven, twice at eight, eleven times at nine, and thirty-one times in final position.

BICOLOR

Twice in the Aeneid; not elsewhere.

v.566: "equus bicolor.[5]" The horse of Priam the younger is piebald with white spots, white hooves, and a white forehead. This passage is discussed at pp.32-33. Iliad Ψ 454-455 is in mind here, where one of Diomedes' horses is described as red with a white mark on its forehead. See ALBUS at lines 565 and 567. This is the first appearance of "bicolor" in Latin literature.

viii.276: "bicolor[7]. . . populus.[10]" At the end of the Hercules-Cacus story, Evander makes a wreath of the two-colored poplar for himself. The Herculean associations of the poplar are discussed under POPULEUS. The special significance of this reference to the two colors of the poplar (green and white) at this point in the poem is discussed on pp.49-50. The contention there expressed as to the special impact of "bicolor" here is strengthened by the fact that the poplar is elsewhere referred to by only one of its colors: the poplar is "candida" at Eclogues 9.41 and "alba" at Horace Odes ii.3.9.

CAERUL(E)US

4x G, 19x A, 9x Ap (32)

ii.381: "caerula[8] colla." Androgeos is compared to a man who steps on a snake, then flees as it lifts its blue neck. The term "caerul(e)us" appears to be neutral in its mood connotations. As noted on pp.67-68, Vergil usually associates the term with wetness; snakes are generally imagined (not quite correctly) as being cold and wet.[145] The entire line, "attollentem iras et caerula colla tumentem," draws upon Georgics iii.421: "tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem." In addition, as has been remarked in regard to "roseo ore" and "aurea sidera" (see pp.40-43), the use of a chromatic term in the almost wholly achromatic Book Two is startling; and this is precisely what Vergil is describing--the behavior of a startled man. Moreover, the form "caerula" occurs six times at position ten and only once--here--at position eight; the dislocation itself is slightly startling, like that of "candida" at viii.82 (see pp.48-49).

iii.64: "caeruleis[3]. . . vittis.[5]" Altars are set up to the manes of Polydorus, and made sad ("maestae") by blue fillets and black cypress. The mood here is one of mixed sadness and fear; there is no hint of moisture. Servius cites Cato on the use of "caeruleus" as a mourning color: "Cato ait, deposita veste purpurea, feminas usas caerulea cum legerent." See also ATER in

this line.

iii.194: "caeruleus[5]. . . imber.[12]" (Note that iii.192-194 consists of lines almost identical with those comprising v.8-10, and that iii.195 is identical with v.11.) The Trojans are sailing from Crete to Italy when a storm hits and diverts them to the Strophades: a "blue" rain storm stands overhead. Modern writers are likely to describe a storm cloud as "black," rather than "blue," and so is Vergil (see pp.22-24); but the line as a whole, "tum mihi caeruleus supra caput astitit imber," is an imitation of the line δὴ τότε κυανέην νεφέλην ἔστησε Κρονίων (Odyssey μ 405 = ξ 303) --and Homer does use κυάνεος to mean merely "dark,"[146] whereas later authors used the term to designate the spectrum color which we call blue.[147]

iii.208: "caerula[10]" (substantive). (This line is repeated at iv.583; cf."aequora verrunt," in the same position as the present "caerula verrunt," at ii.290, which line is identical with v.778.[148]) After the storm dies down, Aeneas' men sweep over the blue sea and sail for the Strophades. The present phrase is probably influenced by Catullus 64.7, "caerula verrentes[5]. . . aequora,[10]" though the use of the verb "verro" plus "caeruleus" in connection with the sea is as old as Ennius.[149] See LIVIDUS for an echo of this phrase.

iii.432: "caeruleis[5] canibus." Helenus advises Aeneas to steer clear of the rocks which ring with the

barking of the blue hounds of Scylla. The hounds ring Scylla's waist; the story is told (without color terms) by Ovid, Metamorphoses xiv.51-67. Blue had been used in a different way in Homer's description of Scylla: a blue cloud is said to surround Scylla's peak, Odyssey μ 75. Scylla is, of course, a sea monster, and the colors blue and green are very frequently used in Latin literature as the colors of the bodies or hair or clothing of water deities.[150] See also v.123 below.

iv.583: "caerula.[10]" (The entire line is repeated from iii.208 above.) The Trojans row out of the harbor at Carthage. The departure of the Trojans is accompanied by a burst of color ("croceum," line 585, "albescere," 586, "flaventis," 590) similar to that which accompanies the return of Odysseus and his crew from Chryse after the lifting of the plague (Iliad A 477-482: ῥοδοδάκτυλος , λευκά , πορφύρεον). As in the Iliad, the burst of color here accompanies a release of tension: the Trojans are escaping from their long tarrying with dereliction of duty (however, see p.73). But the relief allowed the reader of the Aeneid is even briefer than that vouchsafed in the Iliad: events rapidly build to a crisis.

v.10: "caeruleus[5]. . . imber.[12]" (Lines 8-11 of Book Five are a close approximation of iii.192-195; see above.) The Trojans are sailing from Carthage to Italy when a storm diverts them to Sicily. Dark storm clouds

bode ill, as has been remarked (pp.22-23). In Book Three the rainstorm drove the Trojans into their horrible encounter with the Harpies; the delay caused by the present storm will end in the disaster of the burning of the ships. Note the presence of the dark term "tenebris" and the emotional content of "inhorruit," both in the next line.

v.87: "caeruleae[3]. . . notae.[7]" There were blue spots on the back of the snake which appeared at the altars before Anchises' tomb. This passage has been touched upon briefly on p.16. See also AURUM in this line and COLOR in line 89. Note the Glänzwort "fulgor" in line 88. Note also that "caeruleae" and "auro" are balanced as to position, being placed in the emphatic initial and final positions. Similar language is used at Hesiod's Shield of Heracles lines 166-167 (where the snakes are said to be spotted, with blue backs and black jaws; in particular, compare the position, sense, and sound of κυάνεοι κατὰ νῶτα at the beginning of 167 witn "caeruleae cui terga notae" here; the omission of black is probably deliberate in view of the positive nature of this portent--see pp.65-66) and at Georgics iii.426-427 (the following verbal correspondences exist: squamea/squamam, terga/terga, notis/notae, maculosus/maculosus; "atrum," which is used at line 427, is not taken into the Aeneid passage).

v.123: "caerulea[3]" (modifies "Scyllaque[9½]" in

previous line.) Cloanthus sails to the ship race in his blue Scylla. As Scylla the monster had been blue (see iii.432 above), it is rather a nice touch for Scylla the ship to be blue. It is, of course, possible (despite the influence of the Homeric formula νεὸς κυανοπρῴρου) that it is only the effigy of Scylla on the stern of tne ship which is blue: compare the stern figures mentioned in the catalogue of the Etruscans, especially golden Apollo at x.171.

This is an example of the decorative use of color in the Aeneid. The color term is applied fully in conformity with its associations in earlier epic as well as elsewhere in this poem; and it is used either in order to heighten the exuberant mood of the games section or (to look at the matter the other way round) because the mood of the section is exuberant.

v.819: "caeruleo[3]. . . curru.[12]" Neptune rides over the waves in his blue chariot, calming them so as to give Aeneas a quiet sailing to Italy. See AURUM at line 817. See also pp.15-16 and note 150.

vi.410: "caeruleam[2] . . . puppim.[7]" Charon, having seen the bough, silently turns his blue stern to the far shore. The ship has been described as "ferruginea" at line 303; the use of "caeruleam" here creates an apparent problem. What color was Charon's bark? Several suggested solutions may be considered. (1.) The terms "ferrugineus" and "caeruleus" do not necessarily retain

their etymological senses of "rust-red" and "sky-blue" at all times in the Aeneid; in some cases they designate the same hue. This is Conington's position, expressed in a note on Georgics i.467, and apparently supported by Ovid Metamorphoses xv.789-790: "caerulus et vultum ferrugine Lucifer atra / sparsus erat." (2.) "Puppis" in line 410 may be intended literally, and not by synecdoche for "ship," though the latter is commonly the case in the Aeneid. Under this assumption, the ship as a whole was reddish, while the stern--possibly adorned with some figure, as in the previous example--was painted blue. (3.) My own suspicion is that the boat was painted blue (which has ample Homeric precedent: νεὸς κυανοπρῴροιο and similar phrases occur thirteen times in the Iliad and the Odyssey), but that that portion of the boat which was below the water line had turned reddish-brown from constant contact with the waters of the Styx. (4.) It is perhaps conceivable that the inside of the boat was of one color while the outside was of the other.

In any event, the color "caeruleus" can be a somber one, quite compatible with the underworld. Compare the horses of Pluto, which are referred to as "caeruleis . . . equis" at Ovid Fasti iv.446. Hades himself is addressed as κυανοχαῖτα in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, line 347.

vii.198: "vada caerula.[10]" Latinus asks the Tro-

jan envoys what cause has brought them over the blue waters to Ausonia.

vii.346: "caeruleis[5]. . . crinibus.[10]" Allecto throws a snake from her blue hair into Amata's bosom. The point here is not that Allecto is similar to those deities called κυανοχαίτης by Homer (Poseidon, Hades, Dionysus), but rather that her hair consists of snakes, which are often described as blue (see ii.381, v.87 above). The present line, the last word of which is "anguem," should be compared with Georgics iv.482f: "caeruleos[151] implexae crinibus anguis / Eumenides," where the reference is to the spellbound state of Pluto's realm, including the Furies (of whom Allecto is one), during Orpheus' visit.

viii.64: "caeruleus Thybris." "I am the blue Tiber," says the god in his dream appearance to Aeneas. This is the color of the god himself (like Proteus at Georgics iv.388 or the Nile at viii.713 below); the god's clothing is described as "glaucus" (viii.33; cf. Juturna's clothing at xii.139-140), his wreath is "populeus" (viii.32), and his actual waters are "flavus" (viii.81 and ix.816--see FLAVUS for references from other authors).

viii.622: "caerula[10] nubes." Aeneas handles his new weapons: the blood-red corselet gleams as a blue cloud does when struck by the sun's rays. This passage and its ambiguities are discussed at pp.25-26 and 61.

The phrase itself is equivalent to a Homeric formula, κυανέη νεφέλη, used five times in various cases (its implications are ambiguous even in Homer: twice it is a medium of safety, three times it is menacing or destructive). The simile, however, is from Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica Δ 125-126; in the original the only color term is ἐρεύθεται. See also AURUM, ELECTRUM, and SANGUINEUS in lines 622-624.

viii.672: "caerula[10]" (substantive). In the Actium scene of the shield, the blue sea foams with white waves. See AUREUS and CANUS. The fact that the color word for sea is used here (rather than the metrically equivalent "aequora"), even though the sea has just been stated to be made from gold, may have been suggested by Iliad Σ 548-549, where black furrows on Achilles' shield are said to be realistic in appearance, even though they are made of gold (μελαίνετ'. . . / χρυσείη).

viii.713: "caeruleum[2] in gremium." The Nile welcomes the vanquished of Actium into his blue bosom and sheltering streams. The color of the personified river is the same as that of the personified Tiber at line 64 above.

x.209: "caerula[10]" (substantive). Aulestes the Etruscan sails in the Triton, whose conch shell frightens the blue sea. The mention of Triton, himself a blue sea deity (see Ovid, Metamorphoses i.333, "caeruleum

Tritona"), may have evoked the use of "caerula" rather than "aequora" here. Or Vergil simply may have wished to employ frequent color terms in this brief catalogue: see AURATUS in line 171, VERSICOLOR 181, POPULEUS 190, CANEO 192, and GLAUCUS 205.

xii.182: "caeruleo[7]. . . ponto.[12]" Aeneas calls on a host of gods as witnesses of the single combat agreement, including those who dwell in the blue sea. The Homeric parallel is ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ (the sea is never κυάνεος in Homer), which, together with its accusative equivalent, occurs eleven times in the Iliad and the Odyssey, and twice in Hesiod's Theogony. Apollonius Rhodius has κυανέου πόντοιο at Argonautica Δ 843, and Ovid uses "caeruleo . . . ponto" at Metamorphoses xiii.838.

The form "caerula" occurs six times at position ten and once at position eight. Forms of "caeruleus" are found seven times in initial position, four times at position five, and once at position seven.

CANDEO

8x A, 1x Ap (9)

iii.573: "candente[9½] favilla." Aetna erupts with a black cloud and glowing ash[es]. W.F. Jackson Knight suggests "white-hot" as a translation, which preserves both the element of glowing which is strong here and the white content of the base "cand-."[152] See note on

ATER in line 572. Vergil may have been thinking of Pindar's ξόον καπνοῦ /αἴθωνι in the Aetna passage of Pythian One (see note 105).

iv.61: "candentis[3] vaccae." Dido pours wine between the horns of a white cow as part of her prayers to obtain Aeneas. This is part of an offering to the celestial gods, particularly to Juno (lines 57-59); white animals are frequently used in the worship of the celestial gods. Examples include Georgics ii.145-148; Aeneid iii.120, v.236, viii.82-85, ix.627-628; Horace Odes iii.8.6-7, Carmen Saeculare 49; Livy xxv.12.13; Juvenal 12.3.

v.236: "candentem[7]. . . taurum.[12]" Cloanthus prays for victory in the ship race, pledging to sacrifice a white bull. The present language, "candentem in litore taurum," recalls "nitentem . . . in litore taurum" at iii.20-21. "Nitens" is a Glänzwort; the parallel suggests the strong brightness element present in "candeo." Moderns do not normally think of a bull as being bright; but compare πῶϱον . . . / αἴθωνα at Iliad Π 487-488, and βόες . . . /αἴθωνες at Odyssey σ 371-372.

vi.895: "candenti[5]. . . elephanto.[12]" One of the gates of sleep is of white ivory. The present passage is modeled upon Penelope's description of the gates of horn and of ivory at Odyssey τ 562-567, where the ivory is described achromatically and formulaicly as πϱιστοῦ,

cut. See also ELEPHANTUS and EBURNUS.

viii.720: "candentis[8]. . . Phoebi.[12]" On the shield, Augustus is pictured sitting on the white threshold of shining Phoebus. The adjective, as Servius indicates, refers both to the natural brightness of the sun (in this sense, the adjective is tautological) and to the white Luna marble from which Augustus built his temple of Apollo. Horace seems to make the same double use of the same word at Odes i.2.31: "candentis (if that is the correct reading) umeros [sc.Apollinis]." See also NIVEUS in this same line.

ix.563: "candenti[8] corpore cycnum." Turnus is compared to an eagle which carries off a swan of white-shining body. The phrase is merely a periphrasis for "candentem cycnum." There are several Homeric models: Iliad O 690-692 (αἰετὸς αἰθων . . . κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων), P 674-678 (achromatic), X 308-310 (διὰ νεφέων ἐρεβεννῶν).

ix.628: "candentem[3]" (modifies "iuvencum[12]" in previous line). Ascanius prays for a successful bowshot, offering to sacrifice a white bull with golden horns. See note on AURATUS in previous line. Cf.iv.61,v.236.

xii.91: "candentem[8]" (modifies "ensem[2]" in previous line). Turnus, at the end of his formal arming sequence, puts on the sword which Vulcan had plunged white-hot into the Styx. See p.58 and references in note on AURUM at line 87.

Forms of "candeo" show no strong preference as to

position. They are found twice at position three, once each at positions five and seven, three times at position eight, and once at position nine and one-half.

CANDIDUS

7x E, 4x G, 7x A, 11x Ap (29)

v.571: "candida[10] Dido." Ascanius joins the lusus Troiae, riding on the horse which light-complexioned(?) Dido gave him. The interrogation point in the last sentence is intended as an indication of the lack of general agreement as to the meaning of "candida" in this line. It is frequently translated "fair"; like "candida," this word evades a determination of the precise meaning, since the English term "fair" may mean "light-haired," or "light-complexioned," or "beautiful," or some combination of these factors. Others see in the present phrase an implication of the sense of "simple, trusting, innocent."[153] R.D.Williams declares that "the word here is nearly synonymous with pulchra," and he cites viii.138 and 608 as parallels.[154] However, it will be noted below that in neither of these instances is it necessary for "candida" to bear the meaning of "beautiful"; in fact, there is no certain instance of the use of "candidus" to mean "beautiful" elsewhere in Vergil.

If one considers the other possible interpretations, the meaning "fair-haired" is not likely to

win approval. Ovid twice uses "candida" in opposition to "flava" (Amores ii.4.39, iii.7.23), evidently contrasting the ash-blonde type on the one hand with the strawberry-blonde on the other. Dido's hair is "flava" (iv.590, 698).

Williams' objection that the meaning of "guileless" or "trusting" seems forced in context possesses a good deal of prima facie validity. In what sense was Dido "trusting," and to what purpose is this characteristic recalled at this point in Book Five? These questions may best be answered by remembering that the occasion for the present mention of Dido is the reference to the horse which she gave to Ascanius. This horse is mentioned only once elsewhere in the poem, at iv.156-159 ("at puer Ascanius . . . gaudet equo. . ."), in a passage which provides the last moment of relaxation of tension, and even humor, before the turn of events for the worse which begins at iv.160 (see p.32). The reader is thus reminded of the happiness shared by Dido and Aeneas in the first bright days of their relationship. Dido was indeed guileless, trusting, and simple, in that she evidently believed that the happiness of her "fool's paradise" could continue and even be increased. She did not yet realize the harshness of the Fates.

Dido may be deemed over-trusting in a second

respect. Her affection for Ascanius is one of her most touching human qualities;[155] but he, too, is taken away from her.

> But still within the little children's eyes
> Seems something, something that replies,
> They at least are for me, surely for me!
> I turned to them very wistfully;
> But just as their young eyes grew sudden fair
> With dawning answers there,
> Their angel plucked them from me by the hair.
> --Francis Thompson,
> The Hound of Heaven,54-60
> (emphasis in original)

The recollection of Dido at the present point in Book Five serves two purposes. First, it is an instance of the recollection of the past, a recollection which tempers even happy moments like the games and which is a tribute to Vergil's artistic honesty: some ghosts can never be buried, some past events can never be set to right.[156] Second, mention of the horse recalls the moment just before the turning point of Book Four, and is placed just before the turning point of the events of Book Five (see pp.32-33). The allusion thus both recalls and foreshadows disaster. And, like "candida Dido," Aeneas and the Trojans do not suspect that their fleeting happiness is about to be shattered.

Of course, there is nothing to prevent the reader from taking the term as meaning "light-complexioned" in the present instance, as Pease does.[157] Book Five is high in color term frequency, and the lines immediately preceding are full of white (see pp.8, 10, 33; see also

ALBUS at lines 565 and 567). But both senses of the term may be present simultaneously. This sort of ambiguity is characteristically Vergilian.[158]

vi.708: "candida[10]" (modifies "lilia[2]" in next line). The souls of those yet to be born cluster about Lethe like bees around white lilies. Lines 707-709 are an adaptation of Argonautica A 879-882 (which uses the phrase λείρια καλά), which in turn is derived from Iliad B 87-90 (which refers more generally to ἄνθεσιν ἐλαφινοῖσιν). The simile is a favorite with writers of epic; it is adapted by Milton at Paradise Lost i.768ff. See LILIUM. Cf. "lilia candida," Propertius i.20.37-38.

vii.8: "candida[10]" (modifies "luna[1½]" in next line). The bright white moon shines on Aeneas' fleet as it sails toward the mouth of the Tiber. This line is stated by Macrobius (Saturnalia vi.4.7) to be modeled on Ennius' Melanippa (frag.122 Jocelyn), "lumine sic tremulo terra et cava caerula candent" (emphasis mine).

viii.82: "candida[2]" (modifies "sus[12]" in next line). The white sow of omen is seen on the shore. This passage has been discussed on pp.48-49.[159] See also VIRIDIS in line 83.

viii.138: "candida[10] Maia." Aeneas reminds Evander that Mercury, whom bright Maia bore, is the ancestor of Evander's people. In the present context, it is not absolutely clear which of the three common mean-

ings of "candidus" (see André, pp.31-38) is intended here: "bright" (Maia is a star, as Servius observes--one of the brightest of the Pleiades; cf. "candida sidera," Lucretius v.1210, Ciris 37-38), "white," i.e. light-complexioned (a characteristic of epic goddesses and heroines; compare the use of λευκώλενος of Hera, Andromache, Helen, Nausicaa, Arete, and Semele in Homer), or "both white and bright." The conclusion drawn by Conington and by Williams (see p.162), among others, that "candida" is here equivalent to "pulchra," is quite unnecessary. Any goddess might be called "beautiful," but there is a particular reason for Maia to be called "bright." See viii.608 immediately below.

viii.608: "dea candida[10]" (in apposition to "Venus[2]"). The shining goddess Venus descends, bearing the new weapons for Aeneas. Conington observes: "A contrast is clearly intended between the dark clouds and the fair goddess . . ."(emphasis mine). Actually, a fair goddess would most naturally be in contrast to ugly clouds, and a bright goddess to dark clouds; but in fact the clouds here are not called dark at all, but merely "airy" ("aetherios"). No strong or explicit contrast is made. The obvious has been overlooked: Venus is the goddess of the morning star, the brightest of the planets (as Vergil has taken pains to point out explicitly as recently as lines 589-591)--of course she may properly be called "bright," especially when ap-

pearing in the heavens. See also viii.138 immediately above.

ix.432: "candida[8] pectora." (Codex Romanus reads "pectora candida," transferring the adjective to its normal place at position ten.) The sword pierces Euryalus' white body. This line immediately precedes the purple flower simile discussed on page 19. The present instance and that at viii.82 above are the only instances in which "candida" is displaced from its normal place at position ten--a fact which would be more impressive if the total number of occurrences were greater than seven.

CANDOR

2x A; not elsewhere.

iii.538: "candore[9½] nivali." Aeneas lands in the heel of Italy and sees four horses of snow-white brightness. Anchises interprets the omen as a sign of war and peace (lines 539-543); neither the color nor the number of the horses figures in his explanation. Nor does the fact that the horse was the symbol of Carthage (i.441-444) seem to be related to this prediction, which is most probably to be taken in reference to the Iliadic portion of the Aeneid.

xii.84: "candore[3½] nives." Turnus' horses exceeded the snows in whiteness and the winds in swiftness. The present passage is adapted from Iliad K 437,

λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι, which is said in reference to the horses of Rhesus. It is possible (though far from certain) that the reader is intended to recall the fate of Rhesus, in which case the present reference would be a foreshadowing of Turnus' death. The present reference occurs at the opening of the arming of Turnus, for which scene see page 58 and comments on AURUM at line 87, with references there given.

CANEO

3x G, 3x A (6)

v.416: "canebat.[8]" Before the boxing match, Entellus tells Aeneas that old age has made both his temples white.[160] Williams compares Propertius iii.5.24: "sparserit et nigras alba senecta comas."[161]

x.192: "canentem[3]. . . senectam.[12]" When Cycnus put on a white old age, he did so in the form of soft plumage. There is a pun on "canit" (line 191) involved in the choice of "canentem." Ovid imitates this line at Metamorphoses ii.372-373, "canaeque capillos / dissimulant plumae." Compare Euripides Bacchae 1365, πολιόχρων κύκνος (Musgrave's emendation for πολιόχρως); Catullus 108.1, "cana senectus"; Tibullus i.8.42, "cana senecta."

x.418: "canentia[8] lumina." The father of Halaesus eventually closed his aging eyes in death. A strictly

chromatic interpretation of "canentia" here seems excessively clinical: this is not likely to be a reference to glaucoma or to the whitening of the corneas at death of which Servius speaks (though Conington takes it in this latter sense). Here there may be a pun on a form of "cano": "canens . . . genitor" (Donatus reads "cavens," a variant of which Servius is aware), Halaesus' fate-singing, i.e. prophetic, father. Conington points out that the language used here is rather similar to that at Iliad B 831-834 and raises the possibility that "canens" in line 417 may have arisen from a mistaken belief that ἠΐδεε in the model was a form of ἀείδω.

CANITIES

5x A; not elsewhere.

vi.300: "canities.[3]" The white beard of Charon is unkempt. The term normally refers to the hair on the top of the head; its meaning here is made clear by "mento" in line 299. This passage is discussed on pp. 28-30.

ix.612: "canitiem.[3]" Numanus Remulus boasts that the men of Italy keep their white hair under a helmet. The present term is placed in contrast to CROCEUS and MUREX, which occur in line 614.

x.549: "canitiem[3]que." Anxur had perhaps promised himself white hair and a long life before Aeneas slew him.

x.844: "canitiem.[3]" Mezentius dirties his white hair in mourning for his son Lausus. See xii.611 immediately below. The passage is reminiscent of Catullus 64.224, at which Aegeus tells Theseus that he is covering his white hair ("canitiem"--this is the first occurrence of the term in Latin literature) with dust out of sorrow at losing his son. Both passages owe something to Iliad Σ 23-25, where Achilles covers his head, face, and tunic with dust in mourning for Patroclus.

xii.611: "canitiem.[3]" Latinus dirties his white hair in mourning for his wife Amata. See x.844 immediately above.

The position of this term is invariable in the Aeneid.

CANUS

1x E, 3x G, 4x A, 3x Ap (11)

i.292: "cana[1½] Fides." At the end of his prophecy, Jupiter declares that white Fides will help Romulus make the laws. The term may mean either "white haired" (in the sense of "venerable": André p.69) or "white-clothed" here. For Fides clothed in white, see Horace Odes i.35.21. For Fides in a similar context, but without color elements, see Horace Carmen Saeculare line 57. In the present instance, it is not clear whether the adjective should be carried over to include "et Vesta," the next two words of the line. For Vesta

characterized as "cana," see v.744 and ix.259 below.

v.744: "canae[7]. . . Vestae.[12]" (The line is virtually identical with ix.259 below.) Aeneas pays homage to white Vesta after the dream appearance of Anchises. Servius' gloss: "aut antiquae, aut propter ignis favillas." See remarks on i.292 above.

viii.672: "fluctu[5]. . . cano.[12]" The Actium section of the shield description begins with impressive color pyrotechnics: the (golden) blue was foaming with the white wave[s]. See also ARGENTUM, AUREUS, AURUM, CAERUL(E)US. The choice of the term canus in this line may have been influenced by any or all of the following: Ennius Annales frag.lib.incert. 17, "aequora cana"; Lucretius ii.767, "canos candenti marmore fluctus"; Catullus 64.18, "gurgite cano." The picture of the realistic representation of a dark color with gold occurs also in connection with the shield of Achilles, Iliad Σ 548-549.

ix.259: "canae[7]. . . Vestae.[12]" (The last four and one-half feet of this line are identical with the corresponding portion of v.744 above.) Ascanius swears to Nisus by the lar of Assaracus and by the shrines of white Vesta.

CEREUS

1x E, 1x G, 1x A, 1x Ap (4)

xii.589: "cerea[10] castra." The bees rush through

the waxen encampment of the beehive. The phrase suggests "cerea regna" at Georgics iv.202. There is no reason to find here any particular emphasis on the color of the beehive rather than on the fragility and flammability of the material from which it is made. This term might have been omitted entirely from the present survey, had it not been for Horace's use of the term at Odes i.13.2 in a color context (balancing "roseam" in the same line, both terms being used in reference to parts of the body, "cerea" is much more likely to refer to color than to texture), which suggested that the possibility of the term's color overtones in the present instance should be kept in mind.

COLOR

5x E, 7x G, 10x A, 9x Ap (31)

iv.558: "colorem[12]que." (Lines 558-559 of Book Four are almost identical with ix.650-651. The present line is hypermetric.) The figure which appears to Aeneas is like Mercury in both voice and complexion. The passage imitates Iliad B 57-58 and Ψ 66-67. Servius' suggestion that stress is placed on "similis" (the image looks like Mercury, but Aeneas cannot be sure) would be consistent with the ambiguity displayed at many other points in the poem; but see the remarks on ALBUS ix.651 for another possible explanation of the wording. His other suggestion, that the color in question is "perustus" because Mercury (the planet) is so

close to the sun, is possibly derived from painting. Austin rejects both ideas: "No special effect seems intended here."[162] Conington's note, "'Colorem' indicates beauty, as at E.2.17," gives the misleading impression that "color" means "beauty," which it does not; the beauty implicit in this passage arises from the fact that the particular "color" (complexion) in question is that of Mercury, and of course the gods possess beauty. See also FLAVUS in line 559.

iv.701: "colores.[12]" (This line is repeated at v.89, with the verb changed.) Iris descends to the dying Dido, spreading a thousand varied colors behind her, opposite the sun. It is of note that the physical rainbow does not accompany Iris in Homer or Apollonius. Viktor Pöschl takes the present image (with which one should also consider "flavum" at 698 and "croceis" at 700) as part of a general pattern whereby there are bright images at the end of the dark books and vice versa.[163] This will not work in all cases (Book Eight is a particularly glaring exception), but it holds true for Books One (the banquet), Two (the morning star), Four, Six (Marcellus), Nine (the yellow waters of the Tiber), and Eleven (the rosy horses of the Sun). The present line is imitated by Ovid at Metamorphoses i.270 and xi.589-590. See CROCEUS, line 700, and FLAVUS, line 698.

v.89: "colores.[12]" (This line is repeated almost

entirely from iv.701 above.) The snake at Anchises' tomb glistens like a rainbow throwing off a thousand colors. This passage has been touched upon at p.16; see also AURUM and CAERULEUS in line 87. It is surprising that this line should be repeated over so short an interval; see remarks on v.609.

v.609: "coloribus.[10]" Iris hurries along the bow of a thousand colors. The hyperbolic "mille" is also found in the two preceding instances. In the present passage the image of the rainbow as a bridge to be walked upon (like the rainbow bridge of Asgard in Scandinavian mythology) replaces the image of the rainbow as a cloak-like attachment which streams out from behind Iris as she moves across the sky (this image is beautifully illustrated in the pastoral section of Disney's Fantasia). This is an instance of the avoidance of epic repetition through variety, done so skilfully as to make the reader still more dissatisfied with the repetition at v.89.

vi.47: "color.[10]" The Sibyl's complexion, features, and hair style changed when the god inspired her.

vi.272: "colorem.[12]" During the descent into the underworld, black night took away the color from things. See ATER in this line.

vii.191: "coloribus.[10]" Circe transforms Picus into a bird and speckles his wings with colors. At

Metamorphoses xiv.393-395 Ovid speaks of the splotch on this bird's neck as being golden. One wonders if the wing specks were also golden ones, produced by Circe's golden (?) rod (see AUREUS, line 190).

ix.650: "colorem[12]que." (This line and the following are repeated almost unchanged from iv.558-559.) Apollo appeared like Butes in voice and complexion. See remarks on ALBUS in line 651.

xi.819: "color.[8]" As Camilla dies, the ruddy color leaves her face. See PURPUREUS in this same line.

xii.69: "colores.[12]" This term, very appropriately, is the last word in the description of Lavinia's blushing. It sums up what went before: such were the colors which the girl displayed. The passage is discussed on pp.27-28.

All six trisyllabic instances of this term are placed at position twelve; both four-syllable instances occur at position ten; and the two-syllable nominative singular form is found once at eight and once at ten.

CONCOLOR

Used only once.

viii.82: "concolor[10]" (modifies "sus[12]" in next line). A sow is found, of the same color as her white offspring. One cannot agree with Conington's judgment that "'concolor' is superfluous." Vergil is using the term as part of an elaborate effort to place heavy emphasis on the fulfillment of the prophecy. See dis-

cussion of the passage at pp.48-49; see also ALBUS and CANDIDUS in this same line and VIRIDIS in line 83.

CROCEUS

1x E, 3x G, 7x A, 1x Ap (12)

i.649: "croceo[7] velamen acantho." (The phrase recurs at i.711 below.) Aeneas sends a gift to Dido: the veil of Helen, woven with a yellow acanthus pattern. This passage is discussed at pp.36-37, 70. The use of "croceus" is all the more significant because the choice of color adjective is not dictated by the nature of the plant itself. Calpurnius Siculus 4.68 calls it "rutilo . . . acantho." The present color arises from the artist's representation of the leaves rather than from their natural color (as at Ovid Metamorphoses xiii.701, "inaurato . . . acantho," or Statius Silvae iii.1.37, "Sidonio [i.e. red/purple] . . . acantho"). See also AURUM at 648 and 655.

i.711: "croceo[7] velamen acantho." (Phrase repeated from i.649.) The Carthaginians marvel at the gifts, including the veil. The effect of the repetition is discussed at pp.36-37.

iv.585: "Tithoni croceum[5] linquens Aurora cubile." (Note that iv.584-585 = ix.459-460, and iv.585 = Georgics i.447.) Aurora leaves her yellow chamber at dawn on the day on which Aeneas departs from Carthage. The dawn is called κροκόπεπλος four times in the Iliad;

moreover, dawn is twice spoken of as leaving the chamber of Tithonus (Iliad Λ 1 = Odyssey ε 1). The preceding line, iv.584, is a close adaptation of Lucretius ii.144. See comment on p.70. It is possible that Vergil first combined the two Homeric dawn references for this particular context, with the result that the happy celestial marriage was placed in contrast with the unhappy mortal union. See also ALBESCO, line 586.

iv.700: "croceis^{5}. . . pennis.^{12}" Iris flies down on her yellow wings to cut the yellow lock of Dido. See COLOR, line 701, and FLAVUS, line 698.

vi.207: "croceo^{3}. . . fetu." The golden bough is like the mistletoe, which surrounds the trunks of trees with its yellow berry (literally, "offspring"). Their common color is the main point of comparison between the mistletoe and the bough. Pliny says of the mistletoe (Natural History xxiv.4), "optumum est . . . extra fulvum, intus porraceum."

ix.460: "croceum^{5}. . . cubile.^{12}" (Note that ix.459-460 = iv.584-585, and ix.460 = Georgics i.447.) Aurora leaves the yellow chamber of Tithonus on the morning following the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus. No similarity of context is evident between this scene and that in Book Four in which the lines originally occur.

xi.775: "croceam^{5} chlamydemque." The clothing of Chloreus includes a yellow tunic. Chloreus was a priest of Cybele (line 768), and the yellow-colored "crocota"

was their habitual garment (see CROCUS).

CROCUS

1x G, 1x A, 2x Ap (4)

ix.614: "picta croco[4]. . . vestis.[12]" Numanus Remulus taunts the Trojans for wearing clothes dyed yellow and purple (see MUREX). The implication of effeminacy (which is made explicit at line 617: "o vere Phrygiae") arises not merely from the wearing of dyed clothing, but from the fact that that clothing is the same color as the habitual garb of the eunuch priests of Cybele (Apuleius Metamorphoseon viii.11; and see CROCEUS xi.775).[164] This is contrasted with the manliness of the warriors of Italy, even in old age (see CANITIES ix.612).

DECOLOR

Used only once.

viii.326: "decolor[10] aetas." Evander says that the discolored age followed the golden age of Saturn. Jackson Knight suggests "tarnished" as a translation. The term is contrasted with "aurea" in line 324. The idea of the steady degeneration of human affairs from better ages to worse is a commonplace of classical literature. Examples include: Hesiod, Works and Days 109-201; Lucretius De Rerum Natura ii.1105-1174; Sallust, Jugurthine War 4, Catiline 5 and 10; Vergil Georgics ii.490-542; Livy i.1.

DISCOLOR

Used only once.

vi.204: "discolor[2]. . . aura.[9]" The contrasting sheen of gold (i.e. the golden bough) shone through the branches. See comments on AURUM in this line.

EBUR

3x G, 4x A (7)

i.592: "ebori.[7]" Aeneas' beauty is like that imparted to ivory by polishing. This passage is discussed on p.55; it is an instance of the heroic color triad.

x.137: "ebur.[3]" Ascanius shines like ivory which shines when it is set in dark wood. This passage is discussed on p.57.

xi.333: "eboris[9]que." Latinus says that talents of ivory, among other things, should be sent to the Trojans as a peace offering. This passage is discussed on pp.57-58. Even though the present passage, like the two previous ones, is part of a thematic pattern, the elements within it seem to have been taken from Roman history. Livy states that the following gifts were sent to Syphax and to Ptolemy: "Dona tulere togam et tunicam purpuream, sellam eburneam [cf.'sellam regni,' Aeneid xi.334], pateram ex quinque pondo auri factam . . . dona tulere, regi togam et tunicam purpuream cum sella eburnea, reginae pallam pictam cum amiculo purpureo" (xxvii.4.8-10).

xii.68: "ebur.[3]" Lavinia's blush is compared to ivory stained with blood-red dye. This passage is fully discussed on pp.27-28, 80-81. Servius is no doubt right in stating that the verb "violaverit" in line 67 imitates μιήνῃ in the Homeric original (Iliad Δ 141)--but Vergil has chosen to put the strongest interpretation possible upon the Greek verb, enhancing the force of the contrast.

EBURNUS

1x G, 4x A (5)

vi.647: "pectine[8]. . . eburno.[12]" Orpheus in Elysium plays melodies with an ivory pick. This passage is discussed on pp.52-55.

vi.898: "porta[7]que . . . eburna.[12]" Aeneas and the Sibyl emerge from the gate of ivory. See CANDENS in line 895 for the Homeric model. The problem of Vergil's reason for bringing Aeneas out by the gate which, as he has just stated (lines 895-896) is used by false dreams, is a vexed question. Many explanations have been proposed;[165] I cannot pretend to be certain of the correct answer, but my suspicion is that Vergil is reminding his readers that his Aeneas is a fiction, a figure of myth rather than of history. And a myth can be used to convey truth without being true.

ix.305: "vagina[7]. . . eburna.[12]" Ascanius gives Euryalus his gilded sword with its ivory sheath. The

Homeric models for this scene are mentioned under AURATUS at ix.304.

xi.11: "ensem[5]. . . eburnum.[12]" Aeneas hangs the ivory sword of Mezentius on a tree. An ivory sword blade would be quite impractical; no doubt the term is used by metonymy for the hilt or the scabbard, or both (see ix.305 immediately above).

ELECTRUM

1x G, 2x A, 1x E, 1x Ap (5)

viii.402: "electro.[12]" Vulcan tells Venus that he will do whatever can be done with iron and electrum. Electrum, as Servius notes, is a gold-silver alloy; in Greek ἤλεκτρον is also used to designate amber, which has approximately the same color as the alloy. It is not certain that this term possesses strong color associations in the Aeneid; but it is included in this study because the two precious metals which comprise it are both included in this study.

viii.624: "electro.[7]" Aeneas examines his new greaves made of electrum and refined gold. This color cluster is discussed on page 61. See CAERUL(E)US and SANGUINEUS in line 622 and AURUM in this line.

ELEPHANTUS

1x G, 2x A (3)

iii.464: "elephanto.[12]" Helenus gives gifts of gold (see AURUM) and ivory to Aeneas' party. The pres-

ent phrase, "ac secto elephanto" (sic Mynors; the codices read "sectoque elephanto"), imitates Homer's formula [νεο-] πρίστου ἐλέφαντος, which occurs at Odyssey θ 404, σ 196, and τ 564. The phrase is used as a substitute by metonymy for "ebur."

vi.895: "candenti[5]. . . elephanto.[12]" The gate of false dreams is made of ivory. See CANDEO and the Homeric reference there given; see also EBURNUS at line 898. Compare Horace Odes iii.27.41.

ERUBESCO

lx E, lx A (2)

ii.542: "erubuit.[5]" Priam reminds Pyrrhus that Achilles had blushed before (i.e. respected) the rights of a suppliant. The emphasis is surely upon Achilles' sense of αἰδώς, not upon the color of his face. But the term is included because of the element of redness present in the root.

FERRUGINEUS

lx G, lx A (2)

vi.303: "ferruginea[5]. . . cumba.[12]" Charon ferried the dead in his rust-colored boat. As has been noted in connection with CAERULEUS at vi.410, it is by no means certain what color is meant by the terms "ferrugineus" and "ferrugo." It might be concluded that a violet shade is intended, judging from Georgics iv.183, "ferrugineos hyacinthos," from Servius on Aeneid ix.582, "ferrugo

coloris genus est, qui vicinus est purpurae subnigrae," and from Claudian De Raptu Proserpinae ii.93, "dulci violas ferrugine pingit." Conington, however, believes that the color represented is dark blue (on Georgics i.467), citing Charon's bark and a line from Plautus, "palliolum habeas ferrugineum, nam is colos thalassicus est" (Miles Gloriosus 1179). At Ovid Metamorphoses xv.789 one finds "ferrugine . . . atra," but at xiii.960 of the same work there occurs "viridi ferrugine." To further muddle matters, one finds "obscurata . . . ferrugine Hibera" (Catullus 64.227) and "obscura . . . ferrugine" (Georgics i.467), but also "ferrugine clarus Hibera" (Aeneid ix.582) and "ferrugine clarus et ostro" (ibid.xi.772). Lucretius iv.75-76, "lutea russaque vela / et ferrugina," is inconclusive. Etymologically one would expect the term to designate a reddish or red-brown hue, since "ferrugo" is iron rust. André discusses the question (pp.106-111) without resolving it.

In attempting to resolve this knotty problem, I suggest that the etymological meaning, "red," is the meaning which the term bears in the Aeneid. With regard to Georgics iv.183, it may be observed that the hyacinth is definitely "purpureus" (Ovid Metamorphoses x.213; cf. Sappho frag.225 Page), which term is certainly among the reds. Servius and Claudian both are witnesses to the term's meaning at a point in time considerably removed from the Aeneid's composition; moreover, "purpureus" is

certainly used in reference to the color of the violet (Pliny Natural History xxi.6). It has already been observed (in connection with CAERULEUS at vi.410) that Book Six of the Aeneid affords no conclusive grounds for equating "ferrugineus" with "caeruleus." The line from Plautus cited above does seem to require the sense, "for that is the color of the sea," which is in conflict with the present hypothesis. The two passages from Ovid I take as refering to a substance which is like iron rust (i.e. dusty, flaky particles) in all respects except color; this interpretation makes the color adjectives essential to the poet's meaning rather than merely decorative. Lastly, the same substance may be taken as "dark" or "bright" if one makes allowance for context: in Georgics One the "ferrugo" is a reddish cloud which cuts off the natural brightness of the sun ("caput . . . nitidum"), and in Catullus 64 red-brown sails are certainly "dark" because they are contrasted with white sails ("candidaque . . . vela," line 235); whereas in the battle scenes in Aeneid Nine and Eleven, a man in red-dyed garments would naturally stand out amid more drably garbed companions (remember that a massed group of soldiers appears dark: "atrum . . . agmen," xii.450; cf.iv.404). Red is mentioned as a color of ships in both the Iliad (B 637) and the Odyssey (ι 125).

FERRUGO

1x G, 2x A, 1x Ap (4)

ix.582: "ferrugine[8] clarus Hibera." Mezentius kills the son of Arcens, who is brilliant with red Iberian dye. On the color referred to here, see comments on FERRUGINEUS. The phrase is from Catullus 64.227, but Vergil has changed the connotation from darkness ("obscurata . . . ferrugine Hibera") to brightness ("clarus"). As to the location of the Iberia in question, I am inclined to agree with Servius ("'Hibera' autem modo non Hispana, sed Pontica") against Fordyce. It is not likely that Catullus would have committed the serious anachronism of presuming commercial relations between Aegeus and Spain. See Horace Epodes 5.21, "quas Iolcos atque Hiberia mittit," where the reference is certainly to the eastern shore of the Euxine.

It is of interest that "ferrugo" and "ferrugineus" --like "purpureus," another one of the reds-- are used only in death-related contexts in the Aeneid: the boat which ferries the dead at vi.303, the death of the son of Arcens here, and Chloreus' clothing in his death scene at xi.772.

xi.772: "ferrugine[8] clarus et ostro." Chloreus is brilliant in red and purple when Camilla catches sight of him. For other color terms in this passage, see references at AUREUS xi.774.

FLAMMEUS

1x A, 1x Ap (2)

vii.448f: "flammea[10] torquens / lumina." (Conington states that Codex Romanus has "fumea" [this is not noted by Hirtzel or Mynors], which would make sense only if "lumina" were taken to mean "torches.") Allecto turns her fire-red (or simply fire-filled) eyes on Turnus and forces him back. The context is highly frightening.

FLAVEO

2x G, 3x A (5)

iv.590: "flaventis[3]que . . . comas.[7]" Dido tears her yellow hair as she sees the Trojans depart. Dido's hair is referred to as "flavum . . . crinem" at iv.698. The present reference is part of a unique color cluster discussed under ALBESCO iv.586. Most of the deities, heroes, and heroines of classical literature have hair which is referred to as ξανθός or "flavus"; Pease has gathered an extensive collection of references in his note on this line.

vii.721: "flaventibus[10] arvis." In the catalogue, the Sabines are said to be as numerous as the ears of grain in the yellow fields of Lycia. Cf.Catullus 64.354, Eclogues 4.28, Georgics i.316. Vergil uses color terms for purely decorative effect in the catalogues.

x.324: "flaventem[5]" (modifies "Clytium[4½]" in next line). Cydon was following Clytius, who was blond with

the first beard of manhood on his cheeks.

FLAVUS

5x G, 7x A, 2x Ap (14)

(Aeneid i.127 is a repetition of Georgics iv.352, with the substitution of "placidum" for "flavum." The reference is to the head of Arethusa in the Georgics, to the head of Neptune in the Aeneid. Poseidon/Neptune is one of the few gods who is not blond in classical literature; κυανοχαίτης is his epithet. In addition, a color term here, especially a bright one like "flavum," would have conflicted with the absence of bright color terms which characterizes the opening of the poem. See pp.8-9, 15-16.)

i.592: "flavo[12]" (modifies "auro[12]" in next line). Aeneas' beauty is compared to the beauty of silver or Parian marble when coated with yellow gold. This important passage, an instance of the heroic color theme, is discussed on pp.55, 83-84. Gold is described as "flavum" only here in the Aeneid; it is referred to as "fulvum" three times--vii.279, x.134, xi.776. Gold is referred to as "fulvum" four times in the Metamorphoses and thrice elsewhere in Ovid's writings, but never as "flavum." Neither adjective is used to characterize gold in Lucretius, in Horace's Odes, or in the poems of Catullus considered for this study.

iv.559: "crinis flavos.[5]" (Note the partial repetition of iv.558-559 at ix.650-651.) The figure which ap-

peared to the dreaming Aeneas had Mercury's yellow hair. This passage is discussed at ALBUS ix.651 and at COLOR iv.558. As mentioned in connection with FLAVEO at iv. 590,gods and goddesses normally have blond hair; but it is interesting that the only time at which a deity is said to have blond hair in the Aeneid is here in Book Four, a book which contains two prominent references to the blond hair of Dido (590, 698).

iv.698: "flavum^{5}. . . crinem.^{12}" (The phrase occurs in the plural at xii.605.) Proserpina had not yet cut a lock of Dido's yellow hair so as to let her die. Why such a procedure should have been necessary is not explained, though it is somehow related to the premature nature of her death (lines 696-697). R.G.Austin observes in his note on this line that a lock of hair was cut from the forehead of a sacrificial animal; but in what sense Dido may be compared to a sacrificial offering is not clear. It may be that the business of the lock was invented in order to introduce Iris, whose colorful descent (see CROCEUS in 700 and COLOR in 701) serves to relieve somewhat the long-sustained tension of Dido's tragedy. On the color of Dido's hair, see also FLAVEO iv.590 and comments on CANDIDUS v.571.

v.309: "flava^{5}que . . . oliva.^{12}" The first three winners in the foot race are to be crowned with yellow olive. There is a seeming conflict between the present phrase and "viridi . . . oliva" at v.494, and between

both these phrases and Lucretius' "olearum / caerula . . . plaga" (v.1373-1374). But the contradiction is only apparent: a strip of olive trees appears bluish when seen from a distance (φάλαγγες / κυάνεαι at Iliad Δ 281-282 refers to a similar illusion); olive leaves are green when first taken from the tree, but quickly turn yellow. Compare Aeschylus Persians 617, ξανθῆς ἐλάας; Eclogues 5.16, "pallenti . . . olivae" (contrasted with "puniceis . . . rosetis").

vii.31: "multa flavus[9½] harena" (modifies "Tiberinus[9½]" in previous line). The Tiber, yellow with much sand, flows into the sea. Compare "flavum Tiberim" at Horace Odes i.2.13 and i.8.8, "flavus . . . Tiberis" ibid.ii.3.18, and "flava . . . Thybris harena" at Ovid Metamorphoses xiv.448 (in a section which imitates the present passage). The phrase also suggests the formula "fulva . . . harena," for which see FULVUS v.374 and references there given. See also ix.816 immediately below.

ix.816: "gurgite flavo.[12]" (The Palatinus and several later MSS. read "gurgite vasto," a formula which occurs at i.118, iii.197, and vi.741.) Turnus jumps into the Tiber, which receives him with its yellow swirl. On the color of the Tiber, see vii.31 immediately above. As to what the image is doing here, see COLOR iv.701, PICEUS ix.813. The sound pattern of this line resembles Ennius

Annales i. frag.30 (Vahlen), a line which is imitated more closely at Georgics ii.147 (in regard to the Clitumnus) and Aeneid viii.72 (in regard to the Tiber).

xii.605: "flavos[7]. . . crinis.[12]" (Servius auctus mentions the variant "floros" on the authority of Probus. The term is used by the early dramatists; Page [II,p.452] defends it as the correct reading here on the principle of the lectio difficilior.) (This phrase occurs in the singular at iv.698, and in its present form at iv.559 but without inversion and separation.) Lavinia tears her yellow hair and rosy cheeks (see ROSEUS, line 606) upon hearing of her mother's death. If these two colors can be taken in combination with "purpureos" in 602 and "canitiem" in 611, the result would be a color cluster which approaches, and yet is distinct from, the "spotlight" color theme. The dissonance associated with similar cases is discussed at pp.59-61.

(It is interesting that Vergil never uses "flavus" to modify honey. Lucretius had used the term exclusively as a modifier of honey [i.938, iv.13], probably in imitation of Homer's μέλι χλωρόν [Iliad Λ 630, Odyssey κ 234], which has long been presumed to be chromatic. Eleanor Irwin, however, convincingly contends that the basic meaning of χλωρός in early Greek literature is "moist" [pp.31-78; honey is considered,pp.56-60]. One wonders whether such expressions as "roscida mella"

(Eclogues 4.30), "liquentia mella" (Aeneid i.432), "umida mella" (ibid.iv.486), and so forth (cf.Eclogues 3.89; Georgics iv.140-141) reflect attempts to convey Homer's formula in the light of an accurate knowledge of its meaning.

FULVUS

3x G, 19x A, 1x Ap (23)

i.275: "fulvo[5]. . . tegmine.[10]" In Jupiter's prophecy, Romulus is described as wearing the tawny skin of a wolf. Garments of wolf skin are referred to at vii.688 below and at ALBUS xi.681. At Propertius v.10.20, Romulus is described as wearing a wolf skin cap.

ii.722: "fulvi[5]que . . . leonis.[12]" Aeneas puts on the skin of a tawny lion before placing Anchises on his shoulders. The literary source for this image may be Agamemnon's lionskin at Iliad K 23 (σαφαινὲν δέρμα λέοντος); an allusion to traditional representations of Hercules is also possible. Lions are also tawny at iv. 159 and viii.552. Vergil is careful not to let the epithet become a cliché: lions are mentioned seventeen times in the Aeneid and are tawny only thrice. The adjective is commonly applied to lions: Lucretius v.901, Horace Odes iv.4.14, Ovid Metamorphoses i.304, x.551, x.698.

iv.159: "fulvum[5]. . . leonem.[12]" Ascanius hoped to see a tawny lion on the hunt. See immediately above.

iv.261: "iaspide fulva.[12]" Mercury sees Aeneas wearing a sword bejewelled with a yellow jasper. This

passage is discussed on pp.59-60. See also note 72.

v.374: "fulva[5]. . . harena.[12]" (The phrase recurs at vi.643, xii.276, xii.741.) Dares had knocked Butes dead on the yellow sand at Troy. It is unusual for Vergil to repeat a color phrase in virtually identical form as frequently as four times. The phrase is used decoratively here in a section of high color frequency (see p.10). The phrase is used by Ovid five times in the Metamorphoses (sometimes in the plural) and twice in other works. See also FLAVUS vii.31.[166]

vi.643: "fulva[7]. . . harena.[12]" (Formula: see v.374 and references.) The heroes play games on the yellow sand of Elysium. This is an instance of the games theme; the passage is discussed on pp.52-55.

vii.76: "lumine fulvo.[12]" Lavinia scatters sparks, her hair wrapped in a tawny light. In the Aeneid, the light given off by flames is usually smoky (see note 112) or even black (see ATER iv.384, viii.198, xi.186). Here, however, the omen is a favorable one: Lavinia's special destiny as Aeneas' bride is willed by the Fates, and the color adjective reflects the reversal of associations, much as the same adjective does at xii.792 below (on which see p.25).

vii.279: "fulvum[5]. . . aurum.[12]" The horses of Latinus bite on the yellow gold of their bits. (The phrase recurs at x.134 and xi.776; cf. FLAVUS i.592.)

This passage is discussed on pp.31-32, 35-36. The phrase is found at Ovid Metamorphoses x.648, xi.103, xiv.345 and xiv.395, as well as three times elsewhere in his writings. In his note on this line, Conington indicates but probably overemphasizes the element of redness present in this term.

vii.688: "fulvos[5]que . . . galeros.[12]" In the catalogue, mention is made of Caeculus leading men wearing tawny caps of wolf skin. See i.275 above.

viii.552: "fulva[9½] leonis" (modifies "pellis[1½]" in next line). Evander's men give Aeneas a horse outfitted with a tawny lion skin with golden claws (see AUREUS at line 553). The present gift of a horse naturally recalls vii.277-279 (see p.31), but is more subdued chromatically.

x.134: "fulvum[7]. . . aurum.[12]" (For the phrase, see vii.279 and references.) Ascanius in battle is compared to a jewel set against tawny gold. This passage is discussed on p.57.

x.562: "fulvum[9]que Camertem." Aeneas chased blond Camers. Jackson Knight suggests "auburn-haired" as a translation. Servius observes that the hair shade intended is between ξανθός and "rufus."

xi.642: "fulva[12]" (modifies "caesaries[3]" in next line). Catillus slays Herminius of the yellow head of hair.

xi.751: "fulva[9½]" (modifies "aquila[2]" in next

line). Tarchon is compared to a golden eagle carrying off a snake. Compare Iliad M 201ff and Aeneid xii.247.[167]

xi.776: "fulvo[4]. . . auro.[12]" (For the phrase, see vii.279 above and references.) Chloreus has a brooch of tawny gold fastening his clothing. For other color terms in this vicinity, see AUREUS xi.774.

xii.247: "fulvus[7] Iovis ales." The tawny bird of Jupiter (i.e. the eagle; see xi.751 above) snatches a swan in its claws but is driven off. This passage is modeled on Iliad O 690-692, as is clear not only from the present phrase (the equivalent of αἰετὸς αἴθων at line 690) but also from "litoreas . . . avis" and "cycnum" in the lines which immediately follow. See also RUBER in this line.

xii.276: "fulva[7]que . . . harena.[12]" (Formula: see v.374 and references.) Tolumnius lays low the son of Gylippus on the yellow sand.

xii.741: "fulva[5]. . . harena.[12]" (Formula: see v.374 and references.) The fragments of Turnus' sword gleam on the yellow sand.

xii.792: "fulva[5]. . . de nube.[9½]" Jupiter addresses Juno, who is looking out on the battle from a yellow cloud. This passage is discussed on p.25. The phrase is used (less effectively) by Ovid in application to Juno at Metamorphoses iii.273.

Forms of this term are found: once at position four, eight times at five (the preferred position),

four times at seven, once at nine, twice at nine and one-half, and three times in final position.

GLAUCUS

4x G, 4x A, 3x Ap (11)[168]

vi.416: "glauca[7]que . . . in ulva.[12]" Charon disembarks Aeneas and the Sibyl in the gray reed[s]. Sargeaunt (pp.132-133) identifies "ulva" as the fen sedge. This same plant is called "viridi" at Eclogues 8.88--but there is no green in Hades . . . at any rate, not before Elysium. As André indicates (pp.175-178), it is not certain that this term means "gray"; it is sometimes taken as "blue" or "green." In any event, the term is often applied to water deities, who are often referred to as blue or green (see note 150).

viii.33: "glauco[7]. . . amictu.[12]" (Phrase recurs at xii.885.) Father Tiber appears, clothed in gray clothing. See remarks on CAERULEUS viii.64.

x.205: "harundine glauca.[12]" A figure of the river god Mincius surrounded by gray reed[s] adorned the Mantuan ship. See vi.416 above. There are several instances of the decorative use of color in this catalogue of Etruscan leaders.

xii.885: "glauco[7]. . . amictu.[12]" (Phrase repeated from viii.33.) Juturna covers her head with her gray garment as she abandons Turnus. Juturna is a river deity, like the Tiber; Servius comments, "propter

undarum similitudinem." See comments on vi.416 above.

HYACINTHUS

2x E, 2x G, 1x A, 2x Ap (7)

xi.69: "hyacinthi.[12]" The dead Pallas is compared to a violet (see VIOLA) or a hyacinth. This is one of the purple flower passages; it is discussed on p.20. The hyacinth has positive connotations elsewhere, being associated with marriage or at least with physical beauty at Odyssey ζ 231, ψ 155, Sappho frag.225 Page, and Catullus 61.89, and being found in pleasant contexts at Eclogues 3.63 (and possibly 6.53) and Georgics iv.137 and 183. Homer uses a poplar as a comparison for a beautiful youth cut down (Δ 482), but the poplar has other associations in the Aeneid (see POPULEUS, POPULUS).

IGNEUS

3x G, 6x A, 1x Ap (10)

iv.352: "astra ignea.[10]" Aeneas tells Dido that the ghost of Anchises warns him to leave, appearing in a dream every night, as often as the fiery stars rise. "Igneus" is one of the terms which can mean "red"; but in the present instance the term is more probably given a non-color application. Pease has found no precedent for the expression "fiery stars." See viii.97 below.

vi.730: "igneus[2]. . . vigor.[6]" Anchises tells Aeneas that the souls' vigor is fiery. This is a clear example of a non-color use of the adjective.

viii.97: "sol[1]. . . igneus.[10]" The fiery sun had reached midday when Aeneas' men caught sight of the site of Rome. Compare iv.352 above; Aeneas now reaches the goal toward which he was beckoned at the rising of the fiery stars. The chromatic aspect of "igneus" does not seem to be in evidence here.

viii.392: "ignea[2] rima." Venus' embrace kindles fire in Vulcan, as when a fiery streak (i.e. a bolt of lightning) rushes through the clouds. Again, color is not particularly evident here, though fire is of course appropriate to Vulcan.

xi.718: "virgo[4]. . . ignea.[10]" The girl (Camilla) runs after the son of Aunus like fire--that is, fast as fire. Compare Catullus' similar use of "flammea" at 64.341, and see immediately below.

xi.746: "igneus[8]. . . Tarchon.[12]" Tarchon rushes over the plain fast as fire (Fairclough: "like lightning"), carrying Venulus to his death. See xi.718 immediately above; the first use of the term in a swiftness context may have evoked the second in quick succession.

Since none of the instances of "igneus" in the Aeneid are clearly chromatic, no attempt has been made to survey the occurrences of "ignis" in the poem.

LACTEUS

1x G, 2x A, 2x Ap (5)[169]

viii.660: "lactea[10] colla." On the shield of Aeneas, the milk-white necks of the Gauls are depicted.

See comments on AURATUS, AUREUS, and AURUM in lines 655-661. Compare "candida colla," Georgics iv.337.

x.137: "cervix[7]. . . lactea.[10]" Ascanius' hair flowed over his milk-white neck. This passage is discussed on p.57.

LILIUM

2x E, 1x G, 3x A, 3x Ap (9)

vi.709: "lilia.[2]" A murmur rises from the field of lilies in Elysium. For the antecedents of this passage, see comments on CANDIDUS vi.708; for the color of these lilies, see comments on PURPUREUS vi.884.

vi.883: "lilia.[10]" Anchises asks that handfuls of lilies be cast for Marcellus. See PURPUREUS in line 884. The phrase "lilia plenis" occurs in the same position at Eclogues 2.45.

xii.68: "lilia.[10]" Lilies are one element in the description of the blushing of Lavinia. The passage is discussed on pp.27-28. With the present phrase, "lilia[10] . . . / alba," compare Georgics iv.130-131, "albaque[10] . . . / lilia." In each instance a red flower is associated with the lily in the second line: the rose at Aeneid xii.69, the poppy at Georgics iv.131.

LIVEO

Used only once.

vii.687: "liventis[3] plumbi." In the catalogue, it is stated that the men of Praeneste hurled bolts of gray

lead. This is a tautological epithet; "lividus / livens" is regularly used to mean "lead-colored." The term contains affinities to blue and black as well as to gray.

LIVIDUS

Used once only.

vi.320: "vada livida.[10]" Aeneas asks the Sibyl which souls are ferried over the lead-colored waters of the Styx. The phrase suggests "vada caerula[10]" at vii. 198--but of course bright colors are suppressed during the underworld journey (see pp.11-12, and cf.,for example, COLOR and ATER vi.272, GLAUCUS vi.416). For the color of the Styx, see ATER ix.105 and x.114.

LUTEUS

1x A, 2x Ap (3)

vii.26: "Aurora[2]. . . lutea.[10]" The yellow dawn rose. This passage is touched upon on p.45; see also comments on ROSEUS in this line. Servius comments, "'Lutea' est crocei coloris, ut 'croceo mutabit vellera luto' [Eclogues 4.44]. . ." The dawn is yellow both naturally and by Homeric precedent: see CROCEUS iv.585.

MUREX

1x E, 3x A (4)

iv.262: "Tyrio[5]que . . . murice.[10]" Mercury sees Aeneas wearing his cloak of Tyrian purple. Here the adjective has sinister connotations because of the context, as noted in the discussion of this passage on p.59; in

other contexts there is no sinister implication. For example, at Georgics iii.17 Vergil visualizes himself as "Tyrio conspectus in ostro"; see also Ovid Ars Amatoria iii.170 (which shows the influence of the present passage) and Remedia Amoris 708, as well as Horace Epodes 12.21.

It must be remembered that the color designated by "murex," even though translated as "purple," is actually one of the reds. See Eclogues 4.43-44, "suave rubenti / murice," and Ovid Ars Amatoria iii.170, "de Tyrio murice . . . rubes."

v.205: "acuto in murice.[10]" The boat of Sergestus is caught upon the rocks: oars strain against the sharp stone. This represents a non-color use of the term: the jagged rock is designated by the same term as the shellfish which is the source of the dye.

ix.614: "fulgenti murice.[10]" Numanus Remulus accuses the Trojans of wearing garments dyed in yellow (see CROCUS) and bright purple. The taunt, with its implication of effeminacy, is not altogether unfounded: see OSTRUM xi.772 and CROCEUS xi.775.

NIGER

6x E, 19x G, 17x A, 3x Ap (45)

i.489: "nigri[8] Memnonis." The weapons of black Memnon are depicted in the murals of the Trojan War at Carthage. Memnon is mentioned (achromatically) at Odyssey

δ 187 and λ 522; there is an indirect allusion (also achromatic) at Aeneid viii.384. This passage has been cited on p.66 as an exception to the generally negative associations of the term "niger."

iii.120: "nigram[1]. . . pecudem.[5]" (The phrase occurs in the plural at v.736 and vi.153.) Aeneas sacrifices a black sheep to Winter. Winter itself is called black at vii.214 ("atra . . . hiems"). See ALBUS in this same line and references there given.

iv.404: "nigrum[3]. . . agmen.[7]" Aeneas' men, busy loading their ships, are compared to a black column of ants going through the fields. There may be a brief touch of humor here, as the present phrase is applied by Ennius to elephants (Annales fr.1.i.14). Compare "atrum . . . agmen" at xii.450.

iv.514: "nigri[7] cum lacte veneni." The priestess gathers herbs with sap of black poison for Dido's ceremony. Vergil may have been thinking of the κελαινὴν ἰκμάδα of the plants gathered by Medea at Argonautica Γ 858. Compare "atroque veneno" at ii.221, and see the references there cited. The present phrase is almost an oxymoron, because of the normal association of "lac" with whiteness.

v.516: "nigra[5]. . . sub nube.[9½]" (The Palatinus and two of Mynors' ninth century MSS. place "nigra" at position seven through transposition.) Eurytion shoots the dove as it flies beneath a black cloud. Mention of

the dove introduces an implicit black/white contrast. The present reference, like the black cloud at line 512, may be taken as a foreshadowing of the disaster which falls upon the Trojans later in the book. It is a little surprising that the Aeneidae kill a dove, which is Venus' bird (see vi.190ff), particularly at games conducted below Mount Eryx, which is sacred to Venus. Yet there is no indication that the goddess takes offense. See ATER v.512.

v.696: "imber^{3½}. . . nigerrimus.^{10}" The storm which saves the ships is most black before the heavy south winds: "turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris." Compare Georgics i.333, "Austri et densissimus imber"; Georgics iii.278, "nigerrimus Auster"; Aeneid xii.685, "turbidus imber." This passage is discussed on pp.23-24. See also ATER v.693.

v.736: "nigrarum^{3}. . . pecudum.^{7}" (See iii.120 above for other instances of this phrase.) The ghost of Anchises prophesies that Aeneas will visit the underworld after the blood of many black sheep has been shed. For the Odyssean precedents, see ATER vi.249. Lucretius also speaks of the sacrifice of black sheep to the "manibus divis" (iii.52), and at Georgics iv.546 Aristaeus is directed to sacrifice a black sheep to placate the spirits of Orpheus and Eurydice.

vi.134: "nigra^{9½}" (modifies "Tartara^{2}" in next line). The Sibyl tells Aeneas what he must do to see

black Tartarus twice. This phrase has its origin in Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα at Iliad Θ 13, which is also found (in various cases and numbers) at Hesiod Theogony 119, 682, 721, 723a, 736, and 807, as well as at Theognis line 1036. Compare "Tartara . . . atra" at Lucretius iii.966. For other references to the blackness of the underworld, see ATER vi.127 and note 110.

vi.153: "nigras[3] pecudes." (See iii.120 above for other instances of this phrase.) The Sibyl tells Aeneas to sacrifice black sheep. The phrase occurs in identical form (with separation) at Lucretius iii.52.

vi.238: "lacu nigro.[7]" The Sibyl's cave is protected by a black lake (i.e.Avernus). The waters of Avernus are spoken of as κελαινῆς ὕδατα λίμνης at Argonautica Δ 608. Lucretius discusses Avernus at vi.738-847 without the use of color terms.

vii.414: "nigra[5]. . . nocte.[9½]" (One late MS. reads "nigram [sc.quietem].") Turnus is sleeping in the black night; he is disturbed by Allecto. The adjective is effective in context--this particular night is not merely dark but hellish. For similar phrases, see ATER i.89 and references there given.

viii.599: "nigra[7]. . . abiete.[10]" The glen near the river Caere is surrounded by hills covered with black pine. See note 81.

ix.33: "nigro[5]. . . pulvere[10] nubem." The Trojans see a cloud of black dust as the enemy approaches. (The

Palatinus has "magno.") See ATER, ix.36.

ix.381: "ilice nigra.[12]" Nisus and Euryalus flee into the woods, thick with black holm oak[s]. The color matches the mood: note "horrida" in line 382, "tenebrae" in 384, "timor" in 385.

ix.714: "nigrae[6]. . . harenae.[12]" Bitias, slain by Turnus, falls like the driving of a pile into the Bay of Baiae, when the black sand is stirred up. Compare Antigone 590, κυλίνδει βυσσόθεν κελαινὰν ἄζαν, and Georgics iii.241, "nigram[5]que . . . harenam.[12]" "Harena" is ordinarily "fulva" in the Aeneid; see FULVUS v.374 and references.

xi.596, "nigro[5]. . . turbine.[10]" Opis descends to earth, shrounded in a black whirlwind, to slay Camilla. The phrase is found at Georgics i.320, "turbine nigro"; and compare "ater . . . turbo" and "atri turbinis" at Aeneid i.511 and xii.923, respectively. The phrase may owe its origin to Homer's νυκτὶ ἐοικώς (Iliad A 47), at least when applied in contexts like the present one.

xii.473: "nigra[1½]" (modifies "hirundo[12]" in next line). Juturna, disguised as Metiscus, is compared to a black swallow in her swiftness. Conington: "The simile is . . . apparently original." There is no reason for the color of the bird to be specified, apart from that color's associations of impending doom.

Forms of "niger" are highly mobile, as shown by the following distribution: At position one, once; 1½, once; 3, three times; 3½, once; 5, four times; 6, once; 7, three times; 8, once; 9½, once; 12, once.

NIGRESCO

2x A; nowhere else.

iv.454: "nigrescere.[10]" Dido sees the holy waters turn black. This is a manifest sign of doom. See note 80.

xi.824: "nigrescunt.[8]" As she lies dying, Camilla says that everything is growing black. See p.42 and note 80.

NIGRO

5x A; nowhere else.

iv.120: "nigrantem[5]. . . nimbum.[12]" Juno tells Venus that she will send a rain cloud black with hail over Dido and Aeneas. This passage is discussed on p.23.

v.97: "nigrantis[8] terga iuvencos." (Phrase recurs at vi.243 immediately below.) Aeneas sacrifices two black bulls to Anchises' spirit. Compare the frequent instances of the sacrifice of black sheep: see **NIGER** iii.120 and references.

vi.243: "nigrantis[8] terga iuvencos." (Phrase is repeated from v.97 immediately above.) The Sibyl supervises the sacrifice of four black bulls before the

descent. For the Odyssean precedents (which involve only a ram and a ewe), see ATER vi.249; cf.also NIGER vi.153. Aristaeus had been advised to sacrifice four bulls and four heifers (of no specific color) followed by a black sheep in ritual expiation of the spirits of Orpheus and Eurydice (Georgics iv.538-547).

viii.353: "nigrantem[12]" (modifies "aegida[2]" in next line). Evander says that the Arcadians often see Jupiter shaking the black aegis on the Capitol. The phrase is from Iliad Δ 167, ἐρεμνὴν αἰγίδα . Servius plausibly takes the participle as truly active here, i.e. "blackening the sky" rather than merely "blackened" or "black."

ix.87: "nigranti[3] picea." Berecynthia tells Jupiter that Aeneas' fleet was once a grove, dark with black spruce. See PICEUS.

NIVALIS

2x G, 3x A (5)

iii.538: "candore nivali.[12]" Aeneas lands at the heel of Italy and sees four horses of snow-white brightness. See CANDOR.

vii.675: "Othrymque nivalem.[12]" Catillus and Coras were like two centaurs galloping down snowy Mt.Othrys. The present line occurs in the catalogue. Othrys is described as "lofty" rather than snowy at Hesiod Theogony 632.

xii.702: "nivali[12]" (modifies "vertice[2]" in next line). Aeneas in single combat with Turnus is compared to Father Apennine lifting his snowy head. The image is taken from Iliad N 754, ὣς μήθη ὄρεϊ νιφόεντι ἐοικώς (said of Hector).

NIVEUS

3x E, 6x G, 8x A, 6x Ap (23)

i.469: "niveis[7]. . . velis.[12]" On the mural at Carthage, Aeneas sees the snow-white tents of Rhesus' camp. This detail, together with Memnon's blackness (see NIGER, line 489) and Penthesilea's golden breast band (see AUREUS, line 492), coincides with the lessening of tension marked explicitly by line 463 (see pp.9-10).

iii.126: "niveam[5]que Paron." Aeneas sails past snow-white Paros. This passage is discussed on pp.46-47, 50.

iv.459: "velleribus niveis.[5]" Dido kept a chapel to her husband's memory, decorated with snow-white fleeces. This same adjective is used twice in the Georgics to designate the whiteness of wool: iii.391, "munere sic niveo lanae," and iii.487, "lanea . . . nivea . . . infula vitta."[170]

vi.665: "nivea[5]. . . vitta.[12]" In Elysium, the blessed all wear snow-white brow band[s]. The phrase is derived from Georgics iii.487 (see immediately

above), where it occurs in identical position.

vii.699: "nivei[5]. . . cycni.[12]" The Faliscans march and sing like snow-white swans who sing as they fly. The swans are taken from Iliad B 459-463 and Argonautica Δ 1298-1302. In both models the emphasis is on the sound of the swans; no mention is made of their color. The present passage occurs in the catalogue, where bright color terms are commonly used decoratively. For the whiteness of swans, see CANDEO ix.563 and CANEO x.192. Cf. Eclogues 7.38.

viii.387: "niveis[5]. . . lacertis.[12]" Venus embraces Vulcan in her snow-white arms. Homeric goddesses are frequently white-armed, especially Hera (see CANDIDUS viii.138), but the epithet is not applied to Aphrodite. For the whiteness of Venus in the Aeneid, see CANDIDUS viii.608.

viii.720: "niveo[5]. . . limine.[10]" On the shield of Aeneas, Augustus is shown seated on the snow-white threshold of shining Apollo. See comments on CANDEO in this line.

xi.39: "nivei[5]. . . Pallantis.[9½]" Aeneas gazes on the face of the snow-white Pallas on the bier.

The term is found in the fifth position seven times out of eight occurrences.

NIX

3x E, 1x G, 3x A (7)

iv.250: "nix.[1]" Snow covers the shoulders of

Atlas. The whiteness of the snow is in contrast to the black clouds which circle Atlas' head (see ATER, line 248).

xi.611: "nivis.[3]" The spears fell as thick as falling snowflakes. The simile is from Iliad Μ 156-160. In both cases the attention is directed to the steadiness and frequency with which the spears fell, not to any element of whiteness (which is explicitly excluded here by "umbra.")

xii.84: "nives.[5]" Turnus' horses surpassed the snows in whiteness. See remarks on CANDOR in this line.

OSTRUM

2x G, 12x A, 2x Ap (16)

i.639: "ostro[9]que superbo." For the banquet, coverlets of proud purple are set out. With the phrase, compare "ostroque superbi" in the same position at xii.126 below. This passage is discussed at pp.55-56; see also ARGENTUM and AURUM . Purple is "proud" because it is a status symbol: only royalty and nobility can afford it (see pp.50-51 and note 122).

i.700: "ostro.[12]" Aeneas and the Trojans recline on the purple cloths. The phrase is equivalent to ἑήγεα . . . πορφύρεα' at Iliad Λ 645, Odyssey δ 298, η 337, κ 353, an established part of the ritual for welcoming important guests. Compare the non-formulaic τάπησί τε πορφυρέοισιν at Iliad I 200 and τάπητας . . . πορφυρέους

at Odyssey υ 151, where the same idea and the same color are used as in the instances just cited.

I am inclined to think that both this passage and the section which precedes (see i.639 immediately above) draw upon the welcoming banquet which Circe has prepared for Odysseus at Odyssey κ 352-357. The purple coverlets are there, so also the table ware of silver and of gold, and the serving maidens (grown from four to fifty). If this is so (and one hopes that the present day admirers of Dido will not reject the parallel on the grounds that it is derogatory to the queen), then it is easier to understand why Dido is called "aurea" in the present passage (line 698): Circe had been golden-eyed in the Argonautica (see AURATUS xii.163) and is golden in the Aeneid as well (see AUREUS vii.190). However, the application of "aurea" is beset by difficulties both at i.698 and vii.190, as is noted on pp.117 and 121.

iv.134: "ostro^{7}que." Dido's horse is splendid in purple and gold. This passage and its relationship to vii.277 are discussed on pp.31-32. The present phrase affords another example of the degree to which epic repetition is avoided in the Aeneid. On four occasions in the poem Vergil wishes to say "gold and purple." The phrases used are: "ostroque . . . et auro" here, "auro / . . . ostroque" at v.133 (similar to xii.126 below, but divided over the line end), "auroque ostroque" at

xi.72, and "auro . . . ostroque" at xii.126.

v.111: "ostro.[12]" At the beginning of the games, the general prizes are stated; they include garments dyed with purple. This passage, an instance of the games theme, is discussed on p.51. With the present phrase, "ostro / perfusae vestes," compare "vestis . . . ostroque rigentis" at xi.72.

v.133: "ostro[9]que decori." The captains in the sea race shine in purple and gold. This is part of the second statement of the games theme, discussed on pp. 51-52. The phrase "ductores[3]. . . ostroque[9½]" is repeated in identical position at xii.126. For parallels to the present phrase "auro / . . . ostroque," see iv.134 above.

vii.277: "ostro.[4]" Latinus' horses are caparisoned with purple. This passage and its relationships with iv.134 and xi.334 are discussed on pp.31-32, 35-36. With the present phrase "instratos ostro" compare "strato[5]. . . ostro[12]" at i.700 above.

vii.814: "ostro.[12]" The royal honor of purple drapes Camilla's shoulders. This scene, the final one in the catalogue of heroes, is discussed on p.34. Purple is called an honor here ("honos," line 815), as it is at the covering of the dead Pallas (xi.72 and, in line 76, "honorem"). Further, purple is called a <u>royal</u> honor ("regius"); cf.<u>Georgics</u> ii.495, "purpura regum,"

and Horace Odes i.35.12, "purpurei . . . tyranni."

x.722: "ostro.[12]" Mezentius sees Acron, purple with feathers and with the purple (gift) of his betrothed. See PURPUREUS in this same line. Conington's note, "Purple, the color of love," displays a misunderstanding of the implications of "purpureus" in the poem (see pp.62-65). The purple in this line may have been intended to suggest the "cruor" (line 728) of the stag or she-goat torn by the lion in the simile which follows in lines 722-728. "Ostrum" is the color of blood: see xii.67 below.

xi.72: "vestis auroque ostro[9]que rigentis." Aeneas places on Pallas the jewelled garments stiff with gold and purple. Part of this expression recalls the phrase "auroque rigentem[12]" at i.648 (which see, s.v. AURUM, with a possible Lucretian source). The presence of "vestis" suggests v.111-112 above. See also iv.134 above for parallels to the phrase "auroque ostroque." This passage is discussed on p.38; see also p.20.

xi.772: "ostro.[12]" Chloreus is bright with purple at the opening of Camilla's death sequence. For other color terms in this passage, see references at AUREUS xi.774.

xii.67: "sanguineo[5]. . . ostro.[12]" The blushing of Lavinia is compared to the staining of ivory with blood-red purple dye. This passage is discussed on pp.

27-28, 80-81. The adjective, besides being a bow to the Homeric prototype (see note 34), serves as a reminder to the modern reader that "ostrum," like "murex" and "purpureus," is among the reds. Cf.Lucretius ii.35, "ostroque rubenti."

xii.126: "ductores^{3}. . . ostro^{9}que superbi." ("Superbi" is the reading of the Mediceus; the other codices read "decori," which Donatus also read.) At the beginning of the final battle sequence, the allied leaders (Mnestheus, Asilas, and Messapus are mentioned by name) are splendid in gold and purple. The present passage reflects the language of v.133 above, with the substitution (if the Mediceus is correct) of "superbi" for "decori" under the influence of i.639 above. The word "ipsi" from v.132 is retained in xii.125, and the term "auro" which occurs in v.132 is dropped down a line and appears in xii.126. See iv.134 above for other variations on the purple/gold pair.

This term exhibits a preference for two positions. It occurs four times at position nine and six times at position twelve, and only once each at positions four and seven.

PAPAVER

1x E, 4x G, 2x A, 2x Ap (9)

This term is not considered a color term by André. It is included in this study because of its

involvement in Vergil's pattern of purple flower images (pp.17-22) and because of the frequency with which flowers are chromatically significant in the Aeneid (e.g. CROCUS, HYACINTHUS, LILIUM, ROSA, VIOLA).

iv.486: "papaver.[12]" Dido tells Anna of an Ethiopian priestess who feeds honey and poppies to the dragon of the Hesperides. This passage is discussed on pp. 18, 21-22.[171]

ix.436: "papavera.[10]" Euryalus is compared to a flower cut off by the plow, or to a poppy drooping in the rain. See PURPUREUS for the first part of this comparison; the second part is indebted to Iliad Θ 306-308. On the color of the poppy, see Propertius i.20.37-40, "purpureis . . . papaveribus." This passage is discussed on pp.19-20.

PICEUS

2x G, 5x A (7)

iii.573: "turbine[2]. . . piceo.[6]" Aetna sometimes emits a cloud smoking with a pitch-black swirling. See ATER in 572 and CANDEO in this line. Compare "ater . . . turbo" and similar forms (see references at ATER i.511), as well as "nigro turbine" at xi.596.

vi.180: "piceae[5]" (substantive). The spruce trees are cut down for Misenus' funeral pyre. Black boughs are mentioned in connection with Misenus' pyre at line 215 (see ATER). Misenus is in some sense an offering to the powers of the dead, like the black sheep and black

bulls sacrificed at lines 243 and 249; while not himself black, he is cremated on a pyre of whose blackness no doubt is permitted. Note also the black cypress boughs at iii.64 (for Polydorus) and vi.216. The holm oak, mentioned in the present line, is called "ilice nigra" at ix.381.

ix.75: "piceum[7]. . . lumen.[12]" The torches of Turnus' followers are smoking; they give off a light dimmed by pitch. See "facibus . . . atris" in the preceding line. The phrase suggests "atro / lumine" at vii.456-457, perhaps deliberately: the present attempt to burn the ships of the Trojans is a result of the blackness radiated into Turnus' chest by Allecto's torch. The language generally recalls v.660-666.

ix.87: "picea[5]" (substantive). Berecynthia tells Jupiter that Aeneas' fleet was once a grove, dark with black spruce. The frequency of black terms at the opening of hostilities helps mark the change of mood.

ix.813: "piceum[5]" (modifies "fluvium[3]" in next line). Turnus breaks into a sweat like a river of pitch. The metaphor is, I believe, unprecedented. Its use <u>may</u> reflect Vergil's distaste for warfare and his rejection of glory for the epic warrior; it <u>does</u>, at any rate, create a discomfort in the mind of the reader which further enhances the sense of relief which accompanies Turnus' leap into the Tiber, from which he emerges "abluta caede" (line 818). The Tiber's water,

even though yellow with sand (line 816; cf.vii.31), is bright and clean in contrast with a river of pitch.

PIX

5x G, 2x A (7)

As mentioned on p.130, the general practice in this study is to include those nouns from which true color adjectives are derived.

ix.105: "pice.[2]" (Note that ix.105-106, together with the last three and one-half feet of 104, = x.114-115 with the last portion of 113.) Jupiter swears by the Styx and by its banks flowing with pitch. See ATER in this same line.

x.114: "pice.[2]" (As noted, x.113-115 ≃ ix.104-106.) Jupiter swears the same oath as in the instance immediately above. See comments on ATER in this same line.

POPULEUS

1x G, 4x A (5)

Neither this term nor the one which follows is considered a color term by André. They are included because Vergil's attention to and use of the colors of the poplar is evident from the instances examined on pp.47-50.

v.134: "populea[5]. . . fronde.[9½]" The rowers in the ship race are crowned with poplar leaves. This phrase is part of an instance of the games triad; the

passage is discussed on pp.51-52. Even though the poplar is definitely Hercules' tree (see viii.32 immediately below) and Hercules was the legendary founder of the Olympic games, it is difficult to agree with Servius' contention that the Herculean associations of the poplar are somehow responsible for its appearance in the present context.

The present phrase is a variation on "populeas . . . frondes," which occurs at viii.32 and x.190.

viii.32: "populeas[3] inter . . . frondes.[12]" (The phrase is repeated without separation at x.190.) Father Tiber appears to Aeneas among the poplar leaves. This passage inclines one to believe that the grove at the Tiber's mouth (mentioned at vii.29-32) was a poplar grove.

In addition to being a probable instance of the green/white arrival motif (see pp.47-50), the use of this term here at the opening of Book Eight contains a hint of the prominence which Hercules is to have in the book. The poplar is Hercules' tree: "populus Alcidae gratissima" (Eclogues 7.61, which imitates Theocritus 2.121), "Herculeaeque arbos umbrosa coronae" (Georgics ii.66), "Herculea . . . populus umbra" (Aeneid viii. 276).

viii.286: "populeis[3]. . . ramis.[12]" The two choruses of Salii, crowned with poplar branches, dance round the Ara Maxima and sing the praises of Hercules.

Both Servius Auctus (ad viii.276) and Macrobius (Saturnalia iii.12, citing Varro's Rerum Humanarum) state that the bay leaf, and not the poplar, was used in the rites at the Ara Maxima. Moreover, the Salii of historical times were priests of Mars, not of Hercules. Vergil has changed his material to suit his purposes.

x.190: "populeas[3] inter frondes." (Phrase repeated from viii.32.) In the catalogue of the Etruscans, it is mentioned that Cupavo's father Cycnus mourned Phaethon amid the poplar leaves and the shade of his sisters. This may be taken as a hendiadys, for Ovid states that Phaethon's sisters were changed into poplars (Metamorphoses ii.372); however, Vergil had stated at Eclogues 6.62-63 that the sisters were changed into alders. The mourning takes place along the Po; both the poplar and the alder naturally tend to grow beside rivers (see Eclogues 7.66, Georgics i.136, ii.110, and ii.452). There is no indication here of the release of tension which, it has been contended (pp.47-50), tends to accompany the green/white color pair; but it must be remembered that the present phrase occurs in a catalogue. The purely decorative use of color terms is frequent in the catalogues and in such set pieces as the shield description, but infrequent in the body of the poem.

POPULUS[172]

3x E, 1x G, 1x A, 2x Ap (7)

viii.276: "bicolor[7]. . . populus.[10]" The two-colored poplar wreathes Evander with its Herculean shade. This passage is discussed on pp.49-50. See also BICOLOR.

PUNICEUS

2x E, 1x G, 3x A, 1x Ap (7)

v.269: "puniceis[3]. . . taenis.[12]" The victors in the ship race are crowned with red fillets. Strictly speaking, the taen(i)ae are the tips of the fillets; here, by synecdoche, they stand for the complete head-band. There seems to be no connection with the "roseae . . . vittae" worn by the Parcae at Catullus 64.309.

xii.77: "puniceis[3]. . . rotis.[7]" Turnus says that he will duel with Aeneas on the following day, when dawn grows red, carried upon her red wheels. This passage is discussed on p.45. See also RUBEO in this same line. This line is imitated by Ovid at Metamorphoses iii.150.

xii.750: "puniceae[5]. . . formidine pennae.[12]" Turnus is compared to a stag caught in a trap of red feather[s]. The phrase is taken from Georgics iii.372, "puniceae[3]ve . . . formidine pennae.[12]" Servius says that the simile of the hound chasing the stag is an imitation of Apollonius Rhodius (no doubt of Argo-

nautica B 278ff, the chase of the Harpies, which imitates Iliad K 360ff, the chase of Dolon), but it is closer to the simile at Iliad X 188ff in the chase of Hector, and there are several original elements.

PURPURA

2x G, 2x A, 1x Ap (5)

v.251: "purpura[2]. . . . Meliboea.[9½]" The prize for Cloanthus as winner of the ship race is a gold-woven cloak bordered by a wavy double border of Meliboean purple. This term occurs here as part of the games color tetrad, as discussed on p.52. This phrase occurs at Lucretius ii.500-501, "Meliboeaque . . . / purpura." Lucretius understood Meliboea to be the town in Thessaly ("Thessalico . . . colore") mentioned at Argonautica A 592, rather than the island at the mouth of the Orontes which was actually a source of purple dye. Vergil may also have had in mind such passages as Iliad Z 320 (βέε, said of the golden border, = "cucurrit" here) and Ψ 561 (where φαεινοῦ suggests that the border is of some such color as purple).

vii.251: "purpura.[10]" As Latinus hears the Trojan embassy, he is moved not by the purple goods offered as a gift but by the thought of his daughter's marriage. This passage is discussed on p.36. The phrase "purpura regem[12]" was surely suggested by "purpura regum[12]" at Georgics ii.495.

In neither of its occurrences does the noun "purpura" exhibit the association with death which, it has been argued (pp.62-65), "purpureus" possesses.

PURPUREUS

2x E, 5x G, 15x A, 11x Ap (33)

i.337: "purpureo^{3}que . . . suras vincire cothurno.^{12}" Venus tells Aeneas that it is customary for Tyrian girls to carry the bow and wear purple boot [s]. This passage is discussed at pp.62-63. Most of this line is a repetition of Eclogues 7.32, "puniceo . . . suras evincta cothurno^{12}" (applied to Diana). Why did Vergil change the color adjective from "puniceus" to "purpureus"? He did not do so in order to express a different color, since "puniceus" and "purpureus" express essentially the same color. Compare Horace Odes iii.15.15, "flos purpureus rosae" with ibid.iv.10.4, "puniceae flore . . . rosae"; compare also the transformation of Picus in Metamorphoses xiv, who wears a "poeniceam . . . chlamydem" at line 345 which turns into feathers exhibiting a "purpureum . . . colorem" at line 393. It would be gratifying to be able to claim that Vergil made the change in order to make use of the ominous associations of "purpureus"; however, he may simply have wished to recall more fully the model for both passages, which is a line from the Ino of Livius Andronicus: "Iam nunc purpureo suras

include cothurno."

i.591: "purpureum[2]" (modifies "lumen[9]que iuventae" in previous line). Aeneas appears to Dido; his mother Venus shines the purple light of youth around him. This is the first occurrence of the heroic color triad in the poem; the passage is discussed on p.55. In addition to the Odyssean models mentioned there,[173] consider Euripides Bacchae 236: οἰνωπός, ὅσσοις χάριτας Ἀφροδίτης ἔχων. With the present phrase, compare "lumine purpureo" at vi.640-641.

iii.405: "purpureo[3]. . . amictu.[12]" (This phrase recurs in the same position but in the accusative plural at xii.602.) Helenus advises Aeneas that, when he reaches Italy, he should pray veiled in purple garb so that he may see no enemy's face. The passage is discussed at pp.62-63 and note 76. The color of the veil or hood is either an irrelevant, merely decorative detail (and the decorative use of color is infrequent in Book Three), or else it is of generally ominous import.

iv.139: "purpuream[5]. . . vestem.[12]" A golden brooch fastens Dido's purple garment. With the present phrase compare "purpureasque . . . vestis" at vi.221. This passage is discussed on pp.31-34; see also remarks on AUREUS in the present line.

v.79: "purpureos[3]que . . . flores.[7]" Aeneas casts purple flowers at the tomb of Anchises. The passage is discussed on pp.18-19. The phrase recurs in various

cases and numbers at vi.884 (an exact repetition), ix.435, and xii.413-414. R.D.Williams' comment on the meaning of "purpureus" in the floral passages: "There [vi.884], as here [v.79], the word means 'purple' or 'red.'" The scattering of flowers on graves is mentioned in Aeschylus' Persians 618 and Sophocles Electra 895, but the color of the flowers is not specified (even though Aeschylus, in the passage in question, takes the trouble to mention the colors of the other offerings: milk, honey, and the olive plant).

vi.221: "purpureas[3]que . . . vestis.[7]" A purple covering is placed over the body of Misenus on the pyre. This passage is discussed on pp.38-39. The element of purple is present at the cremation of Hector, but only in the form of the cloths in which his remains were wrapped after the ceremony (Iliad Ω 795). This covering, in that it is placed on the body before cremation, is more like the ἄμβροτα εἵματα (color unspecified) in which Achilles was burned (Odyssey ω 59, 67), or the "vestis auroque ostroque rigentis" which covered the dead Pallas (xi.72). Cf.iv.139 for the phrase.

vi.641: "purpureo[3]"(modifies "lumine[10]" in preceding line). Elysium is illuminated with a reddish light. The passage, which is an instance of the games theme, is discussed on pp.53-54. Previous references to supernatural light do not characterize it as being of a particular color. Thus, the light on Olympus is λευκὴ

. . . αἴγλη at Odyssey ζ 45 and "diffuso lumine" at Lucretius iii.22. Pindar speaks of the gleam of golden flowers in Elysium (ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει, Olympian 2.75), while Aristophanes mentions the φῶς κάλλιστον of the underworld (Frogs 155). Catullus speaks of the purple light of a sunrise ("purpureaque . . . ab luce," 64.275), while at Aeneid i.590-591 the present phrase is used to refer to a (metaphorical or perhaps visible) body aura of great beauty.

vi.884: "purpureos[3] . . . flores.[7]" (Phrase repeated from v.79.) Anchises says that he will cast purple flowers in mourning for Marcellus. This passage is discussed on p.19; see also note 21.

ix.163: "purpurei[3] cristis iuvenes." The young Rutulians follow, purple as to their crests and gleaming in gold. This passage is discussed on p.63. See also AURUM in this line. Red crests also occur at ix.50, ix.270 (an instance of the purple/gold pair, as here), and xii.89, each time in reference to Turnus. Cf. Iliad Θ 538, [λόφος] φοίνικι φαεινός; Argonautica B 920, φοίνικι λόφῳ, B 1070-1071, λόφοι . . . /φοινίκεοι. Cf.ix.733.

ix.349: "purpuream[3]. . . animam.[6]" (Some recentiores have "purpureum," modifying "ensem" in line 347, a reading which Servius accepted.) Rhoetus vomits forth his purple life. If this reading is correct, there may be a reference to the Homeric Hymn to Apollo lines 361-262, λείπε δὲ θυμὸν φοινὸν ἀποπνείουσα. This passage is com-

monly cited (e.g. by Lewis and Short) as evidence that "purpureus" is the color of blood. While it is very likely that "purpureus" is the color of blood (such passages as Horace Odes ii.12.2-3 and Ovid Metamorphoses iv.125-127, xii.111, xiii.394-395 make this conclusion very probable), still the present passage does afford clear evidence of this. Here the adjective might refer to the sword empurpled with blood, but only if the variant recorded in Servius is correct against the testimony of the codices, which is unlikely. Assuming that the adjective does modify "animam," it could be used achromatically in the sense of "in motion" (if André is correct regarding "purpureus," pp.100-101). Or, if the term is used chromatically, Rhoetus' anima could be said to be empurpled either from the presence of blood or from the presence of wine: both are mentioned in lines 349-350.

ix.435: "purpureus[3]. . . flos.[7]" The dying Euryalus is compared to a purple flower cut off by the plow, or to a poppy drooping in the rain. This passage is discussed on pp.19-20. The language of the first part of the comparison reflects the influence of Catullus 11.20-24 and 62.40 (the color of the flower is not specified in either Catullan passage); the second part of the comparison is indebted to Iliad Θ 306-308 (compare also Argonautica Γ 1398ff). See CANDIDUS in line 432 and PAPAVER in 436.

x.722: "purpureum[3]" (modifies "hunc[1]" in previous line). Mezentius sees Acron, purple in his feathers and in his betrothed's purple. See p.63 and see OSTRUM in this same line. For other references to purple/red plumes, see ix.163 above.

xi.819: "purpureus[5]. . . color.[8]" The ruddy color leaves the face of the dying Camilla. See pp.63-64 and, for the significance of the position of the adjective, see p.34. It is of note that, though the term "color" is frequently modified by a chromatic adjective in other authors (for example, "color" modified by some form of "purpureus" is found at Lucretius vi.1074, Horace Odes ii.5.12, and Ovid Metamorphoses iii.485, iv.127, x.213, and xiv.393), this is the only such occurrence in Vergil. This passage, like ix.349 above, is also frequently cited as evidence that "purpureus" is the color of blood; but this is not a valid inference, for a face (even a flushed face) is never the same color as blood, even if it owes its coloration to the presence of blood beneath the skin. See also note 38.

xii.414: "purpureo[3]"(modifies "flore[9½]" in previous line). Venus plucks the dictamnum, a plant which grows with its purple flower on Cretan Ida. This passage is discussed on pp.20-21. It is interesting that Theophrastus says that this plant has pink flowers (Hist.Plant.ix.16), while Pliny says that it has no

flower ("nullus flos," Nat.Hist.xxv.8.53). Either Vergil has once again altered his materials to suit his artistic purpose, or else there was considerable confusion in antiquity as to what plant was designated by this term. For the phrase itself, see v.79 above and references there cited. The reference to "odoriferam panaceam" in line 419 (discussed on pp.21-22) may have been influenced by Lucretius iv.124-125: "odorem / expirant acrem panaces."

xii.602: "purpureos[3]. . . amictus.[12]" (Phrase repeated from iii.405.) Amata commits suicide, rending her purple garments. See p.64 and note the presence of "moritura" as the word which immediately follows "purpureos" in this line. The element of purple is absent from all of the passages dealing with the suicide of royal ladies which might have served as models for the present passage: Odyssey λ 278ff, Sophocles Oedipus Tyrannos 1260ff (gold brooches are mentioned), Euripides Hippolytus 802ff (a passage partly imitated at Aeneid xii.603), Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica A 1063-1065 (a partial imitation of Odyssey λ 278ff), and possibly Sophocles Antigone 1222.

The distribution of this term has already been noted on p.34.

ROSA

2x G, 1x A, 5x Ap (8)

This term is included because its derivative,

"roseus," is unquestionably chromatic.

xii.69: "rosa.[3]" The blushing of Lavinia is compared to the mixing of lilies with roses. This passage is discussed on pp.27-28 and 80-81. See the comparable passages cited in note 32, particularly Propertius ii.3.9-12.

ROSEUS

8x A, 5x Ap (13)

i.402: "rosea[7] cervice." Leaving Aeneas, Venus turns and shines with her rosy neck. For the phrase, see Horace Odes i.13.2, "Telephi cervicem roseam." Venus' neck is said to be beautiful (περικαλλέα δειρήν) at Iliad Γ 396; there, as here, it is the first indication by which she is recognized. Compare Anacreonta 54 Bergk 1-3: Ῥοδοδάκτυλος μὲν Ἠώς, Ῥοδοπήχεες δὲ Νύμφαι, Ῥοδόχροους δὲ κ' Ἀφροδίτη.[174] Venus' mouth is called rosy at Aeneid ii.593. For the connection between Venus and the rose, see the works referred to in note 83.

ii.593: "roseo[5]que . . . ore.[12]" (The phrase recurs at ix.5.) Venus appears amid the wreck of Troy and speaks with her rosy mouth, telling Aeneas to spare Helen and evacuate his family. This passage is discussed on pp.40-42; see also p.69. The redness of the lips had been described by the phrase "purpureo ore" at Catullus 45.12 and Horace Odes iii.3.12. Vergil uses a different phrase; this is probably due both to Venus' association with the rose (see i.402 immediately above) and to the

special associations of "purpureus" in the Aeneid (see pp.62-65).

vi.535: "roseis[7] Aurora quadrigis." While Aeneas talks to Deiphobus in the underworld, Dawn has reached mid-heaven with her rosy team. This passage is discussed on pp.41-42.[175] The possible models for this passage, Odyssey λ 81-83, 465-466, and Argonautica B 448-450, contain no mention of color and lack the sense of urgency so evident in line 539: "nox ruit, Aenea . . ." For the horses of the dawn, see also vii.26 immediately below.

vii.26: "Aurora in roseis[5] fulgebat lutea bigis." Dawn shone yellow in her rosy chariot. The combination of the two colors ought not to have been surprising; both colors are usually present at sunrise; moreover, Homer had called the dawn both ῥοδοδάκτυλος and κροκόπεπλος, and it has been noted (pp.176-177) that Vergil elsewhere combine two distinct Homeric dawn motifs. Nevertheless, Servius states: ". . . multi iungunt 'inroseis,' id est non roseis, quasi non rubicundis, ne sit contrarium." Servius goes on to reject this suggestion; however, certain modern editors evidently felt uncomfortable about the color blend: Ribbeck suggested "variis" for "roseis," while Schrader and Bentley favored "croceis." The influence of the present line is evident at Ovid Fasti iv.714, "Memnonis in roseis lutea mater equis." With "fulgebat" in the present line com-

pare "refulsit" at i.402 above. The fact that Dawn's chariot has two horses here (as at Odyssey ψ 246) as opposed to four horses at vi.535 is apparently without sighificance. The present passage is discussed on p.45; see also LUTEUS.

vii.712: "Rosea[8] rura." In the catalogue, mention is made of the Rosy country in the valley of Lake Velinus. ("Rosea" is the reading of codex Romanus, of the first corrector of the Palatinus, of nine of Mynors' ninth century codices, and of Servius; "Rosca" is the original reading of the Palatinus; "Roscia" is given by the second corrector of the Palatinus; "Rosa" is the reading of the codex Mediceus; and three other ninth century codices read "roscida," "roceda," and "rosda.") The exact name of the place referred to here is somewhat elusive. Servius says, "Velinus lacus est circa Reate juxta agrum qui Rosulanus vocatur. . ." Conington suggests that the place may have been named "Rosei Campi." Vergil's reference at Georgics ii.201-202 to the "gelidus ros" of this general area may have contributed to some of the variant readings mentioned above. Cf. Cicero Ad Atticum iv.15.5.

ix.5: "roseo[5]. . . ore.[9½]" (Phrase repeated with variation of interval from ii.593.) Iris speaks to Turnus with her rosy mouth. See pp.68-69.

xi.913: "roseus[2]. . . Phoebus.[9½]" Rosy Phoebus dips his tired horses into the Iberian stream. To call

the sunset rose-colored is an original touch. It is part of the incomplete pattern of book-ending images noted by Pöschl (see COLOR iv.701).

xii.606: "roseas[3]. . . genas.[7]" Lavinia tears her rosy cheeks upon learning of Amata's death. This is a reference to xii.69: Amata threatens suicide at lines 62-63 and Lavinia blushes like a rose; here Amata carries out her threat and again there is reference to Lavinia's rosy cheeks. The adjective is not merely decorative. The possibility of the presence of an unusual color tetrad here is discussed at FLAVUS xii.605.

The term occurs at five different positions, most frequently (three times) at position five.

RUBEO

4x E, 8x G, 4x A, 7x Ap (23)

ix.270: "cristasque rubentis.[12]" (Codex Romanus reads "comantis," from iii.468.) Ascanius says Nisus shall have Turnus' horse, shield, and red plumes. The present passage refers back to ix.50 (see AUREUS in both places). For purple or red crests, see ix.50, ix.163, and xii.89, always in reference to Turnus or the Rutulians. This passage combines Dolon's request for the horses of Achilles (Iliad K 321-324) with the reference to Dolops' own scarlet plume (Iliad O 537-538).

This mention of Turnus' plumes is part of an

extended foreshadowing of disaster. For one thing, "plumes" stand by synecdoche for "helmet," and it is a helmet which is to be the undoing of the unfortunate pair. Secondly, the heroic triad is approached but left incomplete twice during the course of Ascanius' remarks (see ARGENTUM at line 263 and AUREUS at 270). Moreover, Ascanius' promises become so exaggerated (culminating in a promise of Latinus' personal estate [line 274]-- a promise which cannot be fulfilled if Trojans and Latins are to be reconciled and live together as partners) that the reader feels they will not come to pass. The impending disaster is made explicit at lines 312-313: "multa patri mandata dabat portanda; sed aurae / omnia discerpunt et nubibus inrita donant." Compare also line 314 with the ominous line vi.268.

One may ask why Vergil used the phrase "cristasque comantis" at iii.468 rather than the present phrase. In the first place, a less frequent incidence of color terms in Book Three is part of a general pattern of color term frequency which has already been noted (pp.5-8). Moreover, "rubentis" at 468 would have completed the heroic triad ("auro" and "elephanto" in 464, "argentum" in 466, "auro" in 467) at a point where the mood is one of sadness and gloom, as is reflected particularly in lines 492-497.

(x.256: "ruebat."[12] [The corrector of Palatinus has "rubebat," a variant which Ribbeck accepted.] Day

dawns. There is no reason to prefer the poorly attested variant; one may say that day rushes on, just as night rushes on ["ruit"] at ii.250 and vi.539. If "rubebat" were the correct reading, this day--the day of Aeneas' return to camp--would be a weak member in the series of red dawns [see p.45].)

x.273: "rubent.[7]" Aeneas catches sight of his camp on his return and fire pours from his crest and shield, as when blood red comets glow red. The language and imagery here are unambiguously ominous. Note the fact that coments are generally ill-omened, the choice of "sanguineus" as color word rather than, say, "puniceus," the adverb "lugubre," and the Homeric models (Iliad E 4-6 [fire from Diomedes' helmet and shield; star simile] and X 25-31 [Achilles compared to Sirius; compare especially lines 30-31 with lines 274-275 here: "sitim morbosque . . . mortalibus aegris / . . . contristat"]). The heroic triad is approached but not completed: "aureus" in line 271 plus two redness terms in the present line.

xii.68: "rubent.[7]" Lavinia's blushing is compared to the change which occurs when white lilies grow red, being mixed with many roses. This passage is discussed on pp.27-28, 80-81.

xii.77: "rubebit.[12]" Turnus says that he will duel Aeneas when Dawn grows red with its red wheels. This passage is discussed on p.45; see also PUNICEUS in this

line. Ovid imitates the line at Metamorphoses iii.150; he changes "puniceis" to "cum croceis," thereby declining the chance to foreshadow the death of Actaeon.

RUBER

1x G, 4x A, 1x Ap (6)

viii.686: "litore rubro.[12]" In the description of Actium, Antony is said to have come from the peoples of the dawn and from the red shore (i.e. from the shore of the Red Sea). Compare Horace Odes i.35.30-32, "Eois . . . partibus Oceanoque rubro."

ix.50: "crista[5]que . . . rubra.[12]" Turnus, wearing his red plume, advances on the Trojan camp. For the phrase, see xii.89 immediately below; for other references to red plumes, see PURPUREUS ix.163. This passage, which is an instance of the hero theme, is discussed on p.57. See also comments on ALBUS in previous line and AUREUS in this line.

xii.89: "rubrae[8]. . . cristae.[12]" Turnus arms for battle, putting on his red-plumed helmet. This passage, another instance of the heroic color theme, is discussed on p.58. For the phrase, see ix.50 immediately above.

xii.247: "rubra[5]. . . in aethra.[12]" (The Mediceus originally read "fulvus rubra" in place of "rubra fulvus," thereby eliminating the chiasmus.) The tawny bird of Jupiter appears in the ruddy sky. The eagle,

its color modifier, and the general outline of this episode are modeled on Iliad O 690-692. The swan is a more dignified substitute for the white goose of the Homeric original. The phrase "rubra . . . aethra" is taken from Ennius Annales xvi frag.22, where it is applied to a falling star.

Conington's remark here, "'Rubra' is an exaggerated term as applied to the ordinary light of day," is true as far as it goes. But why did Vergil wish to exaggerate here? First, redness is used as a recurring motif during the events of the last day, occurring some eleven times after the "still point" of Lavinia's blushing. At xii.77 it is remarked that day will dawn red with red wheels (an ominous detail, probably prefiguring 339-340). Lines 89 and 126 refer to elements of red in the splendid war garb of Turnus and the allied leaders. It is noteworthy that Vergil places the visible glory of war early in the book, to be succeeded by gruesome details painted with the same hue; the progression surely contains implicit comment. The present instance, line 247, occurs in an ambivalent portent which precedes and occasions the resumption of general fighting. At 332 one finds the fearsome picture of blood-stained Mars, and at 339-340 Turnus' horses kick up a bloody dew on the battlefield. The dictamnum episode occurs at 414. Then at 602 comes Amata's suicide, followed at 606 by Lavinia's self-disfigurement. Finally at line 750 Turnus

is a trapped animal, caught in the red snare of war.

In addition to this sequence, the present phrase serves as a cross reference to the outbreak of fighting in Book Nine. In both instances fighting is immediately preceded by a red/gold pair, with the color adjectives placed side by side as half of a chiasmus. See AUREUS ix.50.

RUBESCO

1x G, 3x A (4)

iii.521: "iamque rubescebat.[5]" (Phrase recurs at vii.25 immediately below.) Dawn grows red on the morning of the day when the Trojans first see Italy. The passage is discussed on p.45. The rednesses of the dawn is carefully separated by a long interval from the whiteness of the horses at lines 537-538. This is the first occurrence of the term "rubesco" in Latin literature.

vii.25: "iamque rubescebat.[5]" (Phrase repeated from iii.521 immediately above.) The sea grows red with dawn on the morning of the day when the Trojans first reach the mouth of the Tiber. This passage also is discussed on p.45. See also LUTEUS and ROSEUS in line 26.

viii.695: "rubescunt.[12]" The seas at Actium grow red from the killing. In line with what is suggested on p.45, it may be that the use of this verb is intended to suggest a comparison between the victory of Aeneas

and that of Augustus. On the other hand, terms of color are very common in the description of the shield and in particular in the Actium passage (see ARGENTUM viii.673 and AUREUS viii.672 with references there given). Compare Horace Odes ii.12.2-3.

RUBOR

2x G, 1x A, 3x Ap (6)

xii.66: "rubor.^{4}" Much redness casts fire under the cheeks of Lavinia. This passage is discussed on pp. 27-28, 80-81. The choice of words in the present line emphasizes the strong sensual appeal of Lavinia's beauty by recalling the episode of Venus' sensual appeal to Vulcan; here, "subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit"; at viii.390, "intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit." The present phrase "plurimus^{10}. . . / . . . rubor^{4}" is somewhat similar to "plurima^{10}. . . / purpura" at v.250-251 (again, purple and red are roughly interchangeable; e.g., "Tyrios . . . rubores," Georgics iii.307), but there is no noticeable similarity of context apart from the general idea of visual beauty. The influence of this passage is detectible in certain passages in the Metamorphoses: the blushing of Arachne at vi.46-49, the transformation of Narcissus at iii.482-484, and perhaps the blushing of Diana at iii.422-423.

RUTILO

Used only once.

viii.529: "rutilare.^{5½}" The new weapons of Aeneas

appear in a cloud and glow red. This portent, the ambiguity of which is discussed on pp.25-26, follows immediately upon Evander's bestowal of Pallas on Aeneas: "Pallanta adiungam" (line 515),"'. . . Pallas.' / Vix ea fatus erat . . ."(lines 519-520, emphasis mine).

RUTILUS

2x G, 2x A (4)

viii.430: "rutili[5] tris ignis." (The color term is misprinted as "rutuli" in Mynors' edition.) Among the ingredients which the Cyclopes put into the thunderbolt are three parts of red fire. Lines 429-430, which are nicely arranged as a tricolon using anaphora, are original, whereas lines 426-428 are adapted from Argonautica A 731-733.

xi.487: "rutilum[5] thoraca." ("Rutilum" is the reading of Codex Romanus and two of Mynors' late manuscripts, supported by Valerius Flaccus vii.620, Aulus Gellius ii.6.22, Macrobius v.10 and vi.7, and Donatus ad loc.; "Rutulum" is the reading of Mediceus, Palatinus, and the majority of the late MSS.) Turnus puts on his bright red breast plate. It would be a little stupid to say that he puts on his Rutulian breast plate. Of course it is Rutulian: Turnus is a Rutulian. But Rutulian breast plates are not known to have been remarkable in size, shape, or any other way. Moreover, the color element is important here. The arming of Turnus is always described in multiple bright colors (ix.

49-50, xii.84-91, and cf.ix.269-270), and without "rutilum" the present description would be in monochrome. In addition, Turnus' "rutilum thoraca" serves to balance Aeneas' "loricam . . . / sanguineam" (viii. 622; one may wonder whether the differing adjectives reflect anything of Vergil's attitudes toward his two characters).

The closest Homeric parallel is found at Iliad 133-134: θώρακα . . . / ποικίλον ἀστερόεντα, the breastplate of Achilles worn by Patroclus. It is of interest that Vergil here avoided the completion of the heroic triad (see "auro" in 488 and "aureus" in 490) by the omission of white, even though the element of white is present in one of the models for the horse simile which immediately follows, Ennius Annales frag.lib.inc. 50. However, the Ennian passage may not have been Vergil's main model, for it is itself modeled on the achromatic simile at Iliad Z 506-511, which is also copied at Argonautica Γ 1259-1261.

SANGUINEUS

2x E, 1x G, 10x A, 3x Ap (16)

ii.207: "sanguineae^{3}" (modifies "iubaeque^{12}" in previous line). The blood red crests of the serpents stand above the water. Red snakes are mentioned at Iliad B 308, δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφοινός, and at Euripides Phoenissae 820, φοινικολόφου δράκοντος. This is one of the rare color effects in Book Two; its impact is both

startling and horrifying. Since the snakes are coming out of the sea, it is not likely that their crests are literally "blood-covered"; hence this is an instance of the purely chromatic sense of the term--"blood-colored."

iv.643: "sanguineam^{3}. . . aciem.^{7}" (Phrase recurs at vii.399.) Dido turns her bloody gaze about. The term probably bears a double meaning here, for on the one hand Dido's eyes are no doubt literally bloodshot both from weeping (line 449) and from sleeplessness (lines 529-532), while on the other hand Dido's gaze (may one say her "viewpoint"?) is full of blood because her mind is full of blood and death, both the Trojans' (whom she has just cursed unto distant generations) and her own ("morte futura," line 644).

When Agamemnon tells Menelaus that he (Menelaus) has a bloody gaze (αἱματηρὸν ὄμμ' ἔχων-, Euripides Iphigeneia in Aulis 381), the expression used carries the same double meaning: literally blodshot and also fixed on death (in that case, Iphigeneia's). The repetition of the phrase suggests an implied comparison between Dido and Amata: Amata's gaze is blood-filled in that her attitudes(reflected in her gaze) bring death both upon many Trojans and upon herself--just like Dido. There is also a reminiscence here of the snakes of Book Two, which are said to be "oculos suffecti sanguine" (ii.210).

vii.399: "sanguineam^{3}. . . aciem.^{7}" (Phrase

repeated from iv.643 immediately above; the verb forms used are closely parallel--"volvens" in Four,"torquens" here.) Amata turns her bloody gaze about and calls upon the mothers of Latium to join in her Bacchic frenzy. The psychological import of the term as used here is noted in connection with iv.643 immediately above. In view of the orgiastic nature of the Bacchic rites, it is likely that the literal sense of "bloodshot" is also present here, as it was in Four.

viii.622: "sanguineam[3]" (modifies "loricam[6]" in previous line). Aeneas handles his new blood red corselet. This passage is discussed on pp.26,27,and 61. The adjective is used chromatically. The choice of the present term presages the blood which will be spilled in battle--but the implication is not wholly clear: whose blood is to be spilled, Aeneas' or his enemies' or that of both?

viii.703: "sanguineo[5]. . . flagello.[12]" The gods appear at Actium in a reversal of the role which they played in the destruction of Troy in Book Two; among them is Bellona with her bloody scourge. The term is no doubt used literally here, in the sense of "blood-covered." Compare Aeschylus Agamemnon 642, φοινίαν ξυνωρίδα (the "red pair," i.e. Ares and his scourge).

ix.733: "sanguineae[3]" (modifies "cristae[12]" in previous line. The blood red plumes wave on Turnus' helmet. Turnus' plumes are referred to by forms of

RUBER and RUBEO at ix.50, ix.270, and xii.89; the use of the present term involves more than a desire for variety of expression. Turnus' plumes are called blood colored here because Turnus is at his most menacing; the reader's viewpoint is that of the terrified Trojans (see lines 734-735). The position and choice of words here suggest "iubaeque / sanguineae" at ii.206-207; like the snakes, Turnus is menacing and terrifying (compare "horresco" at ii.204 with "horrendum" at ix. 732). The position of the terms in both instances was probably influenced by the waving plumes of Achilles at Iliad T 382-383: ἐΐθειραι / χρύσεαι . The color of the plumes has been changed to good effect: golden plumes are attractive, but blood red plumes are menacing. For other references to red plumes, see PURPUREUS ix.163.

x.273: "sanguineae[3]" (modifies "cometae[12]" in previous line). Aeneas' shield and helmet flare like blood red comets. This passage is discussed in connection with RUBEO in this same line. On the unfavorable associations of comets, see Georgics i.487-488 and Servius' comment on the present line.

xii.67: "sanguineo[5]. . . ostro.[12]" The blushing of Lavinia is compared to the dying of ivory with blood red dye. This passage is discussed on pp.27-28, where it is argued that the present instance is a reversal of the normally unpleasant associations of the adjective; here blood causes a beautiful effect. This term occurs

at position three in eight of its ten occurrences; here it is moved to position five. However, the other instance of incidence at position five (viii.703) exhibits the usual horrible associations of the term.

xii.332: "sanguineus^{3} Mavors." Turnus drives like blood red Mars. The model for the present passage is the achromatic Iliad N 298-303, where Ares is βροτολοιγός. The color element is added from Sophocles Electra 96, φοίνιος Ἄρης. See remarks on RUBER xii.247.

xii.340: "sanguineos^{3}" (modifies "rores^{12}" in previous line). Turnus' horses trample on his enemies and kick up a bloody dew. The use of the term here is likely to have been influenced by any or all of four factors: the previous occurrence of the term only eight lines earlier; the bloody dew sent by Zeus at Iliad Λ 53-54; the red wheels of Dawn's chariot, which Turnus himself mentioned at xii.77; and the recurring pattern of the use of red throughout Book Twelve (see RUBER xii.247). In its last occurrence in the poem, the effect of the term is no longer eerie (as at x.272-273) or foreboding (as at viii.621-622) or menacing (as at ix.732-733), but simply sickening.

The distribution of this term has been noted in connection with xii.67 above.

TRABEA

3x A only.

This term is not ordinarily considered a color

term. It is included in this study on the strength of the evidence from Suetonius (cited in note 40) that every trabea was purple either wholly or in part.

vii.188: "trabea.[5]" Among the wooden statues ("effigies . . . / . . . e cedro," lines 177-178) in Latinus' palace is a representation of Picus wearing a short trabea. The trabea is appropriate for Picus because he is here represented in full augural garb, and augurs wore the trabea; because he was a king, and kings also wore the trabea ("aliique ab origine reges," line 181); and because the woodpecker into which he was transformed (a bird used in augury) is partly red (see Ovid Metamorphoses xiv.345 and 393).

vii.612: "trabea.[7]" The consul wears the trabea as successor to the kings when he opens the gates of the temple of Janus. The color of the garment is not particularly in evidence here.

xi.334: "trabeam[7]que." Latinus ends his speech for peace by urging that talents of gold and ivory be sent to the Trojans as a peace offering, together with his trabea. This passage is discussed on pp.35-36 and 57-58. The trabea is here used as a symbol of royal sovereignty, as shown by its conjunction with "sellam regni"; but its color dimension is very possibly in mind as well.

VERSICOLOR

Used only once.

x.181: "versicoloribus[10] armis." In the catalogue of the Etruscans, mention is made of Astyr, who trusted in his horse and his multi-colored weapons and armor. In this passage Vergil combines two Homeric elements. The anaphora with Astyr's name and the use of "pulcherrimus" imitate the description of Nireus in the catalogue of the Achaeans (Iliad B 671-675; the name occurs three times, and cf. κάλλιστος in line 673). The present phrase is equivalent to the formula τεύχεα ποικίλα, which occurs at Iliad Γ 327 (inverted), Δ 432, and Z 504.

VIOLA

3x E, 1x G, 1x A, 3x Ap (8)

xi.69: "mollis violae.[5]" Pallas is compared to a violet or a hyacinth. This passage is discussed on pp. 20 and 196. The phrase is found also at Eclogues 5.38, "molli viola,[5]" where the flower is associated with the purple narcissus. The language of line 68 is influenced by Catullus 62.43 and Propertius i.20.39-40; line 69 in turn influences Ovid Metamorphoses x.190-191.

VIRECTUM

1x A, 1x Ap (2)

vi.638: "amoena virecta.[12]" Aeneas and the Sibyl arrive at the pleasant green places of Elysium. The

contribution which this phrase makes to the completion of the games tetrad in the present context is noted on pp.52-55.

VIREO

1x E, 3x G, 2x A, 6x Ap (12)

vi.206: "virere.^{3½}" The mistletoe is green with new growth, even in the winter. See AURUM in lines 204 and 208, CROCEUS in 207, and DISCOLOR in 204.

vi.679: "convalle virenti.^{12}" Anchises stands in a green valley, looking at the souls yet to be born. Aeneas' journey was undertaken in order to see his father (vi.108-109); there is a distinct release of tension and a feeling of goal attainment when Anchises is at last presented to the eyes of the reader and (a few lines later) to those of Aeneas.

VIRIDIS

11x E, 9x G, 15x A, 19x Ap (54)

iii.24: "viridem^{5}que . . . silvam.^{12}" (The phrase recurs in the plural at viii.96.) Aeneas tries to uproot the bush containing Polydorus' soul. "Silva" is used in the general sense of "undergrowth" at Georgics i.76, i.152, and ii.17.

iii.125: "viridem^{9}que Donusam." ("Donusam" is the reading of the corrector of the Schedae Vaticanae; "Donysam" is given as the original reading of the Schedae, as well as by the Mediceus and the Palatinus; most of Mynors' late MSS. read "Donisam.") Aeneas sails

past green Donusa and white Paros (see NIVEUS). This passage is discussed on pp.46-47 and 50.

iii.304: "viridi[7]. . . caespite.[9½]" Andromache pours libations on the "tomb of Hector," which is made from green straw.

v.110: "virides[9]que coronae." Green wreaths are among the prizes for victors in the games. This passage, the first occurrence of the games theme, is discussed on p.51. The colorfulness of the passage is all the more striking in view of the almost total absence of color terms in the model, Iliad Ψ 259-261.

v.129: "viridem[3]. . . metam.[12]" Aeneas sets up a green turning-point for the ship race. The turning marker is a holm oak trunk, and "viridem" here has the meaning of "fresh," in contrast to the dry stump which served as a turning-point for the chariot race at Iliad Ψ 327.

v.246: "viridi[5]que . . . tempora lauro.[12]" Aeneas crowns Cloanthus, the winner of the ship race, with green bay leaves. With the present phrase compare "viridanti tempora lauro" at v.539.

v.295: "viridi[9]que iuventa." Euryalus is described as being of green youth. The metaphor is a natural one. See vi.304 below.

v.330: "viridis[5]que. . . herbas.[12]" Nisus slips at the spot where the slaughter of the bulls had made the green foliage wet. The present phrase is a favorite

of Ovid's, as is "viridi . . . caespite" at iii.304 above. Each is used (in various cases and numbers) four times in the Metamorphoses.

v.494: "viridi[5]. . . oliva.[12]" Mnestheus had won the green olive wreath for second place in the ship race. See FLAVUS v.309.

vi.192: "viridi[3]. . . solo.[7]" Two doves come and sit on the ground in front of Aeneas. The significance of this episode is discussed on p.47.

vi.304: "viridis[9]que senectus." Charon's old age is green, that is, vigorous. This passage is discussed on pp.29-30. The idea of strength combined with age is found in Antilochus' description of Odysseus as ὠμογέροντα at Iliad Ψ 791. The present phrase is an oxymoron, since greenness is usually associated with the vigor of youth (as at v.295 above) and opposed to the white hair of old age (cf.Horace Odes i.9.17: enjoy life now, while white hair ["canities"] is absent from green ["virenti," i.e. youthful] you).

vii.800: "viridi[5]. . . luco.[12]" Among Turnus' followers are soldiers from Feronia with its green grove. The purely decorative use of color is fairly common in the catalogue; for example, "Saturae . . . atra palus" in line 801.

viii.83: "viridi[5]que in litore." A white sow with white young lies on the green shore. This passage is discussed on pp.48-49.

viii.96: "viridis[5]que . . . silvas.[12]" (Phrase

occurs at iii.24 in the singular.) The Trojan ships sail up the Tiber, cutting through the green forests. This phrase is touched upon on p.47.

viii.630: "viridi^{5}. . . antro.^{12}" The wolf which nourished Romulus and Remus lies in the green cave of Mars. The decorative use of color is also common in the description of Aeneas' shield.

The instances of this term are distributed as follows: twice at position three, eight times at position five, once at position seven, and four times at position nine.

VIRIDO

3x A, 1x Ap (4)

v.388: "viridante^{5½} toro." Entellus sits on a green couch of foliage. The presence of "herbae^{12}" in this line suggests "viridantis^{8}. . . herbas,^{12}" Lucretius ii.33 = v.1396.

v.539: "viridanti^{8} tempora lauro." Aeneas crowns Acestes with green bay leaves for winning the archery contest. With the present phrase compare "viridique . . . tempora lauro" at v.246. Cf.also "tempora ramis" at v.71, "tempora myrto" at v.72, and so forth.

vii.495: "ripa^{5}que . . . viridante.^{9½}" The pet stag rested upon the green bank of the river. On five occasions in the Aeneid Vergil depicts creatures in repose, resting on some green surface: Entellus, "viridante toro," v.388; the doves, "viridi . . . solo,"

vi.192; the stag, "ripaque . . . viridante," here at vii.495; the sow, "viridique in litore," viii.83; the wolf, "viridi . . . antro," viii.630. With the passages compare the "amoena virecta" of Elysium (vi.638) and the "convalle virenti" in which Ascanius waits (vi. 679). The color goes well with the idea of rest and repose.

VITREUS

1x G, 1x A (2)

vii.759: "vitrea[7]. . . unda.[12]" Fucinus with its glass green wave mourned for Umbo. The term refers both to the smoothness and sheen of glass and to the green color frequently assumed by the sea.

TABLE 4.--Aeneid: Distribution of Individual Color Terms

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	sum
albeo. . . .												1	1
albesco. . .				1			1						2
albus. . . .			3		4		3	3	3	2	2	3	23
argenteus. .								1					1
argentum . .	3		1		4		1	1	2	2			14
ater	4	5	6	6	6	10	7	4	8	6	5	4	71
auratus. . .	1	1			1			1	2	1	1	2	10
aureus . . .	3	1		2	1	6	3	8	3	4	5		36
auricomus. .						1							1
aurum. . . .	11	2	8	5	8	4	8	6	4	9	9	4	78
bicolor. . .					1			1					2
caerul(e)us.		1	4	1	4	1	2	4		1		1	19
candeo . . .			1	1	1	1		1	2			1	8
candidus . .					1	1	1	3	1				7
candor . . .			1									1	2
caneo. . . .					1					2			3
canities . .						1			1	2		1	5
canus. . . .	1				1			1	1				4
cereus . . .												1	1
color. . . .				2	2	2	1		1		1	1	10
concolor . .								1					1
croceus. . .	2			2		1			1		1		7
crocus . . .									1				1
decolor. . .								1					1
discolor . .						1							1
ebur	1									1	1	1	4
eburnus. . .						2			1		1		4
electrum . .								2					2
elephantus .			1			1							2
erubesco . .		1											1
ferrugineus.						1							1
ferrugo. . .									1		1		2
flammeus . .							1						1
flaveo . . .				1			1			1			3
flavus . . .	1			2	1		1		1			1	7
fulvus . . .	1	1		2	1	1	3	1		2	3	4	19
glaucus. . .						1		1		1		1	4
hyacinthus .											1		1
igneus . . .				1		1		2			2		6
lacteus. . .								1		1			2
lilium . . .						2						1	3
liveo. . . .							1						1
lividus. . .						1							1
luteus . . .							1						1
murex. . . .				1	1				1				3
niger. . . .	1		1	2	3	3	1	1	3		1	1	17
nigresco . .				1							1		2
nigro. . . .				1	1	1		1	1				5

TABLE 4, continued.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	sum
nivalis. . .			1				1					1	3
niveus . . .	1		1	1		1	1	2			1		8
nix.				1						1	1		3
ostrum . . .	2			1	2		2			1	2	2	12
papaver. . .				1					1				2
piceus . . .			1			1			3				5
pix.									1	1			2
populeus . .					1			2		1			4
populus. . .								1					1
puniceus . .					1							2	3
purpura. . .					1		1						2
purpureus. .	2		1	1	1	3			3	1	1	2	15
rosa												1	1
roseus . . .	1	1				1	2		1		1	1	8
rubeo. . . .									1	1		2	4
ruber. . . .								1	1			2	4
rubesco. . .			1				1	1					3
rubor. . . .												1	1
rutilo . . .								1					1
rutilus. . .								1			1		2
sanguineus .		1		1			1	2	1	1		3	10
trabea . . .							2				1		3
versicolor .										1			1
viola. . . .											1		1
virectum . .						1							1
vireo. . . .						2							2
viridis. . .			3		6	2	1	3					15
virido . . .					2		1						3
vitreus. . .							1						1
totals . . .	35	14	34	37	56	54	50	59	50	43	44	46	522

CHAPTER THREE

VERGIL IN CONTRAST WITH OTHER CLASSICAL AUTHORS

In the preceding chapters frequent comparison has been made between individual instances of the use of a color term, or of a cluster of color terms, in the Aeneid and similar instances in the works of other classical authors--particularly those seven other authors some of whose works are to be considered in this chapter: Homer, Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodius, Lucretius, Catullus, Horace, and Ovid. The present chapter seeks to generalize about the various ways in which these authors used color terms, emphasizing the differences between the color style of each author considered, on the one hand, and the color style of Vergil on the other.

These styles will be delineated by an examination of illustrative examples drawn from the works under consideration. The generalizations are derived from a careful reading of the works specified, with constant reference to the appropriate indices verborum, lexica, and concordances. It is true that, for a completely thorough demonstration of differences, each item of evidence should be listed and discussed at length, as

has been done with each color item in the Aeneid. However, so exhaustive a consideration of so large a body of evidence, in the course of the present study, would have resulted in disproportionate attention being paid to the micro-chromatics (if I may coin a term) of works which are not the main object of this study. It must be acknowledged that such impressionistic judgments as "frequent" or "rare," which are expressed in this chapter, are of less value than a flatly statistical approach to the data. But the object of this study is the Aeneid; consideration of other works, even though valuable, ought not to be permitted to dwarf consideration of the Aeneid.

At the outset it may be said that, in the works considered, six major ways of using color terms have been identified.[176] One may use color terms formulaicly, functionally, allusively, decoratively, cumulatively, or associatively, or (of course) in two or more of the preceding ways at once. It should be explained in what sense each of the foregoing terms is used in this chapter.

A color term is used formulaicly when it is part of a repeated phrase. In cases of frequent repetition, particularly in the writings of the earliest authors here considered, it is likely that the color element is used, not because it is thought to be especially appropriate to the particular context, but because it helps

meet a particular metrical exigency while preserving that economy of phrase which is essential to oral composition.[177] Thus, when Homer speaks of the wine-colored sea (οἶνοπα πόντον), it is not likely that he wishes to call attention to a particular color which the sea may assume; rather, it is likely that he simply wishes to find a shape for the idea of "sea" which is two feet in length and suitable for ending a line. If the gap to be filled by this idea were three feet in length, quite likely he would have said ἠεροειδέα πόντον; if two and one-half feet were desired, ἰοειδέα πόντον.

A color term is used functionally when it expresses an idea or an element which is essential to the narrative. Thus Lucretius ii.774-775: "nam quocumque modo perturbes caerula quae sint, / numquam in marmoreum possunt migrare colorem."

A term is used allusively when it suggests to the reader a similar application of that term or of a corresponding one in the works of an earlier author. For example, when Vergil calls Aurora's chariot "rosea" rather than, say, "rubra" or "punicea," the reader is to understand that this is an evocation (though not a slavish imitation) of the language of his epic predecessors.

A color term is used decoratively when it simply

adds a striking or an attractive detail (or perhaps an unattractive detail) to the picture which the author is creating. Thus, the κυάνεοι . . . δράκοντες of Iliad Λ 26 are not formulaic and do not add to the story itself, but they do contribute an attractive detail to the scene of the arming of Agamemnon.

One of the most interesting ways in which color can be used is the cumulative use, which plays an important role in epic. Colors can be used in clusters of three or four or even more color terms[178] in rapid succession at one of the climaxes of a poem. These clusters often accompany the release of long-sustained dramatic tension.

Color terms are used associatively when they link a particular episode with another episode in the same poem, or with a group of other episodes. When a cluster of colors is used repeatedly to link together several scenes, the effect may be said to be the result of the thematic use of color. Instances of this mode of artistry are discussed on pp.17-61.

Homer

The most frequent use of color terms in the Iliad and the Odyssey is the formulaic use. Examples abound; only a few need be cited (each formula is given in the case in which it occurs most frequently): νηΐ μελαίνῃ, forty-four times in the dative-accusative singular

shape (altogether, forms of μέλας modify forms of νηῦς eighty-one times in the two poems); ξανθὸς Μενέλαος, 32x; ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς, 27x; λευκώλενος Ἥρη, 24x; κῆρα μέλαιναν, 19x; οἶνοπα πόντον, 18x; νεὸς κυανοπρῴρου, 13x; Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα, 13x; μέλαν αἷμα, 12x; χλωρὸν δέος, 12x; αἷμα κελαινόν, 10x (and compare κελαινεφὲς αἷμα, 7x); ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων, 9x; and the following phrases seven times each--οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, γαῖα μέλαινα, μέλαν ὕδωρ, and χρυσόθρονος Ἠώς.

The functional use of color is present in Homer, but not frequent. The presence of a particular color is rarely important to the narrative. An example of color terms being used in this way is the black ram and ewe of Odyssey κ 524-527 and λ 32-33, where the color of the animals presumably has magical significance.

Naturally, there is no way of detecting allusions in Homer to the writings of whatever earlier Greek authors there may have been. Moreover, if the Parry hypothesis of oral composition is correct, the practice of literary allusion would be utterly foreign to the manner of the poems' genesis.

The instances of the decorative use of color terms in Homer tend to fall into one or the other of two types of narrative components: set pieces and similes. The former are extended passages in which the poet prominently displays his powers of physical description. Examples include the arming of Agamemnon

at Iliad Λ 15-46, the shield of Achilles at Iliad Σ 478-608, and the palace of Alcinous at Odyssey η 81-132. Instances of the non-formulaic use of color in similes include Iliad Δ 141-147, Ε 500-504, Ι 6, Λ 298, 474, 578, and 749 (compressed simile, with ἶσος), Ν 703, Ο 690, Π 159, 384-392, 488, Σ 161, and Odyssey ε 488 and ν 32. The fact that the non-formulaic use of color is common in the similes of the Iliad but not in the narrative may be evidence that the similes differ in date of composition from the bulk of the poem . . . possibly that they are later, as Shipp maintains on linguistic grounds.[179]

The cumulative use of color terms occurs several times in Homer, normally in connection with a relaxation of long-sustained dramatic tension. Since I am not aware that this phenomenon has previously been remarked upon, several examples will be given in some detail.

In Iliad A the tension caused by the plague is sustained virtually from the opening of the book to line 474, where the poet tells us that Apollo's φρήν rejoiced and was appeased by the prayers and hymns and sacrifices. Immediately thereafter the rosy dawn comes up, the white sails are spread, and the purple wave speeds the Achaeans back to camp (lines 477-483). There is a sense of exhilaration, of release, and it is accompanied by this three-membered color cluster.

Iliad Λ is filled with fighting up to lines 609-610, where Achilles exclaims joyfully that now the Achaeans will come and beg at his knees. He sends Patroclus to speak to Nestor; there follows a long passage in which Patroclus listens to the reminiscences of Nestor. This interlude is introduced by a color cluster of no fewer than five members (seven, if forms of χάλκεος are included) at lines 629-640, where Hecamede sets the table.

The death of Patroclus at the end of Iliad Π comes at the end of a long stretch of comparatively low color frequency which serves to heighten the tension (compare the death of Turnus [see pp.13-14] or the slaying of the suitors in Odyssey χ). This state of low color frequency continues until the first kill in the fight over Patroclus' body in Book P. The death of Euphorbus releases the tension, and the reader's attention is directed at this moment to the golden and silver wire which binds his hair, to the blood which covers it, and to the simile of the olive plant which shakes its white flowers in the breeze (lines 51-56).

At the very end of the Iliad, when the body of Hector has at last been ritually cremated, a final color cluster marks the winding down of the action of the poem. The rosy dawn comes up, Hector's white bones are gathered up, placed in a golden casket, and wrapped in purple cloths (lines 788-796).

After the tense confrontation between Telemachus and the suitors in Odyssey β, considerable tension is released at the end of the book when Telemachus' ship finally does slip away from Ithaca. The departure is accompanied by the West Wind which blows over the wine-colored sea, fills the white sails, and slaps the purple wave against the stern (lines 421-428).

In Odyssey κ, Odysseus wins his full victory over Circe when she takes the oath never to harm him and becomes his paramour (lines 346-347). Immediately after this mastering of the powerful sorceress whose magic has dominated most of this book, her maids set the table for Odysseus and Circe. Their action is accompanied by a five-member color cluster (lines 352-357).

The climactic moment of the long-sought return to Ithaca is marked by the description of the sky-blue cave (ἄντρον . . . ἠεροειδές, ν 103) where the nymphs weave sea-purple webs (φᾶρε'. . . ἁλιπόρφυρα, line 108). Only two color terms are used; the happy tone of Book μ is being carried over into ν, and the trip from Phaeacia has been a smooth one.

The most impressive instances of the cumulative use of color terms in the Odyssey are clustered at the final climax of the epic, the point toward which the whole poem has been moving: the reunion of Odysseus and Penelope. Odysseus bathes and comes forth like a hyacinth or like a work of art made of silver covered

with gold (ψ158-159). This is the first color cluster. He speaks to Penelope, and she orders their bed to be brought into the hall. Odysseus protests: who has moved his bed? He describes his carving of the bed from a living olive tree, and ends the description with mention of how he inlaid the bed with gold and silver and ivory and covered it with straps of purple (lines 200-201). This is the second and the major color cluster. No sooner has he said this than Penelope bursts into tears and they embrace (lines 207-208). They retire, Penelope wraps her white arms around her husband, and Athena holds back the rosy-fingered, golden-throned Dawn (lines 240-244). This is the third color cluster; it closely precedes the point at which some critics, both ancient and modern, have thought the poem originally ended.[180]

It is difficult to isolate instances of the associative use of color terms in Homer, since unique phrases cannot easily suggest each other, and repeated phrases may well be true formulae. Cedric H. Whitman has drawn attention to one probable case.[181] The phrase δίπλακα πορφυρέην, applied to the web of Helen at Iliad Γ 126 and to the web of Andromache at X 441, is probably used to link the two scenes. Purple is an epithet of death in the Iliad (see p.64). Helen's web is said to be embroidered with scenes of the Trojan War, while Andromache's is embroidered with flowers, which are

grave-offerings. The two women are placed in contrast: Helen thinks with vanity upon the deaths being incurred for her sake, Andromache is a figure of pathos in her ignorance of her husband's death.

Hesiod

The Theogony exhibits a rather narrow range of versatility in the use of color terms. Barely three different modes of color use are present. The principal mode is either allusive or formulaic, depending upon one's opinion as to the reason for the large number of formulae held in common with the Homeric corpus. One opinion is that Hesiod was borrowing from, and hence alluding to, the Iliad and the Odyssey; another view maintains that mainland and Ionian epic merely shared a common pool of formulaic phrases.[182] Such phrases are very common in the poem. Examples include: Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα, νύκτα μέλαιναν, ὀστέα λευκά, ἠερόεσσαν πόντον, and Ἥρης χρυσοπεδίλου. One might have added γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, since γλαυκός is used to mean "light blue" at least as early as Plato (Timaeus 68c); in Homer's works, however, the term is "found to be indefinite in hue, light in value, and probably carrying the association of 'gleaming.'"[183] It is remarkable that no new formula is introduced in the Theogony, with the solitary exception of χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην, a phrase which West considers to occur only once in "genuine" Hesiod,

and which appears only in the bracketed portions of Solmsen's edition of the poem.[184]

The only clear examples of the functional use of a color epithet in the poem occur at lines 190-191 and 283, where the etymologies of Aphrodite and Chrysaor, respectively, are explained. It is possible that the adjective in Λητὼ κυανόπεπλον (line 406) may have cult significance (see Irwin, pp.97-98).

The decorative use is represented by an occasional vivid detail, such as the golden jug with which Iris draws the water of the Styx (line 785). The names of nymphs sometimes provide apparent examples of this use of color, but the similarities of phrasing suggest that an unknown formulaic prototype is merely being modified by substitution of a new proper name: for example, Εὐνίκη ξοδόπηχυς,[12] line 246, Ἱππονόη ξοδόπηχυς,[12] line 251; Ἐνυώ τε κροκόπεπλον,[12] line 273, Τελεστώ τε κροκόπεπλον.[12]

I have found no instances of the cumulative or associative uses of color terms in the Theogony. In such a comparatively brief poem, this is not surprising.

Apollonius Rhodius

The Argonautica occasionally makes use of an original color formula, such as ξανθοῖο καρήατος Λιοσανίδαο[12] (A 1084, Γ 1017), or ξανθὰς[5] . . . ἐθείρας[12] (Γ 829, Δ 1303), but, unlike Homer and like Vergil, such

formulae tend to recur infrequently. Parry comments on Apollonius' style: "There are no formulaic lines, few formulaic phrases, and the formulaic quality of position is noticeably absent" (The Making of Homeric Verse, p.429).

The functional use of color is also rare in the poem, but a notable instance of it is to be found in the phrases which recur as the mainspring of the poem's action: χρύσε[ι]ον κῶας , A 4, B 1193, Γ 13, Δ 162, 341, 439, 1035, 1142; and δέρος χρύσειον, A 889, B 1224, Γ 88, 180, 404, Δ 87, 1319. The phrase κυανέας πέτρας is used repeatedly (A 2-3, B 317-318, 770, Δ 304, 1002-1003) with definite geographical significance. The dark clothing worn by Medea at Γ 863 and Δ 1661-1662 and by Jason at Γ 1031 and 1205 is almost certainly intended to have magical significance.

Apollonius does make use of color phrases taken directly from Homer, such as δίπλακα πορφυρέην (A 722), κελαινὸν . . . αἷμα (A 1262), κυάνεαί τε γενειάδες (A 474), κῦμα μέλαν (A 257, Δ 153), and ἠέρι μιν[ν] . . . γαῖα[ν] (Γ 864, 1190). Color allusions to Homer are often indirect: for example, ῥοδέῃσιν used with ἠῴοισιν at Γ 1020-1021 recalls ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς ; πόντου ἐπὶ γλαυκοῖο at A 182 recalls γλαυκὴ . . . θάλασσα (Iliad Π 34); the χρύσειον . . . τόξον assigned to Apollo at Δ 1709 may be a deliberate variation on ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων. Sometimes sources are combined, as in the

image of Artemis in the golden chariot (χρυσείοις Λητωὶς ἐφ' ἅρμασιν, Γ 878). Artemis is golden-throned or golden-arrowed in Homeric epic (Iliad I 529, Π 183, Υ 70; Odyssey δ 122, ε 123); the golden chariot is Hades' from the Homeric hymn to Demeter (ἐν ἅρμασι χρυσείοισι, line 431; cf.lines 19 and 375). See also Artemis' epithet of golden-reined at Iliad Z 205. To quote Parry again: "If we find almost no Homeric formulas in Apollonius, for example, it does not at all mean that they would not have helped his verse-making, but that he wanted very much to avoid them" (p.299).

The most prominent instance of the decorative use of color is the description of the Cloak of Jason at A 721-768, an extended set piece of high color frequency (especially at the beginning: πορφυρέην, line 722; ἔρευθος, 726; ἐρευθήεσσα, 727; πορφυρέη, 728). Isolated color terms are used decoratively with moderate frequency throughout the narrative sections of the poem. An excellent example is afforded by the blue spiral pattern which is said to have decorated the ball with which Zeus played as a child (ἕλιξ . . . /κυανέη, Γ 139-140).

Apollonius takes advantage of the cumulative use of color groups at significant points in the Argonautica, but is unusual in that his groups seldom exceed two members. Several examples can be cited.

The first private meeting of Jason and Medea

begins at Γ 967. After Jason's appeal, Medea succumbs. Love streams from Jason's golden head and Medea's heart grows warm like the dew on the roses (ξανθοῖο . . . ἐροδέῃσιν, lines 1017, 1020). This is the moment at which the principals fall in love, as lines 1022-1024 make clear.

Clearly, one of the most central themes of the poem is the quest for the fleece itself. At Δ 170-171 Jason finally obtains the fleece and grasps it in his own hands; the fleece casts a red glow onto his blond cheeks (ξανθῇσι . . . ἔρευθος , lines 172-173).

The murder of Apsyrtus is preceded by a long section of high dramatic tension: the pursuit, the encirclement, the quarrel between Jason and Medea, and (from Δ 421) the preparations for the ambush. This tension reaches its climax with the actual murder of Apsyrtus; his dark blood stains red the silvery garments of Medea (μέλαν, line 472; ἀργυφέην . . . ἐρύθηνεν, 474--a three-membered cluster).

Perils again threaten the Argonauts from Δ 891: the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, the Planctae. The Nereids free the Argo from the rocks; by line 963 the ship is sailing safely. The Argonauts then catch sight of the island of the Sun; mention is made of the silver crook of Phaethusa, of Lampetie's staff of shining orichalcum, and of the Sun's cattle, of which not one was dark, but all were milk-white with golden horns

(ἀργύφεον, line 972, ὀφειχάλκοιο 973, κυανέη . . . γάλακτι 977, χρυσέοισι 978). The cluster contains at least three elements--five if the first two terms are taken as part of the total visual picture of the herd.

The stranding and subsequent portage of the Argo across the sands of Africa is a perilous part of Book Delta, with the danger of death explicitly mentioned at lines 1296 and 1305-1307. Once the nine days' portage is completed, the Argonauts reach safety and relief in the Garden of the Hesperides, with its golden apples, its black-backed serpent guardian, and the Hesperides themselves, waving white arms over their blonde hair (παγχρύσεα, line 1397, κελαινήν 1402, ἀργυφέας 1407). The elements of the color pair itself are placed side by side, while two other color terms precede at a short interval.

The associative use of color terms is not well represented in the Argonautica. A few possible cases may be cited. The purple cloak which Medea dons at Δ 1661-1662 at the start of her spells against the life of Talos may be intended to recall the purple cloak which Medea sent to Apsyrtus at Δ 424-425 at the start of her preparations to take his life. The silvery veil stained by Apsyrtus' blood at Δ 473-474 may be the same one (or intended to recall the one) which Medea wore at Γ 834-835 (the phrase is formulaic, and even retains the same position: καλὸν πτερὸν/ἀργυφέην); if so, the

repetition points out the depths to which Medea has fallen, from her relative innocence in Book Gamma (cf., e.g., the simplicity reflected at Γ 814) to the premeditated murder of her own brother.

Lucretius

In his De Rerum Natura Lucretius rarely makes use of color formulae. Of those which are used, many show no tendency to preserve the order of the words or the same position in the line: "caeli caerula" at i.1090, "caerula caeli" at vi.96; "plaga caerula" at v.481, "caerula . . . plaga" at v.1374; "colorem . . . album" at ii.811, "album . . . colorem" at ii.823. More stable examples include: "nigro de semine,[10]" ii.733 and 824; "aer / ater," iv.338-339 and 345-346; "candenti lumine,[10]" v.721 and vi.1197; "viridis[7]. . . zmaragdos[12]" at ii.805, "viridi[7]. . . zmaragdi[12]" at iv.1126. Other "formulae" occur twice only because of the repetition of sizable portions of the poem; for example, "mellis . . . flavoque liquore" at i.938 and iv.13, "viridantis . . . herbas" at ii.33 and v.1396, "atrae formidinis" at iv.173 and vi.254. In still other cases, the same noun-epithet combination will be repeated in a different case with no attempt to retain the same metrical shape: "vestis . . . purpureai" at ii.52, "veste . . . / purpurea" at v.1427-1428; "poeniceusque color" at ii.830, "puniceo . . . colore"

at v.941.

The functional use of color terms is the mode upon which Lucretius relies most heavily. This fact is not surprising, considering the didactic nature of the poem, and it gives rise to an irregular alternation between lengthy passages in which few color terms, or none at all, are found and shorter sections in which color terms succeed each other with great rapidity in order to accomplish a particular end of the poet's.

Lucretius summons up large numbers of color terms on two types of occasions: first, when he wishes to expound a particular scientific doctrine regarding color in nature; second, when he wishes to conjure up the visual image of luxury and extravagance. Instances of the first sort include the extended technical treatment of the colorlessness of the atoms (ii.730-841) and portions of the discussion of the nature of vision (iv.75-76, 332-346). Instances of the second kind include the contrast of the simple life and the luxurious life (ii.23-53), and portions of the discussion of the extravagance of love affairs (iv.1126-1127, 1160-1161).

Allusions to earlier writers are occasionally found among the color phrases used by Lucretius. The reference to the golden statues of young men at ii.24ff is part of "an unusually close rendering of Homer's words"[185] at Odyssey η 100-102. Similarly, "nix . . . / cana" at iii.20-21 is part of a close imitation of

Odyssey ζ 42-46. There can be little doubt that "Tartara . . . atra" (iii.966) is the Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα found at Iliad Θ 13 and Theogony 119 (in the plural), 682, 721, and 723a. And it is probable that "mellis . . . flavoque liquore" (i.938 and iv.13) is influenced by Homer's μέλι χλωρόν (Iliad Λ 630, Odyssey κ 234), and that dawn's rosy lamp, rosy glow, and rosy torch at v.610, 656, and 976 are indebted to ἠριδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς .

Lucretius uses purely decorative colors sparingly. Nevertheless, mention should be made of "corpora fulva leonum" at v.901, "candidus anser" at iv.683 (where Cyril Bailey suspects a lost Ennian prototype), and the periphrasis "candens lacteus umor" for "lac" at i.258.

The cumulative use of color terms is not employed in the De Rerum Natura. One might have expected this device in such passages as the description of the impending destruction of the world at the end of Book Two, or the exorcism of the fear of death at the end of Book Three; but in fact both passages are virtually devoid of color terms. The associative use of color terms is also unexampled in the poem, probably because of the didactic nature of the work: there are no episodes, no continuing cast of characters.

Catullus

For the present study, four poems were selected from the Catullan corpus for consideration: numbers 45,

61, 62, and 64. Of the two marriage poems, it is of note that despite the similarity of theme there is a radical dissimilarity of chromatic treatment. Poem 61 is rich in color terms, while poem 62 uses not a single one.

Not one instance of a repeated color phrase occurs in the four poems. This may be due to the small number of lines under consideration (728), but in the case of the little epic one suspects that the Homeric practice is being deliberately avoided.

Functional use of color terms is exhibited in poem 61 in regard to the bride's attire ("luteum . . . soccum," line 10; "aureolos pedes," 160; the "flammeum" itself, lines 8 and 115) and in poem 64 in regard to the device of the sails ("ferrugine Hibera," line 227; "candidaque . . . vela," 235).

Catullus makes good use of color allusions. For example, the image of the hyacinth at 61.89 derives from Homer (Odyssey ζ 231 = ψ 158) and is borrowed immediately from Sappho's epithalamion (frag.225 Page[186]); this same image is used, without any color terms, at 62.39-47. The description of Ariadne at 64.63 as "flavo . . . vertice" derives from Hesiod's ξανθὴν Ἀριάδνην at Theogony 947. Other possible borrowings are less certain: "e gurgite cano," 64.18, compare ἁλὸς πολιῆς, used thirteen times in Homer (and four times in the accusative); "purpureo ore," 45.12, possibly from

Simonides, πορφυρέου ἀπὸ στόματος / ἵεσα φωνὰν παρθένος (frag.389 Page). Occasionally Catullus uses a color phrase which implies a mistaken interpretation of the passage to which allusion is made: "caesio . . . leoni" at 45.7 would mean "the blue-eyed lion," which arises from a misinterpretation of γλαυκιόων [λέων] ("the glaring lion") at Iliad Υ 172, no doubt on analogy with the presumed meaning of γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη (translated "caesios oculos Minervae" by Cicero, De Natura Deorum i.83). On the other hand, the poet improves on the metaphor of the torches shaking their hair, which occurs at Aeschylus Prometheus Bound 1044, by adding a color adjective appropriate to the wedding context: "aureas . . . comas," 61.95.

It is in the application of the decorative epithet that Catullus excels. Several examples may be cited: the comparison of the paleness of the bride to the white aster or the ruddy poppy (61.187-188); the red-white contrast at 64.48-49, "Indo . . . dente . . . / . . . roseo . . . purpura fuco" ("purpura" is referred to as "rose[a]" only here in Latin; the juxtaposition of the terms is probably influenced by Argonautica A 722-728, where Jason's cloak is called purple, then red, red again, then purple again; but the addition of white ivory is derived from the wounding of Menelaus at Iliad Δ 141; the combination of the two elements seems to be intended merely to create a beautiful color effect);

purple and white are again contrasted in Ariadne's lament (lines 162-163); the final occurrence of this red-white contrast is a double one, at the singing of the Fates at lines 308-309--white clothing with a purple border covers their ankles, and rosy bands rest on their snow-white heads.[187]

It may fairly be asked whether the three color clusters last mentioned constitute a cumulative or associative use of color terms. A negative response seems indicated, since the scenes in which the clusters fall do not constitute climactic moments in the narrative, are not accompanied by any reduction in dramatic tension, and appear to have little in common except the contrasting colors. Hence one is inclined to agree with Kroll: "Eine tiefere Bedeutung haben sie [d.h., die Farben] hier nicht; es kommt dem Dichter nur auf die Farbenwirkung an."[188] The only probable example of the associative use of color in the poems considered is the yellow/white contrast in poem 61, applied to Hymenaeus at the very opening (lines 9-10, "niveo . . . / luteum pede soccum") and to the bride herself in the last lines before the focus is shifted to the groom ("alba . . . luteumve," lines 187-188); the connection is facilitated by the intervening mention of the bride's "aureolos pedes" (line 160). "Luteum" retains some yellow associations even at 188, where red predominates.

Horace

The present consideration is limited to the Odes. Repeated phrases are infrequent, and the repetition is rarely precisely identical in form to the original. Examples include: "flavum Tiberim" at i.2.13 and i.8.8, "flavus Tiberis" at ii.3.18; "atra cura" at iii.1.40, "atras / . . . curas" at iii.14.13-14, "atrae / . . . curae" at iv.11.35-36. At times repetition is avoided with apparent deliberation, as in the sequence "candentis umeros," "candidos / . . . umeros," "albo . . . umero" (i.2.31, i.13.9, and ii.5.13, respectively).

The functional use of color is common in the Odes; a color term is often used to convey a particular non-color meaning. Thus at ii.2.15-16, the body is "albo" because it is sick, pale with illness. At ii.10.5 moderation is called "auream" because of its excellence. The sea off Sicily is called "purpureum" at ii.12.2-3 not arbitrarily, but because of the blood of the Carthaginians slain in naval encounters there. The phrase "albescens . . . capillus" at iii.14.25 illustrates one of the most frequent and most obvious instances of functional color: one says the hair is growing white in order to convey the idea that the man is growing old.

Allusions to color phrases in the works of ear-

lier writers are particularly common in these poems. The following examples are illustrative. At i.2.2-3, "rubente / dextera [Iovis]" is a reference to Pindar Olympian 9.6, Δία τε φοινικοστερόπαν. The phrase "albus . . . / . . . Notus" at i.7.15 (which itself is likely to have influenced the choice of epithets at iii.7.1, "candidi / . . . Favonii," and at iii.27.19, "albus / . . . Iapyx") has a long pedigree: ἀργεστάο Νότοιο at Iliad Λ 306 and Φ 334, ἀργεστὴν Ζέφυρον at Theogony 379 and ἀργεστέω Ζεφύροιο ibid.870, possibly ἀργέστao νότου at Apollonius Rhodius Δ 1628 (the reading of four major MSS., but rejected by Fränkel[189]). At i.10.18-19 mention is made of Mercury's "virga . . . / aurea"; for its literary precedents, see pages 118-119 and note 123. Homer uses the phrase μέλανος θανάτοιο four times; this is reflected in "morti . . . atrae" at i.28.13. Odes i.32.11-12, which states that Alcaeus never forgot Lycus of the dark hair and dark eyes, is taken to be an allusion to a lost poem or poems of that writer (frag.186 Page). The opening of ii.18, where the poet declares that no ivory or gold gleams in his house, is an imitation of Bacchylides encomium 20B (Snell) line 13, χρυσῷ δ' ἐλέφαντί τε μαρμαίρουσιν οἶκοι.

Purely decorative applications of color terms are also well represented. Again, only a selection will be given: Pyrrha's "flavam . . . comam" (i.5.4),

"Phyllidis flavae" (ii.4.14), "flava . . . Chloe" (iii.9.19), Neaera's "murreum . . . crinem" (iii.14.22),[190] "Ganymede flavo" (iv.4.4)--the poet might simply have used "pulcher" in any or all of the foregoing, but evidently wished to be more vivid. One may also note such vivid phrases as "cervicem roseam" (i.13.12), "viridis . . . colubras" (i.17.8), "aureis cululis" (i.31.10-11), and so forth.

The cumulative use of color terms is absent from the Odes. Because of the nature of the work, there is no continuing action which moves toward high points or climaxes. It is not Horace's practice to place more than two color terms in proximity over a short stretch of lines; and those points at which several colors are implied are not placed at particularly significant points in the poems.For example, the reader may be intended to derive an impression of red, green, and white from "rosae / . . . apium . . . lilium" at i.36.15-16; but the context is a trivial one.

Horace appears to have made amoderate use of the associative properties of color in these poems. Thus, when the poet says at iv.8.33 that Father Liber wears a green vine-wreath around his temples, the reader is certainly intended to recall the earlier occurrence of the phrase at iii.25.20, where the poet puts on such a wreath in honor of Bacchus.[191] It has recently been suggested that the color green is used to contribute to

the unity of i.17 ("viridis . . . colubras," line 8, "vitreamque Circen," line 20).[192] In any event, there is a definite use of the color black to link together many of the references to the underworld (see pp.98-99 and notes 82 and 110 for citations).

Ovid

In the Metamorphoses, the only work of Ovid's considered for this study, the various color uses distinguished in the preceding pages tend to fuse, to overlap, and to be combined. Ovid uses color terms abundantly; moreover, he tends to use them out of exuberance, out of sheer delight in the brilliant color combinations which he calls into being. A recent critic has commented: "Of all the Latin poets, Ovid is the most sensitive to bright colours and their contrasts . . . He inherited and enlarged this bequest of the Hellenistic poets to their Roman neoteric followers . . ."[193]

Some particular examples will serve to illustrate Ovid's color style. The following couplet occurs in the description of Europa's bull:

> et nunc adludit viridique exsultat in herba
> nunc latus in fulvis niveum deponit harenis
> (ii.864-865).

The phrase "viridi^{5}que . . . in herba^{12}" is a repeated one, occurring also at iii.502; it is in position and shape the same formula as "virides . . . herbas," which

occurs at iii.86, ix.655, Fasti iii.525 (cf.Fasti iv.395, "virides . . . herbae," and Metamorphoses x.87, "viridem . . . herbae," always in the same positions) and is itself an allusion to Aeneid v.330, "viridis[5] . . . herbas[12]" (note "iuvencis" in line 329). The phrase "fulvis[5]. . . harenis[12]" is repeated in identical form at xi.355 (which refers to the bulls of Peleus) and in the same position with changes only of inflection at ix.36 (note "viridem" in line 32), x.716, xi.499, Ex Ponto iv.4.11, Ibis 47, Tristia iv.6.31. The same phrase occurs four times in the Aeneid (v.374, vi.643, xii.276, and xii.741), in three of which instances the same positions in the line are used. And "latus . . . niveum" alludes both to Eclogues 6.53 ("latus niveum," Pasiphae's bull) and Odes iii.27.25 ("niveum . . . / . . . latus," Europa's bull, as in the present passage). The combination of these three elements in the present context exemplifies several properties of Ovid's color style: (1) the frequency with which he borrows his phrases from earlier writers; (2) his fondness for repeating the same phrases, sometimes in different cases, but normally in the same positions; and (3) his fondness for using several colors in combination, even in scenes where his primary model used no colors at all (as at Moschus 2.99, very possibly the general model for this passage).

The death of Hyacinth affords another example of

Ovidian color style:

> ut, siquis violas rigidumve papaver in horto
> liliaque infringat fulvis horrentia linguis,
> marcida demittant subito caput illa gravatum
> . . . . . .
> ipsa sibi est oneri cervix umeroque recumbit
> (x.190-192,195).

Ovid reworks material used by several of his predecessors:

> μήκων δ' ὡς ἑτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἥ τ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ,
> καρπῷ βριθομένη νοτίῃσί τε εἰαρινῇσιν,
> ὣς ἑτέρωσ' ἤμυσε κάρη πήληκι βαρυνθέν
> (Iliad Θ 306-308)

> οἷον δὲ τρέφει ἔρνος ἀνὴρ ἐριθηλὲς ἐλαίης
> χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, ὅθ' ἅλις ἀναβέβροχεν ὕδωρ,
> καλὸν τηλεθάον· τὸ δέ τε πνοιαὶ δονέουσι
> παντοίων ἀνέμων, καί τε βρύει ἄνθεϊ λευκῷ·
> ἐλθὼν δ' ἐξαπίνης ἄνεμος σὺν λαίλαπι πολλῇ
> βόθρου τ' ἐξέστρεψε καὶ ἐξετάνυσσ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ.
> (Iliad P 53-58)

> οἷον τὰν ὐάκινθον ἐν ὤρεσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες
> πόσσι καταστείβοισι, χάμαι δέ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος
> (Sappho frag.225 Page)

> βριθόμενοι πλαδαροῖσι καρήασιν, ἠρήρειντο·
> ἔρνεα πω τοίνς, Διὸς ἄσπετον ὄμβρησαντος
> (Argonautica Γ 1398-1399)

> . . . cecidit velut prati
> ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
> tactus aratro est.
> (Catullus 11.22-24)

> . . . [flos] nullo convolsus aratro
> . . . . . .
> idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui
> (Catullus 62.40,43)

> et circum irriguo surgebant lilia prato
> candida purpureis mixta papaveribus.
> quae modo decerpens tenero pueriliter ungui
> proposito florem praetulit officio
> (Propertius i.20.37-40)

> it cruor inque umeros cervix conlapsa recumbit:
> purpureu veluti cum flos succisus aratro
> languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
> demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur
> (Aeneid ix.434-437)

> qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
> seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi
> (Aeneid xi.68-69)

Ovid's use of "violas" refers to Aeneid xi.69 (where the flower is paired with the hyacinth), and may be a preparation for the particular color which the transformed hyacinth assumes at lines 211-213.[195] The "papaver in horto" refers to Iliad Θ 306, Propertius 1.38, and Aeneid ix.436. The "lilia" is from Propertius 1.38, and also retains the color value of the white olive flowers at Iliad P 56 (lilies are definitely white for Ovid: see x.212-213); it also prepares for the lily-like shape of the hyacinth mentioned below. The yellow pistils are an original detail, and a colorful one. Even the non-color language of the present passage indicates the extent of the borrowing. The choice of "infringat" for the verb in line 191 retains the idea of a casual plucking which is found in Catullus 62.43, Propertius i.20.39-40, and Aeneid xi.68. With "demittant caput" in line 192 compare "demisere caput," Aeneid ix.437; with "gravatum" compare "gravantur" in the same source (both occupy the same position in the line); with "cervix[7] umeroque recumbit[12]" at line 195 compare "umeros cervix[7]. . . recumbit[12]" at Aeneid ix.434. Note that, while Ovid has been

quite selective in choosing motifs from his various models (he has used neither the rain motif found in both Iliad passages, in the Argonautica, and in Aeneid Book Nine, nor the plow motif found in both Catullan passages and in Aeneid Nine), he has included every color detail from his models ("purpureus" is only momentarily delayed) and has even added one new detail, the yellow pistils.

When the transformation is complete, Ovid launches into a second burst of color terms:

> ecce cruor, qui fusus humo signaverat herbas,
> desinit esse cruor, Tyrioque nitentior ostro
> flos oritur formamque capit quam lilia, si non
> purpureus color his, argenteus esset in illis
> (x.210-213).

The "cruor" in lines 210 and 211 is probably influenced by the use of "cruor" at Aeneid ix.434.[196] "Tyrio . . . ostro" represents another intensification of the color possibilities of the passage (the phrase is also found at Heroides 12.179). "Lilia" in 212 is a link back to line 191, suggests the combination of lilies and purple flowers at Aeneid vi.883, and also plays a functional role: it tells the shape of the flower. "Purpureus color" in 213 plays a multitude of roles. It is a repeated phrase (used in the accusative at iii.485 and xiv.393 and in the ablative at iv.127). It is an allusion to previous writers both as a phrase (Lucretius vi.1074, Horace Odes ii.5.12, Vergil Aeneid xi.819) and in its application to the hyacinth (Sappho

frag.225 Page [see p.279], Euphorion frag.26, and cf. Aeneid ix.435). It is functional, in that it tells the reader the color of the flower, whereby it may be differentiated from the lily. It is associative, in that it links the present metamorphosis with the similar metamorphoses of Narcissus (iii.485) and Ajax (xiii. 395). It is decorative as part of a white-red/purple pair of which the poet is very fond (for example, iii.481-485, vi.48-49, vi.577, vii.103, viii.33, viii.676-677, x.594-596). And it is cumulative, in that it is part of a color cluster which coincides with the end of the episode.

Given such a fondness for color clusters and so long a poem, certain combinations are bound to recur, even in scenes which the poet had no desire to link. See notes 49 and 68.

Vergil

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the Aeneid exhibits many color techniques also found in the other works considered. Vergil's stock of repeated phrases is small, and the number of such repetitions rarely exceeds two per phrase. Moreover, such repeated phrases generally are mobile as to position within the line. In these respects Vergil's style resembles that of Apollonius, Lucretius, and Horace, differing greatly from Homer, Hesiod, and Ovid. The

theory of oral composition would account for the heavy reliance on formulae of all sorts on the part of the first two authors in the latter group, but not on Ovid's part. Ovid's stronger tendency to leave color phrases[197] in the same position in the line (except where inflection changes the number of syllables involved), and to repeat them more frequently than Vergil does, even when no special association of scenes seems intended, implies that the variety of phrasing found in Vergil (noted on pp.44, 88-89,90-91, and note 50) is the result of a deliberate desire on the part of the poet to avoid self-repetition, or at least to severely limit its frequency. This inference serves to strengthen Sparrow's contention that the repeated lines in the Aeneid may be "tibicines."[198]

The functional use of color terms is not common in the Aeneid. Instances of its use tend to be subsumed into more complex color techniques. For example, it is essential that the reader learn that the sow at viii.81-83 is white; but the adjective "candida" is not allowed to remain in isolation--it is quickly caught up into the thematic green/white association which has been discussed at pp.46-50. The golden bough represents the only major instance in which the color element is important to the story but stands apart from any associative, thematic, or cumulative use.

Vergil's use of color allusion is another index

of the complexity of the artistic accomplishment represented by the Aeneid. Thus, the description of Aeneas at i.589-593 is based on two passages in Homer, and the description of Dido's banquet hall at i.639-640 also derives ultimately from Homer. But the models are not taken over unchanged: in the former instance the hyacinth is removed (and thereby a conflict with a different motif, the purple flower's death associations, is avoided) while its color is retained; in the latter the element of purple, absent from the original, is added by Vergil. Moreover, neither scene is allowed to stand alone as a mere pretty picture with pedigree, in the Ovidian manner; both are incorporated into the hero theme described on pp.55-58.

Again, the piebald horse of the younger Priam is drawn from a Homeric model (see BICOLOR at v.566); but the allusion is not allowed to hang in a vacuum. Instead, the colors of the horse are used as part of a color complex used with considerable consistency to foreshadow a reversal in Aeneas' fortunes (see pp.30-33).

To cite another example of Vergil's reworking of color allusions to fit his artistic purpose, one may mention the snake at Anchises' tomb (see CAERULEUS at v.87). This passage draws upon Hesiod's Shield of Heracles and upon Vergil's own writings in Georgics Book Three; the verbal parallels are unusually close. The

element of black, which appears in both of the models, is deleted in the Aeneid passage. This is intended to be a positive omen, and the associations of black are regularly negative in the poem (see pp.65-67). Vergil chooses to retain the emotionally neutral color blue from Hesiod and to add the color gold, the associations of which are generally positive in the Aeneid.

This degree of complexity and purposefulness in color allusions is unparalleled in the works considered, except by Ovid at his best moments.

The decorative use of color is rare in the Aeneid (with the exception of certain extended passages, e.g. the catalogues). In this respect, too, Vergil differs from the other authors considered, particularly from Catullus, Horace, and Ovid, whose fondness for decorative color has been noted. The fact that instances of the decorative use do tend to be frequent within such sections of the poem as the catalogues of Italy and of Etruria and the "set piece" description of the shield of Aeneas indicates that in this respect Vergil is adhering to the practice of his predecessors in the epic genre. Exceptions do occur: "viridi . . . caespite," iii.304, "flaventem . . . / . . . Clytium" at x.324-325, and so forth.

The associative use of colors in the Aeneid has been considered at length on pp.17-71. On the basis of the evidence set forth in that discussion and in this

chapter, it is contended that Vergil's use of colors to associate scenes and to carry continuing motifs in the Aeneid is greatly more extensive than can be found in the other works considered. Of the seven other authors surveyed in the course of this study, only Ovid uses the associative potential of color terms in more than a handful of instances. And it is of note that, whereas in the Aeneid the color combinations are applied with great care and consistency, the color clusters of the Metamorphoses are often used in indiscriminate profusion. One would be hard pressed, for example, to find a common element in the scenes (listed on p.282) in which the white-red/purple combination occurs.

Differences such as those found between Vergil and Ovid on the score of formulaic and associative uses of color terms indicate that Vergil's accomplishment in color artistry is uniquely his own. He does not surpass his predecessors' accomplishments only because (to paraphrase Newton) he stands upon their shoulders. He also surpasses his most outstanding successor in hexameter narrative. He achieved a consistency of effect which Ovid either could not match or did not wish to match (one hesitates to suggest that some of his effects may have gone unnoticed by the younger writer).

Equally instructive is the contrast between Vergil and his predecessors in the epic form, which is particularly apparent from a comparison of their dif-

ferent application of the cumulative use of color terms. Both the (presumably) oral Homer and the literary Apollonius use color clusters or color pairs at certain climaxes in their narratives. Vergil is certainly aware of this potential (see pp.44-45, 46-50, 52, 54, 173, and 246) but avoids the cumulative use of colors at places where a lesser artist might have indulged in it. Thus, unlike the Iliad and the "original" Odyssey, the poem as a whole does not end in a burst of colors, but in gloom. There is no burst of colors at the calming of the storm in Book One (contrast Argonautica Δ 972-978, where the Argonauts escape death on the deep), or at the escape from Troy (only the morning star and the dawn at ii.801, without color epithets), or at Aeneas' reunion with his father in Book Six (contrast Odysseus' reunion with Penelope in Odyssey ψ), or at the deaths of any of the Trojans' major adversaries--Lausus, Mezentius, Camilla, Turnus. The use of clusters of unsettlingly ambiguous implications has been noted (pp.54-56) as present in two places where a more straightforward color climax might have been expected: at the end of the pageant of Roman heroes in Book Six and at the giving of the arms in Book Eight. In addition, the color clusters at the opening of Book Twelve (lines 66-69 and 84-91) do not accompany any lessening of dramatic tension.

It is my opinion that this difference is a result

of Vergil's sense of the tragic cost of victory, a sense which permeates the whole poem. For Aeneas there are no clear cut victories, no full relaxations of tension, no occasions for triumph music to be played as the hero goes off to enjoy the fruits of victory. Every step costs immense pain. He escapes from Troy but loses his wife. He is denied both Dido and an easy conscience over her death. His arrival in Italy and his descent into Hades each cost a life. His victory in the Latin war costs him the life of Pallas and all chance for magnanimity. The cumulative use of color terms is absent from the poem because the sense of relief which it betokens is never wholly present.

NOTES

1. This has been remarked upon by many writers. Florence Elizabeth Wallace, "Color in Homer and in Ancient Art," Smith College Classical Studies, No.9 (Northampton, Mass., Dec.1927), p.4: "Not even the most casual reader can fail to observe that Homer uses expressions of color in a very strange way. . . . The colors seem oddly applied." Alice Elizabeth Kober, The Use of Color Terms in the Greek Poets (Geneva, N.Y.: W.F.Humphreys Press, 1932), p.116: "There can be no doubt that the Greek poets did not distinguish colors carefully. . . . They use, apparently, the term which best suits their whim, or the meter. . . . A good deal of the confusion in our minds about πορφυρ- and κυαν- is undoubtedly due to the carelessness of the Greeks themselves." Idem, "Some Remarks on Color in Greek Poetry," The Classical Weekly 27 (1934), p.189: "Any investigation into the use of color terms by an ancient people immediately surprises us by revealing certain unexpected peculiarities. . . . They [classical writers] . . . seem, as a whole, almost entirely incapable of understanding that differences in the shades of a given color exist." Eleanor Irwin, Colour Terms in Greek Poetry (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), pp.3-5: "Homer . . . is apt to use colour terms in strange ways. . . . Matters do not improve much in the later poets." She cites the saffron-dyed drop of blood (Aeschylus Agamemnon 1121), blue earth (Pindar frag. 33b4), green blood (Euripides, Hecuba 127). Jacques André, Étude sur les Termes de Couleur dans la Langue Latine (Paris: Librairie C.Klincksieck, 1949), pp.396-397: "On pourrait supposer que ces difficultés de traduction proviennent en partie d'une insuffisance de la terminologie chromatique latine. Les Romains avaient constaté la déficience de leurs moyens d'expression par rapport aux nuances multiples de la nature (Gell., N.A. ii.26.2, 'quod multiplex colorum facies, appellationes autem incertae et exiguae forent')."

2. For Greek, by far the best study of color terms with which I am familiar is that by Eleanor Irwin; for Latin, that by Jacques André (see note 1).

3. Cf. André Bellesort in his introduction to Virgile, Énéide, ed. Henri Goelzer (Paris: Editions des Belles Lettres [Budé], 1925), III, xxii.

4. André, pp.413-418.

5. For example, "aereus" (used ten times in the Aeneid) is never used of anything which is not actually made out of bronze; the corresponding statement cannot be made of "aureus" (see Aeneid ii.488, vi.792, vii.190, vii.210, viii.324, x.16, xi.832). Similarly, "cruentus" (twenty-two times in the Aeneid) is always used of blood-covered objects, not blood-colored objects (the only exception in Vergil is at Georgics i.306); "sanguineus," on the other hand, is used of blood-colored objects as often as or more often than of blood-covered objects (see pp.26-28, 239-243).

6. These uncertainties are evident in John Sargeaunt, The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil (Oxford: B.H.Blackwell, 1920). Most of them remain despite the careful study by Elfriede Abbe, The Plants of Virgil's Georgics (Ithaca,N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965).

7. Viktor Pöschl, Die Dichtkunst Virgils (Wiesbaden: Rohrer Verlag, 1950), pp.279-282: "Ueberblicken wir das gesamte Werk, so lässt sich gleichfalls eine grosse Bewegung von Licht und Schatten erkennen. Das erste Drittel des Gedichtes (I-IV) ist in Dunkel gehalten. . . . Die Höhe und Mitte des Gedichtes (V-VIII) dagegen strahlt im Licht. . . . Das letzte Drittel (IX-XII) ist wieder in dunleren Farben gestalten. . . . Dunkel--Licht--Dunkel: die also ist der Rhythmus, der das Epos in seiner Gesamtheit beherrscht."

8. For an itemized listing of the particular terms used in each book with their respective frequencies per book, see Table 4 on pp.251-252.

9. For example, ix.163, 258-271, 304-305, 349, 357-360, 432-437.

10. Pauline Turnbull, "Vergil: Painter with Words," Classical Journal 42 (1946), p.100: "Shade is often terror-provoking as in the inlet at Carthage when Aeneas moored his fleet. On the bank above, the frightening shadows of the woods set the stage with a mysterious atmosphere." Note Vergil's choice of words: "minantur / . . . scopuli," "desuper horrentique antrum nemus imminet umbra," lines 162-163, 165.

11. Percentage figures are least indicative when based on data expressed in small whole numbers, as is the

case here. However, the figures cited are indicative of the consistency of the direction of term frequency variation, even if not too much stress can be placed on the magnitude of fluctuation.

Because assessments of mood ("gloomy" and "joyful" passages) are necessarily subjective, I have deliberately selected those books about the mood transitions of which there is likely to be the least disagreement among critics.

12. The last color occurrence in the poem, the spear thrust which brings down Turnus and which is compared to a black storm ("atri turbinis instar," line 923) recalls the first three color occurrences in the poem, all of which are instances of "ater" in the vicinity of the storm sequence (i.60, 89, 165).

13. At viii.672 together with white ("cano"; "argento" in line 673).

14. See Bernard Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame," American Journal of Philology 71 (1950),pp.379-400.

15. This corresponds with the tripartite division i-iv, v-viii, ix-xii made by Pöschl (see note 7), by Karl Büchner, "P.Vergilius Maro," RE cols.418 and 420, and by George E. Duckworth, Structural Patterns and Proportions in Virgil's Aeneid (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), p.11.

16. Specifically, the last 22% of Book One (lines 588-756) contains 52% of the instances of color terms in the book; the last 16% (lines 637-756) contains 37% of such instances. See also pp.8-10.

17. See pp.279-282 for instances of the use of the purple flower image elsewhere in classical literature. A few instances of the use of the black cloud image are given on p.92.

18. Sargeaunt, p.97: "In a wild state both varieties have white petals slightly tinged with lilac, and carrying a purple blotch at the base. Under cultivation the flowers often are red or crimson on pure white and frequently double." Pliny, N.H.xix.8.53: "flore rufo."

19. Servius ad loc.: "incongrue videtur positum ut soporifera species pervigili detur draconi." Because of this adjective Schrader deleted the entire line, while Ribbeck placed it after 517 and Cima (Analecta Latina 1901, 15) after 509 (cf.

Arthur Stanley Pease, ed., Publii Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935). John Conington, ed., Vergili Opera, Vol.II, 3rd ed. (London: Whittaker & Co., 1876), ad loc.: "mal a propos." T.L.Papillon and A.E.Haigh, eds., Virgil (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), II, p.115: "curiously inappropriate here." T.E.Page, ed., The Aeneid of Virgil (London: Macmillan & Co., 1923), I, p.381: "indefensible." The defenders of the epithet devised remarkable excuses: R.G.Austin, ed., Aeneidos Liber Quartus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p.146: "I wonder, however, if the mixture was intended medicinally, when the dragon was ill . . . ."

20. The "candida pectora" at ix.432 is outside the simile itself, and the adjective is not always chromatic (see next note). But, if this element were judged to be both chromatic and closely linked to the purple flower (and the "cruor" which covers Euryalus at line 434 is of course red, though mere use of the term may not necessarily suggest its color), it would not be difficult to see the link between Marcellus and Euryalus. Both die premature deaths, both exemplify the sorrow of loss, the waste of the young, which accompanies empire.

21. It is certainly improbable that the lilies are to be identified with the purple flowers (such an identification is made by R.D.Williams, Aeneidos Liber Quintus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), ad v.79. Vergil speaks of "alba . . . lilia" at Georgics iv.130-131 and never speaks of any other color of lily. ("Candida . . . lilia" at Aeneid vi.708-709 is not conclusive, since "candidus" can be used as a pure color term or a pure brightness term, or both at once: see André, pp.31-38.) One should note the very hesitant way in which Theophrastus and Dioscorides express their belief in the mere existence of a purple lily (vi.6.3 and iii.16 respectively, quoted by Abbe p.47). For the whiteness of lilies, see Propertius ii.3.10 and Ovid Metamorphoses x.212-213.

22. See note 17.

23. Sargeaunt, pp.136-137.

24. Sargeaunt, pp.57-58; Abbe, pp.53-63; Euphorion fr.26; Ovid Metamorphoses x.213; Hermann Breitenbach,ed., Metamorphosen (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1958), p.680; Erich Rösch,ed., Metamorphosen (München: Ernst Heimeran Verlag, 1964), p.638; Sir

James G. Frazer, The Golden Bough (3rd ed.,London: Macmillan Co., 1913-1919), V, 313-314.

25. Sargeaunt, p.98.

26. Moreover, as Servius remarks ad loc.: "nec incongrue ad amaritudinem amoris mel adhibet, ad oblivionem papaver." For honey and poppy as a delicacy, see Horace Ars Poetica 375, "sardo cum melle papaver"; Ovid Fasti iv.151; Pliny N.H. xix.8.53.

27. They are: i.511, ii.356, ii.516, iii.572, iv.120, iv.248, v.512, v.516, v.693-694, v.696, viii.258, x.264, x.603, x.664, xi.596, xii.923.

28. Paris at Iliad Γ 380-383, Aeneas at Υ 321-342, Agenor at Φ 597, Odysseus at Odyssey η 15; cf. Apollonius Γ 210-214.

29. Aeneas will learn through the events of Books Ten and Eleven. Contrast his attitude as expressed in viii.540 with that expressed by him at xii.313-317. Brooks Otis disagrees with this analysis: "He [Vergil] now presents Aeneas as a quite static figure, unchanging and foursquare in his pietas" (p.313).

30. Similarly ambiguous is the blue rainfall ("caeruleus . . . imber") at v.10. On the one hand it prevents the Trojans from sailing to Italy; on the other, it precedes and is an indirect cause of the funeral games the associations of which are emotionally positive, even joyful. The blue rainfall at iii.194 sets the Trojans on a course which leads to their unpleasant encounter with the Harpies, but also to their reunion with their kindred at Buthrotum.

31. For further evidence of ambiguity in this passage, see pp.60-61, 66, and note 81.

32. The passage compares very favorably with other chromatic descriptions of blushing in Latin literature, which are numerous: Ennius Annales x.frag.15 (Vahlen); Catullus 61.185-188; Propertius ii.3.9-12; [Tibullus] iii.4.29-34; Ovid Metamorphoses iii.183-185, 423, iv.329, vi.48-49; Statius Thebaid i.537-538; and so forth. The Greek authors considered for this study seem to have made less use of the color effects involved in blushing; see the paucity of color in the blushing of Medea, Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica Γ 296-298. On the other hand, color is used generously at Callimachus Hymn to the Bath of Pallas 27-28.

33. Color can be used to express the almost inexpressible. Dante uses it to express the realities embodied by the three beings to whom each canticle of his Comedy has led: Satan at Inferno xxxiv.37-45, Christ at Purgatorio xxix.112-114, the Trinity at Paradiso xxxiii.115-120.

34. It should also be remembered that the choice of "sanguineus" may also have been influenced by the fact that in the Homeric original for this simile (Iliad Δ 141-147), the substance which is putting the red stain on white is real blood, the blood of Menelaus.

35. Such a gruesome inversion of a pair of terms with normally pleasing connotations reminds one of the effect produced in Berlioz' Symphonie Fantastique by the insertion of the theme of the beloved, horribly deformed but still quite recognizable, into the terrors of this fifth movement--which movement, like the passage under discussion,is a descent into Hell.

36. Otis, p.290: "The mythological Hades represents Aeneas' past in the reverse of the temporal order: here he meets first Palinurus, second Dido, third Deiphobus. . . . They . . . stand for the dead past."

37. Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae ii.26.11: "Fulvus autem videtur de rufo atque viridi mixtus, in aliis plus viridis, in aliis plus rufi habere." See also André, pp.132-134.

38. Note that the term "color" is often modified by a chromatic adjective in other Latin poets considered for this study (Lucretius ii.764, 793, 811-812, 830, v.785, 941, vi.1074 and so forth, and cf. vi.1188; Horace, Odes ii.4.3, 5.2; Ovid Metamorphoses iii.485, iv.127, vii.678, x.213, xiv.393 and so forth), but the combination occurs in Vergil only here. The phrase is not an automatic one nor one natural to the poet; its use here is very deliberate.

39. See also p.66 note 80.

40. The fragment is preserved in Servius' note on Aeneid vii.612: "Suetonius in libro de genere vestium dicit tria genera esse trabearum: unum dis sacratum quod est tantum de purpura; aliud regum, quod est purpureum, habet tamen album aliquid; tertium augurale de purpura et cocco."

41. This is the precise word which Dido applies to her relationship with Aeneas at iv.316: "per inceptos hymenaeos . . ."

42. Dido and Pallas are already linked by the fact that each is the central tragic figure of one of the poem's halves. Otis, p.418: "The second set (iv,x) [is] the main action books (the great tragedies: Dido, Pallas) of each section."

43. Gifts from Sidonian Dido, when explicitly mentioned, presage or accompany disaster. At ix.266 Ascanius offers Nisus the mixing bowl given by "Sidonia Dido" (same epithet and position as at xi.74; these are the only two instances in the latter half of the poem in which Dido is mentioned by name). Moreover, the mention of Ascanius' horse ("Sidonio . . . equo, quem candida Dido / . . . dederat," v.571-572) immediately precedes the reversal of fortune for the worse.

44. Servius ad loc.: "quidam reprehenderunt non convenisse in ruina et exitio civitatis Venerem roseo ore loqui cum filio." Papillon and Haigh offer no comment on this line, nor does T.E.Page. Conington merely translates the phrase. The only comment on the phrase offered by R.G.Austin, ed., P.Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), is: "conventional." The use of the adjective here recalls Venus' apparition to Aeneas at i.402 with "rosea cervice." The rose is particularly the flower of Venus: see note 83.

45. The omission of the color white from Vergil's description of Pallas' bier (it is mentioned in the Suetonius passage: "eburneus") is significant. Had it been included here, a purple-gold-white triad would have resulted; this triad has its own thematic associations, which would have been inappropriate in this scene full of tears.

46. Mary Emma Armstrong, The Significance of Certain Colors in Roman Ritual (Menasha,Wis.: George Banta Co., 1917), p.30.

47. Otis, pp.243-244.

48. Ibid., p.313: "[Vergil] does not in fact hide his aversion to war or his strong preference for peace; all his own tastes and values seem to contradict and discount his martial subject."

49. In the case of Ovid one thinks particularly of such

passages as Metamorphoses ii.112-113, iii.183-184, vi.47-49.

50. See John Sparrow, Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), pp.85-87.

51. The mention of Aurora at vi.535 should not be added to this total, for there the reference is to noon, and moreover the scene is in the underworld where Aurora cannot be seen. Furthermore, the three passages discussed in the text are linked by the use of forms of "rubesco" and "rubeo" which do not appear in Book Six.

52. Homer and Apollonius make use of color clusters and color pairs in this same connection. See pp.258-261, 265-267.

53. See, for example, Servius ad loc. and John Conington ad loc.

54. It should be noted that this is only a brief relief of tension; Aeneas is soon involved in the burial of Misenus and the descent itself. Perhaps this is why the element of white, instead of being made explicit here, is left implicit in "columbae."

55. Sargeaunt, p.105: "The leaves are green above and white beneath." See Aeneid viii.276.

56. Only one change is made in the repetition: in the final line, "is" is changed to "hic." In Book Eight, line 46 is omitted by the Mediceus and the Palatinus and is bracketed by Mynors.

57. In the fifth foot five times out of seven. The other displacement is at ix.432, to the fourth foot, where great emotional emphasis is also desired: the sword pierces Euryalus' white body.

58. "Ater" occurs four times in the story of Cacus (viii.198, 219, 258, 262) and never elsewhere in Book Eight.

59. Otis, pp.330-331, 335.

60. Hercules brought the poplar back from Hades: Servius ad Aeneid v.134. Cf. Eclogues 7.61, Georgics ii.66, Aeneid viii.276.

61. Two other instances of "populeus" are not considered in this series because the first (v.134) is part of a larger color cluster, while the second

(x.190) occurs within the second catalogue, a section in which color terms are applied in an almost exclusively decorative manner.

62. Lines 246, 309, 494, 539. Aeneas wears myrtle at line 72; Ascanius and his companions wear wreaths of unspecified foliage at line 556.

63. Prior to Book Nine, the pair is found only in Aeneas' gifts to Dido and to Latinus.

64. Servius ad Aen.i.591 takes "lumen purpureum" as "pulchrum." Cf.John Conington ad Ec.5.38: "'Purpureus' is applied not only to purple or red, but to any bright colour. . . . So 'purpureum lumen,' A.1.590, 6.540."

65. The most striking examples on which is based the contention that "purpureus" in classical Latin literature may mean merely "bright, shining" (cf.André pp.99-100; C.J.Fordyce, Catullus: A Commentary [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961], p.206) do not actually afford firm footing for such a contention.

The received text of Elegia in Maecenatem i.62 is: "bracchia purpurea candidiora nive." But the second word is almost certainly wrong. Consider the frequent manuscript errors in the vicinity: "thyrsos" in 61 is surely an error, since the thyrsus is introduced as for the first time in 63; "Bacchea," the probable reading of the archetype (Kenney's critical note: "bacchea vel sim. ZM, bache B") for the first word of 62, is definitely wrong, being influenced by the form "Bacche" in 57 and 66; the original copyist of codex Bruxellensis wrote something like "candidiora" for "memini" in 61, his eye having slipped down one line; and "purpurea" here is precisely below "purpureas" in line 60, the probable source of this error. Ellis originally suggested "Bacche puer, pura," but this leaves "ducere" lacking either a subject or an object, and nothing explicit remains which "candidiora" may modify. In his Oxford text of the Appendix Vergiliana, Ellis simply obolized the first half of 62. E.J.Kenney, in editing the Maecenas elegies for the newest Oxford edition of the Appendix (W.V. Clausen et al., eds.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), obolizes line 61 and the word "purpurea" in line 62. The lost word is probably a geographical one (cf.Ovid, Amores iii.7.8, "bracchia Sithonia candidiora nive"); Vollmer's suggestion of "Hyperborea" is not a bad one.

The "purple salt" of Valerius Flaccus Argonautica iii.422 is another "ghost." The noun is a

metonym for the sea (see the previous line, "aequoreas . . . decurrit ad undas"), which is called purple because of literary tradition (cf. Homer, Iliad Π 391, ἐς δ' ἅλα πορφυρέην [emphasis mine] ; Vergil, Georgics iv.373, "in mare purpureum" --which, as Otis has shown [pp.194-196] , occurs in a context in which Vergil imitates Homeric language much more explicitly than he does in the Aeneid).

The swans at Horace Odes iv.1.10 need not be understood as "bright (white)" birds, because they are the imaginary swans which draw the chariot of Venus and can be imagined as having wings of whatever color one wishes, much as the fleeces of the lambs in the Fourth Eclogue or the wings of the pegasi in Disney's film Fantasia.

The "purpureos . . . soles" of Ciris 37 presents more of a puzzle. It may be suggested that the three color phrases found here ("purpureos . . . soles," "candida lunae / sidera," "caeruleis . . . bigis") are not poetic plurals, as has been assumed (see Hielke Hielkema, Ciris, diss.Utrecht 1941, p.48), and that the "weaving in" of Messalla would have occurred not in space (in the midst of the projected descriptions of the natural phenomena of the heavens) but in time, in the course of the days in which the poem was to be composed and recited. The three color phrases may be taken as describing the day-time sky ("caeruleis . . . bigis"), the night-time sky ("candida lunae / sidera"), and the sky at dawn and dusk ("purpureos . . . soles"). It should be noted that Vergil calls the sun itself "caeruleus" at Georgics i.453 when his meaning is clearly the blue sky around the sun (see André p.167).

The expression "ver purpureum" at Eclogues 9.40, even though it may have been inspired by Theocritus' λευκὸν ἔαρ (18.27), may certainly be taken in a strict chromatic sense, for the parallel expression "vere rubenti" at Georgics ii.319 must be so taken.

66. A golden πλῆκτρον is assigned to Apollo in the Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollo, line 185.Apollo "Actius" is given an ivory plectrum at Elegia in Maecenatem i.51, "plectro . . . eburno," but that may well be an echo of this passage (Maecenas died in 8 BC).

67. The color terms are not derived from other classical treatments of the abode of the Blessed: there are no color terms at all in Hesiod's description (Works and Days 170-173) and only one in Pindar's (Olympian ii.60-83: golden flowers). Horace's

description also contains only one color term (Epode 16.41-66: dark-colored figs).

68. As an illustration of the different ways in which color clusters may be used, it may be mentioned that Ovid uses this same color tetrad twice in the Metamorphoses: at i.111-112 the reference is to the abundant blessings of the golden age, at xi.165-167 the reference is to Apollo's attire for his competition with Pan. There are no noticeable similarities of context, only a similarity of colors.

69. André, pp.96-97. Red is, of course, not the only meaning of the term.

70. This particular triad seems naturally satisfying, like the tonic chord in music. It occurs at several key points in the Homeric epics (see pp.258-261) and frequently in Dante (e.g., Paradiso xxxi.13-15).

71. Otis, p.318.

72. The jasper is normally a green stone (Fronto in Aulus Gellius N.A.ii.26.11; Pliny N.H.xxxvii.115-118). Is this simply a mistake on Vergil's part, or were the reassuring connotations of green felt to be out of place here? If the latter, the jarring effect of the stone's color on the reader ("something's wrong here") would be heightened. In any event, the reader's attention is drawn to the sword by the mention of the stone and its color, and not without reason: this is the sword with which Dido is to take her life. See Kenneth Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969), p.142 note 1 and p.148 note 2.

73. Otis, pp.303-304.

74. The effect would be heightened if the use of "caerula" is viewed as a substitution for white rather than as an addition to the triad, on the grounds that "candidus" is not always chromatic and that "electrum" is used only twice in the Aeneid, the strength of the latter term's color connotations in the poem being somewhat uncertain.

75. See a fuller discussion of each occurrence of "purpureus" and of the terms which follow in Chapter Two.

76. The prophecy of putting on a purple veil upon first arrival in Italy should not be understood as merely

an etiological datum, intended to account for the custom of praying under a veil or hood when offering sacrifices (Servius takes it thus). True, almost all sacrifices did use a veil or head piece --but this veil is normally spoken of as being white (Armstrong, p.36); nowhere else, I believe, does one hear of a sacrificial veil of purple color. See for example Servius on Aeneid x.539: "vestes albas . . . quae sunt sacerdotibus congruae."

Little significance should be attached to the fact that this prophecy is not explicitly fulfilled. Such "loose ends" are common in the Aeneid; cf. Aeneas' recollection at viii.534-536 of a prophecy never made in the poem.

77. There are textual difficulties here. See pp.224-225.

78. "Purpureus" is rarely associated with death in the other authors considered for this study. Lucretius uses the term three times in contexts of luxury, Catullus (in the poems studied) four times in pleasant contexts. Horace uses it at Odes ii.12.3 of the bloodied sea, but it occurs five times elsewhere in the Odes in generally pleasant contexts. It is used eighteen times in Ovid's Metamorphoses, at xii.111 of the bloody Caicus, elsewhere of metamorphosed figures or in pleasant contexts.

79. See also pp.9-12 and 90-111.

80. In fact, "nigresco" occurs only in a portent of Dido's death and in the moment of Camilla's death (iv.454, xi.824) and may be a further color link between the two doomed heroines (see p.34).

81. This last instance (viii.599) may be another of the ambiguous color indicators which surround the giving of the arms (see pp.25-26, 60-61).

82. Horace affords a good example: Odes i.24.18, the black herd of the dead; 28.13, black death; 32.27, black poison; ii.13.34, black ears of Cerberus; 14.17, black Cocytus; iii.1.40, black worry; 4.17, black snakes; 14.13, black worries; 12.26, black fires of the underworld. See also Horace Satires i.4.85, 91, 100. Instances of black in a positive context are very rare in the Latin poetry considered for this study; Odes i.32.11 is one such case, but the term and its application here are probably taken from an Alcaean model. Lucretius often uses the color in a neutral, "scientific" context (e.g. ii.733, 764, 768, 791 [twice], 793, 812, 824 [twice]).

83. Barbara Seward's remarks on the rose's association with Aphrodite/Venus and with physical desire (The Symbolic Rose [New York: Columbia University Press, 1960], pp.11-13) are based on the Anacreonta (especially 54 Bergk, dated by J.M.Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus [London: Wm.Heinemann (Loeb), 1931] II, pp.15-16, as probably between 50 BC and 50 AD) and on the anonymous De Rosis Nascentibus (possibly as late as the fourth century AD; see Harold Isbell, trans., The Last Poets of Imperial Rome [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971], p.69), as well as on references to the rose in Bion (1st Idyll, lines 11,41, 65-66) and Meleager (e.g. Anthologia Palatina v.146.5-6, 144.4, 147.4). She might also have cited the Pervigilium Veneris, lines 22ff Clementi (=26ff Mackail). She refers the reader to Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli, Römische Essays (Leipzig, 1891), pp.89-118. See also Lovatelli, "La Festa delle Rose," Attraverso il Mondo Antico (Rome: Ermanno Loescher, 1901), pp.39-73.

84. See also the discussion of the use of "roseus" at ii.593 and vi.535, pp.40-42. Vergil's only use of the noun "rosa" in the Aeneid is in application to Lavinia (physical attractiveness again) at xii.69.

85. Frances Marion Dana, The Ritual Significance of Yellow among the Romans (Philadelphia: no pub., 1919), pp.12ff.

86. It is understood as a wedding present by Pöschl, p.271, and by Dana, pp.15-16 note 73.

87. Eugene G. O'Neill, Jr., "Word-Types in the Greek Hexameter," Yale Classical Studies 8 (1942),p.113.

88. Hereafter abbreviated as E, G, A, and Ap; the total will be given in parentheses.

89. For the phrase itself, note "candida . . . vestigia," Catullus 64.162; and cf. Ovid Metamorphoses viii.571.

90. One word is changed in the last line of the prophecy: "hic" replaces "is" in the second occurrence, as mentioned in note 56. Line 46 of Book Eight is bracketed by Mynors on good grounds.

91. Sparrow, pp.102-103.

92. Ibid., pp.104-105.

93. Otis, pp.273-274, 344ff, 417-419.

94. Cf. André, p.31, "albus" as = simple, plain.

95. These passages have often been imitated in later epic. Pease mentions Tasso, Gerusalemme Liberata i.13.8; Milton, Paradise Lost iii.624 and 636; and Klopstock, Messiade ix.485.

96. See note 32 for other descriptions of blushing.

97. Servius comments on orichalcum, "Album non est." The adjective may be inspired by Argonautica Δ 973, ὀρειχάλκεο φαεινοῦ . However, "bright" is rare as a meaning of "albus": see André p.27.

98. For the phrase itself, note "candidus anser," Lucretius iv.683, also in connection with the siege of the Capitol.

99. André, pp.41-42.

100. "Os humerosque deo similis" at line 589 has been taken as suggesting Iliad B 478-479, but in Homer the emphasis is on power, whereas here it is on beauty. Two better parallels would be Odyssey ζ 243, νῦν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἔοικε , τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν, or ψ 163, ἐκ δ'ἀσαμίνθου βῆ δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος .

101. Vergil stresses the importance of Iulus, the ancestor of the gens Iulia, but this does not exclude Lavinia's role as precursor and as ancestress (even if only collateral) of other Roman families. Moreover, Livy makes Ascanius the son of Aeneas and Lavinia: "Brevi stirpis quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen" (i.1.11; emphasis mine). He subsequently expresses some doubt as to the identity of Ascanius' mother, i.3.1-3.

102. It is of note that the first three words of i.637, "at domus interior," are repeated as the first three words of ii.486. The fact that the pleasant associations of the phrase's first occurrence are now replaced by their direct opposite, the bloodshed and wailing from Priam's palace, is not likely to have been accidental.

103. Irwin, pp.79, 85-92, 95-96.

104. Austin, Aeneidos Liber Secundus, p.156.

105. The passage begins and ends with an explicit mention of Aetna; one color term is applied to Aetna

in each reference, the two colors used being the two which the Greek poets most liked to contrast (Irwin, pp.111ff.)--white and black: νιφόεσσ' Αἴτνα (20), Αἴτνας ἐν μελαμφύλλοις . . . κορυφαῖς (27). In the center of the passage the glowing red of the lava is contrasted with the darkness of night: ἐν δ' ὀφθαλμοῖν . . . / φοινίσσα . . . φλόξ (23-24; the δ' ὀφθαλμοῖν is also contrasted with the ἀμέρσαισιν in line 22). Pindar mentions both the fire of the eruption (25-26) and the smoke, but the smoke is described as glowing rather than as black: ἕδον καπνοῦ / αἰθων' (22-23).

106. Reference to the Aetna would be of no value here, as there is agreement that the poem is post-Augustan in date. Buecheler, Munro, and Bickel are cited in support of this dating by J.Wight Duff and Arnold M.Duff, Minor Latin Poets (London: William Heinemann [Loeb], 1934), p.352.

107. James Henry, Aeneidea (Dublin: for the trustees of the author, 1878) II,pp.728-729 (Henry also criticizes Servius' first suggestion, and believes the fires should be taken as "the fires of a guilty conscience"; he cites the use of "atris ignibus" at Horace Epodes 5.82 for the passion of love--not a very close parallel); Eduard Norden, "Vergilstudien," Hermes 28 (1893), pp.511-514; Richard Heinze, Virgils Epische Technik (3rd ed. Leipzig: B.G.Teubner, 1915), p.135, continuation of note 2; Pease, pp.328-329; Austin, Aeneidos Liber Quartus, pp.118-119.

108. Aeneidos Liber Quartus, p.140. Austin makes reference to W. Warde Fowler's remark in The Death of Turnus (Oxford: B.H.Blackwell, 1919), p.92: ". . . there is usually in Virgil's use of ater (a word of which he seems fond) a sense of ghastliness or dreadfulness . . . ." See also p.78 of this same work of Fowler's. Conington glosses "atros" at viii.198 as "horrible, deadly."

109. Aeneidos Liber Quintus, p.130.

110. Additional references to blackness and the underworld include: Aeneid vi.134-135, "nigra . . . / Tartara"; Horace Odes i.24.18, "nigro . . . gregi," ii.13.34-35, "[Cerberi] atras / auris," iv.2.23-24, "nigroque / Orco"; Tibullus i.3.71, "niger . . . Cerberus"; Ovid Heroides xi.103, "Erinyes atrae"; Juvenal 13.51, "vulturis atri"; Martial v.34.3, "nigras . . . umbras." There are many others. With the specific phrase from Aeneid vi.127, "atri

ianua Ditis," may be compared Propertius iv.11.2, "ianua nigra," the black door of the underworld.

111. Michael C.J. Putnam, The Poetry of the Aeneid (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp.31-32.

112. When Vergil wishes to emphasize the smokiness of a flame, he does so unmistakably: "piceam fert fumida lumen / taeda et commixtam Volcanus ad astra favillam" (ix.75-76); "atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem / turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla" (iii.572-573); "[nec] faces nec fumea taedis / lumina" (vi.593-594; emphasis mine in each case).

113. Iliad B 699, O 715, P 416, Υ 494; Odyssey τ 111.

114. As in Xenophon Anabasis i.8.8.

115. On the other hand, Fowler (pp.92-93) doubts that this instance of the term is taken from Homer's κυάνεαι, and believes it characterizes the army as "hostile . . . alarming, deadly." See also T.E. Page ad loc., who finds both the chromatic and the emotional notes present.

116. The Taenarian columns were probably red marble: D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Propertiana (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967), p.295.

117. "Auratus" can be used as a simple color term, divorced from any close association with the idea of coating an object with metal: André, pp.156-157.

118. [Theocritus] 25.130-131 mentions the whiteness of the cattle of the sun, but does not remark on their horns: χρόνῳ δ' ἔσαν ἠΰτε κύκνοι / ἀργηταί.

119. Armstrong discusses the color gold in connection with the descendants of the sun at p.42 of her study.

120. Servius avers at i.492 that "aurea" in the present case refers to Dido. His note on the present line, however, displays less certainty.

121. Dido is dressed in gold for the hunt at iv.138-139.

122. The connection of purple clothing with royalty is treated fully by Mayer Reinhold, History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity (Brussels: Latomus, 1970).

123. χρυσόρραπις is used as an epithet of Hermes three times in the Odyssey (ε 87, κ 277, κ 331) and six times in the Homeric hymns.

124. Christ.Gottl.Heyne, P.Vergilius Maro, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch, 1800), III p.328.

125. Tantalus is not mentioned by name. Wagner thought that the present passage referred to additional torments of Ixion and Pirithous (mentioned in line 601) (Ge.Philip Eberard Wagner, P.Virgilius Maro, 4th ed. [Leipzig: Hahn Library, 1830-1832], III pp.939-940). But, as Conington noted (II p.500), the terror of the suspended stone in line 602-603 is so great that it removes all possibility of thinking about anything else from the mind of the victim.

126. See also Euripides Orestes 4-10 and 981-986 (in which latter passage the rock is said to be suspended above Tantalus by golden chains, ἀλύσεσιν χρυσέαισι ; the possible connection between these golden chains and Vergil's golden fulcra seems to have gone unnoticed); Cicero De Finibus i.18.60, Tusculan Disputations i.5.10, iv.16.35; and, for popular beliefs, Pausanias v.13.7, viii.17.3.

127. Compare the poignant effect of the mention of the golden stars amid darkness and death at ii.488 and xi.832-833: see pages 42-43.

128. Passages pertaining to the golden age include the following: Hesiod Works and Days 109-126; Aratus Phainomena 108-114; Tibullus i.3.35-48; Vergil Eclogues 4.5-45 ("gens aurea," line 9), Georgics ii.513-540 ("aureus . . . Saturnus," line 538), Aeneid loc.cit. and viii.324; Ovid Amores iii.8. 35-44, Metamorphoses i.89-112, Fasti ii.289-298. In addition, certain passages are indirectly related to this theme, particularly Pindar on the Isles of the Blest (Olympian 2.68-83) and Horace on the same (Epodes 16.41-66, explicitly said to be a survival of the golden age at lines 63-64). These passages and others are discussed in James Hastings et al., edd., Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), I pp.192ff.

The phrase "aurea . . . saecla" occurs at Lucretius ii.502-503, but with quite a different meaning: gold-colored species.

129. Servius' attempt to take "vestis" as "barba" seems less satisfactory, even though a parallel could be

cited at Lucretius v.673; for there the context makes it clear that nothing else but the beard can be meant, whereas here nothing prevents the reader from taking "vestis" in its ordinary sense. If Vergil had wished the term to be taken as "beard," it is likely that he would have been more explicit, as he is when using the corresponding verb in this sense at viii.160.

130. William S. Anderson, Ovid's Metamorphoses: Books 6-10 (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), p.499.

131. Zeus may in fact be standing: the ode does not specify.

132. The corresponding error occurs at v.198, where the first hands of Mediceus and Palatinus give "aurea puppis" instead of the accepted "aura puppis." See also AUREUS at x.884.

133. "Aureus" is frequently a pure color term in the Aeneid, detached from the meaning "made from gold." See note 5 for examples.

134. The gold, according to Servius ad i.362, was the instrument whereby Dido escaped her pursuers; but nothing is said of this by Vergil.

135. Otis, pp.235-237; Quinn, p.106.

136. "Rigentibus" has been offered as a conjecture.

137. This is the celebrated passage which Dante misinterprets to his own ends at Purgatorio xxii.40-41. See Dorothy L. Sayers' note at pp.343-345 of her translation (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955).

138. Aeneidos Liber Tertius p.65.

139. Pease's note on "ostro" in his edition of Book Four (pp.184-186) affords a particularly valuable collection of references to purple in classical literature.

140. Aeneidos Libri Sex Priores, ed.Joannes Ludovicus de la Cerda, S.J. (Cologne: Joannes Kinchius, 1642), pp.399-400. One may add the Homeric hymns to Apollo.

141. Tiberius Claudius Donatus, Interpretationes Vergilianae, ed. Henricus Georgii (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1969), I, pp.536-537.

142. For example, Horace Odes ii.2.1.

143. Codex Romanus, supported by Priscian, reads "auro" for "aura" in this line. This is not noted in Mynors' apparatus.

144. The reader is told at vii.815-816 that Camilla does wear a golden hair clasp: see p.34.

145. "Caeruleus" is easily compatible with both coldness and wetness. Compare Georgics i.236, where the polar zones are called "caeruleae" and are said to be "glacie concretae atque imbribus." The critics differ in their interpretations of "caeruleus." Conington on this passage from the Georgics: "'Caeruleus' is used somewhat widely to express various colours of a dull blue or green sort, being to a certain extent, as Dr.Arnold remarked, the antipodes of 'purpureus.'" (Emphasis mine.) This inference may have arisen from Servius' citation of Cato on Aeneid iii.64 (quoted on p.151). Austin on Aeneid ii.381: ". . . it is plain that Virgil conceived it as a gleaming 'dark' . . ." (emphasis Austin's). André, pp.164-170.

146. Irwin, pp.79-96. The phrase κυανέῃ νεφέλῃ is used in association with Aeneas at Iliad E 345.

147. André, p.13; Irwin, pp.103-110.

148. This couplet from Book Five (777-778) is either a pastiche or a quarry: line 777 is identical with iii.130.

149. Ennius: "verrunt extemplo placide mare: marmore flavo / caeruleum spumant sale conferta rate pulsum" (Annales xiv. frag.1). See also Lucretius v.1227 and Vergil, Georgics iii.201.

150. Examples of sea- and river-deities of a green hue include Horace Odes iii.28.10; Ovid Heroides 5.57, Metamorphoses ii.12, v.575, ix.32, xiii.960, Tristia i.2.59. Examples of blue sea- and river-deities include Vergil Georgics iv.388, Aeneid viii.64 and 713; Ovid Ars Amatoria i.222, Metamorphoses i.275, i.333, ii.8, iii.342, v.432, xiii.742 and 895. Cf.also Aeneid v.819 (Neptune's horses), viii.33, x.205, xii.885.

151. Codex Mediceus reads "caeruleisque," probably influenced by the text of the Aeneid.

152. Vergil, The Aeneid, translated by W.F. Jackson Knight (Baltimore: Penguin, 1958), p.92. André, p.31: "Or le sens de candere, comme de ses composés et dérivés, sauf de rares exceptions, est celui de 'blanc.'"

153. An examination of several contemporary translations discloses five different ways of translating this phrase: (1) "fair Dido" or "Dido the fair," Copley, Guinagh, Mackail, Mandelbaum; (2.) "beautiful Dido," Ballard; (3.) "la radieuse Didon," Bellessort; (4.) "Dido in sweet simplicity," Jackson Knight; (5.) "Queen Dido," Humphries, following Dryden and evading the difficulty completely.

"Candidus" is frequently used in the sense of "frank" or "simple" by Horace, e.g. Epodes 11.11, 14.5, Satires i.5.41, i.10,86, Epistles i.4.1. "Candide" is used as "simpliciter" by Caelius in Cicero Ad Familiares viii.6.1. Vergil himself uses the term in a variety of ways. At Eclogues 2.16 it means "light-complexioned" (in opposition to "niger"); at 5.56 it probably means "simple" (applied to Daphnis entering heaven; but it could mean "clothed in white," or "radiant"); at 7.38 it is clearly chromatic ("candidior cycnis," whiter than swans, i.e. more fair-skinned); and at 2.46 it is used ambiguously of one of the Naiads. Andre (p.37) cites as an example of "candidus" as indicative of innocence "candidus Hylas," Petronius 83.3.

154. Aeneidos Liber Quintus, p.151.

155. This is noted in M.B.Ogle's consideration of the present line in "Vergil's Conception of Dido's Character," Classical Journal 20 (1925), pp.269-270. Ogle avoids a final judgment on the meaning of the term in the present context.

156. Otis, pp.295 and 304; see p.60 of the present study. Cf.T.S.Eliot, What Is a Classic? (London: Faber & Faber, 1945), p.21.

157. Pease, p.473.

158. "Usually, when Virgil is less than clear, it is in order to elicit the reader's collaboration." Quinn, p.170.

159. Servius' comment: "Sciendum tamen hoc esse vitiosum, monosyllabo finiri versum, nisi forte ipso monosyllabo minora explicentur animalia." This

criticism arises from an excessive admiration for the effect produced by Georgics i.181 and Horace Ars Poetica 139; it would also condemn such lines as Juvenal 10.268.

160. André observes (pp.64-65) that the terms derived from the root *cas- mean "gray and white"; that they fit snow and ashes equally well; and that to translate "canus" as "gris"(gray) is inaccurate. A lustreless white is the idea conveyed.

161. Aeneidos Liber Quintus p.124.

162. Aeneidos Liber Quartus p.166.

163. Pöschl p.167.

164. The phrase "crocum . . . rubentem" at Georgics iv.182 refers to the natural color of the crocus flower; however, clothing dipped in the dye derived from the crocus always becomes bright yellow.

165. Eduard Norden, ed., Aeneis Buch VI (2nd ed. Leipzig: B.G.Teubner, 1916), p.348; Wendell V.Clausen, "An interpretation of the Aeneid," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 68 (1964), pp.146-147; Brooks Otis, "Three problems of Aeneid 6," Transactions of the American Philological Association 90 (1959), pp.173-179. Ribbeck's emendation to "Averno" is not tolerable.

166. The phrase "extendit harena" in this line is repeated at ix.589, where "multa" replaces "fulva." Conington's note on v.374: "'Fulva' seems a frigid epithet, like 'aurea sidera' 2.483 [see pp.42-43 for a different view] . . . we must put down the epithet to an unseasonable imitation of Homeric simplicity."

167. Cf.also Cicero Marius, "nuntia fulva Iovis."

168. Instances of "Glaucus" as a proper name have been excluded.

169. A consistent application of the principle established on p.130 would have required a full consideration of the occurrences of "lac" in the Aeneid. Forms of this noun occur at iii.66 (offerings at Polydorus' obsequies), iv.514 (see NIGER), v.78 (see p.19), and xi.571 (Camilla was raised on mare's milk) (four instances; 10x E, 5x G, 3x Ap, total 22).

170. The color comparison between snow and wool is a natural one, occurring in other literatures as well: Psalm 147.16, and cf.Isaias 1.18. (These references are pointed out by Pease in his edition of Book Four.)

171. Lucretius uses "papaver" twice (ii.453 and iii.196) achromatically. Catullus mentions a poppy of a red-yellow color at 61.188, "luteumve papaver."

172. Distinguished from "populus" (people) by the quantity of the first vowel.

173. Conington's comment on i.589-593: "Virg.is as usual less appropriate as forcible than Hom." (Emphasis mine.)

174. The date of this poem is estimated as being between 50 BC and 50 AD, as mentioned in note 83.

175. Conington: "The amplification is perhaps a little unseasonable as we scarcely need to be reminded pointedly of what is going on in the upper world . . . ."

176. Of some value for differentiating attitudes toward colors and their uses is Sigmund Skard's article, "The Use of Color in Literature", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 90 (1946) pp.163-249, which contains an extensive and useful bibliography of the subject, but lacks a well-unified point of view.

For a brief, intelligent analysis of the ways in which Lucan used color terms in the Bellum Civile, with some remarks on the deliberate use of "colorful" and "colorless" books, and on the refinement of term connotations for red and black, see Robert A. Tucker, "The Colors of Lucan," Classical Bulletin 46 (1970) pp.56-58.

177. In support of this view of the formulaic epithet, see Milman Parry, The Making of Homeric Verse, ed. Adam Parry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) and Albert Lord, The Singer of Tales (Cambridge,Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960). The way in which the formulaic system works is well illustrated by Albert Severyns, Homère (2nd ed. Brussels: Office de Publicité, 1946) II, pp.49-61, by Sir Denys L. Page, History and the Homeric Iliad (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press,1959), pp.222-258, and Geoffrey S. Kirk, The Songs of Homer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp.59-68. The concept of the relatively

"automatic" functioning of the Homeric formulaic system has been modified by J.B.Hainsworth, The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

178. At times as few as two color terms may produce a cumulative effect.

179. George Pelham Shipp, Studies in the Language of Homer (2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp.3-6 and passim.

180. "The greatest of the ancient critics, Aristophanes and Aristarchus, maintained that the Odyssey of Homer ended at 23.296. . . . To the question, whether the ancients were correct in their judgment of this Continuation, an affirmative answer may be given with the utmost confidence." Sir Denys L. Page, The Homeric Odyssey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p.101. Evidence for this contention is given on pp.102-130.

181. Cedric H. Whitman, Homer and the Heroic Tradition (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp.117-118 and note 39.

182. The former position is maintained by Albin Lesky, A History of Greek Literature, 2nd ed. trans. by James A. Willis and Cornelis de Heer (London: Methuen, 1966), p.91, and by Wolfgang Schadewaldt, Von Homers Welt und Werk (4th ed. Stuttgart: K.F. Koehler, 1965), p.93 note 1, and also by Arie Hoekstra, "Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes," Verhanderingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wettenschappen, Afd.Letterkunde, n.s.71 (1965), pp.25-26. The latter viewpoint is maintained by James A.Notopoulos, "Homer, Hesiod, and the Achaean Heritage of Oral Poetry," Hesperia 29 (1960), pp.177-197, esp.pp. 183-188; idem, "Studies in Early Greek Oral Poetry," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 68 (1964), pp.1-77, esp.26, 43, 63.

183. Irwin, p.201.

184. West's comment on χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην and certain other phrases: "It is evident that we are here reading a poet with a different formulaic vocabulary from Hesiod's" (Hesiod, Theogony, ed.M.L.West [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], p.398; cf.p.383). The reference to Solmsen's edition is to Theogonia, Opera et Dies, Scutum, ed.Friedrich Solmsen, with Fragmenta Selecta, edd.R.Merkelbach and M.L.West

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

185. Cyril Bailey, ed., Lucretius De Rerum Natura (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947) II, p.802.

186. Sir Denys L.Page, ed., Lyrica Graeca Selecta (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

187. The manuscript reading says that snow white bands rest on the Fates' rosy heads; but the unacceptable picture of Fates with rose-red hair has caused Guarinus' conjecture to be universally accepted. Red headbands on blond or white hair are instanced at Ciris 511 and Propertius iv.9.52.

188. Wilhelm Kroll, ed., C.Valerius Catullus (Stuttgart: B.G.Teubner, 1959), 3rd ed., ad 64.309.

189. Hermann Fränkel, ed.Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961). See ἀργέστας also at B 961 and 993, evidently as the proper name of the west or north-west wind. See also Irwin,pp. 169-171.

190. See André p.160.

191. Lachmann thought iv.8.33 spurious, but it is generally accepted as genuine.

192. M.Owen Lee, S.J., "Horace 2.13 and Sappho's Silver Quill," paper presented at the 104th annual meeting of the American Philological Association, December 28th, 1973. See also Maurice Cunningham, "A narratio of Horace Odes 1.9," Classical Philology 57 (1957), pp.98-102.

193. A.S.Hollis, ed., Ovid Metamorphoses Book VIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p.37.

194. The last word in line 191 is given as "linguis" in codex Neapolitanus iv.F 3 (= N), codex Florentinus Marcianus 223 (= F), and codex Laurentianus pl. xxxvi 12 (= λ); as "lingnis" by some recentiores; as "lignis" by codex Marcianus 225 (= M) and codex Amplonianus n.i (= ε); as "virgis" by the corrector of N. The last word in line 192 is given as "quietum" in M; Riese's conjecture "vietum" is accepted by Rudolf Ehwald, ed., Metamorphoses (Leipzig: B.G.Teubner, 1915). William Anderson (see note 130) prints "gravatum" from an erasure in the second hand of M.

195. One cannot be certain, however, that the violet's

color is to be thought of as "purpureus." Pliny, N.H.xxi.6: "plurima genera: purpureae, luteae, albae"; Vergil Eclogues 2.47, "pallentes violae"; Horace Epodes 10.16, "pallor luteus" (cf.Odes iii.10.14). See note 23.

196. Its derivative, "cruentus," is sometimes a color adjective and sometimes not (see note 5). Its primary meaning, according to André (p.114) is simply "blood stained." See page 92.

197. It is a reasonable supposition that this tendency is not limited to color phrases; but the frequency of the phenomenon in phrases without any color element has not been tested in the course of the present study.

198. Sparrow, pp.55-154. Nevertheless, such repetitions as ii.792-794 = vi.700-702 and xi.831 = xii.952 are so effective that one can hardly suppose them to have arisen from lack of invention or from interpolation, as Sparrow believes (pp.110, 148-150).