

Gemeinplätzen zu sublimieren. Man wird dann wieder auf die „vornehme Gelassenheit“ kommen, die sich im taciteischen Stil ausprägen; man wird in diesem „das Bekenntnis zur Vornehmheit einer gefährdeten Welt“ sehen können; man wird von der „Großartigkeit der inneren Dramatik“ sprechen müssen²⁹). Aber bei genauem Hinsehen erweisen sich diese abstrahierenden Bezeichnungen keineswegs als unmittelbar hermeneutisch relevant, ja es weht aus ihnen sogar ein Hauch romantisierender Verklärung, der den wissenschaftlichen Tatbestand verschleiern. Und so wird man doch wieder auf den einzelnen Text und seine stilistische Ausprägung verwiesen.

Does "purpureus" mean "bright"?

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The precise import of color terms in the classical languages is notoriously hard to pin down. Consequently it is useful from time to time to examine the evidence upon which received interpretations of these terms are based.

It is commonly asserted that the term "purpureus", ordinarily designating a red hue¹), sometimes denotes simply "bright" or "brilliant", without specific chromatic content²). "Swans (Hor.

²⁹) Vgl. F. Klingner, a.a.O. S. 549 Anm. 12 und 17; ebenso S. 557.

¹) The validity in general terms of the equation "purpureus" = "red" is established by the evidence cited by J. André, *Étude sur les Termes de Couleur dans la langue Latine* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1949), pp. 96f. But the Latin term sometimes means violet, *ibid.* pp. 94–96; and André believes, on less substantial evidence, p. 97, that it can also be used as a term for brown.

André's study has updated and superseded that by Hugo Blümner, "Die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den römischen Dichtern", *Berliner Studien* 13 (1892), pp. 1–220.

²) J. André, pp. 97–100 (p. 97: "Purpureus 'brilliant, étincelant'. La pourpre devait sa valeur non seulement à sa couleur propre, mais aussi à son éclat . . ."). Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), p. 1493 s.v. II. B: "Brilliant, shining, bright, beautiful". A. Forcellini et al., *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis* (Bologna: Arnaldus Fornari, 1940 reprint of 1864–1926 edition), III p. 976: "nitidus, purus, splendidus, aspectu pulcher, cujuscumque coloris sit". Karl Ernst Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig: Hahn, 1879–80)

Od. iv. 1.10), snow (*Eleg. in Maec.* 1.62) salt (*Val.Flacc.*iii. 422) are none of them red or anything like it, but all may be sparkling", says C. J. Fordyce³). These passages, plus several other equally striking ones⁴), deserve to be examined in turn. First, the snow.

(1.) *Elegia in Maecenatem* i. 62.

The received text of this line 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 obliterated the first half of 62. E. J. Kenney, in editing the Maecenas elegies for the newest Oxford edition of the *Appendix*⁵), obliterates 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. No evidence here.

Vol. 2 s.v. "hellglänzend, schön", citing the passages numbered 3, 4, 5, 14 and 15 in this paper. C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 206 ad 45.12: "... *purpureus* ... often expresses the idea of radiance or sheen without any reference to colour". John Conington, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* 3rd ed. (London: Whittaker, 1872-76), I ad *Eclogue* 5.38: "'Purpureus' is applied not only to purple or red, but to any bright color". Many other instances could be cited.

Helmut Gipper, "Purpur", *Glotta* 42 (1964) pp. 39-69, acknowledges the term's "Deutungsschwierigkeiten" (p. 57), citing *Odes* iv. 1.10 and *Elegia in Maecenatem* i. 62 (nos. 1 and 3 above) as instances of the term's possible use as "Glanzwort" or "Bewegungswort".

³) *Loc.cit.* R. G. Austin, *Aeneidos Liber Sextus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) p. 204, repeats Fordyce's examples.

⁴) The passages cited are taken from poetry, since the use of this term by prose authors does not seem to have excited the imaginations of modern commentators and lexicographers.

⁵) W. V. Clausen *et al.*, edd., *Appendix Vergiliana*, Oxford University Press, 1966.

(2.) Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* iii. 422: "sale purpureo".

The "purple salt" of this passage 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* II 391, ἐς δ' ἄλλα πορφυρέην; Alcaeus B 13.2 L-P, πορφυρίαν θάλασσαν; Vergil, *Georgics* iv. 373, "in mare purpureum"⁶).

Recently Eleanor Irwin has argued persuasively that πορφύρεος is not primarily chromatic in early Greek poetry⁷); hence its application to the sea in Homer is not so startling as if it had been a "red" term. Still, the existence of the traditional link between this term and the sea in Greek epic⁸) would have been sufficient cause for its Latin cognate to be applied to the sea in Roman epic even if the latter term *did* always retain some color content in "normal" (i.e. nonallusive) usage. In any event, the term cannot mean "bright" here—it is midnight ("mediis . . . horis", 417)⁹).

(3.) Horace *Odes* iv. 1.10: "purpureis . . . oloribus"¹⁰).

The swans in the present passage 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 sheep in Vergil's *Eclogue* 4.42–45, or the wings of the pegasi in Disney's film *Fantasia*. A red swan is no more startling than Vergil's red ram ("rubenti" is inescapably chromatic); but in both passages we are in the realms of mythology and fantasy, and need not be so

⁶) Vergil is here using the epithet in a passage in which, as Brooks Otis has pointed out (*Virgil, A Study in Civilized Poetry*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, pp. 194–196), he imitates Homeric language much more explicitly than is usual for him.

⁷) *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974), p. 18: "In early poetry πορφύρεος is not definitely chromatic, but describes the appearance which purple-dyed material and certain other objects have in common. This may be sheen or iridescence, the apparent mixture of light and dark on a changing surface."

⁸) Cf. πορφύρεον κῆμα, five times in Homer; and, in Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, πορφύρεον ὕδωρ A 1327–1328, πορφυρέοιο δι' οἴδματος Δ 915.

⁹) André's comment on this passage (p. 101): "C'est dans ce passage une formule toute faite avec une épithète de nature indépendante des circonstances et non pas la notation d'une couleur que l'obscurité ne permettait pas d'observer."

¹⁰) Imitated by Claudian, *Epithalamium of Paladius and Celerina* 104: "floreas purpureas adnectunt frena columbas [*sc.* Veneris]".

exacting as Juvenal ("rara avis . . . nigroque simillima cycno", *Satires* vi. 165)¹¹).

But these three passages are not the only bases for the assertion that "purpureus" sometimes omits all notion of redness. Consider the following.

(4.) Vergil, *Eclogues* ix. 40: "ver purpureum"¹²).

This expression, even though it may have been inspired by Theocritus' λευκὸν ἔαρ (18.27; also Callimachus Hymn 6.122 Pf., λευκὸν ἔαρ), may certainly be taken in a strict chromatic sense, for the parallel expression "vere rubenti" at *Georgics* ii. 319 *must* be so taken. Also *Georgics* iv. 306, "rubeant . . . prata". Cf. André p. 98 on Statius *Silvae* iii. 3.130.

Vergil's expression may have been influenced by Pindar, who refers specifically to the red (φοινικ-) flowers of spring on three occasions: Isthmian iv. 18–19, Pythian iv. 64, and frag. 63.15–16 (Bowra; = frag. 75.14–15 Snell).

(5.) Ovid, *Amores* ii. 1.38: "purpureus . . . Amor".

(The same expression appears at *Amores* ii. 9b(= 10).10 and at *Ars Amatoria* i. 232.)

Love is bright in this passage, according to Lewis and Short; sparkling or effulgent, according to Fordyce—after all, love can hardly be called "red"! Not so simple. Sappho frag. 210 Page¹³) describes Eros ἐλθόντ' ἐξ ὀράνω πορφύρεαν περιθέμενον χλάμυν. Hence there is precedent in love elegy for depicting Eros/Amor clad in a πορφύρε-/purpur-/“purple” garment¹⁴). And there is abundant evidence of transferring this particular epithet from a garment to its wearer: Horace *Odes* i. 35.12, "purpurei . . . tyranni", Vergil *Aeneid* ix. 163, "purpurei . . . iuvenes", *ibid.* x. 722, "[Acronem] purpureum", Ovid *Metamorphoses* vii. 102–103, "rex . . . purpureus (sc. Aeetes)", *ibid.* viii. 33, "purpureus [Minos]", and so forth.

¹¹) Porphyry disagreed: "Quomodo dicitur, cum albi sint potius? Sed sic purpureum pro pulchro dicere poetae adsuerunt." Stephanus believed the swans were surrounded by a truly purple glow: *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Basle: E. & J. R. Thurnisii, 1741) III p. 698.

¹²) Also occurs at Columella *De Re Rustica* x. 256, "ver purpureum". Cf. Apuleius *Metamorphoseon* x. 29.2.

¹³) D. L. Page, *Lyrica Graeca Selecta* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 109 = frag. 54 E. Lobel and D. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).

¹⁴) Silius Italicus subsequently wrote: "purpureos alius [sc. Cupido] vestis religabat amictus", vii. 447, but there the purple garment is more probably Venus'.

(6.) Ovid *Remedia Amoris* 701: "purpureas . . . alas [*sc.* Amoris]".

This time it is Love's *wings* which are "purpureae". Here the force of the argument given at (3.) above receives convincing confirmation from art. Philostratus (*Imagines* i. 6.2) describes a painting of Erotes / Amores / Cupids whose wings are blue and gold and—purple¹⁵)!

(7.) *Ciris* 37: "purpureos . . . soles".

Proof positive? Not necessarily. One may suggest that the three color phrases found here ("purpureos . . . soles", "candida lunae / sidera", "caeruleis . . . bigis") are *not* poetic plurals, as has been assumed¹⁶), and that the "weaving in" of Messalla would have occurred both in space (in the midst of the projected descriptions of the natural phenomena of the heavens) and also 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).

(8.) Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus* 1838: "purpureus dies".

The reference is to the extreme east and the extreme west, site of the rising and of the setting sun: "quaque purpureus dies / utrumque clara spectat Oceanum rota". Of course the day is "purpureus" when it looks upon these two places. Brightness is expressed by "clara".

(9.) Ovid *Heroides* 4.160: "purpureo tepidum qui movet axe diem".

This is a transferred epithet, applying properly to Phoebus, the subject of "movet". It was noted in connection with (5.) above that it is common for one *dressed* in purple to be referred to as "purpureus"; and this is precisely how Ovid visualizes Phoebus ("purpura velatus veste", *Metamorphoses* ii. 23).

(10.) Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 518: "purpureum . . . diem".

The day is "purpureus" (red) at its coming and at its departure. That the poet is thinking of dawn and sunset here is shown by the

¹⁵) *περὰ δὲ κνάνεα καὶ φοινικᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ.*

¹⁶) See Hielke Hielkema, *Ciris*, diss. Utrecht 1941, p. 48.

preceding line: "sex ubi *sustulerit*, totidem *demiserit* orbis". Phoebus *lifts up* the days (dawn), then *lowers* them (sunset)¹⁷. This entire line, "purpureum rapido qui vehit axe diem", is a self-allusion, adapted from *Heroides* 4.160—see (9.) above. See also *Amores* i. 13.2, "flava pruinosa quae vehit axe diem", where the subject is Aurora.

(11.) and (12.) Ovid, *Heroides* 21.87–88: "cum iam prope luce *peracta* / demere purpureis Sol iuga vellet equis"; and *Fasti* ii. 73–74: "*Hesperias* Titan *abiturus in undas* / gemmea purpureis cum iuga demet equis".

The underlined words show that the time is sunset in both instances. Compare Vergil *Aeneid* xi. 913–914: "roseus fessos iam gurgite Phoebus Hiberno / tingat equos". ("Roseus" is in no way opposed to "purpureus"; the rose itself is "purpureus" at Horace *Odes* iii. 15.15 and *De Rosis Nascentibus* 28.)

(13.) Catullus 64.275, "purpureaque . . . ab luce". The time is dawn: "Aurora exoriente", line 271.

This passage is sometimes compared with Propertius ii. 26.5, "purpureis . . . fluctibus", but the comparison does not seem appropriate. In the latter passage the reference is to the *sea* and the Homeric practice (for which Cicero provides an interesting rationalization at *Academica* ii. 105) is followed; whereas in the present instance the reference is to the *light*.

(14.) Ovid *Fasti* vi. 252, "purpurea luce refulsit".

The poet is describing a supernatural manifestation of Vesta to him. The unearthly light might well be bright, but, since unearthly, could it not also be red? There is no reason to say that the chromatic element is *necessarily* absent¹⁸). Ovid could be thinking¹⁹) of the manifestation of a different goddess (Venus) at *Aeneid* i. 402, where the glow is certainly red: "rosea cervice refulsit".

(15.) Vergil *Aeneid* i. 590–591: "lumenque iuventae / purpureum".

¹⁷) This has been pointed out by Cyril Bailey, *Fastorum Liber III* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), p. 120.

¹⁸) Sir James Frazer judged the chromatic element to be present here, and translated it as "purple light", *The Fasti of Ovid* (London: Macmillan, 1929) I p. 317.

¹⁹) Hermann Peter suggests this, *Fastorum Libri Sex* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1879), *ad loc.*

Much effort has been expended in excluding chromatic value from the term in its use in the present passage²⁰). But such efforts are quite unnecessary, since a "purpureus color" is used in this very poem in association with good health and strength, and opposed to the pallor of illness or death: "purpureus quondam color ora reliquit" (*Aeneid* xi. 819, of the dying Camilla). Compare [Tibullus] iii. 4.30, "et color in niveo corpore purpureus" (of Phoebus Apollo). We may translate the present phrase as "the ruddy glow of youth".

(16.) Vergil *Aeneid* vi. 640–641: "lumine . . . / purpureo".

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"²¹). But a literally purple or reddish light should not be considered utterly out of the question here, because (a) the scene is a supernatural one laid in the kingdom of the dead, and (b) elsewhere in the *Aeneid* Vergil usually uses "purpureus" in association with death.

This latter point requires substantiation, but a full proof (including an explanation of the reasons for such exceptions as i. 591)

²⁰) Beginning with Servius: "*purpureum*: pulchrum". Conington, *ed. cit.*: "Purpureum, glowing". T. E. Page, ed., *The Aeneid of Virgil* (London: Macmillan, 1914) I p. 194: "this word . . . is *certainly not* = 'rosy' here but 'radiant'" (emphasis mine). Karl Kappes, ed., *Vergils Aeneide*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Teubner 1882), p. 33: "Dies Adjektiv wird nicht ausschließlich von der Farbe gebraucht, sondern von allem, was feurig glänzt." R. G. Austin, ed., *Aeneidos Liber Primus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 186, more cautiously: "this difficult adjective implies the *bright* glow of youth and health" (emphasis mine). R. D. Williams, ed., *The Aeneid of Virgil* (London: Macmillan, 1972–73) I p. 203, "the radiant glow of youth". G. G. Gosrau disagreed: *Aeneis* 2nd ed. (Quedlinburg: Godofredus Bassus, 1876), pp. 47–48: "*Purpureum* non de nitore, qui iam inest voci lumen, sed de rubore accipiendum."

²¹) Conington: "'Lumine purpureo' as plainly is meant to render λευκή αἴγλη, 'purpureus' having its Roman sense of dazzling." J. W. Mackail, ed., *The Aeneid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), "*lumine pupureo* is in effect a compound epithet, 'brilliantly-luminous'". Sir Frank Fletcher, ed., *Aeneid VI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941): "*purpureus* implies dazzling brightness rather than colour". T. E. Page: "*purpureus* means (1) 'purple', or (2), as here, 'dazzling', 'radiant'". R. D. Williams I p. 498: "'An atmosphere that is more bounteous and of brilliant radiance clothes these plains'". R. G. Austin (see note 3) p. 204: "Not the English 'purple', but lustrous, dazzling." Gosrau disagrees (p. 304 *ad Aen.* vi. 641): "hic tamen vel colorem proprium possis intelligere". Norden does not comment, but translates "Purpurglanze" (*Aeneis Buch VI*, 4th ed. Stuttgart: Teubner 1957, p. 89).

would exceed in length the bounds of this paper, and will have to await treatment in a subsequent article. For the present it must suffice to point out that the term is used in connection with the death of Anchises (v. 79), Misenus (vi. 221), Marcellus (vi. 884), Rhoetus (ix. 349), Euryalus (ix. 435), Acron (x. 722), Camilla (xi. 819)²², and Amata (xii. 602), as well as Aeneas' near escape from death (xii. 414) and Dido's doom (iv. 139, cf. 169–170). Vergil has actualized Homer's formula: πορφύρεος θάνατος (*Iliad* E 83, II 334, Y 477).

If purple is usually death's color in the *Aeneid*, as the evidence suggests²³, then one should not be surprised to find that the supernatural (non-solar) illumination of the land of the dead is suffused with a purplish (reddish) glow. Vergil has, as so often, altered Homer for a definite purpose: in *heaven* there is white light (λευκή αἴγλη, *Odyssey* ζ 45), but it is not so in the *underworld*.

(17.) Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* iii. 178–179: "orbes / purpureos".

At first glance this seems a good piece of evidence for the brightness hypothesis, since there is no reason for the reader to think that Crenaeus' eyes are particularly reddened or bloodshot here. Indeed, the context stresses the perishing *beauty* of Crenaeus ("iam candor et anni [i.e., iuventus] / deficient vitaeque fugit decus omne soluta"), and the present phrase may be expected to contribute to that effect.

But on reflection, one could say that this is a purely literary epithet intended to stand as Valerius' rendering of ἰοβλέφαρος, a term used to convey the image of beautiful dark eyes by Pindar (ἰογλέφαρον [applied to Aphrodite], frag. 313 Bowra = 307 Snell-M.), by Bacchilides (ἰοβλέφαροί τε κ[όρ]αι / φερσεστέφαναι χάριτες, 19[18].5–6 Snell-Maehler; Μουσᾶν γε ἰοβλεφάρων, 9[8].3 *idem*), and perhaps by Alcaeus (cf. Horace *Odes* i. 32.11 = frag. 186 Page *LGS*). The Greek term means literally "violet-eyed". On the

²²) At xi. 819, mentioned in connection with item (15) above, the term does double duty: it signifies health, but it is its *absence*, and Camilla's *death*, which the poet is stressing.

²³) Hence Vergil is a major exception to André's generalization (p. 102): "La couleur représentée par *purpureus* est essentiellement gaie." This is surely true of, for example, Ovid ("nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco: / non est conveniens luctibus ille color", *Tristia* i. 1.5–6; for Ovid "purpureus" is Amor's color, see items [5] and [6])—but Ovid is not Vergil.

color of the violet, see Vergil *Georgics* iv. 275: "violae . . . purpura nigrae"²⁴).

Aphrodite's epithet *ἐλικοβλέφαρος*, *Theogony* 16 and Hymns 6.19, ought also to be translated "dark-eyed". Denys L. Page has shown²⁵) that the element **welik-*, found in such Homeric formulae as *ἐλίκωπες Ἀχαιοί*, means "dark" and is not related to **helik-*, meaning "curving" or "rolling".

(18.) Vergil *Georgics* i. 405: "purpureo . . . capillo".

It is difficult to understand why Porphyry (in his note on *Odes* iv. 1.10, see my note 11) cited this line as an example of "purpureus" as equivalent to "pulcher". Surely Nisus' magic lock consisted of a tuft of red hair²⁶)! Similar phrases occur in Ovid *Metamorphoses* viii. 93, "purpureum crinem" (cf. lines 8 and 80), and in the *Ciris*, "purpureo capillo" 52, "purpureum crinem" 281, "purpura" 320, "purpurem capillum" 382, all in relation to this same magical lock of hair. And the *Ciris* also calls it a "roseus . . . crinis" (line 122; cf. 501): the red color is inescapable.

(19.) Propertius iii. 5.32, "purpureus . . . arcus".

This phrase appears to provide strong support for the "brightness" theory (or, perhaps, the older "beauty" theory). One might say that there is no evident reason why the rainbow should be referred to as "red"; but it is both bright and beautiful.

However, like (2.) above, this is an instance of a purely literary allusion, in this case to *Iliad* P 547: *πορφυρέην ἰρην* (see note 7). Moreover, the high visibility of the red band of the rainbow (the violet side is usually fainter) enables it to stand as a synecdoche for the whole bow.

(20.) Statius *Thebaid* vii. 148, "purpureum . . . vultum [*sc.* Bacchi]".

²⁴) In listing the colors of the various kinds of violet, Pliny gives pride of place to "purpureae" (*N. H.* xxi. 14.27). And Columella speaks of "Sarranae violae" (ix. 4.4; the adjective is a color term, cf. x. 287) and specifies "quae frondens purpurat . . . viola" (x. 101f.). See also John Sargeant, *The Trees, Shrubs and Plants of Virgil* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1920), pp. 136–137.

²⁵) *History and the Homeric Iliad*, pp. 244f. Ancient testimonia in support of this interpretation are collected by R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), p. 275 *ad fr.* 299.1.

²⁶) A. S. Hollis, ed., *Metamorphoses VIII* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) p. 36 on lines 8–9: "Colour terms are notoriously hard to pin down, but I would imagine the lock as scarlet rather than purple (cf. *Ciris* 122 'roseus')."

There are several reasons why Bacchus may aptly be described as having a ruddy face. (A.) When applied to the face or body, this adjective denotes health and vigor, as has been mentioned in connection with item (15) above; so the line is a paradox—"purpureum tristi turbatus pectore vultum": downcast at heart (though you would not have known it from his face). (B.) Bacchus is, of course, the metonym of the grape, and grapes are "purpureae". See Horace *Odes* ii. 5.10–12, "lividos / . . . racemos / purpureo . . . colore"; Ovid *Metamorphoses* iii. 484–485, "ut variis solet uva racemis / ducere purpureum . . . colorem"; viii. 676, "purpureis collectae vitibus uvae"; "sunt auro similes longis in vitibus uvae, / sunt et purpureae", xiii. 813–814. (C.) One must not forget that Bacchus *is* the god of inebriation, which of course produces a flushed face.

(21.) Horace *Odes* iii. 3.11–12: "Augustus recumbens / purpureo bibet ore nectar". Richard Bentley's comment here: "nihil aliud est purpureo ore quam pulchro et formoso".

In the context (Augustus is imagined banqueting with Pollux and Hercules in Heaven) neither "red" nor "bright" adds much to the noun. The adjective is unnecessary and its use here affords no grounds for preferring brightness as the intended meaning²⁷).

What does this examination of the evidence indicate? That there is no solid piece of evidence for "bright" as a meaning of the term "purpureus"—in all the instances examined, either redness was perfectly compatible with the sense of the passage (and usually preferable, e.g. items 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 20) or else the term was intended as an allusion to a literary predecessor, without any necessary inference of the presence of a brightness dimension (e.g. items 2, 5, 17, 19).

True, in several of the passages brightness could well be present (e.g. items 3, 6, 9, 14, 21)—but it would be difficult to draw up more than a very short list of Latin color terms which are *never*

²⁷) A friendly critic has asked, "Does your view mean that Augustus used lipstick?" I wish I had replied, "No more than your view means that he used Ultra-Brite toothpaste." Neither redness nor brightness is out of place here, so long as they are not present to an unpleasant degree of intensity. See Irwin p. 18.

It may be unfortunate for Horace that previous instances of this and similar expressions refer to *women's* mouths, e.g. Simonides frag. 389 Page LGS (= 80 PMG) πορφυρέου ἀπὸ στόματος, Catullus 45.12 "purpureo ore". Cf. *Aeneid* ii. 593, ix. 5 "roseo ore".

used in association with brightness. Are we to list "bright" as a secondary translation of all Latin color terms except "ater" and "niger"?

No: the belief that "purpureus" sometimes means "bright" can only be justified on the basis of non-imitative passages in which the "redness" meaning *cannot* reasonably be taken. Such passages do not appear to exist. And of course, if this interpretation had not appeared in the dictionaries, no scholar would have been tempted to suppose (as some have)²⁸) that the "purpureos flores" of *Aeneid* vi. 884 were anything other than *red* flowers, or that Vergil was speaking of a *white* flower when he gave praise to the "purpureo narcisso" (*Eclogues* v. 38)²⁹).

²⁸) Fletcher p. 80: "*purpureus* implies dazzling brightness *rather than* colour: is used of lilies in 883" (second emphasis mine). Conington *ad loc.* says the flowers may be either red or bright. Williams disagrees (*Aeneidos Liber Quintus*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1960, p. 57 *ad* v. 79): "cf. *Aen.* 6.884 . . . There, as here, the word means 'purple' or 'red'". And so does Austin p. 273: "it is safer to take the colour here as actual purple, or perhaps bright red". All four believe, with Ti. Donatus, that "lilia" and "purpureos flores" here refer to the same flowers; but this need not be so. One may fairly take the Latin as saying, "You (Romans) give lilies (white ones, quite possibly) by the handful (in honor of Marcellus); I will cast purple flowers (in mourning for him)." This rendering emphasizes the sharp shift in person from "date" to "spargam", a shift which is lost if the passage is rendered "give me lilies *so that* I may cast . . ." or "*and* I will cast (them) . . ." Neither "ut" nor "et" is needed here.

²⁹) Thus, Conington on *Eclogues* v. 38: "Here accordingly it ['purpureo'] is used of a white narcissus." He says this even though he is aware of, and mentions, *Ciris* 96, "suave rubens narcissus". Does "rubens" *also* mean "bright"? Pliny the Elder had described the narcissus as "purpurea lilia" (*N. H.* xxi. 25) and contrasted it with the white lily. Against Conington's view may be cited that of André (p. 98): "Mais l'adjectif s'emploie fréquemment pour les fleurs, sans précision d'espèce . . . et rien ne s'oppose alors au sens de 'rouge'."