

***CONNOTATIONS OF  
COLOUR IN JUVENAL'S  
SATIRES AND PETRONIUS'  
SATYRICON***

*B053317*

*MA (Hons) Latin Studies*

*University of Edinburgh*

B053317

## Abbreviations

*AA.* – *Ars Amatoria*

*Am.* – *Amores*

*Ann.* – *Annales*

*Aug.* – *Divus Augustus*

*Cat.* – *Catullus*

*De Brev. Vitae* – *De Brevitate Vitae*

*Epi.* – *Epidicus*

*Inst.* – *Institutiones*

*Juv.* – *Juvenal*

*Mart.* – *Martial*

*Ner.* – *Nero*

*NH.* – *Naturalis Historia*

*Plaut.* – *Plautus*

*Petr.* – *Petronius*

*pref.* – *preface*

*Quint.* – *Quintilian*

*Sat.* – *The Satyricon*

*Sen.* – *Seneca*

*Suet.* – *Suetonius*

*Tac.* – *Tacitus*

*Vit.* – *Vitellius*

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## Introduction

Colour was an intrinsic part of Roman society. Dyed clothing was used to stratify society, to divide jockeys into teams, and indicate the gender of the wearer.<sup>1</sup> The main way to access these connotations is through the descriptions of ancient authors, who have been studied to identify different class affiliations of colours, as well as moral and political ideas surrounding them.<sup>2</sup> Yet relatively little attention has been paid to the different levels on which the connotations of colour work, for example if they can have metaliterary usage, or be used to connote someone dressed in theatrical costume.

The studies conducted tend to have a narrow focus, or to be focused on what the text can tell us of the wider use of the colour, not what the wider connotations of colour can tell us of the text.<sup>3</sup> This lack of focus on the text itself, and other literary usage, is problematic, as it may at times result in an erroneous interpretation, some of which I hope to show can be clarified by putting the colour term back into the context of the text. My dissertation will therefore build upon the earlier studies by studying how two contemporary writers, Juvenal and Petronius, employ colour.<sup>4</sup> I have chosen these two writers for the simple reason that they employ a wide variety of colour with different connotations in their texts. Another reason for the specific choice is the new dating of Petronius, which makes possible allusion through rare colour terms between these two very interesting, especially if useful to establish chronology. Where I refer to the lexical frequency of colour terms in the dissertation the Library of Latin Texts has been used to establish earlier literary use, unless otherwise stated.

I am not so ambitious as to believe that I will be able to identify all the connotations of colour used by Petronius and Juvenal, nor do I aim to cover every usage of colour by either. Rather I hope that the categories and examples chosen will be illustrative of the many ways colour may be informative of the aims and affiliations of the texts, and enough to argue the case that colour should be studied in close connection to not only the context of the surrounding society, but also literary tradition and the text itself. I have limited myself to a survey of colour and its connotations employed in the realms of Roman society, spectacle, and finally in the texts themselves. I have chosen to focus on these three because while the first has been studied,

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Dodge (2011), 19; Goldman (2011).

<sup>2</sup> For example Lindsay (2000), Goldman (2011).

<sup>3</sup> Grant (2004), Hopman (2003), and Lindsay (2000) have for example used connotations of colour to illuminate one aspect of a text. Goldman uses texts more widely, but her point is more to identify social constructions built by a colour than how a single writer uses it.

<sup>4</sup> I follow the early second century CE dating of Petronius by Roth (2017).

the other two have not been given much attention in scholarship so far. Building therefore on the connotations established in the first chapter, I will study whether the affiliations of these two texts to spectacle as well as their literary properties have influenced the way colour is used in them.

Single case studies will, I hope, clarify some of the features of these texts scholars have been puzzled by, as well as validate some of our pre-existing theories of these texts. I aim to see if studying connotations of colour can inform us of the ways in which these works function, and am therefore not interested in exact shades or their modern equivalents, beyond where it is necessary to establish that two shades can be seen carrying the same connotations.

The first chapter considers the social semantics of colour in a variety of contexts, such as class, gender, morality, and politics, important concerns in both texts.<sup>5</sup> This chapter is much indebted to the work of Goldman (2011), whose thesis on the social constructions of colour in the Roman world has been an invaluable source. I have not, however, followed her way of arranging her chapter on the connotations of colour by groups of colours, firstly because this creates a problem when a Roman colour term does not fit neatly into modern categories of colour, and secondly, because this makes it harder to view several different colours with either contrasting or complementary connotations in connection to one another. I have therefore chosen to proceed thematically, and, looking at the connotations attached to colours, argue that the texts manipulate those connotations to inform the reader on the aims of the text.

The second chapter studies the possibility that certain colours used by Petronius and Juvenal carry connotations of Roman spectacle. Both works are closely affiliated with spectacle, as Braund (1997), Keane (2003), Panayotakis (1995), and Lindsay (1991) have noted, yet little attention has been paid to whether the clothing depicted in these texts might have been influenced by costumes worn on the stage. Furthermore, we should perhaps see these texts themselves as a form of spectacle due to their performative nature, which would add to the likelihood that the clothing in them should be regarded as costumes.<sup>6</sup> I will focus on three Roman spectacles, chariot racing, theatre, especially comedy, and the gladiatorial games, and argue that there are allusions to these spectacles in the colours employed in the texts, both overt and implicit. To bridge the gap between the first chapter and the second I will under the section on chariot racing focus on the dress code of the audience demanded by social position, and the conflict of this with the dress code of the Circus itself. I will then examine the other references,

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<sup>5</sup> Bodet (1984), 40-1; Hudson (1989), 70-1; Lindsay (2000), 318.

<sup>6</sup> Braund (1997), 55; Larmour (2016), 189; Panayotakis (1991), 58; Roche (2012), 209.

and whether they are informative on how we should view certain characters, but also whether recognising them may help us make better sense of how these texts work in general.

Finally I will argue in my third chapter that the connotations of colour characterise not only the cast in the *Satires* and the *Satyricon*, but also of the *Satyricon* and the *Satires* themselves. I will begin by looking at the colours used to describe a physical text, and arguing that the connotations those colours would have on a human character are much the same when they are encountered on text or a book scroll. I will then study the way rhetorical *color* may have influenced these texts and that the colour terms chosen should be seen as characteristic of the narrator's style, which in turn may be read as the author's implicit critique of contemporary rhetorical training. I will end my discussion by making a case for seeing the connotations of colours employed by Petronius and Juvenal as informative on the literary projects themselves.

# 1 Social connotations of colour in Juvenal's *Satires* and the *Satyricon* of Petronius

In Roman society dyed clothing could be used to segregate or characterise different groups of people. Already in the Republican period senators wore a *laticlavium*, a purple border in their toga, candidates stood for office in the *toga candida*, and the military officers' *paludamentum* was dyed with *coccus*.<sup>7</sup> Colour, among other markers, was used to distinguish the *equites* from other Romans, and the punishment for pretending equestrian status harsh, comparable to pretending to be a citizen, or freeborn.<sup>8</sup> Colour, gender, and morality were intertwined: for example women were in 215 BCE prohibited from using garments dyed *versicolor* in a sumptuary law, the *Lex Oppia*.<sup>9</sup> In the Imperial period Nero restricted shades of purple, *Tyrius* and *amethystinus*, for the use of the imperial family.<sup>10</sup> The colours used by Petronius and Juvenal should therefore be suspected of being expressly informative of the wearer's social position and character, as well as the state of the society itself, something which a contemporary reader would have known to interpret.

## 1.1 *Colour as indication of class in the texts of Juvenal and Petronius*

Colour is used to connote class in Juvenal's *First Satire*. Two high-ranking officials, a praetor and a tribune, are not only reduced to the rank of *clientes*, but are challenged in the primacy of their claims to the patron's attention by an impudent freedman (Juv. 1.106-11, italics are mine here as elsewhere, unless otherwise stated):

quid confert *purpura* maior  
 optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro  
 conductas Coruinus ouis, ego possideo plus  
 Pallante et Licinis?' expectent ergo tribuni,  
 uincant diuitiae, sacro ne cedat honori  
 nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui uenerat *albis*

The freedman uses colour to connote status: the senators are identified by the *purpura maior*,

<sup>7</sup> Elliott (2008), 181; Goldman (2011), 53, Sebesta (2001), 69.

<sup>8</sup> Armstrong (2012), 64.

<sup>9</sup> Culham (1982), 786, 793.

<sup>10</sup> Suet. *Ner.* 32.3. For bans made by emperors after Juvenal and Petronius see Croom (2002), 27.

the broad purple stripe, while *albis* is enough to tell the reader that the speaker was indeed a slave, and furthermore a foreign one.<sup>11</sup> *Albis* also explains why the man is not wearing a narrower stripe of *purpura* himself. Although he has already implied that he earns enough in a year to be an *eques* (*sed quinque tabernae / quadringenta parant*, Juv. 1.105-6), his position as a freedman prohibits him from rising to that order.<sup>12</sup> By claiming that he should be allowed in first nonetheless, the freedman is challenging this traditional order of classes. It is in fact this subversion that often marks how Petronius and Juvenal use class connotations of colour. I will examine their use of *coccin(e)us* as an example of colour used to subvert traditional coloured hierarchy below.

Colour is suggestive of rank in Juvenal's *Third Satire*, where Umbricius fumes at the rich man who is protected from a mugging by his *coccina laena* (Juv. 3.283). *Coccinus* was associated with the class of the *equites*, had very specific ritual use as the garments of priests, and was worn by military officers.<sup>13</sup> This leads Goldman to conjecture:

By his dress the wearer was obviously of a distinctive rank and the innkeeper gives him preferential treatment. Juvenal eschews this type of behaviour toward people based on appearance. His negative attitude towards these people seems to reflect the fact that they presumably do not perform up to the expectations created by their luxury garments. While Juvenal does not state the job this cloaked man performs, he is probably a general, a flamen or an augur.<sup>14</sup>

I believe that Goldman is right to think that Umbricius, and perhaps Juvenal through him, is criticising judging men on their appearance. However, deeming the wearer of the *coccina laena* automatically a man of high class, a priest or an officer, seems to me too hasty. As Goldman notes, Juvenal does not indicate the status of the man. The mugger is described as wary of the *appearance* of high status (Juv. 3.282-5):

sed quamvis inprobus annis  
atque mero fervens cavet hunc quem coccina laena

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<sup>11</sup> See Braund (1996) on Juv. 1.111.

<sup>12</sup> See Braund (1996) on Juv. 1.106-111.

<sup>13</sup> Armstrong (1917), 2; Sebesta (2001), 69. *Coccinus* has two variant forms, *coccineus* and *coccinatus*. I will henceforth use *coccinus* to refer to all of these, except where discussing a specific passage.

<sup>14</sup> Goldman (2011), 68.

vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo,  
multum praeterea flammaram et aenea lampas.

I will now examine other uses of *coccinus* in two other satirically minded authors, Petronius and Martial, and attempt to establish that the specific colour Juvenal has chosen should be seen as a red herring in a satirical work. It can be read either as Goldman has done, to connote high status, but also merely as the pretension of it.

There are three instances of the *coccinus* in the extant part of the *Satyricon*, always associated with Trimalchio, a rich freedman with aspirations. Once he boasts that even his pillows have a filling that is either *conchyliatus* or *coccineus* (Petr. *Sat.* 38.5), and twice he is wearing a garment dyed with it, a *coccina gausapa* (Petr. *Sat.* 28.4), and a *pallium coccineum* (Petr. *Sat.* 32.2). Only used by Martial, and perhaps Juvenal, before Petronius, the colour is one of a list of colour-terms that are used either for the very first time in the *Cena*, or which are at least very rare in extant literature. The abundance of rare colour in the novel – for example the colour *cerasinus* is used in the *Satyricon* for the first time in extant Latin literature – leads Goldman to conjecture that the freedmen may prefer colours which are as new as they are.<sup>15</sup>

While this seems convincing, *coccinus* specifically has undeniable equestrian connotations, as has been discussed above. Trimalchio's attempts to appear an *equus* are apparent also in other parts of his person, for example his choice to wear a gilded ring is a legal nod to the golden ring emblematic of equestrian status.<sup>16</sup> I will now examine the earlier usage of *coccinus* by Martial, which suggests that the colour term is in Petronius deliberately used as part of Trimalchio's costume as a man with equestrian pretensions, not actual status. The status of freedmen in Roman society was liminal at best, which lead them to try to create themselves status through some medium, whether this is through new and luxurious colours, or colours which flirt with pretensions of better status.<sup>17</sup>

While *coccus* is less controversial as a colour term than the adjectival forms, used as it is for example for the cloaks of military officers, *coccinus* has specific connotations of pretensions to the class of the *equites* in Martial.<sup>18</sup> Martial uses *coccus* three times in his *Epigrammata* and *coccinus*, *coccineus*, or *coccinatus* eight times.<sup>19</sup> *Coccus* is used once, and

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<sup>15</sup> Goldman (2011), 98.

<sup>16</sup> See Smith (1975) on Petr. *Sat.* 32.3.

<sup>17</sup> Goldman (2011), 90.

<sup>18</sup> Pliny the Elder, *NH.* 22.3.3.

<sup>19</sup> These occur at Mart. 1.96; 2.16.2; 2.29.8; 2.43.8; 4.28.2; 5.23.5; 5.35.2; 10.76.9; 14.131; 14.141.1.

the adjectival forms several times, to indicate someone trying to appear an *eques* undeservedly.<sup>20</sup>

Two uses of the latter further specify the pretender as either a slave or a freedman. Euclides is an example of this (Mart. 5.35.1, 5-6):

coccinatus Euclides  
 ...  
 equiti suberbo, nobili, lucupleti  
 cecidit repente magna de sinu clavis.

Here the luxurious appearance of an equestrian is revealed to belong to a mere porter, a slave, by the key that he drops.<sup>21</sup> Overt luxury, part of which is *coccineus*, is also used to subvert status in 2.29 and 5.23. Zoilus, another freedman with aspirations, is also portrayed sleeping on sheets dyed with *coccinus* in 2.16. Goldman has examined the similarities between Zoilus and Trimalchio, although she believes Martial is alluding to Petronius, which is impossible is a second century dating for Petronius is accepted. The comparison works even better the other way around, however, as Petronius' description is consistently more extravagant than Martial's. *Epigram* 3.82 sees Zoilus picking his teeth with a toothpick of exotic wood (*cuspidisque lentisci*, Mart. 3.82.9), while Trimalchio uses silver (*pinna argentea dentes perfodit*, Petr. *Sat.* 33.1) – similarly Zoilus is called Malchio (Mart. 3.82.33), while Trimalchio is throughout the *Cena* marked as three times as bad as a Tri-Malchio.<sup>22</sup> Trimalchio's extravagant pillows at *Satyricon* 38.5 might be a further reference to this: Zoilus may sleep on *coccinus*, but Trimalchio fills his pillows, even when no one can see, with the colour. These echoes indicate that Petronius' text was influenced by Martial, and that *coccinus* on Trimalchio is a specific addition to his faux-equestrian identity.

Thus the use of *coccinus*, *coccineus*, and *coccinatus* in literature before Juvenal is perhaps suggestive of the dilemma Umbricius is faced with, and a part of his disapproval. Is the man in the *coccina laena* an officer of the army, or instead someone trying to hide his status behind his wealth, maybe the status of someone who arrived with his feet coloured *albis*? The whole stratification of society through colour becomes problematic, because you cannot always

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<sup>20</sup> These uses occur for *coccus* at Mart. 5.23.5, and for the other forms at Mart. 2.29.8; 5.35.2; 14.141.1.

<sup>21</sup> Howell (1995), 118.

<sup>22</sup> Goldman (2011), 104-5, n.316.

tell whether someone is actually of high status, or can simply afford luxurious clothing. Whichever the case, the *coccina laena* of the rich man is a reminder to the reader that dyed clothing was a perilous way to judge someone's position: it might connote real status, but it could just as well merely connote wealth.

## 1.2 Connotations of gender in colours worn by women and “women” in the Satyricon and the Satires

I will approach connotations of gender in colour through looking at the garments of women, and men who are explicitly attempting to appear women. I will also study the way luxurious colour could be regarded as effeminate below, when I discuss moral and coloured clothing. Those connotations make men seem effeminate rather than transvestites however, so I will separate the two.

Yellow was especially associated with women in the Roman world, and Fortunata wears a belt which is *galbinus* in the *Satyricon* (*Venit ergo galbino succincta cingillo*, Petr. *Sat.* 67.4).<sup>23</sup> Men who wore the colour tended to be eunuchs, for example the castrated priests of Cybele wore yellow.<sup>24</sup> In Juvenal too the colour is worn only by men pretending to be women: the pathics of *Satire 2* (*indutus ... galbina rasa*, Juv. 2.97), and the effeminate adulterer of *Satire 6* (*distinctus croceis et reticulatus adulter*, Juv. 6.ox22). Juvenal enjoys employing colour to suggest someone who is acting out the wrong gender role, as the female athlete of the *Sixth Satire* wears *endromidas Tyrias* (Juv. 6.246). *Tyrius* was firstly the most prestigious type of purple in the Roman world, and so it may be used here for scorn that someone would wear an expensive colour to sweat in. However, as Tyrian purple was also in other contexts connected to the *triumphator*, it would be for that reason too especially suitable on a woman trying to appear a man by showing physical strength.<sup>25</sup> The colour may also have been the one restricted to women in the *Lex Oppia* of 215 BCE, further connoting unsuitability.<sup>26</sup>

It is noteworthy that both Juvenal and Petronius use the shade *galbinus*, a rare shade used only by Martial before these two writers. In Juvenal the transvestites are described in the following fashion (Juv. 2.96-7):

reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet

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<sup>23</sup> Dana (1919), 15, 24-5.

<sup>24</sup> Dana (1919), 12-15.

<sup>25</sup> Goldman (2011), 53.

<sup>26</sup> Culham (1982), 787.

caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa.

This description is highly reminiscent of Fortunata, who is *galbino succincta cingillo* (Petr. *Sat.* 67.4), and shows Scintilla her *reticulum aureum* (Petr. *Sat.* 67.6). The closeness of these passages and the rarity of the colour term suggest an affinity between these episodes. This makes the question of primacy interesting. If Petronius wrote first, then the Juvenalian homosexuals are marked as not only effeminate, but also vulgar and freedwoman-like in their choice of dress. However, if Fortunata came later, then she seems like someone who, trying to dress luxuriously and femininely, ends up looking like a man instead. I will expand upon this question in the next chapter when I argue that besides the erotic connotations of yellow, the colour and hairnet both Fortunata and the transvestites of Juvenal's *Second Satire* are wearing might be a reference to the prostitute of comedy, which might clarify the chronology.<sup>27</sup>

### 1.3 Connotations of morality: luxury, nationality, and gender in the Satires and the Satyricon

Romans were inherently dubious of luxury, whether it was manifested in food, dyed clothing, or furnishings. The ideology that tough Rome had been softened by the goods brought from elsewhere goes back to the Republican age.<sup>28</sup> Quintilian notes in his *Institutio Oratoria* (Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.pref.20):

Et cultus concessus atque magnificus addit hominibus, ut Graeco versu testatum est, auctoritatem: at muliebris et luxuriosus non corpus exornat, sed detegit mentem.

Similar to luxury goods, also slaves were imported from all around the empire, and especially with freedmen luxurious colour is used to connote different moral characteristics attached to the group. *Conchyliatus* is a colour which both Petronius and Juvenal associate with freedmen, and use to create similar connotations of overt luxury, foreign origin and effeminacy. These are analogous to the freedmen's attempt to show status through wealth, but also to their foreign origins. It is also contrasted by both writers with the good, Roman, moral connotations of *albus*.

When Trimalchio is hurt, Encolpius muses (Petr, *Sat.* 54.4):

Itaque totum circumspicere triclinium coepi, ne per parietem automatam aliquod exiret,

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<sup>27</sup> See Gibson (2003) on 177-9.

<sup>28</sup> Berry (1989), 599-601.

utique postquam servus verberari coepit, qui brachium domini contusum *alba* potius quam *conchyliata* involverat lana.

*Conchyliatus* is here a way to portray the extremes of lavish expenditure Encolpius imagines Trimalchio going to: even his bandages need to be dyed with expensive colours. The colours which Encolpius juxtaposes have also national connotations. *Conchyliatus* is also a Greek word, and a foreign luxurious dye, while *albus* is both a colour that could naturally be derived from Italian wool, and in the juxtaposition surely recalls Alba Longa, the origin of Rome as the birth city of Romulus and Remus.<sup>29</sup> Finally *conchyliatus* is a colour with effeminate connotations, as its Greek name already suggests, which completes the picture of Trimalchio as a foreign, rich, and effeminate man.<sup>30</sup> This juxtaposition of *conchyliatus* and *albus* is also one that Umbricius uses, as he professes to flee from Rome because of the *conchyliata* (Juv. 3.81) of the Greek newcomers, and to journey to his idealised Italian countryside where (Juv. 3.178-9):

clari velamen honoris  
sufficiunt tunicae summis aedilibus albae.

Both Encolpius' and Umbricius' accounts are unreliable. Albeit Trimalchio does elsewhere claim to have pillows filled with the luxurious *conchyliatus* (Petr. *Sat.* 38.5), the extravagance in bandages is a figment of Encolpius' imagination. Umbricius' account of Rome on the other hand is as exaggerated as his account of the countryside is idealised, and neither can be taken to represent any sort of reality of Rome.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore the white clothing worn by the *aediles* might not be as morally sound as it might seem at first glance, as I will argue in the second chapter. Yet both Petronius and Juvenal use *conchyliatus* and *albus* to convey complex moral and national idea(l)s about the freedmen's place in society and moral character, whether true or not.

Goldman claims that luxury was reprehensible in freedmen, because they were not fulfilling the place they were supposed to in society, but that for the high born wearing clothing dyed with luxurious colours was not problematic in this way.<sup>32</sup> Yet I believe this is

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<sup>29</sup> Sebesta (2001), 65.

<sup>30</sup> Connolly (1998), 137.

<sup>31</sup> Braund (1989), 23.

<sup>32</sup> Goldman (2011), 91.

oversimplifying what, for the Romans, was a complex moral paradox. Also colours traditionally connoting high class could gain unsavoury moral connotations because of their luxuriousness. Where Trimalchio and the rich man of Juvenal's *Third Satire* are marked as rich and high class – by right or pretension – by their choice of *coccinus*, it also casts their masculinity into doubt. Martial addresses this in an epigram (Mart. 1.96.4-7):

Amator ille tristium lacernarum  
 et baeticatus atque leucophaeatus,  
 qui *coccinatos* non putat uiros esse  
*amethystinasque* mulierum uocat uestes,  
*natiua* laudet, habeat et licet semper  
*fuscus* colores.

Both *coccinus* and *amethystinus* are listed in the *Epigram* as effeminate and foreign colours despite their high class connotations – in fact *amethystinus* was one of the shades of purple Nero restricted to the sole use of the imperial household.<sup>33</sup> They are in turn contrasted to colours which are *nativa* – so nationality is an issue once more. It is considered better moral worth to wear the native dark colours (*fuscus*) than flashy foreign garb. That this moral dilemma also applies to the higher classes suggests that there may be an even less savoury message here than when freedmen like Trimalchio try to appear equestrians. By wearing flashy, foreign, and luxurious colours like *coccinus*, the equestrians and patricians, even the emperor, wearing these colours in the surrounding society are in fact appearing like the freedmen of the texts. Much of Roman ideology about luxury was derived from the fact that luxury was an unnecessary desire, and those who indulged in luxury were seen to be slaves to their own desires in stoic philosophy.<sup>34</sup> The freedmen are then trying to reach a better social position through wearing luxurious colours, but morally the high-born who wear them prove themselves no better than the slaves in these texts.

#### 1.4 Political connotations of colour in Juvenal and Petronius: patronage and the imperial system

An important theme in satire, the connotations of colour also contribute to the depiction of an unequal patronage relationship. The *viridis thorax* Juvenal imagines Virro giving to the

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<sup>33</sup> Suet. *Ner.* 32.3.

<sup>34</sup> Berry (1989), 602.

future child of his client Trebius implies that Virro is creating a future generation of servile Roman clients. The gifts Virro is imagined giving the potential children of his client (Juv. 5.143-5):

uiridem thoracam iubebit  
adferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,  
ad mensam quotiens parasitus uenerit infans

are all designed to turn the child into a parasite like his father: ready to submit to humiliating and emasculating treatment in exchange for the most niggardly gifts.<sup>35</sup> The nuts, which are *minimas*, make a mockery out of the standard gift of nuts, the larger the better, to the children of dependants.<sup>36</sup> The *as*, on the other hand, might be compared to the *sportula* given to the actual client: it is like a preliminary step on the road to dependency on Virro's cheap patronage where different clothes make the client and patron as unequal as eating different food does.<sup>37</sup>

The *viridis thorax* is a further emasculating symbol of the client's dependency on someone else.<sup>38</sup> The green garment has been identified by various scholars as the equivalent of a shirt fans of the green faction wore to the races.<sup>39</sup> Although the morality of the racing fans was itself questionable, as I will argue in the next chapter, I do not believe that the *viridis thorax* is meant to be understood in this way. *Viridis* is not the specific shade, *prasinus*, connected to the chariot team. The colour is instead effeminate, as it is the colour of the umbrella given by a client to his patron, who is a *cinaedus*, in *Satire 9* (*cui tu viridem umbellam ... mittas*, Juv. 9.50), and together with the Greek name of the garment, *thorax*, is likely meant to invite ideas of effeminacy and servility, behaviour that was not properly Roman.<sup>40</sup> Secondly the colour is punning on the name of Virro, the patron, and on *vir*, drawing perhaps attention to the very *unvir* nature of the colour and its wearer.<sup>41</sup> The colour makes the different status of the patron to the client as palpable as the unequal food they get.<sup>42</sup> Where a patron might expect to wear Tyrian purple, the client has to content himself with a colour that was produced halfway through

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<sup>35</sup> Hopman (2003), 565.

<sup>36</sup> Hopman (2003), 561.

<sup>37</sup> Hopman (2003), 558, 561.

<sup>38</sup> Hopman (2003), 565.

<sup>39</sup> See for example Braund (1996) on Juv. 5.143 and Goldman (2011), 108.

<sup>40</sup> Hopman (2003), 570.

<sup>41</sup> Goldman (2011), 108.

<sup>42</sup> Hopman (2003), 558.

the dyeing process of Tyrian.<sup>43</sup> By employing this colour Juvenal calls attention to the way a bad patron may abuse his client, and how the client, by submitting to that treatment, becomes a morally degraded part of a morally degraded patronage system.

During the imperial period, when the emperor was the highest patron of all, the construction of identity through colour becomes even more problematic.<sup>44</sup> Juvenal explores this in the character of Crispinus, an Egyptian freedman, who under Domitian seems to be allowed the full pretensions and trappings of knighthood. He is met for the first time in the *First Satire* outing his best equestrian garb (Juv. 1.27-8):

Crispinus Tyrias umero reuocante lacernas  
uentilet aestium digitis sudantibus aurum.

Unlike Trimalchio, Crispinus has gone all the way to wearing a golden, not merely a gilded, ring, and so he appears a real equestrian. Later he is again seen in the *Fourth Satire*, where he, who was once a *verna Canopi* (Juv. 1. 26), is officially referred to as an *eques*, and colour is again part of this portrayal (Juv. 4.31-2):

purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati,  
iam princeps equitum.

This is highly disturbing in a stratified society: not only can you not make out whether a man on the street is high-born or not, but under a bad emperor those who have the money and the favour are indeed treated as the high-born they pretend to be.<sup>45</sup> The claim of the freedman at the rich man's door is realised – money and the favour of the emperor are the only things that matter. We do not see whether the freedman or the prefect is allowed in first in the *First Satire*, but the case of Crispinus would give good odds to the freedman – if he is dressed to match his 400 000 sesterces. For the old aristocracy and native Romans this means that the scales can also tip the other way: with no money or favour from the emperor they are nothing any more.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Hopman (2003), 563.

<sup>44</sup> Nauta (2002), 26.

<sup>45</sup> Freudenburg (2001), 260. For capriciousness of bad emperors in giving equestrian status to freedmen in general see Suet. *Vit.* 12.10.

<sup>46</sup> Alston (2008), 149.

The patronage and imperial systems seen through colour are also at issue when Trimalchio's *dispensator* grumbles of his lost clothes (Petr. *Sat.* 30.11):

Vestimenta mea cubitoria perdidit, quae mihi natali meo cliens quidam donaverat, Tyria sine dubio.

Many scholars have thought of the fact that a freedman's slave should have clothing of Tyrian purple, much less given to him by a client, as unsuited for the individual as *candidus* is unsuited to slaves at 60.8, simply as an amusing joke.<sup>47</sup> Read against the Neronian echoes in the novel, the incident could be seen as a commentary on Nero's ban on Tyrian purple, discussed above.<sup>48</sup> Like Trimalchio allows his clients not to name him in their wills unlike tyrannical emperors who forced bequests, so he does not deny his servants the aristocratic colours sometimes denied to the aristocrats themselves.<sup>49</sup> But as Trimalchio himself is by no means the model of a good emperor (he is described as *tyrannus* at 41.9), both extremes are illustrated: a bad emperor is one who both reserves the use of a colour to just himself, but also one who allows slaves and freedmen to wear it.

### 1.5 Conclusion

As I have argued in this chapter, Petronius and Juvenal use colour to create intricate suggestions of how to read clothing worn by their characters. Colour terms can be used to indicate social position or aspirations, or to cast doubt on a character's class. Colour can also be used to connote gender, and especially Juvenal seems to employ it to characterise people who are trying to subvert their traditional gender roles. Through connotations of gender, nationality, class, and luxury, colour can be used to give an indication of moral character, whether real or imagined by a biased narrator. Finally connotations of colour can be used as political commentary.

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<sup>47</sup> See for example Grant (2004), 247.

<sup>48</sup> See for example Smith (1975) on Petr. *Sat.* 28.4, 30.9; and Vout (2011), 101-9 on the Neronian echoes. Nero was one of the emblematic figures for a bad emperor, so these allusions need not become void with moving the time of the novel's writing to a later period.

<sup>49</sup> See Smith (1975) on Petr. *Sat.* 53.9.

## 2 Connotations of spectacle in colours used by Juvenal and Petronius

The stage of spectacle was an important focal point in Roman society. The audience acted out a microcosm of Roman society, while the performers had to submit to the gaze of the audience.<sup>50</sup> Both Juvenal and Petronius use spectacle in their texts, but the way the most visual of signs, colour, connotes a performer or a member of the audience has not been given much attention to. This chapter will attempt to remedy that, and argue that understanding the allusion to spectacle through colour may offer new ways to understand characters, but also sometimes may tie a text itself together.

### 2.1 Connotations of colour connected to chariot racing in Petronius and Juvenal

There were four racing teams active in Rome in the early second century CE. Their charioteers wore shirts dyed a certain colour, which were so emblematic that the colour became the name of the faction: Red (*russata*), Green (*prasina*), Blue (*veneta*) and White (*albata*).<sup>51</sup> This affiliation of certain colour terms to the teams is attested to in Juvenal, who complains that a hundred lawyers' incomes are not equal to those of one *russati* ... *Lacertae* (Juv. 7.114). In Petronius too the races are a topic of discussion, especially the Green faction, recognised by its precise colour term (Petronius, *Sat.*, 70.10, 13):

Trimalchio: "Permitto, inquit, Philargyre et Cario, etsi *prasinianus* es famosus, dic et Menophilae, contubernali tuae, discumbat ... Nec contentus fuit recumbere, sed continuo Ephesum tragoedum coepit imitari et subinde dominum suum sponsione provocare si *prasinus* proximis circensibus primam palmam".

Juvenal also uses the more common word for green, *viridis*, to refer to the team at line 198 of his *Eleventh Satire*, but I would suggest this may be a conscious misuse, employed for reasons I will expand on below.

While these exact colour terms were then often associated with the racing teams even, they are, with the exception of *albus*, rarely used for clothing outside of the Circus in extant literature.<sup>52</sup> Yet both Petronius and Juvenal use these terms also in other surroundings.

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<sup>50</sup> Parker (1999), 163, 167-8.

<sup>51</sup> Dodge (2011), 19.

<sup>52</sup> Goldman (2011), 72, 92-3.

Trimalchio is *tunica vestitum russea* (Petr. *Sat.* 27.1) at the beginning of the *Cena*, his *ostiarius* is wearing a shirt that is *prasinatus* (Petr. *Sat.* 28.8), while Trimalchio's boy-favourite dresses his puppy in a green jacket (*prasina involuebat fascina*, Petr. *Sat.* 64.6). In Juvenal Umbricius imagines himself wearing a *veneto cucullo* (Juvenal, 3.170) in the countryside. Because of the rarity of these colours and their strong affinity to the racing circuit I believe it worthwhile to suspect these instances allude deliberately to chariot racing, and examine the connotations these colours add to the texts.

Fans of racing teams wore tunics dyed the colour of that team at the Circus.<sup>53</sup> Characters wearing clothing dyed with the specific colours associated with racing teams might therefore be suspected of having an affiliation to that particular team. Trimalchio wears *russea* where his boy-favourite and steward have clothing coloured *prasinus*, which suggests that the household was possibly divided in its loyalties on the track.<sup>54</sup> While racing was a popular pastime and a passion, it was also eschewed for moral reasons by serious writers, such as Tacitus and Pliny the Younger.<sup>55</sup> Pliny explicitly criticises the Circus-goers at Rome in his letters (Pliny Minor, 9.6.2-3):

Quo magis miror tot milia virorum tam pueriliter identidem cupere currentes equos, insistentes curribus homines videre. Si tamen aut velocitate equorum aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio non nulla; nunc favent panno, pannum amant, et si in ipso cursu medioque certamine hic color illuc ille huc transferatur, studium favorque transibit, et repente agitadores illos equos illos, quos procul noscitant, quorum clamitant nomina relinquent. Tanta gratia tanta auctoritas in una vilissima tunica, mitto apud vulgus, quod vilius tunica, sed apud quosdam graves homines

Pliny's letter shows that dressing up in the colours of one's favourite team was popular – which means that using colours reminiscent of the racing teams would likely have been a very clear allusion to the contemporary reader of either Petronius and Juvenal. But his criticism of the fans is truly interesting: they do not care for skill, nor truly for their favourite charioteers, but only the bright colours that are worn on the track. Trimalchio and his household's interests are therefore again shown as morally condemnable, cheap and vulgar through the allusion to passion for the sport.

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<sup>53</sup> Meijer (2010), 99.

<sup>54</sup> Goldman (2011), 97.

<sup>55</sup> Goldman (2011), 499.

Umbricius' *veneto cucullo* (Juv. 3.170) should likely also be read as a garment referring to the races, considering the high affiliation of the *Third Satire* and spectacle.<sup>56</sup> Morally the *veneto cucullo* is a note on the hypocrisy of Umbricius: he claims to seek a countryside where everything is morally good, but in actuality he might simply want to wear the colours of his morally suspect favourite racing team. The moral goodness of the *alba tunica* considered in the last chapter is also brought into doubt. Although more standard as a dye than *venetus*, in conjunction with it *albus* worn by the country officials may receive less flattering moral connotations as well through the allusion to racing. This moral connotation of colours connected to the racing track may also explain the more standard *viridis* used for the Green team in Juvenal's *Eleventh Satire*. In a poem all about moral goodness and simplicity the speaker may be deliberately using the wrong shade to connote the team.<sup>57</sup> He is so morally upright he does not even know the proper term for the faction of the morally dubious sport.

Besides moral connotations, Umbricius' wish that he could wear the *veneto cucullo* might also be a reference to the seating plan of Roman spectacles and the dress codes demanded of different classes in the audience. Umbricius complains that he is driven from the equestrian seats at the theatre (Juv. 3.154-5):

si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,  
cuius res legi non sufficit

because he does not have the necessary wealth to be an *eques*, although as freeborn he is otherwise eligible. This wealth was expressed by specific attire, which an *eques* was obliged to wear if he wanted to sit in the equestrian seats.<sup>58</sup> The classes had been segregated at the theatre since the *Lex Roscia* of 67 BCE, and Nero had instituted a similar policy in the Circus.<sup>59</sup> For Umbricius to be driven out means then that he cannot afford the expensive garments, and that it is shameful not only morally, but also socially, to sit in the Circus wearing *venetus*.

Martial comments on this double standard in racing dress code in an *Epigram* titled *Lacernae coccineae* (Mart. 14.131.1-2):

Si veneto prasinove faves, quid coccina sumes?

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<sup>56</sup> See the theatrical scenes at Juv. 3.153-9 and 3.173-6.

<sup>57</sup> Courtney (1980), 489.

<sup>58</sup> Armstrong (2012), 64.

<sup>59</sup> Rawson (1987), 102; Tac. *Ann.* 15.32.

Ne fias ista transfuga sorte, vide.

As a colour term it seems likely that *coccinus* is chosen here for its class connotations considered in the previous chapter, since it is not the typical word used to denote the chariot team. The joke is surely twofold: firstly those *equites* who wish to sit in the equestrian seats will now have to risk being thought supporters of the unfashionable Reds, when Blue appears to have been the faction preferred by the rich, provoking the *transfuga*.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand Green was the most popular racing team, and I think it is tempting to see Martial using the juxtaposition here to refer to people who are *transfugae* of their social class, not merely of their favourite team.<sup>61</sup>

This might be informative also on Trimalchio's change from the *russea tunica* (Petr. *Sat.* 27.1) to a *coccina gausapa* (Petr. *Sat.* 28.4). Trimalchio's exchange from a colour affiliated with the fans of a racing team to one affiliated with the equestrian order is one more layer to his social pretensions, this time in wanting to sit in the equestrian seats. Although the audience was segregated through class in all spectacles, not just racing, the fact that the track had its own colour-based dress code makes the juxtaposition easier to arrange through just coloured allusion than for example at the theatre. So far I have mainly spoken of the connotations that racing colours add to members of the audience, but now I will turn my attention to the stage, first in the world of racing. Then I will look at the stage of theatre, and finally the gladiatorial arena.

Trimalchio's position could, at the beginning of the *Cena*, be read as that of a jockey as well as a spectator, for both wore the colour of the team. He is not only wearing a *russea tunica* (Petr. *Sat.* 27.1), but also playing with a ball which is *prasina* (Petr. *Sat.* 27.2). The juxtaposition of the racing colours suggests that a spectacle is being put on for the benefit of the guests.<sup>62</sup> In fact Encolpius characterises it as such (Petr. *Sat.* 27.2):

Nec tam pueri nos, quamquam erat operae pretium, ad spectaculum duxerant, quam ipse pater familiae, qui soleatus pila prasina exercebatur.

Trimalchio suits the position of a charioteer well, because they were often of servile status or origin, and subjected frequently to criticism because of the wealth and influence they could

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<sup>60</sup> See Ferguson (1987) on 11.198.

<sup>61</sup> See Ferguson (1987) on 11.198.

<sup>62</sup> Goldman (2011), 92-3.

amass despite their status, like Trimalchio himself.<sup>63</sup> Reading through spectacle, and keeping in mind Martial's use of *coccineus*, Trimalchio's change of *russea tunica* into a *coccina gausapa* can be seen as a further indication of his aspirations to rise in social situations. He does not only attempt to rise to the equestrian order from below on the social ladder, but indeed from a servile position, supporting the connotations perceived in Martial and Petronius in the first chapter.

## 2.2 Colour and the theatre: the comedic affiliations of the Satires and the Satyricon

Although we know only a little of the colours used for theatrical costume in Rome, the affiliations of both the *Satyricon* and the *Satires* to theatrical performance, and especially comedy (*natio comoeda est*, Juv. 3.100; *pantomimi chorum, non patris familiae triclinium crederes*, Petr. *Sat.* 31.7), make it worthwhile to study, through our remaining sources, whether the coloured clothing of the works might allude to costume. Yet, while the debt of both Juvenal and Petronius to theatre has been discussed extensively in scholarship, the matter of theatrical costume remains largely unexplored.<sup>64</sup> I will use Donatus' treatise *De Comoedia et Tragoedia* to sketch out a general use of colour with theatrical allusions in the texts of Petronius and Juvenal, before focusing on the outfit of the comic prostitute, and what references it may add to these texts.

The fragments that survive from Donatus' treatise *De Comoedia et Tragoedia* are informative despite the later date of the text. I will quote his treatment of costume in full, and attempt to trace some similarities between it and the cast in Petronius and Juvenal (Donatus, *De Comoedia et Tragoedia* 8.6):

comicis senibus candidus vestis inducitur, quod is antiquissimus fuisse memoratur, adolescentibus discolor attribuitur. Servi comici amictu exiguo conteguntur paupertatis antiquae gratia, vel quo expeditiores agant. Parasiti cum intortis palliis veniunt. Laeto vestitus candidus, aerumnoso obsoletus, purpureus diviti, pauperi phoeniceus datur. Militi chlamys purpurea, puellae habitus peregrinus inducitur, leno pallio varii coloris utitur, meretrici ob avaritiam luteum datur.

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<sup>63</sup> Bell (2014), 496.

<sup>64</sup> For the importance of spectacle in Juvenal and Petronius see for example Gagliardi (1981), Keane (2003) and Panayotakis (1995). Panayotakis (1995), 59, and Grant (2004), 247 touch briefly on the possibility of costumes in the *Satyricon*, but neither attempts any deeper analysis.

Although the extent of Donatus' knowledge on the customs of the theatre can be speculated on, there is fairly good evidence that many of the roles he describes had standardised costumes and modes of action.<sup>65</sup> While some of these costumes are connoted by a type of garment, such as the torn *pallium* of the parasite, the vast majority are connoted through colour. It is therefore again useful to study whether colour employed by Juvenal and Petronius might correspond to theatrical costume, validating at the same time the affiliation of both these works to comedy, but also strengthening the argument that Donatus is relying on authentic tradition.

Even though not nearly all of the colours Donatus uses correspond exactly with the colours of Petronius and Juvenal, they are indicative of a possible connection. *Purpureus* is not the same as *coccineus*, but it seems to have connoted a dark red as well, and been used, in the manner of *coccineus*, for (counterfeit) equestrian clothing.<sup>66</sup> This might mean both Trimalchio and the rich man wearing his *coccina laena* (Juv. 3.283) are informed by the costume. Especially in the case of Trimalchio such a link seems to be gestured at: the clashing reds of his cloak, napkin and bald head (Petr. *Sat.* 32.2):

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

create a very comical picture, and one which has been seen as reminiscent of a rich man in mime.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore the *pallium* Trimalchio wears gestures towards a theatrical connection, the genre of *comedia palliata*. Notably this kind term was used of adaptations from Greek comedy, which may again allude to the foreign origins of Trimalchio.

Umbricius' torn appearance (*scissa lacerna*, Juv. 3.148) in the *Third Satire* might on the other hand connote the parasite described by Donatus. Umbricius' *venetum cucullum* (Juv. 3.170) might strengthen the link, for although not mentioned by Donatus, it has also been seen as a reference to the hood of the poor man of comedy.<sup>68</sup> The *aediles* of Umbricius' rustic world are perhaps more modest than their city counterparts in that *albae tunicae* (Juv. 3.179) are enough for them. At the same time it is perhaps not to be wondered at why the *rusticus infans*

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<sup>65</sup> Demetriou (2014), 230-7.

<sup>66</sup> See Mart. 5.8. *Purpureus* is a more common shade than *coccinus*, which might explain the different term.

<sup>67</sup> Panayotakis (1995), 66. For the mimetic rich man in general see Sen. *De Brev. Vitae*, 12.8.

<sup>68</sup> See Braund (1996) and Courtney (1980) on Juv. 3.170.

(Juv. 3.176) cries at the farce, thinking it is real, when the dress of the *aediles* corresponds to the *senicis* Donatus describes.

The most striking resemblance between the Donatus' treatise and the texts of Petronius and Juvenal is the yellow used where it might connote a comic prostitute. In Juvenal this connection is especially clear in the *Sixth Satire*. The Oxford fragment describes the effeminate adulterer (Juv. 6.Ox20-2):

haud tamen illi  
semper habenda fides: oculos fuligine pascit  
discinctus *croceis* et reticulatus adulter.

Although the term used Donatus is *luteus* and not *croceus*, the two shades were often used interchangeably.<sup>69</sup> The allusion is to be explicitly to the comic prostitute, and the satirist expects anyone to have recognised this transvestite as such, when he is later compared to the mimetic role of Thais, a well-known comic prostitute (Juv. 6.Ox 25-6):

hic erit in lecto fortissimus; exuit illic  
personam docili Thais saltata Triphallo.<sup>70</sup>

Surely then the costume of the effeminate was meant to echo in the mind of the reader the typical costume of the prostitute. As I will attempt to argue further below, this effect is created through the combination of yellow clothing and the hairnet (*reticulum*).

Fortunata and the transvestites of Juvenal's *Second Satire* both wear *galbinus*, a yellow green which could possibly be identified with the yellow costume of the prostitute.<sup>71</sup> Although *galbinus* is not a standard shade of yellow like *luteus* or *croceus*, the allusion is likely in Petronius, where Fortunata's former profession is noted (*ambubaia non meminit*, Petr. Sat. 74.13). While *ambubaia* literally means flute-girl, and as such is already affiliated with the world of the stage, it was also a common by-word for prostitute.<sup>72</sup> This parallel means that the transvestites of Juvenal's *Second Satire* might then also be identified with the costume despite

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<sup>69</sup> See Dana (1919), 9.

<sup>70</sup> See Braund (2004) on Juv. 6.Ox26.

<sup>71</sup> Yellow was also otherwise considered a seductive colour: see Gibson (2003) on Ovid, *AA*. 3.179-80.

<sup>72</sup> Panayotakis (1995), 107; Suet. *Nero* 27.2. See also Kurke (1997), 108 on the tendency of performers to also provide sexual services.

the unusual shade. The whole of the *Second Satire* stages the degenerate male body as a spectacle, as Walters and Keane have noted, but the way the colours they wear mark them as belonging to the stage has not been explored.<sup>73</sup> The yellow outfit might be a good indication, but as the link is not as clear as it is with Fortunata, and I would therefore suggest that the *galbina rasa* (Juv. 2.97) is probably an allusion to Fortunata's outfit rather than the other way around. This would mean that the text of Petronius precedes Juvenal's *Satires*.

Both that the transvestites of the *Second Satire* should be identified with the comic costume of the prostitute, and that their outfit should be seen as a literary allusion to another prostitute, Fortunata, is supported by the rest of their outfit. They are described wearing two colours (Juv. 2.96-7):

reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet  
caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa.

The second colour, *caeruleus*, as well as the pattern *scutulata* and the gilded hairnet, are also allusions to the way a comic prostitute is portrayed, but again through an allusion to what a prostitute is wearing in a written work, Plautus' *Epidicus*. In act two Epidicus tells Periphanes the following of prostitutes (Plaut. *Epi.* II.ii.213-16):

Tum meretricum numerus tantus, quantum in urbe omni fuit,  
obviam ornatae occurrebant suis quaeque amatoribus,  
eos captabant. id adeo qui maxime animum advorterim?  
pleraeque eae sub vestimentis secum habebant *retia*.

I would suggest that this occurrence of the nets (*retia*) is alluded to in the more visible item of the hairnet worn by both Fortunata (Petr. *Sat.* 67.6) and the pathics of *Satires* 2 and 6, and may have been a standard part of the prostitute's costume in comedy, perhaps meant to convey her purpose in catching a customer, as Epidicus suggests. This would fit well with the symbolism Donatus gives to different costumes, specifying the grabbing avarice of the prostitute.<sup>74</sup>

That Juvenal is indeed referring to this sequence in *Epidicus* is enforced by the way the play continues. Epidicus and Periphanes fall to discussing the clothing of a prostitute with

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<sup>73</sup> Keane (2003), 261; Walters (1998), 355.

<sup>74</sup> Demetriou (2014), 230.

whom Periphianes' son is involved with, and then women's clothing in general (Plaut. *Epi.* 222-33):

EP. Sed vestita, aurata, ornata ut lepide, ut concinne, ut nove.

PER. Quid erat induta? an regillam induculam an mendiculam?

EP. Impluviatam, ut istaec faciunt vestimentis nomina.

PER. Vtin impluvium induta fuerit?

EP. Quid istuc tam mirabile est? quasi non fundis exornatae multae incedant per vias. at tributus quom imperatus est, negant pendi potis: illis quibus tributus maior penditur, pendi potest. quid istae, quae vesti quotannis nomina inveniunt nova? tunicam rallam, unicum spissam, linteolum caesicium, indusiatam, patagiatam, caltulam aut crocotulam, subparum aut subnimum, ricam, basilicum aut exoticum, cumatile aut plumatile, carinum aut cerinum.

Periphianes is perplexed by the colour worn by the woman, *impluviatam*, which is reminiscent of the word *impluvium*, the pool of an atrium.<sup>75</sup> Epidicus explains to him that it is not at all impossible for a woman to wear this, for many wear entire estates on their back. Juvenal plays with this passage in his description of the transvestites: although the term of the colour is different, *caeruleus* has the same connotation of water as *impluviatus*.<sup>76</sup> The colour also embellishes Plautus' tale: Juvenal's drag queens do not wear an indoor pool, but the whole sea. Clothing both dyed *caeruleus* and patterned *scutulatus* is unprecedented in extant literature, and the novelty seems to be an intrinsic part of the allusion, as Epidicus' point is that women are always coming up with new colours and patterns on their clothing.

### 2.3 Colour and the gladiatorial games: Gracchus in Juvenal's Eight Satire

The only mention of a gladiator's coloured clothing in either Petronius or Juvenal is Gracchus' gladiatorial garb in the *Eighth Satire* of Juvenal (Juv. 8.204-8):

postquam uibrata pendentia *retia* dextra  
nequiquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula uoltum  
erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus harena.

<sup>75</sup> See de Melo (2011) on Plaut. *Epid.* 224.

<sup>76</sup> For *caeruleus* as sea-coloured see for example Cat. 36.11 (*caeruleo creata ponto*), and Barolsky (2003), 52.

credamus *tunicae*, de faucibus *aurea* cum se  
porrigat et longo iactetur spira galero.

This description is suspiciously near the garb of the prostitute worn by an effeminate man in Juvenal's text, which I have discussed: the garment, which is a shade of yellow (*aurea*), and a net.<sup>77</sup> This would suggest that the descriptions should be read in conjunction with one another, which would strengthen Cerutti and Richardson's supposition that the gladiator classed *retarius tunicatus* was not an actual gladiator but a comic relief number in drag, possibly fought by a woman *secutor*.<sup>78</sup> The specific inclusion of the net with the yellow tunic would lead me to believe that this comic gladiator was perhaps meant as a mock-version of the comic prostitute.

This would also explain the appearance of Gracchus as a gladiator in the *Second Satire*, which has puzzled several scholars and editors.<sup>79</sup> Juvenal's audience would presumably have inferred from (Juv. 2.143-4):

uicit et hoc monstrum *tunicati* fuscina Gracchi,  
lustrauitque fuga mediam gladiator harenam

that not only was Gracchus entering the arena as a gladiator, in itself a servile and low profession, but that, fittingly for a poem all about transvestites and homosexuals, he would be doing so in drag.<sup>80</sup> This would suggest that the *retarius tunicatus* was so well known as a transvestite that Juvenal does not need to mention the fact – confusing modern scholars who do not have context for the matter, but not a contemporary audience who did.

#### 2.4 Conclusion

As I have demonstrated in this chapter, both Juvenal and Petronius employ colours in their texts with strong affiliations to the world of spectacle. These are especially clear when clothing dyed

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<sup>77</sup> For identifying *aurea* as a shade of yellow see André (1949), 196-7; Sebesta (2001), 68.

<sup>78</sup> Cerutti and Richardson (1989), 591-3.

<sup>79</sup> For example, Hight (1954), 62 struggles to understand the connection of the gladiatorial passage to the rest of the *Satire*. Braund (1996) on 2.143-8 and Larmour (2016) are evocative of the contemporary trend to understand the position of a performing gladiator as the ultimate humiliation to noble Gracchus, even if it is not directly linked to homosexuality.

<sup>80</sup> Edwards (1994), 84.

with colours traditionally associated with the four chariot factions is worn, because of the rarity of the colour terms in clothing. Some clothing can also be regarded as theatrical costume because of its colour. These theatrical connotations support the texts' affiliation to spectacle, but may also clarify the chronology of the two texts. Finally the connotations of the colour associated with the Gracchus as a gladiator may help explain his appearance in the *Second Satire*, especially when read in conjunction with the earlier reference to the comic prostitutes of both stage and text.

### 3 Colour and the physical and metaliterary texts of Juvenal and Petronius

I will examine in this chapter whether colour can be meaningful as a part of the text. I will begin by reviewing the colours Juvenal attached to the literary works of others, and argue that colours are deliberately chosen to describe the nature of those texts. I will then move into the *Satires* and the *Satyricon*, and argue that on the level of the narrator or speaker use of colour can be seen as a metaphor and indicator of style and the rhetorical nature of the narration. Finally I will attempt to establish that colour can also have deeper metaliterary connotations, when it can be seen as informative on the genre and aims of the whole text.

#### 3.1 Emasculated literature: the book roll and colour in Juvenal's Seventh Satire

Juvenal uses a colour term to describe a book first in the *Seventh Satire* when he speaks of the impossibility of earning by writing (Juv. 7.22-5):

si qua aliunde putas rerum expectanda tuarum  
praesidia atque ideo *croceae* membrana tabellae  
impletur lignorum aliquid posce ocius et quae  
componis dona Veneris, Telesine, marito.

There are several interesting points to note here, which all lead to the conclusion that much like a character, the text too is informed by what it wears. Here the colour of the text creates tension, as the addressee of the *Seventh Satire* is Telesinus, was an epic poet, but whose poetry is here described as feminine yellow, *crocea*.<sup>81</sup> It is likely the colour is meant to evoke this image of the text as a woman, because Juvenal uses the image of the text as a girl later in the *Satire*. Statius changes from epic into mimetic plays in order to make a living,<sup>82</sup> and furthermore sells his creation like a maiden to the mime actor Paris (Juv. 7.86-7):

sed cum fregit subsellia uersu  
esurit, *intactam* Paridi nisi uendit *Agauen*.

The mimetic setting, and the crude *vendit*, make it unlikely that *Agave* is to be seen as a bride

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<sup>81</sup> Jones (2007), 91-2.

<sup>82</sup> Braund (2004) on Juv. 7.87.

more than a prostitute, which might mean that Telesinus' yellow epic should be seen retroactively as a prostitute of comedy as well. Statius sells his *Agave* in exchange for the patronage of a low class upstart, and Telesinus is similarly pimping his yellow poetry for patronage.

Furthermore the colour and the whole passage questions whether what Telesinus writes should be seen as epic at all, or if the poet himself is a proper man. The writer of Tibullus 3.1 imagined his elegy dressed up similarly (Tibullus, 3.1.7-10, 14):

Carmine formosae, pretio capiuntur auare:  
 gaudeat, ut digna est, uersibus illa meis.  
 Lutea sed niueum inuoluat membrana libellum,  
 pumex et canas tondeat ante comas,  
 ...  
 sic etenim comptum mittere oportet opus.

Here the book is made out to resemble the *puella* of an elegy with its hair 'combed' with pumice and the whole imagined as *comptus* on top of the yellow dress. It is not impossible that Juvenal is in fact alluding to Tibullus 3.1 at 7.22-5, for the thematic and linguistic resonances are remarkable. Both writers dress their text in yellow, and although their chosen shades are different, *luteus* and *croceus* are used almost interchangeably as argued in the last chapter.<sup>83</sup> Both also hope for something in return for their poetry, the elegist's *persona* a lover he will not have to pay for, Telesinus payment from lovers of his poetry. The association with the *puella* of elegy is also fitting considering that the reader never really knows whether she is a prostitute or not.<sup>84</sup> For the elegist, who is writing feminine love elegy, whose intended recipient is a girl, the yellow outfit of his text is suitable. For Telesinus the implication is that by seeking a price for his masculine poetry (*rerum ... tuarum ... praesidia*), he is in effect emasculating his epic text.

There may even be a sense that in courting attention and patronage with his poetry Telesinus is emasculating himself as well as his text. *Dona* on line 25 ends in a long syllable and must therefore be the second person singular infinitive, translating as "Telesinus, give what you compose to Venus' husband", but it is perhaps foolish to think that the wrong syllable

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<sup>83</sup> Dana (1919), 9.

<sup>84</sup> See Ovid, *Am.* 1.5.11-12.

quantity would have stopped Romans from perceiving the other option if the last syllable were short: “Telesinus, what gifts of Venus you compose to (your?) husband”, making Telesinus’ text in effect elegy composed instead of the girl for the male patron. One possibility alludes to the epic nature of Telesinus’ text through a mythological connotation with Vulcan, the other to the emasculated state of both Telesinus and his text trying to earn a living on patronage, like Trebius and his imagined child in chapter one.

The emasculation and degradation of literature is also at issue at the grammatical school later in the *Seventh Satire*, and again the connotations of colour help identify this. Juvenal describes the stained condition of the works of Horace and Vergil as (Juv. 7. 226-7):

totus decolor esset  
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.

*Decolor*, which describes Horace’s text, is frequently used for staining, which might indicate the age of the text.<sup>85</sup> Goldman therefore interprets that Juvenal refers to the outdatedness of Horace:

By the time Juvenal arrived on the scene in the early second century, Horace, a champion of the Augustan Age, was considered old-fashioned. Juvenal suggests how out-of-date Horace's book was, although we do not know which book it is, may have been.<sup>86</sup>

Yet I think this interpretation rather misses Juvenal’s point. It is meaningful that Juvenal does not specify a book, as this leaves Horace the man as *decolor* as his text. On a person this colour could be used to connote sickness, or a change in the physical body for the worse.<sup>87</sup> This is surely the meaning Juvenal is after: Horace’s *corpus* has become stained by the use to which he is put to at school, where he, like Telesinus’ text, is used to earn a living. Juvenal is not criticising Horace as such, but rather the degradation of society that transforms literature of better ages, when taught to young minds, into the sycophantic and impotent literature of his own age. Goldman herself quotes also another writer of the era, Suetonius, in whose text Cassius accuses Augustus' father of having hands dirtied with dishonourable money (Suet. *Aug.* 4.2):

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<sup>85</sup> Goldman (2011), 155-7.

<sup>86</sup> Goldman (2011), 155.

<sup>87</sup> Goldman (2011), 155-7.

hanc finxit minibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarii

Like the hands of Augustus' father are stained by what has passed through them, the Horace in Juvenal has been stained by the hands through which he has passed. *Decolor* connotes the age of the text, but also the moral degradation of the state and literature since it was written.

This sense of Roman literature and its writers being degraded by the use to which they are put in the grammatical school is further alluded to with the description of Vergil. His *corpus* has been stained by smoke, *haereret nigro fuligo Maroni* (Juv. 7.227). *Fuligo* is a word used by Juvenal at only four other passages, each one describing the dyeing of a part of the body, once of hair and three times of applying soot around the eyes. Two of the latter instances occur at moments where an explicitly effeminate man is discussed: once in *Satire Two* where a transvestite applies *supercilium madida fuligine tinctum* (Juv. 2.93) to his eyes as part of the preparation for the Bona Dea -festivities, once in *Satire Six* where the effeminate adulter *oculos fuligine pascit* (Juv. 6.ox21). Both of these passages contain references to prostitution as I have discussed in previous chapters, which connotation attached to Vergil here gives *Satire Seven* a circular pattern enforced by colour. Where Telesinus pimps his effeminate epic for patronage, the teachers sell an emasculated Vergil to their pupils.

### 3.2 Literary criticism – colour and color in the narrative style of Encolpius, Umbricius, and Juvenal

One way to read colour metaliterally is through possible affinity of the colour in these texts to the rhetorical term *color*. The term connoted an overblown rhetorical style, which was as morally reprehensible as overly luxurious clothing.<sup>88</sup> Both Petronius and Juvenal employ contemporary rhetorical training in their texts. The *Satyricon* – or the part that survives to us – begins with a scene at the school of rhetoric, and Encolpius' account is very much informed by the rhetorical education he has received.<sup>89</sup> Juvenal's *Satires* on the other hand are thoroughly informed by rhetorical topics and practices.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, though the term originated in the use of rhetoric, it expanded to connote the style of other areas of Roman art and literature as well.<sup>91</sup> Other writers and poets have employed literal colour in their work to connote a literary

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<sup>88</sup> Quint. *Inst.* 8pref.20.

<sup>89</sup> Conte (1996), 48-9; Kennedy (1978), 177.

<sup>90</sup> See for example Braund (1997), and van den Berg (2012).

<sup>91</sup> Bradley (2009), 124-5.

critical reading, for example Ovid does so at *Ars Amatoria* 3.170-92.<sup>92</sup> The variety of colour to be found in Petronius and Juvenal can therefore be seen as a stylistic metaphor. Especially as both texts have an unreliable or at least biased narrator, it is interesting to see what this reading might add to the text.

Encolpius criticises a bloated style of both rhetoric and poetry explicitly (Petr. *Sat.* 2.7-9):

Nuper ventosa istaec et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit animosque iuvenum ad magna surgentes veluti pestilenti quodam sidere adflavit, semelque corrupta regula eloquentia stetit et obmutuit. Ad summam, quis postea Thucydidis, quis Hyperidis ad famam processit? Ac ne carmen quidem sani *coloris* enituit.

It is notable here that Encolpius accuses literary poetry, not rhetoric, of not being *sani coloris*, when his own style could be accused of the same thing, betraying his literary-critical stances as posing.<sup>93</sup> This is most evident in his use of traditional rhetorical tropes or epic embellishments to describe a base and sordid situation, which has been noted by scholars.<sup>94</sup> Conte has examined the literary-critical message inherent in this habit of twisting the most mundane and sordid events into grandiose epic scenarios, which might critique the contemporary rhetorical education and its unbelievable and novelistic *suasoriae*.<sup>95</sup> The overabundance of colour in the novel is one more manifestation of Encolpius' mind twisting everything into mythical or rhetorical scenarios, into a variety of rhetorical *colores*, which, ironically, are not *sani*. This implicit stylistic abundance of *color* is reflected in the text by Encolpius' "obsessively aesthetic judgements",<sup>96</sup> or his persistent noting of colour, often reporting it with a rare word, and sometimes even imagining a more luxurious colour when the true one is not exciting enough, as is the case of the bandage he imagines should be dyed *conchyliatus* (Petr. *Sat.* 54.4) as discussed in the first chapter.

Similarly in Juvenal the different rhetorical and declamatory topics the satirist uses might be alluded to by the myriad colours he includes.<sup>97</sup> It is not by chance that many of the colour terms which I have discussed occur in the *Third Satire*. This is because that is the most colourful

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<sup>92</sup> Martelli (2013), 95-6.

<sup>93</sup> Kennedy (1978), 177.

<sup>94</sup> Conte (1996), 46-7, 57.

<sup>95</sup> Conte (1996), 46-7, 57.

<sup>96</sup> Jones (1987), 810.

<sup>97</sup> See for example Braund (1989) on Juvenal's use of declamatory topics.

of Juvenal's *Satires*, and that might be because colour is meant to convey something about the speaker, Umbricius, and through him of the rest of the *Satires*. Scholars have noted that the *Third Satire* functions as a lesson into how to read the speaker of the *Satires* as a *persona*, not necessarily an authoritative voice.<sup>98</sup> Yet the way Umbricius' use of colour contributes to this picture has not been noted. The entirety of the *Satire* is based upon a common rhetorical exercise, the *syntaktikon*, the speech of farewell, as well as delivered in the style of the rhetorical *indignatio* Juvenal's entire first book is known for.<sup>99</sup> Umbricius uses colour to try and convince the reader of his moral uprightness, fleeing the *conchyliā* (Juv. 3.81) of Greek immigrants and the *coccina laena* (Juv. 3.283) of the rich man for the countryside where he can wear the *veneto cucullo* (Juv. 3.170) and senators are happy to wear *tunicae albae* (Juv. 3.179). The hypocrisy of the colour terms – as I discussed in chapter 2, the *venetum cucullum* and *tunicae albae* could be read as a reference to morally suspicious chariot racing as well – and their possible rhetorical reading draws attention to the hypocrisy and potential artificiality of Umbricius' account. He for example criticises the immigrants for artificially exaggerating in hopes of patronage (Juv. 3.100-2):

rides, maiore cachinno  
concutitur; flet, si lacrimas conspexit amici,  
nec dolet.

Yet this is precisely what Umbricius himself does: he delivers an even more exaggerated rant with even more *color* in it to an indignant satirist who employs rhetorical tropes himself. The reason becomes evident at the end of the satire, where instead of the invitation, traditional in the *syntaktikon*, to Juvenal by the leaving party, Umbricius tries to wrangle an invitation, and implicitly perhaps patronage, for himself (Juv. 3.320-1):

me quoque ad Helvinam Cererem vestramque Dianam  
converte a Cumis.

Umbricius is the most prominent example, but through him we may start reading other colour in Juvenal as informative of the style of the composition, which often undermines the

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<sup>98</sup> Roche (2012), 204.

<sup>99</sup> Braund (1988), 3-4; Braund (1996), 231.

overt aims of the speaker. The exotic colours of *Satire Two* for example (*galbinus, caeruleus*, Juv. 2.97) would rather seem to undermine the satirist's pose as a moraliser if read through their rhetorical meaning. The bombastic *indignatio* of the satirist is as bad as the effeminate dress. In this way the colours compliment the other literary devices in the satire which show the speaker's hypocrisy, for example the passage at 2.37-63 where the speaker who later criticises men dressed as women assumes himself the female *persona* of Laronia.<sup>100</sup> The exotic colour used is one example of the hypocrisy as well as the artificiality of the *Satires*.

### 3.3 *Colour and connotations of genre in Juvenal and Petronius*

Keeping in mind the rhetorical usage of the term *color*, it is not unreasonable to survey whether colour can connote genre as well. Indeed the amount of colour, and rare colour, in the *Satyricon* seems to me to be suggestive of the nature of the work. Goldman argues convincingly that within the *Cena* rare and even novel colour terms should be seen as emblematic of the freedmen's position in society.<sup>101</sup> Yet the *Cena* is a small part of the whole work, and even in the small portion of the rest that has survived down to us there are three colour-terms that are not attested to anywhere else in extant Latin literature (*myrteus ... gausapa*, Petr. *Sat.* 21.2, *flammeo*, Petr. *Sat.* 26.1, *amictus discoloria veste*, Petr. *Sat.* 97.3).<sup>102</sup> These cannot be explained through the social position of the freedmen, and I would suggest that they might rather be illustrative of the very novelty of the *Satyricon* itself.

The *Cena* is as stuffed with rare colour as it is with food, a more studied literary metaphor.<sup>103</sup> Food and colour work similarly as means of social commentary in Martial's poetry,<sup>104</sup> and I have already touched upon their similar function in the *Fifth Satire* of Juvenal, where food also has a metapoetic function.<sup>105</sup> It is not hard to imagine that colour is illustrative in the same manner as food in the *Satyricon* as well. Food implies an affinity to satire through etymology, but *color* is no less a literary term through rhetoric, and could very well connote a similar metaliterary function.<sup>106</sup> The over-abundance of both colour and food, and the novelty of the dishes and colour terms, seem to refer to the same nature of the *Satyricon* as both something related to satire, but also as stuffed with so many genres it

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<sup>100</sup> Rimmel (2005), 92.

<sup>101</sup> Goldman (2011), 98.

<sup>102</sup> Goldman (2011), 90-1

<sup>103</sup> For food as a metaliterary device in the *Satyricon* see Gowers (1993), 108, 117-18.

<sup>104</sup> Lindsay (2000), 318.

<sup>105</sup> Freudenburg (2005), 264-5.

<sup>106</sup> Gowers (1993), 108, 117.

becomes something new altogether.<sup>107</sup>

Juvenal too might use colour as a metapoetic way of describing his *Satires*. He echoes Vergil's *Aeneid* in his *Third Satire* with the rich man's cloak.<sup>108</sup> The passage

atque mero fervens cavet hunc quem coccina laena  
vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo,  
multum praeterea flammarum et aenea lampas (Juv. 3.283-5)

is firstly reminiscent of Aeneas' cloak (Verg. *Aen.* 4.262):

Tyrioque ardebat murice laena

as well as the funeral procession of Pallas in Book 11.<sup>109</sup> *Aenea lampas* seems to gesture towards the epic predecessor as well.<sup>110</sup> Yet despite these echoes Juvenal has changed *Tyrio* deliberately to *coccina*. This change is meaningful when the generic affiliations of both *Tyrius* and *coccinus* are examined, and they are illustrative of Juvenal's poetic project.

*Tyrius* is a colour with specifically epic connotations, especially after the *Aeneid*. Ovid uses the colour with possible generic affiliations in a metapoetic passage of the *Ars Amatoria* (Ovid, *Ars* 3.169-72):

Quid de veste loquar? Nec vos, segmenta, requiro  
Nec te, quae *Tyrio murice, lana, rubes.*  
Cum tot prodierint pretio *leviore* colores,  
Quis *furor* est census *corpore* ferre suos!

Scholars have noted on the extensive metapoetic imagery of the section on female *cultus* at *Ars* 3. 100-380 in general, and the literary critical use of *color* in this passage, but there is surely also a metapoetic level in this precise passage.<sup>111</sup> The female body is often used in

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<sup>107</sup> Gowers (1993), 109-11.

<sup>108</sup> Baines (2003), 226-7.

<sup>109</sup> Baines (2003), 226-7.

<sup>110</sup> Baines (2003), 227.

<sup>111</sup> For metapoetics in the *cultus*-section see Martelli (2013), 85-98, with 95-6 especially on the literary-critical aspects of the passage with dyed clothing.

general as a metaphor for elegy.<sup>112</sup> The strong Vergilian echoes in the two couplets I have quoted above, firstly the *Tyrio murice, lana* echoing closely *Tyrioque ardebat murice laena* (Verg. *Aen.* 4.262), and further the Vergilian buzzword, *furor*, make a reference to the epic likely. Furthermore the couplets contain several possibly metapoetic words besides the rhetorical presence of *color*, *levior* being often used of the elegiac genre and the elegiac couplet as well as price or material, while *corpus* can mean either the body of a person or a book.<sup>113</sup> The overall effect creates something like a poetic *recusatio* of epic, especially understandable in a didactic work written in elegiac couplets, when the genre usually employed hexameter.

This would then suggest that *Tyrius* was understood by Ovid as an explicitly epic colour, and means that other writers reworking the passage might understand the colour thus. This seems to be exactly what Juvenal is doing as well. *Coccinus*, his substitute for *Tyrius*, is suggestive of the kind of literature Juvenal is writing. Firstly previous uses of *coccinus* occur only in Martial and perhaps Petronius, as has already been discussed, which would set the literary tone, or the *color*, lower than that of *Tyrius*. Secondly *coccus*, although used by more reputable writers in general, has satirical roots as well, for the first extant literary use occurs in Horace's *Sermo* 2.102. In a book which tries to affiliate itself with thundering epic satire (Juv. 1.19-20):

cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo,  
per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus

but always falls into a lower register, the colour choice is illuminative of the shortcoming: even when the Juvenalian satirist uses a Vergilian echo he has to drop the heroic and aristocratic Tyrian colour for the lower style *coccinus*.<sup>114</sup>

Furthermore the social usage of *coccinus* discussed in chapter 1 might be of interest considering Juvenal's own portrayal of his social position as citizen and poet. In my first chapter I argued that *coccinus* was a colour especially affiliated with the class of the *equites*, but, more than that, a colour used for those who have pretensions of the class when they have no right to it. This is further illuminative of the character of Juvenal as the satirist: he cites Lucilius, who was an *eques*, as his satirical role model (Juv. 1.165-6):

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<sup>112</sup> For the female body in general as a metaphor for the elegy see Sharrock (1991) and Wyke (1987).

<sup>113</sup> Ovid, *Am.* 1.1.19.

<sup>114</sup> Kenney (2012), 125-6; Larmour (2016), 72; Osgood (2012), 5, 9.

ense uelut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens  
infremuit.

Yet there is the sense throughout the *Satires* that Juvenal, who at least imagines himself into a more lowly social position as a *cliens*, and not a *cliens* of the highest cast (*uexant limen et ipsi / nobiscum*, Juv. 1.100-1), falls short of the Lucilian satire as well.<sup>115</sup> Instead of being able to thunder like Lucilius, Juvenal has to content himself with attacking those who are dead (Juv. 1.170-1):

experiar quid concedatur in illos  
quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

Although this declaration has satirising and reproofing power in its own right, it is difficult not to see *coccinus*, with its connotations of class pretension discussed in chapter one, as possibly informative on the book of satire that employs it. Juvenal is dressed up as an *eques* when enclosed in both a social position and a political system, which make the position impossible for him. If the imperial age in some sense connoted slavery for all, Juvenal can, no matter what his actual social position, be poetically no better than a cheap version of Lucilius in his *coccina laena*.<sup>116</sup>

Finally I would like to suggest tentatively a chronology between Juvenal and Petronius, unsettled by the new dating of the novel to the second century BCE, with Petronius preceding Juvenal, already supported by the possible allusion through *galbinus* discussed in chapter 2.<sup>117</sup> While Juvenal could base his metaliterary use of *coccinus* purely on Martial's earlier use, it is tempting to see it echoing Petronius as well. Umbricius states the rich man wears a *coccina laena* (Juv. 3.283), but also that he is accompanied by a *comitum longissimus ordo* (Juv. 3.284). This image is reminiscent of the parade Encolpius describes at the beginning of the *Cena*, with Trimalchio dressed in his *coccina gausapa* (Petr. 28.4) and accompanied by his dinner guests, preceded by runners and played to by a piper the whole way – a mighty *ordo* indeed.<sup>118</sup> If Juvenal uses not only the general connotations of *coccinus*, but a specific allusion to Petronius

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<sup>115</sup> Henderson (1999), 250.

<sup>116</sup> Alston (2008), 149, Freudenburg (2001), 265.

<sup>117</sup> Roth (2017) 629-30.

<sup>118</sup> Petr. *Sat.* 28.

alongside an allusion to Vergil, it serves both of the metapoetic connotations I have argued this particular colour carries in the passage. The lower, satiric word, sets the tone lower than epic *Tyrius*, but the reference to freedman Trimalchio and the generic mash of the *Satyricon* would also support the interpretation that Juvenal is not up to ideal Lucilian satire either.

### 3.4 Conclusion

Colour can be informative on the text it describes and is used in. Physical text can be characterised by the connotations of colour as much as people can, as was the case with Telesinus' feminine epic. Narrators and *personas* can be informative on their style in their choice of colour terms, as for example both Encolpius and Umbricius betray their rhetorical training and hypocrisy through the connotations of colour terms and rhetorical *color*. Finally colour can be informative on the genre of a work when read through other connotations. These connotations of colour can help us validate theories we have on the nature of these texts, such as how to read a *persona* or how to organise the chronology of texts.

## Conclusion

As I hope I have been able to sufficiently prove, colour read in several contexts can be allusive and informative in various ways in, and of, the texts of Petronius and Juvenal. This means that colour is worth studying in close context to the text, and Roman at large, for more information on the aims of the authors, as well as a better understanding of how these texts work.

Perhaps the simplest way this can be seen is when colour is used descriptively to characterise. Fortunata wears *galbinus* both because she is a woman, but also because she was a prostitute. Another shade of yellow implies much the same of Telesinus' epic. In Juvenal's *First Satire* senators wear *purpura*, while the freedman is marked as a foreigner and a former slave because his feet were white. Even when class status is subverted, like Trimalchio and his slaves wearing colours humorously incongruous for their status, this characterises Trimalchio and his household. Colour can also connote moral character through implications of luxury, nationality and gender (*conchyliatus* on the freedmen), spectacle (*russea tunica* on Trimalchio), or rhetorical use. Besides being interesting for their own sake, these characterising connotations can also help clear some of the problems scholars have tended to have with these texts, as understanding Gracchus' garb on the gladiatorial arena as that of a woman makes his appearance on the arena in the *Second Satire* much more understandable.

Colour can also be used to comment – whether seriously or not – on the social institutions of Rome. Unsuccessful patronage is implied in Juvenal's *Fifth Satire* through the medium of the *viridis thorax*, which transforms the freeborn Roman into a parasite. Similarly the habit of stratifying society with colour is shown to be problematic, as although *coccinus* may connote an *eques*, any Trimalchio with enough money can buy himself those clothes, and under a bad emperor like Domitian Crispinus can indeed be called – however scornfully – an *eques*. Finally colour, when added in copious amounts by a narrator with an overflowing style like Encolpius, Umbricius, or Juvenal of the early *Satires*, can be seen as a metaliterary comment on the narrator's style and the shortcomings of the rhetorical education in the early second century CE. Similarly the emasculation of literature through the colour with which it is characterised comments on the contemporary literary standards.

Perhaps the most interesting reason to study the colours in these texts is when they can help us understand the texts themselves. Understanding the *galbina rasa* and *caerulea scutulata* worn by men in Juvenal's *Second Satire* as a reference to the comic stage solidifies the affiliation of the *Satire* and spectacle. This in turn makes the appearance of Gracchus even less

surprising than the understanding that he is making that appearance in drag. Seeing colour as possibly carrying metaliterary connotations because of the rhetorical term *color*, can validate our ideas of how food functions to highlight the multiplicity of genres in the *Satyricon*, because of a similarity with the abundant colours used. Furthermore the very novelty of the colour terms found in the whole novel, not just the *Cena*, can inform us of the author's consciousness of the newness of his project. In Juvenal too colour can also be seen as informative both on the generic affiliations of the Satires, but the connotations of metaliterary colour may help us understand the very limitations that Juvenal implies govern his satire because of the age it is written in.

Finally with regard to specifically the two writers surveyed in this dissertation, allusion through colour can be one of the ways in which we can start to try and establish a new chronology for Petronius. In the case of Zoilus it makes more sense that Petronius follows Martial, inflating Zoilus' sheets of *coccinus* to even pillows filled with it. On the other hand, when reviewing the coloured allusions that seem to exist between Petronius and Juvenal, made through *galbinus* and *coccinus*, it seems to me more likely that Petronius went before, as I have argued. If these notions can be corroborated through other aspects of the texts, we can be one step closer to again having a fuller picture of the literary scene in Rome at the turn of the first and second century CE.

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