A Bright Lifeforce Image in the *Iliad*:
On the Metaphorical Function of φοίνιξ

Yukiko SAITO

I. Introduction – as one of the rainbow (iris) colours

Fragment 32

ἐν τῷ ἱριν καλέωσι, νίφος καὶ τούτο πέμψει,
πορφύρην καὶ φοινίκεον καὶ χλωρόν ἰδέθαι.

And she whom they call Iris, this too is by nature a cloud,
purple, red and greenish-yellow to behold.²

What are the actual colors traditionally understood as *iris*? According to Xenophanes, rainbows have three colours: purple (πορφύρας), red (φοινίκας), and greenish-yellow (χλωρός), as described above.³ In Japan, seven colours appear in a rainbow, as in the saying, *nana iro no yji*. However, to be more precise, what colours are they? Colour research has been constantly addressed, most famously by Goethe, Newton, and so on. Nonetheless this issue should be examined not only on the basis of scientific theory, but also from wider cultural perspectives. We all perceive colours every day, and in fact colours do affect our judgement immensely. Consequently, ‘colours’ play an important part in our lives, in social terms.⁴ A thorough examination of colours could contribute to better understanding of the mind or deeply internalised thought. However, at the same time, it is extremely difficult to define ‘colour’ because each colour has an almost infinite number of shades and also depends on cultural and historical backgrounds. In particular, in the case of antiquity, it is necessary to consider how the poet uses the word in his/her individual work. Then we ought to examine the poet’s thought and how the poet recognises the term.

The author has been examining perceptions of colour in classical times, especially in Homer:
λευκός, μέλας, κυάνιος, ξανθός, ῥόδον, πορφύρας, χλωρός, πολύς, and κελαινός.⁵ So now, in this paper,
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I should like to focus on φοινίξ, or φοιν- related words, including φοινικός, one of the rainbow colours mentioned by Xenophanes. In general, φοινίξ is translated as ‘purple,’ ‘crimson,’ and so on. This paper attempts to investigates how φοινίξ is organised in the Iliad, i.e., in what context φοινίξ is used and what connections exist, then what metaphorical function φοινίξ possesses in the story. Further, based on colour research, prospective scopes for colour recognition and meaning in antiquity will be unfolded, including cultural differences and possible inquiries for the next step.

II. Aristotle’s red (?) in De Coloribus

Before we start discussing φοινίξ in the Iliad, I should like to address what kind of concept of φοινίξ or ‘colour’ classical writers had in mind, briefly. References on ‘colour’ in antiquity are dotted elsewhere - Plato, Pliny, Xenophanes as seen above, and even other literatures could be included here. Here Aristotle’s De Coloribus should be quoted, as ‘colour’ is central to the treatise and τὸ φοινικοῦν is mentioned:

Τα δ’ ἄλλα ἐκ τούτων τῇ κράσις καὶ τῷ μᾶλλῳ καὶ ἔττον γιγνόμενα πολλάς καὶ ποικίλας ποιεῖ χρωμάτων φαντασίας, κατὰ μίν μᾶλλῳ καὶ ἔττον, ὡσπερ τὸ φοινικοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀλουργές, κατὰ δὲ τὴν κράσιν, ὡσπερ τὸ φοινικόν καὶ τὸ ἀλουργής, κατὰ δὲ τὴν κράσιν, ὡσπερ τὸ λευκόν καὶ τὸ μέλαν, ὅταν μισθίνα φαινομένα φαντασίαν. διὸ τὸ μέλαν καὶ σκιέρον τῷ φωτὶ μισθίσμενον φοινικοῦν. τὸ γὰρ μέλαν μισθίσμενον τῷ τε τοῦ ἡμέρα καὶ τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς φωτὶ θεωροῦμεν ὅτε γιγνόμενον φοινικοῦν, καὶ τὰ μέλανα πυρωθέντα πάντα εἰς χρῶμα μεταβάλλοντα φοινικοῦν· αἱ τε γὰρ κατηκόδεις φλόγες καὶ οἱ ἀνθράκες, ὅταν ὁμί διασκεκαυμένοι, φαίνονται χρῶμα ἔχοντες φοινικοῦν. " (De Coloribus 792a 4ff)

Aristotle acknowledges that there is a mixed, different variety of colours in greater or smaller proportions. Φοινίξ is one of such colours due to mixture. When black and shadow are mixed with light, φοινίξ results; When black is mixed with sunlight and fire, it becomes φοινίξ; When black things are burned, φοινίξ appears. Also, when smoky flame and coal are burned, the colour becomes φοινίξ. Surely, if something black burns, it seems that red colours appear.

Let us look at another passage from De Sensu.

"Ὡσπερ δὲ τὰ χρώματα ἐκ λευκοῦ καὶ μέλανος μίξεως ἔστιν, ὡστες οἱ χρωμίοι ἐκ γλυκέος καὶ πικροῦ. καὶ κατὰ λόγον δὴ τῷ μᾶλλῳ καὶ ἔττον ἱκαστοὶ εἰσιν, εἰτε κατ’ ἀριθμοῦς τινας τῆς μίξεως καὶ κινησεως, εἰτε
Here colours have numerous varieties, mixed from white and black, as many as the flavours that result from mixing of sweet and bitter. Flavours depend on proportions, greater sweetness or bitterness, and so on, but according to Aristotle, the indefinite variety of flavour is roughly equal to that of colours. Grey (φαύς) is a variation of black (μέλας), as yellow (ξονθός) is of white (λευκός). Red (φοινίκις), purple (άλουργός), green (πράσινος), and blue (σινεύς) are intermediate colours between λευκός and μέλας. The remaining colours are all combinations of these. This conception of colour combinations is related to ours in modern times. Osborne, stating that "...The Greeks were not given to careful discriminations of colour hue and there is little evidence of attention to hues except possibly within the violet-purple band. The Greek colour-vocabulary was jejune and the available terms were bunched into a small number of groups," seems to consider that the Greeks did not pay much attention to colour variation, or were lacking in discernment of colours, which I believe should be re-considered. Hereby we ought to seek previous research on φοινίκις.

III. Is colour in Homer patchwork...?

The research on colour and its meaning in Classics originates from Gladstone. Gladstone, dividing colour terms in Homer into five groups, categorises φοινίκις into the first group (I. The paucity of his colours), and renders the term a ‘violet’.

As stated, "φοινίκις in Homer is clearly a word of descriptive of colour; but it as clearly partakes of the indefinite character attaching to the other words of the class." φοινίκις is obviously recognised as a colour, but also realised as colour term that possesses vague properties. Gladstone’s viewpoint is that the colour description itself in Homer does not really have any meaning, as colour terms apply for many varieties of, too many perhaps, materials in Homer. On the
other hand, however, he admits that there might have been the recognition of brightness and darkness, even though the concern for the individual colour was lacking. Further, in his later article in 1877, he discusses φοῖνιξ as one of the colours that describes red.

We say ‘red’ in one word, but in fact the term does not only mean one red colour. There are darker red, brighter red, etc., depending on how they are mingled from other hues, and light. Platnauer uses two major categories to explain colour: (A) chromatic and (B) achromatic, then sub-divides (A) and (B) into smaller groups. (A) is divided into four groups: (1) yellow-orange-brown, (2) red, (3) purple-blue and (4) green. (B) is divided into three groups: (1) black, (2) white, and (3) gray. Φοῖνικης and δειφοῖνικος are categorised into (A) and Platnauer suggests that the φοῖνιξ-words generally describe red like blood in Homer. Wallace also analyses colour presentations in ancient poems and refers to φοῖν-words as "blood-red or purple." An interesting point is that, compared πορφύρως and ἵππως in his argument, Wallace proposes that "the word φοῖνιξ gives no hint as to be the exact shade meant." A colour is comprised of shades or hues, however lights are mixed. Φοῖνιξ also cannot be defined exactly as red, or purple. It reminds us of Goethe’s phrase - "The colours are acts of light."

In Culiffe’s dictionary, φοῖνιξ is said "(1) Red or purple as a pigment or dye ... (2) As adj. of a horse, bay ... (3) A palm-tree." Also, Culiffe renders ‘Red’ to φοῖνιξ and φοῖνος. Chadwick & Baumbach mentions "a decorative motif of furniture: phoinikei, phoئukphi ‘griffin(s)’ or ‘palm-tree’ ... ... descr. of textiles: phoinikiai, phoinikei, opis-phoinikeiai ‘red’ ..." Chantraine gives φοίνιξ first "1 *roux, fauve, rouge sombre*" then explains the term thereafter. Irwin concludes that φοῖνικης and φοῖνιξ are categorised into "the red-yellow range." Fowler’s argument is noticeable: πορφύρως ("purple") and φοῖνικος ("crimson") are treated as opposites in her article, but Fowler says that "[T] his color, φοῖνικος, was probably as uncertain a shade of πορφύρως, and the range of hues the κόκκος produced probably overlapped with those of purple-dyed materials.” Moonwomom gives minute analyses on phoi-words, and provides a table that shows phoinikeia means red, and phoinikes means blood-red. According to Moonwomom, it seems reasonable to understand that those phoi-words are related to blood, or blood-related shades in Greek. It is also said that "[H]omer’s use of phoinikes and derivatives is generally reserved for objects dyed and painted with agents other than blood." which we shall shed light on later in the main argument.

Berlin & Kay should not be neglected here. They investigate the development of colour terms in different cultures from antiquity to modern times, and discover that there is a universal process of variation for colour terms. There are seven steps: first black and white emerge (Stage I), second is red (Stage II), green and yellow (Stage III IV), blue comes next (Stage V), then brown (Stage
VI] purple, pink, orange, and gray at last [Stage VII]. Berlin & Kay, referring to Capell’s analysis of Ancient Greek colour terms, mention only white (λευκός), black (γλυκός), red (ιππόκρος) and yellow (χλωρός) for Ancient Greek, and do not consider φοινικός. As many scholars have pointed out, it is clear that a certain amount of research on other possible colour terms is lacking. Obviously ιππόκρος is not the only term that describes ‘red.’

It is not very easy to define one colour in one term. ‘Red’ has shades and hues. Colour expressions originally have not been regarded as meaningful in Homer, but I would like to take a different standpoint: the poet chooses φοινικός among other red-hued colour terms for the line. He does not only follow the hexameter rule. The poet’s intention must be part of composing his story. Leaving the subject whether φοινικός should be labelled as ‘red’ for another paper, how φοινικός takes its role in the context of the Iliad, i.e., what φοινικός symbolises during the story, is to be discovered in this paper.

I will look at every presentation of φοινικός in the Iliad, analyse their referents, and examine the contexts to explore how the poet organises this term in his story, as I believe, intentionally. As we shall see in more detail later, the proposal that the term φοινικός is carefully selected by the poet to strengthen the context through the imagery connection of φοινικός, which metaphorically represents *liedorce* between lighter red and darker red, will be presented.

### IV. Φοινικός in the Iliad

Φοινικός appears in 25 instances in the Iliad. Their referents are: δράκων (snake), πίλωρος (monstrous), αἷμα (blood), χλαίνα (cloak), ζωοτήρ (belt), φοινικός (shining), ικτόδος (outstretched), διπλός (twofold), τόσος (great), ἄλλος (another), and νέος (new). At a glance, there is no problem for them to be accompanied with red, purple, or purple-red. For the proper noun, Φοινικός (Phoinix), there are as follows: ἀντίθεσις (godlike), τηλεκελετός (far-famed), Δίδυμος (loved by Zeus), γῆρας (old man), ἑπικηλήπτης (driver of horse), διστρέφης (cherished of Zeus), ἄττα (father), παλαιογενής (born long ago), and ὀπάσωνος πατρός ἐφόβο (his father’s follower). Based on the keyword of φοινικός, what kind of threads could we possibly bring together? What kind of imagery connection does φοινικός imply? I have divided those referents into categories and made the table of φοινικός shown below. Now we shall uncover the world of bright shades of φοινικός.

### IV-1. Snake with φοινικός colour
First let us look at the example of the serpent with φοίνιξ. We can see this presentation twice in the Iliad, both in the same line.

‘A bird-omen had appeared to them as they stood eager to cross, a soaring eagle which skirted the front of the army from right to left, holding in its talons a monstrous blood-red snake, alive and still struggling and the snake had not yet lost its will to fight - …’

The poet narrates the situation of the war, using the prediction of Poulydamas. An eagle, holding a snake which is described as φοίνιξ, crosses in front of the Trojans. But the eagle eventually drops the snake onto the ground because the snake struggles against the eagle, twisting back and striking at the eagle. The Trojans see the wriggling snake and shudder with fright. Then Poulydamas, seeing it as the sign of Zeus, suggests that the Trojans should stop the fight against the Achaians. The line 12. 220 in which Poulydamas speaks of φοίνιξ in his speech (211-229) is the same as 12. 202. Responding to Poulydamas’ interpretation, Hektor criticises Poulydamas and rather insists that the Trojans should go on fighting. The Trojans agree with Hektor with a clamour, and Poulydamas’ suggestion is not accepted. On φοίνιξ that applies to the snake (δράκοντα) in 202, Wallace claims “reddish-brown.”

In such a serious military situation, the description of φοίνιξ of the monstrous snake can be traced as stressing the men’s strong eagerness to fight. Furthermore, in the context, the snake represents the Achaians, and the eagle, failing to bring the snake home, represents the Trojans, who fail in the end. The passionate strength of the Achaians is presented by the φοίνιξ snake, which does not lose its will to fight.

IV-2. Φοίνιξ and blood

How about the relationship between φοίνιξ and the colour of blood? At least in Japan, blood is usually described as red, ‘akai chi.’ If φοίνιξ covers red, or red-ranged-hues, it should not be very odd that φοίνιξ applies to blood, αίμα. Αίμα is described with φοίνιξ twice in the Iliad. Let us look at the case in book 23 first.

. . . . . . . κατὰ δὲ νότιος ρένει ἰδρῶς,
The wrestling-match between Aias and Odysseus is narrated here. Both of them fight eagerly for the prize; they grip each other and the sweat runs down, and weals, which is described as swelling φοινξι, with blood, come up over their sides and shoulders. Neither warrior prevails, and even the Achaians become bored with watching the match, so eventually Achilles intervenes and lets it end in a draw. Although this scene is not on the battlefield, during the match where ‘win or lose’ does matter, the picture of two men fighting desperately is strengthened by the sweat and the weals. Further, the use of φοινίκασσαν10 to describe blood in 717 provides a vivid impression to the readers or audience. I should like to note the sort of association of water-running imagery, which is related to ‘colour’ (see dotted lines under Greek words: νίτις (moist), δρο (flow, run), ἱδρως (sweat). The vividness of the picture of the sweat and φοινξι blood while Aias and Odysseus are fighting is further enriched by successive colour-related words. I will mention this later in more detail.

The other case of φοινξι blood is seen in the simile in book 16.

Meanwhile Achilles went along the huts and brought all the Myrmidons under arms. They gathered like wolves, eaters of raw flesh, their hearts full of boundless fury, who have pulled down a great horned stag in the mountains, and then tear him, so that all have their jaws running with blood. Then they go in a pack to drink from a spring of black water, lapping
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with their slim tongues at the dark surface of the stream, and belching clots of blood: their bellies are strained full, and their hearts fearless in their breasts.'

In this scene, Achilles suggests that Patroklos should put armour on and encourages the Myrmidons to be ready for the battle. The scene of the Myrmidons’ gathering is likened to wolves targeting a stag. After tearing at the stag, those wolves’ jaws (παράγιον) are coloured φοινίξ with blood. They go on to a spring of black water, in order to drink from the dark surface of the stream. They are sated, but still their hearts are fearless. Like these wolves, the way of the Myrmidons’ preparing for the battle is illustrated. Their courageous, and brutal act is strengthened by φοινίξ. Here again, the successive arrangement of words, including φοινόν (159), μελανόδρος (with black water), μέλας (black), ὕδωρ (water), and φόνος (blood when shed, gore) supply even more vividness in creating this picture of courageous warriors. 41

Wallace’s point on the colour of blood is noteworthy. 42 The words that start with ἱροθ— and φοιν— “are used of the good red colour of freshly shed blood,” but it seems that fresh blood colour is ἴροθρός and the colour of blood is changed in the epithets to φοινος, etc, once it is exposed to air. According to Wallace, ἴροθρός is the colour for blood, and φοιν—words are often used “with a metaphorical reference to crimson dye.” The fact that μέλας and κέλαινον are more often used for blood is also discussed. Whether ἴροθρός, φοινος, μέλας, or κέλαινον is used, it is clear that the colour of blood also has shades, and perhaps the ancient Greeks recognise that the colour of blood changes as time goes by after exposure to air. In this respect, the poet also perceives that blood’s colour changes then uses those adjectives for the blood as he observes according to the context.

IV-3. Clothing and φοινίξ

In this section, I would like to consider clothing. Clothes of red colour are found all over the world, and human beings have worn red clothes since very long ago. 43 Even now, sometimes we wear something red to encourage ourselves, as if we are going to a battle. Maybe characters in the Iliad are not an exception. We can find three cases in which φοινίξ applies to clothing. The first case is Nestor’s cloak, χλαίνα, which is described using φοινίξ.

41 Οι εἰπών ἐνδέκεισε περὶ στήλησις χιτώνα,
ποσά δ’ ὑπὸ λιπαρότητι ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέταλα
ἀμφὶ δ’ ὄρο χλαίναν περιοίσατο φοινίκασσαν
διπλὴν ἱκταδήμην, ὀψὶ δ’ ἐπεμένετο λόχην. (II. 10. 131-134)
'So speaking he dressed his body in a tunic, and bound his fine sandals under his shining feet, then pinned around him a purple cloak that spread wide in a double fold, with the wool nap thick on it.'

Book 10 begins with the scene where his worries prevent Agamemnon from sleeping. Agamemnon decides to visit Nestor first, in order to discuss what to do. Nestor is persuaded by Agamemnon to attend the gathering, and starts dressing himself to go out. He puts on tunic, sandals, and a φοινικόκεσσαν cloak. As seen above, Hammonds translates φοινικόκεσσαν as "a purple cloak." Is Nestor’s cloak here purple then? Gladstone does not seem to consider it as red, either. Hainsworth comments on φοινικόκεσσαν as saying "the proper epithet for a cloak." Going out after putting on something red or purple illustrates a positive and powerful image, suggesting that something is strongly aimed for.

Further, the use of λιπαροὖσιν in 132 to express the shining feet of Nestor adds more brightness and a positive sense to the scene.

Next, φοινικός agrees with ζωαττόρ twice in the Iliad. In the famous scene of gift-exchange in book 6, Glaukos and Diomedes meet on the battlefield and they introduce themselves, individually. In Diomedes’ speech, the φοινικός belt is displayed.

"Οἶνος μὲν ζωαττόρ δίδοι φοινική φαεινών,  
Βελλεροφόντης δὲ χρυσὸν δέσσας ἀμφικέπλλον,  
καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ καταλέιπον ἑώς ἐν διώματι ἐμοίσι." (Iliad 6. 219-221)

‘Oineus gave a belt brilliant with purple, and Bellerophontes a two-handled cup of gold – I left it in my house when I came to the war.’

Oineus and Bellerophonites exchange their gifts of friendship with each other; Oineus gives a belt, which is described as φοινική φαεινών. Bellerophonites, on the other hand, gives a cup of χρύσων, gold.

Diomedes and Glaukos later discover that they are guest-friends from long ago in their families, exchange their armour with each other, and then leave. Hammond translates the phrase here as "a belt brilliant with purple." In Graziosi & Haubold, φοινικός is said to be a purple dye derived from sea snails, but in scholia it is described as being obtained from the flowers of the holm oak. 66 Objects obtained from φοινικός dye were also very precious as well. Kirk comments on the belt here as "...it is bright with purple, but purple-stained ivory attachments could be meant," and Leaf recognises it as stained with purple or crimson. However bright red, or purple the belt is, it is reasonable to envisage the belt with bright, shining hues to some extent. Φαεινών (shining) in 219 and χρύσων (golden) in 220 increase the
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level of brightness even more for the context.

In book 7, the duel between Aias and Hektor results in is a draw, due to the arrival of night and also Zeus’ instruction. Both of them exchange gifts with each other. Aias gives Hektor a belt, which is φοινίξ.

"Ὡς ἄρα φοινίσσας δώκε ξέφος ἀργυρόθλου, 
σὺν κολεώ τε φέρεις καὶ ἑυτῆτο τελεμαίων:"

Aías δὲ ξυστήρα δίδου φοινίκι φαεινό. (Ili. 7. 303-305)

'So speaking he fetched a sword with a silver-nailed hilt and gave it to Aias, together with its sheath and baldric of well-cut leather: and Aias gave him a belt brilliant with purple.'

The line 305 is almost the same line as 6. 219 that we just saw above. Again, we see "a belt brilliant with purple" (by Hammond). In Kirk, it is explained as "a girdle gleaming with ivory." There is a huge difference between ivory and red-purple hues. Can it be a brilliant colour? A noticeable point here is the fact that Aias gives a φοινίξ belt, and Hektor, on the other hand, gives a silver-studded (ἀργυρόθλου) sword. Here again, through the use of not only φαεινό, but also ἀργυρόθλου, the picture is painted more vividly.

IV-4. Miscellaneous

I would like to examine other presentations of φοινίξ, miscellaneous ones, in the Iliad.

τοῦ δὲ Μέγης κόρυθος χαλκίρηος ἵπποδασείς 
κυμάθων ἀκρότατον νῦς ἔγχει ὑξιάντι, 
ῥίζῃ δ’ ἀφ’ ἵππειον λόφον αὐτῶν πᾶς δὲ χαμάζε 
καί πεσαί ἐν κοίνῃ, νέον φοινίκι φαεινός. (Ili. 15. 535-538)

'Meges stabbed at Dolops with his sharp spear, hitting the very crown of his bronze horse-plumed helmet, and shearing away its crest of horse-hair – it dropped entire to the dust on the ground, bright with its fresh purple.'

Line 538 is very similar with the previous examples of belt above. In this scene, Meges, one of the Achaians, faces Dolops, one of the Trojans, on the battlefield. Meges, using his spear, stabs at the bronze χαλκίρηος helmet with horse-hair plume that Dolops wears. It shears away the horse-hair plume, and all the plume, bright fresh φοινίξ, falls in the dust. Dolops, still hoping for victory, continues
fighting, but Menechos comes to help Meges. Finally, Dolops is killed. In this scene, φοινιξ is used to describe the decoration of armour. We are told that the plumed helmet worn by Dolops is bright, fresh and φοινιξ. Hammond’s translation is as above, “bright with its fresh purple,” while Leaf offers “resplendent with the purple in which it had been recently dyed,” and Willcock says “bright with the purple in which it had been recently dyed.” As well as our previous examples of φοινιξ, some colour-related terms such as φοινική, φαινώς, and χαλκής play an important part in strengthening the battle scene visually.

Φοινιξ appears in the funeral games in book 23, in the horse race scene where Diomedes’ horse is leading the race.

τού δ’ ἄνευθεν ἑώντος ὑμελητήρος ὑκόος

ἐγκα, φόροςσατο δ’ ἵππον ἀριστοπάκτῳ προάχοντα,

δε τοῦ μὲν ἄλλο τὸσον φοινίξ ἦν, ἐν δὲ μετάπεμ

λευκὸν σήμα τέτυκτο περίτροχον ὑμὲν μῆνι.

(II. 23, 452-455)

‘When the first driver was still far away he heard him shouting and recognised the voice, and he could make out the distinctive horse in front, who was chestnut all over, except that there was a white blaze on his forehead, round like the full moon.’

The illustration including φοινιξ is particularly distinctive here. The Achaians sit and watch for the horses during the race. Idomeneus is the first to catch the sight of those horses. The first one is described as φοινιξ all over, but on its forehead there is a white (λευκός) blaze like the moon. Hammond gives ‘chestnut’ for φοινιξ. Does ‘chestnut’ not sound like more brown, a darker hues than red? Describing a horse’s body as chestnut all over sounds credible, but it would actually be slightly strange if the entire horse had been described as red. Gladstone, suggesting that ‘whether we render this bay or chestnut, it is materially different from the red colour of blood,” claims that φοινιξ here is not apparently red. Also, Richardson regards φοινιξ here as ‘chestnut.’ Perhaps the presentation of φοινιξ in this scene shows reddish-brown hues? Λευκός, usually translated as white or brilliant, appears on the horse’s forehead like the moon, hence the whiteness in such a red-ranged body is reflected brilliantly. Accordingly, the contrast between φοινιξ and λευκός rather distinguishes the first horse to come in. Although this scene does not happen on the battlefield, it is located in a race where people fight for prizes. The powerful and energetic image of the Achaians who fight eagerly for prizes is emphasised by the colour expressions of φοινιξ and λευκός.

The last example of φοινιξ is very different from cases we have seen. It is in some way
related to women.

\[\text{τύτικα δ᾿ ἐφρεύειν σύμω κελαίνεφες ἐξ ὀνειλής.}\]

\[\text{Ὡς δ᾿ ὅτε τὸς τ’ ἔλεφαντα γονή φοίνικι μιμήθη.}\]

Μηνὸς ἣν Κάειρα, παρὴξον ἐμμεναὶ ἴππων.

... and immediately dark blood trickled from the wound. As when a woman stains ivory with crimson dye, in Maonia or Caria, making a cheek-piece for horses.

Here the goddess Athene helps Menelaos, brushing the arrow that Pandaros shoots. But still the arrow scratches Manalaos’ skin. Immediately dark-coloured (κελαίνεφες) blood trickles from the wound, and then Menelaos’ body is stained with blood. That situation is explained in the simile of a woman staining ivory (ἔλεφαντα) with φοίνικι, in Maonia or Caria, to make a cheek-piece for horses. It looks like φοίνικι can be the red of blood colour here as the simile expresses the blood running from Menelaos’ body. However, as mentioned, there are many ranges for blood colour as well. For instance, in line 139, κελαίνεφες, which is generally translated as dark or black, is used to describe blood. Perhaps the colour of Menelaos’ blood is darker, or red that is almost black. Hammond renders φοίνικι (140) “with crimson dye.” Gladstone seems to regard φοίνικι here as close to red, but Willcock interprets it as more likely purple than red, commenting “Menelaos’ skin discoloured by blood is likened to ivory stained with a purple dye.” Kirk’s viewpoint on ivory is interesting; it is shown only twice in the Iliad and both of them are related to horse-trappings. In the Odyssey, however, it appears eight times with a greater range of application. Thus, Kirk proposes “[T]he singling out of the craftswoman and the dyeing operation may suggest personal observation.” This could actually correspond to the perspective that the poets’ personal emotion or feeling appears in the simile more than the narrative. The poet expresses or is able to express his sentiments in the simile, more comfortably. Hereby the poet not only follows the hexameter rule, but also composes the scene with the perception of the colour (or hues) for the context. Here it is - we can see the aesthetic poet.

V. Phoinix: one of the Achaian warriors

Curiously enough, φοίνικι functions as a proper noun in the Iliad. The term names an old man called Phoinix, whose position is very important as Achilles’ mentor, 14 times. Only once it refers to Phoenician men. Unfortunately, it has not been able to reach the fairly reasonable outcome about what kind of association the colour adjective of φοίνικι might have with the proper noun of φοίνικι. However,
there must be somewhat implied symbols or representations as further research on other colour terms is continued, since it is not only φοινίξ that demonstrates proper names in the *Iliad*. Based on the prospective scopes of my future research, I briefly address Phoinix in this section.

Phoinix first appears in book 9 in the *Iliad*.

Φοινίξ μὲν πρώτα τὰ Δίων ἄργυρα ἀνάφεσον.

(*Iliad* 9. 168)

'First of all let Phoinix, loved of Zeus, take the lead...'

Phoinix is not a main character, but he is generally acknowledged as one of the essential characters. Concerning Phoinix’s position in the *Iliad*, his first appearance is actually surprisingly late, in book 9. Besides, his name is spoken by Nestor in Nestor’s speech. It is passive in some way. As an old, wise man, Phoinix gives his suggestions to other Achaean leaders, including Achilleus. In book 9, Phoinix is sent by Agamemnon as one of the envoys on a special mission, in order to persuade Achilleus who has withdrawn from the battle. Phoinix’s responsibility is extremely serious here, probably which is why φοινίξ is used eight times in book 9 (including the previous example). Considering every context of Phoinix (Φοινίξ) altogether, including the other six presentations of Phoinix, they all possess a positive sense as they are moving forward. No context is never negative, without doubt. I should like to post a challenging viewpoint – does the poet not deliberately apply φοινίξ to an Achaean character, as he perceives the bright red-purple hues? Phoinix is old, but used to be an excellent warrior in the past. The poet associates the old man with a term that displays brightness and represents power. The Achaiaans win in the end, hence the colour presentations of φοινίξ rather elevate the sense of their positive strength more in this context.

In book 23, φοινίξ is used when mentioning Phoenician men.

23.744: Φοινίκης δ’ ἄγον ὠξῆρας ἐν οἰκουμενῇ πάντων,  

then men of Phoinicia[sic] had carried it over the hazy sea

Here the poet gives the explanation for prizes that Achilleus supplies for the foot-race in the funeral games. The first is a mixing-bowl and it is silver, ἀργύροι. It is beautifully made by craftsmen in Sidon. Then Phoenician men brought it over the murky, ἀργυρείαν, sea. The Phoenicians are famous for money-making and artistic skills. Their successful industry is substantially dependent on to the murex shell, purple dye, to provide fine textiles or fabrics, which scholars controversially have argued about concerning the origin of their name. It still remains a mystery, without any judicious result on the relationship between Phoenicia, φοινίξ, and colour. Nevertheless, I am inclined to accept the theory
that the term of φοινίξ, which indicates purple or red, is somewhat linked with the ‘Phoenicians.’

VI. On δα-φοινικός

Before we jump to our conclusion, an examination of δα-φοινικός, which is translated as blood-red, tawny, etc., is necessary. Δα-φοινικός is seen four times in the Iliad. First δα-φοινικός is located in Odysseus’ speech in book 2.

ἐνθ’ ἐφάνη μέγα σήμα δράκων ἐπὶ κόκα δαφοινίκος,
σμερδαλέος, τὸν ἄλοχον Ὀλυμπίος ἴσαι φώσθη,
βωμοῦ ὑπαίθριος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν Ὀλυμπίον.

Iliad 2.308-310

‘... there then appeared a great sign: a snake with blood-red back, a fearful thing, sent up to the light by the Olympian himself, slid from under an altar and darted for the plane-tree.’

Odysseus reminds the Achaians of Kalchas’ previous prophecy. At Aulis, when the Achaians are sacrificing hecatombs to the immortals at the sacred altar, a great sign appears. A serpent suddenly slides from the altar. The serpent is δαφοινίκος coloured on its back, terrible to look on (σμερδαλέος), and darts to the plane-tree. There it finds a sparrow’s eight chicks. The serpent eats the eight chicks and the mother. But after it has eaten those eight children and the mother sparrow, something miraculous happens: the god brings the serpent to the light and turns it to stone. Kalchas interprets it as a sign from Zeus: the Achaians’ goal will not be achieved easily, but just as the serpent eats those eight children and the mother sparrow herself and then is turned to be stone, the Achaians shall battle for many years. But in the tenth year all will come to fulfilment, which means they will take the city in the tenth year. So, Odysseus, referring to Kalchas’ prediction, encourages the Achaians to remain there until they take the Trojan city, as the sign is coming true. After Odysseus’ speech, the Achaians agree with him, shouting aloud and praising Odysseus’ words.

“A snake with blood-red back” and “a fearful thing” as rendered by Hammond above, the back of the snake is δαφοινίκος, and looks very awful, σμερδαλέος. Also, the fact that the snake suddenly appears and eats eight chicks and the mother sparrow provides us with a terrible sight. In Kirk’s commentary concerning the serpent, “his back is dark and blood-coloured.” and in Leaf, described as perhaps blood-red. The serpent here represents the Achaians who spend nine years on battle, so that the display of δαφοινίκος emphasises the Achaians’ strength and cruelty, i.e., cold-blooded nature. As seen in book 12 above, the serpent or φοινικός-coloured serpent is likely related to the portent that predicts
which army wins, the Achaian or the Trojans. Also in Japan, a serpent is generally acknowledged as a sign or foreboding. Furthermore, it is striking that the serpent, φῶν-coloured, represents the Achaians in both examples in book 2 and 12.

The next δαφνιών case reminds us of the previous case where Nestor dresses himself, following Agamemnon’s instruction.

> ὁδοθικός ὑπὸ στήθος χιτώνα,  
> ποσοὶ δ’ ὑπὸ λιπαροίσιν ἰδήσατο καλά πίεδα,  
> ἄμφι δ’ ἐπετα δαφνιῶν ἰόσοστο δέρμα λίοντος  
> αἰθωνοὶ μεγάλοι ποδημαῖς, ἕλετο δ’ ἕγχος.  

(II. 10. 21-24)

‘... He rose and dressed his body in a tunic: he bound his fine sandals under his shining feet, then shung round him the blood-red hide of a great tawny lion, reaching to his feet, and took up his spear.’

Again, at the beginning of book 10, Agamemnon, who cannot sleep because of his anxiety about the war, decides to visit Nestor, and dresses himself. He puts on the tunic, sandals (πίδηλα), and hide (δέρμα). The sandals is described as fine, καλα, and Agamemnon’s feet are shining, λιπαροίσιν, and the lion’s hide is blood-red (?), δαφνιῶν, and the lion is red-brown or tawny (?), αἰθωνοῖς, and huge, μεγάλοι. Δαφνιών applies to the hide here. Even more, the hide is from a great glittering lion, so the colour of the hide can be red-brown, blood-red or so. We can see the consecutive usage of terms that associates strong, powerful imagery so that positive sense of bravely moving forward, is reinforced by colour-related expressions.

Δαφνιών appears within the simile as well:

> κύριον ἐπιτὶ Ὅδυσση Δίι φίλουν ἄμφι δ’ ἄρ’ οὗτον  
> Τροῖς ἐποιήθ᾽ ὡς ἐτί δαφνιῶν θυάρις ὀρυπαν  
> ἄμφι ἔλαφον κεραίαν βεβλημένον, ἐν τ’ ἑβαλ’ ἀνήρ  
> ἱὼ ἀπὸ νεφής.  

(II. 11. 473-476)

‘Then they found Odysseus, loved by Zeus. The Trojans were crowding round him like blood-red mountain jackals round a horned stag that has been wounded, shot by a huntsman with an arrow from the strong: ...’

Here Odysseus is surrounded by the Trojans on the battlefield. As δαφνιῶν jackals in the mountains
round a stag, who struggles to escape. Then some gods bring a lion in, the jackals scatter, and the lion makes his meal. Likewise the Trojans crowd around Odysseus, and Odysseus desperately fights against them, being surrounded. Then Aias comes in to help, and the Trojans scatter in terror. Menelaos takes Odysseus to lead him out of the fighting. The jackals (δείσις) crowding around the stag, which is compared to the Trojans surrounding Odysseus, have the decoration of δοφοινας in 474. Hammond gives it as “blood-red mountain jackals” above. Supposedly, as they are jackals on a mountain, it can be highly difficult to imagine that their colour is very bright red. In this simile, in which they pursue their prey, their colour can be assumed to be darker, blood-red, or maybe even brown. At any rate, those jackals seek to devour their prey, in which respect the whole imagery is bloody. Remarkably, δοφοινας describes the Trojans here, even though it is not a direct indication because δοφοινως is used in the simile. The presentation of δοφοινως for the mountain jackals, to which the Trojans are likened, enlarges the strong eagerness to move forward, but in the end, those jackals scatter after the lion appears. Additionally, they aim to hunt one wounded stag in a group, which implies their cruel and cowardly conduct rather than their braveness. The sense of this negative picture is also heightened by presenting δοφοινως – possibly a darker shade here. It is fair to suggest that the jackals’ dispersal predicts the Trojans’ ending.

The last example of δοφοινως is in book 18. The poet narrates Achilles’ new armour, which Hephaistos creates due to Thetis’ favour, and δοφοινας applies to blood during the description of the shield.

εἶμα δ ἡς ὅψι ἔμοι δοφοινας ἀἵματι φωτῶν.  

(l. 18. 538)

‘... the cloak on her shoulders was deep red with men’s blood.’

On the shield, Hephaistos made two cities of mortal men. In one there are marriages and feasting, and by the light of burning torches (δοῖδαν ὑπὸ λαμπτομακρων) they are leading their brides through the city, with the wedding-song risen aloud, which represents a happy and just city. The other city, on the contrary, is unjust. It has two hosts of warriors and their armour is glittering (λαμπτόμενων). Strife, Confusion, and even Death join the battle. The cruel Death, grasping one man, another, and another, however alive, fresh-wounded, or unwounded, drags the dead through shambles by the feet. So the cloak she wears around her shoulders becomes δοφοινως with the blood of men. The picture of Death dragging dead people, with her shoulders coloured red by men’s blood gives the reader the impression that many men’s blood has been shed and the battle must be horrible. Hammond reads the sentence as “...was deep red with men’s blood” above, but I should like to specify that δοφοινως indicates more
likely darker blood-red hues than bright red colour and also fortifies the picture of the cruel battle.

All in all, every φοῖνης and φόιν- related presentation is not inappropriate for the context. In sum, φοῖνης could be designated as red or purple, or red-purple ranged hues, at least, but it is hard to define which colour term should be attributed to φοῖνης, red or purple. Nevertheless, considering the whole context where φοῖνης is located, φοῖνης altogether formulates the imagery chain of ‘moving forward,’ which metaphorically represents powerful prowess, strong brightness for the context. In this respect, there is a consistent imagery of φοῖνης throughout the *Iliad*, which evidences the existence of the poet’s aesthetic and creative skill to compose the story.

VII. Conclusion

I should like to clarify my current viewpoint on φοῖνης here.

(A) Interestingly, φοῖνης does not seem associated with women in the *Iliad*. An exception is the example in book 4, when women in Maonia or Caria stain ivory with φοῖνης. However, it is located in the simile and likened to Menelao’s blood. Feminine characters are generally imagined from red-related colours, or at least when we hear *aka* in Japanese, which means red. Perhaps φοῖνης is a masculine colour. One might, however, want to say that it is not appropriate to consider that one term is masculine because it is associated with men, mostly, as the story of the *Iliad* is mainly about the war and the majority of characters are men, which basically means that men appears in the story more than women. Perhaps line-calculating might be necessary, but nonetheless, there must be some intentional placement by the poet and this point of view needs further research on colour terms, to reach sufficient outcome.74

(B) φοῖνης is not involved with gods. Καλλως, for instance, is linked with divinity, particularly Zeus, but regarding the case of φοῖνης, no presentation implies any link, or is connected with any of gods, which is remarkable and it should be examined further with other colour terms.75

(C) φοῖνης is mostly related to the Achaeans in the context and used to describe the characters’ braveness or enthusiasm towards the fight. In the middle of the war, those φοῖνης presentations provide bright light combined with warriors’ powerful strength. Only in book 15, φοῖνης applies to the Trojans, Dolops, as the decoration of his helmet. But Dolops dies there. The point to be extended from here is, which could be provocative, that the poet uses φοῖνης differently between
the Achaians and the Trojans. Although the Achaian warriors, who are related to φόινιξ, are injured on the battlefield as well, they do not die. For example, Menelaos is wounded in book 4 and his blood is described in the simile that includes φόινιξ, but Menelaos escapes his doom due to another’s help. In composing his story, the poet deliberately places φόινιξ positively for the Achaians, but negatively for the Trojans who lose in the end. When φόινιξ is related to the Achaians, the context is established with more positive imagery such as force, energy, and strength. That suits the parallel between the Trojans and the Achaians throughout the story and the reader / audience could anticipate the ending. This corresponds with the case of δαφνός in book 11 where mountain jackals are associated with the Trojans in the simile. Hence the word φόινιξ is carefully chosen in order to fit the context. As seen above, φόινιξ possesses shades, which the poet skillfully demonstrates using a darker sense of φόινιξ for negatively-narrated Trojans and a bright one for positively-narrated Achaians.

(D) Therefore, the poet not only places his words according to the rules of metre, but also, with his own artistic purposes in mind, selects the term, φόινιξ, deliberately. During the process, he enhances the visual effect of φόινιξ. As previously mentioned, the illustration of the whole scene becomes more vividly visualised when colour terms or colour-related expressions are intermittently arrayed. This is, as Edgeworth suggests "[W]hen the colors pile up, it is presumably intentional," 76 the poet’s intention to attract his audience to his story. As far as I could probe φόινιξ-related words in this paper, it does possess the literal effect of lightening the context with the metaphorical function as being active, strong power. It symbolises warrior’s fearless prowess like passionate energy to move forward, whatever may come later.

To conclude, I would like to propose one word, lifeforce, for the metaphorical function of φόινιξ in the
**φοῖνιξ**

lifeforce

heavy, powerful energy
emotional, strong passion

masculinity and activity

Young (1964), 46: “Brightness, in sum, was what the Greeks mainly liked in colour.”

_Iliad._ Philippon notes the sense of energy and passions, which is associated with masculinity and activity. During the battle warriors ought to fight, to move forward, tirelessly, under any circumstance. They aim for a brightly illuminated life. They is what _φοῖνιξ_ manifests for the context with bright shades with its connotation. The _Iliad’s_ story is conveyed as if in a painting composed partially with bright red-purple hues, to express the message that the poet wishes to convey.

YS

_Liverpool, Summer 2015_
Appendix: Uses of φοίνιξ in the *Iliad*

**Animal**

- [12. 220] (A?)

**Human body**

- *blood* – Aias and Odysseus [23. 717] (A)
- wolves [16. 159] (A) <simile>

**Clothing**

- *cloak* – Nestor [10. 133] (A)
- *belt* – Oineus [6. 219] (A)
  - Aias [7. 305] (A)

**Miscellaneous**

- *monstrous, huge* – [12. 202] (A?)
  - [12. 220] (A?)
- *outstretched* – Nestor’s cloak [10. 133] (A)
- *twofold, double* – Nestor’s cloak [10. 133] (A)
- *great, vast* – horse [23. 454]
- *another, the rest* – horse [23. 454]
- *shining, radiant* – Oineus’ belt [6. 219] (A)
  - Aias’ belt [7. 305] (A)
  - Dolops’ helmet’s plume [15. 538] (T)
- *new, fresh* – Dolops’ helmet’s plume [15. 538] (T)

*(A) means that objects or persons referred to are on the Achaian side. (T) means on the Trojan side.*
Φοίνιξ

godlike (ἀντίθεος) – 23. 360
far-famed (τηλεκλειτός) – 14. 321
loved of Zeus (Δίῳ φίλος) – 9. 168
old man (γίρων) – 9. 432, 607, 690, 16. 196, 17. 561, 19. 311
driver of horse (ἵππηλότης) – 9. 432, 16. 196, 19. 311
cherished of Zeus (διωτρεφής) – 9. 607
father (άττα) – 9. 607, 17. 561
born long ago (παλαιγενής) – 17. 561
his father’s follower (ὁπάνων πατρίς ίοίο) – 23. 360 (<όποϊον)

men (άνηρ) – 23. 744 Phoenicia


Many scholars have commented on Xenophanes’ writing concerning Iris. For example, see A. Kober, “Some Remarks on Color in Greek Poetry,” CW, 1934, p. 191 (for the purer reds and oranges); D. Young, “The Greeks’ Colour Sense,” Review of the Society for Hellenic Travel 4, 1964, p. 43; E. Irwin, Colour Terms in Greek Poetry, Toronto, 1974, p. 10 and 76; B. Moonwomon, “Color Categorization in Early Greek,” JIES 22, 1994, p. 55. However, the rainbow colour itself has been controversial from antiquity. See J. André, Étude sur les Termes de Couleur dans la Langue Latine, Paris, 1949, p. 13. Bradley’s fine chapter contributes to understand the rainbow colour; M. Bradley, Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 36-55.

Bradley’s research on how colour performed in Ancient Rome, socially, politically, and morally, is very instructive.


e. g. Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon with a revised supplement, Oxford, 1996 (1st ed., in
7 Cf. Plato *Timaeus* 67-68, Pliny *Natural History*, and elsewhere. It seems that there is no agreement about colour recognition in antiquity. Individual authors have different standpoints on colours. I shall discuss this subject in a different paper.


9 Here it is also rendered into ‘red’; *Aristotle VIII On the Soul, Parva Naturals, and On Breath*, translated by W. S. Hett, Harvard (Loeb Classical Library), 1936, p. 245. Irwin, however, refers to *φωνίζ* as ‘crimson’ when she discusses this passage; Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 25.


17 Platnauer, *ibid.*, p. 158 (except II. 23, 454). The other colour terms that are categorised into the (A)-2 group are: ἱππικός, μύλτος, πορφύρος, ῥοδόες, and σίνιώς.

André, who analyses Latin colour terms, put *φωνίζ* into ‘rouge,’ not in ‘violet,’ and discusses its association with *punies*; André, *op. cit.*, pp. 88f.

18 F. E. Wallace, *Color in Homer and in Ancient Art*, Massachusetts, 1927, p. 64.


Nosch’s work on red coloured textiles is also helpful to know what red coloured vocabularies were inscribed in Linear B, including po-niki-vx. M. Nosch, “Red Coloured Textiles in the Linear B Inscriptions,” Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World (CAMW hereafter), edited by L. Cleland and K. Stears, BAR International Series 1267, 2004, pp. 32-39.


25 Irwin, op. cit., p. 201.

26 B. H. Fowler, “The Archaic Aesthetic,” AJPh 105, 1984, pp. 128f. Also Fowler suggests that φοινίκας simply means Phoenician and refers to Tyrian purple-dyeing, to describe the same range colour of πορφύρας.

27 Moonwoman, op. cit., p. 45.

28 Moonwoman, ibid., p. 46: Historically and etymologically, φόνεας is relevant to something 'bloody, murder' (φόνος → φοινίκας → φοινίκες ). In Greek, both of φόνεας and φοινίκας are "used with color sense." Moonwoman also suggests that φοινίκας and φοινίκες "denote red color, red dye, red paint."


Further, some analyse the relationship between colour and sound. In The Atlantic Monthly 72 (1893), vowels have imaginary colour (?), individually - a is white, e light blue, i red, o black, u
brown (pp. 282f. and pp. 571-573). Colours are also associated with letters of the alphabet. For example, $p$, $v$, and $z$ are red, $e$ light red, $k$ darker red (p. 715). See also W. B. Stanford, *Greek Metaphor*, New York, 1972, pp. 61f.

29 Moorwoman, *op. cit.*, p. 50.


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32 A. Capell, *Studies in Socio-Linguistics*, Mouton, 1966, pp. 39f. Capell also mentions κόλορος and says that "Greek color terminology was concerned with shades, not with color in the modern artistic sense," but this conclusion seems not to take various other colour terms into consideration.

33 Berlin & Key, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

34 Berlin & Key’s research is cited elsewhere, but at the same time, has also been criticised by scholars. Irwin, for example, comments on their theory as "...... must be read in the light of these obvious inaccuracies in Greek terminology" : Irwin, *op. cit.*, p. 222.


36 Those lines are occasionally slightly different between concordances, in particular, *LJI*. 8. 116. I also checked Perseus Digital Library (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/), but there is no agreement. In this paper, I follow the OCT.


38 Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Leaf and Hainsworth mention the relevance to the snake in *LJI*. 2. 308 (*Leaf, op
A Bright LifeForce Image in the Iliad: On the Metaphorical Function of φῶνξ

cit., p. 538; Hainsworth, op. cit., p. 340. See also Moonwoman, op. cit., pp. 49f.
39 See Postlethwaite, op. cit., p. 168: "It serves as a symbol of the Achaians’ aggression who here, although apparently overcome by the Trojans, still have enough strength to inflict a severe wound.”
40 According to Leaf, φωνίκασσα is more appropriate than φωνικόκεσσα; Leaf, op. cit., p. 522.
According to Leaf, φῶνξ is seen only here; Leaf, op. cit., p. 168.
42 Wallace, op. cit., pp. 18f. Wallace also mentions πορφύρος, which describes ‘blood’ elsewhere in Homer. Fountoulakis refers φῶνξ in the section of ‘red’ / ‘crimson’ / ‘purple’ and suggest that φωνίκασσα, a derivative, is used to describe the blushing of cheeks, which refers to the colour of blood; A. Fountoulakis, “The Colours of Desire and Death: Colour Terms in Bion’s Epitaph on Adonis.” CAMW, op. cit., 114f.
43 Red, or scarlet coloured clothes, have been endorsed as highly prestigious since antiquity. Greenfield’s fascinating book demonstrates how red/purple dye has been handled; A. B. Greenfield, A Perfect Red: Empire, Espionage, and the Quest for the Color of Desire, New York, 2006.
44 Gladstone, op. cit (1877), p. 372: "...because Homer never once applies to them the word ἵπποθρός, or any other word directly connected with that colour.”
45 Hainsworth, op. cit., p. 168. See also Leaf, op. cit., p. 435.
48 Leaf, op. cit., p. 274. According to Leaf, the material of the ζωστίρ here is surely leather.
50 Leaf, op. cit., p. 139.
51 Willcock, op. cit (1984), p. 241. Janko also comments on the picture of horse-hair plume, suggesting sea-purple, the fastest known dye, which was precious and apparently it is used for cloth, leather and ivory in Homer; Janko, op. cit., p. 288.
52 Gladstone, op. cit (1858), p. 465.
φοίνιξ (‘chestnut’) is used only here as an adjective in Homer. Also, the handling of τόσον in 452 seems very unsettled; Richardson and Leaf regard it as ‘so far,’ but Wilcock suggests that τὸ μᾶς ἄλλο τόσον, the Homeric idiom, means ‘almost completely’; Leaf, op. cit., p. 503; Wilcock, op. cit. (1984), p. 305; Richardson, op. cit., p. 220.

54 Il. 4. 146: τοῖς τοῖς, Μηνήσας, μειώθην αἴσθητε μηροὶ εὐφείας κυψῆς τε ἴδε ὀμφάλο καλ ὑπένερθε.


56 Gladstone, op. cit. (1858), p. 465: ‘the sense leans to red, especially as the hue of ivory is so near to that of flesh.’


59 The argument on the simile in Homer is also vast. I should like to discuss this topic elsewhere as well, though it seems controversial to reach concrete explanation. Nevertheless, scholars have admitted that simile possesses different factors from narrative. Bakker’s sentence should match the subject of this paper here. See E. Bakker, Pointing at the Past, Washington, D. C., 2006, pp. 134f: ‘the simile is a verbalized image that as an integrated whole serves to illustrate a salient scene from the Iliadic battle. Often the simile goes beyond mere illustration.’


61 The other presentations of Phoinix (Φοίνιξ) in book 9 are as follows:

9. 223: νυσ' Ἀίας Ἀφωνική νόησε δε διος Ὀδυσσεύς.
9. 427: Φοίνιξ δ' οὖθε παρ' ὑμιν μικρων κοτοκομβητα.
9. 432: όξε δε δι μιστιν Γέρων ἵππολατά Φοίνιξ.
9. 607: Φοίνιξ ὅτα γέρων, διοστρέφες, οὗ τι με ταύτης.
9. 621: Φοίνικας στορίσαι πυκνων λέχος, δέφα τάχιστα.
9. 659: Φοίνικας στορίσαι πυκνων λέχος ὅττι τάχιστα.
9. 690: Φοίνιξ δ' οὖθ' ὁ γέρων κατέλεκτο, ὅσ γὰρ ἀκάγει.

62 The rest of Phoinix (Φοίνιξ) appearances are as follows:

16. 196: τῆς δε τεταρτῆς ἤρχε γέρων ἰππολάτα Φοίνιξ.
A Bright Lifeforce Image in the Iliad : On the Metaphorical Function of φοϊνική

17. 555: εἰςαμένη φοϊνικά δέμας καὶ ἀτειρία φωμήν.
17. 561: 'Φοϊνική, ὁτα καιραὶ παλαιοὶν ἔστώ, εἰ γάρ ἠθῆναι
19. 311: Νέστωρ Ἰδόμενης τε γέρων θ' ἰππόλαται φωμῆς.
23. 360: ἀντίθεσιν φοϊνικὰ, ὀπλάσια πατρὸς ἱεῖν.

63 Il. 23. 741.
64 Cf. Wallace, op. cit., p. 8; Willcock, op. cit. (1976), pp. 261f; Richardson, op. cit., pp. 250ff.

Also, since I mainly use Hammond's English translation in this paper, I follow his spelling of Greek proper names (Achilleus, Hektor, etc) as well, except in the case of Phoenicia, which seems so well-established in this form.
67 Leaf, op. cit., p. 72.
68 Postlethwaite, op. cit., p. 54: "The prodigy of the snake, his back blood-mottled represents the Achaian forces..." Postlethwaite also mentions the snake’s portent in 12. 200-9 and its association with Vergil (Aeneid 2. 203-27).
69 Tresidder, op. cit., pp. 184ff.
70 See R. J. Edgeworth, "Terms for "Brown" in Ancient Greek," Glotta 61, 1983, pp. 31-40. Edgeworth analyses whether 'brown' colour exists in ancient Greece, using some colour terms, which are likely related to 'brown.' Φοϊνική is mentioned only when Pinder’s passage is cited; Δία τε φοινικοστεριτάν (Olympian 9. 6).
71 Postlethwaite, op. cit., p. 158 ( 'bloody scavengers ...'); Ready, op. cit., p. 254 ( 'bloody jackals...').
72 Il. 18. 492.
73 Il. 18. 511.
74 Some colour terms, λευκός, for example, apply to women more often in the Iliad (though again λευκός should be re-examined). Further, in Egyptian art, gendered colour distinction (men are painted dark,
usually reddish brown, and women light, usually yellow, white, or pink) is a basic feature and considered as a reflection of every day reality; M. A. Eaverly, "Colours of Power: Brown Men and Brown Women in the Art of Akhenaten," CAMW, pp. 53-60.


77 See Young, op. cit., p. 46; "Brightness, in sum, was what the Greeks mainly liked in colour."

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79 Gladstone, op. cit (1858), 465f; Wallace, op. cit., 64f.

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