A JOURNEY INTO MARINE DEPTHS: THE VITALITY OF FISH THROUGH ANTHROPOMORPHISM IN OPPIAN'S *HALIEUTICA*

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Abstract: The *Halieutica* is a didactic poem written at the end of the second century A. D. by Oppian of Cilicia, in which fish are the main characters. Marine animals are portrayed anthropomorphically: the poet usually attributes human feelings and qualities to fish, in an iterated comparison created by similes and particular adjectives. For this reason, Oppian's zoology is based upon innovation. Ancient writers such as Plutarch and Plato did not believe that fish have feelings. This is particularly evident when analysing *H.* 1, 446–472, where the bewilderment that the arrival of winter causes in fish is compared by the poet to the one that war causes in men.

Keywords: fishes, sea, humanization, style, poetic techniques.

Halieutica[1] is a didactic poem dealing with saltwater fishing in five books written towards the end of the second century A.D. It was written by Oppian the Cilician[2]. Fish are the main characters of the poem[3] and they are classified in the catalogue sections of the first book through the anthropomorphism. Through the *Halieutica* versification's analysis, this paper proposes to illustrate this perspective. A passage describing fish using particular terms referring to the human world will also be presented.

The purpose of anthropomorphism is to arouse the reader's empathy. This expedient is the result of the experimentalism of the Hellenistic age, as it shows in Nicander's *Theriaca*, where the animals are sometimes described in compliance with a human perspective[4].

[1] *Vide* FAJEN, Fritz, *Oppianus, Halieutica*, Stuttgart – Leipzig, Teubner, 1999; MAIR, A. William, *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, London, Heinemann, 1963.

[2] The information about Oppian's homeland is based on the third book of *Halieutica* (lines 5–8), where the poet prays the gods of Cilicia and with particular attention Ermes, who was worshipped in the city of Anazarbus, see Σ Opp. *H.* 3, 8, p. 328 Bussemaker; *Suid.* o 452, *s.v. Ὀππιανός*; REBUFFAT, Enrico, "Il Proemio al terzo libro degli Halieutica e la biografia di Oppiano", *Studi classici e orientali*, XLVI, 2, 1997, pp. 559–584. The little information about Oppian's life is passed on by the *Vitae*, which is preserved in the manuscripts *Med.-Laurentianus* 31. 3 **Z** e *Ambrosianus gr.* C 222 **A** (for more information about the manuscript transmission of the *Halieutica*, see FAJEN, Fritz, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Halieutika des Oppian*, Meisenheim am Glan, Verlag Anton Hain, 1969). According to the *Vitae*, Oppian lived during the time of Marcus Aurelius, see MAIR, A. William, *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, London, Heinemann, 1963, intr. pp. XIII–XV; WESTERMANN, Anton, *Βιογράφοι. Vitarum scriptores Graeci minores*, Braunschweig, Westermann, 1845, pp. 63–65; COLONNA, Aristide, "De Oppiani Vita Antiquissima", *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini*, XII, 1964, pp. 33–40.

[3] The figure of the fisherman and the fishing techniques are described from the third book.

[4] Nicander defines the snake as *ὅμευνος* "bedfellow" in *Ther.* 131, see OVERDUIN, Floris, *Nicander of Colophon's Theriaca, a literary commentary*, Leiden–Boston, Brill, 2015, p. 99. Anthropomorphism is

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1. THE STRUCTURE

Halieutica is a didactic poem whose style is more artistic than technical. The technical information provided is too brief to be used efficiently by fishermen. The descriptions are short, and their anecdotal tone is intended to involve the reader and to amuse him. The arrangement of topics in this book is thought to point out multiple different aspects enjoyable to the readers. The *dispositio* of the first book is structured by the author as a general introduction of the whole poem providing zoological information and introducing a new classification of fish based upon their *habitats*. Below is the *Halieutica*'s structure[5]:

1. 1–79: the *prooimion* of the book; comparison and description of hunting, fishing and fowling; invocation to Poseidon and marine gods;
2. 80–92: the marine depths; the poet claims his ignorance because only the gods know everything;
3. 93–476: Oppian provides his own classification of fish based on their habitats and habits; some fish are briefly described with anecdotal stories and legends;
4. 477–645: fish reproduction; legendary matings are displayed, such as moray eel with viper;
5. 646–761: fish maternal care towards their progeny, an important link between fish and humans;
6. 762–797: spontaneous births, the poet speaks about some particular birthless fish, some of them, for instance, were born from mud.

The *dispositio* of these parts is not random. As noted by Enrico Rebuffat, each section is concluded with a particular expression or description which gives the reader a sense of completion[6]. The classification of fish ends with amphibians. The section about maternal cares ends with the negative example of the tuna which eats its progeny. Through this book the reader knows the fish world and is introduced to the knowledge of the world of fishing described in the others. As a matter of fact, Oppian gives zoological information providing his classification of fish and dividing them into several classes, in order to increase the knowledge of the marine world:

1. Fish living by the low shores;
2. Fish living in the mud and in the shallows;
3. Fish living under the green grasses;
4. Fish living in the sea where there are rivers and lakes nearby;
5. Fish living around rocks:
   - rocks covered with seaweed;
   - rocks low lying beside the sandy sea;
   - other wet rocks with green grasses;
   - rocks rich in crevices;

created by a frequent comparison between marine animals and humans, through the similes, particular terms and adjectives that usually refer to the human world such as *ἔθνος, φιλότης, ὁμευναῖος*, see Opp. *H.* 1, 1; 6, 509.

[5] *Halieutica*'s structure was described in greater detail in REBUFFAT, Enrico, *ΠΟΙΗΤΗΣ ΕΠΕΩΝ. Tecniche di composizione poetica negli* Halieutica *di Oppiano*, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 2001, pp. 41–43; pp. 57–59.

[6] *Ibidem*, pp. 39–43.

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6. Fish living both among the rocks and in the sands;
7. Fish living in the open sea;
8. Fish living in all these habitats.

This classification of fish demonstrates that Oppian follows Aristotle's classification rules based upon anatomical differences, rather than description. In the first book of *De partibus animalium*, the philosopher explains the importance of classifying animals based upon their anatomical differences and similarities[7]. It is reasonable to guess that Oppian aims to follow Aristotle's zoological model.

2. MARINE WORLD AND FISH ANTHROPOMORPHISM

Throughout Oppian's work, the reader is invited to consider fish to be similar to himself, with the result that the *pathos* implicit in fish stories is increased. By anthropomorphizing fish, Oppian is willing to communicate the vitality of the sea, because he demonstrates that marine animals are capable of feelings too and that are moved by a vital force just like humans do.

Oppian begins the first book of his poem[8], *καὶ βίον ἰχθυόεντα καὶ ἔχθεα καὶ φιλότητας*[9]. He intends to show their life but also their feelings of friendship and enmity. There is a deeper meaning concealed inside Oppian's choice of the lexicon. According to the zoological tradition of the ancients, fish cannot have feelings of friendship, love and gratitude, nor they know the meaning of justice, because this was considered only a human possibility.

Oppian demonstrates that fish are similar to humans. In the second book, he explains that there is no justice among them, because they perpetually fight amidst themselves[10].

This conviction had already been expressed by Hesiod[11], *τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων,/ ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς/ ἔσθειν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ' αὐτοῖς*[12], and by Plutarch:

> *Διὸ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὡς ἡμῖν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὰ ζῷα δίκαιόν ἐστι, ῥητέον εὖ λέγειν ἄχρι τῶν ἐνάλων καὶ βυθίων· ἄμικτα γὰρ ἐκεῖνα κομιδῇ πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἄστοργα καὶ πάσης ἄμοιρα γλυκυθυμίας*[13]. [*De Soll. Anim. Mor*., 970b8]

[7] The criterion of classification is programmatically described by Aristotle in the first book of *De partibus animalium* (639a) and is carried out in the *Historia animalium*, see ZUCKER, Arnaud, *Aristote et les Classifications Zoologiques*, Louvain-la-Neue, Editions Peeters, 2005, p. 169. The dissemination of Aristotle's ideas was made through the mediation of the *Epitome* of Aristophanes of Byzantium, see CARIOU, Morgane, "Oppien de Cilicie et l'«épitomè» d'Aristophane de Byzance", *REG*, CXXVIII, 1, 2015, p. 108.

[8] Opp. *H.* 1, 6.

[9] "The life of fishes, their hates, their loves", translation by A. W. Mair.

[10] Opp. *H.* 2, 43–45: *Ἰχθύσι δ' οὔτε δίκη μεταρίθμιος οὔτε τις αἰδώς,/ οὐ φιλότης· πάντες γὰρ ἀνάρσιοι ἀλλήλοισι/ δυσμενέες πλώουσιν*. "Among fishes neither justice is of any account, nor is there any mercy/ nor love; for all the fish that swim / are bitter foes to one another", translation by A. W. Mair.

[11] *Op.* 276–278.

[12] "This is the law that Cronus' son has established for human beings:/ that fish and beasts and winged birds/ eat one another, since Justice is not among them", translation by G. W. Most.

[13] "Therefore those who deny that there is any kind of justice owed to animals by us must be conceded to be right so far as marine and deep-sea creatures are concerned; for these are completely

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Plato expresses the same thought. According to him, fish derive from the souls of lazy and ignorant men, because the gods did not judge them worthy of breathing in an ordinary way:

> *τέταρτον γένος ἔνυδρον γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν μάλιστα ἀνοητοτάτων καὶ ἀμαθεστάτων, οὓς οὐδ' ἀναπνοῆς καθαρᾶς ἔτι ἠξίωσαν οἱ μεταπλάττοντες, ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ πλημμελείας πάσης ἀκαθάρτως ἐχόντων, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ λεπτῆς καὶ καθαρᾶς ἀναπνοῆς ἀέρος εἰς ὕδατος θολερὰν καὶ βαθεῖαν ἔωσαν ἀνάπνευσιν· ὅθεν ἰχθύων ἔθνος καὶ τὸ τῶν ὀστρέων συναπάντων τε ὅσα ἔνυδρα γέγονεν, δίκην ἀμαθίας ἐσχάτης ἐσχάτας οἰκήσεις εἰληχότων*[14]. [Ti. 92b6]

3. *HALIEUTICA* 1, 446–472

Below is the passage of *Halieutica*, where the bewilderment that the arrival of winter causes in fish is compared by the poet to the one that war causes in men, also through an accurate lexical selection[15].

Χείματι μὲν δὴ πάντες ἀελλάων στροφάλιγγας
σμερδαλέας αὐτοῦ τε δυσηχέος οἴδματα πόντου
ἔξοχα δειμαίνουσιν· ἐπεὶ περιώσιον ἄλλων
ἰχθυόεντα γένεθλα φίλην πέφρικε θάλασσαν
μαινομένην. τότε δ' οἱ μὲν ἀμησάμενοι πτερύγεσσι
ψάμμον ὑποπτήσσουσιν ἀνάλκιδες· οἱ δ' ὑπὸ πέτραις
εἰλόμενοι δύνουσιν ἀολλέες· οἱ δὲ βάθιστα
ἐς πελάγη φεύγουσι κάτω μυχάτην ὑπὸ βύσσαν·
κεῖνα γὰρ οὔτε λίην προκυλίνδεται οὔθ' ὑπ' ἀήταις
πρυμνόθεν εἰλεῖται, διὰ δ' ἔσσυται οὔτις ἄελλα
ῥίζαν ἁλὸς νεάτην· μέγα δέ σφισι βένθος ἐρύκει
ῥιγεδανὰς ὀδύνας καὶ ἀπηνέα χείματος ὁρμήν.
ἀλλ' ὁπότ' ἀνθεμόεσσαι ἐπὶ χθονὸς εἴαρος ὧραι
πορφύρεον γελάσωσιν, ἀναπνεύσῃ δὲ θάλασσα
χείματος εὐδιόωσα γαληναίη τε γένηται
ἤπια κυμαίνουσα, τότ' ἰχθύες ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
πανσυδίῃ φοιτῶσι γεγηθότες ἐγγύθι γαίης.
ὡς δὲ πολυρραίσταο νέφος πολέμοιο φυγοῦσα
ὀλβίη ἀθανάτοισι φίλη πόλις, ἥν ῥά τε δηρὸν
δυσμενέων πάγχαλκος ἐπεπλήμμυρε θύελλα,
ὀψὲ δ'ἀπαλύξασα καὶ ἀμπνεύσασα μόθοιο
ἀσπασίως γάνυταί τε καὶ εἰρήνης καμάτοισι
τέρπεται ἁρπαλέοισι καὶ εὔδιος εἰλαπινάζει,
ἀνδρῶν τε πλήθουσα χοροιτυπίης τε γυναικῶν·

lacking in amiability, apathetic, and devoid of all sweetness of disposition", translation by H. Cherniss and W. C. Helmbold.

[14] "The fourth class were the inhabitants of the water: these were made out of the most entirely senseless and ignorant of all, whom the transformers did not think any longer worthy of pure respiration, because they possessed a soul which was made impure by all sorts of transgression; and instead of the subtle and pure medium of air, they gave them the deep and muddy sea to be their element of respiration; and hence arose the race of fish and oysters, and other aquatic animals, which have received the most remote habitations as a punishment of their outlandish ignorance", translation by J. M. Cooper.

[15] ARCOLACI, Francesco, *Oppiano*, Halieutica I, *introduzione, traduzione e commento*, Tesi di dottorato, Università degli Studi di Urbino Carlo Bo, 2021.

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470 *ὣς οἱ λευγαλέους τε πόνους καὶ φρῖκα θαλάσσης*
ἀσπασίως προφυγόντες, ὑπὲρ ἅλα καγχαλόωντες,
θρώσκουσ'ἀίσσουσι χοροιτυπέουσιν ὁμοῖοι.

This passage is situated after the classification of the fish based on different *habitats* in the lines 93–446. Since the author is describing animals living in fear because they cannot trust their own world, the reader feels compassion towards them. In a Corinthian funeral inscription dating back to the middle of the seventh century B.C., the sea is defined with the epithet *ἀναιδής* ('shameless'), because it is guilty of killing Dinia, to whom the funeral monument was dedicated[16], *Δ̣ϝ(ι)νία τόδε [σᾶ] | [μα], τὸν ὄλεσε π | όντος ἀναι[δές]*[17].

The epithet *ἀναιδής* is used twelve times throughout the *Halieutica* in relation to some species of fish[18]. In the inscription it defines the sea, because of the disrespectful cruelty with which it treats its own creatures, be they men or fish. In an epigram attributed to Antipater of Thessalonica, a dolphin accuses the sea of killing him, claiming that it cannot be trustworthy because it kills its own creatures[19], *νῦν δὲ τεκοῦσα θάλασσα διώλεσε. τίς παρὰ πόντῳ/ πίστις, ὃς οὐδ' ἰδίης φείσατο συντροφίης*[20].

Oppian characterizes the sea using several synonyms, in order to underline fish fear, *πόντος, θάλασσα, πέλαγος, ἅλς*[21]. The dramatic effect is emphasized by the inclusion of words such as: *σμερδαλέας, δυσηχέος* (447), *δειμαίνουσιν* (448) and *πέφρικε* (449).

Here we find the image of the sea as *polis* – a comparison which is typical of Oppian's anthropomorphic approach[22]. This intention is illustrated in the first lines of the poem[23], *Ἔθνεά τοι πόντοιο πολυσπερέας τε φάλαγγας/ παντοίων νεπόδων, πλωτὸν γένος Ἀμφιτρίτης,/ ἐξερέω, γαίης ὕπατον κράτος, Ἀντωνῖνε*[24], in addition to the classification of fish[25], *Αἵδε μὲν ὥστε πόληες ἐν ἰχθύσιν, οἵδε θ'ὅμιλοι/ κεκριμένοι γεγάασιν ἁλιπλάγκτοιο γενέθλης*[26].

The passage opens with an *enjambement* linking lines 446 and 447: *ἀελλάων στροφάλιγγας/ σμερδαλέας*[27]. This technique – with the assonance of the liquid and the sibilant consonants – represents a dramatic situation for marine animals.

[16] *CEG* 132, see TENTORI MONTALTO, Marco, *Essere primi per il valore, gli epigrammi funerari greci su pietra per i caduti in guerra (VII–V sec. a. C.)*, Pisa-Roma, Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2017, pp. 29–30; p. 29, n. 10.

[17] "This is Dinias' grave, the shameless sea killed him".

[18] ARCOLACI, Francesco, "La «sfrontatezza» dei pesci nel catalogo e nelle descrizioni di Oppiano di Cilicia: l'epiteto *ἀναιδής* negli *Halieutica*", in *RCCM*, LXIII, 1, 2021, pp. 23–34.

[19] *AP* 7, 216, 5–6.

[20] "Now the sea that generated me killed me. Who could ever trust the sea, that did not even spare its creature?".

[21] Oppian changes the poem's style through the *variatio*, to tone down the monotony of the catalogue sections, see REBUFFAT, E., *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[22] KNEEBONE, Emily, "*Τόσσ' ἐδάην*: the poetics of knowledge in Oppian's *Halieutica*, in *Ramus*, XXXVII, 1–2, 2008, p. 35.

[23] Opp. *H.* 1, 1–3.

[24] "The tribes of the sea and the far scattered ranks of all manner of fish, the swimming brood of Amphitrite, will I declare, o, Antoninus, sovereign majesty of earth", translation by A. W. Mair.

[25] Opp. *H.* 1, 438–439.

[26] "These are the city-states, as it were, among fish, these the various communities of the sea-wandering race", translation by A. W. Mair.

[27] The technique of the *enjambement* is the result of the experimentalism in the displacement of the metric-rhythmic segmentation of the poetry, see LOMIENTO, Liana, in *Enjambement, teoria e tecniche dagli antichi al Novecento*, ed. Giorgio Cerboni Baiardi and Franca Perusino, Pisa, ETS, 2008, *intr.*, p.

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Through the expression *περιώσιον ἄλλων* in line 448, Oppian claims that marine animals fear the stormy sea, no longer considering their natural *habitat* to be a safe place, and do not know where to escape to. This passage is similar to *H.* 4, 522–524, in which Oppian says that *πηλαμύδες* are particularly scared by bad weather in winter, *ἔνθα καὶ ἀρτιγόνοισι πέλει πρώτιστα κέλευθα/ πηλαμύδων ἑσμοῖσιν, ἐπεὶ περιώσιον ἄλλων/ εἰναλίων φρίσσουσι δυσαέα χείματος ὁρμήν*[28].

The term *μαινομένην* in line 450 represents a personification of the sea when the animals are seized by the madness of love[29], *ἤτοι ὁ μὲν φλογέῃ τεθοωμένος ἔνδοθι λύσσῃ/ μαίνεται εἰς φιλότητα καὶ ἐγγύθι σύρεται ἀκτῆς / πικρὸς ὄφις*[30].

The term *πτέρυξ* (450) connotes both fins and wings. Fish were considered to be so similar to birds by the ancients, that Basil of Caesarea believed that God created fish and birds on the same day[31].

Fish are described as powerless animals. The adjective *ἄναλκις* (451) means 'devoid of power' which indicates that fish are defenceless against nature and the upheaval of their own *habitat*. This word has also been used to refer to humans: Homer utilized it as a form of judgment[32], in the context of Penelope's suitors[33].

From line 451 to 453, three hiding places which fish use to escape the winter turbulence are described. They are arranged according to an ascending climax, based on the effectiveness of each hiding place. The abyss is the most effective hiding place, because it is the least exposed to natural elements. Fish in the depths of the abyss do not need to fear winter storms, winds or frost. Oppian uses the expression *οὔτε λίην προκυλίνδεται* (454) to describe the abyss. *Προκυλίνδομαι* is a technical verb meaning 'to roll' in the context of ground fight[34]. In the *Halieutica*, the term *προκυλίνδω* denotes the restlessness of the sea waves, which are moved by the wind.

The expression *κάτω μυχάτην ὑπὸ βύσσαν* in line 453 is an amplification, a stylistic form which uses synonyms to underline an idea and involve the reader[35]. The abyss offers a secure home to helpless fish.

Finally, from line 458 to 472 – after describing the stormy sea during the winter season in dark tones – Oppian describes the awakening of the sea during Spring. Spring is defined as *πορφύρεος* by the poet in line 459, an adjective which is also used to refer to the sea. It connotes the typical rhythmic movement of the waves in a calm sea.

15. This technique is mainly used by Oppian in the first book of *Halieutica*, where there are multiple catalogue sections, in order to play with lines, see REBUFFAT, E., *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[28] "There are the first paths of the new-born swarms of Pelamyds; since beyond all other creatures of the sea they dread the stormy onset of winter", translation by A. W. Mair.

[29] Opp. *H.* 1, 557–559.

[30] "The bitter Serpent, whetted by the fiery passion within him, is frenzied for mating and drags himself nigh the shore", translation by A. W. Mair.

[31] *Hom. Hex.* 8, 169a; see HUGGONNARD-ROCHE, Henri, "Les Livres sur les animaux d'Aristote dans la tradition syriaque: quelques aperçus", in *La zoologia di Aristotele e la sua ricezione dall'età ellenistica e romana alle culture medievali*, ed. Maria Michela Sassi, *et alii*, Pisa, Pisa University Press, 2017, p. 177.

[32] See BLOCK, Elizabeth, "Narrative Judgment and Audience Response in Homer and Vergil", in *Arethusa*, XIX, 2, 1986, p. 158.

[33] *Od.* 4, 334.

[34] See LOMIENTO, Liana, "Semantica agonistica: *kylindein* in Pind. *Nem*. 4, v. 40 e Nonn. *Dionys*. 48 vv. 134; 154", in *Nikephoros*, III, 1990, 145–155.

[35] The amplification was frequently used in the Homeric poems, so that Oppian aims to refer to Homer's style because this form is not used into didactic poems or later epic, see REBUFFAT, E., *op. cit.*, pp. 67–86 and p. 70, n. 7.

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Besides, in the treat *Περὶ χρωμάτων* attributed to Aristotle, the author explained that the sea turning purple due to the rising wave covering the sunlight is defined so[36]. In this section, Oppian shows a stronger personification of the sea; he uses the expression *ἀναπνεύσῃ δὲ θάλασσα/ χείματος* in lines 459–460. The sea becomes a living being recovering from a disease, an idea enhanced by the enjambement.

The joy of fish and the beauty of the new season are also represented by a clear change of style. In this section, eleven terms are utilized whose meaning belongs to the semantic sphere of joy and happiness: *γελάω* (v. 459), *εὐδιάω* (v. 460), *γηθέω* (v. 462), *ἀσπασίως* (v. 467), *γάνυμαι* (v. 467), *τέρπω* (v. 468), *εὔδιος* (v. 468), *ἀσπασίως* (v. 471), *καγχαλάω* (v. 471), *θρῴσκω* (v. 472) and *ἀίσσω* (v. 472). Two lines open with the adverb *ἀσπασίως* in anaphor, by which the poet emphasizes the concept of serenity pervading the sea after the winter season. Finally, line 471 begins and ends with terms referring to joy, to emphasize the marine animals' emotional detachment from fear (*προφυγόντες*).

To highlight the feelings of joy and serenity felt by fish, Oppian compares fish to the citizens who celebrate in peacetime after the war is over. The section is entirely based on the analogy between winter and war, highlighted through the use of the meteorological lexicon. The terms *ἀήτης* and *ἄελλα* (454–455) connote winter while *νέφος* and *θύελλα* connote war, and the verb *ἐπιπλημμύρω* indicates both the devastation that soldiers bring to a city and the flooding of the sea[37]. Finally, the comparison between the 'cities' of the fish and those of mankind is drawn from the description of the cities in peace and war painted on the shield of Achilles[38]. In the peaceful city weddings and dances and banquets are celebrated, while people enjoy the serenity.

In conclusion, this passage is a striking example of the perspective of Oppian's *Halieutica* and allows us to better understand Oppian's rhetorical strategy in representing the marine world.

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[36] [Arist.] *Col.* 2, 4, see PLATNAUER, Maurice, "Greek colour-perception", in *CQ*, XV, 3–4, 1921, p. 159.
[37] REBUFFAT, Enrico, *op. cit.*, p. 199.
[38] See *Il.* 18, 490–540, BARTLEY, A. Nicholas, *Stories from the Mountains, Stories from the Sea, The Digressions and Similes of Oppian's* Halieutica *and* Cynegetica, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003, p. 213. For an insight and a bibliography about the shield of Achilles, see EDWARDS, W. Mark, *The* Iliad*; a Commentary, volume V, books 17–20*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 200–209; D'ACUNTO, Matteo, PALMISCIANO, Riccardo, *Lo scudo di Achille nell'*Iliade*. Esperienze ermeneutiche a confronto. Atti della giornata di studi (Napoli, 12 maggio 2008)*, Pisa–Roma, Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2010.

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