cultural system of Flavian society. But then, literary history had been inseparable from a wider political and cultural history from the time that Ennius' boast of scaling the heights of the Greek Muses coincided with his patron Fulvius Nobilior's conquest of Aetolia and the importation into Rome of Greek Muse-statues as spoils, as Hinds also reminds us.

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HISTORY AND THE POETS

D. S. Levene, D. P. Nelis (edd.): *Clio and the Poets. Augustan Poetry & the Traditions of Ancient Historiography*. (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 224.) Pp. xv + 396. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2002. Cased. ISBN: 90-04-11782-2.

The subtitle of this volume recalls the 1999 conference at the University of Durham out of which it developed. After a brief introduction by the editors, its seventeen chapters and contributors present themselves as follows: 'Clio exclusa' (C. J. Classen), 'Propertius the Historian (3.3.1–12)?' (F. Cairns), 'Actium and Teutoburg: Augustan Victory and Defeat in Vergil and Tacitus' (V. E. Pagán), 'Stepping Out of the Ring: Repetition and Sacrifice in the Boxing Match in *Aeneid* 5' (A. Feldherr), 'Archaism and Historicism in Horace's *Odes*' (E. O'Gorman), '*Ab inferis*: Historiography in Horace's *Odes*' (C. Damon), 'Vergil's Italy: Ethnography and Politics in First-century Rome' (C. Ando), 'Roman Archaeology in Vergil's Arcadia (Vergil *Eclogue* 4; *Aeneid* 8; Livy 1.7)' (M. Marinčič), 'Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Universal History' (S. Wheeler), 'The Historian in Ovid. The Roman History of *Metamorphoses* 14–15' (P. Hardie), 'The Alban Kings in the *Metamorphoses*: an Ovidian Catalogue and its Historiographical Models' (S. Kyriakidis), 'The Fall of Troy: Between Tradition and Genre' (A. Rossi), 'Epic Encounters? Ancient Historical Battle Narratives and the Epic Tradition' (R. Ash), 'The Structure of Livy's First Pentad and the Augustan Poetry Book' (A. Vasaly), 'A Varronian Vatic Numa?: Ovid's *Fasti* and Plutarch's *Life of Numa*' (M. Pasco-Pranger), 'The Extinction of the Potitii and the Sacred History of Augustan Rome' (H.-F. Mueller), and 'History, Poetry, and *Annales*' (T. P. Wiseman).

A few of these chapters will please, perhaps even excite a wide range of readers, and they deserve wide notice. Peter Wiseman, for example, in a characteristically learned and eloquent essay, challenges us to understand Livy's famous distinction between the pursuits of history and poetry as an exceptional, not a normative, idea in Augustan Rome. Ancient histories regularly admitted a significant element of what we would call the fabulous. Rhiannon Ash draws an astute connection between battle narratives in Virgil and Sallust, showing how a fixation on Homeric parallels has distracted Virgilian scholarship from meaningful connections much closer to home. Other essays will find their own more specialized niche in scholarly bibliographies: thus Francis Cairns, with what is essentially an extended textual note on Propertius 3.3.7, and Andrew Feldherr, with a richly nuanced explication of the boxing match in *Aeneid* 5. A few chapters, weak treatments of good topics or belabored explorations of poorer ones, will probably disappoint. Yet, as the editors rightly observe (p. x), all these pieces can and should be read not simply as individual essays but as chapters in a continuous

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exploration of the relationship between poetry and history, and as such, even the weakest contributions gain strength from their surroundings. The value added by context is also significantly enhanced by the editors' exemplary work behind the scenes. The chapters are shrewdly arranged. Ample cross-references, a common bibliography, and two indices (including a very useful one for passages discussed) expand the volume's utility and further the sense of a unit rather than a medley.

Taken as a unit, this book reveals some interesting things about contemporary approaches to Latin studies. There is an impressive ease in the incorporation of Greek as well as Roman material—'ancient' in the subtitle really means ancient, not just Roman—and an alacrity, even joy, in crossing the conceptual divide between poetry and prose. There are striking differences in the contributors' theoretical sophistication. Some content themselves with richness of detail, while others pursue the significance beneath the detail. Not every contributor distinguishes between history and historiography. A few, e.g. Damon, Kyriakidis, and Wheeler, make significant advances precisely because they have a keen sense of historiography and actively engage with the challenge of the book's theme. Other essays reveal much more tenuous links to it. Nobody seems much concerned to distinguish history from antiquarianism, though some essays (e.g. Pasco-Pranger, Mueller) might gain from addressing the question, and Peter Wiseman makes it clear that Roman ways of thinking about the past can differ significantly from our own.

Finally, it is interesting to note some of the topics not covered in this volume. Much of the conversation about poetry—and the exchanges on Virgil and Ovid in particular really sound like conversation—suggests a contemporaneity that is refreshing and yet also limiting. An eavesdropper might suppose that Latinists pursue rather narrow lines of inquiry, centering on texts and the work of authors in creating them. Authors without texts therefore stand at a distinct disadvantage. The most noteworthy such victim is Asinius Pollio, historian and poet, and surely one of the great shapers of the Augustan literary scene. He receives barely a mention, though his career surely has much to say about how, why, and under what conditions history and poetry met in Augustan Rome. The attention paid to individual authors does not extend very far toward the expectations and activities of their readers and patrons, or to the growing influence of literary circles, recitations, and libraries, though these both determined the future of Roman literary culture and profoundly influence, with rather less justification, the scholarly reception of its Republican past. Only one essay (by Philip Hardie) raises the spectre of rhetoric in a meaningful way, and that excellent hint is all too brief. For a book so explicitly engaged with the representation of time, there is surprisingly little concern with its passage, although Classen begins with a chronological survey of Augustan poetry and several essays sweep us from Varro to Plutarch. Does it not matter to criticism that Vergil was a poet of Ovid's parents' generation, or that 'Augustan' is largely a retrospective concept? Marked changes in attitudes toward the past are implicit from chapter to chapter, but no one chapter looks squarely at the fact of change and its consequences.

Such omissions, however, are not faults; they are simply indications of more work to do, as the editors themselves know perfectly well, and they deserve the last word. This book, they say, 'should be read as a complex and evolving contribution to a complex and evolving debate: as something that sets challenges and opens up arguments rather than decisively closing them down' (p. ix). It is a worthy challenge, which they—and their contributors—have worthily set for us.

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