HORACE *CARMEN* 1.8: ACHILLES, THE CAMPUS MARTIUS, AND THE ARTICULATION OF GENDER ROLES IN AUGUSTAN ROME

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CARMEN 1.8 IS A POEM in which demarcated gender roles bear a strong ethical charge. Opening and closing stanzas highlight female domination of the youthful male. Seductive Lydia, the classic peril of adolescence, works the destruction of Sybaris through amorous attention. Time wasted in dalliance is indicated, as Steele Commager explains it, by antithesis with an alternative mode of life.[1] A catalogue of athletic exercises in lines 5–12 indicates how Sybaris is neglecting activities appropriate to his age and gender, which involve both socialization and competition within the company of *aequales militares.* Thus, as Horace summarizes in the final stanza, Sybaris has become a hero in hiding as was Achilles before the battles at Troy.

By his reference to Achilles as *marinae filium Thetidis,* Horace implies feminine influence as the cause of Achilles' seclusion. Behind the scene in this allusion a reader may want to imagine an additional woman, even more comparable to Lydia in these circumstances than is Thetis: Deidamia, the princess on Skyros, who enlivened the hero's sequestration with an opportunity to prove his stalled masculinity in the sexual field. Regarding Sybaris from this perspective, with Lydia standing in for Deidamia, one might predict a seasonable transition from youth to maturity with a resolute repudiation of Lydia in favor of a clean-cut Augustan career. Certainly many readers believe that the plot should develop in this way.[2]

In fact the concluding passage may imply this turnaround not only by analogy, but also by rhetorical implication. Just as activities proper for Sybaris are described in place of what he is actually doing, so Achilles' seclusion on Skyros is adumbrated by the images of what his withdrawal temporarily evades: *lacrimosa funera Troiae* and turning his manly training (*cultus*) towards slaughter (*in caedem*). Thus, the image of Achilles' charging with his troops into battle that seems to predicate Sybaris' reform is also

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1. *The Odes of Horace: A Critical Study* (New Haven, 1962), pp. 142–43.

2. M. Dyson, "Horace, *Odes* 1.8: The Love of Lydia and Thetis," *G&R* 35 (1988): 164–71, reviews recent opinions.

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proleptic of the hero's death. One would not have wanted things otherwise for Achilles, whose destiny intertwines death and κλέος, but what about Sybaris, an everyday youth who may conceivably meet death in warfare, but lacks the epic qualifications for immortal fame? Seen in the light of this contrast, Lydia's tactics may become more sympathetic.[3] As protectress for a sadly vulnerable male, she assimilates Thetis' maternal function into her seductive role. Accordingly also the political value attached to Sybaris' Augustan regeneration takes on a certain ironic tinge.

Add to this, however, that Horace has made the analogy between Achilles on Skyros and Sybaris *in flagrante* somewhat inexact through the employment of *latet* in line 13. If the young man is *hiding,* not just *being hidden,* his disappearance from the virile scene entails a certain complicity with female contrivance. Even within the Achilles passage the syntax that assigns responsibility for the hero's hiding is rather oblique. A reportorial *dicunt* leads into a negative purpose clause that may attach motivation to anyone: presumably to Thetis, but also to Achilles. So Sybaris, by implication, may well have his own reservations about the value of an orthodox masculine career. To enforce the ominous resonances we need only read the poem intertextually with Horace's symposiast *Epode* 13.11–18 where another allusion to the fate of Achilles as Thetis' doomed son addresses the attitude of young men facing the future. Outside a wintry Alcaean tempest rages, while the drinkers indoors broach a wine from Torquatus' consulship and "raise their spirits by lyric song" as did the Centaur when he sang to his pupil: a song heralding prospects of glory inseparable from death: the thread of the Parcae broken, "nor will his sea-blue mother bear him home."[4]

In both poems the maturing of Achilles becomes a paradigm of adolescent liminality, foregrounding perils that surround the validation of masculine identity. In both there appears a discrepancy between ethical argument, which appears to encourage maturation, and discursive color, which exerts a sentimental pull against fate. This is particularly true in the *Ode* where the speaker's patriotic sounding remonstrance to Lydia seems to solicit the overhearer's support for Sybaris' regeneration at the same time that the subtextual implications of the allusion may covertly be inviting indulgence for Sybaris, either from Lydia's point of view or his own. This conflict can yield two mutually contradictory readings of the poem, each of which has a partial claim to validity. This stand-off concerning what Horace was really talking about can only be resolved, I propose, by looking outside the rhetorical borders of the *Ode* into its historical and cultural periphery to see if we can gain some insight into conditions that might help to define the poem's frame of reference. What I now intend to

3. Such is the argument advanced by Dyson, "Lydia and Thetis," p. 169, who sees in Lydia's conduct the "protectiveness of a loving, worried woman."

4. D. Mankin, "Achilles in Horace's 13th *Epode,*" *Wien. Stud.* 102 (1989): 133–40, believes that the allusion is *not* ominously intended because the situation of the young Romans is so much better than that of Achilles, but a more complex reading by M. Lowrie, "A Sympotic Achilles: *Epode* 13," *AJP* 113 (1992): 413–34, demonstrates how a poem can possess a satisfying artistic unity even as its message of mortality intrudes anxiety into the symposium's ostensible purpose of relaxing cares. Dissonance compels the reader's constant reinterpretation.

suggest, as my reader may well anticipate, is that the poem is not really about Sybaris' choices, but rather about gender roles and their definition in the historical moment. Two areas are potentially significant: the implications of Augustan athletics and the situation of Achilles on Skyros.

First to consider is athletic activity: a verified historical reality that scholars often tend to categorize as a literary topos. Nisbet and Hubbard are referring as much to the topos as the reality when they remark of this poem: "It was generally recognized in the ancient world that love and athletics are incompatible pursuits."[5] Presumably many real-life young men who engaged in sports did not commonly experience such an incompatibility, but the amorous indulgence of lovers in literature attaches certain social or ideological implications.[6] They are usually rebelling against something. With reference to this poem, it is frequently assumed that the life-style Sybaris has abandoned is that which Augustus is striving to foster in a new generation of loyalist young.[7]

Is the issue, then, merely traditional or is it actively Augustan? In arguing that Augustus' primary purpose in undertaking the *Res Gestae* was to appeal to equestrian youth, Zvi Yavetz notes his championship of sport programs, and especially his own special invention of the *Lusus Troiae*, a simulation of warfare displaying the *nobiles* of the future in trappings drawn out of the past.[8] By giving this mummery a place in Anchises' funeral games, Vergil had established an honorific origin from which its descent into contemporary Rome could be traced. With reference to a Vergilian simile comparing the course of the young equestrians to the windings of the Cretan labyrinth (*Aen.* 5.588–91), Paul Allen Miller shows that rituals and gestures invoking the pattern of the labyrinth, whose roots within European cultural history are very ancient, operate in a symbolic realm as "masculine strategies of containment directed against a feared and dangerous desire which is symbolically represented as essentially feminine."[9] Thus, he observes, "the conscious symbolic force of the *lusus Troiae* . . . as a ritual of manhood and purification which readies adolescent boys for the serious work of defending their city is undergirded by a deeper prerational evocation of the necessity of containing desire." The decisive action Ascanius takes when he interrupts the simulated battle of the *Lusus* to prevent the Trojan women from kindling their ships is a textbook example of suppressing the dangerous feminine during the crossing from youth to maturity.

5. R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, eds. *A Commentary on the Odes of Horace: Book I* (Oxford, 1970), p. 108.

6. Military or athletic imagery often highlights this rebellion by turning the proscribed activity into the prescribed. The consummate example is Ov. *Am.* 1.9.1, *militat omnis amans,* but also when Propertius, 2.2.c. 21–34, claims the status of an erotic superhero capable of affording equal satisfaction to *multae puellae* during a single evening, he cites Achilles and Hector as examples of erotic potency.

7. Dyson, "Lydia and Thetis," pp. 164–65, proceeds on this assumption.

8. "The *Res Gestae* and Augustus' Public Image," in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects,* ed. E. Segal and F. G. B. Millar (Oxford, 1984), pp. 16–19.

9. P. A. Miller, "The Minotaur Within: Images of the Labyrinth and Strategies of Containment in *Aeneid* 5 and 6" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Midwest and South, 1993).

All the same there is nothing especially novel about Sybaris' previous program of athletic activities as an occupation for his stage of life. The first examples Nisbet and Hubbard cite in support of their pronouncement on love and athletics are Plautine.[10] In more sober forms of writing, the endurance displayed in the exercises of swimming and horsemanship makes these standard items of a masculinity topos often invoked as a profile of Roman *virtus*. Thus Sallust, in his history of the Catilinarian conspiracy, notes the way in which Roman *adulescentes,* before the corruption of the present age had set in, exhibited characteristic national virtues by their constructive channeling of *libido* into military exertion (7.3): "Iam primum iuventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in castris per laborem usum militiae discebat, magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis atque conviviis lubidinem habebant." Military exertions of this kind were socializing practices involving always the *gloriae maximum certamen inter ipsos* that anticipated productive competition in serving the state. The perverse danger Sallust highlights in his ethos of Catiline is that he employs these valuable qualities of physical endurance in opposition to Roman social order.[11]

If Sallust as moralizing historian invokes military exercises to illustrate the superiority of archaic youth over contemporary, all the same Cicero in *De Officiis* 1.34.122 prescribes similar goals and disciplines for the young Romans of his own day: "Maxime autem haec aetas a libidinibus arcenda est exercendaque in labore patientiaque et animi et corporis ut eorum et in bellicis et in civilibus officiis vigeat industria." Cicero recognizes the function of adolescent military training as a rite of passage into active adult society.[12] The pairing of civil offices with military in his prescription makes this point clear. In *Pro Caelio* 5.11 he uses a similar pairing as he describes the first year of a young orator's public life when the fold of his toga confines his right arm as the practice equivalent of *exercitio et ludus campestris.*[13]

Thus the point we should take into account about Augustan sports as a discipline leading towards adulthood is that the *princeps* conceives of these as the perpetuation of a Republican regimen. Dio Cassius shows Agrippa advising Augustus to see to it that young senators and equestrians receive proper instruction in horsemanship and arms (52.26). All the same we ought not to confuse the imitation with the original. Where Cicero envisioned military exercise as confirming the social identity of Republican youth, Augustus has tamed and socialized the activities themselves. Now we see them on stage. Strabo (5.3.8) writes enthusiastically about the beauty of the spacious, well-landscaped Campus where young men ride,

10. Nisbet and Hubbard, *Odes: Book I,* p. 108, citing *Bacch.* 428–30 and *Mostell.* 149–53.

11. Sall. *Cat.* 5.3–4. A body that is unbelievably *patiens inediae algoris vigiliae* is conjoined with a bold and treacherous intellect. Cic. *Cael.* 5.12–13 uses a similar dichotomy: "Erant apud illum illecebrae libidinum multae; erant etiam industriae quidam stimuli ac laboris . . . quis in voluptatibus inquinatior, quis in laboribus patientior?"

12. In *De Off.* 1.22.104, he specifically mentions *campus noster* as an *exemplum honestum ludendi.*

13. E. H. and L. Richardson, jr., "*Ad cohibendum bracchium toga:* An Archaeological Examination of Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 5.11," *YCS* 19 (1966): 257–68 and plates, explain how this phrase defines the *tirocinium* as a year of quiet participation in observing public life.

wrestle, and play ballgames. He compares its fresh green fields with their hilly backdrop to a theatrical setting. We need only consider the difference between Sallust's and Cicero's mention of young initiates who learn to be *patiens belli* and Sybaris who is *patiens pulveris et solis,* the conditions of outdoor play. By including the discus and javelin among the activities of Sybaris and his compeers, Horace has also brought the routines of the palaestra into the Campus. Finally the gamesome aspect of martial exercise is made clear by the olive oil that cleans off traces of exertion and restores the athlete's glistening youth. In encouraging these exercises in the Campus Martius, Augustus has showcased the youth of Rome, making them present themselves to be seen in a manner that internalizes the eyes turned upon them.

Particularly, swimming in the Tiber invites gazing. Certainly swimming is a standard masculine skill. Suetonius vouches for Julius Caesar's sometimes questioned machismo by insisting on his endurance in swimming (*Iul.* 57, 64). But by Horace's time the banks of the Tiber must have become proverbial as a locus for the display of masculine physique. Already Cicero courts this inference in defending Caelius Rufus when he confronts Clodia in the mock persona of Publius Clodius, pointing out that she has strategically provided herself with potential access to countless alliances (*condiciones*) by laying out her gardens beside the Tiber in the very place where young men come to swim (*Cael.* 15.36). In *Ode* 3.7 Horace similarly suggests feminine voyeurism when he cautions the young matron Asterie against paying too much attention to a would-be lover who excels by day in the sports of the Campus and Tiber and by night in singing songs at her door.

From this perverse point of view the athletics passage may function as a catalogue of those very attractions that have motivated Lydia to draw Sybaris away from his peers. And its place within the poem is doubly voyeuristic. When Horace began his inquiry into Lydia's love-life, he seemed to be promising the reader a titillating boudoir scene, but instead he deflects aroused curiosity into the display of masculine achievements that, as viewed through her eyes, lets us construct a plausible motive for her captivation of the young man. Now the compromised life-style towards which Sybaris, on the basis of Horace's remonstrance, seems to gravitate is that of a familiar Augustan literary figure: the elegiac wastrel as represented by Tibullus signing off on the pleasure of military service with Messalla (1.1.53–58), or Propertius holding Cynthia's hand amid the crowd that applauds Augustus' triumph on the Sacred Way (3.4.11–22).[14] In the *Pro Caelio* Cicero had excused Caelius' indiscretions as an aspect of transition into maturity noting that occasional indulgence may be conceded to youth, provided no personal injuries are done (2.12.28). But these elegiac revelers exceed Cicero's pardonable license to flaunt their erotic decadence as a way of life.

14. P. Veyne, *L'élégie érotique romaine: L'amour, la poésie et l'occident* (Paris, 1983), 104–13, characterizes this Ego as a fiction; D. Kennedy, *The Arts of Love* (Cambridge, 1993), chap. 1, reviews the current debate concerning the real and fictional status of these affairs.

The second extra-textual consideration is the status of the myth of Achilles on Skyros to which Horace alludes in conclusion. As I have suggested, the rhetoric of the passage contains certain self-undermining implications, but the same might be said of the story itself. How seriously should we take Horace's comparison? As an item in heroic tradition, the story derives from the secondary epics rather than the Homeric mainstream, and was particularly favored by the deviant Alexandrians.[15] Literary testimony reports that it was the subject of two Greek pictorial representations: one by Polygnotus and another by Athenion of Maronea who worked around 330 B.C.[16] Descriptions of these provide insight into the kind of derogatory responses that the subject could provoke. Pausanias (1.22.6) deplores the earlier painting, declaring that Homer had done well to represent Achilles as the captor of Skyros, rather than saying he had lived there among the maidens as Polygnotus showed him.[17] Pliny (*HN* 35.134) describes Athenion's rendering of the topic with emphasis on action and dress: "Achillem virginis habitu occultatum Ulixe deprendente et in una tabula VI signa." Apparently what struck him was the incongruous costume, *virginis habitus,* meant for concealment.

The subject appears also in several Pompeian panels, primarily from the fourth style period and therefore post-Horatian, but conceivably mediated through earlier representations known at Rome (figs. 1–5, p. 341).[18] Allowing for variations in the placement of figures we see common characteristics among these compositions, which unexceptionally depict the moment when Odysseus and Diomedes succeed in provoking Achilles to betray his disguise through their trick of offering arms; in three examples, these arms include a shield on which Achilles himself is depicted as Chiron's pupil. Like Athenion's rendering of the subject, all these paintings show Achilles in female dress, the drape parting to reveal a substantially fleshed thigh; yet one might say that the painters, as if interesting themselves in the credibility of the erstwhile successful disguise, had actually underplayed the incongruity between the revealed male figure and woman's clothes. Many features of Achilles' person in these paintings are effeminate. The details differ from one example to another but variously include long coiffed hair, rounded cheeks and light skin. Feminine characteristics are most explicitly developed in the Casa dei Dioscuri painting (fig. 1) where the hero's pale and fleshy limbs, emerging from a swirling voluminous chiton, contrast with Odysseus' bronzed, muscular physique.[19] Beyond this, the posture of Achilles, whom Diomedes has grasped from the rear, is actually that of woman as

15. Nisbet and Hubbard, *Odes: Book I,* p. 115.

16. Ibid.

17. Whether or not it is specifically relevant, Pliny (*HN* 35.58) mentions Polygnotus as the first to paint women in diaphanous garments (*tralucida veste*).

18. S. Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures Grecques et Romaines* (Paris, 1922; reprint ed., Rome, 1970), p. 166. All figures are reproduced from Reinach.

19. The humor does not come across in this drawing; rather it would seem to have been deliberately excised. L. Richardson, jr., *The Painters of the Casa dei Dioscuri,* Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome, vol. 23 (Rome, 1955), pp. 135–39, gives particular attention to the Casa dei Dioscuri version, which he attributes to a masterful painter, examples of whose work are extant in only three Pompeian houses. As he would have it, the characteristics that most effeminize Achilles' appearance, the puffed cheeks, soft chin, pursed mouth, and round eyes are hallmarks of the painter's individual style. Notably, however, the figures who most resemble Achilles in this painter's other mythological scenes are also effeminate types. One is

the object of sexual aggression, as can be seen in several analogous portrayals: Hercules and Auge (fig. 6);[20] Apollo and Daphne (fig. 7);[21] Mars and Venus (fig. 8);[22] or a Satyr surprising a Maenad (fig. 9 [figs. 6–9, p. 342]).[23] Here, then, is an Achilles whom cross-dressing has so successfully integrated into feminine society that his gender identity has become visibly questionable. Beneath appearances lies nonetheless another incongruity made clear by Deidamia's presence both in this and in other painted versions of the subject. In spite of Achilles' costume and gesture we must understand his identity as fully male because his liaison with the princess has confirmed his sexuality. The result is a comic view of cross-dressing. This idea, which is adumbrated in Horace's phrase *cultus virilis,* as much applicable to costume as to education, may raise another question about Sybaris. Is he hiding because his habituation to the soft amorous life has made him genuinely effeminate? If so his healthy Roman recovery may seem less assured and the condition to which he has been reduced more serious.

Several recent studies by classical scholars have explored ways in which ancient literary and artistic representation of cross-dressing highlights flexibility in gender definition and the recognition of gender as a primarily social construction.[24] Examining the phenomenon across a broader chronological spectrum from the Renaissance to the present day, Marjorie Garber places cross-dressing within the Lacanian literary-cultural realm of the symbolic and notes its occurrence as calling attention to category crisis: cultural, social, and aesthetic dissonances.[25] Insofar as the social construction of gender involves a complex of conditions programming the routines by which personal identity is validated, a foregrounding of gender indeterminacy may signal the disorientation of these routines by changed social circumstances. Although the general practice of cross-dressing is understood as a source of gratification to those who engage in it, all the same when cross-dressing also involves misidentification of gender, it discomforts persons who have a stake in keeping their gender identity clear.[26] Thus Achilles' spontaneous and decisive response to Odysseus' trick makes his disguise appear comically awkward.[27] In Horace's poem, this indeterminate condition of gender, likewise painted with a comic touch, might be

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Bacchus in a Discovery of Ariadne panel, and another Omphale, in a reversed cross-dressing, wearing Hercules' lion skin.

20. Reinach, *Répertoire,* p. 188. Casa dei Vettii, also figs. 2 and 4. Because Heracles comes drunk to this encounter, he has not yet seized the woman, but is shown lurching towards her in a posture that anticipates his grasp. It is interesting that a room in the Casa dei Vettii combines this rape scene with the Discovery of Achilles.

21. Reinach, *Répertoire,* p. 26. Casa dei Dioscuri. Additional examples are Naples 9535 (from Stabiae) and Naples 9536 (from the Casa di M. Lucretio 9.3.5).

22. Casa dell'Amore Punito 7.2.23. Reinach, *Répertoire,* pp. 65–66. In depictions of Venus and Adonis (pp. 64–65) the positions are reversed with Venus, as aggressor, pictured behind her lover.

23. Reinach, *Répertoire,* p. 125, figs. 5, 6, 9.

24. E.g., F. Zeitlin, "Travesties of Gender and Genre in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae,*" in *Reflections of Women in Antiquity,* ed. H. Foley (New York–London–Paris, 1981), pp. 169–218; N. Loraux, *Les expériences de Tirésias: le féminin et l'homme grec* (Paris, 1989).

25. *Vested Interests: Cross Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York–London, 1992), p. 16.

26. Ibid., pp. 25–26, cites as example the newly enrolled female undergraduates at the U.S. Military Academy wearing cadet costumes designed for men.

27. Loraux, *Expériences de Tirésias,* p. 155, notes that the feminine disguise of Achilles' is basically ephebic, demarcating that moment of passage when the hero "ceases to be feminine."

FIG. 1.—Achilles on Skyros

FIG. 2.—Achilles on Skyros

FIG. 3.—Achilles on Skyros

FIG. 4.—Achilles on Skyros

FIG. 5.—Achilles on Skyros

FIG. 6.—Hercules and Auge

FIG.7.—Apollo and Daphne

FIG. 8.—Mars and Venus

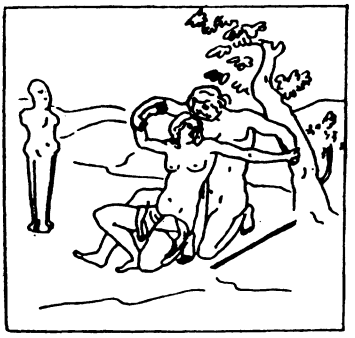

FIG. 9.—Maenad and Satyr

taken to reflect the somewhat ambivalent career prospects of the young Augustan male, who, while being encouraged to pursue an old-fashioned educational regimen, was actually being prepared to dedicate his energies to a new governmental regime where the rules and expectations of offices and rewards were in a state of change. Thus, let me suggest that Lydia's destructive blandishments and distractions are merely eliciting a condition that already exists in Augustan society and is especially highlighted by the posturing of the elegiac poets.[28] The exhibitionist lover who revels in ef-

28. As Charles Platter proposes in "Doing Your Duty: The Song of the Erotic City" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Midwest and South, 1993), theirs is not a powerless position, but rather the oppositional discourse of love appropriates the power to which it is opposed.

feminacy dramatizes the way in which he has been softened to play the role of the conquered. But Sybaris is not even posturing; the way in which the poetic speaker, by addressing his words to Lydia, talks around the young man brings out the passivity of his role.

What then should we think that the poetic speaker himself has at stake that should induce him to program the interior dialogue of his speech in a manner that undercuts its ostensible surface message? That his presentation comprises a series of questions without any hint of probable response does leave the poem open to variable construction in a manner that is unusual even for Horace, who habitually involves the reader in supplying connections between images and topics.[29] In place of the concerned civic observer so many interpreters have seen in this speaker, should we assign him an anti-militaristic or anti-Augustan stand? The final step is to consider how Sybaris fits into the self-representation of Horace's lyric fictions.[30] In the first place, context does not inspire confidence. We will not expect the poet who has represented himself in *Ode* 1.6 as best fitted to celebrate *convivia* and the wars of the sexes to insist too solemnly upon his reproofs of Lydia's conduct, for if we did, we should stand immediately corrected by *Ode* 1.9 whose speaker himself exhorts youthful Thaliarchus to seek out both the Campus and nocturnal whispers at their diversely appropriate hours.[31] Generally throughout the *Odes* Horace develops the "alternative life-style" of the symposium as a complement to the civic life rather than a mode of opposition. The cultural appropriation of Hellenic ritual is clearly one of the arguments that Horace's construction of Augustan society has to recommend itself.[32] Beyond this, the image of Achilles' disguised sojourn among the maidens may also be considered with reference to Horace's unusual status in this Augustan environment as a man emerging from the freedman ranks, and pursuing—after the failure of a brief and misdirected military effort—an unorthodox career through literary means. The new Alcaeus is playing the political apologist rather than the antagonist. Here is another form of interaction between politics and gender roles that might be considered indeterminate.

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29. I owe to my anonymous reader for *CP* the observation that this is one of only two Odes "structured purely around interrogations, with no direct statements made and no answers offered."

30. L. Edmunds, *From a Sabine Jar: Reading Horace, Odes 1.9* (Chapel Hill, 1992), pp. 43–59, proposes for each of the "Parade Odes" a double reading, the first hermeneutical and "more responsive to the speaker," the second contextual and "more responsive to the poet and to the personas of the poet." Unlike myself, however, Edmunds sees the position of the speaker in 1.8 as "supporting traditional Roman values."

31. I believe that Nisbet and Hubbard, *Odes: Book I*, pp. 123–24, are correct in reading the three subjects of *repetantur* (18–20) *et Campus et areae / lenesque sub noctem susurri* as semantically independent items within a tricolon. To understand the two locational designations, *campus et areae*, as places for daytime activity rather than for nocturnal *lenesque . . . susurri* recognizes a division between the activities of a young man's life. Accordingly the meaning of *composita hora* might be seen as "appropriate," rather than "agreed upon," as it is commonly construed.

32. O. Murray, "Symposium and Genre in the Poetry of Horace," *JRS* 75 (1985): 39–50.