III.—THE PARACLAUSITHYRON AS A LITERARY THEME.[1]

Whether one reads classical comedy, elegy, epigram, or lyric, he becomes familiar with the conventional figure of the exclusus amator.[2] He finds also that the early love-affair is often associated with the favorite's house-door, around which eager admirers throng.[3] The door, usually obdurate and unyielding, is now apostrophized,[4] now flattered,[5] now treated with violence.[6]

[1] The only general discussion of the παρακλαυσίθυρον available is that by H. de la Ville de Mirmont, Philologie et Linguistique, Mélanges Havet, Paris, 1909, pp. 573 ff., and A. Walter, Journal of the Ministry of Popular Education, New Series XLVII (1913), pp. 381-407, Saint Petersburg (in Russian). Brief comments are made also by Leo, Rh. M., LV (1900), pp. 607-09; idem, Gött. gel. Anzeigen, 1898, p. 748; idem, Plaut. Forsch., 1912, p. 155 f.; Crusius, Philologus, LV (1896), pp. 368 f.; idem, Pauly-Wiss., s. v. Elegie; Wilam.-Moellendorff, Nachr. von der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Gött., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1896, pp. 224 ff.; Rothstein on Propert., I, 16; idem, Philologus, LIX (1900), pp. 444 ff.; Smith, The Elegies of Tibullus, Introd., p. 45, and notes on I, 2; Ellis, introd. note on Catullus, 67; Kiessl. on Hor. Od., I, 25, 5; III, 10, 19; Preston, Studies in the Diction of the Sermo Amatorius in Roman Comedy, Chicago Diss., 1916, p. 26.

[2] Gildersleeve on Persius, 5, 166: "Antique erotic literature is full of the caterwaulings of excluded lovers"; see also Preston, op. cit., p. 25 f., with a long list of examples, to which add Menander's characterization of Thais, Frag. I (CAF., III, p. 62 K.), and fragments in Crusius, Herondas, ed. minor, 1914, pp. 124, 129, 142. For Latin elegy see Smith, op. cit. In this department I have noted additional examples: Tib., I, 1, 56; I, 5, 68; II, 3, 74 f.; II, 4, 22 f.; II, 6, 12 f.; Propert., I, 5, 20; I, 18, 24; II, 7, 9; III, 17, 12 f.; III, 23, 12; IV, 3, 47; Ovid, Amor., 2, 19, 21; Ars Amat., 3, 69; Rem. Am., 36.

[3] Plato, Symp., 183 A; Theocr., 7, 122; Philostr., Vitae Sophist., I, 2; Catullus, 63, 65; Hor., Od., III, 10, 20; Tib., II, 6, 47; Propert., II, 6, 1 Ephyreae Laidos aedes / ad cuius iacuit Graecia tota fores.

[4] Preston, l. c.

[5] Plaut., Curc., 16; Tib., I, 2, 7-14 (Smith's note); Ovid, Amor., III, 1, 45 haec est blanditiis ianua laxa meis.

[6] Leo, Plaut. Forsch., p. 155; Preston, l. c.; Smith on Tib., I, 1, 73 and I, 10, 43-45. See also Propert., I, 16, 5 f. nunc ego, nocturnis potorum saucia rixis, / pulsata indignis saepe queror manibus; Ovid, Amor., I, 6, 75-58 aut ego iam ferroque ignique paratior ipse / quem

Vigils at the beloved one's door, a form of voluntary submission to the slavery of love, according to Plato,[7] are frequently mentioned.[8] In token of his devotion the lover decorates the door with garlands,[9] or writes verses upon it.[10] By way of variation he may sing a lover's serenade—a song technically known as a *παρακλαυσίθυρον*,[11] a woeful ballad to the door which sepa-

face sustineo, tecta superba petam; Theophr., Char., 27 *ἐρῶν ἑταίρας καὶ κριοὺς προσβάλλων ταῖς θύραις πληγὰς εἰληφὼς ὑπ' ἀντεραστοῦ δικάζεσθαι.* Herondas, 2, 34 *οὐδ' ἦλθεν πρὸς τὰς θύρας μευ νυκτὸς οὐδ' ἔχων δᾷδας τὴν οἰκίην ὑφῆψεν.* Lucian, Bis Acc., 31 *καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ τὴν νύκτα ὁ μὲν στενωπὸς ἡμῶν ἐνεπίμπλατο μεθυόντων ἐραστῶν, κωμαζόντων ἐπὶ αὐτὴν καὶ κοπτόντων τὴν θύραν, ἐνίων,* etc.

[7] Symp., 183 A.

[8] Anthol. Pal., V, 23; Propert., 1, 16, 22; III, 17, 16; Ovid, Meta., XV, 709; Amor., II, 19, 21.

[9] These the excluded lover takes from his head and leaves as evidence of his lonely and devoted waiting at the door. See Smith's note on Tib., I, 2, 14, with numerous references. Lucretius, IV, 1177 f. gives a comprehensive account of the lover's acts in this situation: at lacrimans exclusus amator limina saepe / floribus et sertis operit postisque superbos / unguit amaracino et foribus miser oscula figit. Plutarch (De ira cohibenda, 5) says that these characteristic practices of the lover, *οἷον ἐπικωμάσαι καὶ ᾄσαι καὶ στεφανῶσαι θύραν,* quite contrary to the result of indulging anger, afford a kind of alleviation which is neither rude nor unpleasing.

[10] Plaut., Merc., 408 occentent ostium: / impleantur elegeorum meae fores carbonibus; Ovid, Amor., III, 1, 53 [Elegeia] / vel quotiens foribus duris incisa pependi / non verita a populo praetereunte legi. In Anth. Pal., V, 189 the inscription is written upon the garlands.

[11] The etymology proposed by H. de la Ville de Mirmont (*παρακλαίω* + *θύρα*), while not convincing, seems to be the one generally accepted. The lexicons give little help. My colleague, Professor W. A. Oldfather, offers the following discussion: That *παρακλαυσίθυρον* means "a lament beside a door," is the general opinion of scholars, although H. de la Ville de Mirmont, is the only one I have noted who makes the unequivocal statement "*παρακλαίω*, lamenter devant; *θύρα* porte." Cf. also E. A. Sophocles: A Greek Lex., s. v. An exception might be made of Fr. Dübner, in the Didot ed. of Plutarch, whose translation of *Ἐρωτικός*, 8, is: "ad fores eius ipsa adeat, et clausis occentet carmen," but this is probably an explanation only. Such an unusual compound as *παρακλαίω* + *θύρα* would seem to require more justification than I can find at present for it. It would be strange, and is unattested. In Rufinus, Anthol. Pal., V, 103, 1 *Μέχρι τίνος, Προδίκη, παρακλαύσομαι*; the verb is intransitive, and the exact meaning uncertain. It may be "turn one aside from one's purpose by lamenting," as in the Scholia to Aristophanes, quite as well as "lament beside (thee?)." In its only other occurrence (Schol. Ven. on Aristoph., Vesp., 977), *παρακλαίω* seems to

rates him from the object of his affection. The practice of the lover's serenade is frequently indicated in Greek and Latin literature, but the technical term occurs only in Plutarch's Ἐρωτικός. In this dialogue (§ 8) one of the interlocutors is made to enumerate sundry acts which show the essence of

mean, from the context, "lament-to-the-misleading." May it not be that in -κλαυσι- we have a derivative from the stem in κλείω? This appears as klēv, klĕv, klāv (Boisacq; Walde). In Polyb. V. 393 παρέκλεισαν, generally regarded as corrupt, certainly means "murdered," as is shown by the context, and especially by Plutarch, Cleom., 37, who, in quoting Polybius (or his source) verbatim, substitutes ἀπέκτειναν. It is noteworthy that the same word is used in 2 Maccab. 4, 34 to describe the assassination of Onias, where again the context proves that it means "murder," and so Jerome took it ("eum peremit"). In view of the use of κλείς in the sense of "collar-bone," a particularly vital spot, like the English "fifth rib" (compare the well-known statue of the Gaul who is killing himself by thrusting the sword down into the chest behind the collar-bone, and such a passage as Sophocles, Trach., 1035 παῖσον ἐμᾶς ὑπὸ κλῃδος) we may very well have here a bit of military argot for a particular way of dealing the death stroke. The combination is one of the familiar ἑλκεσίπεπλος type (Brugmann, II, 1, p. 64 B; Brugmann-Thumb, pp. 199 f.). While κλείω regularly forms its aorist stem κλεισ- (and these ti- compounds seem to be formed on this stem), the vocalism in κλαυσι is perfectly normal as *klāuti — or *kləuti), and such a form might well have occurred in Doric dialects which retained words like κλᾱ́ις and κλᾱ́ξ.

As to semasiology, the word is clearly an adjective compound, being originally τὸ παρακλαυσίθυρον μέλος. Although not attested before Plutarch, such words point to Alexandria, and the genre is as old as Theocritus and Aristophanes. It may be that a disdainful mistress was called ἡ παρακλαυσίθυρος, "the-lock-the-door-in-your-face-girl," and then a ditty sung by the locked-out lover might well be a παρακλαυσίθυρον μέλος, i. e., "a song to a door-locking mistress." That the girl's designation might be applied to the song would be not unnatural in the light of Alain Chartier's "Lay de la belle Dame sans mercy," which is in the form of a carmen amoebaeum between the lover and la belle Dame. This poem by virtue of its widespread popularity in France, where it inspired much uninspired imitation, through Sir Ros's translation (falsely ascribed to Chaucer), and John Keats's ballad with the same title, is almost on the verge of becoming a type-name itself. Or possibly, the haughty mistress might have been called merely ἡ κλαυσίθυρος and then the song τὸ παρὰ τῇ κλαυσιθύρῳ μέλος, i. e., "the song sung before (coram) the door-locker." παρακλείω, in the sense of "exclude" is used by Herodotus, VI, 60 (cf. παραφράσσω and παρεῖρξαν, ἐκώλυσαν, i. e., "excluded," in Hesychius). The other instances of

passion, — masquerading before the loved one's doors, singing amorous lamentations at the windows, adorning statues with chaplets and garlands of flowers, duelling with rivals,[12] etc. Plutarch's reference is unique, not only in the particular indicated, but also (save for a papyrus fragment published by Grenfell, and an elegy of Maximianus of Etruria—both pieces discussed below) in that it represents the serenade as given by a woman, not by a man. The custom of the serenade, however, far antedates the time of Plutarch. The earliest and most charming instance is a song of sixteen verses found in Aristophanes.[13] Whether the closed door is here obdurate or yielding it is impossible to determine, although the comic setting suggests that the girl was not insensible to the lover's pleading. According to Rogers (see note on his translation), we have here not a *παρακλαυσίθυρον*, but merely an interchange of lovers' songs, since the youth from below is singing to the girl at the casement, just as she from above has been singing to him. In any event the youth standing before the house sings a strain which rings true to the *παρακλαυσίθυρον* type. This ballad, both in substance and in setting, is suggestive of the serenade in the Barbier de Séville,[14] in which, as Figaro is leaning against the wall under Rosine's window, count Almaviva sings, walking back and forth and playing an accompaniment on the guitar:

Je suis Lindor, ma naissance est commune;
Mes voeux sont ceux d'un simple bachelier.
Que n'ai-je, hélas! d'un brillant chevalier,
A vous offrir le rang et la fortune!

Tous les matins, ici, d'une voix tendre,
Je chanterai mon amour sans espoir;

παρακλείω quoted in the lexicons throw no light on the particular word, and it may well be doubted if they have anything to do with it. I should add that the late Professor E. W. Fay kindly assisted me with suggestions and parallels in the writing of this note. He is not to be held responsible, however, for any errors it may contain.

[12] Moralia, 753 B: *ἐρᾶται γὰρ αὐτοῦ νὴ Δία καὶ κάεται· τίς οὖν ὁ κωλύων ἐστ κωμάζειν ἐπὶ θύρας, ᾄδειν τὸ παρακλαυσίθυρον, ἀναδεῖν τὰ εἰκόνια, παγκρατιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντεραστάς*; Cf. also Anth. Pal., V, 102.

[13] Eccles., 960-977.

[14] Act I, Scene VI.

Je bornerai mes plaisirs à vous voir;
Et puissiez-vous en trouver à m'entendre!

Then Rosine answers from within:

Tout me dit que Lindor est charmant,
Que je dois l'aimer constamment.

Other examples from Greek literature occur in Theocritus. In one poem [15] a nameless goatherd approaches the grot of the shepherdess Amaryllis, and attempts to win back the heart of the girl by appeal, but all in vain. Then from direct appeal he turns to the indirect persuasion of a song. Failing to move Amaryllis he gives way to despair, throws himself down beneath the trees and sings a plaintive song. In another poem of the Theocritean corpus [16] the *παρακλαυσίθυρον* is interwoven with the tragic story of a lover's death. A youth whose suit is denied comes in tears to the threshold of his mistress, and laments bitterly his treatment at the hands of a curst and cruel maid, at whose gates he will say a long adieu, "taking the path that whoso treads hath ease from love."

The fragment published by Grenfell [17] has given rise to much discussion as to what literary type it represents, to what period it belongs, and whether it stands alone or as part of a greater whole. The piece offers difficulties of interpretation, but its subject is, on the whole, clearly recognizable, and the evidence offered by technique, content, and setting point almost certainly to its inclusion within the *παρακλαυσίθυρον* type.[18] Any reader

[15] 3, 23 ff. [16] 23.

[17] An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri, Oxford, 1896.

[18] The work is written on the verso of a contract dated in the eighth year of Philometor, hence is later than 173 B. C., but probably earlier than the end of that century (Grenfell). Only the first and a part of the second column are preserved of what may have been three columns devoted to the composition. Grenfell regards it as a kind of declamation written in half poetical, half rhetorical prose, the precursor of the romances which are found in papyri of the Roman period. This view is accepted by Diels (Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, 1896, Nr. 20), who believes it is an excerpt from an Alexandrian romance: "wie man damals einzelne Scenen aus Euripides zu Schulzwecken ausschnitt." The asyndeta, the poetic choice and order of words, the rhythm, the interchange of poetic and prose turns are to Diels strongly suggestive

will discover that the chief (if not the only) speaker is a forsaken maiden, who relates that her faithless lover has abandoned her, notwithstanding which her love for him still burns. She apostrophizes the stars and night and asks to be admitted into his presence, she a willing slave by Venus led. Distraught with passion and beside herself with resentment she asks for garlands with which to adorn herself, passing on to entreaty and pleading that she be not driven away from the closed door. Then follows a statement of the torture of love's denial, a declaration of anger, and finally an appeal for reconciliation. The

of Hegesias. Weil (Revue des Études grecques, IX (1896), p. 169) says the piece has the character of a mime, a form of composition written in prose rhythm approaching regular versification. In support he points to a long succession of dochmiac feet, indicative of verses remote from simple declamation. Close study of the rhythm is made also by Blass (Jahrb. f. cl. Philol., XLII (1896), pp. 347-54), with the conclusion that we have a μελέτη on the theme: τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους κόρη ἀπολειφθεῖσα τοῦ ἐραστοῦ. With respect both to metrical technique and literary parallels the piece is given a searching examination by Crusius (Philologus, LV (1896), pp. 353-84), who makes a few changes (see also his Herondas[5], p. 124 ff.) in Grenfell's transcription, with important changes in interpretation. He rejects the theory of a romance or a mere declamation, and because of the unmistakably melic character of some of the stanzas, which also show fixed metrical form, he concludes that we have to do with a lyrical poem which was intended to be sung: "als ein Paraklausithyron ist dieser Abschnitt aufzufassen." As for the Hellenistic circle to which the author belongs, Crusius suggests Simos of Magnesia, the chief master of the hilarode or lyric mime. Rohde (Berlin, Phil. Woch., XVI (1896), 1045) says of its type, "Das Lied war ein nächtliches παρακλαυσίθυρον, gegen Zucht und Natur vom Mädchen vor dem Hause des Geliebten gesungen. Es ist keine geringe Poesie." The use of δόχμιοι suggests a tragedy of erotic material, but our knowledge of Alexandrian lyric and half lyric poetry is so slight as to leave us uncertain whether in that, as in the Attic period, δόχμιοι were limited to tragedy and comedy, or whether their use was extended to a kind of melic art, of which these verses might be a part. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Des Mädchens Klage, eine alexandrinische Arie, loc. cit., note 1 above) argues that in poetic form the poem represents an extension of the tragic aria, no resemblance to which is recognizable in the Hellenistic period. In verse technique it belongs to the later period of Sophocles and Euripides, while the language can scarcely be earlier than Eratosthenes. Its content corresponds to the epigrams of Asclepiades, model of Theocritus, and in point of time the poem probably does not stand far from Asclepiades.

fragment which contains a series of technical terms that have abundant parallels, has recently been translated.[18a]

Further representatives of the literary theme under discussion are furnished by epigrams in the Anthologia Palatina. In a poem by Meleager of Gadara, the lover leaves at the door garlands upon which he writes an inscription.[19] In another epigram, by Asclepiades, an appeal is made to garlands left at the door to pour down tears on the head of the inmate at the opening of the door.[20] To the same author is ascribed also a poem [21] in which the lover invokes night to witness how he is scorned by one who is traitress in love. The conventional setting is found in still another poem by Asclepiades.[22] The time is winter, the night is long, while back and forth before the door of her that is heartless paces the lover to whom Cypris has sent not love but an arrow that bringeth much grief. Callimachus is represented by one epigram,[23] which closes with the threat of time's revenge, a feature quite in harmony with the elegiac epigram and the type under discussion.

It is doubtless through Hellenistic influence that the custom of the lover's lament at the closed door passes into Latin literature. The first instance occurs in a canticum of Plautus,[24] which, with the example from Aristophanes cited above, constitutes the second of our two surviving *παρακλαυσίθυρα* in the department of comedy. Phaedromus is feverishly in love with Planesium, a young woman in the possession of Cappadox, and in the immediate keeping of a duenna whose wont it is to sleep in Cappadox's house, near the door and in the capacity of doorkeeper. Knowing the old dame's weakness for the cup that cheers, Phaedromus plans to sprinkle the door with wine, hoping that she will thus be induced to open it. Accompanied by his servant he advances to the door and addresses it in entreating words: "Come drink, thou jolly door, drink, be willing and be kindly unto me." This is followed by a dialogue characterized by persiflage on the part of the servant, desperate seriousness on the part of Phaedromus, and maudlin abandon on the part of

[18a] By S. Gaselee in Daphnis and Chloe, Parthenius and other Fragments (Loeb Classical Library).

[19] V, 191.

[20] V, 145.

[21] V, 164.

[22] V, 189.

[23] V, 23.

[24] Curculio, 147 ff.

the duenna, who, won over by the lavish dispensation of wine, promises to fetch the girl. But fond Phaedromus, still anxious and distrusting the door, which so often plays the lover cheat, sings to the door's fastenings, entreating that the bolts leap back and the girl be sent forth at once.

Roman lyric and elegiac poets from Catullus to Ovid show personal variations in treating the *παρακλαυσίθυρον*. Catullus uses it as the setting for a lampoon,[25] in which all the scandal of a certain house in Verona is revealed by the door, a witness which cannot quit its post, which has been treated as if it could neither hear nor speak, but which, in fact, has heard the lady of the house in familiar and compromising conversation with her maids. Taking advantage of night's shadows Catullus comes to the house of this young matron whose conduct, rumor says, has forfeited the house's hitherto good name. In words of ironical gentleness, the poet addresses the door, from which he inquires as to the reason for rumors that are heard: "Hail door, dear to the amiable husband and dear to his father, and may Jove bless thee with his good aid, O door, who they say didst erewhile serve Balbus with good will when the old man lived here; and who they say again didst serve an evil intent after he was dead, and the mistress of the house again became a bride. Come now, tell me why thou art reported to be so changed and to have thus renounced thy fealty of old to thy master." The door replies: "It is not my fault, although it is said to be so; nor can any one say that any offense has been committed by me; but if you believe the tale of gossipers, everything is the door's doing: for whenever anything is known to have been done amiss, they all cry out at me, 'It is your fault, door.'" On Catullus' reassurance that it is not the door's conduct about which he wishes information, but that of the house's inmates, the door repeats the confidences which it has heard interchanged.

An equally well-known example of the *παρακλαυσίθυρον* occurs in Horace's Odes.[26] This poem, a cold night's serenade before the barred door, seems, however, more like a jeu d'esprit than a serious appeal. The lover addresses Lyce, the mistress of a wealthy mansion, who is assailed now with reproaches for her cruelty, now with warning and sarcasm, again with appeals to

[25] 67. [26] III, 10.

pity, and finally with the unavailing threat that she will be renounced for all time (non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquae/ caelestis patiens latus), a comic and euphemistic variation of the lover's threat to cast himself down on the spot and die, as in the instances from Aristophanes and Theocritus.

Horace, in another Ode,[27] introduces also the *forme banale* of the serenade, as seen in Catullus, to taunt Lydia, who, because of fading charms, is no longer sought by bold admirers and sighing lovers, as when her years were in their spring. Her loneliness and her forlorn state are heightened by the cold howling winds without, the darkness of night, etc., frequent factors in poems of the type under review. The song proper is found in verses 7-8, an echo of a lover's pleading which was once heard, but now is heard no more about her door: "me tuo longas pereunte noctes, / Lydia, dormis."

If these poems from Horace's pen seem to be literary exercises, ironical and of the lighter vein, poems in which he is pleased to play rival to the poets of the Anthology, we must, on the other hand, be sensible of a real sincerity in the pathetic lament of Tibullus shedding tears before the door of Delia, to whom he was bound by a real and tender devotion. Tibullus' treatment of the παρακλαυσίθυρον is found in the following situation. The poet's love-affair until now has run smoothly; countless times passing through the darkness of night he has kept rendezvous with Delia; protected by Venus, who favors the fearless and makes lovers sacrosanct, he has had nought to fear from the attacks of late passers-by. No band of midnight revellers has approached with torch, bent on learning his identity; those who have recognized him have become his helpers and have not revealed his name; Venus has rendered him insensible to the benumbing cold of winter and to pelting rains; his only thought has been of the moment in which Delia with soft step would steal away from her watchers, gently open the door, and with silent beckoning summon him to her side. But times have changed, Delia is married, and her husband has gone off to war in quest of spoil and fame. To Tibullus' sorrow Delia is closely guarded and the door refuses to open. Hence the imprecation and entreaty against the cruel and unfeeling door which thwarts the

[27] I, 25.

poet's every plan: "Surly door, may the rain beat upon thee, may the lightning smite thee at the command of Jove. Open, door, for me only, overcome by my plaintive appeals, and make no noise as thou turnest stealthily on thy hinges. And if my mad passion has visited thee with harsh words, be mine thy forgiveness, and let them return upon my own head I pray. Remember the things ten thousand I said in suppliant tone, at what times I hung thy frames with garlands of flowers." [28]

Propertius does not address his lament [29] directly to the door as does Tibullus. Nor does he speak it in dialogue, as Catullus, with whom, however, he seems to engage in a sort of theme rivalry. The door, the sole speaker, recalls in a soliloquy the ballad sung by an unfortunate lover who spends his nights in sorrowing at the doorstep. The song may have been one addressed to Cynthia by Propertius himself, since it contains much that parallels Propertius' sad experience with that belle dame sans merci. The door belongs to a house that once was highly favored, but is now in ill repute because of its occupant, who cares nothing for her own reputation or for the honored associations of the place, a door that in former days opened for great triumphs, a door whose threshold had been visited by gilded cars and had been bathed with a captive suppliant's tears. As the door interrogated by Catullus, so this has ears to hear and a tongue to speak. It is wounded by the nightly brawls of revellers and must often complain of blows from unworthy hands, while degrading garlands are ever near, and torches are cast on the ground below—a sign to the excluded lover that a more favored rival is within. This door once so honored is the victim of vile lampoon and ribald song. Full often it hears the lament of a suppliant who never allows its posts to slumber, as with artful blandishments he utters his strains, one of which the door repeats and so gives us the text of the most extended *παρακλαυσίθυρον* which has come down to us.

Ovid, learned pupil and ingenious imitator of a long line of poets schooled in the technique of erotic poetry, employs in turn the *παρακλαυσίθυρον* episode in the romance of his love for Corinna. A poem in the Amores [30] offers one of the best de-

[28] I, 2.
[29] I, 16.
[30] I, 6.

scriptions of the situation typical of the lover's song, although, save for a short refrain, it contains no song. Ovid represents himself as spending the night at Corinna's door, entreating the guardian to let him in. He thus introduces a new motive in the variations which his predecessors have already made on a hackneyed theme. His version is an appeal to the doorkeeper, plaintive yet at times threatening, and in all particulars in keeping with Ovid's fondness for rhetorical presentation. While a number of the details presented by Ovid are conventional, his appeal is not to the door, as in Tibullus. Nor, as Catullus, does he engage it in dialogue. He does not make the door speak alone, as it does in Propertius. Ovid's appeal is practical—to the doorkeeper, who has a way of hearing those who know how to make themselves heard, the means of accomplishing which Ovid elsewhere [31] indicates in a bit of counsel which he himself might have followed to advantage, when he wished to gain entrance to Corinna's well-guarded house. "Take my advice, array in your interest the whole servant tribe; forget not the doorkeeper, nor the watcher who sleeps at the entrance to your lady's door." Corinna's doorkeeper seems to be an early ancestor of Petit-Jean, doorkeeper of M. Perrin Dandin, the crazy judge, in Racine's Les Plaideurs.[32] Ovid no doubt failed to tip the doorkeeper, who probably divided the doorkeeper's perquisites with Corinna, even as did Petit-Jean with his master. Venality in love affairs at imperial Rome played an important rôle.[33]

After Ovid's Amores Latin literature yields no example of the lover's song, nor even a mention of one in many cases where we should expect such mention. Seneca the Philosopher writes to Lucilius: [34] "Do you not see what trifling causes bring men to despise life? Here is one who hangs himself before the door of his mistress." The moralist who is ready to censure the

[31] Ars Amat., II, 259-60.

[32] Act I, Scene I, ll. 13-17:

> On avait beau heurter et m'ôter son chapeau,
> On n'entrait point chez nous sans graisser le marteau.
> Point d'argent, point de Suisse, et ma porte était close.
> Il est vrai qu'à Monsieur j'en rendais quelque chose.

[33] Cf. Tib., II, 4, 29-34; Propert., IV, 5, 47; Ovid, Amor., II, 8, 63.

[34] Epist., 1, 4, 4.

follies of his contemporaries makes no allusion here to a παρακλαυσίθυρον, such as preceded the death of despondent lovers at an earlier period in identical situations.[35] The school declamations of the first century of the Empire, which develop the most romantic scenes of private life, show no instances. The Controversiae[36] of Seneca Rhetor give glimpses of the young debauchee and the old man in love; of the fop who affects a languid walk and passes his days and nights at degrading banquets. So in the Declamationes attributed to Quintilian[37] we meet the roué and disappointed lovers whom despair drives to self-destruction. But not one of these themes, so common in the rhetorical schools, has to do with the song of lament, given by Plutarch as one of the disconsolate lover's characteristic acts. The satirists do not ridicule the custom, because, no doubt, it had passed into disuse. In Juvenal's time an interview between lovers was not conditioned on a song of lament, as sympathetic helpers were at hand.[38] Persius in a satire touching the Stoic doctrine of moral freedom, and in proof that all men are slaves, gives the illustration of a young lover, repentant but powerless to disengage himself from a passion which makes him a disgrace to his family, a squanderer of his patrimony, and a singer of maudlin songs at Chrysis' door. The example here is the stock one of slavery to love, and is borrowed from comedy, an indication that this type of young man is no longer found in Roman society at the end of the first century. For, if the custom of the lover's woeful song had not been abandoned,[39] it is difficult to

[35] Theoc., 23, 49 f.; Ovid, Meta., XV, 735 ff.

[36] II, 1, 6-15; II, 6, 4-9.

[37] XIV, 3; XV, 9-10. [38] 6, 231-242.

[39] This conclusion is supported by a recent interpretation of the words udas ante fores in the Persius passage discussed by Fiske (C. P., XI, pp. 336 ff.), who rejects the current view of editors that the lines as a whole constitute an allusion to a παρακλαυσίθυρον, the natural inference from the use of canto: "the lover's strain (canto) is presented from the point of view of New Comedy and satire, though doubtless the comic scene was not uninfluenced by the more fully formulated scenes of erotic literature and may even have taken its genesis from them." We have, then, simply the exclusus amator held up to ridicule. This is the more convincing since in the Terence exclusion scene, used by both Horace and Persius, there is no reference to watchings at night or of the lover's song. The phrase udas ante fores Fiske ex-

see why satire, if it is making allusion to the *παρακλαυσίθυρον*, would go back and present it in the setting of Menander's comedy rather than in that of erotic poetry, where the custom is prevalent.

In Martial the *παρακλαυσίθυρον*, if referred to at all, is referred to only to be satirized as a thing quite out of fashion. A certain Cotta, who might sleep on a couch as soft as that of Venus, spends his nights at the threshold of a haughty mistress, whose door, deaf to his consuming groans, is wet with his tears.[40] The individual here mentioned is probably satirized simply as an exclusus amator, but if there is any reference to a lover's song of lament it means that in Martial's time it is no longer genteel to pass the night before the closed door, "sighing like a furnace," as was done at an earlier day. Petronius makes no reference to the serenade, nor does Apuleius in the Metamorphoses. In the De Magia,[41] however, he speaks of boisterous songs which at night disturb the quiet city of Oea. But Apuleius is here describing merely a vulgar scene of nightly revel, young ruffians in assembly before a certain house, attacking the door and making the windows echo with wanton songs.

Nevertheless, that the tradition lingers in the eastern Roman Empire is shown by the mention of a lover's serenade in Maximianus of Etruria, a late imitator of the Augustan elegists.[42] This writer, a friend of the philosopher Boethius, was a member of an embassy sent during the early years of the sixth century by Theodoric, king of Italy, to Anastasius, emperor of Constantinople, to bring about an alliance between the East and the West. At the end of his career he tells in one of his poems[43] of a song which he heard sung by a Greek femme galante during the course of his embassy. But the account is not of Maximianus lamenting, as Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid, before a woman's door; it is the Graia puella who comes by

plains, from parallels in Lucilius and Horace, as referring to a deluge of water poured upon the excluded lover, and not to unguents, wine, or tears (frequently mentioned in erotic literature).

[40] X, 13. [41] 75.

[42] See Robinson Ellis, On the Elegies of Maximianus, A. J. P., V (1884), pp. 1-15 and 145-163.

[43] See PLM. (Baehrens), VI, p. 340 with note introductory to the elegy.

night to the windows of Theodoric's ambassador and by singing a melody endeavors to make him a victim of the artifices of an Oriental siren.

To summarize: the παρακλαυσίθυρον is indigenous to Greek soil, as is apparent from its occurrence in Aristophanes, Asclepiades, Meleager of Gadara, Callimachus and other poets of the Anthology. In Theocritus it is associated with the tragic death of disappointed lovers. In Hellenic civilization lovers continued after the time of Plutarch to utter laments more or less literary before the unyielding door. Lucian in one of his dialogues [44] makes a character say that the title of true lover is reserved for those who come to sigh, to weep, and to watch by the door the long night through. Plautus, writing the Curculio about 193 B. C., and not over-careful in eliminating from Greek originals features out of harmony with Roman manners, introduces a lover's lament. It is easy to understand that Plautus' young contemporaries, after a night of drinking, might go to make merry at a favorite's door and write upon it verses of vulgar sentiment. But it is not probable that rude soldiers of the Punic wars were accustomed to sing graceful appeals to the unrelenting door. Even when the Eunuchus was written, it is likely that the παρακλαυσίθυρον was not well enough known at Rome for Terence to employ it in the polished and refined literary circle of his aristocratic patrons. Catullus may himself have been a singer of the παρακλαυσίθυρον. As for Horace and the elegiac poets of the Augustan age, it is difficult to determine in their treatment of the theme, save in the case of Tibullus, where the Wahrheit leaves off and where the Dichtung begins. In satire and epigram evidence for the lover's lament is negative, as it is also in the writings of the Senecas. Passing thence, all traces of the lament are lost until the time of Maximianus, where the setting is not Latin but Greek, since it is not a man, as invariably in the Latin type, but a woman, who sings the melody.

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[44] Ἑταιρικοί, VIII, 2.