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V.—THE DATE OF MENANDER'S ANDRIA.

In the Latin adaptation of the *Andria* by Terence the recognition scene is undoubtedly a translation of the same scene in the original play of Menander. In Act V, iv, lines 904 ff. Crito, Chremes, Pamphilus and Simo appear on the stage. Crito saves the situation for the young lovers when he tells the story of Glycerium. She and her uncle, Phania, had been cast ashore at Andrus many years before, apparently the only survivors of the shipwreck. The uncle died shortly afterwards and Glycerium was taken by Chrysis and her father and cared for. On the death of the latter, Chrysis and Glycerium had journeyed to Athens about three years before the time of the action of the play. They hoped to make a living in the metropolis and to search for the relatives of Glycerium. The search was never prosecuted with any earnestness, either because of the carelessness or indifference of Chrysis, although they had sufficient evidence and information to find them. This may justly be regarded as a defect in the plot. The story of the two women during their life in Athens need not be recounted. On the arrival of Crito at Athens from Andrus Chremes hears for the first time of the fate of his brother and joyfully recognizes Glycerium as his daughter, who is then given in marriage to her lover Pamphilus.

In the story of Glycerium, we have to do with an invented plot, but there are certain elements of probability which enter into the story and enable us to determine the date of the play. If we can determine the date of the shipwreck and the number of years which have elapsed between the shipwreck and the action of the play, we can determine easily the date of its production.

Menander has brought the occasion of the shipwreck into relation with an event in Athenian history which will enable us to determine the approximate date of the disaster. In line 935 of the Latin version of the play we read as follows: is (Phania) bellum hinc fugiens meque in Asiam persequens proficiscitur. Chremes is the speaker and is giving the motive

for his brother's voyage. The line is clearly from the Greek original; for the scene is laid in Attica and no Roman would think of fleeing from Rome to Asia to avoid any danger from internal or foreign foes at this time. Furthermore, the poet might have explained the voyage as one of trade or pleasure, and in bringing in a war as the motive, he must be using some historical event which would be readily recalled and understood by the members of his audience.

When was there a war during which a citizen of one of the country demes of Attica would suffer so severely from an invading army that he would be liable to seek safety in flight to a distant country? We must date the war within the lifetime of the poet and not many years before the production of the play. We must suppose an invading army which is occupying the country for an extended period with no immediate hope of relief. Apparently the sea is controlled by a fleet friendly to Athens; otherwise flight would be virtually impossible. Finally, the war must have been so severe that it would readily be recalled to mind after a lapse of ten or more years.

There are two occasions during the lifetime of Menander when Rhamnus, the home of Phania was invaded. After the defeat of the Athenians off Amorgus in 322 B. C., Clitus landed troops at Rhamnus and proceeded to ravage the *paralia* sending Micion as leader of the band while he returned to the ships. The Athenians under Phocion met and defeated the invaders and slew Micion. Almost immediately afterwards Antipater advanced against Athens from Thessaly, but he was met at Thebes by Phocion and a truce was declared. Clitus and his fleet still controlled the sea (Plutarch, Phocion, 25 ff.). Menander can not be alluding to this piratical landing at Rhamnus or the threatened invasion of Antipater which could not be dignified by the name "war". Moreover the enemy controlled the sea as well as Asia, so that Phania's flight at this time would be practically impossible. Certainly he could not flee to Asia. Nor was the descent on Rhamnus so remarkable that the Athenian audience would be likely to understand a passing allusion to it ten or more years later.

From 322 to 307 B. C. the land of Attica was undisturbed by foreign invasion except for the unimportant advance of

Polyperchon in 318 B. C. (Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, p. 34). After Athens passed into the hands of Antigonos and Demetrius in 307 B. C. the land of Attica was overrun by the invading armies during the four succeeding years and the outlying districts must have been thoroughly plundered to supply the army of Cassander with food and supplies. Cassander did not have a fleet to blockade the harbors or control the shipping until 304 B. C., and the flight of Phania from Rhamnus would have been possible at any time between 306 and 304 B. C. Asia would have been the natural refuge for an Athenian because it was held by the friendly forces of Antigonos. The severity of this 'four years' war' and the extremities to which Athens was brought before she was finally relieved by Demetrius were so great that an allusion to it would be readily appreciated by any Athenian audience after many years. Since this is the only war of invasion except the invasion and capture of Athens in 295 B. C. which came in the last years of Menander's life, we can reasonably assume that Menander had in mind the *τετραέτης πόλεμος* (307-304 B. C.), and that this was the 'bellum' which Phania was seeking to avoid. The date of the flight and the shipwreck, though in themselves fiction, may reasonably be brought into connection with history, and that part of the story may be dated in the years 307-4 B. C.

How much time has elapsed between the shipwreck and the action of the plot? Glycerium was cast ashore when she was a mere child. Apparently she was not old enough to know or remember the name of her father or mother, although she must have known the name of her uncle and his deme when she came to Athens to seek her relatives. Crito and many others on Andrus remembered Phania and could bear witness to his statement that he was a citizen of Rhamnus. Menander apparently represented her to the audience as a girl of not more than four or five years of age at the time of the shipwreck. At the time of the action of the play, she was tall, beautiful, and so graceful that she attracted the attention of Simo at the funeral of Chrysis. Moreover she was old enough to bear a son to Pamphilus. Apparently the audience would assume her to be a girl of sixteen or seventeen at the least. It may be questioned whether the comic poet would

have paid such attention to detail, but if we consider the quick-wittedness of the Athenian audience, we must assume that the action of the play is represented as the sequel of an event which happened twelve or more years before in connection with a great war, the details of which were only too clearly impressed upon their memories.

If we are correct in assuming that the war which Menander uses as the cause of the flight of Phania is a real event with real meaning to the minds of his audience, then we are justified in putting the action of the *Andria* at least twelve years later. This play, therefore, was composed and presented somewhere between 295 and 293 B. C. While it is, perhaps, not advisable to insist on strict historical accuracy in estimating the time between the war and the events of the play, I should prefer to choose the latest date possible and assume that the *Andria*, if not actually the last, was amongst the latest of Menander's plays.

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