ALCIBIADES' CRITICISM OF NICIAS AT THUC. 6.18.11

GUY L. COOPER, III

University of North Carolina at Asheville

In the late fall of 416, envoys from Segesta in Sicily persuaded the Assembly of the Athenians to send envoys to Segesta in order to investigate the practicability of heeding the Segestaeans' call for Athenian assistance against the Selinuntians. The Athenian envoys were misled about how effectively the Segestaeans could support an Athenian expedition with payments in precious metals, and on returning with a party of their Segestaean hosts the envoys recommended an expedition. The Athenians, under the influence of dreams of Empire in the Western Mediterranean, voted to send sixty ships, and placed Alcibiades, Nicias and Lamachus in charge.

But at a meeting four days later Nicias opened the question again and argued (6.9–14) in favor of rescinding the earlier vote. Alcibiades then countered (6.16–18) in favor of retaining the earlier decision. As the climax of a development beginning at 6.17.2, in which he heaps scorn on all the supposed difficulties of the undertaking, he is reported at 6.18.1 to have demanded: "Ωστε τί ἃν λέγοντες εἰκὸς ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀποκνοῖμεν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχους σκηπτόμενοι μὴ βοηθοῖμεν; οῖς χρεών, ἐπειδή γε καὶ ξυνωμόσαμεν, ἐπαμύνειν καὶ μὴ ἀντιτιθέναὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἡμῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἵνα δεῦρο ἀντιβοηθῶσι προσεθέμεθα αὐτούς, ἀλλ ἴνα τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν λυπηροὶ ὄντες δεῦρο κωλύωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐπιέναι. "So how could we ourselves reasonably explain our hesitation, and what could we decently allege to our allies in that part of the world so (sc. as to say along with my opponent) 'let us not go to their assistance!'? Rather we ought to assist

¹It has seemed convenient to use a few bibliographical abbreviations: Cooper, STT = Guy L. Cooper, III, SUR SYNT = Guy L. Cooper, III, SUR SYNT = Guy L. Gildersleeve-Miller, SUR = Guy L. Gildersleeve-Miller, SUR = Guy L. Gildersleeve and C. W. E. Miller, SUR = Guy Classical Greek I-II (New York, Cincinnati, Chicago 1900-1911); Kühner-Gerth, SUR = Guy Kühner and B. Gerth, SUR = Guy Leipzig 1898 and 1904 and 1904 and 1904 from Jones-Powell. I wish to thank Alison Burford, James Poultney, Harold Cherniss, and the SUR = Guy Leipzig 1898 for their kind help and comments.

them, especially since we have given our oaths to do so, and we ought not to object (sc. as my opponent does) that 'neither have they helped us.' No, for it was not in order that they might bring aid here that we received them as allies, but in order that by annoying our enemies there they might hinder them from coming here against us."

The first of these sentences contains a construction that has never been successfully explained and interpreted. The negative $\mu\dot{\eta}$ seems to be used with a potential optative (optative with $\check{\alpha}\nu$) although the only negative that this construction allows is ov. The purpose of this paper is to argue that the anomaly should be explained by taking both $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\theta o\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$ and the subsequent $o\dot{\imath}\delta\dot{\epsilon}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\kappa\dot{\epsilon}\hat{\iota}\nu o\iota$ $\dot{\eta}\mu\hat{\iota}\nu$ (sc. $\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{\eta}\mu\nu\nu\alpha\nu$) to be phrases presented by Alcibiades as summary fictive quotations representing the argument of his opponent, the preceding speaker Nicias. The consequence would be that, since $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\theta o\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$ stands alone for itself, the preceding $\check{\alpha}\nu$ does not have any effect upon it.

A discussion of the efforts that have already been made to explain the passage is something more than a mere preliminary. It is true that these efforts have not led to a satisfactory conclusion, but they can still make a valuable contribution to the understanding of the passage by leading to a negative proof of the interpretation here urged.

The first such effort to be considered is an attempt made by syntactical authorities to explain $\mu\dot{\eta}$ as a regular use of this form of the negative. The second is an attempt made by the commentators on the passage to gain an idiomatic sympathy with the negative in this form.

W. W. Goodwin, Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb (Boston 1900³) §292.2 (p. 101), makes the most copiously argued effort to explain the passage as a regular construction. He tries to show that, in questions with the potential optative, $\mu\dot{\eta}$ is admissible regularly as an alternative to ov. His position was left untenable by the criticism in Kühner-Gerth, AG 2.186 ff. Here Goodwin's examples are disposed of in various ways, but for the most part they are found to be indirect questions dependent upon verbs expressing purpose. In such cases the form of the negative may be well explained as due to the influence of the leading verb.

²It would probably be best in future editions to place these fictive quotations in quotation marks. In this connection it should be noted that the second of the two is introduced by $\delta\tau\iota$, which is itself the nearest approximation in Classical Greek orthography to the modern quotation marks, cf. Cooper, STT 204–07. The presence of this word has in the past usually caused the phrase ουδ εκεινου ημιν το be interpreted as in some sense similar to a quotation, even by those who do not seem to have gained a clear over-all conception of the movement of the passage. See the gloss in Poppo-Stahl according to which <math>αντιτιθέναι = αντιλέγειν, obicere. Similarly LSJ s.v. αντιτίθημι I.3 translate "retort, rejoin."

Kühner-Gerth do not, however, abandon the interrogative theory entirely. Rather it is retained specifically for Thuc. 6.18.1 and for one other example. But that other example is certainly better explained otherwise.³ Therefore more recent treatments of the negative omit all reference to the supposed construction, and leave the problem of Thuc. 6.18.1 both unsolved and unmentioned.⁴ From the point of view of normative syntax, $\mu\dot{\eta}$ with an optative and $\dot{\alpha}\nu$ outside of a dependent question must be accounted an absolute anomaly.

³The supposed parallel is Hdt. 3.127.2 'Ω Πέρσαι, τίς ἄν μοι τοῦτο ὑμῶν ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίη καὶ μὴ βίη τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ; "Men of Persia, would that someone among you might undertake this matter for me and carry it out by skill, and not carry it out by mere force and weight of numbers!" τis with the potential optative makes the question a wish and gives it the force of an imperative. This construction, which is very common in tragedy, and is more commonly found with $\pi\hat{\omega}s$ than with τis or $\dot{\omega}s$, is copiously documented in Ewald Bruhn, Sophokles erklärt von F. W. Schneidewin und A. Nauck VIII "Anhang" 63 (§112), cf. Kühner-Gerth, AG 1.235.6, and Gildersleeve-Miller, SCG §446. Any doubt about the matter is removed by Stein's strikingly complete Homeric parallels II. 10.303-04 and Od. 15.195-96. The negative $\mu\dot{\eta}$ is used simply to extend the established positive command of the first part of the sentence as a negative command in the second part. This proper interpretation of the passage at Hdt. 3.127.2 makes it unacceptable as a parallel to Thuc. 6.18.1 because, as is shown in the argument further on, a prohibitive sense of $\mu \dot{\eta} \beta o \eta \theta o \hat{\iota} \mu \epsilon \nu$ makes Alcibiades contradict himself, unless the phrase can be taken as Nicias' thought. But if μη βοηθοῦμεν derives its imperative force from its relation to the interrogative form of the sentence as a whole, it cannot be considered separately, and must represent Alcibiades' thought. As to Kühner-Gerth, AG 2.186 ff., it misses the true force of $\mu\dot{\eta}$ in the Herodotean passage. This is a corollary of the fact that inadequate appreciation is shown throughout Kühner-Gerth that μή can be used, as it is here, to extend any form of command in a prohibitive sense, even where $\mu \dot{\eta}$ would not otherwise be possible. Thus at Kühner-Gerth, AG 1.178.6, a supposed prohibitive version of the commonplace use of the future as an imperative is accepted as a standard construction, although the single most convincing example of the otherwise weakly attested construction (cf. Gildersleeve-Miller, SCG §270) is Dem. 23.117 φυλάξετε . . . καὶ μὴ βουλήσεσθε, and so the whole supposed construction collapses if one grasps that this is only the special use of $\mu \dot{\eta}$ to continue any command in negative form. And again at Kühner-Gerth, AG 1.177, cf. 2.221.8, the treatment of the $o\dot{v}$ $\mu\dot{\eta}$ constructions is sadly jumbled by the inclusion in it of passages where each negative has its own verb, e.g., Plato, Symp. 175a οὔκουν καλεῖς αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ ἀφήσεις; Arguing against this confusion in analysis, B. L. Gildersleeve, AJP 3 (1882) 205, had already shown that, in such passages, the first member is the regular use of a question with ou and a future indicative to give a positive command (cf. Gildersleeve-Miller, SCG §271, and Kühner-Gerth, AG 1.176.7 f.), and that this positive command is simply continued in negative form by the $\mu\dot{\eta}$ in the second member, which has merely supplementary significance. For other examples of similar pleonasm involving antithetical parallelism see Kühner-Gerth, AG 2.586.8.

⁴So Eduard Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik, II. Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik (Munich 1950), treatment of negatives 540-99, esp. 594 ff.; A. C. Woodhouse, Studies in Greek Negatives (Cardiff 1959), treatment of negatives passim; H. W. Smyth and Gordon M. Messing, Greek Grammar (Cambridge, MA 1963³), treatment of negatives 609-29, esp. 620 ff.; Jean Humbert, Syntaxe Grecque (Paris 1972³), treatment of negatives 345-87. Only J. M.

Faced with this failure the commentators have been forced to do the best they could with the passage, using only their practised, but otherwise unaided, sensibilities. In so doing they grope, I believe, toward an essential advance over anything hitherto offered by formal analysis. The remarks in two standard commentaries run as follows: Classen-Steup, " $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\theta o\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$: das ungewöhnliche $\mu\dot{\eta}$ soll wohl die Möglichkeit dass sich ein plausibler Grund finden lasse, besonders entschieden ablehnen;" cf. Poppo-Stahl ad loc. "Propter hanc recusandi vim in verbis $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\theta o\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$ latentem praeter consuetudinem $\mu\dot{\eta}$ positum est."

Neither commentator denies the anomaly, but both suggest that a peculiar vehemence about the words $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\theta o\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$ justifies the irregular negative. I think that their feeling about a sudden forcefulness in the words $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\theta o\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$ is correct, and I suppose that in failing to let their idiomatic sensibilities guide them a little further the commentators narrowly miss the true interpretation of the passage. We should recognise in $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\theta o\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$ an anacoluthic wish-optative. Precisely in the prohibitive form and in coordinated construction there is an occasional sudden shift of this kind. See Dem. 8.68 $\dot{E}\gamma\dot{\omega}$ $\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\delta\dot{\eta}s$ $o\check{\nu}\tau$ $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\iota}\mu\iota$ $\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\epsilon\nuo\dot{\iota}\mu\eta\nu$, 19.49 $o\check{\nu}\tau$ $\dot{\eta}\nu$ $\mu\dot{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\dot{\epsilon}\nuo\iota\tau\sigma$, Soph. Ant. 686 $o\check{\nu}\tau$ $\dot{\alpha}\nu$ $\delta\nu\nu\alpha\dot{\iota}\mu\eta\nu$ $\mu\dot{\eta}\tau$ $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\dot{\iota}\mu\eta\nu$.

There is, however, a difficulty here that has doubtless kept the commentators from trusting to what seems to have been their natural feeling about the passage. From the historical point of view this interpretation results in an incomprehensible contradiction. Throughout

Stahl, Kritisch-historische Syntax des griechischen Verbums der klassischen Zeit (Heidelberg 1907) 765, still retains the interrogative theory and attempts to supply two more examples. But Stahl misconstrues these passages. At Plato, Leges 887c $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\theta\nu\mu\dot{\phi}$ sine ira (Harold Cherniss), the negative is adnominal (see the references and further examples immediately below in note 5). Kühner-Gerth, AG 2.186.2, had already correctly observed that at Plato, Crat. 426d, $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\tau\dot{\phi}$ $\delta\nu$ is almost the same as $\tau\dot{\phi}$ $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\delta\nu$. It should, however, be added that the expressive position of the negative before the article produces litotes, cf. Lys. 20.5 $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\tau\dot{\alpha}$ $\delta\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$, Plato, Rep. 389c $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\tau\dot{\alpha}$ $\delta\nu\tau\alpha$, Thuc. 3.57.1 $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\tau\dot{\alpha}$ $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\kappa\dot{\phi}\tau\alpha$.

⁵These commentators correctly discarded a passage that had earlier been adduced by Krüger ad loc., namely Dem. 23.75 πῶς γὰρ ἄν δίκαι ἄμα ταὐτὰ καὶ μὴ γένοιτο; ". . . for how can the same act at the same time be both just and unjust?" (Vince). This is an elliptical adnominal generic-hypothetical μή, so that the construction must be understood to be δίκαι ἄμα καὶ μὴ (sc. δίκαια). The following passages show a similar elliptical μή which is juxtaposed to, but cannot be construed with, a verb form: Eur. Alc. 528 χωρὶς τό τ' εἶναι καὶ τὸ μὴ (sc. εἶναι) νομίζεται, Plato, Leges 638b δεῖ τό τε χρηστὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ (sc. χρηστὸν) σκοπεῖν, Plato, Phaedrus 277b τὸ . . . ἔντεχνον καὶ μὴ (sc. ἔντεχνον) δοκεῖ μοι δεδηλῶσθαι. For doctrinal statements on μή with substantives and for additional examples see LSJ s.v. μή B.7, and Kühner-Gerth, AG 2.197.4. (For the adnominal μή at Plato, Leges 887c, see note 4 above.)

the speech Alcibiades has argued in favor of the Sicilian expedition. But $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\theta o\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$ as an anacoluthic wish-optative can only be a wish, indeed practically a prayer, that the expedition should not take place. Alcibiades cannot have been meant to voice such a sentiment, cannot, that is, if he is supposed to accept responsibility for it. Supposing that Alcibiades must speak the phrase as his own thought, the commentators have backed away from what would otherwise seem the most natural interpretation. I suggest that it is better to draw a different conclusion, and take it that Alcibiades is not meant to accept responsibility for the words, but that he is made by Thucydides to utter them as a semi-quotation. Certainly the person upon whom responsibility for the thought, $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\theta o\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$, "may we not go to their assistance," should be placed is Nicias. He has just been portrayed as speaking at length against the expedition.

The negative argument or argument by elimination that has just been urged need not stand alone. It can be supplemented by positive arguments showing the advantages that the new understanding of the passage offers.

The new understanding, unlike the earlier solutions offered, is technically feasible and attractive. This holds good from the point of view of both syntactical and, especially, rhetorical analysis.

Here the proximity of $\mu\dot{\eta}$ to $\check{\alpha}\nu$ is so striking that K. W. Krüger, Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen, Attische Syntax (Berlin 1873⁵) 1.65.7.2, suggested the emendation of $\mu\dot{\eta}$ to $o\dot{v}$. But that was a mistake.⁶ Demosthenes simply attributes an original thought $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\delta\dot{v}\nu\alpha\iota\nu\tau$ 0 (sc. $o\dot{i}$ $^{\lambda}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\hat{\iota}0\iota$) $\delta\epsilon\hat{v}\rho o\,\dot{\alpha}\phi\iota\kappa\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ to Philip, and this supposed heart-felt wish is meant to be a reassuring and cozening compliment to the author's

 $^{^6\}check{\alpha}\nu$ is disregarded as the sentence proceeds and thus there is an anacoluthon. In Gildersleeve-Miller, SCG §448, $\check{\alpha}\nu$ left hanging this way is well referred to as "adherescent $\check{\alpha}\nu$." Such adherescence is never really common in Classical literature. But it occurs more often in temporal sentences than elsewhere. See Cooper, STT 33-36.

Athenian audience. He suggests that Philip is only too aware that the further success of his schemes is entirely dependent upon continued Athenian inactivity. Demosthenes is urging the establishment of Athenian year-round presence in the North Aegean, and he is interested in inducing belief in his audience that such an expense on their part would indeed effectively check Philip.

Henri Weil in his commentary has understood the significance of the optative and its unexpected negative perfectly: " $M\dot{\eta}$ $\delta\nu\nu\alpha i\mu\epsilon\theta(\alpha)$. La negation $\mu\dot{\eta}$ et l'optativ indiquent que telle est la pensée de Philippe." This has convinced editors who retain $\mu\dot{\eta}$. Still more readily can the same syntax be admitted at Thuc. 6.18.1, for in this place the distance between $\mu\dot{\eta}$ and $\dot{\alpha}\nu$ makes the construction much easier.

Considered from the point of view of rhetorical analysis, Thuc. 6.18.1 is an example of hypophora, i.e., it presents in a form suitably adapted to monologue a fictive dialogue between the speaker Alcibiades and his opponent Nicias.⁷

The figure is found in other speeches in Thucydides, for instance in Archidamus' anti-war speech delivered at the first conference at Sparta in 432/1 (1.80-81.2), and in Athenagoras' speech given at Syracuse in 415 against action in response to rumors of the approach of the Athenian expedition (6.38.5-39.1). These are full-scale examples of great formal clarity. But by nature of their very extensiveness and elaboration, these examples of hypophora take on a stylistic life of their own that draws them away from the immediate tendentiousness that the figure can show. They do not have the aggressive focus on a specific opponent that Alcibiades' attack on Nicias shows.⁸

⁷The parallels cited in this section are adopted from the more thorough discussion of hypophora found in "Das angedeutete Wort des Gegners (Hypophora)," Cooper, STT 10–31. See there for the particular value of the $\lambda \dot{v}\sigma\iota s$ (speaker's retort) in establishing the existence of hypophora p. 16, for the use of $\dot{\omega}s$ and of $\ddot{\sigma}\tau\iota$ to introduce hypophora proper pp. 10–12, for the introduction of the $\lambda \dot{v}\sigma\iota s$ by a relative p. 17, for the introduction of the $\lambda \dot{v}\sigma\iota s$ by $\sigma\iota$ pp. 18 and 20–21. One of the important general conclusions of the discussion throughout these pages in Cooper is that hypophora as a figure of thought presses widely varying constructions into use. Many formally irregular and divergent forms occur, with the result that some examples of the figure have not been generally recognised. The irregular feature of the hypophora at Thuc. 6.18.1 is the unusual form of the first element of hypophora proper $\mu \dot{\eta} \beta \sigma \eta \theta \sigma \dot{\mu} \epsilon \nu$, and this it is, I argue, that has hitherto kept the figure from being recognised in this place. Thuc. 6.18.1 perfectly illustrates the conclusion drawn on p. 17: "Wir müssen uns also in Zweifelfällen zu guter letzt mit dem Sinne des Textes als der letzten entscheidenden Instanz auseinandersetzen." See further p. 14.

*They are developed for the most part by the use of the commonplace strongly adversative conjunction $\partial \lambda \lambda \hat{\alpha}$ to mark both hypophora proper and $\lambda \hat{\nu} \sigma_{iS}$ (cf. Cooper, STT 14-15). It is

However, the system of hypophora that Alcibiades is depicted as using does not purchase its brilliance at the expense of formal clarity. This system, as it is recognised and translated above, consists of two elements of hypophora proper, i.e., two fictive quotations given as summarizing the argument of the opponent, here clearly Nicias, and two elements of retort, i.e., two statements by means of which the speaker, here Alcibiades, answers the supposed objections of his opponent. Each of these four elements of the system shows a clear identifying formal sign. In the case of all but the first element of the system this sign is one that is in general use in hypophora. The sign of this first hypophora proper $\mu \dot{\eta} \beta o \eta \theta o \hat{\iota} \mu \epsilon \nu$ is the form of the negative, not $o\dot{v}$, but $\mu\dot{\eta}$. I have shown above that it cannot be conveniently interpreted unless it is taken to stand apart from the rest of the sentence as a fictive quotation attributed to Nicias. It is thus appropriate for use in hypophora. And it is extremely unlikely that it is not so used. For the rest of the four-part system is in absolutely regular form.

The formal sign of the first element of retort—what is called in the technical language of rhetorical analysis the $\lambda \dot{\nu} \sigma \iota s$ —is the relative ols. Clear examples of $\lambda \dot{\nu} \sigma \iota s$ introduced in this way may be studied at Xen. Hell. 2.4.41 ol $\gamma \epsilon$, Isocrates 4.175 $\delta \iota$ $\dot{\alpha} s$, 17.47 $\dot{\alpha} s$, 17.49 $\dot{\alpha} s$, Dem. 8.38 ols, 21.148 $\dot{\epsilon} \nu$ ols, 25.79 $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota$ od, Dinarchus 1.13 $\dot{\epsilon} \phi$ $\dot{\alpha} l s$. This form of $\lambda \dot{\nu} \sigma \iota s$

not quite clear whether the adversary intended by Archidamus is the Corinthians, whose speech precedes his own, or the Spartan advocate of the Corinthian wishes, the Ephor Sthenelaidas, whose speech follows Archidamus'. Similarly the opponent intended by Athenagoras seems to be less Hermocrates, whose speech immediately precedes his own, than the bellicose party of aristocratic youths, to whom Hermocrates' speech probably had the greatest appeal. The character of Archidamas' hypophora is thus not allowed to detract from the prudent wisdom of the over-all impression. Athenagoras' elaborate and rather unspecifically directed hypophora achieves a different effect by somewhat similar means. It is one of the ways Thucydides has of bringing out the tiresomely doctrinaire, even pedantic, aspect of this speaker's demotic fanaticism. For less elaborate hypophora in Thucydides, this time with reference to a somewhat more specific opponent, see 3.66.4, and for hypophora with a sharply aggressive focus on a specific opponent, see many of the examples from Demosthenes cited above, and cf. Dinarchus 1.12–13. The formal signs of hypophora in this passage closely resemble the signs at Thuc. 6.18.1.

seems to show the strong adversative force that can attach to relatives. Exceptionally, as at Isocrates 17.47 and Dem. 8.38, the relative refers to the opponent. But in most of these examples, as also at Thuc. 6.18.1, this is not the reference of the relative. Hence it is probably in all cases the adversative force that makes the relative appropriate for the introduction of these statements in rebuttal. Other words used to introduce $\lambda \dot{\nu} \sigma \iota s$ are also typically adversative in sense.

The second $\lambda \dot{v}\sigma \iota s$ is introduced by $o\dot{v}$ $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$. Clear examples of $\lambda \dot{v}\sigma \iota s$ in closely analogous form where $o\dot{v}$ has a strongly adversative force may be studied at Thuc. 3.66.4 $o\dot{v}\kappa$, $\check{\alpha}\nu$, Lysias 34.4 $o\dot{v}\kappa$, $\check{\alpha}\nu$, Xen. Hell. 1.7.19 $o\dot{v}\kappa$, $\check{\alpha}\nu$, Dem. 23.166 $o\dot{v}\kappa$ $\check{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$, Dinarchus 1.12(bis) $o\dot{v}\kappa$, $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\dot{\alpha}$, cf. Thuc. 5.101 $o\dot{v}\kappa$, $\check{\alpha}\nu$ in the actual dialogue of the Melian debate, and similarly Plato, Phaedo 89b $o\dot{v}\kappa$, $\check{\alpha}\nu$.

It is not reasonable to believe that this confluence of formal indicators of a system of hypophora, occurring in a passage that cannot be explained except on the supposition of hypophora, is merely fortuitous.

The recognition of the previously unnoticed hypophora in this place reveals a stylistic movement in the passage that was hitherto obscured, and this is a powerful positive argument for the proposed solution. But a no less powerful argument derives from the sense that the proposed solution allows us to discover in the passage. Because of the extremely close interrelationship of the two speeches, both speakers being present and speaking in succession on the same subject, the two phrases $\mu \dot{\eta} \beta o \eta \theta o \hat{\iota} \mu e \nu$ and $o \dot{\iota} \delta \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\iota} \nu o \iota \dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\iota} \nu$ (sc. $\dot{\alpha} \pi \dot{\eta} \mu \nu \nu \alpha \nu$) are, doubtless, not only fictive quotations from Nicias but also direct hits at him personally, and adverse comments on the arguments he used. By the mock-prayer form of the first expression Alcibiades suggests trepidation, and this is directed at supposed pusillanimity in Nicias. The second expression suggests petty want of Athenian generosity, and Alcibiades goes on in the second $\lambda \dot{\iota} \sigma \iota s$ to show that this is incompatible with the imperial stature of the city, and with the policy by which that stature was attained.

 9 My understanding that the passage contains a large element of sarcastic invective directed at Nicias personally fits statements in Classical authors about Alcibiades' style in political oratory. Cf. Dem. 21.143 βδελνρὸς καὶ ὑβρίστης ὅετο (sc. ὁ ἀλκιβιάδης) δεῖν εἶναι, and Andocides 4.16 <math>διατετέλεκεν (sc. ὁ ἀλκιβιάδης) . . . ἔνα . . . ἔκαστον προπηλακίζων. It may be that the difficulty of the passage results when Thucydides attempts to suggest peculiarities of Alcibiades' manner. There is evidence that Thucydides has a general tendency, both in the speeches and in narrative, to characterize leading historical personalities with rapid but significant strokes that today often either go unnoticed or lead to textual problems. I have discussed idiosyncracies of Alcibiades' language in Thucydides in "Prepositional Problems in Thucydides, Xenophon, Isaeus and Plato I," GRBS 15 (1974) 403–09. And similarly for Nicias see "Wiedergabe der Sprache des Einzelnen" in Cooper, STT 95–102. Other historical

The substantial point in Nicias' contentions to which oὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἡμῖν (sc. ἐπήμυναν) refers is his argument that the alliance with the Segestaeans is not effectively reciprocal, and should not therefore be binding. This comes out, e.g., at 6.10.5 Ἐγεσταίοις δὴ οὖσι ξυμμάχοις, where the particle δή suggests that the Segestaeans are allies in name only. 10 Again, after chiding what he considers the patent mendacity of the Segestaean diplomatic committee, Nicias insists upon their unequal contribution to the proposed venture, 6.12.1 λόγους μόνον παρασχομένους. And it is doubtless with reference to the Segestaeans that he approaches his conclusion at 6.13.2 with a general recommendation against alliances that do not benefit the Athenians as well as the other party.

The point of substantive recommendation in Nicias' speech to which $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\theta o\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$, "may we not go to their assistance," refers is his rejection of the expedition. This thought is the general content of the speech and comes out in many specific statements throughout, e.g., 6.9.1 $\mu\dot{\eta}$ οὖτως $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\alpha$ $\beta o\upsilon\lambda\dot{\eta}$... πόλεμον οὐ προσήκοντα ἄρασθαι, 6.9.3 $\mu\dot{\eta}$ τοῖς ἐτοίμοις περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν καὶ μελλόντων κινδυνεύειν, 6.10.5 $\mu\dot{\eta}$ μετεώρω τε $\langle \tau\dot{\eta}\rangle$ πόλει κινδυνεύειν καὶ ἀρχ $\dot{\eta}$ ς ἄλλης ὀρέγεσθαι, 6.11.6 $\mu\dot{\eta}$ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπαίρεσθαι, 6.12.2 εἴ τέ τις ... παραινεῖ ὑμῖν ἐκπλεῖν ... μηδὲ τούτω ἐμπαράσχητε τῷ τῆς πόλεως κινδύνω ἰδία ἐλλαμπρύνεσθαι, 6.13.1 ὅπως $\mu\dot{\eta}$ δόξει, ἐὰν $\mu\dot{\eta}$ ψηφίζηται πολεμεῖν, $\mu\alpha\lambda\alphaκòς$ εἶναι. Of all of these statements and of others $\mu\dot{\eta}$ $\beta o\eta\thetao\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu$ is a summary representative. 11

figures are discussed in my "Thucydides 2.88.2 and the Sources of the Popularity of Phormio," *TAPA* 106 (1976) 97-99; "Thuc. 8.33.4 and the Use of Torture by the Spartans Pedaritus and Astyochus during Interrogations at Erythrae in 411," *Studi in Onore di Anthos Ardizzoni* (Messina-Rome 1978) 223-29; "Thuc. 5.65.3 and the Tactical Obsession of Agis II on the Day before the Battle of Mantinea," *TAPA* 108 (1978) 35-40.

¹⁰ See schol. ad loc. ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἐγεσταίοις . .] ἡμεῖς δὶ Ἐγεσταίοις δῆθεν ἀδικουμένοις. ἡ ὡς δῆθεν ξυμμάχοις οὖσιν Mvc₂. The second interpretative remark is the more precise. We find δή used similarly elsewhere in association with participles of εἰμί to ironicise terms ces priptive of official relations between Athens and other cities. See 3.10.6 ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτόνομοι δὴ ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι ξυνεστρατεύσαμεν, and schol. ad loc. αὐτόνομοι δὴ ὄντες] ἐμφατικῶς εἶπε τὸ δή, ἀντὶ τοῦ δῆθεν, καὶ μέχρι μόνου ὀνόματος ἐλεύθεροι καὶ οὐκ αὐταῖς ἀληθείαις Gφc₂. Similarly 6.80.2 καίτοι κάλλιον . . . τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους φίλους δὴ ὄντας μὴ ἐᾶσαι ἀμαρτεῖν, and schol. ad loc. φίλους δὴ ὄντας προφασιζομένους εἶναι φίλους Μνc₂. J. D. Denniston, The Greek Particles (Oxford 1954²) 234–35, discusses these passages and several roughly comparable passages both in Thucydides and other authors. He concludes that the particle "denotes that words are not to be taken at their face value, objectively, but express something merely believed, or ironically supposed, to be true."

¹¹It is possible that Alcibiades' choice of language here is influenced by Nicias' caustic remark at $6.10.5 \, \eta \mu \epsilon \tilde{i} s \, \delta \tilde{\epsilon} \ldots \tilde{i} \delta \tilde{\epsilon} \omega s \, \beta o \eta \theta o \tilde{\nu} \mu \epsilon \nu$. But I think the reference intended is probably not so specific. We must beware of trying to find anything much like literal quotation in hypophora. It is the proper rhetorical purpose of the figure to put words into the mouth of

Alcibiades makes his reference to Nicias' policy with a pithiness that stands in sharp contrast to Nicias' repetitious and circumlocutory sententiousness. In this way we are reminded of the double conflict between the two men, both a conflict of policy and a conflict of personality. Thucydides explains to us at 2.55.10-11 what an important factor in the ultimate misfortunes of Athens he considered these rivalries among the leaders of the city to be.

one's opponent, and thus to set up a straw man who can be more easily vanquished. The arguments attributed to such a phantom of one's opponent are likely to be impressionistic, abridged, and often absurd versions of anything the real opponent—in this case Nicias—would be likely to say.