

PLUTARCH'S USE OF THUCYDIDES IN THE *MORALIA*

FRANCES B. TITCHENER

INTRODUCTION

THE LAST CENTURY has seen a great deal of scholarship on Plutarch's use of Thucydides. Although most of these studies make no distinction between Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* and the *Moralia*, they deal almost exclusively with the former. I hope to demonstrate in this paper that Plutarch in the *Moralia* uses Thucydides in a way unduplicated in the *Parallel Lives*, and that this difference in use stems from a difference in method.

PLUTARCH AND THUCYDIDES

Scholars studying Plutarch's use of Thucydides no longer debate the questions of whether Plutarch himself had read Thucydides' histories or even whether he knew Thucydides' histories well. These have been unequivocally answered: he had and he did. Rather they focus on Plutarch's historical method by comparing the texts of *Pericles*, *Nicias*, and *Alcibiades* with the corresponding passages of Thucydides to shed light on Plutarch's method of adapting his source.¹ Three factors make this a particularly profitable enterprise. One, Plutarch's high regard for Thucydides means that the biographer was not only familiar with Thucydides' text but more likely than not to follow it closely. Two, Plutarch relied heavily on Thucydides, his primary source for those three biographies, so there are many parallel passages to compare. And three, Thucydides' work has been transmitted entire, albeit lacking the author's final revision, so that we have complete pieces of work by each author and thus can evaluate comparative passages in context. Such studies usually center around the question of Plutarch's modification of Thucydides' words: to what extent he changed Thucydides' text, why he made the changes he did, and how these changes

Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the 1992 meeting of CAMWS in Austin, Texas, and at the 1992 meeting of the APA in New Orleans, Louisiana. I am grateful to the anonymous referees for their suggestions and direction.

¹Among the most important studies on Plutarch's use of Thucydides are O. Siemon, *Quo modo Plutarchus Thucydidem legerit* (diss., Berlin 1881); M. Heidingsfeld, *Quo modo Plutarchus Thucydide usus sit in componenda Niciae vita* (Liegnitz 1890); R. J. Littman, *Plutarch's Use of Thucydides in the Life of Nicias, Life of Alcibiades, and Life of Themistocles* (diss., Columbia University 1970); P. A. Stadter, "Thucydidean Orators in Plutarch," in *id.* (ed.), *The Speeches in Thucydides* (Chapel Hill 1973); J. de Romilly, "Plutarch and Thucydides or the Free Use of Quotations," *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 22-34 (hereafter "de Romilly"); C. B. R. Pelling, "Plutarch and Thucydides," in P. Stadter (ed.), *Plutarch and the Historical Tradition* (London 1992; hereafter "Pelling").

illuminate our understanding of Plutarch's historical method. De Romilly, believing that "word-for-word comparison is the only safe way to observe and test the originality of a text" (33), describes a "method of differences and residues" (23), stating that "what an author leaves out in a quotation or an imitation . . . generally . . . was most intimately linked with the personal views of the writer he takes after." She naturally finds that more is revealed about Thucydides than Plutarch in such an exercise, since by this reasoning Plutarch's omissions point up Thucydides' excellences:

... what he leaves out, or what I called the residue, is exactly what was the originality of his source. [Plutarch's] very omissions are like searchlights, suddenly turned on the most individual features of Thucydides' History (28).

And yet much can be discovered about Plutarch in these omissions. It is curious that Plutarch makes no citations from Thucydides Books 6 and 7 in the *Moralia*, when it is clear from *Pericles*, *Nicias*, and *Alcibiades* that he knows those books well. The opening chapter of *Nicias* may hold the answer, wherein Plutarch comes close to apologizing for covering the same territory as Thucydides, worrying lest his readers believe that he hoped to surpass Thucydides' inimitable (ἀμμήτως) account. He covers the same material only "lest I appear completely careless and lazy"; he might feel further use would be redundant. It is also curious that Plutarch makes no citation anywhere, in *Parallel Lives* or *Moralia*, from Thucydides' Melian Dialogue (5.84–114). Here, the answer may lie in Plutarch's so-called "Roman context." It may well be that Plutarch, as a Greek living under Roman rule, identified more with the Melians than the Athenians, and found the episode rather distasteful.² Plutarch was very familiar with Thucydides' Periclean Funeral Oration. More surprising is that eight of the nine citations or correspondences from the Oration appear in the *Moralia*,³ and only one in the *Parallel Lives* (*Lyc.* 56e). The next speech, that of Pericles to the Athenians when they began to berate him about the war, is cited by Plutarch five times: four times in essays⁴ and once in the *Parallel Lives* (*Per.* 161d). However, any suggestion that Plutarch was somehow mining the speeches systematically can be immediately countered with the reminder that he never cites the Melian Dialogue, nor, with one exception

²Plutarch was not hostile on principle to Rome or to Romans. Nevertheless, his enthusiasm was hardly unqualified. See S. C. R. Swain, *Plutarch and Rome: Three Studies* (diss., Oxford 1987); C. B. R. Pelling, "Plutarch and Roman Politics," in I. Moxon, J. D. Smart, and A. J. Woodman (eds.), *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing* (Cambridge 1986) 159–229 and *id.*, "Roman Heroes and Greek Culture," in M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds.), *Philosophia Togata* (Oxford 1989) 199–232; L. DeBlois, "The Perception of Politics in Plutarch's Roman *Lives*," *ANRW* II.33.6 (1992) 4568–4615.

³*Mor.* 217F, 220D, 242E, 533A, 783F, 786B, 824C, 854A.

⁴*Mor.* 73A, 535E, 540C, 802C.

(at *Alcibiades* 194c), does he cite directly any of the speeches given before and during the Sicilian Expedition, not even Nicias' letter.

Pelling has argued persuasively that Plutarch admired Thucydides the literary stylist as much as Thucydides the "factual reporter." This would lead us to expect a liberal helping of the sort of literary quotations that appear throughout the *Parallel Lives*, but only twice does he use Thucydides for anything other than the contextual information of a primary source (*Lyc.* 56d and *Dem.* 848c). Yet "literary" Thucydidean citations, having nothing to do with the source of information, appear at least ten times in the *Moralia*. Is this the case with other historians? Philistus is cited in the *Moralia* only twice, once in *De exilio* (605C), as an example of a writer whose best work took place in exile, and in *De Herodoti malignitate* (855C-D), as a foil for the inflammatory Herodotus. He is cited in *Dion*, *Alexander*, *Nicias*, *Pelopidas*, and *Timoleon*, all but twice as a primary source.⁵ In those two cases (*Pel.* 296e-f; *Tim.* 243c-d), it is clear that Plutarch disapproves of Philistus as an individual impressed by appearances, who believes that magnificence (τὸ λαμπρόν) equals ivory, gold, and purple. Timaeus is cited seven times in the *Moralia*,⁶ although only once in a noninformational context, saying of the death of Euripides and the accession of Dionysius I of Sicily that "fortune had removed the imitator of tragic events and provided in his place an actor" (*Quaest. Conv.* 717C). He is cited sixteen times in the *Parallel Lives*, all but thrice as a primary source.⁷ In two of those instances, Plutarch denounces Timaeus as a poor imitation of Thucydides (*Nic.* 523) and an individual who takes unfair opportunities to slander (*Dion.* 974b-c). In the third case (*Tim.* 253b-c), he cites Timaeus as the source for the aptness of a Sophoclean quote that Plutarch wanted to use in reference to the same situation. He cites Herodotus quite often in the *Moralia*,⁸ but only as a primary source. Naturally he cites Herodotus Books 7-9 extensively in *De Herodoti malignitate* and frequently in the *Parallel Lives*, but always as a primary source.⁹ Plutarch uses none of these three historians in the *Moralia* as he does Thucydides. Clearly, he does not admire their literary styles enough to use them as anything other than primary sources. This provides strong support for Pelling's contention that Plutarch is a great admirer of Thucydides the stylist.

⁵*Dion.* 962e-963a, 963c-f, 965e, 968d, 973e-974a, 974a-b, b-d; *Alex.* 668d; *Nic.* 523c-d, 523f-524a, 535e-536c, 542a; *Pel.* 296e-f; *Tim.* 243c-d.

⁶*Mor.* 287A, 528E, 605C, 676D, 717C, 897C, 907F.

⁷*Lyc.* 39d-f, 59c; *Tim.* 237e-f, 240d-e, 253b-c, 277a; *Nic.* 523c-f, 523d-e, 535e-f, 541d-542a, 542a-b; *Dion.* 960c-d, 963e-964a, 972a, 974a-b, 974 b-c.

⁸*Mor.* 145E, 172E, 185A, 185B, 185C, 186B, 194F, 221C-D, 225B, 230E, 234E, 479B, 809B, 1000B.

⁹In *Theseus*, *Romulus*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Themistocles*, *Pericles*, *Aemilius*, *Pelopidas*, *Aristides*, *Cato Maior*, *Lysander*, *Cimon*, *Agessilaus*, *Alexander*, *Caesar*, *Phocion*, and *Artaxerxes*.

Luc Van der Stockt takes this idea a step further.¹⁰ He argues that for Plutarch, language is subordinate to function; its beauty, while a sensory pleasure, is of value insofar as it helps strengthen the ethical stance. He compares Plutarch's ideal reader to a bee, whose extraction of nectar from flowers must not be impeded by the distractions of color and taste (the beauty of literature). Thus the most excellent literature is beautiful, but more importantly, noble: *καλός*. Van der Stockt finds support for his argument in Plutarch's use of quotations from the same genre for different purposes, such as ornamentation, illustration, refutation, confirmation, and information (128). Although he does not include history in his examples (mentioning only epic, didactic, and tragic poetry), it surely fits the pattern. By this reasoning, the more Plutarch admired a writer's style, the more careful he would be to prevent the style from distracting the reader, particularly in the *Parallel Lives*, where he is trying to portray a very definite image. This helps explain why Plutarch saves his citations of Thucydides the stylist for the *Moralia*.

PLUTARCH'S METHOD IN THE MORALIA

De Romilly concerns herself mainly with Plutarch's "distortions" of Thucydides, caused by the difference in their dates or literary aims, attributing these distortions to the general practice of ancient writers in matters of imitation and quotation. She states that she is:

... not so much interested in all the differences of facts, which are generally studied by scholars dealing with Plutarch and Thucydides or Plutarch and his sources. I am not interested in the small details, where he corrects the historian, or shortens his text, or makes it longer, when only facts, and battles, and names are in question. What I am interested in is the different orientation, the different approach.

She delineates the essential difference of approach for the two authors as "personal situation on one side (Plutarch), political reflection on the other (Thucydides)"; "Plutarch was looking for names, not ideas" (29); "[Plutarch] was interested in Alcibiades, not in the general evolution of Athenian politics" (30); the two authors provide "an intellectual explanation on one side, a psychological and moral one on the other" (31); and "[Plutarch] would drop all political considerations and keep only what was of interest for individual psychology." (32). The contrast between these two authors is clear: Thucydides is intellectual and analytical, while Plutarch is emotional and descriptive. De Romilly attributes this contrast to the difference between their respective aims (history vs. biography) and their

¹⁰Luc Van der Stockt, *Twinkling and Twilight: Plutarch's Reflections on Literature* (Brussels 1992).

respective times (fifth-century Athens vs. Roman-controlled Greece). However, these observations apply strictly to the *Parallel Lives*.

Pelling has presented a clear picture of Plutarch at work on the *Parallel Lives*, with one major source open before him, and his notebooks (ὑπομνήματα) for supplementary reference.¹¹ It is easy to imagine the contents of these notebooks simply by examining the *Quaestiones Romanae*, *Graecae*, and *Naturales*, or the *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata*, *Apophthegmata Laconica*, *Instituta Laconica*, or *Lacaenarum apophthegmata*. Some scholars¹² believe those works are not true essays, but collections of notes in the Peripatetic tradition of question-and-answer, possibly for use in writing other essays.¹³ Plutarch's working habits while writing *Moralia* must have been similar, with a heavier reliance upon his notebooks. To be sure, the variety of topics dealt with in the essays precludes broad generalization. The more "moral" *Moralia*, those essays concerning ethics and character type, although replete with literary quotations, probably are written in the way Plutarch terms "σποράδην," or nonsystematically. Yet other essays suggest a main source kept at the ready. For instance, *De amicorum multitudine* owes much to Cicero's *De amicitia*; *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, like Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes*, appears to derive from the works of the Academic philosopher Crantor; *De facie in orbe lunae* quotes long, verbatim passages from Aristarchus of Samos; *De cohibenda ira* makes considerable use of Hieronymus of Rhodes, and Seneca's *De ira*; *De curiositate* has been traced to Ariston of Chios. In some essays Plutarch tried his hand at a kind of imitation, as in *Septem Sapientium Convivium*, which harkens back to the works of Plato and Xenophon, or *Bruta animalia (Gryllus)*, which parodies the tenth book of the *Odyssey*; in such cases it is reasonable to suppose Plutarch worked with his model close at hand. There are essays for which Plutarch certainly used historians as his primary sources, or handy references. *De fortuna Romanorum*, for instance, owes much to Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus; *De Alexandri Magni fortuna* is greatly indebted to the *Anabasis* of Arrian; *De Herodoti malignitate*

¹¹C. B. R. Pelling, "Plutarch's Adaptation of His Source Material," *JHS* 100 (1980) 127–140.

¹²F. C. Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia* 3 (Cambridge, Mass. 1929) 4 and 240; F. H. Sandbach, *Plutarch's Moralia* 11 (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) 134–135.

¹³Sandbach (above, n. 12). The *Quaestiones convivales* also follow the question-and-answer format. However, symposiastic literature is a genre of its own, and all nine books contain dialogues that are linked dramatically (Book 1: dialogues two and three; Book 2: dialogues four and five, and eight and nine; Book 3: dialogues one and two, and three, four, and five, and seven, eight, and nine; Book 4: dialogues four, five, and six; Book 5: dialogues five and six, and eight and nine; Book 6: dialogues one, two, and three, and four, five, and six; Book 7: dialogues seven and eight, and nine and ten; Book 8: dialogues one and two, and seven and eight; all of Book 9). Therefore, these *Quaestiones* cannot be considered "notebooks" in the way that the others can.

obviously required close access to *The Persian Wars*. However, most of the *Moralia* rely on combinations of books and notebooks for ornamental quotations, rather than one or two main sources supplemented with quotations from the notebooks, as is Plutarch's habit in writing the *Parallel Lives*.

The difference between the *Parallel Lives* and the *Moralia*, and between Plutarch's goals and methods in writing each, is the underlying reason why Plutarch's use of Thucydides is demonstrably different for each genre. Biography is a genre in which comparison of the texts of Thucydides and Plutarch sheds light on Plutarch's methodology, but the format of the *Moralia* does not lend itself to such an exercise. When the citations from or correspondences to Thucydides in the *Moralia* are examined separately from those in the *Parallel Lives*, it becomes clear that in these essays, unlike the *Parallel Lives*, Plutarch often treats Thucydides in the same way he does Homer or Euripides or any other writer he admires, as a source of quotable lines. Only twice in the *Parallel Lives* does Plutarch cite Thucydides out of context, simply for literary effect. However, he does so at least ten times in the *Moralia*. I believe the reason for this discrepancy lies in Plutarch's methodology. When writing biographies whose subjects lived during the Peloponnesian Wars, he used Thucydides as a primary source, but when writing essays, as a secondary source.

CONCLUSION

In light of the differences in Plutarch's aim and method, discussions of his use of Thucydides should differentiate between the two genres, since "The threads used as the warp in the composition of the *Moralia* become the woof in the *Lives*, and those yarns which form the warp in the *Lives* are found again in the woof of the *Moralia*."¹⁴ In the *Parallel Lives*, Thucydides is a source of information. In the *Moralia*, he is, additionally, a source of ornamental quotations. Therefore, it is my contention that it is frequently Thucydides the stylist whom Plutarch cites in the *Moralia*, but almost always Thucydides the historian that Plutarch cites in the *Parallel Lives*. There can be no question of Plutarch's appreciation of Thucydides as an artist, and there can be no question of Plutarch's fondness for the liberal use of γνωμολογίαι. Perhaps Plutarch felt that the simultaneous use of Thucydides as historian and ornament was somehow distasteful—that one or the other was appropriate but not both. Perhaps he felt that Thucydides' eloquent writing style would interfere with the point of the biographies, whereas it would enhance the flow of the essays. The best explanation is that in the *Parallel Lives*, Plutarch used Thucydides as a primary source, while in the *Moralia* he is one of many secondary sources, frequently consulted in one of Plutarch's notebooks, where his admiration

¹⁴F. C. Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1927, repr. 1986) xii.

of Thucydides' writing style made the historian an important ingredient in Plutarch's own version of *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
LOGAN, UT 84322-0710

APPENDIX

This Appendix contains the citations in W. C. Helmbold and E. N. O'Neill, *Plutarch's Quotations* (Oxford 1959) 71-72, and searches of the TLG for all constructions of Thucydides name. There are thirty-six citations of or correspondences to Thucydides in Plutarch's *Moralia*, and eighty-seven citations or correspondences in the *Parallel Lives*. Eighteen of the eighty or so essays are represented, and twelve of the fifty-four biographies. Only those entries in which Plutarch cites Thucydides for noncontextual bon mots are translated. All translations are from the Loeb Classical Library.

<i>Moralia</i>		Thucydides
<i>Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur</i>	1. 56B-C	3.82.4
	2. 71E	1.70.1
"In fact, persons who use frank speaking ought to be able to say what Thucydides represents the Corinthians as saying about themselves, that they 'have a good right to reprove others'—which is not a bad way of putting it."		
	3. 73A	2.64.5
"Then again, as Thucydides says, 'Whoever incurs unpopularity over matters of the highest importance, shows a right judgment'; so it is the duty of a friend to accept the odium that comes from giving admonition when matters of importance and of great concern are at stake."		
<i>Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus</i>	4. 79F	1.18.3
"Thus attention and intense application makes persons perceptive and receptive of anything that conduces to virtue, from whatever source it come. This is more apt to be the case if they combine theory with practice, not only, as Thucydides said, 'carrying on their practice amid dangers'."		
<i>De capienda ex inimicis utilitate</i>	5. 89F	1.135
<i>De amicorum multitudine</i>	6. 96D	2.51.5
<i>De superstitione</i>	7. 169A	7.50.4
	8. 169A	7.86.2
<i>De mulierum virtutibus</i>	9. 242E	2.46
<i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute, libri ii</i>	10. 333C	2.87.4

<i>Moralia</i>	<i>Thucydides</i>		
“... but crises destroy all his calculations in the face of danger, and the fantastic imaginings of perils close at hand dispel his powers of judgment. For not only does ‘fear,’ as Thucydides says, ‘drive out memory,’ but it also drives out every purpose and ambition and impulse, unless philosophy has drawn her cords about them.”			
<i>Bellone an pace clariores fuerint Athenienses</i>	11.	345D	1.108
	12.	345D	4.95
	13.	347A	4.10–12
	14.	347B	7.71
	15.	347D	5.65–75
<i>De Pythiae oraculis</i>	16.	403B	1.118.3
	17.	403B	5.16.2
<i>De vitioso pudore</i>	18.	533A	2.40.1
“Yes, and we must also have in readiness a stock of sayings of illustrious and virtuous men and quote them to the importunate, as Phocion’s reply to Antipater: ‘You cannot use me both as friend and flatterer,’ and his answer to the Athenians who applauded him at a festival, clamouring for a special gift to the city: ‘I should be ashamed to give the money away to you and not back to him,’ pointing to Callicles the money-lender. For as Thucydides says, ‘the confession of poverty is no disgrace; what is disgraceful is the failure to avoid the reality’.”			
	19.	535E	2.64.5
“We should make a bold stand on both fronts, yielding neither to intimidation nor to flattery. Thucydides, indeed, holding that power necessarily attracts envy, says ‘He does wisely who incurs envy for the greatest prize’.”			
<i>De invidia et odio</i>	20.	538C	1.42.3
“Men forego hostility and hate either when convinced that no injustice is being done them, or when they adopt the view that those they hated as evil are good, or thirdly when they have received from them some benefit, ‘for the final service,’ as Thucydides says, ‘though small, if opportunely bestowed, wipes out a greater disservice’.”			
<i>De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando</i>	21.	540C	2.60.5
<i>De sera numinis vindicta</i>	22.	548D	3.38.1
“But God should be indolent in nothing, least of all does it become him to be so in dealing with the wicked, who are not indolent themselves or ‘postponers of their work’ of doing wrong; nay, their passions drive them headlong to their crimes. Furthermore, as Thucydides says, when ‘requital follows closest on the injury,’ it at once blocks the path of those who are carried furthest away by their successful facility in vice.”			
	23.	551A	3.38.1
“For to precipitate ourselves upon troubled water and from lack of self-control to drink it, is less of an evil, as Socrates said, than while we are turbid and clouded in our judgement with rage and fury, before becoming settled and clear,			

<i>Moralia</i>	<i>Thucydides</i>		
to glut ourselves with vengeance on a being of our own kindred and race. For it is not true, as Thucydides said, that ‘when requital follows closest on the injury’ it then receives its due; it rather does so when farthest removed.”			
<i>Quaestiones convivalium libri iii</i>	24.	733B	2.50.1
<i>An seni respublica gerenda sit</i>	25.	783F	2.44.4
“... it is not right to say, or to accept when said by others, that the only time when we do not grow weary is when we are making money. On the contrary, we ought even to emend the saying of Thucydides and believe, not only that the ‘love of honour never grows old,’ but that the same is even truer of the spirit of service to the community and the State, which persists to the end even in ants and bees.”			
	26.	797B–C	5.65.2
<i>Praecepta gerendae reipublicae</i>	27.	802C	2.65.7
	28.	803B	1.86
	29.	803B	2.72
	30.	803B	2.60–64
	31.	824C	2.36.4
<i>De vitando aere alieno</i>	32.	828B	2.13.5
<i>De Herodoti malignitate</i>	33.	855C	3.36.6
	34.	855C	8.73.3
	35.	870D	1.73
	36.	873C	1.132.2

EXCLUDED

<i>Regum et imperatorum</i>	207F5
An anecdote about Augustus and the last living descendant of Brasidas, who refers to Thucydides' histories for testimony to his ancestors' greatness.	
<i>De garrulitate</i>	513B9
Like 207.f, an anecdote referring to Thucydides' histories.	
<i>De sera numinis vindicta</i>	558D
Thucydides mentioned only as a victim of the plague.	
<i>De exilio</i>	605C5
Thucydides used as an example of someone living in exile, although the first few words are quoted.	
<i>Vitae decem oratorum</i>	832E7
	844B5
Generally considered a spurious essay.	
<i>Praecepta gerendae reipublicae</i>	802C5
The wrong Thucydides.	

<i>Moralia</i>	Thucydides
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De Herodoti malignitate 855F5

Argument *ex silentio*: Thucydides, unlike Herodotus, says nothing about Themistocles' knowledge of Pausanias' treachery.

Platonicae quaestiones 1010C

Plutarch is explaining that nouns and verbs are the important parts of sentences, and that writers are judged on these rather than articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and the like. Thucydides and Euripides are used as examples of writers whose work might be thus evaluated.

<i>Parallel Lives</i>	Thucydides
<i>Theseus</i>	1. 1c 2.15.2
<i>Lycurgus</i>	2. 54a-b 5.73.4
	3. 55e 1.87.2
	4. 56d 2.39.1
	"... [Lycurgus] actually drove away from the city the multitudes which streamed in there for no useful purpose, not because he feared they might become imitators of his form of government and learn useful lessons in virtue, as Thucydides says, but rather that they might not become in any wise teachers of evil."
	5. 56f 4.80.4
<i>Solon</i>	6. 84a 1.126
	7. 90c-d 1.2.6
<i>Themistocles</i>	8. 113c 1.93.4
	9. 113f 1.73.5
	10. 123c 1.135
	11. 123e-f 1.136
	12. 124c 1.137.2
	13. 125b 1.137.3
	14. 125e 1.137.4
	15. 126c 1.138
	16. 128c 1.138.5
<i>Pericles</i>	17. 156e 2.65.9
	18. 160e 1.22.1
	19. 161d 2.60.5
	20. 161d 2.65.8
	21. 163c-d 1.111.2-3
	22. 164b 1.112.5
	23. 167e 8.76.4
	24. 168b 1.50.5
	25. 168b 1.67.2-4
	26. 170a-b 1.126, 1.127.1
	27. 170a-b 2.13.1
	28. 170d 2.21.3

<i>Parallel Lives</i>		Thucydides
	29. 170f	2.27.1
	30. 171a	2.47-54
	31. 171c	2.56.1-2
<i>Fabius Maximus</i>	32. 185b	7.21.3
<i>Alcibiades</i>	33. 194c	6.15.4
	34. 196b	6.16.2
	35. 196e	8.73.3
	36. 198d	5.52.2
	37. 200a	6.8.4
	38. 200c-d	6.27.1-3
	39. 201c-d	6.53
	40. 201d	6.28
	41. 202b-c	6.61.4
	42. 202d	6.74.1
	43. 205c	8.92.2
	44. 205e-f	8.86.4
	45. 206a-b	8.46.5
	46. 233e	5.45.2
<i>Aristides</i>	47. 329d	2.74.3
	48. 331a	2.71.2-4
	49. 331f	3.58.5
	50. 332a	3.58.4
	51. 332d-e	1.95.1
	52. 333c	1.96
	53. 333e	2.13.3
<i>Cimon</i>	54. 481f	1.94
	55. 482d	1.98.1
	56. 483b-c	1.98.2
	57. 485c-d	1.99
	58. 486c	1.100.1
	59. 487d	1.100.2
	60. 488e	1.101
	61. 489d	1.102
	62. 490a	1.112
<i>Nicias</i>	63. 525c	7.50.4
	64. 527a	4.53-55
	65. 527a	4.129-133
	66. 527a	3.51
	67. 527a	4.66-69
	68. 527a	4.42.1, 4.44
	69. 527e	5.6-10
	70. 528d	5.16.1
	71. 529a	5.26.4

<i>Parallel Lives</i>		Thucydides
	72. 530d–e	8.73.3
	73. 532f	6.50.4
	74. 533b–c	6.63.2
	75. 534d	7.15.1
	76. 535c–d	7.2.2
	77. 536e	7.25.9
	78. 536f	7.39–40
	79. 538d	7.50.4
	80. 539b	7.50.4
	81. 539d	7.59.3
	82. 539e	7.71.1–3
	83. 541d	7.87.5
	84. 542a	7.86.2
<i>Agesilaus</i>	85. 612e	5.34.2
	86. 614f	5.64–74
<i>Demosthenes</i>	87. 848c	1.18.3
“... Demosthenes, after practising himself in these exercises, as Thucydides says, not without toil and danger, won his cause”		
EXCLUDED		
<i>Pericles</i>	167c	
<i>Ex silentio</i> , “Thucydides didn’t record.”		
<i>Fabius Maximus</i>	174e	
Refers to Thucydides’ γνώμολογαί, but cites none.		