This paper has modest objectives, which might perhaps be thought an inappropriate way to approach a work of literature whose objectives were extremely ambitious. I want to explore the contribution made to the overall effect of Philostratus’ VA by its citation of and allusion to earlier literary texts—which for a Greek writer of the 230s CE of course means earlier Greek literary texts. I do this in the expectation that this will help us understand better how Philostratus wanted to position his generically ambiguous τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον, and how he tried to construct (or reconstruct) its hero Apollonius. In the Roman world of Greek πεπαιδευµένοι quotation was one of the important techniques of self-definition,¹ thought it has not, as far as I know, been much investigated:² this essay is therefore a sample of how such investigations might be conducted. I shall draw attention to the distribution of quotations in the 8-book work and comment on the range of authors who are cited. In an appendix are printed two tables, one of which sets out quotations and allusions in the order in which they are encountered by a reader—or at least a reader who starts reading the work at the beginning and continues to do so until the end—and another which arranges quotations by the author cited (in alphabetical order). The decision on what should go into the tables has not always been straightforward. Citation or allusion can take several different forms:

(1) The text may both name an author and quote words or lines, as it does in the first attributed quotation in the book, the lines of Empedocles cited at I 1.

¹ Surprisingly, however, there is no Greek word for ‘quote’ corresponding to the Latin citare: λέγει and similar words do service both for primary utterance and for quotation.
² Nothing, for example, in Gleason (1995). For discussion of citations of early elegiac and iambic poetry in Plutarch see Bowie (1997) and in Athenaeus Bowie (2000); for a broader discussion on the difference in Plutarch’s habits of quotation between Moralia and Lives see Bowie (forthcoming).
(2) The text may name a single literary work, like Sophocles’ *Paean to Asclepius* at III 17, but not quote any words. The reader is expected to recognise the work’s title and perhaps supply some of the content.

(3) The text may name some part, or all, of an author’s corpus, as when we read in I 30 that the hymn to Artemis of Perge by the Pamphylian Damophyle was based on poems of Sappho.3

(4) Something analogous is happening in such cases as that where reference may be made to more than one place in an author’s work. Thus when Apollonius invokes Homer’s presentation of Achilles, Ajax, and Nireus at III 19 the reference to Achilles and Ajax is presumably to the many places in the *Iliad* where they are praised, whereas that to Nireus can only be to *Iliad* 2.671–4.

(5) The text may quote words which on the basis of our own knowledge we can be confident are drawn from an earlier, usually canonical, work, but no explicit hint is given in the text that this is a quotation. Context or other factors sometimes allow us to decide that Philostratus expected the quotation to be recognised: so, for example, the capacity of drunkenness to make us think we see two suns and two moons—perhaps an unnoticed advertisement for Belgian beer—is certainly an allusion to Euripides’ *Bacchae* 918–9. The certainty is based partly on the number of other allusions to that play in the *VA*, as the tables demonstrate.

(6) The text may narrate events that Philostratus and his readers, like us, most probably know chiefly from a particular earlier text, and we may guess that Philostratus expected his readers to know that this was his source, but he seems to put nothing in his text that pushes them in the direction of seeing this.

To make my tables more intelligible I have not tried to mark all these distinctions. Instead I have, perhaps misleadingly, sorted the citations and allusions into just two groups: one, where the author’s name is given in the text; the other where it is not: in this latter group the author’s name, whether that is certain or only probable, is put in parentheses.

I have also omitted from the table *nominatim* references to canonical figures where no quotation of or allusion to their writings is apparent: an example of this is the reference to Anaxagoras and Thales at II 5. Such references undoubtedly have an impact to some degree similar to

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3 I 30: τά τοι ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμίν καὶ παρώθηται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφοὺς ἔσται.