Without trying to redo the works of G. Glockmann (Homer in der frühchristlichen Literatur bis Justinus) or N. Zeegers-Vander Vorst (Les citations des poètes chez les apologistes chrétiens du IIe siècle), we ought to consider what seem to be the two oldest echoes of Homer and Hesiod, then pass at once to the mysterious Ad Graecos sometimes ascribed to Justin.

In our opinion, Homer is first echoed in 1 Clement 20. 8. Following the suggestion of Werner Jaeger that there are echoes of other poetry in 1 Clement 20, we venture to propose that Homer lurks in the words about the Ocean. "The Ocean, not crossable by men, and the worlds beyond it, are directed by the same commands of the Master". It is Homer (Od. xi. 158) who speaks of "Ocean, which is not possible for one to cross." To be sure, he adds line 159: "on foot, unless one has a well built ship". The banality of this may have contributed to Aristarchus' decision to delete lines 157-159 in toto. Knopf claimed that the text means "endless" but the examples and exegesis he gives show it means "für die Menschen ohne Ende". We see at least a verbal parallel.

Second, the influence of Hesiod seems present in the Wisdom of Solomon 14. 6, where we hear of "haughty giants" who were perishing at the time of the deluge. The adjective comes from the Theogony (149), where the giants, Cottus, Briareus, and Gyes, are described as the "haughty offspring" of Earth and Heaven. Barely noticeable, but at least suggesting, as we should expect, that in early Hellenistic Judaism and Christianity, Greek influence was not confined to philosophy.

The third-century address Ad Graecos, ascribed to Justin in the one Greek manuscript (burned in 1870) and to Ambrose in a Syriac version first published by Cureton in his Spicilegium Syriacum, contains significant surprises in regard to Homer and Hesiod. The work begins with an attack on Greek poetry as full of madness and incontinence. A pupil in school who comes to the chief poet of the Greeks is described as the most wretched of men. Why is this?
Homer (not thus far named, but plainly in view) tells how Agamemnon helped his incontinent brother (Menelaus) and gladly sacrificed his daughter (Iphigenia) and stirred up trouble in Greece in order to rescue Helen who had been abducted by a "leprous shepherd". This is all very learned and at the end of the first chapter will be presented as coming from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Such is not actually the case. There were other poems of the "epic cycle" sometimes ascribed to Homer, but usually not by the more learned after Aristotle's time. The cyclic epic *Cypria* actually did contain the story of Iphigenia.4 The reference to Paris as a "leprous shepherd" is especially erudite. According to *Iliad* xxiv. 30, Paris suffered from *machlosyne*, lustfulness. (Various ancient critics refused to accept the line as genuine, but no matter.) Now it is Hesiod who tells us that the daughters of Proetus, king of Tiryns, also suffered from *machlosyne*—and were divinely punished with leprosy (fragments 132-33 Merkelbach-West). Something intermediate between Hesiod and Pseudo-Justin has transferred the leprosy to Paris.5

It is true that Agamemnon's "captivity" under Chryseis (or Briseis in the Syriac version) could come from the *Iliad* (i. 183-85), though it also occurs in the *Cypria*,6 but the tales about Achilles come partly from the *Iliad* and partly from other sources. He held back a river (*pedesas*, an emendation found in Otto's text though not underlying the Syriac) as in *Iliad* xxi. 328-82. He overturned Troy by overcoming Hector (cf. *Iliad* xxii. 433-36). In addition, he was the love-slave of Polyxena and had been vanquished by a dead Amazon. For Polyxena he took off his divinely fashioned armor, put on a wedding garment, and fell victim to love magic in the temple of Apollo. First the dead Amazon. She was named Penthesileia, killed by Achilles, but said to be an object of his love in the epic *Aethiopis*.7 Second Polyxena. We know that she was mentioned in the epic *Cypria*,8 though the details about Achilles' proposed wedding to her and his death in the temple of Apollo are now preserved only in late scholia.9 The romance with Achilles seems to be a fairly late development.10 Details about Odysseus come from the *Odyssey*, but the statement that Ajax wore a shield "with sevenfold bull's hide" may come from the *Iliad* (vii. 220). On the other hand, the notion that Ajax went mad after losing a struggle with Odysseus over the arms of Achilles must come from the epic *Little Iliad*.11

These details clearly show that for Pseudo-Justin, Homer wrote not only the mentioned *Iliad* and *Odyssey* but the (other) poems of the epic cycle as well, at least the *Cypria*, the *Aethiopis*, and the *Little Odyssey*. 