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# Tenedos and Tennes in the *Cypria*

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## Abstract

This chapter argues that Achilles's conflict with Tennes, the eponymous ruler of Tenedos, featured in the *Cypria*. The stop-off at Tenedos formed part of an “increasing triplet,” marking Achilles's growing strength, maturity, and success as he drew closer to Troy. It also framed the Greeks' subsequent arrival at Troy as a new start and resonated with the island's broader presence in the Trojan war tradition.

## Keywords

*Cypria* – epic doublets and triplets – structure – Tenedos – Tennes

## 1 Introduction

The *Cypria* was a heavily episodic poem. Such is clear from Proclus's summary, as well as Aristotle's assessment: for him, the *Cypria* (alongside the *Ilias parva*) was the archetype of an epic that treated an action “of many parts” (πολυμερῆ, *Poetics* 23.1459b1).<sup>1</sup> Aristotle found such an accretive medley inferior to the artful design of the Homeric epics (which focused instead only on a “single part”: ἐν μέρει, *Poetics* 23.1459a35); and many modern scholars have followed his lead

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1 It is possible that the *Cypria* extended beyond the confines of Proclus's summary and treated much later parts of the Trojan war narrative, including Polyxena's death and burial (scholion on Euripides, *Hecuba* 41): Huxley 1969: 158; Burgess 1996: 87–91; 2001: 135–148.

in denigrating the *Cypria*'s sequential and accumulative structure.<sup>2</sup> In recent years, however, scholars have begun to reassess the *Cypria* and the wider Epic Cycle on their own terms, persuasively showing how they employed many of the same structural and narratological techniques familiar from Homeric epic.<sup>3</sup> A key task in Cyclic studies is to develop this approach further, extending it to other as yet underexplored moments. By doing so, we can gain an even fuller picture of the structure, poetics, and aesthetics of Cyclic epic.

One overlooked episode in the *Cypria* is that which immediately precedes the Greeks' arrival at Troy: their stop-off on the island of Tenedos (arg. ll. 144–147 Severyns = 9 *GEF*, quoted below).<sup>4</sup> At one level, it is understandable why this episode has received little attention: Proclus's summary of this moment is brief and unhelpful even by his own standards, and the visit to Tenedos is eclipsed by the more exciting and action-packed moments that frame it (the Teuthranian expedition, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and the long-delayed arrival at Troy). In this chapter, I will dive into this underexplored episode in further detail to consider how it relates to the wider concerns of the poem and to the Trojan war tradition in general. I will argue that this episode served as a crucial bridge between the Teuthranian expedition and the initial scenes of conflict at Troy, a bridge that formed part of a broader structural pattern in the second half of the epic. This chapter thus contributes to recent discussions of the form and design of Cyclic epic. More generally, we will also see that Tenedos is a key site on the mental map of the Trojan war myth beyond this specific episode in the *Cypria*; the episode formed part of a wider nexus of epic moments where Tenedos played a key role.

Any analysis of the Epic Cycle faces methodological hurdles, and so it is important to lay my cards on the table at the outset. I view the *Cypria*, like other Cyclic poems, as (1) an artfully designed poem that draws on the same traditional oral compositional devices and techniques as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*;<sup>5</sup> (2) the preserver of pre-Homeric mythical material, which can offer insight into the kinds of myths and traditions presupposed by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*;<sup>6</sup>

2 For example, Allen 1924: 73: "enumeration of pointless events"; Jouan 1987: 43: "un grand nombre d'épisodes disparates"; West 2013: 60: "it lacks structural unity"; generally, see Griffin 1977.

3 Scaife 1995: 168–174; Sammons 2017; Kelly 2023; 2025: 21–29, 32; and many contributions to Fantuzzi and Tsagalis 2015; see especially Currie 2015 on the *Cypria*.

4 The episode does not make it into the discussion of "select episodes" from Proclus's summary in Currie 2015: 285–295. Davies 2019 subsumes it into his discussion of "The Arrival at Troy" (pp. 153–161), even though it technically precedes that. Neither "Tenedos" nor "Tennes" features in the index of Fantuzzi and Tsagalis 2015 or Sammons 2017.

5 See n3 above.

6 See especially Burgess 2001: 132–171; cf. Nagy 1990: 72; Holmberg 1998; Finkelberg 2015: 127.

and (3) in its written form, a post-Homeric composition (c. seventh/sixth century B.C.E.) that could respond allusively to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.<sup>7</sup> These commitments (especially 2 and 3) may appear inconsistent at first glance, but they are all grounded in reasoned evidence and arguments, and—when combined—they enable the richest study of Cyclic poetry.<sup>8</sup> The same arguments are also made of other later texts beyond the Cycle, such as Apollonius's *Argonautica* (third century B.C.E.), which is deeply indebted to Homeric epic but may also offer insight into pre-Homeric myths surrounding the Argonautic legend.<sup>9</sup> Of course, caution is necessary in this endeavor, and on individual occasions it might be impossible to determine directions of influence with certainty. But here I am prepared to read in both directions, sometimes at the same time. I explore how the events of the *Cypria* can be interpreted on their own terms, but also alongside the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and Hesiodic poetry to achieve a broader understanding of early Greek myth and epic. In so doing, I also hope to make a methodological contribution, demonstrating the value of such a two-pronged approach for our appreciation of Cyclic poetry.

First, I argue that Tennes, the eponymous ruler of Tenedos, featured in the *Cypria* as a key opponent of Achilles *en route* to Troy. His presence in the poem has been considered plausible by various scholars, but the case has only ever been discussed briefly.<sup>10</sup> Here I make a concerted argument for his inclusion. Second, I explore how the Greeks' stop-off at Tenedos fits into the broader structural architecture of the *Cypria*, and also how Tenedos itself resonates within the wider Trojan war myth; a pre-Homeric tradition of this Tenedos episode may even be presupposed by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Finally, in an Appendix, I consider the possible presence of further details from Tennes's story in the *Cypria*. Given our paltry evidence, any arguments must inevitably remain couched in probabilities and likelihoods, rather than certainties. But

7 For the *Cypria* designed as a prequel to the *Iliad*, see West 2013: 57; Davies 2019: 4–6. Cf. Currie 2015: 284: “The quality and quantity of observable connections between the poems problematizes the assumption of a purely typological relationship,” citing Kullmann 1960: 370–373. More cautious is Burgess 2001: 149–157. For the date of the *Cypria*, see Currie 2015: 281n1; cf. West 2013: 63–65; Davies 2019: 6–8.

8 See nn3, 6 and 7 above. For this approach to the *Cypria*, cf. Hirschberger 2012: 185; Currie 2015: 284; Lambrou 2020.

9 *Argonautica* and Homer: Hunter 1993; Knight 1995. Pre-Homeric Argonautic legend: West 2005.

10 Wagner 1891: 195; Gruppe 1906: 1.670–671n2; Bethe 1927: 92; Kullmann 1960: 213–214; Jouan 1966: 306–307; 1987: 47; Hirschberger 2012: 185; West 2013: 111; Davies 2019: 153–154; contrast Robert 1920–1926: 1121.

ultimately, it seems that Tennes and Tenedos were key waypoints in the broader mythic structuring of both the *Cypria* and the whole Trojan war tradition.

## 2 Tennes in the *Cypria*

Between the attempted sacrifice of Iphigenia (arg. ll. 135–143 Severyns = 8 *GEF*) and the Achaeans' first touchdown at Troy (arg. ll. 148–151 Severyns = 10a–b *GEF*), Proclus's summary of the *Cypria* features a brief account of the Greeks' stop-off at Tenedos (arg. ll. 144–147 Severyns = 9 *GEF*):

ἔπειτα καταπλέουσιν εἰς Τένεδον. καὶ εὐωχομένων αὐτῶν Φιλοκτῆτης ὑφ' ὕδρου πληγίς διὰ τὴν δυσσομίαν ἐν Λήμνῳ κατελείφθη. καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὕστερος κληθεὶς διαφέρεται πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα.

Then they sail to Tenedos. And Philoctetes was bitten by a water snake while they were feasting and left behind on Lemnos on account of the foul smell of his wound. And Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon because he received a late invitation.<sup>11</sup>

Scholars frequently supplement this short summary with the fuller account in the *Epitome* of Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca* (3.23–28; the passages in bold are those that Martin West directly incorporates into his 2003 edition of Proclus's summary):

[23] οἱ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐξ Αὐλίδος προσέσχον Τενέδῳ. ταύτης ἐβασίλευε Τέν<ν>ης<sup>12</sup> ὁ Κύκνου καὶ Προκλείας, ὡς δὲ τινες Ἀπόλλωνος· οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς φυγαδευθεὶς ἐνταῦθα κατῴκει. [24] Κύκνος γὰρ ἔχων ἐκ Προκλείας τῆς Λαομέδοντος παῖδα μὲν Τέν<ν>ην, θυγατέρα δὲ Ἡμιθέαν, ἐπέγημε τὴν Τραγᾶσου Φιλονόμην· ἥτις Τέν<ν>ου ἐρασθεῖσα καὶ μὴ πείθουσα καταψεύδεται πρὸς Κύκνον αὐτοῦ φθοράν, καὶ τούτου μάρτυρα παρεῖχεν αὐλητὴν Εὐμόλπον ὄνομα. [25] Κύκνος δὲ πιστεύσας, ἐνθήμενος αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς εἰς λάρνακα μεθῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος· προσσχούσης δὲ αὐτῆς Λευκόφρῳ νήσῳ ἐκβὰς ὁ Τέν<ν>ης κατῴκησε ταύτην καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τένεδον ἐκάλεσε. Κύκνος δὲ ὕστερον

11 Text (minus Apollodoran interpolations: see immediately below) and translation adapted from West 2003.

12 For the correct spelling of Tennes's name (double ν), see Wagner 1891: 193n1; cf. Napolitano 2005: 239 with n. 262.

ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν μὲν αὐλητὴν κατέλευσε, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ζῶσαν εἰς γῆν κατέχωσε.

[26] προσπλέοντας οὖν Τενέδῳ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὀρών Τέν(ν)ῆς ἀπείργε βάλλων πέτρους, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ξίφει πληγείς κατὰ τὸ στήθος θνήσκει, καίτοι Θέτιδος προειπούσης Ἀχιλλεῖ μὴ κτείνειν Τέν(ν)ῆν· τεθνήξεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτόν, ἐάν κτείνῃ Τέν(ν)ῆν. [27] τελούντων δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀπόλλωνι θυσίαν, ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ προσελθὼν ὕδρος δάκνει Φιλοκτήτην· ἀθεραπέυτου δὲ τοῦ ἔλκουσ καὶ δυσώδους γενομένου τῆς τε ὀδμῆς οὐκ ἀνεχομένου τοῦ στρατοῦ, Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόν εἰς Λῆμνον μεθ' ὧν εἶχε τόξων Ἡρακλείων ἐκτίθησι κελεύσαντος Ἀγαμέμνονος. ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ τὰ πτηνὰ τοξεύων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας τροφήν εἶχεν. [28] ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Τενέδου προσέπλεον Τροίᾳ κτλ.

[23] After putting to sea from Aulis they touched at Tenedos. **It was ruled by Tennes, son of Cycnus and Proclia, but according to some, he was a son of Apollo.** He dwelt there because he had been banished by his father. [24] For Cycnus had a son Tennes and a daughter Hemithea by Proclia, daughter of Laomedon, but he afterwards married Philonome, daughter of Tragasus; and she fell in love with Tennes, and, failing to seduce him, falsely accused him to Cycnus of attempting to debauch her, and in witness of it she produced a fluteplayer called Eumolpus. [25] Cycnus believed her, and putting him and his sister in a chest he set them adrift on the sea. The chest was washed up on the island of Leucophrys, where Tennes landed and settled, and he called it Tenedos after himself. But when Cycnus later learned the truth, he stoned the fluteplayer to death and buried his wife alive in the earth.

[26] **So when the Greeks were sailing towards Tenedos, Tennes saw them and tried to keep them off by throwing stones, but he was killed by Achilles with a sword-cut in the breast, though Thetis had forewarned Achilles not to kill Tennes, because he himself would die by the hand of Apollo if he slew Tennes.** [27] **And as they were offering a sacrifice to Apollo, a water-snake approached from the altar and bit Philoctetes; and when the sore did not heal and became foul-smelling, the army could not endure the stench, and Odysseus, by the orders of Agamemnon, put him ashore on the island of Lemnos, with the bow of Heracles which he had in his possession; and there, by shooting birds with the bow, he subsisted in the wilderness.** [28] Putting to sea from Tenedos they sailed towards Troy ...<sup>13</sup>

13 Text and translation adapted from Frazer 1921: 2.192–197. Other brief mentions of this story

Care is always required when employing later mythographic sources like the *Bibliotheca* as evidence for Cyclic epic.<sup>14</sup> But in this case, it is likely that Apollodorus's fuller account preserves at least some details that would have originally featured in the *Cypria*, including the battle with Tennes, despite Proclus's silence on the topic.<sup>15</sup> Proclus's summaries are notoriously clipped and have reached us through multiple stages of excerption and abridgement. In other instances, they are known to have omitted significant moments of narrative, and I would suggest that they also do so here.<sup>16</sup>

For a start, it is unlikely that the Greeks would have received a hospitable welcome at Tenedos, given the island's proximity to Troy; after all, it lay within the bounds of Priam's kingdom (*Iliad* 24.544–546) and Tennes himself was descended from the Trojan royal house via his mother Proclia.<sup>17</sup> Some conflict between the Greeks and the local community would thus have been expected (as, for example, when Odysseus and his men land at Ismarus and clash with the Cicones: *Odyssey* 9.39–61).<sup>18</sup> Without such a conflict, there would be little narrative motivation for the Greeks' stop-off at the island in the first place.

This expectation is strengthened by the fact that the sacking of Tenedos was an established feature of the wider epic tradition. It is already mentioned

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include Lycophron, *Alexandra* 232–242; Heraclides Lembus, *Excerpta Politiarum* 22 Dilts; Diodorus Siculus 5.83.4–5; Conon *BNJ* 26 F 1.28; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 28.297d–f; Pausanias 10.14.1–4; Strabo 13.1.46; Eustathius on Homer's *Iliad* 33.20–30, 1.54.21–32 van der Valk. For general discussion of the myth, see Halliday 1927; Jouan 1966: 303–305; Gantz 1993: 590–592; Napolitano 2005: 233–247; Fowler 2013: 534n139.

14 Generally, see Henrichs 1987: esp. 254–267. On the *Bibliotheca*'s sources, see variously Dräger 2005; Kenens 2011; Michels 2019.

15 See West 2013: 11–16 (tracing both Proclus and Apollodorus back to the same “compendium of digests of the Cyclic poems current no later than the Hellenistic period,” p. 14); cf. Burgess 2025: 148: “the *Epitome* can be employed, with care, to fill in details not found in Proclus.”

16 Cf. Sammons 2017: 234: “the absence of a detail from Proclus is not good evidence for its absence from the poem itself.” On Proclus's summaries, see Currie 2016: 229–233; Sammons 2017: 225–238. Other episodes are attested for or suspected of belonging to the *Cypria*, though lacking in Proclus's summary: for example, Polyxena's sacrifice (n. 1 above) and the hiding of Achilles on Scyros (n. 26 below).

17 Cf. Wagner 1891: 195; Davies 2019: 153. See Halliday 1927: 37 for the Trojan ancestry of Tennes's mother, with variant names and traditions in his n. 2.

18 Cf. *Odyssey* 11.401–403, where Odysseus mentions fighting over “a city and its women” as an expected feature of sea travel. There are historical parallels for the throwing of projectiles against approaching ships: see Herodotus 4.156.3; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 11.293a–b; Napolitano 2005: 242n287. In myth, compare the boulder-hurling Cyclops (*Odyssey* 9.480–542) and Talos (Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4.1638–1640; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.9.26). On the defensiveness of coastal communities generally, see Kosmin 2024: 130–160.

briefly in the *Iliad*, where Achilles is singled out as the party responsible for the sack (πέρσεν Ἀχιλλεύς, *Iliad* 11.625). Homer's focus on Achilles's central involvement coheres with Apollodorus's claim that it was Achilles who killed Tennes (ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, *Epitome* 3.26); Achilles's defeat of the island's eponymous leader serves as a symbol of Tenedos's sack, which would have followed the initial shoreline skirmish.<sup>19</sup> Achilles's centrality to this narrative would also fit into a larger pattern observed by Benjamin Sammons in the second half of the *Cypria*, whereby Achilles "appears to take an increasingly prominent role as the narrative progresses," becoming "the very linchpin of Zeus's overarching plan for depopulating the earth through war."<sup>20</sup> From this perspective, Achilles's defeat of Tennes would initiate a broader sequence of Achillean conquest and slaughter that threads through the wider Trojan war tradition, including his various pre-Iliadic raids around the Troad (*Iliad* 9.328–329), and his victories over Cycnus (*Cypria* arg. ll. 149–151 Severyns = 10b *GEF*), Hector (*Iliad*), and Memnon (*Aethiopsis*).<sup>21</sup>

Other key elements of Apollodorus's Tennes story plausibly derive from the *Cypria*. Take, for example, the issue of Tennes's paternity (the mortal Cycnus and/or divine Apollo: *Epitome* 3.23). Dual parentage is a common feature of early Greek myth, including the cases of Heracles (Amphitryon/Zeus), Helen (Tyndareus/Zeus), and Theseus (Aegeus/Poseidon); in all these cases, the god is the true biological father, while the mortal is the foster parent who helps raise the child. Epic poets could refer to and alternate between both paternities without any sense of an underlying contradiction. Hesiod, for example, calls Heracles both the "son of Zeus" and "the son of Amphitryon" in the very same breath (Διὸς υἱὸς ... Ἀμφιτρωνιάδης, *Theogony* 316–317).<sup>22</sup> Helen is explicitly called the "daughter" and "offspring" of Zeus by Homer, though in the Hesiodic *Catalogue* it is Tyndareus who "plays the social role of her father" in arranging her marriage (fragments 199.8, 204.61 Merkelbach–West).<sup>23</sup> Notably, alternative

19 Cf. Diodorus Siculus 5.83.5 (Ἀχιλλέως τὸν Τέννην ἀνελόντος); Pausanias 10.14.4 (Τέννην μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἀποθανεῖν ... φασὶν οἱ Ἕλληνας). For the death of a ruler symbolizing a city's fall, compare Neoptolemus's slaughter of Priam at Troy: *Iliou Persis* arg. ll. 257–258 Severyns = 2c *GEF*.

20 Sammons 2017: 153–154 (quotations pp. 153, 154).

21 On Achilles's other campaigns in the Troad, see Taplin 1986.

22 The same alternation occurs in Homer: Heracles was born from the union of Zeus and Alcmena (*Odyssey* 11.266–268, cf. 11.620), but then is immediately called "son of Amphitryon" (Ἀμφιτρώωνος υἱός, *Odyssey* 11.270). Cf. too in the *Iliad*: son of Zeus (*Iliad* 8.362, 14.265–266, 14.324, etc.) vs. son of Amphitryon (*Iliad* 5.392).

23 Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα, *Iliad* 3.199, 3.418, *Odyssey*. 4.219; κοῦρη Διός, *Iliad* 3.426; Διὸς θυγάτηρ, *Odyssey* 4.227. For Helen's ambiguous parentage, see Rozier 2017 (quotation p. 5).

parentage had already featured earlier in the *Cypria* in the contrast of Castor and Polydeuces: the former is mortal, as the son of Tyndareus, the latter immortal, as the son of Ares (fr. 9 *GEF*).<sup>24</sup> Treatment of Tennes's dual paternity would have fitted within this same conceptual framework. After all, both of Tennes's "fathers" naturally cohere, since Cycnus is named after Apollo's bird, the swan (κύκνος); it is as if he is a symbolic manifestation of Tennes's particularly close affiliation with Apollo.

Thetis's warning to Achilles about his impending death (*Epitome* 3.26) also most probably featured in the *Cypria*. The poem employs prophecies and oracles elsewhere as proleptic devices to foreshadow later events of the poem and wider tradition.<sup>25</sup> And more generally, Thetis's concern about her son's death is a recurrent feature of the Trojan war myth. In the *Iliad*, Thetis laments with Achilles about his "swift-fated" (ὠκύμορος) existence (*Iliad* 1.415–418), while Achilles reports how Thetis had previously warned him about his destined future, telling him of his twofold fates (*Iliad* 9.410–416) and more specifically of his death by Apollo's arrows (*Iliad* 21.277–278):

ἦ μ' ἔφατο Τρώων ὑπὸ τείχεϊ θωρηκτάων  
λαίψηροῖς ὀλέεσθαι Ἀπόλλωνος βελέεσσιν.

[My mother] said that under the wall of the cuirassed Trojans I would die by Apollo's swift missiles.

In Cyclic epic, too, Thetis is repeatedly concerned for her son's fate. The "Cyclic poets" allegedly treated her attempt to avoid Achilles's participation in the war by hiding him away on Scyros (in response to a prophecy or oracle).<sup>26</sup> In the *Aethiopsis*, she is said to have "prophesied to her son about the encounter

24 The poem might have also treated Helen's two mothers; see fr. 11 *GEF* = Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.10.7: Helen was born from Zeus's rape of the goddess Nemesis; Leda looked after the resultant egg and "when Helen was born, raised her as if she were her own daughter" (γεννηθεῖσαν Ἑλένην ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα τρέφειν).

25 Compare the prophecies of Helenus and Cassandra (arg. ll. 91–94 Severyns = 1d *GEF*), analyzed as a doublet pair by Sammons 2017: 101–102, 105–108; the prophecies of Calchas at Aulis (arg. ll. 124 and 138–141 Severyns = 6 and 8 *GEF*); and Telephus's reliance on an (Apolline?) oracle (arg. ll. 132–134 Severyns = 7d *GEF*). See further Kullmann 1960: 221–224.

26 Thus D scholion on *Iliad* 1.418; B scholion on *Iliad* 19.326a<sup>1</sup>; cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.13.8. Did this episode feature in the *Cypria*? No: Kullmann 1960: 191–192; Fantuzzi 2012: 23–29; Tsagalis 2012; West 2013: 104; Verzina 2014. Yes/possibly: Severyns 1928: 285–291; Jouan 1987: 48–49; Currie 2015: 288–289.

with Memnon” (καὶ Θέτις τῷ παιδί τὰ κατὰ τὸν Μέμνονα προλέγει, arg. ll. 186–187 Severyns = 2b *GEF*), and later mourned for him at his funeral (arg. ll. 198–199 Severyns = 4a *GEF*; cf. *Odyssey* 24.91–92). Thetis’s warning about Tennes would naturally fit within this wider mythic pattern of maternal anxiety.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, if the Tennes story pre-existed the *Iliad*, Achilles’s words in Book 21 might even allude directly to it; it is on Tenedos that Thetis first appears to have predicted that Achilles would die by Apollo’s hand—if he killed the god’s son first (τεθνήξασθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτόν, ἂν κτείνῃ Τέν(ν)ην, *Epitome* 3.26).<sup>28</sup> Within the *Cypria* itself, this episode would have proved a crucial *aition* for the later events of the Trojan war: in ignoring his mother’s advice and in killing Apollo’s son, Achilles incurs the god’s wrath, justifying Apollo’s involvement in his death, as well as the god’s general hostility towards the Greeks at Troy.<sup>29</sup>

Achilles’s conflict with Tennes also provides a necessary background for subsequent events at Tenedos. Proclus reports that the Greeks held a feast on the island (εὐωχομένων, arg. l. 144 Severyns = 9b *GEF*), a brief detail which provides no motivation for this moment. Yet all other mentions of feasting in Proclus’s summaries have a clear context or purpose: the wedding of Thetis and Peleus (εὐωχομένων, *Cypria* arg. l. 86 Severyns = 1b *GEF*), Menelaus’s hospitality to Paris (εὐωχίαν, *Cypria* arg. l. 97 Severyns = 2b *GEF*), and the Trojans’ celebrations at their presumed victory after receiving the wooden horse (εὐωχοῦνται, *Ilias parva* arg. l. 235 Severyns = 5b *GEF*; εὐωχοῦνται, *Iliou Persis* arg. l. 246 Severyns = 1b *GEF*). It is thus likely that the feast at Tenedos was not just any old meal; it marked a significant event. Apollodorus once more provides some crucial further detail that fills in Proclus’s silence: the Greeks were performing a sacrifice to Apollo (τελούντων δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀπόλλωνι θυσίαν, *Epitome* 3.27). Such a

27 Cf. Bethe 1927: 92; Jouan 1966: 307; West 2013: 112; Davies 2019: 154; contrast Wagner 1819: 196. On Thetis’s “helplessness,” see Slatkin 2011<sup>2</sup>: 30–51.

28 Cf. Kullmann 1960: 269, 312, who also (p. 310) detects a possible allusion at *Iliad* 17.406–409. On traditions of Achilles’s death generally, see Burgess 2009. As Matthew Ward notes (*per litteras*), this *Cypria* episode might also be working *against* the *Iliad*: whereas the *Iliad* tries hard—at least initially—to keep Achilles’s death as an open possibility (*Iliad* 9.410–416), the *Cypria* insists that his fate is a predestined certainty, thereby hollowing out one of the *Iliad*’s core ethical dilemmas.

29 On the Cyclic poems’ efforts to justify Apollo’s hatred of Achilles, see Jouan 1987: 49. Contrast a later rationalized account in which Thetis instructed a servant to keep reminding Achilles of her warning (Lycophron, *Alexandra* 240–242 with scholia; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 28.297e–f). It has been suggested that in earlier tradition, Thetis may have simply warned Achilles to avoid killing a son of Apollo, which could have also referred to Troilus (Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.12.5; Lycophron, *Alexandra* 307–312 with scholion 307a Leone) or Hector (Stesichorus 224 *PMGF* = 108 Davies–Finglass; Ibycus 295 *PMGF*): Gantz 1993: 592; West 2013: 112.

sacrifice is best understood as a ritual to appease Apollo after Achilles's slaughter of Tennes, a necessary attempt to make amends before the Greeks' onward journey to Troy.<sup>30</sup> There would be a clear parallel here with the previous episode at Aulis, where Apollo's twin sister Artemis similarly needed to be appeased to facilitate the Greeks' onwards journey (*Cypria* arg. ll. 135–143 Severyns = 8 *GEF*). But equally telling is the parallel with the scene at Chryse in *Iliad* 1, where a Greek contingent led by Odysseus participates in a ritual sacrifice to appease Apollo (after Agamemnon's insult of Chryses), which also culminates in a feast (δαίτυντ', *Iliad* 1.468).<sup>31</sup> As at Chryse, so too at Tenedos, a meal forms a natural part of reconciliation with the divine.<sup>32</sup>

On this occasion, however, the Greeks' efforts at appeasement are unsuccessful, symbolized by the wounding of Philoctetes by a sea-snake.<sup>33</sup> In Apollodorus, this snake explicitly emerges from Apollo's altar (*Epitome* 3.27), and snakes were generally associated with Apollo as a god of healing, poison, and prophecy; compare especially the sea-serpents from Thymbraean Apollo that killed Laocoon and his son(s), which—in later tradition, at least—were also thought to have come from Tenedos (*Aeneid* 2.199–227).<sup>34</sup> This sacrifice-cum-feast in the *Cypria* would thus have accentuated the broader implications of the events on Tenedos for the Trojan expedition as a whole: the Greeks can still reach Troy, but Apollo remains implacably hostile to them because of Tennes's death, and Achilles's fate has been sealed.<sup>35</sup> For all his heroics in the later stages of the *Cypria*, the audience would know that Achilles is on borrowed time.

30 Thus Gruppe 1906: 1.670–671n2; Jouan 1966: 306–307; Davies 2019: 154. Contrast West 2013: 112, who suggests that Apollo's status as the god of Tenedos (*Iliad* 1.38) is "sufficient reason" for the sacrifice, but this is less plausible; other sacrifices in early Greek epic have stronger motivation than this. For the political significance of sacrifice in early Greek epic, see Hitch 2009; Stocking 2017.

31 For the parallels between the episodes at Aulis and Chryse, see Nelson 2022: 81–83. Compare also the sacrifice to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto in the aftermath of Achilles's murder of Thersites: *Aethiopsis* arg. 182–184 Severyns = 1e *GEF*; Tsagalis 2016: 100–102.

32 Though always a possible site of strife (see n. 48 below), feasts offer a moment of resolution in epic: compare the meal shared by Priam and Achilles in *Iliad* 24. See Griffin 1980: 16–17 on "eating together" as "a universal mark of union."

33 The most natural reading of Proclus's summary is that Philoctetes was wounded on Tenedos and afterward transported to Lemnos: thus Radif 2002: 77; West 2013: 112–113; Davies 2019: 154–155, with further discussion of alternative versions and locations.

34 Laocoon and snakes: *Iliou Persis* arg. ll. 248–249 Severyns = 1c *GEF*; Ogden 2013: 135–146. Compare Ogden 2013: 192: "Amongst the gods Apollo perhaps has the strongest claim to be regarded as a *drakōn*-master." Note too Apollo's defeat of the Delphic serpent (*Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.300–304, 352–374; Ogden 2013: 40–48); the snakes at his Epirote sanctuary (Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 11.2; Ogden 2013: 357–358); and the regular serpentine associations of his sons, including Asclepius (Ogden 2013: 310–317), Iamos (Pindar, *Olympian* 6.45–47), and Ion (Euripides, *Ion* 21–26, 1427–1432).

35 Contrast Wagner 1891: 186 who suggests that Apollo wounds Philoctetes to punish the

In sum, therefore, I believe it very likely that Achilles's conflict with Tennes and its aftermath featured in the *Cypria*. The episode fits with broader themes and techniques of the poem (including the importance of prophecies, ambiguous parentage, and Achilles's rise in stature). It also explains specific details mentioned by Proclus (especially the reason for the Greeks' meal on the island, and the underlying significance of Philoctetes's injury as an index of Apollo's enduring hostility). The absence of the episode from our version of Proclus's summary remains striking, but such an omission fits into a wider pattern of Proclan abridgement and selectivity (see n. 16 above); it would seem that the clash with Tennes lost out in favor of the surrounding and potentially more exciting battles at Teuthrania and Troy. Nevertheless, by reintroducing this episode into the structure of the poem, we can learn more about the design and architecture of the *Cypria*. That is the goal of the next section.

### 3 Tenedos in the *Cypria* and Early Greek Epic

We have already noted how the Tennes episode is thematically connected with various other elements in the *Cypria* (including the sacrifice of Iphigenia and the general prevalence of prophecies and oracles). In this section, I explore how events on Tenedos also fit into the wider structure of the poem and how they resonate with Tenedos's presence in the broader epic tradition.

The *Cypria* can be divided roughly into two halves: first, the build-up, including the Judgement of Paris, the theft of Helen, and the mustering of the Greek army (arg. ll. 80–121 Severyns = 1–5 *GEF*); and second, the journeys and conflicts that ensue (arg. ll. 122–169 Severyns = 6–12 *GEF*).<sup>36</sup> The Tenedos episode is an integral part of this second half, which can be mapped out as follows:

#### (I) TEUTHRANIA

Preparation 1 (arg. ll. 122–124 Severyns = 6 *GEF*)

- The Greeks gather at Aulis.
- Prophecy by Calchas (after snake/sparrows episode).

Conflict 1 (arg. ll. 125–128 Severyns = 7a *GEF*)

- The Greeks land at Teuthrania.
- The Greeks fight locals, including their leader Telephus (who is wounded).

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Greek army for ignoring his son Anius's prophecy on the duration of the war; but Apollo's anger at Tennes's death offers more plausible and immediate motivation.

36 On the structure of the *Cypria* in general, see Kullmann 1960: 204–226.

Aftermath 1 (arg. ll. 129–134 Severyns = 7b–d *GEF*)

- Storm: Achilles arrives at Scyros and marries Deidamia.
- Telephus visits Achilles (on the advice of an oracle) and, once healed, guides the Greeks.

(II) TENEDOS

Preparation 2 (arg. ll. 135–143 Severyns = 8 *GEF*)

- The Greeks gather again at Aulis.
- Prophecy by Calchas (after Agamemnon kills Artemis's deer).
- Iphigenia is sacrificed to appease the god.

Conflict 2 (arg. l. 144 Severyns = 9a *GEF* + Apollodorus, *Epitome* 3.26)

- The Greeks land at Tenedos.
- Prophecy by Thetis, predicting Achilles's fate.
- The Greeks fight locals, including their leader Tennes (who is killed).

Aftermath 2 (arg. ll. 144–147 Severyns = 9b–c *GEF*)

- The Greeks try to appease Apollo through sacrifice.
- Philoctetes is wounded by a water snake and abandoned on Lemnos.
- Achilles and Agamemnon quarrel.

(III) TROY

Conflict 3 (arg. ll. 148–151 Severyns = 10a–b *GEF*)

- The Greeks land at Troy.
- The Greeks fight locals, including their leader Cycnus (who is killed).
- Hector also kills Protesilaus.

Aftermath 3 (arg. ll. 152–154 Severyns = 10c *GEF*)

- The Greeks negotiate (unsuccessfully) with the Trojans.
- The siege begins.

Conflict 3 continued (arg. ll. 155–169 Severyns = 11–12 *GEF*)

- The Greeks ravage the Trojan countryside.
- Achilles dominates: he encounters Helen; prevents the Greeks from returning home; drives off Aeneas's cattle; sacks Lyrnessus, Pedasus, and other villages; kills Troilus; captures Lycaon (whom Patroclus sells into slavery on Lemnos); and takes Briseis as his war-prize.
- Palamedes dies.
- Zeus plans to remove Achilles from battle.
- Catalogue of the Trojans' allies.

As this outline shows, the Greeks' journey from Greece to Troy involved a recurrent pattern of preparation, conflict, and aftermath centered on three different

locations: Teuthrania, Tenedos, and Troy. In the past, scholars have focused primarily on the connections between the first and third of these locales, arguing that the Teuthranian episode serves as an anticipatory doublet for the Trojan war.<sup>37</sup> This is certainly a compelling interpretation, but we must also take account of Tenedos, which serves as a second anticipatory doublet. The effect is to delay the Greeks' ultimate arrival further: the *Cypria* offers a string of narrative deferrals that simultaneously anticipate events to come, building towards the Greeks' climactic arrival at Troy.<sup>38</sup>

This additional delay on Tenedos is tied into the surrounding episodes through various parallels and inversions. In each location, the Greeks face local opposition on the shore, and Achilles fights one main opponent: Telephus, Tennes, and Cynus. This sequence of foes follows the typical epic pattern of an "increasing triplet," whereby each episode is more impressive and significant than the last, building towards a climax.<sup>39</sup> Across each encounter, Achilles's strength and success grow increasingly apparent, as the Greeks move increasingly closer to their ultimate goal of Troy. First, Achilles simply wounds Telephus (τιτρώσεται, arg. ll. 127–128 Severyns = 7a *GEF*) and later agrees to cure him in return for assistance (arg. ll. 132–134 Severyns = 7d *GEF*). Achilles's dominance is already clear, but he is not yet so superior that he can kill his opponent outright. Second, he slays the mortal hero Tennes (as we have seen above, § 2), a success that demonstrates his growing ability. And finally, he kills Tennes's mortal father Cynus (arg. l. 150 Severyns = 10b *GEF*); the progression in his victim from son to father indicates Achilles's increased military maturity—he is now ready to dominate at Troy itself.<sup>40</sup> This triplet thus marks Achilles's coming of age *en route* to Troy. When he joined the expedition, he was younger than most other leaders (too young, indeed, to contend

37 Thus Currie 2015: 290: "The Teuthranian campaign in the *Cypria* was modelled closely on the Trojan War: the Greeks mistook Teuthrania for Troy; both campaigns started with a sacrifice on Aulis and ended with the Greeks dispersed by a storm; the whole Teuthranian campaign apparently lasted ten years." Cf. Jouan 1987: 44; Currie 2016: 243–244.

38 For such 'retardation' and heightening of anticipation in Homeric epic, cf. Reichel 1990; Martin 2020: 383–405.

39 See Fenik 1974: 181n84 and n. 41 below. "Triplets" are a more elaborate sequence than the epic "doublet," for which see Fenik 1974: 131–232; Kelly 2007a; Currie 2016: 239–245. For cyclic doublets, see Jouan 1987; Anderson 1997: 9–102; Cingano 2011; Sammons 2017: 101–125; 2019; Solez 2019; Spelman, this volume.

40 Such father/son pairings are a typical structural feature of cyclic myth: compare Telephus and Eurypylos, Priam and Hector, Achilles and Neoptolemus: Anderson 1997: 38–48; Sammons 2019. There may also be a progression from Tennes's ambiguously divine paternity (Tennes, son of Cynus/Apollo) to Cynus's clear-cut divine parentage (as a son of Poseidon: Κύκνον τὸν Ποσειδῶνος, arg. l. 150 Severyns = 10b *GEF*).

as a suitor for Helen: *Catalogue of Women* fr. 204.87–90 Merkelbach–West). But through these various conflicts, Achilles has refined his skills and developed into an unsurpassed killing machine (to the point where Zeus ultimately plans to remove him from the battlefield: *Cypria* arg. ll. 167–168 Severyns = 12c *GEF*).<sup>41</sup>

The extent of Achilles's development would have been even clearer if Cycnus's skin was impenetrable, as later sources suggest.<sup>42</sup> Proclus provides no details for how Achilles defeated Cycnus, but Apollodorus—who, as we have seen, plausibly preserves kernels of information from the *Cypria*—reports that Achilles killed him by throwing a stone at his head (λίθον βαλὼν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν Κύκνου χτείνει, *Epitome* 3.31). Rock-throwing is a common feature of Homeric warfare, and this form of death proves particularly fitting here: it echoes Tennes's and the Trojans' earlier attempts to keep the Greeks at bay by throwing stones (βάλλων πέτρους, *Epitome* 3.26; βάλλοντες πέτροις, 3.29) and it also reciprocates Cycnus's own lapidation of his wife's fluteplayer (*Epitome* 3.25).<sup>43</sup> In addition, however, this mode of death seems to presuppose the tradition of Cycnus's invulnerability: since he could not be killed by a sword or spear, his head had to be battered by a rock instead.<sup>44</sup> Scholars generally trace Cycnus's invulnerable skin back to the *Cypria*,<sup>45</sup> and I think they are right to do so, especially given the wider prevalence of invulnerability in Cyclic epic and non-Homeric tradition.<sup>46</sup> In that case, Cycnus would have been an even mightier

41 Achilles's increasing prominence in the narrative (as observed by Sammons: see n. 20 above) is thus keyed into the poem's structural progression. For this growing maturity, compare the "triple strike" motif in the *Odyssey*, in which a suitor throws an increasingly ineffective missile at Odysseus (Antinous's stool, 17.458–464; Eurymachus's stool, 18.387–398; Ctesippus's ox-hoof, 20.287–302). Telemachus's differing reaction to each throw indicates his increasing confidence and authority: Fenik 1974: 180–188; Reece 1993: 176–178; Gottesman 2014: 49–54.

42 See Sophocles fragment 500 *TrGF* (οὐ χαλκός, οὐ σίδηρος ἄπτεται χροός, "neither bronze nor iron touches his skin"); Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 2.22.12, 1396b.16–17 (ἐκώλυσεν ἅπαντας ἀποβαίνειν ἄτρωτος ὢν, "he prevented all the Greeks from disembarking, since he was invulnerable"); cf. Palaeophatus, *De incredibilibus* 11; Tzetzes on Lycophron's *Alexandra* 232 (p. 105 Scheer).

43 Homeric stone-throwing: Kelly 2007b: 294–295, listing the fifteen Iliadic instances. For the fluteplayer's punishment, see the Appendix below.

44 In Ovid's account (*Metamorphoses* 12.70–145), Achilles instead strangles Cycnus by his helmet-straps: Heslin 2016. In both versions, the head is the ultimate weak point (a bodily extremity akin to Achilles's heel: Nelson 2021).

45 Gantz 1993: 594; West 2013: 115–116; Davies 2019: 164.

46 See Griffin 1977: 40; Davies 2016: 67–71, 84–89; Bocksberger 2021: 34–47. Besides Cycnus, invulnerable figures appear to have included Achilles, Ajax, Asterus, Caeneus, the Nemean lion, Talos, and possibly Meleager: Burgess 1995: 219n6. The *Iliad* intentionally suppresses this possibility to accentuate a hero's mortality: Nelson 2021; 2023: 112–116.

obstacle for Achilles to face at the climax of this “increasing triplet,” proving that Achilles has now indeed become the pre-eminent warrior for the Greek cause.

The clash with Tennes, therefore, not only enhanced the audience’s anticipation through a further delay *en route* to Troy; it also served as a significant mid-point on Achilles’s progression to full fighting maturity, resonating meaningfully with the surrounding conflicts against Telephus and Cycnus.

Of course, there is no precise symmetry in this overarching Teuthrania-Tenedos-Troy schema. Even at a glance, it is clear that the events at Troy do not precisely follow the pattern of either Teuthrania or Tenedos. Not only is there no third stage of “preparation” before the conflict at Troy begins, but this conflict also drags on after a momentary “aftermath” in which the Greeks unsuccessfully negotiate with the Trojans. However, as Bernard Fenik (1974: 185) remarks, it is “usual” for there to be “no wooden or constraining regularity” in such epic patterns; and indeed, variation from a norm is usually packed with meaning, as is the case here. Teuthrania and Tenedos function similarly as two separate “dress rehearsals” for Troy, but Troy itself, as the teleological climax of the sequence, works on a far larger scale. The return to “conflict” at Troy emphasizes the climactic nature of this war, but also its lingering interminability: the conflict will indeed drag on for ten years. In addition, these moments of conflict at Troy are not entirely static: they move from the initial clash by the shore (as at Tenedos) to skirmishes inland, as the Greeks sack surrounding cities and ravage the countryside. From this perspective, the continuation of the war after the failed embassy still marks a progression, as the Greeks move closer to their ultimate target, the city of Troy itself.

This break with the established pattern at Troy also coincides with the sense of a fresh start and narrative reset. Various aspects of the Achaeans’ feast at Tenedos combine to give it the sense of a new beginning on the eve of the Greeks’ long-delayed arrival at Troy, recalling other earlier “beginnings” from the Trojan saga. We have already noted how the attempt to appease Apollo parallels the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis, an episode that was framed in wider tradition as a particularly inceptive moment.<sup>47</sup> Yet the feud that erupts during this feast is also evocative of other epic beginnings. According to Proclus, “Achilles quarrels with Agamemnon because he received a late invitation” (Ἀχιλλεύς ὕστερος κληθεὶς διαφέρεται πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα, arg. ll. 146–147 Severyns = 9c GEF).<sup>48</sup> As scholars have long observed, this argument is uncannily remi-

47 On Iphigenia’s sacrifice as “a key moment of beginning, initiating the expedition against Troy,” see Nelson 2022: 89.

48 This episode is also briefly mentioned by Aristotle (*Rhetoric* 2.24.6, 1401b17–19), whose

niscent of the opening of the *Iliad*, in which Agamemnon and Achilles quarrel over their relative status, prompting Achilles's wrathful withdrawal from battle. In both cases, Agamemnon seems to underappreciate Achilles's contributions in battle: in the *Iliad*, Achilles complains that he does not receive due recompense for enduring the brunt of war (*Iliad* 1.165–168), while in the *Cypria*, the late invitation would have been particularly irking on the back of Achilles's success over Tennes. If we see the *Cypria* as a post-Homeric text that can allude to Homeric epic (see §1 above), I would suggest such an allusion here: the *Cypria* recalls the beginning of the *Iliad* at the very moment when the real war at Troy is about to start.<sup>49</sup> After all, it is striking how many details in the final sections of Proclus's *Cypria* summary seem particularly geared towards events mentioned in the *Iliad*, including Achilles's driving off of Aeneas, his sacking of Lyrnessus and Pedasus, his capturing of Lycaon, and especially his acquisition of Briseis, the cause of his future dispute with Agamemnon.<sup>50</sup> More generally, Achilles's growing military dominance in the second half of the poem justifies the substance of his Iliadic complaints against Agamemnon (*Iliad* 1.163–171, 1.225–244, 9.315–333): the *Cypria*'s increasing triplet of Achillean conquest entirely effaces Agamemnon from the poem's trajectory, proving that Achilles—not Agamemnon—is the expedition's foremost fighter. The dinner quarrel on Tenedos thus initiates a broader pattern within the *Cypria* of telescoping the audience towards the *Iliad*, and particularly its beginning.

In addition, this argument over a dinner invitation also looks back to the start of the *Cypria* itself, where Eris appears to have caused her mischief after not being invited to the wedding dinner of Peleus and Thetis. As Albert Severyns has argued (1950–1951: 156–158), Proclus's summary suggests this element of the story by its description of Eris as παραγενομένη (“turning up [unexpectedly],” arg. l. 86 Severyns = 1b *GEF*).<sup>51</sup> Moreover, Proclus describes the wedding

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familiarity with the *Cypria* has already been established (§1 above). For the debate about whether this quarrel has any connection to the dispute between Achilles and Odysseus attested at *Odyssey* 8.72–82, see Davies 2019: 156–161. The feud at Tenedos might also have been staged in Sophocles's *Syndeipnoi* (“Fellow-diners”): see Sommerstein et al. 2006: 84–140. For strife during a feast, compare the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (below) and the clash of the Lapiths and Centaurs (*Iliad* 1.262–268; *Odyssey* 21.295–304).

49 The *neikos* (“quarrel”) is a typical theme of early Greek epic (Kelly 2024: 43–44), but the parallel personnel here invites the specific reference. For the possibility of specific references within typological structures, see Currie 2016: 9–11; cf. Kelly 2007b: 12.

50 Cf. n. 7 above. Of course, this overlap could in part reflect Proclus's tailoring of the material as a frame to the *Iliad*; cf. Currie 2016: 233.

51 Cf. Davies 2019: 48–49, who also briefly notes the parallel with the Tenedos quarrel on p. 161.

feast with precisely the same word as the feast at Tenedos (εὐωχομένων, arg. ll. 86 and 144 Severyns = 1b and 9b *GEF*), which is at least suggestive of the similar contexts of both episodes. Achilles's frustration with Agamemnon stems from the same situation that prompted Eris to cast her "apple of discord," initiating the whole chain of events that led to the Trojan war. The dinner at Tenedos thus not only recalls the beginning of the *Iliad*, but also reenacts the start of the *Cypria*, a kind of ring-composition that marks the final departure for Troy as a fresh start.

The Tenedos episode, therefore, was keyed into broader concerns of the *Cypria*; it was an important structural hinge between events at Teuthrania and Troy, building towards Achilles's pre-eminent status, but it also marked a fresh start, preparing for the Greeks' long-delayed arrival at Troy.

To end, however, it is worth noting that the *Cypria* was not alone in giving Tenedos an important role in early Greek epic. The island was a recurrent point of focus in the wider tradition.<sup>52</sup> In the *Iliad*, for example, Apollo's priest Chryses cites Tenedos as one of Apollo's domains when seeking the god's support against the Greeks (*Iliad* 1.38); if the Iliadic audience was familiar with a tradition of Achilles's killing of Tennes, Chryses's mention of the island here would be particularly effective—Apollo has all the more reason to punish the Greeks on this occasion, given their previous transgressions against him.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the Iliadic Agamemnon's claim that "strife is always dear" to Achilles (αἰεὶ γὰρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη, 1.177) could even be understood as an allusion back to their earlier quarrel on Tenedos; the start of the *Iliad* is not in fact the first time that the two have "parted in strife" (διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε, *Iliad* 1.6).<sup>54</sup>

More strikingly, however, Tenedos also features in the later stages of the Trojan war story. It is where the Greek fleet hides while the Trojans are tricked by the wooden horse (εἰς Τένεδον ἀνάγονται, *Ilias parva* arg. l. 232 Severyns = 5a *GEF*) and so where the Greeks return from to successfully sack Troy (ἐκ Τενέδου προσπλεύσαντες, *Iliou Persis* arg. l. 254 Severyns = 2b *GEF*); the Achaeans' short and decisive journey from Tenedos at the end of the war replays and outdoes their initial arrival from the island as part of a far longer and more arduous journey.<sup>55</sup>

52 Compare Jouan 1987: 46–48; Dova 2012: 111–117.

53 The Homeric scholia certainly make a connection with Tennes: scholia A and D on *Iliad* 1.38.

54 For αἰεὶ ("always") indexing allusions to earlier moments of tradition, see Nelson 2023: 267–269.

55 For such one-upmanship regarding the speed, distance, and efficacy of a journey, compare Nelson 2023: 260–262 on Hesiod, *Works and Days* 650–653.

In addition, Tenedos is the first stopping point on the return voyage after Troy's destruction (*Odyssey* 3.159–164; cf. Apollodorus, *Epitome* 6.5). This is perhaps unsurprising, given the island's proximity to Troy, but the *Odyssey* nevertheless goes out of its way to establish a neat symmetry between the Greeks' journeys to and from the war. As on their outbound voyage, the Greeks perform a sacrifice (ἐρέξαμεν ἱρὰ θεοῖσιν, *Odyssey* 3.159) and a quarrel arises (ὄς ῥ' ἔριον ὤρσε κακῆν ἔπι δεύτερον αὖτις, "[Zeus] roused evil strife again a second time," 3.161). In the immediate context of Nestor's narration in *Odyssey* 3, the emphasis on repetition (δ δεύτερον, "a second time"; αὖτις, "again") looks back to the immediately preceding dispute (ἔριον, 136) between Agamemnon and Menelaus, which had divided the army in two before their original departure from Troy (3.134–158). But we might wonder whether Nestor's words also contain a more oblique allusion to the earlier quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles on Tenedos: strife breaks out on the island once more.<sup>56</sup> The homeward voyage repeats but varies events of the outward journey; Tenedos is a place where arguments just keep happening. Ultimately, then, the island of Tenedos was not just a key structural marker in the *Cypria*, but also an important point on the broader mythic map of the Greeks' journeys to and from Troy. By foregrounding the island on the outbound journey, the *Cypria* was not only building towards the Greeks' climactic arrival at Troy, but also looking forward to the ultimate end and aftermath of the whole Trojan war.

### Abbreviations

- BNJ* Worthington, I. ed. 2007–. *Brill's New Jacoby*. Brill: Leiden. Online: <https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/bnjo/>
- GEF* West, M.L. 2003. *Greek Epic Fragments: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- TrGF* Snell, B., Kannicht, R., and Radt, S.L. 1941–2004. *Tragicorum graecorum fragmenta*. 5 volumes. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- PMG* Page, D.L. 1962. *Poetae melici graeci*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- PMGF* Davies, M. 1988. *Poetarum melicorum graecorum fragmenta. Volumen 1: Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Severyns Severyns, A. 1963. *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclo*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

56 For the self-reflexive acknowledgement of repetition in archaic epic, see Nelson 2023: 262–273.

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### Appendix: Further Details of the Tennes Myth

In this chapter, I have argued that Achilles's clash with Tennes featured in the *Cypria*. But how many of the other elements in Apollodorus's account can be traced back to the *Cypria*? As ever, certainty is impossible, but I think far more than have often been thought. I discuss these further details here to avoid bogging down the main thrust of my argument above.

Scholars have generally presumed that the details of Tennes's life and backstory are a post-Cyclic development: the story that Tennes's stepmother Philonome falsely accused him when he reproved her advances; as a result, he was set adrift in a chest at sea with his sister, until he landed at an island that was later renamed after him (*Epitome* 3.24–25). For Martin West, this story “has no place” in the *Cypria*; instead, he supposes a tragic origin, one that perhaps goes back to the *Tennes* attributed to Critias or Euripides (*TrGF* 1.43, fragments 20–21).<sup>57</sup> However, I am unpersuaded by such a dogmatic conclusion. Of course, elements of the tale certainly resemble tragic plots: Philonome's advances recall those of Phaedra in Euripides's *Hippolytus*; the chest-sea-travel recalls the mythical plights of Auge and Danae, which featured in tragedy alongside other genres;<sup>58</sup> and Philonome's burial alive is best paralleled by the fate of Sophocles's *Antigone*.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, we know that Apollodorus did use “tragedy as a source of mythological material” elsewhere.<sup>60</sup> But that does not prove that he certainly (or exclusively) did so here. Comparable instances

57 Thus West 2013: 111; cf. Wagner 1891: 194–195; Halliday 1927: 38. On the tragic *Tennes*, see Jouan 1966: 303–308; Luppe 1989; Wright 2016: 51–52.

58 Auge: Euripides, *Auge* (fragments 264a–281 *TrGF*) and *Telephus* (fragment 696–727c *TrGF*); cf. Strabo 13.1.69; Pausanias 8.4.9. Danae: Sophocles, *Acrisius* (fragments 60–76 *TrGF*) and *Danae* (fragments 165–170 *TrGF*); Euripides, *Danae* (fragments 316–330a *TrGF*) and *Dictys* (fragments 330b–348 *TrGF*); cf. Simonides, fragment 543 *PMG*; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.4.1; Aeschylus's satyr-play *Net-Haulers* (fragments 46a–47c *TrGF*). Compare too Pausanias 3.24.3 on Semele.

59 Philonome's punishment certainly featured in the tragic *Tennes*; the surviving hypothesis explicitly says that “he [Cycnus] killed the woman who had deceived him” (τῆν δὲ ψευσα[μέν]ην γυνάϊκα ἀπέκτεινεν, *TrGF* 1.43 fragment 20.9).

60 Wright 2019: 232.

of an estranged son and the “Potiphar’s wife” motif feature already in the *Iliad*: Phoenix’s quarrel with his father Amyntor after sleeping with his concubine (*Iliad* 9.447–484) and Proteus’s attempt to punish Bellerophon after the false accusations of his lustful wife Antia (*Iliad* 6.160–170). In these Iliadic accounts, such episodes of family drama occur within embedded narratives, narratological “digressions” from the core narrative.<sup>61</sup> In the *Odyssey*, too, Theoclymenus is introduced with an elaborate biography and genealogy of over thirty lines (*Odyssey* 15.223–257). Given such precedent, it would be unsurprising for Tennes to have received a similarly elaborate backstory, especially given the role he seems to have played in the poem as a major opponent of Achilles (indeed, Achilles’s first major scalp after the second departure from Aulis). It is a well-known feature of early Greek epic that the time spent on an individual or object correlates to their relative importance in the plot.<sup>62</sup> An extensive digression on Tennes’s past (including his Trojan ancestry via Proclia) would have reinforced his stature, framing him as a worthy opponent for Achilles.

Death by stoning (the punishment of Philonome’s mendacious fluteplayer) is also not alien to epic tradition. In the *Iliad*, Hector threatens Paris with a “stone tunic,” a metaphorical reference to stoning (λάϊνον ... χιτῶνα, 3.57). And in Proclus’s summary of the *Iliou Persis*, we are told that the Achaeans had planned to stone Oilean Ajax to death (καταλεῦσαι) before his supplication at Athena’s altar (arg. l. 263 Severyns = 3a *GEF*).<sup>63</sup> Punitive lapidation would thus not have been out of place in the *Cypria*; and more than that, its inclusion would have been thematically fitting, resonating with the moments of stone-throwing on the battlefield that feature within the larger narrative (see §3 above).

A focus on Tennes’s history and on the origins of Tenedos would also fit with the commonly observed local and epichoric concerns of Cyclic epic in general. As Jonathan Burgess has remarked, Cyclic poems “were well suited to

61 Or “para-narratives,” to use Alden’s term (2000, 2017). Similarly, we might wonder how much of the story of Telephus and his mother Auge’s sea-chest journey featured in the *Cypria*: see n. 58 above. For other embedded narratives in the *Cypria*, see Tsagalis, this volume, on Nestor’s stories.

62 In the *Odyssey*, for example, note Maron’s wine (9.195–213), Odysseus’s scar (19.392–468), and Iphitus’s bow (21.1–41).

63 The same punishment is connected with Oilean Ajax by Alcaeus (fragment 298.3 Voigt). For the *Iliad*’s metaphor, see D scholia ad loc.; Lucian, *Piscator* 5; Horn 2015. For the death of a musician connected to a deceptive female figure, see also *Odyssey* 3.265–272 (the singer tasked by Agamemnon with guarding Clytemnestra).

serve the interests of specific communities,” reflecting the particular claims of a geographical site or a particular community’s assertions of heroic ancestry.<sup>64</sup> The Tennes story evidences this same impulse. Not only does it account for the name of Tenedos (which was previously called Leucophrys, “white-browed,” presumably in reference to the white crags, ὄφρυς, that circled its shore).<sup>65</sup> But it also legitimizes a cult of Tennes on the island, one in which (according to later sources) both fluteplayers and the very mention of Achilles’s name were banned.<sup>66</sup>

One final element to consider is Plutarch’s claim that Tennes confronted Achilles not just to protect his homeland, but also to defend his “beautiful” (καλήν) sister, whom Achilles “was pursuing” (ἐδίωκε) (*Quaestiones Graecae* 28.297e–f).<sup>67</sup> Scholars have generally considered this a postclassical addition to the story, reflecting a broader Hellenistic interest in ἐρωτικά παθήματα (the “sufferings of love”).<sup>68</sup> This may well be the case, but it is worth noting that such Achillean desire would not be out of place in Cyclic epic, where Achilles has numerous other attested love interests, including Deidamia (n. 26 above), Helen (*Cypria* arg. ll. 157–158 Severyns = 11b *GEF*), and Penthesilea (*Aethiopsis* arg. ll. 175–181 Severyns = 1a–d *GEF*).<sup>69</sup> Tennes’s sister Hemithea plays a significant role in the accounts of Tennes’s life and journey to Tenedos, joining him in his sea-chest-exile (Apollodorus, *Epitome* 3.25). If she did feature in the *Cypria*, she could well have been another target of Achilles’s lust, an anticipatory doublet foreshadowing Achilles’s encounter with Helen at Troy later in the poem; after all, Hemithea’s very name (“half-goddess”) suggests a figure straddling the boundary between mortal and divine, much like Helen herself.

64 Burgess 2001: 162–166 (quotation p. 166); compare Burgess 2025: 147–164 on the *Telegony*. See too Jouan 1987: 53; Nagy 1979: 7–8 §14n4; Sbardella, this volume.

65 Cf. Eustathius on Homer’s *Iliad* 33.23–24, 1.54.24–25 van der Valk: ἔστι δὲ ἡ μὲν Τένεδος νήσος Αἰολικὴ ποτὲ μὲν Λεύκοφρυς καλουμένη διὰ τὸ λευκὰς ἔχειν ὄφρυς ἦγγουον ἔξοχὰς περὶ τοὺς αἰγυαλοὺς; cf. Napolitano 2005: 234.

66 Island name-change: Conon *BNJ* 26 F 1.28; Pausanias 10.14.3; Diodorus Siculus 5.83.2. Tennes cult: Diodorus Siculus 5.83.3. Fluteplayer-ban: Heraclides Lembus, *Excerpta Politiarum* 22 Dilts; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 28.297d–f. Ban on Achilles’s name: Diodorus Siculus 5.83.5; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae* 28.297f. For the myth as an Aeolian colonisation narrative, see Bethe 1966: 29; Napolitano 2005: 233–247.

67 See too Tzetzēs on Lycophron’s *Alexandra* 232 (p. 106 Scheer). For διώκω of erotic pursuit, cf. Sappho 1.21 Neri. For discussion, see González González 2019.

68 Thus Halliday 1927: 43. For the Hellenistic reception of Cyclic myth generally, see Sistakou 2007; 2008.

69 See Fantuzzi 2012 on Achilles’s love interests, especially pp. 21–97 on Deidamia and pp. 267–286 on Penthesilea; see too Tsagalis 2008: 93–111 on Achilles and Helen. On erotic elements in the Cycle generally, cf. Burgess 2001: 169–170.

The study of Cyclic epic is all too often marred by misplaced notions of “appropriateness” and “suitability,” based on a limited conception of what constitutes “archaic epic.” When we study individual features in detail, however, it becomes clear that the *Cypria* (and the Tennes episode within it) could have embraced a wide range of story elements, even those that might at first strike us as “tragic,” “romantic,” or even “postclassical.”