

## AMPHITRITE IN AND OUT OF THE OLYMPIAN PANTHEON

*Résumé.* — L'épopée propose trois traditions distinctes d'Amphitrite. Dans l'*Odyssée*, son nom désigne la mer par métonymie, et « Amphitrite gémissante » est la mère de monstres. Hésiode anthropomorphise Amphitrite, faisant d'elle l'épouse de Poséidon, tandis que l'*Hymne homérique à Apollon* l'identifie à la sœur aînée des Titans. Nous examinerons le contexte mythique dans lequel a eu lieu la domestication d'Amphitrite par Hésiode, arguant que cette innovation a influencé le développement du culte de Poséidon et d'Amphitrite à Penteskouphia, ainsi que la représentation finale de la déesse en tant que divinité olympienne.

*Abstract.* — Epic offers three distinct traditions of Amphitrite. In the *Odyssey* the name is used as a metonym for the sea; “loud-moaning Amphitrite” is a breeder of monsters. Hesiod anthropomorphizes Amphitrite, making her the spouse of Poseidon, while the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* identifies her as a Titan-like elder goddess. I examine the mythic context in which Hesiod's domestication of Amphitrite took place, arguing that his innovation influenced the development of the Poseidon and Amphitrite cult at Penteskouphia, as well as the goddess' ultimate representation as an Olympian deity.

Archaic poetry presents inconsistent traditions concerning Amphitrite. In the *Iliad*, Amphitrite is conspicuously absent, although the poem includes a catalog of Nereids, who sit in a cave with their father, the Old Man of the Sea (*Il.*, 18, 37-53). The poet of the *Odyssey*, by contrast, several times uses the name Amphitrite to personify the sea, yet never portrays Amphitrite as a fully anthropomorphic goddess.

αὐτοῦ δ' ἰχθυά, σκόπελον περιμαιμώωσα,  
δελφῖνάς τε κύνας τε, καὶ εἴ ποθι μείζον ἔλησι  
κῆτος, ἃ μυρία βόσκει ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη.

[Of Skylla] There she fishes, eagerly searching round the promontory  
For dolphins and sea-dogs and any larger sea-monster she can take,  
Creatures which loud-moaning Amphitrite rears in their multitudes.

(*Od.*, 12, 95-97.)

In Miriam Hopman's analysis of Skylla, Amphitrite is one of an interlocking set of symbols whereby the Homeric tradition associates woman, sea, and predation. The sea is full of terrifying, man eating fish and other

monsters such as the κίττα; these are the brood of loud-moaning Amphitrite<sup>1</sup>. She has a persona of sorts. The sea is female, fertile, dangerous, and shares the characteristics of predatory animals, with her inarticulate moaning. The Amphitrite of the *Odyssey* is a good match for the Hesiodic Gaia, as a non-anthropomorphized female who breeds monsters, seemingly without a mate, and is not under the control of a male authority figure.

The parallel between earth and sea as monster-breeders is supported by verses 2-5 of the recently published Getty hexameters, inscribed on a lead tablet and perhaps dating to the late fifth century. The tablet seems to be a charm calling on Apollo for protection from evils:

ὅστις τῶνδ' ἱερῶν ἐπέων ἀρίσμα καλ[ύ]ψ[ει],  
 γράμματα κασσιτέρῳ κεκολαμμένα λάος ἐν οἴκῳ,  
 οὐ νιν πιμανέουσιν ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών,  
 οὐδ' ὅσα πόντῳ βόσκει ἀγαστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη.

Whoever hides in a house of stone the notable letters  
 of these sacred verses inscribed on tin,  
 as many things as broad earth [εὐρεῖα χθών] nourishes shall not harm him  
 nor as many things as loud-moaning Amphitrite rears in the sea<sup>2</sup>.

Hesiod himself, however, presents Amphitrite quite differently from the poet of the *Odyssey* and the author of the Getty verses. For him, she is a Nereid, one of the fifty daughters of Nereus and Doris (*Theog.*, 243, 254). Still, Amphitrite has a special status among the Nereids:

Ἐκ δ' Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ ἐρικτύπου Ἐννοσιγαίου  
 Τρίτων εὐρυβίης γένετο μέγας, ὅστε θαλάσσης  
 πυθμέν' ἔχων παρὰ μητρὶ φίλῃ καὶ πατρὶ ἄνακτι  
 ναίει χρύσεια δῶ, δεινὸς θεός.

From Amphitrite and the loud-roaring Shaker of the Earth  
 Great wide-ruling Triton was born, who haunts the sea floor,  
 Dwelling there with his dear mother and lordly father  
 In a golden house, a fearsome god.

(*Th.*, 931-934.)

Thus our three oldest poetic texts afford us three divergent pictures. The poet of the *Iliad* knows the Nereids but not, it seems, Amphitrite. The poet of the *Odyssey* knows her as the personified sea, a breeder of monsters. Hesiod makes her both a Nereid and the consort of Poseidon. It is almost as though Hesiod found a sea goddess wandering about unescorted and helpfully supplied her all the necessities for a Greek noblewoman: a genealogy,

1. M. HOPMAN (2012), p. 54.

2. Text and translation from C. FARAONE, D. OBBINK (eds.) (2013), p. 10-11. The formula ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών is drawn from Hom., *Il.*, 11, 740-741: "Fair-haired Agameme, who knew as many φάρμακα as the wide earth nourishes."

a husband, a house, and last but not least, a son. Of course, Hesiod's goal of systematization contributed to the innovation, but might we identify other factors? In the remainder of this paper, I will suggest a mythic context for Hesiod's transformation of Amphitrite and argue that it played a role in the development of the goddess as a local cult figure. I will further trace Hesiod's impact in the way Amphitrite came to be represented as an Olympian goddess, concluding that her status as such was contingent on the medium (she is more prominent in visual art than in poetry) and the application of criteria (such as gender parity or nuptial themes) to construct a condensed Olympian pantheon.

I think some light can be shed on Hesiod's innovation by returning to the *Iliad*. Homer's portrait of Poseidon contains certain details which may have figured in the development of Amphitrite as an anthropomorphic deity. First, there is the tale of apportionment in *Iliad*, 15, 186-193, in which Poseidon himself explains to Iris that the three sons of Kronos and Rhea divided the cosmos into thirds and drew lots for their respective domains, the sky, the sea and the underworld: "And when the lots were shaken, I drew the grey sea to dwell in forever." He adds that earth and Olympos were to be held in common between Zeus, Hades and himself<sup>3</sup>. Thus we have the idea of three parallel kings in three domains. In *Iliad*, 13, 17-22, this idea is further developed when Poseidon watches the battle at Troy from a peak on Samothrace, then takes four great strides downward to reach Aigai:

Αἰγᾶς, ἔνθα δέ οἱ κλυτὰ δώματα βένθεσι λίμνης  
χρῦσα μαρμαίροντα τετεύχεται ἄφθιτα αἰεῖ.

Aigai, where his famous dwelling [κλυτὰ δώματα] was built in the depths of the sea, gleaming golden, imperishable forever.

(*Il.*, 13, 21-22; cf. *Od.*, 5, 381-382.)

The dwelling beneath the sea at Aigai is also mentioned in the *Odyssey* as the place to which Poseidon returns after smashing the raft of Odysseus. Hades too has his house and throne beneath the earth (*Il.*, 20, 61-65; 22, 482) though the name Hades oscillates in Homer between anthropomorphic deity and underworld place. Zeus' dwelling, of course, is on Olympos. Although there is no formulaic correspondence, Hesiod and Homer share the concept of Poseidon's golden house in the depths of the sea. But in Hesiod's

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3. This allotment motif is borrowed from Near Eastern myth; both Sumerian and Hittite versions are attested. In the Mesopotamian Atrahasis epic, a lottery is used to apportion sky to Anu, earth to Enlil, and the nether waters of *apsu* to Enki: W. BURKERT (1992), p. 90. Closest to the Homeric version is the Canaanite mythic corpus from Ugarit, which lacks an explicit allotment motif but makes El, the "father of gods" ruler of the atmosphere, while Yamm rules the sea and Mot the underworld: R. MONDI (1990), p. 165.

cosmogony, there is no lottery among the three brothers for the three domains. Instead, Zeus doles out honors to each deity after victory over Typhoeus is achieved (*Theog.*, 881-885). After this, we hear a catalog of wives and offspring (*Theog.*, 885-944) which focuses on Zeus's many conquests, but also assigns Persephone to Aidoneus, and Amphitrite to Poseidon. Hesiod devotes a major line of descent to monsters descended from the sea, and seems to make the same connections as the *Odyssey* poet between femaleness, the sea, and predation. Presumably he could have chosen Amphitrite, the sea, as the progenitrix of his line of monsters, but instead, he personified the sea as a male figure, Pontos the father of Phorkys and Ceto (*Theog.*, 131-132).

It is tempting to conclude that for the purposes of the *Theogony*, Hesiod combined the pre-existing idea of a semi-personified sea goddess with the idea that each of the three sons of Kronos and Rhea had his own domain and palace. According to Hesiod's genealogical schema, Poseidon required a consort to inhabit his fabulous undersea palace. Therefore Amphitrite was downgraded from the sea itself to one of the Nereids. It would be helpful if we knew the etymology of Amphitrite's name, but unfortunately the second element (apparently shared with Triton and Athena's epithet Tritogeneia) cannot be securely identified. If the name was understood as "surrounding the third", it could refer to a primordial tradition that the cosmos was divided into three parts, sky, earth and sea. Any such coinage would have depended on folk etymology, however, for the iota in -τρίτη is long<sup>4</sup>. Schömann derived -τρίτη from an obsolete verb τρώω "flow", relying on Hesychius' definition of *trito* (s.v.) as *reuma*. If "Amphitrite" connotes "flowing around [the earth]", the name forms an interesting counterpart to Poseidon's epithets Shaker of Earth and Earth-holder<sup>5</sup>.

All this is speculative, but in terms of establishing a chronology, I find it more convincing that a semi-personified metonym for the sea was modified into a Nereid than the reverse, that the name of a Nereid spouse of

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4. Speculative etymologies from τρώω are proposed in Schol. Hom., *Od.*, 3, 91; Plut., *De Iside et Osiride*, 381e. A folk etymology is likely (and a change of vowel quantity is possible) for the Vedic god Trita in Sanskrit: A. CARNOY (1918), p. 304.

5. G. F. SCHÖMANN (1857) p. 167-168; cf. Herodian, *De Orthogr.*, 475, 14-18 and Schol. Oppian, *Halieutica*, 1, 2. Yet another etymology draws the name from τρωέω or τρωέω, referring to the crashing or pounding of the sea on the earth: L. PRELLER, C. ROBERT (1894-1926, I, p. 467.) Cf. the summary in *RE* I (1894), p. 1963 (Wernicke) and the more recent observations of L. HELLER (1973) on the phonological equivalence of Greek Triton and Irish *triath* ("multi-pronged spear") and their connections with the sea.

Poseidon was generalized into a word for the sea<sup>6</sup>. To muddy the seawaters further, an additional Archaic poetic tradition is found in the Homeric *Hymn to Delian Apollo*:

Λητώ δ' ἐννήμαρ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας ἀέλπτοις  
ὠδίνεσσι πέπαρτο. θεαὶ δ' ἔσαν ἐνδοθι πάσαι,  
ὄσσαι ἄρισται ἔασι, Διώνη τε Ῥεῖη τε  
Ἰχναίη τε Θέμις καὶ ἀγάζστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη.

But Leto was racked for nine days and nights  
With unexpected pains. All the goddesses were there within,  
The noblest ones [ἄρισται], Dione and Rhea  
And Ichnaean Themis and loud-groaning [ἀγάζστονος] Amphitrite.  
(Hom., *Hymn Ap.*, 91-94.)

The Hymn poet also worked from the *Odyssey*, as is shown by his use of the epithet ἀγάζστονος from *Od.*, 12, 97, but he came to different conclusions than Hesiod. He quite sensibly classified Amphitrite as a goddess of an older generation, one of the Titans<sup>7</sup>. As such she is eminently qualified to attend on Leto during her travails, and the Hymn poet makes her indisputably anthropomorphic. To summarize the evidence so far, we have the following four early traditions:

	Amphitrite	Poseidon
<i>Iliad</i>	Absent (and unknown to the poet?)	Golden dwelling in depths of the sea at Aigai
<i>Odyssey</i>	Loud-moaning Amphitrite (metonym for sea); cf. the Getty verses	Dwelling beneath the sea at Aigai (alone?)
Hesiod, <i>Theogony</i>	Nereid, bride of Poseidon, mother of Triton	Golden house on sea floor inhabited by Poseidon, Amphitrite and Triton
Hom., <i>Hymn. Ap.</i>	Titaness (?), elder goddess	NA

Turning to the realm of cult, there is only one known case of an Archaic cult involving Amphitrite. Since Ioannis Mylonopoulos has recently ques-

6. Meanwhile Classical poets continued to use her name as a metonym for the sea (e.g. Soph., *OT*, 194; Eur., *IT*, 425-426). Cf. an oracle supposedly contemporary with Solon: Paus., 10, 37 6.

7. Rhea and Themis are Titans in Hes., *Theog.*, 135, while Dione seems to be a Titan in *Theog.*, 17, but an Oceanid in *Theog.*, 353. She is classed with other female Titans in Apollod., *Bib.*, 1, 3, 1.

tioned whether the material from Penteskouphia indicates worship of Amphitrite, let us briefly consider the evidence<sup>8</sup>. This consists of a number of votive plaques usually dated in the seventh and sixth centuries, and found in a ravine at a site about 2.5 kilometers from ancient Korinth. Because no architectural remains have been found in the immediate area, it has been suggested that the sanctuary at Penteskouphia consisted of a sacred grove and that the plaques were originally suspended from trees<sup>9</sup>. The principal god of the sanctuary was clearly Poseidon. Many plaques show him alone, or standing facing Amphitrite, or riding in a chariot, either alone or accompanied by Amphitrite. The reverse often depicts the potters and kiln workers who were the dedicators of the plaques.

Inscriptions are very common on the plaques. Typically there are labels identifying Poseidon and Amphitrite, plus a dedication in the dative to Lord Poseidon, *Poteidāwōni Wanakti*. None of the preserved inscriptions includes a dedication to Amphitrite, and one can therefore make a case that the potters did not worship her. On the other hand, her pervasive presence on the tablets indicates that she loomed very large in the mental imaginary of the dedicators. At least two of the tablets include the label “I am Amphitrite, the spouse (*akoitis*) of Poseidon<sup>10</sup>.” Another tablet, one of the earliest, shows her alone, and the label is her name in the accusative case. The dedication is unfortunately broken off<sup>11</sup>. Some tablets use a formula without the dative, merely applying labels to the figures of interest and adding “X dedicated<sup>12</sup>.” Zeus and Athena both make occasional appearances on the pinakes as labeled figures. There are at two explicit dedications to Athena and perhaps one to Zeus<sup>13</sup>.

Finally, one fragmentary sixth-century tablet shows a small male figure standing before a much larger female figure; this iconographic convention of size difference is often used to represent encounters between worshipers and gods. To judge from the frequency of her depiction in the tablets and the scarcity of other female deities, the figure is probably Amphitrite<sup>14</sup>. Although the evidence is not conclusive, I think it is sufficient to allow us to regard Amphitrite as a cult figure who was revered at Penteskouphia. At the

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8. I. MYLONOPOULOS (2012), p. 6097.

9. H. GEAGAN (1970), p. 32.

10. R. WACHTER (2002) COP [Corinthian Pinakes] nos. 5-6 (= Paris Louvre MNC 208 and Berlin Antikensammlung F 487), not dated.

11. R. WACHTER (2002) COP no. 37 (= Berlin Antikensammlung F 828), ca. 625-00. The reverse shows a man leading a horse.

12. E.g. R. WACHTER (2002) COP nos. 29, 35, 38a-b.

13. Explicit dedications: R. WACHTER (2002) COP nos. 58, 59 (Athena); no. 78 (Zeus).

14. LIMC Amphitrite, no. 1 (= Berlin Antikensammlung F 787).

same time, she is to be considered ancillary to Poseidon; she is viewed more as Poseidon's bride than as the divine agent who will determine the fate of the potters' cargo<sup>15</sup>.

The Amphitrite of the plaques bears a close resemblance to the Amphitrite of Hesiod. This is unexpected. Usually we think of Panhellenic poets drawing from the chaos of local myth and cult to create a synthetic picture, rather than local communities drawing on poetry as inspiration for new cult figures. At Penteskouphia, however, a votive tablet ca. 550 included Poseidon and Amphitrite as well as Triton and an unidentified female figure, perhaps a Nereid<sup>16</sup>. This would seem to be a fairly explicit allusion to Hesiod's lines about Triton, and if so, it represents an unusual example of the impact of Panhellenic poetry on cult. We can compare the use of the Homeric formula "white-armed Hera" on votive objects from the Argive Heraion and Perachora, but the innovation at Penteskouphia is more radical: the creation of a new cult figure<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, the earliest tablets do not include Triton, and he could be a later addition to the divine imaginary of the potters.

There is a possibility, though only a slender one, that Hesiod drew his bride of Poseidon from some local cult tradition rather than from the *Odyssey* tradition of the semi-personified sea. If Amphitrite already existed as a cult figure, we would expect her to be fully anthropomorphic. Furthermore, the union of a god and his consort is a favorite cultic theme, most familiar from the many pairings of Zeus and Hera, but also noted for other gods. Dionysos has his Ariadne, and Hades and Persephone were worshiped at Eleusis as Theos and Thea. Already in the Linear B Pylos tablets we find that Poseidon has a cult partner Posideia just as Zeus has a partner Diwia. According to a scholiast on the *Odyssey*, the Naxians referred to Poseidon's bride as Poseidonia<sup>18</sup>. Given the location of the Penteskouphia votive deposit near Korinth and Isthmia, it seems plausible that the cult pairing of Poseidon and Amphitrite was not independently extracted from Hesiod by the potters, but borrowed from traditions already in place at the venerable Isthmian sanctuary of Poseidon. Isthmia in turn may have drawn on Hesiod, or it may have been his source. Both possibilities must be entertained, for

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15. For Poseidon at Penteskouphia see I. MYLONOPOULOS (2003), p. 201-204. The case may be analogous to the cult of Zeus and Dione at Dodona, where Dione was sometimes included as an oracular deity along with Zeus, and sometimes not. Compare also Pind., *Ol.*, 6, 104-105, where the prayer is directed to Poseidon as "husband of Amphitrite with the golden distaff".

16. *LIMC* Amphitrite no. 13 (= Berlin Antikensammlung F 485), ca. 550.

17. Hera: J. LARSON (2016), p. 34-35.

18. Linear B: Posidaeia is mentioned in Pylos tablet Tn316; for text and translation see T. PALAIMA (2004), p. 120-121. Naxians: Schol. Hom., *Od.*, 3, 91.

both epic poetry and Panhellenic sanctuaries engendered networks through which the concept of Amphitrite-as-bride could be disseminated<sup>19</sup>. Unfortunately, all the evidence for Amphitrite at Isthmia is late, so the hypothesis of an Isthmian origin cannot be supported from the material record<sup>20</sup>.

Now let us return to the nuptial connotations which seem so important in both Hesiod and the cult at Penteskouphia. Many of the votive tablets from Penteskouphia show Poseidon driving a chariot with Amphitrite at his side in what appears to be a nuptial context. *LIMC* Amphitrite no. 25, for example, (first third of sixth century) shows the chariot followed by a female attendant. When we turn to Athenian vase painting, we find similar representations in which Poseidon and Amphitrite are paired up in chariots.

What distinguishes the Athenian examples, however, is the way Amphitrite is now depicted in assemblies of the gods, and specifically as a member of the core Olympian group. Images of such assemblies were newly popular, and they raised the question of inclusion and exclusion. The Sophilos dinos (ca. 580), for example, is often cited by scholars of Greek religion as an early depiction of the key members of the pantheon. It includes the twelve gods later depicted on the East Frieze of the Parthenon, as well as Hestia. Among the deities it shows traveling in procession to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, five distinguished pairs ride in chariots while the others walk. The chariot-riders are Zeus-Hera, Poseidon-Amphitrite, Ares-Aphrodite, Apollo-Hermes and Athena-Artemis. In this context, Sophilos seems to have been motivated by a desire to represent as many conjugal pairs as possible. Thus he provides Poseidon with his spouse Amphitrite, but also upgrades the less popular Ares to a high status and pairs him with Aphrodite.

The same three conjugal combinations are found about ten years later on the François vase. They reappear ca. 500 on a cup by the Sosias painter, which shows the introduction of Herakles into Olympus. Toward the end of the sixth century the Altar of the Twelve Gods was founded in Athens. It is not known whether twelve gods were specified by name in the cult, but the limiting number seems to have caused a certain ferment on the question of who was to be included in a condensed Olympian pantheon<sup>21</sup>. The desire to

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19. On networks and cult, see J. LARSON (2016), p. 325-7, 336-9 with bibliography.

20. During the mid to late sixth century, Poseidon and Amphitrite appeared together on Bathycles' "throne" for Amyclaeon Apollo (Paus., 3, 19, 3) and in Gitiadas' reliefs for the Bronze House at Sparta (Paus., 3, 17, 2). Archaeological evidence for the important cult of Poseidon and Amphitrite on the island of Tenos dates only to the fourth century; see E. ROLAND, J. BRAUN (eds.) (1987), p. 181-4; L. MOSCATI CASTELNUOVO (2007), p. 95-96.

21. On condensed pantheons, an explicitly limited selection of gods which can stand for the whole, see S. GEORGIOUDI (1998), p. 76; J. LARSON (2016), p. 29-31.

provide Poseidon with a spouse had to be weighed against the fact that Amphitrite was neither a cult figure in Attica nor an important character in epic. Phidias seems to have arrived at a suitable compromise. On the East Frieze of the Parthenon, which shows the twelve Olympian gods (opting for Dionysos over Hestia), Amphitrite is absent. But scholarly reconstructions of the West Pediment, whose subject is the contest of Athena and Poseidon include her as a charioteer in association with Poseidon. Again, in the much-damaged East metopes which show the gigantomachy, she appears as the consort of Poseidon<sup>22</sup>.

At around the same time the Parthenon was under construction, a vase by the Codrus painter (ca. 430) showed a banquet of the gods. Here the organizing principle is not Olympian status but conjugal pairing<sup>23</sup>. Thus the pairs Zeus-Hera, Poseidon-Amphitrite, Ares-Aphrodite and Dionysus-Ariadne are arranged on couches. In the tondo is the conjugal pair of Plouton and Persephone. This interest in erotic pairings of gods is not unique to the Codrus painter, but extends to certain other vase painters who show Poseidon and Amphitrite alongside Dionysos and Ariadne<sup>24</sup>.

At the outset of this paper, I suggested that Hesiod combined Homeric descriptions of Poseidon's palace with the Odyssean use of the metonym "Amphitrite" to yield a bride of Poseidon, whom he classed as a Nereid. I further speculated that this innovation led to a role for Amphitrite in cult, but one which was narrowly circumscribed by her role as Poseidon's bride. In Classical Athens, Amphitrite was drawn into painted and sculpted explorations of the Olympian pantheon and (presumably) into discussions of the new Twelve Gods concept. Ultimately, her inclusion among the Olympians depended on visual or cultic schemes that emphasized male-female pairs and especially nuptial themes. Thus her status as an Olympian goddess was dependent on context.

The question of Amphitrite's role at Athens inevitably brings us to Bacchylides' Theseus ode, and fittingly, we come full circle to the epic concept of Poseidon's palace beneath the sea. The tradition that Bacchylides relates first appears in Athenian vase painting ca. 490, and it is not clear that the vases showing Theseus' undersea visit are responses to the ode, which scholars prefer to date ca. 470; indeed, on the evidence of the details the

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22. K. SCHWAB (1996), p. 89, n.39.

23. For male-female pairings on the banquet cup by the Codrus painter see A. AVRAMIDOU (2006), p. 569.

24. Poseidon and Amphitrite with Dionysos and Ariadne on vases beginning ca. 550: *LIMC* Amphitrite nos. 43-7. Interestingly, Theseus has ties to both goddesses, as Ariadne's ex-lover and Amphitrite's stepson. For Theseus and Naxos as links between Ariadne and Amphitrite see A. MICHALOPOULOS (2009), p. 228.

paintings include, most appear to be independent of it<sup>25</sup>. Whereas the vases typically show Poseidon in residence beside Amphitrite, the ode does not even indicate that he was present when Theseus reached the sea floor, and the unexpected prominence of Amphitrite in the ode has puzzled some. I suggest that we should read the scene in the context of Athenian social mores. Theseus gains access to Poseidon's house. Indeed, he gains access to Poseidon's wife, and is received when Poseidon is not present. Yet all is decorous and dignified; there is no hint of scandal. These circumstances show as clearly as one could wish that Theseus is regarded as a trusted member of the family, and that Amphitrite, above all else, is what Hesiod made her: the bride of Poseidon.

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25. Dating: M. PAVLOU (2012), p. 511-12. The famous cup by Euphronios and Onesimos with Theseus and Amphitrite clasping hands is dated ca. 490.

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