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METAPHYSIS

RITUAL, MYTH AND SYMBOLISM IN THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE

**Proceedings of the 15th International Aegean Conference, Vienna,
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PEETERS
LEUVEN - LIEGE
2016

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THE METAPHYSICAL MIND IN MYCENAEAN TIMES AND IN HOMER*

In this paper I take up four sets of questions relating to the metaphysical mentality of the Mycenaeans. They indicate paths of exploration that we might follow to gain some understanding of what the Mycenaean Greeks of the full palatial period (ca. 1400-1200 BCE) must have thought and felt about the metaphysical world they imagined existing beyond and infusing the hard and difficult physical world in which they lived out their lives.

1. How did the Mycenaean Greek elites within the intra- and inter-regional palatial systems move from a period when no king (as specified by the *wanax*) existed to a period when there was a *wanax* and when and how did the historically attested concepts of Zeus-nourished and Zeus-born kings, heroes and chiefs (and even of the kings of the Pelopid dynasty passing down a scepter made by Hephaestus and granted to them by Zeus, so that it could be visible at Chaeronea in the age of Pausanias) come to be? What was the process by which individuals of power began to conceive of themselves as related to, in contact with and validated by supernatural forces, some anthropomorphized, in the metaphysical sphere? How and when did the rest of society come to accept this notion that the elites were so blessed?
2. Given that divine beings exert such influence over the thoughts, feelings and actions of human beings of power in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and human societies in general in Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* (cf. especially: a. Hesiod's view of *daimones* operating in and affecting the world from the Silver Age, i.e., before the Ages of Heroes and of Bronze, onward; b. the ritual actions that look like superstitions in the *Days* section of the *Works and Days*; and c. Pandora's letting *kēdea lugra* loose into the world), to what degree are we justified in tracing such beliefs and outlooks about human behaviors back into the Greek Bronze Age and how would we track evidence for such views? That is, given that we lack any literary texts or texts explaining or codifying ritual practices in Linear B, how do we explore the metaphysical world in the texts that we do have?
3. If we can detect some aspects of how and what the Mycenaean Greeks thought about the metaphysical sphere of the world around them, is it possible to put those aspects into some organized schema in relation to what the historical Greeks, who lacked any standard 'schools' of theology, thought about the metaphysical world?
4. Are historical parallels of any help to us?

Before proceeding, I wish to mark out the sound use of *data* from Homer to explicate Bronze Age phenomena by many scholars at the Metaphysics conference, in particular the papers of: 1. Shelmerdine, seconded by Deger-Jalkotzy, concerning the clear connections between the view of the Homeric figure of Nestor and his kingdom of Pylos and Mycenaean palatial ideology, practice, social organization and behavior, as documented textually, iconographically, archaeologically and anthropologically; 2. Serrano Laguna on epithets and adjectives; 3. Lindblom and Ekroth on the handling of the bones of the dead; 4. Dakoronia on the connection of images with the long and rich mythological traditions that, as Martin Nilsson demonstrated in his Sather lectures ninety years ago, originated around Mycenaean power centers; and 5. Jones using the Homeric Hymn to Demeter.¹

I also wish to thank Nancy Thomas and Malcolm Wiener for showing how useful historical parallels to periods as far apart and different as the age of Louis XIV and the reign of Amenhotep can be. We should recall here that Norbert Elias's classic systematic study of power structures over time in

* I wish to thank Will Bibee, Jörg Weilhartner, Joann Gulizio and Malcolm Wiener for discussions that improved this paper.

¹ See the final versions of these papers in this volume. See also M.P. NILSSON, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (1932).

relation to human behavior, human emotion and human knowledge of the world, a study solidly focused upon the court of the *ancien régime* (France in the 15th century to near the end of the 18th century) contains an appendix on power ideology and practice during the *Hitlerzeit*.²

How do the divine and human spheres relate to one another in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*? What might the patterns of intersection and interaction between the physical and metaphysical worlds in the epics suggest about the evidence in the Linear B tablets? And what do they tell us about the position of the high king and the role that the gods have in validating that position?

1. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the divine and human spheres frequently interact and intersect. There are important interventions of the gods in human thoughts, decisions, psychology, impulses towards action and actions taken. The divine sphere models the human sphere in power relationships between figures comprising a royal household. The relationships among the gods take place at a 'palatial' level of the systematization of power. And human beings appeal for help to the gods through sacrifices (of burning smoky incense, animals and grain cakes, and *in extremis*, human victims) and prayers. These same practices of appeal and placation of divine forces are attested in the Linear B documents relating to religious offerings to deities in their sanctuaries and other specific localities and to religious figures and functionaries who intercede between the people inhabiting palatial territories and divine beings. It is reasonable, and not romantic or unthinking speculation, to posit that a kindred mentality and kindred belief systems to what we observe in the Homeric epics, *mutatis mutandis*, underlie this evidence for Mycenaean practices.
2. In the Linear B texts, there are feminine-gendered manifestations of metaphysical entities operating within the same sphere as historically attested male supernatural figures and having similar powers and effects, unless otherwise developed or restricted. The prime examples are: *di-wi-ja* (and Zeus) and *po-si-da-e-ja* (and Poseidon). There is no reason to posit some form of family relationship among theonyms in the Linear B texts unless it is explicitly specified or otherwise implied, as, for example, in the triad placed together in the same final 'paragraph' of PY Tn 316 (Zeus, Hera, and Drimios), where Drimios is explicitly designated as the *son* of Zeus. It is a reasonable assumption here that Hera is the 'mother' of Drimios. But it should be recognized as an assumption based on the importance of patrilineal relationships in historical Greek society (and Homer).
3. There is clear cause-and-effect linkage in *Iliad* Book 1 between Agamemnon's treatment of Chryses, the priest of Apollo, and the onset of the plague that affected animals and then humans. Agamemnon's sacrilegious conduct brought on human suffering that required purification and placation. Thanks to the careful, cross-cultural work of William E. Bibee, the historical Greek terms *katharos* and *katharsis* can be traced to smoke and incense rituals deriving from Near Eastern terms and practices. Mycenaean *tu-wo* (PY Un 219.1; TH Fq 126) and *tu-we-a* (Un 267.3) are to be derived from the Indo-European root meaning 'to smoke'; and the related historical and Homeric Greek vocabulary (θύος, θύεα, θύω) is to be connected with Latin and Sanskrit cognates having the same meaning. For *tu-we-a*, Bibee cites approvingly Stella's original identification of this material as "granelli di incense o semi di altre piante aromatiche da bruciare in incensieri," and he also cites Akkadian parallels for 'setting up' 'incense' (Mycenaean *tu-wo-te-to* on TH Fq 126). He further argues convincingly that key passages in Homer (e.g., *Iliad* 6.270 and *Odyssey* 15.222, 260, 261) that, rightly understood, refer to smoke incense offerings have been mistaken as referring to animal sacrifice.³ We may wonder what form the daily offerings offered (θυσίαί θύονται) to the scepter of Agamemnon in historical Chaeronea, as reported by Pausanias, took. We can cite a comparandum roughly contemporary with the Linear B texts and the early stages of genesis of the Greek epic tradition: *The Plague Prayers of Mursili II*, in which king Mursili II attributes a plague ravaging the

² N. ELIAS, *The Court Society* (1983) Appendix 1, 276-283.

³ W.E. BIBEE, "Incense Offerings in Homer: An Unrecognized Religious Activity?" Unpublished paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association, Chicago, Illinois, 2014 (abstract <http://apa.classics.org/annual-meeting/145/abstracts/william-bibee> last accessed December 27, 2014). L.A. STELLA, *Atti Roma*, vol. 2, 1057.

- people and land of the Hittites for nearly twenty years to sacrilegious actions of his father, Suppiluliuma (ca. 1357 [1340/]-1322 [1320?] BCE).⁴
4. There are many interventions of gods in battle and in human affairs: a. Thetis is responsive to Achilles throughout the *Iliad*; Athena accompanies, instructs and guides Telemachus, the royal heir apparent, in the opening *Telemacheid* of the *Odyssey* (books 1-4) and later hovers protectively over Telemachus and Odysseus as they slaughter the suitors and the household retinue who collaborated with them; b. Zeus pities but cannot spare his son Sarpēdōn in *Iliad* Book 16; c. at the end of Book 21 and beginning of Book 22, Apollō whisks away Agēnōr, who has just cast a javelin that glances off the tin greaves of Achilles; then Apollō takes Agēnōr's form and deceives Achilles, sprinting away from him; d. in Book 22, Athēna appears in the form of Dēiphobos, deceiving Hectōr into facing Achillēs; e. in Book 24, Iris visits Priam and Hermes takes human form as a Myrmidōn, son of Polyctōr, and in this guise leads Priam and his attendant Idaeus to Achilles.
 5. Athena in *Odyssey* Book 1 appears to Patroclus in human form as Mentēs and then as Mentōr.

As for the pertinence of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to the Linear B evidence with regard to metaphysical notions, recall that valid arguments have long supported: a. seeing *Iliad* 7.166 as one of the oldest lines in the *Iliad*, going back to the 15th century BCE; and b. proposing that the hexameter itself is a meter adapted from the tradition of Minoan song poems.⁵ The line Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνωαλίῳ ἀνδρείφοντι itself shows strong Cretan associations with Mycenaean links. The two main Cretan leaders in Homer are Mēriōnēs (hypothesized as deriving from a non-Greek substrate root *mēr-* for 'bow' and probably meaning something like 'bow-shooter') and Idomeneus (derived from *Idā* > *Idā Idāmeneus* [GDI 4140.4230 Rhodes] > *Idomeneus* [cf. *hulā* > *hulotomos*] son of Deukaliōn [cf. *de-u-ki-jo-jo me-no* in the Knossos oil offering text Fp 1.1], grandson of Minos and Pasiphae).⁶ The deity here Enualios is also pre-Greek and attested as a theonym *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* in Linear B at Knossos, V 52, and, in my view, in its occurrence on An 724 as *e-nwa-ri-jo*, it is also a god's name.⁷ The theonym was later made into an epithet for Ares (see Knossos tablet V 52 where *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* and *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* occur independently along with *po-se-da[-on-ne]*). This kind of tantalizing nexus of associations takes us to the very limit of what the Mycenaean, Homeric, historical Greek and mythological *data* can offer us. What the line from Homer implies, however, is that very early on in the epic tradition there was a belief that human power figures (in this case, the Cretan leader Mēriōnēs) could have qualities and prowess that made them physically and in their persons the equivalent of divine beings (in this, case Enyalios), who, therefore, must already have been conceived of anthropomorphically.

In the sphere of kingship ideology, terminology and iconography (see here the passages immediately below), we have similar significant associations, in this case of terms that serve: 1. as Homeric and Mycenaean titles of power figures (βασιλῆες, *qa-si-re-u*, ἄναξ, *wa-na-ka*, ἀνάσσειν, ποιμῆν λαῶν, *po-me*, *ra-wa-ke-ta*); 2. to identify figures connected with ritual/ceremonial activities (κήρυκες, *ka-ru-ke*; θυέστης, *tu-we-ta*), and 3. to stand for the male *Volk* (λαός) of a Mycenaean palatial territory. The instrument that is symbolic of power, the σκήπτρον, is not attested in the Linear B lexicon; but it is a

⁴ For a good contextual discussion as it relates to the Hittite king's role in protecting his people from divine wrath, see G. BECKMAN, "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Hittite Anatolia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (1995) vol. 1, 530. For a longer account of Hittite royal prayers, including the plague prayers, see H.J. HOUWINK TEN CATE, "Hittite Royal Prayers," *Numen* 16:2 (1969) 81-98.

⁵ E. MEILLET, *Les origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs* (1923); C.J. RUIJGH, "The Source and the Structure of Homer's Epic Poetry," *European Review* 12:4 (2004) 527-542.

⁶ H. VON KAMPTZ, *Homerische Personennamen* (1982) 349-350, 352, 255-256.

⁷ AURA JORRO, *DMic* (1985) *s.v.* *e-nwa-ri-jo* reports as scholarly consensus that the term in An 724.12 is an anthroponym. However, see the succinct argument of D. NAKASSIS, *Individuals and Society in Mycenaean Pylos* (2013) 247, citing the convincing parallel of Ep 704.5-6 and Eb 297 concerning *e-to-ni-jo* land 'held' for a deity. The most recent full discussion of this textual conundrum laying out various options for interpretation is S. LUPACK, *The Role of the Religious Sphere in the Economy of Late Bronze Age Mycenaean Greece* (2008) 74-75.

component of the ‘throne and scepter’ sign, Linear B phonogram *61 = *o*;⁸ and the term is special to Greek among Indo-European languages.⁹ This makes it virtually certain that the absence of the term is a matter of chance.¹⁰ The σκῆπτρον is a basic and unadorned symbol of regal power and its very name stresses its utility (a tool [-tron] to lean upon) and likely origin as a ‘shepherd’s staff’, hence giving rise to the standard Homeric epithet ‘shepherd of the male soldier-citizens’. We see in Pausanias later that the ‘scepter’ of the great Agamemnon, brought to the area of Phocis by his daughter Electra, is identifiable as a simple wooden (spear) shaft or δόρυ (Δόρυ). It is still an object of ritual reverence and honor (σέβουσι and τιμῶσι) as something ‘peculiarly divine’ (θειότερον, cf. Myc. Gk. *te-o* and *te-i-ja*) by the Chaeroneans, more valuable than gold, kept year to year by an annually appointed priest (ὁ ἱερώμενος, Myc. Gk. *i-je-re-u*, *i-e-re-u*, *i-je-re-ja* and *i-je-ro*) not in a temple (ναός, Myc. Gk. **na-wo*, cf. *na-wi-jo*), but in an οἶκημα (cf. Myc. Gk. *wo-ko*) and worshipped ritually every day (θυσίαί ἀνὰ πάσαν ἡμέραν θύονται).

The scepter of Agamemnon in *Iliad* book 2.96-108 is described as follows. I place meaningful Mycenaean correspondences to the right of each line. Notice here the reference (*Iliad* 2.98) to Zeus-nourished/reared kings who deserve to be heard when they hold the σκῆπτρον. This emphasis on ‘nourishment’ through divine benefaction is a key element of Mycenaean *wanax* ideology.¹¹ Listeners to these sung words would also understand that being ‘nourished/reared’ by deities, in this case Zeus, implies a parent-child relationship (cf. the relationship between Achilles and Thetis in the *Iliad*).

	έννέα δέ σφεας	
	κῆρυκες βοόωντες ἐρήτυον, εἴ ποτ’ ἀυτῆς	Myc <i>ka-ru-ke</i>
	σχοίατ’, ἀκούσειαν δὲ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων.	Myc <i>qa-si-re-u</i>
	σπουδῆ δ’ ἔξετο λαός, ἐρήτυθεν δὲ καθ’ ἔδρας	
100	παυσάμενοι κλαγγῆς: ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων	
	ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων τὸ μὲν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων.	
	Ἥφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίῳ ἀνακτι,	Myc <i>wa-na-ka</i>
	αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρω ἀργεῖφόντη:	
	Ἑρμείας δὲ ἀναξ δῶκεν Πέλοπι πληξίπτω,	Myc <i>wa-na-ka</i>
105	αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Πέλοφ δῶκε Ἄτρεϊ ποιμένι λαῶν,	Myc <i>po-me; ra-wa-ke-ta</i>
	Ἄτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ,	Myc <i>tu-we-ta</i>
	αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ’ Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι,	Myc <i>tu-we-ta</i>
	πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.	Myc <i>wa-na-ka</i>

⁸ T. PALAIMA, “The Nature of the Mycenaean *Wanax*,” and J. YOUNGER, “The Iconography of Rulership: A Conspectus,” both in P. REHAK (ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a Panel Discussion Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992* (1995) plates XLIIg and p. 197, Chart of Linear A “O” [AB 61] Signs.

⁹ E. BENVENISTE, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (1969) vol. 2, 29-32. In Greek alone among the Indo-European languages was this root for ‘support’ used for the power symbol that we still call the scepter as it is applied to the many functions a king or claimant to power, temporary or permanent, might have.

¹⁰ The Linear B texts mention a royal potter, a royal fuller, and a royal overseer of paraphernalia (perhaps armor), a royal purple dye workshop, royal handles or handfuls of javelins (PY Wr 1480 *WA pa-ta-jo do-ka-ma*). They also enumerate and describe ritual vessels, sacrificial implements and furniture used on the occasion of a ceremony conducted by the ruler (PYTa series). This implies that the high ruler has vestments, pottery, paraphernalia and furniture suitable for and specific to his exalted position—and special functionaries and specialists to make, prepare, repair, refurbish and generally care for these items—that separates him out by binary contrast from all other human beings (the force of the suffix on the adjectival form *wanak-teros*). The absence of the ‘scepter’ then is the equivalent of the absence of ‘greaves’ and ‘shields’ from the catalogue of items pertaining to war attested in the Linear B documents: a matter of chance.

¹¹ See T. PALAIMA, “The Significance of Mycenaean Words Relating to Meals, Meal Rituals, and Food,” in *DAIS*, 385, and “Security and Insecurity as Tools of Power in Mycenaean Palatial Kingdoms,” in *Études mycéniennes 2010* (2012) 349.

The scepter of Agamemnon is later identified at Chaeronea by Pausanias (9.40.11-12):¹²
 [11] θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιῆσαι Δίί φησιν Ὅμηρος Ἡφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα Ἐρμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλοπα δὲ Ἄτρεί καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἄτρεα Θυέστη, παρὰ Θυέστου δὲ ἔχειν Ἀγαμέμνονα: τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον σέβουσι, Δόρυ ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ εἶναι μὲν τι θειότερον οὐχ ἤκιστα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφανὲς ἐξ αὐτοῦ:

[12] φασὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις αὐτῶν καὶ Πανοπέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι εὔρεθῆναι, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσὸν εὔρασθαι τοὺς Φωκεῖς, σφίσι δὲ ἀσμένοις ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκῆπτρον. κομισθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπὸ Ἡλέκτρας τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος πειθομαι. ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ δημοσία πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὁ ἱερώμενος ἐν οἰκίματι ἔχει τὸ σκῆπτρον: καὶ οἱ θυσῖαι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν θύονται, καὶ τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ περμμάτων πλήρης.

We can also see in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems some attempts to systematize the divine sphere that are paralleled in Mycenaean texts relating to ritual offerings (cf. KN Fp 1; PY Tn 316 and Fn 187). We must emphasize, however, that in both the epic poems and Linear B administrative texts the impulse for 'systematizing' is not what we would call theological or even liturgical, but practical or, if somewhat liturgical, *ad hoc* and determined by a specific case or situation.

So, for example, on Pylos Tn 316 in regard to the ritual event signified by *i-je-to-qe* involving the 'sending' or 'making holy' (*hieros*) of gifts (*dōra*) and ritual bearers (*phorēnas*), the items are listed first at the main religious district associated with the palatial center at Pylos *pa-ki-ja-ne* and specifically directed to the deity (*potnia*) who is most closely associated with the palatial center and the *wanaks* who presided there. Associated with *po-ti-ni-ja* are divine or heroized/divinized figures that could well be connected with rituals intimately connected with the 'royal court' and the ideology of rulership: 1. *po-si-da-e-ja*, a female manifestation of the power and sphere of Poseidōn, who is so central in Homer *Odyssey* book 3 to the historical vision of the kingdom of Pylos and its long and stable ruler Nestor as a society and ruler in harmony with the divine sphere and run prosperously and securely with the protection of metaphysical powers, particularly in the good graces of Poseidon; 2. *ti-ri-se-ro-e* (the 'thrice' hero), a figure that Susan Lupack links now with the heretofore puzzling appearance of the term *wanaks* among deities receiving oil offerings in the Fr series as reflecting a process of legitimizing the holding of the kingship through worship of heroized ancestral figures;¹³ 3. *do-po-ta*, another demigod, the 'one who is powerful in the (royal) domos'.

In the next three sections of Tn 316 we have recorded the sending or sanctifying of similar items to: 1. the sanctuary of Poseidon; 2. the sanctuaries of *pe-re-ʹ82*, *di-wi-ja* and *i-pe-me-de-ja*; 3. Hermes Areias either as present in the sanctuary of *Divia* or rather 'unbounded' in his own separate entry as a god who crosses and therefore supersedes boundaries and bounded areas like sanctuaries or *temenē*; and 4. the sanctuary of Zeus. This reflects some notions of the relative importance of these deities on this ritual occasion.

We might compare here the systematization of deities in Homer and Hesiod. The canonical ordering of deities in Homer, *Iliad* 20.31-40 has to do with the sides they are taking in intervening in the intense fighting between the Achaeans and the Trojans and their respective allies.

ὡς ἔφατο Κρονίδης, πόλεμον δ' ἀλίσστον ἔγειρε.
 βᾶν δ' ἴμεναι πόλεμον δὲ θεοὶ δίχα θυμὸν ἔχοντες:
 Ἡρῆ μὲν μετ' ἀγῶνα νεῶν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη Myc *e-ra* ; *a-ta-na po-ti-ni-ja*
 ἠδὲ Ποσειδάων γαυίηχος ἠδ' ἐριούνης Myc *po-se-da-o-ne* ; *o-na-to* ; *o-no*
 35 Ἐρμείας, ὃς ἐπὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησι κέκασται: Myc *e-ma-a2*

¹² See the stimulating succinct discussion of this ritual 'fossil' by I. PATERA, "Is the Scepter of Agamemnon a Cult Object?" <http://wp.chs.harvard.edu/chs-fellows/2012/12/19/is-the-scepter-of-agamemnon-a-cult-object-2/> (December 19, 2012; last accessed December 28, 2014).

¹³ S. LUPACK, "Offerings for the Wanax in the Fr Tablets: Ancestor Worship and the Maintenance of Power in Mycenaean Greece," in *KE-RA-ME-JA: Studies Presented to Cynthia W. Shelmerdine* (2014) 163-178.

Ἡφαιστος δ' ἅμα τοῖσι κίε σθένει βλεμεαίνων Myc *a-pa-i-ti-jo*
 κωλεύων, ὑπὸ δὲ κνήμαι ῥώνοντο ἀραιαί.

The Greek gods are Zeus, Hera, Pallas Athena, Poseidon, Hermes, and Hephaestus, all attested in some way in the Linear B records.

ἐς δὲ Τρώας Ἄρης κορυθαίολος, αὐτὰρ ἅμ' αὐτῷ Myc *a-re ; a-re-i-jo*
Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης ἠδ' Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα Myc *a-te-mi-to ; a-ti-mi-te*
 40 Λητώ τε Ξάνθος τε φιλομειδῆς τ' Ἀφροδίτη.

On the Trojan side appear Ares, Phoibos (Apollo), Artemis, Leto, the river god Xanthos and Aphrodite. Of these only Ares and Artemis are recorded in the Linear B texts.

In Hesiod, *Theogony* 11-21, the poet recounts the appearance of the Helikonian Muses appearing covered in mists round the dancing floors on the heights of Mt. Helikon. The Muses sing out in a hymn divine beings in an order that merges Olympian with pre-Olympian deities and segues to deities who are part of the natural world. This is as non-catechismic as Homer and the Linear B texts, but does represent clear notions of true religious hymns, of a ranked order of power and pertinence to contemporary human beings, and of the full polytheism implied in the standard hymn tag-line that includes, because it would be dangerously impious and impolitic to leave them out, in line 21 'the holy extended family of other deathless ones (i.e., eternal gods) always being'. See in Mycenaean lists of designated offerings the comparable phrase *pa-si-te-o-i* 'to all the gods'. Note by this era that Hera has taken on the epithet *potnia*.

ὕμνευσαι Δία τ' αἰγίοχον καὶ πότνιαν Ἥρην Myc *di-we ; e-ra ; po-ti-ni-ja*
Ἀργεῖην, χρυσέοισι πεδίλοις ἐμβεβαυῖαν, Myc *ku-ru-so*
 κούρην τ' αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην Myc *a-ta-na po-ti-ni-ja*
 15 Φοῖβόν τ' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν Myc *a-ti-mi-te ; a-te-mi-to*
 ἠδὲ Ποσειδάωνα γεγίγον, ἐννοσίγαιον, Myc *po-se-da-o-ni*
 καὶ Θέμιν αἰδοίην ἔλικοβλέφαρόν τ' Ἀφροδίτην
Ἥβην τε χρυσοστέφανον καλήν τε Διώνην
Λητώ τ' Ἰαπετόν τε ἰδὲ Κρόνον ἀγκυλομήτην
Ἥω τ' Ἥελίον τε μέγαν λαμπράν τε Σελήνην
 20 Γαίαν τ' Ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν καὶ Νύκτα μέλαιναν
 ἄλλων τ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων. Myc *pa-si-te-o-i*

Hesiod's list runs as follows: Zeus, Hera, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon, Themis, Aphrodite, Hēbē (blossoming youth), Dione, Leto, Iapetos, Kronos, Eō (Dawn), Hēlios, Selēnē (the moon).

I hope that these observations on how we might use the Linear B, Homeric, Hesiodic and historical and protohistorical material evidence (and textual parallels from cultures like the Hittite that have more explicit evidence) to gain some fuller understanding of the metaphysical world, beliefs and practices of the Mycenaean Greeks will provoke further thought and discussion.

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