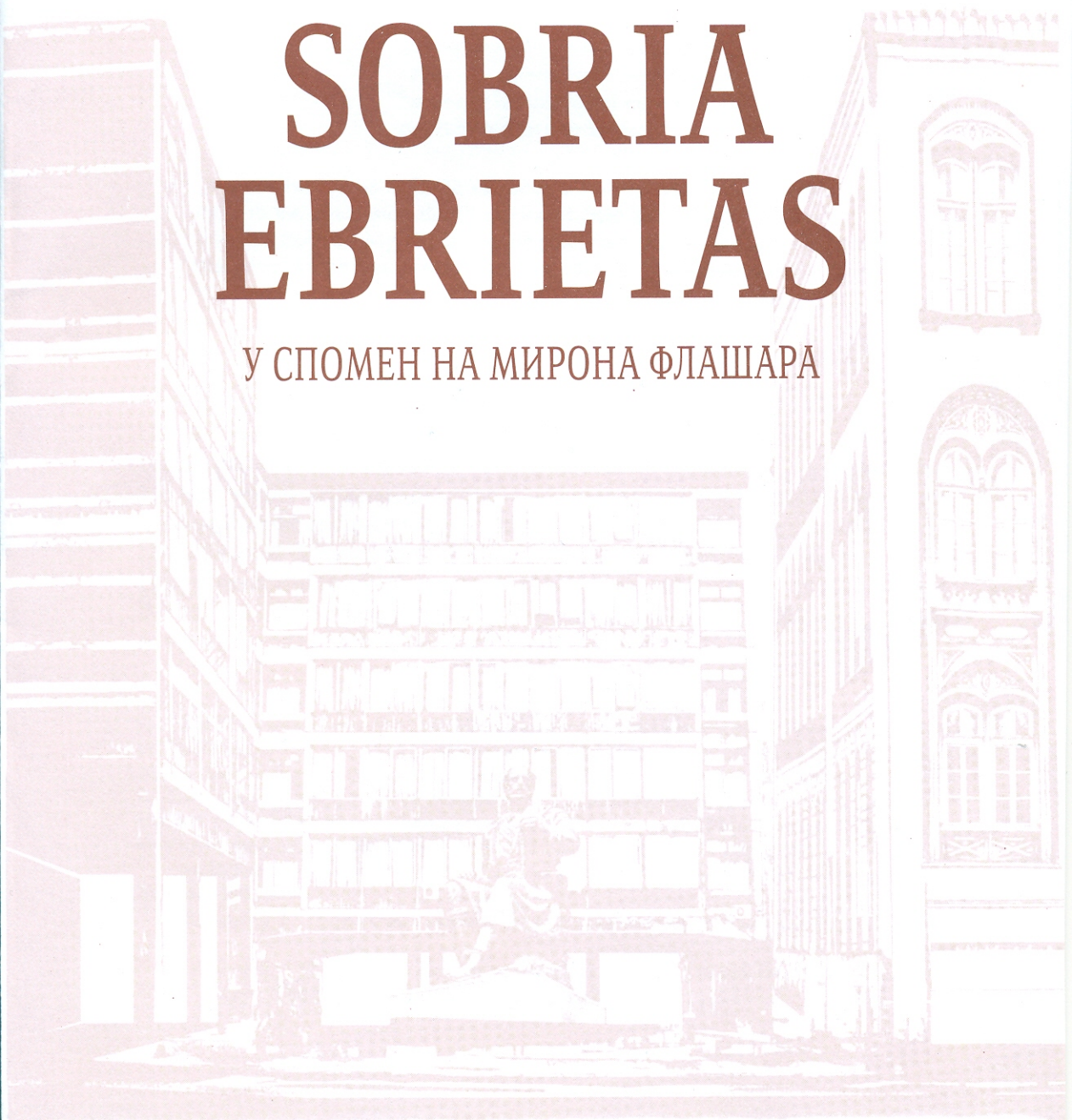


УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У БЕОГРАДУ

ЗБОРНИК
ФИЛОЗОФСКОГ ФАКУЛТЕТА
СЕРИЈА А: ИСТОРИЈСКЕ НАУКЕ
КЊИГА XX

SOBRIA EBRIETAS

У СПОМЕН НА МИРОНА ФЛАШАРА



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HERMAPHRODITUS: THE OTHER FACE OF HERMES?¹

„Само онај ко је прикупљао и проверавао библиографску грађу по нашим тако непотпуним библиотекама може да оцени колико је тај посао дангубан и у којој је мери осуђен на фрагментарност.“²

Abstract: Although the evidence about the myth of Hermaphroditus leads to the conclusion that it originates from the later period, the written evidence from the Mycenaean period points out of some peculiar connection of Hermes to the female divinities. According to this, Hermes and Aphrodite can be united in the bisexual figure of Hermaphroditus as a consequence of their own bisexual background.

Key words: *E-ma-a₂*, androgyny, Linear B records, Bronze Age, the myth of Hermaphroditus.

1. “Hermaphrodite” is a universal term that denotes a ‘dual-sexual living being’, particularly in human genetics, it epitomizes an anomaly in a human who has both sexual characteristics.³ Indisputably these sorts of anomalies existed in the people of the antiquity as well; and Hellenes, as is well known, correlated their entire unusual phenomena to their gods, and consequently they also vindicated their genesis and origin through a mythological mode of expression. Although this term is currently highly popular, there are not yet many versions and proofs of the myth of Ἑρμαφρόδιτος in classical literature.⁴

¹ The idea for this research was initiated during the presentation of a paper by J. Gulizio (from the University of Texas in Austin): “Hermes and *e-ma-a₂*: the continuity of his cult from the Bronze Age to the historical period,” at an International Conference 50 Years *Antiquitas Viva* (published in *Živa Antika* 50, 2000, 105–16), an excellent study of the Linear B evidence about the cult of Hermes, particularly after the discussion of J. T. Killen that maybe Hermes appears as a female divinity on the Knossos tablet D 411 (also published in *Živa Antika* 50, 2000, 116).

² М. Будимир – М. Флашар, *Преглед римске књижевности: De auctoribus Romanis*, 5. ed., Београд 1996, 4.

³ Владимир Е. Трајковски, *Хумана генетика*, Филозофски факултет Скопје 2005, 229–230.

⁴ Ovid. *Met.*, 4. 286–392, the part where the whole myth is presented; Diod. Sic. 4.6.5, *Fab.* 271a, Theophr. *Char.* 16, Poseidippos *Fr.* 11, partly mentioned.

According to the myth, as can be noticed from the very name, Hermaphroditus was a son of the god Hermes and the goddess Aphrodite. His astonishing beauty captured the nymph Salmacis, whose violent love he refused. At a certain moment when Hermaphroditus entered her spring, the nymph, mad with love, came after him aggressively offering her love; seeing that he persistently declined, she prayed that they never be parted. Her prayer was heard by the gods and hence the body of the boy and the nymph were merged into one body, into a new dual-sexed personage. As soon as he perceived his new image in the clear water, he beseeched his parents to let everyone who enters that spring to depart as “semivir”.⁵ They accomplished his prayer and put a magic potion into the water.

2. However, Hermaphroditus was well respected as the god⁶ of hermaphrodites and effeminates. He was one of the winged love-gods known as Erotes. The archaeological and epigraphic evidence proves that he was honoured as a deity.⁷ Nevertheless, the fact that can be noticed from the literary and archeological evidence is that all records originate from Hellenism and the Roman period.⁸ This points out to the possibility that the origin of the myth should be traced to the East. To this data we can add the name of the nymph Σαλμακίς that presents the name of the region and spring near Halikarnassos,⁹ and bears no Greek origin. No matter how the evidences about Hermaphroditus is reduced, the myth was and is still the main topic that occupies research about androgyny, hermaphrodites, bisexuality and homosexuality in antiquity.¹⁰ Nevertheless these topics are not

⁵ *Hermaphroditus ait: “nato date munera vestro,
et pater et genetrix, amborum nomen habenti:
quisquis in hos fontes vir venerit, exeat inde
semivir et tactis subito mollescat in undis!”
motus uterque parens nati rata verba biformis
fecit et incesto fontem medicamine tinxit.* (Ovid. *Met.*, 4. 383–5).

⁶ Diod. Sic. 4.6.5.

⁷ S. Perea, *El Sexo divino dioses hermafroditas en la antigüedad clásica*, Madrid 1999; A. Raehs, *Zur Ikonographie des Hermaphrodites: Begriff und Problem von Hermaphroditismus und Androgynie in der Kunst*, Frankfurt 1990; R. Stupperich, *Die Antiken der Sammlung Werner Peek*, Münster 1990; C. Häuber, „Vier Fragmente der Gruppe Satyr und Hermaphrodit vom Typus ‘Dresdener Symplegma’ des Museo Nuovo Capitolino in Rom,“ in *Hellenistische Gruppen: Gedenkschrift für Andreas Linfert*, Mainz 1999, 157–180.

⁸ According to R. Stupperich from the early fourth century BC (1999, 75–76); cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1985, 221 and M. P. O. Morford – R. J. Lenardon, *Classical Mythology*, 7th edition: Oxford University Press 2003, 272.

⁹ P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1968, sv.

¹⁰ M. Delcourt, *Hermaphrodite. Mythes et rites de la bisexualité dans l’Antiquité classique*, Paris, 1958; 2^e ed. rev., 1992 (trans. eng., London 1961; trad. esp., Barcelona 1970), *Hermaphroditea. Recherches sur l’être double promoteur de fertilité dans le monde classique*, Bruxelles, 1966; L. Brisson, *Sexual Ambivalence: Androgyny and Hermaphroditism in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, translated from the French by Janet Lloyd, Berkeley: University of California Press 2002; C. A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, New York 1999, etc.

analyzed in this work, but we try to obtain a solution as to exactly why Hermes and Aphrodite are the parents of Hermaphroditus, what his name implies. Whether did these divines have a specific attribute in their cults that can imply certain bisexuality or androgyny, principally the god Hermes whose cult in the Aegean was practised since the Bronze Age, testified on the tablets written in Linear B script?¹¹ Is it possible, out of many different clusters of influences layered in the cult of Hermes that his relation with the myth of Hermaphroditus had any connection to the Mycenaean world, although the evidence about this myth leads to the conclusion that it originates from a later period?¹²

3. Perhaps the unity between Hermes and Aphrodite seems astounding, yet their common cults are verified in several sanctuaries, for instance the shrine near the Hera temple on Samos, remarkably their temple in Kato Syme on Crete, is considered to originate far from the Minoan period,¹³ and from Arcadia.¹⁴ According to W. Burkert, the unity between these two deities does not demonstrate an opposition, but the phallus figure and the naked goddess are a natural complement.¹⁵

Undoubtedly the cult of Aphrodite,¹⁶ as goddess of beauty and love, also imputes sexual love, as her name denotes in Homer's *Odyssey* (22.444). Therefore it is to be expected that such different curious sexual features as androgyny are related to her cult. She was even protector of the entire *hetairai* (prostitutes) among the Hellenic world, honoured as Ἀφροδίτη Πόρνη or Ἐταῖρα.¹⁷ It remains obscure how her cult was transmitted from the East to the Aegean, yet it is supposed that it was first introduced to Cyprus by the Phoenicians in the *Dark Age*, according to testimonies in the literary tradition.¹⁸ The performances about *Ishtar* and a beard male *Ashtar* beside *Astarte*, just as a bearded *Aphrodite* and a male *Aphroditos* beside Aphrodite,¹⁹ indicate that this deity might also become

¹¹ The name of the goddess Aphrodite is not proven so far on tablets written in Linear B script.

¹² See C. Kerényi, *The Gods of the Greek*, Thames and Hudson, 1988 (first published in 1951), 172: "In this form the story was certainly not ancient."

¹³ W. Burkert, 1985, 220, n. 41 and 42.

¹⁴ Paus. 8.31.5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*; C. Kerényi thought since they had the same birthday, Hermes and Aphrodite must have been twins (1988, 172), cf. Cic. *De nat. deorum*, 3. 56, 59.

¹⁶ Generally about the cult of Aphrodite, her name and origin from East Semitic goddess of love *Ishtar-Astarte* see especially M. Марковић, *Студије о религије антике*, („Од Иштар до Афродите“) Никшић 2001, 11–27; and W. Burkert, 1985, 152–156.

¹⁷ M. Марковић, 2001, 17–18, as well as the Sumerian goddess *Inanna*.

¹⁸ Hdt. 1. 105. In *Odyssey* (8. 363) the home of the goddess is Paphos, and her attribute *Kypris*, after Homer, was used by almost all later Greek poets.

¹⁹ Aphrodite was worshipped as *Aphroditos* in Amanthus on Cyprus, cf. C. Kerényi, 1988, 172.

androgynous.²⁰ This could be the cause for her role as Hermaphrodites' mother in the myth.

4. Regarding the origin of the cult as well as the name of the god Hermes, in contrast to other gods in the Greek pantheon, there is an unexpectedly great agreement among the researchers into Greek religion and mythology. Even though his divine attributes need to be stated according to the literary and archaeological evidence of his cult, Hermes remains the most dim deity that was encountered in antiquity in the Aegean. He was a god of heraldry, omens, animal husbandry, rustic poetry and animal fables, trade, travel, home, theft, luck, language and education, athletics and guide of the dead.²¹ It is generally accepted that in the very core of his cult *the hermai* 'cairn or heap of stones', boundary stones, are encompassed as a primary reflection of a demarcation of a certain territory, accompanied with phallic figures planted on top of the cairns, as is demonstrated in the ancient sources.²² The M. P. Nilsson etymology of the god Hermes' name 'he from the stone-heap'²³ inclined most of the scholars who researched the cult of Hermes to attach his name to ἔρμα.²⁴ Nevertheless the occurrence of this name on Mycenaean tablets as *e-ma-a*,²⁵ identified as *Hermāhās*, induced J. Chadwick to oppose this etymology because of the absence of *Ϝ* (*w*) in the name, which is marked by Mycenaean Greek.²⁵ The Aeolian form ἘρμᾶϜων, which is used to explain the relationship with ἔρμα, ἔρμαιον, must have been innovated later,²⁶ although the connection between the Ἐρμηῆς with ἔρμα is obvious.²⁷ C. J. Ruijgh assumed that it is possible for the Mycenaean form *e-ma-a*, *Hermāhās*,

²⁰ W. Burkert, 1985, 152.

²¹ His cult most probably represents a syncretism from many Mediterranean, Aegean and Greek cults.

²² Hdt. 2.51, Aesop, *Fab.* 564, Paus. 1.17.2, 1. 24.3, 2. 38.7, 4. 33. 3. *Hermai* were erected at boundaries, crossroads and in gymnasia, carved with the head and phallus of Hermes.

²³ M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, Oxford 1952 (first ed. 1925), 109.

²⁴ P. Chantraine, 1968, s.v.; W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, London 1977 (first ed. 1950), 88-9; W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1979, 39-41 and 1985, 156; M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, Oxford, 1997, 34; J. Gulizio, 2000, 113. Cf. M. Gérard-Rousseau, "Emaa, designe-t-il le dieu Hermès dans les tablettes mycéniennes?" *Atti e Memorie del Primo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia, Incunabula Graeca* vol. XXV, 2, Roma 1968, 594-7.

²⁵ J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, (second edition) Cambridge, 1973, 288; cf. *The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge 1976, 137. Cf. *Di-we, Di-wi-ja, Ko-ma-we-te-ja, Pa-ja-wo-ne* etc.

²⁶ Cf. P. Hr. Ilievski, „Doprinos lineranih B tekstova u rasvetljavanju grčke religije kasne bronzane epohe," *Godišnjak ANUBiH, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja – knjiga 25*, Sarajevo 1989, 26; *Животот на Микенците во нивните писмени сведоштва*, МАНУ, Скопје, 2000, 226.

²⁷ W. K. C. Guthrie in his *The Religion and Mythology of the Greeks* (The Cambridge Ancient History, vol. II, ch. XV, IInd ed., Cambridge 1961, 50) abandons the etymology of M. Nilsson (1952, 109) considered as relevant earlier (cf. 1977/1950, 88-9).

to symbolize ‘enfant de Ma’²⁸ a name compound from ἐρ- ‘child’ and μᾶ (= γαῖα : γᾶ) that derives from the name of the Hermes’ mother Μᾶῖα, ‘Maman’.²⁹ However, this theory of C. J. Ruijgh, of the existence of the pre-hellenic term ἐρ-, is not accepted as a final solution to this problem.

According to mythology Hermes is a son of Zeus and Maia, a shy Pleiad Nymph who used to live alone into a cave on the top of Mount Kyllene in Arcadia.³⁰ As indicated by the origin of Hermes, it might be related to *Sky* (cf. Zeus) further as Maia’s father is Atlas, who carried the sky on his shoulders,³¹ who was respected as the god of astronomy, and it could be connected also to *Aphrodite Ourania*. It is important to mention one version of the myth about the origin of Aphrodite from Zeus and Dione who, as well as Maia,³² is a nymph and originates from Atlas,³³ a fact that it is important to mention. On the other hand following the etymology, Maia, ‘mother (mum), nurse’,³⁴ could be linked to the cult of the *Great Mother (The Earth)*. The association of Hermes to the *earth* and *fertility*, besides to *hermai* and wooden figures with erect phaluses, becomes apparent also when he appears as the father of the rustic god Priapos, a phallic deity,³⁵ commonly considered as a son of Dionysus and Aphrodite.³⁶ Additionally he appears as the father of Pan,³⁷ another rustic god, and to Panes, Satyroi, rustic fertility daemons, phallic deities – all related to the cult of the god Dionysus and goddess Rhea. According to *Orphic Hymn 57 to Chthonian Hermes*, he is a son of Dionysus and Aphrodite.

Undeniably, elements of his cult are linked to Eastern chthonic gods. As a ‘divine herald’, ancient tradition connected him to the Egyptian god Toth.³⁸ In the

²⁸ C. J. Ruijgh, “La déesse mère dans les textes mycéniens,” *Atti e Memorie del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia*, Roma 1996, 457.

²⁹ *Ibid.* C. J. Ruijgh explained this with the name Ἐρε-χθεύς, attested in Homer (2. 548), ‘enfant de la terre’; cf. “La religion dans les textes des tablettes mycéniennes,” *Conférence Entretiens sur l’antiquité gréco-romaine, Langues et Littératures* 7, Liege 1999, 12.

³⁰ *Hom. Hymn. Herm* 4 1ff., *Hom. Hymn. 17* 1ff., *Apollod.* 3. 101-112, *Simon. fr.* 555, *Alcaeus fr.* 308.

³¹ *Homer, Od.* 1.52; *Hesiod, The.* 507, 744; *Pindar, Pyth.* 4.13; *Simonides, fr.* 556; *Aesch., Prom.* 347.

³² *Homer, Il.* 5. 370.

³³ *Hyginus, Fabulae* 83; *Ovid. Met.* 6.172.

³⁴ P. Chantraine, 1968, s.v., cf. μαἰεδομαι, μαἰευθικός. This could also be connected to his role of fostering the infant Dionysus (*Apollod.* 3. 28-9), *Dioskouroi* (*Paus.* 3.26.2) etc.

³⁵ *Hyginus, Fab.* 160. *Priapos* was worshipped as the protector of sheep, goats, bees, the vine and of all garden produce, also with an erect phalus.

³⁶ *Paus.* 9.31.2; *Diod. Sic.* 4.6.1.

³⁷ *Hom. Hymn.* 19 to Pan; *Apollod.* 1.22-23; *Hdt.* 2.145; *Hyginus Fab.* 224, *Nonnus, Dion.* 14.67.

³⁸ G. Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, Oxford 2002, 211; M. A. Коростовцев, *Религия древнего Египта*, Москва 1976, especially section “Гермополь”, 80-4.

manner of Toth, Hermes was a messenger between *Heaven* and *Earth*. As the god of boundaries, he crosses not only the boundaries of *heaven* and *earth*, but also of *life* and *death*. He is a *psychopompos*, and escorts the souls of the dead to the underworld.³⁹ Perhaps he can also cross the sexual boundaries, of which there is no any evidences in Greek mythology whatsoever, contrary to the unity with the phallos and fertility.

5. It is largely implied that on the Mycenaean tablets, *e-ma-a₂*, designated the name of the god Hermes,⁴⁰ identified as *Hermāhās*.⁴¹ The dispute presents the question if it appears in all cases as a clear theonym, theophoric name or place name. The name is attested in PY Tn 316.7, Un 219.8, Xn 1357.1, TH Of 31, and, as *e-ma-a₂-o*, in KN D 411. As a theonym it does not appear on Xn 1357.1, and it is also uncertain whether it appears on KN D 411 (*v. infra*). Yet here we would not reexamine these tablets again, but we would research a certain interesting situation connected with the name of the god Hermes.

On the famous Pylian tablet Tn 316,⁴² *e-ma-a₂*, is attested in a clear cultic context:

- v.4 i-je-to-qe , pe-r.e.-*82-jo , i-pe-me-de-ja-qe , di-u-ja-jo-qe
 v.5 do-r.a.-qe , pe-re-po-re-na-qe , a , pe-re-*82 AUR *213^{vas} 1 MUL 1
 v.6 pu-ro⁴³ i-pe-me-d.e.-ja AUR *213^{vas} 1 di-u-ja *213^{vas} 1 MUL 1
 v.7 e-ma-a₂ , a-re-ja AUR *216^{vas} 1 VIR 1

It is unusual that gifts were brought to Hermes at a sanctuary of the female deities, *Pe-re-*82*,⁴⁴ *Iphimedeia* and *Diwija*.⁴⁵ These goddesses received one gold bowl, being brought by *po-re-na*,⁴⁶ referring to a woman. On this tablet one could

³⁹ Homer, *Od.* 24. 1-14; cf. W. Burkert, 1985, 184.

⁴⁰ J. Chadwick, 1972, 126, 288 and 1976, 137; W. K. C. Guthrie, 1961, 29; E. Townsend Vermeule, *Götterkult, (Archaeologia Homerica, V)* Göttingen, 1974, 63; P. Hr. Ilievski, 1989, 26 and 2000, 226; B. C. Dietrich, "Notes on the Linear B Tablets in the Context of Mycenaean and Greek Religion," *Atti e Memorie del Primo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia, Incunabula Graeca* vol. XXV, 2, Roma 1968, 992-1015; J. Gulizio, 2000; T. Palaima, "Appendix one: Linear B sources," in S. M. Trzaskoma, R. Scott Smith and S. Brunet (ed.), *Anthology of Classical Myth*, Hackett Publishing Company 2004, 443-5 etc.

⁴¹ M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes*, Roma 1968, 85-88, assumed that *e-ma-a₂* does not denote the name of the god Hermes, but the name of a function (cf. M. Gérard-Rousseau, 1968a, 597).

⁴² Which is the most analysed tablet, in general about its history and interpretation see the detailed analysis by T. Palaima, "Kn 02 – Tn 316," *Floreat Studia Mycenaea*, band II, Wien 1999, 437-462.

⁴³ *Pu-ro* divides the Tn 316 into paragraphs.

⁴⁴ About problematic identification of the sign *82 and *Pe-re-*82*, see F. A., Jorro, *Diccionario Micénico, I-II*, Madrid, 1985-1993, s.v.

⁴⁵ T. Palaima proposed that maybe the appearance of *Diwija* is connected with *Maia* as her replacement in the later development of the cult of Hermes (1999, n. 49).

⁴⁶ According to T. Palaima, "*po-re-na*: A Mycenaean Reflex in Homer? An I-E Figure in Mycenaean?", *Minos* 31-31, 303-312, *po-re-na* as 'bearers', kind of sacristans, *contra* J. Chadwick (1976, 143), and many other scholars after him, who thought that *po-re-na* were 'sacrificial victims'.

list the following peculiarities about Hermes: 1. contrary to the female deities, *po-re-na* is a man (also as in the *Di-we* case in v.9); 2. he receives *216^{vas}, a gold chalice (as *Ti-ri-se-ro-e* in .5, *Trisheros*);⁴⁷ 3. his presence together with female deities in their sanctuaries; 4. the cults of these female deities are not attested in the classical period; 5. the epithet *A-re-ja*. This word is identified as *’Αρείας, epithet derived from the name of the war god ’Αρης.⁴⁸ During the classical period, this is an attribute of Zeus, Athena and Aphrodite. However, Zeus is ’Αρείος, but Athena and Aphrodite are Αρεία.⁴⁹ In the case of Hermes, as the name ends in -ης/ας, the adjective ’Αρείος compounds as *Hermāhās Areiās*.⁵⁰ However, despite all the comprehensive literature that accepts this interpretation, it remains obscure why on PY Tn 316 such a formula is used. In the classical Greek language, besides adj. ’Αρείος, the adjective derived from the name of the god Hermes is ’Ερμαιος. In spite of that in Mycenaean Greek there are testified many theophoric personal names derived from the name of Ares, as *A-re-jo* (KN Vc 208).⁵¹

A similar situation is found also in PY Un 219:

8. e-[] U 1 e-ma-a₂, U 1 pe-[

As recipients of various commodities on this tablet the names of Mycenaean functionaries and goddesses are listed, among them Hermes as well. On line 5 there is mentioned *a-ti-mi-te*, in dat. sg., identified as *Artemis* and on line 7 *po-ti-ni-ja*, universally accepted as Mycenaean Greek form of Πότνια, ‘Mistress or Lady’. It is significant that Hermes is again related to this goddess, in whose sanctuary⁵² in the *Pa-ki-ja-na* region, on Tn 316, gifts were offered to him. The analysis of line 8, particularly directs to the possibility that e-[] could refer to *e-ra*, Hera,⁵³ and pe-[to *pe-re*-*82, deities that are endorsed on PY Tn 316.⁵⁴ Over again *e-ma-a₂* appears besides the female deities, out of which 2 or 3 appear also on Tn 316.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ ‘Minoan chalice’ (T. Palaima, 1999, 440), if its Minoan origin has any significance in this case.

⁴⁸ F. A. Jorro, *Dic.*, s.v. Cf. M. Gérard-Rousseau, 1968 b, 39-40; P. Hr. Ilievski, “Interpretation of Some Mycenaean Personal Name: nomina theophora,” in S. Deger-Jalkotzy – S. Hiller – O. Panagl (edd.), *Florent Studia Mycenaea*, Aktes des X. internationalen mykenologischen colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.- 5. mai 1995, Wien 1999, 306; C. J. Ruijgh, 1999, 13; J. Gulizio, “*A-re* in the Linear B Tablets and the Continuity of the Cult of Ares in the Historical Period,” *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* 15, 2001, 32-38.

⁴⁹ Cf. W. Burkert, 1985, 169

⁵⁰ Cf. J. Gulizio, 2001, 35.

⁵¹ For other theophoric personal names derived from the name of *Ares* see P. Ilievski, 1999, 306-7. So I cannot see any reason why not *Hermāhās Areiās* could not be *Hermāhās Areios*, except if there is situation completely different in the focus.

⁵² On Tn 316 *Potnia* is listed first (.3).

⁵³ As is suggested by J. Chadwick (1973, 289).

⁵⁴ *Pe-re*-*82 seen in the same paragraph with *e-ma-a₂* (see *supra*), but *e-ra* on v. 9.

⁵⁵ J. Gulizio, 1999, 111.

On a tablet from Thebes, Of 31, he appears in an unclear context:

.3] e-ma-a₂, re-[

However, this tablet is a part of a larger series, where the ideogram *LANA*, points out to wool allotment. On the tablets from this series other female deities are encountered as *ko-ma-we-te-ja* (Of 35), *e-ra* (Of 28), *po-ti-ni-ja* (Of 36). Additionally maybe also *di-u-ja-wo*, mentioned on Of 26 and Of 33, denotes 'the priest of Diwia'.⁵⁶ Again, Hermes emerges along with female deities, and in this case, they were all mentioned also on PY Tn 316.

There is evidence that Hermes appears in Knossos in D 411:

di-ko-to / e-ma-a₂-o OVIS^f 60 WE 30 [⁵⁷

J. T. Killen presupposes that *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* in the KN D1 tablets is parallel to the genitive of the god's name *e-ma-a₂-o*.⁵⁸ He presumes that Potnia (or less likely priest of Potnia) is mentioned as a sheep owner on D1(1) records (*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*), and Hermes as "owner" of the animals on D 411. The relation with *Potnia* moreover comes to the fore, as J. T. Killen points out: "another context in which Hermes appears in what may be the same role as a *female divinity* elsewhere, is on D 411 at Knossos."⁵⁹

Subsequently the name of the god Hermes is validated on the Mycenaean Tablets discovered at Pylos, Thebes and Knossos,⁶⁰ which unquestionably proves that his cult was also present in the Mycenaean world. Whether Linear B evidence directs us to the fact that Hermes in the Bronze Age on the Aegean was indisputably a male divinity?⁶¹

6. Whether could this data offer any possibility of being the following – that during the early cult, god Hermes was an androgynous deity or had some androgynous features?

a. The written evidence from the Mycenaean period points out some peculiar connection of Hermes to the female divinities. The most interesting combination represents his allusion on PY Tn 316, where he receives offerings as a male divinity, but in the sanctuaries of female divinities, as opposed to Zeus (*Di-we*)

⁵⁶ J. Gulizio, 1999, 113. Also on Of 35 are mentioned and *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i*, dat. pl., identified on KN As 1519, Ga 674, Gg 713, interpreted as 'female servants of *ma-ri-ne-u*,' generally accepted as an unknown deity, with many various interpretations.

⁵⁷ J. Chadwick – L. Godart – J. T. Killen, J.-P. Olivier – A. Sacconi – I.A. Sakellarakis, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos*, vol. I, Cambridge-Roma 1986, 150.

⁵⁸ J. T. Killen, "Mycenaean possessive adjectives in *-e-jo*," *TPhS* 1983, 66-99; cf. C. J. Ruijgh, "The Social Status of Persons Indicated by Possessive Adjectives in *-e-jo*, with Some Linguistic Observations," *Minos* 33-34, 1998-99, 257.

⁵⁹ J. T. Killen, 2000, 116.

⁶⁰ Even if we accept the possibility that *e-ma-a₂-o* represents a theophoric name on KN D 411, the presence of the god Hermes in Knossos is repeatedly confirmed (cf. P. Hr. Iliovski, 1999).

⁶¹ J. Gulizio, 2000, 113.

who is gifted in his sanctuary (*Di-u-jo*, v.8). Equally, his epithet *A-re-ja*⁶² seems more likely as a feminine adjective than a masculine adjective of *-a* stem. In every contexts where Hermes is mentioned, there appears also *Potnia*, but and *E-ra*, *Ko-ma-we-te-ja*, and maybe *Pe-re-**⁸² and *Di-wi-ja* are also repeated.

b. The archaeological evidence points out that in the sanctuaries on Cyprus, dated from the Late Bronze Age, many bisexual figures are to be found,⁶³ most remarkably at Ayia Irini where of all the discovered figures only two are female, and the rest of them are sexless or bisexual, which are partly bull centaurs:

Inside the sanctuary at Phylakopi on the island of Melos, one bisexual figure has also been discovered, its expression on the figure of Lady of Phylakopi with a beard is especially spectacular.⁶⁴ The sanctuary at Phylakopi disappeared with the Bronze Age. There are many suppositions about the role of these bisexual figures chiefly of the bisexual Minotaur. However, it is significant that they were specifically popular on Cyprus, the home of Aphrodite, and most probably were of pre-Greek origin, exceptionally the figures of the bisexual Minotaur, and we can well imagine that the Minotaur is connected to Minoan religion.⁶⁵ Commencing with the evidence from the historical period in the Aegean, such bisexual images emerge even far into Hellenism, and that is a reason why they are easily qualified as Eastern influences.

c. Within the Greek mythology there are not encountered images that can connect Hermes to certain androgyny. Yet as god of boundaries he might have kept his "androgyny" as *bipolarity*. According to his attributes, he is everywhere (actually nowhere), so that, even in his home Arcadia, his temples are very rare,⁶⁶ and his statues can be found in temples dedicated to female divinities. Can we explain this connection of his with the female divinities, in view of his *hermai*, with erect phalus, and at the same time the father of many phallic deities (*see supra*)? Essentially, in Greek mythology Hermes is not known as a "great lover", although his relation with Dionysus and Aphrodite is obvious (*see supra*).⁶⁷

d. Finally, if Hermes and Aphrodite can be united in the bisexual figure of Hermaphroditus, as a consequence of the bisexual background of Aphrodite,⁶⁸ what would be the role of the Hermes' phalus figure? Most probably his cult had a bisexual background too, indisputably not with a Greek origin, and possibly a Minoan background (with Eastern elements), a feature which in the

⁶² This adjective occurs only in this context with *E-ma-a*.

⁶³ B. C. Dietrich, "Some Foreign Elements in Mycenaean Cult Places and Figures," in A. Morpurgo Davies – Y. Duhoux (ed.), *Linear B: a 1984 survey*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1985, 230-231.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ W. Burkert, 1985, 37, 64; cf. 222, n. 42.

⁶⁶ Cf. J. Gulizio, 2000, 114

⁶⁷ Hermes had the attribute *Charidotes*, as Dyonis and Aphrodite (cf. W. F. Otto, *The Homeric Gods: The Spiritual Significance of Greek Religion*, Boston 1964, 109).

⁶⁸ W. Burkert, 1985, 220.

further development from the Bronze Age to the Classical period was covered by other influences layered over his cult. Many characteristics of the Hermes' cult are impossible to observe, using certain strict methodology, starting from the convinced proofs and some conditionality, because as J. Bremmer states: "...the Greek pantheon was not the product of an ancient logician."⁶⁹

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Скопље

ХЕРМАФРОДИТ: ДРУГО ЛИЦЕ ХЕРМЕСА?

Резиме

Мит о Хермафродиту није привлачио пажњу античких писаца. Једино је Овидије у својим *Метаморфозама* (286–392) описао митски настанак андрогина. Но овај је мит утицао на многе савремене истраживаче, а име *Хермафродит* постало је медицински и генетички термин који означава „људско биће са карактеристикама оба пола.“ Археолошка и литерарна сведочанства потичу из хеленизма и римског доба. Отуд и тврдња да овај каснији мит потиче са Истока. Анализа историје култова његових божанских родитеља, Афродите и Хермеса, указује да овај избор можда и није случајан, на шта упућују бисексуалне представе Афродите повезане са њеним источним панданом Иштар-Астарте. Особито интересантна сазнања пружају истраживања култа бога Хермеса, чије је постојање још у микенском свету потврђено на глиненим плочицама написаним линеарним Б писмом. Његово име, *e-ta-a*, сусреће се на 4 плочице из Тебе, Кнососа и Пилоса, увек у присуству истих женских божанстава, особито Потније. На пилској плочици Тп 316 Хермесу се приносе дарови у светилиштима *Iphimedeja*, *Diwija* и *Pere**82, где добија дарове као мушко божанство и стоји епитет *Areja* крај његовог имена. Овај епитет у доцнијем развоју хеленске митологије добијају Зевс, Атена и Афродита, али Зевс је *Areios*. Нејасно је зашто слагање *Hermāhās Areiās*, као што је канонизовано у микенологији, није *Hermāhās Areios*, јер мушка имена *a*-основе не добијају придев на *-as*, ако се упореди и "Αρης : "Αρειος, што оставља могућност да се ради о женској основи овог епитета. Ако се томе додају и откривене бисексуалне фигуре из овог доба, пронађене код Аја Ирини на Кипру и Филакопи на острву Мелосу, приказује нам се чудно лице бога Хермеса у бронзано доба. Иако у историјском периоду у његовом култу нема трагова некакве андрогиније, ипак улога посредника између *неба* и *земље, живота* и *смрти*, као бог граница (међа) указује на одређену *биполарност*, и могућност да „пређе“ и полне границе. Могуће је да у случају Хермафродита није посредни спој Хермеса и Афродите као симбола *phallos*-а и сексуалне љубави, већ њихова бисексуалност.