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**HERMES AND *e-ma-a₂*:
THE CONTINUITY OF HIS CULT FROM THE BRONZE
AGE TO THE HISTORICAL PERIOD***

Abstract: By examining each occurrence of *e-ma-a₂* in the Linear B tablets, followed by a study of the mythology and cult of Hermes in the Classical period, the author attempts to assess the continuity of Hermes' cult from the Bronze Age to the historical period. Based on the Linear B records, *e-ma-a₂* is often found in association with other female divinities. The same phenomenon is apparent in the historical period where Hermes is often worshipped in the temples or sanctuaries of other goddesses. The fact that these same features are evident in the Linear B tablets demonstrates that at least some aspects of the cult of Hermes in the historical period have their roots in the Late Bronze Age.

Assessing the continuity of Greek religion from the Bronze Age to the historical period is a complicated task and the study of religious continuity has a long and controversial history. The decipherment of Linear B by Michael Ventris has added a new dimension to the study of Mycenaean religion. The fact that the Linear B tablets record the names of many gods known in later Greek religion, as well as many theonyms apparently unattested in the historical period, has thrown new light on issues of continuity. Yet the Linear B tablets by their very nature are economic records, documenting various transactions under the control of the Mycenaean palaces in the Late Bronze Age. The occurrences of divinities on these tablets must be viewed in this light, and for this reason, it is often difficult to assess the continuity of religious *belief*. However, by examining the divinities in the context of these economic tablets, the offerings they receive, the other deities they are associated with, and the epithets attributed to them, we can extract kernels of information that help to

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shed some light on the roles these gods played in Mycenaean religion and how their roles changed or remained the same in Classical Greek religion.

This paper deals specifically with the occurrence of Hermes in the Linear B tablets, apparent in the form of *e-ma-a₂*. In order to assess the continuity of the cult of Hermes from the Bronze Age to the historical period, I have examined each occurrence of Hermes on the Linear B tablets to determine as accurately as possible the nature of *e-ma-a₂*. This was followed by an examination of the mythology and cult of Hermes in the Classical period to see if any aspects of the worship of *e-ma-a₂* in the Bronze Age are also apparent in the historical period.

e-ma-a₂ is generally interpreted as Ἑρμῶαας, or the Attic Ἑρμῆας, referring specifically to the god Hermes. According to Walter Burkert, the etymology of the divine name Hermes “points specifically to one single phenomenon: *herma* is a heap of stones, a monument set up as an elementary form of demarcation” (Burkert 1985:156), an etymology which is related to Hermes’ role as a god of boundaries.

The word *e-ma-a₂* occurs five times in the Linear B tablets, three of which are of particular importance to this paper. *e-ma-a₂* is found on line 7 of the *verso* of Pylos tablet Tn 316, as a recipient of a gold vessel and man and immediately follows similar offerings being allotted to three female deities. Tn 316 contains a strikingly high number of female divinities, including, among others, *po-ti-ni-ja*, *po-si-da-e-ja*, *di-u-ja*, and *e-ra*. In order to understand why *e-ma-a₂* occurs on a tablet primarily concerned with recording offerings to female divinities, it is necessary first to examine the format of this tablet, transcribed as follows (after Bennett, Melena, Palaima, and Palmer forthcoming):

Tn 316 .1 pu-ro-wi-to-jo ,
 .2 { i-je-to-qe , pa-ki-ja-si , do-ra-qe , pe-re , po-re-na-qe
 pu-ro {
 .3 { a-ke , po-ti-ni-ja AUR *215^{VAS} 1 MUL 1
 .4 ma-na-sa, AUR *213^{VAS} 1 MUL 1 po-si-da-e-ja AUR *213^{VAS} 1 MUL 1
 .5 ti-ri-se-ro-e , AUR *216^{VAS} 1 do-po-ta AUR *215^{VAS} 1
 .6 *angustum*
 .7 { *vacat*
 .8 { *vacat*
 .9 pu-ro { *vacat*
 .10 { *vacat*

Tn 316	v.1	{	i-je-to-qe , po-si-da-i-jo , a-ke-qe , wa-tu
	v.2	{	do-ra-qe , pe-re , po-re-na-qe , a-ke
	v.3a	pu-ro	-ja
	v.3b	{	AUR *215 ^{VAS} 1 MUL 2 qo-wi-ja , na- [] , ko-ma-we-te-
	v.4	{	i-je-to-qe , pe-re-*82-jo , i-pe-me-de-ja-qe , di-u-ja-jo-qe
	v.5	{	do-ra-qe , pe-re-po-re-na-qe , a , pe-re-*82 AUR *213 ^{VAS} 1 MUL 1
	v.6	pu-ro	{
	v.7	{	i-pe-me-de-ja AUR *213 ^{VAS} 1 di-u-ja AUR *213 ^{VAS} 1 MUL 1
	v.7	{	e-ma-a ₂ , a-re-ja AUR *216 ^{VAS} 1 VIR 1
	v.8	{	i-je-to-qe , di-u-jo , do-ra-qe , pe-re , po-re-na-qe , a-ke
	v.9	{	di-we AUR *213 ^{VAS} 1 VIR 1 e-ra AUR *213 ^{VAS} 1 MUL 1
	v.10	pu-ro	{
	v.11	{	di-ri-mi-jo di-wo , i-je-we , AUR *213 ^{VAS} 1 [] <i>vacat</i>
	v.11	{	<i>vacat</i>
	v.12	{	<i>angustum</i>
	v.13	{	<i>vacat</i>
	v.14	{	<i>vacat</i>
	v.15	pu-ro	{
	v.16	{	<i>vacat</i>

Tn 316 is divided into four “paragraphs,” with the word *pu-ro* (or *Pylos*) written in majuscule beginning each section. Within each paragraph, the same formula is used to describe the action taking place: *i-je-to-qe* [followed by the name of a sanctuary which varies in each paragraph] *do-ra-qe* , *pe-re* , *po-re-na-qe* , *a-ke*. This formula can be translated as: “And he (or *Pylos*) sends or is performing a sacred ceremony [at a specified sanctuary] and he (or *Pylos*) is bringing gifts, and he (or *Pylos*) is leading *po-re-na*” (after Palaima 1999, with some modifications).

Following this formula is a list of the divinities and the offerings each will receive, usually a simple gold vessel and in most cases an individual. It seems then that the gifts being brought (*do-ra-qe pe-re*) refer to the gold vessels and by extension the *po-re-na* which are being led (*po-re-na-qe a-ke*) refer to the men or women¹. The fact that people on Tn 316 are being led to the sanctuaries, coupled with the fact that the term *po-re-na* can refer to sacrificial victims, has led some scholars to believe that the men and women

¹ For other interpretations of this formula, see Willi 1994-1995, Nagy 1994-1995 and Palaima 1996-1997. Willi and Nagy, citing parallels in Homer, argue for an interpretation of *po-re-na* as an athematic infinitive in $-ναι: φορη̄ναι$ functioning as an infinitive of purpose. *Do-ra* then is taken as the object of both *pe-re* and the verbal phase *po-re-na a-ke*. Nagy translates the formula as “and he bears gifts and takes along for his bearing [the gifts].” Willi believes such a formula represents a fixed semantic unit for ritual offering. Palaima, however, does not support this interpretation, arguing that “the use of a standard and repeated succinct formula in Tn 316 is paralleled in other long tablets and series of tablets and is a characteristic method used adeptly by scribes to communicate efficiently and with space-saving minimalism the information necessary to understand the purpose of the numerical, ideographic and lexical information that they then enter in specific ‘slots’ in the developed formats of their tablets.” Given the parallels on other tablets, he does not believe it is necessary to interpret the repetition of this formula other than as a standard scribal practice.

on these tablets are being allotted to their respective divinities in order to be sacrificed (Buck 1989:131-137, Hughes 1991:199-201, but refuted by Palaima 1999). Sacconi, however, has offered a rather plausible interpretation for the human being ideograms as priests and priestesses that may be serving as the bearers of the gold vases (1987:552-554)². Otherwise, they are being led to the sanctuaries to begin their services as priests or priestesses to the divinity. It seems likely then that Tn 316 records a ritual ceremony in which gold vessels, along with priests and priestesses, were brought to their respective sanctuaries, perhaps as part of a ritual procession.

Given this interpretation of Tn 316, we can look more closely at the paragraph that includes the reference to *e-ma-a₂*. Lines 4-7 on the *verso* differ to some extent from the other sections on Tn 316 in that three sanctuaries, as opposed to one, are listed here. The sanctuaries, *pe-re*82-jo*, *i-pe-me-de-ja<-jo>*³, and *di-u-ja-jo*, are probably in the dative/locative case, paralleling *pa-ki-ja-si* on *recto* line 2, and can be translated “at the sanctuary of *pe-re*82*,” “at the sanctuary of *i-pe-me-de-ja*” and “at the sanctuary of *di-u-ja*,” respectively. Following the standard formula *do-ra-qe*, *pe-re-po-re-na-qe*⁴, *a<-ke>*⁵, the three divinities *pe-re*82*, *i-pe-me-de-ja*, and *di-u-ja* are listed, in the dative case, as recipients of one gold vessel (AUR *213^{VAS} 1). In addition, *pe-re*82* and *di-u-ja* (but not *i-pe-me-de-ja*) are allotted one woman (MUL 1) each. Since the placement of *e-ma-a₂* among these deities seems to be significant, it is worthwhile to discuss briefly what is known about each of these divinities.

There do not seem to be any divine correlates from the historical period that correspond to these three deities, but some tentative interpretations for their identification have been proposed. The identification of *pe-re*82* is perhaps the most tenuous, given the fact that a definitive value for the sign *82 has yet to be

² The basis for Sacconi’s interpretation is the study of the archaeological correlates for the Minoan ‘chalice’ and the Mycenaean ‘goblet’ vase forms. In accordance with the views of Sacconi, Palaima (1999:456) suggests that the gold vessels were precious heirlooms “from the palatial stores for use in ritual ceremonies in the locales of particular deities.”

³ This sanctuary lacks the typical *-jo* ending that would be expected. The missing *-jo* seems to be a minor error on the part of the scribe and there should be no doubt that, like *pe-re*82-jo* and *di-u-ja-jo*, *i-pe-me-de-ja[-jo]* also refers to a sanctuary. Palaima (1999:445) convincingly argues that there would have been no need for the scribe to correct such minor slips which would have been easily understood by him and other administrators.

⁴ The lack of a word divider between *pe-re* and *po-re-na* should not be a matter for concern; it should be viewed as an oversight on the part of the scribe.

⁵ Similar to the missing *-jo* mentioned in note 3, the omission of *ke* in *a-ke* in v.5 appears to be a minor scribal error.

determined, and various interpretations of her name have been proposed based on the possible values attributed to *82⁶. Regardless of the specific interpretation of the divine name, it is generally accepted that *pe-re*-*82 is a female divinity, based mainly on the facts that, on this tablet, a woman as opposed to a man is being allotted to her and she is clustered with two feminine theonyms. It seems fairly clear from the divinities on Tn 316, whose gender can be clearly identified, that female divinities, such as *po-ti-ni-ja*, *po-si-da-e-ja*, *di-u-ja* and *e-ra*, are recipients of women, whereas male divinities, such as *di-we* and *e-ma-a₂*, are recipients of men.

The divine name *i-pe-me-de-ja* seems to correspond to the Greek name Ἰφιμέδεια, attested in Homer's *Odyssey* in the catalogue of women (*Od.* 11.305-320). In this passage, however, Ἰφιμέδεια is clearly a mortal. She was the wife of Aloeus, but also bore two children, Otos and Ephialtes, fathered by the god Poseidon⁷. Based on the fact that Iphimedeia has children resulting from a union with a god, Mühlestein (1979: 235-237) has suggested that Iphimedeia can be viewed as a heroine similar to such figures as Tyro, Alcmene and Leda. He also believes that Iphimedeia's status as a heroine is reflected on Tn 316 in that, although she receives an offering of a gold cup, she is not allotted a priestess, as is the case for *pe-re*-*82 and *di-u-ja*. In this respect, she resembles *ti-ri-se-ro-e* on line 5 of the *recto* of Tn 316, whose name is interpreted as *Τρις-(h)ήρωας or "thrice-hero."

The third goddess listed in this paragraph, *di-u-ja*, refers to a feminine theonym generally interpreted as Δίφια, or more preferably *Δίφια > Δία, apparently the feminine counterpart of Zeus. Immediately following the offerings to these three goddesses is a reference to *e-ma-a₂*, followed by the term *a-re-ja*. However, unlike the three goddesses mentioned in this paragraph, *e-ma-a₂* does not have a sanctuary of his own. Palaima (1999:452) posits two possible explanations for the lack of a sanctuary: (1) given the fact that Hermes is a god of boundaries, he is naturally without a designated sanctuary, or (2) he is connected with the sanctuary of *di-u-ja*. Regardless which of the two interpretations is preferred (and they are not necessarily mutually exclusive), *e-ma-a₂* is found not only on a

⁶ Most recently, Melena (forthcoming) has proposed that the value of *82 is **twa*, resulting in */Brest(h)wal/* > */Breswal/*. Other suggested values for *82 include **sa₂* and **wa₂* among others. For a full bibliography on the various interpretations of *82 in the context of *pe-re*-*82, see Auro Jorro (1985:2.108-109).

⁷ It is worth noting that in the 'paragraph' immediately preceding that which includes *i-pe-me-de-ja* (v.1-3), offerings are brought to *po-si-da-i-jo*, that is "the sanctuary of Poseidon". This raises interesting questions regarding the connections between Poseidon, the most prominent divinity at Pylos, and the other divinities listed on PY Tn 316, a topic which I hope to address in future research.

tablet primarily concerned with female divinities, but he seems somehow to be connected with sanctuaries of other goddesses.

e-ma-a₂ is also found on line 8 of PY Un 219, transcribed as follows (after Bennett, Melena, Palaima, and Palmer forthcoming):

- Un 219 .1 e-ke-ra-ne , tu-wo 2 O 1 [
 .2 pa-de-we , O 1 pa-de-we, O 1
 .3 ka-ru-ke , PE 2 KA 1 O 6
 .4 te-qi-jo-ne , O 1 a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i , KA 1
 .5 a-ti-mi-te , O 1 da-ko-ro-i , E 1
 .6 di-pte-ra-po-ro , RA 1 O 3 𐀀𐀃-ro [] 1
 .7 a-na-ka-te , TE 1 po-ti-ni-ja[
 .8 e- [] U 1 e-ma-a₂ , U 1 pe-[
 .9 a-ka-wo-ne , MA 1 pa-ra- [] 2
 .10 ra-wa-ke-ta , MA 1 KO 1 [] me 1 O 1 WI 1
 .11 KE 1 [] vacat
 .12-16 vacant

Un 219 lists names of various gods and functionaries in the dative case. They are the recipients of a variety of commodities, indicated most often by an ideogram that stands as an abbreviation for the commodity itself. Interpretations of these various ideograms have been proposed by a variety of scholars⁸, but the identity of some of them is yet to be determined. Although many of the names on this tablet refer to functionaries⁹, several divinities are also mentioned. *a-ti-mi-te* on line 5 is generally accepted as the dative singular of the goddess Ἀρτεμις and *po-ti-ni-ja* on line 7 is unanimously accepted as the Mycenaean Greek form of πόντια, meaning “mistress” or “lady” (Baumbach 1979:151). In the Linear B corpus, *po-ti-ni-ja* is clearly a divinity in her own right as evidenced on Tn 316, where she is listed first, has her own sanctuary in the area of *pa-ki-ja-na* and receives a gold cup and a female offering. It is also possible that the entry which precedes *e-ma-a₂* on line 8 of Un 219 may refer to a divinity. Unfortunately, the entire name is not preserved, but it is possible that *e- []* may refer to *e-ra*¹⁰, which is also found on Tn 316

⁸ It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss fully the interpretations of the various ideograms, particularly since the ideogram *U* which is allotted to *e-ma-a₂* is undetermined. For interpretations of ideograms serving as abbreviations, see Hooker (1980:37-41) and Palmer (1963:259, 300-302). Palmer notes that many of the commodities on Un 219 also occur on the PY Ma tablets and attempts identification based on their context in this series.

⁹ Names of functionaries on Un 219 include *ka-ru-k-e* and *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* among others. For this reason, Gérard-Rousseau (1968:86-87 and 1996:594) believes that *e-ma-a₂* also represents a functionary, and reconstructs the term *εμμᾶς, referring to “a messenger, a herald, or an interpreter.”

¹⁰ This was first suggested by Ventris and Chadwick (1973:289) and refuted by Gérard-Rousseau (1968:95). It should be noted that there appears to be space for only one additional sign which may help to support a reading of *e-ra*.

as the Mycenaean Greek form for the goddess Hera. If we accept this reading of *e*-[], which admittedly is questionable, it could be proposed that there is a clustering of deities in lines 7-8, including *po-ti-ni-ja*, *e-ra* and *e-ma-a₂*. It has even been suggested that *pe*-[in line 8 could refer to *pe-re*-*82 (Tichioni 1980:228, n. 87)¹¹, a divinity, who as discussed above, is listed on Tn 316 in the same paragraph that contains *e-ma-a₂*. As on Tn 316, *e-ma-a₂* here appears along with a series of female divinities, two, or perhaps three, of which appear on Tn 316.

In addition to occurring on tablets from Pylos, *e-ma-a₂* is also found on a tablet from Thebes, transcribed below (after Melena and Olivier 1991):

Of 31	.1	do-]de	ku LANA PA[
	.2]d̥o-de	ku LANA P̥A [
	.3]	e-ma-a ₂ , re-[

He appears on one of a series of tablets whose common characteristic is the presence of the ideogram LANA, indicating an allotment of wool (Chadwick 1975:86-87). As is clear from the transcription of Of 31, this tablet is very fragmentary and both ends are apparently missing. In order to understand the interpretation of *e-ma-a₂* on Of 31, it is necessary first to understand the nature of the Of series. According to Chadwick, an observable formula occurs in this series consisting of two main components used either separately or combined: “one element is a person’s name or occupation description usually in the dative case; the other is an indication of address.”¹² A clear example of this is on line 2 of Of 35 (after Melena and Olivier 1991):

Of 35	.1	ko-ma-we-te-ja , te-pe-ja ,	ku LANA 1
	.2]ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i , a-ki-a ₂ -ri-ja-de	ku LANA 3

On this tablet, *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i* is clearly a dative plural interpreted as the female servants of *ma-ri-ne-u*, possibly a deity¹³ identified on

¹¹ The identification of *pe-re*-*82 on this tablet is of course somewhat tenuous, but not unreasonable given the association of *pe-re*-*82, *e-ma-a₂*, *e-ra* and *po-ti-ni-ja* on Tn 316 and the fact that there is space on this line for two or more signs.

¹² Chadwick (1975:87-88) notes that there are exceptions to this formula, such as nominative forms in place of the dative (which can be easily understood as nominatives of the rubric), but that there are enough clear examples to “establish a pattern into which the less clear words may be fitted.”

¹³ There is some disagreement among scholars regarding the interpretation of *ma-ri-ne-u* as a divinity. Chadwick (1975:91) supports the view that *ma-ri-ne-u* is a god. However, as Killen (1983:75) suggests, *ma-ri-ne-u* could be a masculine anthroponym.

tablets from Knossos¹⁴. *a-ki-a₂-ri-ja-de* is a place name, probably *Αἰγι-ἠαλίαν, in the accusative case, followed by the allative suffix *-de*. Thus, line 2 records disbursements of wool to the servants of *ma-ri-ne-u* at a place called *Αἰγιῆαλία. Following this formula, it seems likely that, on Of 31, *e-ma-a₂* is in the dative (or perhaps nominative of the rubric), followed by a place name beginning with *re-*].

In many cases, the disbursements of wool on the Of tablets are allotted to individuals identified either by their name¹⁵ or by their occupation¹⁶. However, as Chadwick indicates, there are at least three instances where the allocations of wool are to deities. We have already seen the occurrence of *e-ma-a₂* on Of 31. The other two divinities clearly attested in the TH Of series are *e-ra* on Of 28 and *po-ti-ni-ja* on Of 36, both of whom also occur on PY Tn 316 as discussed above. In addition, *ko-ma-we-te-ja* is found on Of 35, a possible divinity who also occurs on Tn 316, and who may be the recipient of a gold vase and two women in the sanctuary of Poseidon (*po-si-da-i-jo*). Based on her occurrence on Tn 316, *ko-ma-we-te-ja* may be viewed as a goddess since she receives offerings of women, and is associated with Poseidon since she is being worshipped in his sanctuary¹⁷.

Finally, the term *di-u-ja-wo* occurs twice in this series on Of 26 and Of 33, transcribed below (after Melena and Olivier 1991):

- Of 26** .1 pu₂-re-wa ku LANA PA I ka-ka[] ku LANA PA I
 .2 su-me-ra-we-jo , ku LANA PA I κo-δε-wa-o,do-de ku LANA PA I
 .3 di-u-ja-wo,do-de ku LANA PA I po-re-si ku LANA I
- Of 33** .1 ku-ru-me-no ku LANA PA I o-*34-ta-o , do-de ku LANA PA I
 .2 qi-wo./di-u-ja-wo ku [LANA] PA 2

di-u-ja-wo is generally interpreted as a masculine anthroponym, *Διϋγάφων, perhaps derived from the theonym *di-u-ja*. Following this interpretation, *di-u-ja-wo* would have to be in the nominative case on both of these tablets. Although a nominative form is

¹⁴ Cf. KN Ga 674, Gg 713 and As 1519. This name may also appear in a fragmentary form on MY X 508 as *ma-ri-ne*].

¹⁵ Such as *pu₂-re-wa* on TH Of 26, *i-da-i-jo* on Of 28, *ku-ru-me-no* on Of 33, among others. Chadwick (1975:89) lists other tablets in the Linear B corpus in which these words are attested as anthroponyms.

¹⁶ Such as *a-ra-ka-te-ja* on TH Of 34, *te-pe-ja* on Of 35, and *a-ke-ti-ra₂* on Of 36. Chadwick (1975:90) demonstrates that these are occupational terms based on their use on other tablets.

¹⁷ As with *ma-ri-ne-u*, there is also disagreement regarding the identification of *ko-ma-we-te-ja* as a divinity. For various interpretations of this term, see Ventris and Chadwick (1973:288, 463), Killen (1983:76) and del Frio (1996-1997:145-159).

appropriate on Of 33, one would expect *di-u-ja-wo* on Of 26 to be in the genitive because it precedes the term *do-de*. For this reason, Chadwick thinks that maybe *di-u-ja-wo* on Of 26 should be restored to *di-u-ja-wo<-no>*, thus providing the expected genitive singular ending. Ruijgh has proposed that *di-u-ja-wo* can be interpreted as *Δίϝυαρϝος, meaning “the priest of Diwia”. This interpretation works well given that *di-u-ja-wo* can be nominative singular (*Δίϝυαρϝος) on Of 33 and genitive plural (Διϝυάρϝων) on Of 26, both of which would be rendered as *di-u-ja-wo* in Mycenaean Greek (Ruijgh 1967:130, n. 155). Given the connections to the religious sphere in this series and the fact that other servants or priests/priestesses occur in this series, it is not unreasonable to support Ruijgh’s interpretation of *di-u-ja-wo*. In fact, the number of divinities in the Of series that also occur on Tn 316 is rather striking¹⁸, and again *e-ma-a₂* is included within a series that primarily recognizes female divinities. In fact, he may be the only male deity listed in this series, with the possible exception of *ma-ri-ne-u*. The fragmentary nature of the Of series, however, makes any further correlation between Tn 316 and the Of series somewhat tenuous.

From the Linear B evidence, it seems fairly clear that *e-ma-a₂* represents a male divinity who is appropriately honored with a variety of offerings and included in ritual ceremonies, as evidenced in PY Tn 316. More importantly for the purposes of this paper, he seems to be included in tablets, or series of tablets, otherwise associated primarily with goddesses in PY Tn 316, the TH Of series and perhaps even PY Un 219. With this basic understanding of *e-ma-a₂*, let us turn to the evidence for the cult of Hermes in the historical period.

Hermes has several defining characteristics in the Classical period. He is known as a divine trickster, which is demonstrated rather amusingly in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* recounting the theft of Apollo’s cattle by the infant god. In Homer, Hermes often functions as the messenger of the gods, delivering the will of Zeus to mankind. In addition, he is also known as *psychopompos*, the leader of the souls to the dead, which most clearly defines his main overarching function as a god of boundaries. He crosses the boundary between the living and the dead, between the mortal and immortal. As such, his name (and perhaps his early cult) is connected to the *herma* or heaps of stones that served as boundary markers upon which passers-by would place a stone in honor of the god (Burkert 1985:136).

¹⁸ *po-ti-ni-ja*, *e-ra*, *ko-ma-we-te-ja* and *e-ma-a₂*, as well as *di-u-ja* as the basis for the term *di-u-ja-wo*.

Hermes is traditionally the son of Zeus and Maia, a shy goddess who avoided the company of the blessed gods and lived in a shadowy cave (*Hom. Hymn. Hermes* 1ff., *Hom. Hymn* 18 1ff., and *Hes. Th.* 938-939). It was in this cave on Mt. Kyllene in Arcadia that Zeus visited Maia under the cover of night, while Hera lay asleep, resulting in the birth of Hermes. It is not surprising that the cult of Hermes is most prominent in and centered around his mythical birthplace (Burket 1985:158). In fact, as Farnell states, his cult does not appear to have taken deep root anywhere except in Arcadia and "his earliest and most prevalent local epithet, one that was known to the Homeric world, was *Κυλλήνιος*"(1896:5.1-2).

Temples to Hermes in the Classical period are rare, even in the region of Arcadia where his cult was most prominent. Of the four temples to Hermes mentioned by Pausanias, three are in Arcadia, including a dilapidated temple of Cyllenian Hermes (Paus. 8.17.2), a temple to Hermes Asacesius in ruins (Paus. 8.30. 6) and a temple to Hermes Aepytyus (Paus. 8.47). The fourth temple, whose existence may be purely mythical, is in the region of Elis. Pausanias states that Pelops was the first to found a temple to Hermes in the Peloponnese. In order to avert the wrath of Hermes for killing his son Myrtilos, Pelops found a temple and offered sacrifices to the god. Pausanias, however, makes no mention of an actual temple to Hermes in Elis (Paus. 5.1.7). Otherwise, Hermes is generally worshipped in the form of a statue (*herm*), either set up in the open air, usually at crossroads or in marketplaces, or in the temples of other, usually female, divinities. For instance, in the Acropolis in Athens, a very ancient wooden *agalma* of Hermes stood in the temple of Athena Polias (Farnell 1896:5.5 and Paus 1.27.1), and in Arcadia in the temple of Aphrodite there are wooden statues of Hermes and Aphrodite (Paus. 8.31.5). In addition, Hermes is often jointly worshipped in the sanctuaries of female divinities, such as in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, where Hermes, Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis shared in her worship (Ferguson 1989:42), and in Arcadia in a sanctuary constructed for the Muses, Apollo and Hermes (Paus. 8.32.3). He is also worshipped jointly with such divinities as Hecate in Arcadia and Demeter and Despoina on the Messenian border¹⁹. In addition, the cult of Hermes is attested in other areas of western and central Crete²⁰. Finally, Hermes is also connected in cult with Aphrodite on the island of Crete at the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme (Lebessi and Muhly 1987:102-113). This multi-period site was in continual use from the Bronze Age to as late as the Roman period.

¹⁹ For ancient sources attesting to the worship of Hermes among these chthonic divinities. see Farnell 1896:5.13.

²⁰ For a brief but thorough account of Hermes cult on Crete, see Willetts 1962:287-289.

There seems to be sufficient evidence for the cult of Hermes in the Archaic, Hellenistic and Roman periods at this site. Although this sanctuary does date back to Bronze Age, there is no definitive evidence for the worship of Hermes or Aphrodite at Kato Syme prior to 700 B.C, so we cannot state with certainty that Hermes and Aphrodite were worshipped here in the Bronze Age.

This brief account of Hermes' cult in the historical period may assist in interpreting the references to Hermes in the Linear B tablets and help to illuminate some of the issues of continuity and discontinuity of Hermes cult dating back to the Bronze Age. The fact that Hermes does not have a sanctuary of his own on Tn 316 and instead is associated either with the sanctuary of *di-u-ja* or collectively with the sanctuaries of *pe-re-**82, *i-pe-me-de-ja* and *di-u-ja*, has been a topic of concern among Linear B scholars. As seen in the historical period, however, temples to Hermes in general are scarce, especially outside of Arcadia. Given Hermes' character as a god of boundaries and his presumably early manifestation as a *herma*, it is understandable that Hermes in the Bronze Age does not have a sanctuary of his own. In addition, Hermes is often associated in cult with other female divinities whether worshipped jointly within the same sanctuary as at Kato Syme or honored with a statue in their temple as in the temple of Athena Polias in Athens and the temple of Aphrodite in Arcadia. The practice of including Hermes in the sanctuaries of various goddesses may be alluded to in the Linear B tablets, seen most clearly on Tn 316, but also perhaps on PY Un 219, where *e-ma-a₂* is clustered around other female deities and in the Of series which mentions many of the same goddesses on Tn 316. It is not unusual then that in the Linear B tablets, Hermes seems to be grouped or closely associated with other female divinities, a practice which is still prevalent in the historical period. The fact that these same features are evident in the Linear B tablets demonstrates that at least some aspects of the cult of Hermes in the historical period have their roots in the Late Bronze Age.

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DISCUSSION

J.T.Killen: Another context in which Hermes appears in what may be the same role as a female divinity elsewhere is on D 411 at Knossos. Though this is a unique record in terms of the scribal hand, its closest typological links are with the D1(1) records in hand 118. Like the latter, it records female animals first, and like several of the D1(1) records it also contains a WE entry. Given these similarities, it may be significant that just as Hermes is stated to be the ‘owner’ of the animals on D 411 (*e-ma-a₂-o*), so Potnia (or less likely a priest of Potnia) is named as the ‘owner’ of the sheep on several of the D1(1) records (*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*).