THE VERB KAΘΙΕΡΟΩ AND REFERENCE TO A DIVINITY IN ANATOLIAN FUNERAL FORMULAS

In a dark chapel of the church which has now been turned into the Avignon epigraphical museum a funeral tombstone of the third century A.D. stands out (Nr. 1)¹. It comes from the planes of the high Tembris, close to Kotiaion in Northwest Phrygia. The tombstone shows two iconographs: in the upper one, from top to bottom, we find a small bust of Helios and a bigger one of Zeus with a crescent moon on the left and a star on both sides, and the triple Hecate with the busts of Men to the left and Demeter on the right, both on a platform. In the lower register the two deceased are depicted.

In this inscription the verbs $\kappa\alpha\theta$ ιερόω and τιμάω are used in a peculiar context, giving rise to a question of lexis as well as of religious-funeral thought. The problem is this: What exactly does the expression Τατειν κε Γ(λ)υκώναν υίὸν αὐτῆς ἐτειμηθέντας ὑπὸ Σωτείρης Ἑκάτη[ς] κατειέρωσαν mean? What does "a worshipper who «consecrates» a deceased, who in turn had been «honoured» by divinity" mean? The inscription's editor, T. Lochman, already relates it to another four epitaphs which certainly come from the same place and which, next to a similar iconograph and the "consecration" of the deceased to Hecate, show the same use of both verbs (Nrs. 2-5). However, the form also appears in three inscriptions with a different iconography, where the deceased is honoured by other divinities: by Zeus in a tombstone of the same area (Nr. 6), by Apollo in another of Maionia en Lydia (Nr. 7), and by the immortal gods -Hecate, Manes Daes Heliodromos Zeus and Phoibos Archegetes- on a fourth century funeral altar (Nr. 8).

In one of those epitaphs, the one of Gaios (Nr. 4), we find, instead of the construction τιμηθέντα ὑπὸ θεοῦ ... καθιέρωσεν, the variation κατεειέρωσεν τῷ θεῷ. Parallelly we have another inscription that appeared in Smyrna but that surely comes from Phrygia: τέκνον ἀπιέρωσαν Ἀπόλλωνι (Nr. 9); and an inscription from Kula in Lydia (Nr. 10) which reads Δία Κτήσιον Τατια Παπιαν... κατειέρωσαν, where the accusative of the theonym is probably used as a dative³.

¹The numbers between brackets without any other indications refer to the numbers in the appendix at the end of the article.

²The form ἀφιερόω which appears at the end of the inscription is a synonym of καθιερόω which can replace any of the uses mentioned.

³For the substitution of the dative by the accusative in Anatolia in the 2nd and 3rd c., vide Cl. Brixhe, *Essai sur le Grec anatolien*, Nancy 1984, 96.

To this group of epitaphs of the third and fourth century A.D., particular to the Lydian Maionia and west Phrygia, whose characteristics are expressions like τὸν πατέρα τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθειέρωσαν, with the variant καθειέρωσαν τὸν πατέρα τῷ θεῷ, we can add some parallels in the same area, especially in the Lydian part, of the same use of καθιερόω, but without any reference to the divinity, which had already been found in the second century A.D. (Nrs. 11-15).

The fact that two of the deceased of the Tembris were priests (Nrs. 6 and 8) made T. Lochman wonder if the Mnemas of Nr. 5 wouldn't also be priest. Similarly, Varinlioğlu, the editor of the North-Western Lydian epitaph for a child (Nr. 7) takes the possibility into account that the child was consecrated as future priest of Apollo. It certainly seems a good interpretation of τιμηθέντα (honoured for having been god's priest), which would also explain the use of καθιερόω, verb originally applied to cult objects. We can even support the hypothesis of both authors with good parallels. In two of the North-Eastern Lydian epitaphs in which the verb καθιερόω is used, the "consecrated" are priests of Apollo Tarsios (Nr. 11) and Zeus (Nr. 12) respectively⁴. On the other hand, the consecration of a child as a divinity's priest is well-known (e.g. IGUR III, 1169), as well as the consecration in general of children to Dionysos⁵. We could even think of other types of personal cult. Precisely in Asia Minor there are several testimonies of dedications of hierodouloi or hieroi paides to the temple. One can think of the consecrations of the sanctuary of Apollo Lairbenos in Phrygia⁶, or of the inscription of Hierokaisareia in Lydia (TAM V 2, 1252) in which some children are dedicated to Artemis Anaitis as σώματα ἱερά.

According to A. D. Nock, in these inscriptions τιμηθέντα (ὑπὸ θεοῦ) means "having received special grace from...", such as prophetical dreams or supernatural powers, and he underlines the mentioning, referring specifically to Hecate, of the ἐπιφανεστάται τῆς θείας δυνάμεως ἀρεταί in the Karian inscription. For this interpretation too we can find good parallels, such as the one of the Lydian priestess who after her death gives oracles (TAM V1, 1055), as well as other intermediaries of the gods, typical in Anatolian epigraphy (think of the ἄγγελος of Men⁸ or of the priestess who carried out a divine healing through exorcism [TAM V1, 331]). Finally, we should remember that for some of the so-called mysterical religions, where the consecration in vita to the gods was a frequent feature as we have seen for

⁴In the case of Zeus, we know because of the inscription Sardis VII 1, 91.

⁵R. Merkelbach, Die Hirten des Dionysos, Stuttgart 1988, 88ff.

⁶L. Robert, *OMS* VII, Amsterdam 1990, 549-67.

⁷A. D. Nock, JHS 45 (1925), 100-1.

⁸Cf. TAM V1, 159; G. Petzl, Beichtinschriften, EA 22, 1994, Nr. 38.

Dionysos, the initiated turned into gods when they died⁹. The Bacchical plates of Turioi present a good testimony¹⁰. The inscription MAMA VIII, 207 on the Isauro-Lycaonian front represents an interesting parallel of the use of ἀνίστημι with the same meaning as καθιερόω in the Tembris group (Λούκιος ἀνέστησε Τήλεφον... καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἀετόν...); the dedicated person is a mystes of Mithra as we know because of his status of ἀετός, and precisely in one of the inscriptions of the Tembris group (Nr. 8), the deceased had been initiated ('Αθάνατος 'Επιτύνχανος, μυηθὶς ὑπὸ καλῆς ἀρχιερίας δημοτικῆς...).

For any of the cases mentioned here, however, it seems strange that one does not display this power or special task in the epitaph, as generally happens in the epitaphs in the whole Greek world. Thus I believe that a full analysis of the uses of the verb $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\epsilon\rho\delta\omega$ and of what we know about Anatolic and particularly Phrygian beliefs about afterlife can lead us to another interpretation of those funeral formulas, be it equally based on a special relation between the deceased and divinity.

Throughout the Greek literature and epigraphy, the use of the term καθιερόω applied to the consecration to a divinity of an altar, a temple or another cult building, a temenos, the sanctuary's firstlings, an offer, a sacrifice, is so usual that no example needs to be mentioned. Its use, on the other hand, for a non-cult object or for a person is rare and late. In late-Hellenistic and above all imperial literature it is understood as "consecrate" or "dedicate" to the divinity, referring to people. In D.H.1. 16.2; I.AI 4.72; Plu. Num. 10; Eus. VC 4.26 y Gr. Naz. Or. 7.4 (Nr. 16), the term is used to express that a person has consecrated his life to divinity, or to acting in name of divinity. That is also the meaning of the expression sacrata Dei puella, or virgo sacrata Dei in the Latin fifth century epithaphs for women who had consecrated their life to God¹¹. Even if those uses support the earlier interpretation, apart from being few and literary, they refer to the consecration of people in vita and, except in the quote by Plutarchus which refers to the consecration of the Vestals by Numa, the people mentioned consecrate themselves.

Since the first century A.D., and above all in the imperial Asia Minor epigraphy, the use of the verb has been extended to other contexts, in some cases losing some of its religious character. It is used with the accusative of a theonym (IGR IV, 1498 [Troketta in Lydia]; IGLS 1.1) or even of an emperor's name (IStratonikeia 1007, 1008; ITralles 36, 37) in a metonym-

⁹F. Cumont, After Life in Roman Paganism, New York 1922, 34-7; W. Burkert, Ancient Mystery Cults, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1987, 76-7.

¹⁰W. Burkert, Greek Religion, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1985, 295.

¹¹C. Kaufmann, Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik, Freiburg 1917, 282-9.

ical way referring to the statue that is dedicated; with the accusative of the emperor's name in honorific stones with the meaning of "honour" (SEG XXIX, 1156; IMagnesia Syp. 8, 10, 11, 12); even with the accusative of other posts or institutions, like in a Phrygian inscription of 54-5 A.D., where the "magistrates" of the city καθιέρωσαν τὸν δῆμον τῶν 'Απαμένων¹², or in IEphesos 3436 of the third century A.D., where the boule and the demos καθιέρωσαν τὸν εὐεργέτην. On the other hand, the consecrations, i.e. dedications are not only made to gods, but also to emperors (IGCh 281 of Aphrodisias: τὸν ... Φλ(άβιον) 'Ονώριον ... τῆ συνήθει καθοσιώσει ἀφιέρωσεν), and even to the boule (IEphesos 690: τὰ ἀγάλματα ... τῆ βουλῆ καθιέρωσεν) or to the gerousia (IMylasa 342: τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆ γερουσία καθιέρωσε). In imperial Anatolia the verb can thus mean to dedicate or donate something to somebody (not necessarily a cult object to a divinity) and even honour, with the accusative usually but not exclusively referring to the emperor.

These inscriptions show the generalization process of the term, they reflect the loss of its specific original meaning, and the confusion between the term and other terms born out of different rituals and actions within the honorific habits, both in life and after death. If inscriptions like Νικόστρατος... τὸ στάδιον... ἀνέθηκεν καθιερώσαντος τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου (CIG 3935 of Laodicea; cf. INikaia 1502; SEG XXXIX, 1388 of Perge) make us think at first sight that ἀνατίθημι would mean something like to finance the dedication and καθιερόω to take care of the ceremony, coinciding with the known Latin distinction between dedicatio and consacratio, in other occasions the meaning of both verbs seems just the opposite. In IGUR 1566 (Κ. Ί. Μείλητον οἱ τεχνίται ἀνέθηκαν. Κ. Ί. Μείλητος ζῶν καταεἰέρωσε) the deceased had left the dedication all paid, the others would take care of the ceremony¹³. Neither can we establish a coherent distinction between other pairs of terms in expressions like καθιερώσαντες έστεφάνωσαν (Sardis VII1, 22) and ἐσστεφάνωσαν τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱόν ...· καθιέρωσαν ἐτῶν θ' in the Majonian inscription (Nr. 7), or ἐτείμησαν κὲ καταειέρωσαν (TAM VI, 177), nor between τὸν πατέρα καθιέρωσαν (Sardis VII1, 22) and τὸν ἄνδρα ανέθηκεν (MAMA VIII, 358) or ανέστησε Τήλεφον (ibid. 207). The terms καθιερόω, άνατίθημι, άνίστημι, άφοσιόω, άποθειόω and in some contexts even τιμάω and στεφανόω are used indistinctly or alternatively, sometimes in combination, surely wishing to reinforce one same feeling¹⁴.

¹²W. M. Ramsay, op. cit., 459, Nr. 290.

¹³Cf. SEG XXXII, 1425. The existence of a ceremony accompanying a dedication can be proved because of some inscriptions like the one in Aphrodisias IGCh. 281, 4th c. A.D. (τῆ συνήθει καθοσιώσει ἀφιέρωσεν).

¹⁴In 2nd and 3rd c. Anatolic and Syrian inscriptions one uses καθιερόω (or ἀφιερόω) with "tomb" as a direct object (MAMA VIII, 349; SEG XXXII, 1425). In this way ἀποθεόω τὴν

Because of this evolution of the meaning of the term we tend to suppose that in the epitaphs of the Tembris and Maionia we find a local use of the verb indicating that the relatives dedicated the deceased to the divinity, whereby they put the grave under his protection. Thus, $\tau \mu \eta \theta \acute{\epsilon} \nu \tau \alpha \dot{\delta} n \dot{\delta} \theta \acute{\epsilon} o \hat{\upsilon}$ would mean honoured by the god with death.

The need to put the deceased under divine protection has been witnessed all over the Greek world, but nowhere with the Anatolian frequency nor character. In Asia Minor, and especially in Phrygian, Maionian and Cilician country religion, funeral curses are plentiful. The most frequently invoked divinities are Zeus and Apollo concealing native divinities, and above all, Men and the katachthonioi Theoi; in Phrygia, also and especially Hecate¹⁵. Those are precisely the divinities that are mentioned and represented in our tombstones. The moon and the stars, or the sun are very frequently represented in imperial Anatolic iconography. This has to do with the belief about the afterlife and the immortality in the tombstones known in eastern cultures such as the Persian and the Hittite, and therefore surely in pagan Anatolic religions 16. Maybe with τιμηθέντα they underline the idea of the divinization of the deceased or the immortality of the souls. The assumption that you obtained a status and special power through death is also common in many cultures of which you can find plenty of proof in the Greek world¹⁷. In Anatolia, and more precisely in Phrygia, there are the testimonies that reflect the idea of a life after death on the one hand, and of a special power of the dead on the other hand. A series of epitaphs-ex votos dedicated to Zeus Bronton in North-East Phrygia such as Διοφάνης ... άδελφῶ Φιλίπω καὶ Διὶ Βροντῶντι εύγήν show that the deceased passed to the divine world and acquired special powers, being able to act as an intermediary between those who stayed on earth and divinity, and being able to listen to and act upon a petition¹⁸. In the same way we can interpret another Phrygian inscription: Τατεις έτείμησαν...Μητραν θεὸν γενόμενον¹⁹

λάρνακα (Buckler - Calder - Cox, JRS 14 [1924], p. 39, Nr. 20) and ἀφοσιόω τὸν περίβολον (ibid., Nr. 29) appear as synonyms.

 ¹⁵L. Robert, CRAI 1978, 264-5; cf. T. Lochman, op. cit. 457-8 with further bibliography.
 16Cf. e.g. a funeral curse from Cilicia in which one invokes upon Helios, Selene and the katachthonioi Theoi (R. Heberdey - E. Kalinka, I. Bericht einer 2. Reise in Südwestlichen Kleinasien, Wien 1896, Nr. 71). On funeral symbolism of the moon and the stars in the Imperial Era vide F. Cumont, Recherches sur le Symbolisme funéraire des romains, Paris 1966, 177-252.

¹⁷M. Waelkens, in R. Donceel - R. Lebrun (eds.), Mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster. Homo Religious 10, Leuven 1983, 259-307.

¹⁸MAMA V, 135; cf. 136, 137, 138, R 5, R 10, etc.

¹⁹M. Waelkens, op. cit., p. 259. Theories of W. M. Ramsay in JHS 5 (1884), 241-262 about deification of the deceased in Phrygia. Cf. M. Waelkens, op. cit., esp. 259-307, who refutes Ramsay's arguments.

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The idea of being honoured by death, and the possible intervention by the deceased for his relatives before the god brings us to Christian belief. It has to be stressed that Phrygia was one of the first areas where Christianity settled, and where already in the second and third century A.D. we find numerous inscriptions reflecting the coexistence of Christianity and paganism²⁰. In a Christian inscription of Kotiaion (CIG 9263) the same idea of being honoured by divinity appears: Εὐτυχιανὸν τὸν τιμηθέντα παρὰ τοῦ ιερατίου και λαοῦ και παρά θεοῦ δ[ο]ξασθέντα τούτω μνήμης χάριν, and the epitaph to Epitynchanos of the Tembris group (Nr. 8) represents a clear fourth century example of the terminological and ideological mixture of Christianity and paganism. And by way of conclusion, now that Christianity has been brought up, I would like to mention a parallel that I consider expressive to understand the epitaphs of the Tembris, although I have not been able to find a link that testifies to a possible continuity between two such distant moments in the chronological and geographical Greek world. I am talking about the most frequent formula on tombstones in present day Greek graveyards: αφιερώνουν στο Θεό.

APPENDIX

τιμηθέντα ύπὸ 'Εκάτης καθιέρωσαν (ἀφιέρωσαν) or καθιέρωσαν Εκάτη

1. T. Lochman, Revue du Louvre, 1990.6, 455-61; high Tembris; Avignon museum; 3rd c. A.D.:

'Αγαθῆ Τύχη Σωτείρης 'Εκάτης' Μένα(ν)δρος δαὴρ κὲ Κυρίλα ἐνάτηρ,
Παπας υἰὸς, ('Α)πης νύνφη Τατειν
κε Γ(λ)υκώναν υἰὸν αὐτῆς ἐτειμηθέντας ὑπὸ Σωτείρης 'Εκάτη[ς]
κατειέρωσαν'
κὲ 'Ονήσιμος τεθρεμέν-

²⁰Vide W. M. Ramsay, op. cit., chap. XII; W. M. Calder, MAMA I (1928); E. Gibson, The "Christians for Christians" Inscriptions of Phrygia (= HThS 32), Ann Arbor, 1978, esp. pp. 141ff.

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ος ἀπειέρωσεν.

2. J. Keil - A. von Premerstein, Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien, Wien 1911, Nr. 267; E. Pfuhl - H. Möbius, Ostgr. Grabreliefs II, Mainz 1979, Nr. 2091, Pl. 301; Tembris; 3rd c. A.D.:

Τρόφιμος κὴ Σέκκτος τὸν π/ατ/έρ/α [Τρ]όφιμον κὴ τὴν μαιτέρα "Αμ-[μιο]ν ἔτι ζῶσαν ἀπειέρωσα/ν τιμηθέντας ὑπὸ Σωτίρης Έκάτης

3. LBW 805; CIG 3827; J. Keil - A. von Premerstein, Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien, Wien 1911, p. 142 (E. Pfuhl - H. Möbius, Ostgr. Grabreliefs II, Mainz 1979, Nr. 2092, without text); Tembris; 3rd c. A.D.:

'Αγαθη Τύχη. Σωτείρης 'Εκάτη[ς ...]μος καὶ 'Αφφη Δημοσθένη τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν τει[μη]θέντα ὑπὸ Σωτείρης 'Εκάτης κατειέρωσαν. Δημοσθένης πάτρως κ(αὶ) 'Ανεί[κητος] συνκατειέρωσαν. Τελεσφόρος [....]ρως συνκατειέ[ρωσεν

4. P. Perdrizet, BCH 1896, Pl. VI; G. Mendel, Catalogue Sculptures III, Nr. 1077; J. Keil - A. von Premerstein, Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien, Wien 1911, p. 142; E. Pfuhl - H. Möbius, Ostgr. Grabreliefs II, Mainz 1979, Nr. 2089, Pl. 300; Tembris; 3rd c. A.D.:

"Απψιον τὸν ἑαυτῆς σύνβιον Γάειον κατεειέρωσεν Σωτίρη 'Εκάτη καὶ 'Απελλᾶς καὶ Γάειος ἐτείμησαν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν γονίς μν/ήμης/ χάριν. / Τειμ/ή/ας Μου/ρματε/ανός.

5. E. Pfuhl - H. Möbius, Ostgr. Grabreliefs II, Mainz 1979, Nr. 2090, Pl. 300; Tembris; 3rd c. A.D.:

'Αμιὰς Μνένναν τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδραν τιμηθένταν ὑπὸ Σωτίρης 'Εκάτης κατιέρω[σ]εν καὶ 'Απο[λλώνι]ος καὶ Μάν[λ]ιος υἰοὶ α[ὐτοῦ]

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τιμηθέντα by other gods

6. W. H. Buckler - W. M. Calder - L. W. H. Cox, JRS 15 (1925), 154s., Nr. 140, Pl. 20; E. Pfuhl - H. Möbius, Ostgr. Grabreliefs II, Mainz 1979, Nr. 2120, Pl. 180:

['Αλ]έξανδρος Μητ[ρόφ/ιλ]ον τὸν ἱερέα [τιμηθέν/τα] ὑπὸ Διὸς καθ[ιέρωσεν]

7. E. Varinlioğlu, *EA* 15 (1990), 74-5, Nr. 23, Pl. 16; Kollyda (Maionia); Imperial Era:

Διόδωρος κε Δανάη ἐσστεφάνωσαν τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν ᾿Ασκληπιάδην τὸν τειμηθένταν ὑπὸ ᾿Απόλλωνος καθειέρωσαν ἐτῶν θ΄.

- 8. W. M. Ramsay, The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia I, Oxford 1895, p. 566, Nrs. 467-9; F. Cumont, Catal. Sculptures Musée Cinquantenaire (1913), Nr. 136; Kotiaion; 314-5 A.D.:
- ... 'Αρχιερέα ['Ε]πιτύνχανον τιμηθέντα ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀθανάτων καθιέρωσαν αὐτόν ... 'Αθάνατος 'Επιτύνχα[ν]ος Πίου τιμηθὶς ὑπὸ 'Εκάτης πρώτης δεὑτε[ρ]ον ὑπὸ Μάνου Δάου ['Η]λιοδρόμου Διὸς τρίτον Φοίβου 'Αρχηγέτου
- 9. O. Benndorf G. Niemann, Reisen in Lykien und Karien I, Vienna 1884, p. 153, Nr. 128 (Th. Drew-Bear Ch. Naour, ANRW II, 18.3 [1990], p. 1936); Phrygia (L. Robert, Hellenica III, 55); Imperial Era:

'Αρτέμων κὲ Τροφίμης ['Α]σκλᾶν τέκνον ἀπιέρωσαν 'Απόλλωνι

10. TAM V1, 285; Kula (Maionia); 186-7 A.D.:

Δία κτήσιον Τατια Παπιαν... κατειέρωσαν

Uses of καθιέρωσαν without reference to a divinity

- 11. M. L. Cremer J. Nollé, *Chiron* 18 (1988), 207ff., Nr. 4; Northeast Lydia (Saittai?); 138-9 A.D.:
 - ... τὸν πατέρα καθιέρωσαν ...
 - 12. Sardis VII.1, 22; Sardes; 2nd c. A.D.:
 - ... καθιερώσαντες στεφάνωσαν Σωκράτην Πολεμαίου Παρδαλάν ...

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13. TAM V1, 298; Kula (Maionia); 76-7 A.D. (or 176-7 A.D.):

... Δομίτιος 'Ροῦφος ἐκατόνταρχος καὶ Κλαυδί[α]τὴν ἑαυτῶν θυγατέρα 'Ρουφείν[ην] καταειέρωσαν.

14. TAM V1, 177, Pl. XIV; Saittai (Maionia); 177-8 A.D.:

... Δημήτριος καὶ "Αμμειον Βάσσαν τὴν έαυτῶν θυγατέρα καὶ οἱ συνγενῖς αὐτῆς ἐτίμησαν κὲ καταειέρωσαν.

15. MAMA VII, 290; Aziziye (Amorion):

... καθ]ιέρωσεν 'Αρετήν Μηνογένειαν τήν [θυγατέρα] ...

16. D.H. (I 16.2; about the Aborigenes colonization in Italia):

θεῶν ὅτῷ δὴ καθιεροῦντες ἀνθρώπων ἐτείους γονὰς ἑξέπεμπον ὅπλοις κοσμήσαντες ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας

Plu. (Num. X; about the installation of the Vestals in Rome):

ύπὸ Νομᾶ καθιερωθῆναι λέγουσι Γεγανίαν καὶ Βερηνίαν ..., and, further, referring to them: σῶμα ταῖς μεγίσταις καθιερωμένον ἀγιστείαις

I. (AI IV 72):

όσοι δ' ἄν αύτοὺς καθιερῶσιν εὐχὴν πεποιημένοι, ναζιραῖοι δὲ οὧτοι καλοῦνται

Eus. (VC IV 26):

Of women ἱερωσύνη Θεοῦ καθιερωμέναι ... άγνῷ καὶ παναγίφ βίφ, ψυχή καὶ σώματι, σφᾶς αὐτὰς καθιερώσασαι

Gr. Naz. (Or. 7.4):

About his mother καθιερωμένη Θεφ referring to her great piety.

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