

V.—The Daughters of Gadias

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In 1924 five marble plaques bearing Jewish inscriptions in the Greek language were removed from the walls surrounding the courtyard of the Bishop's Palace at Porto, near Rome, and placed in the Jewish Room (Sala Giudaica) of the Lateran Museum. The Porto collection had been assembled in 1822 by the Bishop of Porto, Cardinal Bartolommeo Pacca, a distinguished statesman of the Church. The presence of these and other Jewish inscriptions in the Porto collection had naturally led to the assumption of a flourishing Jewish colony in Porto, the ancient Portus Traiani. In a recent paper¹ I offered evidence that the Cardinal had brought the Jewish inscriptions to Porto from Rome and that some, and perhaps all, of these came originally from the Jewish catacomb of Monteverde. Consequently, Porto must be eliminated from the list of ancient cities known to have had a Jewish community.

Among Cardinal Pacca's inscriptions which were set up in the Lateran is one which has been something of a puzzle to students of Judeo-Roman epigraphy. It is the inscription numbered 535 in Frey's *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*.² Actually there are two separate inscriptions, one beneath the other, on the same stone, which is a marble fragment of irregular shape, measuring a maximum of 50 cm. in both its width and height (Plate I). The presence of a molding at the top indicates that the stone was a discarded piece of marble from a much larger slab prepared for another purpose.³ The inscriptions were obviously carved after the piece had been broken off, since the writer of the lower inscription was forced to adapt himself to the irregular space.

¹ "The Jewish Community of Ancient Porto," *HTHR* 45 (1952) 165–75.

² J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* I (Vatican City 1936). References to inscriptions in this Corpus will be designated as *CII* followed by the number of the inscription.

³ Frey, *Riv. Arch. Crist.* 8 (1931) 86, calls it a fragment of a sarcophagus, but the presence of the molding makes this hardly likely.

The upper inscription (*CII* 543), which is very crudely scratched, reads as follows:

ΕΝΘΑΔΕΙ ΚΕ
ΤΙ CΑΡΡΑ
ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥ
ΥΟΥC ΑΥΤΗC⁴
ΕΝ ΕΙΠΙ

With the errors corrected⁵ the text would read: *ἐνθάδε κείται Σάρρα μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς. ἐν εἰρήνῃ*. "Here lies Sarra with her son. In peace." Under the inscription there is a scrawled figure of the Menorah, the candelabrum of seven branches, which was then the symbol of Judaism.

The lower inscription, the letters of which are somewhat better formed but still far from elegant, has the following text:

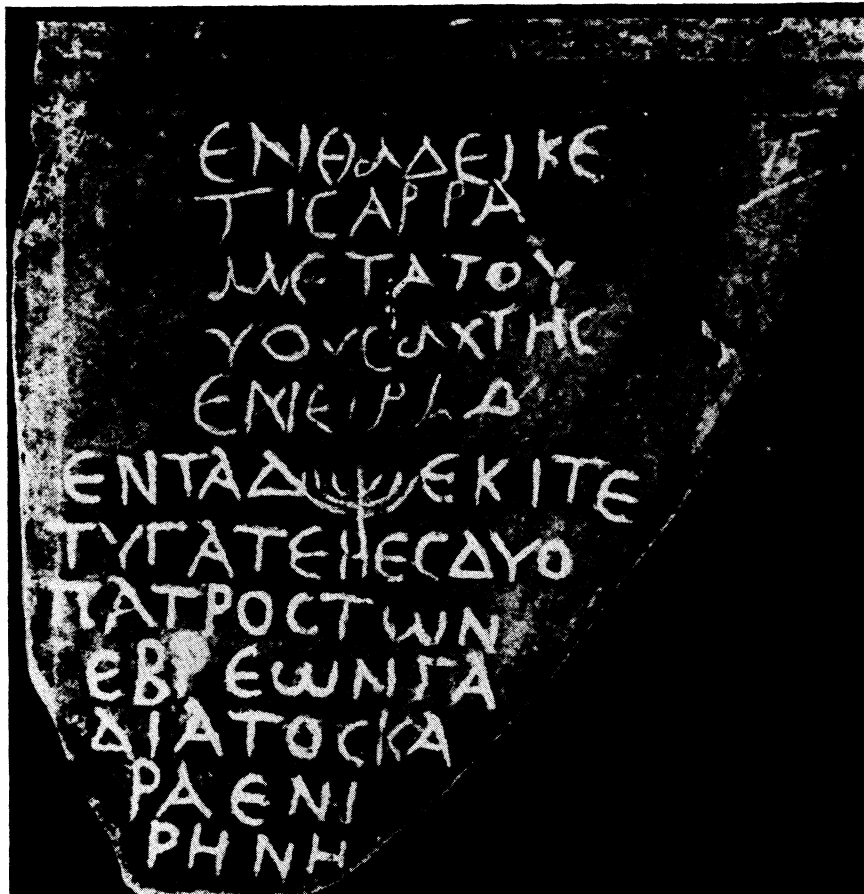
ΕΝΤΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ
ΤΥΓΑΤΕΡΕC ΔΥΟ
ΠΑΤΡΟC ΤΩΝ
ΕΒΡΕΩΝ ΓΑ
ΔΙΑΤΟC ΚΑ
ΡΑ ΕΝ Ι
ΡΗΝΗ

Transcribed in conventional Greek, it would seem to be: *ἐνθάδε κείνται θυγατέρες δύο πατρὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων Γαδιάτος. κάρα ἐν εἰρήνῃ*. "Here lie the two daughters of the Father of the Hebrews, Gadias. Their heads in peace."

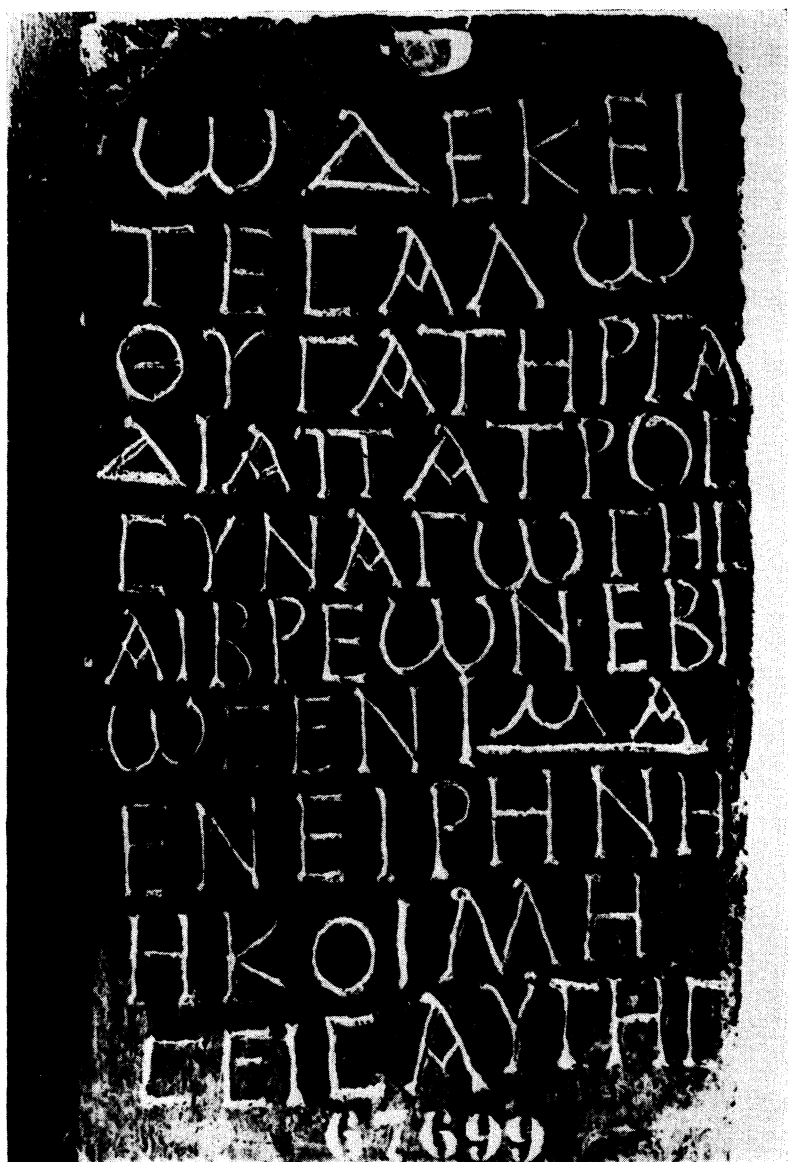
Although the use of a singular verb with a plural subject is not too startling, since the expression *ἐνθάδε κείται* had become stereotyped, it is disturbing to find an epitaph without the names of the two deceased individuals. Furthermore, the concluding formula, *κάρα ἐν εἰρήνῃ*, apparently with the meaning "Their heads (be) in peace," is absolutely without parallel among the several hundred Jewish in-

⁴ Frey, dividing the words differently, and wrongly inserting an I, reads ΥΙΟΥC ΑΥΤΗC, the CΑΥΤΗC being an error for ΕΑΥΤΗC. While C often appears erroneously for Ε, the longer reflexive form *ἐαυτοῦ* is so rare in the Judeo-Roman inscriptions (I know of only two examples, *CII* 169, 391, in both of which the article is omitted) that it is easier to regard the C as attached to ΥΟΥ, either forming a genitive otherwise unexampled in these inscriptions or just an error by a careless stonemason.

⁵ For the misspellings in these inscriptions see H. J. Leon, "The Language of the Greek Inscriptions from the Jewish Catacombs of Rome," *TAPA* 58 (1927) 210-33.



Inscription of the Daughters of Gadias. Lateran Museum



Inscription of Salo. Terme Museum

scriptions of Rome, and the use of the poetic word *κᾶπα* for "head" is, to say the least, incongruous in an inscription of this kind.

While this second inscription was first published by Lanciani in 1868⁶ and the texts of both inscriptions were given in 1886 by Le Blant,⁷ the first to offer any commentary was the Orientalist, Derenbourg, who in 1887 published both inscriptions and discussed the name Gadias and the Synagogue of the Hebrews.⁸ He referred to the unusual closing formula, but made no effort to explain it. Volume XIV of *Inscriptiones Graecae* contains only the second inscription.⁹ The editor, Kaibel, tried to eliminate the strange use of *κᾶπα* by reading the father's name as Gadia Toskara.

So the matter rested until 1931, when Father J. B. Frey, a diligent investigator of the Jewish antiquities of Rome, writing in the *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*,¹⁰ read the father's name as Gadia Kara, but offered no further solution. A few years later Father Frey changed his mind, reverting in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* to Kaibel's interpretation of the name as Gadia Toskara. Actually, this is an absurd conjecture, since the *-tos* is manifestly the genitive ending of the name Gadias, for Greek proper names of Hebrew origin ending in *-as* show a genitive in either *-atos* or *-a*.¹¹ In any case, the combination of Gadias with either Kara or Toskara to form a double name is to be rejected, since it would be entirely out of harmony with the names of the Roman Jews as we know them.¹² In a recent paper of my own I regarded the word *κᾶπα* as part of the concluding formula and remarked that this formula was unique.¹³

Disturbed both by the apparent absence of the names of the two daughters and by the unusual formula, I have reexamined the problem and wish to present here what I believe to be the correct inter-

⁶ Rodolfo Lanciani, *Ann. Inst. Corr. Arch.* 40 (1868) 191.

⁷ Edmond Le Blant, *CR Acad. Inscr.* 14 (1886) 196.

⁸ Joseph Derenbourg, *Mélanges Renier* (Paris 1887) 438 f.

⁹ *IG XIV* (Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae) 945.

¹⁰ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* 8 (1931) 85 f.

¹¹ Cf. *Ἰουδαίος* (*CII* 12); *Γαδία* (*CII* 510); *Τουβία* (*CII* 497) and Leon, *op. cit.* (above, note 1) 168, note 21.

¹² Cf. Leon, "The Names of the Jews of Ancient Rome," *TAPA* 59 (1928) 205-24.

¹³ *Op. cit.* (above, note 1) 169. Amusing is the proposed solution of Samuel Krauss in *Synagogale Altertümer* (Vienna and Berlin 1922) 252, where he interprets ΤΥΓΑΤΕΡ as singular nominative, ΕCΔΥΟ as the name of the daughter, though with an interrogation mark. He seems to have been misled by the peculiar arrangement of the letters in Vogelstein and Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* 1 (Berlin 1896) 464, no. 38, or the spacing in *IG*, which is based on Lanciani.

pretation. The *κἀρα* is, in my opinion, a proper name; not a part of the father's name, but the name of the daughter. The name Cara or Kara, like its masculine counterpart, Carus, was common in ancient Rome and in the Roman world, as is evident from its frequent occurrence in inscriptions.¹⁴ I have pointed out in a study of the names of the Jews of Rome that more than fifty percent of those members of the community whose names have been preserved bore Latin names and that the proportion of Latin names was even higher for the women than for the men.¹⁵ It need not surprise us, therefore, that the daughter of a synagogue official was given a common Latin name.

If we accept Cara as the name of one of Gadias's daughters, we still have the strange phenomenon that the inscription mentions two daughters but names only one. Here the upper inscription, which has always been regarded as an entirely independent epitaph, comes into consideration. The Sarra who is there memorialized was Gadias's other daughter. She may have died in childbirth or soon after, since the inscription states that she was interred with her son, who, being unnamed, must have been a newly born infant. Her resting place was marked by an almost illiterate inscription, ineptly cut, or rather scratched, on a second-hand piece of marble. A rough figure of the Menorah proclaimed the fact that she was a Jewess. Some time later¹⁶ Cara, another daughter of Gadias, died and was buried in the same tomb. Since the first scribe had left some room on the stone, Cara's epitaph was carved on the same slab, though somewhat crowded, to be sure, because of the limited space. It has always been supposed (by myself, among others) that the Menorah forms a part of the lower inscription, but, if so, it would be a strange position for this symbol, which was regularly inscribed either before or after the text. That the Menorah was already there when the second epitaph was inscribed on the stone should be clear from the fact that the last two letters of the first word, *ΕΝΤΑΔΕ*, are separated

¹⁴ A few instances of the name Cara at Rome: *CIL* VI.5698, 15205, 16561, 16823, 18305 f., 20803; spelled Kara: *CIL* VI.13294, 15767, 16751. For examples in the Roman world outside Rome, see *ThLL* Onomasticon, and *ILS* Index II (Cognomina). A Latin inscription found near Constantine in Numidia was set up by a Jewess named Pompeia Cara to her deceased father (*CIL* VIII.7155). The name Cara is found also among the early Christians of Rome; e.g. on a Greek inscription in the Catacomb of Priscilla, O. Marucchi, *Catacombe romane* (Rome 1932) 554.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* (above, note 12) 215, 220.

¹⁶ I had previously taken the upper inscription as the later one; *op. cit.* (above, note 1) 169 and note 23.

because of its presence, and its stem divides the word ΤΤΓΑΤΕΡΕC in the second line and actually touches the letter P. Besides, the crude way in which it is scratched resembles the style of the upper inscription.

According to the present interpretation, the second inscription is to be rendered: "Here lie[s] the two daughters of the Father of (the Synagogue of) the Hebrews, Gadias. Cara in peace." The concluding formula *ἐν εἰρήνῃ* is part of the normal *ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοίμησις αὐτῆς* (or *αὐτῶν*): "In peace be her (their) sleep," the abridged form being due to lack of space. In the upper inscription the person who cut the epitaph stopped, for whatever reason, before finishing the word *εἰρήνῃ* and inserted an ornamental leaf at the end.

We are not yet through with the bereaved Gadias. A marble plaque (CII 510) now in a storeroom of the Terme Museum and bearing the number 67699 has the following (uncorrected) text (Plate II):

ὦδε κεῖτε Σαλῶ, θυγάτηρ Γαδία πατρὸς συναγωγῆς Αἰβρέων. ἐβίωσεν
μα'. ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοίμησις αὐτῆς.

"Here lies Salo, daughter of Gadias, Father of the Synagogue of the Hebrews. She lived 41 years. In peace be her sleep." It is reasonably certain that this is the same Gadias, in view of his position as Father of the Synagogue of the Hebrews. This was one of the several Transtiberine congregations, the members of which buried their dead in the Jewish catacomb which was discovered at Monteverde by Antonio Bosio in 1602. The office of Father of the Synagogue was a high honor conferred on some elder statesman of the congregation.

Since it was customary to name the mother of the deceased, also, if she survived, we may infer that the wife of Gadias had died before her daughters. We have, accordingly, the tragic figure of a venerable, highly respected synagogue official, who suffered the loss, successively, of his wife, his daughter Sarra together with his newly born grandson, his daughter Cara, and his daughter Salo.¹⁷

¹⁷ After completing this paper I found that my conclusions were in part anticipated by M. Schwabe in the Hebrew periodical *Zion* 9 (1943-44) 46 f. He correctly identifies the daughters of Gadias as Salo, Sara, and Cara, but is disturbed that while the father and two of his daughters bore Jewish names, the third daughter was given a name with no Jewish associations. He suggests, accordingly, that Cara may represent some Jewish name meaning "dear one" or "beloved" (Y'koroh or Ahuvoh). Such a conjecture is quite needless, since, as I have indicated above, more than half of the feminine

A parallel to this ill-starred Gadias is found in the Jewish catacomb of the Appian Way. Still to be seen in the gloomy corridors of this subterranean cemetery are three separate inscriptions (*CII* 129, 147, 167), the epitaphs of Centulia, Ursacia, and Simplicia, the three daughters of Ursacius, who had come to Rome from Aquileia and held the high office of *gerusiarches* in a Roman congregation. Thus the vagaries of chance have preserved to us these records of two heavily stricken families in the Jewish community of ancient Rome.

names on the Jewish inscriptions of Rome are Latin. There are several instances where the father bore a Hebrew name and the son or daughter a non-Hebrew one (e.g. *CII* 371, father Abas, son Maximus; 376, father Benjamin, daughter Marina). Conversely, a father with a non-Hebrew name might give his children Hebrew names (*CII* 122, father Salutius, son Judas; 126, 137, father Procopius, mother Crispina, children Jose[s] [= Joseph] and Maria; 155, father Lucius, daughter Sabatis; 263, father Gaius, son Sabatius). Interesting in this connection are the names of the children of Verania (the father's name is unknown), who was buried in the Jewish catacomb of Via Nomentana (*CII* 12); Maria, Judas, Sara, Jose[s] (this name is not quite certain, part being missing), and Euphranticus, i.e. four Hebrew, one Greek.

Schwabe believes, further, that Gadias and his family were immigrants to Rome from Palestine and that Cara, the youngest daughter, being born "in exile" in Rome, was given a Roman name. There is, however, no indication that this was an immigrant family rather than one that had lived in Rome for generations.