

ACTA CLASSICA UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.	LVI.	2020.	pp. 37–60.
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## LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES IN THE LATIN INSCRIPTIONS OF POTAISSA (DACIA)\*

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*Abstract:* Around 200 inscriptions have been found at Potaissa so far. Some of them disappeared and their texts are known to us exclusively from publications, others are kept in museum collections. The subject of this study is their linguistic examination, by following the peculiarities and the deviations from the classical norms of the language. When possible, this data will be related to details on the donors, on the provenance of the epigraphs, on their type, and on other information that can contribute to shaping the cultural-linguistic profile of the Roman town.

*Keywords:* Dacia, Potaissa, Latin, epigraphy, linguistics.

Located 30 km south from the ancient Napoca, the Roman town Potaissa (modern: Ro. Turda – Hun. Torda)<sup>1</sup> was one of the most important settlements of Dacia Porolissensis. Organized<sup>2</sup> in three provinces (Dacia Porolissensis, Superior and Inferior), Dacia was ruled, starting from Marcus Aurelius, by a consular rank governor – *consularis trium Daciarum*, since there were two legions in the province: one at Apulum (XIII Gemina), and one at Potaissa (V Macedonica). In addition, each province had a *procurator Augusti* in charge of the financial affairs. The V<sup>th</sup> Macedonica legion was garrisoned at Potaissa during 168/170–271, in a medium-sized camp (573 x 408 m), holding an area which exceeded 23 ha<sup>3</sup>. It has been researched for more than 40 years, some of the results being published in articles, studies and monographs related to the architecture of the fortress (the walls, the ditch, the roads, the *principia*, the *thermae*, the barracks, together with

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\* This paper is a result of the research project PN-III-ID-PCE-2016-4-0186, “Dacians in the Roman Empire. Provincial constructions”, funded by UEFISCDI. It was delivered at the Fourth International Workshop on Computational Latin Dialectology, 28–29 March 2019, Budapest.

<sup>1</sup> For the general history of Potaissa see Bărbulescu 1994; for the history of the V<sup>th</sup> Macedonica legion, see Bărbulescu 1987.

<sup>2</sup> Petolescu 2010, 168–169.

<sup>3</sup> Nemeti – Nemeti 2017, 19–20.

the *contubernia*), as well as the archaeological objects discovered here and, last but not least, the inscriptions<sup>4</sup>.

Holding an area of 3 km<sup>2</sup>, the Roman settlement included the ancient city, overlapped by the modern one almost entirely, but also the legionary camp mentioned before, located north of the city<sup>5</sup>. As the inscriptions show<sup>6</sup>, Potaissa was *municipium Septimium* with duumviral constitution<sup>7</sup>. If it was *colonia* or not is hard to demonstrate, since epigraphic testimonies are not very clear<sup>8</sup>. The city must have had an *ordo decurionum*. Some members of the municipal elite were identified<sup>9</sup>. A *collegium fabrum* and a *collegium Isidis* are also known<sup>10</sup>. The town had *ius Italicum*, which has exempted the inhabitants from paying land taxes<sup>11</sup>.

A *decurio municipii*<sup>12</sup>, three *duumviri*, an *augur*, and a *flamen* are attested epigraphically. From the next social category, *ordo augustalium*, three *augustales* are known<sup>13</sup>. However, most of the population was grouped in *plebs urbana*.

In the two necropolises of the city, approx. 130 graves have been discovered, many of the burials being made in stone sarcophagi or brick boxes<sup>14</sup>.

As far as the number of Roman inhabitants is concerned, it was estimated at approx. 20000 (versus Aquincum, 40000), out of a total of between 600000 and 1000000 in the province Dacia<sup>15</sup>.

Most of the approximately 200 preserved inscriptions (some of them are not physically preserved, but their texts are accessible in publications) are located in the History Museum in Turda, and a few in the museums in Cluj-Napoca, Alba-Iulia, Bucharest (MNA), and NBWien. Some of them have been discovered since the 16<sup>th</sup> century and transcribed by Ioannes Mezerzius (Megyericsei János) from Alba Iulia<sup>16</sup>, by the historian Stephanus Zamosius (Szamosközy István) from

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<sup>4</sup> Bărbulescu 1987; Bărbulescu 1994; Bărbulescu 1997; Nemeti – Nemeti – Fodorean 2003; Bărbulescu 2012; Nemeti – Nemeti 2014; Piso 2014, 69–75; Bărbulescu 2015; Nemeti – Nemeti 2017, 19–20; Nemeti – Nemeti 2018, 163–175; Bărbulescu 2019.

<sup>5</sup> Ardevan 1998, 55–61; Nemeti – Nemeti 2014.

<sup>6</sup> CIL III 903; CIL III 913; CIL 7678; CIL III 7804; ILD 465; ILD 466; ILD 479; ILD 490; ILD 495; ILD 496; ILD 533. See also Nemeti – Nemeti 2014, 90; Piso 2014, 71.

<sup>7</sup> Nemeti – Nemeti 2014, 86–87.

<sup>8</sup> ILD 508. For the full epigraphic bibliography, see Nemeti – Nemeti 2014, 91.

<sup>9</sup> Ardevan 1998, 182.

<sup>10</sup> Ardevan 1998, 287; ... *collegio Isidis / d(ono) d(ederunt)* (CIL III 882); ... *colleg(ium) fabr(um) / m(unicipii) Sep(timii) P[ot(aissensis) ---]* (ILD 533).

<sup>11</sup> Bărbulescu 2015, 17.

<sup>12</sup> Caius Antonius Agrippinus (CIL III 7804 = IDR III/5, 495). For details, see Nemeti – Nemeti 2018, 167.

<sup>13</sup> Nemeti – Nemeti 2018, 167–168.

<sup>14</sup> Bărbulescu 2015, 18.

<sup>15</sup> Bărbulescu 2015, 21.

<sup>16</sup> Bărbulescu 2012, 23.

Cluj, and by Janus Gruterus (16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the officer in the Austrian army Giuseppe Ariosti organized a transport of Roman monuments on water (Mureş, Tisa, and Danube) to Vienna. One of the four boats sank into the river at Szeged, thus 1/3 (17 of the 64) of the monuments disappeared<sup>17</sup>.

Important collections were set up in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by count Kemény József, and also by the teachers Botár Imre and Téglás István. Unfortunately, most parts of the collections have been lost. However Téglás István's journals have been recently published<sup>18</sup>.

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As the general study of the Dacian inscriptions shows, phonetic issues are more common than those related to morphology and syntax.

As far as vocalism is concerned, there are changes of *i*, *u* vowels, as well as of the diphthong *ae*.

## Phonetics

### I. The vowels

#### 1. The vowel *i*

##### a) The epenthesis of *i*

*Diana / cons(er)vatrix / Serenus [--] / libiēs (?) p̄osu(it)* (Bărbulescu 1972, 205, no. 44: *Deanae / conser/vatrix Serenus / libies [po]su[it]*); votive altar; MNIT; 107–270 AD; influence of handwriting; **libies** for *libens* (**Fig. 1**).

This form of the impersonal verb *libet* seems to illustrate an extension of the word theme through an epenthetic *i*<sup>19</sup>. The form *libes*, in which nasal *n* falls in front of *s* (*ns > s*) is very common in epigraphy. B. Fehér explained the form *libies* instead of *libens* as a possible confusion between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> conjugations<sup>20</sup>. However, one can argue on the extension with an epenthetic *i consonans*, which could illustrate the graphic rendering of a palatalized utterance.

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<sup>17</sup> Bărbulescu 2012, 28–29, with the bibliography.

<sup>18</sup> Bajusz (ed.) 2005.

<sup>19</sup> For epenthetic *i*, see Fehér 2007, 344 (the epenthesis of *i consonans*).

<sup>20</sup> For the case of confusion between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> conjugations see Fehér 2007, 288 (*libet*–\**libit*).

All analogies, except for an example from Samnium, come from the area of the Danubian or Eastern provinces of the Empire and are dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD<sup>21</sup>.

## b) The syncopation of *i*

*Aelius / Gorgias Domno et Domnae / votum pos(uit)* (CIL III 7671 = HD 048710); lost; 107–270 AD.

The syncopation of unstressed *i* occurs here after the main accent of the word. In Dacia, the names of these deities are attested four times. In three inscriptions they were rendered *Domnus* and *Domna*, with the lack of vowel *i* in the theme of the word. However, there is one example on a terracotta mould discovered at Cris-tești (Mureș County)<sup>22</sup>, where the divinities are called *[Dom]ina et / [Dom]inus*, in the correct, classical form. Analogies come usually from the Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire, where their cult was practiced<sup>23</sup>. The preference for

<sup>21</sup> Analogies: **1.** *Aurel(ius) Mucatra R(---) / mil(es) legion(is) sag(ittariae) (?) PA[---](centuria)? / Filippiani c(o)ho(rtis) V [---] / stat(i)onis (?) prioris / stationarius municipio Habae[---] (!) Inbic<t>o (!) / daeo (!) promissu(m) fec(it) / libies (!) hanim(o) (!)* (AE 1902, 89 = AE 1903, p. 73, no. 324 = HD 031950), Samnium (Regio IV). **2.** *Deo // Silvano / Constan[ti]us votum libies (!) / posuit* (CSIR Österreich Carnuntum (Suppl.) 1, 204–205, Nr. 408, Taf. 130, 408 = HD 072969 = Lupa 26760), Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior, 1–300 AD. **3.** *[Lib]ero Patri / Paulinus votum / libies (!) / solvit* (AE 1974, 517 = RIU 972 = HD 011379 = Lupa 8961), Sopianae, Pannonia Inferior, 101–300 AD. **4.** *I(ovi) O(ptimo) I(ovi) M(aximo) // Co(ho)rtali Pat(e)rno Aur(elius) Cat(ando) posui(t) / ara(m) libi(ens) (!) ex bo(to) (!) felic(iter)* (AE 1971, 427 = ILJug 572 = IMS 3, 2, 126 = HD 011830), Moesia Superior, 250–300 AD. **5.** *As/clep[i]o // [Teles]/[phoro] // [Hy]/[giae] // So[---] // Heracliti Su(rus) et pro / Genio Dolic(h)eni / paterno Deo et Gen(io) / co(ho)rtis votum libies (!) fecit* (AE 1981, 739 = ILJug 1438 = HD 006438 = Lupa 28428), Moesia Superior, 100–150 AD. **6.** *Deae xan(c)t(a)e (!) / Nemesi et Geni(o) municipi(i) Fl(avius) / Saturninus / {b}b(ene)fficiarius co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audia) / libies (!) posuit* (AE 1971, 303 = ILJug 602 = HD 011494), Dalmatia, 200–300 AD. **7.** *-----] / Epidamno Sy[ro?] / eq(uiti) R(omano) aed(ili) Ilvir(o) q[(uin)q(uennali)] / flamini augur[i] / patrono col(oniae) Dy[rr(hachii)] / fabri tignuarii pr[ae]fecto suo perpet[uo] / ob merita eius qu[ae] / in se saepius libie[ns] / contulit posueru[nt] / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (CIL III 611 = ILS 7188), Dyrrachium, Macedonia 50–200 AD.

<sup>22</sup> IDR III/4, 167 = AE 2010, 1372. It was considered that the mould was used for the production of votive objects (see Pánczél 2010, 78, n. 7, with the bibliography).

<sup>23</sup> Analogies: **1.** *Dom(n)o et Domn(a)e* (AE 1974, 494 = AE 2008, 1092 = HD 011319), Carnuntum (canabae), Pannonia Superior, 150–300 AD. **2.** *Dom(no) Domn(a)e* (RIU 1523b = HD 032170), Gorsium, Pannonia Inferior, 131–200 AD. **3.** *D[omnae] / et Domno / [s]acr(um)* (CIL III 3236 = HD 074554), Sirmium, Pannonia Inferior, 101–300 AD. **4.** *Dom(i)n[o] / et Domn(a)e sacrum ...* (AE 1913, 173 = IMS 2, 6 = HD 027294), Viminacium, Moesia Superior, 101–300 AD. **5.** *Dom(i)n(ae) Re[g](inae) // et Dom(i)no et / Bono Euento* (AE 1902, 28 = CIL III 8244 = CIL

preposing *Dominus* is obvious. Only in three cases *Domina* is in the first position. In terms of preference for the form of the name, the syncopated variant prevails, although there is an example for the use of both the syncopated and the unsyncopated form in the same formula, such as *Dom(i)n[o] / et Domin/ae*, at Viminacium.

### c) Unstressed short *i* becomes *e* (ĩ > e)

*D(is) M(anibus) // Ael(ia) Tiiadmes Palmura (!) / vix(it) an(nos) VIII Surillio / vix(it) an(nos) XXV Rufina vix(it) / an(nos) XX Ael(ius) Bolhas Ban/naei vet(eranus) ex n(umero) Palmur(enorum) (!) / et Ael(ia) Domestica co/niux {a} eius posuerant / filiae pientissim(a)e et du/lc(issi)m(a)e et liberto et men/esteriis (!) b(ene) m(erentibus)* (CIL III 907 = CIL III 7693 = HD 048895); Moldovenești (Cluj County); funerary stele; MJM, inv. no. 7904; 131–270 AD (Fig. 2).

The passage of unstressed *ĩ* to *e* in the epigraphic Latin of Dacia is documented in words like *Deanae* (for *Dianae*), *fecet* (for *fecit*), *(A)esculapeo* (for *Aesculapio*), *Pertenacis* (for *Pertinacis*), *Mercureo* (for *Mercurio*), and so on<sup>24</sup>.

As the quantitative distinction in the vowel system of Latin was lost, qualitative changes have occurred in vowels. Thus, short *i* (*ĩ*, /i/) passed into a closed *e* (*e*, *e*)<sup>25</sup>. This phenomenon was characteristic both to the western provinces of the Empire and the Balkans<sup>26</sup>.

In the funerary inscription from Potaissa discussed here, the vulgar form *menesteriis*, which is related to the last two characters mentioned in the text – Surillio and Rufina –, was used to designate the notion of servant. In Latin, the noun *minister*, *-trī* (m.) (composed of *minus*+*ter* and representing the opposite of *magis*+*ter*) refers to a lower rank person. This could be an assistant or servant, or

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III 13812 = IMS 4, 3 = ILS 4072 = HD 031767), Naissus, Moesia Superior, 222–235 AD. **6.** *Domino / et Dominae / l(ibens) a(nimo) posuit / libur/na Ar/mata / (centuria) Q(uinti) Iul(i) Heliodori* (AE 1950, 175 = AE 1961, 120 = IScM 5, 273 = HD 022006), Noviodunum (Isaccea), Moesia Inferior, 200–250 AD. **7.** *Dom(ino) et do/mina(e)* (ILBulg 362 = HD 042728), Nicopolis ad Istrum, Moesia Inferior, 131–300 AD. **8.** *[Do]mno e/t Domn(a)e* (ILJug 1827 = HD 034124), Doclea, Dalmatia, 101–300 AD. **9.** *[Dom]ina et / [Dom]inus prop(itii)* (IDR III/4, 167 = AE 2010, 1372), Cristești (Mureș County), Dacia; **10.** *Dom(i)no et Do/m(i)nae* (CIL III 1289 = CIL III 7833 = IDR III/3, 300 = ILS 4071 = HD 045737 = Lupa 11934), Ampelum, Dacia, 171–270 AD. **11.** *Dis Maiorib(us) / Domno et / Domnae* (AE 2010, 1383 = HD 072061), Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa, Dacia, 171–270 AD. **12.** *Dom(i)na Pla/cida Val(erius) Mexy / votum* (IDR II 144 = HD 018454), Cioroiu-Nou (Dolj County), Dacia, 201–300 AD. **13.** *Dom(i)no I(ovi) -----* (IDR II 192 = HD 016211), Sucidava, Dacia, 101–300 AD. For the cult of *Domnus* and *Domna*, see also Szabó 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Beu-Dachin 2014, 62.

<sup>25</sup> Väänänen 1971, 77–89; Herman 2000, 27–38.

<sup>26</sup> Herman 2000, 33.

even a slave. Here the emphasis must be on the meaning “servant”, a subordinate person, an aid, but not necessarily a slave, because in what regards Surillio, we know from the text that he was a freedman. The plural dative would have been *ministris*. But the form used in the text is closer to *ministeriis*, from *ministerium*, *ii* (n.) [*minister+ium*], meaning mainly the work performed by a servant, the role of a subordinate person, but having – quite rarely – the sense of servant<sup>27</sup>.

The term is quite rare in epigraphic Latin. Its attestation in Dacia is singular<sup>28</sup>. The inscription from Potaissa, full of vulgarisms (*Palmura (!)*, *Palmur(enorum) (!)*, *{a}eius*, *pientissim(a)e*, *du/lc(issi)m(a)e*), clearly indicates a poor education of the person who wrote the text. The stele was dedicated to the daughter Ael(ia) Tiiadmes from Palmyra, who died at the age of 8, as well as to Surillio, the freedman deceased at the age of 25, and also to Rufina, who died at 20. The three apposition nouns *filiae*, *liberto*, *menesteriis (!)*, all in the dative case, indicate the assignment, the last one relating to both Surillio, who was a freedman, and Rufina, who could be also a slave.

#### d) Long *ι* becomes *ει* (Gk. *ι* > *ει*)

*Μηνη Άνει/ι}κήτω* *Aur(elius) / Marcianus / [s]ignifer / leg(ionis) voto / posuit* (AE 1967, 398 = CIGD 67 = ILD 504 = HD 014914); MNA; probably the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD<sup>29</sup>.

The equivalent in Greek of the Latin *invictus*, *a*, *um* is *ἀνίκητος*, *ον*, a word which in the bilingual inscription from Potaissa was rendered with *ει{ι}* instead of *ι*. One can consider that the intention was to graphically represent a long stressed *i*.

In archaic Latin there was a practice of reproducing *ī* through the diphthong *ei*, a tradition that was also encountered in the imperial Latin of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, this time as an archaic tendency. As an example, in an inscription from Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa the form *Marteialis* was used for the name *Martialis*<sup>30</sup>.

The attribute of the divinity shows a possible contamination with Mithras and Sol.

#### e) Rendering *i* as *y*

*Soli invicto M/yt(h)rae (!)* (CIL III 7685 = AE 1912, 306 = HD 028605); Potaissa (Săndulești); Museum of Blaj.

<sup>27</sup> OLD, s.v. *ministerium*.

<sup>28</sup> See also LED, s.v. *ministerium*.

<sup>29</sup> The approximate dating is based on the lack of the *praenomen*.

<sup>30</sup> IDR III/2, 391.

The substitution of *i* through *y* in writing is found in several inscriptions from Dacia, in the name of the god Mithras, hypercorrectly rendered in various ways: *Mythrae*, *Myt(h)r[ae]*, *Myth{i}rae*, *Myt(h)ra(e)*<sup>31</sup>.

## f) Rendering *i* and *y* as *u*

1. ... *per* / [S]atrianu[m] / [et] **DJecumum** / [m]ag(istros) (AE 1992, 1469 = AE 1993, 1332 = ILD 500 = HD 043771); MIT, inv. no. 10224.

2. ... *Ael(ia) Tiiadmes Palmura (!)* ... *Ael(ius) Bolhas Ban/naei vet(eranus) ex n(umero) Palmur(enorum) (!)* ... (CIL III 907 = CIL III 7693 = HD 048895); Moldovenești; funerary stele; MJM, inv. no. 7904.

The alternation *i/u* is not foreign to the epigraphic Latin of Dacia. Words like *Quadrubi(i)s* or *Quadruis* for *Quadriviae* (Celts-Germanic divinities of road crossings)<sup>32</sup>, or *[commanu]nculos*, *[comman]unc(uli?)*, *co[m]manuculis (!)* instead of *commanipuli* or *commanipulares*, as well as *stupendiorum* for *stipendiorum*, or *[D]jecumum* for *Decimum* are only some examples that prove this phonetic phenomenon<sup>33</sup>.

In the words *Palmura (!)* and *Palmur(enorum) (!)* of the second inscription mentioned above, *u vocalis* is clearly rendered V not Y. In the first example, V is in ligature with R.

One may talk about archaic tendencies<sup>34</sup>, but also about hypercorrection in the second example, given the large number of vulgarisms in the inscription.

## 2. The vowel *u*

### a) The syncopation of *u*

1. *Herculi / cives Rom[a]/ni per Satria/{a}num et Dec(i/u)m/um mag(istros)* (AE 1992, 1468 = 1993, 1332 = ILD 487 = HD 043770); 150–200 AD.

2. ... *vot(u)m libe(ns) / a<n=R>(imo?) solvit* ... (ILD 474 = HD 044474); MNIT, inv. no. V 15853 = I 650; 167–275 AD.

3. *Gai(u)s* (CIL III 7681 = HD 048818).

In the examples above one can rather talk about graphic errors, the syncopation being the result of negligence.

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<sup>31</sup> Beu-Dachin 2014, 69.

<sup>32</sup> Beu-Dachin 2014, 64–65; LED s.v. *Quadriviae*.

<sup>33</sup> Beu-Dachin 2014, 64–65.

<sup>34</sup> For the evolution *u > ü > i*, but also for structures in which the reverse situation appears (*i > u*) during the imperial age, seen as archaizing forms, see Fehér 2007, 356 and 359, n. 27.

## b) Disappearance of a syllable by *uu* > *u*

1. ... *Aur(elius) In genu(u)s* ... (CIL III 7681 = HD 048818); fragmentary statue; 150–270 AD.
2. ... *Ae[l(ius)] / [I]n genu(u)s* ... (CIL III 915 = HD 049070); funerary stele; lost; 150–270 AD.

This syncopation is encountered in Dacia especially in the proper name *Ingenuus*, but there is an example at Apulum attesting the name *(H)aedu(u)s*<sup>35</sup>. The simplification of *uu* in *u* is a graphic tradition<sup>36</sup>.

## c) The alternation *u/o*

*Volk(ano) (!) Aug(usto) / pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) / L(uci) Sep(timi) Severi / Pert(inacis) Aug(usti) et / M(arci) Aur(eli) Anton[i]/ni Caes(aris) desti[n(ati)] / colleg(ium) fabr(um) / m(unicipii) Sep(timii) P[ot(aissensis) ---]* (ILD 533 = HD 044509); Tureni-Micești; MIT.

Rendering *u* as *o* can occur both in stressed and in unstressed position. There are some examples for the form *Volcano/Volkano*<sup>37</sup> in Dacia, but also for other words that change letter *u* in *o*: *colitoribus* for *cultoribus*, *con* for *cum*, and so on<sup>38</sup>.

Qualitative changes in the vowel system determined variations of *o* and *u*. Thus, short back vowel *o* (*ō, /o/*) became open *o* (*o, ə*), and long *o* (*ō, /o:/*), as well as short *u* (*ū, /u/*), passed into a closed *o* (*o, o*)<sup>39</sup>.

## 3. The diphthong *ae*

### a) The monophthongisation of the diphthong *ae* (*ae* > *e*)

1. *Aur(elius) (A)eternalis ex vo/to posuit* (CIL III 12545); marble relief with the representation of Aesculapius, Hygia and Telesphorus; lost; 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.
2. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / (A)el(ius) [T]he/ubro/pes (!) / v(otum) p(osuit) l(ibenter)* (AE 1960, 228 = AE 1967, 397 = ILD 467 = HD 014911); MNA; 201–250 AD.
3. *[L]ibe/r(a)e* (AE 1934, 17 = ILD 496 = HD 0266602); dative; in the same text: the cognomen *Superfi*.
4. ... *Aur(elius) (A)elia/[n]us* (AE 1960, 229 = ILD 468 = HD 018955); lost.
5. ... *leg(ionis) / V Mac(edonicae) p(iae) / Gordia/n(a)e* (ILD 488 = HD 044478); Moldovenești; 235–238 AD.
6. .... *pr[o] / [s]al[ute] Imp(eratoris) M(arci) Aur(elii) / An[to]nini Aug(usti) / et [I]u[li(a)]e Domn(a)e / [matris] cas[tror(um)]* ... (CIL III 7690 = HD 048891); votive altar; 197–211 AD.

<sup>35</sup> Beu-Dachin 2014, 75.

<sup>36</sup> See also Fehér 2007, 412.

<sup>37</sup> ILD 251 (Sarmizegetusa), ILD 533 (Micești, Cluj County).

<sup>38</sup> Beu-Dachin 2014, 73–74.

<sup>39</sup> Väänänen 1971, 77–89; Herman 2000, 27–38.



7. ... *posuerant / filiae pientissim(a)e et dulc(issi)m(a)e* ... (CIL III 907 = CIL III 7693 = HD 048895), Moldovenești; funerary stele; MJM, inv. no. 7904.

8. *D(is) M(anibus) / Aia Nandonis vixit / annis LXXX Andrada / Bituvantis vix(it) an(n)is / LXXX Bricena vixit an(n)is / XL Iusta vix(it) an(n)is XXX / Bedarus vixit (annis) XII pos(t) obi/tum ei(us?) Herculanus liber/tus patron(a)e bene mer(enti)* (CIL III 917 = Lupa 6752 = HD 049074); funerary plaque; NBWien; 151–270 AD (Fig. 5).

The monophthongisation of *ae*<sup>40</sup> is an early phonetic phenomenon, which denotes a change in pronouncement of the diphthong *ae*, which has come to be perceived as a long open *e*. It is the best documented phenomenon in all provinces of the Roman Empire and can be encountered both at the beginning of the word and at the end of it, but also within the word. For reasons of hypercorrectness simple *e* was sometimes rendered *ae*.

A hypercorrect using of *ae* instead of *e* shows linguistic snobbery: ... *co/niux {a}jeius posuerant / filiae* ... (CIL III 907 = CIL III 7693 = HD 048895); Moldovenești; funerary stele; MJM, inv. no. 7904.

## II. The consonants

Regarding consonants one can notice changes in labials, dentals, velars, nasals. Also the simplification of some geminates is recorded: *mm* > *m* și *nn* > *n*, *ss* > *s*, and in one case the fall of final *-m*.

### 1. The labials

#### a) *p* > *b*

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / (A)el(ius) [T]he/ubro/pes (!) / v(otum) p(osuit) l(ibenter)* (AE 1960, 228 = AE 1967, 397 = ILD 467 = HD 014911); MNA; *[T]he/ubro/pes* – read cf. Russu 1959, 878–879, fig. 11 (drawing); *Heupropes* – Bujor 1967, 185–186, 188, fig. 1/2, photo – the conservation of the item was bad already at that time); for *Theupropes*.

The sonorization of the unvoiced bilabial sound is encountered in the Greek proper name Theupropes (here Theubropes). The name is attested twice in Dacia<sup>41</sup>. Another example of rendering the unvoiced bilabial *p* through the voiced bilabial *b* is expressed in a waxed tablet from Alburnus Maior: *ibsius* for *ipsius*

<sup>40</sup> Beu-Dachin 2014, 79–83; see also Fehér 2007, 361.

<sup>41</sup> The other example belongs to an inscription discovered in Chinteni (Cluj County). The worshipper's name is *Fortunatus Theupropi* (AE 1933, 20 = HD 023673).

(IDR I 38; 160 AD). We must mention that this change usually occurs within the groups *ps* > *bs* and *pt* > *bt*<sup>42</sup>.

The reverse phenomenon in the province can be exemplified in two inscriptions: *supstrinxit* for *substrinxit* (IDR III/5, 136, Apulum), *aps[it]*<sup>43</sup> for *absit* (IDR II 187, Sucidava).

### b) *v* > *b*<sup>44</sup>

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Aur(elius) / Drebi/as <v=B>ot(um) ret(tulit)* (CIL III 13768 = HD 049320); 150–270 AD.

The *v/b* alternation is attested since the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. It increases until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Called also betacism, the phenomenon is due to the confusion between *b* (voiced bilabial plosive) and *v* (voiced labiodental fricative). In the example of Potaissa one can notice that the form *botum* was written instead of *votum*. We should not exclude the possibility that the use of *b* was due to the attraction exerted by the word written before (... *Drebias botum* ...). In this case, one may talk about graphic error.

The name of the Celto-Germanic divinities *Quadriviae* is reproduced with *b* in two inscriptions in Dacia: *Quadrib(iis)* (IDR III/2, 330, Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa); *Quadr/ubi(i)s* (IDR II 82, Drobeta).

The reverse phenomenon (*b* > *v*) was encountered twice: *Vivio* for *Vibio* (IDR III/3, 50, Micia) and *vovi(s)cum* for *vobiscum* (ILD 138, Romula)<sup>45</sup>.

### c) *ip* > *uc*

*L(egionis) V M(acedonicae) p(iae) c(onstantis)*<sup>46</sup> // *L(egionis) VII C(laudiae) / G(aius) Val(erius) Lu[pus?] / G(aius) Tib(erius) C[res?]/cen(s) co[m]/manucu/lis (!) posu/erun/t*

<sup>42</sup> See also Fehér 2007, 384. For the derived forms of verbs *labor* (*conlabs-*, *dilabs-* instead of *conlaps-* and *dilaps-*), and *scribo* (*conscribt-*), see Beu-Dachin 2014, 86.

<sup>43</sup> The term appears in a legal document (a testament) kept on a limestone slab (MNA, inv. no. L 152), which records the will of the deceased regarding the heirs' obligations about annual burial sacrifices at the tomb: *ut eae vineae et aedifi[cium curatoribus reservata? sint ius heredibus] / meis ap[sit] (!) dand[i ea aut alienandi ...*

<sup>44</sup> Herman 2000, 45–46.

<sup>45</sup> The word is used in the verses of a funerary inscription.

<sup>46</sup> I. I. Russu's reading (Russu 1977, 219–222: 1. 2. *L(ucius) U<lp>(ius) C[lem(ens)?]*). The interpretation of the first two lines was problematic; several variants have been offered (N, G, D); one should emphasize the idea of offering the monument for a deity; the object being an altar, we must think of the religious sense, even if no divinity is mentioned; the dedication must have been

(AE 1976, 574 = AE 1981, 722 = ILD 499 = Bărbulescu 2012, 174–185, no. 21, fig. 84 = HD 005743); Potaissa, castrum; MIT, inv. no. 3135; 185–274 AD (Fig. 3).

The transformation of the noun *commanipulus* into *commanuculus* is unique, and cannot be included in a clear category of change. In Dacia the word meaning “comrade” is attested in three inscriptions<sup>47</sup>. O form close to the mentioned one is [*commanu?*]*nculos* from an inscription of Apulum. Beyond the consonant change  $p > c$  (the voiceless bilabial plosive turns into voiceless guttural) the variation  $i > u$  happened as well.

## 2. The dentals

*D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Epicatiu[s] / vixit ann(is) LII / Aur(elius) Viator {vi[x](it)} / vixit annis X[-] / Aur(elius) Corbulo / vixit annis XXII* (CIL III 920 = HD 049155); lost.

Only one example shows changes of the dentals. The proper name Epicadius is written with *t* instead of *d*.

## 3. The gutturals (velars)

### a) $c > q$

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Ehr<c=Q>uli (!)*<sup>48</sup> *Invicto et Liber(o) Pa[tri] / Au<r=P>(elius) Gai(u)s et Aur(elius) Inge(u)s / sacer(dotes) ex vot(o) p(osuerunt)* (CIL III 7681 = HD 048818); fragmentary statue; 150–270 AD.

### b) $c > k$

*Volk(ano) (!) Aug(usto) / pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) / L(uci) Sep(timi) Severi / Pert(inacis) Aug(usti) et / M(arci) Aur(eli) Anton[i]ni Caes(aris) desti[n(ati)] / colleg(ium) fabr(um) / m(unicipii) Sep(timii) P[ot(a)issensis] ---*] (ILD 533 = HD 044509); MIT.

The examples above may be explained through the graphical tradition already attested in the Roman republican period, according to which the voiceless velar

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meant for the welfare, health of the two legions; the dedication should be *genio legionis* (based on discussions with Sorin Nemeti)).

<sup>47</sup> The other two inscriptions are: *[-]s lib(rarius) leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / [-] tabula marmorea / [-]libus et o[r]dinis / [-] commanu?nculos suos / [-]o et Maximo co(n)s(ulibus)* (CIL III 1205 = IDR III/5, 406 = HD 038660, Apulum, 227–253 AD) and *Genio (centuriae) Val(eri) Iustini pro sal(ute) com(m)a[nipulorum?]*. For details, see Beu-Dachin 2011, 79–85; Beu-Dachin 2014, 241–242; Beu-Dachin 2016, 211–220.

<sup>48</sup> The letters HE are in inverted position (EH) in the name of Hercules.

sound *c* was graphically rendered by *k* when it was followed by an open vowel – *a*, and *q* when it was preceded either by *o* or by *u* (*a + k*, *o/u + q*). However, this tradition did not become a strict, sustainable rule, probably because there was no noticeable difference in pronunciation<sup>49</sup>.

#### 4. The aspirated sound *h*

The omission of *h* in the groups *th*, *ch* is encountered in words of other origin than Latin. Given that it was not perceived as a letter *per se*, but rather as a *nota aspirationis*, it had an unstable existence. Most examples are proper names of foreign origin, usually Greek. At Potaissa we only found two examples in which aspiration is lost:

##### a) *th* > *t*

*Soli invicto M/yt(h)rae (!)* (CIL III 7685 = AE 1912, 306 = HD 028605); Potaissa (Săndulești); Museum of Blaj; instead of *Mithrae*.

##### b) *ch* > *c*

*[s]c(h)olae* (<Gk. σχολή) (CIL III 927 = Bărbulescu 2012, 65–70, no. 6, fig. 16); marble slab, probably from Potaissa, in the collection of Kemény; MNIT, inv. no. 3819c.

#### 5. The nasals

In what concern the nasal consonants, except their fall, only one change can be certified<sup>50</sup>:

##### a) *m* > *n*

*D(is) M(anibus) / Valeria Dulae / vix(it) an(nos) XXXI ITTV/LVN = titulun pos(uit) Volus(ius) / Titianus co(n)iugi pie(n)tis(simae) ? (coni)ugi ? / [---] b(ene) m(erenti)* (ILD 513 = HD 037559), MIT, inv. no. 1081 (Fig. 4).

<sup>49</sup> Fehér 2007, 412–413, with the bibliography.

<sup>50</sup> In the inscription *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Capit(olino) / vot(u)m libe(ns) / a<n=R>(imo?) solvit Au/rell(ius) Castor / mens(or) leg(ionis) / V Mac(edonicae) p(iae)* (ILD 474 = HD 044474), Potaissa, MNIT, V 15853 = I 650, 167–275 AD (Fig. 6), if the text is correctly interpreted, the rendering is *arimo* instead of *animo*.

## b) $n+s > s$

1.  $A < u = Y > r(\text{elius})$  *Timotheus sig[ num Liberi --- ] / votum libe(n)s [ merito? solvit? ]* (CIL III 7683 = HD 048820); 150–270 AD.
2. *Diana / cons(e)r/vatrix / Serenus [---] / libiēs (?) posu(it)* (M. Bărbulescu 1972, 205, no. 44 = AE 1912, 72 = ILD 493 = HD 028029); votive altar; MNIT; *libies* instead of *libens* (Fig. 1).

## c) $n+t > t$ ?

... *co(n)iugi pie(n)tis(simae) ?*<sup>51</sup> (*coniugi ? / [---] b(ene) m(erenti)*) (ILD 513 = HD 037559); MIT, inv. no. 1081.

## d) $n+i > i$

1. ... *co(n)i/[ugi]* ... (CIL III 13761 = HD 049313); funerary monument; lost.
2. ... *Iulia [Ari]/staenete (?) co(n)iugi / carissimo me/moriam posuit* (CIL III 7703 = HD 048972); lost.
3. [---] / [--- Mar]/ce[l]lina pos/uit *co(n)iugi et / marito suo / bene merito / [---]* (CIL III 936 = HD 049310); lost.
4. ... *co(n)iunx* ... (CIL III 7705 = HD 048978); lost.
5. ... *co(n)iugi pie(n)tis(simae) ? (coni)ugi ? / [---] b(ene) m(erenti)* (ILD 513 = HD 037559); MIT, inv. no. 1081.

## 6. The fall of $u$ consonans

*D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Celsus / vixit an(nos) LX / Aur(elius) Bassus / vix(it) an(nos) L Aur(elius) / Celsinianus / mil(es) c(o)h(ortis) I p(---) p(---) / pat(ri) et a(v)unculo pient(issimis) / ob merita / p(osuit)* (CIL III 908 = HD 049066); MIT.

There are not too many examples illustrating the fall of  $u$  consonans in Dacia. At Potaissa only one is recorded. Intervocalic  $u$  used to fall in epigraphic writing. The cause of the fall may be writing error or the fact that  $u$  was perceived to be the second element of the diphthong and had a poor articulation. Other examples from Dacia: *cla(u)o* (IDR I 38, TabCerD VIII, Alburnus Maior); *Fla(u)us* (IDR III/5, 218, Apulum); *Fa(u)ori* (IDR III/5, 299, Apulum); *Bata(u)us* (IDR III/5, 451, Apulum).

<sup>51</sup> There are few inscriptions in the Empire attesting the spelling *pie(n)tissim...* (some examples: *pie(n)tissimo* (AE 1976, 414, Narbonensis); *pie(n)tis(s)imo* (HD 032309, Baetica)). The spelling in the inscription of Potaissa could also be explained as an abbreviation, given the fact that letters PIE- are at the end of the line, E being almost attached to the epigraphic field (PIE/TIS). Thus, this form is not due to an epigraphic tradition but to a particular rendering of the text.

## 7. The simplification of the geminates

Geminates are first recorded in writing at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The testimonies from Dacia show that mostly the liquids were simplified (*ll* > *l*, *rr* > *r*), but also the nasals and the occlusives<sup>52</sup>.

### a) *mm* > *m*

*Genio* / |(centuriae) *Val(erii) Iu(stini) Aur(elius) Mu(ca) pro sa(lute) // com(m)a(nuculo-  
rum)*<sup>53</sup> *pos(u)i(t)* (AE 2004, 1194 = ILD 502 = HD 0044483 = Bărbulescu 2012, 216–219, no. 28, fig. 92); MIT, inv. no. 17095; votive altar, discovered in the *principia* of the legionary fortress; 150–250 AD.

### b) *nn* > *n*

1. *Voto // Libero Pa(tri) An(n)ius / Saturni/nus* (CIL III 7682 = HD 048819), 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries.  
2. *D(is) M(anibus) / Aia Nandonis vixit / annis LXXX Andrada / Bituvantis vix(it) an(n)is / LXXX Bricena vixit an(n)is / XL Iusta vix(it) an(n)is XXX / Bedarus vixit (annis) XII pos(t) obi(tum) ei(us?) Herculanus liber(tus) patron(a)e bene mer(enti)* (CIL III 917 = Lupa 6752 = HD 049074); funerary plaque; NBWien (Fig. 5).

### c) *ss* > *s*

*D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elius) Auluc(mus) (?) v(ixit) d(iem) I m(enses) VI an(nos) XXXV / Aur(elii) Bas(s)ianus et D(asius) [be]ne m(erenti) e[t] / s(ibi) m(emoriam) fa(ciendam) cura(ve)runt* (CIL III 918 = HD 049153), lost.

## 8. The fall of the final consonants

One single inscription proves the fall of a final consonant (*-m*) at Potaissa. However, in Dacia there are many examples, especially for the fall of final *-m*, but also for *-s*<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>52</sup> Beu-Dachin 2014, 99–103.

<sup>53</sup> The correct restoration would have been *commanipulorum*, but considering that another altar from Potaissa (ILD 499) testifies the word *comanuculis*, the editors of the texts made reference to the same vulgar form.

<sup>54</sup> Beu-Dachin 2014, 103–105.

## a) *-m*

*[D(is) M(anibus)] / Aur(elius) Crit[ro] / vix(it) ann(os) IIII / Aur(elius) Zosim/ianus vix(it) an/nu(m) ex Moesia / superiore Aur(elius) / Zosimus natibus* (CIL III 914 = ILD 510 = HD 044486); funerary stele; MIT.

## Morphology

### I. The verb

Morphological deviations are almost inexistent at Potaissa. Only the syncopated perfect *curarunt* instead of *curaverunt* has been recorded in a funerary inscription.

### II. The syncopated perfect form

*D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elius) Auluc/mus (?) vix(it) d(iem) I m(enses) VI an(nos) XXXV / Aur(elii) Bas(s)ianus et D/asius [be]ne m(erenti) e[st] / s(ibi) m(emoriam) fa(ciendam) cura(ve)runt* (CIL III 918 = HD 049153); lost.

## Syntax

Syntactic features are also poorly represented at Potaissa. In general, case inversions have been recorded: the use of dative instead of nominative or vice versa, and the accusative instead of dative in the formula *pro salute sua*.

### I. Dative instead of nominative

*Liber[ro] pa/tri et [L]ibe/r(a)e conser/vato[r]ibus / Ael(ius) S[u]per[i]*<sup>55</sup> / *Aug(ustalis) m[u]n(icipii) Sep(timii) / Pot(aissensis) [v(otum)] l(ibens) p(osuit)* (AE 1934, 17 = ILD 496 = HD 026602); 193–211 AD.

A graphic error could have caused the rendering *S[u]per[i]*. One can think on the attraction exerted by the names in dative of the divinities. The *nomen* was abbreviated, so that the attraction could have happened easily.

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<sup>55</sup> Obs. The same worshipper, *Aelius Super*, *Augustalis municipii Septimii Potaissensis*, dedicated another altar to IOM (ILD 466): *[I(ovi)] o(ptimo) m(aximo) / [co]nservato(ri) / Ael(ius) Super Aug(ustalis) / muni(cipii) Sep(timii) {M} / Pot(aissensis) v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)* (AE 1934, ad 17 = ILD 466 = HD 044473).

## II. Nominative instead of dative

1. *Iup(īter) (!) / Aur(elius) / Florus / vot(um) sol(vit)* (CIL III 880 = HD 048974); 171–270 AD.
2. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Ehr<c=Q>uli (!) Invicto et Liber(o?) Pa[tri?]* / *Au<r=P>(elius) Gai(u)s et Aur(elius) Inge(nu)s / sacer(dotes) ex vot(o) p(osuerunt)* (CIL III 7681 = HD 048818); fragmentary statue; 150–270 AD.
3. *Diana / cons(e)r/vatrix / Serenus [-] / libiēs (?!) p[ro]su(it)* (Bărbulescu 1972, 205, no. 44: *Deanae / conser/vatrix Serenus / libies [po]su[it]*); MNIT (Fig. 1).

The same reason may be evoked for explaining the nominative Iupiter. This time the attraction was directed from the worshipper's name to that of the divinity. In what concern the next inscription, the name Liber Pater could be understood also as nominative case not only dative, given that after the letters PA the inscription field looks damaged. Also in this case the attraction could have come from the worshipper's name. The interpretation should focus on writing error.

## III. Accusative instead of ablative

*Deo Azizo Bono P[ro]uero Conserva[tor]i pro salutem (!) dd(ominorum) n[n]n(ostrorum) Valeriani et Gal[li]eni Augg(ustorum) et Valerian[is] nobiliss(imi) Caesaris / et Corneliae Saloninae Augustae et / leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) III piae fid[el]is ---] / Donatus praef(ectus) leg(ionis) eiusde[m] ---] / templum ince(p)tum perfecit V[er]---* (CIL III 875 = ILS 4345 = HD 048963); 256–258 AD.

The hypercorrect formula indicating linguistic snobbery *pro salutem* turns out in a votive inscription discovered in the ruins of a temple<sup>56</sup>.

## IV. Vixit annos versus vixit annis

Out of the approximately 60 attestations of the word *annus* at Potaissa, the accusative is rendered as *annu(m)* (CIL III 914) and *annos* (CIL III 966), and the ablative as *anno* (Téglás 1901, 61), *annis* (CIL III 917, in the variants *annis* – 1x, *an(n)is* – 3x; CIL III 920, *annis* – 2x; Téglás 1910, 126, fig. 3 (drawing) – 1x; CIL III 7704, ... [*ann]is XL* ...). It is obvious that the ablative is preponderant. This fact is available also in Dacia, and in the two Moesias, in Asia Minor, Siria, Pannonia Inferior, Noricum, and Arabia<sup>57</sup>. The preference of using the ablative in the formula *vixit anno* or *annis* is characteristic especially for the imperial era<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> For other examples in Dacia, see Beu-Dachin 2014, 128, 165–166, 203–204, 217.

<sup>57</sup> Galdi 2004, 477.

<sup>58</sup> Galdi 2004, 476.



**V. The standard form of the superlative *piissimus*** is encountered only once at Potaissa in respect of the epigraphic variant *pientissimus*, which occurs seven times. This ratio shows a higher frequency of the latter, that is characteristic also for other provinces<sup>59</sup>. In Dacia, only 30 % of the occurrences belong to the standard form.

## VI. Combining formulas

The votive inscriptions sometimes contain combining formulas, which indicate linguistic snobbery. In the hypercorrect expression ... *pro sua su/[or]umq(ue) salute* ... (CIL III 895 = ILS 3023 = HD 049002), the genitive was used instead of the ablative *suisque*. Another example is the combination between *ex voto posuit* and *votum solvit* in a dedication to Domnus and Domna: *Aelius / Gorgi/as Domno et Domnae / votum pos(uit)* (CIL III 7671 = HD 048710), lost, 101–300 AD.

## Lexicon

In terms of the use of vulgar forms, one can notice a singular employment of the word *commanipulus* (*commanipularis*)<sup>60</sup> in a votive inscription – ***commanuculus***. A second inscription attests the word, but this was partially preserved. As J. A. Lendon states, *commanipulares* may be associated with infantry units, never with cavalry units, while *contubernalis* is used among knights<sup>61</sup>. The general meaning of the word is comrade in arms, soldier who is part of the same century.

1. *L(egionis) V M(acedonicae) p(iae) c(onstantis) / l(egionis) VII C(laudiae) / G(aius) Val(erius) Luf[...]/ G(aius) Tib(erius) C(res)/cen(s) cofm/manuculis posu/erun/t* (AE 1976, 574 = AE 1981, 722 = ILD 499 = HD 005743 = Bărbulescu 2012, 174–185, no. 21, fig. 84); 185–274 AD (**Fig. 3**).

2. *Genio / (centuriae) Val(erii) Iu(stini) / Aur(elius) Mu(ca) pro sa(lute) // com(m)a(nuculorum) pos(u)i(t)* (AE 2004, 1194 = ILD 502 = HD 0044483 = Bărbulescu 2012, 216–219, no. 28, fig. 92); votive altar, discovered in the *principia* of the legionary fortress; MIT, inv. no. 17095; 150–250 AD.

Another vulgar word, *menesteriis*, rendered in dative plural, turns up in a funerary stele<sup>62</sup>. *Ministris* (<*minister* = servant) would have been the correct use of it.

<sup>59</sup> Fehér 2007, 160–161.

<sup>60</sup> OLD, s.v. *commanip(u)laris*, -is and *commanip(u)lus*, -i; LED, s.v. *commanunculus* (*commanipularis*, -is); Lendon 2006, 270–276; Beu-Dachin 2014, 64–65, 102, 241–242; Beu-Dachin 2016, 211–220.

<sup>61</sup> Lendon 2006, 273–274.

<sup>62</sup> See above, in paragraph: “Vowel *i*, III. *ĩ* > *e*”.

The present participle having the value of an adjective *consentiens* is used as an attribute of a divinity (here Mars, and also Mercurius) exclusively in Potaissa, Dacia.

1. *Marti amico / et consentienti / sacrum / Hermias dedicavit / idemq(ue) vovit* (CIL III 897 = HD 049009); Potaissa (Luna); 2<sup>nd</sup> century; NBWien.

2. *Mercurio / consentienti / sacrum / Hermias dedicavit / idemq(ue) vovit* (CIL III 898 = Lupa 6732 = HD 049030); Potaissa (Luna); 2<sup>nd</sup> century; NBWien.

## Repetition

Sometimes words are repeated in the text of the inscription. This is the case of three monuments in Potaissa. One may explain it simply as graphic error.

1. [-----] / [---] *mile/s leg(ionis) V M(a)/cedoni/c(ae) pi(ae) c(onstantis) vo/to Iovi / Optimo / Maximo / voto re[t]/[u]ll[i]t* (AE 1960, 231 = ILD 475 = HD 018961); Petreștii de Jos (Potaissa?); lost.

2. *D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Epicatiu[s] / vixit ann(is) LII / Aur(elius) Viator {vi[x](it)} / vixit annis X[-] / Aur(elius) Corbulo / vixit annis XXII* (CIL III 920 = HD 049155); lost.

3. *D(is) M(anibus) / Valeria Dulae / vix(it) an(nos) XXXI ITTV/LVN = titulun pos(uit) Volus(ius) / Titianus co(n)iugi pie(n)tis(simae) ? (con)iugi ? / [---] b(ene) m(erenti)* (ILD 513 = HD 037559); MIT, inv. no. 1081 (Fig. 4).

There is an inscription, unfortunately lost, in which repetition is done through synonyms.

[---] / [--- *Mar]ce[l]lina pos(uit) co(n)iugi et / marito suo / bene merito / [---]* (CIL III 936 = HD 049310); lost.

This is not a graphic rendering in which a word is repeated erroneously, but on the contrary, the importance of the word is strengthened by repeating its meaning with the help of synonyms.

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Given the number of the preserved inscriptions in different settlements of Roman Dacia, Potaissa ranks third, after Apulum and Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa. With more than 800 inscriptions (Apulum) and around 700 (Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa), the two cities are at the top of the list. After Potaissa, the list goes on with Porolissum, Napoca, Alburnus Maior, Ampelum, Tibiscum, Drobeta, with an approximately identical number of inscriptions coming from each of these places. The number of epigraphs also suggests the administrative, economic, military, and cultural importance of the town.

It turns out from the present analysis that the inscriptions of Potaissa which contain linguistic peculiarities or graphic errors are usually funeral or votive. They can be included in the category of private monuments. Their texts indicate a natural approach of the language, and even if they were built on predefined structures, the feature of living language is evident. In the analyzed material, there were texts that contained several vulgarisms<sup>63</sup>, or texts that suggested repeatedly the same linguistic feature, which indicates a certain language usage<sup>64</sup>. There were also vulgar forms of some words<sup>65</sup>, or special uses of others (ex. *consentienti* as an attribute of a divinity<sup>66</sup>).

In conclusion, it can be said that the Latin used at Potaissa was part of the general “linguistic facies” of the Empire. Even if some peculiarities are encountered, especially at lexical level, the deviations from the classical Latin can be framed in established categories which correspond to other areas of the Roman Empire.

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<sup>63</sup> See above, in paragraph: “Vowel *i*, III. *ī* > *e*”, the inscription CIL III 907 = CIL III 7693 = HD 048895.

<sup>64</sup> See above, in paragraph: “The simplification of the geminates, *nn* > *n*”, the inscription CIL III 917 = Lupa 6752 = HD 049074; in “The consonants, *m* > *n*”, the inscription ILD 513 = HD 037559.

<sup>65</sup> See above, in paragraphs: “The consonants, *ip* > *uc*, and *mm* > *m*”, and in “The lexicon” (*commanuculis*); in “Vowel *i*, III. *ī* > *e*”, and in “The lexicon” (*menesteriis*).

<sup>66</sup> See above, in paragraph: “The lexicon”, the inscriptions CIL III 897 = HD 049009, and CIL III 898 = Lupa 6732 = HD 049030.

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## Abbreviations

- AE = *L'Année épigraphique*
- AÉrt = *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, Budapest.
- Apulum = *Apulum*. Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia. Alba Iulia.
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- Österreich
- Carnuntum
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- HD = Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg.
- IDR = *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*.
- ILBulg = Gerov B.: *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae*. I. Sofia. 1989.
- ILD = Petolescu, C. C.: *Inscriptii latine din Dacia*. București. 2005.

ILJug = Šašel A./Šašel J.: *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*. Ljubljana. 1963.  
IMS = *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*. I–VI. Beograd. 1976–1982.  
IScM = *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae. (Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine)*. București. 1980 sqq.  
LED = Piso, I./Ardevan R./Fenechiu C./Beu-Dachin E./Lalu Șt.: *Lexicon Epigraphicum Daciae*. Cluj-Napoca. 2016.  
Lupa = *Ubi erat lupa*, [www.ubi-erat-lupa.org](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org).  
MCA = *Materiale și cercetări arheologice*. București.  
MIT = Muzeul de Istorie Turda.  
MJM = Muzeul Județean Mureș  
MNA = Muzeul Național de Arheologie. București.  
MNIT = Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei. Cluj-Napoca.  
NBWien = Nationalbibliothek Wien.  
OLD = *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1968.  
Revista Bistriței = *Revista Bistriței*, Bistrița.  
RIU = *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*. I–VI. Budapest – Bonn. 1972–2001.

Illustrations



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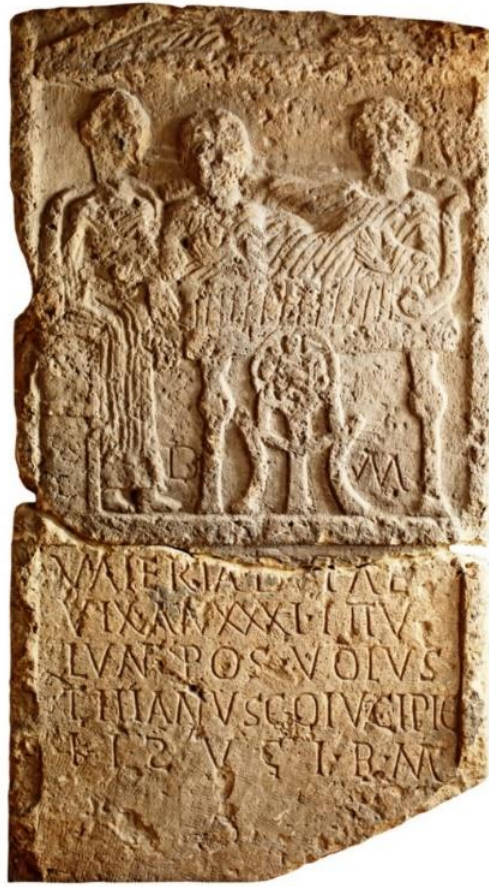


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