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## Vulgarni latinitet na natpisima rimске provincije Dalmacije

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Epigrafska građa jedan je od bitnih pokazatelja jezika rimskog puka i svjedočanstvo postupnog razvoja iz latinskog u romanske jezike. Naime, ona daje sliku jezika kojim se sam narod služio, koji se razlikovao od onoga na kojem su pisana književna djela i koji se danas smatra normativnim. Stoga se ovaj rad temelji na brojnoj natpisnoj gradi raznolika karaktera (sepulkralna, votivna, počasna...) pronađenoj na prostoru rimske provincije Dalmacije. Iz pregledanih epigrafskih spomenika izdvojeni su oni na kojima se mogu opaziti odstupanja u jeziku u odnosu na norme klasičnog latiniteta. Istraživanje je u najvećoj mjeri koncentrirano oko promjenama u okviru fonetike jer su one u kratkim i sažetim formama kao što su tekstovi ovih natpisa najviše relevantne za analizu i dobivanje konkretnih rezultata. Cilj rada je dublje ući u problematiku vulgarnolatinskih obilježja i vidjeti što ona govore o latinskom jeziku koji se koristio na području rimske Dalmacije.

*Ključne riječi:* epigrafija, vulgarni latinski jezik,  
rimска Dalmacija

## Vulgar Latin in inscriptions from the Roman province of Dalmatia

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Epigraphic materials are among the essential indicators of the language spoken by the Roman populace and they stand as testimony to the gradual development of the Latin into the Romance languages. This is because it provides a picture of the language used by the people themselves, which differed from the language in which literary works were written and which is deemed the standard. This work is therefore based on the extensive inscription materials of diverse types (sepulchral, votive, honorary...) found in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia. Among the inspected epigraphic monuments, those on which deviations in language in comparison to the norms of classical Latin may be seen were highlighted. To the greatest extent, research concentrated on changes in the framework of phonetics, because in short and concise forms such as the texts in these inscriptions they are the most relevant for analysis and obtaining specific results. The objective of this work is to delve deeper into the problems pertaining to Vulgar Latin traits and see what they say about the Latin language that was used in the territory of Roman Dalmatia.

*Key words:* epigraphy, Vulgar Latin, Roman Dalmatia

## Uvod

Tijekom rimske ekspanzije na područja koja je kasnije obuhvaćala rimska provincija Dalmacija, od kraja 3. st. pr. Kr. nadalje postupno je došlo do romanizacije, procesa koji je obuhvaćao širenje latinskog jezika i rimske kulture na domorodačke narode. Po završetku tih osvajanja godine 9. po. Kr. taj je proces poprimio veće razmjere i autohtono stanovništvo je u vrlo velikoj mjeri prihvatiло pristiglu kulturu ponajviše preko doseljenika s matičnog tla Italije koje je počelo dolaziti prvo u gradove na jadranskoj obali, a zatim i u njezino zaleđe. Na taj je način u te krajeve doveden latinski jezik koji je potisnuo one domorodačke, a njegovoj rasprostranjenosti na tom prostoru ponajviše svjedoči brojna epigrafska građa, razne namjene, pronađena po čitavoj provinciji. Ona pokazuje da se latinski jezik ondje govorio, ali također i koristio u javnom priopćavanju jer je njime klesan velik broj natpisa koje postavljaju i italski doseljenici i romanizirano autohtono stanovništvo.

Kako jezik s vremenom prolazi određene promjene, tako i jedan dio rimskega natpisa pokazuje određene odmake u jeziku u odnosu na ono što se drži normativnim. Upravo ti odmaci svjedoče o razvoju latinskog jezika i postupnom prijelazu u romanske jezike koji su nastali od njegova vulgarnog oblika. Te su promjene vidljive u pisanim izvorima tog vremena, među kojima su upravo i epografski spomenici. Oni su stoga vrlo vrijedna svjedočanstva jer oslikavaju ono njegovo stanje koje je vladalo među širokim pučanstvom.

Tema vulgarnolatinskih odlika na području Hrvatske i ostalih zemalja na čijem se prostoru protezala ta provincija slabo je obrađena i zapravo ju je jedini detaljnije istraživao Petar Skok u djelu *Pojave vulgarno-latinskog jezika na natpisima iz rimske provincije Dalmacije* koje je objavljeno prije punih stotinu godina—1915. godine.<sup>1</sup> On je ondje obuhvatio promjene u latinskom jeziku vidljive na epografskoj gradi koja je do tog vremena bila poznata, a to je u najvećoj mjeri bila ona iz *CIL-a*. Kako se dugo o tome nije ništa pisalo, ovaj će se rad pozabaviti upravo tom tematikom vulgarnog latiniteta na natpisima i pokazati što se prema epografskim spomenicima objavljenima nakon *CIL-a* može iščitati o promjenama koje su zahvatile latinski jezik. Ovo istraživanje uključuje, dakle,

\* Rad je nastao prema diplomskom radu *Odlike vulgarnog latiniteta na natpisima iz rimske provincije Dalmacije* izrađenim pod mentorstvom dr. sc. N. Bulić i komentorstvom prof. dr. sc. A. Kurilić na Sveučilištu u Zadru 2013. godine.

<sup>1</sup> Skok 1915.

## Introduction

Roman expansion into the territory which would later encompass the Roman province of Dalmatia, from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onward, was accompanied by gradual Romanization, a process that included the spread of the Latin language and Roman culture to native populations. Upon the conclusion of these conquests in 9 AD, this process assumed even greater proportions and indigenous populations largely accepted the newly-arrived culture, mostly via settlers from the core territory in Italy who began to arrive first in the cities on the Adriatic coast, and then in the hinterland. The Latin language was introduced in this manner, pushing aside the native languages, and its extent in this territory is mostly reflected in the abundant epigraphic materials discovered throughout the province. It shows that Latin was spoken here, and also used in public communication, as demonstrated by the high number of inscriptions engraved in Latin that were placed by both Italic settlers and Romanized indigenous populations.

Since every language undergoes certain changes over time, so too did the Roman inscriptions reflect certain shifts in language in comparison to what is deemed standard. It is precisely these shifts which testify to the development of Latin and its gradual transition into the Romance languages that emerged from its vulgar forms. These changes are visible in the written sources of the time, which include epigraphic monuments. The latter are therefore extremely valuable evidence, for they record its status as it prevailed among the broader populace.

The topic of Vulgar Latin attributes in the territory of Croatia and in that of other countries into which this province extended has been rather scantily covered, and it was in fact only researched in somewhat greater detail by Petar Skok in his work *Pojave vulgarno-latinskog jezika na natpisima iz rimske provincije Dalmacije* [Appearances of Vulgar Latin in the inscriptions from the Roman province of Dalmatia] which was published exactly one hundred years ago—in 1915.<sup>1</sup> In it, he included the changes in Latin visible in the epigraphic materials that had been known up to that time, and that was to the greatest extent those materials recorded in *CIL*. Since nothing had

\* This work was developed on the basis of the undergraduate thesis “Odlike vulgarnog latiniteta na natpisima iz rimske provincije Dalmacije” [Features of Vulgar Latin in inscriptions from the Roman province of Dalmatia] written under the mentorship of N. Bulić, Ph.D., and co-mentored by A. Kurilić, Ph.D. at the University of Zadar in 2013.

<sup>1</sup> Skok 1915.

natpise koji su objavljeni nakon vremena u kojem je Skok pisao i većinom potječe iz korpusa *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla, 5, Ljubljana, 1963); *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla, 19, Ljubljana, 1978); *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla, 25, Ljubljana, 1986), zatim časopisa *Anneé épigraphique*, kataloga doktorske disertacije A. Kurilić *Pučanstvo Liburnije od 1. do 3. stoljeća po Kristu: antroponimija, društveni slojevi, etničke promjene, gospodarske uloge* (za područje Liburnije) te mnogih drugih manjih objava u sklopu određenih knjiga i znanstvenih časopisa.

Ovaj se rad tako temelji na natpisima sepulkralnog, votivnog, počasnog i građevinskog karaktera te miljokazima i međašima pronađenim diljem rimske Dalmacije. Iz pregledanih epigrafskih spomenika izdvojeni su oni na kojima se mogu vidjeti promjene u jeziku u odnosu na norme klasičnog latiniteta. U dalnjem tekstu bit će ponajviše riječi o fonetskim promjenama jer su one u kratkim i sažetim formama kao što su tekstovi ovih natpisa najuočljivije i najviše relevantne za analizu. Cilj istraživanja je, dakle, tako dublje ući u njihovu problematiku i vidjeti u kolikoj mjeri one govore o latinskom jeziku kojim se služilo na području te provincije, a koliko o njegovu razvoju i promjeni u odnosu na romanske jezike.

### Prostorno-vremenske odrednice

Provincija Dalmacija, kako je ustanovljena po završetku rimskega osvajanja, nije obuhvaćala isključivo dio istočne obale Jadrana koji Dalmacija obuhvaća danas, već i Kvarner na sjeveru te sadašnju Bosnu i Hercegovinu, Crnu Goru, sjeverni dio Albanije i zapadnu Srbiju. Na jadranskoj obali ona je, kako pokazuje Karta 1, počinjala od rijeke Raše (*Arsia*) u Istri i protezala se do područja nešto južnije od grada Lješa (*Lissus*) na ušću rijeke Drin (*Drilo*) u Albaniju. Prema istoku joj je granica prolazila Savskom dolinom južno od Kupe (*Colapis*) i prelazila rijeku Glinu u Velikoj Kladuši, zatim je išla preko rijeke Vrbas (*Urpanus*) u Laktašima sjeverno od Banje Luke te se nastavljala uzduž sjeverne strane bosanskih brda u Savskoj dolini do granice s provincijom Gornjom Mezijom. Prema jugu se odatle spuštala južno od Čačka duž tokova Morave, Lima (*Limus*) i Ibra pa uz planinu Šar (*Scardus*) do rijeke Drima, gdje je graničila s provincijom Makedonijom.<sup>2</sup>

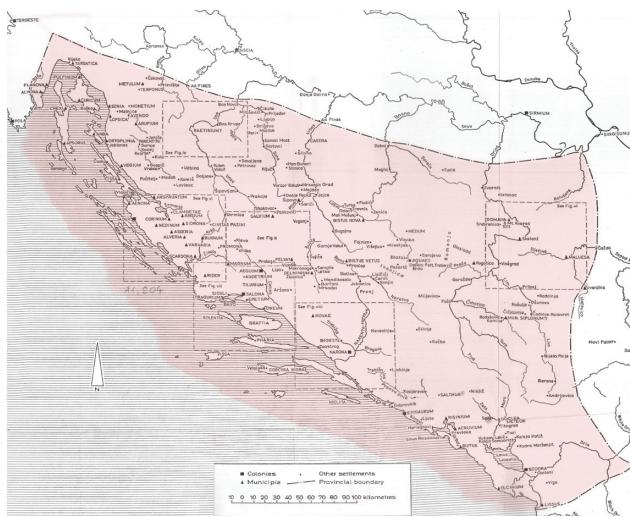
been written about this for this longest time, this work shall deal with precisely this topic of Vulgar Latin in inscriptions and show what can be discerned on the changes that occurred in the Latin language on the basis of those epigraphic monuments published after *CIL*. This research therefore includes inscriptions published after the time in which Skok wrote his work, and it mostly comes from the collections *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla, 5, Ljubljana, 1963); *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla, 19, Ljubljana, 1978) and *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla, 25, Ljubljana, 1986), the journal *Anneé épigraphique*, the catalogue from the doctoral dissertation by A. Kurilić, *Pučanstvo Liburnije od 1. do 3. stoljeća po Kristu: antroponimija, društveni slojevi, etničke promjene, gospodarske uloge* [The populace of Liburnia from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD: anthroponymy, ethnic change and economic roles] (for the territory of Liburnia) and many other ancillary publications included in books and scholarly journals.

This work is therefore based on inscriptions with a sepulchral, votive, honorary and architectural character, as well as milestones and boundary markers discovered throughout Roman Dalmatia. Among the inspected epigraphic monuments, those on which deviations in language in comparison to the norms of classical Latin may be seen were highlighted. In the text that follows, the most emphasis shall be placed on phonetic changes, because in short and concise forms such as the texts in these inscriptions they are the most easily observed and most relevant for analysis. The objective of this research is to therefore delve more deeply into these problems to see what they say about the Latin language that was used in the territory of this province, and how much they indicate about its development and change into the Romance languages.

### Territorial and chronological specifications

The province of Dalmatia, as established at the close of the Roman conquests, did not only encompass the eastern Adriatic seaboard as the region of Dalmatia does today, rather it also included Kvarner in the north and today's Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, the northern part of Albania and western Serbia. On the Adriatic coast, as shown in Map 1, it began at the Raša (*Arsia*) River in Istria and extended to a point just south of the city of Lezhë (*Lissus*) at the mouth of the Drin (*Drilo*) River in Albania. In the east, its border ran down the Sava River valley south of the Kupa (*Colapis*) River, and it crossed the Glina

2 Wilkes 1969, str. 78-80.



Karta 1. Teritorij rimske provincije Dalmacije (izvor: Kurilić 2013a, Sl. 2)

Map 1. Territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia (source: Kurilić 2013a, Fig. 2)

Kao razdoblje vladavine latinskog jezika uzima se ono od 2. st. pr. Kr. do 6. st. po Kr. Njegov razvitetak nakon toga spada u razvoj zasebnih romanskih jezika. Na području rimske provincije Dalmacije kao kraj antičkog latiniteta smatra se 612. ili 614. godina, koje se tradicionalno uzimaju kao datum pada Salone.<sup>3</sup> Nakon toga se o njemu, i dalje prisutnom na istim prostorima, govori kao o posebnom romanskem jeziku pod nazivom dalmatski.<sup>4</sup> Važno je reći i da se latinski jezik u Dalmaciji razvijao drugačije nego u ostalim balkansko-podunavskim provincijama (Norik, Pannonija, Mezija, Dacija, Makedonija, Trakija) pa se stoga razlikuju dva tipa latiniteta na tim prostorima. To su jadranski, koji obuhvaća Dalmaciju, i kontinentalni, koji se odnosi na preostale balkanske provincije, a glavno svjedočanstvo razvoja i jedne i druge varijante su upravo natpsi.<sup>5</sup>

Analizirana je epigrafska građa prema vremenu nastanka podijeljena na tri velike skupine: onu iz vremena ranog principata, od uspostave carstva do Marka Aurelija (koristi se kratica RP), onu iz kasnog principata, do Dioklecijana (kratica KP) i onu iz vremena dominata (D). Za natpise za koje nije bilo moguće razlučiti pripadaju li ranom ili kasnom principatu, upotrijebljena je kratica P, dakle vrijeme principata. Kako veći broj spomenika nije bio datiran, za potrebe rada napravljen je i njihovo vremensko određivanje, uglavnom uz pomoć Alföldyjeva djela *Die*

Riverin Velika Kladuša, and then ran across the Vrbas (*Urpanus*) River in Laktaši north of Banjaluka, and then continued down the northern side of the Bosnian hills in the Sava valley up to the border with the province of Moesia Superior. In the south it descended south of Čačak down the courses of the Morava, Lim (*Limus*) and Ibar Rivers and along the Šar (*Scardus*) Mountains to the Drim River, where it bordered the province of Macedonia.<sup>2</sup>

The time from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD is taken as the period when Latin prevailed. Thereafter its development in fact signified the emergence of the separate Romance languages. The end of Latin Antiquity in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia has been set at 612 or 614 AD, which are traditionally taken as the dates when Salona fell.<sup>3</sup> Thereafter, where present in these same territories it is generally spoken of as the separate Romance language called Dalmatian.<sup>4</sup> It is important to state that Latin developed differently in Dalmatia than in the other Balkan/Danubian provinces (Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia, Macedonia, and Thrace), so two types of Latinity are spoken of in this territory. These are the Adriatic, which encompasses Dalmatia, and continental, which pertains to the remaining Balkan provinces, and inscriptions in fact account for the primary testimony on both variants.<sup>5</sup>

Based on the time of their appearance, the analysed epigraphic materials were divided into three groups: those from the time of the early Principate, from the establishment of the Empire to Marcus Aurelius (abbreviated as EP); those from the time of the late Principate, up to Diocletian (abbreviated as LP); and those from the time of the Dominate (D). In case of inscriptions in which it was uncertain as to whether they belong to the early or late Principate, the abbreviation P, for Principate, was used. Since very many monuments have not been dated, for the needs of this work they were placed within a general chronological framework with the help of Alföldy's work *Die Personenamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, which speaks of the names present on inscriptions from the territory of Roman Dalmatia and places them within an approximate chronology. In his introduction, Alföldy provided some additional guidelines that can be helpful to dating, such as use of certain phrases and

3 Riječ je o tradicionalnom datumu pada Salone jer se na temelju novih istraživanja on datira u nešto kasnije razdoblje (usp. Marović 1984).

4 Skok 1915, str. 3-4.

5 Gaeng 1984, str. 2.

2 Wilkes 1969, pp. 78-80.

3 This is the traditional date for the fall of Salona; based on more recent research, this event has been placed at a somewhat later date (cf. Marović 1984).

4 Skok 1915, pp. 3-4.

5 Gaeng 1984, p. 2.

*Personnenamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, koje govori o imenima prisutnima na natpisima s prostora rimske Dalmacije i približno ih smješta u vremenski okvir. Autor u njegovu uvodu daje još neke smjernice koje mogu pomoći pri dataciji, poput uporabe određenih izraza i slično,<sup>6</sup> pa je većina natpisa na taj način datirana, a neki za koje nije bilo moguće to tako učiniti, vremenski su približno određeni prema jeziku, ako su pokazivali specifične jezične odlike karakteristične za pojedino razdoblje.<sup>7</sup>

Kako je u analizu uključen prilično velik broj spomenika, njih više od 400, uz pomoć tablice u *Excelu* građa je učinjena preglednom i pogodnom za pretraživanje kako bi se iz nje mogao izvući maksimum te je pomoću nje izrađen i katalog svih natpisa prikupljenih s pretpostavkom da pokazuju pojedine odlike vulgarnog latiniteta. Katalog je koncipiran na način da je organiziran po geografskim područjima (Liburnija, područje Delmata, Salona, južna Dalmacija, BIH – unutrašnjost provincije Dalmacije, područje Japoda, istočna Dalmacija), a unutar njih se nalaze područja pronalaska složena abecednim redom. Cjelina Liburnija obuhvaća prostor od rijeke Raše (*Arsia*) u Istri na sjeveru do rijeke Krke (*Titius*) na jugu uključujući i pripadajuće otoke koji je u vrijeme neposredno prije rimskog osvajanja naseljavao narod Liburna.<sup>8</sup> Zatim slijedi područje Delmata, koje se proteže od Krke do Neretve.<sup>9</sup> Prostorno se unutar njega nalazi i Salona, koja je nakon osnutka provincije Dalmacije postala njenim središtem, no ovdje je izdvojena kao sljedeća posebna jedinica jer se pokazalo da je – kao razvijeniju i u toku sa suvremenim tekvinama – karakteriziraju određene osobitosti u odnosu na druge dijelove tog područja. Teritorij južno od delmatskog (od Neretve do Drima) obuhvaćen je pod imenom Južna Dalmacija; naime on nije kao sjeverniji dijelovi bio

similar aspects,<sup>6</sup> so most of the inscriptions were then dated in this fashion, while in cases when this was not possible, they were approximately dated based on the language if they exhibited specific linguistic features typical of an individual period.<sup>7</sup>

Since the analysis encompassed a considerable number of monuments, over 400, the material was made easier to review and search with the help of an Excel table, and based on the latter a catalogue was compiled that included all inscriptions gathered with the assumption that they exhibit individual features of Vulgar Latin. It was conceived to be organized according to geographic regions (Liburnia, Delmataean territory, Salona, southern Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina/Dalmatian provincial interior, Iapode territory, eastern Dalmatia), and within these there are areas of discovery in alphabetical order. The entirety of Liburnia encompasses the area from the Raša (*Arsia*) River in Istria in the north to the Krka (*Titius*) River in the south, including the corresponding islands which were inhabited by the Liburnian people immediately prior to the Roman conquest.<sup>8</sup> This is followed by the territory of the Delmataeans, which extended from the Krka to Neretva Rivers.<sup>9</sup> This area also contained Salona, which became the centre of the province of Dalmatia after the latter's establishment, although here it was classified as a separate unit because it became apparent that – since it was more developed and kept pace with contemporary trends – it was characterized by certain specific aspects compared to the other parts of this territory. The territory south of the Delmataean (from the Neretvato Drim Rivers) is encompassed under the term southern Dalmatia, for

6 Alföldy 1969, str. 27-30.

7 Usp. Skok 1915.

8 Liburni su narod koji je stoljećima prije rimskih osvajanja naseljavao gore opisani dio istočnog Jadranu i bavio se ponajviše gusarstvom. Njihovo matično područje bili su Ravnici kotari, poznati i pod nazivom klasična Liburnija, koji su ujedno bili i najnaseljeniji dio njihova prostora, a u vrijeme kad su potpali pod rimsku vlast postali su najgušće naseljeni dio rimske provincije Dalmacije. (Wilkes 1969, str. 160.)

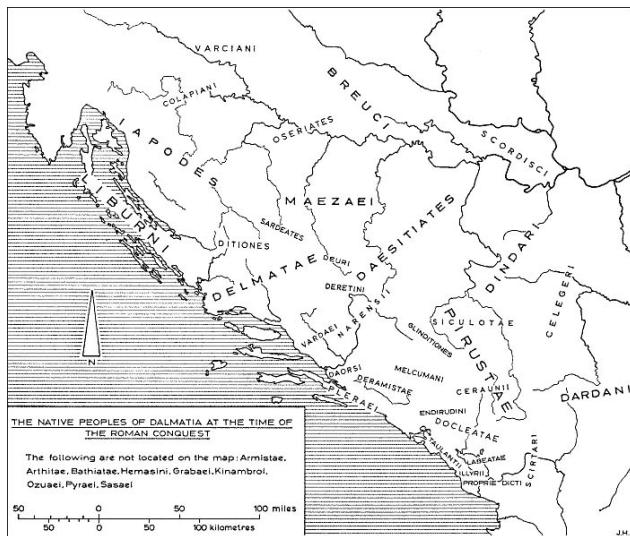
9 Delmati su južni susjedi Liburna i njihovi tradicionalni neprijatelji. Prvi put se spominju u 2. st. pr. Kr., kao dio Gencijeva kraljevstva. Bili su ratoboran narod, i Rimljani su se u republikansko doba dosta sukobljavali s njima. Njihov teritorij se u kasnom 1. st. pr. Kr. protezao od rijeke Krke na sjeveru do rijeke Neretve na jugu, a u unutrašnjosti je obuhvaćao polja danas u sastavu BiH (Glamočko polje, Livanjsko polje...). (Wilkes 1969, str. 162-163.)

6 Alföldy 1969, pp. 27-30.

7 Cf. Skok 1915.

8 The Liburnians were a people who inhabited the aforementioned part of the eastern Adriatic seaboard prior to the Roman conquests, and they were mostly pirates. Their core area was Ravnici kotari, also known under the name classical Liburnia, which was in fact the most densely populated part of their territory, and during the period when they came under Roman rule, this was the most densely populated part of the Roman province of Dalmatia (Wilkes 1969, p. 160).

9 The Delmataeans were the southern neighbours of the Liburnians, and their traditional enemies. They were first mentioned in the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC as part of the kingdom of Gentius. They were a war-like people and the Romans had a number of conflicts with them during the Republic era. In the late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC, their territory extended from the Krka River in the north to the Neretva River in the south, while in the interior it encompassed the fields that are today part of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Glamočko polje, Livanjsko polje...). (Wilkes 1969, pp. 162-163.)



Karta 2, Domorodački narodi u Dalmaciji (izvor: Wilkes, 1969: 179)

Map 2. Native peoples of Dalmatia (source: Wilkes, 1969: 179).

naseljen jednim velikim narodom, već mnoštvom manjih (Melcumani, Plereji, Dokleati...) pa ga je stoga pogodnije tako proučavati kao cjelinu. Slična situacija je i s područjima za koje se u radu koriste odrednice "BIH – unutrašnjost provincije Dalmacije" i "Istočna Dalmacija"<sup>10</sup> što se može vidjeti na Karti 2. Prema autohtonom narodu imenovan je još prostor Japoda<sup>11</sup> (u poretku između BiH – unutrašnjost i Istočna Dalmacija) jer je on bio veća teritorijalna jedinica. Na kraju su još kao posebna skupina navedeni miljokazi (*miliaria*) jer se prema dostupnim podacima (imenu ceste na kojoj su pronađeni) ne mogu svrstati unutar određene geografske cjeline. Katalog sadrži osnovne podatke o svakom obradenom natpisu (područje i mjesto nalaza, objavu, vrstu spomenika, dataciju) i njegovu restituciju, a njegovi redni brojevi koriste se u čitavom tekstu.

### Vulgarni latinitet

U doba starog Rima postojale su dva tipa latinskog jezika—onaj učeni i književni, kojim su pisali najveći rimski autori poput Cicerona i Vergilija i koji se smatra klasičnim, normativnim jezikom, s jedne strane, i onaj kojim je govorio puk, izvan učenog, formalnog i službenog konteksta, s druge strane. Taj njegov oblik najčešće se naziva *sermo vulgaris* (vulgarni latinski

unlike the northern parts it was not inhabited by a single large tribe, but rather by a multitude of smaller ones (Melcumani, Plerei, Docleatae...) so it is therefore more suitable to study it as a whole. A similar situation applied to the territories for which the specifications "Bosnia-Herzegovina/Dalmatian provincial interior" and "eastern Dalmatia" are used,<sup>10</sup> which can be seen on Map 2. The territory of the Iapodes<sup>11</sup> (between Bosnia-Herzegovina/Dalmatian provincial interior and eastern Dalmatia) has a tribal appellation, because it was a large spatial unit. Finally, the milestones (*miliaria*) were also distinguished as a separate category, because according to the available data (the names of the roads on which they were discovered) they cannot be classified into a specific geographic unit. The catalogue contains the basic information on each analysed inscription (territory and find site, publication, monument type, dating) and its restoration, while their numbers are used throughout the text of this work.

### Vulgar Latin

At the time of old Rome, there were two types of Latin: the refined and literary type used by the greatest Roman writers such as Cicero and Virgil, which is considered the classical, standard language on the one hand, and the language spoken among the common people outside of the learned, formal and official sphere, on the other. This form is most often called *sermo vulgaris* (Vulgar Latin), *sermo plebeius* (common Latin), *sermo castrensis* (military camp Latin), etc. Both of these aspects of Latin existed concurrently, but on different occasions and in different social classes. There were thus differences between them, but unfortunately, very little is known of this common, popular Latin, so that one may only conjecture as to the form it may have taken.<sup>12</sup>

Since it was mainly a spoken language, not many written sources testifying to it have been preserved. Only some of its vestiges or forms can be found in the works of the writers of Antiquity, e.g., in the work *Appendix Probi*, which corrects improper pronunciations and emphasizes the proper ones,<sup>13</sup> or in works by writers such as Petronius and Apuleius, who in their novels (*Satyricon* and *The Golden Ass* respectively)

10 Detaljnije o tome u Wilkes 1969; Šašel Kos 2005.

11 Japodi su narod koji je naseljavao prostor današnjeg Gorskog kotara i Like te sjeverni dio Savske doline. Glavni dio njihova teritorija nalazio se između planina Velike Kapele i Velebita (Wilkes 1969, str. 157).

12 Kurilić 2013, p. 2.

13 Tekavčić 1970, pp. 247-252.

govor), *sermo plebeius* (pučki latinski govor), *sermo castrensis* (vojnički latinski govor) i slično. Oba spomenuta aspekta jezika opstojala su istodobno, ali u različitim prigodama i društvenim slojevima. Stoga su između njih postojale razlike, no o tom pučkom latinskom jeziku sačuvano je, nažalost, vrlo malo podataka, tako da se tek može naslućivati kako je on zvučao.<sup>12</sup>

Kako je on bio uglavnom govorni jezik, o njemu nije sačuvano mnogo pisanih svjedočanstva. Tek se poneki njegovi ostaci ili oblici mogu naći u djelima antičkih pisaca, npr. u djelu *Appendix Probi*, u kojem se ispravljuju krivi izgovori i naglašavaju oni ispravni,<sup>13</sup> ali i kod autora kao što su Petronije i Apulej, koji u svojim romanima (*Satirikon*, *Zlatni magarac*) živo oslikavaju prizore iz svakodnevnog života rabeći pri tom mnogobrojne riječi netipične za ono što se smatra klasičnim latinitetom. Osobito vrijedna svjedočanstva te gorovne inačice latinskog jezika nalaze se na grafitima (od kojih su najpoznatiji pompejanski) i na nadgrobnim natpisima koje su sastavljeni sami pripadnici puka. Također, ono čime danas još raspolažemo i što nam pomaže u pokušaju rekonstrukcije tog jezika, jesu slučajne pojave određenih riječi ili fraza u različitim vrstama tekstova, kao što su: retorske i jezične rasprave, pisma, komedije, i slično.<sup>14</sup> Kako do sada nije pronađen konkretni podulji pisani dokument koji bi bio vjeran zapis vulgarnog latinskog jezika, najveći broj potvrda, i to onih koje vrlo izravno daju uvid u taj jezik rimskog pučanstva, pruža upravo epigrafska građa koja je kao novina pristigla na prostor kasnije rimske provincije Dalmacije s Grcima i Rimljanim. Ona izravno svjedoči o tome kad su se ti jezici počeli govoriti na istočnoj obali Jadrana i na koji način su se koristili u javnom komuniciranju.<sup>15</sup>

## Vokalizam

### Monoftongizacija

Prelazak diftonga *ae* u monoftong *e* može se zamjetiti na vrlo velikom broj natpisa iz svih područja Carstva. U 1. st. po. Kr. takva se pojava počela širiti po matičnom tlu Italije te provincijama, zatim je u 3. st. izrazito ojačala, a potom je u nekim područjima potpuno nestala uporaba *ae* i prevladala uporaba *e*.<sup>16</sup> Na osnovi kvantitativne analize spomenika zapaža se da na tlu provincije do monoftongiziranja dolazi u

vividly described scenes from everyday life by using numerous words not deemed typical for classical Latin. Particularly valuable evidence of this spoken variant of Latin can be found in graffiti (of which the best known is from Pompeii) and on gravestone inscriptions that were composed by the members of the common populace. Other sources we have at our disposal today and which aid in attempts to reconstruct this language are the chance appearances of certain words or phrases in various types of texts, such as: rhetorical and linguistic discourses, letters, comedies and so forth.<sup>14</sup> Since no specific, extended written document that would serve as a faithful reproduction of the Vulgar Latin language has yet been found, the highest number of confirmations, those that very directly give some insight into this language of the Roman common people, is in fact provided by the epigraphic materials, which appeared as a novelty in the territory of the later Roman province of Dalmatia with the newly-arrived Greeks and Romans. These directly testify as to when these languages began to be spoken in the eastern Adriatic seaboard and the manner in which they were used in public communication.<sup>15</sup>

## Vocalism

### Monophthongization

The conversion of the diphthong *ae* into the monophthong *e* can be observed in a very high number of inscriptions from all territories of the Empire. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, this phenomenon began to spread in the core territory of Italy and in the provinces, and then in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century it intensified greatly, to the point that in some areas it led to the complete rejection of the use of *ae* and the introduction of *e*.<sup>16</sup> Based on a quantitative analysis of the monuments, it is notable that monophthongization came to the province to a lesser extent already during the early Principate, and then later its presence spread. The epigraphic materials, where it is visible, can thus be divided into that in which monophthongization is entirely present and that which encompasses monuments on which the use of *e* occurred due to uncertainty over the reading of the diphthong *ae*. However, besides these inscriptions, on which it is precisely apparent that this occurred completely or only partially, there is a certain quantity of inscription texts on which this is impossible to assess because there is only one word on them in which the monophthongized *e* is present, so there is nothing to

12 Kurilić 2013, str. 2.

13 Tekavčić 1970, str. 247-252.

14 Kurilić 2013, str. 6.

15 Kurilić 2013, str. 7.

16 Grandgent 1907, str. 89.

14 Kurilić 2013, p. 6.

15 Kurilić 2013, p. 7.

16 Grandgent 1907, p. 89.

manjoj mjeri već u vrijeme ranog principata, a poslije se zastupljenost monoftonga širi. Epigrafski materijal gdje je ta pojava vidljiva može se tako podijeliti na onaj gdje je monoftongizacija u potpunosti zastupljena i onaj koji obuhvaća spomenike na kojima do uporabe *e* dolazi zbog nesigurnosti u pisanju diftonga *ae*. No, osim tih natpisa gdje je točno vidljivo je li do monoftongizacije došlo u potpunosti ili je ona samo djelomično zastupljena, postoji i određen broj natpisa na kojima je to nemoguće procijeniti jer se na njima javlja samo jedna riječ u kojoj je zastupljeno monoftongizirano *e* pa se nema prema čemu usporediti i zaključiti je li monoftongizacija potpuno ili djelomično obuhvatila jezik na kojem je uklesan tekst.

Nesigurnost u pisanju diftonga *ae* pojavljuje se na vrlo velikom broju natpisa počevši od onih iz vremena ranog principata pa sve do onih iz razdoblja dominata. U početku se javlja na određenom broju spomenika, od kojih ih je najviše onih iz Liburnije<sup>17</sup> te s područja Salone<sup>18</sup> i južne Dalmacije.<sup>19</sup> Jako velika zastupljenost te nesigurnosti u pisanju može se zamjetiti poslije na spomenicima iz kasnog principata, i to na svim područjima, među kojima uvelike prednjači Salona. Najčešće je riječ o padežnom nastavku za genitiv ili dativ nekog ženskog imena pa su potvrđeni oblici kao *Felicle*<sup>20</sup> (= *Feliclae*), *Valentine*<sup>21</sup> (= *Valentinae*), *Ursule*<sup>22</sup> (= *Ursulae*), *Quarte*<sup>23</sup> (= *Quartae*) i mnogi drugi.<sup>24</sup> Ponekad je do promjene došlo i kod odnosne zamjenice u nominativu ženskog roda pa stoga umjesto ispravnog *quae* стоји *que*.<sup>25</sup> Postoji i nekoliko primjera gdje je ista monoftongizacija zahvatila nastavak za dativ ženskog roda superlativa pridjeva tako se vide oblici *dulcissime* (kat. br. 108, 348), *pientissime* (kat. br. 79, 264, 359) i *infelicitissime* (kat. br. 348), a ne pravilni klasičnolatinski *dulcissimae*, *pientissimae*, *infelicitissimae*. Uz njih ista se odlika također zamjećuje i kod jednog pridjeva u pozitivu (*vive*<sup>26</sup> = *vivae*). U Saloni se ponekad takva promjena vidi i kod imenica (*liberte* = *libertae*, *femine* = *feminae*),<sup>27</sup> a na dva natpisa iz unutrašnjosti provincije pojavljuje se, izuzev u krajnjim sloganima, i u početnom slogu, što

17 Kat. br. 2, 7, 28, 45, 60, 93.

18 Kat. br. 206, 249, 281, 301.

19 Kat. br. 320, 352.

20 Kat. br. 41, 251.

21 Kat. br. 167, 197, 291.

22 Kat. br. 174.

23 Kat. br. 179, 358.

24 Kat. br. 65, 73, 177, 178, 196, 198, 199, 208, 235, 242, 261, 265, 268, 269, 270, 297, 300, 306, 324, 326, 330, 342, 362, 364, 366.

25 Kat. br. 132, 173, 176, 218, 317, 324, 324, 341.

26 Kat. br. 375.

27 Kat. br. 168, 243.

compare it to and draw a conclusion as to whether it entirely or partially included the language in which the text was engraved.

Uncertainty in writing the diphthong *ae* appeared in a very high number of inscriptions, beginning with those from the time of the early Principate up until those from the period of the Dominate. Initially it appeared on a certain number of monuments, of which most were from Liburnia<sup>17</sup> and from the territory of Salona<sup>18</sup> and southern Dalmatia.<sup>19</sup> A considerable measure of this uncertainty can be observed later on the monuments from the late Principate in all territories, but in Salona much more so than in others. Most often this is a matter of the grammatical case suffix for the genitive or dative of a woman's name, so forms such as *Felicle*<sup>20</sup> (= *Feliclae*), *Valentine*<sup>21</sup> (= *Valentinae*), *Ursule*<sup>22</sup> (= *Ursulae*), *Quarte*<sup>23</sup> (= *Quartae*) and many others<sup>24</sup> have been confirmed. Sometimes the changes also occurred in the relative pronouns in the nominative female gender, so instead of the correct *quae* there is *que*.<sup>25</sup> There are also a few examples in which the same monophthongization encompassed the suffix for the female gender dative of superlative adjectives, so that one can see the forms *dulcissime* (cat. no. 108, 348), *pientissime* (cat. no. 79, 264, 359) and *infelicitissime* (cat. no. 348), and not the classical Latin *dulcissimae*, *pientissimae*, and *infelicitissimae*. Besides these, this same feature was also noted for an adjective in the positive degree (*vive*<sup>26</sup> = *vivae*). In Salona, this change can sometimes also be seen with nouns (*liberte* = *libertae*, *femine* = *feminae*),<sup>27</sup> while in two inscriptions from the provincial interior, besides in the final syllables it also appeared in the initial syllable, which is shown by the words *erariorum* (= *aerariorum*) and *Desidiatium* (= *Daesidiatium*).<sup>28</sup>

Monophthongization in the suffix for the female dative singular of women's personal names,<sup>29</sup>

17 Cat. no. 2, 7, 28, 45, 60, 93.

18 Cat. no. 206, 249, 281, 301.

19 Cat. no. 320, 352.

20 Cat. no. 41, 251.

21 Cat. no. 167, 197, 291.

22 Cat. no. 174.

23 Cat. no. 179, 358.

24 Cat. no. 65, 73, 177, 178, 196, 198, 199, 208, 235, 242, 261, 265, 268, 269, 270, 297, 300, 306, 324, 326, 330, 342, 362, 364, 366.

25 Cat. no. 132, 173, 176, 218, 317, 324, 324, 341.

26 Cat. no. 375.

27 Cat. no. 168, 243.

28 Cat. no. 125 (Municipium Salvium), 391 (Hedum).

29 Cat. no. 316, 369.



Sl. 1. Zavjetna ara iz Narone posvećena Fortuni na kojoj je vidljiv prijelaz diftonga *ae* u *e* (foto: Arheološki muzej Narona)

Fig. 1. Votive altar from Narona dedicated to Fortuna which exhibits conversion of the diphthong *ae* into *e* (photo: Arheološki muzej Narona)

pokazuju riječi *erariorum* (= *aerariorum*) i *Desidiatum* (= *Daesidiatium*).<sup>28</sup>

Na spomenicima za koje se zna da potječu iz vremena principata, ali nije sigurno jesu li iz ranog ili kasnog, nailazi se na monoftongizaciju u nastavku za dativ jednine ženskog roda ženskog osobnog imena,<sup>29</sup> pridjeva<sup>30</sup> te u zamjenici *quae*.<sup>31</sup> U razdoblju dominata na nekim mjestima i dalje ostaje nesigurnost u uporabi diftonga *ae*, što dokazuje pet natpisa<sup>32</sup> gdje *e* zamjenjuje *ae* kod osobnog imena, imenice, pridjeva ili zamjenice. To pokazuje da se ta odlika tada već jače proširila i počela obuhvaćati veći broj riječi i oblika.

Potpuna zamjena *ae* s *e* vidljiva je isključivo na natpisima nastalima u vrijeme kasnog principata ili dominata, i to najčešće s područja Salone,<sup>33</sup> dok se u ostalim krajevima radi samo o pojedinačnim slučajevima u određenim gradovima.<sup>34</sup> Iz njih je očito da je s

28 Kat. br. 125 (Municipium Salvium), 391 (Hedum).

29 Kat. br. 316, 369.

30 Kat. br. 111, 146, 340.

31 Kat. br. 347.

32 Kat. br. 33, 97, 149, 231, 294, 349.

33 Kat. br. 166, 171, 180, 219, 232, 233, 254, 255, 262, 289, 299, 309, 311.

34 *Albona* (kat. br. 7), *Cissa* (kat. br. 35), *Corinium* (kat. br. 43) na području Liburnije; *Aequum* (kat. br. 100), *Andetrium* (kat. br. 109), *Oneum* (kat. br. 140, 144), *Pelva* (kat. br. 145) na delmatskom području; *Bigeste* (kat. br. 315), *Municipium S()* (kat. br. 346), *Scodra* (kat. br. 366) na prostoru južne Dalmacije; te *Colonia Ris ()* (kat. br. 404), *Domavia* (kat. br. 405), *Municipium Malvesiatum* (kat. br. 412) na području istočne Dalmacije.

adjectives<sup>30</sup> and in the pronoun *quae*<sup>31</sup> can be seen on those monuments which are known to date to the Principate, although it is uncertain as to whether they are from the early or late phases. During the Dominate, uncertainty in the use of the diphthong *ae* persisted in some places, which is proven by five inscriptions<sup>32</sup> in which *e* replaces *ae* in personal names, nouns, adjectives or pronouns. This shows that this feature had already spread more intensely at that point and began to encompass a higher number of words and forms.

The complete replacement of *ae* with *e* is apparent exclusively in the inscriptions that appeared during the late Principate or Dominate, most often from the territory of Salona,<sup>33</sup> while in the remaining areas this was only done in individual cases in certain cities.<sup>34</sup> From them it is obvious that over time the initial uncertainty in writing became extreme monophthongization which entirely eliminated use of the diphthong *ae*, because it no longer exists at all in any of the Romance languages.<sup>35</sup>

In some examples, due to the presence of only a single word that would have contained the diphthong *ae* in classical Latin, but lacks it, it is not possible to determine whether monophthongization had entirely overtaken the language of the time and place when and where the text of the inscription was carved onto the monument, or if the use of *e* was the result of uncertainty. On those from the early Principate,<sup>36</sup> it is virtually impossible to state that the monophthongization *e* is the result of a complete change and quite definite that it was a matter of uncertainty. As opposed to them, when considering the late Principate and the Dominate, the notion may be entertained that it was a matter of exclusive use of *e*. Thus several inscriptions from that time exhibit use of *e* most often as suffixes for the feminine singular genitive or dative of

30 Cat. no. 111, 146, 340.

31 Cat. no. 347.

32 Cat. no. 33, 97, 149, 231, 294, 349.

33 Cat. no. 166, 171, 180, 219, 232, 233, 254, 255, 262, 289, 299, 309, 311.

34 *Albona* (cat. no. 7), *Cissa* (cat. no. 35), *Corinium* (cat. no. 43) in the territory of Liburnia; *Aequum* (cat. no. 100), *Andetrium* (cat. no. 109), *Oneum* (cat. no. 140, 144), *Pelva* (cat. no. 145) in Delmataean territory; *Bigeste* (cat. no. 315), *Municipium S()* (cat. no. 346), *Scodra* (cat. no. 366) in the territory of southern Dalmatia; and *Colonia Ris()* (cat. no. 404), *Domavia* (cat. no. 405), *Municipium Malvesiatum* (cat. no. 412) in the territory of eastern Dalmatia.

35 Tekavčić 1970, p. 117.

36 Cat. no. 118, 152, 271, 304, 354.

vremenom iz one prve nesigurnosti u pisanju došlo do krajnje monoftongizacije, koja je u potpunosti istisnula uporabu diftonga *ae* jer on u romanskim jezicima uopće više ne postoji.<sup>35</sup>

U nekim primjerima zbog prisutnosti samo jedne riječi koja bi u klasičnom latinitetu morala sadržavati diftong *ae*, ali ga nema, nije moguće odrediti je li monoftongizacija u cijelosti zahvatila jezik vremena i područja kad i gdje je tekst klesan na spomenik ili je pak uporaba *e* rezultat nesigurnosti. Na onima iz ranog principata<sup>36</sup> gotovo je nemoguće tvrditi da je monoftongizirano *e* posljedica potpune promjene i gotovo je sigurno da se radi o nesigurnosti. Za razliku od njih, za razdoblje kasnog principata i dominata već se može razmatrati mogućnost da se radi o isključivoj uporabi *e*. Tako nekoliko natpisa iz tog vremena pokazuje uporabu *e* najčešće u nastavcima za genitiv ili dativ jednine ženskog roda kod vlastitih imena<sup>37</sup> i superlativa pridjeva,<sup>38</sup> zatim manje u imenu legije,<sup>39</sup> kod dativa imena božica<sup>40</sup> te u pojedinačnom primjeru dativa ženskog roda posvojne zamjenice *suus*.<sup>41</sup> Osim kod njih, gdje do monoftongizacije dolazi u krajnjeg slogu, u vlastitom imenu *Caesar* vidljiva je ista odlika, te stoga ono glasi *Cesar*.<sup>42</sup> Za njega se uz veću sigurnost može tvrditi da upućuje na potpunu monoftongizaciju jer se radi o pisanju *e* u naglašenom slogu, dok je kod ostalih riječi o nenaglašenima, a ta je odlika najprije zahvatila diftonge na kojima naglasak nije stajao i tek se kasnije proširila na one naglašene.<sup>43</sup>

Iz svega analiziranog može se zaključiti kako se u izgovoru nije razlikovalo *ae* i *e*, već se oboje poimalo isključivo kao grafički znak za glas koji se u pučkom jeziku izgovarao kao | *e* |. Tako se na istim natpisima on nekad piše ispravno, kao *ae*, nekad se zamjenjuje s *e*, a nekad se *ae* zna naći i na mjestima gdje ga ne bi trebalo pisati.<sup>44</sup> S vremenom se tako zbog njegova izgovora kao | *e* | jednostavno kao takvo ustalilo i u pisanju.

### Ispadanje vokala

Ispadanje vokala jedna je od glavnih odlika vulgarnog latiniteta; ono je počelo zahvaćati jezik u carskom

personal names<sup>37</sup> and superlative adjectives,<sup>38</sup> and then to a lesser degree for the names of legions,<sup>39</sup> for the dative of the names of goddesses,<sup>40</sup> and in individual examples of the feminine dative for the possessive pronoun *suus*.<sup>41</sup> Besides these in which monophthongization occurred in the last syllable, in the personal name *Caesar* this same quality is apparent, as it was thus written as *Cesar*.<sup>42</sup> In this instance, it may be asserted with greater certainty that it indicates complete monophthongization because it is a matter of writing the *e* in the stressed syllable, while in the remaining cases it was a matter of unstressed syllables, and this feature first occurred in diphthongs that were not stressed and only later expanded to included stressed ones as well.<sup>43</sup>

From all of the analysed examples above, it may be concluded that *ae* and *e* were not pronounced differently, rather both were perceived exclusively as a graphic symbol that was pronounced as | *e* | in the common speech. This is why it is sometimes in the same inscriptions it is written properly, as *ae*, and sometimes replaced with *e*, while sometimes *ae* can even be seen at places where it should not have been written.<sup>44</sup> With time, because of its pronunciation as | *e* | it simply became the established practice to write it as such.

### Vowel deletion

The deletion of vowels was one of the primary features of Vulgar Latin; it began to occur in the language during the Imperial period, mostly in unstressed syllables that were either preceded or followed by the stressed syllable.<sup>45</sup> It was also frequent in Roman Dalmatia, and in the analysed monuments it is present for all five vowels. Most often a vowel was deleted when the | *i* | or | *u* | sounds, followed by the loss of the vowel *e*, while to a lesser measure it was also present for *o* and *a*. The deletion of vowels can mostly be found on epigraphic monuments in personal names, so there are recorded instances of the forms *Btonis*<sup>46</sup> (= *Batonis*) for the | *a* | sound, *Repntina*<sup>47</sup>

35 Tekavčić 1970, str. 117.

36 Kat. br. 118, 152, 271, 304, 354.

37 Kat. br. 12, 213, 225, 278, 292, 379.

38 Kat. br. 69, 95, 110, 408.

39 Kat. br. 86, 239.

40 Kat. br. 92, 200, 354.

41 Kat. br. 49.

42 Kat. br. 417, 419.

43 Grandgent 1907, str. 89.

44 Skok 1915, str. 17, 22.

37 Cat. no. 12, 213, 225, 278, 292, 379.

38 Cat. no. 69, 95, 110, 408.

39 Cat. no. 86, 239.

40 Cat. no. 92, 200, 354.

41 Cat. no. 49.

42 Cat. no. 417, 419.

43 Grandgent 1907, p. 89.

44 Skok 1915, pp. 17, 22.

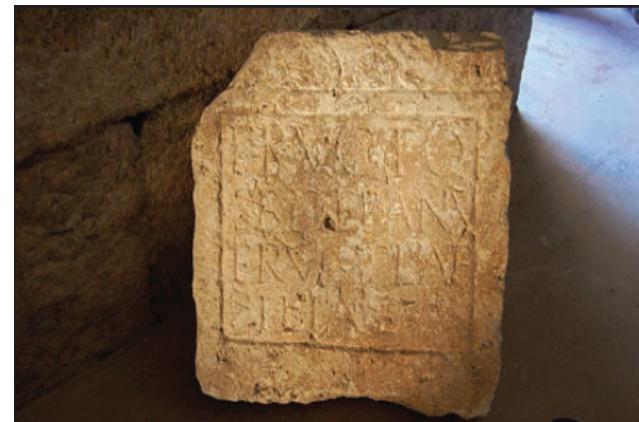
45 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, p. 274.

46 Cat. no. 389.

47 Cat. no. 80.

razdoblju, i to ponajviše u nenaglašenim slogovima kojima prethodi ili ih pak iza kojih slijedi naglašeni.<sup>45</sup> U rimskoj Dalmaciji ono je također učestalo i na analiziranim spomenicima prisutno je kod svih pet vokala. Najčešće do ispadanja vokala dolazi kad su u pitanju glasovi | i | ili | u |, zatim slijedi gubitak vokala e, te u manjoj mjeri vokala o i a. Na ispadanje vokala najčešće se na epigrafskim spomenicima nailazi u osobnim imenima pa su tako zabilježeni oblici *Btonis*<sup>46</sup> (= *Batonis*) za glas | a |, *Repntina*<sup>47</sup> (= *Repentina*) za e, *Platno*<sup>48</sup> (= *Platino*), *Vindemator*<sup>49</sup> (= *Vindemiator*), *Domtianus*<sup>50</sup> (= *Domitianus*), *Rustcus*<sup>51</sup> (= *Rusticus*), *Ammatsae*<sup>52</sup> (= *Ammatisae*) za | i | koji se nešto češće gubi. Vokal o ispada dvaput kako pokazuju primjeri *Filsrenus*<sup>53</sup> (= *Filosrenus*) i *Prba*<sup>54</sup> (= *Proba*). Ispadanje | u | u osobnim je imenima najčešće; tako ime *Felicula* postaje *Felicla*,<sup>55</sup> *Proculus*, odnosno *Procula* javljaju se kao *Proclus* i *Procla*,<sup>56</sup> *Vernacula* kao *Vernacla*<sup>57</sup> te *Fructuosa* i *Fructula*<sup>58</sup> o obliku *Fructosa* i *Fructula*. Prema tome, može se zaključiti da je u vlastitim imenima bio najčešći gubitak vokala u, i to upravo između konsonanata c i l, što je pojava karakteristična i za romanske jezike.<sup>59</sup> Ispadanja vokala tipa *Felicla*, *Procla*, *Vernacla* i *Fructla* s vremenom su se prestala smatrati takvima; naime, ti oblici počeli su biti više u uporabi od onih klasičnih pa su se ukorijenili u jezik kao zasebna vlastita imena; stoga je najbolje sinkopu u njima nazivati okamenjenom.

Za gubitak samoglasnika u imenima zanimljiv je još jedan primjer, a to je nedostatak znaka e u kratici *Aurl*<sup>60</sup> (= *Aurel*, u punom obliku *Aurelius*), što se može tumačiti time da je izostavljeno sinkopiranjem, ali i isto tako da je samo skraćeno s obzirom na to da je riječ o kratici, iako je za njega uobičajena kratica *AUR*.<sup>61</sup> Na četiri mjesta nastaje gubitak i u oblicima superlativa *infelicissimus*<sup>62</sup> te u još jednom drugom



Sl. 2. Natpis iz Splita na kojem se pojavljuje sinkopirani oblik *Fructla* (izvor: Demicheli, 2008: 63)

Fig. 2. Inscription from Split on which the syncopated form *Fructla* appears (source: Demicheli, 2008: 63)

(= *Repentina*) for e, and *Platno*<sup>48</sup> (= *Platino*), *Vindemator*<sup>49</sup> (= *Vindemiator*), *Domtianus*<sup>50</sup> (= *Domitianus*), *Rustcus*<sup>51</sup> (= *Rusticus*), *Ammatsae*<sup>52</sup> (= *Ammatisae*) for | i |, which was lost somewhat more frequently. The vowel o was deleted twice, as shown by the examples of *Filsrenus*<sup>53</sup> (= *Filosrenus*) and *Prba*<sup>54</sup> (= *Proba*). The deletion of | u | was most common in personal names, so that *Felicula* became *Felicla*,<sup>55</sup> *Proculus* or *Procula* appeared as *Proclus* and *Procla*,<sup>56</sup> *Vernacula* as *Vernacla*<sup>57</sup> and *Fructuosa* and *Fructula*<sup>58</sup> in the forms *Fructosa* and *Fructula*. It may accordingly be concluded that in personal names the loss of the vowel u was most common, and this between the consonants c and l, which is a phenomenon typical of the Romance languages.<sup>59</sup> Vowel deletion of the type in *Felicla*, *Procla*, *Vernacla* and *Fructla* ceased being seen as such with time; namely, these forms began to be used more than the classical equivalents, and separate personal names took root in the language as such, so that it is best to say that this syncope became fossilized.

The loss of a vowel in names is apparent in another uncertain example, and this is the absence of the letter

45 Clackson, Horrocks, 2007, str. 274.

46 Kat. br. 389.

47 Kat. br. 80.

48 Kat. br. 123.

49 Kat. br. 214.

50 Kat. br. 396.

51 Kat. br. 405.

52 Kat. br. 410.

53 Kat. br. 266.

54 Kat. br. 272.

55 Kat. br. 41, 81, 217, 251.

56 Kat. br. 244, 1.

57 Kat. br. 13.

58 Kat. br. 306.

59 Skok 1915, str. 29; Väänänen 1963, str. 42.

60 Kat. br. 129.

61 Cagnat 1914, str. 412.

62 Kat. br. 13, 53, 101, 159.

48 Cat. no. 123.

49 Cat. no. 214.

50 Cat. no. 396.

51 Cat. no. 405.

52 Cat. no. 410.

53 Cat. no. 266.

54 Cat. no. 272.

55 Cat. no. 41, 81, 217, 251.

56 Cat. no. 244, 1.

57 Cat. no. 13.

58 Cat. no. 306.

59 Skok 1915, p. 29; Väänänen 1963, p. 42.

superlativu *obsequentismus* (kat. br. 151). Za njih se može reći da su rezultat uzastopne pojave glasa *i* koja je uzrokovala nesigurnost u potrebi njegova pojavljivanja.

U posljednjem slogu do gubitka vokala dolazi u akuzativu *arcm*<sup>63</sup> (= *arcam*), prilogu vremena *sempr*<sup>64</sup> (= *semper*) i imenici *patr*<sup>65</sup> (= *pater*). U glagolu *fecit* prisutan je na dva mesta, gdje oblik *fect* zamjenjuje *fecit* (kat. br. 62, 71), a u nominativu singulara o-deklinacije na tri: *vivs* (= *vivus*)<sup>66</sup> i *servs* (= *servus*)<sup>67</sup> ako se uzme da se kod njih radi o sinkopi. Naime, iako restitucije u njihovim objavama pokazuju kako se vokal *u* izgubio, lingvističko tumačenje kaže da je u tim primjerima zapravo ispašao konsonant *v*,<sup>68</sup> a može se raditi i o jednostavnom pisanju jednog *V* umjesto, dva kako bi se zbog praznovjerja izbjegla grafija *VV*, koja je podsjećala na robove.<sup>69</sup> Kod središnjih slogova, izuzev osobnih imena, *e* se gubi u imenicama *inpns* (= *inpensa*), *collgium* (= *collegium*) i *contubernalis* (= *contubernalis*)<sup>70</sup> te kod glagola *posurunt*<sup>71</sup> (= *posuerunt*), a *i* u obliku *posta*<sup>72</sup> (= *posita*), potom u riječima *domnici* (= *dominici*), *domno* (= *domino*) i *domnae* (= *dominae*)<sup>73</sup> kao i u zamjenici *eius*, umjesto koje se može vidjeti *eus*.<sup>74</sup> U središnjem položaju *o* se gubi u oblicima glagola *posit* (*psi* i *psit*) (kat. br. 63, 345) te u imenici *vilcus*<sup>75</sup> (= *vilicus*). U početnom slogu riječi ispadanje vokala nalazimo samo jednom, i to u imenu tribusa, gdje piše *Vltinia* (kat. br. 30), a ne pravilno *Voltinia*.

Ispadanje vokala do kojeg je došlo zbog hijata u sredini riječi kad se po pravilu gubi prvi vokal,<sup>76</sup> vidi se u nekoliko primjera, pa se tako koriste oblici *Vindemator*<sup>77</sup> (= *Vindemiator*), *Ulpa*<sup>78</sup> (= *Ulpia*) i *Fructosa*<sup>79</sup> (= *Fructuosa*), koji su već ranije spomenuti, te *Febrarias* (kat. br. 287) za *Februarias*, *Napolitano* (kat. br. 87) za *Neapolitano*, *mila* (kat. br. 57, 87) za *milia*,

*e* in the abbreviation *Auri*<sup>60</sup> (= *Aurel*, *Aurelius* in the full form) which may be interpreted as being left out due to syncopation, but by the same token it may have simply been shortened given that this is an abbreviation, even though the customary abbreviation is *AUR*.<sup>61</sup> The loss of *i* in the superlative forms *infelicissimus*<sup>62</sup> and in another superlative *obsequentismus* (cat. no. 151) has been recorded in four instances. These may have been the result of the consecutive appearance of the *i* sound which led to uncertainty in its use.

Vowel deletion in the final syllable occurred in the accusative *arcm*<sup>63</sup> (= *arcam*), the temporal preposition *sempr*<sup>64</sup> (= *semper*) and the noun *patr*<sup>65</sup> (= *pater*). In the verb *fecit* it is present at two places, wherein the form *fect* replaces *fecit* (cat. no. 62, 71), and at three places in the nominative singular o-declination: *vivs* (= *vivus*)<sup>66</sup> and *servs* (= *servus*)<sup>67</sup> if it is assumed that these were syncopes. For even though the restoration in their publication shows that the vowel *u* was lost, a linguistic interpretation indicates that the consonant *v* was actually dropped out of them,<sup>68</sup> and this may be seen in the simple writing of a single *V* instead of two in order to avoid – due to superstition – the grapheme *VV*, which resembled horns.<sup>69</sup> In middle syllables, with the exception of personal names, *e* was lost in the nouns *inpns* (= *inpensa*), *collgium* (= *collegium*) and *contubernalis* (= *contubernalis*)<sup>70</sup> and in the verb *posurunt*<sup>71</sup> (= *posuerunt*), while *i* was lost in the form *posta*<sup>72</sup> (= *posita*), and then in the words *domnici* (= *dominici*), *domno* (= *domino*) and *domnae* (= *dominae*)<sup>73</sup> and in the pronoun *eius*, instead of which *eus* can be seen.<sup>74</sup> In the middle position, *o* was lost in the forms of the verb *posit* (*psi* and *psit*) (cat. no. 63, 345) and the noun *vilcus*<sup>75</sup> (= *vilicus*). Vowel loss in the initial syllable of a word can only be found once, in a tribal name, wherein it was written as *Vltinia* (cat. no. 30), and not the correct *Voltinia*.

63 Kat. br. 252.

64 Kat. br. 56.

65 Kat. br. 370.

66 Kat. br. 331, 343.

67 Kat. br. 71.

68 Skok 1915, str. 52.

69 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, str. 274.

70 Kat. br. 75, 125, 152.

71 Kat. br. 193.

72 Kat. br. 223.

73 Kat. br. 315, 329.

74 Kat. br. 316.

75 Kat. br. 385.

76 Clackson, Horrock 2007, str. 143; Väänänen 1963, str. 47.

77 Kat. br. 214.

78 Kat. br. 375.

79 Kat. br. 306.

60 Cat. no. 129.

61 Cagnat 1914, p. 412.

62 Cat. no. 13, 53, 101, 159.

63 Cat. no. 252.

64 Cat. no. 56.

65 Cat. no. 370.

66 Cat. no. 331, 343.

67 Cat. no. 71.

68 Skok 1915, p. 52.

69 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, p. 274.

70 Cat. no. 75, 125, 152.

71 Cat. no. 193.

72 Cat. no. 223.

73 Cat. no. 315, 329.

74 Cat. no. 316.

75 Cat. no. 385.

*silvestrum* (kat. br. 137) za *silvestrium* i *pentissimus* (kat. br. 275) za *pientissimus*. Glagolski oblik *posit*,<sup>80</sup> koji se ponekad javlja umjesto ispravnog *posuit*, i to ponajviše u Saloni, možda se može također protumačiti gubitkom vokala, ali prije je on ipak rezultat prijelaza perfekta na -ui u perfekt na -si.<sup>81</sup> Posebno treba spomenuti i sinkopiranje u imenici koja u klasičnom latinskom glasi *anniculus*, a u rimsкоj Dalmaciji moguće ju je vidjeti isključivo u obliku *annuculus* ili pak u sinkopiranoj verziji *annuclus*.<sup>82</sup> Ona se u analiziranoj gradi pojavljuje na dva natpisa iz Salone, i to u dativu *annuclō* (kat. br. 204, 296), što potvrđuje tezu da se na tom području razvila u poseban regionalni oblik.<sup>83</sup>

#### Promjena kvalitete vokala

Često obilježje vokalizma vulgarnog latiniteta je i promjena kvalitete vokala, koja se manifestira prelaskom *u* u *o*, *e* u *i* ili obratno, *o* u *u* i *i* u *e*.<sup>84</sup> Ona je posljedica prestanka razlike u kvantiteti koja je bila čvrsto obilježje klasičnog latiniteta, a počela se gubiti oko 150. g. po Kr. zbog čega se nakon tog vremena vrlo često javlja miješanje *e* i *i* ili *o* i *u*.<sup>85</sup> Prijelaz *u* u *o* jasno se opaža kod prijedloga *cum*, koji postaje *con* i u kojem osim spomenute promjene kvalitete vokala dolazi još i do zamjene *m* sa *n*. Ta pojava, vidljiva na nekoliko natpisa s područja rimske Dalmacije,<sup>86</sup> tijekom vremena uzima maha i kasnije u romanskim jezicima prijedlog *cum* zadržava upravo taj promijenjeni oblik pa kao takav—*con*—ostaje u uporabi u današnjem španjolskom i talijanskom jeziku.<sup>87</sup> Također tu odliku možemo vidjeti i u primjerima *sacro* (= *sacrum*), *iussō* (= *iussu*) i *portico* (= *porticu*),<sup>88</sup> no kod njih se, osim promjene u fonetskom smislu, može pomicati i na morfološki karakter. Naime, one se mogu objasniti i kao miješanje padežnih nastavaka: za *sacrum* bi se radio o nastavcima za nominativ i ablativ, dok bi *iussō* i *portico* bili primjeri prebacivanja imenica 4. deklinacije koju karakterizira ablativ na -*u* u 2. deklinaciju, čiji ablativ završava na -*o*.<sup>89</sup>

Ovdje treba spomenuti i nominative jednine koji završavaju na -os umjesto na -us, što se kao vulgar-

Vowel deletion which occurred due to a hiatus in the middle of a word and in which the first vowel was lost as a rule<sup>76</sup> can be seen in some examples, so that there was use of the forms *Vindemator*<sup>77</sup> (= *Vindemator*), *Ulpa*<sup>78</sup> (= *Ulpia*) and *Fructosa*<sup>79</sup> (= *Fructuosa*), which were mentioned earlier, and *Febrarias* (cat. no. 287) for *Februarias*, *Napolitano* (cat. no. 87) for *Neapolitano*, *mila* (cat. no. 57, 87) for *milia*, *silvestrum* (cat. no. 137) for *silvestrium* and *pentissimus* (cat. no. 275) for *pientissimus*. The verb form *posit*,<sup>80</sup> which sometimes appeared instead of the correct *posuit*—mostly in Salona, can perhaps also be interpreted as vowel loss, but it is nonetheless more likely the result of conversion of the -ui perfect into the -si perfect.<sup>81</sup> Particularly noteworthy is the syncopation in the noun which is written in classical Latin as *anniculus*, but in Roman Dalmatia it can be seen exclusively in the form *annuculus* or even in the syncopated version *annuclus*.<sup>82</sup> It appears in the analysed materials in two inscriptions from Salona in the dative form *annuclō* (cat. no. 204, 296), which confirms the theory that a separate regional form developed in this area.<sup>83</sup>

#### Changes in vowel quality

A common feature of Vulgar Latin vocalism is the change in vowel quality which manifested itself in conversion of *u* into *o*, *e* into *i*, or the reverse, *o* into *u* and *i* into *e*.<sup>84</sup> This is a result of a difference in quality which was a firm feature of classical Latin, but began to fade at about 150 AD, which is why the mixing of *e* and *i* or *o* and *u* appeared quite often after that time.<sup>85</sup> The conversion of *u* into *o* can clearly be noted in the preposition *cum*, which became *con* and in which besides the aforementioned change in vowel quality there was also a replacement of the *m* with *n*. This phenomenon, visible in several inscriptions from the territory of Roman Dalmatia,<sup>86</sup> took root over time, and later in the Romance languages the preposition *cum* indeed retained this altered form, and as such—*con*—it remains in use in the modern Spanish and

80 Kat. br. 19, 161, 187, 192, 216, 216, 240, 241, 303.

81 Skok 1915, str. 74.

82 Skok 1915, str. 15.

83 Skok 1915, str. 15.

84 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, str. 273; Skok 1915, str. 15.

85 Grandgent 1907, str. 75.

86 Kat. br. 23, 42, 136, 373.

87 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.; Vinja 2000 s. v.

88 Kat. br. 227, 339, 414.

89 V. Skok 1915, str. 64.

76 Clackson, Horrock 2007, p. 143; Väänänen 1963, p. 47.

77 Cat. no. 214.

78 Cat. no. 375.

79 Cat. no. 306.

80 Cat. no. 19, 161, 187, 192, 216, 216, 240, 241, 303.

81 Skok 1915, p. 74.

82 Skok 1915, p. 15.

83 Skok 1915, p. 15.

84 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, p. 273; Skok 1915, p. 15.

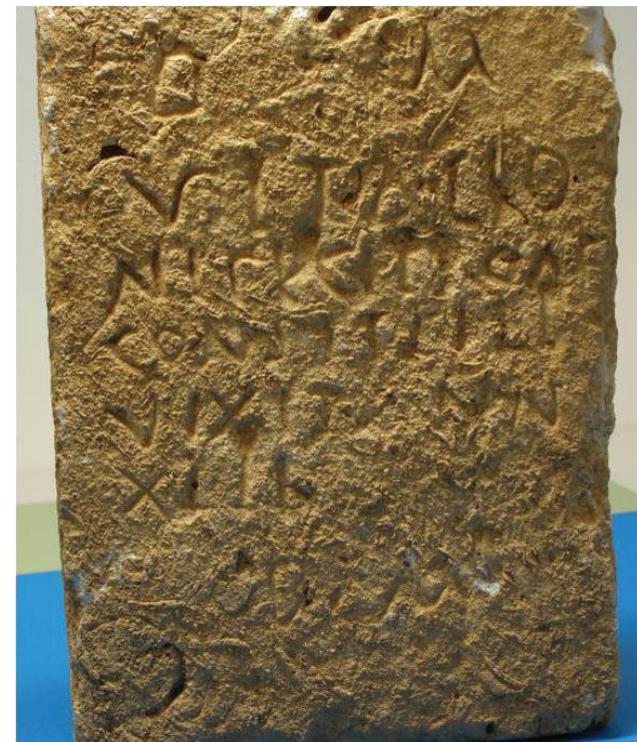
85 Grandgent 1907, p. 75.

86 Cat. no. 23, 42, 136, 373.

nolatinsko obilježje javlja u čitavoj Romaniji pa tako i u rimskoj Dalmaciji. Oni mogu biti pokazatelj starijeg jezičnog stanja, kad je taj padež doista završavao tako, zatim utjecaja grčkog jezika u kojem je *-os* nastavak za nominativ jednine o-deklinacije, ili pak posljedica promjene kvalitete vokala.<sup>90</sup> Za imena grčkog podrijetla koja pokazuju ovu odliku (*Aphros, Doretos* i *Antenoros*)<sup>91</sup> može se reći da završetak *-os* zasigurno prati grčki izvornik, dok su oblici *vivos*<sup>92</sup> (=vivus) i *servos*<sup>93</sup> (=servus) vjerojatno rezultat promjene kvalitete vokala *u* u *o*, čija je posljedica i današnji talijanski i španjolski oblik *vivo*.<sup>94</sup> Tri od četiri spomenika na kojima je zabilježen pridjev *vivos* potječu iz Liburnije, pa se može pomicati da je takav njegov nominativ ondje ponekad bio u uporabi usporedno uz pravilni *vivus*.

Na dosta je natpisa vidljivo da samoglasnik *e* prelazi u *i*, od čega posebno treba istaknuti superlativ *infelicissimus*<sup>95</sup> koji se piše kao *infilicissimus* i perfektne oblike glagola *facio* 3, *fecī*, *factum* i *dedico* 1 koji glase *ficit* odnosno *didicavit* (kat. br. 115, 127) umjesto *fecit* i *dedicavit*. Ista se promjena opaža u riječi *vitustas*<sup>96</sup> (= *vetustas*), dativu imena božice Nemeze *Nemisi*<sup>97</sup> (= *Nemesi*) te imenici *parins*<sup>98</sup> (= *parens*). Njome se također može objasniti akuzativ *concissionim* (kat. br. 57) umjesto *concessionem* i konjunktiv *inferit* (kat. br. 182) umjesto *inferet*, no ta dva primjera mogu biti isto tako i rezultat morfoloških promjena: *concussionim* miješanja padežnih nastavaka, a *inferit* brkanja indikativa i konjunktiva.

Obratna promjena, *i* u *e*, prisutna je također u zamjetnom broju. Do nje dolazi na pojedinim mjestima kod imena božice Dijane (kat. br. 88, 308), koje ispravno glasi *Diana*, a na dva natpisa pojavljuje se kao *Deana*, što je posljedica isprepletanja kratkog *i* dugog *e*.<sup>99</sup> Zatim se može zamjetiti i u ženskim osobnim imenima *Horea* i *Dometia* (kat. br. 202, 372), koja bi trebala glasiti *Horia*, odnosno *Domitia*, tako da se ovi primjeri mogu protumačiti kao rezultat miješanja *i* i *e* u hijatu do kojeg je dolazilo zbog njihova vrlo slična izgovaranja.<sup>100</sup> I kod superlativa pridjeva javlja se ponekad ista tendencija pa se tako vidi *nobelissimus*



Sl. 3. Vitalionov natpis iz Caske na kojem se pojavljuje veznik **con** (izvor: Kurilić, 2013b: 16)

Fig. 3. Vitalion's inscription from Caska on which the conjunction **con** appears (source: Kurilić, 2013b: 16)

Italian languages.<sup>87</sup> This form can also be seen in the examples *sacro* (=sacrum), *iusso* (=iussu) and *portico* (=porticu),<sup>88</sup> but in these, besides changes in the phonetic sense, one may also consider those of a morphological character. For they can also be explained as an instance of confusion of case suffixes: for *sacrum* it would be the suffixes for the nominative and ablative, while *iusso* and *portico* would be examples of switching nouns of the fourth declination, characterized by the *-u* ablative suffix, into the second declination, in which the ablative ends in *-o*.<sup>89</sup>

Here it would be worthwhile to mention the nominative singulars which end in *-os* instead of *-us*, which appeared as a Vulgar Latin feature throughout the late Roman Empire, including Roman Dalmatia. They may be an indicator of an older linguistic situation, when this grammatical case truly ended in this manner, or the influence of the Greek language, in which the *-os* was the suffix for the nominative singular in the o-declination, or a consequence of a change in the

90 Skok 1915, str. 32.

91 Kat. br. 46, 293, 321.

92 Kat. br. 8, 47, 67, 322.

93 Kat. br. 383.

94 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.; Vinja 2000 s. v.

95 Kat. br. 11, 13, 107, 122.

96 Kat. br. 75.

97 Kat. br. 227.

98 Kat. br. 385.

99 Clacks, Horrocks 2007, str. 252.

100 Skok 1915, str. 24.

87 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.; Vinja, 2000 s. v.

88 Cat. no. 227, 339, 414.

89 See Skok 1915, p. 64.

umjesto *nobilissimus* (kat. br. 272, 418) i *infelicessimus* umjesto *infelicissimus* (kat. br. 377). Superlativ *caressemus* (kat. br. 144) pokazuje istu promjenu, ali se ona ne javlja samo u jednome slogu kao u prethodnim primjerima već u oba sloga gdje je izvorno stajalo *i*. Iste se pojave kod glagola *perdo* 3, *perdidi*, *perditum* i *dedico* 1, čije perfektne oblike nalazimo kao *perdederunt* i *dedecavit* (kat. br. 226, 315), mogu, osim čistom zamjenom *i* i *e*, objasniti i asimilacijom s prethodnim i sljedećim, odnosno samo prethodnim vokalom. Kod nekih glagola 3. konjugacije se za treće lice jednine indikativa prezenta aktivnog uočava završetak *-et* umjesto ispravnog *-it* (*fecet*, *quisket*),<sup>101</sup> što može biti posljedica promjene kvalitete vokala, ali isto tako i brkanje nastavaka 2. i 3. konjugacije. Slična se pojava opaža i u konjunktivu perfekta *volueret*<sup>102</sup> (= *voluerit*), u kojem ona teško može biti rezultat mijenjanja nastavaka; stoga je velika mogućnost da svi ovi spomenuti primjeri doista pokazuju promjenu kvalitete vokala.

Pridjev *infelix* na jednome mjestu ima veoma neobičan dativ *enfilci*,<sup>103</sup> koji je ili posljedica klesarske pogreške ili vrlo vulgarni oblik, koji osim ove vulgarnolatinske odlike u sebi sadržava i obratnu zamjenu *e* sa *i* te sinkopu. Na istom spomeniku prisutne su i druge vulgarnolatinske pojave: ispadanje krajnjeg *m* u akuzativu singulara te pisanje *c* umjesto *t* u glagolu *posuit*, što sve zajedno upućuje ili na veliku neukost sastavljača teksta ili pak na neki vrlo nepravilan jezični oblik.

Komparativ nepravilnog pridjeva *parvus* 3 nalazi-mo kao *menuis* (kat. br. 288) umjesto klasičnog *minus*, što vodi ka kasnijim oblicima prisutnim u današnjem španjolskom (*menos*)<sup>104</sup> i talijanskom (*meno*)<sup>105</sup> jeziku. Dativ imenice *miles*, *-itis*, *m.* u jednom primjeru glasi *mileti* (kat. br. 413), za razliku od ispravnog *militi*, što bi mogao biti rezultat analogije prema nominativu. U povratnoj zamjenici *sibi* krajnje *i* postaje *e* te ona glasi *sibe* (kat. br. 3), a kao posebnu pojavu treba istaknuti dativ imena boga Mitre *Meteri*<sup>106</sup> (= *Mithrae*), u kojem je *i* prešlo u *e* te se pojavilo i još jedno suvišno *e* među konsonantima *t* i *r* (apokopa).

Za prelazak *u* u *o* među analiziranim epigrafskim materijalom vidljiv je samo jedan primjer, a to je imenica *docenarius* (kat. br. 298), koja označava pripadnika jednog od platežnih razreda viteškog staleža i

vowel quality.<sup>90</sup> For names of Greek origin which display this quality (*Aphros*, *Doretos* and *Antenoros*),<sup>91</sup> it may be said that the suffix *-os* certainly adhered to the Greek source, while the forms *vivos*<sup>92</sup> (= *vivus*) and *servos*<sup>93</sup> (= *servus*) were probably the result of changes in the quality of the vowel *u* int *oo*, consequently leading to the form *vivo* in today's Italian and Spanish.<sup>94</sup> Three of the four monuments on which the adjective *vivos* was recorded are originally from Liburnia, so it may be speculated that its nominative was in use there parallel to the correct *vivus*.

On a considerable number of inscriptions, it is apparent that the vowel *e* was converted into *i*, wherein particularly noteworthy examples are the superlative *infelicissimus*,<sup>95</sup> written as *infilicissimus*, and the perfect form of the verbs *facio* 3, *fecī*, *factum* and *dedico* 1 which appear as *ficit* and *didicavit* (cat. no. 115, 127) instead of *fecit* and *dedicavit*. The same change was observed in the word *vitustas*<sup>96</sup> (= *vetustas*), the dative of the name of the goddess Nemesis, *Nemisi*<sup>97</sup> (= *Nemesi*), and in the noun *parins*<sup>98</sup> (= *parens*). It can also be explained by the accusative *concissionim* (cat. no. 57) instead of *concissionem* and the conjunctive *inferit* (cat. no. 182) instead of *inserit*, but these two examples may also be the result of morphological changes, *concissionim* by the mixing of case endings, and *inferit* as confusion of the indicative with the conjunctive.

The opposite, *i* into *e*, is also present in a considerable number. This occurred at individual places in the name of the goddess Diana (cat. no. 88, 308) which appears as *Deana* in two inscriptions as a result of confusing the short *i* and long *e*.<sup>99</sup> It can then also be observed in the women's personal names *Horea* and *Dometia* (cat. no. 202, 372) which should read *Horia* and *Domitia*, so that these examples may be interpreted as a result of switching the *i* with an *e* in the hiatus which occurred due to their similar pronunciation.<sup>100</sup> The same tendency also appeared sometimes in superlative adjectives, such as *nobelissimus* instead of *nobilissimus* (cat. no. 272, 418) and *infelicessimus* instead of *infelicissimus* (cat. no. 377). The superlative

90 Skok 1915, p. 32.

91 Cat. no. 46, 293, 321.

92 Cat. no. 8, 47, 67, 322.

93 Cat. no. 383.

94 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.; Vinja 2000 s. v.

95 Cat. no. 11, 13, 107, 122.

96 Cat. no. 75.

97 Cat. no. 227.

98 Cat. no. 385.

99 Clacks, Horrocks 2007, p. 252.

100 Skok 1915, p. 24.

101 Kat. br. 153, 221, 287.

102 Kat. br. 253.

103 Kat. br. 101.

104 Vinja 2000 s. v.

105 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.

106 Kat. br. 363.

ispravno se piše *ducenarius*, što je izvedeno od broja *ducenti* (dvjesto).

Iz svih navedenih primjera dolazi se tako do zaključka da je vulgarnolatinsko obilježje promjene kvalitete vokala razmjerno zastupljeno po svim dijelovima provincije Dalmacije i da zahvaća jezik od početka kasnog principata nadalje, što je u skladu sa situacijom koja je općenito vladala na latinskom govorom području.<sup>107</sup>

### Hiperkorektizam

Hiperkorektizam se u vokalizmu manifestira u pisanju diftonga *ae* na mjestima gdje bi trebalo stajati *e*. Do njega dolazi koliko zbog nesigurnosti oko toga gdje bi se *ae* trebalo pisati, toliko i zbog težnje za učenošću, jer se znalo da ono mora stajati na određenim mjestima, ali nije bilo dobro poznato na kojima. To rezultira njegovom pojavom i ondje gdje u pravilu nije bio potreban.<sup>108</sup> Najviše primjera takvog hiperkorektnog *ae* se na prostoru rimske Dalmacije opaža u osobnim imenima<sup>109</sup> koja su ujedno i njihov najčešći sadržaj, pa se tako na natpisima piše *Saecundinus* (= *Secundinus*), *Paetilius* (= *Petilius*), *Aepicetus* (= *Epicetus*), *Caenus* (= *Ceunus*), *Paetronius* (= *Petronius*), *Thaedosius* (= *Theodosius*) i *Gaemilia* (= *Gemilia*). Osim u njima korištenje tog diftonga na nepotrebnim mjestima vidi se u imenici *aeclesie*<sup>110</sup> (= *eclesiae*), koja je dio kršćanskog vokabulara. U genitivu *aeclesie* osim ovog jezičnog odstupanja također se javlja monoftongizacija pa se stoga sa sigurnošću može reći da je taj hiperkorektizam posljedica nesigurnosti oko toga gdje bi trebalo stajati *ae*, a gdje *e*. Primjeri te pojave mogu se pronaći još u pisanju priloga *baene* (kat. br. 266) umjesto *bene* na jednoj steli iz Salone te u dativu *aequiti* (kat. br. 369) umjesto *equiti* na tabuli iz Skodre. Svi oni su datirani uglavnom u kasni principat, a *Thaedosius*, *aeclesie* i *praeces* pripadaju dominatu, što pokazuju da su te nesigurnosti u jeziku bile veoma rasprostranjene u kasnom carstvu, i to osobito na prostoru Liburnije i Salone.

### Nesigurnost u pisanju <*i*>, <*u*> i <*y*>

Do nesigurnosti proisteklih zbog sličnog izgovaranja <*i*>, <*u*> i <*y*> dolazilo je iz više razloga, a najčešće se radilo o riječima koje originalno pripadaju grčkom vokabularu, a ušle su u latinski jezik pa su ih njegovi govornici pokušali adaptirati svome sustavu

107 Usp. Grandgent 1907; Herman 1997.

108 Skok 1915, str. 22; Grandgent 1907, str. 88-91.

109 Kat. br. 9, 10, 51, 83, 210, 272, 302.

110 Kat. br. 182.

*caressemus* (cat. no. 144) exhibits the same change, but it does not appear only in a single syllable as in the preceding examples, but rather in both in which there was originally an *i*. The same phenomenon in the verb *perdo* 3, *perdidi*, *perditum* and *dedico* 1, whose perfect tenses are written as *perdederunt* and *dedecavit* (cat. no. 226, 315), may, besides mere switching of the *i* and *e*, also be explained by assimilation with the preceding and following, or just the preceding vowel. In some verbs, the suffix *-et* instead of the correct *-it* can be seen in the third conjugation for the third person singular of the present active indicative (*fecet*, *quisket*),<sup>101</sup> which may be the result of changes in vowel quality, but also of confusion between the suffixes for the second and third conjugations. A similar phenomenon has been observed in the perfect tense conjunctive *volueret*<sup>102</sup> (= *voluerit*) in which it is unlikely that it was the result of confusing suffixes, so there is a great possibility that all of these examples genuinely reflect changes in vowel quality.

The adjective *infelix* at one place has a very unusual dative, *enfilci*,<sup>103</sup> which was either the result of a carver's error or a very vulgar form which, besides these Vulgar Latin features, also contains the replacement of *e* with *i* and a syncope. Other instances of Vulgar Latin are present on that same monument: loss of the final *m* in the accusative singular and the writing of *c* instead of *t* in the verb *posuit*, which altogether indicates either considerable ineptitude on the part of the text's composer or a very non-standard linguistic form.

The comparative of the irregular adjective *parvus* 3 can be found as *menu* (cat. no. 288) instead of the classic *minus*, which leads to the later forms present in the modern Spanish (*menos*)<sup>104</sup> and Italian (*meno*)<sup>105</sup> languages. The dative of the noun *miles*, *-itis*, *m.* was rendered in one example as *mileti* (cat. no. 413) as opposed to the correct *militi*, which could be the result of an analogy to the nominative. In the reflexive pronoun *sibi*, the final *i* becomes *e* so that it appears as *sibe* (cat. no. 3), while a noteworthy specific phenomenon is the dative of the name of the god Mithra, *Meteri*<sup>106</sup> (= *Mithrae*) in which the *i* was converted into *e*, and an additional, superfluous *e* appears between the consonants *t* and *r* (apocope).

Only one more example of the conversion of *u* into *o* can be seen in the analysed epigraphic materials,

101 Cat. no. 153, 221, 287.

102 Cat. no. 253.

103 Cat. no. 101.

104 Vinja 2000 s. v.

105 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.

106 Cat. no. 363.

pisanja; naime, latinsko pismo nije izvorno u sebi sa državalo slovo *y*, već ga je koristilo isključivo u riječima koje su u njega ušle iz grčkog jezika. S vremenom se tako počela pojavljivati težnja da se ono na neki način prilagodi latinskom jeziku pa se prema izgovoru, koji je bio sličan [*i*], počelo tako i bilježiti.<sup>111</sup> Svi spomenici koji unutar proučene natpisne građe dalmatinske provenijencije pokazuju ovu tendenciju potječu sa salonitanskog teritorija i među njima se na tri mjesta vidi uporaba grafema <*i*> umjesto ispravnog <*y*> u dativu riječi *Nimfe* (*Nimfis*<sup>112</sup> ili *Nymphis*<sup>113</sup> umjesto *Nymphis*), a ista se stvar događa i u grčkim imenima<sup>114</sup> *Eutiches* (= *Eutyches*) i *Euticianus* (= *Euthycianus*) te u akuzativu jednine *martirem*<sup>115</sup> (= *martyrem*). *Nymphis* i *Eutiches*, iako *y* prilagodavaju grafiji latinskog, aspirate *ph* i *ch* ipak ostavljuj onako kako su zvučale u grčkom, dok je u *Euticianus ch* deaspirizirano, a *ph* u *Nimfis* pretvoreno u *f*, što upućuje na to da je u njima prisutan veći stupanj vulgaritetu.

Kao posljedica ulaska grčkih riječi u latinski jezik mogu se shvatiti pogreške nastale zbog nesigurnosti uporabe grčkih ili latinskih oblika. Tako na jednoj steli iz Tilurija stoji *lachrymans* (kat. br. 154), što je pretjerano grecizirani particip glagola *lacrimo* 1, inače prilagodenog latinskom jeziku. *Lacrumas*<sup>116</sup> (= *lacrimas*), imenica istog korijena, na mjestu gdje se u prethodnom slučaju koristi <*y*> piše <*u*>, a ista se pojava nalazi i u akuzativu *marturem*<sup>117</sup> (= *martyrem*). >To su oboje tipične refleksije grčkog *v* na prostoru rimske Dalmacije,<sup>118</sup> s time da je *lacrumas* moguće shvatiti i kao arhaizirani oblik od *lacrima*, u kojem *i* može biti zamijenjeno starijim *u*.<sup>119</sup> Prelazak *u* i *i* koji se pojavljuje u riječi *monimentum*<sup>120</sup> (= *monumentum*) može se protumačiti miješanjem uporabe *u* i *i* do koje je dolazilo pri preuzimanju riječi iz grčkog jezika pa se analogijom prema tome ista stvar mogla potkrasti i ovdje.<sup>121</sup>

111 Grandgent 1907, str. 77.

112 Kat. br. 20.

113 Kat. br. 184, 305.

114 Kat. br. 190, 194.

115 Kat. br. 236.

116 Kat. br. 311a.

117 Kat. br. 237.

118 Skok 1915, str. 34.

119 Divković 1987 s.v.

120 Kat. br. 209.

121 Miješanje *u* i *i*, s obzirom na to da natpis potječe iz Salone, možemo prepostaviti, jer ondje ima nekoliko primjera u kojima se grčka riječ koja sadrži *v* piše pogrešno, npr. *Nymphis* umjesto *Nymphis* (kat. br. 184) ili *martirem* umjesto *martyrem* (kat. br. 236), pa je stoga sastavljač mogao pomisliti da je i *monumentum*

and this is the noun *docenarius* (cat. no. 298) which denotes a member of one of the salary grades of the knightly class, and it was correctly written as *duce-narius*, derived from the number *ducenti* (two hundred).

All of the aforementioned examples lead to the conclusion that the Vulgar Latin characteristic of changing vowel quality was proportionately present in all parts of the province of Dalmatia and that it occurred in the language from the onset of the late Principate onward, which comports with the situation that generally prevailed in the Latin-speaking sphere.<sup>107</sup>

#### Hypercorrection

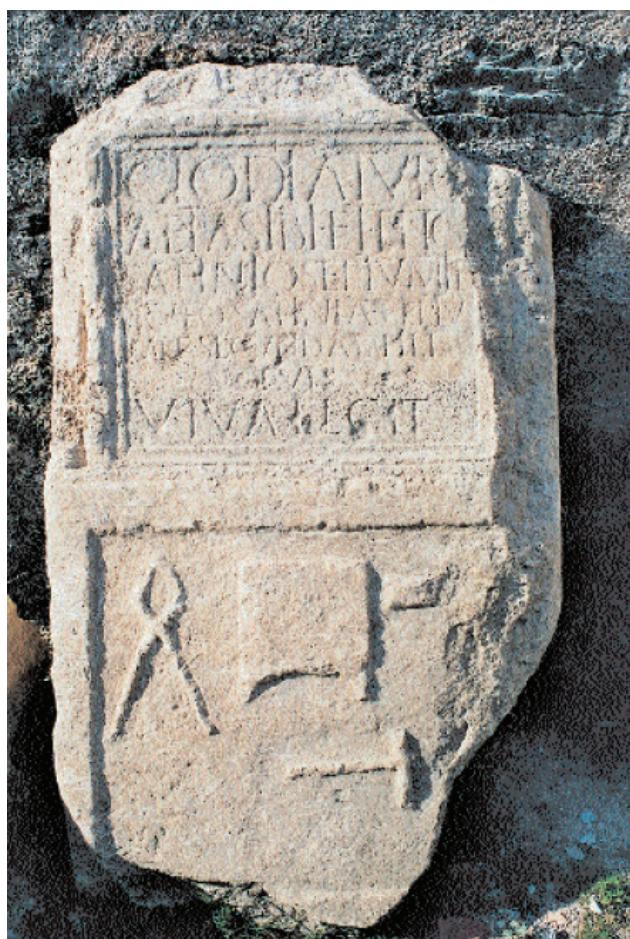
Hypercorrection in vocalism appears as the writing of the diphthong *ae* at places where the *e* should be written. It is equally the result of uncertainty over where *ae* should be written and the aspiration to demonstrate learnedness, because it was known that this diphthong had to be written at certain places, although where precisely was less well known. This resulted in its appearance even where, as a rule, it was unnecessary.<sup>108</sup> The most examples of this type of hypercorrect *ae* in the territory of Roman Dalmatia have been observed in personal names,<sup>109</sup> which were also their most frequent content, so that in inscriptions one may find *Saecundinus* (= *Secundinus*), *Paetilius* (= *Petilius*), *Aepicetus* (= *Epicetus*), *Caenus* (= *Ceunus*), *Paetronius* (= *Petronius*), *Thaedosius* (= *Theodosius*) and *Gaemilia* (= *Gemilia*). Besides these, the unnecessary use of this diphthong can be seen in the noun *aeclesie*<sup>110</sup> (= *eclesiae*) which was part of the Christian vocabulary. This genitive form *aeclesie*, besides the aforementioned linguistic deviation, also contains monophthongization, so that it may be stated with certainty that this hypercorrection is the result of uncertainty over where *ae* and *e* are supposed to be written. Examples of this phenomenon can also be found in the writing of the preposition *baene* (cat. no. 266) instead of *beneon* a stele from Salona and in the dative form *aequiti* (cat. no. 369) instead of *equiti* on a tablet from Skodër. All of these have been generally dated to the late Principate, while *Thaedosius*, *aeclesie* and *praeces* belong to the Dominate, which shows that the uncertainty in the language was rather widespread in the late Empire, especially in the territories of Liburnia and Salona.

107 Cf. Grandgent 1907; Herman 1997.

108 Skok 1915, p. 22; Grandgent 1907, p. 88-91.

109 Cat. no. 9, 10, 51, 83, 210, 272, 302.

110 Cat. no. 182.



Sl. 4. Natpis iz Aserije s oblikom *Septumius* (izvor: Glavičić, 2003: 83)

Fig. 4. Inscription from Asseria demonstrating the form *Septumius* (source: Glavičić, 2003: 83)

Kao težnja k arhaiziranju mogu se protumačiti dativ muškog roda *optumo*<sup>122</sup> (= *optimo*) na jednoj ari iz Enone posvećenoj Jupiteru i dativ ženskog roda *optumae*<sup>123</sup> (= *optumae*) na steli iz Salone, jednakao kao i oblici osobnog imena *Septimius*<sup>124</sup> koji glase *Septumii* umjesto *Septimii* i *Septumi(o)* (= *Septimio*). No, kako su takvi primjeri prilično česti i pojavljuju se usporedo uz one s glasom *i*, vjerojatnije je da oni predstavljaju alternativnu prihvaćenu formu bilježenja tih riječi.<sup>125</sup>

grčka riječ te je na isti način pokušati zapravo nepotrebno prenijeti.

122 Kat. br. 4.

123 Kat. br. 200.

124 Kat. br. 16, 60.

125 Oblici sa *i* umjesto *u* mogu se vidjeti na brojnim mjestima u natpisnoj gradi, ali i kod mnogih rimskih autora.

#### Uncertainty in writing *<i>*, *<u>* and *<y>*

The uncertainty engendered by the similar pronunciation of *<i>*, *<u>* and *<y>* emerged for a number of reasons, but mostly it was due to words which originally came from the Greek vocabulary and entered Latin, so that the latter's speakers attempted to adapt them to their own system of writing; the Latin script did not originally include the letter *y*, rather it was used exclusively for words that were derived from Greek. With time, the aspiration began to appear to somehow adapt it to the Latin language, so that based on its pronunciation, which was similar to [i], it began to be recorded that way as well.<sup>111</sup> All monuments in the studied inscription materials of Dalmatian origin which exhibit this tendency originated in the Salona territory, and among them, in three places one may note the use of the grapheme *<i>* instead of the correct *<y>* in the dative form of the word Nymph (*Nimfis*<sup>112</sup> or *Nimphis*<sup>113</sup> instead of *Nymphis*), and this same thing occurred in Greek names as well:<sup>114</sup> *Eutiches* (= *Eutyches*) and *Euticianus* (= *Euthycianus*), and in the accusative singular *martirem*<sup>115</sup> (= *martyrem*). Although in *Nymphis* and *Eutiches* the *y* is adapted to the Latin spelling, the aspirates *ph* and *ch* were nonetheless left as they sounded in Greek, while it is deaspirated in *Euticianusch*, and the *ph* in *Nimfis* was converted to an *f*, which reflects a great degree of vulgar traits here.

The errors that occurred due to uncertainty over the use of Greek or Latin forms may be understood as a result of the introduction of Greek words into the Latin language. Thus, on a stele from Tilurium, the word *lachrymans* (cat. no. 154) appears, which is an excessively Graecized participle of the verb *lacrimo* *I*, otherwise adapted to Latin. *Lacrumas*<sup>116</sup> (= *lacrimas*), a noun derived from the same root, has *<u>* at the same place at which *<y>* is used in the preceding example, and this same phenomenon can be found in the accusative *marturem*<sup>117</sup> (= *martyrem*). These are both typical reflections of the Greek *v* in the territory of Roman Dalmatia,<sup>118</sup> although *lacrumas* may be also be understood as an archaized form of *lacrima* in which the *i* may be replaced with the older *u*.<sup>119</sup>

111 Grandgent 1907, p. 77.

112 Cat. no. 20.

113 Cat. no. 184, 305.

114 Cat. no. 190, 194.

115 Cat. no. 236.

116 Cat. no. 311a.

117 Cat. no. 237.

118 Skok 1915, p. 34.

119 Divković 1987 s.v.

## Ostale vulgarnolatinske odlike

Osim prethodno obrađenih češćih vulgarnolatinskih odlika, među analiziranim epigrafskim materijalom mogu se primijetiti još neke jezične osobitosti na području vokalizma. Na jednome se mjestu tako u početnom slogu piše *Caisare* (kat. br. 135) umjesto *Caesare*. Imenica *mater* jednom pokazuje drugačiji oblik od uobičajenog, a to je dativ jednine *mitri* (kat. br. 387), što bi se moglo povezati s grčkom riječju μῆτηρ, jer se η tijekom vremena počelo izgovarati kao *i*, no s obzirom na to da se na istome natpisu vidi pravilno *matri*, veća je mogućnost da se radi o klesarskoj pogrešci. Na jednom spomeniku iz Municipija S(---) pridjev *libens* javlja se kao *libies* (kat. br. 340), što je najvjerojatnije rezultat kombinacije nesigurnosti u bilježenju glasa | *e* | i gubitka | *n* |. Tipična vulgarnolatinska odlika je i stapanje vokala.<sup>126</sup> Do nje u analiziranoj dalmatinskoj gradi dolazi ponajviše kad se jedan do drugoga nađu dva glasa *i* u nominativu ili dativu množine imenica druge deklinacije. Tako se kod imenice *filius* mogu uočiti oblici *fili*<sup>127</sup> umjesto *filii* i *filis* umjesto *filiis*,<sup>128</sup> a ista se promjena vidi i u dativu imena božica raskrižja *Triviae*, koji glasi *Trivis*,<sup>129</sup> a ne *Triviis*, kako bi u pravilu trebao glasiti. Osim *ii* u puno manjem broju se pojavljuje i stezanje drugih vokala, pa tako na tri mjesta u pridjevu *cohortalis*<sup>130</sup> *oo* postaje *o*, što je rezultat ispadanja *h*, koje se u međuvokalskom položaju vrlo slabo čulo;<sup>131</sup> tako se preostali vokali *oo* stežu u jedan te nastaju dativi jednine, koji glase *cortali* umjesto *cohortali*. Možda je došlo i do stezanja *uu* u *u* u pridjevu *Ingenus* (= *Ingenuus*),<sup>132</sup> no pisanje jednog *V* umjesto dva može jednostavno biti i izbjegavanje grafije *VV*, koja je podsjećala na robove pa se zbog praznovjerja nekad nije upotrebljavala. Takve pojave gdje su se stapala dva jednaka vokala bile su značajka latinskog jezika kojim se služio puk i proizašle su iz toga što je na taj način bio olakšan izgovor.<sup>133</sup>

The conversion of *u* into *i* which appears in the word *monumentum*<sup>120</sup> (= *monumentum*) maybe interpreted as switching of *u* and *i* which occurred when assuming words from the Greek language, so by way of analogy the same thing may have happened here as well.<sup>121</sup>

The male gender dative *optumo*<sup>122</sup> (= *optimo*) on an altar from Aenona dedicated to Jupiter and the female gender dative *optumae*<sup>123</sup> (= *optumae*) on a stele from Salona, just like the forms of the name *Septimius*<sup>124</sup> written as *Septumii* instead of *Septimii* and *Septumi(o)* (= *Septimio*) may be interpreted as aspiration toward archaization. However, since such examples are rather frequent and appear parallel to those with the *i* sound, it is more likely that they constitute an alternative to the accepted form of writing these words.<sup>125</sup>

## Remaining Vulgar Latin features

Besides the previously analysed more frequent Vulgar Latin features, among the analysed epigraphic materials certain other linguistic particularities in vocalism can be observed. In one instance, the initial syllable is written as *Caisare* (cat. no. 135) instead of *Caesare*. The noun *mater* at one point exhibits a form different than is customary, and this is in the dative singular *mitri* (cat. no. 387), which may be linked to the Greek word μῆτηρ because over time η began to be pronounced as *i*, but since the correct form *matri* can be seen on the same inscription, there is a greater likelihood that this was a carver's error. On a monument from Municipium S(---), the adjective *libens* appears as *libies* (cat. no. 340) which was probably the result of a combination of uncertainty in writing the | *e* | sound and the loss of | *n* |. The vowel merger is also a typical Vulgar Latin feature.<sup>126</sup> In the Dalmatian materials, this most often occurred when two *i* sounds were next to each other in nominative or dative plural nouns in the second declension. Thus, for the noun

120 Cat. no. 209.

121 Switching of *u* and *i*, given that the inscription originated in Salona, may be assumed because there are several examples from there in which a Greek word containing *u* is incorrectly written, e.g. *Nimphis* instead of *Nymphis* (cat. no. 184) or *martirem* instead of *martyrem* (cat. no. 236), so the writer may have thought that *monumentum* was also a Greek word and attempted to needlessly convey this in the same manner.

122 Cat. no. 4.

123 Cat. no. 200.

124 Cat. no. 16, 60.

125 Forms with *i* instead of *u* can be seen at numerous places in the inscription materials, but also in the works of many Roman writers.

126 Väänänen 1963, p. 44.

126 Väänänen 1963, str. 44.

127 Kat. br. 114, 117, 333, 357.

128 Kat. br. 16, 119, 206, 260, 274, 336, 367.

129 Kat. br. 78, 90, 185.

130 Kat. br. 126, 328, 407.

131 Grandgent 1907, str. 95.

132 Kat. br. 279.

133 V. bilješku br. 69.



Sl. 5. Natpis iz Narone s oblikom *fili* umjesto *fili* (foto: Arheološki muzej Narona)

Fig. 5. Inscription from Narona showing the form *fili* instead of *fili* (photo: Arheološki muzej Narona)

## Konsonantizam

### Nesigurnost u pisanju geminata

Vrlo česta pojava na tlu Rimskog Carstva općenito<sup>134</sup> pa tako i provincije Dalmacije<sup>135</sup> je nepisanje dvostrukog konsonanta ondje gdje bio on trebao stajati, odnosno njegovo pisanje na mjestima gdje ne bi trebao stajati. Izostavljanje jednog dijela geminata tako karakterizira popriličan broj natpisa iz analiziranog korpusa. Pokazuju ga mnogobrojni oblici riječi *anus*<sup>136</sup> u kojima je ona napisana s jednostrukim *n*, a ne, ispravno, dvostrukim *nn*; česti su potom i primjeri superlativa, ponajviše *infelicitimus*<sup>137</sup> (= *infelicissimus*), ali i drugih, poput *rarisimus*<sup>138</sup> (= *rarissimus*), *obsequentisimus*<sup>139</sup> (= *obsequuntissimus*), *dulcissimus*<sup>140</sup> (= *dulcissimus*), *nobilissimus*<sup>141</sup> (= *nobilissimus*) te *pientisimus*<sup>142</sup> (= *pientissimus*). Nedostatak dijela geminiziranih konsonanta zamjetan je i u dosta osobnih imena:<sup>143</sup> *Lucila* (= *Lucilla*), *Caeselia* (= *Caesellia*), *Marcelius* (= *Marcellius*), *Crescentila* (= *Crescentilla*), *Valentila* (= *Valentilla*), *Mumius* (= *Mummius*), *Ana* (= *Anna*), *Marcela* (= *Marcella*) i *Philipus*

134 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, str. 275; Väänänen 1963, str. 58.

135 V. CIL 3, ILJug.

136 Kat. br. 27, 30, 74, 96, 102, 150, 304, 382.

137 Kat. br. 17, 21, 311, 350, 412.

138 Kat. br. 35.

139 Kat. br. 151.

140 Kat. br. 222, 348.

141 Kat. br. 355.

142 Kat. br. 403.

143 Kat. br. 55, 83, 110, 154, 286, 294, 342, 395, 423.

*filius* the forms *fili*<sup>127</sup> instead of *fili* and *fils* instead of *filiis* may be observed,<sup>128</sup> and the same change can also be seen in the dative of the name of the goddess of crossroads, *Triviae*, which is rendered as *Trivis*<sup>129</sup> instead of the correct form *Triviis*. Besides *ii*, the merger of other vowels also appears, so that in three places the *oo* in the adjective *cohortalis*<sup>130</sup> becomes *o*, which is the result of a dropped *h*, a letter that was very difficult to hear in its intervocalic position,<sup>131</sup> so the remaining vowels, *oo*, were merged into one and thus the dative singular appeared as *cortali* instead of *cohortali*. Perhaps there was also a merger of *uu* in *u* in the adjective *Ingenuus* (= *Ingenuus*),<sup>132</sup> but the writing of a single *V* instead of two may have simply been avoidance of writing *VV* which resembled horns and was sometimes not used due to superstition. Such phenomena involving the merger of two identical vowels were typical of the Latin language used by the common people and ensued because this eased pronunciation.<sup>133</sup>

## Consonantism

### Uncertainty in writing geminates

A very common phenomenon on the Roman Empire in general<sup>134</sup> and thus also in the province of Dalmatia,<sup>135</sup> was the failure to write double consonants where they were supposed to be, and writing them where they were not supposed to be. The omission of one component of a geminate thus characterized a considerable number of inscriptions from the analysed collection. Numerous instances of the word *anus*<sup>136</sup> demonstrate this, written with a single *n* instead of the correct double *nn*; this is followed by frequent examples of superlatives, mostly *infelicitimus*<sup>137</sup> (= *infelicissimus*), but also others, such as *rarisimus*<sup>138</sup> (= *rarissimus*), *obsequentisimus*<sup>139</sup> (= *obsequuntissimus*), *dulcissimus*<sup>140</sup> (= *dulcissimus*),

127 Cat. no. 114, 117, 333, 357.

128 Cat. no. 16, 119, 206, 260, 274, 336, 367.

129 Cat. no. 78, 90, 185.

130 Cat. no. 126, 328, 407.

131 Grandgent 1907, p. 95.

132 Cat. no. 279.

133 See note no. 69.

134 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, p. 275; Väänänen, 1963, p. 58.

135 See CIL 3, ILJug.

136 Cat. no. 27, 30, 74, 96, 102, 150, 304, 382.

137 Cat. no. 17, 21, 311, 350, 412.

138 Cat. no. 35.

139 Cat. no. 151.

140 Cat. no. 222, 348.

(= *Philippus*), kod kojih se radi o jednostrukom *l*, umjesto dvostrukog. Ista je pojava vidljiva i u riječima *nulum*<sup>144</sup> (= *nullum*) i *colega* (= *collega*) te dativnim oblicima imena boga Apolona *Apoleni* (kat. br. 112) i *Apolini* (kat. br. 128), koji također svjedoče o prisutnosti običnog *l* ondje gdje bi trebalo stajati *ll*. I kod nekih drugih imenica<sup>145</sup> može se zamijetiti nedostatak geminata pa se stoga piše *concessus* umjesto *concessus* i *terā* umjesto *terra*, kao i kod brojeva, gdje se piše *quator* (kat. br. 311) umjesto *quattuor*. I u dva glagolska oblika nailazi se na obično *s*, gdje bi trebalo biti geminizirano, iz čega slijede perfekti *concesit* (= *concessit*) i *iussit* (= *iussit*).<sup>146</sup> Izostavljanje geminiranoga konsonanta karakteristično je i za grecizam *ecclesia*, koji se svugdje pojavljuje kao *eclesia*,<sup>147</sup> iz čega se zaključuje da se u pravilu kao takav i upotrebjavao, što je ponekad karakteristično za grčke riječi prenesene u latinski jezik.<sup>148</sup> Brojčano gledano uglavnom se zaboravlja dio geminate *ss* ili *nn* (tu je najbrojnija imenica *annus*) te likvide *ll*, *rr*, osim jednom, gdje стоји *m* umjesto *mm* u *Mumius* i *p* umjesto *pp* u (*Philipus*).

Sva takva ispuštanja dijelova geminiziranih konsonanata vjerojatno su proistekla iz nesigurnosti u njihovoj uporabi, o čemu svjedoče pojave kako njihova nedostatka tako i nepotrebnog pisanja na istim natpisima. Na zavjetnoj ari iz Delminija (kat. br. 112) stoga, s jedne strane, piše *Apoleni* s jednostrukim *l*, dok se s druge u kratici *poss* za glagol *posuit* nepotretno nalazi *ss*, a u tekstu stele iz Tilurija (kat. br. 154) jedan put se ime *Mummius* bilježi ispravno sa *mm*, a drugi put samo s jednostrukim *m*. Dosta pojava nedostatka jednog konsonanta u geminati moguće je vidjeti još u razdoblju ranog principata na području Liburna<sup>149</sup> i Delmata,<sup>150</sup> dok je iz Salone, neočekivano, iz tog razdoblja poznat samo jedan primjer,<sup>151</sup> ali zato poslije, u kasnove principatu, prisutnost te odlike prevladava upravo ondje, a ima je i na prostoru južne Dalmacije. Iz dominata je poznat jedan nadgrobni spomenik (kat. br. 35) iz Kise s tom pojmom te pet spomenika iz Salone<sup>152</sup> na kojima je, uz brojne druge promjene u jeziku, vidljiva na svima i ova promjena.

Tendencija suprotna od prethodne, koja se javlja u nešto manjem broju, jest pisanje dvostrukog

*nobilisimus*<sup>141</sup> (= *nobilissimus*) and *pientisimus*<sup>142</sup> (= *pientissimus*). The absence of a part of geminized consonants is also notable in many personal names:<sup>143</sup> *Lucila* (= *Lucilla*), *Caeselia* (= *Caesellia*), *Marcelius* (= *Marcellius*), *Crescentila* (= *Crescentilla*), *Valentila* (= *Valentilla*), *Mumius* (= *Mummius*), *Ana* (= *Anna*), *Marcela* (= *Marcella*) and *Philipus* (= *Philippus*), wherein there is a single *l*, instead of the proper double. The same phenomenon is also visible in the words *nulum*<sup>144</sup> (= *nullum*) and *colega* (= *collega*) and in the dative forms of the name of the god Apollo, *Apoleni* (cat. no. 112) and *Apolini* (cat. no. 128) which also testifies to the presence of an ordinary *l* where there should be the double *ll*. The absence of geminates can also be seen in some other nouns,<sup>145</sup> so that *concessus* was written instead of *concessus* and *terā* instead of *terra*, and in numbers, in which *quator* (cat. no. 311) was written instead of *quattuor*. In two verb forms, there is also a single *s* where it should be geminized, thus producing the perfect tenses *concesit* (= *concessit*) and *iussit* (= *iussit*).<sup>146</sup> The omission of geminized consonants is also typical of the Graecism *ecclesia* which everywhere appears as *eclesia*,<sup>147</sup> from which it may be concluded that it was used thusly as a rule, which was sometimes typical for Greek words conveyed into the Latin language.<sup>148</sup> Expressed numerically, generally a part of the geminates *ss* or *nn* was left out (here the most numerous examples involve the noun *annus*) and the liquids *ll* and *rr*, except at one place where *m* appears instead of *mm* in *Mumius* and *p* instead of *pp* in (*Philipus*).

All such dropped parts of geminated consonants were probably the result of uncertainty in their use, as demonstrated by both their absence and their unnecessary use in the same inscriptions. Thus, on a votive altar from Delminium (cat. no. 112), on one side *Apoleni* is written with a single *l*, while on the other, the abbreviation *poss* for the verb *posuit* needlessly has the double *ss*; in the text on a stele from Tilurium (cat. no. 154) at one place the name *Mummius* is written correctly with *mm*, while at another with only a single *m*. Considerable instances of the absence of consonants in geminates can also be seen during the period of the early Principate from the territory of the

144 Kat. br. 311.

145 Kat. br. 99, 293, 175, 154.

146 Kat. br. 250, 335.

147 Kat. br. 182, 232, 253, 309.

148 Grandgent 1907, str. 137.

149 Kat. br. 17, 26, 27, 30, 35, 55, 77.

150 Kat. br. 96, 99, 103, 128, 150, 151, 154.

151 Kat. br. 304.

152 Kat. br. 182, 229, 232, 253, 309.

141 Cat. no. 355.

142 Cat. no. 403.

143 Cat. no. 55, 83, 110, 154, 286, 294, 342, 395, 423.

144 Cat. no. 311.

145 Cat. no. 99, 293, 175, 154.

146 Cat. no. 250, 335.

147 Cat. no. 182, 232, 253, 309.

148 Grandgent 1907, p. 137.

konsonanta ondje gdje bi se u pravilu trebao nalaziti jednostruki. Ona uglavnom obuhvaća one iste suglasnike kao i prethodna, što ukazuje na to da se upravo oko njih pojavljivala nesigurnost u pisanju. Neka imena tako glase *Iullius* (= *Iulius*),<sup>153</sup> *Iannuarius* (= *Ianuarius*) i *Crescenntius* (= *Crescentius*).<sup>154</sup> Glagol *pono 3, posui, positum* na tri mesta pokazuje u perfektu udvostručeno *s*, pri čemu na dva od njih (kat. br. 98, 112) *possuit* stoji najvjerojatnije kao odraz nesigurnosti u pisanju, dok se na jednome (kat. br. 121a) na *poss* može gledati i kao na kraticu za glagol u množini tako da to geminiziranje može jednostavno označavati da se radi o dvjema osobama, što se vidi u kontekstu. Na isti su način obliskovane npr. kratice *BB MM* za *bene merentibus* i *COSS* za *consules*. Naime, podvostručavanje suglasnika na latinskim natpisima najčešće služi za izricanje množine.<sup>155</sup> Nepotrebno ubacivanje dvostrukog suglasnika uočava se i u oblicima imenice *menses* (kat. br. 133, 247) koji glase *menssium* (= *mensium*) i *menssibus* (= *mensibus*), a upravo to udvostručenje *s* u sredini riječi općenito je odlika latiniteta u razdoblju kasnog principata.<sup>156</sup> Svišne geminate nalaze se još u zamjenicama *sibbi*<sup>157</sup> (= *sibi*) i *ipssō*<sup>158</sup> (= *ipso*), a na istome spomeniku gdje je potvrđen prethodan oblik, nalazi se još jedan glagolski: *inferetto* (= *infereto*). Tako se prema obrađenom materijalu može reći da najviše primjera tog vulgarnolatinskog obilježja potječe s delmatskog prostora<sup>159</sup> te iz Salone,<sup>160</sup> i da one datiraju uglavnom u kasni principat.

#### Deaspirizacija i aspirizacija

Pri prenošenju grčkih riječi u latinski jezik ponekad je dolazilo do prelaska aspiriranih konsonanata *θ*, *φ*, *χ*, ili u latinskom obliku *th*, *ph* i *ch* u neaspirirane *t*, *p*, *c*,<sup>161</sup> a najveći broj tih promjena pokazuju upravo osobna imena, koja su i bila najčešće prisutne grčke riječi na natpisima. Od njih *Agate*<sup>162</sup> (= *Agathe*),

153 Ime *Iullius* na cipisu iz Enone vjerojatno je rezultat klesarske pogreške jer je jedinstvena pojava te odlike u Liburniji do vremena dominata kad je latinski jezik već prošao kroz znatnije promjene, a i za ime *Iulus*, koje je bilo veoma često, nije se pokazivala praksa pisanja *l* kao dvostrukog konsonanta.

154 Kat. br. 1, 140, 163.

155 Cagnat 1914, str. 443, 449.

156 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, str. 143.

157 Kat. br. 177.

158 Kat. br. 57.

159 Kat. br. 98, 112, 133, 140.

160 Kat. br. 163, 177, 247, 261, 311.

161 Skok 1915, str. 57; Clackson, Horrocks 2007, str. 27; Väänänen 1963, str. 55.

162 Kat. br. 9.

Liburnians<sup>149</sup> and Delmataeans,<sup>150</sup> while, quite unexpectedly, one example is from Salona in that period,<sup>151</sup> but that is why, in the late Principate, the presence of this feature was predominant precisely in that area, and it could also be found to some extent in the territory of southern Dalmatia. One gravestone (cat. no. 35) from Cissa and five from Salona<sup>152</sup> are known from the time of the Dominate on which, in addition to numerous other changes in language, this one is also visible.

A tendency opposite to the one preceding, which appears in a somewhat lesser number, is the writing of a double consonant where there should – as a rule – be a single one. It generally involves the same consonants as in the preceding examples, which indicates that uncertainty in writing emerged in connection with precisely these consonants. Some names thus appear as *Iullius* (= *Iulius*),<sup>153</sup> *Iannuarius* (= *Ianuarius*) and *Crescenntius* (= *Crescentius*).<sup>154</sup> The verb *pono 3, posui, positum* has a double *s* in the perfect tense, wherein the appearance of *possuit* in two of them (cat. no. 98, 112) is probably a reflection of uncertainty in writing, while in the third instance (cat. no. 121a) the *poss* may also be seen as an abbreviation for the verb in the plural, so that gemination may simply indicate that it referred to two persons, which can be seen in the given context. By way of example, the abbreviations *BB MM* for *bene merentibus* and *COSS* for *consules* were similarly formed. This is because the doubling of consonants was used in Latin inscriptions to express the plural.<sup>155</sup> The needless insertion of a double consonant can be observed in the forms of the noun *menses* (cat. no. 133, 247) which was rendered as *menssium* (= *mensium*) and *menssibus* (= *mensibus*), and it is precisely such doubling of the *s* in the middle of words that was generally a feature of Latin during the late Principate.<sup>156</sup> Superfluous geminates can also be found in the pronouns *sibbi*<sup>157</sup> (= *sibi*) and

149 Cat. no. 17, 26, 27, 30, 35, 55, 77.

150 Cat. no. 96, 99, 103, 128, 150, 151, 154.

151 Cat. no. 304.

152 Cat. no. 182, 229, 232, 253, 309.

153 The name *Iullius* on a cippus from Aenona was probably the result of a carver's error, because it is the sole appearance of this feature in Liburnia until the time of the Dominate, when the Latin language underwent considerable change, while the name *Iulus*, which was very common, did not exhibit the practice of writing the *l* as a double consonant.

154 Cat. no. 1, 140, 163.

155 Cagnat 1914, pp. 443, 449.

156 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, p. 143.

157 Cat. no. 177.

*Euticianus*<sup>163</sup> (= *Eutychianus*), *Corintus*<sup>164</sup> (= *Corinthus*), *Crestus*<sup>165</sup> (= *Chrestus*) i *Eutyches*<sup>166</sup> (= *Euthyces*) prolaze kroz deaspirizaciju *th*, odnosno *ch*, a u imenu *Euticianus* osim što se *ch* prilagodilo latinskom, to isto se dogodilo i s *v* (*y*) koje je zabilježeno kao *i*. *Posphorus*<sup>167</sup> (= *Phosphorus*) mijenja prvo *ph* u *p*, no u drugome čuva izvornu grafiju. Grecizam *christiani* na isti način kao i spomenuti primjeri postaje *crissiani* (kat. br. 273). Deaspirizacija se opaža i u riječi *Nympae*,<sup>168</sup> umjesto ispravnog *Nymphae*, za koju je osim ovog odstupanja od izvornika, na drugim natpisima karakteristično i pisanje <*i*> na mjestima gdje inače dolazi <*y*>. Ime boga Mitre također je prošlo kroz zamjenu aspiriranog suglasnika neaspiriranim pa se pojavljuju dativi *Mitrae*<sup>169</sup> i *Meteri*<sup>170</sup> (= *Mithrae*). Drugi dativ prolazi i kroz promjenu kvalitete vokala (*e* zamjenjuju *i*) i umetanje apokopnog *e* što ga čini gotovo neprepoznatljivim. Pridjev u ženskom rodu *pulcra* (kat. br. 130) trebao bi glasiti *pulchra* pa stoga on može biti odraz starijeg jezičnog stanja u kojem je o poznat kao *pulcra*,<sup>171</sup> a možda se tako i nastavio izgovarati u pučkom jeziku. Svi spomenici na kojima dolazi do deaspirizacije, osim dviju ara iz Varvarije posvećenih Nimfama, datiraju u kasni principat, iz čega se može izvesti zaključak da se tada, kao i u pogledu nekih drugih promjena,<sup>172</sup> pojavila nesigurnost u uporabi pisanog jezika. Tome u prilog govori i činjenica da najveći broj natpisa gdje se gubi aspirata potječe iz Salone, koja i inače pokazuje najznačajniji broj vulgarnolatinskih obilježja.

Na nekim epigrafskim spomenicima se na mjestima gdje se u grčkom obliku nalazio *φ*, pri prelasku u latinski *ph*, pojavljuje glas *f* koji je spoj *p* i *h*. Stoga grčke imenice *Nymphae* i *sarcophagus* dolaze u oblicima *Nimfae* (kat. br. 20) i *sarcofagus* (kat. br. 182). Ta pojava obilježava i riječ *triumfator* na miljokazima<sup>173</sup> koja se u pravilu pisala kao *triumphator*, a od istog tog korijena uočava se i pridjev *triunfalnis* na jednom spomeniku iz Tilurija (kat. br. 157). I u pojedinim grčkim imenima<sup>174</sup> dolazi do pisanja *f* umjesto *ph*, te se javljaju oblici *Epafroditus* (= *Epaphroditus*), *Trofimus*

*ipso*<sup>158</sup> (= *ipso*), and the same monument on which the preceding form was recorded also had a verb form: *inferetto* (= *infereto*). So on the basis of the analysed materials, it may be said that the most examples of this Vulgar Latin feature are from Delmataean territory<sup>159</sup> and from Salona,<sup>160</sup> and that they generally date to the late Principate.

### Deaspiration and aspiration

When Greek words were conveyed to the Latin language, sometimes the aspirated consonants *θ*, *φ*, and *χ*, or in Latin, *th*, *ph* and *ch*, were converted into the non-aspirated *t*, *p*, and *c*,<sup>161</sup> and the highest number of such changes may in fact be seen in personal names, which were the most frequent Greek words in inscriptions. Of these, *Agate*<sup>162</sup> (= *Agathe*), *Euticianus*<sup>163</sup> (= *Eutychianus*), *Corintus*<sup>164</sup> (= *Corinthus*), *Crestus*<sup>165</sup> (= *Chrestus*) and *Eutyches*<sup>166</sup> (= *Euthyces*) underwent deaspiration of *th* and *ch*, while in the name *Euticianus*, besides *ch*, the *v* (*y*) was also adjusted to Latin, as *i*. *Posphorus*<sup>167</sup> (= *Phosphorus*) had the first *ph* changed into a *p*, while the other retained its proper form. In the same manner as in the preceding examples, the Graecism *christiani* became *crissiani* (cat. no. 273). Besides these, deaspiration can also be seen in *Nympae*<sup>168</sup> instead of the correct *Nymphae*, a word in which – besides this deviation – one may often see on other inscriptions the letter <*i*> where the letter <*y*> should be. The name of the god Mithra also underwent a change from an aspirated to a non-aspirated consonant, so that the dative appeared as *Mitrae*<sup>169</sup> and *Meteri*<sup>170</sup> (= *Mithrae*). The second dative also shows a change in vowel quality (*e* replaces the *i*) and the insertion of an apocope *e* which makes the word almost unrecognizable. The adjective in the female gender *pulcra* (cat. no. 130) should read *pulchra*, so it may be a reflection of the older linguistic situation in which it was known as *pulcra*,<sup>171</sup> and perhaps this

158 Cat. no. 57.

159 Cat. no. 98, 112, 133, 140.

160 Cat. no. 163, 177, 247, 261, 311.

161 Skok 1915, p. 57; Clackson, Horrocks 2007, p. 27; Väänänen 1963, p. 55.

162 Cat. no. 9.

163 Cat. no. 194.

164 Cat. no. 291.

165 Cat. no. 290.

166 Cat. no. 328.

167 Cat. no. 202.

168 Cat. no. 89, 94, 267.

169 Cat. no. 411.

170 Cat. no. 363.

171 Väänänen 1963, p. 56.

163 Kat. br. 194.

164 Kat. br. 291.

165 Kat. br. 290.

166 Kat. br. 328.

167 Kat. br. 202.

168 Kat. br. 89, 94, 267.

169 Kat. br. 411.

170 Kat. br. 363.

171 Väänänen 1963, str. 56.

172 Ista stvar se dogada i s nepotrebnim geminiziranjem konsonanata, ispadanjem krajnjeg *m*, betacizmom.

173 Kat. br. 420, 421, 422.

174 Kat. br. 254, 278, 281, 344, 53.

(= *Trophimus*) i *Eufrosyna* (= *Euphrosyna*) na salontanskim natpisima, *Stefanus* (= *Stephanus*) na titulusu iz Municipija S() i *Fasiae* (= *Pasiphae*), u kojem je također analogijom prema *ph* i *p* pretvoreno u *f*, na steli iz Jadera. Zastupljenost *f* u svim vremenskim razdobljima ukazuje na to da je ona bila obilježje nastalo pri prenošenju grčkih riječi i dvojbi oko njihova pisanja jer se katkad *ph* bilježi originalno, katkad kao *f*, a katkad se i deaspirezira u *p*. Skok iznosi podatak da se pisanje *f* datira u 4. st., dakle u vrijeme dominata,<sup>175</sup> no prema podacima do kojih se došlo proučavanjem ovih natpisa, ta tvrdnja gubi relevantnost jer oni jasno daju do znanja da ga je bilo i mnogo ranije, samo što se kasnije jače ukorijenilo, a to dokazuje pet spomenika datiranih u dominat na kojima je ono prisutno.<sup>176</sup>

Kod nekih konsonanata dolazi i do hiperkorektne aspirizacije pri prenošenju grčkih riječi u latinski jezik jer se sastavljaču činilo da u njima treba bilježiti aspirirani suglasnik iako to zapravo nije bilo potrebno. Posljedica toga je tako ime *Anthigonus* (kat. br. 193) koje se nalazi na jednoj urni iz Salone; ono se u grčkom piše kao Ἀντιγόνος, dakle sa *τ*, a ne sa *Θ*, kako je ovdje preneseno u latinski. Slična je situacija i u participu prezenta *lachrymans* (kat. br. 154), koji bi morao glasiti *lacrimans*, a tu je nepotrebno greciziran u dva elementa, koristeći *ch* umjesto *c* i *y* umjesto *i*. Posljednji oblik koji svjedoči o ovoj ne baš čestoj odlici je žensko ime *Chara*, s nadgrobnog natpisa na urni iz Retinija (kat. br. 399); ono bi se, naime, trebalo pisati kao *Cara*, a aspiriranje glasa *c* može se vezati uz greciziranje jer je još jedan takav primjer poznat i u Saloni, gdje je sadržan na natpisu jedne oslobođenice.<sup>177</sup> Zbog toga se pisanje *Chara* možda može povezati i s miješanjem s grčkim imenom *Charis* (Χάρις) koje se također vidi na nekoliko mjesta u Dalmaciji,<sup>178</sup> pri čemu bi ono u latiniziranoj varijanti dobilo i latinski padežni nastavak.

Ispadanje konsonanata i glasovnih skupina

Ispadanje nazala

Jedna od temeljnih odlika vulgarnog latiniteta je ispadanje nazala *n* u određenim položajima, kao posljedica toga što se on u izgovoru vrlo slabo čuo; stoga je lako dolazilo do njegova ispuštanja u pismu, osobito ispred vokala *i* i određenih konsonanata, ponajviše *s* i dentala.<sup>179</sup> To je obilježje vrlo često i na



Sl. 6. Nadgrobna stela na kojoj je vidljivo bilježenje *f* umjesto *ph* (izvor: Matijević, 2006: 147)

Fig. 6. Grave stele on which the use of *f* instead of *ph* is visible (source: Matijević, 2006: 147)

is how it continued to be pronounced in the common parlance. All of the monuments on which deaspiration occurred, with the exception of the two altars dedicated to the Nymphs, date to the late Principate, which may lead to the conclusion that at the time, and with regard to certain other changes,<sup>172</sup> uncertainty in the use of the written language had emerged. This is further backed by the fact that the highest number of inscriptions in which the aspirates are lost come from Salona, which otherwise exhibited the most notable number of Vulgar Latin features.

The Greek form of the letter φ, which when conveyed into Latin became *ph*, appeared on some epigraphic monuments as the letter *f*, so that there was a merger of *p* and *h*. Thus, the Greek nouns *Nymphae* and *sarcophagus* can be seen in the forms *Nimfae* (cat. no. 20) and *sarcofagus* (cat. no. 182). This phenomenon has also been noted in the word *triumfator* on

175 Skok 1915, str. 57.

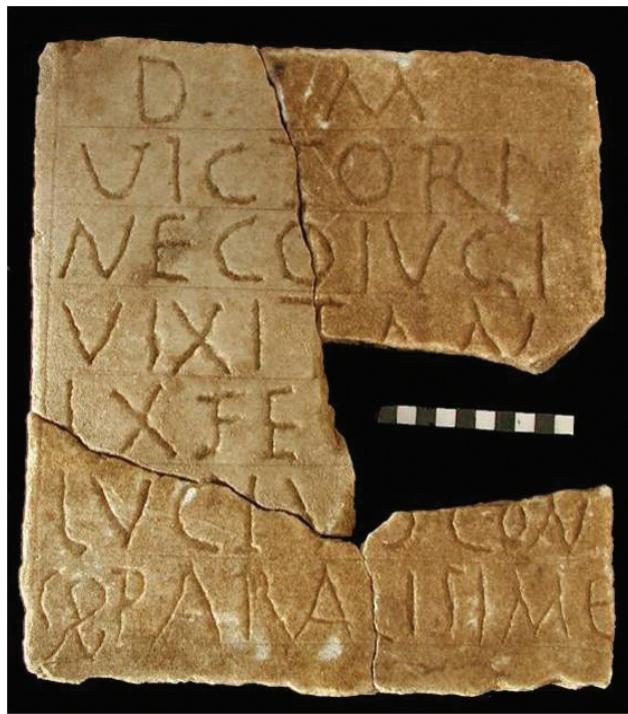
176 Kat. br. 182, 344, 420, 421, 422.

177 CIL 3, 2289.

178 CIL 3 2705; CIL 3 8941; CIL 3 8982.

179 Skok 1915, str. 48.

172 The same thing also occurred with needlessly geminated consonants, the dropping of the final *m*, betacism.



Sl. 7. Viktorinin natpis iz Caske koji pokazuje odliku ispadanja **n** ispred **i** u dativu coiugi (izvor: Kurilić, 2013b: 28)

Fig. 7. Victorina's inscription from Caska which exhibits the dropping of the **n** before **i** in the dative of coiugi (source: Kurilić, 2013b: 28)

epigrafskim spomenicima s čitava prostora rimske Dalmacije i najčešće se na njegovu pojavu nailazi u oblicima riječi *coniux*,<sup>180</sup> gdje *n* ispada ispred *i*, zbog čega je ona sasvim ubičajena u obliku *coiux*. Jako se često *n* gubi i ispred drugih konsonanata, ponajviše *s*, pa se tako imena *Clemens*, *Valens*, *Castrensis* i *Crescens* javljaju kao *Clemes*, *Vales*, *Castresis* i *Cresces*;<sup>181</sup> imenica *menses* kao *meses*,<sup>182</sup> pridjev *libens* negdje postaje *libes*,<sup>183</sup> a pojavljuju se i pojedinačni primjeri *mesa*<sup>184</sup> (= *mensa*), *dispesator*<sup>185</sup> (= *dispensator*) i *trasire*<sup>186</sup> (= *transire*). To gubljenje *n* ispred *s* ostavilo je traga i kasnije u romanskim jezicima,<sup>187</sup> pa je tako na primjer španjolska riječ *mesa* (stol) nastala upravo od latinske *mensa*.

180 Kat. br. 12, 28, 34, 35, 44, 68, 69, 76, 121, 124, 134, 151, 163, 172, 177, 178, 189, 199, 205, 212, 230, 240, 245, 252, 256, 257, 258, 269, 379, 281, 283, 284, 294, 295, 330, 380, 384, 404.

181 Kat. br. 56, 208, 368, 398.

182 Kat. br. 61, 79, 158.

183 Kat. br. 112, 339, 398.

184 Kat. br. 186.

185 Kat. br. 190.

186 Kat. br. 282.

187 Skok 1915, str. 48.

milestones;<sup>173</sup> as a rule, it was written as *triumphator*, but the adjective *triunfalis*, derived from the same root, can be seen on a monument from Tilurium (cat. no. 157). Even in individual Greek names,<sup>174</sup> the letter *f* was written instead of *ph*, as seen in *Epafroditus* (= *Epaphroditus*), *Trofimus* (= *Trophimus*) and *Eufrosyna* (= *Euphrosyna*) in Salona inscriptions, *Stefanus* (= *Stephanus*) on a titulus from Municipium S() and *Fasifae* (= *Pasiphae*) on a stele from Iader, on which, in a manner similar to the *ph*, the *p* was also converted to an *f*. The presence of *f* in all chronological periods indicates that it was a trait that emerged in the conveyance of Greek words and doubt over how to write them, because sometimes *ph* is recorded originally, and sometimes as *f*, and sometimes even as a deaspirated *p*. Skok stated that the writing of *f* dates to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, meaning the time of the Dominate,<sup>175</sup> although the data obtained by examining these inscriptions contradict this assertion, because they clearly show that this occurred much earlier, and then only took deeper root later, as demonstrated by five monuments dated to the Dominate on which this phenomenon is present.<sup>176</sup>

Some consonants were also subjected to hypercorrected aspiration in the conveyance of Greek words into Latin, because the writers apparently thought that they had to include an aspirated consonant even though this was unnecessary. A result of this can therefore be seen in the name *Anthigonus* (cat. no. 193), written on an urn from Salona; in the original Greek it is written as Ἀντίγονος thus with τ and not with Θ as conveyed here in Latin. A similar situation appears in the present participle *lachrymans* (cat. no. 154), which should read *lacrimans*, but here it is needlessly Graecized in two elements, using *ch* instead of *c* and *y* instead of *i*. The last form that testifies to this not quite common features is the woman's name *Chara* from a sepulchral inscription on an urn from Raetinium (cat. no. 399); it should be written as *Cara*, and the aspiration on the *c*sound may be linked to Graecization, because one more such example is known from Salona, where it is contained in an inscription of a freedwoman.<sup>177</sup> Because of this, the writing of *Chara* may perhaps be tied to confusion with the Greek name *Charis* (Χάρις), which was also seen at several places in Dalmatia,<sup>178</sup> wherein it would have also acquired a Latin case ending in the Latin variant.

173 Cat. no. 420, 421, 422.

174 Cat. no. 254, 278, 281, 344, 53.

175 Skok 1915, p. 57.

176 Cat. no. 182, 344, 420, 421, 422.

177 CIL 3, 2289.

178 CIL 3 2705; CIL 3 8941; CIL 3 8982.

U dva imena zamjećuje se nestanak *n* ispred *t* pa *Valetio* (kat. br. 169) zamjenjuje ispravno *Valentio*, a *Panetis* (kat. br. 360) *Panentis*. Jedinstven nedostatak *n* prisutan je i u superlativu *ifelicissimus*<sup>188</sup> (= *infelicissimus*). U svim navedenim primjerima kao razlog otpadanja spomenutog suglasnika treba uzeti njegov slab izgovor zbog čega ga nedovoljno pismeni pripadnici puka nisu znali upotrijebiti u pismu. Riječ *alumis* (kat. br. 274) umjesto *alumnis* i izraz *i(n) memoriam* (kat. br. 369) pokazuju odsutnost *n* u skupini *mn*, odnosno *nm*, u kojima ga je drugi nazal *m* mogao nadjačati. Tu pretpostavku potvrđuju nadgrobni spomenik iz Risinija (kat. br. 356) i baza iz Liberova hrama u Seniji (kat. br. 85), gdje se ta dva nazala asimiliraju pa stoji *immemoriam*, a ne *in memoriam*. Gubitak *n* najčešći je u Saloni, odakle je gotovo polovica spomenika na kojima se javlja ta odlika te na prostoru Liburnije,<sup>189</sup> osobito u Jaderu.<sup>190</sup> Odande potječu upravo i oni natpisi na kojima se nalaze pojedinačni primjeri otpadanja *n*: *mesa*, *dispesator*, *alumis*, *infelicissimus* i *trasire*, što dokazuje da se ono na tim područjima jače rasprostranilo i zahvatilo raznolikije riječi. Nešto pojave gubitka *n* zabilježeno je već u vrijeme ranog principata<sup>191</sup> na teritoriju Liburna, Delmata, Salone i Japoda, no isključivo u imenici *coniux* i osobnim imenima, a onda je u kasnom principatu to obilježje znatnije zahvatilo jezik i održalo se u dominatu. Tome u prilog govore mnogobrojni natpisi iz Salone upravo iz tog razdoblja koji pokazuju tu značajku, a isto tako i oblici *meses* i *libes* koji se tek tada pojavljuju.

Kao i prethodno spomenuti *n* tako se i nazal *m* također gubi u određenim položajima u riječi, najviše u krajnjem slogu, što je karakteristično za sva područja gdje se govorio latinski jezik, a prenijelo se je i u kasnije nastale romanske jezike.<sup>192</sup> Najčešći oblik gdje *m* nedostaje je nastavak za akuzativ jednine, stoga se na nekoliko spomenika mogu vidjeti akuzativi bez krajnjega *m*: *arca*<sup>193</sup> (= *arcam*), *memoria*<sup>194</sup> (= *memoriā*), *facienda*<sup>195</sup> (= *faciendam*) i *honore*<sup>196</sup> (= *honorē*). Sukladno njima *m* nema ni i u broju *centu*<sup>197</sup> (= *centum*) te u jednom potpuno iskrivljenom genitivu množine *enopu*<sup>198</sup> (= *annorum*), jer završavaju na isti

## Dropping of consonants and phonetic sequences

### Loss of nasals

One of the fundamental features of Vulgar Latin is the dropping of the nasal *n* in certain positions, which was due to the fact that it was only scantily heard, so it was easily left out in writing, particularly in front of the vowel *i* and certain consonants, mostly *s* and the dentals.<sup>179</sup> This feature is quite common on epigraphic monuments from throughout Roman Dalmatia as well, and most often it appeared in forms of the word *coniux*,<sup>180</sup> wherein the *n* was dropped in front of the *i*, so that it was entirely normal to see the form *coiux*. Very often the *n* was lost before other consonants as well, mostly *s*, so that the names *Clemens*, *Valens*, *Castrensis* and *Crescens* appear as *Clemes*, *Vales*, *Castresis* and *Cresces*;<sup>181</sup> the noun *menses* as *meses*,<sup>182</sup> the adjective *libens* at places became *libes*,<sup>183</sup> and individual examples also appeared such as *mesa*<sup>184</sup> (= *mensa*), *dispesator*<sup>185</sup> (= *dispensator*) and *trasire*<sup>186</sup> (= *transire*). This loss of the *n* in front of *s* also left its mark on the later Romance languages,<sup>187</sup> so, for example, the Spanish word *mesa* (table) was in fact derived from the Latin *mensa*.

In two names, the absence of the letter *n* before *t* is notable, so that *Valetio* (cat. no. 169) replaces the correct *Valentio*, and *Panetis* (cat. no. 360) replaces *Panentis*. A single instance of a missing *n* is present in the superlative *ifelicissimus*<sup>188</sup> (= *infelicissimus*). In all of these examples, the reason for the loss of the aforementioned consonants should be seen their weak pronunciation, which the insufficiently literate members of the common populace did not know how to express in writing. The word *alumis* (cat. no. 274) instead of *alumnis* and the expression *i(n) memoriam* (cat. no. 369) exhibit the absence of *n* in the group *mn* or *nm* in which the second nasal *m* could overpower it. This hypothesis is confirmed by the gravestone from Risinium (cat. no. 356) and the base from Liber's temple in Senia (cat. no. 85) where these two nasals are

188 Kat. br. 176.

189 Kat. br. 12, 28, 34, 35, 44, 56, 61, 68, 69, 76, 79.

190 Kat. br. 56, 61, 68, 69.

191 Kat. br. 28, 44, 56, 124, 151, 190, 205, 279, 281, 398.

192 Skok 1915, str. 44; Väänänen 1963, str. 66.

193 Kat. br. 33.

194 Kat. br. 101, 303.

195 Kat. br. 165.

196 Kat. br. 353, 361.

197 Kat. br. 57.

198 Kat. br. 248.

179 Skok 1915, p. 48.

180 Cat. no. 12, 28, 34, 35, 44, 68, 69, 76, 121, 124, 134, 151, 163, 172, 177, 178, 189, 199, 205, 212, 230, 240, 245, 252, 256, 257, 258, 269, 379, 281, 283, 284, 294, 295, 330, 380, 384, 404.

181 Cat. no. 56, 208, 368, 398.

182 Cat. no. 61, 79, 158.

183 Cat. no. 112, 339, 398.

184 Cat. no. 186.

185 Cat. no. 190.

186 Cat. no. 282.

187 Skok 1915, p. 48.

188 Cat. no. 176.

način. Osim kod krajnjih slogova postoje i dva primjera gdje se *m* gubi u onim središnjim pa se vidi pisanje *doo* (kat. br. 162) za *domo* i *coparabili* (kat. br. 173) za *comparabili*. Oni oba potječu s natpisa salonitanske provenijencije iz dominata pa je otvorena mogućnost da je gubitak nazala *m* u to doba već prešao u toliku praksi da je on, osim na krajevima riječi, počeo otpadati i u drugim položajima. No, gubitku *m* u imenici *domo* treba pristupati sa sumnjom, jer bi bilo doista neobično da se ona izgovarala kao *doo* i vrlo je lako moguće da se kod nje radi i samo o klesarskoj pogrešci. Gotovo sav epigrafski materijal koji pokazuje tu odliku datiran je u kasni principat i dominat kad je jezik već prošao kroz znatnije promjene, a jedino se u Naroni ona javlja na dvije are iz vremena ranog principata. Skok upućuje na mogućnost da je ispadanje *m* u zadnjem slogu možda i rezultat isključivo manjka prostora,<sup>199</sup> ali ta ideja se ne može smatrati odviše utemeljenom, jer je još s najstarijih latinskih natpisa poznato da se upravo krajnje *m* veoma slabo čulo i stoga bilo izostavljeno pri bilježenju, a i ista pojava je također, kako je već u tekstu spomenuto, prisutna diljem latinskog govornog područja te je imala odraza i na romanske jezike.<sup>200</sup>

#### Ispadanje *h*

Gubitak aspirate *h* na početku riječi pojavljuvao se i u vrijeme klasičnoga latinskog kao jedna od odlika jezika nižih slojeva, čemu svjedoče pompejanski grafiti, jedan od važnih izvora za poznavanje vulgarnog latiniteta.<sup>201</sup> Naime, ona se u govornom jeziku nije čula te su iz toga proizlazile mnogobrojne nesigurnosti u njezinu pisanju.<sup>202</sup> Najčešće je ispadala na početku riječi kako svjedoče sljedeća osobna imena:<sup>203</sup> *Elvius* (= *Helvius*), *Ostilius* (= *Hostilius*), *Ermetilla* (= *Hermetilla*), *Ilarus* (= *Hilarus*) i *Armonia* (= *Harmonia*). Ista se pojava prije početnog vokala javlja i u imenu božice zdravlja Higije koje se piše *Ygia*<sup>204</sup> (= *Hygia*), imenici *eres*<sup>205</sup> (= *heres*) te oblicima zamjenice *hic*,<sup>206</sup> koji su zabilježeni kao *ic* (= *hic*) i *unc* (= *hunc*).

U središnjim slogovima ima nešto manje primjera gubitka *h*; naime, ono se može vidjeti samo u imenu kohorte *Cyrrhestarum* koje se piše kao *Cyrrestarum*

assimilated, so it reads *immemoriam*, and not *in memoriam*. The loss of *n* was more frequent in Salona, whence almost half of the monuments on which this feature are from, and in the territory of Liburnia,<sup>189</sup> especially in Iader.<sup>190</sup> It is in fact from there that those inscriptions on which individual examples of the dropped *n* can be found originated: *mesa*, *dispesator*, *alumis*, *infelicissimus* and *trasire*, which shows that this practice was more widespread there and that it encompassed a greater variety of words. Some instances of the loss of the *n* have been recorded already during the early Principate<sup>191</sup> in the territories of the Liburnians and Delmataeans, Salona and the Iapodes, but exclusively in the noun *coniux* and personal names. Then during the late Principate, this feature occurred more intensely in the language and persisted into the Dominate. The latter point is confirmed by the many inscriptions from Salona precisely from this period which exhibit this characteristic, as well as the forms *meses* and *libes* which only appeared then.

Like the previously mentioned *n*, the nasal *m* was similarly lost in certain positions in words, mostly in the final syllable, which was typical in all lands in which Latin was spoken, and this was also conveyed to the Romance languages that emerged later.<sup>192</sup> The most common form in which the *m* was dropped was the suffix for the accusative singular, so that on several monuments accusatives without the final *m* can be seen: *arca*<sup>193</sup> (= *arcam*), *memoria*<sup>194</sup> (= *memoriam*), *facienda*<sup>195</sup> (= *faciendam*) and *honore*<sup>196</sup> (= *honorem*). In this vein, there is similarly no *m* in the number *centu*<sup>197</sup> (= *centum*) nor in the entirely distorted genitive plural *enopu*<sup>198</sup> (= *annorum*), because it ends in the same fashion. Besides final syllables, there are also examples in which themis lost in the middle, so one can see *doo* (cat. no. 162) for *domo* and *coparabili* (cat. no. 173) for *comparabili*. These are both from inscriptions that originated in Salona during the Dominate, so it is possible that the loss of the nasal *m* in that time had already become such an established practice that besides the end of words, it was also dropped from other positions. However, the loss of the *m* in the noun *domo* should be considered with some

199 Skok 1915, str. 46.

200 Grandgent 1907, str. 131.

201 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, str. 241; Väänänen 1963, str. 55.

202 Skok 1915, str. 35.

203 Kat. br. 14, 38, 40, 285, 294, 325.

204 Kat. br. 409.

205 Kat. br. 26.

206 Kat. br. 220, 223.

189 Cat. no. 12, 28, 34, 35, 44, 56, 61, 68, 69, 76, 79.

190 Cat. no. 56, 61, 68, 69.

191 Cat. no. 28, 44, 56, 124, 151, 190, 205, 279, 281, 398.

192 Skok 1915, p. 44; Väänänen 1963, p. 66.

193 Cat. no. 33.

194 Cat. no. 101, 303.

195 Cat. no. 165.

196 Cat. no. 353, 361.

197 Cat. no. 57.

198 Cat. no. 248.

(kat. br. 32, 55), vlastitom imenu *Euhemerus* koje se nalazi u obliku *Euemerus* (kat. br. 70) i dativu *cortali<sup>207</sup>* (= *cohortali*) gdje je *h* između dva *o* ispalio te su se oni stegnuli.

Najčešće do ispadanja *h* dolazi u Liburniji, i to na području klasične Liburnije,<sup>208</sup> no kako je tamo vidljiva i suprotna tendencija, tj. da se ono piše i ondje gdje nije bilo potrebno,<sup>209</sup> može se zaključiti da je na liburnskom prostoru vladala nesigurnost u pisanju tog glasa još u doba ranog principata kad su te osobitosti najranije zabilježene. U ostale dijelove provincije (Salona, južna Dalmacija, istočna Dalmacija) čini se da je ta pojava pristigla kasnije, točnije, u kasnom principatu, jer sva ostala epigrafska grada koja ju potvrđuje datira u to razdoblje. Ova odlika je općenito, osim što se tijekom vremena rasprostranila, ostala i jedna od onih koje su obilježile romanske jezike u kojima je *h* prisutno u pismu, ali ne i u izgovoru.<sup>210</sup>

#### Ispadanje završnog *s*

Nedostatak krajnjeg *s* bio je još od starih vremena odlika pučkoga latinskog jezika; u klasičnom latintetu takva se pojava izbjegavala upravo zbog toga što se povezivala s jezikom nižih slojeva, no u kasnijim vremenima, od 2. st. po Kr. nadalje, ponovo se počela pojavljivati.<sup>211</sup> Na prostoru rimske Dalmacije moguće ju je pratiti na određenom broju natpisa i najčešće se susreće u nominativima vlastitih imena:<sup>212</sup> *Lettu* (= *Lettus*), *Agathangelu* (= *Agathangelus*), *Quartu* (= *Quartus*), *Hipetiu* (= *Hipetius*), *Liciniu* (= *Licinius*), *Maximu* (= *Maximus*) i *Dasa* (= *Dasas*). Osim ovih primjera, *s* nedostaje i u nominativu imenica *mile<sup>213</sup>* (= *miles*), *sacerodotali<sup>214</sup>* (= *sacerdotalis*) i *titulu<sup>215</sup>* (= *titulus*). Od ostalih padeža zabilježena su četiri genitiva jednine bez krajnjeg *s* (to su *patri* umjesto *patris*, *Panti* umjesto *Pantis*, *Pertinaci* umjesto *Pertinacis* i *Pantoni* umjesto *Pantonis*)<sup>216</sup> i dva akuzativa množine od čega je jedan oblik pokazne zamjenice *hic*, koji glasi *ho* (kat. br. 277), a ne *hos*, kako bi po pravilu trebalо, dok je drugi oblik imenice *annus*, koji se javlja kao *anno* (kat. br. 294) umjesto *annos*.

caution, because it would have been truly unusual for the word to be pronounced *doo* and it is very likely that this was simply an error on the carver's part. Virtually all of the epigraphic materials which exhibit this feature have been dated to the late Principate and the Dominate, when the language had already undergone considerable changes, and this only appeared in Narona on two altars from the time of the early Principate. Skok pointed to the possibility that the dropping of the *m* in the final syllable may have also resulted exclusively due to a lack of space,<sup>199</sup> but this notion should not be deemed entirely founded, because it is known from the oldest Latin inscriptions that the final *m* was scarcely heard and was thus omitted in writing, and this same phenomenon was also – as already noted in the text – present throughout the Latin-speaking world and it had its echoes in the Romance languages.<sup>200</sup>

#### Dropped *h*

The loss of the aspirate *h* at the beginning of words already appeared at the time of classical Latin as one of the features of the speech of the lower classes, as reflected in the Pompeian graffiti, one of the major sources for knowledge of Vulgar Latin.<sup>201</sup> It was inaudible in the spoken language, which led to much uncertainty in writing it.<sup>202</sup> It was most often dropped from the beginning of a word, as shown by the following personal names:<sup>203</sup> *Elvius* (= *Helvius*), *Ostilius* (= *Hostilius*), *Ermetilla* (= *Hermetilla*), *Ilarus* (= *Hilarus*) and *Armonia* (= *Harmonia*). This same phenomenon prior to the first vowel also appeared in the name of the health goddess, which was written *Ygia<sup>204</sup>* (= *Hygia*), in the noun *eres<sup>205</sup>* (= *heres*) and in the forms of the pronoun *hic<sup>206</sup>* which have been recorded as *ic* (= *hic*) and *unc* (= *hunc*).

There is a somewhat lesser amount of examples of loss of the letter *h* in the middle syllables; namely, this can be seen only in the name of the cohort *Cyrrhestarum*, which was written as *Cyrrestarum* (cat. no. 32, 55), the personal name *Euhemerus* which can be seen in the form *Euemerus* (cat. no. 70) and in the dative

207 Kat. br. 328, 407.

208 Kat. br. 14, 32, 38, 40, 55, 70.

209 Kat. br. 50, 207, 253, 337.

210 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, str. 275.

211 Grandgent 1907, str. 125-126; Väänänen 1963, str. 67.

212 Kat. br. 51, 64, 104, 181, 380, 410.

213 Kat. br. 24.

214 Kat. br. 72.

215 Kat. br. 162.

216 Kat. br. 14, 152, 356, 393.

199 Skok 1915, p. 46.

200 Grandgent 1907, p. 131.

201 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, p. 241; Väänänen 1963, p. 55.

202 Skok 1915, p. 35.

203 Cat. no. 14, 38, 40, 285, 294, 325.

204 Cat. no. 409.

205 Cat. no. 26.

206 Cat. no. 220, 223.

Na prostoru Liburna i Delmata do te pojave dolazi još u razdoblju ranog principata, a u ostalim krajevima tek kasnije, tako da od područja do područja postoje neke razlike u aspektima u kojima se ona javlja. Naime, u Liburniji zahvaća osobna imena i imenice u nominativu, na delmatskom prostoru, u južnom i u istočnom dijelu provincije te u unutrašnjosti isključivo osobna imena, a u Saloni se proteže čak na akuzativne oblike, što dokazuje da je ondje pojava uzela najviše maha. Takvo ispadanje *s* na kraju riječi pokazuje da je Dalmacija pripadala onim područjima koja su imala tendenciju njegova neizgovaranja, kao što su područje Italije i Dacije, a dodatna potvrda toga je i nedostatak *s* koji se opaža u dalmatskom romanskom govoru.<sup>217</sup>

### Ostali konsonanti

Osim ispadanja glasova *n*, *m*, *h* i *s*, koje se može zamijetiti u većoj mjeri, katkad je dolazilo i do gubitka još pojedinih konsonanata. Za neke od njih postoji jezično objašnjenje, a nedostatak nekih zasigurno je rezultat pogreške sastavljača ili klesara. Kao posebna odlika može se protumačiti ispadanje *c* u glasovnoj skupini *nct*, što pokazuju pridjevi *defuntus* (kat. br. 91) i *xantus* (kat. br. 340), umjesto pravilnih oblika *defunctus* i *sanctus*. Naime, u toj se glasovnoj skupini *c* radi lakšeg izgovora izgubilo, a takvi su oblici prešli u romanske jezike,<sup>218</sup> iz čega proizlaze talijanska riječ za pokojnika *defunto*<sup>219</sup> i španjolska *difunto*.<sup>220</sup> Ispadanje *d* u imenici *aiutrix*<sup>221</sup> (= *adiutrix*) također je dobro objašnjivo primjerima iz romanskih jezika u kojima je klasičnolatinsko *d* ispalo (npr. u talijanskom postoji riječ *aiutante*,<sup>222</sup> a u španjolskom *ayudante*).<sup>223</sup>

Za krajnje *t* bilo je također karakteristično da ponekad ispadne,<sup>224</sup> što kod glagola pokazuju pojedini primjeri trećeg lica jednine u kojima ono nedostaje: *vixi* (= *vixit*), *fui* (= *fuit*), *posui* (= *posuit*) i *ovi* (= *obit*).<sup>225</sup> Ista se pojava vidi i u vezniku *et*, koji se kao *e* javlja na dva natpisa (kat. br. 152, 385), a njezin je rezultat i talijanski veznik *e*,<sup>226</sup> nastao upravo od latinskog *et*. Nedostatak *c* u dativu zamjenice *hic*, koji glasi *hui* (kat. br. 67) umjesto *huic*, možda bi se mogao objasniti tendencijom da riječi ne smiju završavati na

form *cortali*<sup>207</sup> (= *cohortali*) where the *h* between the two letters *o* was dropped and they were merged.

The dropped *h* occurred most often in Liburnia, in the territory of classical Liburnia,<sup>208</sup> but since the opposite tendency was also noted there, i.e., it was also written where it was not needed,<sup>209</sup> it may be concluded that there was uncertainty in the Liburnian area as to the writing of this letter even at the time of the early Principate, the earliest time when these particularities were noted. In the other parts of the province (Salona, Southern Dalmatia, Eastern Dalmatia) it would appear that this phenomenon arrived later; more precisely, in the late Principate, because all of the remaining epigraphic materials confirming it date to that period. This feature, besides becoming quite widespread over time, generally remained one of those that characterized the Romance languages in which *h* is present in writing, but not in pronunciation.<sup>210</sup>

### Dropping of the final *s*

The absence of the final *s* had been a trait of the common Latin language since the oldest times; in classical Latin, this was avoided precisely because it was associated with the lower classes, but in later periods, from the second century AD onward, it began to appear again.<sup>211</sup> In the territory of Roman Dalmatia, it can be followed through a certain number of inscriptions and it is most often seen in the nominative case of personal names:<sup>212</sup> *Lettu* (= *Lettus*), *Agathangelu* (= *Agathangelus*), *Quartu* (= *Quartus*), *Hipetiu* (= *Hipetius*), *Liciniu* (= *Licinius*), *Maximu* (= *Maximus*) and *Dasa* (= *Dasas*). Besides these examples, the *s* is also missing in the nominative case of the nouns *mile*<sup>213</sup> (= *miles*), *sacerodotali*<sup>214</sup> (= *sacerdotalis*) and *titulu*<sup>215</sup> (= *titulus*). Out of the remaining grammatical cases, four genitive singulars without the final *s* were recorded (these are: *patri* instead of *patris*, *Panti* instead of *Pantis*, *Pertinaci* instead of *Pertinacis* and *Pantoni* instead of *Pantonis*)<sup>216</sup> and two accusative plurals, of which one is the demonstrative pronoun *hic* which reads as *ho* (cat. no. 277), and not the correct *hos*,

217 Skok 1915, str. 34-35.

218 Skok 1915, str. 38; Väänänen 1963, str. 62.

219 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.

220 Vinja 2000 s. v.

221 Kat. br. 121.

222 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.

223 Vinja 2000 s. v.

224 Skok 1915, str. 41; Grandgent 1907, str. 120, Väänänen 1963, str. 68.

225 Kat. br. 23, 56, 63, 152, 162.

226 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.

207 Cat. no. 328, 407.

208 Cat. no. 14, 32, 38, 40, 55, 70.

209 Cat. no. 50, 207, 253, 337.

210 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, p. 275.

211 Grandgent 1907, pp. 125-126; Väänänen 1963, p. 67.

212 Cat. no. 51, 64, 104, 181, 380, 410.

213 Cat. no. 24.

214 Cat. no. 72.

215 Cat. no. 162.

216 Cat. no. 14, 152, 356, 393.



Sl. 8. Nadgrobna ara iz Aserije gdje se u glagolu *vixit* vidi zamjena trećeg lica prvim licem (izvor: Kurilić, 2007: 88)  
Fig. 8. Grave altar from Asseria in which the third person is switched with the first in the verb *vixit* (source: Kurilić, 2007: 88)

konsonante (osim nazala i likvida), koja obilježava neke od kasnijih romanskih jezika.<sup>227</sup> U nekoliko nominativa muškog roda o-deklinacije možda je došlo do ispadanja *v*; radi se o primjerima *vius* (= *vivus*)<sup>228</sup> i *serus* (= *servus*).<sup>229</sup> No, moguće je također da takva grafija kod njih jednostavno predstavlja izbjegavanje pisanja *VV*, koje je podsjećalo na robove o čemu je već ranije u tekstu bilo riječi.

#### Ispadanje glasovnih skupina

U nekim riječima može se primijetiti i ispadanje čitavih glasovnih skupina, od kojih se dio može objasniti pojedinim promjenama u jeziku. Tako se skupina *stitu* u pravilu haploglijom reducira u *stu*,<sup>230</sup> posljedica čega su imena *Restuta*<sup>231</sup> (= *Restituta*) i *Restutus*<sup>232</sup> (= *Restituta*) te glagol *restuere* (kat. br. 56), koji zamjenjuje pravilni *restituere*. Oblici superlativa *pientissimus*,<sup>233</sup> koji glase *pientisme* (= *pientissime*) i

while the other is the noun *annus* which appears as *anno* (cat. no. 294) instead of *annos*.

This phenomenon appeared in the territory of the Liburnians and Delmataeans already in the early Principate, and only later in other areas, so that there were certain differences from area to area in the aspects in which it appeared. In Liburnia it appeared in both personal names and nouns in the nominative case, while in Delmataean territory and in the southern and eastern parts of the province and in its interior, it only appeared in personal names. In Salona, however, it also extended to accusative forms, which shows that it had taken the deepest root there. This dropping of the *s* at the end of words shows that Dalmatia was among those regions that exhibited the tendency of not pronouncing it, such as Italy and Dacia, and an additional confirmation of this is the lack of the *s* which was observed in Dalmatian Romanic speech.<sup>217</sup>

#### Other consonants

With the exception of the dropping of the letters *n*, *m*, *h* and *s* which can be observed to a greater degree, sometimes there was also a loss of other individual consonants. For some there is a linguistic explanation,

227 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, str. 275.

228 Kat. br. 331, 343.

229 Kat. br. 392.

230 Skok 1915, str. 56.

231 Kat. br. 18.

232 Kat. br. 263.

233 Kat. br. 180, 369.

217 Skok 1915, pp. 34-35.



Sl. 9. Nadgrobna ara iz Aserije na kojoj se nalazi ime **Restuta** (izvor: Fadić, 2004: 89)

Fig. 9. Grave altar from Asseria featuring the name **Restuta** (source: Fadić, 2004: 89)

ptissimo (= pientissimo) možda bi mogli biti rezultat kraćenja pri izgovaranju, no tome treba pristupiti sa sumnjom, jer se vrlo lako može raditi i samo o pogreškama. Primjere *Vtorina*<sup>234</sup> (= *Victoriana*), *Rutia*<sup>235</sup> (= *Rutilia*) te *dixi* (kat. br. 201) koji zamjenjuje *dilexi* također je bolje pripisati pogreškama klesara, jer su oni iznimni i ne mogu se potkrijepiti konkretnim jezičnim objašnjenjem, dok bi se kod *singrem*<sup>236</sup> (= *singularem*) i *dicavit*<sup>237</sup> (= *dedicavit*) moglo raditi o epigrafskim pokraćivanjima zbog uštede prostora.

234 Kat. br. 169.

235 Kat. br. 270.

236 Kat. br. 188.

237 Kat. br. 414.

while the absence of others was certainly the result of an error on the part of the composer or carver. The loss of the letter *c* in the consonant cluster *nct* may be interpreted as a special trait; it can be seen in the adjectives *defuntus* (cat. no. 91) and *xantus* (cat. no. 340), instead of the correct forms *defunctus* and *sanc-tus*. Specifically, in this consonant cluster the *c* was dropped to ease pronunciation, and such forms were passed down to the Romance languages,<sup>218</sup> wherein the word for a deceased person in Italian is *defunto*<sup>219</sup> and *difunto* in Spanish.<sup>220</sup> The dropped *d* in the noun *aiutrix*<sup>221</sup> (= *adiutrix*) is also soundly explicable by examples from the Romance languages in which the classical Latin *d* was dropped (e.g. the word *aiutante* in Italian<sup>222</sup> and *ayudante* in Spanish<sup>223</sup>).

The occasional dropping of the final *t* was also typical,<sup>224</sup> which is shown by individual examples of verbs in the third person singular in which it is missing, such as *asvixi* (= *vixit*), *fui* (= *fuit*), *posui* (= *posuit*) and *ovi* (= *obit*).<sup>225</sup> The same phenomenon can also be seen in the conjunction *et*, which appears as *e* in two inscriptions (cat. no. 152, 385), and as a result, the Italian conjunction *e*<sup>226</sup> emerged precisely from the Latin *et*. The lack of the *c* in the dative of the pronoun *hic*, which reads *hui* (cat. no. 67) instead of *huc*, may perhaps be explained by the tendency to avoid ending words in consonants (with the exception of nasals and liquids) which characterizes some of the later Romance languages.<sup>227</sup> In several male gender nominatives of the o-declension there may have been a loss of the *v*, such as the examples of *vius* (= *vivus*)<sup>228</sup> and *serus* (= *servus*).<sup>229</sup> However, it is also possible that such a spelling of them was simply a case of avoiding the VV, which resembled horns, something that has already been discussed above.

#### Dropping of phonetic sequences

In some words, the loss of entire phonetic sequences can be noticed, of which some may be explained by individual changes in the language. Thus, the sequence

218 Skok 1915, p. 38; Väänänen 1963, p. 62.

219 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.

220 Vinja 2000 s. v.

221 Cat. no. 121.

222 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.

223 Vinja 2000 s. v.

224 Skok 1915, p. 41; Grandgent 1907, p. 120; Väänänen 1963, p. 68.

225 Cat. no. 23, 56, 63, 152, 162.

226 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.

227 Clackson, Horrocks 2007, p. 275.

228 Cat. no. 331, 343.

229 Cat. no. 392.

Pisanje *<k>* umjesto *<c>*

U nekim se riječima, najčešće u prvom slogu, umjesto grafema *<c>* u latinskom počeo koristiti *<k>*, koji se prije rabio vrlo rijetko i bio karakterističan samo za pojedine riječi kao što je *Kalendae*<sup>238</sup> ili eventualno za neke riječi preuzete iz grčkog jezika. Naime, kasnije se pisanje *<k>* proširilo, vjerojatno zbog nastanka razlikovanja u izgovoru fonema [k] i [c]. Naime, na svim mjestima gdje se pojavljuje *<k>*, *<c>* se i dalje čitalo kao [k] pa je stoga dobilo i tu grafičku vrijednost, dok se u nekim drugim položajima počelo čitati kao [c].

Na dalmatinskim se natpisima tako superlativ pridjeva *carus 3* vrlo često piše *karissimus*<sup>239</sup> umjesto *carissimus*; jednom se *<k>* nalazi i u samom pozitivu *karus*<sup>240</sup> (= *carus*). Osim u oblicima tog pridjeva slovo *k* se može primjetiti još u nekoliko gentilnih imena,<sup>241</sup> kao što su *Kaninius*, *Kalpurnia*, *Kapius*, *Kapia* i *Kornelius*, a i neke druge imenice također pokazuju tendenciju bilježenja *<k>* pa se ono vidi u genitivu *kastrorum*<sup>242</sup> (= *castrorum*) i nepotpunoj riječi *kari[...]* (kat. br. 105). Kao posebnu pojavu treba izdvojiti dva spomenika iz Salone na kojima se *k* nalazi u riječima preuzetim iz grčkog, *eklesia*<sup>243</sup> (= *ecclesia*) i *Karpophorus*<sup>244</sup> (= *Carpophorus*). Pritom je *eklesia* ujedno i jedini primjer gdje taj glas nije zabilježen kao prvo slovo u riječi, no kako se radi o grecizmu, to nije neobična pojava.

Takva nesigurnost u korištenju ispravnog grafema za označavanje fonema [k] najvjerojatnije je nastala pod utjecajem grčkog jezika i vrlo je česta u Liburniji,<sup>245</sup> i to i u njezinom sjevernom i u njezinom južnom dijelu te na području Delmata,<sup>246</sup> nešto manje je imala i u ostalim područjima, a na salonitanskim natpisima, koji su uvjерljivo najbrojniji na području provincije Dalmacije, javlja se samo pet puta,<sup>247</sup> od kojih su primjera dva upravo grčke riječi. U pogledu vremenskog raspona pojavnosti te odlike može se reći da se u doba ranog principata pisanje *<k>* zamjećuje najviše u Liburniji te nešto malo na delmatskom teritoriju, dok se poslije u većoj mjeri javlja i u Saloni te u unutrašnjosti Dalmacije.

238 Divković 1987 s. v.

239 Kat. br. 15, 44, 54, 73, 106, 113, 151, 203, 259, 394, 406.

240 Kat. br. 130.

241 Kat. br. 22, 39, 66, 139, 244.

242 Kat. br. 31.

243 Kat. br. 231.

244 Kat. br. 234.

245 Kat. br. 15, 22, 39, 31, 44, 54, 66, 73.

246 Kat. br. 105, 106, 113, 130, 139.

247 Kat. br. 203, 231, 234, 244, 259.

*stitu* was generally reduced by haplology to *stu*,<sup>230</sup> which resulted in the name *Restuta*<sup>231</sup> (= *Restituta*) and *Restutus*<sup>232</sup> (= *Restituta*) and the verb *restuere* (cat. no. 56) which replaced the correct *restituere*. The superlative forms *pientissimus*<sup>233</sup> rendered as *pientisme* (= *pientissime*) and *ptissimo* (= *pientissimo*) could have been the result of reduction in pronunciation, but this should be taken with some caution, because it may very well simply be a matter of errors. The examples of *Vtorina*<sup>234</sup> (= *Victoriana*), *Rutia*<sup>235</sup> (= *Rutilia*) and *dixi* (cat. no. 201), which replaced *dilexi*, should also be attributed to carver errors, because they are exceptions and cannot be backed with concrete linguistic explanations, while the cases of *singrem*<sup>236</sup> (= *singularem*) and *dicavit*<sup>237</sup> (= *dedicavit*) may be epigraphic abbreviations in order to save space.

Writing *<k>* instead of *<c>*

In some words in Latin, most often in the first syllable, the grapheme *<k>* began to be used instead of *<c>*; it was used very rarely and it was typical for individual words, such as *Kalendae*<sup>238</sup> or possibly for some words assumed from the Greek language. Namely, the use of *<k>* later spread, probably due to the emergence of distinctions in the pronunciation of the phonemes [k] and [c]. For at all places in which *<k>* appears, *<c>* was still read as [k], so it thus also acquired this graphic value, while at some other position it began to be read as [c].

In the Dalmatian inscriptions, the superlative adjective *carus 3* is thus very often written as *karissimus*<sup>239</sup> instead of *carissimus*; in one instance, *<k>* can be seen in the positive degree *karus*<sup>240</sup> (= *carus*). Except in the forms of that adjective, the letter *k* can also be noticed in several gentilicia,<sup>241</sup> such as *Kaninius*, *Kalpurnia*, *Kapius*, *Kapia* and *Kornelius*, and several other nouns also exhibit the tendency to use *<k>*, so it is seen in the genitive *kastrorum*<sup>242</sup> (= *castrorum*) and in the incomplete word *kari[...]* (cat. no. 105). Two

230 Skok 1915, p. 56.

231 Cat. no. 18.

232 Cat. no. 263.

233 Cat. no. 180, 369.

234 Cat. no. 169.

235 Cat. no. 270.

236 Cat. no. 188.

237 Cat. no. 414.

238 Divković 1987 s. v.

239 Cat. no. 15, 44, 54, 73, 106, 113, 151, 203, 259, 394, 406.

240 Cat. no. 130.

241 Cat. no. 22, 39, 66, 139, 244.

242 Cat. no. 31.

### Nesigurnost u pisanju <x>

Kako se *x* kao dvostruki konsonant sastoji od dva glasa, *k* i *s*, pri njegovu pisanju često su nastajale nesigurnosti jer je manje obrazovanom puku zasigurno ponekad bilo teško pojmljivo da se u pismu izražava samo jednim grafemom. Iz toga je proizašlo da se na prostoru čitave Romanije pa tako i u rimskoj Dalmaciji <*x*> bilježio na različite načine, kao *xx*, *xs*, *cx*, te također kao *xss*, *cs* i *ss*,<sup>248</sup> no ovih posljednjih varijanti nema među dalmatinskom epigrafском građom obuhvaćenom u ovoj analizi.

Najčešće se *x* piše nepravilno kao *xs* pa se tako mogu vidjeti oblici *vixsit*<sup>249</sup> (= *vixit*), *auxsisse*<sup>250</sup> (= *auxisse*) kod glagola te *Maxsimus*<sup>251</sup> (= *Maximus*), *Dexsia*<sup>252</sup> (= *Dexia*) i *Alexsander*<sup>253</sup> (= *Alexander*) kod osobnih imena. Nešto rijede se umjesto *x* pojavljuje *cx*, što je zapravo davanje pisane vrijednosti prvom dijelu dvostrukog konsonanta *k*, koji se u klasičnom latinskom bilježio kao *c*. Primjeri toga su *vicxit*<sup>254</sup> (= *vixit*), *Macximina*<sup>255</sup> (= *Maximina*) i *Macximinus*<sup>256</sup> (= *Maximinus*). Također, ponekad se koristio i dvostruki *x*, o čemu svjedoče riječi *Maxximila* (= *Maximila*),<sup>257</sup> *vixxit*<sup>258</sup> (= *vixit*) i *uxxor*<sup>259</sup> (= *uxor*). Ta je odlika nesigurnosti u pisanju dvostrukog konsonanta najčešća u razdoblju kasna principata otkad datiraju gotovo svi navedeni spomenici i prisutna je u razmјernom broju na teritoriju čitave provincije.

### Zamjena zvučnih i bezvučnih konsonanata

U skupini *verba muta* koju čine guturalni (*g*, *c*), labijali (*p*, *b*) i dentali (*t*, *d*), zvučni i bezvučni parnjaci se ponekad zamjenjuju zbog slična izgovora. Ponajviše se vidi miješanje u pisanju <*t*> i <*d*>, za koje se pretpostavlja da su se izgovarali jednakom,<sup>260</sup> i to na način da se uglavnom umjesto ispravnog <*d*> piše <*t*> pa se tako dolazi do oblika suprotnog veznika *set*<sup>261</sup>

monuments from Salona should be distinguished as a separate phenomenon, as on them *k* appears in words assumed from Greek, *eklesia*<sup>243</sup> (= *ecclesia*) and *Karpophorus*<sup>244</sup> (= *Carpophorus*). Additionally, *eklesia* is the sole example in which this sound was not recorded as the first letter in the word, but since this is a Graecism it is not unusual.

Such uncertainty in the use of the correct grapheme to denote the phoneme [k] probably emerged under the influence of the Greek language and it was quite frequent in Liburnia,<sup>245</sup> in its northern and southern parts, and in Delmataean territory,<sup>246</sup> and somewhat less frequent in other areas, while in the Salona inscriptions, which are by far the most numerous in the province of Dalmatia, it appears only five times,<sup>247</sup> of which two in fact involved Greek words. With regard to the time span of this trait, it may be said that during the early Principate the writing of <*k*> was noted mostly in Liburnia, and somewhat less in Delmataean territory, while later is appeared to a greater degree in Salona and in the Dalmatian interior.

### Uncertainty in writing <*x*>

Since *x* as a consonant that consists of two sounds, *k* and *s*, uncertainty often arose in writing it, because at times less educated people certainly found it difficult to conceive that it was denoted with only a single grapheme. In practical terms, this meant that throughout the late Roman Empire, including Roman Dalmatia, <*x*> was written differently, such as *xx*, *xs*, *cx*, and also as *xss*, *cs* and *ss*,<sup>248</sup> but these latter variants cannot be found in the Dalmatian epigraphic materials encompassed in this analysis.

Most often *x* was written incorrectly as *xs*, so forms can be seen such as *vixsit*<sup>249</sup> (= *vixit*), *auxsisse*<sup>250</sup> (= *auxisse*) for verbs, and *Maxsimus*<sup>251</sup> (= *Maximus*), *Dexsia*<sup>252</sup> (= *Dexia*) and *Alexsander*<sup>253</sup> (= *Alexander*) for personal names. Somewhat more rarely, *cx* is written instead of *x*, which actually accords a written value to the first sound made using the consonant, *k*, which was rendered as *c* in classical Latin. Examples of this

248 Skok 1915, str. 36-37.

249 Kat. br. 41, 298, 395.

250 Kat. br. 333.

251 Kat. br. 158.

252 Kat. br. 191.

253 Kat. br. 206.

254 Kat. br. 141.

255 Kat. br. 392.

256 Kat. br. 416.

257 Kat. br. 261.

258 Kat. br. 311.

259 Kat. br. 334.

260 Skok 1915, str. 40.

261 Kat. br. 76, 211, 333.

243 Cat. no. 231.

244 Cat. no. 234.

245 Cat. no. 15, 22, 39, 31, 44, 54, 66, 73.

246 Cat. no. 105, 106, 113, 130, 139.

247 Cat. no. 203, 231, 234, 244, 259.

248 Skok 1915, pp. 36-37.

249 Cat. no. 41, 298, 395.

250 Cat. no. 333.

251 Cat. no. 158.

252 Cat. no. 191.

253 Cat. no. 206.

(= *sed*), zamjenica *aliut*<sup>262</sup> (= *aliud*) i *quitquit*<sup>263</sup> (= *quidquid*), prijedloga *aput*<sup>264</sup> (= *apud*) i imenice *atfines*<sup>265</sup> (= *adfines*). Obrnuti primjeri uporabe *d* ondje gdje bi u pravilu stajalo *t* malobrojniji su i na prostoru rimske Dalmacije posvjedočeni u samo dva veznika, *adque*<sup>266</sup> (= *atque*) i *ed*<sup>267</sup> (= *et*).

U manjem broju pojavljuje se zamjena <*c*> i <*g*>, od čega dvaput u imenima pridošlim iz grčkog jezika; tako je zabilježeno *Suacrius* (kat. br. 141) umjesto *Syagrius* (grč. Συγάριος) i *Protacora* (kat. br. 189) umjesto *Protagora* (grč. Πρωταγόρας). U njima je zacijelo došlo do nesigurnosti u izgovoru pri ulasku u latinski jezik jer su fonemi [g] i [k] slično zvučali pa su ovdje vjerojatno imena zapisana onako kako su se u Oneju, odnosno Saloni izgovarala. Ista pojava zahvatila je i dativ *coniugi*, koji se na dva nadgrobna natpisa nalazi u obliku *coniuci* (kat. br. 143, 400); jedan od njih potječe iz Oneja, kao i onaj koji sadrži ime *Suacrius* pa bi se možda mogla naslućivati nekakva lokalna tendencija izgovaranja g vrlo slično [k], zbog čega se tako i piše. Obrnuta pojava može se uočiti samo na jednoj steli iz Burnuma, gdje je riječ *cohors* zabilježena kao *gohors* (kat. br. 29), no s obzirom na to da se radi o jedinstvenom primjeru teško je govoriti o tome kao o određenoj odlici govornog jezika i moguće je da je to samo klesarska pogreška.

Na najmanje spomenika opaža se zamjena *p* i *b*: tek je u dva primjera vidljivo pisanje <*p*> umjesto <*b*>, a to su prijedlog *sup*<sup>268</sup> (= *sub*) i perfektni oblik glagola *ferro*, *ferre*, *tuli*, *latum* koji glasi *optuli*<sup>269</sup> (= *obtuli*) što predstavlja tipičnu vulgarnolatinsku odliku prelaske *b* u *p* ispred *t*.<sup>270</sup> Promjena *b* u *p* može su uočiti na samo jednome mjestu, i to u riječi *dilabsum* (kat. br. 314) koja zamjenjuje *dilapsum*. Gotovo svi natpisi koji pokazuju analiziranu značajku zamjene zvučnih i bezvučnih konsonanata datiraju u kasni principat i kasnije. Iz ranog principata potječe jedino sporni *gohortis* tako da se može pretpostaviti da je ta promjena na prostoru rimske Dalmacije počela zahvaćati jezik krajem 2. ili u 3. stoljeću. Sredina, najbogatija epigrافskom građom, koja svjedoči tu značajku je Salona gdje se nalaze njezini raznoliki oblici kao *set*, *adque*, *optuli* i drugi.

262 Kat. br. 229.

263 Kat. br. 273.

264 Kat. br. 298.

265 Kat. br. 371.

266 Kat. br. 188, 196.

267 Kat. br. 374, 405.

268 Kat. br. 103.

269 Kat. br. 246.

270 Grandgent 1907, str. 133.

are *vicxit*<sup>254</sup> (= *vixit*), *Macximina*<sup>255</sup> (= *Maximina*) and *Macximinus*<sup>256</sup> (= *Maximinus*). Additionally, sometimes the double *x* was used, as demonstrated by the words *Maxximila* (= *Maximila*),<sup>257</sup> *vixxit*<sup>258</sup> (= *vixit*) and *uxxor*<sup>259</sup> (= *uxor*). This uncertainty in writing the dual-sound consonant was most common during the late Principate, to which virtually all of the aforementioned monuments have been dated, and it was present in proportional number throughout the province's territory.

#### Switching of voiced and voiceless consonants

In the group of *verba muta* which consists of gutturals (*g*, *c*), labials (*p*, *b*) and dentals (*t*, *d*), voiced and voiceless pairs were sometimes switched due to similar pronunciation. Mostly this can be seen in the writing of <*t*> and <*d*>, which are assumed to have been pronounced the same,<sup>260</sup> such that generally instead of the correct <*d*>, <*t*> was written. Thus there is the form of the coordinating conjunction *set*<sup>261</sup> (= *sed*), the pronoun *aliut*<sup>262</sup> (= *aliud*) and *quitquit*<sup>263</sup> (= *quidquid*), the preposition *aput*<sup>264</sup> (= *apud*) and the noun *atfines*<sup>265</sup> (= *adfines*). Opposite examples of use of *d* where *t* should appear are few in Roman Dalmatia, appearing only in two conjunctions, *adque*<sup>266</sup> (= *atque*) and *ed*<sup>267</sup> (= *et*).

The switch between <*c*> and <*g*> appears in a smaller number, twice in names derived from the Greek language; thus *Suacrius* (cat. no. 141) was noted instead of *Syagrius* (Gr. Συγάριος) and *Protacora* (cat. no. 189) instead of *Protagora* (Gr. Πρωταγόρας). In them some uncertainty emerged in pronunciation when being conveyed to Latin, because the phonemes [g] and [k] sounded similar, so here they were probably written as pronounced in Oneum and Salona. The same phenomenon also occurred in the dative *coniugi* which can be seen on two gravestone inscriptions in the form *coniuci* (cat. no. 143, 400); one of them originated in Oneum, just like the one that contains the

254 Cat. no. 141.

255 Cat. no. 392.

256 Cat. no. 416.

257 Cat. no. 261.

258 Cat. no. 311.

259 Cat. no. 334.

260 Skok 1915, p. 40.

261 Cat. no. 76, 211, 333.

262 Cat. no. 229.

263 Cat. no. 273.

264 Cat. no. 298.

265 Cat. no. 371.

266 Cat. no. 188, 196.

267 Cat. no. 374, 405.

## Asimilacija konsonanata

Nekoliko natpisa pokazuje asimilaciju konsonanta koji su u položaju jedan do drugoga u istoj riječi ili pak na kraju jedne i početku druge riječi. Prilikom te promjene, u pravilu se prvi suglasnik prilagođava drugome.<sup>271</sup> Prijedložni izraz *in memoriam* tako na dva spomenika postaje jedinstvena cjelina *immemoriam* (kat. br. 85, 365), pri čemu *n* iz prijedloga *in* postaje *m* te se veže na sljedeću riječ *memoriam*. U participu perfekta glagola *suscipio 3, cepi, ceptum* dolazi do slične situacije, zbog čega njegov ablativ na dva mesta glasi *suscepto* (kat. br. 181, 327) umjesto *suscepto*. U broju *triginta* primjenjuje se isti princip pa se on bilježi kao *trigitta* (kat. br. 315). Jedini primjer asimilacije drugog konsonanta prema prvome je imenica *crissiani* (kat. br. 273) čiji je točan oblik *christiani*. Uzrok ove promjene svakako je vjerojatno govorni jezik u kojem je izgovor dvaju jednakih konsonanta bio lakši negoli izgovor dvaju različitih, pa se, povodeći za njim, ta praksa prenijela i u pismo. Od svih dijelova provincije jednačenje je najviše potvrđeno u južnoj Dalmaciji, odakle potječe čak tri od šest natpisa koji su pokazatelji te jezične značajke.

## Betacizam

Jedna od tipičnih vulgarnolatinskih odlika je prelazak poluvokala |u| u zvučni glas |β|, preko kojega prelazi u |b| i obrnuto, tj. betacizam, koji je prvotno zahvatio pučki jezik, a onda i razvojni tijek latinskog prema romanskim jezicima. Primjer betacizma je talijanska riječ za konja *cavollo*, koja je nastala od latinske *caballus*.<sup>272</sup> Uzrok toj pojavi je što su spomenuta dva glasa u govoru zvučala vrlo slično, iz čega je proizšlo njihovo miješanje i pri prenošenju u pismo. Betacizam je u vulgarnom latinitetu osobito karakterističan za početak riječi,<sup>273</sup> što pokazuju imena *Bocontius*<sup>274</sup> (= *Vocontius*), *Baronnia*<sup>275</sup> (= *Varronia*) i *Balerius*<sup>276</sup> (= *Valerius*), odnosno *Baleria*<sup>277</sup> (= *Valeria*), kao i glagol *bixit*<sup>278</sup> (= *vixit*), ali se na području rimske Dalmacije najviše javlja u sredini, gotovo uvijek u međuvokalskom položaju, i to najčešće u oblicima pridjeva *vivus 3* koji tada postaje *vibus*.<sup>279</sup>

271 Väänänen 1963, str. 66.

272 Tekavčić 1970, str. 123; Väänänen 1963, str. 50.

273 Grandgent 1907, str. 133.

274 Kat. br. 82.

275 Kat. br. 250.

276 Kat. br. 424.

277 Kat. br. 323.

278 Kat. br. 52.

279 Kat. br. 131, 182, 224, 276.

name *Suacrius*, indicating the possibility that there was some local tendency to pronounce *g* quite similarly to [k], which is why it was written in this manner. The opposite practice can be observed on only a single stele from Burnum, where the word *cohors* was rendered as *gohors* (cat. no. 29), but since this is a single example, it is difficult to speak of this as a specific trait of the spoken language, for it is possible that it was only a carver's error.

The fewest monuments contain the switch between *p* and *b*: only two examples visibly feature <*p*> instead of <*b*>, and this is the preposition *sup*<sup>268</sup> (= *sub*) and the perfect tense of the verb *ferro, ferre, tuli, latum* which reads *optuli*<sup>269</sup> (= *obtuli*), which is a typical Vulgar Latin conversion of *b* into *p* before *t*.<sup>270</sup> The switch from *b* into *p* can only be seen at one place, in the word *dilabsum* (cat. no. 314) instead of *dilapsum*. Almost all inscriptions that exhibit the analysed characteristic of switching voiced and voiceless consonants date to the late Principate or later. Only the contestable *gohortis* dates to the early Principate, so it may be assumed that this change only began to take root in Roman Dalmatia at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. The area with the most abundant epigraphic materials testifying to this trait is Salona, where its various forms such as *set, adque, optuli* and others can be found.

## Assimilation of consonants

Several inscriptions show the assimilation of consonants which are next to each other in the same word, or at the end of one and the beginning of another word. In this change, generally the first consonant is adapted to the second one.<sup>271</sup> Thus, on two monuments the prepositional expression *in memoriam* became the single unit *immemoriam* (cat. no. 85, 365), wherein the *n* from the preposition *in* became an *m* and connected to the second word *memoriam*. A similar situation occurred in the perfect participle of the verb *suscipio 3, cepi, ceptum*, so that its ablative form at two places appears as *suscepto* (cat. no. 181, 327) instead of *suscepto*. In the number *triginta* the same principle was applied, so it was rendered as *trigitta* (cat. no. 315). The sole example of assimilation of the second consonant into the first can be found in the noun *crissiani* (cat. no. 273), which should be *christiani*. The cause for this change everywhere is probably the spoken language in which pronunciation of

268 Cat. no. 103.

269 Cat. no. 246.

270 Grandgent 1907, p. 133.

271 Väänänen 1963, p. 66.



Sl. 10. Ulomak miljokaza iz Aserije na kojem se pojavljuje betacizam (izvor: Kurilić, 2003: 189)

Fig. 10. Fragment of a milestone from Asseria on which betacism appears (source: Kurilić, 2003: 189)

Još ga je moguće vidjeti i u povratnoj zamjenici *sivi*<sup>280</sup> (= *sibi*), imenicama *cibes*<sup>281</sup> (= *cives*) i *serbi*<sup>282</sup> (= *servi*) te osobnom imenu *Seberina*<sup>283</sup> (= *Severina*). Na prostoru provincije Dalmacije betacizam se javlja od početka kasnog principata nadalje i ponajviše je karakterističan za Liburniju i Salonu, gdje je pronađeno najviše spomenika na kojima se pojavljuje.<sup>284</sup>

#### Hiperkorektizam

Najčešći oblik u kojem se hiperkorektizam manifestira kod konsonanata je pisanje nepotrebognog *h* na početku riječi koje počinju vokalom. Proizlazi iz neznanja gdje to slovo treba pisati, a gdje ne treba. Nai-me, kako se glas *h* u govoru nije čuo, kod nedovoljno učenih ljudi dolazilo je do tendencije da ga pišu i na mjestima gdje nije potrebno, upravo kako bi pokazali

280 Kat. br. 6.

281 Kat. br. 195.

282 Kat. br. 246.

283 Kat. br. 65.

284 Kat. br. 6, 52, 65, 82, 131, 162, 182, 195, 224, 246, 250, 253, 276, 290.

two identical consonants was simpler than two different ones, so the practice was then conveyed in writing as well. Out of all parts of the province, assimilation was most confirmed in Southern Dalmatia, whence three of the six inscriptions indicating this linguistic characteristic are from.

#### Betacizam

One of the typical Vulgar Latin traits is the conversion of the semivowel | u | into the audible sound | β |, whereby it became | b | and the opposite, i.e. betacism, which initially entered the common language, and then became part of the developmental course of Latin into the Romance languages. An example of this is the Italian word for horse, *cavallo*, which emerged from the Latin *caballus*.<sup>272</sup> It was caused by the fact that the aforementioned two letters sounded very similar in speech, and this led to their replacement of one another in writing. Betacism in Vulgar Latin was particularly typical at the beginning of words,<sup>273</sup> which is shown by the names *Bocontius*<sup>274</sup> (= *Vocontius*), *Baronnia*<sup>275</sup> (= *Varronia*) and *Balerius*<sup>276</sup> (= *Valerius*) and *Baleria*<sup>277</sup> (= *Valeria*), as well as the verb *bixit*<sup>278</sup> (= *vixit*), although in Roman Dalmatia it mostly appeared in the middle, almost always in the intervowel position, most often in the forms of the adjective *vivus* 3 which then became *vibus*.<sup>279</sup> It can also be seen in the reflexive pronoun *sivi*<sup>280</sup> (= *sibi*), the nouns *cibes*<sup>281</sup> (= *cives*) and *serbi*<sup>282</sup> (= *servi*) and in the personal name *Seberina*<sup>283</sup> (= *Severina*). In the territory of the province of Dalmatia, it appeared from the beginning of the late Principate onward, and it was mostly typical of Liburnia and Salona, where the most monuments on which it appears were found.<sup>284</sup>

#### Hypercorrection

The most frequent form of hypercorrection was the writing of an unnecessary *h* at the beginning of

272 Tekavčić 1970, p. 123; Väänänen 1963, p. 50.

273 Grandgent 1907, p. 133.

274 Cat. no. 82.

275 Cat. no. 250.

276 Cat. no. 424.

277 Cat. no. 323.

278 Cat. no. 52.

279 Cat. no. 131, 182, 224, 276.

280 Cat. no. 6.

281 Cat. no. 195.

282 Cat. no. 246.

283 Cat. no. 65.

284 Cat. no. 6, 52, 65, 82, 131, 162, 182, 195, 224, 246, 250, 253, 276, 290.

učenost koju nisu imali.<sup>285</sup> Tako je došlo do nepravilnog pisanja zamjenice *eius* koja zbog toga glasi *heius* (kat. br. 50), imenica *ossua* i *eclesia* koje su posvjedočene kao *hossua* (kat. br. 207) i *heclesia* (kat. br. 253) te glagola *avete*, koji postaje *havete* (kat. br. 337).

Može se zamijetiti i jedan drugi oblik hiperkorektizma, a to je dodavanje nepotrebnog *n*. To je vidljivo samo na jednom natpisu iz Retinija, na kojemu se u dativu *coniugi* pojavljuje još jedno *n* na krivome mjestu, zbog čega on glasi *coniungi* (kat. br. 401). Takav je oblik posljedica čestog gubljenja glasa *n* u toj riječi, iz čega proizlazi nesigurnost gdje ga je potrebno pisati, a gdje nije.<sup>286</sup> Stoga ga je ovdje vjerojatno sastavljač natpisa, kako se ne bi pokazao neukim, odlučio radije staviti na dva mjesta, nego ni na jedno. Pridjev *sanctus 3* koji je na jednoj ari iz Municipija S() potvrđen kao *xantus* (kat. br. 340), pri čemu se vidi pisanje glasa |*s*| grafemom <*x*>, može se također shvatiti kao hiperkorektizam nastao u težnji za učenošću zbog nesigurnosti u pisanju *x*.

Hiperkorektnom se može smatrati i uporaba <*p*> umjesto <*f*> u kratici *PL* razriješenoj kao *Flavius* s miljokaza iz Aserije (kat. br. 424). Naime, zamjena glasa |*f*| glasom |*p*| u vulgarnom je latinitetu posvjedočena u nekoliko primjera, i to kod grecizama gdje je |*p*| zamjenilo grčko φ (*ph*). Analogijom prema njima moglo je doći do nepotrebne primjene tog pravila i u kratici *PL*, no s obzirom da su slova *F* i *P* izgledom vrlo slična, nije isključeno da se u ovom pisanju <*p*> umjesto <*f*> jednostavno radi i o klesarskoj pogrešci.<sup>287</sup>

#### Ostale vulgarnolatinske odlike

Osim prethodno detaljnije obrađenih i češćih vulgarnolatinskih pojava na epigrafskim spomenicima rimske Dalmacije, potvrđen je još izvjestan broj promjena koje se javljaju u manjoj mjeri. Jedna od njih je osobitost pisanja *c* umjesto *t* i obrnuto na dva natpisa koji su dio analizirane grade; radi se o rijećima *posuic*<sup>288</sup> (= *posuit*) i *sartofagum*<sup>289</sup> (= *sarcofagum*). U prvoj je došlo do promjene glasa *t* u glas *c*, a u drugoj do suprotne, dakle *c* u *t*. Od njih je prvi primjer malo sporan jer se na istome natpisu nalazi još nekoliko vrlo čudnih oblika (*enfilci* umjesto *infelici*, *memoria* umjesto *memoriam*), no u drugome je opravdanost pojave sigurna. Naime, još nekoliko spomenika, ali koji nisu dio korpusa obrađenog za ovaj rad,

words that began with a vowel. This was a result of ignorance as to where this letter was needed and not needed. Since it was not heard at all in speech, among insufficiently educated people there was a tendency to put it where it was not necessary, precisely in order to demonstrate the learning that they lacked.<sup>285</sup> Thus, there was the incorrect writing of the pronoun *eius*, which was thus rendered as *heius* (cat. no. 50), the nouns *ossua* and *eclesia* which have been recorded as *hossua* (cat. no. 207) and *heclesia* (cat. no. 253) and the verb *avete* which became *havete* (cat. no. 337).

Another form of hypercorrection can also be observed, and that is the adding of an unnecessary *n*. It can be seen on only a single inscription from Raentinium, on which the dative *coniugi* appears with an additional *n* at the wrong place, so that it was rendered as *coniungi* (cat. no. 401). This form is the result of the frequent loss of the *n* sound in this word, leading to uncertainty as to where it was required and where it was not.<sup>286</sup> So here the composer of the inscription, in order to avoid showing his lack of learning, decided to put it in two places, rather than at none at all. The adjective *sanctus 3*, which on an altar from Municipium S() was confirmed as *xantus* (cat. no. 340), wherein the writing of the |*s*| sound with the grapheme <*x*> can be seen, may also be considered hypercorrection ensuing from the tendency to appear learned when dealing with uncertainty as to the writing of *x*.

The use of <*p*> instead of <*f*> in the abbreviation *PL*, resolved as *Flavius*, from the milestone from Asseria (cat. no. 424) can also be seen as hypercorrection. This is because switching of the |*f*| sound with |*p*| has been noted by several examples in Vulgar Latin in Graecisms wherein the |*p*| replaced the Greek φ (*ph*). Analogously, the unnecessary application of this rule may have also occurred in the abbreviation *PL*, but since the letters *F* and *P* look quite similar, the possibility that this writing of <*p*> instead of <*f*> was simply a carver's error should not be excluded.<sup>287</sup>

#### Other Vulgar Latin traits

Besides the preceding, more frequent Vulgar Latin phenomena on the epigraphic monuments of Roman Dalmatia analysed in detail, a certain number of changes have also been recorded which appear to a lesser degree. One of these is the particularity of writing *c* instead of *t* and the opposite on two inscriptions that were encompassed by the analysed materials; these

285 Skok 1915, str. 35.

286 Skok 1915, str. 48.

287 Kurilić 2003, str. 187.

288 Kat. br. 101.

289 Kat. br. 194.

285 Skok 1915, p. 35.

286 Skok 1915, p. 48.

287 Kurilić 2003, p. 187.

pokazuju istu značajku, pa se stoga može reći da je i jedna od osobitosti jezika rimske Dalmacije, i to isključivo njezina odlika, jer nema sličnih potvrda u drugim krajevima ni u romanskim jezicima.<sup>290</sup>

Na dva natpisa iz Salone vidljiv je prelazak glasovne skupine *di* u *z*, nastao zbog takva izgovora;<sup>291</sup> na oba mjesta potvrđuje ga imenica iz kršćanskog vokabulara, i to grčkog podrijetla, koja ispravno glasi *diaconus*, a ovdje je zapisana kao *zaconus* (kat. br. 182, 183).

U određenim položajima, uglavnom na kraju riječi i ispred konsonanata, ponekad je dolazilo do pisanja *n* umjesto *m*.<sup>292</sup> Najčešći primjer te odlike je prijedlog *cum* koji tada, uz to što se u njemu dogodila i promjena kvalitete vokala pa je *u* prešlo u *o*, glasi *con*.<sup>293</sup> U tom obliku on se zadržao i kasnije, u talijanskom i španjolskom jeziku.<sup>294</sup> U središnjim položajima ponajviše se *m* ispred *p* bilježilo kao *n*,<sup>295</sup> čega su rezultat oblici *comparabit*<sup>296</sup> (= *comparabit*) i *conpar*<sup>297</sup> (= *compar*). Samo u pridjevu *triunfalibus*<sup>298</sup> (= *triumphalibus*) *m* je prešlo u *n* ispred konsonanta *f*. Natpsi koji pokazuju takav prelazak potječu iz različitih vremenskih razdoblja i uglavnom iz Liburnije, i to osobito oni koji potvrđuju prijedlog *con*.<sup>299</sup>

U četiri primjera može se primijetiti obrnuto, bilježenje *m* ondje gdje se u pravilu nalazi *n*, pa se tako pojavljuju oblici *tibicem*<sup>300</sup> (= *tibicen*) i *requiescum*<sup>301</sup> (= *requiescunt*), *parentalem*<sup>302</sup> (= *parentalem*) i *Veroma*<sup>303</sup> (= *Verona*). Ta je tendencija suprotna već spomenutom pisanju *n* umjesto *m* i u prve dvije riječi takvo je pisanje opravdano, jer je na onim mjestima gdje je dolazilo do te pojave (na kraju riječi i pred konsonantom) bilo uobičajeno da se ponekad događalo i obratno.<sup>304</sup> No ipak, oblik *Veroma* ostaje nejasan, zbog čega bi ga se mogao pripisati i pogrešci klesara ili sastavljača.

290 Skok 1915, str. 42.

291 Skok 1915, str. 39.

292 Skok 1915, str. 47.

293 Kat. br. 23, 42, 136.

294 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.; Vinja 2002 s. v.

295 Skok 1915, str. 56.

296 Kat. br. 57.

297 Kat. br. 373.

298 Kat. br. 157.

299 Tri od četiri spomenika koji potvrđuju tu promjenu potječu s područja Liburnije.

300 Kat. br. 170.

301 Kat. br. 156.

302 Kat. br. 320.

303 Kat. br. 138.

304 Skok 1915, str. 47.

are the words *posuic*<sup>288</sup> (= *posuit*) and *sartofagum*<sup>289</sup> (= *sarcophagum*). In the first, there was a conversion of the *tinto* the *c* sound, while in the second the opposite occurred, i.e., *c* into *t*. Of these, the first example is slightly contestable, because that same inscription has certain other rather odd forms (*enfilci* instead of *infelici*, *memoria* instead of *memoriam*), while in the second example it is entirely justified to see this as a separate trait. For there are several other monuments that were not analysed for this work which exhibit the same characteristic, so it may be said that this is indeed one of the features of the language of Roman Dalmatia, and only it, because nothing similar has been confirmed in the other areas nor in the Romance languages.<sup>290</sup>

The transition of the phonetic sequence *di* into *z* can be seen in two inscriptions from Salona, which emerged due to such a pronunciation;<sup>291</sup> in both places it is confirmed by a noun from the Christian vocabulary of Greek origin, which correctly reads as *diaconus*, but was here written as *zaconus* (cat. no. 182, 183).

In certain positions, generally at the end of words and in front of consonants, sometimes *n* was written instead of *m*.<sup>292</sup> The most common examples of this trait involve the preposition *cum* which then reads as *con* – also exhibiting a change in vowel quality, as the *u* was converted to an *o*.<sup>293</sup> It retained this form even later, in the Italian and Spanish languages.<sup>294</sup> In the middle positions, *m* in front of *p* was mainly written as *n*,<sup>295</sup> resulting in the forms *comparabit*<sup>296</sup> (= *comparabit*) and *conpar*<sup>297</sup> (= *compar*). Only in the adjective *triunfalibus*<sup>298</sup> (= *triumphalibus*) did the *m* become an *n* in front of the consonant *f*. Inscriptions which exhibit this conversion are from different periods and generally from Liburnia, particularly those that confirm the preposition *con*.<sup>299</sup>

In four examples, one may observe the writing of *m* where there should as a rule be an *n*, so forms ap-

288 Cat. no. 101.

289 Cat. no. 194.

290 Skok 1915, p. 42.

291 Skok 1915, p. 39.

292 Skok 1915, p. 47.

293 Cat. no. 23, 42, 136.

294 Deanović, Jernej 2002 s. v.; Vinja 2002 s. v.

295 Skok 1915, p. 56.

296 Cat. no. 57.

297 Cat. no. 373.

298 Cat. no. 157.

299 Three of the four monuments confirming this change originated in the territory of Liburnia.

## Zaključak

Epigrafska građa jedan je od bitnih pokazatelja jezika rimskog puka i svjedočanstvo postupnog razvoja iz latinskog jezika u romanske jezike. Naime, ona daje sliku jezika kojim se sam narod služio, koji se razlikovao od onoga na kojem su pisana književna djela i koji se danas smatra normativnim. Zbog vrijednosti natpisne građe za proučavanje slojeva latinskog jezika i njegova daljnog razvoja, u ovom je radu analiziran latinitet epigrafskih spomenika rimske provincije Dalmacije te su izdvojena odstupanja od klasičnog latinskog na njima. Obradena je posebno građa objavljena nakon CIL-a, jer se njome u tom pogledu još nitko nije detaljnije pozabavio, dok je P. Skok u djelu *Pojave vulgarno-latinskog jezika na natpisima iz rimske provincije Dalmacije* obradio onu raniju. Stoga su ovdje izneseni zaključci do kojih se došlo uvidom u cjeloukupnu natpisnu grade dalmatinske provenijencije.

Na području vokalizma, prema čitavoj dalmatinjskoj natpisnoj građi, najzastupljenija vulgarnolatinska odlika je monoftongizacija, koja se prvotno javlja zbog nesigurnosti u uporabi *ae* ili *e*, a poslije i kao rezultat potpuna prijelaza *ae* u *e*. Ispadanje vokala dominira na mjestima gdje se vokali nalaze u hijatu i među glasovima *c* i *l* te *t* i *l*, a vrlo je brojna i promjena kvalitete vokala, prilikom koje dolazi do zamjene *e* i *i* ili *o*, što su sve temeljna obilježja vulgarnog latiniteta koja su se prenijela i u romanske jezike. Pisanje *ae* ne mjestima gdje se u pravilu treba nalaziti *e* proisteklo je iz tendencije za učenošću kad je monoftongizacija u velikoj mjeri obuhvatila pučki jezik, što je posvjeđeno u nekoliko primjera. Grčko *v* na dalmatinskim natpisima katkad ostaje izvorno *<y>*, katkad postaje grafem *<u>*, a katkad čak *<i>*. U dosta velikom broju pojavljuje se i stezanje vokala, osobito kad je riječ o skupini *ii*, koja često postaje *i*, a na nekim se mjestima može uočiti i stapanje *oho* u *o*.

U pogledu konsonantizma, nedostatak geminate građa iz vremena ranog principata pokazuje gotovo isključivo kroz uporabu *n* umjesto *nn*, *s* umjesto *ss*, *l* umjesto *ll* i *t* umjesto *tt*, dok u kasnijoj ima nešto izostavljanja i manje čestih dvostrukih konsonanata. Ima i dosta primjera pisanja geminate na mjestima gdje ona nije potrebna, osobito kad se radi o *ss*. Despiriziranje je učestalo kod grecizama i predstavlja način prilagodbe grčkih riječi latinskom jeziku. Sva dalmatinska epigrafska građa u ispadanju konsonanta pokazuje sličnu brojnost gubitka *n*, *m*, *h* i *s* koji su za vulgarni latinski vrlo karakteristični, a ponekad se javlja suprotno tome i hiperkorektno *h* iz tendencije za učenošću. Za pisanje *<x>* postoji dosta varijanata, ali prema većem broju potvrda *xx*, *xs*, *cx* može se vidjeti da su one u Dalmaciji bile znatnije

pears such as *tibicem*<sup>300</sup> (= *tibicen*) and *requiescum*<sup>301</sup> (= *requiescunt*), *paremtalem*<sup>302</sup> (= *parentalem*) and *Veroma*<sup>303</sup> (= *Verona*). This tendency is opposite to the already noted writing of *n* instead of *m* and in the first two words such writing was justified, for in those places in which such phenomena occurred (at the end of words and in front of consonants), it was customary for the opposite to sometimes occur.<sup>304</sup> Even so, the form *Veroma* remains unclear, which is why it can be attributed to an error on the part of the carver or composer.

## Conclusion

Epigraphic materials are among the essential indicators of the language of the Roman common people and its serves as testimony to the gradual transition of Latin into the Romance languages. It provides a picture of the language used by the actual people, which differed from that in which literary works were written and which is today deemed the standard. Due to the value of the inscription materials to the study of the layers of the Latin language and its further development, in this work the epigraphic monuments of the Roman province of Dalmatia were analysed, and the deviations from the classical Latin seen on them were highlighted. The materials published after the CIL were analysed in particular, as nobody had yet dealt with it in any detail in that sense, while P. Skok in his work *Pojave vulgarno-latinskog jezika na natpisima iz rimske provincije Dalmacije* only dealt with the earlier materials. Thus, the conclusions set forth here were drawn from a review of the entire inscription materials of Dalmatian origin.

In the field of vocalism, the most highly represented Vulgar Latin trait based on the entirety of the Dalmatian inscriptions is monophthongization, which initially appeared as a result of uncertainty between the use of *ae* or *e*, but later also as a result of the complete transition from *ae* to *e*. The dropping of vowels dominated at places where the vowels were in the hiatus and between the *c* and *l* and *t* and *l* sounds, and changes in vowel quality, involving the switching of *e* and *i* or *o*, were also numerous. All of these are features of Vulgar Latin which were then conveyed into the Romance languages. The writing of *ae* at places where there should have been an *e* was due to a tendency to demonstrate learnedness when

300 Cat. no. 170.

301 Cat. no. 156.

302 Cat. no. 320.

303 Cat. no. 138.

304 Skok 1915, p. 47.

zastupljene, osobito *xs*, koja je najčešća. Zamjena zvučnih i bezvučnih konsonanta nije odviše brojna, a slična je situacija i s jednačenjem konsonanata; obje su pojave potvrđene tek ponekad. Betacizam je čest u cjeloukupnom korpusu natpisa dalmatinske provenijencije, i to u određenim osobnim imenima i oblicima glagola *vivo 3, vixi*, što dokazuje da su mu upravo te riječi na dalmatinskom prostoru bile najviše podležne.

Na kraju se na temelju analize svih jezičnih promjena posvjedočenih na natpisnoj građi iz rimske Dalmacije može reći da ona pruža značajan uvid u jezik korišten na tom području i njegov razvoj. Pogled na dalmatinski epigrafski korpus u cjelini najbolje daje sliku jezičnih promjena do kojih je tokom vremena dolazilo, te se sve objave međusobno dopunjaju. Proučavanjem većeg broja epigrafskih spomenika odraz jezičnog stanja tako postaje jasniji i vidi se koje su se promjene u latinitetu Dalmacije ukorijenile, a daljnjim otkrićima i objavama sigurno će se jezično stanje sve više moći sagledati te će se dobiti njegova još konkretnija slika.

monophthongization had largely overtaken the common languages, which was demonstrated by several examples. The Greek *v* sometime remained in its original *<y>* in Dalmatian inscriptions, but sometimes became the grapheme *<u>*, and sometimes even *<i>*. There was also a considerable number of reduced vowels, particularly when the group *ii* often became *i*, while at some places there was even a merger of *oho* into *o*.

With regard to consonantism, the absence of geminates is reflected in the materials from the early Principate almost exclusively through use of *n* instead of *nn*, *s* instead of *ss*, *l* instead of *ll* and *t* instead of *tt*, while in later periods there is some dropping and less frequent double consonants. There is also a considerable number of examples of writing geminates where they are not necessary, particularly *ss*. Deaspiration was frequent in Graecisms and it constitutes a manner of adapting Greek words into Latin. Where dropped consonants are concerned, all Dalmatian epigraphic materials exhibit a similar number of loss of the *n*, *m*, *h* and *s* which were all very typical of Vulgar Latin, and sometimes, by contrast, the hypercorrect *h* appeared as a result of the tendency to appear learned. There are considerable variants for the writing of *<x>*, but based on the higher number of confirmations of *xx*, *xs*, *cx* it can be seen that in Dalmatia they were more significantly present, particularly *xs*, which was the most frequent. The switching of voiced and voiceless consonants was not too numerous; a similar situation appeared in the assimilation of consonants, which were both confirmed only sometimes. Betacism was frequent in the entire body of inscriptions of Dalmatian origin, in certain personal names and forms of the verb *vivo 3, vixi*, which proves that these words were the most subject to it in Dalmatian territory.

Ultimately, based on an analysis of all linguistic changes exhibited in the inscription materials from Roman Dalmatia, it may be said that they provide considerable insight into the language used in this region and its development. An overview of the Dalmatian epigraphic materials as a whole provides the best picture of linguistic changes that occurred over time, so that all publications mutually supplement each other. The reflection of the linguistic status thus becomes clearer after studying a high number of epigraphic monuments, and one can see which changes took root in the Latinity of Dalmatia, while further discoveries and publications will certainly facilitate even greater insight into the state of the language and thus make it possible to form an even more specific picture of it.

## Katalog natpisne građe

Natpisna je građa u katalogu raspoređena geografski po područjima te su na kraju kao posebna skupina stavljeni miljokazi:

- 1) Liburnija
- 2) Područje Delmata
- 3) Salona
- 4) Južna Dalmacija
- 5) BiH – unutrašnjost provincije Dalmacije
- 6) Područje Japoda
- 7) Istočna Dalmacija
- 8) *Miliaria*

Unutar svakog područja dalje je raspoređena po gradovima ili lokalitetima gdje je pronađena, koji su zbog preglednosti složeni abecednim redom. Miljokazi su izdvojeni kao posebna skupina jer im u glavnini nije navedena točna lokacija pronalaska, ali je poznato da potječe iz provincije Dalmacije i na kojoj su cesti pronađeni. Za svaki pojedini spomenik izneseni su podaci ovim redom: lokalitet, objave, vrsta spomenika, datacija, te zatim slijedi restitucija natpisa.

### Liburnija / Liburnia

1. Aenona, AK 902, ILJug 1978, 911, cipus / cippus, RP / EP  
*Laeliae L. f. Max(imae) / matri et T. / Iul(l)io C. f. / Proculo / <sup>5</sup>fratri Iul/ia C. f. Proc/la v(iva) f(ecit).*
2. Aenona, AK 990, ILJug 1978, 911, portretna stela / portrait stele, RP / EP  
*Liburni/ae L. l(ibertae) / Callist(a)e / Liburnius L(uci) l(ibertus) / <sup>5</sup>[S]maragdus coniugi.*
3. Aenona, AK 986, ILJug 1978, 909, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*C. Iulius / Atticus / sib{e}r(i) et suis / in fr(onte) p(edes) in / agr(o) p(edes) XV.*
4. Aenona, AK 2137, ILJug 1978, 915, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Iovi Optum/o Maximo / Cornelia / C. f. Tertia / <sup>5</sup>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
5. Albona, AK 1750, ILJug 1986, 2923, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP? / LP?  
[-----] / sorori pie Iulie / Tertullinus fra(ter) / fecit qu(a)e vix(it) an(nis) XXII.

## Catalogue of inscription materials

The inscription materials in the catalogue are broken down geographically, while milestones are listed at the end as a separate group:

- 1) Liburnia
- 2) Delmataean territory
- 3) Salona
- 4) Southern Dalmatia
- 5) Bosnia-Herzegovina – Dalmatian provincial interior
- 6) Iapode territory
- 7) Eastern Dalmatia
- 8) *Miliaria*

Within each area, there is a further breakdown by cities or sites where discoveries were made, and these are listed alphabetically for easier review. Milestones were set aside as a separate group because a precise discovery site was not cited for most of them, but it is known that they originated in the province of Dalmatia and on which road they were found. For each monument, the data are listed in this order: site, publication, monument type, dating and restoration of the inscription.

6. Argyruntum, AK 1751, ILJug 1986, 2895, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*C. M() Se[v]lero eq/uiti ex singularibus ex c(o) hor(te) pr(aetoria) IX / stip(endiorum) II vixit an(nis) XXX/ <sup>5</sup>Ael(ia) Maxima ma/ter filio infeli/ cis(simo) b(ene) m(erenti) et sivi(!) / viva fecit.*
7. Asseria, AK 2791, cipus / cippus, RP / EP  
*Aufidiae / C. f(iliae) Balbin(a)e / an(norum) V Caesia / L. f(iliae) Paula avia / <sup>5</sup>nepti suaе / v(iva) f(ecit).*
8. Asseria, AK 1011, ILJug 1978, 862, supulkralna ara / sepulchral altar, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Primio sibi / et suis vivos / fecit.*
9. Asseria, AK 1760, ILJug 1986, 2841, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Agate / Saecundi/no filio / <sup>5</sup>an(norum) XV / b(ene) m(erenti) po/s(uit).*
10. Asseria, AK 1017, ILJug 1978, 858, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Aurelio Paetilio / filio dulci / <sup>5</sup>ssimo ann(orum) / IIII me(nsium) VIII d/ier(um) VIII. M(arcus) A/urelius S/urillio et A/<sup>10</sup> puleia Titi/a parentes / pi(i)ss(im) posuerunt.*

11. Asseria, AK 1018, ILJug 1978, 860, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / I(ulius) Eutyches / et Cas(sia) Iun/ia pa(rentes) I(ulio) Ruf/⁹ino filio i/nf{i}⁹(e) licis(simo) q(ui) / vix(it) an(nis) XIII, m(ensibus) / VI, d(iebus) XVIII.*
12. Asseria, AK 1759, ILJug 1986, 2842, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Epicatie c/oiugi Gem/inus marit / ⁹us b(ene) m(erenti) po/suit.*
13. Asseria, AK 1016, ILJug 1978, 857, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelio, Ti/tia(?) Ursula / filio inf{i}⁹(e)l/ic(i)ssimo / ⁹ qui vixit / [an]n(os) XXI-II.*
14. Asseria, AK 1019, ILJug 1978, 865, stela / stele, KP (2. pol. 2. st. ili početak 3 st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. or early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus) / (H)elvio Felici / (H)elvi(u)s Felix / in memor/iam patri f/ecit, patri b(ene) m(erenti).*
15. Asseria, AK 2787, cipus / cippus, RP / EP  
*Vesiae / Modera/tae Gel/lius Chry/⁹sogonus uxo/ri karissi/mae.*
16. Asseria, AE 2003, 1335, Glavičić, 2003, 81, stela / stele, RP / EP, 1., 2. st. / 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent., Sl. 6 / Fig. 6  
*Clodia Tur[i.f.] / Aeta sibi et Tito / Safinio Septumi f. / Rufo <et> Safiniae Septu/mi f. Secundae filis / suis / viva fecit.*
17. Asseria, AE 2004, 1114, Fadić, 2004, 94, cipus / cippus, RP / EP, 1., 2. st. / 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.  
*Rubria Q.f. / Rufina / infelicisi/ma sibi p(osuit).*
18. Asseria, AE 2004, 1115, Fadić, 2004, 86, sepulkralna ara / sepulchral altar, KP / LP, 2., 3. st. / 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent., Sl. 9 / Fig. 9  
*D(is) M(anibus). / Rubria R/estuta s(ibi) / viva fecit.*
19. Asseria, ILJug 1978, 861, cipus / cippus, P / P  
*L. Petilio / Celeri / soror / pos(u)it.*
20. Asseria, ILJug 1978, 866, ara / altar, P / P  
*Nimfi/s (!) A(ugustis) s(acrum).*
21. Asseria, Fadić 2003, 122, cipus / cippus, P / P  
*[—]ae / [—]inae / C[—]sia Tert/ulla mater / infelicit(s)ima / p(osuit).*
22. Asseria, Fadić 2006, 93, cipus / cippus, P / P  
*Lupae Ka/ninoru/m Ursio / frater / p(osuit).*
23. Asseria, Kurilić 2007, 96., AE 2007, 1107, sepulkralna ara / sepulchral altar, P / P, Sl. 14 / Fig. 14  
*[D(is) J M(ani bus) / Adiutori, coni/ugi bene mere / n ti con quo vixi / annos XXXVIII / m(en ses) III. Sextilia/*< n =NF>*ge nua f/ecit.*
24. Burnum, AK 1072, ILJug 1978, 837, stela / stele, RP (druga pol. 1. st.) / EP (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*L. Laberius / L. f(ilius) Firmus tr/i(bu) Clau(dia) domo / F[o]ro Claudi / ⁹ mile(s) leg(ionis) XI / [C(laudiae) p(iae)] f(idelis) [annor(um)] XXXV, / [stip(endiorum)] XIII / [h(ic) s(itus)] e(st). / T. Talo[n]ius Se[cu(ndus)] / <sup>10</sup> t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).*
25. Burnum, AK 1870, ILJug 1978, 844, stela / stele, RP (prva pol. 2. st.) / EP (1<sup>st</sup> half of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus)/T. Al[l]io Satur/nino dec(urioni) mun(icipii) / Varvariae / ⁹ IIII v[ir(o)] iure / dicu[un]d(o), All(i) / Maximina / et Maximus / patri b(ene) m(erenti).*
26. Burnum, AK 32, ILJug 1978, 842, stela / stele, RP (prva pol. 1. st.) / EP (1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*Heras Ennom/ai f(ilius) mil(es) c(oh)or(tis) II / Cyrr(hestarum) do(mo) Cyr(rh)o, / an(norum) L sti(pendiorum) XXII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / [-]raeus Ab/emmi f(ilius) (h)er(es) pos(uit).*
27. Burnum, AK 1069, ILJug 1963, 206, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP / EP  
*Vendo Ve/rica Triti f(ilia) / an(n)oru(m) XXX / hic sita est.*
28. Burnum, AK 2842, portretna stela / portrait stele, RP / EP  
*[P.? Corn?]elius(?) [f. Sca(ptia tribu)?] / [R?] epentinus / domo Floren[t?]ia / v(ivus) f(ecit) sib(i) et co(n)iugi / ⁹ Corneliae P. l(ibertae) / Fortunat(a)e. / [H(oc)] m(onumentum) {i} h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).*
29. Burnum, AK 1762, ILJug 1986, 2820, RP (prva pol. 1. st.) / EP (1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*Dacnas / Apsaei f(ilius) / mil(es) goh(ortis)(!) II / Cyrrhestaru(m) / ⁹ domo Berea / ann(orum) L stip(endiorum) XXIV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

30. Burnum, AK 1987, ILJug 1986, 2818, titulus / titulus, RP (1. st.) / EP (1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*[S]ex. Valeri[u]s Sex. filius Ultinia (!) [L] uci[n]Jus(?) [V]iana (!) miles [I]leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) 7(centuria) Terent(i) Iuliani vixit anis XXIX miles anis [V?]JIII.*
31. Burnum, AK 1767, ILJug 1986, 2802, titulus / titulus, RP (42.-69.) / EP (42-69 AD)  
*Manibus / C. Valeri C. f. / Sca(ptia) Secundi / Altino praef(ecti) kas(trorum) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis).*
32. Burnum, AE 2009, 1034, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP (sredina 1. st.) / EP (mid-1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*L. MAR(--) ION / f. miles co/h(ortis) Cyrr(h) es(tarum) / domo Be[roea] / ann(orum) L stip(endiorum) XV? / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).*
33. Cissa, AK 2676, sarkofag / sarcophagus, D / D  
*Priscus et Ci[n]nam/ia se vivus (!) [a]rca(m) / posuerun[t] et locu(m) / sepultur(a)e [a]ed[i] fi / <sup>5</sup> ca[v?](e?)runt COI [si] quis volu/eret [se?]p[ul?]tus vexa[re] dabet fisco / [f]olle[s] ducenti(?).*
34. Cissa, ILJug 1978, 933, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Vernacla / vixit ann/is XL fecit / <sup>5</sup> Eurialis c/oiugi bene / merenti.*
35. Cissa, Kurilić, 2013, 9, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, D / D, Sl. 8 / Fig. 8  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Victori/n(a)e co(n)iugi / (quae) vixit an(nis) / <sup>5</sup> LX. Fe[ci]t / Luciu[s] con(iux)? co<n>par(i?) <r?>a{l=r?}is(s)im(a)e.*
36. Cissa, Kurilić 2013, 7, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP / EP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Amerimno / q(uo) v(ixit) a(nnis) XX Ursa / co[n]jux c(u)m / <sup>5</sup> [quo] vixit / [a(nnis)] m(enses) VI ([b(ene)] m(erenti) f(ecit).*
37. Cissa, Kurilić, 2013, 6, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP, Sl. 3 / Fig. 3  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Vitalio/ni [---] / CQN [---] / <sup>5</sup> vixit ann(is) / XLII [---] b(ene) m(erenti).*
38. Clambetae, AK 2725, ILJug 1986, 2855, urna / urn, RP / EP  
*Q. Ostilio [---] / ann(orum) VIII [---] / us Lupus [---] / [---].*
39. Corinium, AK 2730, ILJug 1986, 2862, ara / altar, RP (1. st.) / EP (1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*Iovi / Kalpurn/ia Peculi/aris / <sup>5</sup> v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
40. Corinium, AK 2731, ILJug 1986, 2864, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Libero patr(i) / Q. Ostilius / [Ba]rcinus v(otum) f(ecit).*
41. Corinium, AK 2124, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / d(is) m(anibus) / Felicle / q(uae) vixs(it) m(enses) XI / d(ies) VI T(--) filiae et / Fortunato / co[-]actto t[---] / [---] vixs(it) an(nis) / [--- Fo]rtuna]---] / t[---] innocentissimae).*
42. Corinium, AK 2122, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) / Rutilio / Trofimo / marito / bene me/renti ann(is) vix(it) L Julia / Euodia C(ai) f(ilia) con q(uo) vix(it) ann(is) XVIII.*
43. Corinium, AK 2937, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*[--- / --- F]/ elicl(a)e c[omp]ari su(a)e [bene] / me[renti p(osuit)].*
44. Crexa, ILJug 1986, 2954, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*Campiae [--] / coiugi ka[rissimae-] / [-*
45. Flanona, AK 2752, ILJug 1986, 2900, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Sentone / Sex(tus) Aem(ilius) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
46. Iader, AK 2078, Šegvić, 1996, br. 10 / no. 10, cipus / cippus, RP / EP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Q(uintus) Celius Aphros / Carpo lib(ertus) / b(ene) m(erenti).*
47. Iader, AK 1161, ILJug 1963, 211, cipus / cippus, RP / EP, Sl. 13 / Fig. 13  
*L. Tettio / Epidiano ann(orum) / VII L. Te[t]tius Sper/ches pater, VI vir / <sup>5</sup> Iul(ialis) vivos(!) posu/it. L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*
48. Iader, AK 2063, ILJug 1963, 210, ara / altar, RP (2. st.) / EP (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*[---] / [Cos]su[t]iae S[ex. f. ....] / [f] am(inicae) Divae Faustin(a)[e] / [A]quileiae et Iadere. / <sup>5</sup> Aquileienses / publice.*
49. Iader, AK 2082, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*A. Mecius Iadesti/nus Quintili(a)e Vita /i CIIVG- GI (= coniugi) su(a)e b(ene) m(erenti) / f(ecit). In agro p(edes) XV / <sup>5</sup> in fro(n)te p(edes) XV.*

50. Iader, AK 2086, cipus / cippus, RP / EP, Sl. 12 / Fig. 12  
*Petro[niae] / Ianuaria[e] / M(arcus) Helviu[s] / Cresces / vir heius (sic!).*
51. Iader, AK 2091, cipus / cippus, KP? / LP?  
*Aepiceto / Securo / Lettu(s) / Viator.*
52. Iader, AK 2084, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Flavio / b(ixit) (sic!) p(lus) m(inus) / annor(um) [---] / infeli<m>/cissimo [---] / ne[---]*
53. Iader, AK 2069, ILJug 1978, 891, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*[---] / Apu[leia(??)] / d(e)f(uncta)e ann(orum) XVII / Fasifae (= Pasiphae) filiae / <sup>5</sup> in{e}f(f) eliciss(i)m(a)e.*
54. Iader, AK 2068, ILJug 1978, 890, epystilium / epystilium, RP / EP  
*[---]ncius Sex. l. VI vir / [Aug]us(talis) vivus fecit / [s(ib) et] Aufidiae Secund(a)e / [con(iugi)?] k(arissimaae) Jet] C. Aufidio C. f. / <sup>5</sup> [---].*
55. Iader, AK 2067, ILJug 1978, 889, stela / stele, RP (prva pol. 1. st.) / EP (1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*Stiev Barn/ainu f(ilius) domo / Berea annor(um) / XXX miles / <sup>5</sup> coh(ortis) II C(yr)r(h)est / ar(um) stipen[d]o/[rum ----].*
56. Iader, AK 2066, ILJug 1978, 887, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*-----] / [--- dol]oroso(?) / iussu pravi labori[s] / qui semp(e)r fui cu/ <sup>5</sup>pidus meorum / dis(p)arsa nomin/a res(ti)tuere in u/num Sex. Fuficius / Cleme(n)s / <sup>10</sup> in agro p(edes) XX / in f(r)ont(e) p(edes) XV.*
57. Iader, AK 2739, ILJug 1986, 2883, tabula / tablet, D (4. st.) / D (4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*Aur(elia) Gorgonia / comparabit loci con/cissionem ut ne quis al/ius postia vellet alium c/ <sup>5</sup>orpus poniri. Quod si qui c/ompempserit abebit deum iu/dicem et inferetto ipss/o X (denarios) centu(m) mil(i)a.*
58. Iader, AK 2693, ILJug 1978, 1034, columna / columna, D (4. st.) / D (4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*[[-----]] / [[----] Co[[n]]s(tan---) [P]io / [-? fel(ici)] victo/ris (!) ac tr / <sup>5</sup>iumfatori (!) / totiusque o/rbis semper / Aug(usto) b(ono) r(ei) p(ublicae) n(atо).*
59. Iader, AK 2692, ILJug 1978, 1034, columna / columna, D (4. st.) / D (4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*D(omino) n(ostro) Gratiano Aug(usto) / [-----] Pio / [-? fel(ici)] victo/ris (!) ac tr / <sup>5</sup>iumfatori (!) / totiusque o/rbis semper / Aug(usto) b(ono) r(ei) p(ublicae) n(atо).*
60. Iader, AK 2085, portretna stela / portrait stele, RP / EP  
*Septumi(o)/C(ai)l(iberto) Dona[to]/Eugenius / Ampliatus / C(aii) Septum[ii] / Crescent[i] / ser[vi].*
61. Iader, AK 2028, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Sulpiciae / Septimiae / Septimus Se/verus neptis / <sup>5</sup> an(norum) me(n)sium II.*
62. Iader, AK 2089, cipus / cippus, KP / LP  
*--]ve con[iugi? ---] v]ixit ann(is) [---/---] fec(i)t Sep[ti]mus [---.*
63. Iader, AK 2092, sepulkralna ara / sepulchral altar, KP (2. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*[---] XII INFEL / LAELIVS ZOSI / MVS PATR / PSI*
64. Iader, AK 2093, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*[---] IIII AGATHANGELV / PATER*
65. Iader, AK 2094, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Corneliae Metro/dora(e) ann(oru)m VI / Cornelia Seberina / et Aurelius Metro/dorus parentis (sic) f iliae / dulcissimae.*
66. Iader, AK 2097, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Kaninio / Gotico / marito b(ene) m(erenti) / Claudia.*
67. Iader, AK 1304, ILJug 1986, 2880, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP (2. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) m(anibus) / M. Rubrius Onesimus sibi et Mari/ae Arabinae uxori et suis vivos f(ecit) / excipitur hui(c) sepulchro iu[s]itus am/ <sup>5</sup>biti ex ceteris partibus quoque / versus per pedes centenos / hoc sepulch(rum) hered(es) non seq(u) et(ur).*
68. Iader, AK 1303, ILJug 1978, 872, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*[D(is) M(anibus)?] / S[e?---] / Cervolae / Decius Herm(a?) / bene merenti / co(n)iugi m/emoriam / posuit [---.*
69. Iader, AK 2112, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*[---] / Cresces mari/tus pientiss/im(a)e co(n)iugi m/emoriam / posuit [---.*

70. Iader, AK 2126, ILJug 1978, 928, votivna baza / votive base, RP / EP  
*D(ianae) A(ugustae) s(acrum) / [E]u(h)emer(us) servus Aug(usti) / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit) m(erito).*
71. Iader, Fadić, 2007., 165, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Petroniae / Ursae(e) Sallustius Para/mythius pa/ter filiae n{t}/atura<|i / benemerenti / fec*i*xt.*
72. Liburnia incerta, AK 2687, ILJug 1978, 944A, ara / altar, RP (2. st.) / EP (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*Marti sac(rum) / Turus Longini f(ilium) / dec(urio) et sacerdotali(s) / pro suis et cognation(e) / <sup>5</sup> Nantania / de suo (fecit) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
73. Liburnia incerta, AK 2922, stela / stele, KP / LP, Sl. 10 / Fig. 10  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Aug(a)e a/lumnae / karissim/ <sup>5</sup>ae annor/um V m(ensium) III / d(ierum) XVII.*
74. Liburnia incerta, AK 2905, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*[---- ? / ----] / an(n)is XXIII[I] / m(ensibus) X die(bu)s XII / b(ene merenti) p(osuit).*
75. Liburnia incerta, AK 2894, titulus / titulus, RP / EP  
*[----]M[--??] / [[Imp. Neroni Claud(ii) Caes(ari)?]] / [Aug(usti)? Germ(anici)?] vern(a), d(i)sp(ensator)(?), [theat?]rum VIT (=vet?) / <sup>5</sup> [ust(ate) conl(apsum)?] sua inp(e) ns(a) / [restitui?]t / [adiut(orio)? Cl(audio)?] Antonino Aug. III (= lib.?) / [et ----]e Cl(audio) Valente.*
76. Nedinum, AK 1746, ILJug 1986, 2877, portretna stela / portrait stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Heraclio fil(io) dul(cissimo) / qui vixit ann(is) VI / m(ensibus) VIII d(iebus) XXII et He/ <sup>5</sup>racliae quae vi(xit) / ann(is) XXV infeli/cissimis set si/bi pientissimis / ut mater filiu / <sup>10</sup> m non amplius / quam unam noc/tem desereret ut merito filius / patri et uxor ma/ <sup>15</sup>rito assiduas la/crimas relinque/rent Velox fil(io) dul(cissimo) / et coi(ugi) incomparabilibus.*
77. Nedinum, AK 1308, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Caese{i}(l)iae Victo/riae coniugi / incomparabili / <sup>5</sup> quae vixit mecum / ann(is) XXIII / Caesellii Chrysa[n]/thianus maritus / et Chryso{s}(g)onus / <sup>10</sup> filius b(ene) m(erenti).*
78. Nedinum, AK 2645, ILJug 1978, 871, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Trivis / sacr(um) / C. Iulius / Celer / <sup>5</sup> v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
79. Nedinum, AK 2115, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Valeriae / quae vixit an/nos VIII me(n)ses VIII / posuit Valerius / filiae suae b(ene) m(erenti).*
80. Scardona, AK 2826, ara / altar, RP (kraj 1. st. ili početak 2. st.) / EP (end of 1<sup>st</sup> cent. or beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*Iovi / Valer/ia / Rep(e)ntina.*
81. Scardona, AK 2615, ILJug 1963, 200, ara / altar, RP / EP, Sl. 5 / Fig. 5  
*[-----] / [Au]gustalis / [S]atria Felicla / [Sat]ria M. f. Secunda / <sup>5</sup> v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).*
82. Scardona, AK 2833, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP (druga pol. 2. st. ili 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. or 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*[----] Bocontio / [----] inco[...n?]t / [----] OQ[ve?---] / [----c?----].*
83. Scardona, ILJug 1963, 201, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*[...]Oplu]s / [Aet]oris f(ilium), / [C]aeunus / [Am] pliata / <sup>5</sup> [Lu]cill(l)a f(ecerunt).*
84. Scardona, ILJug 1963, 205, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*Preclarus*
85. Senia, AK 2621, ILJug 1963, 247, basis / base, RP (početak 2. st.) / EP (beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*Lib(ero) pat(ri). / L. Gávius Optátus sac(erdos) / Liburnór(um) immemor(iam) (!) Gáviáe / L. f. Maximáe matris templum / <sup>5</sup> á parte déxtrá aedic(ulae) libero / aditú maiorí altáno cum valvís / et accubitú et sedibus vetustáte / corruptum á soló restituit.*
86. Senia, AK 1265, AE 1981, 701, stela / stele, KP (sredina 2. st.) / LP (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Valerio / Valeriano / veterano / <sup>5</sup> leg(ionis) XIII Gemin(a)e / Valerius Valeria-nus / filius patri / pientissimo.*
87. Senia, AE 1998, 1033, titulus / titulus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*[Flauia Pro/cula Iusto / coniugi suo] / N(e) apol[itanu] / se viva [ti]/tilum [po/su]it.*

88. Senia, ILJug 1978, 918, zavjetna tabula / votive tablet, P / P  
*Deanae Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / [in] memoriam Carienae [...] / matris L. Valerius Priscus cum] / [c]oniuge sua Veratia Pa[full]a [f]ecerunt.*
89. Varvaria, AK 2633, ILJug 1978, 817, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Iulia / [...] f(ilia) Te[r]tulla / [N]ymp(h)is / [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)].*
90. Varvaria, AK 2704, ILJug 1986, 2824, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Tertia / Claudia / Trivis / v(otum) s(ovit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
91. Varvaria, AK 2885, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Quinto / defun(c)t / [o? ---- / ----?].*
92. Varvaria, AK 2632, ILJug 1978, 816, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*Lun(a)e / votu[m] / solvi lib[ens] / Myrin[e].*
93. Varvaria, AK 2641, ILJug 1978, 827, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*[-----] / [V?]era[tiae?] / Quin/tin(a)e c(oniugi)  
 /<sup>5</sup> c(arissimae?) a[nn(orum)?] / X[---?] / b(ene)  
 m(erenti)f(ecit).*
94. Varvaria, AK 2635, ILJug 1978, 819, ara / altar, P / P  
*[-----] / [Ny]ymp(h)is / [v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens)  
 m(erito).*
95. Varvaria, AK 2643, ILJug 1978, 829, stela / stele, KP? / LP?  
*[-----] / [v]irgini / infelicitis[si]/m(a)e fecit.*
- Delmatski prostor / Delmataean territory
96. Aequum, AE 1987, 812, stela / stele, RP (prva pol. 1. st.) / EP (1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*Daico Samuio / Versoni(s) / filia anorum III.*
97. Aequum, ILJug 1978, 742, stela / stele, P / P  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Sabba/tiae de/[f]unct(a)e /<sup>5</sup>  
 [an]n(orum) II m(ensium) / [-.*
98. Aequum, ILJug 1978, 775, ara / altar, KP (druga pol. 2. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*Nemes[i] Piae / in hono[r]em colle[gi] / et Ianuari /<sup>5</sup> vil(ici) Ianuarius / ex corpore / possuit.*
99. Aequum, ILJug 1978, 777, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Sedato / Aug(usto) / pro sa[l(ute)] / Aureli /<sup>5</sup> vi-  
 lici / col(l)eg(ae) / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes)  
 m(erito).*
100. Aequum, ILJug 1963, 147, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*Dasanti[l]/l(a)e Camina/ri(a)e def(unctae)  
 an(norum) / IIII [...]a /<sup>5</sup> [-*
101. Aequum, ILJug 1963, 149, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*[D(is)] m(anibus). / Arsa[e] / [s]orori e/nfilci (!)  
 /<sup>5</sup> iose m(emoria) (!) p(osuic) (!)*
102. Aequum, ILJug 1963, 156, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP / EP  
*D(is) m(anibus). / Aelio V/arroni f/ilio an(n)o/  
<sup>5</sup>[rum-*
103. Aequum, ILJug 1963, 162, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*[Terrae] mat/[ri pro ....]mi / [...]no[.]l[.]l / [...] calinio (!) /<sup>5</sup> [...] sup (!) cur(a) / [...] / [p] ro(curatoris) Merc[u]/[r]ius vil(icus) off(icinae)/  
 /fe]rr(ariae) XI Kal(endas) /<sup>10</sup> M(aias) [...] / [...] .*
104. Aequum, ILJug 1963, 164, stela / stele, KP (2. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) m(anibus). / Ulp(ia) Mate/ra an(norum)  
 XXXV / Ael(ius) Quartu(s) /<sup>5</sup> uxori fe/cit.*
105. Aequum, ILJug 1963, 166, epystilium / epystilium, D (5. st.) / D (5<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*Kari [...] / Marc[ia]/nus Bo[nos?]us.*
106. Andetrium, ILJug 1986, 1968, ara / altar, KP (kraj 2. ili početak 3. st.) / LP (end of 2<sup>nd</sup> or beginning of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / L. Septimio / Gratiano / mil(iti) leg(ionis)  
 /<sup>5</sup> VII Cl(audiae) exac/to co(n)s(ularis) v[i]/xit ann(os) XXII[II] / d(ies) XI Genia/lis Aug(usti)  
 n(ostr) lib(ertus) /<sup>10</sup> et Apuleia / Salvia filio / karissimo / pos(uerunt).*
107. Andetrium, ILJug 1986, 1971, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP (kraj 2. st.) / LP (end of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / Eliae Das/siae infili/cis(si)mae qui(!) /<sup>5</sup>  
 vix(it) an(nis) XXII / me(nsibus) VII diis (!) V / Plat [...] / [-*
108. Andetrium, ILJug 1986, 1974, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*Ne() Epicadus[] / Varonis et Su[] / nepotis filia[e dul-]cissime quae [vixit] /<sup>5</sup> ann. VI par[entes]*

109. Andetrium, ILJug 1986, 1975, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*Aur(eliae) Seioni Au/relia Maxima m/atri  
pientissime / defuncte an<sup>5</sup>norum [...] / [-]*
110. Dalmatia incerta, ILJug 1986, 2962, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP / EP  
*P. Marcelio / maritus con/iugi carissi/m(a)e et  
sibi / <sup>5</sup> posterisque / suis b(ene) m(erentibus).*
111. Delminium, Škegro 1997, 46, stela / stele, P / P  
----- / *P(ubliae) Ael(iae) P(ublii) f(iliae) Panoni,  
/ coniugi carissim(a)e. T(itus) Curiatius / Seneca  
marit[us], / <sup>5</sup> II vir q(uin)q(uennalis) Del[m---]  
/ -----*
112. Delminium, Škegro 1997, 51, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*Apoleni, / Aurelius Iullianus, centurio / libe(n)  
s poss(uit).*
113. Delminium, ILJug 1986, 1771, urna / urn, KP / LP  
[-] / [.....]antu / *Aur(elius) Litus Zuni / coniugi  
karissi/mae p(osuit) et sibi et / suis.*
114. Delminium, ILJug 1986, 1772, urna / urn, RP / EP  
*D. m. / Maximus Beusantis vixit an(nis) LX  
posue/runt fili pienissi[mo] ben(e) merenti.*
115. Delminium, ILJug 1986, 1777, urna / urn, RP? / EP?  
*Prevo Masio Pla(toris) f(ilia) / Platori filio ficit  
(!).*
116. Delminium, ILJug 1986, 1779, urna / urn, RP / EP  
*D. m. / Ael(ius) Titus Dasantis se vivo p(osuit)  
et Ael(iae) / Seioni IMPL con(iugi) pi(a)e  
defunctae) an(norum) LX p(osuit) et suis.*
117. Delminium, ILJug 1986, 1780, urna / urn, RP / EP  
*Iato Nepotis vixit annos L[.] / posuerunt fili(i)  
et frater [?].*
118. Delminium, ILJug 1986, 1782, urna / urn, RP / EP  
[...] Varronis vixit annos [...] / [?] posuit fili(a)e  
et suoru[m].
119. Delminium, ILJug 1986, 1795, ara / altar, KP / LP  
[-] / ..... / *Nepos / filis / <sup>5</sup> v. l. m.*
120. Delminium, ILJug 1986, 1803, titulus / titulus, P / P  
[-]ic, viv / -] sue p.
121. Delminium, ILJug 1986, 1809, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*Valen[t.....]/militi legion[is II]/a<d>iutricis  
defu[nc]to an(norum) XXX memori/<sup>5</sup>am posuit /  
Tata pi/entissima coiux.*
122. Donja Brela, AE 1977, 609, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Al(lio) Lupiano / puero infi/li-  
cissimo / qui vixit an(nos) / XXVII m(enses) VIII /  
d(ies) XV Al(lius) Alli/anus c [...] / suo p(osuit).*
123. Municipium Salvium, Škegro 1997, 68, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP / EP  
*Ael[iu]s Ferox / et A[el]lia Plat(i)no, / ----*
124. Municipium Salvium, Škegro 1997, 72, stela / stele, RP? / EP?  
--- / [---] Crispi/[n(ae), --- c]o(n)iugi pien/  
[tis(simae), ---] defunc(tae) / ----
125. Municipium Salvium, Škegro 1997, 82, ara / altar, KP / LP  
--- / Aug(usto) s(acrum). P(ublius) Aeli(us)  
Secundus, d[ec(urio)?], et Varro Da[s]Jantis / [--  
-]. P(osuerunt) pro salute sua et coll(e)gio (a)  
erariorum B[---] milian(orum?)
126. Municipium Salvium, Škegro 1997, 81, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Co(ho)rta[li]. /  
Posui [t] / Ti[z]i[us?] / Suru[s], / v(otum) p(ie)  
l(ibens).*
127. Municipium Salvium, Škegro 1997, 85, titulus / titulus, P / P  
..... / [.. cari]/ssimo, annorum / IX, sibi et suis et  
u/xori didicavit. / <sup>5</sup> vivus posuit.
128. Municipium Salvium, Škegro 1997, 90, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Apolini, / Aur(elius) Tr[i]t[us], / [pos(uit) l(ibens)  
m(erito)].*
129. Municipium Salvium, Škegro 1997, 98, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Aur(e)l(ius) Rufus /  
et Victo/rina v(otum) l(ibenter) s(olverunt).*

130. Novae, Kurilić 2006, 130, AE 1998, 1021, stela / stele, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D M / Turranio Clemen/ti marito def. an/n(orum)  
LII Laelia Quin/<sup>5</sup>ta Turranio Cle(mentian)o  
filio / karo infelicitis/simo defuncto /annor. XXXII  
/ <sup>10</sup> Multa peregrast/ti Germaniam / terram secu/  
tus Hic iacet /erepta pietas / pulc(h)raq(ue) iu/  
<sup>15</sup>ventus / et s(ibi) et s(uis)/ h. m. h. n. s.*
131. Novae, Kurilić 2006, 137, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) se vibus(!) / posuit sibi e[t] /  
suis liber[tis libertabusq(ue)] /---].*
132. Novae, ILJug 1978, 672, tabula / tablet, KP? / LP?  
*[D(is)] m(anibus) / [.. S]pectatus et A[ur(elia)]  
Valeria paren[tes] / [ff]il(iae) et Fl(avius)  
Maxentius maritus [...] / [...]Saturnin[ae inf]  
elic[is]s[imae]/<sup>5</sup> [q]u(a)e vixit annos XXIII [...] /  
[...] rapitur [...]m[.]pro[...Ja / [.....]um[...]*
133. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 1981, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
<sup>-</sup>/[...] ai [...] Viato[ri...]/ann(orum) XV[men]  
/ <sup>5</sup>ss(ium) IIII b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).
134. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 1983, urna / urn, KP / LP  
*Au(reliae) Ulpiae Au(relius) / Candidus / coiugi  
b(ene) m(erenti).*
135. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 1987, titulus / titulus, RP (51., 52. god.) / EP (51, 52 AD)  
*[Imp. Ti.] Cla[udio] / [Drusi f.] Caisa[re Aug.] /  
[Germ. pon]tifice m[aximo] / [trib. pot.] XI imp.  
XX[III] /<sup>5</sup> [cos. V] censore p. [p.] / [curante P.]  
Anteio Ru[fo] / [leg. Au]g.-*
136. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 1994, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*[D(is)] m(anibus) / [Pl]otius Maximus homo  
in/[ff]elicissimus /<sup>5</sup> [q]ui vix(it) ann(is) / p(lus)  
m(inus) XL Argen/[t]ia uxor ips/[ius] con quo (!)  
/ [vixit an(nos)] XX/<sup>10</sup> [-*
137. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 2003, titulus / titulus, RP / EP  
*[Ex i]mporio domini Iovis / [opt]imi max(im)  
iussit sibi aedem / [fie]ri cum suo Consentio  
deor(um) dearum / [q(ue) si]lvestr(i)um Nymp-  
his fontanis cum Silvano Fe/ <sup>5</sup>[sce]nia Astice  
cum suo pare coniuge T. / [...]o Fausto VI vir(o)  
et Aug(ustali) a solo restituit.*
138. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 2006, titulus / titulus, P / P -] / mil(iti) co[h(ortis)]....] / eq(uiti) ex  
s[ing]ularibus Aug(usti) domo] / Veroma (!) /<sup>5</sup> a  
[.....] / dicend[.....].
139. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 2008, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*Kapito/ni def(uncto) / ann(orum) XX / Attia  
Satur/<sup>5</sup>nina mater.*
140. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 2009, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Nereis mater / Aurelie Pri-  
me / ann(orum) XXVI /<sup>5</sup> Aurelio Iannuario /  
ann(orum) XXVIII / mater misera /[-*
141. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 2011, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*[D(is)] m(anibus) / A[...] Veneria / filio pienti/  
ssimo Suacr/<sup>5</sup>io qu[i] vicxi/t (!) annos vig/inti  
i[n]felici/ssimo [p]osuit.*
142. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 2012, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Bae() Firmina/e inf(anti)  
infelic/[i]ssime q(uae) v(ixit) ann(is) /<sup>5</sup> [-*
143. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 2034, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D. m. / C. Barba/racio Her/madio/ <sup>5</sup>ni con/iuci  
(!) bene / mere[neti] / [-*
144. Oneum, ILJug 1986, 2040, sarkofag / sarcophagus, D / D  
*Depositio Maxentie caesse me (!) c/o in iugi (!)  
die pridie Idus Septembres.*
145. Pelva, AE 2008, 1061, urna / urn, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Messiu[s / --- / -]  
cirbinui sibi / et Aur(eliae) Sure caris/sime  
coniugi p(o)s(uit).*
146. Pelva, AE 2008, 1062, urna / urn, P / P  
<sup>-----</sup> / def(unctae) ann(orum) XL / po(suit) Ael(ia)  
Vrsa filia / matri pientissim(a)e.
147. Pelva, AE 2008, 1066, urna / urn, P / P  
*[D(is)] M(anibus) patri Iuli[o --- / p]ien{i}  
tis(simo) posuit monumen[tum---].*
148. Pelva, Kurilić 2006, 151, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP? / EP?  
*Tato Nepotis vixit annos L[--] / posuerunt fili(i)  
et frater [?].*

149. Promona, ILJug 1986, 2800, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, D / D  
*Aurel(iae) Stercoriae / infanti Infeliciss/ime que vixit ann(um) I m(ensem) I d(ies) VIII Aurel(ius) / Pat( ) et Fabia Ma/ <sup>5</sup>xima pare[nt]es fil(iae) / dulcissimae [et s]ibi vivi.*
150. Rider, ILJug 1986, 2798, titulus / titulus, RP / EP  
*Aplo Varie/ri Plaheniis / ano(rum) XXX / [-?*
151. Rider, ILJug 1978, 793, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP / EP  
<sup>-]/dec(urioni) et pr[incipi municipi]/Riditaru[m co(n)iugi (?) obse]quentis(si)mo [qui vi]/ <sup>5</sup>xit ann(is) LI[...?] et Pin(?)]/so fr[atri eius (?) dec(urioni)? Muni(?)ci]pi Riditarum ...] / [-</sup>
- 151a. Rider, AE 2008, 1068, urna / urn, P / P  
<sup>[--- Baet]asiorum, trib(uno) (militum) / [--- m]arito karissimo [---] fecit.</sup>
152. Rider, ILJug 1963, 180, titulus / titulus, RP / EP  
*Bato Samu/ntius Pantis / filius posui(t) / sibi e(t) contub/ <sup>5</sup>(e)rnali su(a)e Pla/tino Avio Pa/nti(s) filia/re.*
153. Rider, ILJug 1963, 184, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP / EP  
*D(is) m(anibus). / [Plad]omenus / [Germ?] anisci (filius) fecet (sic) / [filiae] annorum.....*
154. Tilurium, Šegvić, 1996, br. 32 / no. 32, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*L(ucius) Mummius L(uci) filius / Fab(ia tribu) Ancyra (natus) / miles leg(ionis) VII / annorum XXXVI / <sup>5</sup>stipendiorum XVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis / hic situs est fato Mum(m)ius ipse suo / Si sapiunt obiti dana muneta percipis am(pla) / <sup>10</sup>Hoc tibi cum titulo posuit Cornelius Chrestus et dixit lachrymans sit tibi ter(r)a levis / M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) libertus / Chrestus posuit.*
155. Tilurium, ILJug 1986, 1939, ara / altar, P / P  
*Fortun(a)e / [A]ug(ustae) [sac(rum)?] / [...] m[....] / [...]st[..] / <sup>5</sup>[-*
156. Tilurium, ILJug 1986, 1950, stela / stele, RP (127.-134. god.) / EP (127-134 AD)  
*C. Iulius C.f. / Fab(ia) Ninica / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII / an(orum) XXXIX stip(endiorum) / <sup>5</sup>XVII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Hospes resistet tumulum / contempla meum, lege et / morarus iam sci- es quae / debeas. Vixi quq potui, Ca/ <sup>10</sup>rus sum*
- Opiorum hic su/m sepultus hic ossua re/quiescum mea. Vale et / benefacito vitae dum fa/tum venit. / <sup>15</sup>Faustus l(ibertus) patrono.
157. Tilurium, ILJug 1986, 1957, titulus / titulus, RP / EP  
*Cn. Iul(io) S[evero] / co(n)s(uli) le[g(ato)] Aug(usti) / pr(o) pr(aetore) pr(ovinciae) / Syriae Pa[laestinae] / <sup>5</sup>triunf[alib(us) ornamen]tis [honorato-*
158. Tilurium, ILJug 1986, 1958, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D., m. / Caetenio / Secundo /infelcis/ <sup>5</sup>simo def(uncto) / an(norum) XV me/serum (!) / dierum XX / Caetenius / <sup>10</sup>Maxsimus / et Raia Ian/uaria paren/tes ieelio pos(uere).*
159. Tilurium, ILJug 1986, 1965, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Q. Naevio Q. fil. Sim[plici et C.?] / Serg(io) Firmini (filio) Qui[ntilia]no decurioni [Mun(icipi)Mag]ni aedili AIEPO [Domi?] / <sup>5</sup>tia Marcella mater [coniug]/i et filio infel(i)cis[simis].*
- Salona / Salona
160. Ager Salonitanus, Šegvić, 1996, br. 30 / no. 30, stela / stele, P / P  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Prima mater / Crispine T(iti) l(ibertae) / def(unctae) ann(orum) XVIII / <sup>5</sup>posuit.*
161. Ager Salonitanus, Šegvić, 1996, br. 26 / no. 26, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Severus Triocha/ri f(ilius) Veius / eq(es) ala(e) IV / N(ororum seu-umidiorum?) c(ivium) R(omanorum) ann(orum) / <sup>5</sup>XXVI sti(pendiorum) V / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Urban/us fratri pos(u)it.*
162. Brattia, Kurilić 2006, 85, ILJug 1963, 259, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, D / D  
*Titulu< s > positum / [e]st Suetonio Ionio do<m>o Dur(ra)c(chio?) / ann(orum) LXI LX ovi(t) m(ense) Ia(nuario) tertio (die).*
163. Brattia, Kurilić 2006, 87, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, D / D  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Crescent/tio co(n)iugi s(uo) / p(ientissimo) p(osuit) b(ene) meren[t]i.*

164. Brattia, Kurilić 2006, 88, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, P / P  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Antonia Se/cunda Ant(oniae) Secund(a)e mat(ri) / inf(elicissimae) d(efunctae) ann(orum) L / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).*
165. Pharia, AE 1980, 691, epystilium / epystilium, P / P  
*[...../... C(aio) Cornificio C]aro nomine suo et C(aii) Co[rnificio]... et Corn]ificiae Gauillae filior(um) aedem ae[ternam?.../...facien]da(m) curavit idemque dedicavit et posui[t] decurio adlectus.*
166. Pituntium, AE 1989, 608, ara / altar, KP? / LP?  
*Dis Asca(niis) et / Matri Magn(a)e / Ian(a) e[l(ibens)] m(erito).*
167. Salona, Kurilić 2006, 27, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*Petiliae Petili fil Va/lentine def an VI m VIII di XVIII / Primus et Seccia Silvia /paren filiae dulcissime /<sup>5</sup> posuer.*
168. Salona, Kurilić 2006, 28, stela / stele, KP (2., 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / Anchari/a Paulina / Anchariae /<sup>5</sup> Primiae /liberte / bene me/renti po/suit.*
169. Salona, Kurilić 2006, 35, AE 1999, 1228, stela / stele, KP (3., 4. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / S[e]mp(ro)nio / Vale(n)tioni(i) Val(eria) V(ic)/tori(ana?)----*
170. Salona, Kurilić 2006, 48, AE 2001, 1607, stela / stele, RP (2. st.) / EP (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / Val(eriae) Maximae / P. Bennius / Priscianus /s mil. Coh. VIII Vol. / tibicem(!) co(n)s(ularis) / hospitar / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).*
171. Salona, Kurilić 2006, 50, stela / stele, KP (2., 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*[D.m] / [---] / L(usidenius) Glicerus delica/to suo b. m. p. / Lusidenius Glicer fe/<sup>5</sup>cit Secund(a)e fili(a)e / su(a)e.*
172. Salona, Kurilić 2006, 51, AE 2001, 1610, stela / stele, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*[---] / [Ae]milia A/prulla co(n)iugi b. m.*
173. Salona, Kurilić 2006, 52, AE 2001, 1611, stela / stele, KP (2., 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / Fabiae / Ursae co/niugi in/<sup>5</sup>co(m)parabi/li qu(a)e vixit / ann(os) XXXVII / Basileus / maritus /<sup>10</sup> p.*
174. Salona, Kurilić 2006, 81, stela / stele, KP (3., 4. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Tit(?)us Stat/iae Urs/ule co/niugi / b(ene) m(erenti).*
175. Salona, Kurilić 2006, 82, sepulkralna ara / sepulchral altar, KP (2., 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*[L?]uci[llae vel ferae vel simil?] / [N]arciss/[u]s et Felic/[i]tas par[e]/<sup>5</sup> ntes loc(o) /conces(s)o [--] Ei[l?] / et Si[----].*
176. Salona, AE 1987, 813, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Lottiae Dracontillae / Lotteius Leo et Lott(ia) Cere(ra) /filiae i(n)felic(issimae) qua(e) vix(it) ann(os) XIII m(enses) IX parentes / posu(erunt).*
177. Salona, AE 1989, 603, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*Aurelius Lupus sib/bi (sic) et coiugi suae / Iuliae Maxim(a)e / piscinam fecit.*
178. Salona, AE 1989, 604, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Telpasi Philusa Iuliae Gemell(a)e coiugi bene merenti / se vivo et sibi et Petronio Staphylo filio / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur); / locus donatus a FAB aera proditio l(ongum) p(edes) octo / latum p(edes) quattor (sic).*
179. Salona, AE 1996, 1208, stela / stele, KP (kraj 2. početak 3. st.) / LP (end of 2<sup>nd</sup>, beginning of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Sempronia[e] / Quart(a)e P. V[rg(ulanus)] / Vrsus mat[ri] / piissimae / p(osuit).*
180. Salona, AE 1996, 1209, titulus / titulus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Pretorin(a)e / Licinianus / pienitis(si)m(a)e con(iugi) serv(a)e posuit / annorum XXXX.*
181. Salona, AE 1997, 1230, ara / altar, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*---- / et Sil(uano) deo / cons(eruatori) sac(rum) / pro s(alute) Maxi/mi(i) Or[--- / ---] / et Maximi(i) / Maximiani / a mil(itiis) (centuriae) IIIIC / [ex] vot(o) succe(pto).*

182. Salona, AE 2009, 1016a, sarkofag / sarcophagus, D / D  
*Fl(auius) Iulius zaconus et / Aurel(ia) Ia[nua]ria con/iux eius hoc sarco/gum sini uibi posuerunt. / Si quis post nostram pau/sationem hoc sarco/gum aperire voluerit in/ferit aeclesiae Salon(itanae) ar/genti libras quinquaginta.*
183. Salona, AE 2009, 1016b, sarkofag / sarcophagus, D (358. god.) / D (358 AD)  
*Dep(ositio) / Iuli / zaco/ni s(ub) / die / IIII / nonas / Novem/bres / Datia/no et Cerea/le / co(n)s(ulibus).*
184. Salona, AE 2009, 1017, ara / altar, RP (1., 2. st.) / EP (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*Magia L. / f. Maxima / Nimphis / v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) l(aeta).*
185. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2060, ara / altar, P / P  
*Cleudicia / [d]is Trivis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
186. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2083, AE 1986, 546, mensa ponderaria / mensa ponderaria, P / P  
*[.Vi]bius Firmus mag(ister) et q(uin)q(uennalis) mesam(!) d(ono) d(at).*
187. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2095, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*L. Barbio .[....] / vet(erano) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis) / et Quintiae matri / Barbia Paulla posit(!) / <sup>5</sup> et Sil[.....]pii]ssimae / [.....]jaran / [.....]m.fac/[.....]vinae / [.....] XIII / <sup>10</sup> [.....]te / [-]*
188. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2109, cipus / cippus, P (2. st.) / P (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*M. Ulipio M. f. / Sabino eq(uo) p(ublico) / dec(urioni) col(oniae) Sal(onitanorum) / II viro iure / <sup>5</sup> dicundo praef(ecto) bis / coll(egi) fabr(um) et cen/tonariorum / patrono coll(egi) / s(upra) s(cripti) ob industriam / <sup>10</sup> adque sing(ula)rem / eius innocentiam et integritatem / defensionem/que ex aere col/ <sup>15</sup>lato coll(egium) s(upra) s(criptum).*
189. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2116, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Protacorae / L. AG P. P. / notar(io) et opso/ <sup>5</sup>natori /Felicissima coiu/gi piissimo / fecit.*
190. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2119, titulus / titulus, RP (2. st.) / EP (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / Renover dispe/satoris Aug(usti) vicar(ius) / defunctus an(norum) XXX et Aeli/<sup>5</sup>ae Aug(usti)*
191. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2121, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D. m. / T. Aelio / Quintiniano / filio dulcis/ <sup>5</sup> simo def(un)c(to) / anno(rum) VIII / di(erum) XXXIII ma/ter pientissima / Dexsia Proba.*
192. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2125, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*Aurelio Aeneae con/iugi incomparabili nat/ione Graeco clvi(!) vixit a/nnis XXVII pos(u)it Cassia Deco/<sup>5</sup>rata coniux virginio suo / bene merenti.*
193. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2126, urna / urn, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*Aur(elio) Anthigono / bene merenti / coiisaciic posu(e)r/unt.*
194. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2129, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*Aur(elio) Maximino ITLV [-ann]os qui vix(it) ter denus [-] / tplevit huic infeli[-] / sartofagum(!) posu[it-] / <sup>5</sup> Euticianus nutr [-].*
195. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2133, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*-] / [.....]Au]/relius Te[r]tul]/lus et Muc[apo]/<sup>5</sup>r Mucatra[e fil(ius)] / cibes et contu[bernalis] / ipsius ex p[rae] / cepto titu[lum be]/ne merenti pos[uernut].*
196. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2135, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*Aureliae Ursine filiae piiss/mae adque infelicissimae qua/e vixit ann(os) XVIII m(enses) VIII Aurel(ius) Ursin(us) et Iulia Eucarpia pa/<sup>5</sup>rentes b(ene) m(erenti) posuerunt / et sibi.*
197. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2137, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Aur(eliae) Valentine / puellae / infelicissime qua/<sup>5</sup>e vixit ann/<n>os p(lus) m(inus) / XX Ael(ius) Va/lentio pa/ter filiae / <sup>10</sup> dulcissime / [p]osuit.*
198. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2140, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Hilare / defunctae) ann(orum) II / m(ensium) II / Baeb(ius) Saloninus.*
199. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2148, urna / urn, KP / LP  
*Cannutiae Cres/centille d(e)functae) an(norum) XXXVI Vi/bius Anicetus co/iugi incomparabili.*

200. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2158, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) [M(anibus)] / Corn[eliae] / Chrysidi [Co]rnelius /<sup>5</sup> Didymus coniugi / optumae cum [q]ua vixi annis XXX [...].*
201. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2159, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Cer() Corn/elio Clementi / Petronia Secun(da) / mater et Paulla seror(!), /<sup>5</sup> infelix mater quem di(le)xi / vix(it) an(nis) XXXI vitae prae/sidium meae.*
202. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2163, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Posphoro /men(sium) XI / T. Flavius / Alexander /<sup>5</sup> et Horea / nepoti.*
203. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2165, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) [m(anibus)] / F. (!) Fl(avio) Ianu [a]/rio Gobo /fratri ka/<sup>5</sup>rissimo / [-?]*
204. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2169, stela / stele, D / D  
*D(is) [m(anibus)] / I(ulius?) A(s)clem(e)pio/dotus et / Valeria Vale/<sup>5</sup>ntina filio Iu/lio annuc(u)lo / m(ensium) V posuerunt.*
205. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2179, titulus / titulus, RP (početak 2. st.) / EP (beginning of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*-?] / idiai...../ Firmo / Iulia Clemen/ <sup>5</sup>tina coiug(i) / et sibi.*
206. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2178, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*-] / .....Jelie / C. Iulio Turboni / C. Iulio Magno /<sup>5</sup> filis / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(ereditatem) n(on) s(equetur) Alexander.*
207. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2180, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*-] / Firmus et [.....] / Atticilla P. Iul[....]/simi. Si mea fata fuis/ <sup>5</sup>sent bona hic lapis in ti/tulo qui premet hossua mea / aequius iste lapis patri super hossua iaceret.*
208. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2184, urna / urn, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Longiniae Ter/tulle Octavius / Vales ma(ritus) et Octa/<sup>5</sup>vius Tertulli/nus fil(ius) b(ene) m(erenti).*
209. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2185, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*P. Mescenius Dorus em[it] / monimentum de Cinci[a] / Placida sibi et Statiae Epiteux[i] / uxori et suis /<sup>5</sup> in f(ronte) p(edes) XIIIX in a(gro) p(edes) XIIIX.*
210. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2187, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Paetronio / Aerasino / def(uncto) ann(orum) /<sup>5</sup> XXXI.../-*
211. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2193, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*M(T) verna Fortuna/to alumno infelissi/mo set(!) et sibi vivo / posuit et libertis /<sup>5</sup> libertabus suis.*
212. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2195, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*[D(is)] m(anibus) / [....]Joni DATNIAT / Tarc(onio) Diad/<sup>5</sup>umeno co/iugi pien/tissimo.*
213. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2209, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*P. Vibius / Victor / Egnati(a)e / [-]*
214. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2211, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*-] / .....Jius / Vindem(i)ator / coniugi /<sup>5</sup> b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).*
215. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2217, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*Chinnamis L. Enni / Clementis contubernalis bene merenti / posit./<sup>5</sup> Hunc titulum accepi supremi / temporis a te mandatu / posui / sit levis iste tibi.*
216. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2221, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*Felicio / Camilli Ar/runti Scrib(oniani) / ser(vus) a(nnorum) XL h(ic) s(itus) e(st) /<sup>5</sup> Gutilla cons(ervo) / bene merenti / posit.*
217. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2222, stela / stele, P / P  
*D. m. / Feliclae / d(e )f(unctae) ann(orum) XXV / Hermes conser(vae) /<sup>5</sup> b(ene) m(erenti).*
218. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2229A, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Primulae / infelissimae / que vixit annos /<sup>5</sup> p(lus) m(inus) XXV / Quintus / conlibertus / posuit.*
219. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2234, titulus / titulus, D / D  
*-] / ...../[p]aren/tes Satur/e filie infe/licissime / dec. fu. an(norum) X.*
220. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2235, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*-] / rogo qui legis (h)unc / titulum ut dicas Silvi/na puella sit tibi terra /<sup>5</sup> levis.*

221. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2238, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*Tritus / Plati f. viv(u)s fecet sibi / et suis IN.  
PS[..?].*
222. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2241, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*[...]rg dulcisis[mo(!) cum quo]...*
223. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2246, titulus / titulus, D / D  
*ic(!) est pos(i)t[a] / Byrgo an(norum) / XIII no/  
[-]*
224. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2249, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*[...] Felix vibus (!) / [-]t et Memmi /[-]ae compari  
suae.*
225. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2254, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*arca Valentine.*
226. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2258H, epistilium / epistilium, 6. st. / 6<sup>th</sup> cent.  
*[Micha]el a Sa[r]tisero] / [-]episc(opus) in[clitus]  
/ [-ded]ecavit.*
227. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2263, ara / altar, P / P  
*Dia [...] / ia ex iu/ssō Deae / [N]emisi / [s.] v.  
l. m.*
228. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2271, titulus / titulus, D / D  
*[-] rogo deus [ut audias praeces?-] / [-] vd vt  
[-]*
229. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2315, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*[.....]ntos [u]s / [vivus si]bi posuit et  
Aurel(iae) / [...e]ntiae uxori suae o[b]/ [seq]  
uentissimae et filiae Ur/ <sup>5</sup>[sae dul]c[iss]imae  
quae vixit ann(os) / [...s]i quis super tria c[or]/  
[pora nostra a]lliut corpu [s] / ponere voluerit -*
230. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2338, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*[...]iu [...Ia]nu/arius coiug(i) / b(ene)  
m(erenti).*
231. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2387, sarkofag / sarcophagus, D / D  
*[-] / [-] / [-] / [-]VI [-] / <sup>5</sup> [-] IAIII [-] V [-] /  
[virg?]inie [sue? q]uod s [iali?]us ni [...] / iit  
es. [...]ianus ponere volueri [t det] / eklesiae  
s(upra) s(criptae) argenti pondo dec [e]m / post  
conss. D(omini) n(ostr)i Gratiani Aug(usti) III /  
<sup>10</sup> et Equiti v(iri) c(larissimi).*
232. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2467, stela / stele, D / D  
*Aur(elius) Fortuni/us pet(i)tu(s) a con/iuge sua  
Aur(elia) / Vernatilla / <sup>5</sup> sorori sue Urse / que vixit  
ex cari/tate eorum sene ullo / devitum Aur(elius)  
Fortuni/us concessit locu(m) / <sup>10</sup> si quis autem  
filio me/o Vermatiano post o/vitum eorum Ursa  
Ver/nantilla Fortunium avi/tum ponere voluerit  
da/ <sup>15</sup>vit eclesie argen(ti) po(ndo) V.*
233. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2518, sarkofag / sarcophagus, D / D  
*[Depositio) bone] memorie Su[-]*
234. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2571, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*[...] / Karpophori / vot(um) sol(vit).*
235. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2576, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Corelliae / Melete / def(unctae) ann(orum) XXX  
/ uxori / <sup>5</sup> optim[ae] / [?*
236. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2588, mozaik / mosaic, D  
(5. st.) / D (5<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*[+ 13 litt. -] / [die oct]avo K[al.] / [Iunia?]rum  
vot/um fecit ad ma/rtirem Asterium.*
237. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2589, mozaik / mosaic, D? / D?  
*Die Ioves X[tio] Mercur[u] / marturem  
An[tiochianum].*
238. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2590, titulus / titulus, D / D  
*[Hi]c iacet Dulcitius peleger civis / [...]enus qui  
vixit annus XXV / [mens.] VI depositus in pace  
neo/[fitus sub d(ie) VI Idus Augustas cos. / [d. n.  
Arca]dio et Bautone v. c.*
239. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2611, titulus / titulus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*[.....] / leg(ionis) I [Itali]/ce sti[p...ann.] /  
XXIII Iul(ius) [...] / <sup>5</sup> heres p[osuit]*
240. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2619, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Dis manibus / Cominia Lupae / annor(um) XXI  
/ Q. Petronius / <sup>5</sup> Epigonus vivus / coiugi be(ne)  
mer(enti) posit et Petroni/ae Bidusae matri.*
241. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2620, stela / stele, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*L. Cafatio Sp(uri) f. / Celeri / Pomponia Philu-  
mina / mater posit.*
242. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2622, titulus / titulus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / I[ph?]igeniae Va/[le]rie quae vixit /  
[ann.] XXV hunc titu/ <sup>5</sup>[lu]m posu(i)t infe/[lic]*

- issima Domitia / [mat]er suo (sic) cum / [ma]gno dolore / [m]ei m(a)erent su(pe)ri fo/ <sup>10</sup>[r] tasse et inferi / multi.
243. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2629, titulus / titulus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / Titiae Moschi / carissi(mae) femin(a)e / qui vixit an(nos) XXX / <sup>5</sup> VIII T. Horesius / Saturninus / coniugi incon/parabili b(ene) m(erenti) / p(osuit).*
244. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2630, titulus / titulus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / Kornelia Pro/cla Valerio Pro/clo filio in/ <sup>5</sup>felicissimo / qui v(i)xit plus / minus annos / XVII bene me(ren)ti / posuit.*
245. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2655, titulus / titulus, D (4. st.) / D (4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*C. P() Herm[-] / coiugi [-] / b[-]*
246. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2703, tabula / tablet, D (4. st.) / D (4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*+ tua de tui[s] / tibi d(omin)e opt[uli] / inercesio[n]e / beati Iohann[is] / <sup>5</sup> memento serb[i] / +tui d(omi)ne.*
247. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2706, titulus / titulus, RP / EP  
*Dis manibus / M. Accio Zosimo / qui vixit ann(is) / XXIII mensib(us) XI / <sup>5</sup> diebus XVI fec(it) / Accia Amabilis / mater f(ilio) pient(issimo).*
248. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2707, stela / stele, KP (2., 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Aebutiae Ursi/nae defunctae en/nopu(m) XXX Marc/<sup>5</sup>ius Primi/tivus mar/itus et Cus/ia Victoria / filia eius b(ene) m(erenti) / <sup>10</sup> posuerun(t).*
249. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2709, sarkofag / sarcophagus, RP (2. st.) / EP (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / Albiae Cale Albi(i) / Marina et Hermes matri / piissimae.*
250. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2711, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*Aur(elius) Saloninus / conces(s)it arcam / Barroniae.*
251. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2712, urna / urn, KP / LP  
*Baebiae / Felicle / heredes.*
252. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2714, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*Calpurnia Pitian(a) ar/c(a)m se viva / posuit sibi et Publio Clau/dio coiugi suo domum / <sup>5</sup> ae[t]ernalem.*
253. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2724, sarkofag / sarcophagus, 6. st. / 6<sup>th</sup> cent.  
*Fl(avius) Valerianus d(e) n(umero) sagittario/ rum centinarius in hoc sepul/crum volueret super hoc co/rpus aliquis voluere alium / <sup>5</sup> pone/re davit in heclesia aur/i p(ondo) III.*
254. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2726, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*D. m. / M. Iulius Epafroditus se vivo posuit sibi / et Iul(iae) Agippine con/<sup>5</sup>iugi sue.*
255. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2728, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Iulie Fel/icule am/ice bone / <sup>5</sup> Septue/ia Ingen/ua posuit.*
256. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2730, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Livius Primitivus / homo bonus hic situs / est / <sup>5</sup> et Iulia Firma coius.*
257. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2731, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*-] / [....c]oi/ugi bene me/renti LVLVI / <sup>5</sup> Sera-pio.*
258. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2741, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*D. m. / Valeriae / Valentinae / coiugi raris/ <sup>5</sup>[si-mae-*
259. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2744, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*-] / [....]rit/mae Lebin/thus con/ <sup>5</sup>iugi karissi/ mae.*
260. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2746, stela / stele, P (2. st.) / P (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) [m(anibus)] / paren/tes in/felicitis/ <sup>5</sup>simi po/ suerunt/filis n(umero) III (tribus) / uno an(norum) XXVII / al(teri) XXVIII al(teri) XXX.*
261. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2757, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*Herenius Capitolinus / Aemiliae Maxximille / coniugi incon/parabili.*
262. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2761, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Annidi / Messor / conserve / pientissime / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).*

263. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2774, edikula / aedicule, P / P  
*Silvano Aug(usto) sacr(um) pro salute et reditu Luci Pomponi / Valentini Lucius Pomponius Restutus cliens.*
264. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2776, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Liciniae / def(unctae) [ann(orum)] / XVIII pa[t(er)] / <sup>5</sup> fil(iae) p[ri]enti/ssime p(osuit).*
265. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2777, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Vettiae In/genue matri / pientissime qu(ae) / <sup>5</sup> vixit ann(os) XL / Vettia Tertu/lina posuit.*
266. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2778, stela stele, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Actiaco / Marinus / Tatae b<a>e/ <sup>5</sup>ne merenti / et Glaucus Fil(o)srenus / b(ene) m(erenti).*
267. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2780, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*Nympis / Cato / [e]t Lupo / so(cii?) v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes).*
268. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2781, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Arrio Cala/tioni et Mina/tiae Myrine / parentib(us) bene / <sup>5</sup> merentib(us) filia / fecit.*
269. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2784, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D.m. / Papirius Quin/tio Dionisie co/iugi quae vixit<m / <sup>5</sup> mecum annis / XXVI et sibi po/suit.*
270. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2785, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*Rutiliae Zone puelle infelicitissime / quae vixit ann(is) XXI sumptus(!) eius / positum et Ruti(l)i ae Auguste sorori / instantia Rutiliorum Zenonis / <sup>5</sup> et Latinae parentum / Clodius Fortunatus / locum concessit.*
271. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2787, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*Turoni Sta/tarie Turi f(iliae) / h(ic) s(itae).*
272. Salona, ILJug 1986, 2789, sarkofag / sarcophagus, D / D  
*D(ominis) n(ostris) Thaeodosio (!) co(n)s(ule) XI et Valentiniano / viro nobelissimo Caes(are). Ego Thaeodo/sius emi a Fl(avia) Vitalia prb() sanc(ta) matro/na auri sol(idis) III sub d(ie).*
273. Salona, AE 2005, 1187, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, D / D  
*-----? / [--- sepultu]// ram si qu[is] // de]asciare volu//<sup>2</sup>erit, habe[at] // ir]ata numina. // Quitquit [--- // ---]ani sive Iude// <sup>4</sup>i vel crissi[ani] // <--->, // <sup>5</sup> colent e[t de//os] Manis. Unus // <sup>6</sup> quisque [al/ii] quot sibi fi(e)//ri non uu[lt] // facere non // <sup>8</sup> debet..*
274. Salona, AE 2006, 1010, sarkofag / sarcophagus, D (4. st.) / D (4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elio) Satrio / qui vixit a/ nn(os) VIII m(enses) IIII / et Aur(eliae) Max/ imae quae vi//xit ann(os) VI m(enses) III fili(i) s piissimis Aur(elius) Flav(u)s et Cer(es) par(entes) et Is(idis) uic(tricis) Vr(aniae? et Sa(rapis) Con(servatoris) alu//m(n)is s(u)is P. Hipeti(s) / -----*
275. Salona, AE 2006, 1011, stela / stele, D / D  
*D(is) M(anibus). / Hic / positus est / T. Aurelius Au/relianus / filius / p(i)entissimus /vixit / annis VIII.*
276. Salona, AE 2006, 1012, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*----- / Felix vibus / [sibi feci]t et Memmi(ae) / [---]ae compari suae.*
277. Salona, AE 2006, 1014, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*I(oui) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Lucilla quod / ante ho(s) annos / [ti]bi hoce in lo/co vover/am restitui; / v(otum) s(olvi) l(ibens) m(erito).*
278. Salona, AE 2006, 1016, stela / stele, KP (2., 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.), Sl. 7 / Fig. 7  
*D(is) M(anibus). / Iul(ius) Tro/fimus / Trosi(a)e / Thycini (sic) / b(ene) m(erenti).*
279. Salona, ILJug 1978, 674, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Sex. Erboni/us Ingenu(u)s cu[m] / coiuge et m(atre) / Spei sacr(um).*
280. Salona, ILJug 1978, 678, basis / base, KP / LP  
*T. Fl(avio) Herennio / Iasoni eq(uiti) R(omano) dec(urioni) / col(oniae) Sal(onitanae) pont(ifici) / aed(ili) praef(ecto) coll(egii) / <sup>5</sup> fab(rum) et cent(onariorum) fil(io) / herenni Iaso/nis v(iri) e(gregii) patroni / col(oniae) Sal(onitanae) ob amore(!) / patriae quem ob / <sup>10</sup> merita sua conse/ cutus est et erga / honorificentiam / quam civibus exhi/bet coll(egium) s(upra) s(criptum).*

281. Salona, ILJug 1978, 682, titulus / titulus, RP / EP  
*M. Satrius M. l. Valens / VI v(ir) f(ecit) sibi et Satriae Eufrisyn(a)e / co(n)iugi pientissimae et Satrio / Floro f(ilio) Satriae Valentinae f(iliae) liber / <sup>5</sup>tis libertab(us)que eor(um) h(oc) m(onumentum) h(ereditatem) n(on) s(equetur) / commune est una cum Stator(io) Festo / posterisq(ue) eor(um) et Calpurnio Callisto ami(co) / in f(ronte) p(edes) XV in ag(ro) p(edes) L.*
282. Salona, ILJug 1978, 683, tabula / tablet, D / D  
*Fl(avius) Crescentia[nus-] / commea [-] / felicem a[-] / per prop[er]- / <sup>5</sup>tra(n)sire c[-].*
283. Salona, ILJug 1978, 684, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Ael(iae) Vic/torinae / def(unctae) ann(orum) XXV / M. Aur(elius) Severus / co(n)iugi infeli(cissimae).*
284. Salona, ILJug 1978, 689, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*[F]laviae Ursu/lae def(unctae) ann(orum) XXX / L. Valerius / Secundus / <sup>5</sup>coiug(i).*
285. Salona, ILJug 1978, 691, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Pomponiae / (H)ermetillae / coniugi / <sup>5</sup> pientissimae / q(uae) vixit ann(is) p(lus) m(inus) XXV / Pontianus / coniugi in/ comparabili / <sup>10</sup>b(ene) m(erenti) posuit.*
286. Salona, ILJug 1978, 693, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Raetiniae / Iadestinae / ma- tri p(iiissimae) / Crescentila (!) / filia / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).*
287. Salona, ILJug 1978, 704, tabula / tablet, D (4. st.) / D (4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Constantiae / quae vixit cum / marito annis XX / <sup>5</sup>quiescet in pace die / IIII (ante) Nonas Febr(u)arias.*
288. Salona, ILJug 1978, 708, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Aurelio Vic/tori infeli/cissimo Sipon/to defunc/tus annorum / plus menus (!) / XXX.*
289. Salona, ILJug 1978, 709, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Anchari(a)e / Quintil/l(a)e Anch/<sup>5</sup>arius Ur/sinus ma/tri pient(issimae).*
290. Salona, ILJug 1978, 710, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Claud(io) Cres/to def(uncto) / ann(orum) XIII m(ensium) IIII / <sup>5</sup>di(erum) VI- III Curia / Onesimus / pient(issimus) sod(alis) / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) / Cl(a)ud(ius) Ones(imus) pat(er) / <sup>10</sup>oviti Claud(ia) / Creste p(ia) mater pos(uere).*
291. Salona, ILJug 1978, 712, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Seccius / Corint(h)us / Valeriae / <sup>5</sup>Valentin(a)e / d(e)f(unctae) a(nnorum) XXXV / coniugi / caris(simae) b(ene) m(erenti).*
292. Salona, ILJug 1978, 714, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Dorim(a)e / matri Do/retos / <sup>5</sup>filius / b(ene) m(erenti).*
293. Salona, ILJug 1978, 720, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*Iovi et Ian/e posuit / donum S/alvius Ve/<sup>5</sup>nerius / pro salute col(l)egii.*
294. Salona, ILJug 1978, 721, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Valentil(la)e / (H)ilarus co(n) iu/gi suae qu(a)e infe/ <sup>5</sup>ilicissim(a)e co(n)iugi su(a)e qu(a)e vi/xit annos plu/s minus XXX et (A) e/iae vixit an(n)o(s) / <sup>10</sup>plus minus VIII.*
295. Salona, ILJug 1978, 724, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*Batuia T() / T. Aur(elio) Diad/meno co/iugi pien/ <sup>5</sup>tissimo.*
296. Salona, AE 2007, 1100, stela / stele, RP (2. pol. 1. st.) / EP (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*C. Iulius / Ampliatus / Iuliae Mollatin(ae) / annor(um) V / idem Seruando / annucl(o) mens(ium) VII / h(ic) s(iti) s(unt) fili(i)s suis / posuit.*
297. Salona, AE 2008, 1042, stela / stele, KP (2., 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus) / [-A]emili / [--]lici et Melitine / [---]+[---] / ----?*
298. Salona, ILJug 1963, 126, stela / stele, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*Aur(elio) Valerino, excepto/ri imp(eratorum duorum) in officio memo/ri(a)e, qui aput (!) civitatem / Nicomediensium fat/ <sup>5</sup>i munus complevit. / Vixit (!) annis XXXII et [VI?] / me(n) s(ibus). Aur(elius) Leontius, vir / docen(arius) et dec(urio) col(oniae) Salon(itanae), / ex curatori- bus eiusd/ <sup>10</sup>em civitatis, filio dulc/issimo adque*

- (!) *obsequ/entissimo pater infeli/x. Qui quod primo mihi / hoc facere debuerat, e/ <sup>15</sup>go feci.*
299. Salona, ILJug 1963, 130, arca / arch, D / D  
*Ponti(a)e Ursul/(a)e inf(anti) infelicit/sim(a)e ann(orum) duu/m (!) Aennia Lu/cida avia.*
300. Salona, Matijević, 2006, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Iul(ius) Tro/fimus / Trosi(a)e / Tychini / b(ene) m(erenti).*
301. Salona, Maršić, 2011, 29, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*D(is) M(anibus). / Aur(elius) Tit/us Stat/iae Urs/ul(a)e co/niugi / b(ene) m(erenti).*
302. Solentia, ILJug 1986, 2937, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Curtia / G<a>emilia / Ursioni / [...].nutri/ <sup>5</sup> [-*
303. Solentia, ILJug 1986, 2938, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*C. C[u]rti[o]. / Maximo / L. Curtius / Firmus / <sup>5</sup> fratri posit.*
304. Solentia, ILJug 1986, 2945, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*C. Severa / an(n)o(rum) XL / h(ic) s(ita) / Prisci-lla / <sup>5</sup> matri / [s]ue / [b(ene)] m(erenti).*
305. Spalatum, AE 2007, 1101, tabula / tablet, KP / LP  
*Nimphis e[t Siluano ?] / L. Baebidius Cassius (centurio) et M. Fl(auius?) [--].*
306. Spalatum, Demicheli, 2008, 63, AE 2008, 1053, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*[D(is)] M(anibus)/ Fruct(u)o/s(a)e def(unctae) an(nis) X/ Fruct(u)la f'iliae.*
307. Spalatum, Demicheli, 2008, 66, AE 2008, 1055, sarkofag / sarcophagus, D / D  
*[-----]ae/ [-----] puellae/ [quae vixit] ann(os) XXIII m(enses) III/ [d(ies)---] I Valentinianus/ <sup>5</sup> [et] Cassianilla filiai (sic)/ [pii]ssimai quai (sic) depo/[sita di]e III non(as) Mart[ias] in/ [-----] ove? [----].*
308. Sumpetar–Jasenice, AE 2004, 1098, tabula / tablet, KP / LP  
*Deanae et/ Asclepio ae/demp(ublice) Neras(tini) / uetustate cor/ruptam a solo / restituerunt.*
309. Tragurium, Šegvić, 1996, br. 13 / no. 13, sarkofag / sarcophagus, D / D  
*D[ep]osit(io) bone mem[or]ie ... s / iunias cons(ulibus) domi(nis) Ar[cadio et Honorio] /*
- Augg(ustibus) quinques si quis s[epulchrum viola]/re voluerit det ecles(iae) cat(olicae).*
310. Tragurium, ILJug 1986, 2795, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*Septiminei tempola / ano XI fieegiur / [.Jo anorum ov[-] / [...] IIIom[....] / <sup>5</sup> [-*
311. Tragurium, AE 2004, 1103, Maršić, 2005, 136, stela / stele, KP (2., 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)]. / Aletius Barbiu/s infelicit(s)ime co(n)i/ugi sue Marcele / que uix<x>it bene / mecum annos / plu(s) minus LV, filio/s reliquit qua/t(tu)or, que nulum / dolum de se vidit.*
- 311a. Tragurium, Maršić, 2005, 133., stela / stele, KP (2., 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*M(arcus) Attius M(arci) l(ibertus) F[a]Justus / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Attiae M(arci) l(ibertae) / Secundae coniugi sanc(tissimae), / et M(arco) Attio M(arci) f(ilio) Crispo, / et M(arci) f(ilio) Secundo.M(arco) Attio Coniugis amissae lacrumas satis esse putavi / mefudisse meae vimque tulisse deum. / Et tuleram graviter, sed nunc et solus et orbus / amissis natis maxima damna fleo. / Et testor superos, patri quae ponere nati / debuerant, natis ponere dona patrem. Attia M(arci) l(iberta) Ampliata / annor(um) XXIII h(ic) s(ita) e(st). Florente aetate depressere venifcae, / mensesque quinque et annum cum aegrotaverit, / abreptam aetate in inferi Ditis specus aetate in inferi Ditis specus. / Hunc titulum posuit Faustus libertae suae.*

Južna Dalmacija / Southern Dalmatia

312. Bigeste, Škegro 1997, 9, ILJug 1963, 116, stela / stele, P / P  
*..... / eq(ues) c(o)ho(rtis) III / Alpin(a)e domo / Vercianus, an(norum) / XXXVIII, stipendiorum XIII, / <sup>5</sup> t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit). H(eredes) p(osuerunt). H(ic) s(itus) e(st).*
313. Bigeste, Škegro 1997, 10, AE 2009, 1013, ILJug 1963, 115, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*Betulo Kar/nis (filio), domo / Egvius, mil(es) / coh(ortis) III Alp(inae), / <sup>5</sup> ann(orum) XL., stip(endiorum) XXI. / H(ic) s(itus) e(st). T(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit). / Valerius sig(nifer) / h(eres) p(osuit).*
314. Bigeste, Škegro 1997, 11, tabula / tablet, P / P  
*Templum Liberi / Patris et Liberae vetus/tate / [di]labsum, restituit / coh(ors) I Bel[g](arum),*

- adieictis por/ <sup>5</sup>ticibus. Curam agente / Fl(avio) Victore, [centurione] leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) p(iae) / f(idelis). Severo et Pompeiano / II co(n)s(ulibus). / Pisos.
315. Bigeste, Škegro 1997, 20, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Isante Suro, coniugi incomparab(ili). / D(is) M(anibus). Victorin(a)e Ann(a)e / bene merenti, pr(a)ecepto / dom(i)nico factum, Mise/ <sup>5</sup>ram parentes perded[e]/runt, annis trig(in)tt[a].*
316. Bigeste, Škegro 1997, 22, titulus / titulus, RP / EP  
*Valeriae Puden/till(a)e, anno(rum) XXXV, / T(itus) Fl(avius) Maxiarcus, c(oniugi) b(ene) m(erenti) / posuit. / <sup>5</sup> Item Fl(avius) Bennus et Fl(avia) Sabina, / fili(us) et fili(a) e(i)us.*
317. Bigeste, ILJug 1986, 1924, stela / stele, KP (prvi dio 3. st.) / LP (first part of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) [m(anibus)] s(acrum) / Iuliae B[....] / co-niugi ben[e] / merent[i] qu(a)e / <sup>5</sup> vixit mecum / annos XXII et / tulit aetatis s/uae annos XL / Fl(avius) Aurelianus / <sup>10</sup> dec(urio) coh(ortis) I Belg/arum posui/t natione Pan/nonia.*
318. Bigeste, ILJug 1986, 1930, titulus / titulus, PZ / PZ, 2. st. / 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Fla(vio) Maxima filio suo / et Octavius sign(ifer) / amico dulc(issimo) fecer(unt) / <sup>5</sup> ann(orum) duum b(ene) m(erenti) / paremtalem / d(olente?) a(nimo?).*
319. Bigeste, ILJug 1986, 1932, titulus / titulus, RP (sredina 1. st.) / EP (mid-1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*-] / [....] h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / [h]eredes / [po]sierunt.*
320. Bigeste, ILJug 1986, 1934, titulus / titulus, RP (drugi dio 1. st.) / EP (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*Tiberio Claudio Maximo / filio annorum XII Aelia / Maxima mater infelici filio / et Aeli-ae Annaee (!) matri/ <sup>5</sup> h(oc) m(onumentum) h(ereditem) m(on) s(equetur) / et Primus pater.*
321. Bigeste, AE 2003, 1330, stela / stele, RP (cca. 25. god.) / EP (ca. 25 AD)  
*Q. Valerius / Q. f. Qui(rina) dom(o) / Icon(io) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / VII an(norum) LV stip(endiorum) / XXVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st). / Q. Portorius et Q. Valerius Antenoros posuer(unt).*
322. Bigeste, ILJug 1963, 117, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP (1. st.) / EP (1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*T. Flavio Blodi f. / Plasso patri / pientissimo an(norum) L / et Flaviae Tattae matri / <sup>5</sup> an(norum) XXXX bene meritae / et T. Flavio Epicado fra-tri / an(norum) XII et T. Flavio Laedioni / [...] aed(ili), IIII vir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) Naronae, / [...] Laedio f(ilius) vivos (!) sibi et s(uis) f(ecit).*
323. Buthoe, ILJug 1978, 594, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) / Baleriae Ey/tychi-anae qu(a)e / vix(it) ann(is) XIII pa/ <sup>5</sup>tron(us) b(ene) m(erenti) posui(t) f. b. m.*
324. Doclea, AE 1976, 537, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Licinia Int/tie qu(a)e vixit / annos XXXXV / m(enses) VIII dies X/ IIII Licinia Dextrilina m/atri pient/tissi/m(a)e p(osuit).*
325. Doclea, AE 1986, 553, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*Crinnetisa / Armoniae / Idonia Pia / Cidamus c/ um batis sui/s fecit.*
326. Doclea, AE 1986, 554, ILJug 1986, 1836, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*Tito Oclati(o) / Severo / et Laetiliae / Trhepte / et suis. D(is) M(anibus).*
327. Doclea, ILJug 1986, 1823, AE 1986, 557, ara / altar, P / P  
*Iovi / Antra[.] m(aximo?) sacr(um) / T. Fl(avius) Li/ <sup>5</sup>beralis ex / voto suc/cepto (!).*
328. Doclea, ILJug 1986, 1824, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*Iovi Cortali / Aug(usto) Iul(ius) Eutyces / lib(ertus) pro salute / patroni sui Iuli / <sup>5</sup> Vincini-ani votum / l(ibens) s(olvit).*
329. Doclea, ILJug 1986, 1827, tabula / tablet, KP / LP  
*?] / [Do]mno e/t Domne P/etronia Va/ <sup>5</sup>lentina / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit).*
330. Doclea, ILJug 1986, 1835, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Numeriae / Clementill(a)e / coiugi Verri-us Mercator / maritus.*
331. Doclea, ILJug 1986, 1851, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*M. Caesius / Epidianus / viv(u)s fecit / sibi et suis / <sup>5</sup> sep(ulturam).*

332. Doclea, ILJug 1986, 1852, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP (kraj 2. st.) / LP (end of 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*Agirro Epicadi f(ilio) principi k(astelli) Sal-thua...*
333. Doclea, ILJug 1986, 1853, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP / LP  
*Caius Epicadi f(ilius) princeps / civitatis Docle-atium hic situs. / Hoc fieri iussit genitor sibi et / suis. Set (!) fili(i) eius Plassus Epicadus / <sup>5</sup> Scer-dis Verzo et summa adiecta / efficit istud opus. Est pietas natique / hoc auxsisse (!) videntur et decorant / facto et docent esse pios.*
334. Epidaurum, ILJug 1986, 1864, stela / stele, KP? / LP?  
*Posuit ux/or marit/o titulum / benemori/ <sup>5</sup>enti-sima /[-*
335. Epidaurum, ILJug 1978, 647, medaš / boundary stone, RP / EP  
*L. Funisulanus Veto/nianus leg(atus) pr(o) pr[aet(ore)] / [po]ntem et terminos [re]/no-vari ius(s)it per / <sup>5</sup> T. Cas(s)ium Frontonem / o(ptionem) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) f(elicis) in / [fun]do Vesio (!) C. / S. C. D. L. V.*
336. Kaldrun, CILA 2009, 16, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Tatta Murcis f(ilia) viva [in] / memoriam fecit sibi et filis suis.*
337. Lissus, CILA 2009, 19, tabula / tablet, RP / EP  
*L(ucius) Didius L(ucii) l(ibertus) Eros / Di-dia L(ucii) l(iberta) Arbuscul(a) / Didia L(ucii) l(iberta) Auca / havete et tu.*
338. Lissus, CILA 2009, 20, tabula / tablet, RP / EP  
*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Minidia Quintina [v(ixit)] / ann(is) XXX L(ucius) Apertio v(ixit) a(nnis) XVIII / Apertio Felix v(ixit) a(nnis) XVIII qui/bus memor(iam) fec(it) Q(uintus) Apertio Dexter / coniugi et filis suis.*
339. Melite, AE 1990, 792, tabula / tablet, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*Pro salute / C(aii) Balbian/i templum cu/m portico (sic) /ampliavit M(agnus) vilic/us Libero Pat(ri) / libe(n)s fecit.*
340. Municipium S, AE 1971, 303, ILJug, 1978, 602, ara / altar, P / P  
*Deae xant(a)e / Nemesi et Geni/o municip(i) h( ) / Saturninus / b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) / libies (sic) posuit.*
341. Municipium S(), ILJug 1986, 1713, AE 1986, 548, titulus / titulus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. s. / Aur(eliae) Titullae / Argurinae / qu(a)e v(ixit) an(nis) LX Aurelia / <sup>5</sup> Titulla Cam/bria amitae / p(ientissimae) p(osuit).*
342. Municipium S(), ILJug 1986, 1719, titulus / titulus, KP (3. st.) / LP (3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. s. / Iarito Ar/vi s(ibi) p(osuit) et / Fuscae An(a)e / <sup>5</sup> con(iugi) s(uae) d(ulcissimae) q(uae) / v(ixit) a(nnis) L.*
343. Municipium S(), ILJug 1986, 1731, cipus / cippus, KP / LP  
*D. m. s. / T. Aur(elius) Ru[fu]s Belzeiu[s] / viv(u)s sibi/ <sup>5</sup> et Aur(eliae) Fusc[ae] / b[.....] / [.....] an(norum) / XX [...]m[.] / rm dom[um] / <sup>10</sup> aeternam / fecit po/suit OVB.*
344. Municipium S(), ILJug 1986, 1735, titulus / titulus, 6. st. / 6<sup>th</sup> cent.  
*Omnia quae cernis magno constructa labore / moenia, templa, domus, fontes, stabula, atria, thermas / auxilio Crristi(!) paucis construxit in annis / antistes Stefanus (!) sub principe Iustiniano.*
345. Municipium S(), ILJug 1986, 1757, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*D(is) m(anibus) Severus / p(o)sit (!) sibi et / suis .... / [-*
346. Municipium S(), ILJug 1978, 604, cipus / cippus, P / P  
*D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) / Aur(elius) Ma/ximus Argeni/ <sup>5</sup>anus d( ) m() / v(ivo) s(ibi) p(osuit) et Aur(eliae) / Maximin(a)e fili(a)e q(uae) v(ixit) an(nis) XXX.*
347. Municipium S(), ILJug 1978, 606, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) [m(anibus)] / Claudia[e] / Proculae / que vixit an/ <sup>5</sup>nis XXVII Luc[i]us Valens Or() / coniugi p(ientissimae) p(osuit).*
348. Municipium S(), ILJug 1978, 609, cipus / cippus, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) / Pac() Mon/tanae r() q(uae) / vi(xit) a(nnis) XXXV Aur(elia) / <sup>5</sup> Pan-to g() / mater fili(a)e / dulcis(s)im(a)e / et s(ibi) viv(ae) in/infelicit(s)im(a)e / <sup>10</sup> p(osuit).*

349. Municipium S(), ILJug 1978, 610, titulus / titulus, D (4. st.) / D (4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) / Paul() Gau/dene q(uae) v(ixit) / an(nis) XL Ti/ <sup>5</sup>tus Pr() R() / conp(ar) p(ientissimae) et / sib(i) vivo / p(osuit).*
350. Municipium S(), ILJug 1978, 611, cipus / cippus, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) / L. P() Barbaro / d. m. r. q(ui) vi(xit) an(nis) / XX m(ensibus) III d(iebus) III / <sup>5</sup> L. P() Barbaro / et Aur(elia) Panto / filio incon/parabili et sibi vivi in/ <sup>10</sup>felicis(s)imi / p(osuerunt).*
351. Municipium S(), ILJug 1978, 615, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, P / P  
*D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) / ...mo / ....ne q(uae) v(ixit) / an(nis) LXV C()Pi/ <sup>5</sup>li(a)e Despo/tanus avi/ae p(iae?) et matri / viv(a)e et R() Pili/ae p(osuit).*
352. Municipium S(), ILJug 1978, 616, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP? / EP?  
*-] / [Jae[...]pa et Pau[lae] [filij]ae et Sabi[n]io Certo ge/ <sup>5</sup>neri et Maxime / neepotae(!) / M. Fulvinus Na/talis b(ene) m(erentibus) p(osuit).*
353. Narona, Kurilić 2006, 105, AE 1998, 1021, ara / altar, RP / EP  
*Annaea D.f. Maxima / L. Saeni Luculli / Iunon(i) ob honore(m).*
354. Narona, Kurilić 2006, 107, AE 1998, 1023, ara / altar, RP / EP, Sl. 1 / Fig. 1  
*Fortun(a)e/ sacrum / C. Agrius / Fortunatus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
355. Narona, AE 1980, 678, tabula / tablet, RP / EP  
*Pr[o sal(ute)] dd(ominorum) [nn(ostrorum) Imp(eratoris)] / Caesaris C(aii) [l]uli(i) Veri / Maximini Aug(usti) et C(aii) Iuli(i) Veri M[aximi] / nobilis(s)imi Caes(aris) [res p(ublica)] / Naronitano[rum].*
356. Narona, ILJug 1986, 1873, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) s(acrum) / posuerunt sa/cedotes Fla(vius) / Faladus et Do(mitius) / <sup>5</sup> Apolinaris / pro sa(lute) impe(ratoris) Helvi / Pertenaci(s) et popul(i) ro/ Iuliae Naronae.*
357. Narona, ILJug 1986, 1892, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP, Sl. 2 / Fig. 2  
*Q. Nasso / Iuliano (h)arus/pici Iulianus / et Rufinus / <sup>5</sup> fili parenti / optimo.*
358. Narona, ILJug 1986, 1909, titulus / titulus, KP (2. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. s. / Fl(avius) For(tunatus) ma/ritus Ati/liae Quar/ <sup>5</sup>t(a)e uxori / bene mere/nti fecit, / vix(it) ann(is) XXXV.*
359. Narona, ILJug 1986, 1911, sarkofag / sarcophagus, KP (sredina 3. st.) / LP (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D. m. / [Ae]l[ia?] Marciana def/uncta an(norum) XX Ael(ius) / Dracontius marit/ <sup>5</sup>us coniugi pientiss/[i]m(a)e posuit.*
360. Narona, ILJug 1978, 661, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*[D(is)] m(anibus) / [.....]ci Pane(n)tis / [a]n(nis) LXXX.*
361. Narona, ILJug 1963, 108, ara / altar, RP (1. st.) / EP (1<sup>st</sup> cent.)  
*[-] / [s]ac(rum) / ob honore(m) / II viratus) C. Vibi res/ <sup>5</sup>tituti C. Iulius / Maximus pos(uit).*
362. Narona, ILJug 1963, 111, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum). / Septimiae / Prim(a) e be(ne) m(e)r(enti) posuit / <sup>5</sup> Gla[v]ius / S[.....] i / [-*
363. Narona, ILJug 1963, 112, votivni spomenik / votive monument, D (4. st.) / D (4<sup>th</sup> cent.)  
*Deo Soli inv[ict]o Meter[i] (sic). / Aur(elius) Maximinus, / Flavi(us) Marcellinus, / Flavi(us) Marcellus.*
364. Polimlje, AE 2009, 1003, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*----- / Mandetae / Victorine (sic) / nepotiae (sic) / q(uae) u(ixit) a(nnis) XII / p(osuit).*
365. Risinium, ILJug 1978, 634, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, RP / EP  
*D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) / L. L() Lurian(o) / vix(it) an(nis) XX / Lusci(i) Proc(ulus) et / <sup>5</sup> Lur(ianus) Sanct(i) fil(ii) / St(atia) Sabin(a) so/ crus imm(emoriam).*
366. Scodra, AE 2009, 999, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). / Lupinus et / Rufilia par/entes filie / Fuscine pi/entissime / que v(ixit) ann(is) XXVII fecerunt.*

367. Scodra, AE 2009, 1000, stela / stele, P / P  
*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum). / Falia Murci (filia) se uiua / memoriam fecit sibe et filis suis.*
368. Scodra, CILA 2009, 9, AE 2009, 998, tabula / tablet, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus)s(acrum)/Saturna Ca[ec(iliae)]? / Castre(n)si m[atri].*
369. Scodra, CILA 2009, 12, tabula / tablet, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / i(n) m(emoriam) a(eternam) co(niugi) infe/licissimo Aurelio Lupo aequiti Romano / q(ui) u(ixit) an(nis) XXX/VIII Aur(elia) Notalie / marito p(ien)tissimo.*
370. Tropoje, CILA 2009, 1, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / M(arcus) Vlp(ius) / Iustus / u(ixit) an(nis) XI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Ulpius / Pris/cus pat(e)r / faciendum / curauit.*
371. Tropoje, CILA 2009, 2, tabula / tablet, P / P  
*[D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)...] / Decii vix(it) an(nis) L[.../...] atfines et v(ivus) pa/ter faciendu[m cur] / [...]ant (?) h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)] / statuam de s(uo) [posu]it.*
372. Tropoje, CILA 2009, 4, tabula / tablet, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(ia) Do/metia vix(it) an(nis) XVIII / Aurel(ius) Domitius / et Tata fil(ius) p(osuerunt) h(oc) s(epulcrum) s(ibi) f(iliisque).*
373. Trpanj na Pelješcu, AE 1981, 703, stela / stele, KP (2., 3. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.)  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Pius conpar / titulum posuit at(que?) vixit con (sic) il/lo an(n)os VIII d(iem) I, ce/cidit annorum / XXIII Crispinilla.*
- BIH – unutrašnjost provincije Dalmacije / Bosnia-Herzegovina – Dalmatian provincial interior
374. Aquae S(--), AE 2006, 1022, epystilium / epystilium, KP (2. st.) / LP (2<sup>nd</sup> cent.)  
*[P. Ael(io) Vict]orino dec(urioni) m(unicipii) Aq(uarum) filio infelicissi/[mo vix(it)? ann]os X mens(es) II dies XIII et Vlp(iae) Gallie/[nae? con(iugi) i]ncomparabili P. Aelius Victorinus / [---] q(uaestor?) Iiuir q(un)q(uennalis) ed (sic) sibi uiu<u>s fecit.*
375. Aquae S(--), AE 1980, 694, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) / A(ulo) Celso c(oniugi) / b(ene) m(erenti) con quo (=um) / vixit an(nis) XXXII /<sup>5</sup>*
- et Viviae f(i)l(iae) / ob(itae) (?) an(norum) IIII Ulp(i)a Successa / et sibiv(a)e p(osuit).
376. Bistue Nova, AE 1983, 740, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*Hercu(l)i Aug(usto) / Aur(elius) Liciniu(s) / II(vir) posuit.*
377. Bistue Nova, ILJug 1986, 1628, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*D. m. / Tertullae / infelices(!)/simae def/<sup>5</sup>unctae anno/rum XII / pl(us) m(inus).*
378. Bistue Nova, ILJug 1986, 1631, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*Sil(vano) Cor() / Ael(ius) Maxi/mus / Procul/<sup>5</sup>[i] ni libe(n)s pos(uit).*
379. Bistue Nova, ILJug 1986, 1651, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*[ - ] / [-]e Victorine / [-] et Secund/[- p]aren-tes /<sup>5</sup> [-] pientissi /[mi-ben]e m(erentibus) pos(uerunt).*
380. Bistue Nova, ILJug 1986, 1659, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Ae(lius) Maximu(s) / Karus Epati/noni coiu/gi et Ae(lius) Varro f(ilius) /<sup>5</sup>.SINDOC...*
381. Bistue Nova, ILJug 1986, 1661, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*[ - ] / [...].mius Ai[...] / [.]us . XXI [.]o suis f(inv /<sup>5</sup> [..] ... aratr [s]uo beneme/renti / [.]pe. ap...suit / [...]ruti suae soc /<sup>10</sup> [rui] pientisi-me(!).*
382. Bistue Nova, ILJug 1986, 1664, stela / stele, RP / EP  
*D. m. / Maximu/s Diti an(n)o/rum LXX /<sup>5</sup> p(o) v(o) f(ecit) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*
383. Bistue Nova, ILJug 1986, 1673, urna / urn, RP? / EP?  
*[ - ]ritus Sili servos (!) h(ic) [s(itus) e(st)] / [—] an(orum) IIII [-].*
384. Bistue Nova, ILJug 1986, 1676, urna / urn, P / P  
*[D.] m. / [.....]ni an(norum) XXV / [....c]o(n)n iux p(osuit).*
385. Bistue Nova, ILJug 1986, 1690, stela / stele, P / P  
*D.m.s. / Vurus vil(i)cus HA / Secandoni parin(ti) / q(ui) vixit an(nis) LXX /<sup>5</sup> e(t) Sicundoni c(oniugi) / q(uae) v(ixit) a(nnis) XX e(t) siri (!) viv(us) / m(emoriam) p(o)s(uit).*

386. Bistue Nova, ILJug 1986, 1694, stela / stele, P / P  
*[D. m.] s. / [-]ia / [-ann..]X et / [-] viv(a)e /<sup>5</sup> [-] ns pa/[ter?-] p(osuit).*
387. Bistue Nova, AE 1987, 804, Škegro, 1997, 118, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, P / P  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Licini(a)e matri an(norum) XL / Arpagio fratri an(norum) VI / Valerius po(suit) fi(lius) pi(issimus?) mit(ri)(!) / et fra(tri).*
388. Brestovsko, Škegro 1997, 129, AE 1997, 1229, stela / stele, KP? / LP?  
*D(is) M(anibus), / [...] Maximin[o] / [def(unceto) an(norum)...III. Ar(rius) Karu[s] / [..., n] epoti k[a/]<sup>5</sup>rissimo. Et s(j)ihi viva / (...)um dulcissimu[m...] / [...]andum titulum [...] / [...] po]suit p(ie).*
389. Civitas Melcumanum, Škegro 1997, 40, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*Temus B(a)/tonis fil(ia), / Narensai, / Annaei (filia), ann(orum) /<sup>5</sup> XXV. Hic sita / est.*
390. Hedum, Škegro 1997, 125, titulus / titulus, RP / EP  
*Batoni Liccai f(ilio) / Teuta Vietis / Sceno Batonis f(ilios) / maxime natus /<sup>5</sup> [S]cenacolo Batoni[s f(ilio)] / [S]caevae Batonis f(ilio) / Calloni Batonis f(ilio) / [P]rorado Batonis f(ilio) / [S]cenus Batonis f(ilios) /<sup>10</sup> [mi]nime natus ex eis si[bi et] / [s]uis de sua pecunia fieri i[ussit].*
391. Hedum, Škegro 1997, 126, basis / base, KP / LP  
*Ulpiae T(iti) f(iliae) / Procul(a) [e], an(norum) XX, T(itus) Fl(avius) Valens, Varon(is) f(ilios), princeps D(a)esitiati(um). /<sup>5</sup> et Aelia Iusta / [S]ceno[b]a[rbi---].*
- 392.<sup>305</sup> Kolovrat, AE 1980, 699, stela / stele, RP? / EP?  
*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Macximinae (sic) q(uae) v(ixit) an(nis) XX / et Mustae q(uae) v(ixit) a(nnis) IIII, / sorori et filiae d(e)f(unctis)*
- / et Clemion(i) matri vivae, / Surila suis et si/bi viva p(osuit).
393. Kolovrat, AE 1980, 700, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus). / Narens(is) / v(ixit) a(nnis) XXVII (?), / Mage Ael(ii) P/anton(i)s ser/v(u)s AT co(niugi) p(osuit).*
394. Kolovrat, AE 1983, 742, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Aur(eliae) Sce/nutae / q(uae) u(ixit) an(nos) XXXV, / Aur(elius) Plares coni(ugi) / k(arissimae) et Lavius et / Delmanna f(iliae) p(ientissimae) et sibi vivi p(osuerunt).*
395. Posavina, ILJug 1986, 1789, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) I(nferis) m(anibus) / Restituto be/ne merito Mar/cel(l)a coniux /<sup>5</sup> memoria(m) fecit / vixs(it) an(nis) LV.*
- Područje Japoda / Iapode territory
396. Arupium, ILJug 1986, 1817, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*Herc(uli) Aug(usto) / S(extus) Ael(ius) Dom(i) tianus p(rocurator?) / posuit.*
397. Bihaćko polje, AE 2007, 1113, urna / urn, P / P  
*[- ?] Procline u(ixit) a(nnis) L / Maximus et Melio ? Fil(i) II an(norum).*
398. Bihaćko polje, AE 2007, 1125, urna / urn, RP? / EP?  
*Festae an(norum) VIII Cresce(n)s pa(ter) / pos(uit) fil(iae) h(ic) s(ita) e(st).*
399. Raetinium, AE 1990, 789, Škegro 1997, 101, urna / urn, P / P  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Iuliae [M(arci)?] f(iliae) Chare anno[r]um XXV / Aelia Iu[sta?] ma/ter in[fel]ix, / h(ic) [s(ita)] e(st).*
400. Raetinium, ILJug 1963, 219, urna / urn, P / P  
*[D(is)] / [...] an(norum) XXX// m(anibus) co(ni) u/ci piae p(osuit).*
401. Raetinium, ILJug 1963, 222, urna / urn, RP / EP  
*[-] / ces[....]a[....] / Saturninus coniun(gi) fec(it). Hic s(ita) e(st).*
- Istočna Dalmacija / Eastern Dalmatia
402. Colonia Ris(), ILJug 1986, 1587, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*[-] / ae ma[...] t. tu[...] / ri v(ivus) f(ecit) [si]/<sup>5</sup>bi et f(iliae)? / su(a)e p[...].*

305 Natpisi od broja 392 do 394 teritorijalno pripadaju Municipiju S(---) koji je uvršten u južnu Dalmaciju, no zbog položaja Kolovrata koji je geografski bliže središnjoj Bosni u izradi kataloga uvršteni su ovdje. / The inscriptions from numbers 392 through 394 territorial belonged to Municipium S(---) which has been classified in Southern Dalmatia, but due to the location of Kolovrat, which is geographically closer to Central Bosnia, it was placed here when compiling the catalogue.

403. Colonia Ris(), ILJug 1986, 1596, stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Aur(elio) Titiano d[ef(uncto)  
 ann(orum)..et] / Aur(elio) Iustiano d[ef(uncto)  
 ann(orum) ..et] / Aur(elio) Iusto d(efuncto)  
 a[nn(orum)..fil(iis)] / plentis(s)imis et Suro a[ll]  
 u/mno Aur(elius) Titus et Aur(elia) M[ar]tilla  
 parentes et [sibi]<sup>10</sup> vivis posuerun[t].*
404. Colonia Ris(), ILJug 1986, 1597, tabula / tablet, KP / LP  
*[...] / Aur(elio) Vic/torino coiugi / et Aur(eliae)  
 V[i]ctorin(a)e / <sup>5</sup> fili(a)e et Aur(elio) Vindici  
 genero et Iul(io) Vindici/ano nepoti Aurelia Ati/  
 lia bb(ne omnibus) mm(erentibus) et sibi viva  
 p(osuit).*
405. Domavia, ILJug 1978, 619A, nadgrobni spomenik / gravestone, KP / LP  
*ste (?)s viator quis [...] solisid[.....] / Aurelius P(r)oculus annorum [L]X vius posuit / ed di-  
 cit sit memoria sibi et suis parentibus e[t coni]/  
 ugi sue Ursacie viventi que abet annos XL / <sup>5</sup>  
 Aurelius pater Rust(i)cus [vi]xit annos LXXV /  
 et Aurelia mater Victorinna vixit annos L[.] /  
 Ursacia dixit fr(ater) Code precor magister  
 add[e] / ed [meam?] matrem Proclina viven-  
 te annorum X[.] / in se[pulc]ri sumus eternam  
 sede quiescimus / <sup>10</sup> codd[+- 21] et cpfevemus.*
406. Domavia, ILJug 1963, 83, titulus / titulus, P / P  
*-] / [.....] arg(entarium) Del/matic[rum....  
 qui ob honorem] magistratus / dena[rios....  
 dedit..et.....]o filio dec(urioni) col(oniae) Sir/  
<sup>5</sup>mi(ensis) flamin[i] [.....] Qui vixit] annis XXII  
 mensibus II Aelia T[.....]marit]o et filio  
 karissi/m[is bene merentibus.....]fe]cit.*
407. Domavia, ILJug 1963, 84, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) / co(ho)r/tali / [-*
408. Domavia, ILJug 1963, 88, titulus / titulus, KP / LP  
*[ - ]/i Mascelio / maritus con/iugi carissi/<sup>5</sup>m(a)e  
 et sibi / posterisque / suis b(ene) m(erentibus).*
409. Municipium Malvesiatum, Škegro 1997, 137,  
 ara / altar, KP / LP  
*Aesculapio / et (H)ygiae Aug(ustis) / s(acrum). /  
 C(aius) Iul(ius) Hercu/ <sup>5</sup>lanus, b(ene)f(iciarius)  
 co(n)s(ularis) / leg(ionis) I Secuntuml(icae)  
 Moes(iae) / inf(erioris) l(ibens) p(osuit).*
410. Municipium Malvesiatum, Škegro 1997, 142,  
 stela / stele, KP? / LP?  
*D(is) M(anibus). / Amma/t(i)sae, vix(it) an(nos)  
 / XXX, Can(ius) / <sup>5</sup> Dasa(s), m(atri), f(icit) p(ro)  
 p(ietate).*
411. Municipium Malvesiatum, ILJug 1978, 624, ara  
 / altar, KP / LP  
*Invicto Mit(h)r(ae) / P. Ael(ius) Clemens /  
 Iunior / II vir et q(uin)q(uennalis) / <sup>5</sup> [.].cti vet[....]  
 / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
412. Municipium Malvesiatum, ILJug 1978, 625,  
 stela / stele, KP? / LP?  
*D(is) m(anibus) / Leo et Quartil[la] / parentes  
 miseri posu(erunt) / Lup(a)e fili(a)e infelicis(s)  
 i/ <sup>5</sup> m(a)e annorum XXII / h(oc) m(onumentum)  
 h(eredem) n(on) sequetur.*
413. Municipium Malvesiatum, ILJug 1978, 627,  
 stela / stele, KP / LP  
*D(is) [m(anibus) / Aur(elio) / Tironi [mi]/  
 leti de[fun]/ <sup>5</sup>cto per[...]/ d. e [-] Val[en]/tina  
 so[cero] / carissimo / posuit be/ <sup>10</sup> ne me(renti).*
414. Municipium Malvesiatum, Ferjančić et allii,  
 2008, 54, ara / altar, KP / LP  
*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et Genio loci |  
 sacro (!) dica|vit Liv(ius ?) Mater| <sup>5</sup>nus 7(centu-  
 riu) coh(ortis) VIII | vol(untariorum) | Laterano  
 et Ruf(ino) co(n)s(ulibus).*
415. Municipium Malvesiatum, Ferjančić et allii,  
 2008, nepoznato / unknown, P / P  
*] | [ - - ]ALB[ - - | - - - ]GIATI +[- - | - - - co]  
 h(ortis) eiusde(m) [ - - | - - -*
- Miliaria / Miliaria
416. cesta Epidaurum-Ulpiana, ILJug 1986, 2966,  
 miliarium / miliarium, KP (235./238. god.) / LP  
 (235/238 AD)  
*Imp(eratori)/ Gai{u}o Iulio / Vero Ma<c>ximino  
 / p(io)f(elici) et C. Iulio Vero / <sup>5</sup> Ma<c>ximo <i>  
 nob(ilissimo) / Caes(ari) Aug(usto) C(aesaris)  
 n(ostr)i / filio-*
417. cesta Narona-Sirmium, ILJug 1986, 2971,  
 miliarium / miliarium, D (305./311.god.) / D  
 (305/311 AD)  
*D(omino) n(ostro) no[bilis]/simo C(a)es[ari] /  
 [G]al[erio?] / [..]Jo[-*

418. cesta Narona-Salonae-Iader, ILJug 1986, 2977, miliarium / miliarium, KP (236. god.) / LP (236 AD)  
[*Imp. Caes.*] / [*C. Iulius*] *Maximinus* / [*Piu*]s *Felix Aug.* / *pont. Maximus* /<sup>5</sup> *trib. Pot. II imp. III cos.* / *p. p. et C.Iulius Verus* / [*Maximus nobelissimus* (!)] / [*Caesar*-]
419. cesta Narona-Salonae-Iader, ILJug 1986, 2981, miliarium / miliarium, D (293./305. god.) / D (293/305 AD)  
*Nobiliss[i]mo C(a)esari* / [*F*]l(avio) *Valerio* / *Constan/*<sup>5</sup>*tio*.
420. cesta Narona-Salonae-Iader, ILJug 1986, 2983, miliarium / miliarium, D (361./363. god.) / D (361/363 AD)  
[*D(omino)* *n(ostro)* *Iuliano* *vic[tori]*] / *triumfato[ri to]/[t]iusq(ue) orbis [Aug(usto)]* / [*b]ono rei p[ubl(icae) nato*].
421. cesta Salonae-Servitium, ILJug 1986, 2992, miliarium / miliarium, D (361./363. god.) / D (361/363 AD)  
[-] / *d(omino) n(ostro) Iuliano* / [*victori a]c [tr] iumfatori* / [*totiusque*] *orbis Aug(usto)* /<sup>5</sup> [*bono r]ei publ[icae nato*] / [-]
422. cesta Salonae-Servitium, ILJug 1986, 2994, miliarium / miliarium, D (361./363. god.) / D (361/363 AD)  
*D(omino) n(ostro) Iuliano* / *Victori ac tri/ umfatori s(emper) / totiusque or/*<sup>5</sup>*bis Aug(usto) bo/no reipubli/cae*.
423. Narona, AE 1980, 682, miliarium / miliarium, RP (244.-249. god.) / EP (244-249 AD)  
*Imp(eratori) d(omino) n(ostro) / Iul(io) Philip(p)o / p(io) f(elici) Aug(usto)*.
424. Asseria, Kurilić 2003, 186, miliarium / miliarium, D (293.-337. god.) / D (293-337 AD), Sl. 11 / Fig. 11  
*Dd(ominis) nn(ostris) / {P=F}l(avio) {B=V} al(erio) / Cons / [tantio vel tantino / —]*.

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AE	<i>Anneeé épigraphique</i> , Presses Universitaires de France, Paris
AK	A. Kurilić, <i>Pučanstvo Liburnije od 1. do 3. stoljeća po Kristu: antroponimija, društveni slojevi, etničke promjene, gospodarske uloge</i> , doktorska disertacija (rukopis), Filozofski fakultet u Zadru, Zadar 1999
CILA	S. Anamali, H. Ceka, E. Deniaux, <i>Corpus des inscriptions Latines d'Albanie</i> , Ecole Francaise de Rome, 2009
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin, Academia litterarum regia Borussica.
ILJug	Anna et Jaro ŠAŠEL, <i>Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MC-MXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 5, Ljubljana, 1963); <i>Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 19, Ljubljana, 1978); <i>Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 25, Ljubljana, 1986).

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Demicheli 2008	D. Demicheli, <i>Novi antički natpisi iz podruma Dioklecijanove palače</i> , Opuscula archaeologica 32, Zagreb 2008, 55-79.
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Fadić 2004	I. Fadić, <i>Novi epigrafski spomenici iz Aserije i Lepura</i> , Asseria 2, Zadar 2004, 73-103.
Fadić 2006	I. Fadić, <i>Novi liburnski nadgrobni spomenici iz Aserije</i> , Asseria 4, Zadar 2006, 73-104.
Fadić 2007	I. Fadić, <i>Nadgrobni tituli Petronije Urse i Emilija Atacina iz antičkog groba u Zadru</i> , Opuscula archaeologica 31, Zagreb 2007, 165-181.
Ferjančić, Jeremić, Gojrić 2008	S. Ferjančić, G. Jeremić, A. Gojrić, <i>Rimski epografski spomenici Čačka i okoline</i> , Narodni muzej Čačak, 2008.
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