SAINT-PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY

Svetlana Sergeevna Dubova

ASPECTS OF ARCHAISMS' INTERPRETATION IN APULEIUS' NOVEL "THE METAMORPHOSES"

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professor M. M. Pozdnev

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Introduction

The relevance of the topic of researching the archaic vocabulary presented in the novel *the Metamorphoses* is due to the need for an in-depth analysis of Apuleius' work, which includes not only analysis of the plot, question of sources, personality of the narrator, but also linguistic means necessary to form the content of the novel. Moreover, by studying the archaic vocabulary of *the Metamorphoses* we can imagine the tastes of readers contemporaneous with Apuleius, evaluate the literary trend of that time and find out which writers the author himself and the educated circles of the Roman intellectuals of the second century A. D. preferred to read. It is also important that the archaic vocabulary of *the Metamorphoses* has usually been considered by researchers as part of the stylistic features of the novel or Apuleius' works in general, but not as a separate research subject.

Degree of scientific development for the envisaged topic. The stylistic features of Apuleius' novel *the Metamorphoses* and the variety of its lexical instruments have long been the subject of interest of various researchers. Such scholars as H. Koziol [Koziol 1872], P. Médan [Médan 1925], and M. Bernhard [Bernhard 1927] compiled short lists of archaic words and vulgarisms found in Apuleius, but, unfortunately, many words that had apparently been perceived as archaic were not included. In addition, such lists do not indicate the specifics of Apuleius' usage, whereas it is sometimes important to trace how Apuleius changes the meaning of a word and what context he uses it in. L. Callebat [Callebat 1965; 1968] analyzes archaic words in detail, but the main subject of his study was the colloquial vocabulary, therefore not all archaisms in *the Metamorphoses* were considered by him. In our work we tried to fill these gaps and create an exhaustive list of words that readers of Apuleius' novel perceived as archaic and provide them with necessary commentary.

The **aim** of our study is to reveal the peculiarities of Apuleius' use of archaic vocabulary in the novel *the Metamorphoses*, including its volume and conditionality of the content.

Achieving this aim involves the following **tasks**:

1. Characterizing the literary background and determining the prerequisites of stylistic features of Apuleius' novel;

2. Distinguishing archaic and new vocabulary of the novel *the Metamorphoses*;

3. Examining individual archaisms, which may demonstrate which archaic authors Apuleius considered worthy of imitation and how Apuleius' tastes as an archaicist may have manifested themselves in the use of new words not attested in Roman literature before the second century A. D.

Theoretical and methodological foundations of the study. The theoretical and methodological basis of the dissertation are works on the history of Latin literature, language and style of Apuleius, commentaries on the novel *the Metamorphoses*.

Naturally, in developing the topic of the dissertation, the main object of research was the text of *the Metamorphoses*. Latin dictionaries (especially Thesaurus Linguae Latinae) were used to determine the stylistic colouring of the vocabulary used in it, and the views of various researchers on the nature of this or that lexeme were also compared. In addition, a statistical analysis was carried out. The number of archaisms in each individual book was presented as a percentage of the number of all the lexemes in the book.

The **scientific novelty** of the study is a clear demonstration of the frequency of archaisms in the novel and the author's interpretation of individual archaisms and their role.

Statements submitted for defense:

1. The style of the novel *the Metamorphoses* is not due to the African origin of the author and other reasons beyond his control, but is the result of Apuleius' conscious work with archaic sources;

2. The main reasons for the novel's unusual language are the archaizing literary tendencies of the second century A. D., the nature of Apuleius' novel sources, and his personal interest in unusual vocabulary;

3.	Some archaisms in the novel not only serve as stylistic embellishment and a means of achieving lexical variety, but also enhance the comic atmosphere of an episode or serve as allusions to a work of a particular author;

4.	In terms of the percentage of archaisms and neologisms in the novel, the first and the last books stand out: archaic vocabulary is especially prominent in the first book, and the last book has the highest percentage of new words.

Theoretical and practical significance of the work. The research of archaic vocabulary in the novel *the Metamorphoses* is an important contribution to the study of the stylistics of the Latin language in general and it complements the problem of distinguishing archaisms and vulgarisms. The results obtained in the process of writing this thesis, including lists of archaisms and new words, can be a useful theoretical and methodological basis for further research in the field of Apuleius' works, Latin literature and stylistics, and can also be used in lecture courses or seminars on reading and analyzing the novel *the Metamorphoses*.

Structure of the dissertation. The thesis consists of an introduction, 3 chapters, a conclusion, a list of abbreviations and a bibliography. The total volume is 213 pages.

In the first chapter ("Review of the Scholarly Literature") we will examine the opinions of scholars concerning the use of archaic vocabulary in Apuleius' text, consider the works devoted to this subject, evaluate them, and draw attention to the difficulties that researchers of Apuleius' vocabulary have encountered in developing this topic. In the same chapter we will outline the theory of African Latin, which is closely related to the ideas about lexical peculiarities of Apuleius' works, and consider the arguments of its supporters and opponents. Although in modern circumstances the theory of African Latin is already obsolete, its development is an important stage in the formation of an appreciation for Apuleius' language.

In the next chapter we will elaborate on how various Roman writers regarded the use of archaisms in their writings, and try to find out who Apuleius found similarities in his views with and whose ideas about the linguistic design of the text differed considerably from the principles that guided Apuleius. In this connection we will also examine some words which, by the time of Apuleius' life, must have been perceived as

archaisms. In addition, we will try to explain the nature of the archaizing tendencies in the Latin literature of the second century A. D., the prerequisites for them, and the difference between works of the archaizing authors and those of other writers who composed literature in the Latin language.

Furthermore, we will describe one of the major difficulties faced by scholars of Apuleius' vocabulary, namely, distinguishing between archaisms and vulgarisms in his writings. We will explain how we are sometimes able to determine the stylistic characteristics of a word and why in some cases this is not possible.

The next chapter is devoted to the description of the language of *the Metamorphoses* and the reasons why, presumably, Apuleius chose to use such an abundance of vocabulary of various stylistic characteristics in one text. From our point of view, there were several factors that influenced the language of the novel: the fashion for archaism in the second century A. D. literary circles, Apuleius' personality and his interest in language, and the genre and nature of the sources of *the Metamorphoses*. We will also highlight the problem of the functionality of archaisms in Apuleius' text and try to find out whether the abundance of obsolete words in the novel is mere mannerism or whether their use is justified not only by their beautiful and unusual sound, but also by the content of this or that passage. In particular, we will address the question of the existence of the speech characterization of the characters of *the Metamorphoses*.

Next, we will give a classification of archaisms and neologisms found in the text and present the results of a statistical study, the purpose of which was to find out the quantitative ratio of archaisms and neologisms of the novel and to identify the differences between the books of *the Metamorphoses* from this point of view. After this we will present lists of words which in the course of the study were understood to have an archaic flavour and which were recorded for the first time in Latin literature in the texts of Apuleius. Accordingly, the first list will contain archaisms and those words which, even if they were not archaisms, should have been perceived by readers as archaic. The second list will contain conventional "neologisms" – words first attested in Apuleius, a large portion of which are hapaxes.

Approbation of the research results. Interim results of the work were discussed at postgraduate seminars and at an international conference: 03/2018: XLVII International Scientific Philological Conference (Faculty of Philology, St. Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg).

The results of the study were reflected in three scientific publications:

1. Dubova, Svetlana S. On the Archaic Meaning of the Word *filum* in Apuleius // Philologia Classica. – 2017. – 12, 2. – Pp. 136–141.

2. Dubova, Svetlana S. Turbela in Apuleius' Novel // Philologia Classica. – 2018. – 13, 2. – Pp. 220–227.

3. Dubova, Svetlana. Apuleius' Venus and Speech Characterization // Hyperboreus. – 2020. – 26, 2. – Pp. 308–319.

Review of the Scholarly Literature

The style of Apuleius' novel could leave few people indifferent: a large number of obsolete words, borrowings, and neologisms struck the imagination and inspired either imitation or condemnation. A big role in this discussion was played by the tradition that places Cicero on a pedestal of a master of eloquence and role model, who he certainly was. The principles expressed in the writings of Cicero and Quintilian continued to influence literary attitudes even after the fall of the Roman Empire. Not surprisingly, the excess of rhetorical embellishments and specific vocabulary used by Apuleius became the object of criticism.

Apparently, the formation of views on literary style is also greatly influenced by external reasons. Naturally, the narrator's confession in the prologue of *the Metamorphoses* about him being a non-native speaker of Latin suggested that Apuleius himself was apologizing in such a manner for his unnatural speech, a language at which he himself was a novice, *advena*. It should be noted, however, that for a long time Apuleius was known to late ancient and medieval readers not so much as an orator but as a magician, and a mysterious, intricate language suits such an image.[1] Compared with Cicero, not only a master of oratory, but also an outstanding statesman, Apuleius could not win in this argument by his supposed moral qualities, and therefore was also losing in terms of eloquence.

A detailed review of the perception of Apuleius' figure and legacy was offered by Robert Carver in "The Protean Ass. The Metamorphosis of Apuleius from Antiquity to the Renaissance."[2] R. Carver discusses at length the evidence for Apuleius' work and personality both in antiquity and during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, drawing attention to the peculiarities of time and place. He provides curious information related to the reception of Apuleius' work and discusses the most difficult points, such as the fact provided in *Liber de vita ac moribus philosophorum poetarumque veterum* by Walter Burley, the 13th- and 14th-century scholastic philosopher, that *The Golden Ass*

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[1] Carver, Robert H. F. The Protean Ass. The Metamorphosis of Apuleius from Antiquity to the Renaissance. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. Pp. 17–26, 55–59.
[2] ibid.

is presented in 12 books (whereas the extant novel contains only 11 books). Carver's book is written in lively and interesting language, with many references to the works of ancient and modern scholars, and his theses are supported by a sufficient number of arguments, but in considering the language of *the Metamorphoses*, the author concentrates rather on his evaluation by later writers and humanists than discussing the vocabulary used by Apuleius himself.

Briefly, the reception of Apuleius in the Renaissance has been touched upon by Stephen Harrison.[1] Despite the small size of the article, he gives an exhaustive review of the sources on the subject, with particular attention to contemporary works concerning the language and style of *the Metamorphoses*. S. Harrison also calls for further research on the subject, particularly on exactly how literary trends changed during Apuleius' life and work, and how prose evolved from Pliny the Younger to Tertullian. Developing this question would certainly help to place Apuleius in the right context and show how prose genres became more susceptible to the traits of poetry. A similar review was done by René Marache,[2] but he only touches on the first to second centuries A. D. and the preceding period to the necessary extent, concentrating mainly on the language of Fronto, Apuleius and Gellius, and on the rhetorical tendencies of the corresponding period, virtually ignoring the development of prose. As R. Marache himself notes,[3] the work of the orator differs greatly from prose fiction: overly complex figures and specific vocabulary are uncharacteristic of speeches, since they are primarily designed for auditory perception, and, accordingly, they should not so much delight the listener with the beauty of the phrases as convince him of the orator's rightness. The work of R. Marache is therefore clearly insufficient for understanding the full picture of the development of prose genres. Charles Knapp also elaborated this theme, drawing

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[1] Harrison, Stephen. Constructing Apuleius: The Emergence of a Literary Artist // Ancient Narrative. Volume 2 (2002). Groningen: Barkhuis & the University library Groningen, 2003. Pp. 142–171.
[2] Marache, René. La critique littéraire de langue latine et le développement du gout archaïsant au IIe siècle de notre ère. Rennes, 1952.
[3] ibid., p. 22.

attention to the fact that by the time of Sallust there was already a conflict between the lovers of the old and the new.[1]

If we return to an earlier period, we can note that during the Renaissance not everyone was critical of the style of *the Metamorphoses*. Although Philipp Melanchthon justified the language of the novel by saying that Apuleius, in describing the history of the donkey, "preferred to bray rather than to speak,"[2] and Franciscus Asulanus lamented that Apuleius was more innovative than clever,[3] there were many supporters of the African author's unusual, original style. For instance, Erasmus of Rotterdam (*De Copia* 1, 9) puts Apuleius on a par with Cicero, admiring the richness of his speech: *Praecipuam autem utilitatem adferet, si bonos auctores nocturna diurnaque manu versabimus, potissimum hos, qui copia dicendi praecelluerunt: cuiusmodi sunt Cicero, A. Gellius, Apuleius* ("it will be especially useful for us to turn over good authors in our hands day and night, and best of all those who have distinguished themselves by richness of speech: such are Cicero, A. Gellius, Apuleius" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)).[4] J. D'Amico writes of the existence of various rhetorical schools among humanists: the eclectic school (which included followers of Quintilian who admitted a certain amount of archaisms and neologisms), the Ciceronian school and the archaizing school.[5] The latter looked to the authors of the archaic period, as well as to the works of Apuleius, Gellius, Festus, and Pliny the Elder, to find the rarest and most interesting words that conveyed the spirit of antiquity. Robert Carver, however, points out that we should not assume that such a clear division really existed, and he argues convincingly for it.[6] Certainly Philippus Beroaldus, author of the commentary on *the Golden Ass,* was an admirer of Apuleius' vivid style.

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[1] Knapp, Charles. Archaism in Aulus Gellius // Classical Studies in honour of Henry Disler. London: Macmillan, 1894. Pp. 130–139.

[2] Melanchthon, Philippus. Declamationes. Ausgewählt und herausgegeben von Karl Hartfelder. Berlin: Verlag von Speyer & Peters, 1891. P. 29.

[3] Asulanus, Franciscus. L. Apuleii Metamorphoseos, sive Lusus asini libri XI. Floridorum IIII. De deo Socratis I. De philosophia I. Asclepius Trismegisti dialogus eodem Apuleio interprete. Eiusdem Apuleii liber de dogmatis Platonicis. Eiusdem liber de Mundo… Apologiae II. Isagogicus liber Platonicae philosophiae per Alcinoum philosophum graece impressus. Venice: In Aedibus Aldi, 1521. P. ii. It can be seen that Asulanus even changed the title of the novel to "The Play of the Ass", demonstrating a lack of deep content.

[4] Desiderii Erasmi operum omnium tomus primus. Lugduni Batavorum: cura & impensis Petri Lander Aa, 1703. P. 7.

[5] D'Amico, John. F. The Progress of Renaissance Latin Prose: The Case of Apuleianism // Renaissance Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Autumn, 1984).

[6] Carver, Robert H. F. The Protean Ass… Pp. 263–264.

It is true that people may have different opinions about the language used in the novel *the Metamorphoses*, but one must admit that it is far from accidental and is not something completely alien to Latin literature. For the edition of Frans Oudendorp's *the Golden Ass*, David Ruhnken wrote a preface where, despite his negative attitude to such a pretentious style, he draws attention to the fact that Apuleius had models and that these rare words are available to us in the sets of works of ancient grammarians and glossographers.[1] Naturally, a reason had to be found for such language. If D. Ruhnken saw it in the imitation of archaic authors, G. F. Hildebrand tries to find a clue to the time of composition of the novel in this manner. He was interested in the fact that the language of *the Metamorphoses* differs markedly from the other works of the same author. G. F. Hildebrand concludes that the Latin language of Apuleius, replete with redundant words and constructions, is justified not so much by the "perverted and corrupted tastes of his time" (*sui temporis perversitatem corruptumque iudicium*), as by the youth of the author, since young people often think that unusual, rare words make their speech more lively and attractive.[2] Thus, G. F. Hildebrand believes that *the Metamorphoses* is a kind of a test of the pen, the first step of Apuleius on the way to a more mature, even language. Although this hypothesis has some validity, it seems more likely that Apuleius wrote his famous novel as an adult, having achieved a certain fame in the literary arena. Moreover, such a novel must have taken a great deal of time to write and process, so the change in style from the youthful and eager to impress the reader with pretentiousness to the mature one should have been visible to the naked eye. Nevertheless, despite certain changes in Apuleius' choice of words in the first and last chapters, they must be considered minor in the context of Apuleius' formation as an author.

We can conclude that since the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries various researchers have been interested in the stylistic aspect of the novel *the Metamorphoses*

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[1] Appuleii Metamorphoseon libri XI / Ed. Franciscus Oudendorpius. Lugduni Batavorum: Apud van der Eyk et Vygh, 1786. P III.

[2] L. Apuleii opera omnia / Ed. Dr. G. F. Hildebrand. Pars I. Prolegomena et Metamorphoseon libros continens. Lipsiae: Sumtibus C. Cnoblochii, 1842. P. XXV. Cf. G. Vossius' statement (4, 12, 8): congruent Hyperbolae iuvenibus magis, quam senibus: cuius causa est, quod iuventus in omnibus modum excedat, Gerardi Ioannis Vossii Commentariorum Rhetoricorum, sive Oratoriarum Institutionum libri sex. Lugduni Batavorum: Ex officina Ioannis Maire, 1643. P. 230.

and have wondered about the reason for such an unusual language. Nevertheless, one cannot say that archaic tendencies are something entirely surprising. The prolonged hegemony of classical language leads to legitimate attempts to stand out, to use original techniques, to go beyond tradition. The use of rare, archaic words refreshes a work, gives it a certain novelty, whatever language it is written in. Cicero, who was very careful about his choice of vocabulary, remarks in his dialogue *On the Orator*: *neque tamen erit utendum verbis eis, quibus iam consuetudo nostra non utitur, nisi quando ornandi causa* (3, 10, 39: "But we should not use those words which are no longer used in our ordinary speech, except for decoration" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)). Quintilian also reminds us of the usefulness of obsolete words: *quaedam tamen adhuc vetera vetustate ipsa gratius nitent* (*Inst*. 8, 3, 27: "But some ancient words are pleasant because of their very antiquity" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)).

The nostalgia for the great events of the past of Greece was reflected in language: the movement of authors imitating the language of Isocrates and Demosthenes in the first and second centuries CE was called the Second Sophistry. It naturally entailed corresponding changes in the teaching of rhetoric. Outstanding Roman orators, such as Fronto and Apuleius, were also trained in Greek schools. It is not surprising that they began to apply their knowledge to the material of Latin. Fronto appreciated Cicero's work, but felt a lack of archaisms in his writings: *in omnibus eius orationibus paucissima admodum reperias insperata atque inopinata verba, quae non nisi cum studio atque cura atque vigilia atque multa veterum carminum memoria indagantur* (*ad M. Caesarem* 4, 3 = 1, 1 Haines: "in all his speeches you would find very few unexpected and unpredictable words, which only by effort, and attention, and vigilance, and memorization of many ancient verses are found" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)). From these words we can see that Fronto understood the need to study ancient writings and encouraged the search for special words. So in the works of Apuleius, despite the sparse information about his life, we can see how he picked up the right words: *hunc (animus humanus emeritis stipendiis vitae corpore suo abiurans) vetere Latina lingua reperio Lemurem dictitatum* (*Soc*. 15: "I found that in ancient Latin it (*human soul, separated from the body at death*) is called Lemur" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)). It was precisely

such antiquarian studies that were conducted by Aulus Gellius, who preserved for us many quotations from the writings of archaic authors, to whom he clearly gave preference. Attentive reading and borrowing rare words from ancient writings became a fashionable trend in literature that lasted until late antiquity.

As has already been noted, we know little about Apuleius' creative process and his views on classical literature, and this alone distinguishes him from Gellius and Fronto. We see the greatest amount of unusual vocabulary in the novel *the Metamorphoses*, but the genre itself limits our ability to ascertain the author's true attitude toward the second-century archaizing tendency.

Louis Callebat, who devoted a number of works to the vocabulary of *the Metamorphoses*, can be considered a classic of scholarly literature in the field of Apuleius' vocabulary.[1] His book "Sermo cotidianus in *the Metamorphoses* of Apuleius" is a study undertaken to provide the most extensive and up-to-date description of the lexical and syntactic features of the novel. The work of L. Callebat truly stands out against his predecessors: unlike the equally valuable works of P. Médan, M. Bernhard, and H. Koziol, Callebat pays particular attention to context. For example, he writes that we cannot a priori include in the list of vulgarisms a word with the suffix -osus, but we must pay attention to the history of this word, whether it occurs in comediographers or poets or is a derivation from a Greek word.[2] L. Callebat's attention to context is particularly evident in his work "The Archaism in *the Metamorphoses* of Apuleius". The author expresses his dissatisfaction with the existing tendency to view Apuleius as a verbose, superficial writer, abundantly using archaisms to please the reader, falling under the influence of the relevant fashionable literary trends. In this regard, L. Callebat identifies a number of reasons for the existence of archaisms in Apuleius' text: wordplay, literary allusion, etymological restoration of an ancient meaning (for example, *evitare* in the meaning 'to take someone's life'), parody. In many cases this

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[1] Callebat L. L'archaïsme dans les Metamorphoses d'Apulee // Revue des etudes latines, 42e annee (1964). Paris, 1965. Pp. 346–361; Sermo cotidianus dans les Metamorphoses d'Apulee. Caen : Association des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Caen, 1968; La prose des Metamorphoses: genese et specifite // Hijmans Jr. B. L. and van der Paardt R. Th. Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass. Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis b. v., 1978. Pp. 167–187.
[2] Callebat L. Sermo cotidianus… P. 10.

approach is justified and can be very useful, but at the same time it creates the feeling that Apuleius at the level of vocabulary is constantly trying to point out to the reader some features that in reality may not be there. The fact that Apuleius – for an author who promises to "find delight" – requires a great deal from the reader, has long been noticed. Perhaps we should not try to detect anything more than pleasant sounding and archaic charm behind individual words. It is not without reason that S. Harrison sees something "speculative" in L. Callebat's research.[1]

The same flaw can be noted in Regina May's work "Apuleius and Drama": the author notes that Apuleius did not simply decorate the text with archaisms and imitate the ancients, but must have conveyed a certain kind of meaning through the language. R. May writes: "Thus Plautine language acquires added functionality, and, I would argue, this function consists in pointing us towards Plautine scenes, constructions and analogies, which are to be highlighted by the employment of recognizably Plautine words".[2] Unfortunately, this claim is very difficult to verify: sometimes the allusion is obvious, but more often than not we cannot say for sure that a particular word is borrowed by Apuleius from a particular comedy. Even less can we say that Apuleius expected the reader to react in a certain way to a particular word. In order to prove the connection between archaisms and some comic context, one must find a context in the novel where there are neither comic elements nor specific vocabulary, which seems to be impossible to do.

The enormous variety of vocabulary in the novel cannot be overlooked. Of course, these are not only obsolete words, but also poetisms, vulgarisms, borrowings, neologisms. All this provides a variety of style, requiring the reader's constant attention not only to the plot of the novel, but also to its sound form. This, as well as the presence in the text of such techniques as alliteration and rhythmic prose, indicates that Apuleius treated the novel as a text to be read aloud. Undoubtedly, archaisms also stood out for their special sound. Thus, Aulus Gellius recognizes a certain majesty of words in -tudo,

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[1] Harrison, Stephen. Constructing Apuleius… P. 161.
[2] May, Regine. Apuleius and Drama. The Ass on Stage. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. P. 39.

characteristic of archaic literature, and Apuleius even creates new words in accordance with this principle (e. g., *tristitudo*, *Met*. 3, 11, 2).

The specific vocabulary of Apuleius is reflected in many lists of unusual words, which have been compiled by more than one researcher. The first work of this kind was the work of Otto Erdmann.[1] In it, the author wrote out words found only in Apuleius and archaic writers, singling out Plautus. Some time after that, a work by Heinrich Koziol comes out.[2] Archaisms and vulgarisms in it account for less than two pages, and we find only a listing of a few words, sometimes without any commentary. The work of Johannes Piechotta is more interesting in this respect.[3] He does not simply list the words, but draws attention to those of them which became very popular in the writings of later writers, notes the peculiarities of word formation, and makes suggestions about borrowings (for example, he thinks that the archaic nominative *Iovis* (*Met*. 4, 33, 2) was borrowed by Apuleius from Ennius). In addition, the author touches on the subject of distinguishing between archaisms and vulgarisms. He believes that literary speech is more strict with regard to the choice of vocabulary, but obsolete words may well be retained in the colloquial tradition.

A. Desertine dedicates his work to the lexicon of Plautus in the works of Apuleius,[4] although it is worth noting that he also includes words attested in other writers of archaic times, as well as rare words in general, sometimes accompanied by a commentary. In addition, he draws attention to the syntactic correspondences of Apuleius and Plautus, which are also of great value. More recent works of this kind are those by Pierre Médan[5] and Max Bernhardt.[6] As far as the specific vocabulary of Apuleius is concerned, the work of P. Médan is more detailed, but contains a number of mistakes and inaccuracies (for example, he includes the adverb *tenaciter* among the rare words of late Latin, although it already occurs in Ovid (*Ep*. 3, 43; 9, 21), or considers

[1] Erdmann, Otto. De L. Apuleii Madaurensis elocutione. Stendal: Franzen und Grosse, 1864.

[2] Koziol, Heinrich. Der Stil des L. Apuleius. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des sogenannten afrikanischen Lateins. Wien: Druck und Verlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1872. S. 310–311.

[3] Piechotta, Johannes. Curae Apuleianae. Vratislaviae: Apud Guilelmum Koebner, 1882.

[4] Desertine, Adolphus Henricus Josephus Victor Marius. De Apulei studiis Plautinis. Neomagi: Apud W. Fellinga, 1898.

[5] Médan, Pierre. La Latinité d'Apulée dans les Métamorphoses. Étude de grammaire et de stylistique. Paris: Hachette, 1925.

[6] Bernhard, Max. Der Stil des Apuleius von Madaura. Ein Beitrag zur Stilistik des Spätlateins. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1927.

the word *praesepium* a neologism). Moreover, in dividing words into groups Médan is guided by a method which is difficult to agree with: he considers as archaisms words attested only in tragic poets of the third–second centuries B. C. (Livius Andronicus, Gnaeus Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius, as well as Lucretius and Catullus), while words from the vocabulary of comic poets belong to vulgarisms. Naturally, if a word was first attested in Plautus or Terence, and is then found in classical authors before Apuleius, it is preferable to consider it a vulgarism. But there are quite a few words attested only in Plautus and Apuleius, and it is hard to imagine that such words existed in the spoken language for more than 300 years without appearing in any other writer's work. There is no doubt that both Plautus and Terence used colloquial words, but this does not mean that by the time of Apuleius the situation had not changed. In cases where a word is indeed attested before Apuleius only in Plautus, it is more logical to regard it as a direct borrowing. Unfortunately, we can never be sure of our conclusions on this problem because of the limitations of the material: we never know for sure whether a particular word occurs in monuments that have not come down to us. M. Bernhard is more cautious in this respect: he notes that sometimes it is difficult to determine whether a word has an archaic flavour.[1]

Due to the impossibility of developing a precise method of determining archaisms, which was demonstrated by all the works presented above, L. Callebat took the path of a careful study of the context in each particular case. Although he explains what he is studying, in which writers the words are attested, what "tonality" the context has, even he cannot give an exact method.[2] That said, the question of what counts as archaism and what counts as vulgarism seems very important for the perception of the novel. The text, written in lively, typical everyday language, seems to fit the character of the novel, which includes short stories with everyday situations and fairy tale elements.[3] The obsolete words are clearly intended to have an entirely different effect.

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[1] ibid., S. 130.
[2] Callebat L. Sermo cotidianus… P. 11.
[3] L. Callebat also says that the style of the Milesian tales, which Apuleius' novel is undoubtedly connected with, was prone to colloquial elements: Callebat L. Sermo cotidianus... P. 474. Nevertheless, it is rather difficult to prove this thesis from the remaining fragments of Sisenna's work.

According to W. Foster, the fact that a book written in such a difficult language has become very popular is proof that it was written in the vernacular, the language which Apuleius spoke from his childhood.[1] And while W. Foster is right that the popularity of a book with such language is amazing, he comes to the wrong conclusions. A simple comparison of "The Golden Ass" with "The Apology" – a speech that was clearly written in a language that needed to be well understood – shows that the language of the novel is artificial, exaggerated, difficult to comprehend by ear. The language of *the Metamorphoses* could not have been habitual either to Apuleius himself or to his compatriots from the African province.

The assumption of a connection between the language of the novel and the African origin of the author was made by Andreas Schott at the beginning of the 17th century. He attributes resourcefulness and fervor to all Africans and their speeches.[2] At the same time he attributes the decline of the empire to the destruction of the classical language, and makes Simmachus, Apuleius, Martianus Capella, Boetius and others contemporaries of such sad events, clearly ignoring the actual chronology.[3]

The question of the existence of African Latin is very curious indeed. In so large an area as the Roman Empire in the early second century A. D., there were undoubtedly dialectal differences, but on the basis of this argument alone we cannot attribute the peculiarities of the language of *the Metamorphoses* to Apuleius' African origins. Common features of style, such as the abundance of archaisms, borrowings (primarily from Greek), neologisms, and vulgarisms, allow us to group several African writers together: Apuleius, Fronto, Tertullian, Lactantius, Cyprian, Arnobius (the latter may have been Greek, but lived in the North African city of Sicca).[4] However, the Roman prose literature of the second–third century A. D. is represented mainly by their

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[1] Foster, Walter Eugene. Studies in archaism in Aulus Gellius. New York: Princeton University Press, 1912. Pp. 10–11: "it is important to note that the Metamorphoses are most strikingly plebeian (and archaic) in quality". The difference in vocabulary between *the Metamorphoses* and other works of Apuleius is explained by W. Foster, like G. F. Hildebrand, by the difference in time: supposedly *the Metamorphoses*, as an earlier work, was written in the language most natural to Apuleius.

[2] And. Schotti Societatis Iesu Tullianarum quæstionum de instauranda Ciceronis imitatione libri IIII. Antverpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana, apud Ioannem Moretum, 1610. P. 16.

[3] ibid., p. 44.

[4] McCracken G. E. Arnobius of Sicca. The Case against the Pagans. V. I. New York, Ramsey: Newman Press, 1949. P. 5.

writings, so we cannot claim that such language is a feature only of the natives of Africa and not of the whole Roman Empire.

The term *Africitas* itself was first used by Erasmus of Rotterdam,[1] but the theory was shaped by the works of K. Sittl, P. Thielmann, J. N. Ott, E. Wölfflin, and others. The dispute between supporters and opponents of the theory of African Latin flared up most sharply at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, the arguments of both sides are given in S. Wilfrid's article.[2] In favour of the existence of African Latin (such as we see in the works of Apuleius) is the date of the fall of Carthage: in 146 B. C. Latin began to spread in Africa, and it was, tentatively speaking, the Latin of Cato and Plautus. According to this theory, such an archaic language existed in the province until the second–third centuries A. D. because the spoken language retained the features from which the more strict literary norm, which was absent in Africa, would have been spared. The presence of vulgarisms in the works of the later African writers was explained by the fact that they were mostly Christians and the colloquial expressions helped them to spread the Christian faith among the people. Much of the borrowing in the works of the later writers was due to the languages that had been common in Africa before the introduction of Latin, and the translators of the Scripture from Hebrew and Greek also played a role. All this was reinforced by the peculiar African temperament (*tumor Africus*) and the features of the southern climate. M. von Albrecht does not expressly call this phenomenon *Africitas*, but his comments on the language of the later Roman writers ("Christian Latin") are much in accord with the arguments of the proponents of this theory. Nevertheless, he denies that "Christian Latin" should be distinguished as a new language.[3]

It should be noted that all the above features are not specific to the natives of Africa, but can be found in the Roman writers of the preceding period, though to a lesser extent. Opponents of the theory of African Latin (E. Norden, H. Rönsch, H. Kretschmann, and others) argue that we cannot assume that Latin became the main

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[1] Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia. T. III (Epistola DCXIII in Hilarium). Lugduni Batavorum: cura & impensis Petri Lander Aa, 1703. P. 695.

[2] Wilfrid, Sister. Is There an Africitas? // The Classical Weekly, Vol. 22, No. 10 (Dec. 17, 1928).

[3] Albrecht, Michael von. History of Roman Literature. / Translated by A. I. Lyubzhin. M. : Yuriy Shichalin's Museum Graeco-Latinum, 2005. T. 3, pp. 1423–1427.

language in Africa as soon as Carthage was conquered. Intensive Latinization of the province did not begin until the reign of Caesar and Augustus, and large veteran colonies appeared in Africa under Claudius. All the lexical features of Apuleius, Fronto, and later writers are due to a literary tendency which operated throughout the Roman Empire, having its origin in Greece with μίμησις τῶν ἀρχαίων, the principle of rhetorical schools. The fact that these lexical features belong to the works of African writers is no more than a coincidence, which does not allow us to evaluate the situation outside this province. At least Graecisms in general are peculiar to Latin literature, since many Roman writers had an excellent command of this language.[1]

In the course of time the opinion of the opponents of the theory of the existence of African Latin and the isolated development of literature in that province began to prevail. For example, L. Purser wrote early in the twentieth century: "It is hardly necessary to refute the now generally discredited view that there was a special 'African' style".[2] E. Finkelpearl speaks of *Africitas* as an already disproved phenomenon, which must nevertheless be mentioned when discussing the vocabulary of *the Metamorphoses*, because the African environment may indeed have had a certain influence on the author of the novel.[3] It is difficult to disagree with this statement: as has already been said, it is natural to assume certain peculiarities in the speech of the inhabitants of the various provinces. It is unlikely that Africans spoke as Lucius does in the novel, but one cannot deny their cultural identity, which is also expressed in their language. According to Silvia Mattiacci,[4] the concept of African Latin needs to be revised: we should move away from the idea of Apuleius being the novice in Latin, who relied on archaic writings, and study the problem of cultural identity, Romanization and the phenomenon of bilingualism in Africa. The existence of features of African Latin is explicitly

[1] Norden, Eduard. Die Antike Kunstprosa. 2 Band, 3 Abdruck. Leipzig und Berlin: Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1918. P. 594; Dietrich B. C. The Golden Art of Apuleius // Greece & Rome, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Oct., 1966). P. 192.
[2] The Story of Cupid and Psyche as related by Apuleius / Ed. Louis C. Purser. London: George Bell & Sons, 1910. P. LXXXIV.
[3] Finkelpearl, Ellen D. An Apuleius Reader: Selections from the Metamorphoses. Mundelein, Illinois USA: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2012. P. XXXIII.
[4] Mattiacci, Silvia. Apuleius and Africitas // Apuleius and Africa, ed. by Benjamin Todd Lee, Ellen Finkelpearl and Luca Graverini. New York: Routledge, 2014. P. 93.

asserted by J. N. Adams,[1] who analyzed Latin texts from 200 B. C. to 600 A. D. to find out how Latin differed from territory to territory. J. N. Adams used Libyan ostracons and Algerian tablets to show differences in word pronunciation compared to classical Latin norms and also identified a number of provincialisms characteristic of African provincial territory.[2] When asked if there was an "African Latin", he answers in the affirmative, but this is not at all the stylistic characterization which proponents of Ciceronian Latin reproached Apuleius for. The unique style of the novel *the Metamorphoses* is not dictated by the African origin and provinciality of its author, but on the contrary: Apuleius was well educated and was aware of the fashionable literary trends, following which he could please the tastes of a demanding public. In this sense, any archaism, any unusual word in Apuleius' work is indeed functional: this is a literary text, not natural speech, and the choice of this or that vocabulary is a literary device consciously applied by the author.

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[1] Adams J. N. The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC–AD 600. New York: Cambrige University Press, 2007.

[2] In addition to African pronunciation, J. N. Adams identifies the following as "Africanisms": the expression *quantum etiam* meaning *sed etiam* and borrowings from the languages of those peoples with whom Africa was in contact (e.g., *buda*, meaning above-water plants and objects made from them). Many of the examples of African vocabulary given in the book are rather late: "In Africa, as elsewhere, the language was always in a state of flux, with innovation rather than archaism the most decisive determinant of its local characteristics at any time", ibid., p. 541.

Archaisms in Latin Literature

1.   Archaisms in the eyes of Apuleius' predecessors and contemporaries

The unusual vocabulary was not something unique to the Roman literature of the second century A. D. It had attracted attention in the works of many writers even before that period, and its use would be one of the common artistic devices of the later period. However, such linguistic liberty is not acceptable in all genres: for example, usually in the so-called lower genres (comedy, fable, satire) the archaic vocabulary will either be inappropriate or will serve as a means of creating irony, and for the higher genres the use of vulgarisms is untypical. Neologisms in general constitute a section of vocabulary whose use is possible only with great caution. Nevertheless, such a risk may be justified: a successfully chosen new word refreshes the text and allows a new look at the vocabulary of the work (what is usually perceived only as a means of conveying thought, itself becomes the object of the reader's close attention). This is one of the reasons why Apuleius so often resorts to that technique in *the Metamorphoses*: the constant shifting of emphasis from the content to the language with which this content is expressed, and vice versa, ensures the dynamism of the work. From this point of view, it does not matter whether the word used to enliven the text is a neologism, a vulgarism, or an archaism, they all play the same role. Their frequent use is the author's way of standing out, of opposing tradition. They will have a slightly different function if they are rare in the work: an archaic word can add solemnity, vulgarisms will be appropriate in the speeches of commoners to create the necessary image, neologisms are sometimes impossible to do without, when we are talking about those things and phenomena that cannot be described by words that already exist in the language.

In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* it is the archaisms that are of particular importance. First, because such unaccustomed and often solemn words are difficult to expect in a so-called adventure novel, a large part of which consists of novellas of an erotic and comic nature, where vulgarisms look quite natural. Neither the genre nor the personality of the book's characters provide an opportunity to expect ancient words, and Apuleius makes

active use of this trick of deceiving expectations. Second, Apuleius' archaisms are closely related to two other categories of words, vulgarisms and neologisms. Very often it is impossible to attach the right label to a word: one can find enough arguments for it to be an archaism and vulgarism, and there can be fierce disputes about certain lexemes (for example, such questions arise when considering the rare word *turbela* in *the Metamorphoses*). Neologisms can also have points of intersection with ancient vocabulary: Apuleius invents words whose origin was clearly influenced by archaic authors, whom Apuleius certainly read. For example, the verbs *inalbo* and *inalbeo* appear to have been inspired by the verb *indalbo*, attested only in Ennius (in the case of the beginning of Book VII of *the Metamorphoses*, there can be little doubt about the correspondence between the words of the narrator and a line from *the Annals*). Naturally, we cannot assert with certainty that this or that word is a neologism. While some words are so specific that their belonging to Apuleius' genius is practically guaranteed (e. g., *utricida* 'the murderer of hoards'), others may be attested for the first time in Apuleius by pure chance. These include many feminine nouns and adjectives (*cantatrix, sospitatrix, veteratrix*), loanwords (*cataclistus, ephebicus, magia*), diminutives (*fenestrula, glabellus, ovicula*) and many others. In most cases we cannot know whether Apuleius was their author, whether the hapaxes which we find in his works were found in the works which have not reached us, how original and unusual this or that word was felt at that time and in that territory, whether it was absorbed by the language or discarded as unnecessary. That is why we cannot draw such bold conclusions from the vocabulary presented in *the Metamorphoses*. Therefore, the name 'neologism' in this paper is not a strict term and is used to refer to all the lexemes first attested in Apuleius' work.

Although Apuleius is rightly considered as the author with the most varied vocabulary in Latin, he is not a pioneer in the genres in which he worked, nor in his manner. Although this extraordinary style is best represented by his works ("the Metamorphoses" and, to a lesser extent, "the Florida"), he had his predecessors. There is no reason to suppose that before the first century A. D. there was a particular school among Latin authors which encouraged such lexical experiments, but certain individuals

have nevertheless remained in history as possessors of a vocabulary designed to surprise and bewilder their reader or listener. One such figure was Lucius Cornelius Sisenna (died in 67 B. C.), known as the author of *the Histories*, which has survived only in fragments, most of which were transmitted by Nonius Marcellus. Sisenna seems to have tried to produce in his speeches the same effect as Apuleius in *the Metamorphoses*, using a large number of archaisms, neologisms, and borrowings. However, unlike Apuleius, who thus adjusted himself to the tastes of his contemporary public, Sisenna acted contrary to fashion and, as a consequence, became an object of ridicule, which did not change his views: *sed ille tamen familiaris meus recte loqui putabat esse inusitate loqui* (Cic. *Brut*. 260: "yet my friend believed that to speak properly was to speak unusually" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)). In this manner Cicero contrasts Sisenna with Caesar, who, according to him, had the dignity necessary both for an orator and for a true Roman – elegantia verborum Latinorum (*Brut*. 261).[1] Still, Cicero gives Sisenna credit, considering him an educated man and well versed in Latin (*Brut*. 228). At the same time, Cicero is quite unhappy with the way Sisenna expresses his thoughts: he cannot be considered an orator and his *Histories* are written "childishly" (*De Leg*. 1, 7). Cicero attributes the latter to the fact that Sisenna was imitating Clytarchus, the fourth-century B. C. Greek historian who compiled the biography of Alexander the Great. The unknown author of the treatise *On the Sublime*, criticizes Clytarchus as pompous and blindly aspiring to the sublime (*De Sublimitate* 3, 3: Clytarchus is called φλοιώδης – superficial).[2] The author thinks that the result of such striving is the childishness of style (μειρακιῶδες), characteristic of those who, trying to imitate something special and refined, create something in poor taste. Besides Clitarchus he includes among the culprits of this vice sophists Gorgias of Leontini and Hegesias of Magnesia. Apuleius, in turn, was also criticized as an author who blindly followed the literary fashion and overfilled his novel with unusual words indiscriminately.

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[1] Caesar was known to advise against unusual words, which makes his style in this respect the exact opposite of Sisenna's tastes: Gell. 1, 10, 4.

[2] Connolly, Joy. The New World Order: Greek Rhetoric in Rome // A Companion to Greek Rhetoric, ed. Ian Worthington. Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2007. P. 156.

Apuleius and Sisenna are connected not only by common views on the choice of vocabulary, but also by their interest in the genre of Milesian tales: it was Sisenna who first translated Μιλησιακά by Aristides of Miletus, a Greek author of the late Hellenistic period, into Latin. Unfortunately, the number of surviving fragments does not allow us to judge the content and style of the work. Sisenna may have made extensive use of the -tim and -im adverbs in his translation, as Aulus Gellius (12, 15, 1–2) testifies. This category of adverbs was particularly popular precisely in the Archaic period, but then found its readership again in Apuleius' writings. Moreover, Apuleius seems to have supplemented it with his own words, many of which were then borrowed by later authors.[1] As the author of *the Histories*, Sisenna undoubtedly became famous and was known to both his contemporaries and his descendants. He influenced Sallust: the latter notes that Sisenna "studied the material concerning Sulla best and most thoroughly" (*Jug*. 95); besides, it is probable that Sallust began his narrative from the place where Sisenna had stopped.[2] By Hadrian's time, however, Sisenna was no longer more entertaining for his *Histories*, but for his archaic language, for the sake of which grammarians have recorded fragments from his writings. Fronto notes that Sisenna was one of those rare writers who paid particular attention to the selection of words and the search for the right expressions (*ad M. Caesarem* 4, 3 = 1, 1 Haines). Apparently, this reputation as a master of the ancient word and seeker of unusual vocabulary led to Sisenna even being considered a commentator on Plautus (Rufinus and Charisius write about this), although it appears that commentaries on his plays belong to a later grammarian of the same name.[3] Thus, it is not difficult to find in Sisenna and Apuleius not only an interest in the genre of the Milesian tales, but also a commonality of views on the vocabulary required by a narrative of this kind, although it is worth noting that Sisenna lived in a completely different literary climate.

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[1] Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto in Apuleio. Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 2007. P. 75.
[2] Rawson, Elizabeth. L. Cornelius Sisenna and the Early First Century B. C. // The Classical Quarterly Vol. 29, No. 2 (1979). P. 327.
[3] Teuffel W. S. Geschichte der Römischen Literatur. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1870. S. 205; Niese, Benedikt. L. Cornelius Sisenna // RE 7 Hb (1900). Sp. 1513; Callebat L. Sermo cotidianus... P. 474. Besides, some researchers have doubts regarding the identification of Sisenna the historian and Sisenna the translator of Milesian tales (albeit few), see Rawson, Elizabeth. L. Cornelius Sisenna... P. 331.

Since Apuleius was not only the author of the novel, but also a famous orator, we should refer to the statements of such prominent orators as Cicero and Quintilian, who treated the use of unusual words, in particular archaisms, in their own way. In the first place, Cicero notes that unusual words are a tool to embellish and brighten one's speech (*De Orat.* 3, 38, 152–153), and he gives a definition for archaisms: "unused words (inusitata) are usually words which are old and, because of their antiquity, long gone from the spoken language" (translated by us. – *S. D.*). Cicero also explains that archaisms are more appropriate in the freer works of poets than in the speeches of orators, but if one knows where to draw the line, a poetic word can also give a certain sublimity to the speech. That said, it appears that different words and expressions may or may not have been allowed by Cicero in an orator's speech, depending on how long ago the word ceased to be used in everyday life. Thus, he has nothing against the words *tempestas* (denoting a time period), *proles, suboles, effari, nuncupare, reor, opinor*. Cicero himself uses these words freely, although apparently already at his time they had some archaic connotation which gave the words a sense of grandeur. It is not difficult to see that all of these words were used quite often in later times as well, and if Cicero had not explicitly indicated their archaic character, it is unlikely that any researcher would have been able to classify them in this way based on the texts and authors in which they occur. Cicero is less strict about such words than he is about archaisms, which have disappeared from the spoken language altogether. However, it should also be noted here that not all unused words are treated equally by the reader. Naturally, no author should use such words that have been out of use for so long that their meaning cannot be retrieved even from the context of the narrative, when the reader would have to open a dictionary in order to understand that meaning. However, there are plenty of words in any language which are practically impossible to hear in live speech, but which regularly occur in the works of authors of previous epochs and due to this fact they continue to exist in the language. They are quite easily perceived by educated readers, who have no difficulty in recognizing their meaning. Apparently, it is about such words that Cicero warns that their use is undesirable, except occasionally and for the sake of decorating the speech (*De Orat.* 3, 10, 39).

In general, Cicero is not particularly interested in the subject of archaic vocabulary, and his comments on this topic are too brief to get an idea of what exactly should be considered archaisms and in what genre archaisms are permissible or, on the contrary, inexcusable. At the same time, it is clear that Cicero pays great attention to the choice of words, which should be clear and understandable to the listener of the orator's speeches. Quintilian is less peremptory on this point, although his views do not differ much from those of Cicero. Unlike the latter, he does not believe that archaisms are an attribute only of poetic genres.[1] He reflects on the nature of archaisms in the first book of *the Institutio Oratoria*, showing that they, firstly, give speeches a sense of grandeur, secondly, are pleasant to the ear, and thirdly, have the effect of novelty, if they have not occurred for a long time. Interestingly, he notes that archaisms are somewhat popular with writers (*Inst*. 1, 6, 39: "*verba a vetustate repetita... magnos adsertores habent*"), without specifying the genre in which these authors work. Quintilian also recommends against frequent and overt archaisms, as well as those that are so old that they have already been forgotten by readers. As examples he gives the words *topper, antegerio, exanclare*, and *prosapia*, the last two of which not only appear in Apuleius about a century later, but may even be considered some of his favorite lexemes. Quintilian complements his list of overly obsolete words in another passage with examples such as *quaeso, oppido, aerumna* (these are also among the words used by Apuleius, although *quaeso* does not appear in *the Metamorphoses*), again reminding of the need for moderation in the use of archaisms (*Inst*. 8, 3, 24–25). In addition, he rightly observes that speech changes over time and that what was acceptable to writers only recently may look inappropriate today. However, it seems that certain words do not change their stylistic colouring over long periods of time: the same words (*reor, nuncupo*) that Cicero recognized as archaic but acceptable in speech, are the words which Quintilian calls "used by necessity" (necessario; *Inst*. 8, 3, 26–27), that is, they still do not make a negative impression because of their antiquity.

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[1] Marache, René. La critique... P. 56.

Quintilian is generally positive towards certain examples of archaic vocabulary if they play the role expected of them in the text: they add to the grandeur of antiquity and look organic in a suitable context. In a very different way he perceives the mannerism associated with the abundance of archaisms, when words and their unfamiliar sounding begin to draw attention away from the text content: "they (those who are more interested in the external side of the text than they should be), even having found the best expressions, still seek something more ancient, more remote, more unexpected (*magis antiquum remotum inopinatum*) and do not understand that there is no point in such speech in which words are praised" (*Inst.* 8 Proem. 31; translated by us. – *S. D.*). At the core, for Quintilian, words are only a means of expressing thought, and if they are intelligible and coordinated in the right way, if they accurately reflect what the author is thinking, that is enough for him. Excessive preoccupation with verbal design, however, as he believes, can do more harm than please the reader. From this point of view, the style of Apuleius would naturally have been severely criticized by Quintilian, because few people are capable of such a variety of stylistically different words: Apuleius obviously does not just pick up beautifully sounding words, but really composes a text that "boasts" with words. Quintilian speaks out again on this subject a little later when he quotes an epigram directed against Sallust and his predilection for archaisms: *nam et cuilibet facilis et hoc pessima, quod eius studiosus non verba rebus aptabit, sed res extrinsecus arcesset quibus haec verba conveniant* (*Inst.* 8, 3, 30: "for such a practice is easy for anyone and so terrible that its zealous adherent will not match the words to the material, but will attract material from outside so that these words fit it" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)). It is hard to say whether Apuleius was one of those authors who seeks opportunities to flaunt unusual expression even at the expense of meaning, but Quintilian would seem to think so.

In his discussion of the works which novice orators should be educated with, Quintilian formulates his principle of not getting carried away by two extremes: he does not advise reading Gracchi, Cato and other ancient authors (so as not to borrow from them dryness of exposition and expressions which are alien to modernity), but he discourages from reading the newest authors either, protecting oneself from the

flamboyance of their style (*Inst*. 2, 5, 21–22). Quintilian in general always advises to keep to the golden mean: *ergo ut novorum optima erunt maxime vetera, ita veterum maxime nova* (*Inst*. 1, 6, 41: "just as among the new words the best are the oldest, so among the old ones the best are the newest" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)). Thus he divides all authors into three categories: firstly, into those who in their blind imitation of antiquity cannot do without archaic words, secondly, into those modern writers who add too many embellishments just for the reader's pleasure, and thirdly, into the classical authors, whose style is as it should be.[1] The last-mentioned do not necessarily avoid using archaisms: Quintilian praises Virgil for his ancient words (*Inst*. 8, 3, 24). It is important to occasionally embellish a narrative with pleasant-sounding archaisms, suggestive of majestic antiquity, but by no means should one be overzealous in the use of archaisms for the sake of empty ostentation, when there is no longer any meaning behind the words. Naturally, such practice requires painstaking effort: in order to write using a lot of unusual words, one must first read a lot of the relevant literature, discovering the necessary pearls from the ancient authors, perhaps even writing them out in special notebooks. They do not get into the text by chance either, but the author must carefully consider the meaning of the ancient word and find the proper context for it. It is precisely this kind of behavior – excessive attention to the text – that Quintilian condemns (*Inst*. 8 Proem. 21–28). The right word must come naturally to the author, for it is dictated by the truth; artificial selection of expressions requires effort on one's part, and the result cannot be as pleasing and clear as words that arise of their own accord. Quintilian explicitly warns against searching for unusual words in ancient writings, for the words found are likely to be incomprehensible to listeners and readers, and thus they are prone to obscure the meaning of the entire work (*Inst*. 8, 2, 12). Quintilian also disapproves of the manner in which the author places words of different styles side by side, creating a peculiar mixture of archaisms, neologisms, vulgarisms, and poetisms, so he would have called Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* a "monstrum" (*Inst*. 8, 3, 60).

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[1] ibid., p. 50–51.

That is the theoretical guidance that Cicero and Quintilian gave to those wishing to master Latin eloquence. In practice both avoided archaisms, which cannot be said of other authors who also had a great influence on the education of future orators and literature in Latin. For example, the philosopher Lucretius can be considered an archaizer. Since he presented his views in the form of a poem, it is natural that a large number of poetisms are found in his work. But along with these we may also find archaic vocabulary, including the ancient equivalent of the pronoun *ille olle*, archaic forms of the genitive case with the endings -ai and -um, the gerund in -undi, and adjectives in -bundus. This appreciation of archaic forms is particularly noticeable when we compare the poem with the speeches of Cicero, a contemporary of Lucretius. However, this trait cannot be explained simply by the poem *De Rerum Natura* belonging to a poetic genre: Lucretius' other contemporary, Catullus, showed no such affection for archaisms. Of course, the style of the poem is elevated and has nothing in common with the poems of Catullus either in content or in form, and the ancient forms definitely give the whole work a certain majesty. Scholars have also noted Lucretius' dependence on Ennius, whom he praises in the first book of the poem and whom he imitates precisely with his ancient expressions.[1] In many ways the tasks of Lucretius and Apuleius are similar: both work with the Greek original so that the Latin could, as far as possible, correspond to the theme of the work. As Lucretius creates a didactic poem describing the order of the universe, he has to choose his words carefully: they should both be suitable for dactylic hexameter and reflect the grandeur of the subject. To do this he resorts to archaisms, borrows Greek words and finds new lexemes when he feels that the means which his native language can provide him with are insufficient.[2] Apuleius does the same, using all these possibilities to create the "desultoria scientia" that he promises in the prologue of his novel. Whereas Lucretius is obliged to do this by the strict requirements of the meter and the lack of Latin equivalents for Greek

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[1] Sikes E. E. Lucretius. Poet and Philosopher. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936. Pp. 42–43; Marache, René. La critique... P. 21; van Schaik, Nick. Beginnings in the De Rerum Natura. Treasuries of Influence and Intertextuality. University of Leiden, 2017. P. 11.
[2] Sedley, David. Lucretius and the Transformation of Greek Wisdom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Pp. 35–48.

philosophical terms, Apuleius, at the beginning of *the Metamorphoses*, set himself the task of subjecting language to the metamorphoses in his story.

E. Sikes, briefly describing the attitude towards archaisms among Lucretius' contemporaries and justifying his archaizing, notes that although Cicero wrote his philosophical dialogues in modern language, historians (even though they wrote prose rather than poetry) sought to repeat Cato's manner of speech.[1] Indeed, as has already been said, both Lucius Cornelius Sisenna and Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius were revered in the second century A. D. for the large number of ancient words in their writings. Quadrigarius was a favourite historian of Aulus Gellius (next to Sallust), and he preserved many fragments of Quadrigarius' *Annals*,[2] while Cicero speaks of him as a writer with a sluggish style of presentation and lack of skill (*De Leg*. 1, 2, 6 "*antiquorum languor et inscitia*").

Nevertheless, one should see the most famous archaizing historian in Sallust, or, as Lenaeus, a freedman of Pompey the Great, puts it, "an ignorant thief of the words of the ancients and Cato" (Suet. *De Gramm*. 15). The historian's peculiar style even inspired Asinius Pollio to devote an entire book to its criticism (though the criticism may have been limited to a letter addressed to Munatius Plancus: Suet. *De Gramm*. 10, Gell. 10, 26, 1). It was the language of Sallust, not his point of view on historical events, that elicited admiration from some and vehement condemnation from others.[3] It is noted that Sallust was bold and original in his expressions: for instance, Gellius (10, 26, 1–10) defends the writer against the attacks of Asinius Pollio, justifying Sallust's use of the words *transgressus* and *transgressi* for traveling by water rather than crossing over land. Sallust's particular attention to language can also be demonstrated by the fact that Sallust appears to have had some collection of ancient words and expressions which he turned to when he wanted to embellish a narrative with an original turn of speech. At least, as Asinius Pollio says in Suetonius' paraphrase, such a collection, alongside with

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[1] Sikes E. E. Lucretius… P. 43.
[2] Marache, René. La critique... P. 233. The great number of archaisms in the anonymous work *Bellum Hispaniense* is also connected with the archaizing tendencies in historiography, and the author's conscious decision to stick to a more lofty style, see Gaertner, Jan Felix. The Style of the Bellum Hispaniense and the evolution of Roman historiograohy // Colloquial and Literary Latin, ed. by Eleanor Dickey, Anna Chahoud. New York: Cambrige University Press, 2010. P. 249.
[3] Syme, Ronald. Sallust. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1964. P. 288.

a summary of the events of Roman history, was prepared for him by his friend, the grammarian Lucius Ateius (Suet. *De Gramm*. 10).[1] Even among the common words Sallust preferred their more archaic variants: superlative adjectives in -umus, gerund in -undi, he often used adverbs in -im. All this shows him to be a courageous author, not afraid to introduce some attributes of poetry in the historical narrative and to contrast the modern language with a text full of obsolete expressions. This sympathy for the language of the ancients on the whole corresponds to the romantic image of the early republic which he draws in his works: traces of decadence of manners could not be detected not only in the actions of people, but also in their words. Nevertheless, W. Batstone believes that the task of Sallust was to create prose that would appear unusual: to do this, Sallust uses not only archaisms, but also neologisms, bold metaphors and comparisons.[2] This creates a certain contrast between, on the one hand, archaic expressions and moralism and, on the other hand, neologisms and other innovations. In any case, despite criticism, the works of Sallust were read by posterity, and all subsequent adherents of archaic vocabulary undoubtedly regarded Sallust as an author to look up to, and not only in the genre of historical narrative.[3]

Other great writers of Roman history were no longer particularly sympathetic to archaisms: both Titus Livius and Cornelius Tacitus rather avoided archaic vocabulary in their writings. Livy disapproved of excessive adornment of speech with ancient and obscure expressions (Sen. *Contr*. 9, 2, 26) and in his literary pursuits followed the example of Cicero and Caesar more than that of Sallust.[4] Quintilian is sure that Livy is not inferior in talent to Herodotus: so pleasing and clear is his manner of speech (Quint.

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[1] Interestingly, in the same passage Suetonius wonders how Asinius Pollio could have believed that Ateius collected ancient words for Sallust, but at the same time strongly discouraged him from vague expressions characteristic of that historian. Nevertheless, even if Ateius himself considered such a style inappropriate for a modern writer, as a grammarian he could still comply with Sallust's request to find ancient expressions; Berwick, Erdward. Lives of Caius Asinius Pollio, Marcus Terentius Varro, and Cneius Cornelius Gallus. London: Printed for Robert Triphook, 37, St. James's Street; And C. P. Archer, Dublin: By B. M'Millan, Bow Street, Covent Garden, 1814. Pp. 60-67.

[2] Sallust. Catiline's Conspiracy, The Jugurthine War, Histories. A new translation by William W. Batstone. New York, 2010. P. XXXV.

[3] P. Marache explicitly notes that Sallust gave rise to a whole tradition in the historical genre, dictating the need to archaize, see Marache, René. La critique... P. 22.

[4] At the same time, one cannot deny the influence of sources on Livy's prose: scholars have noted a certain archaic character of the first book of *the History of Rome*, explaining this feature by Livy's reliance on Ennius, see Mellor, Ronald. The Roman Historians. London and New York: Routledge, 1999. P. 62. L. Palmer suggests that Livy used archaisms and poetisms more freely in describing legendary times, gradually returning to a more "modern" vocabulary, more suitable to later events, see Palmer L. R. The Latin Language. London: Faber and Faber, 1953. Pp. 138-139.

Inst. 10, 1, 101). It is the clarity for both Cicero and Quintilian that is due to the absence of ancient words whose meaning is already poorly understood by their contemporaries. As for Tacitus, he is somewhat closer to Sallust: apparently he also believed that in writing history one should use language far removed from modern usage, so Tacitus uses archaisms more freely. This is particularly characteristic of the later books of *the Histories* and *the Annals*.[1] Of these historians Apuleius is naturally closest to Sallust: not only do they show a general tendency to unusual vocabulary, but Apuleius also makes certain references to the works of this historian and borrows his vocabulary.[2]

One of the favourite authors not only of Apuleius, but also of other archaicists of the second century A. D. is undoubtedly Virgil. Despite the fact that his poem *Aeneid* deals with events of deep antiquity, Virgil is not fond of archaic vocabulary. To praise the antiquity does not mean to use its expressions. Even when Virgil writes *the Georgics*, the idea of which goes back to *Works and Days* by Hesiod, he treats Hesiod's work as a monument of Greek literature rather than ancient literature. Accordingly, it is more important for Virgil to adapt the ideas of the Greek writer to the Roman public, to take the best from the Greek original, but to express all this in modern Latin language, to emphasize the poetry of the images (this is also true for the deviations of a physicophilosophical nature, which Virgil borrows from Lucretius). At the same time, it cannot be said that Virgil avoids archaic vocabulary: sometimes he resorts to ancient words or forms, but necessarily to those which are understandable to any reader and do not cause difficulties. In this way they provide the necessary archaic colour but do not obscure the meaning.

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[1] Adams J. N. The Language of the Later Books of Tacitus' Annals // The Classical Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Nov., 1972). P. 350.

[2] Th. McCreight also speaks of Apuleius' tendency to use the language of historiography in general and that of Sallust in particular: McCreight, Thomas D. Apuleius, Lector Sallustii: Lexicographical, Textual and Intertextual Observations on Sallust and Apuleius: Sallust, "Historiae" Frr. 3.102-103 and 4.62 Mauren-Brecher = 4.14-15 and Uncertain #28 McGushin; Apuleius "Apology" 12.1; 26.1 // Mnemosyne, Fourth Series, Vol. 51, Fasc. 1 (Feb., 1998). P. 56. One of the most famous Sallustian reminiscences is Aristomenes' tragic address to the bed in the first book of *the Metamorphoses* (Apul. *Met*. 1, 16, 3, cf. Sall. *Iug*. 14, 22), although it is far from being just an imitation of that passage from *the Jugurthine War*, but also the topos lecti invocatio in Greek tragedy and love poetry, see Finkelpearl, Ellen D. Metamorphosis of Language in Apuleius: a Study of Allusion in the Novel. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998. P. 51; May, Regine. Apuleius. Metamorphoses or the Golden Ass. Book 1. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013. P. 169.

Virgil has no words that are completely out of use, in this sense he is a very modern poet who is, however, also far removed from the spoken Latin language.[1] It is hard to find a poet who is more careful with language than Virgil – he perfectly finds the balance between the old and the new, the elegant and the everyday, so that his poems are perceived as music in which everything is in its place, nothing can be added or taken away.[2] It is this ability to maintain a balance that makes Virgil such a unique master of the word. For Virgil there was a certain charm in ancient expressions, which allowed not only to create an appropriate atmosphere, but also to transform the very sound of words, so in his works one often finds the archaic genitive in -um instead of -orum or in -ai instead of -ae. The active use of deponent verbs (e.g., *populat* instead of *populatur*) is also considered archaic.[3] Vergil is not afraid of archaic *infit* or *quianam*, his archaisms are always organic and understandable, they never draw the reader's attention to themselves (as is often the case with Apuleius), but correspond to the events and characters described, they occur quite rarely, so that they truly serve as a decoration of the text. Thus, despite the fact that Virgil is never fond of archaisms, vulgarisms or Graecisms, maintaining a smooth style, his narrative is not monotonous, as he does not abandon these means completely.[4] Hence, although Virgil was undoubtedly one of Apuleius' literary idols, the latter's style in the field of lexical selection is the opposite of that of the poet: while Virgil is very careful to make his expressions precise and clear (even if he resorts to words of archaic colour), Apuleius is more concerned with originality in his manner of speech, and the more unconventional the word, the more likely it will find its place in *the Metamorphoses*.

Horace, a contemporary of Virgil, also had a great influence on the development of literature in Latin. He is very critical of the use of obsolete words and apparently does not think that poetry, unlike prose, can freely use archaisms. Horace is convinced

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[1] Marache, René. La critique... P. 32.

[2] Batterson Beach, Goodwin. Vergil, the Lord of Language // The Classical Weekly. Vol. 28, No. 24 (Apr. 29, 1935). Pp. 188–189, about *the Aeneid*: "a work majestic in tone, of transcendent beauty and absorbing interest, melodious even to our ears that are not trained to the sound of Latin words, even to us for whom those words do not have from childhood associations of tenderness, pathos, grandeur, majesty, quaintness, and charm".

[3] Jackson Knight W. F. Vergil's Latin // Acta Classica. Vol. 1 (1958). Pp. 40, 41 n. 79; Durov V. S. History of Roman Literature. SPb. : Filologicheskij fakul'tet Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2000. Pp. 129–130.

[4] Lipka, Michael. Language in Vergil's Eclogues. Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte. Band 60. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001. P. 170.

that any poet must be very careful in his choice of vocabulary: the poet must necessarily have a good reason for using unusual words. For instance, Horace approves of the introduction of neologisms if the Latin language does not have a name for the subject or phenomenon in question (*Ars P*. 46–59), making an example of Plautus, Caecilius, Cato and Ennius, who enriched Latin speech with Greek loanwords. Defending the practice of using new words, Horace notes that this is the way the whole world works: one thing dies and another comes to replace it. So it is natural that language engages new words, discarding old, out-of-use ones. The good poet should also get rid of the latter. According to Horace, all words which are no longer in common use only disfigure the text, and the usage is the judge in this matter (*Ars P*. 70–72, *Epist*. 2, 2, 111–119). At the same time, Horace understands that such a selection is a rather difficult task (ancient words recede "reluctantly" and often belong to religious vocabulary, and thus are perceived as something sacred: verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant). Horace criticizes Lucilius for being verbose, for being unscrupulous with the vocabulary, for his lack of attention to style, and for the coarseness of his language (*Sat*. 1, 4, 6–13). It is the language of Lucilius, not his acidity, that Horace considers to be the satirist's chief flaw. Horace's dissatisfaction with the archaic Latin poets is considered by G. – H. Günther as one of the reasons why Horace could not succeed before his acquaintance with Maecenas: his tastes were too different from what was fashionable in literary circles.[1] As C. O. Brink notes, in the light of Horace's moderate approach to neologisms and archaisms, "neither the purists nor the archaists nor the modernists could have taken much comfort from his words".[2] Anyway, the poets of Augustus' time, while not completely abandoning archaisms, preferred not to use them. So whatever the tastes of readers were before Horace's popularity, the new poets dictated new principles, and obsolete vocabulary had no place in their works. Of course, this did not mean a complete rejection of the legacy of the ancient Latin poets − on the contrary, Horace notes that there is much to learn from them and what the Neoterics admirers are missing

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[1] Günther, Hans-Christian. Horace's Life and Work // Brill's Companion to Horace, ed. by Hans-Christian Günther. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013. P. 25.

[2] Brink C. O. Horace on Poetry: The 'Ars Poetica'. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971. P. 134.

(*Sat*. 1, 10, 16–19). Horace returns to many of the themes developed by the archaic poets, but the way to pay homage to them is through these themes themselves and meters, rather than through imitation in terms of vocabulary.[1]

R. Marache calls Persius a poet who speaks in the name of Roman tradition and morality and who wishes to revive the glory of Accius and Pacuvius.[2] Nevertheless, despite his obvious fondness for Lucilius, it is difficult to call him an archaicist. His language does stand out for its complexity, but ancient words (which he occasionally uses, such as *aerumna*) cannot be called the reason why Persius' ideas and images require special attention. Much of Persius' language is due to the influence of Horace and, consequently, to the necessity of incorporating the elements inspired by Horace, although for all the influence of Horace and Lucilius, Persius is stylistically, as well as content-wise, very distinctive.[3]

Despite the general tendency to minimize the number of archaic words in the poetry and prose of Augustus' time, there is ample evidence that the use of archaisms was still in vogue with some authors. For example, Suetonius writes of Augustus himself that he avoided the "stench of pretentious words" (*reconditorum verborum fetoribus*) and equally condemned both mannered writers and lovers of ancient words (*cacozelos et antiquarios*), so he reproached Maecenas for empty adornments and Tiberius for his penchant for outdated and difficult-to-understand phrases.[4] For both these sins Augustus accused Mark Antony, who, according to him, could not choose whether to emulate the admirers of antiquity Annius Cimber and Veranius Flaccus or the supporters of the pomp and pretentiousness of Asian eloquence (Suet. *Aug*. 85, 1–3). Annius Cimber became famous as an orator who glorified antiquity, but nothing of his speeches has come down to us. Judging by how Suetonius and the poet of *Appendix*

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[1] Tarrant, Richard. Horace and Roman literary history // The Cambridge Companion to Horace, ed. by Stephen Harrison. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. 66–68.

[2] Marache, René. La critique... P. 34.

[3] Hooley, Daniel M. Roman Satire. Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2007. P. 89. The "vagueness" of Persius' language arises not from the vagueness of the words themselves, but from the way Persius uses them: Ferriss-Hill, Jennifer L. Roman Satire and the Old Comic Tradition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. P. 83, n. 144, p. 235; Pozdnev M. M. Ipse semipaganus. Zur Interpretation der "Choliamben" von Persius // Hyperboreus 3, 1 (1997). S. 100, 116.

[4] Tiberius is described not only as a lover of archaisms, but also as a man fond of mythological subtleties from the writings of the ancients, possessing a dark and complicated style (Suet. *Tib*. 70, 1–3, Tac. *Ann*. 1, 11, 4), see Klooster, Jacqueline. Tiberius and Hellenistic Poetry // Aitia, 7, 1 (2017). P. 41.

Vergiliana speak of him, he belonged to the supporters of Atticism (the latter expressly calls him tyrannus Atticae febris; App. Verg. *Catalepton* 2). That being said, Cimber wrote his speeches in Greek, using obsolete words of that language.[1] Even less can be said of Veranius Flaccus. This archaicist may have been concerned with religious matters: during the late republic there lived Veranius, author of *Auspiciorum libri* and *Pontificales libri*, whom Festus and Macrobius refer to.[2] It was probably he whom Augustus mocked for his predilection for obsolete words.

Seneca the Elder praises Mamercus Emilius Scaurus (the most eloquent orator of the time according to Tacitus, *Ann.* 3, 31, 6), who could remarkably combine careless behavior and loftiness in his speeches, in which he resorted to archaisms (*genus dicendi antiquum, verborum quoque non vulgarium gravitas... mire ad auctoritatem oratoriam aptatus*; Sen. *Contr.* 10 praef. 2). With regard to Gaius Vibius Rufus Seneca also notes that he liked to archaize in his speeches (*Contr.* 9, 2, 25).

Marcus Valerius Probus, a philologist and antiquarian of the first century A. D. from Beirut, seems to have had a considerable influence on the writers of his time. As R. Marache notes, he did not just write out unusual words, but sought to systematize them.[3] Suetonius speaks of Probus as a very unfruitful writer (*De Gramm.* 24): his field of interest was narrow (correcting and commenting on manuscripts), and his number of followers was small. At the same time, he commends Probus' body of observations on the speech of his predecessors (this work may have been used by some archaicists to find suitable words). Gellius held Probus in greater esteem: he calls this grammarian a famous (inlustris) (Gell. 1, 15, 18) man of distinguished mind (4, 7, 1) with a number of followers (9, 9, 12). According to Gellius, orator Favorinus called Probus none other than *noster* (3, 1, 6). That Probus was more influential than Suetonius describes him may also be indicated by the number of grammatical works wrongly attributed to him,

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[1] Frank, Tenney. Tau Gallicum, Vergil, Catalepton II 4 // The American Journal of Philology, Vol. 56, No. 3 (1935). P. 254, O'Sullivan, Neil. "Rhetorical" vs "linguistic" Atticism: a false dichotomy? // Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Spring 2015). Pp. 143–146.

[2] Honigmann E. Veranius 1 // RE II, 15 Hb. Sp. 937. Ronald Syme suggests that the antiquary whom Suetonius writes of was not Veranius Flaccus, but Granius Flaccus, see Syme, Ronald. Names and Identities in Quintilian // Acta Classica, Vol. 28 (1985). P. 42.

[3] Marache, René. La critique... P. 62.

such as *Appendix Probi* (third–fourth centuries A. D.), and by the number of times he was quoted by Gellius, Donatus and Servius.

The views of Seneca the Younger on this problem are also interesting, since he had a great influence on the young authors of his time. As a representative of "modernism", an admirer of bright and concise phrases, which were especially popular in recitations, Seneca could not sympathize with the complex, vague turns of phrase usually used by lovers of archaic poetry and prose. He disapproved when a writer was carried away by the beauty of a single word and subordinated the content of an entire passage to that word (*Ep.* 59, 5; 108, 35; 114, 13)[1] – something of which we may indeed reproach some authors who attach too much importance to the selection of vocabulary. Ancient orators were in principle represented as being capable of delivering speeches of immense length, in which every aspect was dealt with in minute detail, and every subject was usually approached from afar (Tac. *Dial. Orat.* 19). Such a style of narration was completely at odds with Seneca's tastes. Naturally, his modernism was subject to criticism from adherents of both classical and archaic styles: Gellius notes that some regard his speech as commonplace, his education as plebeian, and his ignorance of the wisdom of the ancients as depressing (Gell. 12, 2, 1).[2]

Tacitus said briefly about those whom exactly the lovers of the ancients exalt: "Still, you have before your eyes men who read Lucilius rather than Horace, and Lucretius rather than Virgil, who have a mean opinion of the eloquence of Aufidius Bassus, and Servilius Nonianus compared with that of Sisenna or Varro, and who despise and loathe the treatises of our modern rhetoricians, while those of Calvus are their admiration" (Tac. *Dial. Orat.* 23).[3] This brief characterization by Tacitus omits some crucial names. Of course, Lucilius, Lucretius, Sisenna and Varro were revered as

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[1] However, Seneca himself does not avoid words with evidently archaic connotations if understanding their meaning is not difficult: Goldberg, Sander M. Greek and Roman Elements in Senecan Tragedy // Brill's Companion to Seneca, philosopher and dramatist, ed. by Gregor Damschen, Andreas Heil ; with the assistance of Mario Waida. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014. P. 650, n. 30, Albrecht, Michael von. Seneca's Language and Style // Brill's Companion to Seneca, philosopher and dramatist, ed. by Gregor Damschen, Andreas Heil ; with the assistance of Mario Waida. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014. P. 702, n. 16.

[2] De Annaeo Seneca partim existimant ut de scriptore minime utili, cuius libros adtingere nullum pretium operae sit, quod oratio eius vulgaria videatur et protrita, res atque sententiae aut inepto inanique impetu sint aut levi et causidicali argutia, eruditio autem vernacula et plebeia nihilque ex veterum scriptis habens neque gratiae neque dignitatis.

[3] Translated by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb.

the possessors of an ancient style, but in their works they had already looked back on the works of more ancient authors: Lucretius borrowed much stylistically from Ennius, Sisenna, presumably, liked archaic speeches, for which he was reviled by his contemporaries, and Varro was a connoisseur of antiquity, and his research interests included Plautus' comedies and the rare words found in them. Still, the chief figure for the archaizers of the various time periods was Ennius, whose authority is so sacred that even Aper, the hero of Tacitus' dialogue, does not venture to name him in his denunciatory speech. Cato, an equally important author for lovers of antiquity, is also absent. Even in them, Aper could have found the same defects which he enumerated in the orators of antiquity: tediousness, conventionality, the crudeness of certain words, insufficient attention to composition. However, both Cato and Ennius really belong to a different time. Aper cannot say about them that they were only one human life removed from his contemporaries (this way he shows that Cicero lived in very recent times, *Dial. Orat.* 17). But it is not only antiquity itself that places Cato and Ennius on a pedestal of admirers of the archaic: both authors were distinguished by great talent and innovation, and it was their work that contributed greatly to the development of Roman poetry and prose.

The return to the origins, to the point from which many gems of Latin literature sprang, to the time when not only worthful literary works in Latin began to be produced, but also when Rome had become the strongest world power, the nostalgia for that greatness became the main principle for the archaizers of the second century A. D. An appeal to antiquity provided a striking contrast to the contemporary situation, when such important events as the conquest of Greece, the fall of Carthage, the republican form of government had already become pages of history, and in cultural terms Greek literature began to outstrip Latin one. Both the "golden age" and the "silver age" of Roman literature were a thing of the past, and Greek oratory had come to the fore. Latin literature had to be inspired with something new, and this novelty was provided with the archaic tendency, long embraced by the talented authors of the Roman Empire both in Rome itself and in the distant provinces.

The famous mentor of Marcus Aurelius, Marcus Cornelius Fronto, was a proponent of the new trends in literature. Like Apuleius, Fronto was born in Africa (in Cirta, the capital of Numidia) and, having received a decent education in Rome, became a famous and influential orator. In spite of the many enthusiastic comments on his eloquence left by various authors, from the third century A. D. panegyrist Eumenius to the fifth century A. D. poet Sidonius Apollinarius, not a single speech by Fronto had survived in its entirety. Nevertheless, in 1815 philologist Angelo Mai discovered palimpsests containing correspondence between Fronto and his pupils and friends. The correspondence is private and, while it is valuable for understanding Fronto's views on oratorical training, it cannot serve as an example of his speeches intended for the general public. From the letters we also learn details of the great orator's biography, in particular we know of his close acquaintance with the literary circles of the Greek part of the Roman Empire: he names the philosopher Athenodotus and the rhetorician Dionysius as his teachers (it is the connection of philosophy with oratory that distinguishes the Second Sophistic, although Fronto himself was not a admirer of philosophy). C. R. Haines also does not question the fact that Fronto was educated in Alexandria.[1] Naturally, Fronto was proficient in both Greek and Latin literature, knew the various techniques of oratory and all the subtleties of the Latin language. From this we sometimes really get the impression that Fronto was a pedant, strictly prescribing to his pupils which words they should use and which ones they should avoid. However, his letters show a sincere interest and love for his native language, and his desire to fill his speeches with new, unusual words from the works of ancient authors shows his desire to enrich the literature of his time, to become an innovator in a certain sense and to develop a different way of forming his literary talent rather than the one chosen, for example, by Seneca the Younger. Any well-established literary tradition sets a framework within which certain writers can no longer fully develop their talent. The tastes of the Emperor Hadrian, who admired not only Greek culture but also the Roman

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[1] The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto / Ed. by C. R. Haines. Vol. I. London, New York: W. Heinemann, 1919. P. xxiii.

authors of the archaic period, Ennius and Cato, also contributed to the development of this new path in Latin literature.

Despite the scarcity of evidence, we can affirm that Fronto did not overfill his speeches with unfamiliar words, blindly seeking them out from ancient authors, but sought only those which were more appropriate and better conveyed meaning than the words of his contemporary language. In addition, Fronto was attentive to the semantic differences of synonyms, which also shows how reverently he considered each word and the effect it should have in the text. It was not so important whether it was an archaism or a word of poetic language. All that was needed was clarity of meaning and appropriateness of use. The words taken from Plautus,[1] Terence, Ennius and Cato met such criteria perfectly, because they were familiar to all educated citizens and in a certain context would look better than their synonyms (today few people can call an arrested person *арестант* ('a prisoner') in a normal conversation, but no one would have difficulty understanding the meaning of this word).[2] It is unlikely that Fronto intentionally sought to distort the familiar literary language, to make it artificial by adding deliberate and unexpected archaisms. It is more likely that he wanted to express his thoughts more accurately, while paying tribute to the great writers of the past, although the use of archaisms need not necessarily imply adoration of the authors who used them: the very antiquity of the word already gives it a special charm.

Although Fronto is, in a sense, an antagonist of Cicero, it cannot be said that he underestimates the latter. Fronto acknowledges the talent and authority of the orator, complaining only that Cicero paid little attention to finding the right words (*ad M. Caesarem* 4, 3 = 1, 1 Haines). In this respect Fronto liked better the manner in which Cicero wrote letters rather than speeches: epistulis Ciceronis nihil est perfectius (*ad Anton. Imp.* 3, 8 = 2, 156 Haines). Fronto notes that few writers of antiquity worked with the degree of diligence in their choice of vocabulary that he demands: Cato, Sallustius, Plautus, Ennius, Lucius Caelius, Naevius, Lucretius, Accius, Caecilius, and

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[1] According to a study by R. Marache, it was Plautus that Fronto borrowed most of the archaisms from: Marache, René. La critique... P. 157.
[2] The word is marked as obsolete, see Large Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language. / Ed. by S. A. Kuznetsov. SPb. : «Norint», 2000. P. 46.

Laberius (*ad M. Caesarem* 4, 3, 2 = 1, 1 Haines). Separately, he places those who showed particular attention to the word selection of a certain stratum of language, e. g., Sisenna stands out in erotic narrative, and Pomponius and Novius in rustic expressions, jokes, and witticisms. Cicero, on the other hand, according to Fronto, although skillfully used a variety of vocabulary, too rarely used words that were "unexpected" (insperata atque inopinata).

In his speeches Fronto demonstrated that a successful orator can depart from the traditions of Ciceronian eloquence and enrich his vocabulary with archaic words, not for the purposes of blindly imitating Ennius and Cato or mocking their obsolete expressions. Fronto showed that in the search for the right word the author is free to push the boundaries and turn to old writings if it is the archaism that has the meaning the author requires. Apuleius also adopted this attitude to language, but he went further and, unable to find a suitable word either in his contemporary language or in the works of ancient authors, freely composed neologisms, boldly put words of different stylistic colouring side by side and was not afraid of appearing pompous because of the abundance of unusual words. For Fronto such a practice would have been unacceptable: from his point of view, vulgarisms and neologisms had no place in the speech of an orator (*ad Anton. de orat*. 12 = 2, 100 Haines). But it was Fronto who gave the impetus for this freedom to use a variety of vocabulary: "sit sane audax orator" (*ad M. Caesarem* 4, 3, 7 = 1, 1 Haines).

Aulus Gellius, a contemporary of Apuleius and author of *Noctes Atticae,* was as much an admirer of ancient authors as Fronto. Eric Gunderson regards *the Attic Nights* as the autobiography of Aulus Gellius, but not the kind in which one finds the usual information for such a genre. Gellius tells not where he was born and educated, but what he reads, what interests him, what people he listens to.[1] It is thanks to his work that fragments of such archaic authors as Caecilius Statius, Quadrius Quadrigarius, and Cato have come down to us. Of course, whereas Fronto, in his didactic letters, writes about how to develop an oratorical skill and with what works to cultivate good taste, Gellius,

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[1] Gunderson, Eric. Nox Philologiae. Aulus Gellius and the Fantasy of the Roman Library. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009. Pp. 13–14.

wishing to give a general education to his children, covers a wider range of questions: culture, religion, law. The subject of Latin and literary works in this language, however, is central to his book. Gellius quotes most often from Cato, Varro, and Cicero, though he cites lines from more than 250 authors in his collection.

He has little interest in his contemporaries: although he gives, for example, descriptions of cases from the life of his teacher, the philosopher Favorinus, they are often concerned with questions of antiquity and language. For instance, he conveys Favorinus' views on the style of Plato and Lysias, his speeches on the names of winds and flowers in Greek and Latin, his thoughts on the meaning of various words and the appropriateness of their use. Many such passages concern archaic words. For example, Gellius quotes Favorinus reproaching a certain young man for using rare obsolete words in common speech. In this story Gellius agrees with his teacher that in matters of morality we should follow the authority of the ancients, but that we should only use words that are clear and understandable to our contemporaries (1, 10, 1–4). R. Marache thinks that Gellius in this passage disapproved of those who used archaic vocabulary to distinguish themselves:[1] a word cannot be a means of demonstrating knowledge, the choice of vocabulary must be reasonable and one must understand the meaning of the used word. Hence arises Gellius' reverent attitude toward archaisms, his desire to celebrate rare words and to understand all the subtleties of meaning. He even notes how the sound itself can give a word a certain stylistic colouring: in his opinion, *perangusto freto* in Cicero's place of *fretu* would sound more rude and archaic ("*vetustius*"; 13, 21., 15). Criticizing the use of new and obscure words, Gellius also observes that even archaisms can be regarded as new if one no longer remembers their meaning, and such words should be avoided (11, 7, 1–2).

Thus, all three major archaicists of the second century A. D. viewed the archaic vocabulary differently: Fronto saw in archaisms an invaluable reserve of words which could not only denote a desired object or phenomenon more precisely and concisely than synonyms, but also add a certain charm to the narrative through the effect of

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[1] Marache, René. La critique... P. 218.

novelty; for Gellius archaisms are both a heritage of the past and a refined decoration of speech; Apuleius applied these theories about the meaning of archaic words to the practice and created a novel whose linguistic form is no less interesting than its content. Naturally, we cannot claim that it was the work of Fronto and Gellius that inspired Apuleius' linguistic experiments.[1] Nevertheless, we can clearly observe that in literary circles in the second century A. D. there was a demand for the literature of archaic writers and mainly for certain ancient words, both the meaning and the sound of which could impress the public in one way or another.

The archaic tendencies persisted in Latin literature for a long time. This is evidenced, for example, by the work *De compendiosa doctrina* by grammarian Nonius Marcellus (third–fourth centuries A. D., exact dates of his life are unknown). It is a collection of lexical entries addressed to his son. Its chief value lies in the large number of quotations from ancient authors such as Varro, Lucilius, Virgil, and Cicero. The fact that such compilations existed indicates that some writers may have referred to them in search of successful borrowings from the works of archaic authors. Perhaps orator Symmachus (fourth century), poet Prudentius (fourth–firth centuries), theologian Arnobius (fourth century) had such reference books or notebooks with citations written out: there were enough writers sympathetic to archaisms. We can also mention such an author as Sidonius Apollinarius (fifth century), who was notorious for the stylistic diversity of his correspondence.[2] Nevertheless, the archaists are usually understood to be Fronto, Gellius and Apuleius: in their work the love for the ancient examples of Latin literature and the desire to enrich their speech with borrowings from them are manifested most clearly. Whereas Fronto and Gellius write explicitly about this, Apuleius demonstrates his views on archaisms in his novel *the Metamorphoses* in the best possible way. Behind the rare and archaic words of Apuleius there is not only mannerism and a desire to impress the reader with his scholarship, but also a

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[1] P. Marache touches on this theory in connection with the similarity of two passages by Apuleius (*Apol.* 9, 8) and Gellius (19, 9, 10), where both authors name Latin poets who wrote erotic poetry in the same order: Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinus, and Quintus Catulus. However, he admits that this theory is not widely supported for chronological reasons, see Marache, René. La critique... Pp. 330–331.

[2] L. Palmer calls Sidonius a typical example of "the complete corruption of taste", Palmer L. R. R. The Latin Language... P. 147.

philological work: in order to find the right word, one must become familiar with the vocabulary of different time periods, carefully read the texts, which give certain words their special connotations. It is impossible to assess the nature of a lexeme by looking at it separately from its sources, from the authors and the time when they worked. This is why the research of Fronto, Gellius and Apuleius is so valuable: their writings are the result of painstaking work on an impressive number of texts, from which they extracted features that were the most interesting and the most relevant for their time.

2.   Distinguishing between Archaisms and Vulgarisms

Those who study works written in ancient Greek and Latin face the problem of the absence of a living speaker. It is impossible to turn to someone for an explanation why the author chose a particular word in a given context, how readers should understand it, whether they use it in their everyday life. Therefore, it is particularly difficult to draw any conclusions concerning the stylistic colouring of words. Very many words carry not only their literal meaning and their sound shell, but also certain stylistic characteristics attached to them. Without being able to find out what conditions these characteristics were formed under, the modern reader is forced to look for ways to determine how a particular word was perceived by the speakers of a given language:

1)   The easiest way to determine the stylistic colouring of the word we are looking for is to find direct evidence from an ancient author. For example, the necessary evaluation of this or that word is sometimes given by Cicero and Quintilian. Unfortunately, such material is extremely limited and can only reflect the situation relevant to the time period in which the author lived.

2)   A more labourious way is to trace in what genre and time period a given word occurs, and on the basis of the collected material to assume its stylistic colouring. Such a method is unreliable in many respects: although in most cases words, for example, of poetic language will be found in works of high genres and will be absent in comedy, satire and everyday correspondence, occasionally they may be used in texts of low genres to create a comic effect. In addition, many ancient texts have not survived to

our time, so the researcher's judgments regarding the stylistic colouring of the word in this case are always determined by the availability of the material.

In some cases, both methods yield the same result (for example, Festus writes about the archaism *custodela* that it was used by the ancients, and this is confirmed by the texts we know), but such cases are very rare. Much more frequently we have to rely only on the second method, which, unfortunately, often cannot help distinguish between archaisms and vulgarisms in Latin. First, many of the words used by Apuleius, in particular, are found in old comedy. As we know, this genre uses words of common and colloquial vocabulary,[1] so many such borrowings can be regarded as vulgarisms. Nevertheless, Apuleius and Plautus are separated by more than two centuries, and what was considered common parlance among Plautus' audience may have changed its stylistic colouring. Therefore, the word we are looking at may turn out to be an archaism (if in the classical period it occurs rarely in texts which admit archaisms, or is not attested at all), a vulgarism (if it occurs in lower genres in the classical period), a word of common vocabulary (if we cannot conclude from the available evidence that it has any stylistic colouring). We cannot also exclude the possibility that a word may be a direct borrowing from the text of an ancient author, and then it was perceived by the readers of Apuleius exactly as a borrowing from the work of a certain author, rather than as an archaism or vulgarism.

Secondly, it is impossible to identify sufficiently strict criteria for assigning a word to one group or another: as already noted, the fact that a word has been attested in old comedy is not a sufficient argument for defining a word as archaism or vulgarism. Naturally, this applies not only to the genre of comedy. It is logical to think that words used by authors of the anteclassical period and avoided by authors of the classical period should be considered archaisms. However, a chronological framework is not sufficient for such a definition; archaizing tendencies concerning certain genres and specific authors must be taken into account. For instance, archaisms are typical in the context of legal and religious documents, in the inscriptions of a similar nature they are

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[1] Cf. Cic. *Or.* 20, 67: *apud quos (comicos poetas), nisi quod versiculi sunt, nihil ist aliud cotidiani dissimile sermonis.*

also found in the classical period.[1] As L. Palmer writes, it is in the sphere of law and religion that there is a clear division between literary expressions and everyday speech.[2] Ancient laws and religious hymns were written in an obscure language no longer understood by many, which added to the solemnity of such texts. That is why even afterwards the authors could use archaisms when speaking about such an important thing as law, human or divine. Obsolete words also appear in legal and religious formulas. Furthermore, although archaisms were avoided by writers in the classical period, this does not mean that they did not use them at all. For example, the word *exanclare* 'to endure' (Quintilian writes about its archaic nature in *Inst*. 1, 6, 40) is used by Cicero in his translations from Homer's *Iliad* (*Div*. 2, 64 = carm. frg. 22, 27 M.) and from Sophocles' *Trachinianes* (*Tusc*. 2, 20). In these cases Cicero may have used it as a poetism, but this orator also resorted to archaisms in prose. In particular his treatise *De re publica* stands out, where the obsolete *nuncupare, erus*, the passive infinitive *nectier*, and gerunds in -undus are attested.[3]

Archaisms were not alien to poetic genres either.[4] Poetic language is characterized by both obsolete words and archaic forms (many of which may have been borrowed from the language of religion and law). Such words are often more sonorous and phonetically interesting, which makes them attractive to poets. Also, the language of poetry is quite conservative and subject to the influence of authority, and obsolete forms may be preserved out of reverence for famous poets of the past. Of course, any tradition is called into question sooner or later, and the Neoterics, guided by the Alexandrian poetry close to them in spirit, also sought to free their poems from archaic vocabulary and become closer to living, real speech. Nevertheless, even Catullus uses both morphological and lexical archaisms (for example, *oppido, autumare, postilla*).[5] Horace, who also disapproved of the use of archaisms, did not reject the verb

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[1] Examples of archaizing can be seen in sufficient quantity in the book Ernout, Alfred. Recueil de textes latins archaïques. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1916. P. 13, 16, 18, 21, 25, 36 etc.

[2] Palmer L. R. The Latin Language... Pp. 118–119.

[3] Cicero. De re publica. Selections / Ed. James E. G. Zetzel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998 (repr. 1995). Pp. 30–31.

[4] E. Karakasis particularly singles out epic, didactic poetry, and tragedy: Karakasis, Evangelos. Terence and the Language of Roman Comedy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. P. 46.

[5] Palmer L. R. The Latin Language... P. 110; Stolz, Friedrich, Schmalz, J. H. Lateinische Grammatik. Laut- und Formenlehre. Syntax und Stilistik. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1900. S. 476.

indecorare, previously attested only in a fragment of Accius. At the same time, archaic vocabulary is not simply a tribute to tradition for poets; it should give the verse a certain majesty. For instance, J. Marouzeau noted how archaisms characterize the speech of gods in Virgil's work,[1] and E. Karakasis showed that in comedy archaisms can mark the speech of elderly characters.[2]

After all, obsolete words are favoured by archaizing writers, among whom the historians Sallust and to a lesser extent Tacitus and Livy, the poet Lucretius, as well as Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius stand out. We should also remember the subjectivity of such a notion as "archaism": what was considered obsolete during Cicero's lifetime may not have been seen as such by Ennius' readers, and those colloquial words which Plautus used in his comedies may already have been perceived by Apuleius as archaic. More complex processes could also have taken place, in which a word from the category of obsolete vocabulary could have passed into the common vocabulary, and such lexemes are particularly difficult to characterize. For example, the adjective *iugis* 'constant, continuous' is marked as an archaism by M. van den Hout, commenting on the letters of Fronto:[3] it is attested in Plautus (once) and in archaic writers (Sallust, Fronto, Apuleius, Gellius) and remains rather rare in the classical period. Nevertheless, in the second century A. D. and later the word clearly flourishes and is found in great numbers in Christian poetry as well as in prose.[4]

Thus, the time period, the genre affiliation, the rarity or, on the contrary, popularity of a word in the Latin literature cannot always give a precise answer to the question whether a word is an archaism or not. When examining individual lexemes, we can see that signs indicating archaic colouring and signs indicating that the word is a

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[1] Marouzeau J. Traité de Stylistique Latine. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1946. P. 180. See also Harrison, Stephen J. *Sermones deorum*: divine discourse in Vergil's *Aeneid* // Colloquial and Literary Latin, ed. by Eleanor Dickey, Anna Chahoud. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. 273–278.

[2] Karakasis, Evangelos. Terence... Pp. 60–61.

[3] Hout, Michel Petrus Josephus van den. A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto // Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca classica Batava. – Supplementum, 190. – Leiden: Brill, 1999. P. 11.

[4] In Russian, Church Slavonic words are usually perceived as archaisms. And nowadays one can hear words with archaic connotations in a fairly wide use, even if now they are used in a slightly different meaning: "возлежать" ('to lie down'), "изрыгать" ('to spew'), "веление" ('command'). Obsolete words are often used in fiction texts, especially by poets (for example, O. Mandelstam, M. Tsvetaeva, V. Ivanov). Examples from the English language are given by L. Purser: The Story of Cupid and Psyche as related by Apuleius / Ed. Louis C. Purser… P. XCIV (note 2). A few Latin examples are given by Quintilian (*Inst*. 8, 3, 34).

colloquial one can coexist. For example, Gellius (17, 2, 25) mentions the "little-known" (*ignobilis*) word *arboretum* 'a plantation of trees', quoting Claudius Quadrigarius. On the one hand, this word is not attested anywhere else except in these two authors. On that basis the researcher will assume that the readers of Gellius saw it as an archaism. On the other hand, this "little-known" word entered the Romance languages (it. *arboreto*, sp. *arboledo*), which means that it continued to live in the folk speech and was used by ordinary people in everyday conversations. A passage from Gellius about the word *praeterpropter* (19, 10), which is used by one of Fronto's friends, is also revealing. This friend explains that he has heard the word from many people, but that its meaning can be better explained by a grammarian. The grammarian, "embarrassed by the vagueness of the most common and conventional word" (*usitati pervulgatique verbi*), refuses to consider this colloquialism. But Fronto observes that this very word, which seemed unworthy of discussion to the grammarian, was used by Varro, Cato, and Ennius in his tragedy *Iphigenia*.

The assignment of a word to a category of archaisms or vulgarisms is often determined by the subjective views of the researcher. For instance, Pierre Médan thinks that the Plautine vocabulary was used by Apuleius to demonstrate colloquial speech so he does not consider it archaic,[1] while Max Bernhard considers the noun *sessibulum* (Plaut. *Poen*. 268, Apul. *Met*. 1, 23) a vulgarism.[2] Louis Callebat challenges this point of view, citing the rarity of this word in extant Latin monuments and its absence in the Romance languages.[3]

Naturally, the real spoken language is not represented in the written sources available to us. Modern Romance languages, epigraphic monuments, works of grammarians, glosses and scholia can give us an idea of the living language of the Romans. Examples of sermo vulgaris are found in many literary works whose genre affiliation determines the use of colloquial language, and in the works of authors who did not receive a special literary education. In both cases, the colloquial speech is

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[1] Médan, Pierre. La Latinité… P. 170.
[2] Bernhard, Max. Der Stil… S. 132.
[3] Callebat L. Sermo… P. 482.

transmitted exactly as much as the author intended it to be, and this alone presents a difficulty. When Cicero writes that he uses sermo plebeius in his letters (*Ep*. 9, 21, 1), he is not referring to the speech of ordinary townspeople, craftsmen and freedmen. The language of the educated Romans was inevitably influenced by the literature they read.

Although many orators believed that speeches addressed to the people should be closer to the language of everyday life, it should be the language of the educated upper classes and not that of the masses. The latter was to be avoided just as obsolete words were to be avoided. L. Palmer calls these two extremes – archaisms and vulgarisms – Scylla and Charybdis, which the classical authors had to sail between when composing their works.[1] R. Marache believes that classical language, despite its obvious advantages, also imposed strict limitations, defining some speech patterns as common and natural and stigmatizing others as grammatically incorrect and impermissible. From this point of view, the language of archaic Latin literature should seem less constrained, allowing for more creative freedom.[2] Perhaps this is one of the reasons why archaisms and vulgarisms are so hard to distinguish: both are deviations from the norms of classical Latin in search of originality in one's speech. In that case, Laberius, for example, who most likely wrote in a language close to colloquial, finds himself among the archaic writers. The time which he wrote in is not so important: it is a matter of his manner, unconstrained by the limitations of classical language.

Vulgarisms and archaisms coexist in many monographs devoted to the vocabulary of this or that Latin writer, precisely because of the difficulty of distinguishing them. Formal signs, such as genre affiliation or certain suffixes typical of archaic or colloquial Latin, are often insufficient, so in order to determine the stylistic colouring of a word one must study the context – an approach which L. Callebat calls to.[3] In many cases this approach is indeed justified. For example, the nominative case *Iovis* is attested both in archaic authors (Ennius, Accius) and in Petronius, who could

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[1] Palmer L. R. The Latin Language... Pp. 127–128.
[2] Marache, René. La critique... P. 153. Interestingly, it was on the basis of archaic and colloquial language that the literary language was created: "hence a literary language... will be a blend of the colloquial and the archaic", Palmer L. R. The Latin Language... Pp. 118–119.
[3] Callebat, Louis. L'Archaïsme dans les Métamorphoses d'Apulée // Revue des Études Latines, 42e année. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1965. P. 347.

also write in colloquial style.[1] Apuleius uses this form in the speech of the oracle (*Met.* 4, 33, 2), where lofty words of religious language are more appropriate than vulgarisms, so in Apuleius' novel *Iovis* is probably indeed an archaism. The expression *inibi esse* may be taken as colloquial (it is attested in the comic fragments of Caecilius, Afranius and Pomponius), but the context of the passage of Cicero (*Phil.* 14, 5) suggests a rather archaic sound.[2]

Some researchers note that the colloquial language is more loyal to those words which were no longer allowed by the literary norm, and the popular language, despite its constant development and enrichment with new elements, is quite conservative and tends to preserve obsolete forms.[3] Such an assumption can explain this situation, in which the confusion between archaisms and vulgarisms is not only a problem for modern researchers, but it also apparently existed in antiquity. J. Marouzeau quotes several philologists who have either analyzed the vocabulary of an individual author or pondered the stylistics of Latin in general, and concluded that it is often impossible to distinguish one from the other.[4] In antiquity, however, the division into archaic and colloquial words was evident: while the former were considered a decoration of speech, especially in poetic language, the latter were not allowed by the literary norm not because of their obscurity, but because of their unsoundness and their ordinariness. The inapplicability of the words of colloquial language in literary speech is emphasized by the epithets which the ancient authors characterize vulgarisms with (Quint. *Inst.* 10, 1, 8: *humilis et vulgaris*; Gell. 11, 7, 1: *involgata et sordentia*; Sen. *Contr.* 4, 9: *sordida, ex cotidiano uso repetita*).

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[1] Boyce, Bret. The Language of the Freedmen in Petronius' Cena Trimalchionis. Leiden: Brill, 1991. Pp. 50–51.

[2] Halla-aho, Hilla, Kruschwitz, Peter. Colloquial and literary language in early Roman tragedy // Colloquial and Literary Latin, ed. by Eleanor Dickey, Anna Chahoud. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. P. 144.

[3] For example, P. Monceaux writes about it (Monceaux, Paul. Les Africains. Étude sur la littérature latine d'Afrique. Paris: Lecène, Oudin et Cie, 1894. P. 105), although he stated that all the basic components of the African dialect (such as vocabulary, syntax and even literary preferences) are archaic in nature because the language in the province did not develop as rapidly as in Rome.

[4] Marouzeau J. Traité... Pp. 182–183. For example, Eduard Wölfflin argues on this subject and describes how a person's manner of speech depends largely on the way their parents and grandparents spoke, passing on to their descendants words and expressions alien to the literary language. From these considerations he concludes that the colloquial and the archaic are often one and the same, see Wölfflin E. Bemerkungen über das Vulgärlatein // Philologus, XXXIV, 1876. P. 149. Here we may also mention that Crassus, in Cicero's dialogue, speaking of the manner of speech of his mother-in-law, says that her speech reminds him of Plautus or Naevius and gives him an idea of how her ancestors spoke (for the speech of women, he believes, undergoes fewer changes and largely remains the same as the one taught by their parents; *De Orat.* 3, 12, 45).

J. Marouzeau believes that the ancient words were preserved in the speech of the inhabitants of the provinces, where the literary norm influenced the language not so much as in the capital. While the language of the inhabitants of Rome underwent various changes according to what "urbanitas", the perfect speech of an educated citizen, was supposed to look like, the language in each individual province was quite stable. If a word from such a language found its way into a literary work, on the one hand it had a touch of archaic nature, since it was common only in the deep past, and on the other hand it was felt to be colloquial, since it was not allowed in the classical language. But this word could be considered neither archaism, nor vulgarism: it was ancient and belonged to the provincial language.[1]

A fair amount of evidence survives that archaisms could be felt as something provincial, rustic. Both Cicero and Quintilian write of imitating the speeches of the ancients through the use of provincialisms: "some like the rough, rustic pronunciation, for they feel that their speech with such a sound better retains the spirit of the antiquity" (Cic. *De Orat*. 3, 11, 42; translated by us. – *S. D.*; cf. Quint. *Inst*. 11, 3, 10). Whereas Cicero tells us that some orators (among them Lucius Cotta) speak in a rustic way, trying to imitate the speeches of the ancients, Tacitus directly sees the defect of some of Caelius' speeches in that they are obsolete, and this obsoleteness is provided in particular with the "squalor of words" (*sordes... verborum*, Tac. *Dial. Orat*. 21). Gellius, in Book 17, parses interesting words and expressions he finds in Book 1 of Claudius Quadrigarius' *Annals*, and the word *sermonari* seems to him to sound rustic ("*rusticius videtur*"), and he compares it with the more common *sermocinari* (Gell. 17, 2, 17). Besides being mentioned in Gellius, this verb is also attested in a Roman tabella defixionis, dated to the end of the Republican period (CIL I 1012).

The simplicity of some archaic words can be justified in the text. For example, M. von Albrecht notes that the archaic vocabulary used by Apuleius in describing the meeting of Psyche and Pan in Book V of *the Metamorphoses* gives the narrative a

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[1] Marouzeau J. Traité... P. 184.

"rustic" character.[1] According to R. Marache, archaic vocabulary has a special sound that is peculiar to such low genres as comedy and atellana, popular among the common people.[2] Cicero writes that even poets, among whom he names Homer and Ennius, are sometimes forgiven for employing a conversational style (*ad cotidianum genus sermonis accedere*; Cic. *Orat*. 31, 109).

In Russian, too, one can observe such a shaky boundary between archaic and colloquial words, though to a lesser extent. For example, the verb *городить* in the meaning 'to put a fence, a hedge' is given the labels "obsolete" and "colloquial" by the Large Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian language.[3] This also includes the words *доброхотный, изрядный, ставец, долить* (in the meaning 'to overcome'), *ломить, оборотить* ('to turn'), *обрядить(ся), перестановить, сказывать*.[4] In everyday conversation, we can use such obsolete words as *грамотей, греховодник*, using them with a touch of irony, but not detecting in them the sublimity typical of other archaisms (as, for example, in the word *изволить*, which is also often used ironically).

Thus, different words which are out of everyday use may have different stylistic characteristics, and some archaisms may be perceived as lofty words suitable for high literature, while others may be perceived as colloquialisms and/or provincialisms. Similarly, in Latin, different archaisms may or may not have been appropriate in different literary genres and different contexts, so ultimately, in order to clarify how a word was to be perceived, one must examine the context in which it appears. In some cases it will show that the word must be regarded as an archaism (as in the case of the nominative *Iovis* in *the Metamorphoses*), while in others it will not be possible to determine the exact stylistic colouring: it is quite possible that in some context the archaic and the colloquial tinge will not be mutually exclusive (as in Pan's address to Psyche in the same novel).

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[1] Albrecht, Michael von. History… T. 3, p.1588. Pan's words addressed to Psyche do contain several archaisms: *scitulus, autumare, auscultare*.

[2] Marache, René. La critique... P. 20.

[3] Large Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language… P. 221.

[4] There are also words that have acquired a new meaning that is characteristic of colloquial speech and has little in common with the original meaning in which the word is used as an archaism, such as *колымага*.

Apuleius, like other archaicists, for his works sought sonorous words, which were interesting and pleasant to the ear.[1] Naturally, the vocabulary of *the Metamorphoses* is the result of a long and painstaking research and selection of appropriate words, each of which ended up in the text for a reason (even if the only reason was the author's desire to demonstrate his antiquarian knowledge). Therefore, although many lexemes certainly belong to colloquial Latin, echoes of spoken language in *the Metamorphoses* should rather be sought among the elements used unconsciously: prepositions, particles, interjections.

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[1] Becker, Henricus. Studia Apuleiana. Berolini: Apud Weidmannos, 1879. Pp. 7–8.

Language of the Metamorphoses

When talking about Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, it is impossible not to mention the peculiarities of its language. Rarely can a work in Latin boast such an abundance of unusual vocabulary, the understanding of which often requires knowledge of old comedies, tragedies, and epics.[1] The extent to which Apuleius uses lexical means not permitted by classical language definitely sets him apart from other writers. Archaisms, vulgarisms, words of legal vocabulary, borrowings from Greek – all these are found in the novel in great quantity. A variety of vocabulary, a large number of rhetorical figures and tropes are characteristic of the Asian style of eloquence, which both the novel *the Metamorphoses* and the anthology of orations *the Florida* belong to. This abundance of embellishments is intended to enthrall the reader with the beauty and elegance of the style and to prevent the monotony of the narrative. However, this manner may confuse the reader and cause misunderstanding of certain episodes. Unfortunately, it seems to be the misunderstanding of certain words that accounts for the large number of corrupted passages in *the Metamorphoses*.

One cannot say that Apuleius is particularly prone to archaic vocabulary and prefers it to other lexical means. Rather, he avoids the common words, conventional for readers of Cicero and other classical authors, and finds suitable synonyms for them from a more unusual vocabulary compared to a vocabulary of the classical prose. At the same time, the desire to diversify the exterior of the text is not limited to the selection of words of a certain stylistic colouring. Apuleius is trying to be original even in little details: instead of *severitas* he writes the rarer and more archaic *severitudo*; instead of classical *inanimus*, which is declined according to the first and second declension,

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[1] Something similar is the enigmatic introduction to the poems of the young poet Octavianus in *the Latin Anthology* (Anth. Lat. 6 Bailey): the small prose text is overflowing with archaisms, poetisms, and words from the field of religious vocabulary. The vast majority of these rare lexemes are found in Placidus' Glossary, a collection of glosses that records words and expressions from the writings of many archaic authors. Although the author of the introduction to Octavianus' poems lived much later than Apuleius, one can observe certain similarities in the manner of these writers. In the first place, they select examples of unusual vocabulary, looking them up in special sources (for example, in Placidus' Glossary or another collection of similar content), and secondly, both authors have a sympathy for archaic vocabulary. It is also curious that the author of the introduction, too, was most likely an African.

Apuleius puts *inanimis*, declined according to the third declension, instead of the usual *semisomnus* we see *semisopitus* in the text.

Apuleius uses words from different styles, which are sometimes hard to put in the same context: technical terms are next to everyday words, words from old comedy are found side by side with poeticisms from the language of epic and tragedy. This gives one the feeling that Apuleius is trying to satisfy the interests of all readers at once. This desire to please with his language is clearly visible in the prologue: he promises that he will "caress ears with a charming whisper", and the sound of the novel was indeed intended to make a lasting impression on readers. The rhythmic prose and alliteration show that the novel had to be read aloud, and the archaic words also had to be distinctive in sound. In addition, in the prologue the narrator explicitly warns of the peculiarity of his language and explains that this fluidity (vocis immutatio)[1] corresponds to the subject of the story.

R. Marache devoted a book to literary tastes in Rome in the first and second centuries A. D., especially to archaic trends, but he devoted only a few pages to Apuleius, on the basis of which the impression about this author is far from being pleasant. According to R. Marache, Apuleius, unlike Fronto and Gellius, painstaking researchers of the past, is just a buffoon and boaster, a provincial who knows no measure.[2] Reading the writings of the ancients, Apuleius does not put his heart and soul into this occupation, and his search for archaisms is only a necessity to adjust to the tastes of his readers, and his praise of antiquity is a literary cliché, convenient for reproduction. Apuleius transfers the words found in archaic authors into his writings indifferently, without perceiving their poetic beauty.[3] It is difficult to say whether R. Marache is right in his assessment: on the basis of the available sources it is

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[1] The "fluidity of speech" can be interpreted in a number of ways: it is a change from Greek to Latin, and from the human voice to the donkey's cry (Harrison, Stephen, Winterbottom, Michael. The Prologue to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: Text, Translation, and Textual Commentary // A Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, ed. by Ahuvia Kahane and Andrew Laird. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. P. 14), and poetic speech that transitions into prose (Carver, Robert H. F. F. *Quis ille*? The Role of the Prologue in Apuleius' *Nachleben* // A Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, ed. by Ahuvia Kahane and Andrew Laird. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. P. 166). Immutatio vocis can also be understood as a change in the functional varieties of the language, endless transitions from one stylistic level to another.

[2] Marache, René. La critique... P. 321.

[3] ibid., pp. 333–334.

impossible to describe with complete certainty Apuleius' personal attitude to the literary tendencies of his time. A sensitive and careful attitude to lexical meaning, attention to the selection of vocabulary, an admiration for the clarity and precision of the expressions of the ancients could be expressed by Fronto and Gellius in stories that directly described their lives and their thoughts, whereas Apuleius left no such letters or literary notes. It is true that he knows no measure in *the Metamorphoses*, but other works of his pen prove that blind mannerism is not essential to his work.[1] The fact that Apuleius was able to write perfectly well without the aid of lists of exotic lexemes and quotations from ancient authors suggests that the infinite variety of lexical means in *the Metamorphoses* must have some reason.

The theory of the existence of African Latin aside, there are three main reasons for Apuleius' use of archaisms:

1) Archaizing tendencies in Roman literature of the second century A. D.

2) The influence of the sources of the novel *the Metamorphoses*

3) Apuleius' personality and individual tastes

In the second century A. D. Greek oratory comes to the fore, the Second Sophistic is in its heyday. Much of this is reflected in the activity of the rhetorical schools popular with both Greeks and Romans. Both Fronto and Apuleius received their rhetorical education in Greece, and it is natural to suppose that they assimilated and actualized the principles taught to them in their writings. Both Greek and Latin literature were looking for new ways of development and new material. In Greece this was expressed, in particular, in the support of the rhetorical school of the Atticists, who called for a return to the classical language of the fourth century B. C. and for imitating the style of certain writers of that time (Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes). This led authors of this period to resort to some degree of archaizing as a form of mannerism.[2] G. Kennedy notes that from a historical perspective atticism is a form of archaism, but

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[1] The difference of *the Metamorphoses* from the other works of Apuleius also does not indicate that this novel is completely atypical of his style or does not belong to his pen at all. Puns, alliteration, colloquial and archaic vocabulary are an integral part of his style and can be observed not only in his "Asian" works: Apuleius of Madauros. Pro Se De Magia (Apologia) / Ed. with a commentary by Vincent Hunink. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1997. P. 24; Roncaioli, Cecilia. L'Arcaismo nelle opere filosofiche di Apuleio // Giornale Italiano di Filologia, Anno XIX, N. 4 (1966). P. 331.

[2] Anderson, Graham. The Second Sophistic. A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire. London and New York: Routledge, 1993. P. 87.

from a critical perspective it is a form of classicism:[1] while atticist principles renew and purify language, they also set strict boundaries and limit the scope for authorial originality. Despite the negative consequences of this approach on the content, it is worth noting that it is thanks to the Second Sophistic that the sphere of language becomes the object of interest of orators in a new way.[2] This and the fact that Greek oratory prompted the orientation toward notable writers of the past largely influenced similar trends in the Roman part of the empire (although not all scholars consider the fashion for archaisms in Rome a consequence of the Second Sophistic).

There is no doubt that Apuleius is a representative of the Second Sophistic, which is perfectly evident from the genres which he worked in: his works combine interest in philosophy and rhetorical design.[3] Apuleius lived in the heyday of the Second Sophistic; his contemporaries were Gellius, Lucianus, and Aelius Aristides, whom he may have been familiar with. During his life Apuleius visited several intellectual centers of the Second Sophistic (Athens, Carthage, Alexandria), perhaps he also traveled in Asia Minor. S. Harrison believes that Apuleius, although aware of the Sophists' occupations and their cultural centers, could not compete with them on a proper level due to his insufficient knowledge of Greek, so he chose to be an orator in North Africa, where he gave speeches in Latin.[4] He also shared the sophists' interest in language, used rhymes and antitheses. J. Tatum calls Apuleius a follower of Gorgias of Leontini, a sophist and teacher of eloquence of the fifth century B. C.[5]

The fact that it was in the novel that Apuleius fully demonstrated the virtuosity of his mastery of linguistic means suggests that the reasons for the expressive style of *the Metamorphoses* lie in the sources which Apuleius drew on. By the second century A. D. there were a large number of genres in Latin literature, and different authors made their

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[1] Kennedy, George. The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World 300 B. C. – A. D. 300. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972. P. 554.

[2] Gasparov M. L. Second Sophistic. Genres and disciples // History of World Literature: In 8 tomes / Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union; A. M. Gorky Institute of World Literature. M. : Nauka, 1983. T. 1, p. 494.

[3] In addition to *the Florida*, *the Apologia*, and works on philosophical topics which demonstrate that Apuleius belonged to the Second Sophistic, we should note the non-extant treatise *De Proverbiis*, whose existence in at least two books Charisius testifies of (Fr. 2. Charisius GLK 1.240). Paremiography was a part of both the Greek philosophical tradition and the Second Sophistic, whose adherents readily used proverbs as rhetorical embellishments, see Harrison S. J. Apuleius. A Latin Sophist. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. P. 21.

[4] ibid., p. 6.

[5] Tatum, James. Apuleius and the *Golden Ass*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1979. P. 140.

own specific contributions to their development. The main source for Apuleius was a Greek text, which Lucian's work *Lucius, or the Ass*, is also thought to have been derived from. Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, names a certain Lucius of Patrae as the author of this Greek original.[1] It seems to have been a story of a comic spirit, which Apuleius complements with various short stories of comic and/or tragic content. It is also interesting how *the Metamorphoses* relate to the genre of the Greek novel: although there are serious differences, some similarities can also be found. The love story of two characters experiencing separation and trials for the sake of a happy reunion in the conclusion of the story is the classic plot of the Greek novel, also reflected in Apuleius' story of Cupid and Psyche. The Greek novel also ends with the intervention of a good deity: while in Chariton it is Aphrodite, in Longus it is Pan, in Xenophon of Ephesus and Apuleius it is Isis.

In the prologue Apuleius mentions the Milesian tales – comic novellas, whose author was Aristides of Miletus[2] and which were later translated into Latin by the historian Cornelius Sisenna. The exact nature of Aristides' Μιλησιακά is unknown: the brief fragments that have survived do not provide exhaustive information. However, judging by the references to the Milesian tales in the texts of other authors, they were stories of erotic content, apparently not devoid of cynicism (a striking example is the story of the widow of Ephesus in Petronius' novel *the Satyricon*). Apuleius himself has such a Milesian tale, for example, in Book IX of *the Metamorphoses*, which describes the story of an unfaithful wife Arete, her lover Philesitherus and a slave Myrmex. It is possible that Apuleius, relying on the Latin translation of the Milesian tales, was also trying to convey the peculiarities of Sisenna's language, who had a penchant for archaisms. For example, both Sisenna (Gell. 12, 15, 1–2) and Apuleius made extensive use of adverbs in -tim, -im,[3] which are characteristic of the archaic period and which have lost their popularity in the works of classical authors. Perhaps these frivolous

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[1] H. van Thiel considers the author a representative of the Second Sophistic: Thiel, Helmut van. Der Eselroman // Zetemata: Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft (H. 54, no. 1). München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971. Pp. 40–42.
[2] Schmid W. Aristeides // RE II, 1 (1895). Sp. 886.
[3] The contribution of Apuleius to the development of this category of adverbs is obvious: many of them, having first appeared in the works of Apuleius, are found again in later authors: Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... P. 75.

stories were close to the Latin comedy in style, so they used the same vocabulary, which is known to be one of the most important sources for Apuleius.[1] The mention of the Milesian tales in the prologue of the novel is a very important detail, and their influence on Apuleius' decision as to how to structure the narrative and what themes to develop in the novel is evident. K. Dowden even suggests that it was the reading of the Milesian tales that inspired Apuleius to write *the Metamorphoses*.[2]

Various works of adventure literature can be considered another important source of Apuleius' novel. They include such works as the short stories included in Herodotus' *Histories*, Homer's *Odyssey*, and epics in general. For instance, one of Apuleius' favourite authors is Virgil, and the African writer often borrows both vocabulary and plot motifs from him.[3] For example, the tragic story of Charite in *the Metamorphoses* resembles the story of Virgil's Dido: both heroines dream of their dead husbands, kiss their marital bed, curse their abusers, and commit suicide by stabbing themselves with the sword of the man who ruined their lives.

Finally, Apuleius draws a lot from Roman comedy and mime. The story of the forbidden love of a mother for her son in Book X of *the Metamorphoses* recalls not only the popular plot of the tragedy *Phaedra*, but also one of the mimes of Laberius (*Belonistria*). He also had a mime called *Fullo* ('a fuller'), which may have influenced the story of the corresponding character in *the Metamorphoses*, although Apuleius himself does not name the authors of mimes in his works. As some scholars suspect, as early as the prologue of the novel is inspired by the prologues of Plautus' plays,[4] and comic and tragic elements permeate the entire book. Theater in general seems to have been an important theme for Apuleius: thanks to him the opening lines of the tragedies

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[1] As has already been noted, the existing fragments of Sisenna's stories have little to say about their relation to the Roman comedy, although some researchers have noted this similarity: ibid., pp. 94–95. Sylvia Mattiacci describes the "Plautine liveliness" of Sisenna: Mattiacci, S. Apuleio e i poeti arcaici // Munus amicitiae. Scritti in memoria di Alessandro Ronconi. Firenze: Le Monnier, 1986. P. 194.

[2] Dowden, Ken. Prologic, Predecessors, and Prohibitions // A Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, ed. by Ahuvia Kahane and Andrew Laird. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Pp. 126–127.

[3] See, for example, Frangoulidis, Stavros Antonios. Epic Imitation in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius. The Ohio State University, 1990; Finkelpearl, Ellen D. Metamorphosis of Language in Apuleius: A Study of Allusion in the Novel. Ann Arbor, 1998.

[4] May, Regine. Apuleius and Drama... Pp. 110–115; Smith, Warren S. Jr. The Narrative Voice in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* // Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel, ed. by S. J. Harrison. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Pp. 196–201. A common theme for the Apuleius' and Plautus' prologues is the emphasis on translating the story from Greek to Latin, as well as asking the audience to be gracious and promising the pleasure of viewing/reading.

Philoctetes and *Phoenissae* of Accius and several quotations from Ennius are preserved. The theater becomes the setting for the events of the novel three times: it is in the theater where the Risus festival is celebrated, the gods gather in council to decide the fate of Cupid and Psyche, and in the finale the performance with the ass and the condemned woman is planned to be held there. Several times Apuleius refers to theatrical terms: *aulaeum* (theatre curtain), *siparium* (theatre screen), *coturnus* (thick-soled boot worn by tragic actors), *persona* (theatre mask), *spectaculum* (performance). Some of the characters in his novel resemble theater masks: Milo is a typical miser, similar to Plautus' Euclio from the comedy *Aulularia*. The name of his wife, Pamphile, appears frequently in the comedy. This usually was the name of a girl who was offended by a young man and who subsequently married him[1] – the exact opposite of Apuleius' heroine. Undoubtedly, Plautus is one of the main sources for Apuleius: he quotes this comedian both in *the Florida* (2, 18) and in the work *De Deo Socratis* (10), he also borrows the vocabulary of his comedies in large quantities. Apuleius and Plautus are close in their attitude to language: they not only used the same lexemes, which had become archaic by Apuleius' time, but also shared a love for various puns, neologisms and diminutive words. Perhaps this connection between the novel and the theater is justified not only by Apuleius' tastes but also by the cultural environment of the second-century Roman Empire. Regina May notes an unprecedented increase in the building of theaters in the provinces during this period, indicating the growing demands of the public.[2] Any educated Roman was likely to have known and loved various examples of theatrical art, so he could easily recognize allusions to the most famous comedies and tragedies in the text of the novel.

Considering how much literature Apuleius had to go through to select the right archaisms for his novel, and how much time he had to spend on the redaction of the text to make sure that it was perceived as intended, it is hard to believe that he was not fascinated by the process. It is unlikely that Apuleius blindly followed fashionable literary trends and ready-made samples – it is more likely that he himself was interested

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[1] May, Regine. Apuleius and Drama... P. 167.
[2] ibid., p. 22.

in selecting the right vocabulary, considering different variants, and searching out the most sonorous words. Besides his obvious love of antiquarian studies and his attention to his own speech (which was peculiar to any sophist), Apuleius also had a special eye for language: it is noted that various experiments with linguistic means are characteristic of people who are proficient in more than one language.[1] In Latin literature as an example of such a writer we can name Ennius, who knew Greek and Oscan in addition to Latin, in English literature – Joseph Conrad and Vladimir Nabokov, in Russian literature – Marina Tsvetaeva, although the style of *the Metamorphoses* is rather comparable to the manner in which Alexander Bestuzhev-Marlinsky and Andrei Bely wrote. Apuleius himself was fluent in Latin and Greek, as well as, apparently, Punic.[2] He certainly had an etymological mind and was fond of playing with the inner form of words. For example, he uses the word *enervus* (*Met.* 1, 4, 4)[3] to mean 'lacking veins' instead of the classical 'exhausted', *praesentarius* (*Met.* 2, 25, 4) to mean 'coming at once, immediate' instead of the usual for Plautus' language 'paid in cash', *candidatus* 'whitened' (*Met.* 9, 12, 4) instead of the expected 'applicant for office'. Although Apuleius says nothing directly about his tastes, we can infer from his writings that he was fond of poetry, mainly Virgil and Ennius. Apuleius was also definitely a reader of Lucretius: his influence can be clearly seen in the work *De Mundo*, but especially in the text *De Deo Socratis*. There Apuleius was clearly guided by Lucretius' poem when he expounded concepts about the moon and the nature of demons. The number of direct quotations from Plautus in Apuleius' texts is small, but there is no doubt that Plautus was his favourite comediographer.

Thus, Apuleius had several reasons for using such an abundance of archaisms in his texts. Although he used words of varying stylistic colouring in all his works, it was the genre of the novel that allowed Apuleius to better express himself in his linguistic

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[1] Mattiacci, Silvia. Apuleius… P. 101.

[2] On the evidence of the Punic language in Africa and Apuleian languages, see ibid. p. 95. On Latin-Punic bilingualism, see Adams J. N. The Regional Diversification... Pp. 569–573. In addition, in *the Apologia* (98) Apuleius refers to Pudens as a man incapable of speaking Latin, but only Punic with memorized Greek words: *Loquitur nunquam nisi Punice et si quid adhuc a matre graecissat; enim Latine loqui neque uult neque potest.* This shows that three languages could be spoken in Africa at that time.

[3] Apuleius uses the expression enervam et exossam saltationem, referring to the dance of a boy dancing on the shaft of a spear that a street magician had plunged into his mouth. Very similarly Apuleius referred to Herennius Rufinus, one of the writer's accusers of the use of magic: *saltandis fabulis exossis plane et enervis* (*Apol.* 74).

experiments. In judicial speeches and philosophical essays there is simply no room for the baroque style we see in *the Metamorphoses*.

Nevertheless, according to some scholars, Apuleius' active use of archaisms in the novel is not explained only by the reasons given above. For example, L. Callebat noticed that some words belonging to the lexicon of Plautus and Terence are used in the development of comic themes, such as venal love and gluttony, and Apuleius also borrowed terms of endearment and, conversely, terms of disparagement from comedies.[1] Regina May, in her work *Apuleius and Drama,* writes: "Apuleius' imitation of Plautus has little to do with simple archaism and imitation, but must be functional – language is a vehicle for meaning".[2] It is natural to assume that if a word characteristic of the vocabulary of old comedy appears in a comedic context, it did not happen by accident. But at the same time, the novel *the Metamorphoses* is so overflowing with archaisms that, if we accept the theory that every archaism has a special function in the text beyond stylistic decoration, we have to admit that the entire novel is an allusion to an old comedy or tragedy (which is certainly not true). It is clear that all the archaisms used by Apuleius are the result of a conscious decision by the author, and from this point of view none of them is accidental. In many cases, however, the sole purpose of this or that obsolete word is to embellish the text. It is dangerous to attach too much importance to words borrowed from Plautus: for example, according to R. May, Plautine *divorto* in the divorce formula in an episode of the tale of Cupid and Psyche may hint that the breakup of the couple will be temporary and without serious consequences.[3] In most cases, it is impossible to claim that a particular word alludes to something that is not explicitly stated in the text. When Psyche begs Cupid to allow her to host her sisters and swears that she loves her invisible husband in a way that she would not even compare with Cupid himself, does the fact that she uses the word *efflictim* (the adverb typical of love situations in comedy) suggest anything to the

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[1] Callebat, Louis. L'Archaïsme... Pp. 355–356; Pasetti, L. Plauto… P. 31.
[2] R. May suggests that archaisms are found to a greater or lesser degree in all of Apuleius' works, but nevertheless he adapts language according to his chosen genre, and the Plautine words in *the Metamorphoses* are a deliberate device to hint at familiar scenes from Plautus' comedies to the reader, see May, Regine. Apuleius and Drama... P. 39.
[3] ibid., p. 40.

reader? It may well be that this adverb emphasizes some of the comicality of the episode, but it may also serve only as a decoration for Psyche's speech.

At the same time, one cannot ignore the connection between Apuleius and Plautus and attribute all the unusual words in the novel to the archaizing tendencies in the Roman literature. The question of whether Apuleius uses the language of comedy to emphasize the funniest episodes is very important. Some Plautine words must indeed have been familiar to Apuleius' reader and in comic scenes reinforce the impression that Apuleius is acting out a play within the novel. The most striking episode of that kind is Lucius' visit to the marketplace in Book I of *the Metamorphoses*. This scene has no counterpart in Pseudo-Lucian's work *Lucius, or the Ass* and reveals many typically Roman elements, especially noticeable against the background of the Greek story. These include the mention of the name of the market, known in Rome during the Republic and already forgotten by many by the time of Apuleius' life, and the very theme of ridiculing the conceit and stupidity of the official, which is a favourite topic of Roman satire. All this is confirmed by the vocabulary of the episode. Consider, for example, the first sentence (*Met*. 1, 24):

His actis et rebus meis in illo cubiculo conditis pergens ipse ad balneas, ut prius aliquid nobis cibatui prospicerem, forum cupedinis peto, inque eo piscatum opiparem expositum video et percontato pretio, quod centum nummis indicaret, aspernatus viginti denariis praestinavi. ("After this, when my belongings were put in that room, I myself went to the baths, and to get something to eat first, I go to the Market for Delicacies and see that a lot of fine fish is laid out there, and, after asking the price, which was a hundred nummi, I haggled and bought it for twenty denarii" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)).

In this sentence we see the archaisms *cibatus* 'food' (instead of the classical *cibus*), *forum cupedinis* 'Delicacies Market' (the name of an ancient market; the word *cupedo* itself is rare and archaic),[1] *piscatus* 'fish', *opiparis* 'abundant' (the word is characteristic of comedy, with Apuleius using the third declension form instead of the

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[1] In Lucretius *cupēdo* is used five times, and its meaning always coincides with *cupido*. In other authors *cupēdo* either appears as part of the name of the ancient marketplace (in Donatus' commentary to Ter. *Eun.* 256, Var. *De ling. Lat.* V, 146, Paul. Fest. p. 42 Lindsay), or (only in Plaut. *Stich*. 713–714) to denote some delicacy.

second declension form – even in this he shows some originality), *praestinare* 'to buy'. All these words are also found in the comedies of Plautus. The continuation of this episode is not devoid of archaisms either, the use of the word *severitudo* 'severity' is especially interesting. It describes the actions of the aedile Pythias, who reprimands the fishmonger for the unreasonably high price of the goods. Before Apuleius we see it in Plautus (*Epid*. 609), and afterwards – in the glosses and legal texts, which use it in the meaning 'a severe punishment' for magistrates who abuse their power by putting people into fear.[1]

There are also epic motifs in *the Metamorphoses*, such as the scene of the assembly of the gods (*Met*. 6, 23). In this episode Apuleius not only uses the epic formula *sic fatus* 'having thus said', but also the archaic dative form *coetu* (*caelestium*) 'assembly of the celestials'.[2]

The question of the functionality of archaisms in the text is closely related to the question whether the novel is aimed at a sophisticated connoisseur of literature and legal terms or it is aimed at a general audience. J. Winkler explains that, on the one hand, the language of *the Metamorphoses* includes words from the language of everyday communication and, on the other hand, it requires the reader to understand literary allusions, familiarity with the works of Cicero, Virgil, and Plautus.[3] It is very doubtful that the average reader picked up a novel by Apuleius and clearly understood everything written between the lines thanks to the precisely chosen vocabulary. Apparently, the various borrowings from this or that archaic author play the following three roles in the novel: 1) archaisms used as rhetorical embellishment; 2) words characteristic of a certain genre (comedy, tragedy, epic) and creating an appropriate atmosphere; 3) words requiring knowledge of the source and referring to a specific work.

Apuleius also uses tragic vocabulary in his novel. His character Socrates describes the magical powers of the witch Meroe, saying that she has the power "to

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[1] Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I: Text, Introduction and Commentary. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2007. P. 451.

[2] Zimmerman M. – Panayotakis S. – Hunink V.C. – Keulen W.H. – Harrison S. J. – McCreight Th. D. – Wesseling B. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books IV 28–35, V and VI 1–24 The Tale of Cupid and Psyche. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2004. Pp. 537–538.

[3] Winkler, John J. Auctor & Actor. A Narratological Reading of Apuleius's *Golden Ass*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1985. Pp. 16–18.

raise the spirits of the dead, to bring the gods down" (*Met*. 1, 8, 4: *manes sublimare, deos infimare*). Here Socrates uses the archaism *sublimare* (Cato *hist*. 63, Enn. *trag*. 234), which gives the phrase a certain pathos, so Aristomenes even asks his companion: "Oro te" inquam "aulaeum tragicum dimoveto et siparium scaenicum complicato et cedo verbis communibus" ("Put down the tragic curtain and fold this theatrical screen, speak plainly" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)). At the same time, Socrates' language is no different from that used by any other character in the novel and by the narrator himself. Occasional archaisms like *sublimare* and *domuitio* (*Met*. 1, 7, 7) do not distinguish the speech of this character against the background of the rest of the narrative, although they might add to the tragic pathos of his figure, in harmony with his tragic attire of a tattered cloak (his exclamation *me miserum*, attested in a number of theatrical plays, including tragedies of Accius (*trag*. 346) and Pacuvius (*trag*. 264), is also one of these tragic gestures.) When Psyche, terrified at the thought that her husband might be a monster, speaks by mumbling and uttering words only on her third attempt (*tertiata verba semihianti voce substrepens*, *Met*. 5, 18, 5), her agitation has no effect on the way she addresses her sisters. Apuleius does not endow his characters with a specific manner of speech. S. V. Polyakova writes that he only "sketches out the linguistic characteristics of the characters" without demonstrating what she means exactly.[1]

Nevertheless, one character in the novel seems to be characterized by a predilection for archaic vocabulary somewhat more explicitly than the others. For example, the archaic futurum *faxo* occurs three times in the tale of Cupid and Psyche. In two cases it is found in the speech of Venus, while the third case is closely connected with this character: at the assembly of the gods in the theater Jupiter tells everyone about the love of Cupid and Psyche, consoles Venus that she will not have to sully her family with her son's marriage with a mortal, and finally congratulates Psyche on her acceptance into the body of gods as the legitimate wife of Cupid. Throughout his speech he uses two archaisms (*prosapia, congruus*) and three archaic forms (*faxo* and the

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[1] Polyakova S. V. Metamorphoses, or Golden Ass by Apuleius. / Ed. by K. N. Yuzbashyan. M. : Glavnaya redakciya vostochnoj literatury izdatel'stva «Nauka», 1988. P. 91.

archaic datives *statu* and *iure*), all of them occur only in those two sentences addressed to Venus.

Thus, although archaisms often help the reader to connect a particular episode of the novel with a stylistic design characteristic of the genre or even a particular work by an author of the archaic period, in most cases they simply serve as decoration, a rhetorical device. Apuleius does not seek to subject form to content, he shocks the reader with an abundance of vague words, he wants to flaunt everything he knows.[1]

1. Classification, Research Objectives and Statistical Analysis of the Vocabulary of the Novel *the Metamorphoses*

In order to assess the peculiarities of *the Metamorphoses'* style in terms of archaic vocabulary and neologisms, it is necessary to consider both the quantitative aspect of the lexemes used in the novel and their belonging to different categories, which subsequently facilitates their systematization.

The archaisms used by Apuleius can be divided into several major classes:

1. Archaisms proper. This primarily includes words that were in use in the anteclassical period of Roman literature, i. e. those which are attested in the works of Latin authors before the time of Caesar and Cicero: in the fragments of Livius Andronicus, Gnaeus Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius, in the poems of Lucretius and Catullus, in the plays of Plautus and Terence. Some of them were borrowed only by Apuleius (at least as far as we can judge from the existing material), and some came back into use in his time because of the fashion for archaisms and are found in later writers, flourishing in the writings of Christian authors.

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[1] L. Purser writes that we should not think that Apuleius sought out unusual words and scattered them in the text out of blind pretentiousness, although he himself admits that there was a literary tendency and that Apuleius did like some words and he included them in the narrative for that reason: see The Story of Cupid and Psyche as related by Apuleius / Ed. Louis C. Purser ... P. XCIV.

2.   Words attested in the works of authors of the classical period, but used by Apuleius in an archaic sense, e. g. *adorare* 'to address', *provincia* 'a task', *arbitrari* 'to observe', *litteratus* 'marked by letters'.

3.   Words with unusual morphemes: *oculeus* (2, 23, 4) 'having many eyes' (about Argus), while the suffix -eus is usually used for designating material; *Spartiacus* (1, 1, 3) instead of *Sparticus* (cf. *Spartiaticus*, Plaut. *Poen.* 719).[1] The archaic lexicon is also characterized by an abundance of adverbs in -tim, -im, nouns in -tudo[2] and composites with the prefix per-.[3]

4.   Proper names belonging to antique realia, which no longer existed in Apuleius' lifetime: Forum Cuppedinis (1, 24, 4; 1, 25, 1; 2, 2, 2), a marketplace in Rome, which had ceased to exist in the second century B. C.; mentioning the ancient gods Portunus and Palaemon (4, 31, 6) separately, though in Apuleius' lifetime these sea gods had been identified as one and the same.

5.   Legal vocabulary, archaic in nature: e. g., *divorto* "to leave, divorce" (5, 26, 6).

6.   In addition to the lexical archaisms indicated above, we can identify morphological archaisms: the unusual second person singular imperative *opperimino* (Plaut. *Truc.* 197, Apul. *Met.* 1, 22, 4), the future tense form *faxo*, characteristic of the archaic period, the active form *praestolare* instead of the usual *praestolari* (5, 20, 6 *praestolabimus*; cf. Andr. *trag.* 25 *praestolaras*, Turp. *com.* 153 *praestolabo*), the first declension of *diadema* instead of the third declension (10, 30, 6 *diadema* (ablative case); cf. Pompon. *com.* 163 *diademam*).[4]

7.   In the novel one can also find some syntactic peculiarities previously noticed in Plautus' plays, such as the use of the preposition *ex* with the ablative where the ablative without the preposition is common in classical language (2, 32, 2 *ex summis*

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[1] It is *Spartiaticus* that M. Zimmerman prints in her edition of *the Metamorphoses*: Apulei Metamorphoseon libri XI / Rec. M. Zimmerman. Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 2012. P. 1.
[2] Callebat L. L'archaïsme… P. 349.
[3] McCreight, Thomas D. Apuleius... P. 48.
[4] A. Desertine, in chapter 3 of his work, discusses similar examples of conjugation and declension peculiarities common to Plautus and Apuleius: Desertine, Adolphus Henricus Josephus Victor Marius. De Apulei studiis... Pp. 69–80. In addition to the designated forms found in archaic authors, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* also contain forms that cannot yet be explained by borrowing from predecessors, e. g. gen. *fidi* (10, 8, 2).

viribus, cf. Plaut. *Merc*. 111 *ex summis opibus viribusque*), the construction *diu est quod* (1, 24, 6, cf. Plaut. *Amph*. 302 *iam diu est quom*).

Of course, in a novel so rich in various vocabulary, including that of a technical nature, one can also find borrowings from Greek, which may have had an archaic colouring. For instance, Apuleius uses *patagium* 'a border on a tunic' (2, 9, 7), a word borrowed from the Greek παταγεῖον,[1] attested before Apuleius only in Naevius and in Festus' dictionary. Another household item whose name was borrowed from the Greek is *baxea* 'a sandal' (2, 28, 2; 11, 8, 3), gr. *πάξεια,[2] found before Apuleius in a Plautus' play (*Men*. 391).

The neologisms found in Apuleius' novel are easiest to systematize according to the part of speech and the mode of word formation. Separately, we should distinguish those neologisms which were probably constructed by Apuleius on the basis of archaic vocabulary. For example:

adlubentia (1, 7, 4) 'inclination' (hapax), cf. *libentia*/*lubentia* (Plaut. *St*. 276, *As*. 268, Gell. 15, 2, 7)

dicacule (1, 9, 5; 8, 25, 3) 'venomously' (found only in Apuleius), cf. *dicaculus* (Plaut. *As*. 511, *Cas*. 529)

repigro (1, 9, 5; 8, 15, 8) 'to delay', cf. *pigro*, 1 'to delay' (Acc. *trag*. 267, 294, Lucr. 1, 410). The verb *repigrare* is also attested in Martianus Capella and in one of the speeches of Zeno of Verona, the theologian of the fourth century A. D. All three authors seem to be united by a common homeland.[3]

The neologisms used by Apuleius in *the Metamorphoses* belong to different parts of speech:

1. **Nouns**. There are a great number of diminutives (e. g. *civitatula, gallinula, seniculus, unctulum*), nouns with the suffix -tio (*adiuratio, iubilatio, ostensio*), with

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[1] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1967[4]. P. 861.

[2] Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch von A. Walde und J. B. Hofmann. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1938. S. 99.

[3] On Zeno of Verona as a native of North Africa, see Wegenast, Klaus. Zenon von Verona // RE XA, 1 (1972). Sp. 147.

suffixes -men, -mentum (*amicimen, decermina, protrimentum*),[1] with suffix -tus (*cavillatus, inscensus, monstratus*), and nouns denoting an actor (*abactor*, *consiliatrix*, *commeator*).

2. **Verbs**. The verbs introduced by Apuleius most often acquire originality through the prefixes which Apuleius adds to words from the common lexicon: *dispaciscor, substrepo*. The verb *cantilare* is unique: it seems to be the only verb created by Apuleius via back-formation from a noun (*cantilena*).

3. **Adjectives**. Apuleius uses quite a number of new compound adjectives (*horricomis, multiforabilis, negantinummius, omnimodus*), but most of the new adjectives are formed by suffixal means (*caseatus, cinerosus,[2] farinulentus, machinarius, triduanus, rimabundus*).

4. **Adverbs**. As already noted, Apuleius has a penchant for adverbs in -tim (*agminatim, capreolatim, granatim, fistulatim*).

In addition, it is logical to distinguish the following groups of neologisms:

5. Loanwords from Greek, first attested in the Latin text by Apuleius (*byssus, helcium, teleta*).

6. Words that have acquired a new lexical meaning in the text of Apuleius (*captivitas, orbitas, postliminio, semenstris*).

7. The neologism of unknown origin, *borrio, -ire*, should be mentioned separately.

There are a number of words which are first attested in the writings of Apuleius and Gellius (e. g., *avicula, locator, parilitas*). Since these authors lived at the same time, it is impossible to say who first created this or that neologism. For example, L. Gargantini attributes these lexemes to Apuleius, while L. Callebat thinks that one of these words (*fallaciosus*) was borrowed by Apuleius from Gellius.[3] These words are not

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[1] L. Gargantini believes that Apuleius the archaicist prefers this suffix because of its antiquity, see Gargantini, Luisa. Ricerche intorno alla formazione dei temi nominali nelle Metamorfosi di Apuleio // Rendiconti, vol. 97 (1963). P. 37. The only neologism with the suffix -tudo in Apuleius is *tristitudo*, and Gellius (17, 2, 19) writes about the majesty of formations with this suffix.

[2] The adjectives with the suffix -osus seem to have had an archaic colouring, see Keulen W. H. – Tilg. S. – Nicolini L. – Graverini L. – Harrison S. J. – Panayotakis S. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book XI. The Isis Book. Text, Introduction and Commentary. Leiden: Brill, 2015. P. 203.

[3] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 388.

considered in the present study as neologisms of Apuleius' authorship, since in our opinion it is unlikely that Gellius borrowed them from the African writer. In this situation it is also possible that both archaizers used in their works a rare word which already existed in the language at that time, but which had not been attested in the sources of the previous time periods.

In our study, we will focus on lexical archaisms and neologisms and try to draw conclusions about the extent to which archaic and innovative vocabulary is presented in the novel compared to the vocabulary common for the author's time. In addition, one of the tasks of the study is to make a list of authors whose works we see rare words favoured by Apuleius in. After all, identifying direct borrowings from the works of predecessors is also part of our field of interest.

We have analyzed the vocabulary used by Apuleius in books I–XI of the novel *the Metamorphoses* in order to consider the use and nature of the archaisms and neologisms chosen by the author. The statistical data obtained are presented in Table 1 (in the column "Archaisms" there are the words found in archaic authors and Apuleius, but not attested in the classical period, in the column "Archaic colour" there are all the words for which there is a reason to believe that readers of Apuleius perceived them as archaic;[1] each table cell shows the percentage of archaisms/neologisms from the total number of lexemes in the book on the left, and on the right in parentheses there is a number of archaisms/neologisms in the book):

Table 1

Book of *the Metamorphoses*	Archaisms	Archaic Colour	Neologisms	The Total Number of Lexemes
I	1,89% (30)	4,98% (79)	3,4% (54)	1585
II	1,96% (37)	3,93% (74)	3,6% (68)	1884

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[1] This column includes 1) the same words that are displayed in the first column, 2) words that were attested in the classical period, but either rarely or in the works of archaizing authors, or the ones which were explicitly named archaic by an ancient author, 3) neologisms, apparently composed on the basis of archaisms.

Table 1 (continued)

Book of *the Metamorphoses*	Archaisms	Archaic Colour	Neologisms	The Total Number of Lexemes
III	1,64% (27)	3,7% (61)	2,37% (39)	1646
IV	0,78% (16)	2,54% (52)	2,44% (50)	2045
V	0,87% (15)	3,32% (57)	3,09% (53)	1716
VI	1,04% (19)	3,56% (65)	2,79% (51)	1827
VII	1,16% (20)	3,3% (57)	3,47% (60)	1727
VIII	0,85% (17)	3,2% (64)	3,4% (68)	1997
IX	1,44% (34)	3,63% (86)	3,3% (78)	2366
X	1,32% (29)	3,55% (78)	2,82% (62)	2195
XI	0,86% (16)	2,31% (43)	3,98% (74)	1860

In order to demonstrate more clearly how many archaisms Apuleius used and the impression they might have made on the reader, we conducted a similar analysis of several letters of Fronto, another famous archaizer of the second century A. D., in the amount of 20 Teubner pages. In this author the percentage of words with an archaic colour is 1.49%.[1] Having compared these figures, we can say that Apuleius' novel stands out by its vocabulary even within the framework of literary trends in the Roman literature of the second century A. D. According to the results of the analysis given in the table, we can clearly see that the highest percentage of words with archaic flavour (every 20th word) is observed in the first book. This can be explained by the strong influence of Plautus, especially noticeable in this book.[2] The smallest number of obsolete words is found in book XI, both in percentage and quantity terms, but it is in this book that Apuleius most often resorted to neologisms.

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[1] The following letters were analyzed: *ad M. Caesarem* 4, 3 (1, 1 Haines), *ad M. Caesarem* 3, 12 (1, 12 Haines), *ad M. Caesarem* 3, 8 (1, 34 Haines), *Laudes fumi et pulveris* (1, 38 Haines), *Laudes neglegentiae* (1, 44 Haines), *ad M. Caesarem* 3, 11 (1, 52 Haines), *ad M. Caesarem* 3, 1 (1, 52 Haines), *ad M. Caesarem* 5, 74 (1, 52 Haines), *Arion* (1, 54 Haines).
[2] Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... P. 10.

During the statistical analysis we counted the lexemes used by Apuleius separately for each book.[1] It is also important to take into account that we found out the ratio of archaisms and neologisms to the rest of the lexicon without taking into account poetisms, Grecisms and other features, which make the vocabulary of *the Metamorphoses* even more diverse and unusual than our study can demonstrate.

Therefore, having examined the vocabulary used by Apuleius in his novel *the Metamorphoses*, we can conclude that Apuleius uses the archaic vocabulary of a number of authors. First of all, we should mention Plautus: there are quite a few words which do not occur in other authors who wrote in Latin, except in Plautus and Apuleius. These include, for example, *praesegmen* 'a piece cut off' (2, 20, 2, Plaut. *Aul*. 313), *severitudo* 'severity' (1, 25, 5, Plaut. *Epid*. 609), *saepicule* 'often' (1, 12, 1; 2, 3, 3, etc., Plaut. *Cas*. 703), *anulatus* 'fettered' (9, 12, 4; Plaut. *Poen*. 981 (in Plautus it is referred to ears provided with rings)), *causificor* 'to excuse oneself, to allege a reason' (10, 9, 2; Pl. *Aul*. 755). In such circumstances it is hard to deny the connection of one writer to the other. There is no doubt that Apuleius read Plautus' plays and sometimes borrowed something or even created his own words in the sort of Plautus' words (e. g., *negantinummius* and *poscinummius*).

There are also words in Apuleius that he shares with another famous comediographer, Terence, though they are incomparably fewer, e. g. *habitudo* 'appearance' (5 times in *the Metamorphoses*, Ter. *Eun*. 242), *sorbillo* 'to drink in small gulps' (2, 16, 3, Ter. *Ad*. 591). The language of Terence was less appreciated by the sophists of the second century A. D. than the bold, vivid and imaginative language of Plautus: *vera autem et propria huiuscemodi formarum exempla in Latina lingua M. Varro esse dicit ubertatis Pacuvium, gracilitatis Lucilium, mediocritatis Terentium* ("Marcus Varro said that the true and genuine exemplars of these styles are Pacuvius – of the grand style, Lucilius – of the plain one, Terence – of the middle one" (Gell. 6, 14, 6; translated by us. – *S. D.*)). Nevertheless, many lexemes were characteristic of the

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[1] Thus, different paradigmatic forms were combined into one lexeme. The forms of verbs, participles, gerunds and gerundives were combined into one lexeme. The degrees of comparison of adjectives and adverbs were regarded as different lexemes. Proper nouns were excluded from the calculation.

language of comedy in general, and sometimes we cannot say that Apuleius borrowed this or that word directly from a particular author.

We can also see in the novel the words which have been attested only in other writers of the archaic period: *succussus* 'trembling' (1, 13, 1; 3, 21, 4; Pacuv. *trag*. 257), *mundule* 'neatly' (2, 7, 3; Acc. *trag*. 602), *severiter* 'severely' (2, 27, 4; 3, 3, 9; 4, 31, 2; Titin. *com*. 67). Besides the vocabulary of the already mentioned authors, Apuleius also uses archaisms attested in Laberius (*efflictim* 'passionately', Laber. *com*. 12, Apul. *Met*. 1, 8, 6; 3, 16, 1; 5, 6, 7; 5, 23, 3), Ennius (*exanclo* 'to endure', Enn. *scen*. 102, Apul. *Met*. 1, 16, 2; 6, 4, 3; 6, 11, 3; 7, 6, 5; 8, 1, 1; 11, 2, 4; 9, 12, 1; 9, 15, 1), Cato (*esito* 'to eat', Cato. *Agr*. 157, 10, Apul. *Met*. 1, 19, 1; 7, 27, 3; 9, 36, 4; 10, 16, 2) and so forth.

2.　Words with Archaic Colouring[1]

abligurrio 'to eat up' (10, 14, 2; Enn. *sat*. 17, Ter. *Eun*. 235, Suet. *gramm*. 23, Apul. *apol*. 59, 7, Arnob. *nat*. 7, 3, Aug. *c. Faust*. 16, 6; 16, 30, Heges. 4, 7; 4, 32; Non. 134, Sidon. *ep*. 9, 6, 2, Gloss.) In a direct meaning this verb is used by Arnobius ('to lick' – about the sacrificial blood licked off by dogs, cf. *abligurrire* 'to lick' (in the obscene sense) in Suetonius). It is first attested in Ennius and Terence in the meaning 'to squander, to eat through' (both authors speak of the fortune, *bona*). It has the same meaning in *the Apologia* by Apuleius (*patrimonium omne... abligurrivit*). L. Callebat considers these words a direct reference to Terence,[2] but Apuleius may have simply chosen a word peculiar to the language of comedy (L. Callebat does not consider the Ennius' fragment).[3] In *the*

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[1] The lexemes are listed in alphabetical order, regardless of the part of speech. For each lexeme the instances of its use in the novel *the Metamorphoses* are given in brackets. Authors who used the lexeme or works whose author is unknown, where the lexeme is attested, are then listed in the following order: 1) preclassical authors 2) authors of the classical period and of the first and second centuries A. D., Fronto, Gellius, and other works of Apuleius with references to the passages, if possible 3) late Latin authors (if the word occurs frequently in the late literature, only some authors are listed, after that marks of omission are used) 4) grammaries (Gramm.), glosses (Gloss.), inscriptions (Inscr.). Exact passages are given if the word occurs quite rarely in Latin literature. It is also marked if the word is a result of a conjecture (conj.). In most cases the passages are given according to ThLL. The lexemes are selected on the basis of the text in R. Helm's edition, M. Zimmerman's edition is also taken into account.

[2] Callebat L. Sermo... Pp. 512–513.

[3] Traill, Ariana. Plautus and the Origins of Roman Satire // Plautus' Erudite Comedy. New Insights into the Work of a Doctus Poeta, ed. by Sophia Papaioannou and Chrysanthi Demetriou. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020. P. 283.

Metamorphoses this verb refers to Lucius the Ass devouring dainties in the household of two brothers, a cook and a confectioner. Here the verb combines a close to direct meaning (the ass eats the dainties up) and a metaphorical one (he eats the brothers' goods, depriving them of their earnings).

absque 'apart from, separetaly from, without, with the exception of' (9, 25, 3; Pl., Ter., Cic., Quint., Fronto, Gell., Apul. *Plat.* 2, 23, Ambr., Amm., Aug., Hier., Mart. Cap., Min. Fel., Prisc., Prud., Sidon., Symm., Tert., Vulg., Gloss…) Cecilia Roncaioli writes about the archaic character of this preposition.[1] L&S suggests that the use of the preposition in the classical period is explained by the fact that it is a part of some legal formula like *absque argumento* ('without content'), while ThLL notes that as a conjunction *absque* is characteristic of the language of Plautus and Terence.[2] The use of this preposition in Apuleius also resembles the use of a formulaic expression (*Met.* 9, 25, 3: *absque noxa nostri* ('without harm to us / without harm on our part').[3]

actutum 'immediately' (5, 24, 5; 6, 8, 7; 7, 23, 4; 9, 7, 2; Acc., Caecil., Naev., Pacuv., Pl., Ter., Liv., Ovid., Quint., Sen., Sil., Stat., Verg., Fronto, Apul. *Soc.* 18, Anth., Auson., Ennod., Prisc., Sidon., Symm...) L. Callebat believes that Apuleius used this word exactly as an archaism referring to the language of Roman comedy (*actutum* is very often found in the works of Plautus). Consequently, from his point of view, it is the atmosphere of comedy that Apuleius is trying to recreate when he uses this adverb, especially in books V and VI, where it is used in conjunction with the expression *dare poenas*, characteristic of the comic language of Plautus and Terence.[4] But it is worth bearing in mind that this word was used not only in comedy but also in tragedy, and it is unlikely that Virgil tried to add the comic element by using this adverb in *the Aeneid*, a source as important to Apuleius as old comedy. The context of Book V of *the Metamorphoses* also does not suggest a

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footnotes

[1] Roncaioli, Cecilia. L'Arcaismo... P. 349.

[2] Lommatzsch, Ernst. Absque // ThLL, Vol. I (1900). P. 185.

[3] Hijmans B. L. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Wesseling B. – Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book IX: Text, Introduction, and Commentary. Groningen: Forsten, 1995. P. 213. Pp. 221–222.

[4] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 521.

comic setting: Cupid leaves Psyche and promises that both she and her sisters will quickly be punished for their deed.

adaeque 'equally, likewise' (4, 8, 1; 8, 31, 1; 10, 2, 2; Pl., Fronto, Apul., Ambrosiast., Amm., Cassiod., Char. *gramm.*, Cod. Theod., Hil., Leo M., Mar. Victorin., Opt. Porf., Optat., Pelagon., Sol., Sulp. Vict., Vict. Vit., Zeno, Gloss.) H. Becker believes that the word was perceived by Plautus' audience as colloquial, and Apuleius seeks to repeat this effect.[1] It is interesting that before Apuleius this adverb had not been used in affirmative statements (Plautus has 6 passages with *adaeque*, and they are all negative statements).

adambulo 'to walk (near something)' (3, 12, 2; 8, 26, 5; 11, 8, 4; Pl. *Bacch.* 768, Apul., Not. Tir. 90, 33) Plautus uses this verb with the preposition *ad* and the accusative case, while Apuleius uses it with the dative case without a preposition.

adlibesco / adlubesco 'to be roused with desire' (2, 10, 4; 7, 11, 4; 9, 3, 3; Pl. *Mil.* 1004, Apul., Mart. Cap. 1, 25; 1, 31; 2, 181; 7, 726; 9, 913, Ps. Ambr. *paenit.* 22, Gloss. V 616, 2) In Plautus the verb is used impersonally in the meaning 'to be pleasing, inspire a desire' (ThLL: *libido me movet*), while Apuleius (as well as Martianus Capella and the author of *De paenitentia*) uses it in the meaning 'to desire something, to long for something' (with the dative case). In the first two passages of the novel the verb is used in an erotic context (about the kisses of Photis and Charite), which corresponds to the context in Plautus' play (about the feelings of Pyrgopolynices), but in Book IX of *the Metamorphoses* it is referred to the health check of the ass and his desire to drink water.

admolior 'to take something in hand, to set to do something' (1, 10, 4; 6, 10, 4; Pl. *Rud.* 598, *Asin.* 570, Apul. *flor.* 7, Iul. Val. 1, 35; 1, 45; 1, 51; Itin. Alex. 2) Apuleius always uses this verb with the a direct object *manus* (as in Plautus' comedy *Asinaria*). This expression denotes some perverse action towards something sacred (cf. Pl. *Asin.* 570: *ubi sacro manus sis admolitus*; Apul. *flor.* 7: *si quis uspiam repperiretur alius sanctissimae imagini regis manus admolitus*). It has

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[1] Becker, Henricus. Studia… P. 15.

approximately the same meaning in Book I of *the Metamorphoses*, where the victims of the witch Meroe swear not to raise their hands against her (*sanctissime deierantes sese neque ei manus admolituros*), but in the tale of Cupid and Psyche the verb has no religious meaning: in this episode Psyche refuses to touch a pile of grain, which Venus orders her to sort out.

adnuto 'to nod' (10, 32, 3; Naev. *com.* 76, 111, Pl. *Merc.* 437, Apul.) Perhaps the verb belongs to the language of comedy. It is noteworthy that in Apuleius this verb is used in the context of a theatrical performance, the pantomime *Judgment of Paris*, where he describes the actions of Venus dancing and nodding her head.

adoro 'to appeal to, to address' (2, 29, 5; 3, 3, 1; 10, 12, 1; Lex XII tab. Fest. p. 158 L, Apul., Serv.) Servius writes about this verb in this sense as an archaism (ad Verg. *Aen.* 10, 677: *adoro id est iuxta veteres, qui adorare adloqui dicebant*; cf. Paul. Fest. p. 17 L: *adorare apud antiquos significabat agere*). In Books II and III of *the Metamorphoses*, Apuleius uses the verb *adorare* in the same expression *populum sic adorat*.

adprime 'extremely, especially' (9, 14, 2; 10, 17, 4; Pl., Quadrig., Ter., Nep., Var., Gell., Apul. *Soc.* 17, 19, 20, 23, *flor.* 4, 15, 17, *apol.* 31, 5, *Plat.* 2, 19, Amm., Aug., Avell., Chalc., Hier., Macr., Prisc., Sol., Symm., Gloss...) Gellius marks *adprime* as one of the rare words used by Claudius Quadrigarius (17, 2, 14). The Groningen Commentary on Book X describes this word as an archaism, reintroduced into literary language by Gellius and Apuleius.[1]

adstituo 'to place near' (3, 2, 5; 9, 11, 3; Acc. *trag.* 55 (ap. Non. 315), Pl. *Capt.* 846, Rhet. Her. 3, 33, Apul., Not. Tir. 24, 61; 24, 69) Despite its transparent meaning, the verb *adstituere* is quite rare. Apuleius uses it both times without a preposition with different cases (with the accusative in *Met.* 3, 2, 5: *forum eiusque tribunal adstituor*; with the dative in 9, 11, 3: *molae, quae maxima videbatur, matutinus adstituor*).

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[1] Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book X. Text, Introductuon and Commentary. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2000. P. 244; Hijmans B. L. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Wesseling B. – Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book IX… P. 135.

adulescentula 'a young woman' (1, 22, 2; Pl. *Epid*. 43, *Rud*. 416, Ter. *Andr*. 118, *Haut*. 654, Var. ap. Non. 550, Apul., Ambr., Aug., Itala, Hier., Vict. Vit., Vulg., Gloss.) Here, judging by the use of the noun *adulescentula*, the connection with old comedy is obvious. L. Callebat writes about the imitation of the language of Plautus and Terence,[1] and R. May, developing the theme of comic clichés and masks in *the Metamorphoses*, suggests that we see here a reference to Plautus.[2]

adulo 'to fawn upon' (5, 14, 3; Acc., Lucr., Apul., Aug., Auson., Avien., Don., Paneg., Paul. Nol., Pomp. *gramm*.) Such forms (*arbitro* instead of *arbitror*, *contemplo* instead of *contemplor*, *patio* instead of *patior*, *laeto* instead of *laetor*, *populo* instead of *populor*, etc.) are considered archaic.[3] For example, this is the testimony of Servius: *populant antique dixit, nam hoc verbum apud veteres activum fuit, nunc autem deponens est* (*Aen*. 4, 403). L. Callebat believes that one cannot strictly speak of such forms as an "archaism" or a "poeticism", but they obviously did not belong to classical prose fiction.[4]

adventor 'a newcomer, stranger, visitor' (1, 9, 3; 10, 21, 2; Pl. *Truc*. 96, 616, *Asin*. 359, Var. *Men*. 263, Apul., Prisc. 2, 35, 3, Corp. XIV 2978, Lex Urson (Corp. II 5439) 4, 1, 31, Corp. III 7728, Corp. VI 33145, Gloss.) In both cases Apuleius uses this noun to refer to a visitor to an establishment (a tavern in Book I, a brothel in Book X). As L. Callebat points out, Apuleius seems to have relied on Plautus in his use of the word.[5] This is particularly noticeable in Book X in the simile of a brothel (in Plautus' *Truculentus*, the word *adventor* also refers to the clients of prostitutes, and in Apuleius this theme is also emphasized by such neologisms in Plautus' style as *poscinummius* and *negantinummius*).[6]

aerumna 'trouble, affliction' (1, 6, 5; 1, 7, 5; 1, 16, 2; 3, 29, 1; 6, 5, 2; 6, 12, 2; 6, 15, 1; 6, 32, 2; 7, 2, 4; 7, 6, 4; 7, 16, 1; 7, 27, 3; 8, 1, 1; 8, 12, 3; 8, 12, 6; 8, 26, 6;

[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 508.
[2] May, Regine. Apuleius. Metamorphoses... P. 160.
[3] Flobert P. Recherches sur les verbs déponents latins: Thèse prés. devant l'Univ. de Paris IV... Lille, 1975. P. 522; ThLL notes that the active form *adulo* is used by ancient and archaic writers:Oertel, Heinrich. Adulo // ThLL, Vol. I (1900). P. 877.
[4] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 295.
[5] ibidem, p. 481.
[6] Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book X... P. 276.

10, 5, 3; 10, 5, 5; 11, 2, 4; 11, 15, 4; 11, 19, 1; Acc., Caecil., Enn., Lucil., Pacuv., Pl., Ter., trag. inc. (Quint. *inst.* 9, 3, 15), Cic., Iuv., Liv., Lucr., Ovid., Pers., Petr., Quint., Sall., Sen., Gell., Apul. *Plat.* 2, 18, Ambr., Amm., Iord., Lact., Macr., Paul. Fest., Paul. Petric., Gloss., Gramm…) Quintilian argues that *aerumna* is an obsolete word (*Inst.* 8, 3, 26), so the authors of the Groningen commentary on Book VIII of *the Metamorphoses* write about the solemnity of the word.[1] ThLL speaks of the poetic connotation it had acquired beginning with Cicero, although from the second century A. D. onward it was growing in popularity in prose.[2] In Book I Apuleius uses the word *aerumna*, reinforcing the allusion to Adherbal's address to his murdered brother Hiempsal in Sallust's *Jugurthine War* (Apul. *Met.* 1, 16, 2, Sall. *Iug.* 14, 22–23): Aristomenes, a character of *the Metamorphoses*, intending to commit suicide after seeing the death of his friend Socrates at the hands of a witch, repeats Adherbal's words almost verbatim "*iam iam, frater animo meo carissime*", replacing "brother" with "bed" and then calling the bed a witness to the hardships he has endured (*mecum tot aerumnas exantlasti*). Adherbal in Sallust gives the same name to the misfortunes that weigh him down (*omnis has quae me premunt aerumnas... amisisti*).

aerumnabilis 'causing misery' (1, 1, 4; 8, 9, 3; 9, 15, 6; Lucr. 6, 1231, Apul., Ps. Aug. *serm.* 120, 1) Despite the fact that this adjective is very rare, Apuleius apparently liked it very much. The narrator describes as causing misery the labour of learning Latin (1, 1, 4: *indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore... excolui*), his transformation into an ass (9, 15, 6: *aerumnabilis deformitatis meae*), and Charite's life after the death of her husband (8, 9, 3: *aerumnabili vitae*).

aetatula 'youth, tender age' (1, 12, 4; 7, 9, 5; 10, 29, 4; 10, 31, 2; 11, 15, 1; Pl., Caecil., Cic., Suet., Var., Apul. *apol.* 2, 4, Greg. Tur., Iul. Val., Prud., Schol. Cic., Sidon., Sulp. Sev., Gloss.) Although the word is also attested in Caecilius, it is not

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[1] Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Settels C. B. J. – Wesseling B. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book VIII. Text, Introduction and Commentary. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1985. P. 28.

[2] Bögel, Theodor. Aerumna // ThLL, Vol. I (1900). P. 1066.

unreasonable for scholars to think that Apuleius borrowed it from Plautus.[1] It is natural that the word *aetatula* in Apuleius refers to young girls and young men in most cases, but the ironic use of this noun in Book I is quite interesting: the witch Meroe laments how she wasted her youth on Socrates (1, 12, 4: *hic Catamitus meus, qui diebus ac noctibus inlusit aetatulam meam*), though before that Meroe was called no other than an old woman (1, 7, 7: *cauponam Meroen, anum sed admodum scitulam*; 1, 12, 2 *video mulieres duas altioris aetatis*). In Book X Apuleius also converts the well-known expression *florere aetatis*,[2] meaning blooming youth, into *virenti florere aetatula* (*Met*. 10, 29, 4).

alimonia 'nourishment, nurture' (2, 3, 1; 5, 18, 1; 6, 4, 1; Var., Gell., Apul. *apol*. 85, 7, Ambr., Arnob., Aug., Auson., Cassiod., Cod. Theod., Don., Greg. Tur., Hier., Iul. Val., Lact., Macr., Paul. Nol., Prud., Serv., Sidon., Symm., Tert., Ulp. *dig*., Vulg., Zeno, Gloss…) As D. van Mal-Maeder points out, the word *alimonia*, judging by the extant usage, may be considered an archaism.[3] The noun *alimentum* is more common in this sense, although *alimonia* also occurs regularly in later literature.

aliorsum 'to another place, elsewhere' (8, 16, 7; Cato, Pl., Ter., Labeo, Flor., Gell., Apul., Amm., Boeth., Cael. Aur., Chalc., Claud. Mam., Don., Iul. Vict., Iust., Lact., Scaev. *dig*., Tert., Gloss.) This adverb is found in Latin literature in several variants: *aliovorsum* (Pl. *Aul*. 287), *alioversus* (Lact. *inst*. 1, 17, 1), and the most common one, *aliorsum*.

aliquantisper 'for some time' (1, 11, 6; 6, 27, 3; Caecil., Pl., Quadrig. *hist*., Ter., Flor., Gell., Apul. *apol*. 73, 7, *mund*. 16, Alc. Avit., Amm., Boeth., Hier., Hil., Iust., Sidon., Sol., Sulp. Sev., Symm., Gloss…) M. Molt writes that the adverb *aliquantisper* is often found in comediographers,[4] but this claim is disputed

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[1] Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... Pp. 28–29; May, Regine. Apuleius Metamorphoses or the Golden Ass. Book I. Oxford, 2013. P. 153.

[2] OLD s. v. *floreo* 5b, p. 714.

[3] Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Livre II. Texte, Introduction et Commentaire. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2001. Pp. 82–83.

[4] Molt, Margaretha. Ad Apulei Madaurensis Metamorphoseon librum primum commentarius exegeticus. Groningae: M. de Waal, 1938. P. 72.

(according to ThLL, *aliquantisper* is attested twice in Terence and only once in Plautus and Caecilius).[1]

alterco 'to dispute' (2, 29, 6; 5, 16, 1; 6, 26, 3; 9, 3, 1; 9, 33, 4; Pacuv. *trag.* 210, Ter. *Andr.* 653, Apul.) The archaic nature of the active form of this verb (*altercare* instead of *altercari*) is confirmed by the Ernout-Meillet dictionary, which also notes that this verb has a connotation of a legal term.[2] In Apuleius this verb occurs in several meanings: 'to talk', 'to argue', 'to exchange something', but there is no difference in meaning between active and passive forms in *the Metamorphoses* (passive forms of this verb occur only twice in the novel: *altercamur* (2, 3, 6), *altercati* (10, 15, 1).

altrinsecus 'on the other side' (1, 16, 4; 1, 21, 4; 2, 18, 5; 3, 17, 3; 5, 2, 1; Pl., Apul., Alc. Avit., Amm., Aug., Auson., Avien., Boeth., Cael. Aur., Fulg., Hier., Lact., Mar. Victor, Prud., Sidon., Sol., Vulg., Gloss...) It is interesting that in Books III and V Apuleius uses this adverb as a preposition with the genitive case, which is not found in any other Latin author. L. Callebat suspects that Apuleius used *altrinsecus* as a preposition under the influence of Greek (ἔξω, ἐκτὸς as prepositions also require the genitive case).[3] In addition, both Plautus and Apuleius use *altrinsecus* to mean 'on the other side', whereas most later authors usually give this word the meaning 'on both sides'.

amoene 'in a pleasant manner' (10, 32, 1; Pl. *Mil.* 412, Rhet. Her. 4, 12, 18, Plin. *epist.* 3, 23, 1, Gell. 14, 1, 32, Apul., Hil. *in psalm.* 118) ThLL does not include a passage from Plautus in the entry for *amoene*, and marks a passage from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* with a question mark (*amoene* is a later reading (in the De Buxis edition of 1469), accepted by modern editors).[4] If this adverb really was in Apuleius' original text, then only there and in Plautus it is attested in the positive degree (in Pliny and in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* we see it in the superlative degree, in Gellius and Hilary of Poitiers – in the comparative degree).

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[1] Vollmer, F. Aliquantisper // ThLL, Vol. I (1900). P. 1602.
[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 40; Flobert P. Recherches… P. 217.
[3] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 240.
[4] Burger, Franz Xaver. Amoene // ThLL, Vol. I (1900). P. 1964.

ampliter 'abundantly, fully' (1, 21, 5; 10, 26, 3; Acc. *trag*. 282, Lucil. 443, Pl. *Bacch*. 677, *Cas*. 501, *Cist*. 598, *Merc*. 99, *Mil*. 758, *Stich*. 692, Pompon. *Atell*. 54, Gell. 2, 6, 11; 10, 3, 4, Apul., Macr. *sat*. 6, 7, 14, Char. 1, 79, 14, Prisc. 3, 58, 3; 59, 3; 71, 2, Roman. Char. *gramm*. 1, 195, 12) The word *ampliter* must certainly have been perceived as archaic: it is attested mainly either by archaic or archaizing authors, and in the writings of grammarians it appears with references to Plautus and Lucilius.

anulatus 'fettered' (9, 12, 4; Pl. *Poen*. 981, Apul., Prisc. 2, 139, 7) The meaning of this word is somewhat different in Plautus and Apuleius: in the comedy *Poenulus*, it describes the ears of Punic slaves with rings in them, while in *the Metamorphoses* it refers to the chained feet of slaves in the mill.

apage 'away with, be off!' (1, 17, 6; Afran., Pl., Rhet. Her., Ter., Cic. *epist*., Var., Apul. *Soc*. 5, Ambr., Iul. Val., Mart. Cap., Gloss.) *Apage* is a Graecism characteristic of Latin comedy (it is mainly attested in the comedies of Plautus). In *the Metamorphoses*, *apage* is spoken by Socrates, who pushes his friend Aristomenes away.

apertio 'opening' (11, 20, 3; 11, 22, 7; Var., Apul., Ambr., Ambrosiast., Aug., Cael. Aur., Cassian., Greg. Tur., Isid., Pallad., Serv., Tert., Vulg...) Apparently this word was not common among classical authors (the L&S dictionary considers it ante- and postclassical), but it gained great popularity in the Late Latin literature. Apuleius uses the word *apertio* both times in reference to some solemn rite of opening the doors of the temple (*Met*. 11, 22, 7: *rituque sollemni apertionis celebrato*), which corresponds to the meaning of this noun as explained by Servius (*Aen*. 4, 301: *moveri enim sacra dicebantur, cum sollemnibus diebus aperiebantur templa instaurandi sacrificii causa... hoc vulgo apertiones appellant*).

aquilinus 'eagle's' (2, 2, 9; Pl. *Pseud*. 852, Apul., Aug. *medit*. 27, *spec*. 16, Boeth. *in Porph. Migne* 64, Dares 12, Marcell. *med*. 8, 22, Tert. *paen*. 12, 69,

Philarg. *Verg. ecl. proem.*, 8, 27, Prisc. 2, 80, 3, Gloss.) Since the adjective *aquilinus* is quite rare, Apuleius may have borrowed it directly from Plautus.[1]

arbitror 'to observe, (1, 18, 1; 2, 29, 1; 3, 21, 3; 4, 2, 2; 4, 12, 6; 7, 1, 4; 9, 12, 2; 10, 16, 1; Pl. *Aul.* 605, *Capt.* 220, *Epid.* 267, Apul. *apol.* 16, 13, Iul. Val. 3, 16) Apuleius uses the verb *arbitrari* both in its classical meaning 'to think, to reckon' and in its more archaic meaning 'to notice, to observe'. L. Zurli[2] notes how he plays with the Plautine meaning of the verb 'to look surreptitiously, to observe furtively' (it especially concerns the scenes of curiosity shown by the characters).[3]

ariolor 'to prophesy' (2, 7, 2; Pl., Pompon., Ter., Cic., Apul. *Soc.* 18, Arnob., Char. *gramm.*, Eugraph., Iul. Val., Vulg., Gloss.) Different researchers attribute different stylistic connotations to this word: comic,[4] religious,[5] and colloquial.[6] It seems that it is not possible to put an end to this issue: the word is best attested in archaic authors and is rare enough to be considered an archaism peculiar to religious language,[7] but the fact that the verb is found in such works as Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*[8] and *the Vulgate* may also indicate the common usage of this word. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the context is comical: Lucius, entering Milo's house, "predicts" by smell how delicious a meal Photis is preparing.

armillum 'a wine jar' (6, 22, 1; 9, 29, 1; Lucil. 676, Varro *vit. pop. Rom.* apud Non. 547, Apul., Paul. Fest. p. 2 L, Gloss.) The word is usually used proverbially: *ad armillum redire* 'get up to one's old tricks' (in Apuleius this expression is used about Cupid negotiating a marriage with Jupiter without his mother's knowledge, and about the wretched wife of a miller looking for a way to revenge her husband for throwing her out). J. Hanssen stresses the fact that *armillum* is a technical term,

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 509.

[2] Zurli, Loriano. Un Arcaismo in Apuleio // Giornale Italiano di Filologia XXXIX, 2 (1987). P. 217.

[3] Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Livre II… P. 377.

[4] Flobert P. Recherches… P. 152.

[5] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 76.

[6] Jonge B. J., de. Ad Apulei Madaurensi Metamorphoseon librum secundum commentarius exegeticus. Groningae: M. de Waal, 1941. P. 39.

[7] The Ernout–Meillet dictionary recognizes the words *(h)ariolus, (h)ariolor* as archaic: Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 516.

[8] Cic. *ad Att.* 8.11.3: προθεσπίζω *igitur, noster Attice, non hariolans ut illa cui nemo credidit sed coniectura prospiciens, iamque mari magno - non multo, inquam, secus possum vaticinari*. It is worth noting that the genre of Cicero's letters does not necessarily indicate the colloquiality of the word in question. Perhaps, in this case, Cicero, speaking of Cassandra's prophetic gift, decided to use an archaism that may have emphasized the sacredness of the gift of divination.

deriving it from *armus* 'a shoulder',[1] although, in fact, the etymology of the word is not so obvious.[2]

arrabo 'a token payment' (1, 21, 6; Pl., Quadrig. ap. Gell., Ter., Var., Gell., Apul., Beda, Greg. Tur., Hier., Isid., Itala, Paul. Nol., Tert., Vulg.) Gellius marks *arrabo* as one of the rare words used by Claudius Quadrigarius, which, though it is sordid (*in sordidis verbis*), has a strong and accurate meaning (*vis huius vocabuli... gravior acriorque est*; Gell. 17, 2, 21). Apuleius puts this word in the mouth of an old woman whom Lucius asks about Milo. Perhaps it is significant that the old woman uses "*sordidum verbum*" to speak ill of Milo, "*sordis infimae infamis homo*".[3]

asinarius 'of or connected with asses', 'an ass-driver' (as an adjective 7, 8, 1; 10, 19, 3, as a noun 6, 20, 2; adj.: Cato, Apul., Greg. M., Hier., Itala, Vulg., Gloss.; noun: Cato, Suet., Apul., Serv., Tert., Val. Max., Gloss.) The word *asinarius* is marked as an archaism by L. Gargantini,[4] but in this case we should rather agree with L. Callebat, who attributes a colloquial connotation to this word (caractère familier).[5]

attineo 'to hold, restrain, interest' (1, 7, 6; 3, 20, 4; 4, 1, 4; Pl., Sall., Tac., Aurel. ad Fronto, Fronto, Apul. *mund*. 5, Amm., Arnob., Aug., Aur. Vict., Heges., Paneg., Priscill., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod....) In the Latin language of all periods this verb is very common in the meanings 'to concern, be connected with' (with the preposition *ad*, especially in the formula *quod attinet*) and 'to be important, relevant' (used impersonally). However, as a transitive verb ('to hold' and, in a figurative sense, 'to enthrall, to occupy) it is rarely found in the literature of the classical period.[6] In *the Metamorphoses* Apuleius uses the verb only three times, always in the transitive sense, while in *the Apologia* we see a more common

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[1] Hanssen J. S. Th. The Latin Diminutives: A Semantic Study. Bergen, 1953. P. 107.
[2] The word appears to be a borrowing: Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 84.
[3] Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... P. 382.
[4] Gargantini, Luisa. Ricerche... P. 34.
[5] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 25.
[6] The first book of *the Metamorphoses* uses a participle of this verb (1.7.6: *mense decimo ibidem attentus nummatior revortor*). The form *attentus* may also be a participle of the verb *attendere* (this is how the Index Apuleianus regards it), which in this case is questionable.

formula, characteristic of classical language (Apul. *apol*. 67: *quod ad Pudentillam attinet*).

aulula/ollula 'a small pot' (2, 7, 5; 5, 20, 2; Var. *rust*. 1, 54, 2, Apul., Arnob. *nat*. 5, 18; 5, 19; 6, 14, Garg. Mart. *pom*. 2, 13, Marcell. *med*. 9, 72) *Aulula* is an older variant of the diminutive *ollula* (the form *aulula* is attested only in Book V of *the Metamorphoses*, and is also evident in the title of Plautus' play *Aulularia*). The word is marked as an archaism by L. Gargantini.[1]

ausculto 'to listen' (1, 2, 5; 5, 25, 6; 6, 17, 4; 6, 31, 4; 8, 31, 4; 9, 3, 1; Afran., Caecil., Cato, Enn., Pacuv., Pl., Pompon., Ter., Catull., Cic., Hor., Var., Plin. *nat*., Sen., Caper, Fronto, Apul. *Soc*. 16, 18, *apol*. 38, 7; 83, 4; 94, 2, Ambr., Arnob., Aug., Beda, Cassian., Char. *gramm*., Fulg., Greg. Tur., Hier., Itala, Mart. Cap., Non., Paul. Nol., Prisc., Rufin., Sidon., Vulg., Gloss…) The verb *auscultare* is often found in old comedy, but before Fronto it had been generally avoided in prose. L. Nicolini believes that although the word existed in colloquial language, Apuleius regarded it primarily as an archaism,[2] L. Callebat also thinks that the choice of this verb was influenced by the frequency of its use in Plautus' comedies. The verb *ausculto* was widespread in the later period and entered the Romance languages.

autumo 'to allege, affirm, name' (1, 18, 4; 5, 25, 5; Acc., Atta, Lucil., Pacuv., Pl., Ter., Catull., Hor., Quint., Sen., Vell., Gell., Apul. *apol*. 4, 8, *Soc*. 6, 8, 16, Amm., Aug., Auson., Boeth., Claud. Mam., Greg. Tur., Hier., Macr., Non., Prud., Sidon., Tert., Vict. Vit., Gloss…) Quintilian classifies the verb *autumare* as an ancient word and considers it tragic (Quint. *inst*. 8, 3, 26), even though the word occurs frequently in comedy and is attested in the satires of Lucilius and Horace. Apuleius uses this verb when referring to authorities on the subject of the discussion (*apol*. 4, 8: *ut Plato autumat* − about the pleasant appearance of the philosopher Zeno; *Soc*. 6: *ut Plato in Symposio autumat* − on the role of demons in

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[1] Gargantini, Luisa. Ricerche... P. 42.
[2] Nicolini, Lara. La Novella di Carite e Tlepolemo. Napoli: M. D'Auria Editore, 2000. P. 202. The Groningen commentary to *the Tale of Cupid and Psyche* calls *mihi ausculta* "a slightly archaizing expression": Zimmerman M. − Panayotakis S. − Hunink V.C. − Keulen W.H. − Harrison S. J. − McCreight Th. D. − Wesseling B. − Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books IV 28–35, V and VI 1–24... P. 308.

the creation of signs and the transmission of prophecies; *Soc*. 16: *Plato autumat* – on the fact that every man has his own demon; *Soc*. 8: *ut geometrae autumant* – about the height of Mount Olympus). *The Metamorphoses* use this verb to cite the authoritative opinion of physicians about the bad influence of overeating and drinking on the quality of sleep (*Met*. 1, 18, 4) and to prove Pan's talent for divination (*Met*. 5, 25, 5).

aviditer 'greedily' (4, 7, 3; Apul., Arnob. *nat*. 5, 1, 6, Gloss. Plac. V 7, 19) Strictly speaking, the adverb *aviditer* is first attested in Apuleius. However, the word is also found in Arnobius' treatise *Against the Pagans*, where the author either retells or quotes the work of Valerius Antias, a Roman historian of the first century B. C., one of the most important sources of Titus Livius' *History of Rome*. Arnobius writes about the folly of the ancient gods and, wishing to give a suitable example, he seeks to refer not to the fruits of the poets' imagination but to a serious historical work. The story of how king Numa Pompilius cunningly forced Jupiter to change the cleansing rite after a lightning strike is prefaced by Arnobius with the following words: *in secundo Antiatis libro – ne quis forte nos aestimet concinnare per calumnias crimina – talis perscripta est fabula* (Arnob. *nat*. 5, 1, 4). Due to the fact that the adverb *aviditer* occurs in this passage from the work of Valerius Antias, the L&S dictionary marks this word as anteclassical. Interestingly, both in the work of Valerius Antias and in Apuleius' novel the adverb *aviditer* is used in the context of the intemperate use of wine.

baxea 'a sandal' (2, 28, 2; 11, 8, 3; Pl. *Men*. 391, Apul. *flor*. 9, Dub. Nom. *gramm*. 5, 572, 21, Isid. *orig*. 19, 34, 13, Tert. *idol*. 8, *pall*. 4, Gloss.) According to the glosses, the word *baxea* refers to a type of women's shoes, but in Apuleius it is usually the attribute of a philosopher or a priest (in *Met*. 2, 28, 2 a young man looking like a priest of Isis wears palm-leaf sandals called *baxeae*, in *Met*. 11, 8, 3 – a certain philosopher, and in *flor*. 9 – the author himself). *Baxeae* are also mentioned by Tertullian, but in his works they are a more luxurious kind of shoes.

bellule 'prettily' (5, 31, 4; 10, 16, 4; 11, 30, 2; Pl. frg. ap. Paul. Fest. p. 32 L, Pl. *Bach*. 1068 (*conj*. Leo, *codd*. veluti); Apul.) In fiction, this adverb is found only

in Plautus (apart from Apuleius), though we cannot say with absolute certainty that it was *bellule* in *the Bacchides* (the conjecture *bellule* was made on the basis of a passage in Paul the Deacon: *bellule apud Plautum deminutivum adverbium est a bene, quod facit belle et bellule*). The adjective *bellulus* is attested only in Plautus, and only in the feminine form (Pl. *Cas*. 848, *Mil*. 989, *Poen*. 347).

blatero 'to babble' (4, 24, 1; 8, 26, 5; 9, 10, 4; 10, 9, 2; Afran., Pacuv., Hor., Suet., Ter. Maur., Gell., Apul. *flor*. 9; *apol*. 3, 7; 34, 2, Mart. Cap., Non., Paul. Fest., Prud., Sidon., Symm., Gloss...) Scholars note the colloquial nature of the word,[1] which Apuleius borrowed, according to L. Callebat, from Afranius (Afran. *com*. 13, 195).[2] It is one of Apuleius' favourite words, which he uses in relation to the minor characters of his novel.

boo 'to bellow' (5, 29, 1; 7, 3, 4; 9, 20, 4; Enn., Pacuv., Pl., Ov., Var., Apul. *flor*. 17, Drac., Non., Paul. Fest., Ps. Fulg. Rusp., Gloss.) *Boare* is a rather rare word, a poetism with an archaic connotation.[3] But Apuleius uses the verb for comic effect: in this way Venus shouts when scolding her son for bad behavior, Lucius the Ass tries to say that he is innocent, but can only bellow "*non non*", Arete's deceived husband bursts into his wife's bedroom with angry shouts (there are no comic connotations in *the Florida*: Apuleius tells us that tragic actors resort to shouting when they are hoarse (*flor*. 17: *boando purgant ravim*)). Perhaps this use of the verb is due to a folk etymology (Non. p. 79: *bount dictum a boum mugitibus*), although the word had already been used in reference to humans by Varro (*Men*. 386).[4]

breviculus 'very short or small' (1, 11, 8; 6, 25, 4; Pl. *Merc*. 639, Fronto p. 146, 16 N, Apul.; as a noun (in the same meaning as *breviarium*): Alc. Avit. *epist*. 87, Aug. *retract*. 2, 39, Rufin. *apol. adv. Hier*. 2, 36) *Breviculus* is a rare adjective,

[1] Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Settels C. B. J. – Wesseling B. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book VIII... P. 228; B/O p. 11.
[2] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 513.
[3] Zimmerman M. – Panayotakis S. – Hunink V.C. – Keulen W.H. – Harrison S. J. – McCreight Th. D. – Wesseling B. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books IV 28–35, V and VI 1–24... Pp. 333–334; Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 131.
[4] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 514.

apparently borrowed by Apuleius from Plautus and most likely not without a touch of colloquialism.[1]

calcitro 'kicking' (8, 25, 1; Pl. *Asin*. 391, Var. *Men*. 479, Cael. Sab. ap. Gell. 4, 2, 3, Apul., Non. p. 44, Gloss.) M. Bernhard marked this word as a vulgarism,[2] which L. Callebat disagreed with:[3] the word *calcitro* is found only in archaic and archaizing writers, and its use in Apuleius seems to be a deliberate borrowing from the text of Varro. In Varro (as well as in the text of a jurist Caelius Sabinus, quoted by Gellius) a horse is called *mordax* and *calcitro*, and in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* a herald, trying to sell Lucius, praises the humble nature of the ass (*Met*. 8, 25, 1: *"Vervecem" inquit "non asinum vides, ad usus omnes quietum, non **mordacem** nec **calcitronem** quidem..."*).

caleor 'to be hot' (4, 1, 1; Pl. *Capt*. 80, *Truc*. 65, Apul., Prisc. 2, 393, 10) Priscian writes that passive verb forms instead of active ones were preferred by the ancients, citing this verb as an example: *passivas quoque pro activis vel neutralibus vocibus ex contrario idem antiquissimi proferebant... 'caleor' pro 'caleo'*. Perhaps Apuleius' use of the impersonal passive was influenced by similar uses of the verb in Plautus' comedies.

candidatus 'whitened' (9, 12, 4; in the meaning 'dressed in white': Pl. *Cas*. 446, *Rud*. 270, Suet. *Aug*. 98, (Apul.), Vulg., Zeno…) In the classical period the word *candidatus* had a meaning 'a candidate for an office', but before that it had meant 'dressed in white' (*albatus* in the classical language). Apuleius transforms the original meaning of *candidatus*, so that in his novel the slaves in the mill are "whitened" because of the flour dust covering their skin. That said, the slaves are *sordide candidati* – 'whitened in a dirty way, painted dirty white'. Christian writers develop the symbolic meaning of *candidatus* 'white = clean, pure'.

cantio 'a magical incantation, song' (1, 10, 2; Cato, Pl., Cic., Suet., Vitr., Fronto, Apul. *flor*. 12, Arnob., Aug., Cael. Aur., Don., Mar. Victorin., Mart. Cap.,

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[1] Nicolini, Lara. La Novella… P. 179.
[2] Bernhard, Max. Der Stil… S. 131.
[3] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 479.

Paul. Fest., Vulg., Gloss…) *Cantio* is a fairly rare synonym in classical Latin for the more common *carmen* (in Cicero *cantio* occurs only once, Cic. *Brut*. 217: *veneficiis et cantionibus Titiniae* "charms and sorcery of Titinia").[1] In the postclassical period the word became more common and even entered the Romance languages.[2]

cantito 'to sing' (6, 6, 3; Afran., Ter., Cic., Suet., Var., Apul., Ambr., Amm., Aug., Drac., Obseq., Prisc., Sedul., Sidon., Spart., Ter. Maur.) This frequentative verb is quite rare in the Latin literature, both before and after Apuleius. In *the Metamorphoses* this word describes the chirping of the birds accompanying Venus.

caperratus 'wrinkled' (9, 16, 1; Naev. *com*. 49b, Var. *Men*. 134, Apul. *Soc*. praef. 1, Auson. 335, Cael. Aur. *acut*. 2, 3, 16, Fulg. *Virg*. *cont*. p. 85, 17, Gloss.) The participle *caperratus* is discussed by many grammarians (Varro, Festus, Nonius), and in most cases it is used in relation to a face (*frons*, in Fulgentius – *optutus* 'eyes, gaze', in Apuleius – *supercilium* 'eyebrow' in *the Metamorphoses* and *vela* 'sails' in the preface to the treatise *De deo Socratis*). The rare verb *caperrare*, which Apuleius does not use, but which is attested in Plautus (*Epid*. 609), is also archaic.

capesso 'to betake oneself, go' (1, 22, 5;[3] Pl. *Rud*. 178, Apul., Serv. *auct. Aen.* 4, 346) The verb *capessere* in the meaning 'to leave' without a direct object is found only once in Apuleius, L. Callebat considers its use in the context of Book I a deliberate archaism (it is about Photis going into the house to report to Milo on the arrival of a guest).[4] In the same meaning *se capessere* is also attested in comedy: Pl. *Amph*. 262, *Asin*. 158, *Bacch*. 113, 1077, *Rud*. 172, Titin. *com*. 180.

capulus 'a coffin' (4, 18, 2; 8, 13, 4; 10, 12, 2; Lucil., Nov., Pl., Lucr. (2, 1174 *conj*.), Var., Apul., Comment. *Lucan*., Isid., Non., Paul. Fest., Schol. Hor., Schol. Iuv., Serv., Tert., Gloss.) The noun *capulus* is one of those words whose stylistic

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[1] In the Ernout–Meillet dictionary the word is marked as archaic and postclassical: Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 167.

[2] Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch von W. Meyer-Lübke. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1911. P. 125.

[3] It should be noted that M. Zimmerman adopts the conjecture *facessit* in her edition: Apulei Metamorphoseon libri XI / Rec. M. Zimmerman... P. 18.

[4] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 300.

colouring is not obvious: some consider it a vulgarism,[1] others – an archaism.[2] L. Callebat believes that this term was used in everyday life.[3] Nevertheless, the relative rarity of the use of *capulus* in this sense in the classical period may suggest that Apuleius borrowed the word as an archaism (cf. also Non. p. 4: *nam sarcophagum, id est sepulcrum, capulum dici veteres volunt*). In addition, *capulus* may have the meaning 'a handle', well attested in classical Latin literature and in Apuleius.

caupona 'a landlady' (1, 7, 7; 1, 8, 3; 1, 21, 2; Lucil. 128, Apul., Prisc. 2, 146, 12; 209, 8) The word *caupona* may have two meanings: 'an inn, tavern' and 'a landlady, innkeeper' (Prisc. 2, 146, 12: *caupo... caupona facit quod est tam taberna quam mulier*; 209, 8: *caupona, quod significat tam ipsam tabernam quam mulierem*). In fiction *caupona* 'a landlady' is found only in Lucilius and Apuleius, while the word *caupo* 'a landlord' is present in Latin literature of all periods.

causificor 'to allege a reason' (10, 9, 2; Pl. *Aul.* 755, Apul.) Since the verb *causificari* appears only in Plautus before Apuleius, it is natural to suppose that Apuleius borrowed it directly from the comediographer. In *the Metamorphoses* we see *causificor* in the novella about a stepmother who fell in love with her stepson and decided to avenge his rejection: a doctor, a witness to the case, tells about a visit of the woman's slave, who wanted to buy poison and referred (*causificantem*) to the fact that this poison was supposedly intended for a sick man wanting to end his torment. As L. Callebat points out,[4] this verb stands next to the archaic *blaterare* and *verbero* (a word characteristic of the language of comedy). This accumulation of words from the lexicon of archaic comedy is quite appropriate for this narrative in the genre of the Milesian tale.

cautela 'caution' (2, 6, 2; 5, 5, 2; Pl. *Mil.* 603, Apul., Alc. Avit., Ambr., Amm., Aug., Avell., Boeth., Cassiod., Cod. Iust., Coripp., Ennod., Gaius *dig.*, Greg. M., Greg. Tur., Hier., Iul. Val., Min. Fel., Pompon. *dig.*, Prisc., Serv., Ulp. *dig.*, Vict.

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[1] Bernhard, Max. Der Stil… S. 134.
[2] Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book X... P. 189; Médan, Pierre. La Latinité... P. 171.
[3] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 44.
[4] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 514.

Vit...) *Cautela* is one of the words ending in -ela, many of which are well represented in late Latin literature. The word is often used as a legal term (meaning 'surety, guarantee'), but both Plautus and Apuleius use it in a broader sense ('caution'). Many words in -ela had been reinterpreted as diminutives, which was reflected in their spelling (Plautus attests to *cautella*),[1] which is probably why L. Gargantini considers *cautela* a neologism in Apuleius.[2]

cavillum / cavillus 'jesting, banter' (1, 7, 4; 2, 19, 4; Apul., Aug. *c. Iul. op. imperf.* 3, 50, Aur. Vict. *epit.* 9, 14; 9, 19; 23, 6; 23, 6, Paul. Fest. p. 40 L, Ps. Prud. *perist.* 2, 318, Gloss.) Although the word *cavillum* is not attested before Apuleius in the masculine or neuter form, there is a reason to believe that it was still perceived as an archaism (*cavilla* in the feminine form in the same sense is attested in Plautus and later: Pl. *Aul.* 638, Mart. Cap. 4, 423, Gloss. Plac. V 14, 41). Apuleius may have borrowed this noun from Plautus, changing it to another gender for the sake of euphony (*Met.* 1, 7, 4: *Iam adlubentia proclivis est sermonis et ioci et scitum etiam cavillum, iam dicacitas timida, cum ille imo de pectore cruciabilem suspiritum ducens dextra saevientem frontem replaudens*; in *Met.* 2, 19, 4 D. van Mal-Maeder notes an euphonious correspondence to the word *risus*, provided with the use of *cavillum* in the masculine form: *iam risus adfluens et ioci liberales et cavillus hinc inde*).[3]

cernuo 'to fall head first' (1, 19, 10; Var. ap. Non. p. 21, Fronto p. 208 N, Apul., Iul. Val. 1, 12; 2, 27, Prud. *c. Symm.* 1, 350, Sol. 17, 7; 45, 13, Gloss.) The verb *cernuare* appears in the context of the last moments of Socrates' life: when he bends down to the river to drink, the wound on his neck, inflicted by the witch Meroe the previous night, opens and he almost falls dead into the water (*corpus exanimatum in flumen paene cernuat*). The word is marked as an archaism by R. Marache and R. May.[4] The adjective *cernuus* 'head foremost' is also very rare

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[1] Dubova, Svetlana S. Turbela in Apuleius' Novel // Philologia Classica 13, 2 (2018). Pp. 221–222.
[2] Gargantini, Luisa. Ricerche... P. 35.
[3] Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Livre II… P. 291.
[4] Marache, René. Mots nouveaux et mots archaïques chez Fronton et Aulu-Gelle. Rennes, 1956. P. 61; May, Regine. Apuleius. Metamorphoses... P. 188.

(Lucil. 703, Verg. *Aen.* 10, 892, it is also attested in glosses and writings of later authors).

cibatus 'food' (1, 18, 7; 1, 24, 3; 9, 5, 5; Pl., Lucr., Plin. *nat.*, Var., Gell., Apul. *Plat.* 1, 16, Chalc., Fest., Lact., Macr., Marcell. *med.*, Nemes., Sol., Gloss.) Although the word *cibatus* is attested before Apuleius in a very small number of authors, most of whom should be considered archaic, apparently, it sounded quite mundane and belonged to *sermo cotidianus*.[1] This can be evidenced by the large number of occurrences of the word in Varro's treatise *On Agriculture* (7 times) and in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (6 times). Both Varro and Pliny use the word usually when referring to food for animals, but in Apuleius it is exclusively for human food.[2]

circumcirca 'round about, on all sides' (11, 3, 5; Cato, Pl., Sulp. Ruf. (Cic. *epist.* 4, 5, 4), B. Hisp., Apul., Aug., Cledon., Don., Fulg., Iord., Prisc., Serv., Gloss. Plac….) *Circumcirca* is a rare adverb for classical Latin. Apuleius uses it when describing Isis' attire: her black mantle (*palla*) is wrapped around (*circumcirca*) her body and pulled under her right arm to her left shoulder.

comperco/**comparco** 'to spare' (9, 36, 5 *conj.*; Pl. *Poen.* 350, Ter. *Phorm.* 44, Turpil. *com.* 145, Apul., Fronto p. 216, 6 N, Char. *gramm.*, Eugraph., Macr., Non., Paneg., Paul. Fest., Ps. Sol., Schol. Ter., Gloss.) In Latin literature the verb *compercere* has several meanings: 'to save up' (this is the meaning of the verb, for example, in Terence, where the slave Geta saves money from his salary), 'to stop, to refrain from doing anything' (for example, in Plautus' comedy *Poenulus*, where Adelphasium asks Agorastocles not to touch her: *comperce amabo me attrectare*), and finally 'to spare' (only Apuleius uses the verb *compercere* in the same sense as the unprefixed *parcere*). In Apuleius' novel this verb is used in reference to dogs that torment people and give no mercy even to those who flee. *Compercunt* in the

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[1] L. Callebat does not seem to agree with this, for he does not consider this word in his work on the everyday vocabulary in the novel *the Metamorphoses* (Callebat, L. Sermo cotidianus dans les Metamorphoses d'Apulee. Caen, 1968).

[2] W. Keulen, in his commentary on Book I, also refers to Apuleius' non-extant work *Hermagoras* (Prisc. 2, 528: *et cibatum, quem iucundum esse nobis animadverterant, eum adposiverunt*), the fragmentary nature of which does not allow us to ascertain whom food is offered to in this situation: Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... P. 337.

text of *the Metamorphoses* is a conjecture of F. Roaldus (in F. Oudendorp's edition) instead of *compescunt* in the manuscript (cf. Paul. Fest. p. 52 L: *comparsit Terentius pro compescuit posuit*; Paul. Fest. p. 52 L: *comperce pro compesce dixerunt antiqui*).

complaceo 'to take the fancy, capture the affections' (4, 32, 4; 5, 9, 2; Pl., Ter., Col., Eleg. *in Maecen*., Gell., Apul. *Plat*. 2, 22, *apol*. 15, 5, Ps. Apul. *Ascl*. 11, Ambr., Arnob., Aug., Auson., Cod. Theod., Fulg., Heges., Hier., Itala, Macr., Mart. Cap., Rufin., Sedul., Sol., Sulp. Sev., Symm., Tert., Vulg., Gloss…) The verb *complacere* appears quite often in later Latin literature, but it was avoided by the authors of the classical period until Apuleius (*complacere* is attested mainly in comedy). In the second century A. D. it again gains popularity in the works of Apuleius (4 occurrences) and Gellius (3 occurrences).

compotio 'to attain' (11, 22, 2 *conj*.; Pl. *Rud*. 205, 911, Apul. *Soc*. prol. 4, Paul. Nol. *epist*. 5, 2; 17, 1, Tert. *adv. Val.* 11) The manuscript *F* gives a reading *competeret* in this place, but all modern editors accept J. Lipsius' conjecture *compotiret*. Apuleius uses this verb twice, both times with the genitive case (*Met*. 11, 22, 2: *advenisse diem... quo me maximi voti compotiret* (referring to the day of Lucius' initiation as a priest of Isis); *Soc*. prol. 4: *corvus... praedae... inductricem compotivit*), whereas in Plautus the object is in the ablative case (*Rud*. 205: *solis locis compotita sum*, *Rud*. 911: *horiae, quae... piscatu novo me uberi compotivit*). In Tertullian the verb governs the same case as in Apuleius.

concinno 'to arrange suitably' (3, 13, 5; 5, 27, 1; 6, 24, 3; 7, 11, 3; 7, 20, 4; 7, 26, 3; 8, 12, 1; 10, 13, 3; Afran., Cato, Naev. ap. Non., Pl., Col., Lucr., Petr., Plin. *nat*., Sen., Trebon. ap. Cic., Vitr., Gell., Apul., Amm., Arnob., Auson., Cod. Theod., Hier., Lact., Mart. Cap., Min. Fel., Sidon., Tert., Vulg., Gloss…) It is evident that the word existed in all periods of Latin literature, but was avoided by writers of the classical period. It is considered a favourite word of Plautus and Apuleius.[1]

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[1] Paardt R. T., van der. L. Apuleius Madaurensis the Metamorphoses. A Commentary on Book III. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1971. P. 105; Zimmerman M. – Panayotakis S. – Hunink V.C. – Keulen W.H. – Harrison S. J. – McCreight Th.

condecet 'to be fitting or proper for' (6, 9, 2; Pompon., Pl., Turp., Apul., Aug., Avell., *Carm. epigr.*, Cod. Theod., Faust., Fulg., Greg. Tur., Hier., Symm., Tert., Ven. Fort., Vulg…) Before Apuleius this verb had been attested only in comic poets. In *the Metamorphoses* it occurs once, in a Venus's speech, when she reprimands Psyche who has come to her. Venus is a character whose speech often contains archaic words (often they are elements of legal vocabulary or borrowings from the language of comedy).[1] For example, in the same sentence (*Met.* 6, 9, 2: *Sed esto secura, iam enim excipiam te ut bonam nurum condecet*) Venus uses the archaic imperative *esto*. These forms of the future tense imperative are usually found in legal and comic texts,[2] but in *The Tale of Cupid and Psyche* they are used exclusively by the gods and the talking tower.

condigne 'in an appropriate manner' (7, 9, 6; 11, 25, 7; Pl., Aur. Fronto, Gell., Apul., Aug., Cassian., Char. *gramm.*, Cod. Theod., Fulg., Greg. Tur., Novatian., Fulg. Rusp., Zeno...) The adverb *condigne* occurs more than once in Plautus (attested 6 times), perhaps it was this author who Apuleius borrowed it from (although the adverb on the whole definitely flourished in the second century A. D.: it is used twice by Gellius and once by Marcus Aurelius in a letter to his teacher Fronto). In Book XI Apuleius uses *condigne* with the ablative case: "in accordance with such benefices" (*Met.* 11, 25, 7: *veniam postulabam, quod eum condigne tantis beneficiis munerari nequirem*), which is a very rare construction: before Apuleius it is attested only in Pl. *Cas.* 131, afterwards – in Ps. Aug. *serm.* 290, 2. Perhaps such a usage is a feature of colloquial Latin and is based on the fact that the adjective *condignus* requires the ablative case.[3]

condignus 'appropriate, worthy' (7, 14, 2; 7, 22, 2; 10, 12, 5; Pl., Ps. Quint., Gell., Apul., Ambr., Arnob., Aug., Cassiod., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Cypr., Fulg., Gaudent., Greg. Tur., Hier., Itala, Novatian., Paul. Nol., Porphyr., Prud., Rufin.,

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D. – Wesseling B. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books IV 28–35, V and VI 1–24... P. 551.

[1] Dubova, Svetlana. Apuleius' Venus and Speech Characterization // Hyperboreus 26, 2 (2020). Pp. 308–319.

[2] Hofmann J. B., Szantyr A. Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1972. S. 340–341.

[3] Keulen W. H. – Tilg. S. – Nicolini L. – Graverini L. – Harrison S. J. – Panayotakis S. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book XI. The Isis Book. Text, Introduction and Commentary. Leiden, 2015. P. 441.

Fulg. Rusp., Tert., Vulg., Zeno...) L. Nicolini considers *condignus* a Plautine word, borrowed by Apuleius from this comediographer.[1] It is interesting that Apuleius uses *condignus* twice in the dative case (*Met.* 7, 14, 2: *condignas Photidi diras devotiones*; *Met.* 10, 12, 5: *providentiae divinae condignum accepit exitum*), although usually this adjective requires the ablative.

conducibilis 'expedient' (7, 9, 6; Pl. *Bacch.* 52, *Cist.* 78, *Epid.* 256, 260, 393, *Trin.* 25, 36, Rhet. Her. 2, 14, 21, Apul., Aug. *c. Faust.* 16, 4, *trin.* 12, 2, 2, Avell. p. 53, 6, Cael. Aur. *chron.* 2, 13, 164, *acut.* 2, 19, 114; 3, 8, 85, Cod. Theod. 5, 13, 30; 11, 5, 3; 15, 3, 4; Heges. 3, 19, Sidon. *epist.* 1, 5, 10; 4, 8, 2, Zacch. 1, 37; 2, 1, Gloss.) The adjective *conducibilis* is used by Tlepolemus at the end of his speech to the brigands, in which he persuades them not to subject Charite and Lucius the Ass to a horrible death, but to sell the girl to a procurer. Tlepolemus calls this suggestion of his *conducibilis*. Apuleius may have borrowed this adjective from Plautus.

confoveo 'to care for' (8, 7, 6; Afran., Apul., Alc. Avit., Ambrosiast., Aug., Avell., Cassian., Chalc., Cod. Theod., Hier., Hil., Isid., Leo M., Paul. Fest., Paul. Nol., Prud., Ps. Ambr., Ps. Rufin., Sidon., Ven. Fort., Vulg., Gloss…) The verb *confovere* is well attested in later Latin literature, but before Apuleius we see it only in one context (Afran. *com.* 143). In *the Metamorphoses*, this verb is used to describe how Thrasyllus forces Charite to brace herself after the death of Tlepolemus, to wash and eat: *extorquet tandem iam lurore et inluvie paene conlapsa membra lavacro, cibo denique confoveret* (*Met.* 8, 7, 6).

congermanesco 'to become allied or united to' (2, 10, 4; Quadrig. *hist.* 93 (Non. p. 90), Apul., Gloss. IV 41, 5; V 639, 46) The participle *congermanescens* in Apuleius' novel refers to Photis, who passionately kisses Lucius (*Met.* 2, 10, 4: *aemula libidine in amoris parilitatem congermanescenti mecum*). As far as we can judge from the extant literature, this verb was very rarely used, and it is even possible that Apuleius borrowed it directly from Claudius Quadrigarius.

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[1] Nicolini, Lara. La Novella… P. 249.

Quadrigarius was one of the most beloved archaic poets in the second century A. D., Gellius cites many quotations from this author. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of his *Annals* does not allow us to ascertain the context, but the genre of this work and the quote retained by Nonius (Non. p. 90: *facite exempla eorum, ut vos cum illis congermanescere sciatur*) suggest the meaning of entering into some alliance, probably against the background of military action (Nonius explains the meaning with words *coalescere, coniungi vel consociari*). Perhaps Apuleius understood the verb as a military term. The comparison of love pleasures with battles is not new in Latin literature and is also used in this episode of *the Metamorphoses* (next to *congermanescere* one finds such words as *aemulus* 'a rival', *occursare* 'to make frequent attacks', *mancipare* 'to surrender', *proeliari* 'to fight'). The verb *congermanescere* is derived from the adjective *germanus* 'true, brotherly, sisterly'.[1] D. van Mal-Maeder suggests that the use of this verb here is linked to an episode from Ovid's *Amores* (2, 5, 23: *inproba tum vero iungentes oscula vidi... qualia non fratri tulerit germana severo*).[2]

congruus 'according, agreeing' (6, 23, 4; 7, 1, 5; Pl., Apul. *Plat*. 2, 13, Anth., Amm., Arator, Aug., Avien., Cens., Chalc., Cod. Theod., Cypr., Fulg. Rusp., Greg. Tur., Hier., Hil., Itala, Iul. Val., Pallad., Papin. *dig*., Ps. Origen., Vulg., Gloss…) In Latin, the participle *congruens* with the same meaning as the adjective *congruus* is used. Nevertheless, after Plautus and Apuleius (who account for only 4 occurrences) this adjective appears quite frequently in the texts of various Christian writers. In both Plautus' comedy *Miles Gloriosus* and Apuleius' *De Platone et eius Dogmate*, *congruus* governs the dative case (Pl. *Mil*. 1116: *cum illa sane congruos sermo tibi*; Apul. *Plat*. 2, 13: *necessitudinum et liberorum amor naturae congruus est*). Interestingly, in *The Tale of Cupid and Psyche congruus* is found in Jupiter's speech, which begins to dazzle with archaisms when he addresses Venus:[3] he concludes by saying that he will make the marriage between Cupid and Psyche

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[1] Cf. M. A. Kuzmin's translation of this context of *the Metamorphoses*: «И вот она уже соревнуется со мною в страсти и равную степень любви по-братски разделяет» (Apuleius. Golden Ass. M. : Eksmo, 2008. P. 45).
[2] Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Livre II… P. 189.
[3] Dubova, Svetlana. Apuleius' Venus... P. 315.

legitimas et iure civili congruas "legal and consistent with civil law". The form *iure* in this context is an archaic dative (Apuleius also uses forms *luctu* and *habitu*, poetic datives with archaic connotations, when using the participle *congruens* in *Met*. 4, 33, 3 and the verb *congruere* in *Met*. 11, 15, 4).

conrado 'to amass with difficulty, scrape together' (7, 8, 2; 8, 28, 6; 9, 8, 5; 10, 19, 2; 11, 28, 3; Pl., Ter., Lucr., Var., Apul., Cael. Aur., Cels. *dig.*, Eugraph., Lact., Marcell. *chron.*, Mart. Cap., Oros., Ulp. *dig.*) The verb *corradere* 'to scrape off' is found in different genres, but we can note that it is characteristic of the language of comedy (according to L. Callebat, Apuleius may have used it under the influence of Plautus or Terence).[1] In comediographers it is usually used in the context of collecting money, and Apuleius uses the verb in the same sense.

conspondeo 'to exchange pledges' (5, 14, 1; Corp. X 104 (SC de Bacch.), Naev. *com.* 133a, Var. *ling.* 6, 69, Apul., Auson. 399, 11, Itala *Ruth* 1, 15 (Ambr. *in Luc.* 3, 31), Paul. Fest. p. 36 L, Gloss.) *Conspondere* is an archaism (cf. Paul. Fest. p. 36 L: *consposos antiqui dicebant fide mutua conligatos*), which is virtually unattested in Latin literature after Apuleius. In *the Metamorphoses* the participle *consponsus* refers to the criminal conspiracy of Psyche's sisters (*Met*. 5, 14, 1: *iugum sororium consponsae factionis*).

continor 'to encounter' (1, 24, 5; 5, 31, 1; 6, 18, 4; 7, 25, 7; 11, 22, 4; Sis. *hist.* 125 (Non. p. 93), Apul., Claud. Mam. *anim.* p. 190, 1, Paneg. 12, 36, Itin. Alex. 6, Iul. Val. 2, 27 (cod. P), Symm. *epist.* 1, 53, 2; 4, 44, Gloss. Plac.) There is also a spelling *continuor* (e. g., in the quote of Sisenna cited by Nonius). It is difficult to say whether there is a difference between *continari* and *continuari*: continuari may only be a corrupted form under the influence of the unrelated adjective *continuus*,[2] but from A. Kiessling's point of view it is the passive form of the verb *continuare*.[3] In any case, Apuleius' novel uses the same verb with the meaning 'to meet' in all of the above cases, although the spelling may differ in different editions depending on

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 514.
[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 250.
[3] Kiessling A. Coniectaneorum spicilegium, I. Index scholarum, Gryphiswaldiae: Typis Frid. Gvil. Kvnike, 1883. Pp. 3–5. Apart from the not always obvious difference in meaning, the verbs govern different cases: *continari* governs the direct object in the accusative case, while the passive form *continuari* is used with the dative case.

how strictly the editor adheres to the text of *F* (it is important to note that in *Met*. 11, 6, 2 the manuscript gives the reading *continuare*, which most editors retain; the 2012 edition of M. Zimmerman prefers the reading *continare*).

contrunco 'to gobble up' (1, 4, 1; 6, 31, 1; 9, 13, 2; Pl. *Bacch*. 975, *Stich*. 554, Apul., Amm. 17, 10, 6; 19, 9, 2; 29, 5, 31; 31, 10, 19, Lampr. *Alex*. 61, 6, Not. Tir. 90, 80, 103, 68b) The original meaning of the verb is 'to cut, to chop' (this is its meaning in Plautus' *Bacchides*), but Plautus had already used *contruncare* in reference to food intake (Pl. *Stich*. 554: *meum ne contruncent cibum*). Apuleius in all three cases uses the verb in the second meaning, though in Book I one can clearly recognize the first meaning as well: Lucius tells the story of how he almost choked on a cheese pie not having chopped it to a suitable size (*Met*. 1, 4, 1: *offulam grandiorem... contruncare gestio*). Both the rarity of this verb and the comicality of the episode suggest the possibility of it being a borrowing from Plautus.[1] The later authors use *contruncare* in its original meaning.

cordatus 'endowed with intelligence, sensible' (5, 31, 5: Enn. *ann*. 331 (ap. Cic.), Sen. *apocol*. 12, Fronto p. 87, 14 N, Apul., Aug., Facund., Firm., Lact., Pass. Paul., Vulg., Gloss.) Apparently, the adjective *cordatus* was associated with Ennius for ancient writers: it is quoted three times by Cicero in *the Tusculanae disputationes*, in the treatises *De re publica* and *De Oratore* (Cic. *Tusc*. 1, 9, 18, *Rep*. 1, 30, *De Orat*. 1, 198: *egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus*), Claudius is called *cordatus homo* by Seneca (Sen. *apocol*. 12). Apuleius ironically calls Venus *cordata mulier*, although such an epithet does not correspond to her image as a haughty and vengeful goddess in *the Tale of Cupid and Psyche*. One may also note the archaic adverb *cordate*, not attested in Apuleius, but occurring twice in Plautus (Pl. *Mil*. 1088, *Poen*. 131).

cordolium 'heartfelt grief' (9, 21, 2; Pl. *Cist*. 65, *Poen*. 299, Apul.) As the word *cordolium* is not attested anywhere else except in the works of Plautus and Apuleius, we can assume that it is very likely that Apuleius borrowed this lexeme

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 514.

from the comediographer. Furthermore, in *the Metamorphoses* the word *cordolium* refers to the feelings of a cheated husband when he finds the sandals of Philesitherus, his wife's lover, under the bed. It is quite possible that Apuleius, describing the comic scene, wanted to resort to the vocabulary of the famous comediographer. Despite its rarity, this noun has survived in Romance languages: it. *cordoglio*, sp. *cordojo*.[1]

corpulentus 'corpulent' (7, 23, 2; 8, 26, 5; Enn., Pl., Col., Quint., Gell., Apul., Ps. Apul. *Ascl.*, Aug., Cael. Aur., Cassian., Cassiod., Claud. Mam., Hier., Isid., Macr., Mart. Cap., Sidon., Tert., Vulg., Gloss…) As L. Callebat suggests, Apuleius used the adjective *corpulentus* because of a connotation inherent in the Plautine vocabulary.[2] According to Festus' dictionary, the word *corpulentus* also appeared in some unknown fragment of Ennius (Paul. Fest. p. 54 L: *corpulentis Ennius pro magnis dixit; nos corpulentum dicimus corporis obesi hominem*). In later authors *corpulentus* may be used in the sense of *corporalis*.

cossim 'squatting on the haunches' (3, 1, 2; Pompon. *Atell*. 129, Var. *Men*. 471 (Non. p. 40), Apul.) The rare adverb *cossim* describes the position in which Lucius wept, recalling his murder of the wine-bulls (which he then considered humans) and fearing trial for this crime. As L. Callebat notes, Apuleius seems to have used this adverb as an ancient and expressive word, although it is a colloquial one.[3]

crumina 'a small money-bag' (2, 13, 4; Pl., Labeo (ap. Gell.), Hor., Iuv., Apul. *apol*. 42, 7, Non., Paul. Fest., Prud., Ps. Ascon., Schol. Iuv, Gloss.) *Crumina* is a rather rare noun, mostly attested in the comedies of Plautus (16 occurrences). Horace and Juvenal use *crumina* in a figurative sense ('money, fortune'), whereas in most cases in Latin literature the word denotes something like a small bag.

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[1] Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch von W. Meyer-Lübke… S. 176.
[2] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 509.
[3] ibid., p. 476. Many scholars consider the adverb *cossim* and the verb *conquinisco* 'to bow' cognates (Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 262; Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch von A. Walde und J. B. Hofmann... P. 283.), but the cognation to the noun *coxa* 'a thigh' is also possible (Vaan, Michiel de. Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008. P. 140).

Nonius (p. 78) notes the antiquity of the word: *bulga est folliculus omnis, quam et cruminam veteres appellarent*).[1]

cuiatis 'of what country, locality?' (1, 5, 3; 1, 21, 4; 5, 19, 2; 8, 24, 3; Acc., Enn., Pl., Cic. *Tusc*., Liv., Val. Max., Gell., Apul., Serv.) OLD notes that the nominative case (singular) of the pronoun *cuiatis* is attested only in the ante-classical authors and in Apuleius.[2] In *the Metamorphoses* this word usually occurs in lines of the characters (for example, with this pronoun Aristomenes declares himself before the amazing story about his friend Socrates and the witch Meroe, and also Psyche complains to her sisters that she knows nothing about her spouse). As L. Callebat notes, in using this pronoun Apuleius may have imitated the language of old comediographers,[3] although it seems that the word *cuiatis* was perceived as an archaism and not as a word characteristic of ancient comedy.

cuius 'whose' (5, 15, 3; Cato, Pl., Rhet. Her., Ter., Cic., Verg., Gell., Apul. *apol.* 3, 5) As J. Marouzeau notes, this interrogative-relative pronoun could be perceived as both an archaism and a provincialism:[4] as an archaism we see it in Cicero's legal formulas (Cic. *Verr*. 2, 1, 142: *ut optima condicione sit is cuia res sit, cuium periculum*; 2, 3, 16: *ne is redimeret cuia res esset*; 2, 3, 68: *cuia res erat*), as a provincialism – in Virgil (Verg. *Ecl*. 3, 1) in the speech of Menalcus the shepherd. Since *cuius* was used in comedy often enough, L. Callebat thinks that Apuleius imitated the language of Terence and Plautus.[5] In *the Metamorphoses*, Apuleius uses this pronoun to describe how Psyche's sisters questioned her about her mysterious husband (Apul. *Met*. 5, 15, 3: *qualis ei maritus et unde natalium, secta cuia proveniret*). Apuleius' use of this pronoun in *the Apologia* shows that the author perceived it as an archaism rather than a provincialism: he speaks of his great task (as an orator and a philosopher) to defend the authority of philosophy itself, a task which the majesty of archaic vocabulary is more suitable for (Apul.

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[1] A. Watson also suspects that the word *crumina* may be an archaism: Watson, Alan. The Development of the Praetor's Edict // The Journal of Roman Studies, Vol. 60, 1 (November, 1970). P. 112.
[2] OLD, p. 465.
[3] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 492.
[4] Marouzeau J. Traité... P. 172.
[5] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 492.

apol. 3, 5: *Sustineo enim non modo meam, verum etiam philosophiae defensionem, cuia magnitudo vel minimam reprehensionem pro maximo crimine aspernatur*).

curriculo 'at a run' (10, 9, 4; Pl. *Epid*. 14, *Mil*. 523, 525, *Most*. 362, 929, *Persa* 199, *Rud*. 798, 855, frg. inc. 4, Ter. *Haut*. 733, Gell. 17, 8, 8, Apul. *apol*. 63, 4, *flor*. 21, Paul. Fest. p. 42 L, Gloss. Plac.) Although the noun *curriculum* has no specific stylistic connotation, the adverbial use of the ablative *curriculo* occurs several times in ancient comedy, but is attested again only in the archaicists Gellius and Apuleius. In Festus' dictionary *curriculo* is explained with a more common adverb (Paul. Fest. p. 42 L: *curriculo pro cursim ponebant*).

custodela 'the keeping, custody' (2, 22, 1; 7, 13, 7; 9, 1, 4; 9, 17, 1; 9, 17, 3; 10, 14, 3; Pl. *Capt*. 457, *Merc*. 233, *Most*. 406, *Rud*. 625, 696, Apul., Gaius *inst*. 2, 104, Paul. Fest. p. 44 L, Prisc. 2, 120, 8) *Custodela* is an archaic word attested in Latin literature, beginning with Plautus (although in Plautus all occurrences are the result of conjectures). The antiquity of the word is mentioned in the dictionary of Festus (Paul. Fest. p. 44 L: *custodelam dicebant antiqui, quam nunc dicimus custodiam*). Apuleius seems to have had a certain liking for words ending in -ela (he also uses the equally rare words *cautela*, *suadela*, *turbela*), perhaps precisely because of their archaic colouration.

dapsilis 'plentiful' (11, 3, 3; Pl. *Aul*. 167, *Most*. 982, *Pseud*. 396, 1266, Col. 3, 2, 27; 4, 27, 6, Apul., Dares 12, 13, Iul. Val. 1, 4; 1, 39; 2, 29; 3, 18, Not. Tir. 41, 28, Primas *in apoc*. p. 849d, Roman. Char. *gramm*. 1, 127, 7, Gloss.) *Dapsilis* is a rare adjective used by Apuleius to describe the gift of eloquence (*dapsilem copiam elocutilis facundiae*). P. Médan marks it as a word belonging to colloquial language,[1] while the Ernout–Meillet dictionary describes it as an archaic lexeme.[2] Since before Apuleius the word is attested several times in Plautus and was definitely avoided by the writers of the classical period, we may assume that Apuleius borrowed it from this comediographer. In addition, the derivatives *dapsile* and *dapsiliter* are also attested in works of satirical and comic genres of the

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[1] Médan, Pierre. La Latinité... P. 176.
[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 293.

anteclassical period (*dapsile* – Lucil., Pompon. as well as Suet.; *dapsiliter* – Naev. *com.*). Nevertheless, the context of the novel *the Metamorphoses* does not suggest the atmosphere of a comedy (for Lucius, the gift of eloquence is necessary to describe the apparition of Isis, and this episode is rather imbued with religious awe).

deascio 'to cut' (2, 15, 6; Pl. *Mil.* 884, Apul., Prud. *perist*. 10, 381, CIL VI 24799, XIV 1153) Plautus uses the verb *deasciare* metaphorically, in the sense 'to get the better of, do down', while in other cases the verb means 'to cut, to shape smoothly' (in Apuleius the participle of this verb is used to denote the wide-cut opening of a vessel). As the word *deasciare* is rarely found in Latin literature, its use in Apuleius, as is often the case, is attributed to the author's tendency to borrow the vocabulary from Plautus.[1]

decipulum 'a trap' (8, 5, 2; 10, 24, 5; Laev. poet., Apul. *flor*. 18, Aug., Mart. Cap., Sidon., Gloss.) In Latin there are two forms of this word: *decipulum* of the neuter gender and later *decipula* of the feminine gender. It literally means a snare for catching birds, but already in Laevius (whose words are transmitted by Fronto) *decipulum* is used in a figurative sense ("a cunning trick, sophism").[2]

defaeco 'to strain, clear' (9, 22, 3; Pl., Col., Frontin., Plin. *nat*., Apul., Ambr., Cassiod., Chalc., Fulg., Hier., Macr., Non., Paul. Nol., Prud., Rufin., Serv., Sidon., Symm., Tert., Ven. Fort., Vulg., Gloss…) The verb *defaecare* is attested in the comedies of Plautus, but authors of the classical period avoided it. In the works of the later period it is often found. In *the Metamorphoses* the verb *defaecare* is used in the context of filtering wine (as well as in Columella and Pliny the Elder).

defraudo 'to defraud' (4, 25, 5; 9, 28, 3; Cato, Lucil., Pl., Ter., Cic., Petr., Plin. *nat*., Var., Fronto, Apul. *apol*. 82, 8, Ambr., Amm., Auson., Avian., Cassian., Cod. Iust., Ennod., Non., Paul. *dig.*, Paul. Nol., Porph., Sidon., Symm., Tert., Ven. Fort., Vulg., Gloss…) The verb *defraudare* is attested in several writers of the archaic

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 483.

[2] Its archaic sound for Apuleius is suggested by V. Hunink: Apuleius of Madauros. Florida / Ed. with a commentary by Vincent Hunink. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 2001. P. 188.

period, and is also often found in the works of authors of the postclassical period. Among the classical authors, this verb was used only by Cicero, and, as the L&S dictionary points out,[1] only in proverbial expressions (Cic. *Orat.* 221: *ne brevitas defraudasse auris videatur*; *Fam.* 7, 10, 2: *antea ne andabata quidem defraudare poteramus* (the phrase was meant to look humorous; immediately after it Cicero stops himself: *sed iam satis iocati sumus*)).

dehortor 'to advise against a course of action' (4, 20, 7; Cato, Enn., Pl., Rhet. Her., Ter., Cic., Nep., Quint., Sall., Sen., Tac., Gell., Apul. *apol.* 76, 3, Amm., Aug., Auson., Mar. Victorin., Prisc., Ps. Rufin., Rufin., Schol. Hor., Tert.) According to P. Médan, the verb *dehortor* is archaic.[2] Although it does occur rarely in the works of classical authors, it can hardly be called completely obsolete by the time of Apuleius.

deiero 'to swear' (1, 5, 1; 1, 10, 4; 6, 15, 4; 7, 25, 7; 9, 17, 4; 9, 21, 6; 10, 15, 1; Lucil., Pl., Ter., Mela, Nep., Suet., Var., Gell., Apul., Amm., Aug., Claud. Mam., Don., Eugraph., Hier., Isid., Itala, Lact., Non., Paul. Nol., Vulg., Gloss…) It is interesting that in Book X Apuleius uses the verb *deierare* as a deponent verb, and on this subject P. Flaubert raises a question whether Apuleius uses *deieror* as an archaism or as a "pseudo-archaism".[3] Unfortunately, there are no other such cases attested, so we cannot assert with certainty that the deponent form of this verb existed in anteclassical Latin. Since even in its active form this verb has an archaic connotation,[4] it is doubtful that Apuleius used it in the deponent form for this very reason, as a "pseudo-archaism".

demuto 'to change' (1, 13, 6; Pl., Cato, Tac., Gell., Apul. *apol.* 16, 7, *flor.* 16, Cael. Aur., Chiron, Chromat., Facund., Greg. M., Hil., Hyd., Iord., Iren., Isid., Itala, Iul. Val., Paul. Nol., Phoc., Prob. *Verg.*, Rufin., Sulp. Sev., Tert., Zeno, Vindic.) Although the verb *demutare* is well attested in postclassical Latin literature, writers of the classical period do not use it. Nevertheless, its meaning was definitely

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[1] L&S, p. 532.
[2] Médan, Pierre. La Latinité... P. 178.
[3] Flobert P. Recherches… P. 349.
[4] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 589; Callebat L. Sermo... P. 299.

transparent to Apuleius' audience, so he uses it freely in works of various genres. If this verb was indeed perceived by him as an archaism, its use fits the context perfectly: in *the Metamorphoses*, the witch Meroe performs a certain ritual on her former lover Socrates and takes out his heart, "so as not to change anything in the rite of sacrifice" (*Met.* 1, 13, 6: *ne quid demutaret, credo, a victimae religione*). As we know, archaisms are widely used in the religious sphere.

denuo 'anew, again' (3, 27, 1; 7, 17, 1 + possibly, 1, 17, 7;[1] Cato, Enn., Pl., Rhet. Her.*,* Ter., B. Hisp.*,* Cic. (*oratt.*), Liv., Suet., Var., Vitr., Gell., Flor., Fronto, Apul. *apol.* 2, 5; 9, 11; 34, 5; 87, 10; 88, 1, *flor.* 12, Amm., Aug., Caes. Arel., Cassiod., Itala, Lact., Mart. Cap., Min. Fel., Paul. *dig.*, Porph., Rufin., Sidon., Tert., Ulp., Vulg., Gloss…) *Denuo* is a rather rare adverb for the classical period, occurring most often in Plautus (22 times) and Terence (7 times), as well as in Tertullian (23 times; an explicit table with the number of occurrences of *denuo*, *iterum* and *rursus* is given by ThLL *s. v.* denuo).[2] Perhaps this adverb was a part of colloquial vocabulary (at least in the later period of Latin literature).[3] The frequency of the use of *denuo* in Apuleius' *Apologia* may indicate this. However, it is just as likely that Apuleius may have imitated the language of Plautus in this way.

deosculor 'to kiss' целовать' (1, 17, 4; 1, 24, 5; 2, 10, 6; 2, 16, 2; 2, 26, 3; 2, 28, 3; 3, 24, 2; 4, 11, 6; Pl., Apul., Ennod., Greg. Tur., Hier., Mart. Cap., Ps. Aug., Rufin., Victric., Vulg.) Apuleius uses this verb both as a deponent verb and in its passive sense. Apuleius employs the verb *deosculari* especially often in the first books of the novel, and then he uses the more common verb *exosculari* (in books II, IV, VII, X, XI).

depereo 'to be desperately in love with' (3, 16, 1; Pl., Ter., Catull., Quint., Aur. Fronto, Fronto, Gell., Sulp. Apoll., Apul., Auson., Cassian., Hier., Lact., Porph., Ps. Cypr., Vulg., Zeno, Gloss…) In the classical language *deperire* means 'to die', in particular from love (*deperire amore*). But Apuleius (as well as Plautus, Catullus,

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[1] R. Helm removes this adverb in Book I because of suspicion of dittography ([denuo] derivo): Apulei Metamorphoseon libri XI / Ed. Rudolfus Helm. Lipsiae: In Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1955³. P. 16.
[2] Gudeman, Alfred. Denuo // ThLL, Vol. V, 1 (1909–1934). P. 557.
[3] Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... P. 325.

Fronto and others) uses the verb in a transitive sense: L. Callebat notes Apuleius' syntax, characteristic of comedy (*deperire* with the accusative case occurs more than twenty times in Plautus).[1]

diadema 'a diadem, crown' (10, 30, 6 as a noun of feminine gender; Pompon. *Atell.* 164, Apul., *Epit. Alex.* 113, Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 1, 47, 2.38, Iord. *Rom.* 234, 352, *Lib. geneal. chron.* I p. 184, 450, Lucif. *non parc.* 29) In the classical language the noun *diadema* is neuter, but the above authors have instances of using it in the feminine gender. L. Callebat suggests the influence of colloquial language, but does not exclude the possibility that Apuleius could have borrowed this form as an archaism.[2] Other Greek nouns ending in -ma also could be regarded as belonging to the first declension in the anteclassical language (Prisc. 2, 199, 16: *haec antiquissimi secundum primam declinationem saepe protulerunt et generis feminini, ut Plautus in Amphytrione: "cum servili schema", pro "schemate"*).[3]

dicaculus 'having a ready tongue' (2, 7, 7; 3, 13, 2; Pl. *Asin.* 511, *Cas.* 529, Apul., Pomer. 3, 6, 5, Spart. *Hadr.* 20, 8) Both times Apuleius uses the adjective *dicaculus* describing Photis (in Book III the word refers to her manner of speech). It is likely that Apuleius borrowed this diminutive from Plautus. According to L. Pasetti, this description of Photis in Apuleius brings her image closer to the image of meretrix in Plautus (in the comedy *Asinaria* the hetaera Philaenium is described in this way).[4]

diecula 'a brief day' (1, 10, 2; 6, 16, 4; 7, 27, 1; Pl., Ter., Cic. (*Att.*), Apul., Char. *gramm.*, Don., Eugraph., Prisc., Prud., Ps. Ascon., Serv., Ven. Fort., Gloss. Plac., Gloss.) It is interesting to note J. Hanssen's remark on the emphatic nature of this word in the Roman culture and the fact that Greeks, unlike Romans, have no diminutive for the word *a day* (ἡμερίδιον is attested only in glosses).[5] As L. Pasetti points out, Apuleius uses *diecula* in the sense 'a brief day, a short day', whereas in

[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 486. For some reason the OLD, L&S, Forcellini dictionaries do not cite the passage from Apuleius as an example of this meaning.

[2] ibid., p. 243.

[3] Neue F., Wagener C. Formenlehre der Lateinischen Sprache. Erster Band: Das Substantivum. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1902³. S. 501–502.

[4] Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... Pp. 16–17; May, Regine. Apuleius and Drama... P. 177.

[5] Hanssen J. S. Th. The Latin Diminutives... Pp. 43–44.

Plautus it is rather 'a respite':[1] Apuleius in all three cases accompanies *diecula* with the numeral *una*, underlining that he means a minimum delay. In Plautus, *dieculae* (*Pseud*. 503) is plural, and the same sense is conveyed by the word *longius* in the previous line, so it is clear that in his comedy an imprecise period of time is implied.

diutine 'over a long time' (2, 15, 1; 2, 24, 2; Plaut. *Rud*. 1241, Apul. *apol*. 47, 7, Non. p. 178, Gloss. II 53, 54) Although the adjective *diutinus* is well attested in the Latin literature (especially, as ThLL notes (*s. v*. diutinus), in Livy and archaicists),[2] *diutine* is a very rare adverb, perhaps borrowed by Apuleius from Plautus.

divorto / diverto 'to separate oneself, to leave' (5, 26, 6; Pl., Petr., Gell., Apul. *apol*. 99, 4, Afric. *dig.*, Cael. Aur., Cels. *dig.*, Cod. Iust., Dict., Isid., Iul. Val., Nepotian., Papin. *dig.*, Plac., Ps. Lact., Pompon., Scaev. *dig.*, Tert., Ulp., Gloss.) *Divertere* is not only an archaic verb (in the classical language the expression *divortium facere* is used in the same sense), but also a legal term that precedes the divorce formula in *the Metamorphoses*: Gaius *dig*. 24, 2, 2, 2, 1: *tuas res tibi habeto* (Apul. *Met*. 5, 26, 6: *tibique res tuas habeto*). In most cases the spelling *divertere* is documented, but in Plautus and Apuleius (in *the Metamorphoses*; in *the Apologia* – the form *diversurum*) we see the more archaic variant *divortere*. As R. May suggests, the use of Plautine *divortere* may hint to the reader at the temporary nature of the parting of Cupid and Psyche,[3] but assumptions of this nature cannot be confirmed.

domuitio 'a homeward journey' (1, 7, 7; 2, 31, 4; 3, 19, 6; 4, 35, 2; 10, 18, 2; 11, 24, 6; Acc. *trag*. 173, Lucil. 607, Pacuv. *trag*. 173, Rhet. Her. 3, 21, 34, Cic. *div*. 1, 68, Apul., Dictys 1, 20, Fulg. *serm. ant.* 3 p. 112, 10; 36 p. 121, 12, Itin. Alex. 26, Gloss.) Although the noun *domuitio* is quite rare in works of Latin literature, it was undoubtedly much liked by Apuleius (he uses it 6 times in *the*

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[1] Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... P. 29.
[2] Hofmann, Johann Baptist. Diutinus // ThLL, Vol. V, 1 (1909–1934). P. 1643.
[3] May, Regine. Apuleius and Drama... P. 40.

Metamorphoses). Before Apuleius it is attested only in the context of tragedy, and apparently readers of Apuleius must have understood it. For example, in Book I of *the Metamorphoses* the word occurs in the speech of Socrates, who is both depicted as a character of a tragedy (as a pale and thin man in a tattered cloak, sitting on the ground – just like *fortunae decermina*, according to Aristomenes) and expresses himself as a character of an ancient tragedy (so that his companion even asks him to "put down the tragic curtain", *Met*. 1, 8, 5: *aulaeum tragicum dimoveto*). Apuleius also uses the expression *domuitionem (com)parare* several times (cf. the quotation from a certain tragedy given in Rhet. Her. 3, 21, 34: *iam domum itionem reges Atridae parant*). As L. Graverini notes, the word *domuitio* was used in the Latin literature to refer to the return of Greek heroes from Troy.[1]

ducto 'to conduct' (2, 27, 2; Enn., Pl., Ter., Quint. *inst*., Sall., Tac., Apul. *apol.* 82.3, Amm., Aug., Cypr., Eustath., Hier., Iord., Iul. Val., Prisc., Rufin., Gloss…) It is interesting that Quintilian writes (*Inst*. 8, 3, 44) that the expression *ductare exercitum* is misunderstood by his contemporaries,[2] although Sallustius uses these words "sublimely and in an ancient manner" (*sancte et antique*). In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the verb *ductare* is used in reference to the course of a funeral procession.

edulia 'eatables' (1, 25, 3; 5, 3, 3; 5, 15, 1; 6, 28, 6; 10, 13, 3; 10, 16, 3; Afran., Suet., Var., Fronto, Gel., Apul. *apol.* 29, 6, *flor.* 6, Capitol., Cassiod., Chalc., Char. *gramm*., Itin. Alex*.,* Lampr., Macr., Marcell. *med*., Paul. Fest., Ps. Aur. Vict., Serv., Sidon., Spart., Symm., Tert., Test. *Galli*, Ulp. *dig*.) The nominalized adjective *edulia* is first attested in Latin quite late (in Afranius and Varro), but the authors of the classical period definitely avoided it, which may indicate that this word belonged to the colloquial language. Nevertheless, there is little data to determine the stylistic characteristics of this word: it is clear that originally *edulia* was indeed

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[1] Graverini L. Literature and Identity in the Golden Ass of Apuleius. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2012. P. 151.

[2] He seems to be referring to the meaning of *ductare* 'to bring home (a woman who provides sexual services)', which is characteristic of comedy.

used in colloquial language, but it is not attested in the classical period, although by the time of Apuleius it had become more popular.[1]

efflictim 'passionately' (1, 8, 6; 3, 16, 1; 5, 6, 7; 5, 23, 3; Laber., Naev., Pl., Pompon., Apul. *apol.* 79, 6; 100, 9, Ennod., Non., Ps. Plac., Symm., Gloss.) As can be seen, in the writings of archaic authors this adverb has a very limited sphere of application: not only does it belong to the field of love vocabulary, but it is also used with the same words, namely *amare* and *perire* 'to love to death'. In Apuleius we see more variety: in *the Metamorphoses* all four times *efflictim* refers to different verbs (*ament efflictim* (*Met.* 1, 8, 6), *efflictim deperit* (*Met.* 3, 16, 1), *efflictim... diligo* (*Met.* 5, 6, 7),[2] *efflictim inhians* (*Met.* 5, 23, 3)). In *the Apologia* in both cases the adverb *efflictim* refers to the verb *amare*.

effligo 'to strike dead' (3, 6, 1; 5, 7, 2; Pl., Cic. (*Att.*), Com. pall. inc. (Char. *gramm.* p. 257, 31 B), Sen., Var., Gell., Apul., Avien., Capitol., Tert., CIL VIII 10570, Gloss.) The verb *effligere*, like the adverb *efflictim*, is very rarely found in Latin literature. Only Apuleius uses it in a figurative sense: in Book V Psyche, seeing her sisters pining for her, says to them: *quid... vos miseris lamentationibus necquicquam effligitis?*

electilis 'of special quality' (10, 15, 2; Pl. *Most.* 730, Apul.) In addition to Apuleius, the adjective *electilis* is attested only in Plautus in the comedy *Mostellaria*, where it refers to exquisite fish (*piscatu electili*). The adjective *electilis* in *the Metamorphoses* also denotes the food that Lucius the Ass ate secretly from his masters (the confectioner and the cook).

equiso 'a person in charge of horses, stable-boy' (7, 15, 1; 8, 1, 3; Var. *Men.* 118, 276, 559, Val. Max. 7, 3 *ext.* 1, 2, Apul. *apol.* 87, 7, CIL VI 33777) *Equiso* is another rare word, which Apuleius uses once in *the Apologia* and twice in *the Metamorphoses* (in *the Apologia* and in Book VIII of *the Metamorphoses equisones* is mentioned together with *opiliones* 'shepherds').

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[1] Apuleius of Madauros. Florida / Ed. with a commentary by Vincent Hunink... P. 92: edulia: an old word for 'food'... It seems to have been resuscitated in Apuleius' day.
[2] In Symmachus, an orator of the fourth century A. D., we also find the expression *efflicte diligere* (*Ep.* 1, 84).

erilis 'of or belonging to a master or mistress' (4, 27, 5; 6, 9, 3; 8, 2, 2; 8, 15, 1; 9, 16, 1; 9, 19, 2; 9, 27, 1; Afran., Enn., Pl., Ter., Hor., Ovid., Sen., Stat., Suet., Val. Fl., Var., Verg., Fronto, Gell., Apul., Ambr., Amm., Aur. Vict., Auson., Claud., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Drac., Ennod., Mart. Cap., Paul. Nol., Prud., Rufin., Sedul., Sidon., Symm., Gloss…) The adjective *erilis* is well attested in the Latin literature, beginning with Ennius and Afranius (it is often found in the comedies of Plautus, somewhat less often in Terence), in the classical period it was used in poetic works (in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, *the Satires*, *the Epistles* and *the Odes* of Horace), but does not appear in the prose works of that time.[1] In the works of archaizers Gellius and Fronto, *erilis* occurs once in both authors, while in Apuleius (only in *the Metamorphoses*) there are seven occasions when this adjective is used. The archaic nature of this adjective is noted by L. Callebat.[2] In two cases (*Met*. 4, 27, 5; 9, 16, 1) *erilis* is used as a nominalized adjective meaning 'a mistress' (*mi erilis*, in a reference to Charite in Book IV and to the baker's wife in Book IX). Before Apuleius, Plautus also used this adjective as a noun, but in the masculine gender (*Most*. 21, *Epid. arg*. 4, *Pseud. arg*. 1, 6).

esito / essito 'to eat' (1, 19, 1; 7, 27, 3; 9, 36, 4; 10, 16, 2; Cato, Enn., Pl., Hyg., Plin. *nat*., Var., Gell., Apul., Lact., Gloss.) As W. Keulen notes, Apuleius avoids those verbs meaning 'to eat' that were used in the spoken language of his time (*comedere, manducare*),[3] so he takes to this frequentative verb, used mostly either by writers of the archaic period or by archaicists.

evectio 'soaring aloft' (5, 24, 1; Cato, Apul., Aug., Cassiod., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Greg. Tur., Hier., Sidon., Symm., Ven. Fort...) *Evectio* (also *evectus* or *diploma*) usually denoted a document that allowed officials to use cursus publicus, the state postal service. As ThLL notes, the noun *evectio* is found as early as in Cato, but is especially well attested from the fourth century A. D.[4] ThLL cites only three passages for the meaning 'soaring aloft': Ps. Aug. *serm*. 180, 3; 181, 1, and a

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[1] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 359.
[2] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 482.
[3] Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... P. 340.
[4] Leumann, Manu. Evectio // ThLL, Vol. V, 2 (1931–1953). P. 1005.

passage from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (about Psyche grasping the leg of Cupid and rising into the air when he is flying away). Obviously, this literal meaning was unexpected for readers of the novel, but was not difficult to understand.

evito 'to deprive of life' (3, 8, 6; Acc. *trag*. 348, Enn. *scaen*. 98, Apul., Gloss.[L] I Ansil. EV 162, Gloss. V 288) Usually the verb *evitare* has the meaning 'to avoid', but in Book III of the novel Apuleius uses it as if it were formed not from *vitare* with a prefix, but from the noun *vita*, like the archaism *evitare* in Accius and Ennius.

examussim 'exactly, perfectly' (2, 30, 6; 4, 18, 4; 10, 2, 6;[1] 11, 27, 7; Pl., Apul., Aug., Char. *gramm*., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Diom., Non., Hier., Paul. Fest., Prisc., Rufin., Gloss...) The adverb *examussim* seems to have been borrowed by Apuleius from Plautus (it appears three times in the works of this comediographer).[2] The original meaning (= *regulariter*) is related to the ruler (*amussis*) of a carpenter or a mason (cf. Pl. *Most*. 101: *aedes cum extemplo sunt paratae, expolitae, factae probe examussim*). In Book II of *the Metamorphoses* (2, 2, 8, *conj*.)[3] Apuleius also uses a similar expression *ad amussim*, attested in Varro (and later in Gellius).[4]

exanclo 'to endure, go through' (1, 16, 2; 6, 4, 3; 6, 11, 3; 7, 6, 5; 8, 1, 1; 11, 2, 4; 11, 12, 1; 11, 15, 1; Acc., Enn., Lucil., Pacuv., Pl., Cic., Quint., Apul., Amm., Cael. Aur., Char. *gramm*., Fulg., Iul. Val., Mart. Cap., Non., Serg., Paneg., Paul. Fest., Pomer., Victric.) Although Cicero uses the verb several times (four times in all, including two times in verse translations of Homer's *Iliad* and Sophocles' *Trachinian Women*), it is known that *exanclare* is a poetism with archaic overtones. Quintilian warns against the use of this verb (*Inst*. 1, 6, 40: *Sed opus est modo, ut neque crebra sint haec nec manifesta, quia nihil est odiosius adfectatione, nec utique ab ultimis et iam oblitteratis repetita temporibus, qualia sunt «topper» et*

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[1] There may be the adverb *examussim* in *Met*. 10, 7, 10. The conjecture of H. Koch is adopted in edition of M. Zimmerman (eximia enim *F*, eximie ac nimis *Helm*).
[2] Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... P. 72.
[3] *Plasberg :* ad regulam qua diligenter aliquid adfingunt sim *F*.
[4] Keulen, Wytse. *Ad amussim congruentia*: Measuring the Intellectual in Apuleius // Lectiones scrupulosae: Essays on the Text and Interpretation of Apuleius' Metamorphoses in Honour of Maaike Zimmerman. Ancient Narrative Supplementum 6. Groningen: Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library, 2006. P. 176.

«antegerio» et «exanclare» et «prosapia» et Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta). Apuleius usually uses this verb paired either with the noun *labor* (*Met.* 6, 4, 3; 11, 12, 1; 11, 15, 1) or with the archaism *aerumna* (*Met.* 1, 16, 2; 8, 1, 1).

excetra 'a water-snake' (10, 28, 5 (*conj.*);[1] Pl., Cic., Liv., Apul., Ampel., Don., Hier., Serv., Tert., Mythogr., Pol. Silv., Gloss.) *Excetra* is a rare and archaic noun (Cicero uses it only once, in his verse translation of Sophocles' *Trachinian Women*).[2] Plautus, Livy, and Apuleius use the word as an insult to women: in *the Metamorphoses* it refers to the criminal whom Lucius the Ass was to act out a public performance with in the theater.

exoculo 'to deprive of eyes' (7, 2, 4; 8, 13, 1; Pl. *Rud.* 731, Apul.) *Exoculare* is a very rare verb, attested only in Plautus and Apuleius. In both cases Apuleius uses the passive participle of this verb. In particular, in Book VII he calls Fortuna "blind and even without eyes" (*caecam et prorsus exoculatam*).

exoticus 'foreign' (1, 1, 5; 10, 16, 5; Pl., Plin. *nat.*, Gell., Apul. *apol.* 8, 2, Cassiod., Ennod., Fulg., Isid., Non., Prud., Sidon., Sol., Symm., Gloss.) *Exoticus* is a Graecism, first attested in Plautus. Apparently it had acquired an archaic connotation by the time of *the Metamorphoses*.[3]

expergo 'to awaken' (2, 14, 5; 2, 26, 2; 4, 22, 5; Acc., Lucil., Lucr., Santra, Tac., Fronto, Gell., Apul. *apol.* 43, 5, Arnob., Char. *gramm.*, Diom., Fest., Non., Paul. Nol., Prisc., Gloss.) In *the Metamorphoses*, Apuleius uses the passive participle *expergitus* three times. ThLL considers *expergitus* an alternative form to *experrectus* (from the verb *expergisci*), while OLD, L&S and Index Apuleianus consider it a participle of a rather rare and archaic verb *expergere*. In fact, the difference in meaning between *expergiscor* and *expergor* cannot be established, although grammarians attempted to do so.[4]

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[1] excetrae *Elmenhorstius* : excreta *F*.
[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 365.
[3] Keyer, Denis V. Apuleius Metamorphoses 1, 1, 5 forensis: 'foreign' or 'of the forum'? // Philologia Classica 12, 1 (2017). P. 37.
[4] B/O, p. 104.

fabre 'skilfully' (2, 4, 7; 2, 19, 2; 4, 32, 2; 11, 11, 5; 11, 16, 6; Pl., Mela, Sil., Apul. *flor*. 15, 23, Ambr., Amm., Aug., Diom., Fulg., Hier., Iul. Val., Lact., Paul. Fest., Opt., Rufin., Sidon., Ven. Fort., Vulg., Gloss…) Although the adjective *faber* is first attested only in Ovid, the adverb *fabre* occurs several times already in Plautus. In Apuleius the superlative form *faberrime* is first attested (*Met*. 2, 4, 7; 11, 11, 5; 11, 16, 6, *flor*. 15).

facesso 'to go away' (2, 15, 4; 2, 24, 3; 2, 24, 8; 3, 5, 4; 3, 10, 1; 4, 20, 1; 6, 11, 2; 8, 30, 1; 9, 22, 2; 10, 20, 3; 10, 22, 5; 10, 30, 5 + 1, 22, 5 (*conj*.);[1] meaning 'to carry out': Enn., Pl., Cic., Ov., Tac., Verg., Apul. *apol*. 54, 6, Claud. Mam., Coripp., Cypr. Gall., Ulp., Ven. Fort.; meaning 'to go away': Afran., Enn., Pacuv., Pl., Ter., Titin., Cic., Curt., Liv., Lucr., Sen., Sil., Sulpicia, Tac., Apul. *Soc*. 1 (and all the listed passages in *Met*.), Ambr., Auson., Cassian., Claud. Mam., Ennod., Hier., Iul. Val., Lact., Macr., Mart. Cap., Novatian., Optat., Prud., Rufin., Sidon., Sol., Sulp. Sev…) The verb *facessere* meaning 'to go away' is archaic and probably is also a poetism (it is mostly attested in comedy and drama).[2]

famigerabilis 'famous' (1, 7, 5; 2, 21, 3; 9, 5, 1; 10, 17, 6; Var. *ling*. 6, 55, Apul., Zeno 1, 15, 3; 1, 53, 1, Gloss.) Although before Apuleius the adjective *famigerabilis* is attested only in Varro in his discussion of words derived from the verb *fari*, it apparently existed before that. In Plautus there are other archaisms with the same root: *famigeratio* 'rumor' (Pl. *Trin*. 692), *famigerator* 'a scandalmonger' (Pl. *Trin*. 215, 219).

famulitium 'domestic staff, servants' (8, 22, 2; Apul. *apol*. 17, 6, *flor*. 22, Capitol., Iul. Val., Macr., Mart. Cap., Paul. Fest., Sidon., Spart., Gloss.) Although the noun *famulitium* is first attested in Apuleius, it appears to be an archaic word, as evidenced by Festus' dictionary (p. 77 L: *famuletium dicebatur, quod nunc servitium*).[3]

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[1] *Philomathes, ut ci. Oudendorp in notis* : capessum *F* : capessivit *Helm*.
[2] Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book X... P. 250; Paardt R. T., van der. L. Apuleius Madaurensis the Metamorphoses. A Commentary on Book III... Pp. 55–56.
[3] Gargantini, Luisa. Ricerche... P. 37; L&S, p. 725; B/O, p. 50.

fartim 'densely' (2, 7, 2; 3, 2, 8; Lucil. 79, Apul., Auson. *Mos.* 86, 113, Gloss. Plaut. *gramm.* III 58, 8) P. Médan erroneously marks this adverb as Plautine (in Pl. *Most.* 169 the form *fartim* is the accusative of *fars*).[1]

ferocio 'to act in a fierce or violent manner' (9, 2, 4; Cato inc. libr. frg. 25, Gell., Apul., Ambr., Amm., Aug., Cypr., Hier., Min. Fel., Mirac. *Steph.*, Paneg., Schol. Cic., Tert., Gloss...) Before Gellius the verb *ferocire* was used only by Cato (Paul. Fest. p. 81 L: *ferocit apud Catonem ferociter agit*). In later authors it is more common (for example, there are three instances of its use in Ammianus Marcellinus and in the treatise *Quod idola dii non sint*, supposedly by Cyprian). The Ernout–Meillet dictionary marks this verb as archaic.[2]

festivitas 'festivity' (2, 10, 3; Pl. *Cas.* 135, 577, *Poen.* 389, Apul.) In the second book of *the Metamorphoses*, Lucius calls Photis *mea festivitas* 'my joy'. This use of the noun is also characteristic of Plautus (in the comedy *Casina* both times *festivitas* is used in the same way with the possessive pronoun *mea*). In addition, in the first book (*Met.* 1, 20, 5) Apuleius uses *festivitas* to describe the story of Socrates told by Aristomenes. In this sense *festivitas* should be seen as the rhetorical term 'liveliness', 'humour', widely used by the author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero and Aulus Gellius.

filum 'appearance, figure' (4, 23, 2; Lucil., Pl., Petr., Var., Gell., Apul. *Soc.* 11, Amm., Arnob., Iul. Val., Non.) In the classical language the noun *filum* has the meaning 'a thread', but in the authors of the anteclassical period it may have the metaphorical meaning 'appearance'. It is likely that this semantics developed from a metaphorical transfer from the garment to its wearer. For the writers of the first and second centuries A. D. this meaning, apparently, was already unusual and therefore required certain explanations (e.g., Apul. *Soc.* 11: *fila corporum*).[3]

formula 'prettiness' (3, 15, 8; Pl. *Persa* 229, Apul., Ennod. *epist.* 8, 28, 1) Although the noun *formula* was widely used by many authors as a term (legal,

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[1] Médan, Pierre. La Latinité... P. 185.

[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 410.

[3] Dubova, Svetlana S. On the Archaic Meaning of the Word *filum* in Apuleius // Philologia Classica 12, 2 (2017). Pp. 136–141.

grammatical, or otherwise), it seems that only Plautus and Apuleius use the word in reference to the beauty of a body (and perhaps the listeners and readers of both of these authors perceived *formula* as a diminutive). In *the Metamorphoses*, Photis tells Lucius that her mistress resorts to witchcraft after admiring a handsome young man (*scitulae formulae* iuvenem). It may be noted that *scitulus* is also a diminutive, attested mainly in old comedy, including Plautus. In Plautus, in the comedy *Persa*, the phrase "*temperi hanc vigilare oportet formulam atque aetatulam*" of hetaera Sophoclidisca is also addressed to a young man.[1]

frustatim 'in little pieces' (2, 7, 2; 9, 37, 1; 9, 40, 3; Pompon., Plin., Suet., Apul., Aug., Greg. Tur., Not. Tir., Prud., Schol. Prud., Vict. Vit., Gloss.) *Frustatim* is a rare adverb in Latin literature (attested only 3 times before Apuleius), apparently characteristic for the development of gastronomic themes (Pompon. *Atell*. 178, Plin. *nat*. 20, 99). In Book II of *the Metamorphoses* it appears in the description of Photis making mincemeat (*Met*. 2, 7, 2: *pulpam frustatim consectam*), and later in a cruel scene of the dogs' "meal" in *Met*. 9, 37, 1, where the animals tear a young man to pieces, providing themselves with a "*nefariam dapem*". According to L. Pasetti, this adverb belongs to the comedic lexicon.[2]

gannio 'to chirp' (5, 28, 6; Afran., Pl., Ter., Catull., Iuv., Suet., Var., Apul., Anth., Cassian., Eug. Tolet., Fest., Hier., Isid., Non., Vulg., Gloss.) *Gannire* is an onomatopoetical verb, originally describing the nature of sounds made by animals (e. g. dogs and foxes), but already in the comic poets the verb is used in reference to people, especially women (it is used in this sense by Afranius, but also by Catullus and Juvenal). In using this verb, Apuleius, according to L. Callebat, imitated Afranius:[3] non sum tam criminosa quam tu vipera: *gannire ad aurem nunquam didici dominicam* (Afran. *com*. 283), *haec illa verbosa... avis in auribus Veneris... ganniebat* (Apul. *Met*. 5, 28, 6). Although Apuleius' *gannire* conveys the sounds made by a seagull, it seems as if a loquacious gossiper rather than a bird is

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[1] Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... Pp. 14–15.
[2] ibidem, p. 79, 91.
[3] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 515.

complaining to Venus.[1] Moreover, several times Apuleius uses the verbal noun *gannitus* to refer to the speech of people or birds, but the sounds are not animal, shrill and harsh (as in the works of comediographers and Apuleius' predecessors in general), but rather barely audible (like a whisper), pleasant to the ear or neutral: *secretis gannitibus* (*Met*. 4, 1, 3), *placidis gannitibus* (*Met*. 4, 27, 6), *dulces gannitus* (*Met*. 10, 22, 2). Thus the meaning of this root in Apuleius was smoothed down to an almost neutral one, although, for example, in Juvenal, who had lived a little earlier, the verb *gannire* had apparently conveyed almost animal cries (Iuv. 6, 64).[2]

graphice / **grafice** 'perfectly, exquisitely' (8, 27, 1; 10, 31, 2; Pl. *Persa* 306, 464, 843, *Trin*. 767, Gell. 14, 4 tit.; 10, 17, 2; 12, 4, 1, Apul.) The adjective *graphicus* 'exemplary, worthy to be painted' (γραφικός), borrowed from Greek, is found only in Plautus and Vitruvius before Apuleius, but the adverb *graphice*, derived from it, is also attested several times in Gellius.[3]

guttatim 'drop by drop' (3, 3, 1; 11, 9, 3; Enn., Pl., Apul., Alc. Avit., Arnob., Cael. Aur., Don., Greg. Tur., Isid., Non., Paul. Fest., Plin. Val., Prud., Soran., Gloss.) The archaic adverb *guttatim* before Apuleius is attested in Ennius and Plautus in episodes describing suffering (in Enn. *scaen*. 206 the adverb refers to the dripping tears of Hecuba, and in Pl. *Merc*. 205 a young man Charinus complains that his heart melts away drop by drop, as if it were salt in water). In Apuleius both contexts are devoid of such pathetics: in Book III *guttatim* refers to the water dripping from a clepsydra, and in Book XI – to the balm and incense sprinkled by the participants of the procession of Isis.

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[1] Besides the passage cited in Book V of the novel, the verb *gannire* in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* can also be seen in the spurcum additamentum (a late insertion of erotic content) in the marginalia of Laurentian codex 54, 24: *ganniens ego et dentes ad iovem elevans* (*Met*. 10, 21; a remark of Lucius the Ass). This is the only passage in the novel where this verb refers to sounds produced not by a human or a bird but by another animal (if we take into account the verbs *gannire*, *obgannire* and the derived nouns *gannitus*, *obgannitus*), which is more consistent with the meaning in which this verb was used by other authors, rather than by Apuleius.

[2] Juvenal in his satire describes how the movements of a dancer in a circus excite the female audience: "Tucia does not control her bladder, Apula moans as if in an embrace, suddenly, pitifully and longingly".

[3] The Ernout–Meillet dictionary erroneously includes here a passage from Pliny the Elder, apparently mistaking the noun *graphice* (γραφική 'the art of painting') for an adverb: Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 501.

habitudo 'appearance, form' (1, 20, 2; 1, 23, 3; 2, 8, 1; 2, 13, 1; 9, 39, 2; Rhet. Her*.,* Ter., Apul. *apol*. 4, 10; 14, 6, *Plat*. 1, 1; 1, 16, *mund*. 22, Ambr., Arnob., Aug., Auson., Boeth., Cael. Aur., Capitol., Cassiod., Claud. Don., Cypr., Don., Ennod., Itala, Lact., Macr., Marcell. *med*., Paul. Fest., Serv., Spart., Tert., Vulg., Gloss…) The noun *habitudo* is attested only twice before Apuleius, but afterwards it occurs quite frequently in Christian writings as well as in medical and grammatical treatises (ThLL notes that Boethius' works have almost 40 instances of *habitudo*).[1] In classical language the word *habitus* was used in this sense, also employed by Apuleius in *the Metamorphoses*: *ut habitus et habitudo demonstrat* (1, 20, 2), *ut indicabat habitus et habitudo* (9, 39, 2).[2]

(h)eiulo 'to shriek' (3, 1, 5; 3, 8, 2; 4, 24, 3; 7, 27, 2; 8, 7, 2; 8, 9, 2; Pl., Cic., Gell., Apul. *mund*. 35, Amm., Arnob., Aug., Cypr., Hier., Iul. Val., Pallad., Prisc., Prud., Tert., Ven. Fort., Vulg…) As the Ernout–Meillet dictionary notes, the expressive verb *eiulare* has been attested since Plautus, but it was avoided by the writers of the classical period (it is attested twice in Cicero, both times in *the Tusculanae disputationes*).[3] Apuleius in *the Metamorphoses* uses *eiulare* for the first time in the transitive meaning 'to mourn' (*Met*. 3, 1, 5; 3, 8, 2; 4, 24, 3).

hilaritudo 'cheerfulness' (11, 7, 3; Pl. *Cist*. 54, *Mil*. 677, *Rud*. 421, Apul., Eustath. *Bas. hex*. 5, 2, Non. p. 120, Gloss. V 642, 31, Gloss. L III Abol. HI 22) Apparently, Apuleius borrowed the form *hilaritudo* from Plautus, using it instead of the form *hilaritas*, common in classical Latin.

impendio 'greatly, very much' (2, 18, 1; 10, 4, 2; Afran., Laev., Pl., Ter., Cic. *Att*., Gell., Apul. *apol*. 3, 9; 15, 5, *flor*. 18, *Soc*. 20, Amm., Aug., Don., Ennod., Hier., Iul. Val., Non., Symm., Gloss…) The ablative case of the noun *impendium* 'expense, payment' is attested in the authors of the archaic period in the adverbial sense, synonymous with *multo* or *valde*. In comediographers, Cicero and Gellius

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[1] Bulhart, Vinzenz. Habitudo // ThLL, Vol. VI, 3 (1936–1942). P. 2480.
[2] B/O, p. 17.
[3] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 344.

impendio is used in comparison, and in Laevius, Apuleius and later authors it is an adverb that intensifies the action expressed by a verb.

impio 'to stain by an act of impiety' (1, 18, 5; 3, 3, 9; Pl., Sen., Fronto, Apul., Amm., Aug., Hil., Itala, Min. Fel., Paneg., Paul. Fest., Prud., Ps. Rufin., Serv., Sidon., Zeno, Gloss.) The commentary on Book III of *the Metamorphoses* erroneously states that the verb *impiare* does not occur after Plautus until Fronto (see Sen. *Phaedr.* 1186: *impiatos*).[1] In both Fronto and Apuleius the participle *impiatus* is used in the context of violation with human blood (Fronto p. 204: *Parthos Romano sanguine impiatos*; Apul. *Met.* 1, 18, 5: *cruore humano aspersum atque impiatum*; 3, 3, 9: *reum tot caedibus impiatum*).

impos 'not having control or possession' (3, 12, 6; 5, 22, 3; Acc., Laev., Pl., Sen., Suet., Var., Fronto, Apul. *Soc.* 3, *Plat.* 2, 18, Alc. Avit., Aug., Auson., Cassian., Don., Heges., Lact., Pallad., Paul. Fest., Prisc., Prud., Sidon., Gloss...) *Impos* is a rare archaic adjective (later replaced by the form *impotens*),[2] used almost exclusively in the phrases *impos sui* and *impos animi* 'out of one's mind'. In *the Metamorphoses* both times Apuleius uses the expression *impos animi*, attested in Plautus and later in Fronto and Gellius. In other works Apuleius does not use this formula (*Soc.* 3: *impos veritatis*, *Plat.* 2, 18: *inpotem ipsum aliorum addici potestati*).

impuratus 'filthy' (2, 25, 4; 9, 10, 2; Lucil., Pl., Ter., Apul., Aug., Min. Fel., Prud., Tert., Gloss.) The adjective *impuratus* was used by the comic poets as an insult, and this usage was later borrowed by Apuleius (*Met.* 2, 25, 4 in reference to a swallow: *"Quin abis," inquam "inpurata bestia...?"*).

incerto 'to make uncertain' (5, 13, 1; 11, 16, 10; Pacuv. *trag.* 150, Pl. *Epid.* 545, Apul., Char. *gramm.* p. 473, 2 B, Non. p. 123, Gloss. V 642, 58) Because of the rarity of the verb *incertare* many emendations have been suggested for the passage in Book V (*Met.* 5, 13, 1: *suscipit Psyche singultu lacrimoso sermonem*

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[1] Paardt R. T., van der. L. Apuleius Madaurensis the Metamorphoses. A Commentary on Book III... P. 45.
[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 935.

incertans),[1] but the use of a rare and archaic word is not an unusual practice for Apuleius. Moreover, *incertare* in this case fits the context (Psyche tearfully begs Cupid to allow her sisters to visit her once more, and one can imagine that her worriment affects her manner of speech), although the following speech of Psyche cannot be called confused.

incitus (ad incitas/a) 'checkmate' (3, 28, 5 + 7, 18, 3 (*conj*.); Lucil., Pl., Apul., Char. *gramm*., Iul. Val., Non., Paneg., Gloss.) In this case we should understand *calces* 'playing pieces' with the adjective *incitus* 'motionless', so that the expression *ad incitas redigere* (known from Plautus' comedies *Poenulus* and *Trinummus*) has the meaning 'to trap in an impasse'. Apuleius in Book III uses this expression with the verb *deducere* (*Met*. 3, 28, 5: *ad extremas incitas deducti*; later the same usage can be found in Julius Valerius). Apuleius also uses the adjective *extremas*, which is redundant in this case,[2] but such a pleonasm is not unusual for the style of *the Metamorphoses*.[3] In chapter 18 of Book VII of the novel, R. Helm proposed a conjecture compilabat *ad incitas* (*F compilabat cidit fusti*), but it was not accepted by most publishers.[4]

inclitus 'famous' (1, 2, 1; 3, 11, 1; 4, 8, 8; 6, 4, 2; 7, 5, 6; 8, 16, 3; 10, 30, 1; 10, 31, 6; 10, 33, 2; Acc., Cato, Enn., Naev., Pl., Col., Hor., Liv., Lucr., Sall., Sen., Sil., Stat., Tac., Val. Max., Verg., Fronto, Gell., Apul. *apol.* 17, 7, *flor.* 15, *Soc*. 24, Amm., Auson., Prud., Hier., Itala, Symm., Vulg…) The adjective *inclitus* is a poetism with archaic connotations, although it is also used in prose speech

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[1] Zimmerman M. – Panayotakis S. – Hunink V.C. – Keulen W.H. – Harrison S. J. – McCreight Th. D. – Wesseling B. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books IV 28–35, V and VI 1–24... P. 197.

[2] This usage seemed inappropriate to G. F. Hildebrand; in his edition he prints the reading of the manuscript *F* ad extremas metas deducti: L. Apuleii opera omnia / Ed. Dr. G. F. Hildebrand. Pars I. Prolegomena... Pp. 206–207.

[3] M. Bernhard gives examples of similar expressions with the adjectives *extremus*, *summus*, *ultimus*: Bernhard, Max. Der Stil... S. 174–175.

[4] From the point of view of the authors of the Groningen commentary on Book VII, *cidit* in the manuscript is a gloss to explain the verb *compilabat*, used by Apuleius in the unusual sense 'to beat, to pound': Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. – Westerbrink A. G. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books VI 25–32 and VII. Text, Introduction and Commentary. Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis B. V. Publishers, 1981. P. 202.

(beginning with Cato; this adjective was quite frequently used by Titus Livius (20 occurrences) and Aulus Gellius (26 occurrences).[1]

indipiscor 'to overtake' (6, 5, 1; 8, 5, 4; 9, 21, 2; Pl., Liv., Lucr., Plin. *nat*., Gell., Apul. *flor*. 6, Ambr., Aug., Auson., Cod. Theod., Cypr. Gall., Eucher., Serv., Sol…) ThLL compares the archaic *indipisci* with the synonymous verb *adipisci*, which is common in the works of authors of the classical period.[2] Apuleius uses the verb *adipisci* twice in his novel *the Metamorphoses*, but he also uses it in *the Florida* and in his work *De Platone et eius Dogmate*.

indusiatus 'wearing an outer tunic' (2, 19, 3; 8, 27, 1; 10, 30, 2; Pl. *Epid*. 231, Apul.) According to a fragment from Varro, *indusium* is a woman's outer tunic (Non. p. 542, 22); in Plautus' *Epidicus* an adjective *indusiatus* (denoting a type of tunic) is among various items of women's clothing. In contrast, in Apuleius this adjective always (apparently, not accidentally) refers to men: such tunics are worn by handsome wine-bearing young men at the dinner of Byrrhena in Book III, the femininely dressed and rouged priests of the Syrian goddess in Book VIII and an actor who plays Paris in Book X.

infio 'to begin to speak' (1, 7, 5; 1, 12, 4; 2, 13, 5; 2, 19, 5; 2, 21, 2; 4, 25, 2; 5, 5, 1; 5, 9, 1; 6, 11, 4; 7, 4, 2; 7, 25, 7; 8, 28, 1; Enn., Pl., Laev., Lucr., Verg., Ov., Liv., Sulpicia, Apul. *apol*. 77, Prud., Iul. Val., Sidon., Boeth., Mart. Cap…) The verb *infio* is a poetism with an archaic colouring, attested beginning with Ennius and Plautus, and especially frequent in Virgil (only in *the Aeneid*) and his imitators. In prose *infit* is extremely rare (before Apuleius *infit* is found in prose only 3 times in Titus Livius). In *apol*. 77, *Met*. 7, 4, 2 and 8, 28, 1 Apuleius uses the verb in its original meaning 'to begin' with other verbs of speaking.

infortunatus 'unfortunate' (4, 27, 2; 4, 32, 5; Caecil. *com*. 169, Pl. *Bacch*. 1106, Ter. *Eun*. 298, Cic. *Att*. 2, 24, 4, Apul., Avien. *Arat*. 450, *orb*. *terr*. 521, Boeth. *cons*. 4, 1, 7 W., Iord. *Get*. 115, Paneg. 2, 11, 4, Ps. Aug. *quaest*. *test*. 1, 115,

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[1] Harrison S. J. The Poetics of Fiction: Poetic Influence on the Language of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* // Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose, ed. Tobias Reinhardt, Michael Lapidge, J. N. Adams. Oxford: The British Academy, 2005. P. 279.

[2] Rehm, Bernhard. Indipiscor // ThLL, Vol. VII, 1 (1934–1964). Pp. 1197–1198.

34, Serv. *Aen*. 3, 16, Sidon. *epist*. 2, 8, 1, Symm. *epist*. 6, 22, 4) Before Apuleius the adjective *infortunatus* is attested only in comedy and in the letters of Cicero. Both times in *the Metamorphoses* Apuleius uses this adjective in the superlative form: *infortunatissimus* is what Charite calls her husband, and the old woman who tells her the tale of Cupid and Psyche calls Psyche this way.

infortunium 'misfortune' (1, 6, 3; 4, 27, 1; 5, 12, 5; 7, 6, 3; 8, 1, 2; 8, 12, 6; 8, 15, 1; 9, 23, 5; 9, 31, 1; 10, 5, 3; Pl., Ter., Hor., Liv., Apul. *Plat.* 2, 10, Arnob., Auson., Boeth., Claud. Don., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Firm., Itala, Iul. Val., Macr., Novell., Symm.) In contrast to the adjective *infortunatus*, the noun *infortunium* 'misfortune' is well attested in Latin literature, beginning with comedy (in comedy it more often appears in a narrower sense – 'punishment, blows'). Several times Apuleius uses the expression *domus infortunium* 'misfortune at home' (*Met*. 1, 6, 3; 8, 1, 2; 8, 15, 1; 9, 23, 5; 9, 31, 1; 10, 5, 3), which refers to tragic events described in the novellas (for example, Aristomenes says that about Socrates' family after he disappeared and one of the servants begins an account of the death of Charite and her husband in this way).

inibi 'there' (1, 21, 5; 2, 11, 5; 6, 18, 2; 8, 23, 2; 8, 30, 5; 10, 35, 3; Afran., Caecil., Cato, Pacuv., Pl., B. Afr.*,* Cic., Sen., Vitr., Fronto, Gell., Apul., Amm., Aur., Greg. Tur., Macr., Novell., Rufin., Ven. Fort…) *Inibi* is an archaic adverb, derived from *ibi* and used by Apuleius as an adverb of place. L. Callebat suggests that this word fell out of use after Cicero's time and was rediscovered by archaizing writers.[1]

inluceo 'to shine' (2, 9, 1; Pl. *Capt.* 597, Apul., Ambr. *in psalm*. 118 *serm*. 19, 39, 2, Conc.ˢ I 5 p. 203, 17, Itala *num*. 6, 25, Tert. *pudic*. 7 p. 232, 8) Apuleius uses the rare verb *illucere* in his digression about the beauty of women's hair, which shines with a pleasant luster. Before him, this verb is attested only in Plautus in the comedy *Captivi* in a very different context: one of the prisoners makes a reference

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 519.

to the Roman torture with boiling pitch, which "illuminated" the head of the punished (Pl. *Capt*. 597: *pix atra agitet apud carnificem tuoque capiti inluceat*).

inscendo 'to climb up, to mount' (1, 25, 4; 2, 17, 4; 5, 4, 3; 6, 27, 6; 7, 21, 4; 7, 25, 1; 8, 5, 4; 8, 17, 3 (*conj*.);[1] 9, 39, 1; 9, 40, 4; 10, 22, 1; Cato, Pl., Sis., Cic., Suet., Aur. Fronto, Gell., Apul. *Soc*. 9, Hil., Iul. Val., Gloss....) As L. Callebat notes, the verb *inscendere* in the transitive sense (as it is in all cases in *the Metamorphoses*) has been used in Latin literature since Plautus, but authors of the classical period avoided this construction (Cicero uses *inscendere* with a preposition: inscenderet in rogum ardentem (Cic. *div*. 1, 47). Only in Apuleius is the verb *inscendere* attested in the erotic sense 'to mount, cover' (*Met*. 7, 21, 4; 10, 22, 1).

interstinguo 'to extinguish, kill' (4, 12, 2; Lucr. 5, 761, Paul. Fest. p. 94 L, Apul.) When one of the bandits tells of a missed opportunity to kill an old woman in order to rob her, Apuleius uses the verb *interstinguere*, previously attested only in Lucretius. Lucretius (as well as Festus) uses it to mean 'to extinguish, put out' (Lucr. 5, 761: *(aurae) quae faciunt ignis interstingui atque perire*), whereas Apuleius uses the verb in a figurative sense (similar to the verb *exstinguere*, also used in these senses, but more common in Latin literature).

inurg(u)eo 'to push, thrust' (8, 10, 1; 9, 15, 2 + Apul. *Met*. 5, 6, 9 (*conj*.);[2] Lucr. 5, 1035, Apul., Zeno 1, 24, 1) *Inurg(u)ere* is a rare verb in Latin literature, almost indistinguishable in meaning from the unprefixed *urg(u)ere* 'to press'. Apuleius uses this verb in Book VIII of *the Metamorphoses* when Thrasyllus cannot stop pursuing Charite (*Met*. 8, 10, 1: *identidem pergit lingua satianti susurros improbos inurgere*; a similar context can be found in Book V of the novel, when Psyche begs her husband to order Zephyr to deliver her sisters to the palace, but in this case there is no need to change the reading *ingerens*: *ingerens verba mulcentia*). In M. Zimmerman's edition the verb *inurg(u)ere* can also be seen in the passage *Met*. 9, 15, 2 (about the beating of Lucius the Ass in the mill: *illa mulier...*

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[1] inscindere *F, corr. Colvius*.
[2] *Traube* : ingerens *F*.

iubebat incoram sui plagas mihi quam plurima inurgeri). Most editors accept the text of the manuscript *F irrogari* in this place, but according to R. Helm, the archetype had the form *inurgeri*.[1]

Iovis 'Jupiter' (4, 33, 2; Acc. *trag.* 332, Enn. *Ann.* 63, Petr. 47, 4, Amp. 2, 6, Hyg. *fab.* 63, 1, Apul.)[2] *Iovis* is a form of the archaic nominative case, the form *Iuppiter* is usually used in its place. In Apuleius this nominative is represented in the words of an oracle who prophesies Psyche's marriage to the monster that Jupiter himself fears.

iuxtim 'next to, beside' (2, 13, 5; Liv. Andr. *trag.* 11, Sis. *hist.* 3, Lucr. 4, 501; 4, 1213; Suet. *Tib.* 33, Apul. *flor.* 23, Claud. Mam. *anim.* 1, 25, Itin. Alex. 23, 49, 54, Iul. Val. 1, 24; 1, 28; 1, 31 vers. 47; 1, 42; 2, 29; 3, 53, Non. p. 127, 32) L. Callebat suggests that Apuleius borrowed the word *iuxtim* from Sisenna (only in Sisenna, in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and in Itin. Alex. 23, 54 this lexeme is used as a preposition that governs the accusative case, while in other cases it is used as an adverb).[3] In the classical language the word *iuxta* is usually used instead of *iuxtim*.[4]

laetificus 'joyful' (2, 31, 3; 6, 2, 4; Enn. *scaen.* 152, Lucr. 1, 193, Sen. *Tro.* 596, Stat. *Theb.* 8, 261; 12, 521, Apul., Amm. 22, 1, 3, Auson. 349, 3, Cassiod. *hist.* 8, 1, 12, Iren. 4, 10, 2, Itala *gen.* 49, 12, Prisc. *periheg.* 491, Prud. *c. Symm.* 2, 565) Apuleius uses the rare adjective *laetificus* twice in slightly different meanings: in Book II Byrrhena suggests that Lucius prepare something merry for the god Risus (*aliquid de proprio lepore laetificum*), and in Book VI Psyche appeals to Ceres, imploring her with "fruitful harvest rites" (*deprecor per laetificas messium caerimonias*).[5] The meaning 'fruitful' seems to be more ancient,[6] and this is how

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[1] Hijmans B. L. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Wesseling B. – Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book IX... P. 144.
[2] The word was not included in the statistical analysis because it is a proper name.
[3] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 478.
[4] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 586; Apuleius of Madauros. Florida / Ed. with a commentary by Vincent Hunink... P. 214.
[5] In M. A. Kuzmin's translation «радостными обрядами жатвы»: Apuleius. Golden Ass... P. 172.
[6] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 601.

Ennius used this adjective, giving this epithet to a vine (Enn. *scaen.* 152: *vites laetificae pampinis*).

laeto 'to gladden' (3, 11, 4; 5, 14, 5; Acc. *trag.* 513, Liv. Andr. *trag.* 7, Apul., Aug. *c. Faust.* 20, 11, Pallad. 1, 6, 18; 11, 8, Non. p. 132, 28, Diom. 1, 364, 21, Itala *psalm.* 20, 7; 91, 5, Max. Taur. *serm.* 47, CIL X 4486, 8) As noted earlier,[1] active forms of deponent verbs are considered archaic; about the verb *laeto*, for example, Prisc. 2, 392, 15 writes: *praeterea plurima inveniuntur apud vetustissimos, quae contra consuetudinem vel activam pro passiva vel passivam pro activa habent terminationem, ut... 'laeto' pro 'laetor'*. According to L. Callebat, using this verb in the active form, Apuleius in Book III of *the Metamorphoses* imitates Livius Andronicus: *<deus Risus> frontem tuam serena venustate laetabit adsidue* (cf. Liv. Andr. *trag.* 7: *iamne oculos specie laetavisti optabili?*).[2] In *the Metamorphoses*, the common forms of the verb *laetor* are attested more often, so the two active forms (both used in the future tense: *laetabit* and *laetabunt*) stand out strongly against them.

largitus 'abundantly' (11, 30, 1; Afran. *com.* 212, Apul.) Although most editors accept the manuscript reading *largitus* in this passage of *the Metamorphoses*, the extreme rarity of this adverb and the fact that Apuleius usually prefers the adverb *largiter* may arouse suspicion.[3] M. Zimmerman, for example, in her edition, adopts S. Tilg's conjecture *largitionibus*.[4]

larvatus 'possessed by evil spirits' (9, 31, 1; Pl. *Amph.* frg. 6, 8, *Men.* 890, frg. inc. 48, Apul. *apol.* 63, 9, Non. p. 44, 20, Paul. Fest. p. 106 L, Gloss.) The adjective *larvatus*, formed from the noun *larva*, denoting an evil spirit, is attested already in Plautus. In *the Apologia* Apuleius uses the participle of the even rarer verb *larvare*,[5] formed from this adjective (*apol.* 63: *hunc... qui larvam putat, ipse est... larvans*).

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[1] See pages 33, 77 *s. v.* adulo.
[2] Callebat L. Sermo... Pp. 295–296.
[3] Keulen W. H. – Tilg. S. – Nicolini L. – Graverini L. – Harrison S. J. – Panayotakis S. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book XI... Pp. 502–503.
[4] Apulei Metamorphoseon libri XI / Rec. M. Zimmerman... P. 283.
[5] Apuleius of Madauros. Pro Se De Magia (Apologia) / Ed. with a commentary by Vincent Hunink... Pp. 168–169.

lepidus 'charming' (1, 1, 2; 1, 2, 6; 1, 20, 5; 2, 7, 7; 2, 20, 7; 3, 19, 1; 4, 27, 8; 5, 31, 4; 6, 10, 6; 9, 4, 4; Pl., Rhet. Her., Ter., Catull., Cic., Hor., Lucr., Mart., Petr., Suet., Gell., Apul. *apol.* 10, 7; 11, 3, *Plat.* 2, 14, Drac., Ps. Rufin.) As ThLL notes, the adjective *lepidus* occurs most frequently in Plautus and Terence, and then flourishes again in the works of Gellius and Apuleius, although it also occurs in the classical period (already in Cicero *lepidus* is quite rare).[1] In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* the adjective is usually used either as a literary term (*fabularum lepida iucunditas* (1, 2, 6), *lepidae fabulae festivitate* (1, 20, 5), *lepidi sermonis* (2, 20, 7), *narrationibus lepidis* (4, 27, 8)), or in the expression *puella lepida*, which refers to Photis and Psyche.

litteratus 'marked or inscribed with letters' (3, 17, 4; 6, 3, 4; 9, 12, 4; Pl. *Cas.* 401, *Poen.* 836, *Rud.* 478, 1156, 1159, Apul., Caes. Arel. *serm.* 195, 3) Although the adjective *litteratus* was widely used in Latin literature to mean 'cultured, erudite', Apuleius uses it in this way only once in *the Metamorphoses* (10, 2, 1: *iuvenem filium probe litteratum*). In all the other instances *litteratus* in the novel means 'marked with letters'. Before Apuleius this meaning is attested only in Plautus. Both authors use this adjective both in reference to objects (e. g., vessels and strips of cloth) and in reference to branded slaves.

longule 'at a distance' (9, 15, 6; Pl. *Men.* 64, *Rud.* 266, Ter. *Haut.* 239, Apul. *flor.* 2, Prisc. 3, 51, 21; 80,1) Perhaps Apuleius borrowed the diminutive adverb *longule* from the comic vocabulary (the context of this episode is quite suitable for the genre of comedy: Lucius the Ass is glad that thanks to his huge donkey ears he can easily overhear other people's conversations even from a distance). In *the Florida* Apuleius also uses the adverb *longule* (about perceiving distant things with the eyes, not with the ears, as in *the Metamorphoses*), and also with the adjective *dissitus* 'distant' (perhaps a neologism).

ludicre 'playfully' (9, 7, 6; Enn. *ann.* 73, Apul., Aug. *Bapt.* 7, 53, 102) In the story about a craftsman and his unfaithful wife, Apuleius uses a very rare adverb

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[1] Kuhlmann, Gerhard. Lepidus // ThLL, Vol. VII, 2 (1970–1979). P. 1171; Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 627.

ludicre, describing how the wife took pleasure in mocking her husband. Before Apuleius this adverb is attested only in Ennius (*ann*. 73: *pars ludicre saxa iactant, inter se licitantur*).

lurcho 'a glutton' (8, 25, 3; Lucil. 75, Pl. *Persa* 421, Lenaeus frg. ap. Suet. *gramm*. 15, 2, Apul. *apol*. 57, 2, Non. p. 10, 27, Paul. Fest. p. 107 L, Prob. *cath. gramm*. 4, 10, 22, Serv. *Aen*. 6, 4, Gloss.) L. Callebat considers the word *lurcho* a possible borrowing from Plautus and Lucilius,[1] while B/O, on the contrary, believe that the word was preserved in everyday speech.[2] The rarity and instances of the use of the word rather count in favour of the borrowing (from what we know, in fiction it is attested only in Apuleius, Suetonius and the authors of the archaic period, the later grammarians only comment on its meaning).

luror 'a sickly yellow colour, pallor' (1, 6, 1; 8, 7, 6; 9, 12, 4; 9, 30, 3; Lucr. 4, 308, Apul., Gloss. V 603, 33) Before Apuleius the word *luror* is attested only in Lucretius in his exposition of the theory of the nature of vision: the jaundiced see the world in yellow (*lurida*) because their bodies exude seeds of yellowness (*luroris... semina*). In Apuleius, *luror* characterizes a sickly complexion of suffering characters: Socrates, tortured by the witch Meroe, Charite, mourning over her dead spouse, exhausted slaves in the mill. The adjective *luridus* with the same root is more common in Latin literature and is attested as early as in Plautus, but Apuleius uses it only once (in *Met*. 5, 18, 5, when describing Psyche, frightened by her sisters that she was married to a monster.)

lusito 'to amuse oneself' (4, 7, 2; Pl. *Capt*. 1003, Sueius *carm*. frg. 2, Gell. 18, 13, 1, Apul., Iul. Val. 1, 41, Macr. *sat*. 2, 6, 5, Tert. *nat*. 2, 13, 17) L. Callebat believes that Gellius and Apuleius borrowed the iterative verb *lusitare* from Plautus.[3]

machaera 'a single-edged sword' (4, 4, 4; 9, 40, 3; Acc., Caecil., Enn., Pl., Sen., Suet., Apul., Ambr., Ampel., Capitol., Isid., Itala, Macr., Rufin., Serv., Tert...)

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 507.
[2] B/O, p. 121.
[3] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 516.

Although the noun *machaera* borrowed from Greek is well attested in Latin literature (especially in the writings of Christian writers), it was avoided by authors of the classical period. Macrobius writes that the ancients were free to use Greek words, including *machaera*: *hac licentia largius usi sunt veteres, parcius Maro: quippe illi dixerunt et pausam et machaeram et asotiam et malacen et alia similia* (Macr. *sat*. 6, 4, 22). In most cases Apuleius uses the familiar noun *gladius* as well as the words *gladiolus* and *culter*.

manduco 'a glutton' (6, 31, 4; Pompon. *Atell*. 112, Apul., Schol. Ter. *Bemb. Eun*. 228, Gloss.) L. Callebat notes that the word *manduco* was borrowed by Apuleius from the language of atellana (before Apuleius the noun *manduco* is attested only in Pomponius, but Varro and Festus also write about the word *manducus*, which refers to an atellana actor wearing a mask of the glutton). In *the Metamorphoses*, the bandits refer to Lucius the Ass as *manduco*, referring to his gluttony and laziness.

mansues 'tame, mild' (11, 8, 4 + 7, 23, 3;[1] Acc., Cato, Pl., Var., Gell., Apul., Non., Paul. Fest., Gloss.^{L} I Ansil.) Describing the procession dedicated to Isis, Apuleius mentions a tame bear (*ursam mansuem*) in the procession. *Mansues* is a rare and archaic adjective, instead of which in classical literature a synonym *mansuetus* was usually used.

meditullium 'the mid-point, middle' (3, 27, 2; 5, 1, 2; 7, 19, 4; 10, 32, 1; 11, 24, 2; Serv. ap. Cic., Apul. *Plat*. 2, 5, Amm., Aug., Cassian., Hier., Paul. Fest., Iul. Val., Ven. Fort., Tert., Gloss…) Although the word *meditullium* was known in Cicero's time, he only mentions it in passing (Cicero notes that for Servius Sulpicius Rufus -liminium in the word *postliminium* has no meaning, just as -tullium in the word *meditullium* (Cic. *top*. 36). In other authors of the same or earlier period it is not attested. The archaic nature of the noun *meditullium* is

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[1] In this passage many editors (including R. Helm) accept J. Pricaeus's conjecture *mites* because the manuscript reading looks like *mansuetos ac mansues*, an excessive combination of cognate synonyms that is nevertheless quite acceptable: Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. – Westerbrink A. G. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books VI 25–32 and VII… Pp. 233–234. M. Zimmerman retains the manuscript reading in her edition.

mentioned in L&S and the Ernout–Meillet dictionary.[1] In most cases (4 of 5 occurrences in the novel) Apuleius uses the word in expression *in ipso meditullio*.

medullitus 'from or in the depths of the mind or heart' (7, 2, 4; 10, 25, 1; Enn., Pl., Var., Apul. *flor*. 18, Amm., Aug., Cassian., Cassiod., Cypr., Greg. M., Non., Paul. Fest., Prud., Sidon., Zeno, Gloss…) As V. Hunink points out, the rare adverb *medullitus* has a prominent archaic connotation.[2] The word is found already in archaic authors used both literally ('from the marrow') and figuratively. Apuleius rather uses the adverb figuratively, although in Book X one can distinguish both meanings: one of the characters, shocked by the death of his sister "to the marrow", falls ill with a bilious attack.

mendicabulum 'a beggar' (9, 4, 3; Pl., Apul. *apol*. 22, 9, *flor*. 9, Auson., Non., Paul. Nol., Gloss.) *Mendicabulum* is a rare word which Apuleius uses in the same sense as the word *mendicus* 'a beggar' was usually used, or in the sense 'an instrument of a beggar's trade' in accordance with other words ending in -bulum.[3] In *the Metamorphoses* this is how Lucius the Ass describes himself when he was in the service of the priests of the Syrian goddess.

mensula 'a small table' (2, 11, 15; 2, 15, 5; Lucil., Pl., Petr., Fronto, Apul., Amm., Arnob., Boeth., Cassiod., Exc. *Cassiod*., Hier., Mart. Cap., Paneg.*,* Paul. Nol., Ps. Aug., Romul., Vitae patr.) Although the word *mensula* is well attested in late Latin, it seems to have been rather rarely used before Apuleius. In *Met*. 2, 11, 15 the diminutive is used for a good reason: the narrator, telling about a dinner at Milo's house, speaks somewhat ironically about the size of the table, alluding to the greediness of the host.

miseriter 'pathetically' (8, 5, 10; Enn. (ap. Prisc. *gramm*. 3, 71, 5), Catull. 63, 49, Laber. *mim*. 149, Apul., Iord. *Get*. 41, 216, Iul. Val. 2, 28; 2, 32) In Book VIII Apuleius uses the adverb *miseriter* (a poetism with archaic overtones) when dying

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[1] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 700.
[2] Apuleius of Madauros. Florida / Ed. with a commentary by Vincent Hunink... P. 195.
[3] Hijmans B. L. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Wesseling B. – Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book IX... P. 57.

Tlepolemus pathetically cries out for help from Thrasyllus, whom he considered a friend. In *Met*. 5, 17, 2 and 8, 8, 6 Apuleius uses a more common form *misere*.

morigerus 'compliant' (2, 5, 7; Afran., Naev., Pl., Ter., Lucr., Apul. *apol.* 14, 5; 74, 7, Ambr., Amm., Aug., Cassiod., Iul. Val., Ps. Rufin., Tert., Zeno...) The adjective *morigerus* belongs to the comic vocabulary.[1] This was usually how a wife's behavior toward her husband was characterized, including in an erotic context.[2] In Apuleius the roles are reversed, and a woman, the witch Pamphile, is the one who deals with men who are not sufficiently submissive (*minus morigeros*).

morsiuncula 'a little bite' (8, 22, 7; Pl. *Ps*. 67 (cf. *oppressiunculae Ps*. 68), Apul., Gloss. II 523, 19) Describing the execution of a slave whom the master ordered to be smeared with honey and given to the ants to eat, Apuleius uses the diminutive *morsiuncula*, previously attested only in Plautus (in an erotic context) and probably invented by him. In Plautus the diminutive noun is used in the sense 'light, gentle biting', but in Apuleius this form directly indicates the small size of the ants and their bites, which, nevertheless, were very painful.

mundule 'smartly, neatly' (2, 7, 3; Acc. *trag*. 602, Apul.) The L&S Dictionary erroneously labels the adverb *mundule* as postclassical.[3] A very rare adjective *mundulus*, from which this adverb is derived, is not attested in the works of Apuleius, but it was used by Plautus (*Truc*. 658). Apuleius uses the word *mundule* when describing the clothing of Photis while cooking: *ipsa linea tunica mundule amicta... illud cibarium vasculum... rotabat.*

mustulentus 'full of unfermented wine' (2, 4, 8; 9, 32, 2; Pl. *Cist*. 382 (ap. Non. p. 68, 28; 415, 15), Apul., Zeno 1, 33, 1, Gloss. V 651, 3) In Plautus the adjective *mustulentus* refers to air (*ventus*), while Apuleius uses this rare word both times when referring to autumn: "at the time of the grape harvest" (*mustulentus aetumnus*; *Met*. 2, 4, 8) and "after the wine delights of autumn" (po*st mustulentas*

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 510; Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... Pp. 110–111.
[2] Adams J. N. The Latin Sexual Vocabulary. London: Duckworth, 1982. P. 164.
[3] L&S, p. 1175.

autumni delicias; 9, 32, 2). This usage was later borrowed from Apuleius by Zeno of Verona (1, 33: *prosequitur congrue mustulentus autumnus*).

navita 'a sailor' (6, 19, 6; 6, 20, 4; Cato, Pl., Cic., Col., Germ., Hor., Luc., Lucr., Manil., Mart., Ov., Prop., Sen., Stat., Tib., Petr., Verg., Gell., Apul., Fest.) The L&S Dictionary marks *navita* as anteclassical and poetic.[1] Classical literature usually used the spelling *nauta*, but poetic works are characterized by the variant *navita* (for example, Cicero uses only *nauta* in prose and *navita* in poetry, but this strict division is not necessary: Virgil and Horace use *nauta* much more often even in poetry). Festus considers this spelling more correct: navitas secundum incorruptam consuetudinem dictos, quos nunc nautas dicimus (Fest. pp. 170–171 L). In the extant writings of Apuleius (as well as those of Gellius) the form *nauta* is not attested.

nuncupo 'to state, mention by name' (2, 13, 1; 2, 30, 4; 4, 26, 5; 4, 30, 5; 4, 34, 5; 7, 14, 1; 10, 18, 1; 11, 5, 5; 11, 16, 6; 11, 20, 2; 11, 21, 8; 11, 24, 3; XII Tab. ap. Fest., Pacuv., Caes., Cic., Liv., Mart., Ovid., Petr., Plin. *nat*., Plin. *pan*., *ep*., Quint., Sall., Suet., Tac., Val. Max., Var., Fronto, Apul. *apol.* 4, 7; 50, 7; 61, 2; 64, 5, *Soc.* 2, 5, 6, 15, 24, *mund*. 10, *Plat.* 1, 11; 1, 12; 1, 18; 2, 3; 2, 7; 2, 12, Aur. Vict., Fest., Iust., Maur., Zeno) Despite the impressive list of authors who used the verb *nuncupo*, there is no doubt that it is an archaism: Cicero (*De Orat*. 3, 38, 153) and Quintilian (*Inst*. 8, 3, 27) directly testify to this, although Cicero himself used the word more than once, even in speeches.

nuntium 'a message' (7, 1, 2; 8, 6, 5; Catull., Var., Apul., Sedul., Serv.) The classical language used the masculine-gendered word *nuntius* denoting both a messenger and a message, but in *the Metamorphoses* Apuleius uses a rare neuter noun *nuntium*. According to Nonius, the noun *nuntium* was not widespread, but was used by some learned men: *nuntius generi masculini; neutro apud aliquos non receptae auctoritatis lectum est, sed doctos* (Non. p. 215).

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[1] ibid., p. 1191.

obgannio 'to mutter' (2, 2, 3; 2, 11, 1; Pl. *Asin*. 422, Ter. *Phorm*. 1030, Apul., Avien. *ora* 23, Hier. *epist*. 54, 5, 1, Symm. *epist*. 1, 23, 4, Gloss.) Before Apuleius the verb *obgannire* is found in two comedies by Plautus and Terence, where it has the same meaning as the unprefixed verb *gannire* 'to speak menacingly, snarl' used to describe the speech of irritated people. In Apuleius the meaning is somewhat different, 'to mutter, whisper'. In *the Metamorphoses* this verb is used when Byrrhena's slave whispers something in her ear (2, 2, 3*: senex iam gravis in annis... statim incertum quidnam in aurem mulieris obganniit*) and when Photis and Lucius arrange a date (2, 11, 1: *his et talibus obgannitis sermonibus inter nos discessum est*).

obitus 'an approach, visit' (9, 13, 4; Acc. *trag*. 139, Ter. *Hec*. 859, Turp. *com*. 67, Apul., Paul. Fest. p. 207 L, Paul. Nol. *epist*. 49, 8) The noun *obitus* is often found in the writings of Latin authors, but usually it is used to mean 'death' or 'sunset'. In archaic authors and Apuleius the meaning of *obitus* is literal – 'a visit, approach'. The fact that this meaning is characteristic of the ancient writers is also indicated by Festus' dictionary: *obitu dicebant antiqui pro aditu* (Paul. Fest. p. 207 L). In Apuleius this noun occurs when the narrator notes that Homer's Odysseus discovered his great virtues because he had visited many countries (*multarum civitatium obitu*) and had acquainted himself with various peoples.

obsono 'to purchase provisions' (1, 24, 8; Cato, Pl., Ter., Cic., Apul. *apol*. 21, 2; 29, 6, Tert., Gramm.) In Book I of *the Metamorphoses* we find a comical episode: in the marketplace, Lucius haggles to buy some fish, and having bought one, suddenly meets his school friend Pythias. It turns out that Pythias performs the duties of an aedile, and, finding out at what price Lucius bought the fish, the conscientious official shakes it out in front of the seller and reprimands him for the bad quality of the goods. Thus Lucius loses both money and food. The whole episode is full of archaisms (e. g., *cibatus, cuppedo, opiparus, praestino, deosculor, severitudo, obstupidus*), including the verb *obsonare*, which is characteristic of the language of comedy (it occurs in Plautus more than 20 times). Although the

archaisms in Apuleius are often not connected with the subject of the narrative, in this case the comicism of the episode is emphasized by the comedic vocabulary.

obstupidus 'stunned, dazed' (1, 25, 6; Pacuv. *trag*. 53, Pl. *Mil*. 1254, Gell. 5, 1, 6, Apul., Schol. Pers. 3, 80, Gloss.) *Obstupidus* is a rare adjective that is not attested in Roman fiction after Apuleius. It also appears in the comic episode where Lucius looses the fish he bought in the marketplace. The unprefixed adjective *stupidus* is also rare in extant texts, but in the classical period it is used by Cicero (in Apuleius it occurs twice – *Met*. 2, 2, 1; 4, 28, 3).

obtrudo 'to thrust' (7, 28, 3; Pl., Ter., Ov., Apul., Amm., Aug., Cael. Aur., Fest., Greg. Tur., Novell., Prud., Ps. Rufin., Sedul...) Before Apuleius the verb *obtrudere* rarely appears in Latin literature (in Plautus it occurs three times, in Terence – twice, in Ovid – once),[1] but in later authors it is more common. In *the Metamorphoses*, the verb is used to describe the torments inflicted on Lucius the Ass by the sadistic boy's mother, who was not devoid of such cruelty herself.

obtundo 'to beat' (4, 3, 3; 6, 25, 4; 7, 17, 4; 7, 28, 2; 9, 21, 5; 9, 31, 1; 9, 37, 1; 9, 39, 3; Pl. *Amph*. 606, *Cas*. 931, *Men*. 851, Apul., Claud. Don. *Aen*. 12, 870, Lampr. *Comm*. 9, 6 (participle **obtusus**: Lucil. 1266, Pl. *Cas*. 862, Apul. *Met*. 9, 37, 1, Oribas. *syn*. 8, 3)) In classical literature the verb *obtundere* is usually used to mean 'to blunt', 'to deaden', while in its direct meaning 'to beat' it occurs very rarely. However, in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses obtundere* is more often used in this meaning (in his other works the verb does not occur). In the opinion of L. Callebat, this use is dictated by the influence of comedy.[2]

occipio 'to take up, begin' (3, 2, 1; 5, 15, 3; 6, 27, 3; 6, 30, 5; 7, 18, 3; 9, 7, 4; 9, 14, 1; Caecil., Cato, Pl. (72 times), Sis., Ter. (14 times), Turpil., Calp. *hist*, Liv., Phaedr., Sall., Tac., Apul. *apol*. 51, 4, *flor*. 3, 13, 16, Amm., Arnob., Boeth., Itin. Alex., Sol...) Before Apuleius the verb *occipere* was attested mainly in comedies

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[1] The reading *obstrusa* in Ovid (*Met*. 11.48) is questionable because the meaning of this participle does not fit the context: *obstrusaque carbasa pullo // naides et dryades possosque habuere capillos*. Perhaps *abstrusa* should be read instead of *obstrusa*: Griffin A. H. F. A Commentary on Ovid "Metamorphoses" Book XI // Hermathena. No. 162-163 (1997). Pp. 78–79.

[2] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 518.

and historical works. It is likely that Apuleius regarded it as an archaism, and its frequent use by Plautus and Terence was also of importance.[1]

oculeus 'consisting of eyes' (2, 23, 4; Pl. *Aul*. 555, Apul., Mart. Cap. 8, 811; Prisc. 2, 114, 22) Apparently, by using the adjective *oculeus* Apuleius makes a reference to a Plautine comedy:[2] In Apuleius *oculeus* refers to Telephron, who claims to have excellent abilities for a job involving guarding a corpse from the encroachment of witches (*vides hominem ferreum et insomnem, certe perspicaciorem ipso Lynceo vel Argo et oculeum totum*), and in Plautus the epithet *oculeus* refers to Argus, who would not be able to keep an eye on the cooks if they decided to steal food from Euclio's house. This adjective could have been invented by Plautus. Usually the suffix -osus is used for adjectives denoting an abundance of some attribute, e. g. *aquosus* 'abounding in water', *otiosus* 'having ample leisure'. The suffix -eus is usually used for adjectives denoting material, cf. *ligneus* 'wooden', *corticeus* 'made of bark'. This means that Plautus' Argus is not just studded with eyes, but is himself an eye through-and-through. Apuleius, who had a weakness for unusual forms and non-standard meanings of words, must have appreciated this Plautine adjective.

offigo 'to fasten by nailing' (4, 10, 3; Cato *agr*. 48, 2, Pl. *Most*. 360, Liv. 33, 5, 10, Var. *rust*. 2, 2, 16, Apul., Paul. Nol. *carm*. 26, 253, Lex *par. fac. Puteol*. (CIL I² 698)) In *the Metamorphoses* one of the robbers tells about an unsuccessful attempt to rob the house of a Theban money-changer Chryseros: when the leader of the gang Lamachus slides his hand through the keyhole to slip the bolt, Chryseros suddenly nails his hand to the door. In Plautus, in the comedy *Mostellaria*, a slave Tranio asks the audience to undergo torture in his stead and offers money to whoever is willing to get nailed to a cross. Both authors use the rare verb *offigere* in these episodes, and Apuleius may have borrowed it from the comediographer in this case.

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[1] Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. – Westerbrink A. G. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books VI 25–32 and VII... P. 44; Nicolini, Lara. La Novella… P. 186; Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 172.
[2] Callebat, Louis. L'Archaïsme... P. 349.

offreno 'to restrain by a bridle, tame' (6, 19, 4; Pl. *Capt*. 755, Apul. *apol*. 77, 4) The verb *offrenare* is attested only in Plautus and Apuleius and only in the form of the perfect passive participle. In Plautus and in *the Apologia*, humans are "tamed", while in *the Metamorphoses* the participle refers to Cerberus, whose vigilance Psyche had to put to sleep with a scon. In all the cases where this participle is attested, some kind of deception or trick is implied (Pl. *Capt*. 755: *usque offrenatum suis me ductarent dolis*; Apul. *apol*. 77, 4: *iuvenem... novae nuptae inlecebris obfrenatum... de via deflectit*).

oleagineus 'of or belonging to an olive-tree' (3, 8, 1; 10, 30, 7; Cato, Col., Labeo *dig*., Plin. *nat*., Var., Vitr., Gell., Apul., Chiron (=Veg.), Obseq., Paul. Fest.) *Oleagineus* is a rather rare adjective in Latin literature; the word *olearius* was usually used instead. Although the word *oleagineus* probably belongs rather to colloquial language, it is marked as an archaism by L. Gargantini.[1]

opipare 'sumptuously' (5, 8, 1; Caecil., Pl., Cic. *Att*., *off*., Apul. *Soc*. 22, Hier., Iul. Val., Romul., Sidon., Gloss.) The adverb *opipare*, like the adjective *opiparus*, is quite rare in Latin literature. Perhaps it was usually used in the context of preparing and taking a meal, because a large part of the instances in which this adverb is used are connected with feasts. For example, in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses opipare* refers to the viands which Psyche prepares for her sisters, and Cicero in his letters and his treatise *De officiis* (4 occurrences in all) uses *opipare* in a similar context. Interestingly, for the second occurrence of *opipare* in Apuleius (*Soc*. 22) there is also an older example: both Apuleius in *De Deo Socratis* and Plautus in *Bacchides* speak of the luxury of buildings.

opiparus 'sumptuous' (1, 24, 4; 2, 19, 1; 5, 15, 5; 6, 19, 4; 7, 11, 1; 9, 33, 3; 10, 13, 6; Pl., Apul. *Soc*. 22, Arnob., Iul. Val., Lampr., Mutian., Non., Paul. Fest., Porph., Ps. Ambr., Schol. Verg. Veron., Sol., Inscr. *coc. Falisc*., Gloss.) The archaic adjective *opiparus* also often refers to food and feasting:[2] in Apuleius most uses fall into this category (the episodes *Met*. 5, 15, 5, where Psyche loads her sisters with

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[1] Gargantini, Luisa. Ricerche... P. 35.
[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 823.

rich gifts, and *Soc*. 22, which deals with luxurious utensils, differ in this respect). It is worth noting that on several occasions Apuleius used the adjective *opiparus* in the third declension (later such forms are found in Ambrose and Mutianus, but before Apuleius only the second declension forms are attested).

oppido 'utterly' (2, 12, 5; 2, 16, 6; 2, 20, 1; 2, 21, 7; 2, 25, 3; 3, 9, 2; 6, 13, 3; 7, 11, 4; 8, 22, 1; 9, 32, 4; 10, 23, 5; 10, 29, 1; 11, 29, 2; Pl., Ter., *Bell. Afr*., Catull., Cic., Liv., Quint., Vitr., Gell., Apul. *apol.* 3, 12; 20, 1; 26, 6; 35, 7; 62, 5; 67, 6; 73, 1; 92, 6, *flor*. 1, 9, 21, *Soc*. 20, praef. 4 (bis), *Plat*. 2, 19, *mund*. praef., Amm., Claud. Mam., Hier., Maecian., Paul. Fest, Sidon., Symm., Tert., Vulg…) The adverb *oppido* is one of Apuleius' favourite archaisms: it is attested 29 times in six of his works. Quintilian testifies to the archaic character of the word (*Inst*. 8, 3, 25: *"oppido", quamquam usi sunt paulum tempore nostro superiores, vereor ut iam nos ferat quisquam: certe "antegerio", cuius eadem significatio est, nemo nisi ambitiosus utetur*).

partiario 'on a basis of sharing' (9, 27, 4; Cato *agr.* 16, 137, Apul.) *Partiario* is a frozen form of the ablative case of the adjective *partiarius*, OLD covers it separately as an adverb, and ThLL regards it as a form of a nominalized adjective.[1] In *the Metamorphoses*, *partiario* is found in the direct speech of a miller (a master of Lucius the Ass), who, having discovered his wife's lover, is not upset, but offers the following solution: "I'm not Barbarus, no outlander; mine are not the shabby habits of the countryside... I'm not even going to use our unbending legal system, the *lex Julia* on adultery, to call to court – it *is* a capital offense – such a charming little, such a pretty little, boy child's head. Oh no; I'm going to treat you unequivocally as community property with my wife (*plane cum uxore mea partiario tractabo*)".[2] In view of the reference to the law on adultery and the fact that the adjective *partiarius* probably belongs to the legal lexicon, J. C. Relihan's translation is very appropriate in this case.

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[1] Gatti, Paolo. Partiarius // ThLL, Vol. X, 1 (1982–1997). P. 493.
[2] Translation by J. C. Relihan.

partiarius 'sharing or participating' (4, 30, 1; 8, 26, 5; Cato, Apul., Cod. Iust., Gaius, Synod. Hil., Tert.) The legal term *partiarius* is also used by Apuleius as a way of expressing an ironic attitude to the circumstances: in *Met*. 4, 30, 1 Venus resents that she is forced to share honors with mortal Psyche (*cum mortali puella partiario maiestatis honore tractor*), and in *Met*. 8, 26, 5 a slave to the priests of the Syrian goddess is called "a shared lover" (*partiarius concubinus*).

participo 'to share or participate with others, cause to participate' (1, 4, 6; 8, 9, 3; 9, 24, 2; 9, 33, 3; Enn., Pl., Cic., Liv., Lucr., Fronto, Gell., Apul. *apol.* 14, 6; 24, 9; 47, 5; 55, 8, *Soc.* 16, *Plat.* 1.15, Ambr., Amm., Arnob., Aug., Auson., Cassiod., Iren., Itala, Iul. Val., Lact., Prud., Spart. Hadr., Symm., Tert., Ulp., Ven. Fort., Vulg., Gloss…) The verb *participare* is attested in the works of Plautus 6 times, after that it is found several times in Ennius, Lucretius, Cicero and Livy, but not more than twice in one author. Nevertheless, since the heyday of the archaizing movement this verb has been recorded more and more often. In *the Metamorphoses*, on three occasions out of four, the verb *participare* is used in the context of banqueting or eating (1, 4, 6: *prandio participabo*; 9, 24, 2: *mensam nobiscum... participat*; 9, 33, 3: *opipari prandio participat*).

patagium 'a border on a tunic' (2, 9, 7; Naev. *trag.* 43, Apul., Non. p. 540, 3, Paul. Fest. p. 246 L, Tert. *pall.* 3, 1, Gloss.) The noun *patagium* is rarely found in Latin literature, and in Greek literature (it is assumed that *patagium* is borrowed from Greek)[1] it is not attested at all. Nevertheless, from its occurrences in Naevius and Tertullian we can judge that *patagium* means some part of a garment, and the dictionaries of Festus and Nonius explain that it refers to a golden border. Plautus' comedy *Aulularia* also mentions certain *patagiarii*, who either made clothes with such a border or sold them, and the comedy *Epidicus* lists various kinds of tunics, among which we find a *patagiata* tunic. Although, according to Nonius, *patagium* is a part of an expensive garment (Non. p. 540: *patagium: aureus clavus, qui*

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[1] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 861.

pretios vestibus inmitti solet), in Apuleius we see Photis, a maid in the house of avaricious Milo, walking in such a tunic.

patibulatus 'fastened to a yoke or gibbet' (4, 10, 4; Pl. *Most*. 56, Apul. (*conj*.))[1] Although the authors of the Groningen commentary on Book IV of *the Metamorphoses* defend the manuscript reading *patibulum*,[2] most editors believe that the text must have the adjective *patibulatus* in this place. Thus Lamachus, the brigand whose hand the master of the house had nailed to the door, turns out to be "nailed".

paupertinus 'characterized by poverty' (3, 13, 1; 4, 12, 4; Var., Gell., Apul., Alc. Avit., Amm., Arnob., Hier., Prud., Sidon., Symm., Tert., Vitae patr.) The adjective *paupertinus*, formed from the synonymous adjective *pauper*, is first attested in two fragments of Varro, preserved by Nonius (Non. p. 55, p. 162), and hereafter is found in the archaizers Gellius and Apuleius, as well as in later authors. Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* uses *paupertinus* both times with a diminutive noun: in Book III, the dinner at the miser Milo's is called *paupertina cenula*, and in Book IV this (*paupertinae pannosaeque resculae*) is how a cunning old woman calls her belongings, to persuade the robber robbing her to pay attention to her wealthier neighbours. Apuleius uses the common adjective *pauper* much more frequently (in *the Metamorphoses* it is attested 8 times), and in *Met*. 9, 31, 3 Apuleius resorts to the diminutive adjective *pauperculus*, less common in Roman authors (this adjective is attested several times in Plautus and Terence, and is also frequently found in the works of Christian authors).

pausa 'a cessation, intermission' (8, 28, 5; 9, 31, 2; 11, 2, 4; Acc., Cornelia, Enn., Lucil., Pl., Lucr., Ps. Sen., Sulpicia, Aur. Fronto, Fronto, Gell., Apul., Ambrosiast., Arnob., Aug., Auson., Cassiod., Chalc., Hier., Hist. Aug., Iul. Val., Macr., Zeno...) The noun *pausa* is rarely used in classical literature and is mostly

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[1] *corr. Scaliger* : patibulum *F*.

[2] Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Smits E. R. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. – Westerbrink A. G. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book IV 1–27. Text, Introduction and Commentary. Groningen: Bouma's Boekhuis B. V. Publishers, 1977. Pp. 83–84.

used in the expressions *pausam facere* and *pausam dare*.[1] This is how Apuleius uses the word (in Book VIII – with the verb *dare*, in Book IX – with *facere*). Although in Book XI Apuleius uses the verb *tribuere*, the general meaning of the phrase remains the same.

pauxillum 'a small quantity' (10, 27, 2; Pl., Apul., Aug., Claud. Mam., Gild., Hier., Marcell. *med.*, Hier., Querol., Sol., Vulg.) It is possible that Apuleius borrowed the nominalized adjective *pauxillum* from the language of comediographers: before him Plautus uses *pauxillum* twice in the same sense (*Aul.* 112, *Capt.* 176), but we should also note the adjective *pauxillus*, well attested in archaic comedy (in such authors as Plautus, Naevius, Afranius, Turpilius).

pecu 'a flock, herd' (2, 1, 5; 2, 5, 7; 6, 12, 4; 6, 22, 4; 7, 11, 1; 9, 35, 4; 11, 7, 3; Acc., Caecil., Cato, Host. ap. Prisc., Naev., Pl., Cic., Liv., Plin. *nat.*, Var., Apul. *flor.* 2, Fest., Iul. Val., Min. Fel., Paneg., Prud., Gloss.) The noun *pecu* (the genitive singular form is not attested) is an ancient word, instead of which in classical times the word *pecus, -oris* was used more often.[2] Of the above authors, it was used most often by Plautus (it is attested 5 times in his works) and Apuleius (8 times).

penitus 'the inward, interior part of, the depths of' (6, 13, 5; 9, 26, 4; 11, 6, 5; Pl., Var., Gell., Apul. frg. 3, *Soc.* 16, Amm., Auson., Hier., Isid., Iul. Val., Macr., Mart. Cap., Paul. Nol., Porph., Sidon., Gloss., Gramm.) In contrast to the adverb *penitus*, the archaic adjective *penitus* is quite rare in Latin literature. Apuleius uses it both in the positive form (all three instances of its use in *the Metamorphoses*; before him only in Plautus *penitus* was attested in the positive degree), in the comparative form (in a fragment of *the Hermagoras*: *in penitiorem partem*), and in the superlative form (*Soc.* 16: *in ipsis penitissimis mentibus*).

permarceo 'to be very weak' (8, 8, 7 (*conj.*);[3] Enn. *ann.* 534, Apul.) In Book VIII of *the Metamorphoses*, the shadow of the murdered Tlepolemus appears to Charite in her sleep to warn her against marrying his murderer. Unfortunately, the

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[1] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 868.
[2] ibid., p. 870.
[3] *Helm* : *F* permanat, *φ* permaneat.

speech of Tlepolemus contains several textual problems, one of which is related to the form *permanat* in the manuscript *F*: etsi pectori tuo iam permanat nostri memoria vel acerbae mortis meae casus foedus caritatis intercidit. Since *permanare* never governs the dative case, editors have assumed that the text is badly corrupted in this place, and have suggested various solutions.[1] For example, R. Helm suggested the conjecture *permarcet*, which does give a good sense, but *permarcere* is a rare verb, attested before Apuleius only in Ennius, and later not attested at all. M. Zimmerman in her edition prefers the reading *permaneat*.

perpes 'lasting' (2, 22, 2; 3, 3, 7; 9, 11, 1; Pacuv., Pl., Apul. *apol.* 73, 7, *flor.* 17, *Soc.* 1, Ambr., Auson., Calp., Cod. Theod., Hier., Iul. Val., Iust., Lact., Mart. Cap., Maur., Min. Fel., Paul. Fest., Paul. Nol., Prud., Tert., Zeno, Gloss...) As the Ernout–Meillet dictionary notes, the adjective *perpes* was superseded by the lexeme *perpetuus* and is found only in the archaic authors and archaizers of the second century A. D. (and in later times).[2] The adjective *perpes* may be regarded as a poetism with archaic overtones (Paul. Fest. p. 239 L: *perpetem pro perpetuo dixerunt poetae*).

perpetro 'to complete, carry out' (1, 8, 6; 5, 9, 1; 5, 31, 2; 10, 8, 3; Pacuv., Pl., Curt., Liv., Tac., Tiro, Var., Flor., Fronto, Gell., Apul., Arnob., Aug., Cod. Theod., Cypr., Fest., Greg. M., Hier., Itala, Pomer., Rufin., Suet., Tert., Vulg...) The verb *perpetrare* is attested in many different authors (especially historians: it appears 24 times in Livy, 12 times in Tacitus), but it was definitely avoided in the classical period. Nevertheless, the word becomes very popular in the second century A. D. and later.

perprurisco 'to itch all over' (10, 22, 1; Pl. *St.* 761, Apul.) Apuleius, in his use of the verb *perprurisco*, makes a clear reference to Plautus: in the comedy *Stichus*, the slave Sagarinus asks a piper to play such a sweet song that everyone were to "tingle all over from the very finger nails" (*St.* 761: *ubi perpruriscamus usque ex*

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[1] Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Settels C. B. J. – Wesseling B. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book VIII... Pp. 91–92.
[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 884.

unguiculis). The protagonist of Apuleius' novel uses the same expression (*ex unguiculis perpruriscens*) in his reflections on how a beautiful matron, even aroused to the tips of her fingernails, can lie down with a donkey.

persentisco 'to become fully conscious of' (8, 10, 3; 8, 22, 7; Pl., Ter., Lucr., Apul. *Plat.* 1, 13, *flor.* 12, Aug., Dict., Sol., Gloss., Gramm.) In two episodes of Book VIII of *the Metamorphoses* Apuleius uses the verb *persentiscere* (in *Met.* 8, 10, 3 it refers to householders, who should not be aware of the secret meetings between Thrasyllus and Charite, and in *Met.* 8, 22, 7 it refers to ants who smell honey). Before Apuleius the word is attested mainly in comedy.

perspicax 'having keen or penetrating sight' (2, 23, 4; Afran., inc. trag. (ap. Cic.), Ter., Cic. *off.*, Apul. *apol.* 53, 4, *Soc.* prol. 4, Ambr., Arnob., Aug., Hier., Macr., Prud., Rufin., Sidon., Tert...) Apuleius uses the adjective *perspicax* in the literal sense (in *the Metamorphoses* and *De Deo Socratis*), whereas more often it is used in the figurative sense 'perspicacious' (the meaning 'having keen sight' was attested before Apuleius; in *the Apologia* he calls the judge 'stern and perceptive' (*apol.* 53, 4: *cum tam gravi et perspicaci iudice*).

pessulus 'the bolt of a door' (1, 11, 5; 1, 14, 1; 1, 14, 7; 3, 15, 2; 4, 18, 8; 9, 20, 4; Lucil., Pl., Ter., Var., Apul., Arnob., Fulg., Greg. Tur., Marcell. *med.*, Paul. Nol., Rufin., Sidon., Gloss….) As R. T. van der Paardt notes, the noun *pessulus* is not found in classical Latin, but is characteristic of comedy.[1] Apuleius also uses the adjective *oppesulatus* 'barred' three times in the novel (*Met.* 1, 22, 1; 1, 22, 5; 9, 30, 6), before him the word is attested only in Petronius (Petr. 97, 7).

petitus 'request' (6, 7, 1; Lucr., Gell., Apul. *apol.* 45, 1; 48, 11, *Plat.* 1, 4, Ambr., Amm., Cypr., Sidon., Symm...) The noun *petitus* is rarely found in Latin literature. It is attested once in Lucretius in the sense 'the action of moving towards', then, beginning with Gellius and Apuleius, it occurs in the meaning 'demand, request'. R. Marache regards this noun as an archaism, noting that it occurs frequently in inscriptions.[2] Both in inscriptions and in fiction *petitus* is

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[1] Paardt R. T., van der. L. Apuleius Madaurensis the Metamorphoses. A Commentary on Book III... P. 112.
[2] Marache, René. Mots... P. 159

almost always used as a formula (*ad petitum*, *sine petitum*, or simply in the ablative form *petitu*, as in all cases in Apuleius). In *the Metamorphoses*, the word denotes Venus' haughty demand when she appeals to Jupiter to allow her to make use of Mercury's services. It is possible that the word *petitus* was perceived by the readers of the novel as a legal term (Apuleius himself uses it twice in his *Apologia*, and this vocabulary is typical for the image of Venus in his novel).

piscatus 'fish, the proceeds of fishing' (1, 24, 4; 1, 24, 8; Pl., Pompon., Turp., Cic. *fin*., Plin. *nat*., Var., Vitr., Fronto, Apul., Aug., Itala, Macer. *dig*., Inscr.) The noun *piscatus* occurs rarely enough in Latin texts, it is mainly attested in Plautus (7 times). Although the Ernout–Meillet dictionary states that the word belongs to the classical language,[1] L. Callebat notes that authors of this period clearly avoided the use of the word *piscatus*.[2]

pol 'by Pollux!' (1, 8, 1; 1, 24, 6; Caecil., Enn., Liv. Andr., Naev., Pl., Pompon., Ter., Titin., Cic. *de orat*., Hor. *epist*, Priap., Apul., Don., Serv.) The interjection *pol* (short for *edepol*, oath by Pollux) is best attested in ancient comedy and seems to have been rarely used in the classical period.[3] Apuleius uses it only in the first book of *the Metamorphoses*, in a dialogue between Aristomenes and Socrates about the evil witch Meroe and a conversation between Lucius and his old friend Pythias in the marketplace.

pone 'behind' (1, 4, 4; 1, 11, 5; 1, 15, 1; 2, 4, 6; 2, 9, 3; 2, 29, 1; 3, 8, 1; 4, 1, 5; 4, 20, 1; 5, 25, 6; 8, 31, 1; 9, 21, 3; 9, 25, 1; 9, 37, 6; 10, 31, 5; 11, 9, 2; 11, 24, 2; Cato, Enn., Lucil., Pl., Rhet. Her.*,* Ter., Cic., Liv., Plin. *nat*., Prop., Quint., Rut. Lup., Sen., Sil., Stat., Suet., Tac., Val. Max., Verg., Gell., Apul. *flor*. 15, Amm., Aug., Hier., Mart. Cap., Sidon., Tert., Gramm....) *Pone* was used both as a preposition and as an adverb. The archaic nature of the word is attested by Quintilian (*Inst*. 8, 3, 25: *pone... adspergunt illam... vetustatis inimitabilem arti auctoritatem*) and Festus' dictionary (p. 292 L: *pone gravi sono antiqui utebantur*

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[1] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 902.
[2] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 59.
[3] May, Regine. Apuleius. Metamorphoses... P. 132.

pro loci significatione). The word *pone* occurs most frequently in Tacitus and Apuleius, although the latter uses it only in *the Metamorphoses*, except for one instance in *the Florida*.

potatio 'a drinking party' (8, 1, 5; Pl., Cic. or. frg., Apul., Ambr., Aug., Cael. Aur., Cassiod., Claud. Don., Ferreol., Fest., Firm., Fulg., Greg. M., Greg. Tur., Heges., Hil., Itala, Pomer., Zeno…) The noun *potatio* is rarely found in Latin literature before Apuleius (it is attested three times in the comedies of Plautus and once in a fragment of a speech by Cicero, given by Quintilian (*Inst.* 8, 3, 66)). Apuleius uses the word to describe the personality of Thrasyllus, a noble man, but accustomed to debauchery and daytime drinking. L. Gargantini marks the word as an archaism.[1]

praegnatio 'pregnancy' (1, 9, 5 (bis); 5, 16, 4; 5, 18, 1; 10, 23, 3; Var., Apul., Ps. Apul. *Ascl.* 41, Interpr. *Paul. sent.*, Max. Taur., Ps. Ambr., Ser. Samm.) Although the noun *praegnatio* is attested twice already in Varro, it occurs mostly only in works of the later period of Latin literature. As W. Keulen notes, usually when the word *praegnatio* is used in the novel, something extraordinary is implied:[2] in Book I the witch Meroe condemns a woman to eternal pregnancy, and in Book V the sisters of Psyche discuss the unusual child she is carrying.

praegrandis 'exceptionally large' (2, 24, 5; 6, 19, 3; Pacuv., Mela, Pers., Plin. *nat.*, Suet., Apul., Alc. Avit., Aug., Iul. Val., Marcell. *med.*, Tert., Vitae patr., Vulg.) The adjective *praegrandis* with the prefix *prae-*, which intensifies the meaning,[3] occurs most often in Pliny (18 times). In *the Metamorphoses* Cerberus is called "a huge dog", and in Book II Telephron asks for a large lamp to watch over a dead man all night.

praesegmen 'a piece cut off' (2, 20, 2; Pl., Apul., Ennod., Fulg., Hil., Isid., Non., Pacian., Prud., Symm., Gloss.) *Praesegmen* is a rare noun, attested before Apuleius only in Plautus' comedy *Aulularia*, where it refers to nail trimmings.

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[1] Gargantini, Luisa. Ricerche... P. 39.
[2] Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... P. 219.
[3] Leumann, Manu. Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1977. S. 400.

From the context of *the Metamorphoses* one cannot say exactly what Apuleius meant by this word in his novel: it vaguely refers to certain remnants and pieces of corpses which can be used in magical rituals (*Met*. 2, 20, 2: *reliquiae quaedam et cadaverum praesegmina*). These "ingredients" for potions are described in more detail in *Met*. 3, 17, where human nostrils, fingers, and blood are listed among Pamphile's possessions.

   praesentarius 'paid on the spot in cash, immediately operative' (2, 25, 4; 10, 4, 6; 10, 9, 1; Pl., Gell., Apul., Boeth., Iulian., Zeno) In Plautus the adjective *praesentarius* is attested five times, and in most cases it refers to money. In Apuleius, Telephron frightens a weasel with his "immediately operative power" (*Met*. 2, 25, 4: *nostri vim praesentariam*). In Book X of the novel Apuleius mentions twice *venenum praesentarium*, a strong poison that takes effect as soon as it is taken (Apuleius also calls it *venenum momentarium*). R. Marache suggests that Apuleius borrowed this meaning of *praesentarius* for poison from Gellius (Gellius tells about Atilius Regulus, who asked Carthaginians for a slow poison for himself: *venenum sibi Carthaginienses dedisse, non praesentarium, sed eiusmodi, quod mortem in diem proferret* (Gell. 7, 4, 1)).[1] Before Gellius the adjective *praesentaneus* was attested in the same sense (Sen. *epist*. 95, 25, Ps. Quint. *decl*. 13, 6, Plin. *nat*. 24, 119).

   praestino 'to buy' (1, 5, 4; 1, 24, 4; 4, 15, 3 (*conj*.);[2] 7, 9, 6; 8, 23, 3; 8, 24, 3; 9, 6, 5; 9, 8, 3; 9, 10, 5; 10, 13, 4; Pl., Apul. *apol*. 101, 7, *flor*. 9, Paul. Fest. p. 249 L) With the exception of mentions of this verb in the glossaries and in Festus, the word *praestinare* is attested only in the works of Plautus and Apuleius, so it is assumed that Apuleius directly borrowed it from the comediographer.[3] In Plautus this verb is attested three times, and twice it is used in the context of buying fish. In this connection L. Callebat singles out a corresponding episode in Apuleius: *forum cupidinis peto, inque eo piscatum opiparem expositum video et percontato pretio...*

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[1] Marache, René. Mots... P. 183.
[2] praestinatae *Beroaldus* : praedestinatae *F*.
[3] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 1150.

praestinavi (*Met*. 1, 24, 4; cf. Pl. *Ps*. 169: *ego eo in macellum, ut piscium quidquid ibist pretio praestinem*).[1]

primigenius 'first-born' (11, 5, 2; Var., Cic., Liv., Apul., Amm., Arnob., Aug., Claud. Mam., Fest., Itala, Mart. Cap., Gramm., Inscr...) The Groningen commentary notes that the adjective *primigenius* belongs to archaic language, as well as its religious colouring (in the inscriptions the word *primigenius* appears as an epithet of gods).[2] In Apuleius' novel Isis calls the Phrygians *primigenii*, singling them out as the most ancient people.

proeliaris 'of or belonging to battles' (3, 6, 1; 8, 16, 6; 10, 31, 5; Pl., Apul., Ambr., Ennod., Heges., Isid., Itala, Iul. Val., Macr., Paul. Fest.) Before Apuleius, the adjective *proeliaris* is attested only once, in Plautus' comedy *Curculio*, where in this way the warrior Therapontigonus boasts of the countless battles in which he has participated (Pl. *Curc*. 573: *meaeque pugnae proeliares plurimae optritae iacent?*). Apuleius uses the adjective in the same pleonastic way in Book III of *the Metamorphoses*, where with the expression *proeliaris acies* Lucius, defending himself in court, describes his fight with robbers, who later turn out to be wineskins. The same expression in Book VIII refers to a procession of shepherds armed with improvised objects in fear of encountering wolves on the road. Only in Book X the adjective appears not in a humorous description of a battle: there the narrator calls Minerva a 'war-loving goddess', who appears on stage during a mime of the Judgement of Paris.

prolixus 'extended, long' (1, 20, 5; 1, 23, 8; 2, 9, 4; 3, 24, 5; 3, 27, 3; 3, 29, 1; 4, 1, 2; 5, 25, 5; 8, 9, 2; 11, 3, 4; 11, 26, 1; Pacuv., Ter., Col., Plin. *nat*., Suet., Var., Vitr., Gell., Apul. *flor*. 15, *mund*. 16, Ambr., Amm., Aug., Cod. Theod., Firm., Greg. Tur., Hier., Iul. Val., Macr., Mart. Cap., Porph., Serv., Sidon., Sol...) The adjective *prolixus* is well attested in Latin literature, but it seems that authors of the classical period avoided using it in the sense 'long, extended' (in Cicero's letters

[1] Callebat L. Sermo... Pp. 484–485.
[2] Keulen W. H. – Tilg. S. – Nicolini L. – Graverini L. – Harrison S. J. – Panayotakis S. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book XI... P. 157.

prolixus appears several times in the sense 'generous' with regard to people or their actions, but in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* this adjective is used differently: it refers to a long road, long hair, long conversation).[1]

prolubium 'inclination, desire' (10, 21, 4; Acc., Caecil., Laber., Naev., Ter., trag. inc., Varro, Gell., Apul., Don., Gloss.) The noun *prolubium* is mainly attested in old comedy and is not attested in fiction after Gellius and Apuleius. In *the Metamorphoses* the expression *prolubium libidinis* is used to describe the feelings of Lucius the Ass on a date with a noble matron.

promico 'to make a sudden forward movement' (3, 10, 3; 3, 21, 5; 10, 29, 2; Naev., Apul., Amm., Conc. *Carth.*, Euseb. Gallic., Hymn. *Walpole*, Iul. Val., Non., Pass. *Marcul.,* Serm. *Rev. Bened.*) *Promicare* is a rare verb, attested before Apuleius only in a fragment of a comedy by Naevius (Naev. *com.* 16). Nonius (Non. p. 65) explains that his *promicare* means the same as *extendere* and *porro iacere*. In Apuleius and later authors the meaning is somewhat different: in *the Metamorphoses* the verb *promicare* describes how tears come forth, Pamphile grows feathers, and roses grow out of the ground.

properiter 'quickly' (1, 22, 8; 5, 29, 1; 6, 26, 4; 7, 25, 1; 10, 27, 3; Acc., Pacuv., Apul., Sept. Ser., Auson., Iul. Val., Iulian., Gloss.) *Properiter* is an archaic adverb, attested in Roman tragedy before Apuleius and his contemporary Septimius Serenus. The adverb *propere* with the same meaning is more commonly found in Latin literature. Apuleius uses both *properiter* and *propere* (3 times as often), apparently without significant difference.

propitio 'to render favourable' (1, 10, 5; 2, 10, 5; 2, 28, 6; 2, 31, 2; 4, 29, 4; 6, 1, 1; 9, 27, 3; 10, 32, 2; 11, 2, 2; 11, 9, 4; 11, 26, 3; Pacuv., Pl., Curt., Plin. *nat.*, Sen. *philos.*, Suet., Tac., Val. Max., Gell., Apul., Amm., Aug., Itala, Itin. Alex., Macr., Prud., Sidon., Tert., Vulg...) The verb *propitiare* was avoided by the authors of the classical period.[2] It was usually used as a religious term (especially in the writings of Christian writers). In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the verb appears in the

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 408.
[2] L&S, p. 1471.

context of propitiation of gods (from Risus to Isis), witches and prophets, as well as of love making (with this verb, Lucius asks Photis to take pity on him).

propudiosus 'shameful, vile' (9, 27, 2; Pl., Gell., Apul. *apol.* 75, 1, Arnob., Faust., Itala, Min. Fel., Priscill., Rut. Nam., Sidon., Tert., Gloss.) The adjective *propudiosus* is used in the comedies of Plautus as well as in works of Gellius and Apuleius as an insult to women (in *the Metamorphoses* it refers to a miller's unfaithful wife) or men (in *the Apologia* Apuleius calls his accuser Herennius Rufinus *propudiosus*). L. Callebat calls the adjective *propudiosus* Plautine (in Plautus it is attested twice).[1]

prorsum 'forward' (3, 2, 4; 5, 1, 4; 5, 11, 2; 9, 37, 6; 10, 1, 1; Afran., Cato, Lucil., Pl., Ter., Lucr., Fronto, Gell., Apul. *apol.* 4, 12, *flor.* 9, 18, Chalc., Don., Paul. Fest.) The adverb *prorsum* is attested mainly in authors of the anteclassical period and in archaizers (it is especially common in the comedies of Plautus). The more common form in Roman literature was *prorsus*, e. g., Cicero and Quintilian use exclusively *prorsus*. According to ThLL, in the works of Apuleius there are about 92 cases of *prorsus* and only 8 cases of *prorsum*.[2]

prosapia 'family, lineage' (1, 1, 2; 3, 11, 1; 6, 23, 4; 8, 2, 5; 9, 35, 3; 10, 18, 1; Cato, Pl., Cic., Quint., Sall., Suet., Apul. *Soc*. 23, *apol.* 18, 12, Ambr., Amm., Arnob., Cassiod., Claud. Don., Cod. Theod., Ennod., Fest., Greg. Tur., Heges., Iul. Val., Iust., Min. Fel., Prud., Rufin., Serv., Tert., Ven. Fort., Zeno, Gloss….) The archaic nature of the noun *prosapia* is attested by Cicero (*Tim*. 39: *ut utamur vetere verbo*) and Quintilian (*Inst*. 1, 6, 40: *nihil est odiosius adfectatione, nec utique ab ultimis et iam oblitteratis repetita temporibus, qualia sunt... 'prosapia'*). As commentators on *the Metamorphoses* note, Apuleius' *prosapia* always has a touch of solemnity.[3]

proserpo 'to creep, crawl out' (4, 19, 1; 6, 14, 4; 7, 24, 4; Pl., Var., Apul. *apol.* 85, 5, Ambr., Amm., Arnob., Aug., Avien., Cod. Iust., Eustath., Fulg., Seren.

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 512.

[2] Wick, Claudia. Prorsus, prorsum // ThLL, Vol. X, 2 (1995–2009). P. 2156.

[3] Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book X... P. 250; Nicolini, Lara. La Novella... P. 262.

Samm., Tert., Vincent. Ler., Gloss.) Like Plautus, Apuleius uses the verb *proserpo* when describing or comparing with snakes (in *the Apologia* the verb describes the actions of a viper, while in *the Metamorphoses* one of the slaves crawls out snake-like during a house robbery, the verb also refers to a bear and dragons guarding the spring that feeds the waters of Cocytus).

protelo 'to beat back, beat off' (8, 18, 4; 9, 2, 4; Sis., Ter., Turp., Fronto, Apul., Ambr., Avien., Don., Fest., Fulg., Iust., Non., Tert., Ulp., Vulg., Gloss...) The verb *protelare* in prose before Apuleius is attested only in a fragment of Sisenna's historical work. L. Callebat marks this verb as an example of ancient words, the use of which is a common characteristic of the style of both Sisenna and Apuleius.[1]

provincia 'a task' (6, 21, 4; 9, 17, 5; Pl., Ter., Cic., Apul. *Soc*. 6, Aug. Chalc., Claud. Mam., Fulg., Hier., Longin., Macr., Novell., Sidon., Symm., Tert.) Usually the noun *provincia* was used to refer to a territory outside Italy that was administered by a Roman official, or to refer to a special function or task of an official in ancient Rome. Nevertheless, twice in the novel Apuleius uses the word to refer to a task in a domestic setting (such use is attested several times in Plautus' comedies). In *the Metamorphoses*, the word *provincia* refers to the last assignment given by Venus to Psyche, as well as to the order to the slave of the town councillor Barbarus to watch his wife Arete in his absence.

publicitus 'publicly' (1, 10, 1; 3, 16, 4; 6, 7, 3; 10, 29, 1; Caecil., Enn., Lucil., Pl., Pompon., Ter., Titin., Gell., Apul. *flor*. 9, *apol*. 14, 2, Auson., Claud. Mam., Hist. Aug., Mart. Cap., Paneg., Prud., Gramm.) In Latin, along with the adverb *publice*, there was also the adverb *publicitus*, although it was attested mainly in the literature of the anteclassical period, and was later borrowed by the archaizing writers.

puellus 'a boy' (5, 16, 4; 7, 21, 2; 9, 27, 4; 10, 29, 4; 10, 32, 1; Enn., Lucil., Pl., Lucr., Suet., Var., inc. poet. ap. Gell. (this poem may have been written by

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 478.

Apuleius),[1] Apul., Ser. *med.*, Gloss.) In Latin, the words *puerculus*, *puerulus*, *puellus* were used as diminutives of the word *puer*. Suetonius writes that in antiquity just as girls were called *puerae*, boys were called *puelli* (*Cal*. 8), but authors of the classical period avoided the lexeme *puellus*.

pulvisculus 'dust' (9, 12, 4; Pl., Apul. *apol*. 6, 3; 6, 4; 16, 7, Arnob., Cael. Aur., Claud. Mam., Hier., Isid., Sol., Vigil., Gramm.) Before Apuleius the diminutive *pulvisculus* is attested only in the comedies of Plautus. In *the Metamorphoses* this word refers to the flour dust covering the slaves working in the mill. As L. Pasetti notes, in describing these slaves the novel uses many rare and archaic words (including *pulvisculus*), many of which are borrowed from Plautus.[2] L. Pasetti argues that *pulvisculus* in Apuleius (both in *the Metamorphoses* and in *the Apologia*) specifically belongs to archaic vocabulary and not to the language of comedy: in Plautus' comedies *pulvisculus* is used exclusively as a part of the idiom *converrere (averrere) cum pulvisculo* 'to sweep away every last crumb'.

purpuro 'to make purple, be purple' (6, 24, 3; 10, 22, 1; Fur. Ant. (poeta vetus ap. Gell.), Col., Apul., Amm., Aug., Hist. Aug., Mart. Cap., Paul. Nol., Prud., Rufin…) The verb *purpurare* is cited by Gellius as one of the words used by a second – first century B. C. poet Furius Antiatus, which the grammarian Caesellius Vindex disapproved of. Apparently, for Gellius and Apuleius this word looked like an archaism.[3]

putor 'rottenness' (4, 3, 10; Cato, Lucr., Plin. *nat*., Stat., Var., Apul., Arnob., Aug., Caes. Arel., Hier., Porph., Serv….) The Groningen commentary on Book IV of *the Metamorphoses* calls the noun *putor* "slightly archaic".[4] In Apuleius the word refers to the bad smell of donkey dung.

quaerito 'to search for' (3, 27, 6; 6, 5, 4; Enn. ap. Macrob., Pl., Pompon., Rhet. Her., Ter., Catull., Vell., Apul., Aug., Hier., Salv.) As the Etymological dictionary

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[1] Dahlmann H. Ein Gedicht des Apuleius? Gellius 19, 10 // Abhandlungen des Geists- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, №8. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur – Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1979.

[2] Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... Pp. 21–22.

[3] Zimmerman M. – Panayotakis S. – Hunink V.C. – Keulen W.H. – Harrison S. J. – McCreight Th. D. – Wesseling B. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books IV 28–35, V and VI 1–24... P. 549.

[4] Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Smits E. R. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. – Westerbrink A. G. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book IV... P. 45.

by A. Ernout and A. Meillet notes, the iterative verb *quaeritare* is mainly attested in the language of comedy (in Plautus there are about 40 occurrences of the verb, in Terence – only 4).[1]

quaesitio 'the act of searching' (5, 28, 1; Pl. *Cas.* 513, Apul., CIL I 814, 5) *Quaesitio* is a very rare noun in Latin literature, synonymous with the more common *quaestio*. The only use of this noun in fiction, apart from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, is in Pl. *Cas.* 513, as a part of the idiom *in quaesitione esse* 'to be the object of a search'.

quaqua 'wherever' (4, 6, 3; 11, 4, 1; 11, 24, 3 + 11, 30, 5 (*conj.*);[2] Pl., Culex, Suet., Var., Apul.) The relative adverb *quaqua* is a form of the ablative case of the pronoun *quisquis* and appears to be quite rare in Latin literature.

quippini 'of course' (9, 26, 3; Pl., Apul.) *Quippini* is a particle mainly attested in interrogative sentences in the comedies of Plautus (it is attested 16 times in this comediographer). In Apuleius, however, the particle occurs not in direct speech, but in the description of the actions of a miller's wife: *adponebat ei propere, quamvis invita, mulier quippini destinatam alii* ("the wife quickly served him (i. e. her husband) the dish, though reluctantly, because the food, of course, was meant for another (i. e. her lover)"; translated by us. – *S. D.*).

reapse 'in reality' (1, 13, 3; 11, 13, 1; Pacuv., Pl., Scip. min. or. frg. Fest., Cic., Sen., Fronto, Gell., Apul. *apol.* 67, 6, Boeth., Chalc., Itin. Alex.*,* Iul. Val.) Both times the adverb *reapse* in *the Metamorphoses* is spelled in manuscript *F* as reabse, but even if Apuleius' contemporaries pronounced the word this way, there is no doubt that Apuleius himself knew the etymology of this adverb (*re eapse*). Although *reapse* is attested several times in Cicero's philosophical treatises (*De re publica*, *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, *De officiis*, *De divinatione*, *De legibus*, *Laelius seu De amicitia*, as well as once in a letter to Lucius Papirius Paetus (*fam.* 9, 15)), already Seneca in his *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* (*epist.* 108, 32)

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[1] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 972; Callebat L. Sermo... P. 516.

[2] *Oudendorp* : qua *F*.

thought it necessary to explain the meaning of this expression and to mention that Cicero had used it.

recello 'to cause to recoil' (7, 24, 5; 10, 22, 4; Liv. 24, 34, 10, Lucr. 6, 573, Apul., Fest., Gloss.) *Recello* is a very rare Latin verb, attested in only two authors before Apuleius, Lucretius and Livy, and in an intransitive sense ('to recoil, swing back'). In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses recellere* is used in a transitive sense both times, when Lucius the Ass withdraws a part of his body (*Met*. 7, 24, 5: *totum corporis pondus in postremos poplites recello*; 10, 22, 4: *nates recellebam*).

recuro 'to cure' (6, 25, 2; 8, 18, 6; Catull., Plin. *nat*., Stat., Apul., Aug., Cael. Aur., Isid., Tert....) *Recurare* is a rare verb, first attested in Catullus. P. Médan marks the verb as an archaism, although it probably belonged to the colloquial language.[1]

rescula/**recula** 'an article of small value, trifle' (4, 12, 4; Pl. *Cist*. 377, Pl. frag. ap. Prisc. 3, 33, Cic. *Sest*. 110, Apul., Don. *vita Verg*., Greg. Tur., Max. Tur., Salv., Gramm.) *Rescula* is a rare diminutive derived from the noun *res*. As the Etymological dictionary by A. Ernout and A. Meillet notes, the word was borrowed by archaicists of the later period of Roman literature.[2] L. Callebat thinks it is a Plautine word, chosen by Apuleius due to its archaic character.[3] In *the Metamorphoses* the word is used by an old woman trying to pass her things for worthless junk in a conversation with a thief (*Met*. 4, 12, 4: *paupertinas pannosasque resculas*).

saepicule 'often' (1, 12, 1; 2, 3, 3; 6, 28, 1; 8, 20, 3; 9, 30, 6; 9, 39, 1; 11, 28, 3; Pl. *Cas*. 703, Apul., Don. *Ter. Eun*. 269) Apparently, Apuleius borrowed the adverb *saepicule* from Plautus, who had used this diminutive ironically (Pl. *Cas*. 703: *saepicule peccas*, "you are often mistaken", about frequent slip-ups).[4] In Book VIII of the *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius uses this adverb creating a wordplay *sepiculae – saepicule* (*sepicula* is a diminutive of the noun *sepes* 'fence').

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[1] Médan, Pierre. La Latinité... P. 179; Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Settels C. B. J. – Wesseling B. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book VIII... P. 167.

[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 1009.

[3] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 509.

[4] Pasetti, L. Plauto… P. 21.

savium/suavium 'a kiss' (2, 10, 1; 3, 14, 5; 4, 26, 7; 5, 7, 5; 5, 23, 3; 6, 8, 3; 7, 21, 3; 9, 22, 6; 10, 22, 2; Caecil., Pl., Sis., Ter., Catull., Cic. *Att*., Hor. *epod*., Plin. *ep*., Prop., Varro, Fronto, inc. poet. ap. Gell., Apul. *apol*. 9, 14, Don., Serv.) It is difficult to attribute the noun *savium* to a certain layer of vocabulary: some scholars believe that it belongs to the colloquial Latin language, some – to the archaic one. In any case, the word *savium* was often used in ancient comedy (most often in Plautus), several times in poetry (once in Catullus, Propertius and Horace), and then it appears in the works of archaicists of the first – second centuries A. D.

scitamenta 'delicacies' (10, 13, 6; Pl. *Men*. 209, Gell. 18, 8, 1, Apul., Macr. *sat*. 7, 14, Paul. Nol. *epist*. 44, 1, Symm. *epist*. 1, 23, 2) Before Apuleius, the noun *scitamenta* (it exists only in the plural) is attested in Plautus. It is also found in Gellius in a figurative sense to describe stylistic embellishments in speech. Apuleius lists *scitamenta* among the delicacies which the cook and the confectioner serve to Lucius the Ass. According to M. Zimmerman, this is one of the words in this episode which indicate the comedic nature of the scene.[1]

scitulus 'nice-looking' (1, 7 ,7; 2, 6, 7; 3, 15, 8; 5, 25, 5; 7, 21, 2; Afran. *com*. 386, Pl. *Rud*. 565, 894, Apul., Arnob. 3, 21, 1; 5, 6, 7; 5, 31, 6) The archaic adjective *scitulus* was borrowed from Plautus by Apuleius and later by Arnobius.[2] As *scitula* Plautus twice describes the girl Palaestra in the comedy *Rudens*. In *the Metamorphoses* a number of female characters are characterized with this word: the witch Meroe, the servant girl Photis, Psyche. The adjective is used only once to refer to a man, when Photis describes her mistress Pamphile's sorcery to Lucius and explains that the woman usually resorts to it when she is lost in admiration for a handsome young man (*Met*. 3, 15, 8: *cum scitulae formulae iuuenem quempiam libenter aspexit*).

scortor 'to act promiscuously' (7, 11, 6; Pl., Ter., Var., Apul., Ambr., Aug., Non., Rufin., Salv., Vulg.) As L. Callebat notes, Apuleius follows comic patterns in

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[1] Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book X... Pp. 207–208 .
[2] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 511; Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 1064.

his use of the verb *scortari*.[1] The authors of the Groningen commentary to Book VII of *the Metamorphoses* specify that in comedies this verb is usually used in the context of wine drinking (Pl. *Asin*. 270, *Ps*. 1134, Ter. *Hau*. 206, *Ad*. 102), and the same pattern is followed by Apuleius (Lucius the Ass reproaches Charite for her sympathy towards the bandit Haemus, who brought her food and drinks).[2] In this case Apuleius' *scortari* refers to a female character's behaviour, not to a male character's one, as in comediographers.

scruposus 'full of sharp rocks' (6, 31, 6; Pacuv., Pl., Grat., Luc., Lucr., Maur., Apul. *flor*. 11, Amm.) *Scruposus* is a rather rare adjective, perhaps a poetism with archaic overtones.[3] As in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Apuleius uses *scruposus* as a definition of *saxum*.

sedentarius 'associated with sitting, sedentary' (1, 2, 3; Pl. *Aul*. 513, Col. 12, 3, 8, Plin. *Pan*. 76, 3, Apul., Iul. Val. 1, 33; 2, 15; 3, 24) The Ernout–Meillet dictionary states that the adjective *sedentarius* is rare and not attested in classical literature,[4] but does not call it an archaism. In Plautus, *sedentarii* refers to shoemakers who work in a seated position (Julius Valerius, the author of the translation of *the Alexander Romance*, uses this adjective with a similar meaning, close to that of the participle *sedens*); in other ancient authors this adjective is connected with activity: Columella, describing duties of a vilica, a slave who manages the affairs of the estate, says "*neque enim sedentaria eius opera est*" (Col. 12, 3, 8), and Pliny the Younger tells about the former "sitting" necessity (Plin. *Pan*. 76, 3: *sedentariam adsentiendi necessitatem*) of the members of the Senate to acquiesce in everything. In Apuleius Lucius suffers *fatigatio sedentaria* (sitting on a horse for a long time) at the beginning of the novel.

sedulo 'diligently' (1, 18, 1; 2, 3, 5; 2, 8, 2; 3, 3, 3; 3, 16, 4; 3, 20, 2; 4, 6, 2; 4, 9, 4; 5, 2, 4; 6, 2, 1; 6, 13, 3; 7, 1, 6; 8, 18, 6; 9, 6, 5; 9, 26, 4; 9, 41, 7; 10, 1, 2; 11, 19, 3; Cato, Enn., Lucil., Pl., Rhet. Her., Ter., Cic., Col., Frontin., Liv., Plin. *ep*.,

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 516.
[2] Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. – Westerbrink A. G. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books VI 25–32 and VII… P. 157.
[3] Apuleius of Madauros. Florida / Ed. with a commentary by Vincent Hunink... P. 126.
[4] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 1076.

Quint., Rut. Lup., Sen. *ep*., Suet., Vatin. ap. Cic., Fronto, Apul. *apol.* 11, 8; 15, 6; 36, 7; 48, 5; 51, 8; 55, 8; 68, 2; 81, 1; 95, 2, *flor*. 9, 14, 16, 17, *Soc*. 8, 16, 18, 22, Char. *gramm*., Don., Isid., Non., Serv.) Although this adverb is attested in the literature of the classical period (it occurs in Cicero 7 times, 5 of which are in his letters), it is especially frequent in ancient comedy and is considered one of the favourite words of Plautus and Terence.[1] The fact that Apuleius often uses the adverb *sedulo* in his works also speaks of his sympathy for this word.

s(e)orsum 'separately' (10, 19, 2; 11, 21, 6; Acc., Afran., Cato, Pl., Rhet. Her., Ter., Lucr., B. Afr., Cic., Col., Curt., Larg., Liv., Sall., Var., Gell., Apul. *Soc*. 17, Iust. *dig*., Prud., Vulg.) As the Ernout–Meillet dictionary indicates, the adverb *s(e)orsum/s(e)orsus* seems to have been avoided by the authors of the classical period (Cicero uses this word only once, in his treatise *De re publica*).[2] In *the Metamorphoses* Apuleius uses this adverb when describing the crowd impressed by the tricks of a donkey with human habits and how people from it were allowed to come to Lucius one by one (*singulis eorum sorsus admissis*) for a large fee. In Book XI the narrator describes the duties of people being initiated into priesthood and notes that it is difficult to find a priest who would not adhere to the described actions without a special instruction from Isis (*seorsum iubente domina*).

serio 'seriously' (3, 8, 5; 3, 29, 1; Afran., Naev., Pl., Ter., Curt., Liv., Plin. *ep*., Plin. *nat*., Quint., Sen., Suet., Fronto, Apul.) The adverb *serio* is especially common in the comedies of Plautus, but authors of the classical period avoid it (in the works of Caesar and Cicero it is not used at all). The adverb is often used in the idioms *ioco an serio, ioco vel serio* and similar expressions (in Plautus, Terence, Suetonius, Livy, Seneca, Fronto), but such use is not attested in Apuleius. At the end of Book III of *the Metamorphoses*, this adverb is used in a wordplay *sero quidem serio tamen* "though late, but seriously", about the idea Lucius the Ass had of asking for help from the authorities.

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[1] L&S, p. 1661; Paardt R. T., van der. L. Apuleius Madaurensis the Metamorphoses. A Commentary on Book III... P. 41.
[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 1085.

sessibulum 'a seat' (1, 23, 2;[1] Pl. *Poen.* 268, Apul.) When Milo confesses that, for his fear of thieves, he has almost no chairs in his house, Apuleius uses the noun *sessibulum*. According to L. Callebat, the great rarity of this word and its absence in the Romance languages indicate that it may be considered an archaism.[2] Perhaps the readers directly associated this word with the language of Plautus: both Plautus in his comedy *Poenulus* and Apuleius in his novel *the Metamorphoses* use the noun *sessibulum* in a context with prominent alliteration (Pl. *Poen.* 268: *olant stabulum statumque, sellam et sessibulum merum*; Apul. *Met.* 1, 23, 2: *nulla sessibula ac ne sufficientem supellectilem parare nobis licet*).[3] Later Julius Valerius uses the word *sessibile* in the same sense (Iul. Val. 1, 31; 1, 34).

severiter 'severely' (2, 27, 4; 3, 3, 9; 4, 31, 2 (*conj.*);[4] Titin. *com.* 67, Apul., Prisc. 15, 70) Instead of the adverb *severe*, which is characteristic of the classical language, Apuleius uses the rare and archaic *severiter*. This adverb is also attested in a fragment of a comedy by Titinius and in Priscian (with a reference to Plautus).

severitudo 'severity' (1, 25, 5; Pl. *Epid.* 609, Apul., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Non.) Instead of the classical *severitas*, Apuleius uses the archaic noun *severitudo*, previously attested only in Plautus (cf. *habitas – habitudo*). Perhaps the use of this word is motivated by the comic atmosphere of the episode (Lucius buys fish in the market, but his old friend aedile Pythias decides to deal strictly with the bad goods), but perhaps *severitudo* as a legal term plays a role here.[5]

solide 'thoroughly' (3, 15, 3; Pl., Ter., Col., Petr., Gell., Apul., Hist. Aug., Vulg.) In Book III of *the Metamorphoses*, Photis confesses that she is sorely afraid (formido solide) of revealing the secrets of Pamphile the witch. As L. Callebat notes, this synonym for the classical adverb *valde* belongs to the language of comedy (*solide* occurs twice in Plautus' comedy *Trinummus* and once in Terence's comedy *Andria*).

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[1] escsibula *F*, corr. *Beroaldus* : escibula *φ* : est fibula *a*.
[2] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 482.
[3] Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... P. 407.
[4] *Brantius* : reverenter *F*.
[5] Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... P. 451.

solitas 'solitude' (9, 18, 2; Acc. *trag*. 354, Apul. *apol*. 22, 3, Tert. *adv. Val.* 37) Instead of the classical word *solitudo*, Apuleius uses the rare and archaic noun *solitas*. The word, despite its rarity, has nevertheless survived in Spanish and Portuguese.[1]

sorbillo 'to sip' (2, 16, 3; 3, 14, 5; Ter. *Ad.* 591, Apul.) *Sorbillare* is a very rare verb, probably borrowed by Apuleius from Terence.[2] It is especially prominent in Book III of *the Metamorphoses*, where the word "sipping" refers to the kisses with which Lucius dries Photis' tears (*Met*. 3, 14, 5: *oculos... adnixis et sorbillantibus saviis sitienter hauriebam*).

spectamen 'a spectacle' (4, 20, 4; 7, 13, 2; Pl. *Men*. 966, Agen. *agrim*. 22, Apul., Claud. Mam. *stat. anim.* 2, 12, 7, Prud. *psychom*. 913) The archaic noun *spectamen* is used twice by Apuleius and before him it had only been attested in Plautus, both times in the accusative case with two attributives: *miserum funestumque spectamen aspexi* (*Met*. 4, 20, 4; about a tragic death of brigand Thrasyleon torn by dogs), *cerneres... novumque et hercules memorandum spectamen* (*Met*. 7, 13, 2; about Charite entering a city riding a donkey).

specula 'a slight hope' (6, 5, 3; 9, 38, 1; 10, 29, 2; Pl., Cic., Sen., Apul., Char. *gramm*., Salv., Symm.) Three times in *the Metamorphoses* Apuleius uses the noun *specula*, always as a diminitive,[3] indicating a glimmer of hope that can hardly be justified (e. g., Psyche's hope to escape the wrath of Venus (*Met*. 6, 5, 3)).

sportula 'a small basket' (1, 24, 9; 1, 25, 4; Pl. *Cur*. 289, *Men*. 219, *St*. 289, Apul., Vulg. I *Reg*. 9, 7; 7, 8) The diminutive noun *sportula* was often used in Latin literature to designate a client's attribute, a basket of food or money given by a patron to a client. It is in the meaning of such a gift that Apuleius uses the word *sportula* in Book VII of *the Metamorphoses* (*Met*. 7, 8, 3). In Book I, however, *sportula* is a basket, not its contents.[4] With this basket Lucius goes to the fish

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[1] Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch von W. Meyer-Lübke… S. 608.
[2] Callebat L. Sermo... Pp. 516–517.
[3] L. Pasetti includes the noun *specula* among either non-diminutive formations or diminutives of unclear origin ("formazioni non diminutive o di origine dubbia"): Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... P. 55.
[4] The diminutive *sportella* was used exclusively to mean "a small basket" (Cic. *Fam*. 9.20.2, Petr. 40.3, 40.8, Suet. *Dom*. 4.5), while *sportula* in most cases denotes specifically a sum of money or food.

market. Perhaps this use of *sportula* (as well as the comicality of the episode as a whole) was meant to remind the reader of Plautus' comedies, where this noun occurs in this sense.[1]

spurcitia 'filth' (8, 28, 3; Afran., Col., Lucr., Plin. *nat.*, Var., Apul. *flor*. 17, Hist. Aug., Serv., Vulg.) *Spurcitia* is a rare noun used by Apuleius to refer to the unclean blood of the servants of the Syrian goddess. In *the Florida* this word is understood as earwax (*aures spurcitie obseratae*).

strictim 'closely, tightly' (7, 28, 3; 11, 10, 2; Pl. *Capt*. 268, Apul. *flor*. 15, Pallad. 1, 13) The adverb *strictim* in Latin literature is most often used metaphorically: it refers to the framing of an oral or written text and means "cursorily", "concisely", "superficially". Nevertheless, Plautus and Apuleius use it literally (the verb *stringere* means "to tighten, strip off, bare"): In Plautus the word *strictim* characterizes a bald haircut, in Apuleius in Book XI it defines clothes that fit tightly around the body (similarly, in *the Florida* Apuleius tells about a statue with a ciphara fastened by a belt, which is "held close to the body" (*strictim sustinetur*)), and in Book VII Lucius the Ass has to defend himself with a stream of liquid excrement "*strictim egesta*".

suadela 'persuasion' (9, 18, 4; 9, 25, 4; Pl., Hor., Apul. *Plat*. 2, 27, Cassiod., Mar. Vict., Porph., Serv., Zeno) Apparently, Apuleius and his readers perceived Latin abstract nouns ending in -ela as archaic (this is probably also true for Horace: in *Epist*. 1, 6 the poet uses the word *suadela* as the Latin name of the Greek goddess of persuasion Πειθώ).[2] In his novel Apuleius uses *suadela* both times in the "Milesian tales" which Book IX is filled with.

sublimo 'to raise' (1, 8, 4; 1, 16, 4; 3, 21, 6; 5, 16, 1; Cato, Enn., Vitr., Apul. *Soc*. 4, 8, 16, *flor*. 2, Amm., Aurel. Vict., Hier., Macr., Mamert., Mart. Cap., Paul. Fest., Prud., Serv., Tert., Vulg.) The verb *sublimare* is considered archaic, since before Apuleius it is attested in fragments of Cato's *Origines* and Ennius' tragedies (the Ernout–Meillet dictionary notes that the verb was later borrowed by

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[1] Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... P. 28.
[2] Dubova, Svetlana S. Turbela... P. 224.

archaicists,[1] but is not attested in Fronto and Gellius). In *Met*. 1, 8, 4 next to *sublimare* Apuleius places his neologism *infimare*, which in C. Roncaioli's view he coined from the Plautine adjective *infimatis* next to *sublimatis* (Pl. *Stich*. 493; cf. the same device in Apul. *Soc*. 4: *ingenia illa ad beatitudinem sublimata sint, haec ad miserias infimata*).[2] In general, Apuleius uses the verb *sublimare* in his novel, parodying sublime, tragic stories and narrating about mystical, magical movements: describing the abilities of the sinister witch Meroe, the suicide attempt of Aristomenes, the flight of Pamphile as an owl, the transposition of Psyche's sisters with the magic powers of Zephyrus. In *the Florida* the use of the verb is more mundane: Apuleius uses it to describe the flight of an eagle.

suboles 'offspring' (2, 9, 4; 5, 12, 1; 6, 9, 4; 8, 2, 5; 10, 5, 6; 10, 18, 3; 10, 32, 2; 11, 2, 1; 11, 7, 5; Pl., Cic., Col., Hor., Liv., Luc., Lucr., Mart., Ov., Plin. *nat.*, Plin. *pan.*, Pol., Prop., Quint., Sen., Stat., Suet., Tac., Turn., Val. Max., Var., Verg., Flor., Gell., Apul. *apol.* 88, 5, *Plat.* 2, 26, Arnob., Cypr., Fest., Iust., Porph., Serv., Vulg., Zeno) Cicero writes about the archaic and sublime nature of the noun *suboles* (*De Orat*. 3, 153). He himself used it in his translation of a fragment of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Unbound*, but in prose texts *suboles* probably stood out both as a poetism and an archaism. Apuleius uses it in appropriate contexts: for example, in a poetic description of the beauty of hair, in a periphrase denoting Cupid (*Met*. 5, 12, 1: *divinae subolis*), in a eulogy to Isis.

subsilio 'to jump up' (2, 17, 4; 8, 16, 3; Pl., Lucr., Prop., Sen., Var., Apul. *mund*. 18, Vulg.) Apparently, the verb *subsilio* is a poetism with archaic connotations. In Book VIII of *the Metamorphoses*, Lucius suggests that Pegasus "jumped" into the sky for fear of Chimera and was therefore nicknamed winged.

succidaneus 'killed as a substitute' (8, 26, 3; Pl., Var., Fronto, Gell., Apul., Cypr., Impp. Gratian. et Valent., Impp. Valent. et Valens, Iust. *dig.*, Paul. Fest., Serv., Ulp. *dig.*, Zeno) *Succidaneus* is an archaic adjective associated with the

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[1] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 1168.
[2] Roncaioli, Cecilia. L'Arcaismo... P. 338.

language of religion and law,[1] which reinforces the irony in the passage referring to the myth of Iphigenia, who was replaced by a doe as a sacrifice to Artemis (*Met*. 8, 26, 3): *Sed postquam non cervam pro virgine sed asinum pro homine succidaneum videre, nare detorta magistrum suum varie cavillantur* ("but after they <the priests of the Syrian goddess> saw that not girl had been replaced by a doe but a man had been replaced by an ass, they, turning their noses away, begin to mock their mentor in various ways").

succussus 'the act of shaking from below' (1, 13, 1; 3, 21, 4; Pacuv. *trag*. 257, Apul., Tert. *anim*. 49, 1) Apuleius twice uses the archaic noun *succussus*, probably borrowed from a tragedy of Pacuvius. W. Keulen suggests that it is a word of "a tragic register", and its use in Pacuvius, associated with shaking accompanied by painful sensations (Pacuv. *trag*. 257: *{Ulixes} Pedetemptim ac sedato nisu, / Ne succussu arripiat maior / Dolor*), is also reflected in Apuleius' novel: in the presence of the witches Meroe and Panthia, Aristomenes shakes under the bed in anticipation of reprisal against himself and his friend Socrates.[2] This tragic episode for Aristomenes is accompanied by intense emotions (*Met*. 1, 13, 1: *sudore frigido miser perfluo, tremore viscera quatior*), among which both physical and mental pain is quite likely. The noun *succussus* occurs again in Book III of *the Metamorphoses* when describing Pamphile' transformation into an owl. Although Apuleius does not explain any of Pamphile's feelings at this point, it is reasonable to assume that the transformation of the body may be a painful procedure (*Met*. 3, 21: ... *multumque cum lucerna secreto conlocuta membra tremulo succussu quatit. Quis leniter fluctuantibus... fit bubo Pamphile*).

suffarcino 'to stuff' (9, 8, 1; 9, 29, 2; 10, 16, 4; Caecil., Pl., Ter., Apul., Cassiod., Paul. Nol.) As the Etymological dictionary by A. Ernout and A. Meillet notes, the verb *suffarcino* is a vulgar doublet of the verb *suffercio*,[3] although the latter is attested only in an obscure passage from Lucilius quoted by Gellius (Gell.

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[1] Hout, Michel Petrus Josephus van den. A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto... P. 9.
[2] Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... Pp. 264–265.
[3] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 385.

4, 17, 3: *subicit huic humilem et suffercitus posteriorem*). In Apuleius the word is used when referring to material enrichment (*Met.* 9, 8, 1: *crebris mercedibus suffarcinati*;[1] 9, 29, 2: *multisque suffarcinat muneribus*) and, next to another archaic word *bellule*, to food intake (10, 16, 4: *at ergo quanquam iam bellule suffarcinatus... esurienter exhibitas escas adpetebam*).

suffulcio 'to prop below' (10, 20, 2; Pl., Lucr., Mart., Sen., Apul.) The verb *suffulcire*, as the L&S Dictionary points out,[2] occurs mainly in ante- and postclassical literature: four times in Lucretius and once in Plautus (in the comedy *Epidicus*), once in Martial and once in Seneca (in the tragedy *Troades*). The verb does not differ greatly in meaning from the unprefixed *fulcire*. Perhaps Apuleius preferred to use the verb with the prefix because of its proximity to the form *superstruunt*: *quattuor eunuchi... desuper brevibus admodum, sed satis copiosis pulvillis, aliis nimis modicis, quis maxillas et cervices delicatae mulieres suffulcire consuerunt, superstruunt* (*Met.* 10, 20, 2, "four eunuchs... put small, but numerous pillows, then they add even smaller pillows on top, the kind that pampered women usually put under their cheeks and necks" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)).

summas 'belonging to the highest class' (4, 23, 3; 11, 1, 2; 11, 10, 4; 11, 22, 4; Pl., Gell., Apul., Amm., Cassiod., Cod. Theod., Ennod., Fulg., Sidon.) The adjective *summas* may have been borrowed by Apuleius from Plautus (it occurs three times in the comediographer). As is the case with most such words, it is difficult to say whether this adjective belongs to the lexicon of the elevated style or is a part of the colloquial Latin language.[3] Nevertheless, the word is definitely archaic (after Plautus it is attested only in archaizing authors and spreads in the postclassical language),[4] and in Apuleius' novel in most cases it is a part of a respectful address to the goddess Isis (*summas dea* in all three cases in Book XI of *the Metamorphoses*), which rather points to belonging to the elevated style. In Book

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[1] L. Callebat notes the satirical context of this episode, where the participle *suffarcinatus* serves as an insulting reference to charlatans and impostors (in Apuleius it refers to the priests of the Syrian goddess, and in Plautus (*Curc.* 290), whom Apuleius may have relied on in this case, *suffarcinati* refers to Greek pseudo-philosophers): Callebat L. Sermo... P. 517.

[2] L&S, p. 1793.

[3] Keulen W. H. – Tilg. S. – Nicolini L. – Graverini L. – Harrison S. J. – Panayotakis S. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book XI... P. 92.

[4] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... Pp. 1176–1177.

IV the author refers to Charite in this way, also using a refined expression with the archaic meaning of the word *filum*: *virginem filo liberalem et... summatem regionis* ("a girl of noble appearance and... belonging to the local aristocracy" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)).

suppetiae 'aid' (3, 26, 3; 6, 27, 4; 9, 37, 2; Pl., B. Afr., Suet., Var., Apul. *apol.* 40, *Soc*. 6, Amm.) As is the case with the adjective *summas*, the noun *suppetiae* is connected with a problem of determining its stylistic colouring. In general, it does not occur in classical prose and poetry: it is well attested in Plautus (8 times), in *De Bello Africo* (7 times), and in later literature (e. g., 10 times in Ammianus Marcellinus). *Suppetias* is repeatedly found as a part of expressions denoting a purpose with verbs of motion (e. g., *advenire suppetias*, "to come to one's assistance"). Such expressions are frequent in *De Bello Africano*, and in Apuleius the expression *suppetias acurrere* is attested in *Met.* 9, 37, 2. Many scholars have noted this use of the noun as belonging to colloquial Latin.[1] The expression *suppetias ferre* ("to help") is more characteristic of Plautus (attested 6 times), and in Apuleius it is found in *Met.* 6, 27, 4, and the authors of the Groningen commentary consider it an archaism, perhaps borrowed directly from Plautus.[2]

suspiritus 'a sigh or act of sighing' (1, 7, 4; 5, 25, 5; 6, 29, 6;[3] 8, 15, 1 (*conj.*);[4] 10, 2, 6; Pl., Cic. *Att.*, Liv., Apul. *apol.* 85) The noun *suspiritus* appears three times in Plautus, once in Cicero and once in Livy, and then several times in Apuleius (in his works *suspiritus* usually refers to the heavy sigh of a man in love). The L&S Dictionary calls it a rare word, nevertheless belonging to the classical language.[5] It is worth noting that in classical language the word *suspirium* is used in this sense,

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[1] Bernhard, Max. Der Stil… S. 132; Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 892; Callebat L. Sermo... P. 186.

[2] Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. – Westerbrink A. G. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books VI 25–32 and VII… P. 45.

[3] The reading of the *F* manuscript was corrected in the margins to *suspiratus*. M. Zimmerman in her edition prints *suspiratus* (lectio difficilior), attested only in Ovid (*Met.* 14, 129) besides Apuleius.

[4] *Brantius* : spiritus *F*.

[5] L&S, p. 1821.

and *suspiritus* is associated with the language of Plautus, the undoubted source of the lexicon for Apuleius.[1]

sycophanta 'a sycophant, slanderer' (7, 12, 1; Pl., Ter., Fronto, Gell., Apul., Paul. Fest., Prud.) The Greek loanword *sycophanta* is characteristic of the language of comedy (it occurs more than ten times in the comedies of Plautus).[2] In Apuleius this word also appears in a comic episode: the captive Charite graciously accepts the advances of her fiancé, disguised as the bandit Haemus. Lucius, not yet aware of the real identity of Haemus, silently reproaches the frivolity of the girl, and for this judgement the narrator reproaches himself as a sycophant (*Met*. 7, 12, 1: *dum ista sycophanta ego mecum maxima cum indignatione disputo*).

tantillus 'so small' (2, 32, 2; 3, 6, 3; 3, 13, 5; 4, 26, 8; 5, 15, 5; 6, 20, 6; 7, 27, 2; 8, 5, 5; 9, 36, 1; 9, 41, 5; 10, 7, 7; 10, 16, 2; Pl., Ter., Catull., Cels., Lucr., Apul., Aug.) The adverbial use of the diminutive adjective *tantillus* (9 of 12 occurrences in *the Metamorphoses*) is included by L. Callebat in the list of Apuleius' borrowings from the language of comedy, in particular from the comedies of Plautus.[3] Scholars emphasize the deictic function of this adverb.[4]

tenellus 'soft, tender' (3, 24, 4; 5, 18, 4; 5, 22, 6; Pl., Dom. Mars., Laev., Stat., Var., Gell., Apul., Hier., Mamert., Vulg.) In the opinion of L. Callebat, the diminutive adjective *tenellus* was borrowed by Apuleius from Plautus (*Cas*. 108: *bellam et tenellam Casinam*), although the fact that the word is attested only once in Plautus, but is also found three times in Varro's treatise *De re rustica* and in Laevius (whose words are transmitted by Gellius), rather indicates that the word belonged not only to Plautus' language, but was typical for the lexicon of the anteclassical period of Roman literature in general. In his novel the word *tenellus* is used by Apuleius to describe the skin of Lucius before his transformation into an ass (*Met*. 3, 24, 4: *cutis tenella duratur in corium*), the sensitive nature of Psyche (5,

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[1] Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... P. 187; Desertine, Adolphus Henricus Josephus Victor Marius. De Apulei studiis... P. 22.

[2] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 1184; Callebat L. Sermo... P. 84.

[3] Ibid., p. 520; Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... P. 25.

[4] Paardt R. T., van der. L. Apuleius Madaurensis the Metamorphoses. A Commentary on Book III... P. 61; Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book X... P. 143.

18, 4: *Psyche misella, utpote simplex et animi tenella*) and the feathers on Cupid's wings (5, 22, 6: *extimae plumulae tenellae ac delicatae*).

teneritudo 'tenderness' (5, 11, 5; Var., Suet., Apul., Hier., Pall., Serv., Vulg., Zeno) The rare noun *teneritudo* is first attested in Varro in his treatise *De re rustica*, where it means the softness and friableness of the soil. In Suetonius it already denotes young age, and in Apuleius it denotes the tenderness and sensitivity of Psyche's soul.

tuburcinor 'to eat greedily or hastily' (6, 25, 3; Pl. *Persa* 122, Titin. *com.* 83, Turp. *com.* 2, Apul., Non. 179) Apparently, Apuleius borrowed the rare verb *tuburcinari* from the lexicon of archaic comedy, which does not prevent us from distinguishing also the colloquial character of this word.[1] Quintilian (*Inst.* 1, 6, 42), warning writers not to use outdated words (even borrowed from the best authors), mentions among them the adjectives *tuburchinabundus* and *lurchinabundus*, used by Cato.

turbela 'a small crowd' (3, 29, 2; 4, 20, 6; 7, 1, 4; in the meaning 'a disturbance, commotion' Pl. *Bac.* 1057, *Ps.* 109, Apul. *Soc.* 12, Amm., Aug., Gaudent., Paul. Fest., Vet. Lat.)[2] Apuleius borrowed the Plautine word *turbela* and used it metonymically in *the Metamorphoses*. This use of *turbela* in the sense 'a small crowd' is probably repeated only by Ammianus Marcellinus (although in his work the context allows for both translations). It is not clear whether Apuleian *turbela* is a vulgarism,[3] an archaism[4] or a neologism,[5] and it is also not clear whether the word has a diminutive meaning.

ubertim 'copiously' (3, 1, 2; 5, 5, 6; 8, 19, 3; 10, 3, 4; Catull., Petr., Sen. *Contr.*, Suet., Fronto, Apul., Claud. Laud. Seren., Serv.) Apuleius uses the adverb *ubertim* four times in *the Metamorphoses*, always when describing overwhelming

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[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 517.
[2] On the meaning of this word and how it must have been perceived by readers of Apuleius, see Dubova, Svetlana S. Turbela... Pp. 220–227.
[3] Paardt R. T., van der. L Apuleius Madaurensis the Metamorphoses. A Commentary on Book III... P. 203.
[4] Gargantini, Luisa. Ricerche... P. 35.
[5] Hijmans B. L. Jr. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Smits E. R. – Westendorp Boerma R. E. H. – Westerbrink A. G. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book IV... P. 154.

feelings causing abundant tears (the adverb is also used in the same sense in other authors).

utrimquesecus 'on both sides' (2, 4, 4; 9, 42, 1; 10, 2, 7; 10, 6, 4; 10, 14, 7; Cato, Lucil., Lucr., Apul., Amm., Itin. Alex., Mart. Cap., Sol.) Apuleius uses the adverb *utrimquesecus* five times, only in his novel *the Metamorphoses*. It appears to be a rare adverb, synonymous with the more common *utrimque*.

utut 'in whatever way, however' (11, 20, 3 (*conj.*));[1] Pl., Ter., Cic. *Att.*, Apul., Arnob.) Apuleius uses the archaic adverb *utut* only once, describing the narrator's thoughts about a strange dream about the return of the slave Candidus. Although *utut* fits the context in meaning and is accepted by most editors, the authors of the Groningen commentary on Book XI of *the Metamorphoses* accept the reading of the *F* manuscript (since *ut* can have the same meaning as *utcumque* (and *utut*) and govern a subordinate clause in subjunctive mood).[2]

uxorcula 'a wife' (9, 5, 1; Pl., Var., Apul., Ennod., Hier.) Before Apuleius, the diminutive *uxorcula* was attested only in Plautus in the comedy *Casina* and in Varro in *the Menippean Satires*, and exclusively as a term of endearment. Apuleius, on the contrary, uses the word pejoratively, comparing the diminutiveness of a woman with her great profligacy (*Met*. 9, 5, 1): *erat ei tamen uxorcula etiam satis quidem tenuis et ipsa, verum tamen postrema lascivia famigerabilis* ("However, he had a wife, as lean as himself, but known for extreme promiscuity" (translated by us. – *S. D.*)).[3]

velitor 'сражаться' (5, 11, 3; 5, 21, 5; 7, 16, 4; 8, 25, 3; 9, 1, 2; 9, 15, 5; 9, 29, 4; 9, 37, 4; Afran., Pl., Turp., Gell., Apul. *apol*. 2, 6, Tert., Gloss.) The verb *velitari* (*veles* is a word for a light-armed soldier who attacked the enemy out of the line of the battle)[4] is borrowed by Apuleius from old comedy and used as a military term, either literally ("to fight like a veles") or figuratively ("to have a verbal

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[1] ut *F* , *corr. Pricaeus.*
[2] Keulen W. H. – Tilg. S. – Nicolini L. – Graverini L. – Harrison S. J. – Panayotakis S. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book XI... P. 343.
[3] Pasetti, Lucia. Plauto... P. 31. Cf. the translation by M. A. Kuzmin, where the thinness of the heroine is not stressed, and the emphasis is put on the poverty of the couple: "Была у него женка, у которой тоже за душой ничего не было, но которая пользовалась, однако, известностью за крайнее свое распутство" (Apuleius. Golden Ass… P. 277).
[4] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... Pp. 1269–1270.

altercation"). In addition, Apuleius uses the verb to describe lovemaking, comparing it to military action (*Met*. 5, 21, 5: *Veneris proeliis velitatus*).

verbero 'a rascal' (8, 31, 5; 10, 7, 10; 10, 9, 2; 10, 10, 1; 10, 10, 3; Pl., Ter., Cic. *Att*., Gell., Apul.) It is possible that the noun *verbero* (meaning a person deserving a flogging (*verber* is an instrument for flogging)) was borrowed by Apuleius from the language of comedy, especially the language of Plautus' comedies. L. Callebat considers it to belong to colloquial language.[1] Interestingly, according to Aulus Gellius, Plutarch once called his slave *verbero* just when the slave was being flogged (Gell. 1, 26: *coeperat verberari*). Apuleius uses the word *verbero* especially often in Book X, in reference to a slave who procured poison to kill an innocent young man.

versipellis 'one who can metamorphose himself into different shapes and forms' (2, 22, 2; Lucil., Pl., Petr., Plin. *nat*., Apul., Arnob., Aug., Mart. Cap., Prud., Serv., Vulg.) The noun *versipellis* (formed from *verto* 'to turn, change' and *pellis* 'a pelt') is used by Apuleius to describe female werewolves who change their appearance in order to steal a desired part of a dead body.

virosus 'having an excessive sexual craving for men' (9, 14, 4; Afran. *com*. 62, Lucil. 282, Scip. min. *orat*. 10, Apul.) Most editors, among them R. Helm and M. Zimmermann, prefer to read *virosa* rather than *viriosa* (in the *F* manuscript *i* was inscribed later).[2] Unlike the adjective *virosus* 'having an unpleasantly strong taste or smell' derived from *virus*, this adjective is derived from *vir* 'a man' and in *the Metamorphoses* it refers to an unfaithful wife of a miller.

visito 'to see frequently or habitually' (4, 18, 8; Pl., Cic., Suet., Vitr., Fronto, Apul. *Soc*. 16, 20, *flor*. 9, Ambr., Hier., Iust. *dig*., Vulg., Zeno) The verb *visitare* is quite rare in the classical language (for example, in Cicero the word occurs only once, in his treatise *De finibus bonorum et malorum*). The L&S Dictionary marks this verb as ante- and postclassical in the meaning "to see" (as compared to the

[1] Callebat L. Sermo... P. 75.
[2] Hijmans B. L. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Wesseling B. – Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book IX... P. 137–138.

meaning "to come to see; to visit").[1] It is in this sense that Apuleius uses it in *the Metamorphoses*, where one of the brigands states that any brave man would be frightened if he saw a huge beast at night (the brigand Thrasyleon in a bearskin; *Met*. 4, 18, 8: *immani forma tantae bestiae noctu praesertim visitata*). In the same sense Apuleius uses the verb *visitare* in his works *De Deo Socratis* and *Florida*.

vulpinor 'to behave like a fox (i. e. with cunning)' (3, 22, 6; Var. *Men*. 327, Apul.) It is possible that Apuleius borrowed this verb, which is a loan-translation of the Greek ἀλωπεκίζω, from Varro.[2] The Walde-Hofmann Dictionary mistakenly regards Apuleius' *vulpinaris* as an adjective.[3]

It should be noted that, unfortunately, we do not possess enough material to assert with certainty that all the words given in this list have an archaic connotation. As has already been mentioned, it is difficult to make a judgement about the stylistic colouring of a word, even with a large number of occurrences. For example, we know that the adverb *oppido* was considered an archaism, although this adverb was used more than once by Vitruvius, a man who, as he himself claims, had no knowledge of rhetoric (1, 1, 18), and the archaic verb *nuncupare* is found in the writings of Cicero and Caesar. This list does not include those lexemes which may be suspected of having an archaic connotation, but there is no sufficient information about them. For example, the enigmatic Apuleian *cancri* (*Met*. 6, 8, 7), possibly meaning 'a barrier', a meaning attested only in Festus' dictionary (p. 40 L), or a rare adjective *depilis* ('naked', *Met*. 7, 8, 1) given by Nonius in connection with Varro (p. 530), about which it is unclear whether it is included in Varro's quotation. Therefore, the above list is probably not complete, but it can give an idea of what kind of archaisms Apuleius was interested in and what archaic authors he read.

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[1] L&S, p. 1998.
[2] Flobert P. Recherches… P. 220.
[3] Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch von A. Walde und J. B. Hofmann… P. 830.

3. Neologisms[1]

abactor 'a cattle thief' (7, 26, 3; Cassiod., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Firm., Hier., Iord., Mar. Vict., Max. Taur., Isid., Paul., Serv., Sulp. Sev., Gloss.; *w/f*: abigo+tor)

adfamen 'greeting' (11, 7, 4; 11, 30, 3; Iuvenc. 1, 91, Ven. Fort. *carm.* 5, 1, 3; *w/f*: affor+men)

adiuratio 'adjuration' (2, 20, 9; Eugipp. *Sev.* 16.6, Fulg. Rusp. frg. 31, Lact. 2, 17, 11, Zeno 1, 2, 7; *w/f*: adiuro+tio)

adlubentia 'inclination (for)' (1, 7, 4; hapax; *w/f*: ad+libentia) Apparently, *adlubentia* is a neologism with an archaic connotation (cf. Plautine *libentia*, *adlubesco*).

adluctor 'to wrestle' (10, 17, 3; 11, 12, 1; Gloss.; *w/f*: ad+luctor)

adorabilis 'worthy of adoration' (11, 18, 1; Cassiod. *in psalm.* 17, 12, *hist.* 5, 29, Cod. Iust. 11, 12, 1, 3 (*conj.*, *codd.* adoptabile), Leo. M. *epist.* 57, Max. Taur. *hom.* 17; *w/f*: adoro+bilis)

adprono 'to lean forwards' (1, 19, 8; hapax; *w/f*: ad+pronus+o)

adsuspiro 'to sigh in response' (4.25.2, 4.27.5; *w/f*: ad+suspiro)

afannae 'shifty excuses' (9, 10, 4; 10, 10, 2) The word *afannae* occurs only in Apuleius (the meaning 'empty excuses' is clear from the context), one can compare it with the equally rare *apinae* 'trifles' in Martial. Some suppositions on the etymology of *afannae* are given in the commentary on Book IX of *the Metamorphoses* (it seems to be a Graecism derived from the expression εἰς Ἀφάνας).[2]

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[1] The lexemes are listed in alphabetical order, regardless of the part of speech. For each lexeme the instances of its use in the novel *the Metamorphoses* are given in brackets. If there are authors who lived after Apuleius and used that lexeme, they are listed in the next place. Exact passages are given if the word occurs quite rarely in Latin literature. In most cases the passages are given according to ThLL. If the word is attested only once, it is marked as a hapax. The word-formation is explained at the end with the notation *w/f*. Naturally, not all the words presented here are Apuleius' neologisms: most likely, many of them were simply not attested in texts preceding Apuleius' works, or were a part of colloquial Latin language, so the term "neologism" for these words is rather conventional.

[2] Hijmans B. L. – Paardt R. Th., van der – Schmidt V. – Wesseling B. – Zimmerman M. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book IX... P. 103.

aggeratim 'in heaps or piles' (4, 8, 4; hapax; *w/f*: participle of *aggero*+im) This adverb is found in Apuleius' wonderfully sonorous passage, which rhymes three nouns ending in -tis, each accompanied with an adverb ending in -tim (including *agminatim* listed below), all of which have approximately the same meaning 'in large quantities'.

agminatim 'in hosts or hordes'(4, 8, 4; 4, 20, 4; Amm. 18, 6, 23; 22, 8, 47; 31, 4, 5; Sol. 25, 4; *w/f*: agmen+atus+im)

alternatio 'an alternate movement, alternation' (10, 10, 2; Arnob., Audax. *gramm.*, Aug., Isid., Macr., Paul. Fest., Prosp., Ps. Apul. *Ascl.*, *Sacr.*, Ter. Maur., Ulp. *dig.*; *w/f*: alterno+tio)

alterorsus 'in the other direction' (5, 31, 7; 9, 28, 1; *w/f*: alter+vorsus) The word *alterorsus* occurs only in Apuleius, but adverb *altrovorsum* is attested in Plautus (*Cas.* 555), so it is likely that the word was perceived as archaic.

altiuscule 'at a fairly high level' (2, 7, 3; 8, 31, 1; 11, 11, 4; *w/f*: altiusculus+e) The adverb *altiuscule* is found only in Apuleius, but the adjective *altiusculus* is also attested in Suetonius and Augustine.

alumnor 'to nurture (children), to train (animals)' (6, 23, 2; 8, 17, 2; 9, 36, 4; 10, 23, 4; Mart. Cap. 8, 813; 9, 892; *w/f*: alumnus+o)

amasio 'a lover' (3, 22, 6; 7, 21, 4; Arnob. *nat.* 4, 34, Prud. *perist.* 10, 182, Sept. Ser. *carm.* frg. 14 ap. Diomed. *gramm.* 1, 514, 8; 1, 514, 10) Apparently the word *amasio* was perceived as archaic, cf. *amasius* (Pl. *Cas.* 590, *Truc.* 658).

amicimen 'clothing' (11, 9, 2; 11, 23, 4 instead of the classical *amictus*; *w/f*: amicio+men)

ancoralis 'of or used for anchors' (11, 16, 9, adjective; hapax; *w/f*: ancora+alis) *Ancoralis* (as an adjective) is found only in Apuleius, while the noun *ancorale* is known from Livy onward.

angulatim 'from corner to corner' (3, 2, 5; 9, 41, 7; Diom. *gramm.* 1, 407, Sidon. *epist.* 7, 9, 3; *w/f*: angulatus+im)

antecantamentum 'a prelude' (11, 9, 5; hapax; *w/f*: ante+canto+mentum)

antecenium 'a meal taken earlier in the day than the main meal' (2, 15, 6; Isid. *Orig*. 20, 2, 12; *w/f*: ante+cena+ium)

antelucio 'before the dawn' (1, 11, 3; 1, 15, 1; 9, 15, 1; *w/f*: ante+luceo+ium)

anteluculo 'before the dawn' (1, 14, 6; hapax; *w/f*: ante+luceo+ulus)

anteludium 'an advance tableau or show' (11, 8, 1; hapax; *w/f*: ante+ludo+ium)

antependulus 'hanging down in front' (2, 23, 7; 5, 22, 5; *w/f*: ante+pendulus)

antepolleo 'to surpass' (1, 5, 4; 7, 5, 2; *w/f*: ante+polleo)

anteventulus 'projecting in front' (9, 30, 3; Apul. *flor*. 3; *w/f*: ante+venio+ulus)

araneans 'full of cobwebs' (4, 22, 4; hapax; *w/f*: participle of **araneo* (aranea+o))

armentarius 'that has charge of a herd' (7, 15, 1, adjective; Ambr. *Cain et Ab*. 2, 1, 4, Greg. M. *hom*. 2, 20, 8, *dial*. 4, 24, Sol. 5, 22; *w/f*: armentum+arius) As an adjective *armentarius* is first attested in Apuleius, although the noun is attested in as early as Lucretius and Varro.

ascalpo 'to scratch' (6, 9, 1; hapax; *w/f*: ad+scalpo)

asinalis 'such as belongs to an ass' (4, 23, 1; Chiron 189, 686; *w/f*: asinus+alis)

asso 'to roast' (2, 10, 3; Ambr., Anthim., Antid., Apic., Cael. Aur., Cass. Fel., Chiron, Comput., Gaudent., Hier., Itala, Marcell. *med*., Oribas., Pelagon., Placit., Ps. Aug., Ps. Theod. Prisc., Vulg., Zeno, Gramm., Gloss.; *w/f*: assus+o)

astutulus 'cunning' (6, 27, 1; 9, 1, 4; 9, 30, 1; *w/f*: astutus+ulus)

auscultatus 'the act of listening' (6, 13, 1; Fulg. *Virg. cont*. 86, 6; *w/f*: ausculto+tus) Apparently, the word *auscultatus* was perceived as archaic (cf. the archaism *auscultare* in the section of words with archaic colouring).

bacchatim 'in the manner of Bacchantes' (1, 13, 2; hapax; *w/f*: participle of *bacchor*+im)

barbitium 'a growth of beard' (5, 8, 4; 11, 8, 3; *w/f*: barba+itium)

blandicule 'charmingly' (10, 27, 2; hapax; *w/f*: blandus+culus+e)

boatus 'a shouting' (3, 3, 1; Mart. Cap. 2, 98, Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1, 18, Ven. Fort. *vita Leob.* 12, 37, Gloss.; *w/f*: boo+tus) Perhaps the word *boatus* was perceived as archaic (cf. the verb *boo* in the section of words with archaic colouring).

borrio 'to swarm' (8, 22, 6; hapax; the etymology is uncertain)

busequa 'a cow-herd' (8, 1, 3; Apul. *apol.* 10, 6, *Soc.* 5, *flor.* 3, Sidon. *epist.* 1, 6, 3, Gloss. V 657, 10; *w/f*: bos+sequor+a)

buxans 'characterisic of boxwood' (8, 21, 3; hapax; *w/f*: modelled on a participle of *buxus*)

byssus 'a kind of fine flax' (11, 3, 5; Ambr., Apring., Aug., Bachiar., Evang., Eucher., Gaudent., Greg. Tur., Heges., Hier., Isid., Mart. Cap., Paul. Nol., Ps. Origen., Salon., Salv., Sidon., Ven. Fort., Vulg., Gramm., Gloss.; *w/f*: loanword from Greek βύσσος)

cachinnabilis 'boisterous' (3, 7, 3; Ps. Apul. *herm.* p. 271; *w/f*: cachinno+bilis)

callenter 'skilfully' (4, 16, 4; hapax; *w/f*: callens+ter)

caloratus 'passionate' (6, 23, 2; Diosc., Fulg., Garg. Isid., Mart., Porph., Gloss.; *w/f*: calor+atus) The verb *calorare* is attested only once (Mar. Victor. *aleth.* 3, 55).

cantatrix 'that uses incantations' (2, 20, 3; 2, 30, 2; Caes. Arel. *suggest.* p. 299, Claud. 15, 448, Eccles. 2, 8, Op. imperf. in Matth. 1 p. 632, Pass. *Thom.* 136, 1; 137, 1, Rust. Help. *benef.* 47, Vulg. *II reg.* 19, 35, *2. par.* 35, 25, *I Esdr.* 2, 65, *II Esdr.* 7, 67; *w/f*: canto+trix)

cantilo 'to sing' (4, 8, 5; Apul. *flor.* 3, 15, 17; *w/f*: back-formation from *cantilena*)

capillitium 'a head of hair' (2, 2, 9; Mart. Cap. 2, 181; 4, 331; *w/f*: capillus+itium)

capreolatim 'like twisted tendrils' (11, 22, 8; hapax; *w/f*: capreolus+atus+im)

captivitas 'blindness' (1, 6, 3) Although the noun *captivitas* in this sense is attested only in Apuleius, in the classical language there was an expression *captus*

oculis conveying the same meaning (e. g., Cic. *Ver.* 5, 101, *Tusc.* 5, 117, *fin.* 5, 54, *div.* 2, 9, Verg. *georg.* 1, 183, Ov. *fast.* 6, 204, Liv. 9, 29, 11; 21, 58, 6).

caseatus 'mixed with cheese' (1, 4, 1; Gloss. III 441, 34, Hier. *epist.* 66, 10, Hil. *in psalm.* 67, 17, Itala *psalm.* 67, 17; *w/f*: caseus+atus)

cataclistus 'kept for special occasions' (11, 9, 5; Tert. *pall.* 3; *w/f*: loanword from Greek κατάκλειστος)

cavillatus 'raillery' (8, 25, 3; hapax; *w/f*: cavillor+tus)

cheniscus 'a figure on the stern of a ship, resembling a goose' (11, 16, 8; гапакс; *w/f*: loanword from Greek χηνίσκος)

cinerosus 'covered with ashes' (4, 18, 2; 7, 27, 2; Diosc. 4, 105; 5, 95; 5, 177; *w/f*: cinis+osus)

cinnameus 'of, scented with, or smelling of cinnamon' (2, 10, 4; 5, 13, 3; 8, 9, 6; 10, 29, 2; Auson. 336, 17; *w/f*: cinnamum+eus)

circumcursio 'running about' (9, 13, 2; Eustath. *Bas. hex.* 3, 7 p. 898a; *w/f*: circumcurro+tio)

circumnoto 'to draw or paint round' (11, 24, 3; hapax; *w/f*: circum+noto)

circumroro 'to sprinkle water over' (11, 23, 2; hapax; *w/f*: circum+roro)

circumsecus 'round about' (2, 14, 5; 5, 17, 4; 11, 16, 6; *w/f*: circum+secus)

circumtorqueo 'to pull or twist round' (6, 30, 3; hapax; *w/f*: circum+torquo)

civitatula 'a small city or town' (10, 1, 3; Cassiod. *hist.* 4, 21 p. 967b, Ennod. *opusc.* 3, 127 p. 363, 21, Eugipp. *Sev. capp.* 3, Hier. *sit. et nom.* p. 100, 14, *in Is.* 26, 5 p. 346, *psalt. sec. Hebr.* 47, 3, Gloss. V 316, 49; *w/f*: civitas+ula) Before Apuleius the noun *civitatula* is found in Seneca, but in the sense 'citizenship in a petty state' (Sen. *apoc.* 9, 4).

clanculo 'secretly' (3, 8, 7; 3, 16, 4; 7, 11, 3; 9, 9, 5; 10, 14, 6; Apul. *flor.* 15, Ambr., Amm., Aug., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Epist. *pontif.*, Greg. Tur., Heges., Macr., Physiogn., Praedest., Ps. Rufin., Schol. Cic., Schol. Iuv., Sol., Tert., Veg., Zeno, Gloss.; *w/f*: clanculum+o) The adverb is synonymous with the archaic *clanculum* and probably had an archaic connotation.

coaetaneus 'one of the same age' (8, 7, 2; Aug., Cassiod., Decl. in Catil., Gaudent., Iren., Isid., Itala, Mart. Brac., Petr. Chrys., Sacr., Tert., Victor., Gloss.; *w/f*: con+aetas+aneus)

coapto 'to fit together' (9, 8, 3; 10, 35, 1; Amm., Aug., Avian., Boeth., Cassian., Cassiod., Greg. Tur., Hier., Hil., Isid., Itala, Mart. Cap., Novell., Oros., Vulg., Zeno…; *w/f*: con+apto)

cogitatus 'the act of thinking' (4, 5, 1; 8, 25, 6; Ambr., Aug., Eugraph., Hyg., Itala, Mar. Victorin., Paul. Nol., Pelag., Ps. Aug., Ps. Fulg. Rusp., Ps. Hil., Serm. *Arrian*., Sulp. Sev., Tert., Vitae Patr., Vulg…; *w/f*: cogito+tus)

cohumido 'to wet all over' (8, 9, 1; hapax; *w/f*: con+umidus+o)

commeator 'a messenger' (11, 11, 1; Apul. *apol*. 64, 1;[1] *w/f*: commeo+tor)

commino 'to drive (cattle) together' (7, 11, 1; hapax; *w/f*: con+mino) This word can be compared to another Apuleius' neologism, *prominare*.

commorsico 'to bite all over' (7, 16, 4; 10, 22, 2; *w/f*: con+morsico) In his novel Apuleius uses three new verbs with this root: *morsico*, *commorsico*, *demorsico*. In addition to the predictable meaning 'to bite', in two cases they take on the meaning 'to devour with the eyes' (2, 10, 2; 10, 22, 2), a meaning suggested by F. Beroaldus.[2] However, major dictionaries suggest a disputable meaning 'to blink' for the verb *morsicare*.[3] "Devouring with the eyes" is a more natural metaphor (cf. *spectat oculis devorantibus 'looks with devouring eyes'* (Mart. 1, 96)), which finds parallels in other languages and takes its place among the erotic-culinary metaphors found in sufficient numbers in Apuleius.[4]

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[1] In addition to its occurrence in Apuleius, this noun also appears in an African inscription CIL VIII 22672 (commeato<ri>).

[2] "Significantissimo vocabulo vim venustorum oculorum expressit, qui illices sunt veneris et potentissimum amoris incitamentum, quorum fulgor et amabilis intuitus quodam quasi morsu vitalia populatur et morsicatim medullas depascitur"; Appuleii Metamorphoseon libri XI / Ed. Franciscus Oudendorpius. Lugduni Batavorum, 1786. P. 72.

[3] OLD, p. 1135; L&S, p. 1166; Reichmann, Victor – Buchwald, Wolfgang. Morsico // ThLL, Vol. VIII (1936–1966). P. 1508; "malim ego intelligere oculos mobiles, identidem se aperientes claudentesque, oris manducantis instar" Appuleii Metamorphoseon libri XI / Ed. Franciscus Oudendorpius. Lugduni Batavorum, 1786 (ad loc. II, 10). Cf. «limis et morsicantibus oculis, h. e. intente avideque intuentibus, et quasi morsu arripientibus» Forcellini Aeg. Lexicon totius latinitatis. Tom. III. Patavii: typis Seminarii, 1965. P. 293.

[4] For example, *mellitissimum, suavium*, *ollula*, cf. Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Livre II… P. 185.

commulco 'to lash or beat thoroughly' (8, 28, 2; Gloss. V 183, 47; *w/f*: con+mulco)

compavio 'to trample on' (7, 21, 5; hapax; *w/f*: con+pavio)

compulso 'to batter, pound' (7, 21, 3; Coripp. *Ioh.* 8, 423, Fulg. *myth.* 1 praef., *aet. mund.* p. 162, 11, Tert. *apol.* 20; *w/f*: con+pulso)

concinnaticius 'exquisite' (2, 11, 4; hapax; *w/f*: participle of *concinno*+icius) Perhaps the word *concinnaticius* was perceived as archaic (cf. the verb *concinno* in the section of words with archaic colouring).

confixilis 'fixed together' (4, 13, 5; hapax; *w/f*: configo+ilis)

confluctuo 'to undulate' (11, 3, 5; hapax; *w/f*: con+fluctuo)

confoedo 'to make filthy' (7, 28, 3; hapax; *w/f*: con+foedo)

congrex 'herded together' (7, 16, 1; Aug., Auson., Carm. epigr., Cypr. Gall., Itin. Alex., Iul. Val., Mar. Victor., Paul. Nol., Pervig. Ven., Prud., Sol., Tert., Tiberian., Gloss.; *w/f*: con+grex)

coniuga 'a wife' (6, 4, 1; 8, 22, 2; 9, 14, 2; Carm. epigr. 112, 2; 1559, 1, Inscr. *christ. Rossi* I 17, Mart. Cap. 1, 4, Gloss. IV 435, 20; *w/f*: coniux+a)

conlimo 'to direct' (9, 42, 2; hapax; *c/o*: con+limus+o)

conmasculo 'to make courageous' (2, 23, 1; Macr. *sat.* 7, 11, 2, Schol. Ter. p. 130, 7, p. 160, 30; *w/f*: con+masculus+o)

consavio 'to cover with kisses' (2, 13, 5; 6, 22, 2; *w/f*: con+suavior) The verb *consavio* is attested only in Apuleius, but apparently it could have been perceived as archaic (the active forms of the deponent verbs were perceived that way).[1]

consequius 'that follows' (5, 24, 1; 10, 18, 3; *w/f*: consequor+ius)

consiliatrix 'a female adviser' (5, 24, 5; Ambr. *Cain et Ab.* 1, 4, 13, Hier. *nom. hebr.* 59, 13, Max. Taur. *serm.* 15 (Ps. Ambr. *serm.* 27, 2), Ps. Fulg. Rusp. *serm.* 65; *w/f*: consilior+trix)

consone 'in unison' (1, 10, 4; Novell. *Iust.* 132; *w/f*: consonus+e)

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[1] Zimmerman M. – Panayotakis S. – Hunink V.C. – Keulen W.H. – Harrison S. J. – McCreight Th. D. – Wesseling B. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Books IV 28–35, V and VI 1–24... P. 531.

contempero 'to temper' (10, 16, 8; Anthim., Apic., Aug., Boeth., Cassian., Chiron, Claud. Mam., Eug. Tolet., Eustath., Mar. Merc., Marcell. *med.*, Schol. Lucan., Schol. Pers., Veg.; *w/f*: con+tempero)

contrio 'to wear down' (7, 17, 3; Itala *Dan.* 11, 20, *Os.* 8, 5, *I Mac.* 13, 1, Vulg. *Exod.* 23, 23; *w/f*: back-formation from *contrivi*, *contritus*)

coquitatio 'a long process of cooking' (4, 22, 3; hapax; *w/f*: coquito+tio) The noun may have been perceived as archaic: Festus' dictionary notes that the verb *coquitare* was used by Plautus (p. 54 L).

coronalis 'of or associated with a wreath or garland' (1, 10, 2; Cassiod. *in psalm.* 14, 93, 110, Chiron 657, Iul. Val. 1, 7, Ps. Apul. *herb.* 79; *w/f*: corona+alis)

coronamen 'wreaths collectively' (11, 9, 2; hapax; *w/f*: corono+men)

crassities 'plumpness' (7, 5, 3; Cael. Aur. *chron.* 5, 10, 123; *w/f*: crassus+ies)

crasso 'to thicken' (3, 24, 4; Amm., Aug., Boeth., Eustath., Max. Taur., Petr. Chrys., Zeno, Gloss.; *w/f*: crassus+o)

cruciabilis 'excruciating' (1, 7, 4; 2, 2, 1; 7, 21, 5; 9, 13, 3; 10, 3, 2; Gell., Amm., Arnob., Aug., Cassiod., Comm. *Bern. Lucan.*, Don., Lact., Porph., Prosp., Prud., Rufin.; *w/f*: crucio+bilis) It is likely that the word *cruciabilis* was perceived as an archaism (cf. *cruciabilitas* (Pl.), *cruciabiliter* (Pl., *B. Afr.*)).

cruenter 'savagely' (3, 3, 3; hapax; *w/f*: cruentus+ter)

curiosulus 'inquisitive' (10, 31, 2; hapax; *w/f*: curiosus+ulus)

curito 'to give frequent or abundant attention to' (7, 14, 1; hapax; *w/f*: curo+ito)

dammula 'a deer' (8, 4, 4; Ambr., Aug., Exc. *Barb.*, Hier., Isid., Itala, Not. Tir., Rufin., Vulg., Gloss.; *w/f*: damma+ula)

decermina 'trimmings' (1, 6, 1 (*conj.*, *F* determina); Paul. Fest. p. 63 L, Gloss. IV 53, 36 (= V 450, 8), V 496, 43; *w/f*: decerpo+men) In fiction the word *decermina* is attested only in Apuleius.

decoriter 'in a pleasing manner' (5, 22, 5; 6, 28, 5; 11, 3, 4; Iul. Val. 1, 24; 2, 29; *w/f*: decor+ter) The commentary on Book XI notes that this adverb has an archaic connotation.[1]

decunctor 'to hesitate' (7, 24, 3; 10, 3, 2; *w/f*: de+cunctor)

dedolo 'to cut down or hew into shape (applied colloquially to beating, sexual intercourse)' (7, 17, 3; 9, 7, 5 figuratively) The figurative meaning of this verb is first attested in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, although in *Apologia* he uses the verb in its usual meaning 'to cut off' (*apol*. 29, 3).

defamis 'shameful' (9, 17, 4; hapax; *w/f*: de+fama+is)

deflammo 'to put out the flame' (5, 30, 5; hapax; *w/f*: de+flammo)

demeaculum 'a descent' (6, 2, 5; hapax; *w/f*: demeo+culum)

demorsico 'to bite pieces off' (2, 21, 7; 3, 25, 3; *w/f*: de+morsico)

demusso 'to swallow in silence' (3, 26, 4; Amm. 30, 1, 15, Gloss.; *w/f*: de+musso)

dependulus 'hanging down' (2, 9, 7; 3, 2, 8; 11, 3, 5; *w/f*: dependeo+ulus)

depraedor 'to exhaust by plundering' (8, 29, 1; Ambr., Ambrosiast., Aug., Cassiod., Fulg., Greg. M., Greg. Tur., Hier., Iord., Isid., Itala, Iust., *Lex* Visig., Marcell. *chron*., Rufin., Schol. Iuv., Vulg., Ulp. *dig*., Gloss...; *w/f*: de+praedor)

detestatio 'castration' (7, 23, 3; hapax) Although the Latin noun *detestatio* 'a curse' (from the verb *detestor*) already existed in Latin, Apuleius resorts to a play on words, composing the noun *detestatio*, derived from *testis*.

detundo 'to bruise severely' (2, 32, 1; Paul. Fest. p. 64 L, Gloss.; *w/f*: de+tundo)

devestio 'to divest (of), undress' (3, 21, 4; 4, 7, 5; *w/f*: de+vestio)

dicacule 'banteringly' (1, 9, 5; 8, 25, 3; *w/f*: dicaculus+e) Most likely, the adverb *dicacule* was perceived as an archaism (cf. Plautine adjective *dicaculus* in the section of words with archaic colouring).

diffleo 'to weep away' (1, 6, 3; 5, 7, 1; *w/f*: dis+fleo)

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[1] Keulen W. H. – Tilg. S. – Nicolini L. – Graverini L. – Harrison S. J. – Panayotakis S. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book XI... P. 138.

discretim 'separately' (6, 1, 5; Apul. *flor.* 9, Amm. 28, 1, 36; 29, 6, 13, Avien. *Arat.* 591, Cypr. Gall. *gen.* 63, 345, Hil. *in psalm.* 138, 23, 1; *w/f*: discerno+im)

dispeciscor 'to annul' (4, 26,8; hapax; *w/f*: dis+paciscor)

disseminatio 'the action of spreading abroad' (11, 30, 4; Cassiod. *inst. div.* 38, Hier. *in Is.* 18, 2, Itala *deut.* 28, 25, *II Macc.* 1, 27, Tert. *fug.* 6, Victric. 19; dissemino+tio)

dissitus 'remotely situated' (9, 15, 6; 10, 4, 4; Apul. *flor.* 2, Arnob. *nat.* 1, 55; 4, 30, Carm. *adv. Marc.* 4, 148, Cod. Theod. 5, 11, 11, Mart. Cap. 9, 912; *w/f*: dis+situs) P. Médan erroneously marks this word as an archaism, for in the passage he suggests (Lucr. 3, 143) *dissitus* is a participle of *dissero*.[1]

disterno 'to spread out' (2, 15, 5; 10, 34, 4; Not. Tir. 54, 87; 54, 88; 54, 89; *w/f*: dis+sterno)

domuscula 'home' (4, 26, 4; hapax; *w/f*: domus+cula)

dorsualis 'situated on back' (11, 20, 6; Amm. 22, 15, 18; 19, 8, 7, Edict. *imp. Diocl.* 16, 62, Sol. 12, 4, Treb. Gall. 8, 2; *w/f*: dorsum+alis)

ducenaria 'the office of a procurator ducenarius' (7, 6, 1; Inscr. graec. Rom. Cagnat I 227 δουκηναρίαν; cf. *ducenarius*) *Ducenaria* as an abstract noun denoting the office of procurator ducenarius is found in Latin literature only in Apuleius.

dulciolum 'a sweetmeat' (4, 27, 7; hapax; *w/f*: dulcis+olus)

effigio 'to adorn with effigies' (11, 11, 3; Apul. *apol.* 14, 3, *flor.* 1, Amm., Aug., Boeth., Chalc., Drac., Gennad., Iul. Val., Macr., Mart. Cap., Min. Fel., Non., Paul. Petric., Prob., Prud., Ps. Primas., Sidon., Sol., Tert., Ven. Fort., Vincent. Vict.; *w/f*: effigies+o)

efflicte 'passionately' (5, 28, 8; Symm. *epist.* 1, 90, 1; *w/f*: effligo+e) The adverb *efflicte* seems to have been perceived as archaic (cf. *efflictim* in the section of words with archaic colouring).

elocutilis 'of or pertaining to speech' (11, 3, 3; *w/f*: eloquor+ilis)

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[1] Médan, Pierre. La Latinité... P. 183.

emasculo 'to destroy the manhood of' (7, 23, 4; Pallad. *hist. mon.* I 17 p. 294c, Serv. *Aen.* 6, 661; *w/f*: ex+masculus+o)

emeditor 'to contrive carefully' (2, 27, 7; Carm. *de sept. sap.* p. 137 M.; *w/f*: ex+meditor)

ephebicus 'of or suitable to a boy in his teens' (10, 30, 3; hapax; *w/f*: loanword from Greek ἐφηβικός)

esurienter 'hungrily' (10, 16, 4; Zeno 1, 24, 1; *w/f*: esuriens+ter)

examurgo 'to dry out' (4, 14, 7; hapax; *w/f*: ex+amurca+o)

exapto 'to place (on)' (11, 27, 9; hapax; *w/f*: ex+apto)

excitus 'a summons to appear' (6, 27, 5; hapax; *w/f*: excio+tus)

exercitius 'anxiously' (11, 29, 2; Epist. *pontif.*, Rufin., Soran.; w/f: exercitus+e) The adverb *exercite* is attested only in the comparative degree.

exhinc 'hereupon' (11, 24, 4; Cassian., Claud. Mam., Drac., Ennod., Eugraph., Fulg., Greg. Tur., Iord., Isid., Iul. Hon., Iuvenc., Mart. Cap., Novell., Pass., Sidon., Symm., Theod. Prisc., Ps. Orig., Ps. Prosp., Vinc. Victor, Virg. *gramm.*, Theod. Mops.; *w/f*: ex+hinc)

exobruo 'to dig out' (9, 6, 3; Antidot. Brux. frg. *phys.* p. 397, 6, Cassiod. *hist.* 5, 31 p. 1108c, Itala *prov.* 29, 22 (Ps. Aug. *spec.* 49 p. 509, 11); *w/f*: ex+obruo)

expergite 'in a brisk or attentive manner' (2, 23, 7; 8, 31, 4; *w/f*: participle of *expergo*+e) Apparently, the adverb *expergite* was perceived as archaic (cf. *expergo* in the section of words with archaic colouring).

exsector 'one who cuts out' (8, 15, 4; hapax; *w/f*: exseco+tor)

exserte 'loudly' (1, 17, 1; Aug., Cypr., Dict., Don., Itala, Porph., Schol. Cic., Schol. Hor., Serv., Spart., Tert., Zeno, Gloss.; *w/f*: exsertus+e)

famulitio 'domestic staff' (2, 2, 3; 6, 8, 5; *w/f*: famulus+tio) The example of this word shows perfectly the desire of Apuleius to be original: instead of the usual *servitium* he uses the neologism *famulitio*, but he also uses the pre-existing word *famulitium*.

fanatice 'wildly' (8, 27, 4; hapax; *w/f*: fanaticus+e)

farinulentus 'floury' (9, 12, 4; hapax; *w/f*: farina+ulentus)

fastidienter 'disdainfully' (5, 17, 1; Auson. 399, 20 (*conj*.); *w/f*: fastidiens+ter)

feminal 'the female pudendum' (2, 17, 2; Apul. *apol*. 33; *w/f*: femina+al)

fenestrula 'a (small) window' (9, 42, 2; hapax; *w/f*: fenestra+ula)

fistulatim 'in a jet or spray' (4, 3, 10; hapax; *w/f*: fistulatus+im)

flammidus 'flaming' (11, 3, 5; Apul. *Soc*. 8, 9, *mund*. 21; *w/f*: flamma+idus)

floride 'flowery' (11, 24, 2; Carm. epigr. 686, 16, Lact. *mort. pers*. 3, 4; *w/f*: floridus+e)

follico 'to hang loosely' (9, 13, 2; Hier. *epist*. 22, 34, 3, Isid. *orig*. 12, 2, 30, Tert. *pall*. 3, Veg. *mulom*. 2, 140, 1; *w/f*: follis+ico)

fragium 'a fracture' (9, 23, 2; hapax; *w/f*: frango+ium) It is possible that Apuleius, in creating the neologism *fragium*, was influenced by Plautus (*Am*. 454, *Cas*. 496 *lumbifragium*).

frustulum 'a morsel' (1, 19, 2; hapax; *w/f*: frustum+ulum)

furatrina 'stealing' (6, 13, 1; 8, 3, 1; 10, 14, 1; Iul. Val. 2, 26, Non. p. 88; *w/f*: furor+trina)

fusticulus 'a small rod' (6, 18, 4; Not. Tir. 74, 37, Pallad. 1, 35, 6, Paul. Fest. p. 43 L, Gloss. V 515, 61; *w/f*: fustis+culus)

gallinula 'a chicken' (2, 11, 1; Arnob. *nat*. 7, 8, Avien. *Arat*. 1713; *w/f*: gallina+ula)

gaudialis 'joyous' (2, 31, 2; 8, 15, 4; 8, 29, 1; 11, 29, 5; *w/f*: gaudium+alis)

gaudibundus 'rejoicing' (8, 2, 5; Cypr. *epist*. 76, 4, Virg. *gramm. epist*. 5 p. 166, 19; *w/f*: gaudium+bundus)

gemmosus 'rich in jewels' (5, 8, 5; hapax; *w/f*: gemma+osus)

glabellus 'hairless' (2, 17, 2; 5, 22, 7; Apul. *flor*. 3, Mart. Cap. 2, 132; *w/f*: glaber+lus)

grabattulus 'a bed' (1, 11, 5; 1, 11, 8; 1, 12, 2; 1, 12, 7; 1, 13, 1; 1, 13, 8; 1, 16, 2 (bis); 1, 16, 4; 1, 22, 6; 1, 26, 3; 2, 15, 5; 2, 17, 4; *w/f*: grabatus+ulus)

grammateus 'a scribe, secretary' (11, 17, 2; Gloss., Inscr.; *w/f*: loanword from Greek γραμματεύς)

granatim 'grain by grain' (6, 10, 7; hapax; *w/f*: granum+im)

gurgustiolum 'a small or wretched dwelling, hovel' (1, 23, 4; 4, 10, 4; Gloss. III Abol. GV 4, IV Plac. G 6, Gloss. IV 605, 50; *w/f*: gurgustium+olum)

gustulum 'a delicacy' (2, 10, 2; 9, 33, 5; *w/f*: gustus+olum) L. Gargantini mistakenly marks the word *gustulum* as an archaism (in Pl. *Cist*. 70 *gustus*).[1]

helcium 'a rope for towing or hauling' (9, 12, 1; 9, 22, 4; *w/f*: from Greek verb ἕλκω)

herbans 'herbescent' (7, 15, 1; hapax; *w/f*: modelled on a participle from the noun *herba*)

hircuosus 'goat-like' (5, 25, 4; hapax when spelled this way (in authors of different periods the spelling *hircosus* is attested); *w/f*: hircus+osus)

horricomis 'shaggy-haired' (4, 19, 5; 7, 11, 1; *w/f*: horreo+coma+is)

hortulanus 'a gardener' (4, 3, 2; 9, 31, 3; 9, 39, 1; 9, 39, 4 (bis); 9, 39, 6; 9, 40, 3; 9, 40, 4; 9, 40, 5; 9, 41, 3; 9, 41, 5; 9, 42, 4; 10, 1, 1; Apic., Arnob., Aug., Firm., Hier., Itala, Iulian., Macr., Misc. Tir., Oribas., Pacian., Plin. Val., Ps. Aug., Regula, Romul., Tert., Vigil. Trid., Vitae patr., Vulg., Gloss.; *w/f*: hortulus+anus)

hospitator 'a lodger, guest' (4, 7, 4; hapax; *w/f*: hospitor+tor)

ignorabiliter 'unintelligibly, obscurely' (3, 17, 4; hapax; *w/f*: ignorabilis+ter)

imaginabundus 'picturing to oneself' (3, 1, 2; hapax; *w/f*: imaginor+bundus) Perhaps the neologism *imaginabundus* was created in imitation of Sisenna (Gell. 11, 15, 7).

immeditatus 'unaffected' (2, 2, 9; Apul. *flor*. 17, Conc.ˢ I 3 *vers. Tur*. p. 151, 23, Ennod. *opusc*. 3, 142, Martyr. *gramm*. 7, 194, 3 = Cassiod. *gramm*. 7, 194, 5; *w/f*: in+meditatus)

impaenitendus 'not to be repented of' (6, 13, 1; 11, 28, 4; Cassiod. *var*. praef. 3, Itala *II Cor*. 7, 10; *w/f*: in+paenitendus)

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[1] Gargantini, Luisa. Ricerche... P. 42.

impossibilitas 'impossibility' (6, 14, 6; Ambr., Arnob., Aug., Boeth., Cael. Aur., Cassian., Cassiod., Claud. Don., Eucher., Gaudent., Greg. M., Heges., Hier., Hil., Oribas., Rufin., Serv., Tert…; *w/f*: impossibilis+tas)

impunis 'unpunished' (3, 6, 3; Cod. Iust. 9, 39, 2, 2, Drac. *Orest*. 952, Itala *II Macc*. 7, 19, Op. imperf. in Matth. 34 p. 819; *w/f*: back-formation from *impune*)

inacidatus 'steeped in vinegar' (8, 18, 7; hapax; *w/f*: in+acidus+atus)

inalbeo 'to be white' (7, 1, 1; hapax; *w/f*: in+albeo) The neologism *inalbere* reinforces the allusion to Ennius' text containing the verb *indalbare* (*ann*. 212). Apuleius reproduces the line from Ennius, only slightly modifying the verb: *ut primum tenebris abiectis indalbabat* (in Apuleius: *ut primum tenebris abiectis dies inalbebat*).[1] This verb could also be perceived as archaic (see also the verb *inalbo* below).

inalbo 'to make white' (9, 24, 2; 10, 20, 3; Itala *Is*. 1, 18, *Dan*. 12, 10; *w/f*: in+albus+o)

incapistro 'to put a halter on' (11, 20, 6; hapax; *w/f*: in+capistrum+o) Although the verb *incapistro* is attested only once in the literature, it has survived in the Romance languages: cf. ital. *incapestrare*, esp. *encabestrar*).

inconcinne 'inelegantly' (10, 9, 2; Aug. *doctr. christ*. 2, 16, 26, Prisc. 3, 111, 15; *w/f*: inconcinnus+e) Cf. the adverb *inconcinniter* (Gell. 10, 17, 2).

inconivus 'not closing the eyes' (2, 22, 2; 6, 14, 4; Amm. 29, 2, 20 (*conj*.); *w/f*: in+coniveo+us)

incoram 'in the presence of, publicly' (7, 21, 4; 9, 10, 1; 9, 15, 2; 9, 42, 2; 10, 5, 6; 10, 23, 2; Symm. *epist*. 9, 129; *w/f*: in+coram)

incoronatus 'not adorned with garlands' (4, 29, 3; hapax; *w/f*: in+coronatus)

incredulitas 'incredulity' (1, 20, 1; Ambr., Claud. Don., Gaudent., Greg. Tur., Itala, Paul. Nol., Rufin., Sedul., Tert., Vulg., Zeno…; *w/f*: incredulus+tas)

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[1] It is worth noting that the originality of this fragment of Ennius, which came down to us in a commentary on Catullus by the Portuguese humanist Achilles Statius, has been questioned precisely because of its striking similarity to Apuleius' passage: see Skutsch O. Enniana, II // The Classical Quarterly Vol. 42, No. 3/4 (Jul. – Oct., 1948). Pp. 100–101.

incredundus 'not to be believed' (2, 12, 5; Apul. *apol*. 47, 3, *flor*. 15; *w/f*: in+ gerundive of *credo*)

incrementulum 'growth, increase' (5, 12, 2; hapax; *w/f*: crementum+ulum)

incretus 'not sifted' (7, 15, 5; Vitae patr. *Iurens*. 1, 13; *w/f*: in+cretus)

incunctanter 'without hesitation' (4, 8, 1; 4, 21, 1; 9, 1, 2; 9, 36, 2; 10, 23, 1; 11, 6, 2; 11, 30, 4; Aug., Cod. Theod., Gaudent., Greg. M., Lact., Mart. Cap., Novatian., Sulp. Sev., Symm., Ulp. *dig*., Zeno…; *w/f*: in+cunctanter)

incunctatus 'not hesitating' (5, 14, 3; hapax; *w/f*: in+cunctatus)

indagatus 'the action of hunting or tracking down' (7, 7, 4; hapax; *w/f*: indago+tus)

indiguus 'having need (of)' (9, 12, 2; Apul. *Soc*. 1, Ambr. *Iac*. 1, 8, 38, *in psalm*. 36, 52, 3, Basil. *ad Monach*. p. 228, 12, Aug. *beat. vit*. 2, 11, *ord*. 2, 17, 46, Cassiod. *gramm*. 7, 204, 18, Chalc. *comm*. 176, Pass. *Desid*. 4; *w/f*: indigeo+uus) L. Roncaioli believes that in this passage Apuleius used the archaism *indigus*.[1]

inenormis 'not disproportionate or excessive' (2, 2, 9; hapax; *w/f*: in+enormis)

inextricabiliter 'inextricably' (11, 25, 2; Cassian. *conl*. 1, 20, 5, Gloss. IV Plac. 1, 30; *w/f*: inextricabilis+ter)

infantilis 'of or suitable to a young child' (5, 11, 6; Alc. Avit., Aug., Chiron, Hil., Iren., Marcell. *med*., Mutian., Nicet., Novell., Optat., Rufin., Sedul., Ulp. *dig*…; *w/f*: infans+ilis)

infantula 'a baby girl' (10, 28, 1; Caes. Arel., Hier., Ps. Matth., Sidon., Ven. Fort.; *w/f*.: infans+ula)

infantulus 'a baby boy' (8, 15, 3; 8, 22, 4; Ambr., Arnob., Aug., Capitol., Fulg., Greg. Tur., Heges., Hier., Mutian., Paneg., Sulp. Sev., Vulg.…; *w/f*: infans+ulus)

inferialis 'pertaining to the rites of the dead' (8, 7, 4; Schol. Hor. *epod*. 10, 17 (*conj*.), Gloss. [L] II Philox. IN 209; *w/f*: inferiae+alis)

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[1] Roncaioli, Cecilia. L'Arcaismo… P. 336.

inhalatus 'the action of breathing on' (2, 10, 4; hapax; *w/f*: inhalo+tus)

inhortor 'to incite to the attack' (8, 17, 2; 9, 36, 4; *w/f*: in+hortor)

inlubrico 'to give a smooth or sinuous motion to' (2, 7, 3; hapax; *w/f*: in+lubrico)

inluminus 'unlighted' (6, 2, 5; hapax; *w/f*: in+lumen+us, cf. ἄλυχνος)

inlunius 'moonless' (4, 18, 3; 9, 33, 1; *w/f*: in+luna+ius)

inopportunus 'inappropriate' (2, 15, 1; 8, 29, 5; Afric. *dig.*, Aug., Cod. Iust., Conc.[S], Oros.; *w/f*: in+opportunus)

inoptabilis 'undesirable' (9, 12, 2; Cassiod., Conc.[S], Hier., Mutian., Rustic.; *w/f*: in+optabilis)

inpunctus 'having no specks' (2, 19, 2; hapax; *w/f*: in+punctus, cf. ἄστικτος)

inremunerabilis 'that cannot be repaid' (3, 22, 5; 11, 24, 5; *w/f*: in+remuneror+bilis)

inscensus 'the act of mounting, covering' (7, 14, 5; Itin. Alex. 48; *w/f*: inscendo+tus)

insecutio 'pursuit' (8, 16, 1; Aug., Cassiod., Greg. Tur., Hier., Iul. Val., Ps. Vigil. Thaps., Soran., Vitae patr., Vulg., Gloss.; *w/f*: insequor+tio)

insecutor 'a pursuer' (7, 2, 1; Ferreol., Greg. Tur., Ennod., Epiphan., Itin. Alex., Iul. Val., Prud., Tert., Vulg.; *w/f*: insequor+tor)

insiciatus 'stuffed with forcemeat' (6, 31, 6 (*conj.*); Anth., Apic.; *w/f*: insicium+atus) Perhaps the word *insiciatus* was archaic (cf. *insicium* Var. *ling*. 5, 110).

insonus 'noiseless' (3, 21, 3; Apul. *mund*. 20, Amm. 27, 12, 8; 29, 5, 54, Isid. *orig*. 1, 4, 4; *w/f*: in+sonus+us)

inspersus 'a sprinkling on' (7, 22, 3; 9, 30, 3; *w/f*: inspergo+tus)

insutus 'the process of sewing in' (7, 4, 2; hapax; *w/f*: insuo+tus)

interspergo 'to sprinkle' (5, 15, 4; Apul. *apol*. 40, 2; *w/f*: inter+spargo)

interula 'a kind of undergarment' (8, 9, 2; Mart. Cap. 1, 7, Tert. *pall*. 5, 3, Treb. *Claud*. 14, 10, Vopisc. *Prob*. 4, 5, *quatt. tyr*. 15, 8; *w/f*: inter+ulus)

intervocaliter 'with cries at intervals' (9, 30, 6; hapax; *w/f*: inter+vocalis+ter)

intollo 'to raise' (8, 26, 2; hapax; *w/f*: in+tollo)

intraho 'to drag along, trail' (5, 20, 3; 11, 23, 3; Paul. Fest. p. 98 L, Cael. Aur. *gyn*. 1, 60 l. 514; *w/f*: in+traho)

intrimentum 'a paste, mash' (10, 13, 3; Zeno 1, 24, 1; *w/f*: intero+mentum)

introcedo 'to come in' (5, 3, 5; 10, 31, 1; *w/f*: intro+cedo)

introrepo 'to creep in' (2, 25, 3; 9, 18, 3; *w/f*: intro+repo)

invinius 'abstaining from wine' (11, 23, 2; hapax; *w/f*: in+vinum+ius, cf. ἄοινος)

iubilatio 'wild shouting' (8, 17, 2; Ambr., Aug., Itala, Paul. Nol., Rufin., Sedul….; *w/f*: iubilo+tio)

iumentarius 'of or relating to beasts of burden' (9, 13, 1; Iavol. *dig*. 33, 7, 26, 1, Paul. Nol. *epist*. 23, 12, Gloss…; *w/f*: iumentum+arius)

lacertulus 'a kind of cake or sweetmeat in the shape of a lizard' (10, 13, 6; hapax; *w/f*: lacertus+ulus)

laciniatim 'in small groups' (8, 15, 8; hapax; *w/f:* lacinia+atus+im)

laevorsum 'to the left' (1, 21, 1; Apul. *flor*. 2, Amm. 14, 3, 2; 31, 10, 11; 18, 6, 15, Mart. Cap. 6, 580; 6, 626; 6, 639; 6, 665; 6, 681; 6, 690; *w/f:* laevus+vorsum)

lanciola 'a small lance' (8, 27, 2; Anon. Vales. 13, 78, Capitol. Maximin. 30, 2, Grom. p. 326, 1, Treb. Claud. 8, 5, Vulg. *III reg*. 18, 28; *w/f*: lancea+ola)

latrocinalis 'of or belonging to robbers' (2, 14, 3; 4, 18, 4; Amm., Avell., Ps. Rufin.; *w/f*: latrocinium+alis)

lautiusculus 'somewhat elegant' (7, 9, 1; hapax; *w/f*: lautus+culus)

levigo 'to lighten' (4, 1, 4;[1] Cael. Aur., Cassiod., Fulg., Greg. M., Hil. Arel., Mutian., Novell., Oribas., Prisc. Lyd., Ps. Aug., Ps. Hier., Schol. Hor…; *w/f*: levis+igo, cf. lēvigo 'to make smooth')

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[1] Manuscript *F* gives the reading levigatos, corrected to levatos, and different editors adhere to different readings.

lugubriter 'mournfully' (3, 8, 2; Apon., Aug., Caes. Arel., Cassian., Gild., Pomp. *gramm.*, Schol. Stat., Serv., Verec.; *w/f*: lugubris+ter)

lumino 'to illuminate' (9, 12, 4; 11, 25, 3; Avien., Cypr., Ennod., Hil., Iren., Itala, Mart. Cap., Paul. Nol., Prud., Ven. Fort., Vulg…; *w/f*: lumen+o) *Luminare* is a new word, which is not necessarily a neologism of Apuleius, as it is presented in an inscription of the same period (CE 880, 2, 134 C. E.).[1]

lupanaris 'belonging to or characteristic of a brothel' (9, 26, 1; Basil. *ad fil.* p. 62, 12, Pass. *Bonos.* 10, Ps. Ambr. *epist.* 1, 7; *c/o*: *w/f*: lupanar+aris)

lupula 'a she-wolf' (3, 22, 6; 5, 11, 4; *w/f*: lupa+ula)

machinarius 'mechanical' (7, 15, 3; Alf. *dig.*, Comment. *Lucan.*, Paul. *dig.*, Sol., Ulp. *dig.*, Gloss.; *w/f*: machina+arius)

magia 'magic' (3, 16, 19; 6, 26, 7; Apul. *apol.* 2, 2; 9, 5; 25, 5; 25, 9; 26, 1; 27, 9; 27, 12; 28, 4; 29, 1; 29, 2; 29, 6; 29, 9; 30, 5; 31, 1; 31, 2; 31, 4; 43, 1; 47, 1; 47, 3; 53, 2; 54, 6; 58, 5; 62, 3; 63, 2; 64, 8; 67, 1; 67, 3; 70, 3; 78, 5; 80, 5; 81, 1; 82, 4; 83, 5; 84, 3; 84, 4; 87, 2; 90, 4; 96, 2; 102, 1; 102, 2, Act. Petr., Ambrosiast., Amm., Aug., Cassiod., Filastr., Isid., Itala, Pass. *Theclae*, Prud., Tert., Vulg.; *w/f*: loanword from Greek μαγεία)

magnarius 'dealing in bulk' (1, 5, 5; *w/f*: magnus+arius) The word *magnarius* is not attested in other literary texts, but is found in inscriptions.

matronatus 'the dress of a matron' (4, 23, 3; Zeno 1, 1, 17; *w/f*: matrona+atus)

meaculum 'a passage' (1, 4, 1; Mart. Cap. 8, 813, Vindic. *epist. ad Valent.* 9; *w/f*: meo+culum)

mediator 'a mediator' (9, 36, 1; Aug., Avell., Cassiod., Ennod., Hier., Mutian., Paul. Nol., Rufin., Sidon., Vitae patr., Vulg…; *w/f*: medio+tor)

meditatus 'thinking, meditating' (3, 14, 4; hapax; *w/f*: meditor+tus)[2]

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[1] Keulen W. H. – Tilg. S. – Nicolini L. – Graverini L. – Harrison S. J. – Panayotakis S. – Mal-Maeder D. van. Apuleius Madaurensis Metamorphoses. Book XI... P. 431.
[2] Neither OLD nor Index Apuleianus records this noun.

medullaris 'of or belonging to the marrow of the bones' (7, 17, 3; Antidot. Brux. 156; *w/f*: medulla+aris)

mellitula 'sweetheart, honey' (3, 22, 5; Hier. *epist*. 79, 6, 2; *w/f*: mellitus+ula) L. Gargantini mistakenly marks this word as an archaism.[1]

mineus 'bright red' (4, 2, 1; Apul. *flor*. 12, Isid. *orig*. 16, 8, 4; *w/f*: minium+eus)

momentarius 'temporary, short-lived' (2, 29, 3; 5, 12, 3; 9, 1, 6; 10, 25, 2; Ambr., Boeth., Cassiod., Claud. Mam., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Itala, Lampr., Papin. *dig.*, Ps. Aug., Rufin.; *w/f*: momentum+arius)

monstratus 'the action of pointing out' (1, 22, 7; 5, 28, 9; Auson. 423, 4; *w/f*: monstro+tus)

morsico 'to nibble' (2, 10, 2; 7, 21, 3; Paul. Fest. p. 60 L; *w/f*: mordeo+ico) *Morsicare* is a rare word, appearing in fiction only in Apuleius, but most likely it existed before, and in Apuleius it has an archaic connotation (cf. *morsicatim*: Sueius *carm*. frg. 2).

multiforabilis 'having many holes' (10, 32, 2; hapax; *w/f*: multus+folium+bilis) In *the Florida* Apuleius uses the synonymous neologism *multiforatilis* (*flor*. 3; later attested only in Sidonius Apollinarius).

multinodus 'having many knots, tangled' (5, 17, 3; 8, 28, 2; 10, 29, 5; Mart. Cap. 4, 423, Prud. *cath*. 7, 139; *w/f*: multus+nodus+us)

multinominis 'having many names' (11, 22, 6; hapax; *w/f*: multus+nomen+is, cf. πολυώνυμος)

multiscius 'having much knowledge' (9, 13, 5; Apul. *apol*. 31, 5, *flor*. 3, 9, 18, Epiphan. *in cant*. 3 p. 15; *w/f*: multus+scio+us)

multivius 'having many journeys' (9, 11, 1; 9, 13, 2; Aug. *dialect*. 8; *w/f*: multus+via+us)

munerabundus 'bringing presents' (11, 18, 2; hapax; *w/f*: munero+bundus)

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[1] Gargantini, Luisa. Ricerche... P. 43.

murmurabundus 'murmuring' (2, 20, 6; Ioh. Med. *Ps. Chrysost. hom.* I p. 894[C]; *w/f*: murmur+bundus)

mussitatio 'growling' (8, 4, 3; Bened., Cael. Aur., Conc.[S], Hier., Ioh. Maxent., Ps. Aug., Tert., Vitae patr.; *w/f*: mussito+tio) It is possible that the word *mussitatio* had an archaic connotation (cf. the archaism *mussitare*).

naccinus 'of or belonging to a fuller' (9, 27, 4; hapax; *w/f*: nacca+inus)

negantinummius 'refusing money' (10, 21, 2; hapax; *w/f*: negans+nummus+ius) The adjective *negantinummius* is definitely inspired by the comedies of Plautus.[1]

nepotalis 'typical of a wastrel' (2, 2, 2; Amm. 31, 5, 6; *w/f*: nepos+alis)

nidificium 'a nesting place' (8, 22, 6; hapax; *w/f*: nidifico+ium)

nigredo 'blackness' (2, 9, 2; *w/f*: niger+edo)

nimietas 'excess' (2, 16, 6; 3, 10, 1; 8, 8, 1; 9, 18, 1; 9, 25, 1; Arnob., Cael. Aur., Pallad., Tert.; *w/f*: nimius+tas)

nubilosus 'cloudy' (11, 7, 5; Cael. Aur.; *w/f*: nubilus+osus)

nugamentum 'a piece of rubbish or trash' (1, 25, 1; Gloss.; *w/f*: nugae+mentum)

nugo 'a trifler' (5, 29, 4; 5, 30, 5; *w/f*: nugor+o)

nutabundus 'staggering' (9, 41, 1; Ambr., Aug., Claud., Cypr., Lact., Salv…; *w/f*: nuto+bundus)

obaudio 'to obey' (3, 15, 7 spelled in this manner (cf. classical *oboedio*); Itala, Tert...; *w/f*: ob+audio)

obauratus 'gilded' (11, 8, 2; hapax; *w/f*: ob+aurum+atus)

oblatio 'the offering of something' (5, 22, 2; 10, 5, 1; 11, 8, 3; 11, 20, 3; Amm., Aug., Cael. Aur., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Cypr., Ennod., Greg. M., Hil., Itala, Sidon., Tert., Vulg...; *w/f*: offero+tio)

obmisceo 'to meet and combine' (4, 20, 4; Visio Pauli 13; *w/f*: ob+misceo)

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[1] Callebat, Louis. L'Archaïsme... P. 356.

obpexus 'the action of combing' (11, 9, 3; hapax; *w/f*: obpecto+tus) Most likely the word *obpexus* was perceived as archaic (cf. *obpecto*: Pl. *Persa* 111).

obsibilo 'to give out a rustling sound' (11, 7, 5; hapax; *w/f*: ob+sibilo)

obunctus 'smeared with ointment or perfume' (2, 9, 3; 8, 27, 1; *w/f*: ob + participle of *ungo*)

obverbero 'to beat' (7, 25, 1; 9, 9, 4; 9, 28, 2; Iulian. Aug. c. Iulian. *op. imperf*. 2, 1, Ps. Ambr. *paenit*. 17 p. 990c; *w/f*: ob+verbero)

occursorius 'making contact' (9, 23, 1; hapax; *w/f*: occurro+torius)

ociter 'quickly' (1, 23, 8; 6, 25, 4; Opt. Porf. *carm*. 22, 25, Serv. *auct. Aen*. 9, 400) The positive degree of the adverb *ociter* is very rarely found in Latin literature, since the comparative degree *ocius* was already perceived as positive. Although we may suppose that Apuleius discovered this adverb from archaic authors, it is more likely that he himself coined it on the basis of the form *ocius*.[1]

offensaculum 'a cause of stumbling, obstacle' (9, 9, 2; Lact. *opif*. 1, 8, Prud. *apoth. praef*. 2, 33, *psych*. 484, 781; *w/f*: offenso+culum)

offulcio 'to stop up, close in' (1, 13, 7; 4, 11, 2; Plac. *med*. 4, 4, Ps. Apul. *herb*. 31, 22; *w/f*: ob+fulcio)

omnimodus 'of every sort' (5, 25, 3; Apul. *apol*. 50, 2; 75, 9, *flor*. 18, Aug., Cypr. Gall., Hier., Lampr., Paul. Nol., Tert., Vulg., Gloss…; *w/f*: omnis+modus)

operula 'slender earnings' (1, 7, 10; in the meaing 'a small service': Arnob. *nat*. 4, 30, Aug. *epist*. 47, 1, Ulp. *dig*. 50, 14, 3; *w/f*: opera+ula)

orbitas 'blindness' (8, 12, 6; Itala *gen*. 19, 11) Usually *orbitas* is understood as 'absence, loss' and does not necessarily refer to vision, and such an understanding requires explanation (e. g., Plin. *nat*. 7, 124: *orbitate luminis*). However, this meaning is present in the Romance languages (it. *orbo*, rom. *orb* 'blind').

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[1] Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots / Par A. Ernout et A. Meillet... P. 810; Keulen W. H. Apuleius, Metamorphoses. Book I... P. 420.

orbus 'blind' instead of 'bereaved' (5, 9, 2; Firm. *math.* 8, 22, 1, Ps. Cypr. *adv. Iud.* 9, Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 3, 195, Ulp. frg. *Vat.* 130, 30, Ven. Fort. *carm.* 10, 12, *vita Redeg.* 27, 65)

orificium 'an opening' (2, 15, 6; 9, 40, 5; 10, 8, 2; 11, 11, 4; Cassiod., Chiron, Epiphan., Itala, Macr., Mutian., Victorin. Poetov., Gloss…; *w/f*: os+facio+ium)

originalis 'existing at, or marking, the beginning, originative' (10, 33, 1; 11, 2, 1; Aug., Cassian., Cod. Iust., Cod. Theod., Hier., Itala, Macr., Paul. Nol., Sedul., Tert., Zeno, Gloss…; *w/f*: origo+alis)

ostensio 'the action of exposing to view' (3, 9, 6; Ambr., Arnob., Aug., Boeth., Greg. M., Hier., Itala, Tert., Gloss….; *w/f*: ostendo+tio)

ovicula 'a (little) sheep' (8, 19, 2; Ambr., Aug., Cassiod., Hier., Itala, Rufin., Tert…; *w/f*: ovis+cula)

palliastrum 'a poor cloak' (1, 6, 1; *flor.* 14; w/f: pallium+aster)

palumbulus 'a wood-pigeon (as a term of endearment)' (8, 26, 4; 10, 22, 3; Inscr. *christ. Ferrua* 18552; *w/f*: palumbus+ulus)

pannulus 'a scrap of cloth' (7, 5, 5; 7, 8, 2; 9, 12, 4; Amm., Rufin., Vita *Caes. Arel.*; *w/f*: pannus+ulus)

parciloquium 'restraint in talking' (5, 13, 1; hapax; w/f: parcus+loquor+ium) The word *parciloquium* was most likely perceived as archaic (cf. Plautine *pauciloquium*, *parumloquium*).

passive 'freely, indiscriminately' (11, 3, 4 from the verb *pando*; hapax; *w/f*: passivus+e)

passivus 'random, indiscriminate' (6, 10, 3; 9, 36, 4; Aug., Cassian., Hier., Rufin., Tert…; *w/f*: passus (pando) +ivus)

pastophorus 'one of a college of priests of Isis, who carried portable shrines' (11, 17, 2; 11, 27, 7; 11, 30, 4; *w/f*: loanword from Greek παστοφόρος) Apart from Apuleius' novel, the word *pastophorus* is attested only in inscriptions.

paullulatim 'in small amount, little by little' (2, 16, 3; hapax; *w/f*: paullulus+im)

pecuinus 'of sheep or cattle' (8, 30, 2; 11, 1, 2; Apul. *apol*. 12, 2, Zeno; *w/f*: pecu+inus)

peralbus 'very white' (1, 2, 1; 5, 28, 2; Grom. p. 306, 22; *w/f*: per+albus)

perastutulus 'very artful' (9, 5, 4; hapax; *w/f*: per+astutus+ulus)

perfluus 'smoothly flowing' (11, 8, 2; hapax; *w/f*: perfluo+us)

periclitabundus 'testing' (3, 21, 6; 5, 23, 2; Apul. *apol*. 72, 5; *w/f*: periclitor+bundus)

perquiesco 'to take repose' (8, 22, 1; Leo M. *ep*. 167, 9; *w/f*: per+quiesco)

pictilis 'embroidered' (10, 18, 4; hapax; w/*f*: pingo+ilis)

pinguities 'fat, fatness' (10, 15, 3; Arnob. *nat*. 7, 20, Cael. Aur. *gyn*. 1, 42, Vindic. *med*. 10, Gloss. V 534, 55; *w/f*: pinguis+ies)

pocillator 'a cupbearer' (6, 15, 2; 6, 24, 2; 10, 17, 4; Gloss.; *w/f*: pocillum+tor)

polentacius 'made of barley' (6, 19, 2; Not. Tir. 68, 31; *w/f*: polenta+aceus) Most likely, the word *polentacius* was perceived as an archaism (cf. *polentarius* Pl. *Curc*. 295).

populosus 'full of people' (5, 8, 1; 8, 6, 5; 8, 23, 1; Apul. *flor*. 6, Ambr., Amm., Cassian., Itala, Iulian., Nemes., Prud., Sidon., Zeno., Gloss…; *w/f*: populus+osus)

poscinummius 'demanding money' (10, 21, 2; hapax; *w/f*: posco+nummus+ius) Cf. the neologism *negantinummius*.

postica 'a back-door' (9, 2, 1; Amm., Ulp. *dig*., Vulg.; cf. *posticum*) The word *postica* is another example of Apuleius' originality: he used a widely used word in a different gender.

posticula 'a (small) back-door' (2, 23, 5; hapax; *w/f*: postica+ula)

postliminio 'so as to restore the status quo' (1, 25, 1; 2, 28, 1; 3, 25, 3; 4, 25, 4; 5, 7, 5; 9, 21, 7; 10, 12, 2; Apul. *flor*. 19, Ennod., Lact., Paneg., Prud...)

praemico 'to flash out' (5, 20, 2; 10, 1, 2; 11, 1, 1; 11, 10, 3; Cassiod., Epist. *episc. Greg. Tur. Franc*., Min. Fel., Orient., Prud., Ps. Aug., Ven. Fort., Vita

Amator.; *w/f*: prae+mico) Perhaps the word *praemicare* was perceived as archaic (cf. *promicare* in the section of words with archaic colouring).

praeminor 'to threaten with' (5, 19, 3; 6, 15, 6; 8, 21, 4; Tert. *apol*. 21, 6, *Marc*. 5, 19; *w/f*: prae+minor)

praenobilis 'very celebrated' (8, 1, 5; 10, 25, 3; Apul. *flor*. 16, Prud.; *w/f*: prae+nobilis)

praenoto 'to mark in front, write out' (2, 24, 2; 6, 25, 1; 10, 9, 3; 11, 22, 8; Aug., Hier., Mart. Cap., Pallad., Paul. Nol., Tert….; *w/f*: prae+noto)

praeterluo 'to flow past' (6, 11, 4; Amm. 17, 13, 4 (*conj*.), Gloss.; *w/f*: praeter+luo)

praetondeo 'to shear the end of' (5, 30, 6; Cass. Fel. 2 p. 10, 16; 62 p. 154, 15; *w/f*: prae+tondeo)

pratens 'meadow-like' (8, 18, 6; hapax; *w/f*: modelled on a participle of *pratum*)

pressim 'firmly' (2, 16, 2; 2, 30, 9; Iul. Vict. *rhet*. p. 97, 3; *w/f*: pressus+im)

pressule 'with gentle pressure' (4, 31, 4; 10, 21, 2; 10, 31, 2; *w/f*: pressulus+e)

progesto 'to bear in front of one' (6, 28, 6; hapax; *w/f*: pro+gesto)

prohinc 'therefore' (3, 8, 6; 3, 12, 4; 5, 2, 3; 11, 27, 3; Boeth. *subst. bon*. 11; *w/f*: pro+hinc)

promino 'to drive forth' (9, 27, 1; hapax; *w/f*: pro+mino)

promptuarium 'a store-room' (1, 23, 8; Apul. *Plat*. 1, 14, Ambr., Auson., Cassiod., Macr., Lact., Paul, Nol., Rufin…; *w/f*: promo+arium) Most likely, the word *promptuarium* was perceived as archaic (cf. archaic adjective *promptuarius*).

prosectus 'the act of cutting the surface' (8, 5, 10; 8, 28, 3; *w/f*: proseco+tus)

prosisto 'to jut or stick out' (11, 24, 4; hapax; *w/f*: pro+sisto)

prospicue 'with forethought' (1, 21, 8; 11, 18, 3; *w/f*: prospicuus+e) Perhaps the adverb *prospicue* was perceived as archaic (cf. the adjective *prospicus*: Naev. *com*. 25), see also the neologism *prospicuus*.

prospicuus 'far-sighted' (6, 20, 1; Conc. ^S II 5 p. 145, 8, Laurent. *eleem.* p. 111c, Vitae patr. *Iurens.* 123; *w/f*: prospicio+uus)

protermino 'to extend the limits of' (9, 38, 3; Sidon. *epist.* 3, 1, 5, Symm. *epist.* 9, 69; *w/f*: pro+termino)

protrimentum 'a ground spice or herb' (8, 31, 4; hapax; *w/f*: protero+mentum)

proximo 'to approach' (2, 16, 1; 2, 16, 6; 2, 32, 2; 3, 26, 7; 5, 6, 10; 6, 3, 3; 6, 8, 5; 8, 19, 3; 9, 18, 3; 11, 16, 5: Aug., Cassian., Cassiod., Chalc., Claud. Mam., Ennod., Itala, Rufin., Sol….; *w/f*: proximus+o)

pugillo 'to fight with the fists' (7, 16, 4; Apul. *Soc.* 21, Aug., Boeth., Conc., Hist. Aug., Itala, Synon. Cic., Gloss.; *w/f*: pugil+o) Apparently, the word *pugillare* was not coined by Apuleius, but already existed in Latin (cf. Plautine *pugillatorius*, *pugillatus*).

pullulatim 'like a young nestling' (5, 20, 4; hapax; *w/f*: pullulus+im)

pulposus 'fleshy' (7, 16, 4; Don. *Ter. Hec.* 441, Hippocr. *vict.* 2, Soran. p. 7, 12, p. 9, 14; *w/f*: pulpa+osus)

punctulum 'a slight prick' (5, 12, 2; 6, 21, 3; Isid. *orig.* 16, 9, 7; *w/f*: punctum+ulum)

punicans/**poenicans** 'inclining to bright red' (1, 6, 4; 3, 1, 1; 4, 2, 7; Gloss.; *w/f*: modelled on a participle, cf. *puniceus*)

putredo 'rottenness' (9, 13, 2; Apul. *flor.* 15, Arnob., Aug., Cassian., Cassiod., Cypr., Fulg., Itala, Macr., Oribas., Pallad., Sol., Ven. Fort...; *w/f*: putris+edo)

ranula 'a little frog' (9, 34, 3; Ambr., Aug., Ennod.; *w/f*: rana+ula) The word *ranula* is preserved in Romance languages, e. g., it. *ralla*.

rebullio 'to bubble back, to cause to bubble up' (1, 13, 6; 5, 26, 5; 9, 34, 2; *w/f*: re+bullio)

refectus 'refreshment' (5, 3, 2; 8, 18, 6; 9, 22, 4; Scaev. *dig.* 36, 1, 80; *w/f*: reficio+tus)

remeaculum 'a return journey' (6, 2, 5; hapax; *w/f*: remeo+culum)

reniteo 'to be bright' (2, 9, 1; Ambr., Prisc.; *w/f*: re+niteo)

renudo 'to uncover' (1, 6, 4; 2, 17, 1; 7, 16, 4; 8, 27, 3; 8, 30, 2; 9, 13, 2; Arnob., Mart. Cap.; *w/f*: re+nudo)

repando 'to open wide' (4, 18, 5; 9, 20, 4; *w/f*: re+pando)

repertus 'the act of finding, invention' (11, 2, 1; 11, 11, 3; Apul. *flor*. 3; *w/f*: reperio+tus)

repigro 'to slow down' (1, 9, 5; 8, 15, 8; Mart. Cap. 1, 35, Zeno 1, 2, 18; *w/f*: re+pigro) Perhaps the word was perceived as archaic (cf. the rare verb *pigrare*, attested only in Accius, Lucretius, and Cicero in his letters).

replaudo 'to strike with a clapping sound' (1, 7, 4; 6, 28, 1; *w/f*: re+plaudo)

respiratus 'the action or process of breathing' (4, 15, 3; Hippocr. *progn*. 5; *w/f*: respire+tus)

retiolum 'a (small) hunting-net' (8, 4, 5; Arnob. *ad Greg*. 13, Aug. *ep*. 211, 10, Serv. Aen. 4, 138; *w/f*: rete+olum)

retro 'behind' as a preposition (6, 8, 2; Chalc. *comm*. 299, Firm. *math*. 3, 6, 33, Itin. Burd. p. 23, 22, Vulg. *Is*. 57, 8, *Marc*. 8, 33)

retropendulus 'hanging down behind' (5, 22, 5; hapax; *w/f*: retro+pendulus)

reverticulum 'the coming round again' (3, 11, 3; Apul. *flor*. 18; *w/f*: revertor+culum)

rimabundus 'examining closely' (2, 5, 1; Apul. *Soc*. 2, Fulg. *myth*. 1, 25; *w/f*: rimor+bundus)

ruderarius 'used for rubble' (8, 23, 6; hapax; *w/f*: rudus+arius)

ruditus 'the braying (of an ass)' (8, 29, 6; Greg. M. *dial*. 3, 4, Serv. *Aen*. 7, 16; *w/f*: rudo+tus)

rumigo 'to chew over again' (4, 22, 7; Arnob. 5, 23, Garg. Mart. *rur. boum* 12; *w/f*: rumen+igo)

rupina 'a hollow among crags' (6, 26, 6; 7, 13, 6; Apul. *flor*. 11, Gloss.; *w/f*: rupes+ina)

rurestris 'rural' (4, 2, 8; 5, 8, 4; 7, 14, 5; 8, 6, 5; Mart. Cap. 9, 906, Paul. *dig*. 32, 99, 2; *w/f*: rus+estris)

sacrificatus 'the offering of sacrifice' (7, 10, 4; hapax; *w/f*: sacrifice+tus)

sagittula 'a little arrow' (10, 32, 1; hapax; *w/f*: sagitta+ula)

salebritas 'roughness' (6, 14, 2; *w/f*: salebra+tas)

saltatorie 'in the manner of a dancer' (10, 30, 5; hapax; *w/f*: saltatorius+e)

sapide 'appetizingly' (8, 31, 4; hapax; *w/f*: sapidus+e)

sapidus 'tasty' (2, 7, 2; 10, 13, 3; Alc. Avit., Apic., Aug.; *w/f*: sapio+idus)

sarcimen 'a seam' (4, 15, 2; hapax; *w/f*: sarcio+men)

satianter 'amply, to satiety' (7, 16, 3; Ps. Vigil. Thaps. *c. Marivadum* 2, 18; *w/f*: participle of *satio*+ter)

scandularis 'formed of wooden shingles' (3, 17, 3; *w/f*: scandula+aris) Apparently, in this passage Apuleius used the neologism *scandularis* for the sake of alliteration (*tectum scandulare conscendit*).

scitule 'deftly, cleverly' (2, 19, 3; 7, 11, 3; 9, 1, 4; 10, 30, 5; *w/f*: scitulus+e) It is likely that Apuleius was inspired by the Plautine adjective *scitulus*, and his adverb may have reminded his readers of the vocabulary of ancient comedy.

scortatus 'association with a prostitute' (5, 28, 4; hapax; *w/f*: scortor+tus) The word is used by Apuleius by analogy with *natatus* in the same sentence and may have had an archaic connotation, since the verb *scortari* is characteristic of comedy (before Apuleius the word is found in Plautus, Terence and Varro).

scrutaria 'the trade of a scrutarius (a second-hand dealer)' (4, 8, 9; *w/f*: scruta+aria)

scrutinium 'an examination for something hidden, search' (9, 41, 6; Amm.; *w/f*: scrutor+inium)

scurrula 'a joker' (10, 16, 6; Arnob. 6, 21; *w/f*: scurra+ula)

sebacius 'a tallow candle' (4, 19, 3; CIL VI 3038; *w/f*: sebum+aceus)

semenstris 'half a month old' (11, 4, 1; Amm. 20, 3, 1; *w/f*: semi+menstris) Cf. the adjective *semenstris* meaning 'six-monthly'.

semiadopertulus 'half-closed' (3, 14, 5; hapax; *w/f*: semi+adopertus+ulus)

semiamictus 'half-clothed' (1, 6, 1; 7, 5, 3; 9, 30, 3; *w/f*: semi+ participle of *amicio*)

semiamputatus 'half-pruned' (1, 4, 5; hapax; *w/f*: semi+ participle of *amputo*) Cf. *semiputatus* (V. Ruf. *trag*. 9, Verg. *ecl*. 2, 70).

semicanus 'greying' (8, 24, 2; 9, 30, 3; *w/f*: semi+canus)

semiconspicuus 'half-visible' (3, 2, 8; hapax; *w/f*: semi+conspicuus)

semiobrutus 'half-covered over' (9, 5, 5; hapax; *w/f*: semi+ participle of *obruo*)

semirutundus 'semicircular' (5, 3, 2; 11, 6, 6; Veg. *mil*. 1, 23; *w/f*: semi+rotundus)

semisopitus 'half-asleep' (1, 15, 4; hapax; *w/f*: semi+ participle of *sopito*)

semitectus 'half-covered' (4, 18, 2; Amm. 19, 11, 13, Arnob. 6, 25; *w/f*: semi+ participle of *tego*)

semitrepidus 'half-afraid' (7, 8, 2; hapax; *w/f*: semi+trepidus)

seniculus 'a (little) old man' (1, 25, 2; 1, 25, 5; *w/f*: senex+ulus)

sepes 'six-footed' (6, 10, 7; Mart. Cap. 4, 346; *w/f*: sex+pes)

sepicula 'a hedge' (8, 20, 2; hapax; *w/f*: saepes+cula)

sessim 'in a sitting posture' (2, 17, 4 (*conj*., F sensim); *w/f*: sedeo+im)

silentiosus 'characterized by silence' (11, 1, 1; Cassiod. *var*. 7, 7, 2; 8, 32, 2; *w/f*: silentium+osus)

simulanter 'in pretence' (8, 10, 2; hapax; *w/f*: simulans+ter) Although the adverb *simulanter* is first attested in Apuleius' text, we see the adjective *simulans* long before him (Ov. *am*. 2, 6, 23).

sitarchia 'provisions for a journey' (2, 11, 3; Hier., Isid.; *w/f*: loanword from Greek σιταρχία)

sobriefactus 'brought to a state of moderation, sobered' (8, 10, 1; hapax; *w/f*: sobries+factus)

somnulentus 'heavy with sleep' (1, 26, 6; 8, 12, 5; 10, 26, 6; Ambr., Aug., Sol.; *w/f*: somnus+olentus)

sonax 'resounding' (4, 31, 7; 8, 4, 4; *w/f*: sono+ax) Apparently, in Book VIII Apuleius chose this neologism for consonance with the word *minax*.

sospitator 'a saviour' (6, 28, 6; 7, 10, 1; 7, 14, 1; 9, 3, 3; *apol.* 64, 7, *mund.* 24, Arnob. 1, 53, 3; 2, 74, 1; 2, 74, 3; *w/f*: sospito+tor) It seems that the word *sospitator* may have had an archaic connotation (cf. *sospitare*, an ancient word belonging to the religious sphere), see also *sospitatrix* below.

sospitatrix 'a saviour' (11, 9, 1; 11, 15, 4; 11, 25, 1; *w/f*: sospito+trix)

spinula 'a (small) backbone' (10, 32, 3; Arnob. 2, 11, 6; *w/f*: spina+ula)

splendico 'to be bright' (5, 9, 5; 7, 8, 1; *w/f*: splendeo+ico)

spondeum 'a vessel used in making libations' (11, 20, 4; CIL XIV 2215; *w/f*: loanword from Greek σπονδεῖον)

spontalis 'self-chosen' (4, 11, 6; 11, 30, 1; *w/f*: spons+alis)

stomida 'an instrument for restraining a horse by exerting pressure on its nostrils or upper lip' (8, 25, 6 *conj.*; *w/f*: loanword from Greek στομίς) See also *stomis, -idis* (Lucil. 511, *conj.*)

structus 'arrangement' (11, 16, 10; hapax; *w/f*: struo+tus)

subiugus 'harnessed to the yoke' (7, 15, 3; Prud. *cath.* 3, 170; *w/f*: sub+iugum+us)

sublucidus 'barely light' (6, 3, 3; Amm. 23, 6, 67; *w/f*: sub+lucidus)

subpateo 'to lie open' (7, 24, 6; 8, 20, 2; *w/f*: sub+pateo)

subreptio 'the act of taking secretly, filching' (10, 15, 1; Non. p. 310; *w/f*: subripio+tio)

subsero 'to insert below' (7, 28, 1; Amm.; *w/f*: sub+sero)

subsitus 'situated below' (6, 3, 3; hapax; *w/f*: sub+situs)

substrepo 'to murmur' (5, 18, 5; hapax; *w/f*: sub+strepo)

subterhabeo 'to treat with contempt' (1, 12, 5; hapax; *w/f*: subter+habeo)

subterrenus 'situated below the level of the earth' (9, 22, 5; *w/f*: sub+terra+enus) Cf. classical *subterraneus*.

succinctulus 'having one's clothes gathered up or girded (by a belt, etc.)' (2, 7, 3; *w/f*: succinctus+ulus)

succuba 'a paramour' (5, 28, 9; 10, 24, 2; Greg. Tur. *Franc.* 1, 25, Non. p. 224, 26, Prud. *perist.* 10, 192; *w/f*: succubo+a)

succubo 'to lie (underneath)' (1, 12, 7; 9, 26, 4; *w/f*: sub+cubo)

suculentus 'juicy' (2, 2, 9; 10, 15, 3; Cael. Aur., Hier., Non., Prud., Sidon.; *w/f*: sucus+ulentus)

suetum 'a habit' (4, 24, 2; *w/f*: participle of *suesco*)

sufficienter 'sufficiently' (4, 28, 2; Aug., Ps. Aur. Vict., Rufin., Ulp.; *w/f*: sufficiens+ter)

suffusculus 'somewhat inclined to swarthiness' (2, 13, 2; Amm. 22, 16, 23; *w/f*: suffuscus+olus)

sulcamen 'a furrow' (6, 2, 4; hapax; *w/f*: sulco+men)

supercedo 'to go beyond' (10, 2, 2 *conj.* (*F* supergesserat); hapax; *w/f*: super+cedo)

superincurvatus 'bent or arching over' (9, 7, 5; *w/f*: super+ participle of *incurvo*)

superingredior 'to enter following' (6, 24, 3; *w/f*: super+ingredior)

superpondium 'an additional weight' (7, 18, 1; hapax; *w/f*: super+pondus+ium)

supersisto 'to take one's stand on top of or over' (8, 11, 4; 11, 24, 2; Amm. 29, 1, 31, Iul. Val. 161, 21; *w/f*: super+sisto)

superstringo 'to draw tight over a surface' (11, 14, 4; *w/f*: super+stringo)

suppetior 'to bring aid' (1, 14, 4; 4, 10, 4; 7, 7, 2; 8, 17, 5; 8, 20, 4; Itin. Alex. 25, 26, 34, 52, Iul. Val. 1, 43; 2, 27; *w/f*: suppetiae+o) Perhaps the word *suppetior* had an archaic connotation (cf. *suppetiae* in the section of words with archaic colouring).

supplicamentum 'a propitiatory offering or ceremony' (11, 20, 4; 11, 22, 3; Arnob., Itala, Vulg.; *w/f*: supplico+mentum)

supplicue 'with humble entreaty' (9, 39, 4; 11, 24, 6; *w/f*: supplico+uus+e)

susurramen 'a whispered spell' (1, 3, 1; Mart. Cap. 7, 726; *w/f*: susurro+men)

tantillulus 'so small' (2, 25, 3; *w/f*: tantillus+ulus) Perhaps the word *tantillulus* had an archaic flavour (cf. *tantillus*, characteristic of old comedy).

tegile 'a covering' (9, 12, 3; *w/f*: tego+ile) Perhaps the word *tegile* was perceived as archaic (cf. *tegillum*: Pl. *Rud.* 576, Var. *Men.* 464).

teleta 'an initiation rite' (11, 22, 8; 11, 24, 5; 11, 26, 4; 11, 27, 3; 11, 29, 1; 11, 30, 1; Aug. *civ.* 4, 31; 10, 9; 10, 23; *w/f*: loanword from Greek τελετή)

tenebro 'to make dark' (8, 15, 5; Amm., Aug.; *w/f*: tenebrae+o)

teriugus 'threefold' (6, 19, 3; Auson. *epist.* 2, 11; *w/f*: ter+iugum+us)

tersus 'the action of wiping dry or clean' (1, 7, 3; 1, 23, 8; Apul. *apol.* 6, 2; *w/f*: tergeo+tus) Apuleius may have borrowed the Plautine noun *extersus* (Pl. *Curc.* 578) without the prefix.

timidule 'in a timid manner' (4, 8, 9; hapax; *w/f*: timidus+ulus+e)

totiugus 'so many' (2, 24, 6; Apul. *flor.* 18, *Soc.* 8; *w/f*: tot+iugus)

tremule 'in a quivering manner' (5, 22, 6; hapax; *w/f*: tremulus+e)

triduanus 'lasting three days' (10, 18, 1; Aug., Boeth., Hier., Paul. Nol.; *w/f*: triduum+anus)

tristitudo 'unhappiness, gloom' (3, 11, 2; Apul. *apol.* 32, 2, Sidon. 8, 11, 14; *w/f*: tristis+tudo)

tubero 'to form a rounded swelling' (2, 16, 1; *w/f*: tuber+o)

tuguriolum 'a small hut' (4, 12, 2; Arnob. 6, 3, Hier. *ep.* 112, 5, Veg. *mil.* 4, 26, 3; *w/f*: tugurium+olum)

tundor 'the 'hammering' or violent exercise (of the vocal chords)' (4, 24, 6; hapax; *w/f*: tundo+or)

turbula 'a small company of people' (10, 35, 4; 11, 6, 2; 11, 7, 2; *w/f*: turba+ula) Cf. *turbela* in the section of words with archaic colouring.

turbulento 'to make violently disturbed' (2, 12, 3; 9, 11, 6; *w/f*: turbulentus+o)

tussedo 'a persistent cough' (9, 13, 2; *w/f*: tussis+edo)

ultime 'to an extreme degree' (1, 7, 7; 10, 24, 5; *w/f*: ultimus+e)

ultroneus 'acting on one's own initiative, voluntary' (1, 19, 12; 2, 30, 5; 6, 5, 3; 7, 20, 3; 8, 14, 5; Apul. *flor.* 14, Cypr., Hier., Vulg.; *w/f*: ultro+neus)

ululabilis 'characterized by a howling sound' (4, 3, 5; 5, 7, 2; 10, 5, 2; Amm. 19, 5, 5; 29, 5, 12; *w/f*: ululo+bilis)

unctulum 'a small quantity of ointment' (3, 22, 5; *w/f*: unctum+ulum)

unctum 'an ointment' (3, 24, 2; Veg. *mulom.* 2, 135, 5) Cf. Hor. *ars* 422, Pers. 6, 16, where this word means 'a rich table'.

unctus 'the action of anointing' (1, 7, 3; 1, 23, 8; *w/f*: unguo+tus) Cf. *unctus* 'a sauce' (Plin. *nat.* 10, 134).

undanter 'in the form or manner of waves' (2, 16, 7; Mart. Cap. 2, 138; *w/f*: participle of *undo*+ter)

unguedo 'an ointment' (3, 21, 4; Sulp. Sev. *Mart.* 19, 4; *w/f*: unguo+edo)

urigo 'a burning sexual desire' (1, 7, 8; 8, 29, 4; Arnob. *nat.* 5, 44, Pelagon. 234; *w/f*: uro+igo)

utricida 'a skin-slayer' (3, 18, 7; *w/f*: uter+caedo+a)

valefacio 'to say goodbye' (4, 18, 1; Aug. *ep.* 65, 2, Hier. *ep.* 120, 11; *w/f*: vale+facio)

vaporosus 'full of steam' (5, 15, 1; 9, 12, 4; *w/f*: vapor+osus)

varicus 'in a straddling posture' (1, 13, 8; hapax; *w/f*: transition to adverb from adjective *varicus*)

variego 'to diversify with different colours' (11, 16, 6; Apul. *flor.* 3, 9, 15, *Soc.* 23, Auson. *cento nupt. praef.*, Itala *psalm.* 44, 10; *w/f*: varius+ego)

vastulus 'immense, huge' (2, 32, 2; *w/f*: vastus+ulus)

vegetatio 'the act of invigorating' (1, 2, 3; Oros. *hist.* 5, 18; *w/f*: vegeto+tio)

ventose 'with the appearance of being inflated' (10, 20, 2; Aug., Fulg., Prud.; *w/f*: ventosus+e)

vestigatio 'the action of tracking down or searching for' (6, 1, 1; Aug. *ep.* 169, 3; *w/f*: vestigo+tio)

veteratrix 'an experienced sorceress' (9, 29, 2; *w/f*: vetus+atrix)

viaticulum 'a fund or allowance for the expenses of a journey' (7, 8, 2; Ulp. *dig.* 5, 1, 18, 1; *w/f*: viaticum+ulum)

vibramen 'an object that quivers' (6, 15, 5; *w/f*: vibro+men)

victimo 'to offer in sacrifice' (7, 11, 1; 7, 22, 2; Vulg. *Eccl.* 34, 24; *w/f*: victima+o)

vigorate 'vigorously' (2, 16, 6; *w/f*: vigoratus+e)

vigoratus 'lively' (9, 21, 7; *w/f*: vigor+atus)

vio 'to travel' (6, 26, 9; 10, 5, 3; Apul. *flor.* 1, Ambr., Amm., Itin. Alex., Prud.; *w/f*: via+o)

viriculae 'slender resources' (11, 28, 1; Chiron 3, 133; 4, 411; *w/f*: vis+cula)

viriosus 'powerful in effect' (7, 18, 4; Plac. *med.* 5, 32, Tert. *adv. Val.* 16, 3, *anim.* 19, 4; *w/f*: vis+osus)

vocaliter 'to the accompaniment of calls or shouts' (1, 22, 1; Tert. *adv. Prax.* 3 p. 230, 19; *w/f*: vocalis+ter)

volenter 'willingly' (6, 12, 1; *w/f*: volens+ter)

voluptarie 'in a manner devoted to pleasure' (3, 21, 1; hapax; *w/f*: voluptarius+e)

xeniolum 'a small present' (2, 11, 1; Ulp. *dig.* 1, 16, 6, 3; *w/f*: xenium+olum)

zygius 'of or belonging to marriage' (4, 33, 4; 6, 4, 3; *w/f*: loanword from Greek ζυγιός)

Conclusion

Despite the fact that among some scholars there is a widespread opinion about Apuleius as an author who blindly follows literary trends and uses unusual vocabulary without measure and taste, it is worth noting that his novel is greatly valued by the audience. The abundance of diverse vocabulary in *the Metamorphoses* does not give the impression of mannerist prose, as in A. Bely, and does not hinder the understanding of the text. Thanks to the exciting plot and fascinating composition of the novel Apuleius became one of A. Pushkin's favourite authors. It is likely that during his Lyceum years he read *the Golden Ass* in Russian translated by E. Kostrov, but he could also look into the Latin text.[1] In any case, the complex language of the novel did not prevent Apuleius from becoming a model writer in the eyes of A. Pushkin, since he was interested in the works of the African author even in the last years of his life.[2]

In the course of our study we have observed that archaizing tendencies existed in Roman literature long before Fronto, Gellius and Apuleius, and we have seen that, although these authors are often cited together in connection with the literary fashion for archaisms of the second century A. D., Apuleius stands out strongly from them because of his tendency to use words of different stylistic characteristics in one text, as well as their number.

We have also touched upon the problem of distinguishing between archaisms and vulgarisms, which is relevant not only for the analysis of the vocabulary of Apuleius, but also for the vocabulary of any Latin author, and described its reasons. In addition, we have seen that context can sometimes play a decisive role in this matter, although, as a rule, a thorough analysis of each individual lexeme is necessary, including its role in

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[1] Chapter VIII of *Eugene Onegin* begins with the following lines (translation by Charles H. Johnston):
    Days when I came to flower serenely
    in Lycée gardens long ago,
    and read my Apuleius keenly,
    but spared no glance for Cicero.

[2] A. S. Pushkin's library had two volumes of Apuleius' works in French, published in 1835: Altshuller M. G. Whose Translation of "The Golden Ass" Pushkin Read "in Lycée Gardens" (from the commentary to "Eugene Onegin") // Lomonosov and Literature of His Time. Translation and Imitation in Russian Literature of the XVIII Century (Readings of the Department of Russian Literature of the XVIII Century. Vol. 7) / Ed. by A. O. Demin, A. A. Kostin. SPb. : Alliance–Archeo, 2013. P. 259.

the context, and the analysis of its occurrences, and the genre of works where it is used. In some cases, for example, due to insufficient material, it is impossible to draw a definitive conclusion.

We have identified three main reasons for the frequent use of archaisms in *the Metamorphoses*: archaizing tendencies in the Roman literature of the second century A. D., the influence of sources on the novel and the genre itself, and Apuleius' personality and his literary tastes. Having examined some cases of the use of archaisms in the novel, we can state that sometimes they can indeed play a role that is not entirely decorative: archaisms characteristic of old comedy can be used to emphasize the comicality of this or that episode or even serve as an allusion to this or that work. Nevertheless, in most cases the main role of archaisms in the text is to provide lexical diversity. There is also no speech characterization of the characters in Apuleius' novel, although the use of some archaisms is determined by the situation described in the text. The character of Venus is associated with the archaic lexicon to a greater extent than any other character, but this feature is not an indicator of the speech characterization.

Having studied the vocabulary used in *the Metamorphoses*, we have identified the main types of archaisms, and also found out that the neologisms used by Apuleius belong to different parts of speech and are often formed by adding a prefix or suffix to words already existing in the language. Many of the lexemes first attested in Apuleius' text are borrowings from Greek. Some words appear to have been coined by Apuleius on the basis of archaisms known to him. We also conducted a statistical analysis of the 11 books of the novel to find out the quantitative ratio of archaic and new lexemes. This analysis revealed that the first book contains the greatest number of archaisms, which, apparently, can be explained by the strong influence of Plautus on the first book. The last book of the novel is the least archaic in terms of vocabulary and contains a higher percentage of neologisms compared to the other books. This is largely due to the great amount of religious vocabulary borrowed from Greek, which was first attested in Latin literature in Apuleius.

At the end of the work we have given lists of words considered archaic or new. They clearly demonstrate which archaic authors Apuleius borrowed lexical means from,

which words were rare in Latin literature, and which became common in its later period. Certainly, determining the stylistic characteristic of a word is closely connected with the question of which works should be considered classical in terms of their language and where the boundary between classical and non-classical authors lies. In our study, we considered the period starting with the works of Caesar and Cicero and ending with the beginning of the second century A. D. as classical. At the same time, we tried to take into account cases when ancient authors and/or modern researchers have direct or indirect indications that a certain word should be considered obsolete. On account of limited material, the determination of stylistic colouring is often a difficult task, and the development of clear criteria may be impossible. In this paper we strived for completeness of the study and tried to note all lexemes that could be perceived by Apuleius' readers as archaic.

In summary, the study of archaic and new vocabulary in Apuleius' novel *the Metamorphoses* is an interesting and promising subject. In the framework of further research it seems important to make a more detailed analysis of the selected lexemes and study their role in the context of the novel and other texts of Apuleius, as well as to consider their occurrences in late Latin writers, who borrowed Apuleius' lexicon.

List of Abbreviations

B/O – Butler H. E., Owen A. S. Apulei Apologia sive Pro Se De Magia Liber. – Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967.

L&S – Lewis, Charlton T., Short, Charles. A New Latin Dictionary. – New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers. – Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891.

OLD – Oxford Latin Dictionary. – Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

RE — Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen hrsg. von Georg Wissowa. – Stuttgart, 1893–1980.

ThLL — Thesaurus linguae latinae. – Lipsiae, 1900–.

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