Classical Quarterly 64.1 316–320 © The Classical Association (2014)
doi:10.1017/S0009838813000748

LATIN *DRAUCUS**

1

The rare Latin word *draucus* is known almost exclusively from Martial. Older dictionaries and handbooks used to gloss the word as 'sodomite',[1] until Housman showed that *draucus* is in fact 'as innocent a word as *comoedus*, and simply means one who performs feats of strength in public'.[2] Thus, Mart. 7.67.5–6 concerns weightlifting: *gravesque draucis | halteras facili rotat lacerto* ('and with effortless arm she rotates weights that would tax a *draucus*'),[3] while 14.48 describes *drauci* playing hand-ball (*harpastum*): *Haec rapit Antaei velox in pulvere draucus | grandia qui vano colla labore facit* ('These the swift *draucus*, who makes his neck big by futile toil,[4] snatches in Antaeus' dust').

Other contexts represent the *drauci* as objects of sexual desire,[5] but never as active seekers of sexual pleasures.[6] That athletes were presented as models of sexual vigour is not surprising: as Housman and others have noted, it was customary for athletes to wear a ring-shaped fibula on the penis in order to preserve their

* It is my pleasure to thank Jay Jasanoff, Robert Kaster, Alexis Manaster Ramer, Brent Vine and Michael Weiss for many helpful comments; needless to say, I am alone responsible for all conclusions reached here.

[1] e.g. C.T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879); K.E. Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches und deutsch-lateinisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1879–80[7]), 2144.

[2] A.E. Housman, '*Draucus* and Martial XI 8 I', *CR* 44 (1930), 113–15 (= *The Classical Papers of A.E. Housman* [London, 1972], 1166–7). See also M. Citroni, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton liber primus* (Florence, 1975), 297; N.M. Kay, *Martial Book XI: A Commentary* (London, 1985) 224; G. Galán Vioque, *Martial, Book VII: A Commentary* (Leiden, 2002), 387. Less certain about Housman's analysis is P. Howell, *A Commentary on Book One of the Epigrams of Martial* (London, 1980), 308. The gloss 'sodomite', 'pederast' is, however, still found in some post-Housman publications, e.g. L. Pepe, *Marziale* (Naples, 1950), 17; A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (Paris, 1959[4]), 184; J. Ferguson, *Juvenal. The Satires* (New York, 1979), 285; M.L. Porzio Gernia, 'Gli elementi celtici del latino', in E. Campanile (ed.), *I celti d'Italia* (Pisa, 1981), 97–122, at 109.

[3] Text and translation follow D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Martial. Epigrams* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), who translates *draucus* as 'athlete'.

[4] On the athletic practice of growing a thick neck see the note in Shackleton Bailey (n. 3) ad loc.

[5] 1.96.12–13 *sed spectat oculis devorantibus draucos | nec otiosis mentulas videt labris* ('[In the bath] he never looks up, but watches the *drauci* with devouring eyes, and his lips work as he gazes at their cocks'); 9.27.10–13 *occurrit aliquis inter ista si draucus | iam paedagogo liberatus et cuius | refibulavit turgidum faber penem: | nutu vocatum ducis …* ('If, as this goes on, some young *draucus* comes your way, now freed from tutelage, whose swollen penis has been unpinned by the smith, you summon him with a nod and lead him off'); 11.72 *Drauci Natta sui vorat pipinnam, | collatus cuï Gallus est Priapus* ('Natta devours the willy of his [her?] *draucus*, compared to whom Priapus is a eunuch)': *Gallus*, viz. a voluntarily castrated priest of Cybele; *vocat* MSS: *vorat* Scriverius.

[6] See esp. S. Busch, *Versus Balnearum. Die antike Dichtung über Bäder und Baden im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart, 1999), 477 n. 37: 'Wahrscheinlicher ist daher der Begriff *drauci* dazu verwendet, Männer von einer bestimmten Statur zu charakterisieren, die das Interesse des Ungenannten auf sich ziehen', with reference to Mart. 1.96.12.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838813000748 Published online by Cambridge University Press

strength;[7] once released from the fibula, they were believed to perform particularly well after a long period of forced chastity.[8] Summing up, the *drauci* in Martial are strong young men participating in ball games and often found physically attractive and desirable.

This exhausts the literary attestations of *draucus*.[9] There is one interesting epigraphic testimony:[10] a Latin *defixio* discovered south of Innsbruck in 1954 (Wilten, ancient Veldidena, *AE* [1961], 181) reads *ut siquis *XIIII sive draucus*[11] *duos sustulit*, 'whoever has stolen fourteen denarii or two *draucos*' (lines 2–3). Clearly in this instance the word cannot have meant 'young athletes', and a coin called 'draucus' is unknown. Three solutions have been proposed. The most widely accepted is that of L. Franz, who identified *draucos* with the gloss 'δραυκιον *monile*' from the Greek–Latin glossary attributed to Cyril (*CGL* 2.280[12]) and translated the word as 'necklace'.[13] Other scholars have attempted to interpret the text starting with the attested usage of Latin *draucus.* R. Egger suggested a somewhat contrived scenario according to which *draucus* was used in the meaning 'männliches Jungvieh', and *duos draucos* therefore meant 'two heads of cattle'.[14] Finally, H. Grassl proposed that *drauci* here are figurines, perhaps ithyphallic statuettes.[15] Grassl's interpretation appears plausible; if it is right, another attestation of the word *draucus* is obtained.[16]

[7] Athletic prowess was believed to be impaired by sex: Galen 8.451 (Kühn), Σ Juv. 6.73.

[8] Cf. Mart. 9.27.11–12, cited in n. 5 above. In addition to commentaries cited above (n. 2) see F. Fortuny Previ, 'Consideraciones sobre algunos *hapax* de Marcial', *AUM* 40 (1981–2), 111–26, at 117–19.

[9] The word may also be attested in Juvenal, if *raucus* at *Sat.* 11.156 is to be emended to *draucus*: *nec pupillares defert in balnea draucus | testiculos* ('he [viz. the well-behaved slave] does not cart his teenage testicles into the bath'); see C. Haeberlin, 'Juvenal Sat. XI, 156', *Philologus* 50 (1891), 506, and R. Verdière, 'Iuuenalianum', *Latomus* 11 (1952), 25–6. *raucus* is usually understood as referring to the boyish tremble of an unbroken voice: see L. Friedländer, *D. Junii Juvenalis saturarum libri V* (Leipzig, 1895), 505; E. Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London, 1980), 509, who both dismissed the conjecture *draucus*, as did Housman (n. 2).

[10] On *Draucus* as a personal name, see nn. 21 and 22 below.

[11] Viz. acc. pl. *draucos*.

[12] Franz's reference to *CGL* 7: 501, repeated by several scholars following in his wake, is in fact to the index to the *CGL*, compiled by Heraeus.

[13] L. Franz, 'Ein Fluchtäfelchen aus Veldidena', *JÖAI* 54 Beibl. (1959), 70–6, at 74. Franz was followed by H.S. Versnel, 'Beyond cursing: the appeal to justice in judicial prayers', in C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink (edd.), *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford, 1991), 60–106, at 83, 103 n. 121. (Cyril's gloss was in fact already signalled by W.M. Lindsay, 'New light on Festus', *CQ* 26 [1932], 193–4). The form δραύκιν has since surfaced in a Delian *defixio* (*SEG* 53.813, 1st–2nd century C.E.): see D. Jordan, 'Une prière de vengeance sur une tablette de plomb, à Délos', *RA* 33 (2002), 55–60, at 59.

[14] R. Egger, 'Nordtirols älteste Handschrift', *SAWW* 244 (1964), 3–23, at 8.

[15] H. Grassl, 'Neue Gedanken zur Fluchtafel von Wilten-Veldidena', in P.W. Haider (ed.), *Akten des 6. Osterreichischen Althistorikertages* (Innsbruck, 1998), 68–74.

[16] For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that *draucus* may be attested in the *Appendix Probi III*, where entry 153 reads *raucus ñ _ra_cus*. Endlicher, the first editor, had already corrected the corrupted entry into *raucus non draucus* (*Analecta grammatica maximam partem anecdota*, vol. 1 [Vienna, 1837], 445), and F. Bücheler (*apud* W. Förster, 'Beitrag zur Textkritik der Appendix Probi', *WS* 14 [1892], 278–322) followed suit, suggesting that the word order must be reversed: the standard form was *draucus*, while the condemned one, *raucus* (≠ *raucus* 'hoarse'!), showed a simplification of the unusual initial cluster *dr-*. Endlicher's conjecture was accepted by several scholars, most recently by J.G.F. Powell, 'A new text of the Appendix Probi', *CQ* 57 (2007), 687–700, and S. Asperti, 'Il testo dell'Appendix Probi III', in F. Lo Monaco and P. Molinelli (edd.), *L''Appendix Probi'. Nuove ricerche* (Florence, 2007), 41–64, at 52. Other interpretations abound (see the references collected in R. Quirk, *The Appendix Probi* [Newark, 2006], 197), but it is important to emphasize that the main objection levelled against *draucus* by e.g. M. Niedermann, 'Zur Appendix

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838813000748 Published online by Cambridge University Press

2

Every scholar who has addressed the etymology of the word has followed the *TLL* in assuming that *draucus* was borrowed from one of the dialects of the Ancient Gaul.[17] This approach is not unreasonable in itself: on the one hand, Latin is known to contain borrowings from Gaulish,[18] on the other hand, word-initial *dr-* is quite rare in Latin and mostly occurs in loanwords (e.g. *drachma*, *draco*, *dromus*, *druidae*). However, there is no certainty that the absence of initial *dr-* in inherited Latin vocabulary is due to a sound change rather than an accidental gap, and most authorities have remained agnostic as to the fate of initial *dr- in Latin.[19] An Indo-European etymology for *draucus* cannot be excluded *a priori* on the grounds of the phonological history of Latin. The evidence for the mainstream view of *draucus* as a Celtic loanword should therefore be revisited.

It turns out that there is no such evidence; all we have are a handful of attestations of *Draucus* as a personal name.[20] The name is found in several Roman provinces (although significantly not in Spain, where Martial could have picked the word up).[21] But even more important is the fact that Holder's *Sprachschatz* is notorious for including material that is unlikely to be Celtic, and the work has often been criticized precisely on these grounds. In our case, as far as I am aware, there is not a shred of direct evidence that *draucus* ever belonged to Gaulish vocabulary or onomasticon.[22]

Probi', *RhM* 60 (1905), 458–9 and V. Pisani, *Testi latini arcaici e volgari* (Turin, 1960[2]), 177, namely that the word for 'pederast' would be inappropriate in an instructional text, is in fact ungrounded: as we have seen, the meaning of *draucus* was most likely much more innocent.

[17] *TLL* V.1.1932.2067; Ernout–Meillet (n. 2), 184; A. Walde and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1938–1954[3]), 373; *OLD* 574; Egger (n. 14), 9; Porzio Gernia (n. 2), 109; Fortuny Previ (n. 8), 117; T.J. Leary, *Martial. Book XIV* (London, 1996), 104; C. Henriksén, *Martial. Book IX* (Uppsala, 1999), 2.148; H. Solin, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen* (Stuttgart, 1996), 1.615; P. Watson, 'The originality of Martial's language', *Glotta* 78 (2002), 222–7, at 233. The word is not included in M. de Vaan, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages* (Leiden, 2008).

[18] See e.g. J.N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge, 2003), 455–6.

[19] See R. Thurneysen, 'Italisches', *ZVS* 32 (1893), 554–72, at 562–6; M. Leumann, *Lateinische Grammatik* (Munich, 1977), 198; A.L. Sihler, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (New York, 1995), 211–12; G. Meiser, *Historische Laut- und Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache* (Darmstadt, 1998), 123. According to M. Weiss, *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin* (Ann Arbor, 2009), 163, *traho* could be derived from the same root as English *drag* if two aspirated consonants were dissimilated in Latin, just as they were in Greek (*$d^{h}rag^{h}$- > *$drag^{h}$-); while this analysis is certainly very appealing, at least there is also the old, no less semantically plausible etymology, according to which *traho* is cognate with Old Irish pret. *·tethraig* 'receded'. I intend to discuss the sound laws responsible for the development of initial *dr- in Latin elsewhere.

[20] Listed by A. Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz* (Leipzig, 1891), 1303. J. Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul* (Cambridge, MA, 1970), 158, likewise cites *draucus* as potentially Celtic (with a question mark), but as he explicitly says in the preface to his book, his preference had been to err on the side of inclusion.

[21] Here is an updated and corrected list: Cisalpine Gaul (Como): *AE* (1991), 857; Transalpine Gaul (Nîmes): *CIL* 12.3775; Aquitania (Bordeaux): *CIL* 13.724; Lugdunensis (Champagne-en-Valromey): *CIL* 13.2564; Pannonia (Vienna): *CIL* 12.5686, 324; Britain (London): *CIL* 7.1336, 436a (stamp on a bowl); Algeria: *CIL* 8.22645, 314 (but the vase is probably from Arezzo). We can possibly identify two bearers of the same 'barbarian' name in Rome and Campania. A female name *Drauca* is attested on a graffito from a brothel in Pompeii: *Arphocras hic cum Drauca bene futuit denarii* (*CIL* 4.2193): it has sometimes been connected with the alleged meaning 'sodomite' of the noun *draucus*, which is unnecessary: it is likelier that the prostitute had a foreign name. *Draucus* in a graffito from Domus Tiberiana (n. 26 in P. Castrén and H. Lilius, *Graffiti del Palatino*, vol. 2 [Helsinki, 1970], 1st–2nd century C.E.) may well have been a slave's name and if so, belongs here, too.

[22] D.E. Evans did not include *draucus* in his magisterial *Gaulish Personal Names* (Oxford, 1967),

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838813000748 Published online by Cambridge University Press

3

Under these circumstances a new solution is called for. Let us theorize that *draucus* is an inherited word that was avoided in the more elevated poetic genres, but survived in everyday Latin; it denoted an athletic young man and was stylistically comparable to contemporary English *stud* or *hunk*.[23] It would be no wonder that the word was first used by Martial given his penchant for colloquial and vulgar language.[24] The following scenario can now be explored.

Since in the prehistory of *draucus* a medial vowel may have been syncopated after -u̯- (compare *áu̯i-kap-s- > *auceps* 'fowler'), we may posit an immediate preform *drau̯iko-. Just as e.g. *modicus* 'moderate' was derived from *modus* 'quantity, size' or *bellicus* 'military' was derived from *bellum* 'war' with a suffix *-iko-*,[25] the hypothetical *drau̯iko- could have been derived from a preform *drau̯ó- which, in turn, may continue *drou̯ó-.[26]

At this point our reconstruction stops being an idle exercise in stringing together various hypotheses: there was an Indo-European adjective *drou̯(H)ó-/*dreu̯(H)ó- 'firm, strong'. It is directly continued in Greek δροός,[27] in Germanic *trewwa- 'reliable, faithful, true' (from *'solid, steadfast'),[28] and perhaps in Slavic *(sъ)dravъ 'healthy; strong'.[29] This adjective has traditionally been analysed as sharing the same root with *doru-, *dreu̯- 'tree': for semantics one may compare Latin *rōbur* 'oak tree' vs.

and it does not feature in any of the modern treatments of the language, e.g. X. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise* (Paris, 2003[2]). The name *Draukos* is attested on a Bithynian coin, and B. Sergent, 'Les premiers celtes d'Anatolie', *REA* 90 (1988), 329–58, at 353, suggested that it may be Galatian and thus akin to the purportedly Continental Celtic names collected by Holder. However, as Sergent himself acknowledges, Δραῦκος is also found in inscriptions from Ormeleis and Lydia (see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* [Paris, 1963], 309–10 n. 5 with references), and it could come from any of the languages spoken in Asia Minor, most likely from Greek (where δραυκίον'necklace' mentioned above potentially provides a match). *Pace* M. Carter, 'A *doctor secutorum* and the *retiarius* Draukos from Corinth', *ZPE* 126 (1999), 262–8, at 266–8, there is little reason to connect the name Δραῦκος adopted by a pankratiast from Lydian Philadelphia (*IG* 7.1772, second century C.E.) and a gladiator from Corinth (*SEG* 49.336, third century C.E.) with Martial's *drauci*, rather than with other Greek/Asiatic attestations of Δραῦκος. The name *Draucus* in late Roman inscriptions may well be Greek in origin: *CIL* 6.17068 (2nd–3rd century C.E., fem. *Drauca*, the daughter of a certain Thales), *CIL* 6.1725 (Flavius Olbius Auxentius Draucus, prefect of Rome A.D. 441 and 445) and *CIL* 6.16954.

[23] See Busch (n. 6) 477 n. 37: 'Body-Builder'.

[24] See Watson (n. 17), 236–9.

[25] On the suffix *-*iko-* see M. Fruyt, *Problèmes méthodologiques de dérivation à propos des suffixes latins en -cus* (Paris, 1986), 33–87.

[26] Pretonic *-o- before a heterosyllabic -u̯- gave *-a-* by Thurneysen-Havet's Law, see B. Vine, 'On 'Thurneysen-Havet's Law' in Latin and Italic', *HS* 119 (2006), 211–49.

[27] δροόν· ἰσχυρόν. Ἀργεῖοι (Hsch.). One wonders if δροίτη· εἶδος ὀρχήσεως in Hesychius continues *drou̯-i-tā derived from δροός 'strong': in this case the word may have referred to a dance in which young men demonstrated their strength and agility; (for a different approach, see E. Schwyzer, '"Hispanisch" dureta', *ZVS* 62 [1935], 199–203, at 200, L.B. Lawler, 'Ladles, tubs, and the Greek dance', *AJPh* 71 [1950], 70–2; R.S.P. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* [Leiden, 2010], 354 thinks of a loanword).

[28] See F. Heidermanns, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen Primäradjektive* (Berlin, 1993), 603–4. The double *-ww-* in Germanic forms is a regular reflex of Proto-Indo-European *-u̯H- (*Verschärfung*).

[29] For a different etymology of Slavic *(sъ)dravъ see C. Le Feuvre, 'Vieux russe *dobr zdorov*, russe moderne *zhiv zdorov*, avestique *druua hauruua* et l'étymologie de slave *sudravu*', in D. Petit and G. Pinault (edd.), *Langue poétique indo-européenne* (Paris, 2006), 235–52.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838813000748 Published online by Cambridge University Press

rōbustus 'physically strong' or Greek πρῖνος 'holm-oak' vs. πρίνινος 'sturdy' (e.g. Ar. *Ach*. 180: Ἀχαρνικοί, στιπτοὶ γέροντες, πρίνινοι).[30]

Backed-up with this comparative evidence, the reconstruction of *drou̯(H)ó- 'firm, strong' > Proto-Italic *drau̯ó- appears unproblematic.[31] The semantics and the form match seamlessly: an adjective *drau̯iko- 'strong' was made from *drau̯ó- 'strong',[32] resulting in Latin *draucus* 'strong', substantivized as *draucus*, *-i*, 'strong man, stud, hunk'.

Boston University ALEXANDER NIKOLAEV
nikol@bu.edu

[30] On the semantics of *doru-, *dreu̯- see H. Osthoff, *Etymologische parerga* (Leipzig, 1901), 98–180. Other adjectival derivatives of the word for 'tree' include *dru-no- (Old Irish *dron* 'firm, vigorous'), *dru-mo- (Old English *trum* 'strong, stable') and *druh$_2$to- (Lithuanian *drū́tas* 'strong' and Welsh *drud* 'valiant'). Other Celtic reflexes of *druh$_2$to- 'strong' seem to have undergone a semantic change: Old Irish *drúth* means 'wanton woman', and the Romance borrowings mean not only 'strong', but also 'lover, libertine' (Old Provençal *drut*, Milanese Italian *drudo*, Old French *dru*).

[31] There is one more possible root-etymology for *drou̯ó- > Proto-Italic *drau̯ó-: this could be a *nomen agentis* made from the root *dreu̯- 'to run' (Sanskrit *drav-*; cf. Greek δράω from *dreh$_2$-). *drou̯-ó- 'runner' (=Skt. *dravá-* 'id.') would belong to the same type as Latin *coquus* 'cook' (*coquo*) or Greek ἀοιδός 'singer' (ἀείδω), τροφός 'nurse' (τρέφω). This etymology is hard to dismiss out of hand, but *drou̯ó- 'strong; strong man' seems to me to offer a better semantic solution, since it would be hard to imagine that *drou̯ó- > *drau̯ó- 'runner' survived for centuries on the periphery of the Latin language as a technical term only to resurface with essentially the same meaning in Martial.

[32] Via a noun *drau̯i- 'firmness, strength' as the intermediate stage: compare *raucus* 'hoarse' (<*rau̯iko-) made from *ravis* 'hoarseness', itself derived from *rauus* 'hoarse' < Proto-Italic *rou̯ó- < Indo-European *h$_3$rou̯Hó- (see Vine [n. 26], 237).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838813000748 Published online by Cambridge University Press