

CIANCA: the Suffix -ANCO in
Spanish Toponymy

The suffix *-anco* *-anca*, relatively rare in Spanish place names, merits some attention from students of onomastics. The distribution of toponyms with this suffix is especially interesting insofar as it corresponds to areas of early Ligurian settlements in Spain, as this article will attempt to show. My interest in the question was originally prompted by a desire to determine the origin of the family name *Cianca* (the name of my wife's family in Santander, Spain), whose form is rather rare for a Spanish *apellido*.¹ My guess that similar names were extremely scarce has been borne out by the data I have collected on the subject.

Outside of Spain there is to be found an abundance of place names with the proto-infix *-nc-*, notably in France, where we have, for instance, *Les Avanchers* (Savoy), deriving from Franco-Provençal *avan*, Gaulish **ab-ancos* 'willow'; *Allanche* (Cantal), derived from a pre-Latin base **al-* 'heights' and Gaulish *-anca*, according to Dauzat.² *Clumanc* (Basses-Alpes) is said to be from an obscure root plus pre-Latin *-ancum*. The question arises here whether pre-Latin and Gaulish can be taken as identical labels or not. The problem is also complicated by names like *Choranche* (Isère), which Dauzat derives from **Cauranica* (*villa*), representing the anthroponym *Caurus* plus a double suffix *-an-ica*, rather than *-inca* as Skok has argued.³ Is *-anco* to be treated as a syncopated form, then, of *-an-ico*?

In addition to these, Dauzat cites *Challans* (Vendée), from **kal-* 'stone, rock' and *-anc*, a pre-Celtic suffix. This form occurs as well as a common noun, Prov. *calanco* 'stony creek,' earlier 'lane,' giving the family name *Callanquin* in southern France. In the Landes dialect, the word *chanco* is said to be of pre-Latin origin, yielding Fr. *chanque* 'échelle de résinier.' Other toponyms of this type from France include *Arzenc* (Lozère), with Ligurian *-inco*; *Mélan* (Basses-Alpes), whose components are both thought to be Ligurian (from **melo-* 'mountain'); and *Thorenc* (Alpes-Maritimes) with pre-Latin *-inco* again.

Evidently a great variety of sources have been offered to explain the *-nc-* in the French toponyms cited. In almost every case, however, the forms found are thought to be pre-Celtic or pre-Latin, and it will be noted that these are distributed almost exclusively throughout southern France.

I have collected several place names from Spain. The great majority of these are found in Galicia, in extreme northwestern Spain. The *Espasa* encyclopedia lists *Breanca*, *Cusanca*, from a pre-Celtic hydronymic **cūs-*, *Anca*, *Abeanca*, *Trasancos*, a stream *Palanca*, with a Ligurian root **pal-* meaning 'rocky mountain,' *Mayanca*, *Taramancos*, and *Coristanco*, from pre-Latin **cor-*, *car-* 'hill,' all located in the province of La Coruña. In the province of Lugo are to be found *Jubencos* and *Xobenco*, *Chanca*, *Trabanca*, from Lig. **treb-* 'home,' *Bardancos*, from a pre-Celtic **bar-* 'hill,' *Doncos* (?), *Duancos*, and *Cotanco*, from **cōtto-* 'hill,' a root well studied by Menéndez Pidal in his classic work.⁴ In Orense province we have *Tamallancos*, *Pinca*, *Cusanca*, *Listanco*, *Ricobanca* (?) and *Soutomanca* (?). For Pontevedra province we find *Barronca*, *Trabancas*, *Camposancos* and a questionable *Estanco*.

¹My early belief in a non-Spanish, and even Italian, origin has gradually given way to more plausible theories.

²My data for France come from three works of A. Dauzat, et al., *Dictionnaire des noms de famille et prénoms de France* (Paris: Larousse, 1951); *Nouveau dictionnaire étymologique* (Paris: Larousse, 1964); and *Dictionnaire des noms de lieux de France* (Paris: Larousse, 1963).

³P. Skok, *Die mit den Suffixen '-acum', '-anum', '-ascum' gebildeten südfranzösischen Ortsnamen* (Halle, 1906):

⁴Ramon Menéndez Pidal, *Toponimia prerrománica hispana* (Madrid: Gredos, 1968), p. 273.

Asturias and Santander yield several toponyms, though perhaps not in such abundance as Galicia. For the former we have *Obanca*, from **ob-*, *alb-* 'fortress, hill,' a pre-Celtic stem. *Luanco* may contain a root **luto-* 'marsh.' Oviedo province also offers *Palancas*, *Reconcos*, *Següenco*, *Oyanco* and *Muñanco*, from pre-Latin **mon-* 'mountain.' A clearly Ligurian toponym is *Lebinco*, Lig. **lev-* 'slope.' *Coyanca*, according to Corominas, derives from a Celtic **kobiankã* 'victorious',⁵ appearing as *Covianca* in a 989 A.D. text.⁶ Asturias and Santander share an oronym *Naranco* (Oviedo; Santander, near Potes) which Corominas derives from **nerankos* 'giant', Celt. **ner-*, *nor-* 'noble, strong, magnanimous.'⁷ *Polanco*, from *populus* 'population', and *Toranca*, probably from pre-Indo-European **tar-*, *tor-* 'rock, stone,' are situated in the province of Santander. *Tudanca*, in the same province, comes from *touta* 'town,' Osco-Umbrian *toutã* 'city,' according to Corominas.⁸ The name of a tribe *Tediuncōs*, near Tudanca, confirms the theory that *-anca*, not *-anica*, is the original suffix, Corominas notes. An ancient sepulchral stele found near Monte Cildá in Santander bears an inscription with the words *Aia Caravanca*, which Iglesias Gil relates to Illyrian toponyms and ultimately to Indo-European **ker*, *kēreu-* 'head, horn,'⁹ My wife's family name, *Cianca*, comes from a *caserío* whose full name is *Cianca y Parbayón*, in the judicial district of Villacarriedo (Santander).¹⁰

South of Asturias, in the province of Zamora, we find *Candanco* and *Ablecanco*, from a radical **apelo-*, found in profusion, according to Iglesias Gil, in anthroponyms, including the *gens* names of Celto-Roman Spain.¹¹ Salamanca yields a name *Trabanca*. León has a *Coyanca*. In the province of Avila are *Pozanco*, *Trabancos* and *Chorranco*. In Valladolid there is a questionable *Simancas*. The province of Madrid offers a *Talamanca*, from pre-Indo-European **tala-* 'earth, clay.'

In the provinces east of Madrid, most *-anco* forms are concentrated in the north, but with a few perplexing exceptions. Burgos offers *Rufrancos*, *Taranco*, *Vivanco* and *Tranco*. In Palencia we find *Perazancas*, *Zancos* (a stream), and *Caravanca*, mentioned above. In Logroño there is an *Alesanco*, from an original *Alisincum*, also found in Nièvre, France. However, the areas of Guadalajara, Cuenca and Soria display a disproportionate number of *-anco* toponyms. In the first region are *Loranca de Tajuña*, *Romancos*, *Pozancos*, *Lebrancón*, *Arbancón* and *Ledanca*, probably from Celt *lita* 'vast' (cf. Fr. *Lé-taune*). In Cuenca, the root **tar-* again appears in *Tarancón*; Cuenca also yields a *Loranca del Campo*. Soria has *Arancón*, Celtiberian **aran* 'valley,' *Buimanco* and *Abanco*, pre-Latin **av-* 'water.'

Finally, regions outside the primary *-anco* zones include Alava, a Basque province, with *Mijancas* and *Caranca*, Celtiberian **cara-* 'stone' (cf. Basque *harri*); Murcia, with *Vivancos*; Huelva, with *Palanco*; Valencia with *Vallanca*; Jaén, with *Hortalanca* and *Lojanco*; and Portugal with *Avanca*¹² and *Lizancos*.

What are some of the linguistic facts behind the suffix *-anco*? From the evidence gathered, it would appear that the suffix is affixed to a rather small set of primitive stems of a topographical or socio-political nature, such as, *lut-* 'marsh,' *treb-* 'home,' *pál-* 'rocky mountain,' *tr-* 'hill,' *car-* 'rock,' etc. Those collected for Spain do not derive from anthroponyms; rather, they are the source of many family names.¹³ We may surmise that the *-o* formative originally cooccurred with nouns like *vicu-* 'town' or *situ-* 'place,' while the *-a* variant may have been annexed to a word *villa* 'town.' There seems to be no doubt

⁵Joan Corominas, "Elementos prelatinos en las lenguas románicas hispánicas," *Actas del Ier Coloquio sobre Lenguas y Culturas Prerromanas de la Península Ibérica* (University of Salamanca, 1976), p. 91.n.

⁶Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1926), p. 264.

⁷Corominas, "Elementos," p. 106-107.

⁸Corominas, *Tópica hespérica* (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), I, 19-20. See also R.S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects* (1897; rpt. Hildesheim: George Olms Verlag, 1967), 2 vols.

⁹José Manuel Iglesias Gil, *Onomástica prerromana en la epigrafía cántabra* (Santander: Diputación Provincial, 1974), p. 150-151.

¹⁰See P. Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico de España etc.* (Madrid 1846), My other sources include *Gazetteer: Spain* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Board of Geographical Names, 1961) and the *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1926).

¹¹Iglesias Gil, *Onomástica*, p. 85.

¹²Corominas, "Elementos," p. 143, derives *Avanca* from Celt. **abanko-* 'prado húmedo.'

¹³See J. Hubschmid, *Toponimia prerromana preindoeuropea* (Madrid: Consejo de Investigaciones Científicas, 1960), vol. 1.

that *-anco* is Ligurian on the basis of its internal combinatory properties,¹⁴ but Celto-Ligurian or Latin-Ligurian hybridism cannot be ruled out, as these languages were morphologically related to an extraordinary degree.

Corominas has, I think, successfully demolished Tovar's theory that we are dealing with a double suffix *-an -ico*, which from a purely phonetic standpoint would have given *-ango*, a common ending in Spanish toponymy.¹⁵ The resistance to phonetic change by *-anco* attests to its antiquity, and seems to confirm the hypothesis that toponymy as a constituent 'of collective representations will be coded early in the life of a society and . . . remain relatively unchanged.'¹⁶

Geographically *-anco* occurs within a very restricted area of northern and northwestern Spain. The almost non-existence of the suffix in the Basque region effectively eliminates a proto-Basque or Iberian origin.¹⁷ Nor can the opinion be accepted that the Moors replaced many earlier non-Arabic toponyms with Arabic names, given the vast number of Celtic place-names in central and southern Spain, including *Madrid*.¹⁸ We are forced to conclude that Ligurians (or Illyrico-Ligurians) settled throughout the areas in question, made some inroads into Portugal, and left a few traces in the southern coastal areas of Huelva and Murcia, and the central regions. *-anco* appears, it would seem as the Ligurian complement to *-en*, *-ena*, which occur in toponyms in almost every region where *-anco* is lacking, as Menéndez Pidal's research confirms.¹⁹

One final note. In my investigations into *-anco*, I am still at a loss to explain the family name *Cianca*. There are several rival stems to be considered. Antonio Llorente cites the toponyms *Ciay* (Coruña), *Ciaño* (Asturias), *Ciadeña* (Burgos), *Ciadorcha* (Soria) and *Cía* (Navarra), which, interestingly, parallel the distribution of *-anco*, except for the last example. Llorente admits, however, that he does not have an etymon for the stem.²⁰ Corominas has proposed an underlying **ceña* 'hoyo' (?), whose reflex is the hydronym *Cea* (Castilla), formerly *Ceia*.²¹ But the phonetics here may be a problem, since other names like *Cidones* (Soria) and *Cidacos* (a hydronym in Burgos) are found. Pre-Indo-European **set-* 'mountain' might work for some of the cases, but is unsatisfactory as a hydronym. Celtic **ceto-* 'woods' would have to be discarded for the same reason. Are *cea-* and *ci(d)a-* two distinct roots? It is, finally, doubtful whether a Basque etymon should be suggested, but one is not entirely impossible given *Cía* in the Basque-Navarrese area (cf. Basque *zi-* 'point'²²).

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¹⁴In the Spanish lexicon there is only a handful of common nouns with the suffix *-anco*, forms which Corominas in *Tópica*, II, 186-187 calls "petrified." He lists, for example, *potranca* 'young mare under three years of age,' *lunanco* 'animal with one quarter higher than the other,' *barranco* 'rill,' *lavanco* 'wild duck,' *carlanca* 'dog's iron collar,' *cilanco* 'pool of water,' *mazancón* 'strong young person,' to which we should add *pozanco* 'pool of water' and *ojanco*, *ojáncanu* or *juáncanu* 'cyclops,' a word, it can be noted, occurring in the Montañés dialect of the northern coastal region of Santander. It is possible that *-anco* served merely as an adjectival formative with only an inflectional, not a derivational, role. One might surmise that *-anco* enjoyed a limited productivity in early Spanish, considering that the forms noted, although troublesome etymologically, are probably Latin.

¹⁵Corominas, *Tópica*, I, 19.

¹⁶Pierre Maranda, *French Kinship: Structure and History* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), p. 71

¹⁷R. A. Hall, Jr., for one, has discussed the distinction between Basque and Iberian, in *External History of the Romance Languages* (New York: Elsevier, 1974), p. 53 *passim*.

¹⁸See Menéndez Pidal, *Toponimia*, p. 191-220.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 107-158. The presence of *-en* can be noted in Aragón to the east, Cataluña, all of Andalucía, Valencia, Basques and Navarra, but Galicia, an *-anco* area, is not exempt. *-enna*, by the way, is Celtic and must be treated separately.

²⁰Pers. comm.

²¹Corominas, *Tópica*, II, 180n.

²²Resurrección María de Azkue, *Diccionario vasco-español-francés* (Bilbao: Ed. La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca, 1969); *zi-*, once an independent word, is now only a formative.

Virile Virro: A Name From Juvenal's Satires

With his keen interest in the use of personal names, the second century Roman satirist Juvenal was carrying on a longstanding tradition of that literary genre which his contemporary, the educator and rhetorician Quintilian, had termed "wholly Roman."¹ Hundreds of names, for characters both real and fictitious, occur throughout Juvenal's work. One of the most unusual, and one that typifies the poet's meticulousness in his selection and employment of names, is the cognomen *Virro*, which is given by Juvenal to one of the principal figures in two of his sixteen satires.

Satire Five (not much later than A.D. 110) condemns the degenerate state of the patron-client relationship, an institution pervasive in Roman society and one of Juvenal's favorite targets, by describing an imagined dinner-party to which the wealthy, but grudging patron Virro has invited several clients, including one Trebius, the poem's addressee.² Following a brief prologue in which he criticizes Trebius' servility in his quest for a free meal (verses 1-11), Juvenal details, course by course, the inferior food, drink, and service that the client will endure at Virro's board, while the lordly patron himself, observing his guests' humiliation with sadistic pleasure, dines in the grandest style (12-169). The characterization of Virro throughout this section is calculated to arouse the audience's indignation against him. But Trebius too is reproached once more in the poem's abrupt conclusion (170-74) for shamelessly enduring his patron's tyranny.

Juvenal's ninth satire (the most neglected of his poems, because of its obscenity) takes the form of a dialogue between the satirist, posing as a friendly advisor, and another parasite, the jaded homosexual Naevolus, who has been recently stricken with impotency.³ In his twenty-six line prologue the satirist feigns concern over Naevolus' haggard appearance and general well-being, thus prompting the reprobate's response: his long career as client-prostitute has proven ill-fated and unprofitable, and one man in particular is responsible for his current dilemma — Virro. Despite Naevolus' generous (and once amply-equipped) services, rendered on demand both to Virro and to his lordship's sex-starved spouse, the thankless *patronus* has now thrown him out, and without a pension! The pervert's invective against his former patron, interrupted briefly by the ironically sympathetic satirist-advisor at verses 90-91 and 102-23, fluctuates between boastfulness and self-pity, indignation and paranoia. His elegiac lament on the swift passing of youth (124-29) is countered by the satirist's consolatory advice: "just munch an aphrodisiac and the pansies will hasten forth from all the hills of Rome to be your patron-friend!" But he will enjoy no such luck, Naevolus is certain, and so the debauched anti-hero concludes his harangue with a whimpering complaint over the disappointment of all his life's most "modest" prayers (135-50).

There can be little doubt that Juvenal deliberately employed the extremely rare cognomen *Virro* for Naevolus' patron in the ninth satire (the closing poem of his third book) in order to insure that audiences

¹Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* 10.1.93 (*Satura quidem tota nostra est*). For the tradition of naming attacks in Roman satire, see my "Horace and Onomasti Komodein: The Law of Satire," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.31.3 (Berlin 1981) 1790-1826. On some of the names in Juvenal, see G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford 1954) 289-94; cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) 777-78.

²The name *Virro* appears in Satire Five at verses 39, 43, 99, 128, 134, 149 (generic plural), and 156; for more on Virro's role in Five, see my "Juvenal's 'Friendly Fingernails,'" *Wiener Studien* 88 (1975) 230-35, and "Amicitia and the Unity of Juvenal's First Book," *Illinois Classical Studies* 4 (1979) 158-77, esp. 171-77.

³Victorian commentators, offended by the poem's obscenity, omitted text as well as notes from their editions: in fact, until the recent appearance of commentaries by J. Ferguson (London 1979) and E. Courtney (London 1980), the only line-by-line commentary in English was that of A.J. Maclean (London 1867). Nor has there been a comprehensive analysis of the satire (through see my "Juvenal Nine: Themes and Variation," forthcoming in E.S. Ramage and S.C. Fredericks, ed., *Contemporary Studies in the Satires of Juvenal*, Lawrence, Kansas, 1983); useful, however, for their examination of certain aspects of the poem are H.A. Mason, "Is Juvenal a Classic?," in J.P. Sullivan, ed., *Satire: Critical Essays on Roman Literature* (Bloomington 1968) 93-176, esp. 96-107; A.D. Pryor, "Experiment and sympathy in Juvenal 9," *Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association* 9 (1964) 33-34; F. Bellandi, "Naevolus cliens," *Maia* 26 (1974) 279-99; also helpful are Highet 117-21, 274-75, 370; W.S. Anderson, "The Programs of Juvenal's Later Books," *Classical Philology* 57 (1962) 145-60, esp. 155; and J.R.C. Martyn, "A New Approach to Juvenal's First Satire," *Antichthon* 4 (1970) 53-61.

would make the connection with Trebius' lord in Satire Five (the end-piece to Book One). The satirist depicts the unvirtuous *patronus* of both poems with near-perfect consistency: Virro is a niggardly, sadistic, calculating patron, who exploits his clients' services and grudgingly renders them only the minimal return. In Satire Nine, however, "a new dimension is added," as Martyn has observed: "the patron is still mean and spiteful, but now he is revealed as an impotent husband, a flaccid catamite."⁴

Juvenal likely intended Virro's name, in part at least, as an etymological pun. Connected with Indo-European **wiros* and Latin *vir*, the appellation is ironically appropriate for the vicious and (in Nine) homosexual patron who lacks utterly both *virtus* and *virilitas*, despite a vigorous public relations campaign to enhance his macho image with "proof of his manhood" (*tollis enim et libris actorum spargere gaudes / argumenta viri*: 9.84–85).⁵ Juvenal employs the significant name, a favorite device in ancient comedy and satire, several times in his five books. A related example was noticed by Gilbert Highet in Satire Two, a poem whose sexual theme is effectively developed and reworked in Nine: in his use of the unusual name *Hispo* (2.50), while he seems to have had an actual contemporary in mind. Juvenal hinted additionally at the aptness of the cognomen for the sort of reprobate whose "hairy limbs" (*hispida membra*: 2.11) conceal his effeminacy.⁶ In the composite of Satires Five and Nine, lord Virro, the antithesis of Virtue and Virility, is a ludicrous "Mr. Manly Goodman."

But something besides merely an opportunity for etymologizing first motivated Juvenal's selection of the name. While most commentators have regarded the character as wholly fictitious, the rarity of the name, its occurrence in both Five and Nine, and the lively detail of Juvenal's characterization all suggest the possibility that the satirist was thinking besides (as in the case of *Hispo*) of a real person, perhaps an historical figure from some earlier period as Friedländer supposed.⁷ Ronald Syme has observed that the characterization is appropriate to a member of the obscure *gens Vibidia*, the only Roman family among whom the cognomen *Virro* is attested:⁸ Vibidius Virro, a *novus homo* and "probably a Paelignian," was

⁴Martyn 61. For the identification of the two Virros see, e.g., Highet 262, note 2, and *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (PIR)¹ V484; the character is lacking in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (RE).

⁵The cognomen has *vir-* as its base, with (as my colleague Jared Klein has pointed out to me) expressive gemination of *r-* and an individualizing suffix (*-o*): the formation emphasizes the character's machismo and allows, in the context of Satire Nine, a *lucus a non lucendo* etymologizing pun. See below, note 8.

⁶Cf. *hirsuto* . . . *collo* (2.41). Highet, 291–92, commented on the pun and argued that Juvenal also meant *Hispo* as a slur on M. Eppuleius Proculus Hispo (PIR²E83; the identification was rejected by R. Syme, *Tacitus* [Oxford 1958], 778, but on insufficient grounds). Similarly, *Lamiarum* in 4.154 alludes to the Aelii Lamiae and at the same time puns on the vampire lamiae of folklore: see R. J. Rowland, Jr., "Juvenal's *Lamiae*: Note on *Sat.* 4.154," *Classical Bulletin* 40 (1964) 75, and LaFleur, "Amicitia" (above, note 2), 169–70.

⁷L. Friedländer, ed., *D. Junii Juvenalis: Saturarum Libri V* (Leipzig 1895), note on 5.39; cf. F. Strauch, *De personis Juvenalianis* (Göttingen 1869) 61; Forcellini's *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis*, vol. 6 (*Onomasticon*), s.v. (where only Juvenal's Virro is listed); contrast G. A. Ruperti, ed., *D. Junii Juvenalis Aequinatis Satirae XVI* (Leipzig 1819), note on 5.19.

⁸R. Syme, "Personal Names in Annals I–VI," *Journal of Roman Studies* 39 (1949) 17. Outside of Juvenal the cognomen occurs only among the Vibidii (in Tacitus and the inscriptions noted below), though *Virro* was an emendation approved by several early editors at Catullus 71.1. The name is lacking in W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin 1904), and I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965); nor does it appear in the papyri indexed by F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg 1922), and D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum* (Milan 1971). A great variety of cognomina based on the root *-vir-*, common in Celtic names (see the name-lists in J. Whatmough, *The Dialects of Ancient Gaul* [Cambridge 1970], and esp. D. E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* [Oxford 1967], 286–88), appear in the inscriptions, particularly those of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, Spain, and Britain, but also in Italy and Rome: besides such familiar formations as *Virilis* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* [CIL] 5.7046, 6.2443, 20098), *Viril* (*I*)*io* (5.5503, 5626, 6484), and *Virilianus* (5.6271), are found *Viraus* (5.7299), *Virbicus* (5.5652), *Virdacus* (5.3482), *Virianus* (5.5467, 5542, 5689, 6087, 6.24011, 32800), *Viriatius* (5.7222), *Virico* (5.4594), *Virocantus* (5.5883), *Vironic* (3.15212⁴), *Vironus* (2.5654, 5713, 5723–24, 5827, 6298), and such close counterparts to *Virro* as *Vira* (masc., 5.5100), *Viro* (3.14216²), *Virrus* (2.4970.558, and cf. 12.5682.46), and *Virso* (11.4613); see further Schulze 39, 253, 425; and cf. *Arviragus* in *Juv.* 4.127. In each of these cognomina the root *-vir-* most probably connotes the manly virtues: cf. Kajanto 257. Highet, 324 note 26, observes that Joseph Hall, "Bying Satires" (1598), adapts the names *Virro* and *Trebius* for two of his characters (5.2.105–50); see A. Stein, "Joseph Hall's Imitation of Juvenal," *Modern Language Review* 43 (1948) 315–22.

among several political latecomers expelled from the senate by Tiberius in A.D. 17 and described by Tacitus with typical fervor as “wastrels impoverished by their debaucheries” (*Annales* 2.48.3: *prodigos et ob flagitia egentis*).⁹

Tacitus’ prodigal is probably to be identified, as Syme suggested, with Sextus Vibidius Virro (*Prosopographia Imperii Romani*¹ V373). Honored by the Athenians with a commemorative statue (*Inscriptiones Graecae* 3.603), this Virro was father of the vestal virgin Vibidia (*IG* 3.875), herself almost certainly the priestess who, as *virginum Vestalium vetustissima* (and thus *virgo maxima*), interceded with Claudius on Messalina’s behalf in A.D. 48, after the emperor’s discovery of his wife’s illicit marriage to Gaius Silius.¹⁰ Thus the once ignoble and otherwise inconspicuous family had attained to a measure of both fame and notoriety during the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, a period of recent Roman history that provided many characters for the Satires.¹¹

Besides Tacitus’ gibe, there was precedent for a slur on this family within the tradition of Roman satire itself: a *scurra* named Vibidius was, not the host (like Virro in Juvenal Five), but one of the uninvited guests, a garrulous, hard-drinking parasite, at Horace’s Banquet of Nasidienus (*Sermones* 2.8), a poem that was among the principal models for Juvenal’s Banquet of Virro in the fifth satire.¹² Given the rarity of the cognomen *Virro*, Juvenal’s audience would readily have seen his caricature as a slur on the Vibidii, or in particular on Sextus Vibidius Virro, whose scandalous behavior in 17 had been brought again to the public’s attention in Tacitus’ recently published Annals.¹³ At the same time the keenest satire aficionados might conceivably recall also Horace’s depiction of another member of the family. The bibulous guest of *Sermones* 2.8 has, in a sense, been elevated by Juvenal (as his kinsmen had been, by circumstance, during that same century) to the opposite role of patron and host. The parvenu’s behavior, however, has not improved but worsened, a development rich in implications typical of attitudes toward the nouveaux riches shared by the contemporaries Tacitus and Juvenal.

That Juvenal may indeed have been influenced in his treatment of Virro, to some extent, by Horace’s Vibidius, and that he intended the more astute in his audience to comprehend and appreciate the reversal of roles he had engineered, receives some support from the comparable literary pedigree that can be documented for Naevolus, the client in Satire Nine. Like his unvirtuous patron, Naevolus is appropriately named: the cognomen’s rarity among the upper classes reflects the parasite’s social status; its etymology,

⁹The mss. read *Varronem*, but inscriptions support Dittenberger’s emendation to *Virronem*: see *PIR*¹V372, *RE* “Vibidius” no. 2, and Syme (above, note 8) 17 and *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 456. Cf. Hight, 262, and P. Green, trans., *Juvenal: The Sixteen Satires* (Baltimore 1974), who observes that, if Paelignian as Syme posits, the family was situated only forty miles from Juvenal’s own Aquinum (124 note 3).

¹⁰*Tac. Ann.* 11.32.2 and cf. 11.34.2; *PIR*¹V374, *RE* “Vibidius” no. 3. Koestermann, in his note on *Ann.* 2.48.3 (ed., *Tacitus Annalen*, I, Heidelberg 1963), rejects the likelihood of identifying the expelled senator with the Vestal’s father on the grounds that the daughter of a man so dishonored would never have become *virgo maxima*. However, if *vetustissima* in A.D. 48 (i.e., about forty years old, if coopted at age ten and in or nearing her thirtieth year of service), Vibidia might have been appointed to the order just prior to her father’s disgrace: the incident in any case would not have necessitated her expulsion from the priesthood, since upon her cooption she was emancipated from the *patria potestas* (cf. Dittenberger *Eph. Epigr.* i. 108, as cited by H. Furneaux on *Ann.* 11.32.5 [ed., Oxford 1891]). Sextus Virro L. f. of the Sergian tribe, mentioned in Frontinus *De aquis urbis Romae* 129, is possibly related to this same family, which had attained no prominence in republican times (no Vibidii appear in T. R. S. Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, Cleveland 1952). To the epigraphic evidence for the name cited by Syme (above, note 8) 17, add P. Vibidius Atticus (*CIL* 11.1308, *PIR*¹V371); also *CIL* 2.599, and (in Rome) 6.2551 (32526), 26976, 28766–71, 33031 (37291); cf. Schulze (above, note 8) 92, 428, 438, 457; R.S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects* (Cambridge 1897) 162; P. Castrén, *Ordo Populusque Pompeianus*, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 8 (Rome 1975), 240 no. 456. Cf. C. Vibius Virilio, *CIL* 13.6241.

¹¹E.g., Sejanus, 10.61–107; Claudius, 5.147; the marriage of Silius and Messalina, 10.330–33.

¹²For Horace’s Vibidius, only briefly mentioned by Syme (above, note 8) 17, see *Sermones* 2.8.22, 33–35, 39–40, 80; *RE* “Vibidius” no. 1. Vibidius’ role as an *umbra* brought along by Maecenas to Nasidienus’ dinner party for his table wit may be compared with Juvenal’s characterization of Naevolus as *conviva ioco mordente factus* (9.10). For the connection between Horace’s poem and Juvenal Five, see L.R. Shero, “The *Cena* in Roman Satire,” *Classical Philology* 18 (1923) 126–43, esp. 139–40.

¹³On the relative dating of Juvenal’s Satires and the *Annales*, see R. Syme, “Juvenal, Pliny, Tacitus,” *American Journal of Philology* 100 (1979) 250–78, esp. 274–77.

“Little Wart,” whether or not it was meant to pun on the character’s red and wrinkled face (verses 1–9), contributes to our impression of his unattractiveness; the diminutive form of the name has a preciosity suited to his role as homosexual prostitute.¹⁴ Another homosexual in Juvenal is similarly dubbed Varillus, “Little Master Knock-knee” (Satire Two, verses 22–23, where there is an apparent pun on *loripes*, “bandylegged”). More to the immediate point of our present discussion, Naevolus has been adapted, in a most ingenious manner, from the Epigrams of Martial (1.97, 2.46, 3.71 and 95, 4.83), who was, like Horace, a major influence on Juvenal.¹⁵ Martial’s Naevolus, a vile, ungenerous, arrogant, passive homosexual patron, is transformed by Juvenal into the equally repulsive active homosexual client of Satire Nine, who is there — through a clever enactment of poetic justice — exploited by Virile Virro, the very image of his own former self.

Doubtless the Vibidii were as unamused at Juvenal’s wit in depicting Virro as they must have been at the pejorative characterization in Tacitus’ *Annales*; but there is no evidence to suggest that they were, by the early second century when the Satires were published, in any position to retaliate.¹⁶ The family had already receded into obscurity, where they would in fact have remained, had it not been for the name-calling of two Roman satirists and an indignant historian.

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¹⁴The common noun *naevolus/naevulus*, attested only in post-Augustan sources (Fronto *Epistulae* p. 42H. Apuleius *De mundo* 5.15. Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 12.1.7), is the diminutive of *naevus*, perhaps connected with *gigno* (“angeborenes Mal, Muttermal”: Walde-Hofmann) and use of any birthmark of skin blemish, esp. a mole or wart (cf. Lucilius 572–73W, on physical imperfections in women: *ἡσούρην eupatereiam aliquam rem insignem habuisse, verrucam naevum punctum dentem eminulum unum*; a *naevus* might, however, be regarded by a lover as a beauty-mark: Cicero *De natura deorum* 1.28.79, Horace *Sermones* 1.3.38–49, 1.6.65–67, Ovid *Tristia* 5.13.14, and Fronto and Gellius above); later *naevus* was used figuratively for a moral defect (Symmachus 3.34). Pryor, 34, terms *Naevolus* an “absurd” name, and so it may have been intended, but it was in actual use as a cognomen: although lacking in Preisigke and Foraboschi (above, note 8), it does appear in five inscriptions, though not for persons of any social or political eminence (CIL 3.7299 and 12690, funerary inscriptions set up by respectively, C. [Cor]nelius Naevolu[s] and P. Scrasius Naeolus: 5.6447; 6.5608, 33115). Cf. the related praenomen *Gnaeus*, the nomina *Naevius*, *Naevoleius* (CIL 9.2356, 10.1030), the cognomina *Naevianus*, *Naevidianus*, *Naevilianus*, and the similarly inspired *Gibbus*, *Macula*, *Struma*, *Tubero*, and *Verrucosus*, on which see Kajanto (above, note 8) s.v.

¹⁵For Juvenal’s use of names from Martial, see e.g., H. Nettleship, “Life and Poems of Juvenal,” *Journal of Philology* 16 (1888) 52–53; Colton “Juvenal and Martial” (diss. Columbia 1951) 120–25; and, on Naevolus, my “Juvenal Nine” (above, note 1). Two other names in Satire Nine seem also to have been adapted, in part at least, from the Epigrams: with Aufidius (verse 25) cf. Martial 5.61, and with Saufeia (117, and see 6.320) cf. Martial 3.72.

¹⁶No Vibidii appear after Sextus Vibidius Virro; none are listed in A.H.M. Jones, et al., *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 1 (Cambridge 1971).