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Place names commemorating Hadrian – an attempt to approximate the scale of the phenomenon*

According to *Historia Augusta*, emperor Hadrian *multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Carthaginem et Athenarum partem*¹. The modifier *multae* suggests that cities with the name Ἀδριανόπολις were so ubiquitous that their number could not be accurately determined. However, Ἀδριανόπολις was not the only place name commemorating emperor Hadrian. A wide variety of historical sources can be analyzed to assess the practice of naming places after Hadrian in the Roman Empire, but many of these sources have been only partly preserved. This is one of the reasons why the scale of this phenomenon has been investigated relatively rarely and with a varied degree of success. Johann Assmann identified 10 colonies and 14 *caetera oppida* commemorating Hadrian. He also mentioned 9 other settlements bearing the name Ἀδριανή, but his analysis did not account for municipalities (*municipia*)². Many of the settlements named after Hadrian are listed in Brigitte Galsterer-Kröll's comprehensive (573 toponyms and titles in all) compilation of place names and city titles of the Roman Empire, but the author did not explicitly state whether all of these oikonyms were directly associated with the emperor³. In a study of urban autonomy during the reign of Trajan and Hadrian, Francesco Grelle mentioned 12 colonies and 19 municipalities that were named or possibly named after Hadrian⁴. A list of πόλεις commemorating Hadrian in Asia Minor was compiled by Marcel

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¹ *HA, Hadr.* 20, 4.

² J. Assmann, *De coloniis oppidisque Romanis, quibus imperatoria nomina vel cognomina imposita sunt*, Langensalzae 1905, pp. 118–127.

³ B. Galsterer-Kröll, *Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium Romanum*, „Epigraphische Studien” 1972, 9, pp. 44–145.

⁴ Cf. F. Grelle, *L'autonomia cittadina fra Traiano e Adriano. Teoria e prassi dell'organizzazione municipale*, Napoli 1972, pp. 89, 171, 175, 178–180, 183, 187, 191–192, 200, 203, 206, 208–209, 214, 218–220.

Le Glay⁵, whereas Jacques Gascou⁶ identified Roman colonies and municipalities in Africa created during Hadrian's reign. Michael Zahrnt and Mary T. Boatwright attempted to determine the total number of colonies and municipalities founded by Hadrian. Zahrnt identified 9 colonies and 21 municipalities, as well as 12 other municipalities that may have been associated with this Roman emperor⁷. In turn, Boatwright identified 11 colonies, 21 municipalities, and one peregrine town that had been merged with an existing colony. The cited author also mentioned 7 locations that were named after Hadrian as their founder, as well as 27 places that bore some form of Hadrian's name despite the fact that they were not founded by the emperor, nor did he change their legal status⁸. Boatwright was most successful in exploring the extent to which Hadrian's name was incorporated into place names, but the resulting list of colonies and municipalities created by him is not free of errors⁹, and these settlements should be differentiated from colonies and municipalities that were named or probably named after Hadrian. Therefore, the main aim of this article was to estimate the total number of locations that were named or probably named after Hadrian, as evidenced by historical sources, including colonies, municipalities, peregrine towns, and other settlements with unknown legal status. Such efforts entail an analysis of historical records that mention locations commemorating the emperor in their names and titles, in particular sources whose interpretation, reliability or even authenticity stir controversy.

Colonies named after Hadrian include real and titular colonies founded by the emperor¹⁰, as well as locations that had been previously granted colony status and that bore some form of Hadrian's name for different reasons. Therefore, the list of colonies commemorating Hadrian that can be validated based on historical sources should be differentiated from the emperor's real and titular colonies (although these sets largely overlap). Historical records referencing locations that were named or probably named after Hadrian are diverse. In some cases, a given place name and its variants (some of which

⁵ M. Le Glay, *Hadrien et l'Asklépieion de Pergame*, "Bulletin de correspondance hellénique" 1976, 100, pp. 357–359.

⁶ J. Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime-Sévère*, Rome 1972, pp. 115–137; idem, *La politique municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord. 1: De la mort d'Auguste au début du IIIe siècle*, [in:] *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, II 10.2, Berlin–New York 1982, pp. 180–192.

⁷ M. Zahrnt, *Zahl, Verteilung und Charakter der hadrianischen Kolonien (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Aelia Capitolina)*, [in:] *Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen Geographie des Altertums 2, 1984 und 3, 1987*, Bonn 1991, p. 464.

⁸ Cf. M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton–Oxford 2000, pp. 39–41, 104, 172.

⁹ Ibidem, pp. 40, 172 (the number of colonies indicated on page 40 is incorrect because it does not account for the colonies mentioned by the author on page 172).

¹⁰ According to M.T. Boatwright (ibidem), this category of colonies is represented by *Aelia Capitolina* and *Aelia Mursa*. Krzysztof Królczyk (*Veteranen in den Donauprovinzen des Römischen Reiches. 1.–3. Jh. n. Chr.*, Poznań 2009, pp. 69–70) points out that the colony at Mursa could have been founded by a *deductio veteranorum*, but he considers this scenario to be rather unlikely.

can be attributed to the mistakes made by stone engravers or minters) can be traced in dozens of historical records, whereas other names and titles are evidenced by a single source or are confirmed only partially. One (*H*) to 3 (*HAD*) letters on coins minted in the city of Parium in Mysia, and 2 letters (*HA*) on coins minted in Parlais in Pisidia suggest that these urban settlements were named after Hadrian. In Parium, the abbreviated titlature of the colony, *C G I P* (*Colonia Gemella* [or: *Gemina*] *Iulia Parium*) during the reign of Nerva and Trajan¹¹, evolved to *C G I H P*¹² in Hadrian's era. The letters *C G I H P* were still found on coins minted during the reign of Gallineus¹³. The assumption that the letter *H* denotes *Hadriana* appears to be validated by the letters *HA* or *HAD*¹⁴ on coins minted by Hadrian's successors, as well as an inscription which names Hadrian as the colony's *conditor*¹⁵. The letters *HA* were also identified on some coin series released in Parlais during the reign of Marcus Aurelius¹⁶. A historically validated list of colonies that were named or possibly named after Hadrian is presented in Table 1. The list cites selected sources or, in some cases, the only sources that provide such evidence (the same applies to the remaining tables in the article). Only the most complete place names were cited, and variants were disregarded. Iconium is the only exception due the unique character of this variant name.

Table 1. A historically validated list of colonies that were named or possibly named after Hadrian

No.	Name	References
1.	[COLONIA] AELIA [AVG(usta) AE]CLA[N] VM	CIL IX 1111
2.	COL[O]NIA AELIA AVG(usta) ITALICA	CIL XII 1856. Cf. AE 1908, 150. 1952, 121. 1983, 520; Gell. <i>NA</i> 16, 13, 4
3.	COLONIA AELIA AVG(usta) LARES	CIL VIII 1779
4.	COLONIA AELIA AVGVSTA MERCVRIALIS THAENIT(ana)	CIL VI 1685 (321 CE)
5.	COL(onia) AEL(ia) AVG(usta) TIP(asensis)	AE 1958, 128. Cf. AE 1955, 130 (146/147 CE)
6.	COL(onia) AELIA CAP(itolina)	RPC IV/3 (temp. no.) 6401. Cf. RPC III 3963–3967, 3969–3971; CIL III 6649; Cass. Dio 69, 12, 1; Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἰλία
7.	COLONIA AEL(ia) HADRIANA AVGVSTA BVLLA REG(ia)	CIL VIII 25522

¹¹ RPC III 1533–1538.

¹² RPC III 1542. The reverse side of the coin bears the *sulcus primigenius* motif.

¹³ For example: BMC, *Mysia*, 108 (no. 122).

¹⁴ RPC IV/2 (temp. nos.) 626, 9179, 10921. This element also appears independently, cf. RPC IV/2 (temp. no.) 2896.

¹⁵ CIL III 374.

¹⁶ RPC IV/3 (temp. nos.) 7696, 7698.

8.	COL(onia) AELIA HADRIANA AVGVSTA FORMIAE	CIL X 6079
9.	a) COL(onia) AELIA TRAIANA AVG(usta)	– B. Pace, <i>Ricerche nella regione di Conia, Adalia e Scalanova</i> , “Annuario della r. scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente” 1923/1924 [1926], 6–7 p. 347 (Fig. 4)
	b) COL(onia) AEL(ia) HADRIANA AVG(usta) ICONIENSIVM	– CIL III 12137. Cf. CIL III 12136
10.	COLONIA AELIA HADRIANA AVG(usta) ZAMA REGIA	CIL VI 1686 (322 CE)
11.	COL(onia) AEL(ia) MVRSA	CIL III 3560. Cf. CIL III 3279; AE 2011, 139; Steph. Byz. s.v. Μοῦρσα
12.	COLON(ia) [Gemella or Gemina] IVL(ia) HAD(riana) PAR(ium)	RPC IV/2 (temp. no.) 626. Cf. RPC III 1542. IV/2 (temp. nos.) 626, 9179, 10921; CIL III 374
13.	COL(onia) IVL(ia) AEL(ia) HADR(iana) AVG(usta) VTIK(a)	CIL VIII 1181. Cf. Gell. NA 16, 13, 4
14.	C(olonia) I(ulia) HAD(riana) AVENN(io)	CIL XII 1120
15.	IVL(ia) AVG(usta) HA(driana) COL(onia) PARLA(is)	RPC IV/3 (temp. nos.) 7696, 7698

Place names commemorating Hadrian contained elements derived from the emperor’s *nomina* and imperial titles; therefore, any attempts to estimate the number of settlements named after the emperor should make a distinction between oikonyms derived directly from Hadrian’s name and those commemorating emperors whose imperial titlature bore identical components. For the sake of data analysis, it should be noted that after *dies principatus*¹⁷ celebrations of 11 August 117 CE in Antioch, Hadrian’s imperial titlature stood as *Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus*¹⁸. Hadrian learned that Trajan had (allegedly¹⁹) adopted him only two days earlier²⁰, but despite the above, he retained his family name of *Aelius*²¹. This fact is reflected in the titles of the colonies listed in Table 1²². In the total number of 15 settlements listed in Table 1, 12 contain the word *Aelia* (nos. 1–11, and 13), 11 – *Augusta* (nos. 1–5, 7–10, 13, and 15), and

¹⁷ Cass. Dio 69, 2, 1; *HA, Hadr.* 4, 7.

¹⁸ For example: *Documents illustrating the Principate of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, ed. E.M. Smallwood, Cambridge 1966, Nos. 59–61, 63, 64, 72a, 73, 76. Cf. D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 2004, p. 128.

¹⁹ Cf. Cass. Dio 69, 1, 1.

²⁰ *HA, Hadr.* 4, 6.

²¹ Cf. B.M. Levick, *Faustina I and II. Imperial Women of the Golden Age*, Oxford 2014, p. 183 (endnote 7).

²² It should also be noted that on one inscription (CIL II 1135), Italica is referred to as *C(olonia) V(?) ITALICENSIVM*. Theodor Mommsen associated the letter *V* with *Ulpia*. According to another interpretation, the letter *V* denotes *Victrix*. Cf. CIL II, p. 146.

8 – *Hadriana* (nos. 7–10, 12–15). A reference to the *cognomen Traiana* after Hadrian's adoption had been officially announced was found in an inscription bearing the name of a colony in Iconium (no. 9a). According to B. Galsterer-Kröll²³ and Stephen Mitchell²⁴, the above was merely an engraving error, whereas M. Zahrnt questioned the inscription's authenticity²⁵. In Table 1, five colony names contain the cluster *Aelia Augusta* (nos. 1–5), and five colony names feature the cluster *Aelia Hadriana Augusta* (nos. 7, 8, 9 b, 10, and 13). The word *Hadriana* leaves little doubt as to the origin of the eponym²⁶, but can the same assertion be made based solely on the nomenclature when this element is not present? According to J. Gascou, “les colonies ou municípios qui s'intitulent *Aelia* ou *Aelium*, *Aelia Augusta* ou *Aelium Augustum*, qu'il y ait ou non adjonction à ce titre d'*Hadriana* ou d'*Hadrianum*, ne peuvent à notre avis être que des créations d'Hadrien”²⁷. In turn, F. Grelle noted that cities whose titlature contains the epithet *Aelia* could theoretically have been founded by Antoninus Pius or Commodus, but an analysis of the titles of the colonies and municipalities founded or reorganized by Hadrian's successors suggests that in localities whose new legal status can be clearly linked to the emperors mentioned, the epithet *Aelia* (-um) does not appear. F. Grelle observed that “esse assumono di solito il nome *Aurelia* (-um), in un sol caso, sembra, il nome *Aelia Aurelia* (*Colonia Aelia Aurelia Augusta Mactaris*)”²⁸. According to the cited author, the hypothesis that Hadrian's municipality was granted colony status by Marcus Aurelius is undermined by an inscription from 169/170 CE which describes Mactaris as a *civitas*²⁹. Tipasa is a good example of a locality whose name contains the word *Aelia* despite the fact that the emperor's role in promoting the town is not entirely certain. The inscription listing the colonial titles of Tipasa (no. 5) dates from 146/147 CE³⁰, but these titles were the same as those of Italica (no. 2). In Table 1, the name of Avennio (no. 14) (present-day Avignon) – C(olonia) I(ulia) HAD(riana) AVENN(io) – was found in an inscription³¹ that was discovered not later than in 1787 in the Provençal

²³ B. Galsterer-Kröll, op. cit., p. 79 (endnote 193).

²⁴ S. Mitchell, *Iconium and Ninica: Two Double Communities in Roman Asia Minor*, “Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte” 1979, 28, p. 413 (endnote 31).

²⁵ M. Zahrnt, *Vermeintliche Kolonien des Kaisers Hadrian*, “Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik” 1988, 71, p. 242 (endnote 51).

²⁶ However, Antoninus Pius was also called *Hadrianus* after he had been adopted by Hadrian. Cf. D. Kienast, op. cit., p. 134.

²⁷ J. Gascou, *La politique municipale de Rome...*, p. 181.

²⁸ F. Grelle, op. cit., p. 219. According to J. Gascou (loc. cit.), Antoninus Pius founded only one colony whose name did not incorporate the word *Aelia* (*Colonia Aurelia Augusta Pia Canusium*).

²⁹ CIL XI 11799. According to J. Gascou (*La politique municipale de Rome...*, pp. 147–148), these titles refer to the joint rule of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (176–180 CE). In turn, M. Zahrnt (*Hadrians Beitrag zur Munizipalisierung der Africa proconsularis*, [in:] *Monumentum et instrumentum inscriptum. Beschriftete Objekte aus Kaiserzeit und Spätantike als historische Zeugnisse. Festschrift für Peter Weiß zum 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart 2008, pp. 237–238) noted that the epithet *Aelia* could have been derived from Hadrian's name.

³⁰ AE 1955, 130.

³¹ CIL XII 1120.

town of Apt and deposited in a local bishop's garden. During the French Revolution, the Catholic diocese of Apt was closed down, the bishop emigrated to Italy, and the inscription was lost. Esprit Calvet (1728–1810), an Avignon-based physician and collector, was allegedly the only person who had seen and made a drawing of the inscription. Once again, the inscription's authenticity was questioned by M. Zahrnt who argued that it contains surprisingly unique elements that are difficult to find in other sources. In Zahrnt's opinion, the inscription was fabricated by Calvet in an attempt to "enhance" the history of his home town³². Jacques Gascou³³, Michel Christol, and Marc Heijmans³⁴ refuted Zahrnt's claims and argued that the present-day Avignon was granted the status of a Latin colony during the reign of Augustus and was transformed into a colony of Roman citizens by Hadrian. An inscription discovered in Arles in 1989 and Pliny's account³⁵ seem to support this hypothesis³⁶. In contrast, Table 1 does not list any references to Hadrian in the name of Scupi, a colony established by the Flavian dynasty³⁷. The association between Scupi and Hadrian seems to have originated from an erroneous interpretation of a certain inscription³⁸.

According to the literature, Roman emperors founded more colonies than municipalities, but this trend was reversed by Hadrian³⁹. In consequence, the emperor was commemorated in the names of more municipalities than colonies. Some researchers postulated that Hadrian could have also been commemorated by settlements whose municipal titlature was not documented in historical sources⁴⁰. For example: in Turris Tamalleni, explicit references to the title *Aelium* have never been found in official sources, but the emperor is mentioned as the municipality's *conditor* in one inscription⁴¹. A historically

³² M. Zahrnt, *Vermeintliche Kolonien...*, pp. 229–232.

³³ J. Gascou, *Le statut d'Avignon d'après un prétendu faux épigraphique de la cité d'Apt (Vaucluse)*, "Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise" 1990, 23, pp. 225–233.

³⁴ M. Christol, M. Heijmans, *Les colonies latines de Narbonnaise: un nouveau document d'Arles mentionnant la Colonia Iulia Augusta Avennio*, "Gallia" 1992, 49, pp. 39–41.

³⁵ Pliny (*HN* 3, 36) describes Avennio as *oppidum Latinum*. M. Christol and M. Heijmans (op. cit., p. 41) surmise that in the case of Pliny's list concerning Gallia Narbonensis „derrière bien des oppida latina se cachait des colonies latine”.

³⁶ M. Christol, M. Heijmans, op. cit., p. 38 = AE 1992, 1181.

³⁷ Cf. E. Kornemann, *Coloniae*, [in:] *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Bd. IV 1, Stuttgart 1900, col. 547; B. Levick, *Vespasian*, London–New York 2017, pp. 146–147.

³⁸ CIL VI 533. Cf. M.B. Hornum, *Nemesis, the Roman State, and the Games*, Leiden–Köln 1993, p. 237 (no. 151).

³⁹ M. Zahrnt, *Vermeintliche Kolonien...*, p. 229; idem, *Zahl, Verteilung und...*, p. 464.

⁴⁰ For example: F. Grelle, op. cit., pp. 178, 204, 206; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London 1974, pp. 143–145. Cf. M.T. Boatwright, op. cit., p. 40 (endnote 15).

⁴¹ CIL VIII 83. Cf. J. Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire...*, p. 134; idem, *La politique municipale de Rome...*, p. 189; F. Grelle, op. cit., p. 220. Not all researchers agree with M. Zahrnt (*Ein hadrianisches Municipium in der Hispania Tarraconensis?*, "Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik" 1989, 79, p. 175) who argued that based on the inscription CIL II 3239 = AE 1902, 1, the same conclusion can be drawn regarding Ilugo in *Hispania Tarraconensis*, which would suggest that *ius Latium* granted by Vespasian to *Hispaniae*

validated list of municipalities that were named or possibly named after Hadrian is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. A historically validated list of municipalities that were named or possibly named after Hadrian

No.	Name	Source
1.	a) FORVM [H]ADRIANI b) FORVM HADRIANENSIS c) M [- - -] A E C	– <i>Tab. Peut.</i> II 2. Cf. AE 1994, 1286 – CIL III 4279 – CIL XVII ² 588 (= XIII 9165)
2.	<Municipium> AEL(ia) OVILAV(a)	CIL III 11785. Cf. CIL III p. 1841. IX 2593.
3.	MVNICIPI(um) AELIANVM	<i>Z. Mirdita, Eine Inschrift aus Ulpianum,</i> “ <i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> ” 1978, 29, p. 163 = AE 1978, 702
4.	MVN(icipium) <Aelium> AQ(uincum)	AE 1953, 14. Cf. CIL VI 1057 l. 17; <i>Eph. Epigr.</i> IV 894 c, l. 2 (tribus Sergia)
5.	MVNICIPI(um) AELI(um) AVG(usta)	CIL III 5800. Cf. CIL VI 32840; AE 1972, 359. 1980, 661
6.	MVNICIPIVM AELIVM AVITTA <Bibba>	CIL VIII 1177. Cf. CIL VIII 799
7.	M(unicipium) AEL(ium) CET(iensium)	CIL III 5663. Cf. CIL III 5630, 5658
8.	MVNICIPIVM AELIVM CHOBA	CIL VIII 8375; AE 1949, 55
9.	[MVN]ICIP[IV]M A[E]LIVM [HAD]RIANVM <Abthugnitanorum>	IL Afr. 71. Cf. CIL VIII 11206, 23085
10.	MVNICIPIVM AELIVM [HADRIA]NVM AVG(ustum) [A]LTHIBVRITANVM	CIL VIII 27769. Cf. CIL VIII 27775 a–c, 27781; AE 1913, 45
11.	MVNICIPI(um) AELI(um) HADRIAN(um) AVG(ustum) CIVIVLITAN(um)	CIL VI 1684 (321 CE)
12.	a) MVN(icipium) [AE]L(ium) HADRIAN(um) DROBET(ense) b) MVNICIPIVM HADRIANVM DRO- BETENSE	– CIL III 8017. Cf. CIL III 8129, 1579 (tribus Sergia) – AE 1905, 110. Cf. AE 1914, 117. 1979, 520
13.	MVNIC(ipium) AELI(um) HADR(ianum) NAPOC(a)	CIL III 14465. Cf. CIL III 6254. VIII 3021
14.	[MV]NICIPIVM AE[LIVM HADRIANVM AVG(ustum) THVB(urbo) MAIVS]	IL Afr. 277. Cf. IL Afr. 244, 278

(Plin. *HN* 3, 30) did not result in direct municipalization. Cf. M.T. Boatwright, op. cit., p. 40 (endnote 20).

15.	M(unicipium) A(elium) K(arnuntum)	CIL III 4554. Cf. CIL III 4495, 11019. VIII 2675 (tribus Sergia)
16.	MVNICIPIVM AELIVM THIZIKA	ILAFr. 432
17.	MVNIC(ipium) AEL(ium) VIM(inacium)	CIL III 8102. Cf. CIL III 1654, 1655; Mirdita, op. cit., loc. cit.
18.	MVNICIPIVM AI... <Bisica Lucana>	CIL VIII 12292. Cf. CIL VI 1401
19.	AIAION MOYNIKIIIION KOIAA <Municipium Aelium Coela>	AE 1924, 82. Cf. RPC III 757 A–760 A
20.	MVN(icipium) <Aelium> MOG(iones)	CIL III 15188.1. Cf. CIL III 15188.4 (pseudotribus or city title Aelia) and AE 2002, 1182 (pseudotribus Aelia); AE 2010, 1258 (tribus Sergia)

Table 2 mentions Aquincum (no. 4), although the cited inscription gives a simplified name of the city without the title *Aelium*. Anthroponyms, the *pseudotribus Aelia* and *tribus Sergia* indicate that this epithet should have been incorporated into the city's titlature⁴². The situation is similar in the case of Mogiones (no. 20). According to research, the letters *FL* in the name of Drobeta municipality in an inscription dating back to 145 CE (*MVN FL HADRIANI DROBET*⁴³) make a reference to the title *Aelium*⁴⁴ (no. 12a). In the list of *municipia Aelia* mentioned in Table 2, special attention should be paid to *municipium Aelianum* (no. 3). The name of this municipality appears in some *tabula ansata*, where the decurion of three municipalities is mentioned: Ulpianum, Aelium Viminacium, and Aelianum⁴⁵. Despite the lack of conclusive evidence that the last toponym was directly linked to Hadrian, Zef Mirdita argued that Ulpianum was associated with Trajan because this municipality was mentioned first, and its decurion was a member of *tribus Papiria*⁴⁶. Based on this assumption and by drawing an analogy to the names of mining districts in the vicinity – *metalla Ulpiana* – *metalla Aeliana Pincensia*⁴⁷, it cannot be ruled out that *municipium Aelianum* was linked with Hadrian. However, if Ulpianum were to be associated with Trajan (as Aquincum with Hadrian) based on the decurion's *tribus*, it should be noted that tribal affiliation provides only indirect evidence for linking colonies and municipalities with emperors. Based on tribal affiliation, reliable conclusions about links with Hadrian can be drawn in Danubian provinces (where *tribus Sergia* was

⁴² CIL VI 1057 l. 17. VIII 2826; *Eph. Epigr.* IV 894 c, l. 2; AE 1933, 111. 1953, 14.

⁴³ CIL III 8017.

⁴⁴ H. Wolff, *Miscellanea Dacica (I). I. Zu einer Inschrift aus Smederevo (CIL III 8129)*, "Acta Musei Napocensis" 1975, 12, p. 145.

⁴⁵ Z. Mirdita, *Eine Inschrift aus Ulpianum*, "Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik" 1978, 29, p. 163 = AE 1978, 702.

⁴⁶ Mirdita, op. cit., p. 164.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 166. Cf. A. Mócsy, op. cit., p. 224.

represented by, among others, Aquincum, Carnuntum, Mursa, and Drobeta)⁴⁸, but not in Africa⁴⁹. The practice of drawing analogies between place names and emperors based on *tribus* can sometimes lead to misleading conclusions because, as noted by Tadeusz Kotula, it remains unknown whether Roman citizenship was granted to the persons mentioned in inscriptions or their ancestors⁵⁰. The acronyms and fragmentary names in Table 2 (nos. 1, 15, and 18) also require a commentary. Historical records pertaining to *tribus Sergia*⁵¹ have been relatively well validated, and there is little doubt that the abbreviation *M A K*⁵² refers to the *municipium Aelium Carnuntum*. A partially damaged *milliarium* from Naaldwijk, which states the distance from *M A E C*⁵³, also provides interesting insights. This inscription was restored in the 16th century, and the inscribed letters were modified through engraving. It is believed that the letter *E* (*F*?) in the abbreviation *M A E C* was regarded as doubtful and thus omitted by the restorers, and the resulting abbreviation *M A C* (with allegedly equal spaces between the letters) was interpreted as *municipium Aelium* or *Aurelium Cananefatum*⁵⁴. Modern research has led to the reading of the letters *M [- -] A E C*⁵⁵ in an interesting position, and it is presently believed that this abbreviation denotes *municipium Aelium Cananefat(i)um*⁵⁶. This title and rank were bestowed on *civitas* of the Cananefates in the western part of the so-called Batavian Island whose main center or nucleus⁵⁷ was *Forum (H)adriani/Hadrianensis*⁵⁸, sometimes referred to as the Dutch Pompeii⁵⁹. This name is linked with Hadrian, and researchers believe that it represented the status of an important trading hub⁶⁰. Based on the inscrip-

⁴⁸ Cf. J.W. Kubitschek, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum*, Pragae–Lipsiae 1889, pp. 226–227, 230, 272.

⁴⁹ Cf. T. Kotula, *Einige Bemerkungen zu der Tribus Papiria in den afrikanischen Inschriften*, “Klio” 1969, 51, p. 283; J. Gascou, *La politique municipale de l’empire...*, p. 90; M. Zahrt, *Hadrians Beitrag...*, p. 242 (endnote 62).

⁵⁰ T. Kotula, op. cit., p. 284.

⁵¹ CIL III 4495, 11019. VIII 2675.

⁵² CIL III 4554. Cf. H. Stiglitz, M. Kandler, W. Jobst, *Carnuntum*, [in:] *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neuen Forschung*, II 6, Berlin–New York 1977, p. 589.

⁵³ CIL XIII 9165.

⁵⁴ Cf. J.E. Bogaers, *Forum Hadriani*, “Bonner Jahrbücher” 1964, 164, p. 49.

⁵⁵ CIL XVII² 588.

⁵⁶ M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Noms de personnes, noms de lieux dans l’Occident Romain. Quelques out-ils récents*, “L’Antiquité Classique” 2008, 77, p. 301; L.I. Kooistra, *Food for soldiers: Farm deliveries from Germania inferior in the second and third centuries AD*, [in:] *Embracing the Provinces: Society and Material Culture of the Roman Frontier Regions. Essays in honour of Dr Carol van Driel-Murray*, eds. T. Ivleva, J. de Bruin, M. Driessen, Oxford 2018, p. 116; J. de Bruin, *Border Communities at the Edge of the Roman Empire. Processes of Change in the Civitas Cananefatum*, Amsterdam 2019, pp. 3, 28, 115, 122–123, 127, 138.

⁵⁷ Cf. J.E. Bogaers, op. cit., p. 45 (= AE 1965, 118) and 47.

⁵⁸ *Tab. Peut.* II 2; CIL III 4279. Cf. AE 1994, 1286.

⁵⁹ Cf. Th. M. Buijtendorp, *Forum Hadriani: de vergeten stad van Hadrianus. Ontwikkelingen, uiterlijk en betekenis van het Nederlands Pompeji*, Amsterdam 2010.

⁶⁰ According to Erik Graafstal (*What Happened in the Summer of A.D. 122? Hadrian on the British Frontier – Archaeology, Epigraphy and Historical Agency*, “Britannia” 2018, 49, pp. 88–89), the Cananefates could have been granted *ius nundinarum* by Hadrian.

tion from Naaldwijk, the *terminus ante quem* for the allocation of municipality rights to *civitas* of the Cananefates was set at 161/162 CE. Only fragmentary evidence exists to confirm the *cognomen* of Bisica Lucana municipality in Africa Proconsularis. Only 1.5 of the letters of its title, *Al...*⁶¹, have been preserved, and they have been interpreted as *Aelium* or *Antoninianum*⁶². According to J. Gascou⁶³, colonies and municipalities whose names contain the epithet *Antoniniana/Antoninianum* had not existed before the reign of Caracalla, whereas Bisica Lucana had been a municipality long before this emperor. Hans-Georg Pflaum⁶⁴ also associated the title of Bisica Lucana with Hadrian and argued that it reflected the emperor's visits to Africa (in 122 and 128 CE) and his contribution to the Romanization of that continent.

The abbreviated epithet *AEL* has been confirmed epigraphically in several settlements with uncertain legal status. M. T. Boatwright argued that Uluzibbira and Thapsus were promoted to colony status by Hadrian⁶⁵. An inscription from Ostia mentions *decurio duovir Aeliae Uluzibbiraefricaef*⁶⁶, but the settlement is not described as a colony. J. Gascou rightly notes that in this case, “l n'est d'ailleurs pas possible de dire s'il s'agit d'un municipe ou d'une colonie”⁶⁷. As regards Thapsus, the title *AEL*, most probably linking the town with Hadrian⁶⁸, as well as (separately) the town's colony status⁶⁹, were validated by epigraphic evidence, which prompted Xavier Dupuis to conclude that Thapsus had been somehow promoted by Hadrian. However, as he notes, “on peut hésiter sur le statut, municipal ou colonial octroyé à cette occasion”⁷⁰. Similar conclusions were drawn regarding settlements whose names contained the letters *AEL AVIT* and *AEL THAM*⁷¹, and these towns were identified as Avitina/Abitina and Thambes/Thambis, respectively, in Africa Proconsularis⁷². The legal status of the African town of Aeliae/Elia⁷³

⁶¹ CIL VIII 12292.

⁶² CIL VIII, p. 1266.

⁶³ J. Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire...*, p. 126. Cf. idem, *La politique municipale de Rome...*, p. 185.

⁶⁴ H.-G. Pflaum, *La romanisation de l'ancien territoire de la Carthage punique à la lumière des découvertes épigraphiques récentes*, “Antiquités africaines” 1970, 4, p. 90.

⁶⁵ M.T. Boatwright, op. cit., p. 39 (endnote 10).

⁶⁶ AE 1940, 64.

⁶⁷ J. Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'empire...*, p. 136.

⁶⁸ Y. Le Bohec, *Inscriptions inédites ou corrigées concernant l'armée romaine d'Afrique*, “Antiquités africaines” 1989, 25, p. 197 = AE 1989, 893 = X. Dupuis, op. cit., p. 123 [1.5].

⁶⁹ CIL IX 5087.

⁷⁰ X. Dupuis, op. cit., p. 129. Similar arguments were put forward by M. Zahrnt to suggest that Thapsus was Hadrian's colony (*Hadrians Beitrag...*, p. 233). Zahrnt noted that Thapsus flourished in the early years of the principate and that Lepti Minus and Hadrumetum, settlements located north of Thapsus, were granted colony status.

⁷¹ AE 1989, 893 = X. Dupuis, op. cit., p. 124 (l.23) and p. 125 (l.11) = AE 1992, 1867a. The momentum of the Romanization of Africa during the principate of Hadrian could lead us to consider these settlements as cities under Roman law (apart from the title *Aelia*).

⁷² X. Dupuis, op. cit., pp. 129–130. Cf. M.T. Boatwright, op. cit., p. 39; M. Zahrnt, *Hadrians Beitrag...*, pp. 233–234.

⁷³ *Tab. Peut.* VI 2; *It. Ant.* 55, 4.

and its links with Hadrian also remain unclear⁷⁴. Solva should be definitely eliminated from the list of municipalities whose titles commemorate Hadrian, although a settlement by the name of *AEL SOLVA*⁷⁵ is mentioned in *laterculus praetorianorum* dating to 209 CE. Solva was granted municipal status by Vespasian⁷⁶ and is described as *Flavia Solva* in an inscription from 177/180 CE⁷⁷. Therefore, it appears that the epithet *Aelia* had been incorrectly used to denote Solva. The same source lists *AEL SISCIA* despite the fact that it was a Flavian colony⁷⁸.

Hadrian was also commemorated in the names and titles of settlements that were not colonies or municipalities. These settlements are listed in Table 3. Some variants were omitted, including possible alternations (Ἀδριανούπολις vs. Ἀδριανόπολις) and distortions (such as *Hadrianuteba*⁷⁹ instead of Ἀδριανόθηραι). The place names originating from the emperor's *cognomen* and written with a smooth breathing mark (as a result of a phonetic phenomenon known as ψίλωσις) in historical records were written with a rough breathing mark in the table.

Table 3. Historically validated names and titles of towns commemorating or possibly commemorating Hadrian that were not colonies or municipalities

No.	Name	Reference
1.	Ἀδριανή (Adana)	RPC III 3311–3313. IV/3 (temp. no.) 5731
2.	Adriane (in Africa Proconsularis)	<i>It. Ant.</i> 67, 2
3.	Ἀδριανή (Aegeae, Αἰγαῖα/ Αἴγαια)	RPC III 3340–3341. 3350
4.	Ἀδριανή (Amasea)	RPC IV/3 (temp. nos.) 4020, 4877, 5285–5288, 5291–5296, 5315
5.	Ἀδριανή (Bithynium/Claudiopolis)	RPC III 1109–1120
6.	Ἀδριανή (Diocaesarea)	RPC IV/3 (temp. nos.) 4972, 5800, 5801, 6206, 6207, 6209
7.	Ἀδριανή (Germanicopolis)	RPC III 3207–3210. IV/3 (temp. nos.) 10136, 11630
8.	Ἀδριανή (Cius, Κίος/ Κείος)	RPC III 1050, 1050 A, 1051–1058
9.	Ἀδριανή (Cyzicus)	CIG 3665
10.	Ἀδριανή (Mopsus/ Mopsuestia)	IGRR I 121. III 915; RPC III 3359–3361. IV/3 (temp. nos.) 5817–5819

⁷⁴ In contrast, B. Galsterer-Kröll (op. cit., p. 104, no. 67) arbitrarily classified *Aeliae/Elia* as *civitas peregrina* and gave an imprecise name of Aeliana.

⁷⁵ CIL VI 2385.

⁷⁶ Cf. G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, London 1974, p. 82.

⁷⁷ AE 1942/1943: 69.

⁷⁸ M. Zahrnt, *Vermeintliche Kolonien...*, p. 233. Cf. L. Mrozewicz, *Flavische Städtegründungen auf dem Balkan*, [in:] *Kontaktzone Balkan. Beiträge des internationalen Kolloquiums "Die Donau-Balkan-Region als Kontaktzone zwischen Ost-West und Nord-Süd" vom 16.–18. Mai 2012 in Frankfurt a. M.*, Bonn 2015, p. 151.

⁷⁹ *Tab. Peut.* IX 3. This toponym was also distorted in other sources. Cf. L. Büchner, *Hadrianothera*, [in:] *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Bd. VII 2, Stuttgart 1912, col. 2177.

11.	Ἀδριανή (Nicomedia ad Lycum)	CIG III 4189; <i>Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure</i> , vol. 1/1, eds. W.H. Waddington, E. Babelon, Th. Reinach, Paris 1904, p. 98 (no. 5)
12.	Ἀδριανή (Nicomedia)	CIG 1720. 3771 = IGRR III 6
13.	Ἀδριανή (Olba)	IV/3 (temp. nos.) 5829, 5831, 6158
14.	Ἀδριανή (in Pamphylia)	<i>Not. episc.</i> 1, 452. 3, 403. 7, 223. 8, 501. 9, 412. 10, 518. 13, 368; <i>Georg. Cypr.</i> 452. 1570
15.	Ἀδριανή (Petra)	RPC III 4104–4110, 6620–6628, 6630–6632
16.	Ἀδριανή (Smyrna)	BMC, <i>Ionia</i> , p. 257, no. 184
17.	Ἀδριανή (Tarsus)	IGRR I 133; AE 1938, 4; RPC III 3271–3277. 3279–3283. 3285–3297
18.	Ἀδριανεία (in Mysia)	<i>Not. episc.</i> 8, 172. 9, 79; J.A.R. Munro, <i>Inscriptions from Mysia</i> , “The Journal of Hellenic Studies” 1897, 17, p. 290 (no. 67)
19.	Ἀδριανεία (in Thrace)	<i>Not. episc.</i> 9, 49
20.	Ἀδριανοὶ (in Mysia)	RPC III 1602–1618 A. IV/2 (temp. nos.) 502–507, 11306; Philostr. <i>VS</i> 9 [581]; <i>Not. episc.</i> 1, 197. 3, 131. 8, 208. 9, 117. 10, 256. 13, 115; Socrates <i>hist. eccl.</i> 7, 36; Hierocl. 693, 5; <i>Georg. Cypr.</i> 197
21.	Ἀδριανόπολις (Athens)	IG II ² 5185. <i>Por. FGrHist</i> 257 F 19; <i>HA</i> , <i>Hadr.</i> 20, 4
22.	Ἀδριανόπολις (in Bithynia)	<i>Iustin. novell.</i> 29, c. 1; Hierocl. 695, 3; <i>Not. episc.</i> 1, 265. 3, 215. 8, 317. 9, 226. 10, 337. 13, 197; <i>Georg. Cypr.</i> 265
23.	Ἀδριανόπολις (Caesarea – Proseilemmene in Paphlagonia)	IGRR III 149, 150
24.	Ἀδριανόπολις (in Epirus)	<i>Tab. Peut.</i> VII 3; Hierocl. 651, 8; <i>Procop. Aed.</i> 4, 1; <i>Not. episc.</i> 3, 530. 10, 623. 13, 474; <i>Georg. Cypr.</i> 1667
25.	Ἀδριανόπολις (in Phrygia)	RPC III 2671, 2672. IV/2 (temp. nos.) 1941, 1994, 1995, 1997, 2014, 2968, 5897, 11593, 11594.
26.	Ἀδριανόπολις (in Macedonia)	AE 1939, 40
27.	Ἀδριανόπολις (Neocaesarea in Pontus)	Phlegon fragm. 16 (ed. Müller); <i>Recueil general</i> ..., p. 87 (no. 8 and 9)
28.	Ἀδριανόπολις (Palmira) Ἀδριανὰ Πάλμυρα Hadriani Palmyreni	<i>Steph. Byz.</i> s.v. Πάλμυρα. Cf. <i>Eph. Epigr.</i> V 705 AE 1941, 80. Cf. IGRR III 1056 AE 1939, 180. Cf. IGRR I 1169; CIL VIII 2505; <i>Eph. Epigr.</i> V 1275
29.	Ἀδριανόπολις (in Pisidia)	Hierocl. 672, 11; <i>Not. episc.</i> 1, 420. 3, 373. 7, 197. 9, 383. 10, 486. 13, 336; <i>Georg. Cypr.</i> 1539

30.	Ἀδριανόπολις (in Thrace)	RPC IV/1 (temp. nos.) 3912–3922. 10528–10530. 10587–10611; <i>Amm. Marc.</i> 14, 11, 15. 27, 4, 12; <i>Eutrop.</i> 9, 3; <i>HA, Heliogab.</i> 7, 8; <i>It. Ant.</i> 137, 3. 231, 4. 231, 7. 322, 8; <i>Not. dign.</i> [or.] 11, 32; <i>Procop. Aed.</i> 4, 11; <i>Hierocl.</i> 635, 10; <i>Steph. Byz. s.v. Γονεῖς</i> ; <i>Georg. Cypr.</i> 38, 487, 1152, 1709; <i>Const. Porfir. them.</i> 2, P 22; <i>Zonar.</i> 17, 23; <i>Not. episc.</i> 4, 38. 6, 38
31.	Ἀδριανόπολις / Ἀδριανή (Cyrenaica)	<i>It. Ant.</i> 67, 2; <i>Tab. Peut.</i> VIII 4; <i>Hierocl.</i> 733, 2; <i>Not. episc.</i> 1, 793; <i>Georg. Cypr.</i> 793; <i>Rav. Cosm.</i> 137, 17. 353, 14 (ed. Pinder, Parthey); <i>Guido Geogr.</i> 522, 12 (ed. Pinder, Parthey)
32.	Ἀδριανόπολις = Ἀντινόεια (Antinoopolis)	<i>Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀντινόεια</i>
33.	Ἀδριανόπολις Ὀλυμπίος <Ὀλυμπος> (in Lycia)	Migne PG IV 175 B; <i>Acta Sanct.</i> 20 VI, 6 A (ed. 1707)
34.	Ἀδριανόπολις (Stratonicea on the border of Mysia and Lydia)	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillés en Grèce et en Asie Mineure</i> , vol. 3, eds. Ph. Le Bas, W.H. Waddington, Paris 1870, p. 279 (no. 1043); <i>RPC III</i> 1779–1788. VI (temp. nos.) 4281–4285, 4287
35.	Ἀδριανόπολις (Stratonicea in Caria)	<i>Steph. Byz. s.v. Στρατονίκεια</i>
36.	Ἀδριανόπολις (Zephyrium)	<i>RPC III</i> 3247–3253. IV/3 (temp. nos.) 4993–4995, 5813, 9822, 9827–9831, 10887, 11747
37.	Ἀδριανόθηραι (in Mysia)	<i>RPC III</i> 1624–1633; <i>Ael. Aristid. serm. sac.</i> 1, 51. 52; <i>Cass. Dio</i> 69, 10, 2; <i>HA, Hadr.</i> 20, 13; <i>Hierocl.</i> 663; <i>Tab. Peut.</i> IX 3; <i>Georg. Cypr.</i> 153. 1291; <i>Not. episc.</i> 1, 153. 3, 86. 7, 139. 8, 164. 9, 71. 10, 212. 13, 72; <i>Georg. Cedren. hist.</i> 1, P 249 B (p. 437, ed. Bekker)
38.	Ἀδριανῶ ὄρμος (in Apulia)	<i>Paus.</i> 6, 19, 9
39.	Canabae Aeliae legionis XI Claudiaae (Durostorum)	<i>CIL III</i> 7474
40.	Διοκαισάρεια (Sepphoris)	<i>RPC IV/3</i> (temp. nos.) 3605, 8617. VI (temp. nos.) 8803–8805
41.	ἡ Ἀδριανέων Ἀβδηρεῖτῶ[ν] πόλις (Abdera)	<i>Documents illustrating...</i> , p. 448
42.	ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀδριανῶν Πανορμεῖτῶν <Ἀδριανοὶ Πανορμεῖται> (Panormos on Cephalonia)	<i>AE</i> 2013, 1399
43.	Pons Aelius (in Britannia)	<i>Not. dign.</i> [occ.] 40, 34

With the exception of three cases (no. 39, 40, and 43), Table 3 contains place names derived from Hadrian's *cognomen* that he received at birth. The fact that these place names commemorate the emperor does not raise doubt, or in any case, it stirs less controversy than the previously mentioned colonies and municipalities. However, the reason why some oikonyms were placed on the list and others were not should be explained. *Pons Aelius* (no. 43) was mentioned because there is no evidence to suggest that this *castellum*

and a settlement in the eastern part of Hadrian's Wall was a municipality. The word *Aelius* does not provide sufficient evidence that *Pons Aelius* had the status of a municipality⁸⁰, as can be seen from the example of *canabae Aeliae*⁸¹ (no. 39). Ἀδριάνιον⁸², which presumably denotes the Macedonian town of Ἀδριανόπολις⁸³, was not listed. Hadrian's Villa was not mentioned as an independent settlement either, despite the fact that in some maps, it is presented as separate from Tibur⁸⁴. Instead, Table 3 includes the name Διοκαισάρεια (no. 40), which was probably given to the city of Sepphoris in Palestine under Hadrian⁸⁵. The emperor was commemorated in the name of a *phyle* in Antinoopolis⁸⁶, but according to Stephanus of Byzantium, the town was also known as Ἀδριανόπολις (no. 32). There is also considerable debate as to whether Hadrian was commemorated in the new name of Athens (no. 21) or only in that of the part of the city. Despite the claim made in *Historia Augusta* that *Hadrianopolis* was the name of only one part of Athens (*Athenarum pars*), it appears that Alison Adams rightly noted that the inscription "This is the city of Hadrian" on the Arch of Hadrian in Athens makes a reference to the entire city. The phrase ἡ πρὶν πόλις on the western facade of the arch was translated as "the ancient city"⁸⁷. According to Adams, the inscriptions on the western and eastern sides of the arch should be translated as follows: "This is Athens, once the city of Theseus (not "the ancient city of Theseus"⁸⁸) and "this is the city of Hadrian, and not of Theseus"⁸⁹. Panormos on Cephalonia (no. 42) is yet another interesting case. The fact that its residents described themselves as Ἀδριανοὶ Πανορμηῖται has been revealed only recently⁹⁰.

⁸⁰ When it was once attempted to prove that *Pons Aelius* was a municipium, it was not so much the epithet *Aelius* that was invoked, but it was argued that the name of the city of Newcastle, which preceded the castle built there in the 11th century, Muncceastre, was supposedly derived from the municipium. Cf. C.J. Bates, *A municipium upon Tyne*, "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne" 1898, 8, pp. 131–132.

⁸¹ Cf. B. Galsterer-Kröll op. cit., p. 78. This is an exceptional case because most *canabae* were not named. Cf. L. Mrozewicz, *Ze studiów nad rolą canabae w procesie urbanizowania terenów pogranicza reńsko-dunajskiego w okresie wczesnego Cesarstwa*, "Balcanica Posnaniensia" 1984, 3, p. 285.

⁸² Procop. *Aed.* 4, 4.

⁸³ According to A. Dunn, Ἀδριάνιον was "the successor in some sense of the extensive Roman site of Hadrianopolis, which is located nearby" (A. Dunn, *Continuity and Change in the Macedonian Countryside from Gallienus to Justinian*, [in:] *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, eds. W. Bowden, L. Lavan, C. Machado, Leiden–Boston 2004, p. 549).

⁸⁴ Cf. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, ed. J.A. Talbert, Princeton 2000, map 43, 2D.

⁸⁵ A.R. Birley, *Hadrian: the Restless Emperor*, London–New York 1997, pp. 229, 232.

⁸⁶ Cf. W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, Leipzig 1907, p. 250; M.T. Boatwright, op. cit., p. 194 (endnote 124).

⁸⁷ IG II² 5185.

⁸⁸ Cf. A. Adams, *The Arch of Hadrian at Athens*, [in:] *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire: Papers from the Tenth British Museum Classical Colloquium*, eds. S. Walker, A. Cameron, London 1989, p. 11.

⁸⁹ For a contrary point of view, see M. Zahrnt, *Die Hadriansstadt von Athen. Zu FGrHist 257 F 19, "Chiron"* 1979, 9, p. 393.

⁹⁰ AE 2013, 1399.

A few words should also be said about Carthage which, according to *Historia Augusta*, was supposed to be named *Hadrianopolis*. At first glance, it may seem unlikely that this African centre could have borne a Greek-sounding name, but according to Suetonius, another Roman emperor known for his philhellenism considered giving Rome such a name⁹¹. Hypothetically, the assumption that Hadrian was commemorated in the name of Carthage could be supported by the fact that the emperor had promoted African centers with a vast cultural heritage. However, a historically validated nomenclature of Hadrian's colonies suggests that the name *Hadrianopolis* was unlikely to refer to Carthage⁹², and there is no evidence for this in the epigraphic record.

The exact number of place names commemorating Hadrian is difficult to determine, and the suggestions formulated based on the existing sources are unlikely to be universally accepted. This task is difficult for a number of reasons. Some place names are attested by partially preserved inscriptions, and the veracity and authenticity of some sources stir controversy. The example of Turris Tamalleni indicates that not all titles commemorating Hadrian have been preserved in historical sources. The inscription relating to Panormos on Cephalonia suggests that previously unknown names can be discovered in epigraphic records, whereas the *laterculus praetorianorum* of 209 CE demonstrates that some titles were not always used correctly by the ancients. Even a rough estimate of the number of localities named after Hadrian could shed light on the role of the commemorative place names and titles in promoting the emperor's public image. Hadrian was commemorated or probably commemorated in the names of 15 colonies and 20 municipalities, and there is evidence to suggest that the number of such settlements under Roman law could be even higher. He was also commemorated or probably commemorated in the nomenclature of 43 localities, mostly peregrine communities, that did not have the status of colonies or municipalities. Even if *Aeliae/Elia* and *Carthage/Hadrianopolis* are eliminated from that list, epigraphic sources suggest that Uluzibbira, Thapsus, Avitina/Abitina, and Thambes/Thambis bore titles derived from Hadrian. As a result, the names and titles of more than 80 cities in the Roman Empire can be linked to Hadrian. This fact confirms the observation made in *Historia Augusta* that naming cities after this emperor was a popular practice. The circumstances surrounding the creation of these names and titles and the reason why this practice was so popular require a separate analysis. It is worth noting here that the half-hearted attempts so far to approximate the scale of this phenomenon have certainly not helped to appreciate its importance.

⁹¹ Suet., *Nero*, 55.

⁹² Cf. B. Galsterer-Kröll op. cit., p. 100, no. 13.

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Place names commemorating Hadrian – an attempt to approximate the scale of the phenomenon

Summary: According to *Historia Augusta (Vita Hadriani 20, 4)*, many cities in the Roman Empire were named Hadrianopolis after the emperor Hadrian. The aim of this article is to approximate the number of localities named after Hadrian (not only Hadrianopolis mentioned). Cities were named after Roman emperors to commemorate the rulers' role as the founders or benefactors of localities. This practice deserves special attention. The extent to which Hadrian had been commemorated in place names has not been researched extensively to date, but the approximate number of cities and towns named or possibly named after the emperor was relatively high. The exact number of localities named after Hadrian cannot be determined based on historical sources for a number of reasons, as discussed on the examples of localities such as Turris Tamalleni or Bisica Lucana. However, regardless of these difficulties, research suggests that Hadrian could have been commemorated in the names of up to 15 colonies, 20 municipalities (*municipia*), 4 localities that were most likely colonies or municipalities, and 43 other localities (mainly peregrine towns), which gives a total of more than 80 place names (the colonies and municipalities whose names commemorate the emperor should be distinguished from those that had been founded by Hadrian). In this article, the localities named after Hadrian were classified based on their legal status and are presented in tables. Particular attention has been paid to the controversies surrounding some of the cities

thought to have been named after Hadrian (such as the colonial titlature of Avennio, the modern-day Avignon). The estimated number of localities named or possibly named after Hadrian indicates that these toponyms may have played a significant role in shaping the emperor's public image.

Keywords: Hadrian, place names, colonies, municipalities, peregrine towns, Roman Empire

Das Gedenken an Hadrian in Ortsnamen – ein Versuch der Ausmaßfassung des Phänomens

Zusammenfassung: Eine Stelle in der *Historia Augusta (Vita Hadriani 20, 4)* enthält die Information, dass eine Reihe von Städten im Römischen Reich nach dem Kaiser Hadrian Hadrianopolis genannt wurde. Dieser Artikel soll einen Überblick über die Anzahl der Ortsnamen geben, die sich von den Namen dieses Kaisers ableiten – nicht nur die bereits erwähnten Hadrianopoleis. Die Benennung von Orten zum Gedenken an Kaiser war eng mit der Gestaltung ihres öffentlichen Bildes als Gründer oder Wohltäter dieser Orte verbunden und verdient als solche besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Das Ausmaß der Ehrung Hadrians in den Ortsnamen hat bisher in der Forschung wenig Beachtung gefunden, doch die ungefähre Zahl der Ortsnamen, die sich von seinen Namen ableiten (oder vermutlich ableiten), war relativ hoch. Aus verschiedenen Gründen, die an solchen Beispiele wie Turris Tamelleni und Bisica Lucana erläutert werden, lässt sich anhand der Quellen nicht genau feststellen, wie viele Ortschaften Namen tragen, die mit dem genannten Herrscher in Verbindung stehen. Ungeachtet dieser Schwierigkeiten kann man zu dem Schluss kommen, dass Hadrian in den Namen von bis zu 15 Kolonien, 20 Munizypien, 4 Ortschaften, bei denen es sich höchstwahrscheinlich um Kolonien oder Munizypien handelte, und 43 anderen Orten (hauptsächlich peregrinen Städten) geehrt worden sein könnte, was eine Gesamtzahl von mehr als 80 Ortsnamen ergibt (die Kolonien und Munizypien, die Hadrian in ihren Namen ehren, müssen dabei von den tatsächlich von ihm gegründeten unterschieden werden). Der Artikel enthält Tabellen mit relevanten Ortsnamen, die nach dem Kriterium des rechtlichen Status unterteilt sind, und geht auch auf die Kontroverse über bestimmte mit Hadrian in Verbindung gesetzte Namen ein (z. B. die Namen der Kolonie Avennio, das heutige Avignon). Die ungefähre Zahl der Orte, die nach Hadrian benannt oder vermutlich benannt wurden, könnte darauf hindeuten, dass im Falle dieses Kaisers die mit ihm verbundenen Ortsnamen eine wichtige Rolle bei der Gestaltung seines öffentlichen Bildes spielten.

Schlüsselwörter: Hadrian, Ortsnamen, Kolonien, Munizypien, *civitates peregrinae*, Römisches Reich

Upamiętnianie Hadriana w nazwach miejscowych – próba przybliżenia skali zjawiska

Streszczenie: Pewien passus w *Historia Augusta (Vita Hadriani 20, 4)* zawiera informację, że wiele miast Cesarstwa Rzymskiego nosiło miano Hadrianopolis, pochodzące od cesarza Hadriana. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przybliżenie liczby nazw miejscowych derywowanych od imion tego cesarza – nie tylko takich jak wspomniane Hadrianopoleis. Nadawanie miejscowościom nazw upamiętniających cesarzy

było ściśle związane z kształtowaniem ich publicznego wizerunku jako założycieli czy euergetów tychże miejscowości i jako takie zasługuje na szczególną uwagę. Skala honorowania Hadriana w nazwach miejscowych nie zwracała dotąd większej uwagi badaczy, tymczasem przybliżona liczba nazw miejscowych derywowanych (względnie przypuszczalnie derywowanych) od jego imion była stosunkowo wysoka. Z wielu powodów – przedstawionych na przykładach takich miejscowości, jak m.in. Turris Tamelleni czy Bisica Lucana – źródła nie pozwalają ustalić precyzyjnej liczby ośrodków noszących nazwy związane z rzezonym władcą. Niezależnie od tych trudności możemy stwierdzić, że Hadrian mógł zostać uhonorowany w nazwach nawet 15 kolonii, 20 municypiów, 4 ośrodków będących najprawdopodobniej koloniami bądź municypiami i 43 innych miejscowości (głównie miast peregrynów), co daje łącznie sumę ponad 80 nazw i przydomków miejscowości (kolonie i municypia honorujące Hadriana w swej nazwie należy przy tym odróżnić od kolonii i municypiów faktycznie przezeń założonych). W artykule zawarto tabele z nazwami miejscowymi podzielonymi w oparciu o kryterium statusu prawnego, a także poruszono kontrowersje dotyczące pewnych nazw wiązanych z Hadrianem (np. nazwy kolonii w Avennio, współczesnym Awinionie). Przybliżona liczba miejscowości nazwanych lub prawdopodobnie nazwanych ku czci Hadriana może świadczyć, że w przypadku tego cesarza związane z nim nazwy miejscowe odgrywały istotną rolę w kształtowaniu jego publicznego wizerunku.

Słowa kluczowe: Hadrian, nazwy miejscowe, kolonie, municypia, *civitates peregrinae*, Cesarstwo Rzymskie