



## The Names of Constantinople

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## XXV.—The Names of Constantinople

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The name *Βυζάντιον* is probably Illyrian from *Buzas* with the suffix *-io-*; *Néa* 'Ρώμη was an official name (4th century); *Κωνσταντίνου πόλις* and *ἡ Κωνσταντίνου* are not common, while *Κωνσταντινούπολις* is the written name and *Πόλις* the common name of the world capital. The last name came through ellipsis of *Κωνσταντίνου*, just as *ἡ Κωνσταντίνου* by ellipsis of *πόλις*. The Turkish name *Stambul* came from (εἰς) *τὴν Πόλιν*. Details of these names are discussed.

The inhabitants of places do not always remain the same; in the course of time the old inhabitants of a place may be displaced by a neighboring tribe, or sometimes by a people which has come from afar. Yet the names of such places may be long-lived and survive not only centuries but millennia. While names of small places often cease to exist in times of plague or war when all inhabitants die out, the names of populous communities are most tenacious.<sup>1</sup> And place-names surviving the change of population yield us a notion of prehistoric tribes.<sup>2</sup> It often happens, then, that a place bears one name in antiquity, another in later, mediaeval, times, and yet a third in modern times. And conclusions from language in general and from place-names in particular have a bearing on history; we may have evidence from the successive names of one place about the historical succession (or its obscure points) of the various peoples which have left linguistic traces such as words or names.

In the investigation of place-names, therefore, it is important both from the historical and linguistic points of view to consider together all the names applied to one place. An interesting subject for such research is afforded by the great city which was for many centuries the natural crossroads between Europe and Asia. It was founded as a colony of the Megarians (seventh century), served as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. Buga, "Die Vorgeschichte der Aistischen (Baltischen) Stämme im Lichte der Ortsnamenforschung," *W. Streilberg-Festgabe* (Leipzig, 1924) 22. In contrast to the personal names, the place names are geographically bound; cf. H. Krahe, *Lexikon altillyrischer Personennamen* (Heidelberg, 1929) 139.—I feel much indebted to the Association's unnamed reader for his criticism and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> P. Kretschmer, "Sprachliche Vorgeschichte des Balkans," *Revue intern. des études balkaniques* 1 (1934–35) 379.

a capital of the Byzantine (Greek) Empire during a whole millennium (395–1453 A.D.), then became the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and is the second city of the Turkish Republic today. I do not propose here to study its names exhaustively, but rather to confine myself to the points that need an explanation or some linguistic remarks.

### 1. Βυζάντιον

Three towns bore the name Βυζάντιον: the colony in Thrace founded by the Megarians and a second place in Libya (according to Stephanus Byzantius, Eustathius, Dionysius Periegetes 803); in the latter case, Βυζάντιον was probably adapted from a name in the native tongue,<sup>3</sup> as happened notoriously with a third Βυζάντιον, denoting a place on the western coast of India (*Vijyadrug* or *-durga*).<sup>4</sup>

As to the main Byzantion, some Byzantine writers make use exclusively of the name Βυζάντιον for Constantinople, others use it (e.g. Theophanes 345.14; *Chron. Pasch.* line 252) side by side with Κωνσταντινούπολις, while Βυζάντιοι is the name generally applied to the inhabitants of the city.<sup>5</sup> Βυζάντιον was used in the middle ages to designate the Byzantine Empire, κατὰ συνεκδοχήν; this may have been due to the fact that the name Βυζάντιος was felt as an ethnicon (cf. ἡ Βυζαντίων, sc. πόλις, and the family name Βυζάντιος), so that Βυζάντιον κράτος appeared in elliptic form Βυζάντιον. Analogous are the cases when Constantine Porphyrogenitus calls himself αὐτοκράτωρ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, and *Fulḡn* (from Πόλις) meant the Byzantine Empire for the Chinese.<sup>6</sup> And Βυζαντινός meant 'an inhabitant of the Byzantine Empire'; cf. Μυτιληναῖος as indicating (1) an inhabitant of the town of Mytilene, (2) an inhabitant of the island of Mytilene (= Lesbos). From the adjective Βυζάντιος arose also

<sup>3</sup> Βυζάντιον in Libya where people Βύζαντες are mentioned by Steph. Byz. and Eustathius referring to Dion. Perieg. 803; cf. *RE* s.v. "Byzantion," 1158b and "Byzacium" (*ibid.* 1115a; Dessau).

<sup>4</sup> *Peripl. mar. Erythr.* 53, Steph. Byz.; Βυζαντέιον, Ptolem. 7.1.7, etc. See W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker* 2.2.61 (*SAWW*, philos.-hist. Cl. 131.1) and *RE* s.v. "Byzantion," 1158; cf. M. Besnier, *Lexique de géographie ancienne* (Paris, 1914) 153. — About a fourth Βυζάντιον in Cilicia whence came Faustus of Byzantium, Prof. C. Amantos (Athens) informs me. A city of the Βυζαντίων in Armenia is named by Abydenos in Euseb. *Chron.* ed. Schoene 35, but the gen. is probably corrupted from Βιζανῶν; see Streck, *RE* s.v. "Byzantion," Suppl. 1, col. 266, and "Bizana," *ibid.* 253.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. Oberhummer in *RE* s.v. "Constantinopolis," 964.

<sup>6</sup> Thus also *Roma*, *Tripolis* in Africa, *Marocco*, *Portugal*, etc. occur as names of countries, originally being names of capitals; for more examples cf. A. Chatzes, *Archaiologikē ephēmeris* (Athens, 1930) 70 and *Byzant.-neugr. Jahrbücher* 9 (1930–32) 87.

the appellatives: Greek *βυζαντία* · *εἶδος ὀρμῆς* (Hesychius) and Latin *byzantius* (and *byzantinus*), from which came French *besant* (*d'or*), dating from the ninth century, Italian *bisante*, and English *besant*.<sup>7</sup>

*On the origin of the name —*

The older attempts at explanation of G. Curtius,<sup>8</sup> who supposed that *Βυζάντιον* would be a derivative *Βυζάντ-ιο-ν* meaning 'Uhlenhorst' from *Βυζα-ντ-* : *βυζα-φεντ-* from the subst. *βῦζα* f. 'Strix bubo, eagle-owl' (synon. *βῦας*), and of Pape-Benseler,<sup>9</sup> interpreting the place-name as 'Reichenheim,' are no longer discussed seriously.

The writer on Alarodian (Japhetic) linguistics, K. Oštir,<sup>10</sup> thinks that the name is not Indo-European, but "pre-Thracian": *Βυζάντιον* would be an *io*-formation from *βυζ-* 'aqua' and *\*βυζα-ντ-* would mean 'Aquīs' or 'at *\*βυζα* (river),' just as *Tara* 'river': *Tarentum*, Σίπα: *Sipuntum*. He thinks that *\*βυζ-* 'aqua' is seen in *Βύζη*, *Βυζία*, *Βύζης*, *Βαβύζης* (see below) and can be compared with *\*boz-* 'bassus, puteus, aqua' which is met in *Busia*, a river name in Gaul, *Businca*, a river name in Noricum, *A-bus-īna*, a river name in the territory of the Vindelici (*a-* as in *ἄβυσσος*), and in *Bosisis*, a river name in Gaul; finally he connects *\*boz-* with Caucasian and Basque forms. The *nt*-formans is, according to Oštir, also non-IE, "pre-Thracian," because it is also Mediterranean (Messap. *Tarentum*, Illyr. *Colentum*, Etruscan *Ferentum*, pre-Hellenic *Κόρινθος*, in Asia Minor *Καρύαδα*, etc.) and is combined from *-n-* + *-t-*. The fundamental objection to this interpretation would be that the author's method has not been accepted and his results are therefore untrustworthy. In details, moreover, this explanation cannot be supported; on the one hand, he ignores the existing personal names *Βύζας*, *Buzas*, *Beuzas*, *Βύζης*, *Βύζος*, and on the other he pays no attention to the fact that the suffix *-nt-* is also Indo-European. Apparently following Oštir, N. Županić<sup>11</sup> also gives the interpreta-

<sup>7</sup> G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'orient latin* (Paris, 1878) 130, 175; cf. K. Regling in Fr. v. Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930) s.v. "bezant," 73a; Schrötter, *ibid.*, s.v. "Münzen," 585b-586a.

<sup>8</sup> *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*<sup>5</sup> (Leipzig, 1879) 291; followed by L. Grasberger, *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* (Würzburg, 1888) 110, 278.

<sup>9</sup> *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*<sup>3</sup> 232b; cf. J. J. Egli, *Nomina geographica*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig, 1893) 504a.

<sup>10</sup> "Vorthrakischer Ursprung des Wortes *Βυζάντιον*," *Deuxième congrès international des études byzantines, Belgrade 1927* (Belgrade, 1929) 23-25; cf. N. Jokl, *Indogerm. Jahrbuch* 14 (1930) 122 and 15 (1931) 195.

<sup>11</sup> "Die dalmatinische Insel Pizych des Konstantin Porphyrogenetos," *Atti del V congresso internazionale di studi bizantini, 1936* (Rome, 1939) 337.

tion, Βυζάντιον = 'Wasserstadt,' and considers the name Pelasgian (related to Caucasian and Etruscan). One would say with Ion Russu<sup>12</sup> "Con tale acrobazia e cabala si può provare facilmente qualunque cosa."

W. Tomaschek<sup>13</sup> and J. Miller<sup>14</sup> consider the name as Thracian, since there are names Βύξης, Βύξος, etc. But Ion Russu<sup>15</sup> was the first to try to prove that Βυζάντιον must be Thraco-Phrygian, while he brings forth the names Βύξης, Βύξος, Βούξης, Βίξος, etc., Βύξηpes, Βυζία, Βουζαίου, etc., names with the suffix *-nt-* and that in *-io-*; according to Russu, Βυζάντιον would have come from the attested IE *\*bhūǵo-* 'buck,' suitable for the origin of a personal name (certainly first as a nickname), with the suffix *-nt-* meaning 'belonging to'; cf. Av. *būza-* m. 'buck,' mod. Pers. *buz* 'goat, buck,' Arm. *buck* 'lamb,' etc.<sup>16</sup> Whereas this etymology belongs in the main to Tomaschek, who had compared Zend *būza* 'buck,' AS *bucca*,<sup>17</sup> Russu tries to prove too much, bringing together any and all words whose root is *βυξ-*, *βουξ-*, *βιξ-*. The interpretation may be quite good if the proper nouns Βύξas and *Beuzas* are not related; but we have nouns with *buz-* or *bus-* also in Italy, and these are Illyrian.

According to the Albanian scholar E. Çabej,<sup>18</sup> if the Alb. subst. *buzë* 'lip; bank, strand' is old, the name Βυζάντιον (pronounced *Buzantion*) might have meant 'the city at the sea strand' and might have been formed with the element *-ant-*, just as *Amantia*-Ἀμαντία, Οἰδάντιον, *Caravantis*; he compares the Italian river name *Busento*, with *-nt-* (cf. Tarentum) and also from *buzë*, with the Portuguese parallel *ribeira* 'bank, strand' from Lat. *rīpa*; and the stem *buz-* is seen in the personal names *Buzetius* in Dalmatia and *Busos* in Apulia (Krahe, *Lexikon* 27).<sup>19</sup> But the author ignores the personal names Βύξas, *Buzas*, etc., which, however, contain the element *-nt-*, as well as the name Οἰδάντιον compared by himself; and, if we accept a personal name as the basis, the meaning 'the

<sup>12</sup> "Intorno al nome di Bisanzio," *ibid.* 555 note 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Die alten Thraker* (above, note 4) 16.

<sup>14</sup> *RE* s.v. "Byzantion," 1127; also E. Oberhummer, *RE* s.v. "Constantinopolis," 964.

<sup>15</sup> *Loc. cit.* (above, note 12) 554-7; cf. E. Gerland, *Byzant.-neugr. Jahrbücher* 10 (1932-34) 94.

<sup>16</sup> A. Walde - J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927) 2.189.

<sup>17</sup> *Die alten Thraker* (above, note 4) 17.

<sup>18</sup> "Mundartliches aus Italien," *Glotta* 25 (1936) 54.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* note 2.

city at the sea-coast' is irrelevant; and finally we do not know the original meaning of the river name *Busento* in Italy.

Kretschmer interpreted the name as a derivative of the Illyrian personal name *B(e)uzas* (*Beuzant-*), written *Bύζας* in Greek, with the suffix *-io-*. In accordance with this view the Illyrians were the founders of Byzantion in Thrace and those who gave the name to the later world capital.<sup>20</sup> *Byzantion* is, according to Kretschmer, modifying his explanation, rather "eine phrygische Bildung mit dem Zugehörigkeitssuffix *-io-* vom illyrischen Personennamen *Beuzas*"<sup>21</sup> and *Byzantium* is "auf der phrygischen Wanderung gegründet worden, und zwar von Illyriern, die ja neben Thrakern an diesen Invasionen teilgenommen haben"; the Doric colonists in *Byzantium* adopted the name of the place in which they settled.<sup>22</sup> Ed. Schwyzler,<sup>23</sup> H. Krahe<sup>24</sup> and Fr. v. Duhn<sup>25</sup> accept this explanation; moreover, Krahe<sup>26</sup> cites the parallel Illyric derivation: *Οἶδας*, gen. *Οἶδαντος*, ethnikon *Οἶδαντες* and *Οἰδάντιον πόλις Ἰλλυριῶν* (Theopompus *ap.* Steph. Byz.). Russu, to be sure, rejects the Illyrism of the "legendary" eponymous *Byzas* as less than probable, for the presence of the Illyrians in Thracian territory would be a baseless assertion.<sup>27</sup>

What can we decide about the origin of the name?

The Greek form *Bύζας* (nom.) is certainly from *\*Bύζαντος* as is shown by the oblique cases in *Βυζαντ-*; the Latin form *Byzas*<sup>28</sup> following the Greek declension is obviously a late borrowing from the Greek. The full grade *Beuz*<sup>29</sup> in view of Greek *Bύζας* is contained in the following names of Illyrian origin: Julius Beuzas (Dalmatia) *CIL* 3.9156, Titus Beusantis qui et Bradua *CIL* 3, p. 948, Julius B(e)usas (in Saloniae) *CIL* 13.7509, Batoni Beusantis (Dalmatia) *CIL* 13.6538, Beusas Sutti f. Delmat(a) *ibid.* 7509, Beuzas, etc.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>20</sup> "Das nt-Suffix," *Glotta* 14 (1925) 94 f.; cf. *Revue intern. des études balkaniques* 1 (1934-35) 385.

<sup>21</sup> P. Kretschmer, "Βυζάντιον," *Eis mnēmēn Spyr. Lamprou* (Athens, 1935) 217.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 218; cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 27 (1939) 16.

<sup>23</sup> *Griech. Grammatik* (Munich, 1939) 66, 526.

<sup>24</sup> *Die Welt als Geschichte*, 3 (1937) 287 note 20.

<sup>25</sup> *Italische Gräberkunde*, 2 (Heidelberg, 1939) 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.* (above, note 12) 554.

<sup>28</sup> *Thesaurus linguae latinae, Nomina propria*, s.v. "Byzas," col. 2270; Forcellini, *Lexicon iolius latinilatis, Onomasticon*, s.v. "Byzas," 295a (J. Perin).

<sup>29</sup> P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 14.95.

<sup>30</sup> *TLL, Nomina propria* s.v. "Beusas," 1952; cf. W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen* (Abhandlungen d. k. Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, philol.-

The names Βύζης (gen. -ου), an artist in Naxos at the time of Astyages, cf. Paus. 5.10.3 (Βύζεω παῖς),<sup>31</sup> Βύζης (gen. -ου),<sup>32</sup> Βύζης, a Thracian dynast,<sup>33</sup> Βύζης, α ἡγεμὼν Κρήτης, Βύζος in an inscription of Macedonia,<sup>34</sup> are to be connected with Βύζας; Βύζης and Βύζας are, moreover, identical according to Jokl, but the ancient tradition was inaccurate in reproducing the vowel nuances.<sup>35</sup> Cf. also the names *Busa* f., name of an Apulian woman,<sup>36</sup> *Busia* CIL 9.689, *Busidius* (Canusium) CIL 6.28541, *Buzetia*.<sup>37</sup> The Thracian root Βυζ- is seen also in Βυζία, name of a fountain in Thrace (from an adj. \*Βυζιο-?), Βύζη, name of the daughter of the river god Erasinus, Βύζηες, Βαπβύζης.<sup>38</sup> On the evidence of so many Illyrian and Thracian names the older opinion that Byzas was no historical person<sup>39</sup> has to be abandoned; we admit with Kretschmer<sup>40</sup> that Byzas was indeed the founder of the city.

In view of the fact that *Buz-* occurs in Illyric and Thracian names, one cannot decide whether the root in *Byzantion* is exclusively Illyric or Thracian. As is well known, a definitive separation of Thracian and Illyrian elements is a difficult task for us today, since proper nouns show equal stems (and often equal suffixes, e.g. the suffix -στ-) and the languages of the Thracians and Illyrians were closely related.<sup>41</sup> In our particular case we might decide for Illyrian origin of the name Βύζας, if we would follow the theory that Thracian proper nouns are usually compounds.<sup>42</sup>

hist. Kl., N.F., 5.2) (Berlin, 1904) 38 note 2; cf. also P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 14.95; Tomaschek, *BB* 9 (1885) 96; J. Whatmough, *Language* 3 (1928) 228; Krahe, *Lexikon* (above, note 1) 21. (*BB* = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.)

<sup>31</sup> Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker* 16; C. Robert, *RE* s.v. "Byzes," 1160; Jokl, in *RV* 13 (1929) 283a. (*RV* = Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*.)

<sup>32</sup> Tomaschek, *ibid.*; Russu, *op. cit.* (above, note 12) 555.

<sup>33</sup> See Niese, *RE* s.v. "Byzes," Suppl. 1, col. 266.

<sup>34</sup> Forcellini, *Onomasticon* 292b.

<sup>35</sup> Jokl, in *RV* 1 (1924) 91b.

<sup>36</sup> Forcellini, *Onomasticon ibid.*; Krahe, *Lexikon* 26.

<sup>37</sup> Schulze, *loc. cit.*; cf. Krahe, *op. cit.* 27.

<sup>38</sup> Miller, *RE* s.v. "Byzantion," 1127; cf. Russu, *op. cit.* 556.

<sup>39</sup> Miller, *RE* s.v. "Byzas," 1158.

<sup>40</sup> *Loc. cit.* (above, note 29) 95.

<sup>41</sup> After V. Hehn — O. Schrader, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*<sup>7</sup> (Berlin, 1902) 544 and H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1889) 300, see Aug. Fick, *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* (Göttingen, 1909) 29; N. Jokl, in *RV* s.v. "Thraker," 1 (1924) 91b; s.v. "Illyrier," 6 (1929) 43b and 45a.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. A. Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen* (Göttingen, 1874) lxxv; especially W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, 1 (and 52); Al. Philippide, *Originea Romînilor* (Origin of the Roumanians) (Iași, 1935) 1.653 ff. (cf. J. Jordan, *Zeitschr. f. roman.*

As regards the suffix in *Byzant-*, it is not certain whether there underlies the name a suffix *-nt-* or *-ant-*. The suffix *-nt-* is Thracian in place-names like 'Αβαντες 'Euboea,' Βριαντική, 'Ρήβανς -αντος, 'Ρηβαντία, Μελαντιάς, Κόρσαντος, Τρίβαντα, ethnikon *Clevant[ini]*, etc. and in the personal names *Rescentus*, *Drulens -entis*, Μουκάντιος.<sup>43</sup> Jokl takes *-ant-* as both Illyrian and Thracian.<sup>44</sup> The suffix *-nt-* is Illyrian, e.g. the Dardanian name 'Αρριβάντιον (Ptolemy 3.9) from a personal name 'Αρριβαντ- which reminds one of 'Αρριβαῖος,<sup>45</sup> *Tarant-* from *Tara-nt-* 'located at Tara river.'<sup>46</sup> Kretschmer's Illyric claim for the personal name *Beuzant-* is based on the parallel Illyric names from Italy.

The *io-*formation of the place-name *Byzant-io-* would be, according to Kretschmer, Phrygian (i.e. Thracian), while the city was founded by Illyrians; this opinion is based on the fact that *-io-*formations occur in Illyrian,<sup>47</sup> cf. 'Αρριβάντιον in Dardania, the above cited Οιδάντιον, etc. and in Phrygian Μιδάιον (Μίδας), Κοτυάιον (Κότυς), Δορυλάιον (Δορύλας), Δοκίμιον (Δόκιμος), Δασκύλιον (Δάσκυλος), Μανήσιον (Μάνης) etc.<sup>48</sup> The name *Byzantion* is accordingly an adjectival derivative from a personal name and the derivative expresses relationship of the place to a person (thus also in Italic and Germanic).<sup>49</sup>

*Philol.* 48 [1928] 727 note 1). Krahe has proved that Illyrian possessed the IE name formation of compounds too and has assembled a list of 32 such compound names; see *Lexikon* 152-159. Not accessible to me was Al. Rosetti, *Istoria limbii române* 2 (1938) 53, maintaining Thracian origin of the name Βύζας; cf. however G. Bonfante, *Language* 18 (1942) 290.

<sup>43</sup> See references in Russu, *op. cit.* (above, note 12) 556 f.

<sup>44</sup> Jokl, in *RV* s.v. "Illyrier," 6 (1926) 34a, 44a.

<sup>45</sup> P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1896) 246; cf. N. Jokl, *op. cit.* 34a. H. Krahe analyzes 'Αρριβάντιον and Σκαρ-βαντία and sees in the second member of the compounds the same word as Osc. *Bantia*; see H. Krahe, *Lexikon* 153, *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* (Heidelberg, 1925) 82, and "Zum oskischen Dialekt von Bantia," *Glotta* 19 (1931) 150.

<sup>46</sup> Kretschmer, *Glotta* 14.87-89; in Saxony there is another *Tharandt* (H. Agde, *Bronzezeitliche Kulturgruppen im mittleren Elbegebiet* [Leipzig, 1939] 67) near which an Illyrian sanctuary has been found; cf. Fr. Messerschmidt, Fr. v. Duhn's *Italische Gräberkunde* 2.342.

<sup>47</sup> P. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 14.95 note 3; H. Krahe, *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen*, 75-77.

<sup>48</sup> P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung* 183; cf. *Glotta* 21 (1933) 254; *Eis mnēmên Spyr. Lamprou* 217; cf. Russu, *op. cit.* 557.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. F. Solmsen, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte*, ed. E. Fraenkel (Heidelberg, 1922) 67, 73.

## 2. Νέα 'Ρώμη

The former "Byzantion" was called Νέα 'Ρώμη (translated from *Nova Roma*), i.e. New Rome, beginning in the fourth century A.D.;<sup>50</sup> this name was an official parallel to others such as simple ἡ Νέα, δευτέρα 'Ρώμη, Ἄλμα 'Ρώμα (from Latin *Alma Roma*), Βυζαντιὰς 'Ρώμη, ἔφα 'Ρώμη, Latin *Roma Constantinopolitana*.<sup>51</sup> According to Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.16, Constantine the Great himself ordered the city to be called Νέα 'Ρώμη.<sup>52</sup> But the name δευτέρα 'Ρώμη (and *altera Roma* in Porphyry. 4.5 et seq.) points out clearly enough that Constantinople was for the emperor Constantine rather a second Rome, not a Νέα 'Ρώμη.<sup>53</sup> The new city was to receive equal rank with Rome (Sozomen. 2.3); "by this name [i.e. New Rome] that Constantine gave to his new capital he made it evident that he regarded himself as merely moving Rome from the Tiber to the Bosphorus."<sup>54</sup> This name has survived officially, especially in the title of the patriarch.

## 3. Κωνσταντινούπολις

The Byzantine capital has generally been called Κωνσταντινούπολις since the fourth century.

Κωνσταντινούπολις is used of three places: (1) the city on the Bosphorus, (2) a castle in Isauria (Suidas s.v. "Ζήνων"), (3) Salamis in Cyprus (*Argumentum ad Isocrat. Orat.* [*Oratores Attici*, 2.483.76.25]

<sup>50</sup> References in Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.* (above, note 9) s.v. "'Ρώμη," 1319b. See also *Concile de Constantin* 381, canon 3, νέαν 'Ρώμην: Mansi, *Concilia* 3.560.

<sup>51</sup> Δευτέρα 'Ρώμη, *Chron. Pasch.* 1.529 line 17 (*Chronica minora* 1.233); 'Ρώμην δευτέραν χρηματίζειν ἀναγορεύσας, *Chron. Pasch.*, MPG 92.709; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.16; cf. also W. Ensslin, *Gnomon* 7 (1931) 262. Cf. Mombricitius, *Sanctuarium* 12.11.27 et seq.: Praeterea Constantinus cum genetrice sua Helena *secundam Romam* quae Constantinopolis dicitur, aedificaverat. Cf. Pape-Benseler, *loc. cit.*

Ἄλμα 'Ρώμα, Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.9, ed. Bidez (Leipzig, 1913) 28.1, and Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* Cod. Angel.; it is certainly from Latin *Alma Roma*.

About 'Ανθοῦσα (analogous to Latin *Flora*) as the eternal name, a priestly secret name, instead of Νέα 'Ρώμη or Κωνσταντινούπολις, see Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Konstantins*, first ed. 1880 (Leipzig, 1924) 434 and rightly against him, Chr. Coleman, *Constantine the Great and Christianity* (New York, 1914) 149, note 3.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 5.25; Sozomenus 2.2-3; cf. Ducange, *Constantinopolis christiana* (1680) 1.6; Coleman, *op. cit.* 148; K. Hönn, *Konstantin der Grosse, Leben einer Zeitwende* (Leipzig, 1940) 151.

<sup>53</sup> See A. Schneider, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 202 (1940) 209.

<sup>54</sup> Lloyd B. Holsapple, *Constantine the Great* (New York, 1942) 306. Like Rome, so New Rome also lay on seven hills and thence the epithet επτάλοφος; "From Seraglio Point can be seen six other hills, so that the New Rome might readily bear an outward resemblance to the City of the Seven Hills on the Tiber. It is doubtful if Constantine's city included all seven hills" (*ibid.* 308 f.).

ἐβασίλευσε Σαλαμίνος, μιᾷς πόλεως ἐν Κύπρῳ τῆς νῦν Κωνσταντίνου καλουμένης καὶ μητροπόλεως οὔσης πάσης τῆς Κύπρου).<sup>55</sup>

The first of these three places, the capital of the Byzantine empire, was founded, as is well known, by Constantine the Great (306–337 A.D.), in remembrance of the victory over Licinius, and thus bore the victor's name, Κωνσταντινούπολις.<sup>56</sup> The new name was first given in 324 A.D.<sup>57</sup> The old name was readily replaced by Κωνσταντινούπολις; changes of name in the case of great cities to honor the ruling monarch were usual in Roman times, as *Justinianoupolis* (thrice) for the former name *Hadrianoupolis*.<sup>58</sup>

All of the following were official names of the city: Κωνσταντινούπολις, ἡ Κωνσταντίνου πόλις and ἡ Κωνσταντίνου.<sup>59</sup> The name Κωνσταντινούπολις is, however, the name generally used by the historians, beginning with Priscus and Zosimus.<sup>60</sup>

Its composition with -πολις as the second part is normal, like Engl. -town (-ton), Germ. -burg and -stadt (-stett, -stetten), French

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.* (above, note 9) 752, and Egli, *Nomina geographica*<sup>2</sup> 504a; Arles also bore Constantine's name; see *Numismatique Constantinienne* 2 (Paris, 1911) 179, 230; J. Maurice, *Constantin le Grand, l'origine de la civilisation chrétienne* (Paris, 1924) 19. The city *Cirta* likewise bore Constantine's name; see Maurice, *op. cit.* 51.

<sup>56</sup> Anonymus, *Excerpta Valesiana* (MGH, Auctores antiquissimi 9) 10: Constantinus ex se Byzantium Constantinopolim nuncupavit ob insignis victoriae (memoriam); Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.* (ed. Bidez, p. 20) 2.9: τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν μετασκευάσαι (MPG 65.472: Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν); Sozomenus, *Eccl. hist.* (ed. R. Hussey 1.111, Oxford, 1860) 2.3: νέαν Ῥώμην Κωνσταντινούπολιν ὠνόμασε; *Chron. Paschal.* 1 (Bonn, 1832) 528: καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν; *ibid.* 527, line 15: Κωνσταντινούπολιν (ms. R: Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν) κέκληκε. Cf. Oberhummer, *RE* 4.963 and Benjamin, "Constantin der Grosse," *ibid.* 4.109; Hönn, *op. cit.* (above, note 52) 151. Constantinople is called 'his' city (i.e. the city of the Emperor Constantine) by Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.48: τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν, 5.4: τῆς βασιλέως πόλεως and ἡ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμος πόλις; cf. L. Bréhier, "Constantin et la fondation de Constantinople," *Revue Historique* 119 (1915) 271; Coleman, *op. cit.* (above, note 51) 151. The city of Constantinople appears personified on coins; cf. Regling, *op. cit.* (above, note 7) 111b.

<sup>57</sup> J. Maurice, "Les origines de Constantinople" in *Société nationale des antiquités de France, Centenaire 1804–1904, Recueil de Mémoires* (Paris, 1904) 289; *idem*, *Numismatique Constantinienne* 468f. Cf. D. Lathoud, *Échos d'Orient* 23 (1924) 293 and Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéol. chrétienne et de liturgie* 2 (1925) 1364. References also in Coleman, *op. cit.* 148, that the city was called Κωνσταντινούπολις within the lifetime of its founder. The first stone for the new city was laid by Constantine on November 4, 326 and the settlement is said to have been completed on May 11, 330; cf. Holsapple, *op. cit.* (above, note 54) 310; differently Th. Preger, "Das Gründungsdatum von Konstantinopel," *Hermes* 36 (1901) 336–342.

<sup>58</sup> See P. Skok, *Zeitschr. f. Ortsnamenf.* 7 (1931) 36. About renaming cf. E. Sturtevant, *Linguistic Change* (Chicago, 1917) 124.

<sup>59</sup> Hönn, *op. cit.* (note 52) 248.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Oberhummer, *RE* s.v. "Constantinopolis," 965.

-ville, etc.<sup>61</sup> The first part of the compound is the integral genitive *Κωνσταντίνου*, as in *Ἀδριανούπολις*, *Ἀλεξανδρούπολις*, *Φιλιππούπολις*, and so forth.<sup>62</sup> The forms *Κωνσταντινόπολις* (in the *Chronicle of Morea*, P 470, ed. J. Schmitt, and in the *Chronicle of Makhaïras*, 1.326, ed. R. Dawkins), *Κωσταντινόπολις* (CIG 9882) and *Κωσταντινόπολι* (usual today) present -ο- (instead of ου) as a composition vowel, as, e.g. in *Ἀδριανόπολις* (Lat. *Hadrianopolis*), parallel with *Ἀδριανούπολις* from *Ἀδριανού πόλις*, *Ἀλεξανδρόπολις* (Lat. *Alexandropolis*), parallel with *Ἀλεξανδρούπολις*, *Φιλιππόπολις* parallel with *Φιλιππούπολις*, and so on; the forms in -όπολις, due to the analogy of the corresponding ethnika in -οπολίτης, occur frequently. The composition vowel -ο- is regular in the derivation of the ethnikon, as it appears in *Ἡλιοπολίτης* (Herodotus) from *Ἡλίου πόλις*, old; thus to the names ending in -ου πόλις, the ending -όπολις as a secondary form gradually comes to the fore; we know that in the Hellenistic period the -ο- vowel penetrated compounds ending in -ούπολις.<sup>63</sup> Thereon cf. the Latin name form *Constantinopolis* (*Codex Theodos.* 2.10.4, a. 324; Cassiod., *Chron. min.* 2.151, a. 332; Anon., *Excerpta Valesiana*, cited above note 56). This Latin name was transplanted to all modern languages through Latin peoples, generally with a slight adaptation of the word-endings, e.g. French *Constantinople*, Engl. *Constantinople*,<sup>64</sup> Germ. *Konstantinopel*, etc.

The ethnikon *Κωνσταντινουπολίτης* occurs relatively seldom (e.g. once in Theoph. 398, ed. de Boor).<sup>65</sup> The form *Κωνσταντινοπολίτης* with -ο-, which occurs in Steph. Byz. and in *Etymol. Magnum* 217.28, was regularly derived; just as from *Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις*, *Ἡλίου πόλις*, *Προξένου πόλις*, etc. come the ethnika *Ἀρχανδροπολίτης*, *Ἡλιοπολίτης*, *Προξενοπολίτης*,<sup>66</sup> etc., so from *Κωνσταντίνου πόλις* or *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, from *Ἀδριανού πόλις* or *Ἀδριανούπολις* the following forms are to be

<sup>61</sup> G. Cousin, *De urbibus quarum nominibus vocabulum πόλις finem faciebat* (Nanceii, 1904) s.v. Cf. F. Solmsen-E. Fraenkel, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte* 64; M. Förster, *Zeitschr. f. Ortsnamenf.* 4 (1928) 97 f.

<sup>62</sup> See Cousin, *ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> See Cousin. *op. cit.* 20; J. Wackernagel, *Glotta* 14 (1925) 37 f.; Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.446 note 3.

<sup>64</sup> Analogous to modern English *Constantinople* (ending in -nople) the place-name *Zelienople* was created (from *Zelie Basse*); see Förster, *op. cit.* (above, note 61) 98.

<sup>65</sup> Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*

<sup>66</sup> A. Fick, *BB* 23 (1897) 14. Cf. the composition vowel -ο- also in *Νέα πόλις* : *Νεοπολίτας* (Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* [Göttingen, 1905] 44), *Ῥοδιάπολις* : *Ῥοδιαπολίτης* and *Ῥοδιοπολίτης* (K. Hauser, *Grammatik der griechischen Inschriften Lykiens* [Basel, 1916] 156).

expected: Κωνσταντινοπόλις, Ἀδριανοπόλις; cf. also what has been said just above about the names ending in -όπολις.

The forms Κωσταντινούπολις, without the first -ν-, which occurs for all the three mentioned places instead of Κωνσταντινούπολις, e.g. Steph. Byz. s.v. (*ibidem* also Κωνσταντινοπόλις) and in inscriptions (e.g. *CIG* 14.2354) and papyri of the third and fourth centuries A.D., and Κωσταντινόπολις (*CIG* 9882) may be explained together with the simple form Κωσταντῖνος, etc., in my opinion, not through dissimilation of the consonants ( $n + n > - + n$ ) but much better through dropping out of the -n- in the consonant cluster -nst-, which is regularly simplified by loss of the nasal in mediaeval and modern Greek, as well as in Latin itself (*CIL* 3.7151 *Constantinopolī*).

In fact, the forms with -νστ- occur often of course in the written records, but beside these occur forms with -στ- (without -ν-). Eckinger gathered 102 forms, of which 86 have -νστ- and 16 -στ-;<sup>67</sup> Κωσταντῖνος in an inscription (*Inscriptiones Graecae Italiae et Siciliae*, 956 A and B) of about 313 A.D., in another (*CIG* 9891) of 409 A.D., Κωστάντιος (written -σστ-) in an inscription of Tegea of 293–305 A.D. (*CIG* 1522a);<sup>68</sup> likewise Κωσταντῖνος (*CIL* 7.7175, *CIG* 14.2559), Κωσταντῖνον in papyri of 307 and 313 A.D. (beside Κωνσταντῖνον 294, 307, 346 A.D.), Κωσταντίου and Κώσταντος (beside Κωνστ-) in papyri of 346 A.D., etc.<sup>69</sup> The loss of -n- in -nst- occurs in ancient Greek also<sup>70</sup> as well as Vulgar Latin.<sup>71</sup> These forms along with the spoken modern Greek Κωσταντῖνος, Κωσταντῖς, Κώστας, Κωστάκις, etc.<sup>72</sup> reflect Latin forms *Costantinus*, *CIL* 6.2457 etc., *Costas*, *CIL* 6.2495 etc. (from *Constas* which is found in *CIL* 6.32892 etc. and this from

<sup>67</sup> Th. Eckinger, *Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften* (Munich, 1892) 116.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Eckinger, *ibid.* 113, 116; Κουσταντῖνον in a Milesian inscription, see Anton Scherer, *Zur Laut- und Formenlehre der milesischen Inschriften* (Munich, 1934) 45 note 1.

<sup>69</sup> C. Wessely, "Die lateinischen Elemente in der Gräzität der ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden," *Wiener Studien* 25 (1903) 60; cf. B. Meinersmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter und Namen in den griechischen Papyri* (Leipzig, 1927) 80; Fr. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922) 189 f.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. anc. Gr. κεστός (\*κενστός), συσπῶ, ἐκατόζυγος (-dz- from -ndz-), τριακοστός, ἐκατόστομος and ἐκατόστυλος (-στ- from -νστ-); see G. Hadzidakis, *Akadēmeika anagnōsmata* 1 (Athens, 1924) 436; Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.593.

<sup>71</sup> Generally *ns* after a vowel lost the *n*, perhaps through the intermediate stage of a nasalized vowel + *s*; thus *cosol*, *cēsor*, *forēsia*, etc. Vulgar Latin had no nasal; see E. Kieckers, *Historische lateinische Grammatik* (Munich, 1930) 69.

<sup>72</sup> Κώστας, Κωνσταντῖνος, Κωνσταντῖνάκις, etc. in mediaeval Greek, parallel to the forms without -ν-: Κώστας, *Leo Gramm.* 155.20; see St. Psaltes, *Gramm. d. byz. Chroniken* (Göttingen, 1913) 102. Mod. Gr. Κωσταντῖς, -ῖνα, Κώστας, Κωστάκις, etc.

*Constans*, CIL 10.362, etc.), *Costantius* 6.2651.<sup>73</sup> Thus we may conclude that even the emperor's name was probably pronounced Κωσταντῖνος by Greeks as well as Latin-speaking peoples.<sup>74</sup>

#### 4. Πόλις

The name Πόλις, shorter and therefore preferable, is found very early and often. It perhaps occurs for the first time in the ecclesiastical historian Socrates (fifth century, 380–439);<sup>75</sup> it soon became usual and still is the common form in Modern Greek: ἡ Πόλι.

The name Πόλις 'Constantinople' has commonly been explained as the name of the city par excellence,<sup>76</sup> just as ἄστυ meant Athens

(cf. Athan. Boutouras, *Ta neohellénika kyria onomata* [Athens, 1912] 74 f., who gives no explanation for the forms without -ν-). Cf. also the Byz. appellative κωνσταντινῶτων, the word for a Byz. gold coin named after the emperor Constantine X Doucas (1059–67; from his name Δούκας it is called δουκάτον) and mod. Gr. κωνσταντινάτο.

<sup>73</sup> TLL, *Onomasticon*, s.v. "Constantinus," 2.573, s.v. "Constans," *ibid.* 569; Forcellini, *Lex. tot. lat., Onomasticon* s.v. "Constantius," 1.412c.

<sup>74</sup> "So even before the city was named, the *ν* in the emperor's name was probably mainly orthographic, rarely pronounced by either Latin-speaking or Greek-speaking citizens" (according to the referee of this paper).

<sup>75</sup> Socrates 676 B (MPG 67.678 B): Βεβαρβάρωτο οὖν ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν μυριάδων . . . Τσοῦτος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἐπικρεμασθεὶς τῇ πόλει κίνδυνος . . . (the passage is mentioned in Sophocles' *Lexicon* s.v. and by Hesselung, *REG* 3.191). But since the immediately preceding text speaks about Κωνσταντίνου πόλις, the word πόλις in the cited passage may be a simple appellative πόλις (= the city) and so it may have meant "the mentioned city," i.e. Constantinople. In any case, Πόλις 'Constantinople' must have been usual at the very latest in the tenth century, because *Bōlin* (*Bulín*) is used by the Arab geographer Al-Mas'ūdī; see G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905) 138 = (1930) 138 note. The name Πόλις 'Constantinople' is found also in Michael Acominatos 2.354.20 and 355.8 (ed. Sp. Lambros), in a *monódia* to Theodoros Prodromos (†1154) written by his pupil Nicetas Eugenianos (cf. *Studi bizantini* 4 [1935] 228), and in *βροντολογία*: *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum* 10.61.6–7: εἰς τὴν πόλιν στερῶμα . . . , 141: εἰς τὴν Πόλιν χαρά, 135: στενοχωρία καὶ θλίψις τῇ Πόλει, 141: ἐὰν βροντήσῃ ἄλωσις Πόλεως (date unknown); cf. A. Vasiliev, *Byzantium* 16 (1944) 496. And the fact that Πολίτης 'inhabitant of Constantinople' occurs as early as the seventh century (see below, part 4) means that the name Πόλις too was usual in the same century.

<sup>76</sup> The historian Doucas, *Histor. Byz.* chap. 41 (ed. Bonn, 1834, p. 306, line 12 f.), has this to say of Constantinople: πόλεων πασῶν κεφαλὴ . . . κέντρον τῶν τεσσάρων τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν. — This explanation of the name is old enough: "πόλιν enim nullam aliam urbem vocant Graeci, nam solam Constantinopolim, sed alias omnes urbes vocant castra . . . ; ab isto igitur στὴν πόλιν Turcae fecerunt doricε σταμπόλ mutato η in α," says Niceph. Romanus Thessalonicensis (seventeenth century), *Grammatica linguae graecae vulgaris*, ed. J. Boyens (Liège, 1908) 14; cf. Jacquet, *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. 9 (1832) 458. See also J. A. C. Buchon, *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises pendant le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1875) 764b; Sophocles' *Greek Lexicon* s.v. "πόλις"; Oberhummer, *loc. cit.* (above, note 60). Cf. also, for instance, Sc. Byzantios, *Constantinopolis christiana* 1.59 and *Lexikon tês kath' hêmas*

to the Athenians (Herodot. 1.62), *urbs* indicated Rome to the Romans,<sup>77</sup> *town* London to the Englishmen.<sup>78</sup> This explanation still persists but was refuted by P. Kretschmer<sup>79</sup> with good arguments. The appellation ἄστυ usual among the inhabitants of Attica for their city (Athens), was not usual outside of Attica and never won the value of a real proper name; the same applies with reference to the Latin *urbs* for Rome; similarly the word *town* or *city* has not been able to replace the name *London* (on the last name see further below).

Instead, the same scholar gives another explanation of the town-name Πόλις, supposing an abbreviation of the unusually long compound Κωνσταντινούπολις to Πόλις, for Πόλι (Πόλης, genitive in a document of the thirteenth century) is the name of the Cretan provincial

*dialectou*<sup>3</sup> (Athens-Constantinople, 1874) 394 s.v. "Πόλι"; H. Moritz, *Die Zunamen bei den byzant. Historikern und Chronisten* 2 (Landshut, 1897–8) 36 note 1; J. Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea* (London, 1904) 632; S. Pétridès, "La lettre de Psenosiris," *Échos d'Orient* 7 (1904) 19b; D. C. Hesselung, *Essai sur la civilisation byzantine* (Paris' 1907) 5; K. Krumbacher, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 18 (1909) 255; J. H. Mordtmann, *Enzyklopädie des Islam* 1 (1913) s.v. "Constantinopel" 904a; A. Andréadès, "De la population de Constantinople sous les empereurs byzantins," *Metron* 1 (Rovigo, 1920) 69 note 2; P. Lorentzatos, *Homêricon lexikon* (Thessaloniki, 1925) 316b s.v. "πόλις"; H. Güntert, *Grundfragen der Sprachwissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1925) 76 f.; Amantos, *ByzZ* 28 (1928) 22 f. and *Historia tou byzantinou kratous* 1 (Athens, 1939) 20; S. Krauss, *Byz.-neugriech. Jahrb.* 7 (1930) 81; *Eleutheroudakes Enkyklopaïdikon Lexikon* (Athens) s.v. "Κωνσταντινούπολις, 8.384a, and s.v. "πόλη," 10.765a; Vasiliev, *Histoire byzantine* (Paris, 1932) 74; Pr. Costas, *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language* (Chicago, 1936) 114; A. Philippson, *Das byzant. Reich als geographische Erscheinung* (Leiden, 1939) 25.

On Alexandria as the πόλις par excellence cf. Dionys. of Alexandria in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.11.24: ἐν τῇ πόλει . . . ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ; *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 1.72: οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει πραγματευόμενοι ἀπὸ φορμουθί νεομηνίας, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὁμοίως ἀπὸ παχῶν; Steph. Byz. s.v. "Ἀλεξάνδρεια": ἐλέγετο δὲ κατ' ἐξοχὴν πόλις καὶ πολίται ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἄστυ αἱ Ἀθῆναι καὶ ἄστοι (καὶ ἄστικοί) οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. (As an *argumentum ex silentio* it may be noticed that Stephanus does not say the same for Constantinople.) Probably taking Stephanus as his source, Eustathius, in *Il.* B.376, says: Φέρεται γὰρ ἱστορία πόλιν τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο δίχα προσθήκης, κατ' ἐξοχὴν κληθῆναι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν (*Commentarii ad Homerum* 239.12; also 349.35; 1383.3; 1650.42; similarly *Commentarius ad Dionysium Periegetam* 261.35; *G.G.M.* 2, pages 261–2 note 254); cf. also Pétridès, *loc. cit.*; A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano*, s.v. "Ἀλεξάνδρεια" (Cairo, 1935) 58.

<sup>77</sup> Rome itself was called πόλις, cf. Epictetus 1.10.5: Νῦν οὖν τί ἐποίησε; πρὶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ παρὰ Καίσαρος πινακίδες (before this occurrence the name 'Ρώμη is found thrice in the same chapter).

<sup>78</sup> Jerusalem was named simply *el kuds* 'the sanctuary' by the Arabs; cf. J. Armstrong in Moritz, *loc. cit.* (above, note 76).

<sup>79</sup> Kretschmer, "Das Kürzungsprinzip in Ortsnamen," *Jagid-Festschrift* (Berlin, 1908) 553-f.; against him Krumbacher, *ByzZ* 18 (1908) 255, defends the old explanation.

town 'Αργυρούπολις<sup>80</sup> (on the site of ancient Lappa<sup>81</sup>); in addition Kretschmer compares the following examples: Φράδμων for Πολυφράδμων, Modern Greek μόρτης (in the main meaning 'Totengräber') 'vagabond, tramp' (also the personal name Μόρτης) from Italian *beccamorti* (this according to G. Meyer, *Neugriech. Stud.* 4.53), etc.<sup>82</sup>

I mention two possible explanations.

It is possible that from the beginning, i.e. from the time of the foundation of Constantinople (fourth century), the simple Πόλις for Constantinople (parallel to the compound word Κωνσταντινούπολις) was used without reference to the compound name and without thinking of the city par excellence; in this case Πόλις would have been taken straight from the subst. πόλις.<sup>83</sup> However, an appellative, as is well known, is seldom used as a place-name without another determinative word.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, from the substantive

<sup>80</sup> The town is called Πόλι also today; τῆς Πόλης is found in a contract made between Venice and Kallierges in 1299, while *Stinboli* stands in the Latin text; see St. Xanthoudides, "Synthēkē Enetōn kai Kalliergou," *Athēna* 14 (1902) 305. The name 'Αργυρόπολις was usual before 1669, disappeared under the Turkish rule (1669–1822) and was replaced by the Turkish name *Stambólköj* during the years 1868–78. Only since 1878 has the place again been called 'Αργυρούπολις or 'Αργυρόπολις and shortly Πόλις (according to G. Kalaizakes, *Parnassos* 15 [1892] 615 ff.). In the seventeenth century the name was replaced by the humorous names Σαμαρόπολις and Γαῖδαρόπολις (so Kalaizakes, *loc. cit.*) or by Γαῖδουρόπολις (so Rob. Pashley, *Travels in Crete* 1 (1837) 82 and note; Xanthoudides, *op. cit.* 305 note). The explanation of Kalaizakes, according to which 'Αργυρόπολις sprang from the Byz. personal name 'Αργυρόπουλοι, is wrong. In my opinion 'Αργυρόπολις is surely the original form, etymologically from ἀργυρόπολις (ἀργυρος, πόλις), since for the same place also the names 'Ασημόπολις ('silver town') and Χρυσόπολις ('gold town') are mentioned (cf. Büchner, see the following note); nearby there is an old silver mine (see R. Dawkins, "The Place-Names in Later Greece," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1933, 12). Probably there is no syncope here, as Krumbacher *loc. cit.* (above, note 79) had already noted; the proper name Πόλι rather was derived from the appell. πόλις. Another new name 'Αργυρόπολις (since 1848) for the small town south of Trapezous in Pontus is a Greek learned translation of the original Turkish name *Gümüş-hané* 'silver town'; see Demosth. Oeconomides, *Archeion Pontou* 3 (1931) 145.

<sup>81</sup> See Büchner, *RE* s.v. "Lappa" (1), 787.

<sup>82</sup> Kretschmer, *loc. cit.* 554; cf. also *Glotta* 2 (1910) 346 f. and 16 (1928) 161. Kretschmer reminds us also of *San Francisco* > *Frisco* or compounds such as *Richardsdorf* > *Rixdorf* (*Glotta* 24 [1936] 228 note 2).

<sup>83</sup> On the etymon of the word πόλις from IE *polis*: \**pale-*, see Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleich. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Sprachen* 2.511; cf. É. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque* (Paris, 1916) 802. As for the meaning there is no doubt that πόλις in the fourth century A.D. was 'city' (for modern terms also 'town'). In spoken modern Greek, on the other hand, πολιτεία was, and is in parallel dialectal use, 'city'; in the same way Latin *urbs* was replaced by *civitas* (It. *città*, Fr. *ciité*, etc., from which also Engl. *city*). On the ancient meaning πόλις 'country' see *LSJ* s.v.

<sup>84</sup> See Fick, *BB* 23 (1897) 2.

πόλις the following place-names have sprung: the Acropolis was called Πόλις in Athens; also a small town in Ozolian Locris (Thucyd. 3.101); another Πόλις often occurs on papyri between 270 B.C. (*PHib.* 110.34) and 288–9 A.D. (*PAmh.* II 137, Oxyr.)<sup>85</sup> for the city of Alexandria (see as early as Steph. Byz. s.v. “Ἀλεξάνδρεια”);<sup>86</sup> Πόλι, Modern Greek for a place in Crete;<sup>87</sup> Πόλι, a place in Lesbos (Ajáso); ὅς τὴν Πόλι ὅς τις Λάκκες, a place in Euboea (Stropones); Πόλ’ (= Trapezous) in songs of Trapezous;<sup>88</sup> the old city of Mantinea was called Πτόλις (Pausan. 8.12.7). Also derivatives of πόλις are the place-names: Πόλιον (τό) in the Troad; Πόλιν (τό), a village in Casos and τὰ Κάτω Πόλια in the same place;<sup>89</sup> Πολείδιον, mentioned in Suidas s.v. “Πολίχνη” name of a small town (Laconia, Chios, Sicily, Crete, the Troad);<sup>90</sup> cf. in addition Κώμη in Epirus (Pape-Benseler 751) and seven times today (including once the plural Κῶμες); Χώρα as the name of small towns thirteen times;<sup>91</sup> Χωριό twenty-three times in the Greek linguistic area;<sup>92</sup> most of the examples with χώρα or χωριό are, however, periphrases.<sup>93</sup>

In this case Krumbacher’s explanation<sup>94</sup> would be felicitous, i.e. the capital (Constantinople) was called Πόλις at first in the surrounding district, as *die Stadt* is used in German today, then the name Πόλις gradually expanded farther and farther as the importance of Constantinople increased and that of the provincial towns sank. One cannot refute this possible explanation at present. But in the case of Πόλις ‘Constantinople’ matters are complicated: i.e. the fact that the city was called “Constantine’s city” and this according to clear evidence.

<sup>85</sup> See Fr. Preisigke, *Wörterb. d. griech. Papyrusurkunden* 3.323a; cf. Calderini, *loc. cit.* (above, note 76).

<sup>86</sup> On Πόλις ‘Alexandria’ see G. Lumbroso, *Festschrift f. O. Hirschfeld* (Berlin, 1903) 110; Calderini, *op. cit.* 57–8; but it was also called ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις (see further below).

<sup>87</sup> See above, 359 f.

<sup>88</sup> P. Triandaphyllides, *Oi phygades* (Athens, 1869) 24.

<sup>89</sup> The mediaeval name τὰ Παραπόλια in Thrace, from which also the ethnikon (and the family name) Παραπολίτης was derived (see C. Amantos, *Hellénika* 4 [1931] 80 = *Mikra meletēmata* [Athens, 1940] 346), supposedly belongs to Πόλις ‘Constantinople.’

<sup>90</sup> On the ancient names cf. Fick, *loc. cit.* (above, note 84).

<sup>91</sup> In Byz. times χώρα was used for “town” (e.g. *Chron. of Morea* 226 and *pass.*), as Ital. *terra* was used (Dante, *Inf.* 5.97), also κάστρον. Cf. K. Dieterich, *RhM* 59.229 f.

<sup>92</sup> Also the word κώμη was replaced by χωριόν; cf. Dieterich, *loc. cit.*

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Ἐξω χώρα, Κάτω χώρα, Καημένη χ., Καινούργιο χωριό, Καλὸ χωριό, Κακὸ χ. etc.

<sup>94</sup> *ByzZ* 18.255.

A second explanation would be the following. One could consider the name Πόλις 'Constantinople' as a retrogressive shortening under the influence of the ethnikon Πολίτης 'Constantinople's inhabitant'; this ethnikon would be a contraction of the excessively long compound Κωνσταντινουπολίτης. Πόλις 'Constantinople,' however, is cited much earlier than the ethnikon Πολίτης, and, above all, influence of the derivative word (here Πολίτης) upon the base word (here Πόλις) is a rarity. Therefore the latter possibility is, in my opinion, inadmissible.

Although Kretschmer's explanation could be right — and it is to a degree — I propose, however, a modification of it herewith.

The short form Πόλις 'Constantinople' occurs, as mentioned above, perhaps about the fifth century.

In addition to this form the following forms are also found (admittedly in literary sources):

A. ἡ Κωνσταντίνου πόλις. Socrat. *Hist. eccl.* 1.1.17 (MPG 117.120): οἱ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν οἰκοῦντες;<sup>95</sup> also Steph. Byz. s.v. Κωνσταντινούπολις: δύο μέρη λόγου [i.e. Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν],<sup>96</sup> καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπολίτης;<sup>97</sup> *Anthol.* 4.3 (Tauchnitz, 1829): Κωνσταντίνου πόλις; Cod. Vatic. 997: εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν;<sup>98</sup> Tzetzes 10.192: μέχρι σχεδὸν τῆς πόλεως τῆς Κωνσταντίνου; Phrantzes, *Chronicon* 2.5.141b (ed. J. Papadopoulos): ἡ Κωνσταντίνου πόλις beside Κωνσταντινούπολις; repeatedly in the *Chronicle of Morea*.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.9 (Leipzig, 1913, ed. J. Bidez, page 20) gives Κωνσταντινούπολιν, but according to MPG 65, col. 472, Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. s.v. Ἀμφάξιον: δύο μέρη λόγου, where Ἀμφ' Ἀξιον must also be written; cf. Cousin, *op. cit.* (above, note 61) 146 with note 1.

<sup>97</sup> Cousin, *loc. cit.*

<sup>98</sup> Imm. Bekkeri, *Anecd. Graeca* 3 (1821) 1393a.

<sup>99</sup> *Chron. of Morea* 445: τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν; 7313: στὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν; P 447: τὴν πόλιν . . . τοῦ μέγα Κωνσταντίνου; five times (1202, 2473, 5798, 6274, 7305): τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως. The author had, at the end of the verse, to accent the syllable before the last, but in this accentuation the long Κωνσταντινούπολις hindered him; because of the verse rhythm he would have had to use the periphrastic form (Κωνσταντίνου πόλις), even if it had not been previously in use.

One cannot however accept the suggestion of Th. Preger, *BPhW* 25 (1905) col. 683, i.e. that in the excessively long verse 448, Κωνσταντινούπολιν "dreisilbig Κώσπολιν zu lesen sein dürfte . . . wie noch heutzutage die Form Cospoli ist." Cospoli is never used in Greek speech; it was, I think, an Italian written abbreviation i.e. *Cos/poli* instead of Ital. *Costantinopoli* (cf. our written Κων/πολις = Κωνσταντινούπολις or Θεσσ/νίκη = Θεσσαλονίκη, etc.); from that would have come the Italian levantine name form *Cospoli* which is cited: Meyer's *Conversationslex.*<sup>7</sup> s.v. "Konstantinopel," 6 (1927) col. 1693 (also in the older editions); *Der Grosse Brockhaus* s.v. "Konstantinopel," 10 (1931) 412a; J. Egli, *Nomina geographica*<sup>2</sup> 504 (he refers to

This evidence is sound,<sup>100</sup> and the form *Κωνσταντίνου πόλις* was evidently not only written<sup>101</sup> but spoken also. This same form was represented also in Bulgarian *Kostandinj grad* through translation (beside the Slavic *Tsarigrad*,<sup>102</sup> 'the city of the emperor').

B. ἡ *Κωνσταντίνου*. Euagrius, *Hist. eccl.* 7.26 and 16.28 (while in 6.10 is read ἡ *Κωνσταντίνου ἱερὰ πόλις*); Priscus, fr. 74 (Müller, *FHG* 4.43) and in the *Argumentum* to Isocrates (*Oratores Attici*, as above, 354); twice Psellos, *Chronogr.* (ed. E. Rénaud, Paris 1926–28) 1.69 and 2.80; in a speech of the metropolitan Joseph (fourteenth century): ἐκ τῆς *Κωνσταντίνου*,<sup>103</sup> Mazaris (beginning of the fifteenth century): ἡ *Κωνσταντίνου*.<sup>104</sup>

Compare the town-name ἡ *Ἀδριανοῦ* (up to the present time: ἡ *Ἀδριανοῦ*) for and beside *Ἀδριανόπολις*, not with Kretschmer<sup>105</sup> for Lat. *Adrianopolis*; likewise ἡ *Φιλίππου*, from which came Turkish *Filib(b)é* (this not with Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, from *Philippopolis*; ἡ *Φιλίππου* is from the cited ἡ *Φιλίππου πόλις*); also ἡ *Ἀλεξάνδρου* (Basil. *Epist.* 1, etc.<sup>106</sup> and Latin *in Alexandri*) for ἡ *Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις* (*CIG* 3.4923, in a papyrus [fourth century], and in authors [Pausanias, Libanius, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Theodoretus, Simon Metaphrastes]);<sup>107</sup> likewise ἡ *Ἀλεξανδρέων* (fourth century A.D.) for ἡ *Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλις* or ἡ πόλις τῶν *Ἀλεξανδρέων* (both second century A.D.),<sup>108</sup> likewise there occurs, though seldom, ἡ *Βύζαντος* or ἡ *Βυζαντίων* 'Constantinople'.<sup>109</sup>

Meyer's *Conversationslexikon* 10.225 and explains *Cospoli* from *Κωνσταντινούπολις*; but *Cospoli* is not spoken, as I am informed by people coming from the west part of Asia Minor. Kretschmer's explanation that *Cospoli* presents a syncope, "innere Kürzung" (*Glotta* 2.346 note 1), is unnecessary. The same kind of abbreviation happens in English, e.g. *Hants* (= Hampshire), *Hunts* (= Huntingdonshire); cf. also the established abbreviations of the states in the United States, *Cal.* (California), *Ill.* (Illinois), *Ky.* (Kentucky), also *Ave.* (avenue). See O. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar* 6 (1946) 542.

<sup>100</sup> So Wackernagel, *Glotta* 14 (1925) 37.

<sup>101</sup> Oberhammer, *op. cit.* 964.

<sup>102</sup> On that name see Skok, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.* 35 (1914) 346.

<sup>103</sup> This form after addition of the article τῆς by P. Papageorgiou, "Diorthóseis eis Fontes histor. imperii Trapezuntini," *ByzZ* 11 (1902) 95.

<sup>104</sup> *Epidémia eis Haidou*; A. Ellissen, *Analekten der mittel- und neugriech. Literatur* 4 (1866) 187 and *pass.*

<sup>105</sup> *Jagić-Festschrift* 554.

<sup>106</sup> See Calderini, *op. cit.* (above, note 76) 58.

<sup>107</sup> See references in Calderini, *op. cit.* 57.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* 57.

<sup>109</sup> Eleutheroudakes *Enkyklopaïdikon Lexikon* s.v. "Κωνσταντινούπολις."

Now when we consider that in addition to the compound *Κωνσταντινούπολις* the certainly periphrastic form (with the genitive) *ἡ Κωνσταντίνου πόλις*<sup>110</sup> also occurs and, through ellipsis (i.e. by leaving out the appellative *πόλις*<sup>111</sup>), the simple form *ἡ Κωνσταντίνου*,<sup>112</sup> we may naturally conjecture that also in the short form *Πόλις* 'Constantinople' the genitive of the given name *Κωνσταντίνου* could be left out. Indeed shortenings of the periphrastic place-names with a genitive as the first part happen in two ways, according to A. Fick's observation:<sup>113</sup> on the one hand the genitive remains (thus in Egypt and Libya);<sup>114</sup> on the other hand the main substantive remains.<sup>115</sup>

I suggest consequently that, since the foundation of the city, parallel to the use of the long compound *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, the peri-

<sup>110</sup> Examples of periphrastic place-names with singular genitive are numerous; this was the ruling type in Roman and Byzantine times. Cf. the ancient examples: Homeric *Πριάμοιο πόλις* (= *Τροίη*), *πόλις Ἡερῖωνος* (= *Θήβη*), *Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις*, Herodotean *Ἐρμῆος πόλις*, in the Septuagint *Σκυθῶν πόλις*, and many others, especially in Egypt under the Ptolemies; see Fick, *BB* 23.10 ff., 244; Wackernagel, *loc. cit.* 37; cf. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.446, note 3; D. Georgacas, *Lexikographikon Deltion* (of the Academy of Athens) 1 (1939) 87 note 2; cf. R. Kühner-B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, Zweiter Teil, *Satzlehre*<sup>3</sup> 1 (Hannover-Leipzig, 1898) 264, 268 f.

<sup>111</sup> The appellative *πόλις* is evidently left out as understood. On the ellipsis of a substantive beside a genitive depending on the substantive, see B. Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen* 3 (Strassburg, 1900 = *Grundriss d. vergl. Gramm. d. indg. Sprachen*, 5) 136; Ch. Charitonides, "De figura quae κατ' ἐξοχὴν vocatur," *Mnemosyne* 37 (1909) 180-187, 192, 270; H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*<sup>6</sup> (Halle, 1920) 322 f.; E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* 2 (Lund, 1933) 248 f.; A. E. H. Swaen, "The Elliptical Genitive," *A Grammatical Miscellany Offered to Otto Jespersen* (Copenhagen, 1930) 275-86, esp. 277 f.

<sup>112</sup> If the above mentioned forms *ἡ Κωνσταντίνου πόλις* and *ἡ Κωνσταντίνου* should prove indeed to have been only scholastic, then the abbreviation of *Κωνσταντινούπολις* to *πόλις* must be excluded, and then in that case we have to recognize the origin of the form *Πόλις* from the subst. *πόλις*.

<sup>113</sup> *BB* 23.44.

<sup>114</sup> Examples of periphrastic place-names in which *πόλις* is left out are not lacking in antiquity; thus e.g. *Ἀργίου*, *Μενελάου*, *Νικίου*, *Χαιρέου*, see Meineke on Steph. Byz. s.v. "Μενελάου"; Fick, *op. cit.* 8 f.; O. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen* (Göttingen, 1906) 251.

<sup>115</sup> In mediaeval and modern Greek this case can often be observed. Thus in the place-names *Ἅγιος*, *Ἄγιοι*, *ἵς τοὺς Ἄγιοὺς*, *Ἀγιά*, the name to be determined, as e.g. *Εἰρήνη* (i.e. *Ἀγία Εἰρήνη* > *Ἀγιά*), is left out (however, cf. *Historikon Lexikon Neas Hellénikēs* 1 [1933] 120a) and likewise in other cases the determinative word of the periphrastic place-name is left out, e.g. *Θολόος* in Rhodes and *Θολός* in Thasos and Macedonia stand for *Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος*, *Κατερίνη* in Macedonia stands for *Ἀγία Αἰκατερίνη*, *Λεωνίδα* in Cynouria, *Μερκούρι* in Syme, *Μέρνας* in Crete, *Μιλιανός* in the Peloponnesus (Argolis), *Σοφία* in Samothrace and Bulgaria, etc.; see C. Amantos, *Athēna* 22 (1910) 187-9. The above cases are beyond any possibility of doubt, for the complete name is attested in some way or is conjectured from the existence of a homonymous church located in the place.

phrasis ἡ Κωνσταντίνου πόλις was also in oral use. From that came through ellipsis (i.e. dropping of the genitive Κωνσταντίνου as a near determinative) our short name Πόλι(s), which has been in use from about the fifth century up to today. As probable parallel examples we may mention here: the city name Πόλις 'Alexandria' perhaps from ἡ 'Αλεξάνδρου πόλις,<sup>116</sup> to which belong Πολιτικός (often occurring on papyri) as 'an inhabitant of Alexandria' and Πολιτική 'a female inhabitant of Alexandria';<sup>117</sup> and the name of the Cyprian village Πόλι for 'Αρσινόης πόλις, as Boustronius 23 cites it,<sup>118</sup> to which also the ethnikon Πολίτης 'he who comes from Cyprian Πόλι' refers.<sup>119</sup> Finally we may suggest here that the English name *the City* was not given par excellence but was simply abbreviated from the full name *The City of London*.

In written Greek the opposite ellipsis ἡ Κωνσταντίνου<sup>120</sup> was used by the authors who imitated the archaic language; in the same way

<sup>116</sup> The place-name form ἡ 'Αλεξάνδρου πόλις CIG 3.4923 and in Pausan. 8.33.3; Libanius, *Epist.* 100, ed. Förster, 10.101; Gregor. Naz., *Orat.* 7, in MPG 35.762A; Theodor. *Hist. eccl.* 1.23.7; 5.22.1; Sim. Metaph. in MPG 116.609c; Aelian, *De nat. anim.* 6.15 and *Variae histor.* 12.64; Herodian 7.2.1; Leon. philos. epigr. in *Anthol. Gr.* 9.202; also in Byzant. papyri (see Preisigke, *Wörterb. d. griech. Papyrusurkunden* 3 (1931) 282b. The city was called also ἡ 'Αλεξάνδρου; see references in Calderini, *Dizionario geografico* s.v. "Αλεξάνδρεια" 58; cf. M. Apostolides, *Thrakika* 1 (1924) 339; cf. however Eustathius in *Il.* B 367 (see above, 359); Dionysius of Alexandria in Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 7.11.24.

<sup>117</sup> Πολιτικός 'an inhabitant of Alexandria' was used between the second (125 A.D.: POxy 32) and fifth centuries. An abbot Theodore is called πολιτικός twice (*Vita Pachomii*: Acta Sanctorum, May III p. 39 \*D and p. 43 \*B); another man is called πολιτικός in the same *vita* (*ibid.* p. 43 \*B); Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 3.14.1: τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν Αἰγύπτιος, ὁ δὲ πολιτικός, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς, ὠνομάζετο· ἦν γὰρ τῷ γένει 'Αλεξανδρεὺς. See Giac. Lumbroso, "I papiri editi dai Signori Grenfell, Hunt e Smyly," *Rendic. della Re. Accad. dei Lincei*, Ser. 5, vol. 11 (1902) 586 (πολιτικός 'of the city' in opposition to χώρα, i.e. Αἴγυπτος); P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "Una lettera della persecuzione Diocleziana," *Nuovo bollettino di archeol. cristiana* 8 (1902) 15-25 (πολιτική 'concitoyenne' or 'coreligionnaire'; but it is not true) cf. C. W[eymann], *ByzZ* 12 (1903) 676; Pétridès, *Échos d'Orient* 7.19 (πολιτικός 'an inhabitant of Alexandria' and its fem. ἡ πολιτική); F. Nau, "Sur les mots πολιτικός et πολιτευόμενος," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 11 (1906) 198 and note; Hippol. Delehaye, "Les martyrs d'Égypte," *Analecta Bollandiana* 40 (1922) 5 and 42 (1924) 174; Amantos, "Πολιτικός," *ByzZ* 28 (1922) 22 f. Πολιτική as the name of a woman in a papyrus, see Fr. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922) col. 337.

<sup>118</sup> See S. Menardos, "Τοπὸνυμικὸν τῆς Κyprou," *Athēna* 18 (1906) 356; idem, "Peri tōn topikōn epithetōn tēs neōteras hellēnikēs," *Epēteris Hetaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 5 (1928) 288.

<sup>119</sup> Accordingly Πολίτης in Cyprus means: (1) an inhabitant of Constantinople, (2) an inhabitant of the Cyprian town Πόλι; see Menardos, *Epēteris Hetaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn* 5.283.

<sup>120</sup> From this form as source probably sprang the following foreign name forms; Arabic Ko(n)stantīnīeh (Oberhammer, *op. cit.* 965; cf. Djelal Essad, *Constantinople de*

ἡ 'Αλεξάνδρου and ἡ Φιλίππου were used perhaps only in the written language, but ἡ 'Αδριανοῦ was popular too.

Beside the above mentioned rarer ethnicon Κωνσταντινουπολίτης the more frequent Πολίτης 'inhabitant of Constantinople' was and is used; this latter occurs for the first time in George Pisides (in the seventh century);<sup>121</sup> from Πολίτης was derived the adjective πολιτικός 'of Constantinople.' The family name Πολίτης, which has sprung from the ethnicon, was and is very frequent in the whole Greek linguistic area.<sup>122</sup>

### 5. *Stambul*

The old problem of the Turkish name *Stambul* 'Constantinople' (*Stambol* in 1426, *Istanbul* by Turkish scholars, *Islambol* in the seventeenth century) may now be considered as explained: the name was transformed from the older form *Stimbóli* according to

*Byzance à Stamboul*, traduit du Turc par l' auteur [Paris, 1909] 1: *Constantinié*) or *Kostantiniye* (Edrisi, ed. Jaub, 2.298) or *Kustantiniya* (Mordtmann, *op. cit.* [above, note 76]; Le Strange, *op. cit.* [above, note 75]) or *Konstantiniyet* in a ms of the Arab Masudi (beginning of the tenth century; see Hesseling, *REG* 3.192) and Turkish *Constantiniye* (Oberhummer, *op. cit.* 966; *Konstantiniyeh*: Hesseling, *ibid.* 191) or *Coſtanſiniije* (Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* [Leipzig, 1927] 27, 29, 31). These names prove that it is not true to say that "the Turk, unwilling to call the city by Constantine's name, gave it the appellation of Istanbul, unwittingly preserving the Greek language which he wished to obliterate" (so Holsapple, *op. cit.* 322).

<sup>121</sup> George Pisides *Bell. Avar.* line 295 (ed. Bonn, 1837, p. 59), *Heracl.* 2.37, 113 (*ibid.* 80, 83); but πολίτης here can just as well be 'citizen.'

From Πολίτης 'inhabitant of Constantinople' was also derived Πολιτοπούλλα f. 'a female inhabitant of Constantinople' (Demosth. *Oeconomides, Archeion Pontou* 8 [1938] 64); from Πόλις 'Constantinople' was derived another type of ethnicon, Πολώτας 'inhabitant of Constantinople' in Pontus (Colonia and Nicopolis), with the suffix -ώτας; Πολῶται pl. 'inhabitants of Constantinople' also in the Cappadocian dialect of Farasa (N. Andriotes, *Le dialecte de Farasa* [Athens, 1948] 36).

<sup>122</sup> The family name *Politi* in Calabria was explained from subst. πολίτης 'cittadino' (so G. Rohlf, "La grecità in Calabria," *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 2 [1932] 418), but, in my opinion, it may rather have come from the ethnicon Πολίτης 'inhabitant of Constantinople.' The same happens in the case of the family name Πολίτας and the place-name, derived from it, τοῦ Πολίτα, a village name in Pontus (near Trapezous); the transformation to -as came from the accus. plur. τῶ Πολίτας; cf. A. Papadopoulos, *Lexikographikon Archeion* 5 (1918-20) 207 f. Πολίτας as a family name also in a papyrus of the third century A.D. (Doric?); see Fr. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* 337. From the family name Πολίτης, furthermore, there should be derived the modern Greek (Arcadian) place-name τὰ Πολιταίικα (see Amantos, *Die Suffixe der neugriech. Ortsnamen* [Munich, 1903] 59) as well as τὰ Πολίτικα, a community name in Euboea (near Chalcis). The family name Πολιτιανός is not, with Amantos, *ibid.*, a substitute for Πολίτης but rather a former ethnicon ending in -ανός from a place-name τοῦ Πολίτη.

Turkish vowel harmony. The history and the right explanation of this appellation were given first by the excellent Byzantinist Hessel- ing;<sup>123</sup> the proposed objections were proved insignificant, other explanations were proved unacceptable. The expression (εἰς τὴν Πόλιν(ν) as a periphrastic locative 'in Constantinople,' not "into the city,"<sup>124</sup> as it is often rendered, has parallels in other languages; cf. Eng. *Atterbury* and *Attenborough*,<sup>125</sup> Germ. *Ambach*, *Amsteg*, *Interlaken*, Belgian *Termonde*, etc. Furthermore there are Turkish names coming from the periphrastic locative use in Greek, e.g. *Stankó* from *stín Kó*, *Stalimene* from *stí Límno*, etc.

The Turkish name *Stambul*, according to my view, derived from the phrase 's τὴν Πόλιν,<sup>126</sup> not 's τὴν πόλιν (as Hessel- ing, *loc. cit.*, "dans la ville" and Krumbacher, *ByzZ* 4 [1895] 11, think), i.e. the basis is Πόλις not as the city par excellence,<sup>127</sup> but probably as an elliptic short form of the periphrastic city name Κωνσταντινου πόλις. The inhabitant of Stambul is called *istanbollü* by the Turks. The Serbo-Croatian family name *Stambolići* contains -ić and presupposes *stambòlija* (this from the Turkish *Istanbollü*);<sup>128</sup> *Stambolići* exists as a place-name in the Serbo-Croatian area.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Hessel- ing, "Istanbul," *REG* 3 (1890) 189-96; earlier by Th. Korsch, *Archiv. f. slav. Philol.* 8 (1885) 649; also F. Miklosich, "Die türk. Elemente," *Denkschr. d. Wien. Akad.* 38 (1890) 130; G. Meyer, "Türkische Studien I," *SAWW* 128 (1893) 14; Le Strange, *loc. cit.* (above, note 75); Mordtmann, *loc. cit.* (above, note 76); Kretschmer, *Glotta* 16 (1928) 184 f.; Dawkins, *op. cit.* (above, note 80) 32; Vasiliev, *loc. cit.* (above, note 76). The name *Stambul* does not present a Doric α instead of η (thus Nicephorus Romanus, *loc. cit.* (above, note 76); cf. Jacquet, *loc. cit.* [above, note 76]) and it is not, with Fr. Petračić ("Stambul and Istambuli," *Naslarni Vjesnik* 27 [1929] 92; cf. F. Dölger, *ByzZ* 26.168), from (Con)stan(tino)polis, nor with E. Kalinka ("Der Name Stambul," *Klio* 17 [1921] 265 f.) from (Κων)σταν(τινο)πολις; cf. also Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* 21; F. Dölger, *ByzZ* 38 (1938) 416; previously Miklosich, *loc. cit.* (all of them rightly opposed). The initial *i-* in *Istanbul* is Turkish, not from the Greek preposition εἰς (see Hessel- ing, *op. cit.* 194) as in the Greek form *Istimbóli* (year 1426) in Hans Schiltberger, *Reisebuch*, ed. Val. Langmantel (Tübingen, 1885) 45.

<sup>124</sup> See Oberhammer, *RE* s.v. "Constantinopolis," 967. Cf. note 126.

<sup>125</sup> *Attenborough* from *æt then borough* and *Atterbury* (now a mod. family name) from OE *æt þære byriȝ* are mentioned by Bern. Fehr, "Zur Agglutination in der englischen Sprache," *Festschrift zum 14. Neuphilologentage in Zürich 1910* (Zürich, 1910) 309 with note 3, who refers also to *Stamboul* 'Constantinople' from *es t̃an pólin* (Doric *t̃an* l).

<sup>126</sup> Στὴν πόλιν occurs for the first time in Ducange (1688), not before; see Hessel- ing, *op. cit.* 391. The shortened form στόν, στήν (and also στήν Πόλιν) is, of course, much earlier; στόν is attested at least by 608 A.D. in verses addressed to Phocas: πάλιν στόν καῦκον ἔπιες (addition of my referee); but at about the same time the form εἰς in Johannes Moschos 24.1 (ed. Hessel- ing): εἰς τὰ κελλία, 179.15: εἰς τὴν ἔρημον.

<sup>127</sup> Thus Hessel- ing, *Essai sur la civilisation byzantine*, 5.

<sup>128</sup> Skok, *Zeitschr. f. Ortsnamenf.* 12 (1936) 182 (a review of the following, note 129).

<sup>129</sup> O. Franck, *Studien zur serbokroatischen Ortsnamenkunde* (Leipzig, 1932) 31.