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XXV.—The Names of Constantinople

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The name Βογάντιον is probably Illyrian from Βυζάς with the suffix -ιον; Νέα Ἡρώη was an official name (4th century); Κωνσταντίνου πόλις and Ἡ Κωνσταντίνος 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 Κωνσταντίνος, just as Ἡ Κωνσταντίνος by ellipsis of πόλις. The Turkish name Σταμβολ 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. And place-names surviving the change of population yield us a notion of prehistoric tribes. 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

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

a capital of the Byzantine (Greek) Empire during a whole millen-
ium (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, as happened notoriously with a third Βυζάντιον,
denoting a place on the western coast of India (Vijyadurg or -durga).

As to the main Byzantium, 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. 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 ethnikon
(cf. Ἔ Βυζάντιων, 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 Φοίνιξ (from Πόλις) meant the Byzantine
Empire for the Chinese. And Βυζάντινος meant ‘an inhabitant of
the Byzantine Empire’; cf. Μυτληναῖος as indicating (1) an in-
habitant of the town of Mytilene, (2) an inhabitant of the island
of Mytilene (= Lesbos). From the adjective Βυζάντιος arose also

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3 Βυζάντιον in Libya where people Βυζαντοί are mentioned by Steph. Byz. and
Eustathius referring to Dion. Perieg. 803; cf. RE s.v. “Byzantion,” 1158b and
“Byzacium” (ibid. 1115a: Dessau).
4 Peripl. mar. Erythr. 53, Steph. Byz.; Βυζαντεῖα, Ptolem. 7.1.7, etc. See W.
Tomaschek, Die alten Thraker 2.2.61 (SAWW, philos.-hist. Cl. 131.1) and RE s.v.
About a fourth Βυζαντιν in Cilicia whence came Faustus of Byzantium, Prof. C.
Amantos (Athens) informs me. A city of the Βυζαντιν in Armenia is named by
Abydenos in Euseb. Chron. ed. Schoene 35, but the gen. is probably corrupted from
6 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, Archai-
the appellatives: Greek βυζάντιον (Hesychius) and Latin bysantius (and bysantinus), from which came French besant (d’or), dating from the ninth century, Italian bisante, and English besant.7

On the origin of the name —

The older attempts at explanation of G. Curtius,8 who supposed that Buζάντιον would be a derivative Buζάντι-ω-ς meaning ‘Uhlenhorst’ from Buζα-ω-ς:βυζα-εφιττ- from the subst. βος f. ‘Strix bubo, eagle-owl’ (synon. βως), and of Pape-Benseler,9 interpreting the place-name as ‘Reichenheim,’ are no longer discussed seriously.

The writer on Alarodian (Japhetic) linguistics, K. Ošir,10 thinks that the name is not Indo-European, but “pre-Thracian”: Buζάντιον would be an io-formation from βος- ‘aqua’ and *βος-ω-ς would mean ‘Aquīs’ or ‘at *βος- (river),’ just as Tara ‘river’: Tarentum, Σιπα: Sipontum. He thinks that *βος- ‘aqua’ is seen in Bōς, Buζα, Bōς, Barboς (see below) and can be compared with *boz- ‘bassus, puteus, aqua’ which is met in Busia, a river name in Gaul, Businc, a river name in Noricum, A-bus-ina, a river name in the territory of the Vindelici (a- as in ἄβουσσος), and in Bosesis, a river name in Gaul; finally he connects *boz- with Caucasian and Basque forms. The nτ-formans is, according to Ošir, also non-IE, “pre-Thracian,” because it is also Mediterranean (Messap. Tarentum, Illyr. Colentum, Etruscan Ferentum, pre-Hellenic Κόρυφος, in Asia Minor Καρπανδα, etc.) and is combined from -n- + -τ-. 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 Būςas, Buzas, Beuszas, Bōς, Bōς, and on the other he pays no attention to the fact that the suffix -nt- is also Indo-European. Apparently following Ošir, N. Županić also gives the interpreta-

8 Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie (Leipzig, 1879) 291; followed by L. Graberger, Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen (Würzburg, 1888) 110, 278.
9 Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen (Leipzig, 1893) 504a.
tion, Buğântyov = ‘Wasserstadt,’ and considers the name Pelasgian (related to Caucasian and Etruscan). One would say with Ion Russu\textsuperscript{12} “Con tale acrobazia e cabala si può provare facilmente qualunque cosa.”

W. Tomaszek\textsuperscript{13} and J. Miller\textsuperscript{14} consider the name as Thracian, since there are names Bûçqûs, Bûçûs, etc. But Ion Russu\textsuperscript{15} was the first to try to prove that Buğântyov must be Thraco-Phrygian, while he brings forth the names Bûçqûs, Bûçûs, Bûçûs, Bûçûs, Bûçûs, Bûçûs, Bûçûs, etc., names with the suffix -nt- and that in -io-, according to Russu, Buğântyov would have come from the attested IE *bhûgo- ‘buck,’ suitable for the origin of a personal name (certainly first as a nickname), with the suffix -nt- meaning ‘belonging to’; cf. Av. bûza- m. ‘buck,’ mod. Pers. buz ‘goat, buck,’ Arm. buck ‘lamb,’ etc.\textsuperscript{16} Whereas this etymology belongs in the main to Tomaszek, who had compared Zend bûza ‘buck,’ AS bucca,\textsuperscript{17} Russu tries to prove too much, bringing together any and all words whose root is Bûçû-, Bûçû-, Bûçû-. The interpretation may be quite good if the proper nouns Bûçûs and Beuzas are not related; but we have nouns with bus- or bus- also in Italy, and these are Illyrian.

According to the Albanian scholar E. Çabey,\textsuperscript{18} if the Alb. subst. buzë ‘lip; bank, strand’ is old, the name Buğântrov (pronounced Buszantion) might have meant ‘the city at the sea strand’ and might have been formed with the element -ant-, just as Amantia-’Amvria, Oldântrov, 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. rîpa; and the stem bus- is seen in the personal names Busetius in Dalmatia and Busos in Apulia (Krahe, Lexikon 27).\textsuperscript{19} But the author ignores the personal names Bûçûs, Busas, etc., which, however, contain the element -nt-, as well as the name Oldântrov compared by himself; and, if we accept a personal name as the basis, the meaning ‘the

\textsuperscript{12} “Intorno al nome di Bisanzio,” ibid. 555 note 2.

\textsuperscript{13} Die alten Thraker (above, note 4) 16.

\textsuperscript{14} RE s.v. “Byzantion,” 1127; also E. Oberhummer, RE s.v. “Constantinopolis,” 964.


\textsuperscript{16} A. Walde - J. Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927) 2.189.

\textsuperscript{17} Die alten Thraker (above, note 4) 17.

\textsuperscript{18} “Mundartliches aus Italien,” Glotta 25 (1936) 54.

\textsuperscript{19} 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 Bọţas 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. Byzantion is, according to Kretschmer, modifying his explanation, rather "eine phrygische Bildung mit dem Zugehörigkeitssuffix -io- vom illyrischen Personennamen Beuzas" 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. Ed. Schwzyzer, H. Krahe and Fr. v. Duhn accept this explanation; moreover, Krahe cites the parallel Illyric derivation: Oίδας, gen. Oίδαντος, ethnikon Oίδαντες and Οίδαντιον τόλις Ἰλλυρίων (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.

What can we decide about the origin of the name?

The Greek form Bọţas (nom.) is certainly from *Bọţavr as is shown by the oblique cases in Bọţavn; the Latin form Byzas following the Greek declension is obviously a late borrowing from the Greek. The full grade Beus in view of Greek Bọţas 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)uzas (in Salonae) CIL 13.7509, Batoni Beusantis (Dalmatia) CIL 13.6538, Beusas Sutti f. Delmat(a) ibid. 7509, Beuzas, etc.
The names Bůţñas (gen. -ou), an artist in Naxos at the time of Astyages, cf. Paus. 5.10.3 (Bůţνω παῖς), Bůţnys, a Thracian dynast, Bůţs, a ἴγρευμων Κρῆτης, Bůţos in an inscription of Macedonia, are to be connected with Bůţas; Bůţns and Bůţas are, moreover, identical according to Jokl, but the ancient tradition was inaccurate in reproducing the vowel nuances. Cf. also the names Busa f., name of an Apulian woman, Busia CIL 9.689, Busidius (Canusium) CIL 6.28541, Buzetia. The Thracian root Bůţ- is seen also in Bůţia, name of a fountain in Thrace (from an adj. *Buzō-?), Bůţη, name of the daughter of the river god Erasinos, Bůţης, Bapβρประเทศไทย. On the evidence of so many Illyrian and Thracian names the older opinion that Byzas was no historical person has to be abandoned; we admit with Kretschmer 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 Byzantium 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 -st-) and the languages of the Thracians and Illyrians were closely related. In our particular case we might decide for Illyrian origin of the name Bůţas, if we would follow the theory that Thracian proper nouns are usually compounds.

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

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

32 Tomaszek, ibid.; Russu, op. cit. (above, note 12) 555.

33 See Niese, RE s.v. "Byzes," Suppl. 1, col. 266.

34 Forcellini, Onomasticon 292b.

35 Jokl, in RV 1 (1924) 91b.

36 Forcellini, Onomasticon ibid.; Krahe, Lexikon 26.

37 Schulze, loc. cit.; cf. Krahe, op. cit. 27.


40 Loc. cit. (above, note 29) 95.


As regards the suffix in \textit{Byzant-}, it is not certain whether there underlies the name a suffix \textit{-nt-} or \textit{-ant-}. The suffix \textit{-nt-} is Thracian in place-names like \textit{Διβαντίς 'Euboea}, \textit{Βραυντική}, \textit{Ρήβας -εντος}, \textit{Ρηβανία, Μελαντία, Κόρσαντος, Τηρίβαντα}, ethnikon \textit{Cleant[ini]}, etc. and in the personal names \textit{Rescentus, Drulens -entis, Μουκάντιος}.\footnote{3} Jokl takes \textit{-ant-} as both Illyrian and Thracian.\footnote{4} The suffix \textit{-nt-} is Illyrian, e.g. the Dardanian name \textit{'Αρριβάντιον} (Ptolemy 3.9) from a personal name \textit{'Αρριβάντ-} which reminds one of \textit{'Αρριβάιος, Tarant-} from \textit{Tara-nt-} 'located at Tara river.'\footnote{5} Kretschmer’s Illyric claim for the personal name \textit{Beuzant-} is based on the parallel Illyric names from Italy.

The \textit{io-}formation of the place-name \textit{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 \textit{-io-}formations occur in Illyrian,\footnote{6} cf. \textit{'Αρριβάντιον} in Dardania, the above cited \textit{Ολάντιον}, etc. and in Phrygian \textit{Μίδαιον (Μίδας), Κοτωνίων (Κότος), Δορυλίων (Δορύλας), Δοκίμων (Δόκιμος), Δασκύλων (Δάσκυλος), Μανήσιον (Μάνης) etc.}\footnote{7} The name \textit{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).\footnote{8}

\textit{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 \textit{Lexikon} 152–159. Not accessible to me was Al. Rosetti, \textit{Istoria limbii române} 2 (1938) 53, maintaining Thracian origin of the name \textit{Βυζάς}; cf. however G. Bonfante, \textit{Language} 18 (1942) 290.

\footnote{3}{See references in Russu, \textit{op. cit.} (above, note 12) 556 f.}
\footnote{4}{Jokl, in \textit{RV} s.v. "Illyrian," 6 (1926) 34a, 44a.}
\footnote{5}{P. Kretschmer, \textit{Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache} (Göttingen, 1896) 246; cf. N. Jokl, \textit{op. cit.} 34a. H. Krahe analyzes \textit{'Αρριβάντιον} and \textit{Σκαρα-βαρλία} and sees in the second member of the compounds the same word as Osc. \textit{Bantia}; see H. Krahe, \textit{Lexikon} 153, \textit{Die alten balkanilyrischen geographischen Namen} (Heidelberg, 1925) 82, and "Zum oskischen Dialekt von Bantia," \textit{Glotta} 19 (1931) 150.}
\footnote{6}{Kretschmer, \textit{Glotta} 14.87–89; in Saxony there is another \textit{Tharandt} (H. Agde, \textit{Bronzezeitliche Kulturgruppen im mittleren Elbegebiet} [Leipzig, 1939] 67) near which an Illyrian sanctuary has been found; cf. Fr. Messerschmidt, Fr. v. Duhn's \textit{Italische Gräberkunde} 2.342.}
\footnote{7}{P. Kretschmer, \textit{Glotta} 14.95 note 3; H. Krahe, \textit{Die alten balkanilyrischen geographischen Namen}, 75–77.}
\footnote{8}{P. Kretschmer, \textit{Einleitung} 183; cf. \textit{Glotta} 21 (1933) 254; \textit{Eis mnēmēn Spyr. Lamprou} 217; cf. Russu, \textit{op. cit.} 557.}
2. Νέα Ῥώμη

The former "Byzantium" was called Νέα Ῥώμη (translated from Nova Roma), i.e. New Rome, beginning in the fourth century A.D., but this name was an official parallel to others such as simple Ἴη Νέα, δευτέρα Ρώμη, Ἀλμα Ῥώμα (from Latin Alma Roma), Βυζαντίας Ρώμη, ἐφα Ρώμη, Latin Roma Constantinopolitana. According to Socrates, Hist. eccl. 1.16, Constantine the Great himself ordered the city to be called Νέα Ῥώμη. 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 Ῥώμη. 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." 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. "Ζηρων"), (3) Salamis in Cyprus (Argumentum ad Isocrat. Orat. [Oratores Attici, 2.483.76.25]

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50 References in Pape-Benseler, op. cit. (above, note 9) s.v. "Ῥώμη," 1319b. See also Concile de Constantin 381, canon 3, Νέα Ῥώμη: Mansi, Concilia 3.360.

51 δευτέρα Ρώμη, Chron. Pasch. 1.329 line 17 (Chronica minora 1.233); Ρώμη δευτέρας χρηματίτις ἀγαπητέρας, Chron. Pasch., MPG 92.709; Socrates, Hist. eccl. 1.16; cf. also W. Emslin, Gnomon 7 (1931) 262. Cf. Mombritius, Sanctorum 17.11.27 et seq.: Praeterea Constantinus cum genetrix sua Helena secundam Romanam quae Constantinopolis dicitur, adeo eucharst. Cf. Pape-Benseler, loc. cit.

52 Ἀλμα Ῥώμα, 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 Ἀρθοῦσα (analogous to Latin Flora) as the eternal name, a priestly secret name, instead of Νέα Ῥώμη 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.

53 Cf. Augustine, Cis. 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 Zweitwende (Leipzig, 1940) 151.

54 See A. Schneider, Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 202 (1940) 209.

55 Lloyd B. Holsapple, Constantine the Great (New York, 1942) 306. Like Rome, so New Rome also lay on seven hills and thence the epithet ἑπτάλοφος; "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.).
The Names of Constantinople

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. The new name was first given in 324 A.D. 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 Justinianopolis (thrice) for the former name Hadrianopolis.

All of the following were official names of the city: Κωνσταντινούπολις, ή Κωνσταντῖνου πόλις and ή Κωνσταντῖνου. The name Κωνσταντινούπολις is, however, the name generally used by the historians, beginning with Priscus and Zosimus.

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

64 Cf. Pape-Benseler, op. cit. (above, note 9) 752, and Egli, Nomina geographica 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.


66 J. Maurice, “Les origines de Constantinople” in Société nationale des antiquités de France, Centenaire 1804–1904, Recueil de Mémôires (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.


68 Hönn, op. cit. (note 52) 248.

-ville, etc.61 The first part of the compound is the integral genitive Κωνσταντινού, as in 'Λδριανούπολις, 'Αλεξανδρόπολις, Φιλιππούπολις, and so forth.62 The forms Κωνσταντινόπολις (in the Chronicle of Morea, P 470, ed. J. Schmitt, and in the Chronicle of Makhairas, 1.326, ed. R. Dawkins), Κωνσταντινόπολις (CIG 9882) and Κωνσταντινόπολις (usual today) present -ο- (instead of ου) as a composition vowel, as, e.g. in 'Λδριανόπολις (Lat. Hadrianopolis), parallel with 'Λδριανούπολις from 'Λδριανού πόλις, 'Αλεξανδρόπολις (Lat. Alexandropolis), parallel with 'Αλεξανδρόπολις, Φιλιππόπολις parallel with Φιλιππούπολις, and so on; the forms in -όπολις, due to the analogy of the corresponding ethnika in -σολίτης, occur frequently. The composition vowel -ο- is regular in the derivation of the ethnikon, as it appears in Ηλιασολίτης (Herodotus) from 'Ηλίων 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 -όπολις.63 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,64 Germ. Konstantinopel, etc.

The ethnikon Κωνσταντινούπολίτης occurs relatively seldom (e.g. once in Theoph. 398, ed. de Boor).65 The form Κωνσταντινοπολίτης with -ο-, which occurs in Steph. Byz. and in Etymol. Magnum 217.28, was regularly derived; just as from 'Αρχάνδρων πόλις, 'Ηλίου πόλις, Προεδρον πόλις, etc. come the ethnika 'Αρχάνδροπολίτης, 'Ηλιοπολίτης, Προεδροπολίτης,66 etc., so from Κωνσταντινού πόλις or Κωνσταντινούπολις, from 'Αρχάνδρον πόλις or 'Αρχανδρούπολις the following forms are to be

62 See Cousin, ibid.
63 See Cousin, op. cit. 20; J. Wackernagel, Glotta 14 (1925) 37 ff.; Schwyzter, Griech. Gramm. 1.446 note 3.
64 Analogous to modern English Constantinople (ending in -nople) the place-name Zelienpole was created (from Zelie Basse); see Förster, op. cit. (above, note 61) 98.
65 Oberhummer, loc. cit.
expected: Κωνσταντινοπόλις, Λαδριανοπόλις; cf. also what has been said just above about the names ending in -όσολις.

The forms Κωνσταντινούπολις, 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 Κωνσταντινόπολις (CIG 9882) may be explained together with the simple form Κωνσταντινος, 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 Constantinopolis).

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-. The Κωνσταντινος 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., Κωνστάντιος (written -σστ-) in an inscription of Tegea of 293–305 A.D. (CIG 1522a), likewise Κωνσταντίνος (CIL 7.7175, CIG 14.2559), Κωνσταντίνου in papyri of 307 and 313 A.D. (beside Κωνσταντινος 294, 307, 346 A.D.), Κωνσταντιος and Κωνσταντας (beside Κωνσταντιος) in papyri of 346 A.D., etc. The loss of -n- in -nst- occurs in ancient Greek also as well as Vulgar Latin. These forms along with the spoken modern Greek Κωνσταντίνος, Κωνστάντιος, Κώστας, Κωστάκις, etc. reflect Latin forms Costantis, CIL 6.2457 etc., Costas, CIL 6.2495 etc. (from Constas which is found in CIL 6.32892 etc. and this from

67 Th. Eckinger, Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften (Munich, 1892) 116.
68 Cf. Eckinger, ibid. 113, 116; Κωνσταντινος in a Milesian inscription, see Anton Scherer, Zur Laut- und Formenlehre der milesischen Inschriften (Munich, 1934) 45 note 1.
70 Cf. anc. Gr. κωστός (κωνστός), συστός, έκαστόν (ήδε- from -ηδε-), τριακιστός, έκαστομεθαίος and έκαστόσθος (ήστ- from -ήστ-) see G. Hadzidakis, Akademieka anagnómata 1 (Athens, 1924) 436; Schwyzler, Griech. Gramm. 1.593.
71 Generally ns after a vowel lost the n, perhaps through the intermediate stage of a nasalized vowel + s; thus cosol, cesor, forésia, etc. Vulgar Latin had no nasal; see E. Kieckers, Historische lateinische Grammatik (Munich, 1930) 69.
72 Κώστας, Κωνσταντινός, Κωνσταντινάκης, 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. Κωνσταντίς, -ίνα, Κώστας, Κωστάκις, etc.
Constats, CIL 10.362, etc.), Costantius 6.2651.73 Thus we may conclude that even the emperor’s name was probably pronounced Κωσταντῖνος by Greeks as well as Latin-speaking peoples.74

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),75 it soon became usual and still is the common form in Modern Greek: ἡ Πόλις.

The name Πόλις ‘Constantinople’ has commonly been explained as the name of the city par excellence,76 just as ἀστυ meant Athens (cf. Athan. Boutouras, Ta neohellēnikα kyria onomata [Athens, 1912] 74 f., who gives no explanation for the forms without -υς). Cf. also the Byz. apppellative κωσταντιναῦτoς, the word for a Byz. gold coin named after the emperor Constantine X Doukas (1059–67; from his name Δούκας it is called δουκαντιναῦτα). Gr. κωσταντιναῦτα.


74 "So even before the city was named, the Π 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).

75 Socrates 676 b (MPG 67.678 b): Βεβαβδάρωτο οὖν ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν μυριάδων . . . Τοσοῦτος δὲ ἢν ὃ ἐπικρατεῖσθαι τῇ πόλει κύριον . . . (the passage is mentioned in Sophocles’ Lexicon s.v. and by Hesselings, REG 3.191). But since the immediately preceding text speaks about Κωσταντιναῦτος πόλις, the word πόλις in the cited passage may be a simple apppellative 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 Βόιν (Bulin) is used by the Arab geographer Al-Mas’udi; 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 monōdia to Theodoros Prodromos (11154) written by his pupil Nicetas Eugenianos (cf. Studi bizantini 4 [1935] 228), and in βροντολογια: Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum 10.61.6–7: εἰς τὴν πόλιν στερέωμα . . ., 141: εἰς τὴν Πόλιν χαρά, 135: στενοχώρα καὶ θλύπει τῇ Πόλει, 141: ἡν βροντήσῃ ἄλοιπες Πόλεως (date unknown); cf. A. Vasiliev, Byzantion 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.

to the Athenians (Herodot. 1.62), urbs indicated Rome to the Romans,\textsuperscript{77} town London to the Englishmen.\textsuperscript{78} This explanation still persists but was refuted by P. Kretschmer\textsuperscript{79} 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 Πόλις (Πόλης, genitive in a document of the thirteenth century) is the name of the Cretan provincial

On Alexandria as the πόλις par excellence cf. Dionys. of Alexandria in Eusebius, \textit{Hist. eccl.} 7.11.24: ἐν τῇ πόλει . . . ἐν Αλεξάνδρεια; \textit{Oxyrhynchus Papiri} 1.72: οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει πραγματευόμονοι ἀπὸ φορμουθ νεομηνίας, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αλεξάνδρεια όμοιο ἀπὸ παχών; Steph. Byz. s.v. "Ἀλεξάνδρεια": ἐλέγετο δὲ κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν πόλει καὶ πολλαὶ εἰς αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἄστοι αἱ Ἀθηναίαι καὶ ἄστοι (καὶ ἄστικοι) οἱ Ἀθηναίοι. (An as argumentum ex silentio it may be noticed that Stephanus does not say the same for Constantinople.) Probably taking Stephanus as his source, Eustathius, in \textit{Il.} V.376, says: Φύεται γάρ ἑστοιρία πόλις τῷ κατ᾽ ἀρχάς, αὐτῷ τούτῳ διὰ προοθήκης, κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν κληθήσει τῇ 'Ἀλεξάνδρειαν (\textit{Commentarius ad Homerum} 239.12; also 493.35; 1383.3; 1650.42; similarly \textit{Commentarius ad Dionysius Periegetam} 261.35; \textit{G.G.M.} 2, pages 261–2 note 254); cf. also Pétridès, loc. cit.; A. Calderini, \textit{Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto greco-romano}, s.v. "Ἀλεξάνδρεια" (Cairo, 1935) 58.

\textsuperscript{77} Rome itself was called πόλις, cf. Epictetus 1.10.5: Νῦν οὖν τί ἐπιστήμη; πρὶν ἐθεών εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀπήνησαν αὖτε παρὰ Καλλαρος πυκνίδες (before this occurrence the name Ῥώμη is found thrice in the same chapter).

\textsuperscript{78} Jerusalem was named simply el kuds 'the sanctuary' by the Arabs; cf. J. Armstrong in Moritz, loc. cit. (above, note 76).

\textsuperscript{79} Kretschmer, "Das Kürzungsprinzip in Ortsnamen," \textit{Jagić-Festschrift} (Berlin, 1908) 553-f.; against him Krumbacher, \textit{Byz} 18 (1908) 255, defends the old explanation.
town ‘Δρυμός’ (on the site of ancient Lappa\(^\text{80}\)); in addition Kretschmer compares the following examples: Φιλοδομου, Modern Greek μόρης (in the main meaning ‘Totengräber’) ‘vagabond, tramp’ (also the personal name Μόρης) from Italian beccamorti (this according to G. Meyer, *Neugriech. Stud. 4.53*), etc.\(^\text{82}\)

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 Κωνσταντινουπόλις) 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.\(^\text{83}\) However, an apppellative, as is well known, is seldom used as a place-name without another determinative word.\(^\text{84}\) Nevertheless, from the substantive

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\(^{80}\) The town is called Πόλις also today; της Πόλiς is found in a contract made between Venice and Kallierges in 1299, while Στίνολι stands in the Latin text; see St. Xanthoudides, “Synthéké Enetôn kai Kalliergou,” *Athéna* 14 (1902) 305. The name ‘Δρυμός’ was usual before 1669, disappeared under the Turkish rule (1669–1822) and was replaced by the Turkish name Sambolikij during the years 1868–78. Only since 1878 has the place again been called ‘Αργυρόστολι’ 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 Σμαράγδος and Γαβάρδος (so Kalaizakes, *loc. cit.* or by Γκιτσάρσος (so Rob. Pashley, *Travels in Crete* 1 (1837) 82 and note; Xanthoudides, *op. cit.* 305 note). The explanation of Kalaizakes, according to which ‘Αργυρόστολι sprang from the Byz. personal name ‘Αργυρόπουλος, is wrong. In my opinion ‘Αργυρόστολι is surely the original form, etymologically from ‘Αργυρόστολι (άργυρος, πόλις), since for the same place also the names ‘Αργύριος (‘silver town’) and Χρυσόστολι (‘gold town’) are mentioned (cf. Bürchner, 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 Πόλις rather was derived from the appell. πόλις. Another new name ‘Αργυρόστολι (since 1848) for the small town south of Trapezous in Pontus is a Greek learned translation of the original Turkish name Gümûş-hané ‘silver town’; see Demosth. Oeconomides, *Archeion Ponton* 3 (1931) 145.

\(^{81}\) See Bürchner, *RE* s.v., “Lappa” (1), 787.

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

\(^{83}\) On the etymology of the word πόλις from IE *polis*: *pôle-, see Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleich. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Sprachen* 2,511; cf. É. Boissacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Greque* (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, πόλεια was, and is in parallel dialectal use, ‘city’; in the same way Latin urbs was replaced by civitas (It. città, Fr. cité, etc., from which also Eng. city). On the ancient meaning πόλις ‘country’ see *LSJ* s.v.

\(^{84}\) 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.)85 for the city of Alexandria (see as early as Steph. Byz. s.v. "Ἀλεξάνδρεια");86 Πόλις, Modern Greek for a place in Crete;87 Πόλις, a place in Lesbos (Αίασο); 'ς τήν Πόλις 'ς τίς Λάκκες, a place in Euobea (Stropones); Πόλις (= Trapezous) in songs of Trapezous;88 the old city of Mantineia was called Πόλις (Pausan. 8.12.7). Also derivatives of πόλις are the place-names: Πόλιον (τό) in the Troad; Πόλυν (τό), a village in Cases and τά Κάτω Πόλια in the same place;89 Πολείδων, mentioned in Suidas s.v. "Πολίςκη" name of a small town (Laconia, Chios, Sicily, Crete, the Troad);90 cf. in addition Κώμη in Epirus (Pape-Benseler 751) and seven times today (including once the plural Κώμες); Χώρα as the name of small towns thirteen times;91 Χωρίο twenty-three times in the Greek linguistic area;92 most of the examples with χώρα or χωρίο are, however, periphrases.93

In this case Krumbacher’s explanation94 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.

86 On Πόλις ‘Alexandria’ see G. Lumbroro, Festschrift f. O. Hirschfeld (Berlin, 1903) 110; Calderini, op. cit. 57–8; but it was also called Ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις (see further below).
87 See above, 359 f.
88 P. Triandaphyllides, Οἱ φυγαδείς (Athens, 1869) 24.
89 The mediaeval name τά Παραπόλια in Thrace, from which also the ethnikon (and the family name) Παραπολίτης was derived (see C. Amantos, Hellēnika 4 [1931] 80 = Μικρά μετελήματα [Athens, 1940] 346), supposedly belongs to Πόλις ‘Constantinople.’
90 On the ancient names cf. Fick, loc. cit. (above, note 84).
91 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.
92 Also the word κώμη was replaced by χωρίον; cf. Dieterich, loc. cit.
93 Cf. Ἕξο χώρα, Κάτω χώρα, Καμένη χ., Κανοθρύμ χωρί, Καλὸ χωρί, Κακὸ χ.
94 ByzZ 18.255.
A second explanation would be the following. One could consider the name Πόλις ‘Constantinople’ as a regressive shortening under the influence of the ethnikon Πολίτης ‘Constantinople’s inhabitant’; this ethnikon would be a contraction of the excessively long compound Κωσταντινουπολίτης. 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. η Κωσταντινού πόλις. Socrat. Hist. eccl. 1.1.17 (MPG 117.120): οἱ τὴν Κωσταντινοῦ πόλιν οίκοντες,96 also Steph. Byz. s.v. Κωσταντινούπολις διὸ μέρη λόγου [i.e. Κωσταντινοῦ πόλιν],96 καὶ εὖ αὐτῶν ἐν Κωσταντινοπολίτης.97 Anthol. 4.3 (Tauchnitz, 1829): Κωσταντινοῦ πόλις; Cod. Vatic. 997: εἰς τάς Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν Κωσταντινοῦ πόλιν;98 Tzetzes 10.192: μέχρι σχεδὸν τῆς πόλεως τῆς Κωσταντινια; Phrantzes, Chronicon 2.5.141b (ed. J. Papadopoulos): η Κωσταντινοῦ πόλις beside Κωσταντινούπολις; repeatedly in the Chronicle of Morea.99

96 Philostorgius, Hist. eccl. 2.9 (Leipzig, 1913, ed. J. Bidez, page 20) gives Κωσταντινούπολις, but according to MPG 65, col. 472, Κωσταντινοῦ πόλις.
96 Cf. s.v. ‘Ἀμβώτης’ διὸ μέρη λόγου, where ‘Ἀμφ’ ‘Ἄμφι must also be written; cf. Cousin, op. cit. (above, note 61) 146 with note 1.
97 Cousin, loc. cit.
99 Chron. of Morea 445: τὴν Κωσταντινοῦ πόλιν; 7313: στὴν Κωσταντινοῦ πόλιν; P 447: τὴν πόλιν . . . τοῦ μέγα Κωσταντινοῦ; five times (1202, 2473, 5798, 6274, 7305): τῆς Κωσταντινοῦ πόλης. The author had, at the end of the verse, to accent the syllable before the last, but in this accentuation the long Κωσταντινούπολις hindered him, because of the verse rhythm he would have had to use the periphrastic form (Κωσταντινοῦ 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, Κωσταντινουπολις "dreisilbig Κώσταντινοὺς zu lesen sein dürfte . . . wie noch heutzutage die Form Cospoli iat." 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 Κωστ/πολις = Κωσταντινούπολις or Θεσ/πολις = Θεσσαλονίκη, etc.); from that would have come the Italian levantine name form Cospoli which is cited: Meyer’s Conversationslex. 2 s.v. “Konstantinopol,” 6 (1927) col. 1693 (also in the older editions); Der Grosse Brockhaus s.v. “Konstantinopol,” 10 (1931) 412a; J. Egli, Nomina geographica 2 504 (he refers to
This evidence is sound, but the form Κωνσταντίνου πόλις was evidently not only written but spoken also. This same form was represented also in Bulgarian Kostandinj grad through translation (beside the Slavic Tsarigrad, ‘the city of the emperor’).

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

Compare the town-name Ἄδριανοῦ (up to the present time: Ἄδριανοῦ) for and beside Αδριανόπολις, not with Kretschmer for Lat. Adrianopolis; likewise Ἀλέξανδρου, from which came Turkish Filibe (this not with Kretschmer, loc. cit., from Philippiopolis; Ἀλέξανδρος is from the cited Ἀλέξανδρος πόλις); also Ἄλεξανδρου (Basil. Epist. 1, etc.) and Latin in Alexandri for Ἀλέξανδρου πόλις (CIG 3.4923, in a papyrus [fourth century], and in authors [Pausanias, Libanius, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Theodoretus, Simon Metaphrastes]); likewise Ἀλεξανδρέων (fourth century A.D.) for Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλις or ἄλεξανδρέων (both second century A.D.), likewise there occurs, though seldom, Ἡ Βυζαντος or Ἡ Βυζαντίων ‘Constantinople.’

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. Hunts (= Hampshire), Hunts (= Huntingdonshire); cf. also the established abbreviations of the states in the United States, Calif. (California), Ill. (Illinois), Ky. (Kentucky), also Ave. (avenue). See O. Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar 6 (1946) 542.

100 So Wackernagel, Glotta 14 (1925) 37.
101 Oberhummer, op. cit. 964.
102 On that name see Skok, Archiv f. slav. Philol. 35 (1914) 346.
103 This form after addition of the article τῆς by P. Papageorgiou, “Diorthōseis eis Fontes histor. imperii Trapezuntini,” ByzZ 11 (1902) 95.
105 Jagić-Festschrift 564.
106 See Calderini, op. cit. (above, note 76) 58.
107 See references in Calderini, op. cit. 57.
108 Ibid. 57.
109 Eleutheroudakes Enkyklopaedikon Lexikon s.v. “Κωνσταντινούπολις.”
Now when we consider that in addition to the compound Κωνσταντινούπολις the certainly periphrastic form (with the genitive) ἡ Κωνσταντινού πόλις also occurs and, through ellipsis (i.e. by leaving out the appellative πόλις), the simple form ἡ Κωνσταντινοῦ, we may naturally conjecture that also in the short form Πόλις 'Constantinople' the genitive of the given name Κωνσταντινοῦ 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: on the one hand the genitive remains (thus in Egypt and Libya); on the other hand the main substantive remains.

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

110 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 Πριάμου πόλις (= Τροίη), πόλις Ἱλισίων ( = Ὁβης), Αρχάνδρου πόλις, Herodotean Ερμén πόλις, in the Septuagint Σκυθών πόλις, and many others, especially in Egypt under the Ptolemies; see Fick, BB 23.10 ff., 244; Wackernagel, loc. cit. 37; cf. Schwzyzer, Griech. Gramm. 1.446, note 3; D. Georgacas, Lexikographikon Delion (of the Academy of Athens) 1 (1939) 87 note 2; cf. R. Kühner-B. Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, Zweiter Teil, Satzlehre 1 (Hannover-Leipzig, 1898) 264, 268 f.


112 If the above mentioned forms ἡ Κωνσταντινοῦ πόλις and ἡ Κωνσταντινοῦ 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.

113 BB 23.44.

114 Examples of periphrastic place-names in which πόλις is left out are not lacking in antiquity; thus e.g. 'Αργίου, Μενελαίου, Νικιάου, Χαρίου, see Meineke on Steph. Byz. s.v. "Μενελαίου"; Fick, op. cit. 8 f.; O. Hoffmann, Die Makedonen (Göttingen, 1906) 251.

115 In mediaeval and modern Greek this case can often be observed. Thus in the place-names 'Αγίου, 'Αγίου, 'ι τοῖς 'Αγίους, 'Αγία, the name to be determined, as e.g. Εἰρηνή (i.e. 'Αγία Εἰρηνή > 'Αγία), is left out (however, cf. Historikon Lexikon Neas Hellenikhès 1 [1933] 120a) and likewise in other cases the determinative word of the periphrastic place-name is left out, e.g. Θολός in Rhodes and Θόλος in Thasos and Macedonia stand for 'Αγίου 'Ιωάννης ὁ Θεολόγος, Κατερίνη in Macedonia stands for 'Αγία Αλκατέρνη, Λεωνίδη in Cypournia, Μερκώρι in Syme, Μέρωνας in Crete, Μιλανός in the Peloponnesus (Argolis), Σοφία in Samothrace and Bulgaria, etc.; see C. Amantos, Athèna 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 Κωνσταντῖνος πόλις was also in oral use. From that came through ellipsis (i.e. dropping of the genitive Κωνσταντῖνος as a near determinative) our short name Πολις(ς), which has been in use from about the fifth century up to today. As probable parallel examples we may mention here: the city name Πολίς ‘Alexandria’ perhaps from ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις,116 to which belong Πολιτικός (often occurring on papyri) as ‘an inhabitant of Alexandria’ and Πολιτική ‘a female inhabitant of Alexandria’;117 and the name of the Cyprian village Πολις for Ἀραμώνης πόλις, as Boustronius 23 cites it,118 to which also the ethnikon Πολιτης ‘he who comes from Cyprian Πολις’ refers.119 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 Κωνσταντῖνος120 was used by the authors who imitated the archaic language; in the same way

114 The place-name form ἡ Ἀλεξανδρου πόλις CIG 3.4923 and in Pausan. 8.33.3; Libanius, Epist. 100, ed. Förster, 10.101; Gregor. Naz., Ort. 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 Presigke, Wörterb. d. griech. Papyrusruckunden 3 (1931) 282b. The city was called also ἡ Ἀλεξανδρεια; see references in Calderini, Dizionario geografico s.v. "Ἀλεξανδρεία" 58; cf. M. Apostolides, Thrakika 1 (1924) 339; cf. however Eustathius in II. B 367 (see above, 359); Dionysius of Alexandria in Eusebii Hist. eccl. 7.11.24.

117 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 via (ibid. p. 43 *B); Sozomenus, Hist. eccl. 3.14.1: τούτου δὲ ὁ μὲν Αλέξαντος, δὲ δὲ πολιτικός, ὡς λατός, ὄνομαξητον ἦ γὰρ τῷ γένει Ἀλεξανδρεῖς. See Glac. 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. Αιγύπτιος); P. Franchi de’ Cavalieri, “Una lettera della persecuzione Diocleziana,” Nuovo bolletino di archeol. cristiana 8 (1902) 15–25 (πολιτική 'concitoyenne' or ‘coreligionnaire'; but it is not true) cf. C. Weymann, ByzZ 12 (1903) 676; Pétridès, Échos d’Orient 7.19 (πολιτικός ‘an inhabitant of Alexandria’ and its fem. η 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. Presigke, Namenbuch (Heidelberg, 1922) col. 337.


119 Accordingly Πολίτης in Cyprus means: (1) an inhabitant of Constantiople, (2) an inhabitant of the Cyprian town Πολις; see Menardos, Epelēris Hetaireias Byzan tinîon Spoudōn 5.283.

120 From this form probably sprung the following foreign names; Arabic Ko(n)stantinieh (Oberhummer, op. cit. 965; cf. Djelal Essad, Constantinople de
∇'Ἀλεξάνδρου and Ἡ Φώλιππος were used perhaps only in the written language, but Ἡ Ἀδριανοῦ was popular too.

Beside the above mentioned rarer ethnikon Κωνσταντινούπολιτής the more frequent Πολιτής ‘inhabitant of Constantinople’ was and is used; this latter occurs for the first time in George Pisides (in the seventh century);¹²¹ from Πολιτής was derived the adjective πολίτικος ‘of Constantinople.’ The family name Πολιτής, which has sprung from the ethnikon, was and is very frequent in the whole Greek linguistic area.¹²²

5. Stambul

The old problem of the Turkish name Stambül ‘Constantinople’ (Stambol in 1426, Istanbul by Turkish scholars, Is lambol in the seventeenth century) may now be considered as explained: the name was transformed from the older form Stimboli according to

Byzance à Stamboul, traduit du Turc par l’auteur [Paris, 1909] 1: Constantinié) or Kostandinije (Edrisi, ed. Jaub, 2.298) or Kustunitiya (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 Constantinie (Oberhummer, op. cit. 966; Kostuntinyeh: Hesseling, ibid. 191) or Cosstantiniije (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 Istanboul, unwittingly preserving the Greek language which he wished to obliterate” (so Holsapple, op. cit. 322).

¹²¹ 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 Πολιτής ‘inhabitant of Constantinople’ was also derived Πολιτοπούλα f. ‘a female inhabitant of Constantinople’ (Demosth. Oeconomides, Archeion Pontou 8 [1938] 64); from Πόλεις ‘Constantinople’ was derived another type of ethnikon, Πολίτας ‘inhabitant of Constantinople’ in Pontus (Colonia and Nicopolis), with the suffix -ότας; Πολιτάτων pl. ‘inhabitants of Constantinople’ also in the Cappadocian dialect of Farasa (N. Andriotès, Le dialecte de Farasa [Athens, 1948] 36).

¹²² The family name Politi in Calabria was explained from subst. πολίτης ‘cittadino’ (so G. Rohlfis, “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 ethnikon Politēς ‘inhabitant of Constantinople.’ The same happens in the case of the family name Poliēs and the place-name, derived from it, τοῦ Πολία, a village name in Pontus (near Trapezous); the transformation to -as came from the accus. plur. τι Πολιας; cf. A. Papadopoulos, Lexikographikon Archeion 5 (1918–20) 207 f. Πολιάρας as a family name also in a papyrus of the third century a.d. (Doric?); see Fr. Preisigke, Namenbuch 337. From the family name Politēς, furthermore, there should be derived the modern Greek (Arcadian) place-name τὰ Πολιτάκια (see Amantos, Die Suffixe der neugriech. Ortsnamen [Munich, 1903] 59) as well as τὰ Πολίτακα, a community name in Euboea (near Chalcis). The family name Politiánōs is not, with Amantos, ibid., a substitute for Politēς but rather a former ethnikon ending in -ίανος from a place-name τοῦ Πολιτῆς.
Turkish vowel harmony. The history and the right explanation of this appellation were given first by the excellent Byzantinist Hesseling,\textsuperscript{123} the proposed objections were proved insignificant, other explanations were proved unacceptable. The expression \( \varepsilon \tau \nu \Pi \omega \lambda(\nu) \) as a periphrastic locative 'in Constantinople,' not ‘into the city,’\textsuperscript{124} as it is often rendered, has parallels in other languages; cf. Eng. Afterbury and Attenborough,\textsuperscript{125} Germ. Ambach, Amsteg, Interlaken, Belgian Termonde, etc. Furthermore there are Turkish names coming from the periphrastic locative use in Greek, e.g. Stankó from stin Kö, Stalimene from sti Límno, etc.

The Turkish name Stambul, according to my view, derived from the phrase 's της Πόλις,\textsuperscript{126} not s της πόλις (as Hesseling, loc. cit., "Dans la ville" and Krumbacher, ByzZ 4 [1895] 11, think), i.e. the basis is Πόλις not as the city par excellence,\textsuperscript{127} but probably as an elliptic short form of the periphrastic city name Κωνσταντινού πόλις. The inhabitant of Stambul is called ıstanbollü by the Turks. The Serbo-Croatian family name Stambolići contains -ić and presupposes stambolija (this from the Turkish İstanbollü);\textsuperscript{128} Stambolići exists as a place-name in the Serbo-Croatian area.\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{123} Hesseling, “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 a 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 und Istambuli,” Nastarni Vjesnik 27 [1929] 92; cf. F. Dölger, ByzZ 26.168, from (Kon)stan(tio)polis, nor with E. Kalinka (”Der Name Stambul,” Klio 17 [1921] 265 f.) from (Kon) Stan(tio)polis; cf. also Schwzyzer, Griech. Gramm. 21; F. Dölger, ByzZ 38 (1938) 416; previously Miklosich, loc. cit. (all of them rightly opposed). The initial i- in Istambol is Turkish, not from the Greek preposition ἐς (see Hesseling, op. cit. 194) as in the Greek form Istitmboli (year 1426) in Hans Schiltberger, Reisbuch, ed. Val. Langmantel (Tübingen, 1885) 45.

\textsuperscript{124} See Oberhummer, RE s.v. “Constantinopolis,” 967. Cf. note 126.

\textsuperscript{125} Attenborough at then enthethborough and Attenbury (now a mod. family name) from OE at þran byrj is mentioned by Bern. Fehr, “Zur Agglutination in der englischen Sprache,” Festschrift zum 14. Neuöphilologenjageh in Zürich 1910 (Zürich, 1910) 309 with note 3, who refers also to Stamboul ‘Constantinople’ from es län bodin (Doric lān 1).

\textsuperscript{126} Στῆν πόλις occurs for the first time in Ducasce (1688), not before; see Hesseling, op. cit. 391. The shortened form στόν, στην (and also στῆν Πόλις) is, of course, much earlier; στόν is at least by 608 A.D. in verses addressed to Phocas: πέλων στον καίκων ἔπεις (addition of my referee); but at about the same time the form ἐς in Johannes Moschos 24.1 (ed. Hesseling): ἐς τὰ κέλλεα, 179.15: ἐς τῆν ἔρημον.

\textsuperscript{127} Thus Hesseling, Essai sur la civilisation byzantine, 5.

\textsuperscript{128} Skok, Zeitschr. f. Ortsnamenf. 12 (1936) 182 (a review of the following, note 129).

\textsuperscript{129} O. Franck, Studien zur serbokroatischen Ortsnamenkunde (Leipzig, 1932) 31.