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## LUWIANS AND LYDIANS

It is generally assumed that western Asia Minor was originally to a large extent – if not completely – Luwian. It is remarkable, however, that the name *Luwian* does not live on: Greek sources have not yielded a name that resembles the word *Luwian*. Of course, this is not a serious problem, for the name may simply have disappeared, but it may be useful to keep this in mind.

On the other hand there is a name which at a given time appears and for which we know no antecedent: *Lydian*. Herodotus tells us, more than once (1,7; 7,74), that the Meiones, after a period of famine – when the Tyrsenoi left them and sailed to Italy – changed their name to *Lydians*. We are not told what the reason was for this change. As the Tyrsenoi, presented as a part of the Lydians, moved to another country, one might suspect that the (other) Lydians, who remained in Asia Minor, also resettled in another area. It is only natural to assume that the Meiones/Lydians occupied a land that had the name ‘Lydia’, or a country where the people had the name Lydians, and that they got, or took, themselves the name ‘Lydian’. I argued along these lines in 2002, 212 (also 2003, 16f.) where I further suggested that it was because of the invasion of the Phrygians that the Lydians moved southward.

At this point one is reminded of a Lydian sound law, to which Th. Van den Hout (2002) called attention in connection with the name(s) of the Lydians. The law was established by Melchert (see 1994, 364), viz. that *i* became *d* in Lydian. If we now assume a starting form *\*luwiy-* this would give *\*luw(i)d-* and with syncope of the *-i-* *\*lūwd-*. This form may well have become *\*lūd-* with a long *u*. In Greek the forms Λυδ-ός, Λύδ-ιος, Λυδ-ία indeed have a long *u*. I owe the idea of the syncope to Craig Melchert, who read a first draft of the article. This can hardly be a coincidence: we can therefore consider the proposed development as certain, I think. The sound law was formulated for *i* between vowels, so the *d* may have appeared

before the syncope of the *-i-*. We have no indication for the date of the development. We find Gr.  $\Lambda\upsilon\delta$ - first in Alcaeus and Sappho, i.e. shortly before 600. We have further early testimony in the account by Assurbanipal, who speaks of *Luddi* (see Van den Hout; also e.g. DNP s.v. Gyges). Assurbanipal's dates are 668–630, so this testimony is slightly earlier than the Greek one. My assumption was that the relevant events occurred after the Phrygian invasion. Though the date of their arrival is not certain, it may not have been too long after 1200 B.C., which would fit well. Our proposal implies that the sound law  $i > d$  only occurred after the Lydians adopted the word *Luw(i)ya-*. Though they may have learned the name at an earlier date, it seems more probable that the sound law operated around 1200, and more probably shortly after that date. (If the sound law was (much) earlier, the *-y-* would rather have been retained in the loan.)

One might object that our evidence for the name Luwiya – the Hittite texts – disappears early. See e.g. Melchert 2002, 32; cf. Bryce in Melchert 2002, 40. In later texts of the laws the name is replaced by Arzawa, which is a more political designation. I understand that the name is not known from later times. (Bryce (ib. 43), following Laroche and others, considers the possibility that the term Lukka was used to designate the Luwians in general. I do not think that this is an objection to my proposal: the term may have lived on to designate people.)

The positive indications may be summarized as follows. It is generally accepted that the country of the (classical) Lydians was originally Luwian speaking (e.g. Melchert 2002, 22). This implies that at some moment the Lydians moved into these Luwian territories. The date and the cause of this movement are not essential here. The movement will have been such an important event in the history and the formation of the Lydians that they got another name. So this will be the change of name mentioned by Herodotus. It is often seen that a people takes (or gets) its name from the country where it settled; the Hittites are a good example. Thus, it often happens that a people has the 'wrong' name, as with the Hittites. So a priori we may expect that the name Lydian derives from Luwian. The phonetic resemblance between the two forms strengthens this expectation.

Of course we must not say, on the basis of what we proposed, that "the Lydians were Luwians". What happened is that the Lydians moved southward and occupied former Luwian land, and happened to get the name of this land (or their inhabitants). It changes nothing as to the question of the linguistic position of Lydian, which has

to be established painstakingly on linguistic grounds only. On the other hand, we may expect some Luwian influence in Lydian; it is a clear instance of a Luwian substrate, in at least part of the – later – Lydian territory.

The whole picture that now arises looks quite convincing. The Lydians came from the east and the north. It is unknown from where the Luwians came, a question which is bound up with the question whether the Indo-Europeans entered Anatolia from the east or the west, a question on which no consensus has been reached yet (see e.g. Melchert 2002, 23–27). Here the Lydians, probably forced by the Phrygians, went south and overran Luwian territory. The present proposal fits unproblematically in my reconstruction of the prehistory of the Lydians as coming from the north-east. The name Luwian was only maintained as a designation of the Lydians, who proved to be the stronger ones. The new interpretation provides a welcome confirmation of the former existence of the name Luwians in the West.

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