

TORRHEBIA LIMNE

(Lev. / Pl. I - IV)

ABSTRACT

The connection linking the region of present-day Gölcük to the ancient Lydian Torrhebia was indicated by Professor Louis Robert after a visit to Gölcük Yaylası in 1961, yet confusion about the location of Torrhebia still exists.

In this article, I attempt a selected review of earlier scholarly sources to complement the findings of Professor Robert. When presented together, these findings should help to shed more light on the history of this region.

Recent investigations both of a scholarly as well as of an on-site exploratory nature have turned up new evidence to substantiate earlier claims. These new archaeological finds help document and further establish a Lydian presence in this remote, mountainous region, for which such archaeological evidence has previously been scarce.

The mountain range of Tmolus bounded on the north by the fertile plains of the Hermus and the Caicus, and on the south by the Cayster and Meander, has long been a source of inspiration for the legends and early accounts of ancient Lydia*.

Then as now, the broad landscape of Lydia encompassed the two worlds of plain and mountain, believed by the ancients to have been the abode of the gods. More specifically, within the Tmolus range, rising at its highest peak to 2,152 meters, was the reputed birthplace of Zeus and Dionysius.

The richly verdant yayla (*yayla* meaning "summer pasture") of modern-day Gölcük¹ with its spring-fed lake is just 17 kilometers (as the crow flies) south of the acropolis in Sardis. It is nestled at an elevation of 1,050 meters within the central highland valley of Tekke Yaylası and that of Mursallı and Subatan Yaylası (Fig. 1).

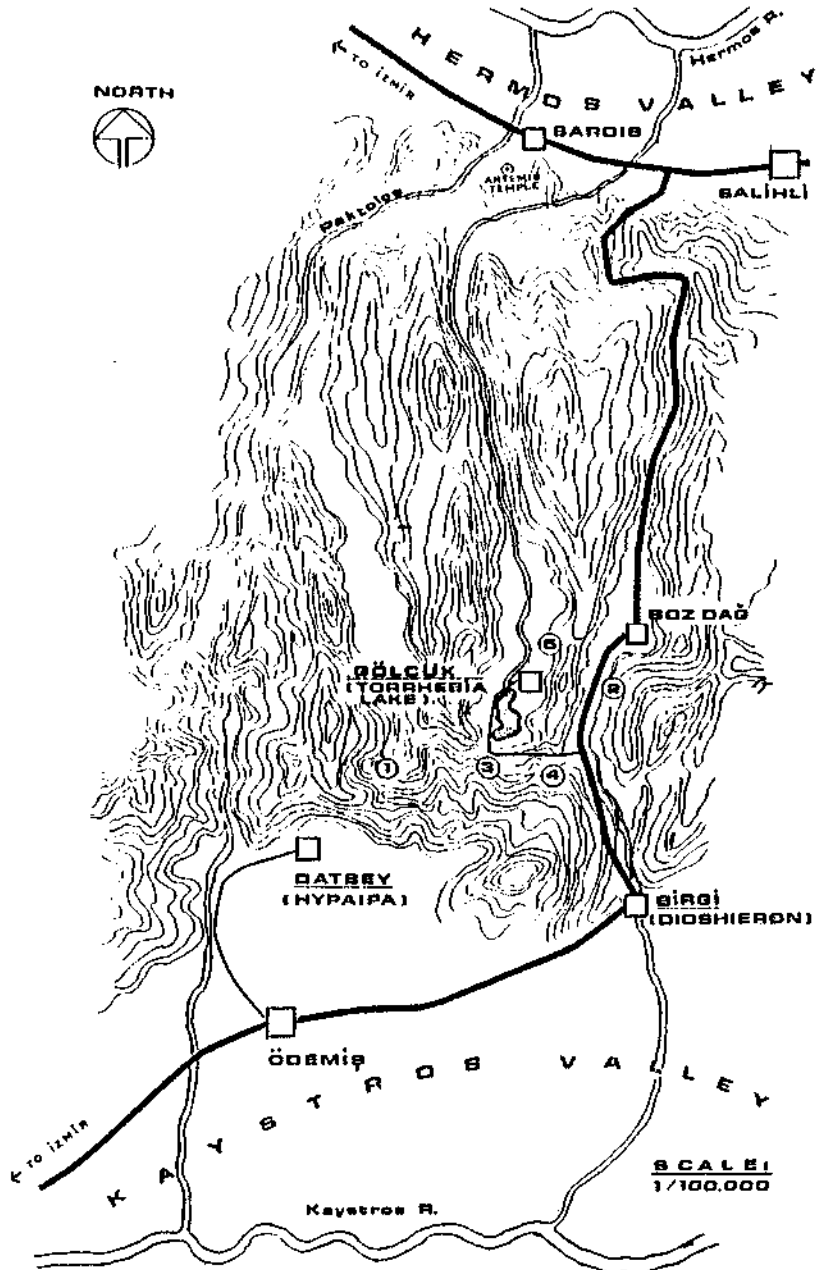
Careful research has shown that tectonic processes acting on the Tmolus range as a whole during the early to mid Pleistocene Period, asymmetrically lifted up the range and may have been sufficient to reverse the course of the streams in the upper Gölcük yaylası, causing a former marsh to be ponded into a small S-shaped montane lake².

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¹ Gölcük means "little lake, pond".

² D. Sullivan *Human Induced Vegetation Change in Western Turkey: Pollen Evidence from Central Lydia*, Ph.D. Diss., unpub., Univ. of Ca. at Berkeley (Berkeley 1989), 60-62.

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Moreover, the more recent sad combination of consecutive dry seasons and aggressive drainage of the lake water for agricultural purposes has ironically offered the previously unavailable opportunity to observe the remains of continuous settlement patterns which existed in antiquity.

Written sources about this region are abundant, however confusion still exists among scholars as to the existence and the exact location of Torrhebia³. J. Schmidt in Röcher's *Lexicon* presumed the landscape of Torrhebia to be near a shrine of the Carian Zeus near Mylasa in Southern Caria⁴. Drexler in *Fleckeis Jahrbuch*, was the first to suggest that Torrhebia should be sought out in Phrygia, based on a coin type from Hierapolis in Phrygia⁵. In 1961, Professors Jeanne and Louis Robert visited the region and identified the lake of Gölcük as the ancient Torrhebia, homeland of the Lydian hero, Τόρρηβος. L. Robert confirmed Torrhebus as the son of Atys and as the king and lyre-carrying musician who appears together with Μόψος on the Roman Imperial coin of Hierapolis (Fig. 2)⁶. The further connection of Torrhebus with musical invention is supported by Plutarch as well as Boethius who states that Toroebus, son of Atys, king of the Lydians, added a fifth string to the lyre⁷.

Stephanus of Byzantium quotes Nicolaus of Damascus, who in turn quotes the ancient Lydian historian, Xanthus, telling that in the region of Lydia there was a mountain called Karios where there stood a sanctuary dedicated to Apollo Karios. This Apollo Karios was the son of the Carian Zeus and the nymph Torrhebia⁸. According to L. Robert, "si l'on admet que la forme Kareios (connue seulement en vers) vaut Karios"

³ Torrhebia appears on all the maps of Kiepert. For localization see H. Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui* 1, Geography (Berlin 1893-1914); Tiedler, *PW* (1937) s.v. Torrhebos; Büchner, *PW* (1927) s.v. Lydia 2136-52.

⁴ J. Schmidt in W.H. Röcher's *Lexicon* (Leipzig 1924) s.v. Torrhebos.

⁵ *Loc. cit. supra* n. 4.

⁶ L. Robert's identification of the lake appears in *Villes d'Asie Mineure*², 314-15; *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1987), 308-10 [repr. from *BCH* 106 (1982), 346-48]. For the frequent relations between Hierapolis and Sardis attested to by the most abundant series of harmonious coins between the two cities, see L. Weber "Die Homoniemünzen des Phryg. Hierapolis", *Journ. Int. Arch. Num.* 14 (1912), 86-91. For the coin, see *BMC Phrygia*, 232, n. 33 and pl. XXIX, 9; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (Wien 1901), 235-6, n. 6 and pl. VII, 29; see also L. Weber, *Num. Chron.* 13 (1913), 14ⁿ, p. 111, 46, who discusses the correct spelling of TOPPHBOC, by comparison of the four known coins, although from the same dye, previously misread by Imhoof-Blumer as TOPPHPOC.

⁷ Plutarch, *De Musica* 15, 1136C [MS. and translation from the edition by B. Einarson and P.H. de Lacy (London 1967), 385]: Πίνδαρος δ' ἐν Παιῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς Νιόβης γάμοις φησὶν Λύδιον ἄρμονιαν πρῶτον διδασθῆναι, ἄλλοι δὲ Τόρρηβον πρῶτον τῇ ἄρμονίᾳ χρῆσασθαι, καθάπερ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἰαμβος ἱστορεῖ ("Pindar says in his *Paeans* that the Lydian mode was first presented at the wedding of Niobe, while others, as Dionysius Iambus records, assert that Toroebus was the first to use this mode"); Boethius, *De Institutione Musica* 1.20.

⁸ See F. Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.* (Berlin 1926), 11A, 90, fr. 15 (Frag. of Nic. of Damasc.); cf. A. Mienieke, *Stephani Byzantii Ethniconum* (Graz. 1958) 473 and C. Müllerus, *Fr. Hist. Graec.* (Paris 1883), 372 (s.v. Steph. Byz.) which states: Νήραβος, πόλις Συρίας. Νικόλαος τετάρτη. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Νηράβιος, ὡς τοῦ Τόρρηβος Τορρήβιος.

then the relationship of Karios with Kareios can be understood. It is well attested to by the two series of oracles found in Hierapolis, "ceux d'Apollon Kareios et ceux d'Apollon Klaros"⁹.

G. P. Caratelli, who is the principal editor of the oracles, dates what has become known as the "alphabetic oracle" complete from *Alpha* to *Omega*, to the Hellenistic Period. "It is an example of ready-made responses designed for use in drawing lots, a special feature of Southwest Asia Minor. Twenty-four sentences, each contained in a single hexameter are arranged in the Greek alphabet like an acrostic"¹⁰. Line 18 reads: σώσει σ' ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς χρησμοῖσι Κάρει[ος] and line 24 reads: ᾧ θεὸς εἴλαός ἐστι τύχην προσένευε Κάρειος. Here we see the god Kareios magnified as: "The King of the Immortals will save you by the oracles of Kareios" and: "To whom the god is well disposed Kareios has assigned his fortune". In *Bulletin épigraphique*, L. Robert emphasizes the relationship of Karios with Kareios by stating lines 16-17 of oracle 11b which mentions "Mopsos et Apollon Karios puisque Karios était de la famille de Torrèbos"¹¹. The fragment states: Καρείου τε μέδεσθε διαμπερὲς Ἀπόλλωνος / ἐκ γὰρ ἐμεῦ γένος ἔστε πολισσοῦχοίό τε Μόψου, which reads: "and continually be mindful of Apollo Kareios for you are descended from me in family and from Mopsos the city's patron". This suggests a genealogy found in later authors indicating that Mopsos was a son of Apollo¹².

⁹ For analysis of the frag. of Xanthus with the solution for the Karios - Kareios question see the last thoughts of L. Robert in "Les Dieux de Mottaleis en Phrygie", *JSav* 1983, 59-61 where he states: "dans cette region de la Lydie, Τορρηβίς, il y a une montagne appelée Karios et un sanctuaire de Karios". L. Robert's, earlier study indicating the relationship of Apollo Karios, Apollo Kareios and the Hierapolitan oracle in connection with the passage of Steph. Byz. appears in *Bulletin épigraphique* 1967, 582 and *BCH* 106 (1982), 347.

¹⁰ A discussion of the uniqueness of the alphabetic oracle appears in H.W. Parke, *Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor* (London 1985), 180-83. For the oracular text see G.P. Caratelli, "Χρησμοί δι' Ἀπολλοῦ Καρείου καὶ Ἀπολλοῦ Κλαρίου ἀ Hierapolis ἐν Φρυγίᾳ", *Annuario della Scuola Archaeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente (ASAtene)* 25-6 (1963-64), 352-57. For additional translations and scholarly interpretation of the oracle in accordance with Apollo Kareios and Apollo Karios see T. Ritti, "Apollo Kareios", *Hierapolis I: Fonte Letterarie ed Epigraphiche I* (Roma 1985), 129-137 (cf. *SEG* XXXV, 1985, 1387).

¹¹ For lines 16-17 of oracle 11b see G.P. Caratelli, *op. cit. supra* n. 10, 360 and its translation by H.W. Parke, *op. cit. supra* n.10, 181. L. Robert confirms that Karios was of the family of Torthebus in *Bulletin épigraphique* 1967, 582.

¹² Transl. by H.W. Parke, *op. cit. supra* n.10, 153-54. For Mopsos as a son of Apollo in later authors see Parke, *op. cit. supra* n. 10, 155, n. 16. For early references to Mopsos as a historical person see E.S. Edwards *et. al.*, *CAH* 11, 2A (1975), 363-66 and R.D. Barnett, *JHS* 73 (1953), 140-43, who suggests that Mopsos emerges as the first character from the mists of the Greek Heroic Age whose *flourit* "which must have been about 1220-1170 B.C.", can be dated independently of Greek sources. Archaeological evidence cited includes H. Bossert's brilliant discovery of the bilingual Eighth Century B.C. Hittite and Phoenecian text found in 1946 at Karatepe which renders the name of *Mopsos* as *Muksas* in Hittite as well as the mention of the name of *Muksus* which appears on a cuneiform tablet from the library at Boğazköy.

The most revealing account pointing to the importance of the lake is referred to by Nicolaus of Damascus who quotes from the *Lydiaka* by Xanthus, the ancient Lydian historian believed to have been a contemporary of Herodotus. Although a Lydian, Xanthus wrote in Greek¹³. In the account Herodotus gives in his *History* regarding the colonization of Etruria, he never mentions the work of Xanthus, which raises the suspicion that perhaps ancient rivalry was as openly competitive as it is today¹⁴. Moreover, Herodotus substitutes the name of Tyrrhenus as the brother of Lydus, instead of Torrhebus, as one of the two sons of Atys, the first king of Lydia. This substitution precipitated the ancient controversy about the existence of Torrhebus, which is still being debated among scholars today.

In addition to the fragment by Nicolaus of Damascus, the most valuable information regarding Xanthus' work comes from Strabo who had not seen the *Lydiaka* but spoke on the authority of Erastothenes¹⁵. In mentioning Xanthus, Strabo says that he may have lived in Sardis and that his name implies that he was a Hellenized Lydian or that his mother was Greek¹⁶. Moreover, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a reputedly reliable source, gives Xanthus high praise by stating: Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς ἱστορίας παλαιᾶς εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἔμπειρος ὢν, τῆς δὲ πατρίου καὶ βεβαιωτῆς ἂν οὐδενὸς ὑποδεέστερος νομισθεῖς ("But Xanthus of Lydia, who was well acquainted with ancient history as any man and who may be regarded as an authority second to none on the history of his own country")¹⁷. This comment is a valuable piece of evidence about the reliability of Xanthus as a historian of Lydia, as it refers to the wide range and authoritative character of Xanthus' work.

Quoting Nicolaus of Damascus, whose source was apparently the *Lydiaka* of Xanthus, Stephanus of Byzantium gives the ancient description of Torrhebia as:

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Τορρηβίδι ἐστὶν ὄρος Κάριος καλεόμενον καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Καρίου ἐκεῖ. Κάριος δὲ Διὸς παῖς καὶ Τορρηβίας, ὡς Νικόλαος τετάρτῳ, ὃς πλαζόμενος περὶ τινὰ λίμνην, ἣ τις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τορρηβία ἐκλήθη, φθογγῆς Νυμφῶν ἀκούσας, ἃς καὶ Μούσας Λυδοὶ καλοῦσι, καὶ μουσικὴν ἐδιδάχθη καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐδίδαξε καὶ τὰ μέλη διὰ τοῦτο Τορρήβια ἐκαλεῖτο.

"In the region of Torrhebia there is the mount called Karios and there is the temple of Karios. Karios, the child of Zeus and Torrhebia, as

¹³ See F. Jacoby, *op. cit. supra* n. 8. On Xanthus see J. Pedley, *Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis* (Cambridge 1972), 2.

¹⁴ Herodotus, 1.94. L. Pearson's *Ancient Ionian Historians* (Oxford 1939), 109, gives a spirited account of the problems concerning ancient rivalry with regard to Xanthus.

¹⁵ See L. Pearson, *op. cit. supra* n.14, 114-15 who proposes that references to Xanthus later than the Second Century B.C. may be based on the original work of Xanthus, on the epitome of Menippus, or the 'quotations' in Scytobrachion.

¹⁶ Strabo, 13.4.9. The *Souda* (s.v. Xanthus) tells us that his father was a Lydian.

¹⁷ Dion. Hal. 1.28 (transl. from the ed. by E. Cary, *The Roman Antiquities* [London 1937], 89-91).

Nicolaus in his fourth book states, wandered by a nearby lake which was to be called after him Torrhebia, heard the voices of the nymphs which Lydians also called Muses and thus he learned music and taught it to the Lydians, and because of this the melodies were called Torrhebian¹⁸.

One can imagine that the sounds of the wind rustling through the reeds of the lake were onomatopoeically interpreted as the voices of nymphs. Today, as during ancient times, this music of the reeds can still be heard, as the lake still supports an abundance of reeds growing around its present lakeshore¹⁹. Xanthus clearly speaks of a *nearby lake*. Within the context of the territory of early Lydia, the Lydia of both the plain and mountain it is conceivable that this lake was situated in close proximity of its capital city, Sardis (see the map on p. 34).

In describing the division of the kingdom of Lydia, Dionysius of Halicarnassus strengthens Xanthus' claim but also tells of a language similar to Lydian which was spoken by the Torrhebiens:

Ξάνθος ... Ἄτυος δὲ παίδας γενέσθαι λέγει Λυδὸν καὶ Τόρηβον, τούτους δὲ μερισσαμένους τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καταμεῖναι ἀμφοτέρους· καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἦρξαν ἐπ' ἐκείνων φησὶ τεθῆναι τὰς ὀνομασίας, λέγων ὧδε· "ἀπὸ Λυδοῦ μὲν γίνονται Λυδοί, ἀπὸ Τορήβου δὲ Τόρηβοι. τούτων ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγον παραφέρει, καὶ νῦν ἔτι σιλλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὥσπερ Ἴωνες καὶ Δωριεῖς".

"(Xanthus) says that Lydus and Torrhebus were the sons of Atys; that they having divided the kingdom they had inherited in Asia, and from them the nations over which they reigned received their names. His words are these: 'From Lydus are sprung the Lydians and from Torebus the Torebians. There is little difference in their language and even now each nation scoffs at many words used by the other even as do the Ionians and the Dorians'²⁰.

This suggested that the Lydians and Torrhebiens spoke "different dialects of a common language" and may explain "the numerous alterations offered for the rare word σιλλοῦσιν"²¹.

In 1963, the excavators of the Harvard-Cornell American Exploration of Sardis discovered an inscription that had been reused in a late Fourth Century A.C. pier of the

¹⁸ My own translation from F. Jacoby, *op. cit. supra* n. 8.

¹⁹ The legendary importance of lake reeds in accordance with fertility rites and myths of early Lydia is evocatively rendered by L. Robert in his description of the ancient festival of the reeds in *BCH* 106 (1982) 334-52, especially *BCH* 107 (1983) 489 (= *Documents d'Asie Mineure* [1987], 296-314, and 342).

²⁰ Transl. by E. Cary, *op. cit. supra* n. 17.

²¹ E. Cary *op. cit.*, 91.

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Roman Period Synagogue of Sardis, which has become known as the 'Synagogue Inscription'. "The date of the pier is not earlier than the sixth century nor later than the fourth century B.C. It has been suggested that this twelve line inscription which resembles Lydian may in fact be Maeonian or Torrhebian, which was intended to be in dialectical relationship to Lydian"²².

An often misunderstood and neglected reference to the Torrhebian of Mount Tmolus appears in Aeschylus' tetralogy which includes the *Persians*²³. Contests in *tragoidia* were established in the year 534 B.C. at the Great Dionysia Festival in Athens. Today, this play is believed by scholars to be as a document of history witnessed. Aeschylus was himself a participant in the struggle, however the events recounted go beyond the sea-battle at Salamis²⁴.

Consider that Aeschylus was born ca. 525 B.C. and that he had already won first prize in Athens with *Persians*, in the year 472 B.C. when Herodotus, born ca. 485 B.C., was only 13 years old. In defense of the play's historicity, R. Lattimore believes that the Athenians would not have awarded "first prize to a tragic poet for dealing wildly with known facts in a contemporary theme"²⁵. Aeschylus' sound, intimate knowledge of the historiography of Mount Tmolus, indicated by lines 49-52, allows one to logically interpret that he must have been familiar with an earlier historical tradition, possibly even an *oral* one, which predates the writing career of Herodotus. Lines 49-52 read:

στεύονται δ' ἱεροῦ Τμώλου πελάται
ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλεῖν δούλιον Ἑλλάδι,
Μάρδων, Θάρυβις, λόγχης ἄκμονες,
καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ Μυσοί²⁶.

J. S. Blackie, composed his translation of lines 49-52 from Aeschylus' *Persians* which reads:

And the sons of sacred Tmolus appear
On free-necked Hellas to lay the yoke
Mardon and Tharybis, stiff to the spear
As the anvil is stiff to the hammers stroke
And the men of Mysia, skillful to throw
The well poised dart, and they who ride²⁷.

²² G.M. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times* (Cambridge 1983), 89, especially 249, n. 16.

²³ A.J. Podlecki, *The Persians* (Englewood Cliffs 1970), 27, in analyzing the significance of line 51 "Mardon, Tharybis, those anvils of the spear" concludes: "The first of many Aeschylean images whose exact meaning cannot - and need not - be specified".

²⁴ R. Lattimore, "The Defeat of Xerxes", *Classical Studies in Honor of William Oldfather* (Urbana 1943), 82-93.

²⁵ R. Lattimore, *loc. cit. supra* n. 24.

²⁶ From the edition by H.W. Smyth in *Aeschylus I* (Cambridge 1988), 112-14.

²⁷ *The Persians* (London 1906) 302.

This can be compared with R. Potter's translation which follows:

And from the foot of Tmolus, sacred mount
Eager to bind on Greece the servile yoke,
Mardon and Tharybis the massy spear
Grasp with unwearied vigour; the light lance
The Mysians shake. A mingled multitude²⁸.

L. Campbell's translation reads:

Sacred Tmolus' neighbouring folk
Threaten Hellas with the yoke;
Tharybis and Mardon lead,
Anvils both, to endure at need
Mysian lancers next come on²⁹;

A recent translation by J. Lembroke and C. J. Herington reads:

Lydia's neighbors
who live in eyes' reach of her godswept peak
Mardon, Tharybis, lance-breaking anvils
Mysians, too, masters of javelins-
all, all have vowed
to throw slavery's yoke
firm on the Greeks³⁰.

Aeschylus' rendering of *Lydia's neighbours* can be compared with Strabo's later text which closely paraphrases Aeschylus' earlier description of Mount Tmolus as: ὑπέρεκται δὲ τῶν Σάρδεων ὁ Τμῶλος, εὐδαιμον ὄρος, ἐν τῇ ἀκρωρεῖα σκοπὴν ἔχον, ἐξέδραν λευκοῦ λίθου, Περσῶν ἔργον, ἀφ' οὗ κατοπιτεύεται τὰ κύκλω πεδία, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Καῦστριανόν· περιουκοῦσι δὲ Λυδοὶ καὶ Μυσοὶ καὶ Μακεδόνες ("Above Sardeis is situated Mt. Tmolus, a blest mountain, with a look-out on its summit, an arcade of white marble, a work of the Persians, whence there is a view of the plains all around, particularly the Caÿster Plain. And round it dwell Lydians and Mysians and Macedonians")³¹.

In Aeschylus' older version of *Lydia's neighbours* the highly specific historiographic setting suggested by the name Θάρυβις (Tharybis) in conjunction with

²⁸ Aeschylus (New York 1844), n. 13, 312.

²⁹ *The Seven Plays in English Verse* (London 1890), 51.

³⁰ W. Arrowsmith, *The Greek Trag. in New Transl. Aeschylus: Persians* (New York - Oxford 1981), 41. Cf. H.W. Smyth, *op. cit. supra* n. 26, 113: "they too that dwell by sacred Tmolus..."; T.A. Buckley, *The Tragedies of Aeschylus* (New York 1949), 68: "The borderers too on sacred Tmolus..."; G. Murray, *Aeschylus, The Creator of Tragedy* (Oxford 1940), 116, simply states: "followed by subject tribes from the mountains...".

³¹ 13.4.5 (Transl. by H. Jones, *The Geogr. of Strabo VI* [London 1929], 173).

Μάρδων (Mardon), here indicating Lydians or leaders of the Lydians from the immediate vicinity of Mount Tmolus, can reasonably be understood as an intended poetic variant or as a corruption (perhaps even by the poet) of Τόρρηβίς (Torrhebis) or Τόρρηβος (Torrhebos)³².

To understand the reason for such textural corruptions one should be aware of the manner in which knowledge may have been transmitted from one scribe to another. In discussing the *Persae* of Aeschylus, H. D. Broadhead states, "Both the poet and his informants were likely to make errors in transcribing unknown and little-known names". Broadhead furthermore believes we should make allowances for the influence and the mistakes of copyists³³.

An invaluable examination dealing with the complexities between the numerous variations in the MSS. of Aeschylus (150 are known to exist) appears in R.D. Dawe's *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* which presents MS. variations for Θάρυβις and Μάρδων³⁴.

In *Aeschylus 1*, H.W. Smyth describes how the MSS. of Aeschylus were exposed to various forms of corruption long before the writing of the oldest extant manuscript and that the "shifting of pronunciation affected the spelling". Smyth also describes the *codice archipo* Laurentianus Mediceus MS. as being "written at the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century by an unlearned scribe and is full of errors of the most varied character"³⁵.

L. Whibley simply states, "Confusion of sounds must be reckoned among the occasional sources of error in MSS., though its operation was limited there can be no doubt that in later antiquity the *librarii* sometimes employed dictation; a MS. was read aloud and copied by several scribes simultaneously"³⁶.

³² Cf. contextual usage for Μάρδων, indicated by line 993 in H.W. Smyth's, *op. cit. supra* n. 26, which states: Μάρδων ἀνδρῶν μυριοταγόν. Further contextual usage for Θάρυβις which appears in lines 323 and 971 of the same edition, may here indicate Θάρυβις as a corruption of Τόρρηβος. For additional textual variations of Torrhebis, Torrhebia and Torrhebos see the *apparatus criticus* of A. Meineke, *op. cit. supra* n.8, 628-29, which proposes: Τορυβείς, Τορυβία, Τορύβου; cf. F. Jacoby *Fr. Gr. Hist. (supra* n.8) 340 and J. Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronomie* (Wiesbaden 1977), 149-50. The Turnebus MS (Paris 1552) *Αισχύλου Πέρσαι* interestingly records for line 51: τ' Ἀρυβίς; cf. C.J. Blomfield, *Aechyli Persae* (Cambridge 1818), 5, n. 51: τ' Ἄρυβις and Θάρυβις. R.D. Dawe believes that the names are "Grecised Persian words in some cases slightly changed to suit the metre" (*The Coll. and Invest. of Manus. of Aeschylus*, Cambridge 1964, 163). However, in *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* 1,II (Munich 1934) 201, W. Schmidt is surprised that there has been less discussion of these names in recent times than expected.

³³ H.D. Broadhead, *The Persae of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1960), 318-21.

³⁴ R.D. Dawe, *op. cit. supra* n. 32, n. 51, 299 gives textural variations for Μάρδων as Μάργων and for Θάρυβις as Θάρβις and Βάρυβις; cf. also n.323, 311 which proposes Θάρυβης and Θάρυρις.

³⁵ H.W. Smyth, *Aeschylus 1* (Cambridge 1988) xxxviii.

³⁶ L. Whibley, *A Comp. to Greek Studies* (London 1968), 722.

Inquiry into the connection between Θάρυβις and Μάρδων leads us to Herodotus who refers to the Mardoï as a tribe of Persian nomads, which may be a fitting description of the nearby inhabitants of Lydo/Persian Hypaipa³⁷. During antiquity, there existed there a well-known Persian establishment surrounding the sanctuary of the celebrated Iranian goddess, Anaitis, the Persian Artemis³⁸.

In Strabo's much later version, the Lydians have become synonymous with Θάρυβις (Tharybis), mentioned centuries earlier by Aeschylus, who together with the Mysians and Macedonians, were indicated to be the co-inhabitants of the Lydian region of Mount Tmolus³⁹.

Nearby Lübbey (formerly Lütbey) Yaylası lies in the central foothills of Mount Tmolus, and is directly connected to Sardis by two nearby roads. Epigraphic evidence in Lübbey indicates the presence there of Macedonian settlers during antiquity⁴⁰.

Given that the Lydo/Persian city of Hypaipa (whose modern toponym variant, Datbey) is located in the plateau just below the modern day yayla of Gölcük, or the ancient Torrhebia, one can conclude that the present day topography of Mount Tmolus continues to conform to the ancient historiographic descriptions given by Aeschylus and Strabo.

New discoveries by Rose Lou and Uğur Bengisu have brought to light substantiations of claims by earlier sources. Recent discoveries include fragments of white marble egg-and-dart molding of Archaic style, found near Ovacık Yaylası, 4 kilometers west of the yayla of Gölcük. (see Fig. 3; for its location see No. 1 on the map on p. 34). This find would indicate the existence of an Archaic temple in the vicinity of Gölcük, which can conceivably be associated with the attested temple of Apollo Karios, as such a temple was clearly indicated by Xanthus as having stood in the region of Torrhebia.

Additional discoveries further delineating the expanse of the Torrhebian region include the remains of a Lydian chamber tomb at a hilltop site 3 1/2 kilometers east of Gölcük in Tekke Yaylası (Fig. 4; for its location see No. 2 on the map on p. 34) as well as two chamber tombs 1 1/2 kilometers south of Gölcük, facing the Cayster valley

³⁷ Herodotus I.125; W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge 1992), 36, suggests one should "penetrate beyond rhyming games with external assonances by taking into account necessary connections between names and concrete objects and skills, or between groups of terms that belong together".

³⁸ For the Persian name Μαρδό(νιος), its Iranian form Mardunya and the article about Hypaipa and its Persian colony see L. Robert, *BCH* 107 (1982), 503 (= *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, 347). For an overall scholarly study of the history and historical geography of Mount Tmolus see C. Foss, "Explorations in Mount Tmolus", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity (CSCA)* 2 (1978), 21-60.

³⁹ Strabo 13.4.5 (the passage which I have already quoted *supra* n.31).

⁴⁰ For the history of Lübbey with early Second Century A.D. epigraphic evidence of the name Βάλαγρος, here indicating "an unusual variant in *Gamma* of the Macedonian name Balakros", see C. Foss, *op. cit. supra* n. 38, 39-43, who states, "Its presence here, among others purely Greek provides interesting testimony about the origins of the inhabitants of this town high in Mount Tmolus".

Torrhebia Limne

(Figs. 5 and 6; for their location see Nos. 3, 4 on the map on p. 34) and the remains of a Lydian mound tomb in Gölcük Yaylası, 1 1/2 kilometers north of the lake at Danacılar (Fig. 7; for its location see No. 5 on the map on p. 34).

The archaeological evidence cited in this report substantiates the presence of the Lydians in this region. It will enable further reconstruction of an earlier historical tradition which until now has been in great part limited to a mixture of ancient references, popular etymological legends and rumoured, fabulous finds.

CONCLUSION

The lake of Gölcük is the only nearby lake which lies directly south of Sardis within the highlands of Mount Tmolus. It is a region steeped in legends of early Lydia. Therefore there can be no mistake that the lake of Gölcük with its surrounding plateau, is none other than the ancient Torrhebia referred to by the historians of antiquity. In fact, the rather graphic reference given to us by Nonnos as: οἱ τε Τορηβιον εὐρύ in which he describes, "those from broad Torebios" perfectly illustrates the wide and long yayla of Gölcük⁴¹. The description by Dionysius of Halicarnassus which indicates the ancient division of the kingdom of Lydia between Lydus and Torrhebus makes it seem likely that the territory of Torrhebia was not necessarily limited to the area of the lake and its immediate surroundings⁴². Referred to as the region of Τορηβίς, or Τορηβία, the ancient Torrhebia may well have included much of the nearby mountainous countryside as well.

The contrasting landscape of cool, high plateaus of Mount Tmolus understandably offered an alternative environment for the inhabitants of the torrid Cayster and Hermus plains as much so during antiquity as it does so today. The identities of the little-known hamlets and remote villages of today's Mount Tmolus can be traced back to their origin and their inhabitants through references by ancient authors, from epigraphic remains and from archaeological evidence.

Available literary sources are limited to known works of ancient scholars, therefore additional appreciation and understanding of the significance of this region will depend on the discoveries of further archaeological evidence and future attempts to unfold the magnificent legacy of its ancestral past.

Rose Lou Bengisu
Gölcük 1992

⁴¹ *Dionysiaca* XIII, 466.

⁴² See the passage quoted *supra* n. 17.

