

A MAP OF ARZAWA AND THE LUGGA LANDS

by Professor John GARSTANG

PLACES LOCALIZED:

Apasas (by the Sea): Habasos (Antiphellus):	Andifilo
Appawiya (Seha River Land): ? Mylasa:	Milas
Atriya (fortified city): Tralleis:	Aidin
Aura (near Sallapa): Amorion (Aiorion):	Aziziye
Buranda (hill Fortress): Apamea - Celaenae:	Dinar
Ḥapanuwa (Fortress):	Afiun - Karahisar (Reşadiye)
Ḥursanassa (Lugga - land): Khersonesos:	—
Ialanti (Seha R. Land): Alinda:	Demirci
Marasa (near the sea): Narasa:	Narasar
Millawanda (Millawata) by the sea: Miletos:	Balad (? Ak Keui)
Sallapa (Road junction): Spalia:	Sivri Hisar
Wallarimma (? Lugga Lands) Hyllarimma:	Kapraklar
Waliwanda (on road to Millawata): Alabanda:	Arabasar
Walmaa (by the Astarpa R.) Holmi:	Karaca Ören

MOUNTAINS:

Lawasa: Dindymos:	Chal Dg.
Arinnanda (Mt. and Promontory): Solyma Mons and Hieria Acra: Tahtali Dagħ and Beşada	

ARZAWA AND THE LUGGA LANDS

POSITION AND GEOGRAPHY:

Notwithstanding the acquired position of the Hittites on the central plateau of Anatolia and the expansion of their power, there always remained one part of the peninsula which they were unable permanently to absorb or pacify. This was the Kingdom of Arzawa. From earliest times it figures in the Hittite records as a rival power; in the dark age for Hatti it advanced its frontier into the Hittite lowlands as far as Tyana; and as late as 13000 B. e., when the greater Hittite Empire was in the making, Arzawa maintained separate diplomatic relations with the Pharaohs of Egypt.

The archives of Arzawa have not yet been found; that discovery will reward the future generation of Turkish students. Indeed, before the Hittite records were deciphered, so little was known about Arzawa that its very position on the map of Asia Minor had remained a subject of controversy and conjecture. The translation and analysis of these records provide however some clues. Dr. Oliver Gurney has provided me with a carefully collected summary of these, upon which the present geographical conclusions are based.

Though the boundaries of Arzawa varied considerably with the ebb and flow of power, they must have contained permanently a central area of peculiar defensibility. The political organization of Arzawa in the fourteenth century B. C is in fact described in Mursil's Annals. It comprised a central state of that name, in hill country, bounded on one side by the Sea: its capital Apasas was actually on the Sea, and one high range of mountains is said to have jutted out as a headland. Around the central name-state Arzawa was a ring of vassal states which in their turn had contact with districts ruled or held in vassalage by the Hittites. On the one side - which we shall shortly find to have been the East - was the principality of Hapalla, a permanent member of the Arzawan confederacy. Hapalla was vulnerable from the Hittite lowlands (the eastern reaches of the plain of Konia), and it also touched the sea. One text, if correctly read, actually describes Hapalla as a seaport, three days voyage from some

point on the coast of central Syria. It must therefore have been on the Mediterranean, not much farther than Mersin or Selefke: Arzawa, being adjacent, must have fronted the Mediterranean also.

On the other side, the West, the nearest neighbour and ally of Arzawa (at that time) was the Land of the Seha River, of which Ialanti was a principal town. Later on we shall find reason to equate this name with Alinda in Western Caria; but that point, though related, is not the first to notice. Beyond Ialanti was an important city, Millawanda, nominally under Hittite suzerainty; and this place also was on the Sea. Its name, in the form Millawatas, is reproduced clearly in the classical Miletos on the Carian shores of the Aegean. The further fact that the King of Millawanda was fast falling under the influence of the newly arriving Achaeans (ahhīawans) confirms the Aegean setting of these contexts.

Now the Seha R. Lands which thus lay between western Arzawa and the Aegean Sea, was part of the Lugga Land, a territory doubtless peopled at this time by the Lukka who are known from Egyptian sources to have joined with the Achaeans and others about 1300 B. C in sea raids upon the coasts of Syria and Egypt. This association of the Lugga Lands with Miletus on the Carian seaboard is therefore significant; and it is all the more interesting to find among the group of local place names, several others which seem plainly to have survived the fall of Hattusas. Such are, in addition to Millawanda and Ialanti already mentioned, Hursanassa, Waliwanda and Wallarimma, which reappear transparently as Khersonesos, Alabanda and Hyllarimna. The suggested equivalences are confirmed in various ways: for instance the first contains the Hittite word for "head", and the name may well mean "Headland" as in Greek usage. The second (in which the digamma became B as was frequent) is found to be placed in relation to the others exactly as the text requires, namely, on the road to Millawanda. These names represent a group of cities which the Hittite constantly strove to keep under his own control and out of Arzawan hands. Thus, while single names cannot safely be localized by surviving resemblances, this group seems definitely to provide a clue to the position of the Lugga lands and the Seha River Land. They have also a wider interest, because they represent the first settlement of the Lycians on the coasts of Caria, in accordance with classical tradition; and it was from these Carian creeks and harbours that as pirates the Luku roamed seas with the Achaeans, with whom these Hittite records show them to have actually established contact.

For the purposes of our present enquiry, the location of the Lugga Land on the coast of Caria sets a clear boundary to Arzawa in the West.

Summing up these results, we find the coastlands of Hapalla to be those of Pamphylia; and the coasts of central Arzawa to comprise part of Pamphylia and most of Lycia, the present vilayet of Antalya. What now of the inland boundary? The principal member of the Arzawan confederacy fronting on the Hittite domain was the state of Mira, of which Kuwaliya was a district. The boundary between Kuwaliya and the Hittite area was defined by the R. Astarpa, while the River Siyanti marked in some way the border of the rest of Mira. The problem is now much simplified: our attention can be focussed on the S. W. of the plateau where rugged Pisidia provides just the territory indicated for central Arzawa; and we are to decide which two rivers can mark the boundary of its northern borderlands in the way described. It soon becomes obvious that the inland Cayster (Akar Çay) is well placed and must figure in our map on the border of Kuwaliya; and since Mira has western as well as northern contacts we take the upper waters of the Maeander, in particular the Glaucus H. (Kufu Ç.) as its boundary, the R. Siyanti. Other combinations are possible, and we have tried them all; but none satisfies and illuminates the indications of the texts so well as this. The touchstone is the presence of the requisite communications and strong places that lend reality to the story of Mursil's exploits in these regions.

We conclude then, that central Arzawa was permanently situated in Pisidia and the adjacent coastlands of Pamphylia and Lycia; and that greater Arzawa, which in the time of Mursil included the confederated states of Hapalla, Mira and the Seha River, reached in the North as far as Afiun Karahissar (which is on the upper Maeander), and in the south ranged along the coast from near the Kalycadnus River to the Xanthos or the Indus.

The tract of Pisidia, the central defensive position in this combination, is physically a broken branch of Taurus, in the recesses of which were numerous natural fortresses such as Termessus, Cremna and the acropolis of Celaenae Apameia. The latter, which corresponds well with Buranda of our text, was later deemed by Alexander to be impregnable.

The relatively few towns in Arzawa known from the Hittite texts (apart from those on Mursil's line of march) cannot well be localized except from resemblance of their names with those of later times. Of

these Kuwalapassa may prove to be Colbasa and Talawas, Tlos; but further inference from these possibilities would be unsound. Attractive also is the possible survival of the name of Sallapassa, a residence and resort of the Arzawan princes, as Sagallassos, one of the most central and prosperous towns in the early history of Pisidia. Strabo tells us it was called also Selgessus. The solution of such local problems invites specialized research within the area. Excavations already made by Miss Lamb at Kusura, while illustrating the individuality of the local culture have revealed a period of imperial Hittite contact.

The capital of Arzawa, Apassas, cannot be placed with certainty, but the indications narrow down the field of search. In Pisidia the natural channels of communication lie north to south, following generally the river systems. One such route runs from Afiun by Apamea-Celaenae through the land of hills and lakes down to Adalia on the coast. Thence a coast route continues down the eastern side of the Lycian peninsula across the Kheledonian promontory and so westward to Antiphellus. Now Mr. Richard Barnett points out that an ancient name associated with this place was Hapasos, and across its bay is the small island of Costelorizo, which normally maintained traffic with the mainland and the neighbouring coasts. From here a coastal route gave access to the Carian Khersonesos and other cities of the Lugga Lands in the west. The significance of these details will become apparent; they lead us tentatively to place Apasas at this site near Antiphellus (where incidentally there are indications of pre-Hellenic antiquity), rather than (say) at Adalia, which would at first sight appear more central and convenient. Adalia itself does not mark pre-Hellenic site, but there is a more ancient one some miles to the west. In that direction an ancient and relatively direct route leads N. W. by way of the ancient cities of Isinda and Cibyra over the divide where rise the xanthus (Eshen Ç) and the Indus (Dolaman Ç) to join the lower basin of the Meander (Menders). This river with its several affluents provides good access to Lydia and the Carian coasts. Wherever the Capital of Arzawa might be, this would be necessarily the route from any place on the Pamphylian coast to the Land of the R. Seha, the western neighbour and ally of Arzawa. in the age of Mursil.

The coastal road east of Pamphylia is so difficult and tortuous that it can almost be disregarded from a strategic standpoint: even to-day travellers find it easier to make a wider detour into the near angle of the great plain by old Karaman. One other direct link with

the great plain is to be noted: a route from Konnia passing by Beyshehr, after following the southern side of the Lake bends south through a break in Taurus and gains the coast not far from eski Antalya. This would be the main line of communication with Hapalla from the border states of Hatti (Walma and Pitassa) which fringed the great plain (the «Lowlands») on that side. It would therefore be by one of these routes, from Konia or from Old Isaura, that Hapalla was attacked, as we are told, at Lalanda by the cavalry of Harmuttis from «the Lowlands»; but there is no suggestion of any attack being pushed home from this side into Arzawa. The setting of this episode is indeed entirely different from that of Mursil's big campaign, which started from Sallapa leaving Hapalla out of the picture. Indeed no attack on central Arzawa was practicable from the side of the lowland for the simple reason that no road leads directly westward from Konia through Pisidia. It is significant that an attempt in Roman times to unite the districts of Pisidia and Iconium for administrative purposes had to be abandoned.

We have glanced at the boundaries and communications of Arzawa on the east and west: let us look now to the north. On that side the broken Pisidian ridges give way to the bold but more open valleys of the upper Sangarios, the Hermos and the Maeander, the natural channels of communication between the plateau and the coast. The line of the great west road of the Hittites is fairly clear, for it remained in use later as the Persian post route, and its course is marked at various points by Hittite monuments extending from Giour Kalesi to Karabel and Sipylos in the west. After leaving the first named it crossed the Sangarios (the Sekariya R.) near Yarre, where a Hittite inscription marks the spot; then, skirting Mt. Dindymos (apparently the Mt. Lawasa of our text) it passed through Sallapa, a Hittite cult centre, which we place at Sivri Hissar, anciently Spalia near Pessinus, where was a famous sanctuary of the mother goddess. From there it bent southward to Amorium, another road junction, where in later times was a fortress, which we identify with Aura of Mursil's campaigns. Here a branch road of direct interest to us leads southward past Afiun to Celaenae - Apamea. From here there are two main routes, one of which continues to descend by the valley of the Maeander to the western coast near Miletos, while another descends to the southern coast at Adalia by Way of Sagallassos.

But the Royal Road to the West, as traced and used by the Hittites, after leaving Amorium, passed through the glorious Phrygian

pinelands by the monument at Beykai and Keramon Agora, whence descending from the plateau it joined the southerly tributary of the Hermus which it followed to the plain of Sardis (then however non-existent). Thence the way was open to the bay of Smyrna, (İzmir) passing below Mt. Sipylos with its giant rock image of the mother goddess, or southward by Tmolus and the imperial monument of Karabel to ancient Ephesos.

The origins of the Royal Road are lost in the mists of time; doubtless its development as a trade route had been going on for centuries before it was adopted by the Hittites. Evidence of its extensive and continued use in Hittite times is not confined to the monuments that mark its lines. Excavations at Ephesos convinced Mr. Hogarth that Hittite culture long dominated the Aegean coast; and similar results are said to have been obtained at Miletos where there is evidence also of contact with imperial Hatti.

The value of this road to the Hittites was by no means measured by its use in commerce: from the military standpoint it became indispensable. The long struggle to keep the cities of the Lugga Land and by the River Seha from falling into Arzawan or other hostile hands suggests its usefulness in the imperial scheme, and shows that successive Hittite emperors realized the vital importance of keeping open this doorway to the west. The safeguarding of this royal road, which in times of rebellion might be the only route open to the imperial armies, became a matter of permanent concern. Its particular weakness was the exposure of its flank to attack from the Arzawans where it approached the borders of Mira in the middle of its course. These considerations enable us to appreciate the strategic value of Mursil's exploits and to realize how his diplomatic moves formed part of a thought-out policy of encirclement designed to counter the Arzawan menace. This policy was apparently threefold: (i) to give his hereditary enemy full constitutional liberty within his Pisidian homelands and the adjoining coast: (ii) to ensure that the vassal states with which central Arzawa was surrounded acknowledged the prior claims of the Great King: (iii) to entrust the royal road to the keeping of a loyal vassal or preferably an independent ally.

At the time of Mursil's campaign, (his 3rd, 4th and 12th years) and seemingly throughout his reign, the territory through which the royal road descended from the plateau was called Wilusa¹; it

¹ I Hope to publish a detailed discussion of this evidence in collaboration with Dr. Gurney at a later date.

was ruled independently by a grateful ally seemingly without any formal arrangement; and it would appear that this state of things had already lasted more than a century. This fact transpires in records of the reign of Muwattallis, when the increasing pressure of western influences called for a treaty with its chieftain Alaksandus. In this unique document the Hittite King paid generous, even pointed, tribute to the loyalty of that chieftain's forbears towards his own predecessors on the throne of Hitti. (The text itself disposes of any suggestion that Wilusa might be identical with Ilios, and Alaksandus with Paris of Troy, possibilities which the Egyptian list of Muvattallis western allies at the battle of Kadesh made worth investigation. Relations between the chieftain of Wilusa and the Hittite Kings dated in fact from the time long past when "Tabarnaas,, had just subdued the Arzawa land and annexed Wllusa, at that time an Arzawan province. Thereafter the narrative recalls in outline the good relations maintained in the successive reigns of Tuthaliya and Subbiluliuma, the founders of the Empire. It is however evident from later passages that with the 13 th century, the period of the document, conditions were changing. The permanent hostility of Arzawa and the increasing pressure of the Achaeans from the coast called for protective measures reciprocal in character. Wilusa was restored to Arzawa (then subject to Hatti) under special terms of vassalage. But in the sequel the arrangement broke down, and Wilusa became submerged: a new comer backed by the King's fresh enemies in the West took the place of its erstwhile loyal chieftain, and claimed the right to style himself "the watchman and outpost of the Empire.,,

It is clear that Wilusa, situated centrally astride the western highway, played an important role in the imperial strategy of the Hittite kings. To complete the map of the north and west in the time of Mursil would involve a long discussion of numerous documents which we must defer. We may note however that the ethnic groups whose names ultimately took root in the soil as Asia, Cilicia, Mysia, etc. had not yet found their homes; but the position in which we find the Mysians and Lycians, and also the Karkisians if these be the Kelekes conform well with their traditions.

Even though there must be errors of detail and vague patches in the map of western Anatolia, which we have reconstructed, we are satisfied that it contains a substantial element of reality: we will now enquire to which extent it elucidates the campaigns which Mursil led in his 3 rd and 4 th years through Arzawa to the west.

II. MURSIL'S CAMPAIGNS IN ARZAWA.

We have realized from the political geography of the areas involved, how dangerous a situation might develop if the Hittites' hereditary rival of Arzawa in the South joined hands with the invading Achaeans of the West. This is in effect what ultimately happened, though the immediate *casus belli* was a matter of detail. A large number of captives owing service to the Great King in three of the distant cities of the Lukka lands, including Khursanassa, sought to avoid their obligations by taking refuge in Arzawa, where the ruling King refused to surrender them. A vital principle was at stake, and Mursil though fully occupied at the time by punitive expeditions among the rebellious Gsgans, was quick to sense the danger. He was aware that the Arzawan King's defiance in the matter of these refugees was but an incident in a series of wider intrigues with the Achaeans; these were rapidly spreading disaffections through the coveted cities that lay between them; they had indeed already incited rebellion in the Seha River land and led to the acceptance by Milla-wanda of the overlordship of the Achaean King. Seen now it looks as though the Arzawan and Achaean Kings had come to an arrangement to divide between them this outlying Hittite territory; and Mursil was right in regarding this plot as a major issue. Returning promptly to his capital he spent the winter in preparing for a great campaign. Amongst other steps he summoned his brother from Carchemish with an expeditionary force, in accordance with the term of vassalage prescribed for major wars, to join him at Sallapa in the early spring.

Sallapa was well known as a religious centre, and it must also have marked an important road junction. In one version of this narrative it is associated with the R. Sekiriya, the modern and presumably permanent name of the Sangarius. We place it accordingly at Spalia, the ancient site of Sivri Hisar, which satisfies these conditions. This seems rather far to the north for a meeting place with troops from Carchemish, but there were good reasons for Mursil's choice. For one thing any army attempting to reach the disaffected areas in the West by a southern route, whether by the coast or from the Hittite Lowlands to the S. W. of Konia, would have to force its way (as we have seen) through difficult enemy country mainly across the natural channels of communication, and constantly exposed to ambush. The inception of such an expedition against Hapalla is in fact upon record, and the whole setting is quite different from that

described in this case. On the other hand the royal road to the west which passed by Giuor Kalasi, Pessinus and Amorium, lay open, and offered to Mursil a direct line of approach to his objective through friendly and neutral territory. The maintenance of this line of communication was at all times a vital consideration for the Hittite Kings; and in this case there was a special reason why Mursil should secure it in good time. For the King of Mira, though a member of the Arzawan confederacy, had remained loyal to his obligations towards his suzerain. The records tell us that he had already met and defeated one of the rebel King's sons in battle; and in an effort to stem the rising had led troops to attack Hapanuwa, an important Arzawan stronghold, on the frontier of Kuwalia, which had apparently joined in the revolt. As the situation worsened Mursil's plan for a combined offensive provided for this loyal vassal to join forces with his own upon the line of march. The royal road alone provided the opportunity.

Mursil's carefully laid plans worked well. The troops under his command were heartened by the appearance of a thunderbolt while in the Mountain of lawasa. His brother duly led in his force from Carchemish at Sallapa; and at the next stage upon the route, Aura, the concentration of the whole army was completed by the unmolested arrival of Mashuilas with his contingent from Mira. He brought news of the illness of the Arzawan King, struck by a "thunderbolt,, (the weapon of Tessub), at Apasas, and of a heavy concentration of Arzawan troops under his son near the river Astrapa. Mursil, who was endowed with his father's military genius, decided to attack his enemy without delay and with all his strength. The battle was joined at Walma¹ (? Holmi) by the Astarpa, and ended in a decisive victory for the Hittite allies. The Arzawans, who had been reinforced according to one version by the rebel captives, were routed and broke as they fled into three separate groups, each of which was pursued by the victors, operating no doubt as three separate commands. One group took refuge in the towering citadel of Buranda, a second on the Mountain of Arinanda, while the third followed in the wake of the king who, when Mursil entered Apasas was found to have "escaped by sea,, to a neighbouring island.

It is the last quoted episode which points to the site of Habasos

¹ This name, spelt always Walma is to be distinguished from the State of Walma in the south. The difference in spelling is like that between Olbia and olba in later history.

on the Lycian coast rather than a central place such as Adalia for the site of Apasas. It is true that one route which descends from the scene of the battle to this coast passes near Adalia; but there are no convenient islands off that port, nor any nearer than those off the Kheledonian point of eastern Lycia (the Beş ada) and these were hardly habitable. Nor does it appear that the King made a long voyage, (e. g. to Cyprus), because we are told that after his death on the island in the following Spring Mursil sent across and brought back his booty. On the other hand a suitable island is found opposite Habasos in Castelorizo, (Meis). It is true that the land route to Habasos from Walma would be longer; than to Adalia; but the campaign so briefly narrated took several months in any case, and in fact, it was by no means ended when winter caused field operations to be suspended. The favourable months on the Analolian plateau are six (May to October); although the movement of troops from Carchemish may have commenced earlier. Allowing then two months for the concentration of the forces at Sallapa and Aura and three months for the subsequent siege operations and negotiations still to be described, we find an ample margin of a full month for the battle and pursuit of the defeated units, and this estimate seems proportionate to the events narrated, having regard to the physical difficulties of the country. Certainly many episodes and deeds of individual daring must have escaped record: detached bands of fugitives would have to be rounded up, and guerilla warfare would be continuous; but these tactical operations would be collateral with the second and third phases of the contest and not interrupt the main course of operations. Thus a difference of a few days or a week in the distance of Apasas from the scene of the battle has no bearing on the location of that site. The position and communications of Habasos satisfy completely the indications of the narrative.

One contingent of the defeated army took refuge, as we have learnt, in the Mountain of Arinnanda. Now Arinna is an ancient Lycian word, meaning possibly a Spring. It appears in its ancient form as Arnna upon a coin, and as Arina upon an obelise inscribed in Lycian characters. A place Arinna (not the famous Hittite sanctuary of that name) is actually mentioned in one of these Arzawan contexts. The mountain of Arinnanda is described in graphic terms, for it was obviously impressive. It was very high and shaggy and also rocky, so difficult indeed that horses could not climb it: and it ended in a precipitous promontory which jutted into the Sea. Now a

ridge of this kind runs down the eastern seaboard of Lycia and terminates as described in the Kheledonian point, the "sacred rock" and islands of that name. Rising 5,000 feet above the sea, this bold landmark is well known to navigators and is vividly described in that valuable handbook "the Mediterranean Pilot., It forms the edge of a high habitable plateau associated with the pre-Greek population of Lyciya, the solymoi, some of whose legends seem to reflect closely the events described in these Hittite records and to retain the memory of Mursil's exploits. Here, then, if we are right in our location of Mt. Arinnanda, Mursil besieged the remnants of the defeated Arzawans and their allies who had sought refuge in its fastnesses, and in the end obtained surrender of 15,000 of the rebel - fugitives whose extradition had been refused, and despatched them as prisoners to Hattusas.

Meanwhile, as we know, important units of the broken army had taken refuge at Puranda, and these were continually being reinforced by other contingents. The place was on a high hill which, if we have correctly located it, later became the acropolis of Apameia - Celaenae near Dinar. This, described also as a "lofty and precipitous hill,, , was later considered by no less a judge than Alexander to be impregnable. From this point of vantage the rebels defied Mursil, and treated with contempt ultimatum in which he recalled the treasonable act of the Arzawan King in siding With the achaeans, and demande the surrender of his subjects. This last stand of the defeated army cost Mursil another campaign. He was evidently not in a position to maintain an effective siege, much less to carry the place by assault. Doubtless many units of his command were engaged on garrison duty, or scattered throughout the hills rounding up groups of rebels. The situation called for a concentrated effort, so while taking such precautions as were indicated, Mursil returned with his main force to the Astarpa River where he constricted a fortified camp to serve as winter quarters. Remains of such a camp with a Hittite inscription among its ruins may be seen at Ilghin¹, between Konio and the Ak-Shehr Lake: but we cannot associate that one with this narrative unless we are to locate Sallapa Aura in that southern area, for which there is no plausible indication.

In the Spring of the next year, the 4th of Mursil's reign, news came that the rebel King had died upon the island where he had taken refuge; and that one of his sons, who had commanded the

¹ Ilgm.

Arzawan forces in the battle of Walma, had crossed to the mainland and managed to rejoin his troops at Puranda, where, as the record laconically indicates, "all Arzawa was." Mursil lost no time in taking up the challenge; and on arriving at Puranda precipitated the decision by cutting off the water supply. The Arzawan prince was obliged to seek an issue and came down to battle, which ended in his final defeat and the rout of his soldiers. He himself fled on horseback but was pursued and ultimately taken prisoner. Puranda, the impregnable, had fallen; and though many of the rebels escaped, the Arzawan forces were scattered and demoralized, while the prestige of the Hittite was re-established.

Mursil's next thought was of the island and the regal spoils (part of which went usually to recompense the loyal allies), so once more he moved down to the sea, and sent over by ship to remove his booty. There it was found that the other prince had already set sail to join to the King of Ahhiyawa. The voyage would take him by the coast of the Lugga Lands probably to Miletos, which we have learnt had already become pro-Achaean, but possibly as far as Lesbos, the most northerly point of Achaean penetration that can be readily identified.

With these things accomplished Mursil now turned his attention to the ultimate objective of his campaign, the pacification of his cities in the Lugga lands and the Land of the Seha River, which had been stirred to disaffection by Achaean and Arzawan intrigue.

Meanwhile, in the latter area further developments had taken place. The King's vassal Manapa-Dattas had been driven out by his brothers, and Mursil decided to march against these new rebels. From the Sea at Adalia or Habesos the intervening hills could be crossed by direct routes which united near Isinda. Somewhere on the way, however, Mursil received a deputation from the affected district, bringing his subjects' entreaties together with his vassal's explanations and submission.

Meanwhile fresh disturbances had broken out in Gasga and called for his return; the campaign had been arduous and taken longer than contemplated. Mursil decided that under the circumstances the further expedition was no longer necessary. We, now, have reason to regret this decision. The country towards which he was bound is the scene of many legends in which Hittite memories may be suspected, such as the combat between Apollo (with whom the Greeks frequently identified the leading Hittite god) and Marsyas,

whose name survived in the River which may have been itself the Seha; also in the wanderings of Zeus and the migrations of the Double Axe. On this fund of fascinating material, a ray of material light from contemporary Hittite sources would have been doubly welcome. Meanwhile we are left disappointingly in ignorance of the current situation in the Lugga land—whether the Achaeans had really obtained a mastery over the coasts from which the Hittite discreetly withdrew, or whether the defeat of the Arzawan member of the anti-Hittite alliance had brought about a reaction which made a further display of force and punishment unnecessary.

Before leaving the district entirely, Mursil paused awhile in Mira to assure his authority by confirming his loyal vassals in the respective Kingdoms of the River Seha land, Hapalla and Mira-Kuwaliya. In the last case the faithful Mashuilas was awarded also a royal guard of 600 men, and fresh fortresses were built at three places as yet unidentified. A permanent garrison was stationed also at Hapanuwa, which for strategic grounds may well have been at Afiun Karahissar, an ancient stronghold upon the Hittite frontier controlling the main road. Treaties, one of which is extant, ratified in due time the new order and defined the boundaries and the terms of vassalage on feudal lines. Unfortunately no document of that kind has been found referring to Arzawa Proper, where however it may be suspected from the new king's name that the rebellious family had been finally removed from power. One son we know had joined the Achaeans, while an other had been sent in captivity to Hattusas.

For the time being the situation was arranged; but the Hittite Kingdom had little leisure in these times. Eight years later a new problem of an unexpected character arose, for the loyal Mashuilas fell from grace, and under circumstances not clear, joined an anti-Hittite intrigue in the land of Pitassa adjoining Sallapa. One senses already the growing pressure from the West that finally overwhelmed the empire.

Meanwhile, however, the stalwart Alaksandus remained faithful; and though Uilusa was not drawn into this conflict, as Mursil attacked by the valley of the Maeander, the gratitude of Mursil's successor Muwattallis was unqualified. The royal road was still in safe keeping.
