

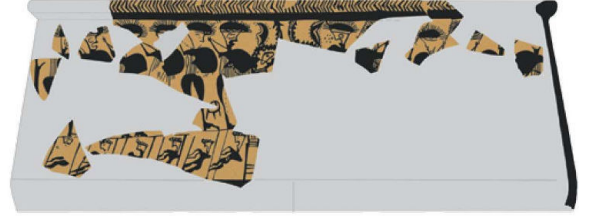
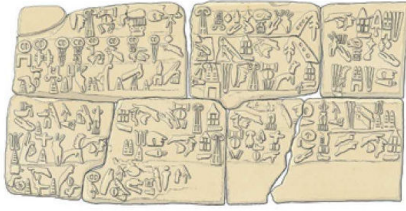


Rasim Özan Kütahyalı gerici koalisy-  
nun 12 yıl önceki kırılı medya ope-  
rasyonunda aldığı görevi açıkladı:  
Ertuğrul Özkök'ü korkutmak. İtiraf  
olarak görülen bu sözlerde bile  
büyük bir yalan vardı. • Sayfa 9

## 8 | SÖYLEŞİ



**İstanbul'un el değiştirmesiyle Troya hayranlığı dumura uğruyor** İstanbul'un 1453'te Osmanlı'nın eline geçmesiyle Avrupa'nın Troya hayranlığı ani bir 'dumura' uğradı. Bu tarihten sonra Avrupalı entelektüeller Anadolu'nun öncü kültürlerine saygı duymamaya başladılar. Tam karşı bir tavır olarak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu barbar olarak nitelediler. Böylelikle Batı Avrupa'da kendilerine yön verecek Troya'dan başka, yepyeni bir rol modeli yaratma ihtiyacı doğdu. 1683'teki 2. Viyana kuşatması yeni bir modelin tanımlanması ihtiyacını daha da acil bir hale getirdi. Derhal bir diğer geçmiş kültür canlandırılıp piyasaya sürüldü. Antik Yunan ve Roma bundan böyle Avrupa kültürlerinin temeli olacaktı.



## The Luwians against Eurocentrism: An interview with Dr. Eberhard Zangger

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At the beginning of last September (September 2–3, 2022), a symposium was held quietly in Muğla-Milas: the 13th Symposium on Caria, Carians and Mylasa. In fact, as the name suggests, this was the thirteenth in what has become an annual series of meetings on the subject, a kind of study series that gathers every year in Milas. This year's meeting was attended and presented papers by more than 40 scientists from 14 countries, mainly from Turkey.

One of the scientists giving a lecture at the symposium was Dr. Eberhard Zangger, a geoarchaeologist who was declared “the Einstein of Antiquity” by Germany's famous *Der Spiegel* weekly political magazine. Dr. Zangger received this symbolic title not because of his fascination with the ancient Aegean, but because of his thesis that the mythical metropolis of Atlantis could be none other than Bronze Age Troy, a thesis that deeply shook the Eurocentric ideology that originally linked the ancient Greek and Roman worlds. In his book, published in Turkish under the title “Atlantis is Troy”, he explains this thesis in great detail.

Dr. Zangger is also the head of the Foundation for Luwian Studies, which he established in 2014 with his own means, and he continues his work all over the world with great devotion, giving a different perspective to the world of archaeology. Dr. Zangger's thesis, in which he brings Troy alive based on the legend of Atlantis, has evolved in the last 30 years, with his geological and archaeological (geoarchaeological) studies in Western Anatolia. He asserts a profound Bronze Age culture that has never been emphasized before – and did not neglect to think about the political and ideological aspects of this idea. This is the main reason why we took the opportunity of the Milas symposium to contact him – we have been following him since the publication of “Atlantis is Troy” in Turkish – and conducted a three-hour conversation with him.

The results of Dr. Zangger's studies on the Luwians are based on data that can be described as strictly political and, in our opinion, provide us with an extremely valuable point of resistance against imperialism's attempt to establish hegemony over culture. In our non-interview conversation, he had already stated that he

adopted a Marxist worldview but emphasized that he was as careful as possible not to mix political discourse with the scientific discipline he was working on.

We, too, respected this principle and instead of taking the interview on a political ground and highlighting the conclusions that supported our own arguments, we expressed the political determinations on the findings on our own behalf, as will be seen in the interview, and he did not object to these, in a way confirming that his own findings and theses were in harmony with our propositions.

In order not to interfere with the flow of the interview, we also provide information on important concepts and names mentioned in the interview in the form of brief boxes. Of course, there are still details that are in the main text that may not be clear to the reader. We intend to address these in a series of further articles under the title “Imperialist Cultural Hegemony and Our Struggle”; this is considering the questions and also demands of a discussion that we believe will be prompted by this interview.

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CELİL DENKTAŞ – Dr. Zangger, first of all, thank you very much for giving us your time in the midst of the flurry of this symposium. You have argued here that the roots of Anatolian peoples and cultures go back to the Bronze Age (ca. 3000-1200 BC), but that the archaeological research in this direction is incomplete; is that an accurate summary?

EBERHARD ZANGGER: European archaeologists have long placed the birth of Western civilization in the epoch of the first Olympic Games in 776 BC and the time of the composition of the Homeric epics. This model was valid perhaps 150 years ago and subsequently remained fixed in the back of people’s minds. Of course, ancient Greek culture did not arise out of nowhere; there must have been precursors. That is what interests me. The question is, what happened in the Aegean during the Early Iron Age, from 1200 to 800 BC, and even earlier, in the Middle and Late Bronze Age from 2000 to 1200 BC?

CD: Why do you think early Western European scholars – we might call them imperialists – focused so much on history after 800 BC?

EZ: Before that, Anatolian cultures held sway. Europe worshipped the Trojan royalty for over 2000 years. In Roman times, aristocratic families derived their pedigrees from Trojan kings. *Julius* Caesar’s family, the *Julians*, were traced back to *Ilion* (Troy). There are countless other examples. According to Herodotus, the Etruscan culture arose thanks to Anatolian emigrants. In Italy, dozens of cities were built on the model of Troy. Throughout Europe, it was common for noble families to derive themselves from Trojan ancestors. French and Germans, even Poles and Icelanders rode this wave. In the Middle Ages, from about 1000 to 1400, manuscripts about the Trojan War were among the most popular books. Then, when printing was invented, these were the first works to be printed in large numbers. One book, the story of the fall of Troy by Guido de Columnis, remained the number one bestseller for 500 years.

The admiration of Troy came to an abrupt end only with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. From then on, European intellectuals were no longer inclined to revere an early Anatolian culture. Instead, the Ottoman Empire was considered barbaric. Western Europe needed a new role model, something other than Troy to look to for guidance. After the second siege of Vienna in 1683, the demand for a new model of identification for Europe increased even more. At this time, around 1700–1750, Europe was politically fragmented, and unification was out of the question. The creation of an artificial ideology was the fastest and most effective way to unify the people living under very heterogeneous conditions. Promptly, another ancient culture was appropriated. Ancient Greece and Rome were declared to be the origin of European cultures; even though that didn’t make much sense, because what unified Europe was, at best, Christianity; and, of course, ancient Greece and Rome consisted of pagans.

CD: You don’t believe the story that members of the Trojan royal family escaped to northern Italy, where they helped give rise to Etruscan culture?

EZ: Well, there may be a grain of truth in such stories, and in this case, it is not simply mythology, because one historiographer, Herodotus, speaks of it. Sometimes historians were also misinformed. That is why there has been a discussion about this claim for 2500 years. The linguist Fred Woudhuizen said that the grammar of the Etruscan language is one hundred percent the same as Luwian. Linguists could therefore read Etruscan, provided they are willing to acknowledge that it is a Luwian dialect from the period around 700 BC.

CD: Did you have a chance to check whether Etruscan is more like the language of Luwian hieroglyphics or Hittite hieroglyphics?

EZ: Both terms refer to the same language and script. Initially, scholars called them Hittite hieroglyphs; later they were called Luwian or Anatolian hieroglyphs. I refer to the work of Fred Woudhuizen, who studied Etruscan for 40 years and wrote several books about it.

CD: Dr. Zangger, you said that the European aristocracy legitimized their position by tracing their lineage back to Troy, that this was a feudal necessity. Just like the deification of kings in ancient times, the association of their lineage with gods in antiquity, etc., capital has always sought to create a ground that would ideologically secure its rule. Troy is a symbol here. But then, with the fall of Byzantium, the loss of Anatolian lands for good, followed by the Ottoman siege of Vienna II, suddenly changed the situation and the quest for nobility forgot its Anatolian roots and settled on Ancient Greek roots that only go back to the 8th century BC. I don't know if I summarized it correctly.

EZ: Yes, aristocratic families at all times have had to justify their claim to leadership, and one way to do this is to use historical claims. If you don't really possess these, you simply fabricate them. This is exactly what European aristocrats did. They derived a claim to leadership from the fact that their roots went back to glorious Trojan royalty. In Shakespeare's play *Troilus and Cressida*, the Trojans are portrayed as demure, intellectual, and conscientious. They philosophize about life within seemingly impenetrable walls of a medieval monastery. The character traits attributed to the play's Greek opponents are the exact opposite: they are portrayed as cunning and ruthless. This work, written around 1602, was one of the last texts to manifest reverence in Western Europe with regard to an Anatolian culture.

After the second siege of Vienna in 1683, western intellectuals searched intensely for a new historical role model that could serve as a model for European cultures – although it was well known that there was no unbroken link to classical antiquity. In Europe, the ancient Greek texts had been lost. Not even Homer's works were known; there were only allusions that showed they once existed. However, the ancient Greek texts had been preserved in Arabic translations. As such they travelled from Arabia to Spain along the coast of North Africa, were translated there and accumulated in huge libraries. The Christians burned down these libraries. Nevertheless, the literature of antiquity had re-entered European knowledge. So it is by no means the case that knowledge from antiquity was preserved in European families. For well over a thousand years, ancient Greek achievements were not part of European cultures. Simple farmers lived in Europe at that time.

CD: Can you say who was significantly involved in the changeover of historical appropriation from Trojan to ancient Greek sources?

EZ: Martin Luther had great influence. The ideology he taught was based on two empires, the West and its opponents, the Turks. In his works there are genres such as "Sermons against the Turks" and "Prayers against the Turks". When Constantinople was conquered by the Ottomans, the Western intellectuals had already left the city. Many had fled to Italy. Thus, the center of European intellectual leadership shifted. Naturally, a decidedly anti-Ottoman attitude prevailed among the refugees and this anti-Turkish resentment persisted for several centuries. During the time of colonialism of the 19th century, Western Europeans needed an intellectual justification for the oppression and exploitation of foreign cultures. They derived their claim to cultural leadership from the fact that their culture was derived from Socrates and Plato. Therefore, uneducated pagans would have to work for them and deliver their gold and other valuable products to them.

And in case the foreign cultures were not illiterate, the Christians simply set fire to the libraries in order to retroactively deprive the peoples of their writing. In Central America, millions of Aztecs fell victim to European advance. The North American natives were considered fair game because they were not Christians.

CD: I think it is safe to call the quest for legitimacy over the right to colonize from the 19th century onwards “imperialist cultural hegemony”. Yes, I have read similar things as you mentioned above in Cuban history. When the Spaniards landed on the island, it is estimated that the indigenous population was around 2 million; they killed them all.

EZ: Not quite. The Europeans also instigated wars between the natives and watched them kill each other; and they brought in diseases that killed well over 90 percent of the indigenous population. Finally, the decimation of the indigenous people was a disadvantage for the Europeans because there was not enough manpower afterwards to work the fields.

CD: There is an exchange of letters between Pope Pius II and Mehmet II. According to this, the Pope promised Mehmet II that if he converted to Christianity, he would declare him emperor of the world; could this be true? Of course, Montaigne also mentions this correspondence in his “Essays”, but what he says is that Mehmet II reproached Pius for supporting Byzantium.

EZ: Pius II spent some time in 1461 drafting such a letter to Mehmet II, offering him a new *translatio imperii*, equivalent to emperorship, if he professed Christianity. However, the letter was apparently not sent. Mehmet II went to Troy and then claimed there to have avenged the Trojans by conquering Constantinople.

CD: This revenge is a common theme; Mustafa Kemal is also reported to have said that Hector was avenged after the victory in the Battle of Sakarya...

EZ: Politicians often use history to strengthen their position, that’s normal. Of course, people from the past have no chance to defend themselves against such appropriations. But now, for example in the USA, researchers and the general public are sensitive to such cultural appropriations, although it will take some time for this new understanding to reach Europe.

But let us still finish the history of appropriation because it is quite complex. So, in Europe, by a sleight of hand, classical Greece and Rome were declared to be the cultural precursors of Western European civilization. Of course, institutions were needed to spread and consolidate this new doctrine and ideology. The new, ancient model found its way into the curricula of schools and universities. When Wilhelm von Humboldt reformed the university and school system in the 1820s, his concept was based largely on the idealization of Greek and Roman antiquity. Students spent over half of their classes learning Greek and Latin. By learning the extinct languages, the thinking of the people of that time was to be transcended. Art history, classical philology, archaeology and architecture were totally oriented towards the admiration of antiquity. Neoclassicism was the standard in architecture. University buildings, opera houses, the Capitol and the White House in the US reflect a culture of historical appropriation to support the claim that Western civilization can be traced back 2500 years. The light of day was lit with the first Olympic Games and the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Almost all the lectures at the symposium on ancient Caria reflect this Eurocentric thinking, although the speakers are Turkish archaeologists. Western Europeans have ensured that Turkish archaeologists are trained to conform to European ideology. Since then, they strive to become part of European culture by adopting the 18th century way of thinking.

CD: Even in Turkey, archaeology is focused on Ancient Greece and Rome...

EZ: Yes, but the situation becomes more complicated when amateurs come into the picture. Because these have not, as a rule, been completely brainwashed and therefore still follow common sense, at least to some

extent, in doing what would actually be obvious. So, Heinrich Schliemann went to Troy and dug where it was obvious. He too would have preferred to dig in Greece in order to support the New Humanist thought model with new discoveries; but he did not get permission to do so at first. Then, thanks to the discoveries in Troy, he had become so famous that he could choose where to dig next. So, he went to Greece after all and did not return to Ottoman Turkey. Schliemann excavated in Mycenae, Tiryns and Orchomenos. A few years after his death, the Ottoman Empire dropped control of Crete, and around 1900 a dozen excavations began on the island. Archaeologists are often among the first people to enter an area after a political upheaval, because exploring the past is understood to be completely harmless and of benefit to all mankind. In Crete, of course, Knossos is the most famous site. After Schliemann had unveiled Bronze Age cultures in Troy from 1870, in Mycenae and Tiryns from 1876, Arthur Evans uncovered equivalent remains in Knossos. Then in 1906, another outsider, the German epigraphist Hugo Winckler, began digging at Hattusa, again with private funds.

CD: With their own means, I suppose?

EZ: Yes. At that time four great palaces were known: Troy, Mycenae, Knossos, and Hattusa. In each of these places there was a flourishing culture a thousand or even two thousand years before classical Greece. These discoveries contradicted the prevailing doctrine that Western civilization originated in Greece around 800 BC. Textbooks had to be rewritten. This task was undertaken by Arthur Evans, the excavator of Knossos. In the 1920s and 1930s, at the time of the war between Greece and Turkey, he published six volumes entitled *The Palace of Minos*. In these books he defined the chronology for the third and second millennia BC into Early, Middle and Late Bronze Ages – a system still used today. As for the four major sites, he declared Knossos to be the center of the Minoan culture in Crete. Mycenae was the center of the Mycenaean culture in Greece. However, Evans left out Troy and Hattusa. Instead of these two places, Evans argued, the culture on the Cycladic islands should also be emphasized. If one draws the catchment areas of these three cultures on a map, it turns out that all three fall within the borders of Europe. Evans, then, was primarily concerned with proclaiming European cultures. He had even noted this in writing long before his investigations at Knossos began. At that time, he wrote that he did not want his Minoans to be descended from any West Asian tribes.

CD: The concern to establish imperialist cultural hegemony is evident here. Evans is clearly on a mission. In this way, a possible deviation that could have shaken the Eurocentric ideology is avoided, or so those who are trying to give legitimacy to this ideology think...

EZ: When Evans arrived at Knossos, his main goal was to use the archaeological findings to reinforce a Eurocentric ideology. According to this view, the cultural superiority of the West began 2000 years earlier than had previously been assumed. Minoans and Mycenaeans ruled already long before classical antiquity. What we now call Aegean prehistory thus embodies a political ideology. After all, the Aegean coasts touching Minoan, Mycenaean, and Cycladic cultures comprise only one-third of the Aegean, namely southern Greece and Crete. Northern Greece, Macedonia and Thrace, and all of western Turkey are not even considered. Troy and Hattusa were deliberately devalued.

Many thousands of documents and fragments then came to light during Hugo Winckler's excavations at Hattusa. As an epigraphist, however, he paid no attention to any architectural foundations. Even then, the German Archaeological Institute was responsible for archaeological research outside Germany. But its statutes permitted such research only in the realm of the Greek and Roman worlds, since the purpose of archaeological investigations was, by definition, to strengthen the Eurocentric model of thought and thus the claim to Western supremacy. According to the statutes of the DAI, German archaeologists were not allowed to work in Turkey. Regardless, fearing that French or English scientists might claim Hattusa for their own, a second German team – in addition to that of Hugo Winckler – began to uncover the architecture. Thus, in addition to the thousands of documents, numerous temple foundations were revealed. Finally, it could no longer be denied that Hattusa must be regarded as the center of an independent culture.

It was Atatürk who realized that the Hittite culture could be used to counter the European claim to a historically based supremacy. Consequently, Atatürk supported the study of the Hittites as an Anatolian civilization prior to classical antiquity. Turkish scholars arrived in Germany and Hungary to be trained in archaeology – an archaeology that was completely Eurocentric. When these archaeologists returned to Turkey, they taught this one-sided way of thinking to numerous students, and this is still true today.

In the end, the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures in Europe and the Hittite culture in Turkey were studied intensively only because in each case there was a political interest in the interpretive exploitation of the finds. Western Turkey fell between these cultures and never came into the focus of political interest. That is why Troy and the Luwians have received little scholarly attention. As I said, after 1683 Troy had almost completely fallen out of the focus of European intellectuals. All these appropriations of past cultures do not help us to understand what really happened in the past. We must first take a neutral, scientific perspective.

CD: Before we talk more about the Luwians, I would like to ask a question about Homer. It is not certain that the poet was a historical person...

EZ: That is a good question. We don't have any concrete evidence that a person named Homer ever lived. For example, Hesiod was remembered as a person, but there is no such record of Homer; it is not certain whether he actually lived or not.

CD: Azra Erhat, who, together with the poet A. Kadir, produced what I think is the most competent translation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in Turkish, writes in the preface to her translation of the *Iliad* that it is still debated whether the epic is the work of a single person or a collection of poems by several poets added together over the years. On the other hand, she writes that, given the integrity of the epic's style and the consistency of its flow, the view that it is the work of a single person has gained weight.

EZ: Indeed, but this person could also have been an editor. No original text has been preserved. The oldest completely preserved manuscript is Venetus A, a copy from the 10th century AD. From the time before that, only individual sections have survived.

CD: What is the significance of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* for our understanding of historical Troy? Are they historical documents that can be trusted, or are they ultimately just fiction?

EZ: A little bit of both. Let's take a novel about World War II. The characters in it may be fictional, but World War II really happened. There are elements in Homer's work that have to be historical in some way, and there are many elements that are invented to make the story exciting. The roles of Helen and the Trojan horse are certainly invented. But the fight for and in front of Troy may have existed. Were there united forces on both sides in the battle for the city? Personally, I think that may have been the case. But the trigger for the conflict was certainly different from Helen. It was ultimately an economic war.

CD: In the Bronze Age, as far as we know, it was common for political alliances to be formed for military reasons. Isn't one of the examples of this the famous Battle of Kadesh against Egypt?

EZ: The states were so small that they only had a chance if they joined forces. One Egyptian pharaoh met over 300 rulers in Canaan who had joined forces. Alliances were indeed normal.

But let's finish talking about Homer because the topic is really important. We had discussed the heroic age of the Late Bronze Age. After that, some regions around the eastern Mediterranean area went through a dark age. At the time of the Sea Peoples' invasions, many cities were destroyed. What happened between 1192 and 1182 BC could be called a system collapse. It was probably the deepest incision in the history of humankind.

Let's put ourselves in the shoes of the people a few hundred years later, for example in 900 or 800 BC. Not only did they know the orally transmitted memories of the heroic age, but they also saw the ruins of the palaces with their cyclopean walls and wonderful wall paintings every day. Some metal objects were left

and passed from one generation to the next until they wore out. It was no longer possible to manufacture such objects. There were numerous hydraulic structures in Greece during the Mycenaean period, including dams, artificial harbors, and river diversions. Most of these collapsed or silted up; only a few continued to function. The people of subsequent generations had no idea how such structures functioned or had been constructed. They also no longer had the long-distance trade routes that had previously brought valuable raw materials and finished products into the country. Craft knowledge is usually passed on orally from one generation to the next. When this transmission is interrupted, the knowledge is lost. People became farmers at the level of Neolithic subsistence farming.

So, on the one hand, there were oral traditions that told of the momentous events of the system collapse, and on the other hand, people faced the challenge of having to explain why they knew so much less than their predecessors. It was probably at this point that mythology took on the form we know today. That is why narratives of mythology may often have a kernel of truth, while otherwise they are largely the product of fantasy. For us, the challenge is to determine what might be real. For example, the Epic Cycle contains knowledge from the time of long-distance trade, such as the legend of Jason and the Argonauts who sailed to the Caucasus. Other parts of the epic are devoted to the emergence of political tensions, the war and siege of Troy, as well as the capture and destruction of the city, and the return of the Greeks after victorious battle. This whole Epic Cycle existed long before the Homeric epics, and whoever wrote the latter used certain elements from the former. The *Iliad* describes the siege of Troy, but not its conquest, because the slaughter of the inhabitants of Troy was nothing to be proud of. And the *Odyssey* describes the time about ten years later, when Greece was suffering from a civil war. There are fragments from other parts of the Epic Cycle, but they do not have the scope and sophistication of the Homeric epics.

In general, the traditions are for the most part fictitious, but perhaps ten percent of the information could be quite useful. Unfortunately, we do not know what exactly belongs to these ten percent of historically valuable information. Therefore, we are forced to first find clues in the field or in other documents and then we can check whether these things are already mentioned in epic traditions.

CD: In some of the works of the Fisherman of Halicarnassus, which Azra Erhat also mentions in her preface to the *Iliad*, we learn that the people of Athens were fighting in 600–500 BC against a religious movement that questioned the ruling elite, the legitimacy of the Tyrant and threatened his seat, and against this, Homeric texts were accumulated and started to be used as a tool of ideological struggle, and that education and daily life in Greek cities were built on this basis. This is the period in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were established, he says. Before that, Homeric epics were sung by traveling minstrels and transmitted by word of mouth, and the tradition of minstrelsy still exists in Anatolia and many other parts of the world under different names. With their *saz* in their hands, or whatever instrument is popular in that region, they are always on the road, expressing the life of the people in rich fictions, sometimes fantastical, sometimes connected to historical events...

EZ: The transition from oral to written tradition is well studied. Oral tradition had to cover at least the 400 years when writing was no longer available. When script became available again, people very soon wrote down the Homeric epics. What happened to the tradition in the centuries before that, we do not know. There are elements in the *Iliad* that probably date back to around 1200 BC, while other elements seem to have been introduced by an editor around 800 BC. However, the catalog of ships on the Greek side and the list of Trojan contingents is consistent with historical circumstances. In my view, this is a particularly important part of the epic because it describes technical details of the conflict. The united Mycenaean petty states faced allies from an enormous catchment area. Homer's work does not give us a reliable explanation of the cause of the conflict, but fortunately there are a dozen non-Homeric accounts of the Trojan War that provide additional clues. Until now, scholars have not paid much attention to these sources.

CD: In your book on the myth of Atlantis ("Atlantis is Troy"), you say that the question of control of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus straits may have caused these wars?

DC: Yes, indeed. If the Sea Peoples were Luwian tribes, their goal was obviously to first defeat the Hittite rulers. The Greek invasion of western Asia Minor seems to have been a kind of counterattack.

CD: Hittite documents mention conflicts with the Arzawa and other small states in the west and the destruction wrought by the Great Hittite Kings there. It seems that such conflicts were frequent between the Hittites and their neighbors.

EZ: The central-political Hittite system was imposed on the local Anatolian tribes. For centuries or even millennia, the rural population had farmed what they needed for their livelihood. In addition, they produced one or two standard products per village in large numbers, for example ores or fabrics, in order to be able to trade them. The farther these goods could be shipped, the more valuable they became. In return, the rural population could acquire things for the proceeds that they could not produce themselves.

Then the Hittite rulers probably came forward with the claim that they had better access to the gods and could therefore better protect the rural population. In return, they demanded ten percent taxes on all goods. They promised divine protection as well as protection against raids. Apparently, the rural population found that they could exist just fine without such Hittite control. It almost looks as if none of the neighbors really appreciated the Hittites – at any rate, there were conflicts on all borders.

There were also problems in the Hittite royal house. These internal strifes lasted for several generations and considerably weakened the royal family. Neighboring states began to take advantage of this situation and seize territories on the borders of the Hittite kingdom for themselves. As a result, the Hittite sphere of influence shrank by the end of the twelfth century.

CD: Nevertheless, in order to cope with the military superiority of the Hittites, it was probably necessary to form an equal force...

EZ: The states west of Hatti became particularly powerful at that time, but the Casceans in the north also gained strength. The only reliable ally was Carchemish in northern Syria. Finally, the last Hittite king lost the important copper mines in the east of his country to Mitanni. To compensate for this loss, he conquered Cyprus, where there was plenty of copper. At the same time, Cyprus also served as a port of call for long-distance trade. We know from the documents from Enkomi that the Hittite king levied taxes on the goods imported to Cyprus. We also learn that goods probably reached Cyprus from Troy and were first shipped to Ugarit, then on to south-central Asia Minor and finally overland to Hattusa.

All indications are that various neighbors of the Hittites specifically wanted to exploit the weaknesses of the royal house. They therefore devised a plan to free Cyprus from Hittite control. To this end, they joined forces, just as the Hittite Great King Muwatalli united various forces to join them in the Battle of Kadesh. The alliance apparently included various states in western Asia Minor, as well as tribes from northern Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and perhaps even mercenaries from Sicily and Sardinia. What they all had in common was the interest in breaking the domination of the Hittites once and for all. The quickest and most effective way to achieve this was with the help of a naval force. Therefore, the allies probably built up a fleet secretly over two to three years. Finally, the ships gathered at one place that was apparently Troy, because there were large and hidden ports. So, what we call today the Sea Peoples were the Trojans and their neighbors.

During the excavations at Enkomi, a letter was found from a Cypriot admiral who had encountered a large naval force near Samos. The admiral managed to find out that the attacking ships had gathered in Troy. The admiral turned back and sailed to a Hittite port of call in Lycia, from which he dictated this letter to his king in Cyprus requesting reinforcements. From documents found in Ugarit, we know that these reinforcements were indeed sent to Lycia.

The combined Luwian naval forces – that is, the Sea Peoples – attacked Cyprus to liberate the island. This may have happened relatively quickly because the Cypriots wanted to get rid of the Hittites anyway. Then



the fleet moved on to Ugarit because Syria was the most loyal ally of the Hittites. Ugarit fell. We do not know what happened after that. Apparently fighting took place on land in south-central Anatolia. Finally, the Hittite king seems to have fallen, and thus Hittite rule ended ingloriously. Subsequently, the western Anatolians and their allies controlled an area that stretched from the Vardar River in northern Greece, through Macedonia and Thrace, throughout western and southern Anatolia, and into Syria and Canaan, where at Ashkelon in southern Lebanon it bordered on Egypt.

CD: Yes, I saw a map of this on your Luwian Studies website...

EZ: This new situation may have existed for only a few years. The Mycenaean Greeks had now lost access to pretty much all long-distance trade routes. Everything was in Luwian hands. If the Mycenaeans wanted to survive economically, they had to break Luwian domination. However, they had not been attacked; so, there was no need to go to war. In the end, they did so anyway, and they did so by imitating the Luwian strategy and forming an alliance to begin with. This was not easy, because some kings did not see the need to participate in the military operation.

CD: Yes, it says so in the *Iliad*.

EZ: And in the *Odyssey*. So, the Greeks banded together and built a joint fleet that assembled at Aulis on the coast of the kingdom of Thebes. Departing from there, the Greeks eventually attacked western Anatolia, where they sacked and burned dozens of coastal towns. Most coastal towns in Turkey may have fallen victim to such raids around 1190 BC.

CD: During this period, we see that people move from their coastal settlements further inland...

EZ: The survivors moved uphill and further inland to be better protected. Or they migrated to Italy or Canaan.

CD: At one point we walked the 500 km Lycian Way, which took three weeks in total. Apart from Kaş, which was called Antiphellos in ancient times, there was a second settlement in the mountains called Phellos...

EZ: Likewise, there is Pedasa near Bodrum and the findings show that the first settlement dates back to the 12th century BC. After the destruction of the coastal cities, the survivors settled away from the coasts. The same happened on Crete and on the Aegean islands.

CD: Do you believe that Troy functioned as a center at that time, at least an ideological center?

EZ: No, I don't think so, actually. It was just the place where everything started, where the fleet gathered to liberate Cyprus. The Enkomi letter says that the leader of the attacking fleet was from Troy. Perhaps the Trojan kings were indeed the masterminds of the joint enterprise. This would explain why the last battle took place in Troy. The Bronze Age begins and ends with Troy.

CD: Later the Eastern Roman Empire was supposed to have Troy as its center. But then the plan was changed, and Byzantium was chosen instead.

EZ: Constantine I considered several sites, including Troy. But Bronze Age Troy had benefited from its artificial harbors, and they had since silted up. The topography of the coastal plain had changed permanently, and as a result the location had lost its advantages.

CD: The same thing happened to Miletus, where the Meandros filled the gulf.

EZ: Exactly. And so Byzantium, Constantinople, and İstanbul thrived in a place that, thanks to its geopolitical location, is quite comparable to Bronze Age Troy. Troy flourished for 2000 years, İstanbul then for another 3000 years. In both cases, the connection between Asia and Europe and between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean offered the same geostrategic advantage.

CD: Now let's talk a little bit about the Luwians, the Hittites' neighbors in western Anatolia. Where did the Luwians come from?

EZ: The first Luwian-speaking people came to Anatolia around 2300 BC, probably from the steppes north of the Black Sea. There were different waves of Indo-Europeanization; the first one took place already around 3000 BC. Also at that time, people from the area of today's Ukraine had advanced to the Mediterranean, where they settled in the peninsulas of Anatolia, Greece, Italy and Spain. When the Luwians arrived in Anatolia, there was already a population that spoke an Indo-European language.

CD: I think you have recently published a book about the evidence on this subject.

EZ: In our article, we give an overview of the results of 33 excavations and 30 surveys in western Turkey, which targeted the second millennium BC, that is, during which traces of Luwian culture were uncovered. Until today, however, these excavations are considered individually and are not yet explicitly attributed to the Luwian culture. Everything in southern Greece from this period, on the other hand, is unquestionably considered Mycenaean. Perhaps one day we will reach the point where finds in western Turkey will be ascribed to Luwian culture just as naturally. Of course, it makes no sense to simply look at Troy in isolation. The site is too large and too important in world history for that. We offer a solution here in which we note an imbalance in archaeological research. Researchers have simply not paid enough attention to western Turkey.

CD: I think this is because the importance of Troy has been greatly exaggerated.

EZ: Yes, its importance may well have been exaggerated, but to such an extent and in so many sources? Troy was considered the most impressive city in the world even though it was not ruling over a large area. However, some evidence indicates that the entire Troad was ruled by Trojan kings. In the office of the Luwian Studies Foundation hangs a map from 1665 – that is, from a time more than two centuries before Schliemann's excavation in Troy. This map shows how the entire Troad was divided into nine different Trojan kingdoms. Where did this information come from? Not from Homer. So there seem to have been different ways of transmission.

CD: How did you get this map?

EZ: It was part of a world atlas published in Paris in 1665. Someone had obviously taken the maps and offered them individually for sale. This particular copy belonged for a long time to the first excavator of Ugarit, Claude Schaeffer. At the end of his life, he passed it on to his nephew, the first son of the famous epigrapher Emil Forrer, and he gave it to me.

CD: You already have two books translated into Turkish. Are you planning a third?

EZ: We hope to publish *Early Mediterranean Scripts* in Turkish as well.

CD: Can we say a sentence or two about ideology? What if there were more excavations in Luwian areas that would support the existence of a distinct culture in this region? How could Turkey take advantage of this information?

EZ: I'm not in favor of the idea of hoping for political benefits from the exploitation of past cultures. The reason is simple: what is happening today has nothing to do with what happened 3000 years ago. Nevertheless, when I give a lecture, the first question is often, "What is the Turkish government's position on all this?" Everywhere else in the world, the past is instrumentalized for national interests. It is therefore incomprehensible to people from Western Europe that Turkey has such a treasure but does nothing about it.

CD: A treasure that belongs to all humanity...

EZ: I would indeed see it that way. As long as the government does not recognize the benefit of our research, there is little I can do. For more than 30 years, I have been writing scientific papers and marketing

enhanced research on Luwian culture. To this day, I have not even been able to present the results of this research to officials at the Ministry of Culture in Turkey.

CD: Why do you think they don't want to hear about it there?

EZ: The people there are simply not interested.

CD: They are not interested? Can it be that simple? Anyway, another thing, you said that you are close to Marxism. When we evaluate the results of your study from this point of view, can these data on the past of Western Anatolia constitute a point of resistance against imperialism's cultural hegemony?

EZ: Absolutely. For example, suppose nationalism is put on the stage; a kind of hierarchy is imposed. So, in the US, for example, the slogan "Let's make America great again!" implies that Americans are ultimately better than the citizens of other nations. The assertion of superiority is based presupposes that others have a limited intellect and ability. How do people feel whose culture is comparatively inferior? In my opinion, Eurocentric arrogance is the source of many problems.

CD: I prefer to think of this in the context of imperialism. Western Europe wants to keep its distance from its immediate environment.

EZ: Today there are tensions between Europe and Turkey. However, both sides could benefit a lot from a friendly relationship. For example, in the past, the last German Emperor Wilhelm II, , who seems to have been the epitome of a reactionary politician, –at least for the English daily press, even he said, "I assure the Sultan and three hundred million Muslims that... that the German Emperor will remain their friend forever." So even he appeared more tolerant than we are today. The fact that the most reactionary of those times was more open-minded than today's western society is annoying. Any level of nationalism and the ranking of people on the basis of their ethnic or national origins must be resisted. There is no culture that is superior to others, just as there is no religion that is better than others. No heritage that is more valuable than others – at least not in my opinion.

CD: Yes. The issue of arrogance and self-righteousness, which sort of sums up the ideology of Eurocentrism, is quite deep and of course political. But let's leave that for another interview. I think we have made it quite clear why the Luwian culture has been ignored until today. I think that from now on, history and archaeology studies carried out with scientific methodology will prevent the manipulation of interpretations based on economic interests to a great extent. Our duty is to protect our own geography in all respects by further deepening the history of western Anatolia, and to develop solid and consistent foci of resistance, whether material or ideological, to the attacks against it. With your work, you shed light on this obligation of ours. Thank you again for taking the time to talk to us.

EBERHARD ZANGGER: Thank you too.