THE PROTOHISTORIC TIMES OF ISTANBUL IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE

YENİ BULGULAR IŞIĞINDA İSTANBUL ÖNTARİHİ

Şevket DÖNMEZ *

Makale Bilgisi
Başvuru: 15 Kasım 2017
Hakem Değerlendirmesi: 16 Kasım 2017
Kabul: 4 Aralık 2017
DOI Numarası: 10.22520/tubaar.2017.21.005

Article Info
Received: November 15, 2017
Peer Review: November 16, 2017
Accepted: December 4, 2017
DOI Number: 10.22520/tubaar.2017.21.005

Keywords: Istanbul, Protohistoric Times, Historical Peninsula, Thrakion, Byzantion
Anahtar Kelimeler: İstanbul, Öntarih, Tarihi Yarımada, Thrakion, Byzantion

ABSTRACT

Paralel to the rising number of the archaeological excavations in Istanbul, our knowledge on the Prehistoric and the Protohistoric periods are becoming clearer. It is understood that the settlement in the city started in Neolithic Age and continued without disruption until the Greek Colonization Period despite the relocations and restructuring. In spite of this in the important excavations like Old Prison of Sultanahmet, Yenikapı and Beşiktaş no evidence attesting to the "Byzas – Megarans – Byzantion – 669/658 BC" structure which has been tried to be accepted as the "Official Ancient History of Istanbul". On the contrary, the evidence pointing towards the Thracian presence of Early Iron Age started appearing in Beşiktaş besides the Sultanahmet – Hagia Sophia flats. In this article where new evidence as well as the old ones are evaluated, the theory that the Istanbul being an Iron Age settlement belonging the local Pre-Byzantion people.

* Prof.Dr., İstanbul University, Faculty of Letters, Department of Protohistory and Near Eastern Archaeology. Beyazıt 34453-İstanbul, Turkey/Türkiye. E-mail: donmezsevket@gmail.com
I thank to the Research Assistant Burçin Adısönmez, Archaeologist-Illustrator Fidane Abazoğlu, Illustrator Nurcan Koç (M.A), my student Selmin Yüzbaşıoğlu and Directorate of Istanbul Archaeological Museums for their support during preparation of this article.

ÖZET

İstanbul'da son yıllarda artan arkeolojik araştırmalara doğru orantılı olarak Tarihöncesi ve Öntarih kültürel sürecine ilişkin bilgilerimiz de daha belirgin hale gelmektedir. Kentte yerleşimin ilk olarak Neolitik Dönem'de başladığı, yer değiştirmeler ya da farklı yerleşmeler temelinde kesintisiz bir şekilde Eski Yunan Kolonizasyon dönemine değin sürdüğü anlaşılmaktadır. Buna karşın Sultanahmet Eski Cezaevi, Yenikapı ve Beşiktaş gibi önemli kazılarda, "İstanbul'un Resmi Antik Tarihi" algılatılmaya çalışılan "Byzas – Megaralılar – Byzantion – MÖ 669/658" kurgusunu destekleyen hiçbir bulgu ele geçmemiştir. Aksine, Erken Demir Çağı'nda Thrak varlığı ile ilgili bulgular Sultanahmet – Ayasofya düzlüğünün yanısıra, Beşiktaş'ta da belirmeye başlamıştır. Güncel bulguların yansıra kimi eski kazıların bulgularının da değerlendirildiği bu çalışmada, İstanbul'da Byzantion öncesi yerel halklara ait bir Demir Çağı yerleşmesi olabileceği hususu tartışılmaktadır.

INTRODUCTION

The archaeological remains in Historical Peninsula (Suriçi) and its vicinity that point out the first settlements in Istanbul have been revealing more and more with each passing day. ''The Formal Antique History of Istanbul'', to which Turkish archaeologists provided no important support, has begun to change depending on the archaeological excavations because of the infrastructure works (Metro-Marmaray) especially in the first half of 2000s. This essay mentions the recent data on early periods of Istanbul and the historical background which started to change.

Neolithic Period

The archaeological remains, graves and other remains which were revealed during the archaeological excavations in Yenikapı central station and other subway stations (Fig.1) have been the first data that proved the existence of the Neolithic Period in the Historical Peninsula. Moreover, the remains of the first humans in Istanbul were detected in Yenikapı as well. The settlement of the Neolithic Period in Yenikapı, which is more likely sort of a fishing village, has a special importance in terms of documenting the historical background of Istanbul back to 6500 BC[1].

The existence of important Neolithic settlements outside the Historical Peninsula have already been known so far. Depending on the settlements which were revealed after the archaeological excavations of Yarımburgaz Cave[2] in European Side and of Fikirtepe[3] and Pendik-Temenye[4] (Figs.2-5), and the ones which were revealed during a foundation excavation in Tuzla-Kale Kapısı[5] (Figs.6-9) in Asian Side it was interpreted that all the mentioned settlements were similar to the ones in Yenikapı and had the features of simple villages. It was determined that the pottery in Istanbul were produced and used in the settlements of the Neolithic Period.

The remains that were revealed in Yenikapı excavations prove has happened also in the Historical Peninsula as well as in Istanbul, without any doubt. It is understood that the Neolithic village, which is located where Lykos (Bayrampaşa Stream) meets the sea, was 6.5m under the sea level. The archaeological excavations that were carried out on a wide range have proven that the settlement which was founded in 6500 BC was destroyed by the sea in around 5300/5200 BC. This proved us that the Sea of Marmara was a sweet-water lake before the 6th century BC and the Neolithic Village in Yenikapı was founded on one of the last elevations between Lake Marmara and the Bosporus. A similar settlement-river-lake relationship can be thought for Fikirtepe, Pendik-Temenye and Tuzla-Kale Kapısı Neolithic Period villages.

Currently, the Bosporus has a length of 31.7km and a width of 600m at least. The deepest point is 92m while the shallowest point is about 40m. According to the geological interpretations, it is known that the water basin had flowed to the north of the Bosporus and a small river that had been formed here flowed into the Black Sea[6]. Because of the subsidence around the coast line of the Neolithic Period village in Yenikapı, it is assumed that the Marmara Lake had been formed. Following the end of the Pleistocene Period and the start of the Holocene, the level of the Black Sea should have risen above the basin and a coast line which is similar to the current one should have been formed. Thus, the Yenikapı Neolithic village had been under the floods of sea water in the second half of Sixth Millennium BC and the formation of the seabed that was revealed in the excavations had started.

The relation of the village settlement in Yenikapı with Lykos have been proven after revealing the stream base clearly during the excavations. Moreover, the swamped area which is very close to the settlement is quite fascinating. Besides many potsherds, tools and weapons which were made of wood, stone and bone were revealed in the swamp as well. The wooden bows, spears and shovels that were revealed in close proximity to the swamp has a special significance and value since they belong to the Neolithic Period which is too early. Some of the essays on the Neolithic village in Yenikapı states that the settlement had been founded beside the swamp[7]. Rivers and areas alongside waterlands are vital for foundation and continuity for the settlements. However, foundation of a settlement and continuity of life alongside a swamp seems to be a controversial point. It is quite clear that the settlement would have disadvantages and difficulties in case of being founded alongside a swamp. The disadvantages would undoubtedly occur on health of the individuals in the settlement. Revealing of potsherds other small findings in swamp means that the settlement and the swamp had existed side by side for a period of time. It could have been possible that the swampland was a sort of a lagoon since it had been located close to the coast line in the period of the foundation of the

[1] For Yenikapı Neolithic Settlement, Dönmez 2006: 241; Dönmez 2011: 20-23; Dönmez 2014: 49, Polat 2013: 77-93.
[2] Özdoğan 1992: 39-51; Özdoğan 2010a: 38-42.
[3] Özdoğan 1992: 40-44.
[4] Harmankaya 1983: 25-30; Pasinli/Uzunoğlu/Atakan/Girgin/Soysal 1994: 147-163.
[5] Fıratlı 1958b: 30-31.
[6] Meriç 2010: 34-41.
[7] Özdoğan 2010a: 42.



Figure 1: Tarihi Yarımada ve Yakın Çevresinde Demir Çağı Bulguları / *Iron Age Finds in and the Vicinity of the Historical Peninsula*

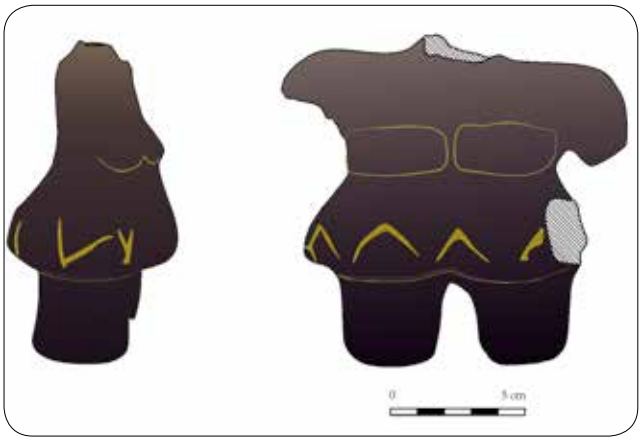


Figure 2: Kadın Biçimli Figürin, Pendik-Temenye, Geç Neolitik Dönem, Pişmiş Toprak / *Figurine in Woman's Shape, Pendik-Temenye, Late Neolithic Period, Terracotta.*



Figure 3: Spatulalar, Geç Neolitik Dönem, Pendik-Temenye, Kemik / *Spatulas, Pendik-Temenye, Late Neolithic Period, Bone*

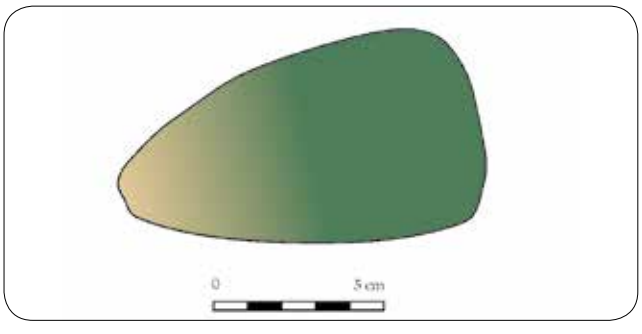


Figure 4: El Baltası, Pendik-Temenye, Geç Neolitik Dönem, Taş / *Hand Axe, Pendik-Temenye, Late Neolithic Period, Stone.*

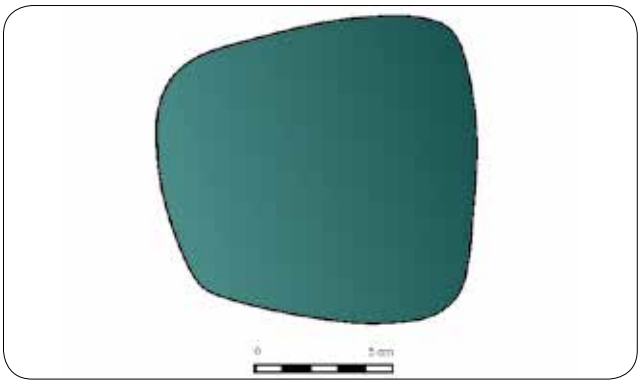


Figure 5: Ezgi Taşı, Pendik-Temenye, Geç Neolitik Dönem, Taş / *Grinding Stone, Pendik-Temenye, Late Neolithic Period, Stone.*

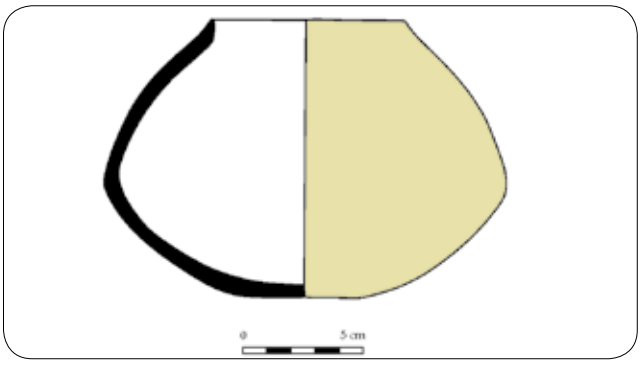


Figure 6: Çömlek, Tuzla-Kalekapısı, Geç Neolitik Dönem, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jug, Tuzla-Kalekapısı, Late Neolithic Period, Terracotta.*

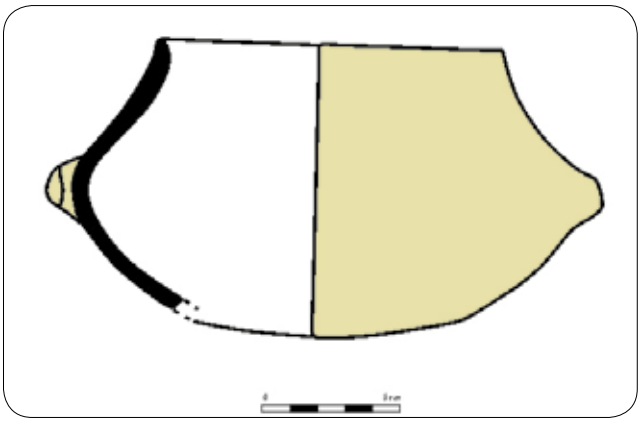


Figure 7: Çömlek, Tuzla-Kalekapısı, Geç Neolitik Dönem, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jug, Tuzla-Kalekapısı, Late Neolithic Period, Terracotta.*

settlement. It should be assumed that the lagoon had turned into a swamp because of the environmental and coastal changes. Currently, the same transformation is being observed on north coast of the Küçükçekmece Lake (Fig.10). In this context, the mentioned swampland would be a sort of a wetland that turned into a swamp later rather than being an original swamp. Detailed research on this issue is considered to have significance to help us understand the relation between the settlement and the swampland.

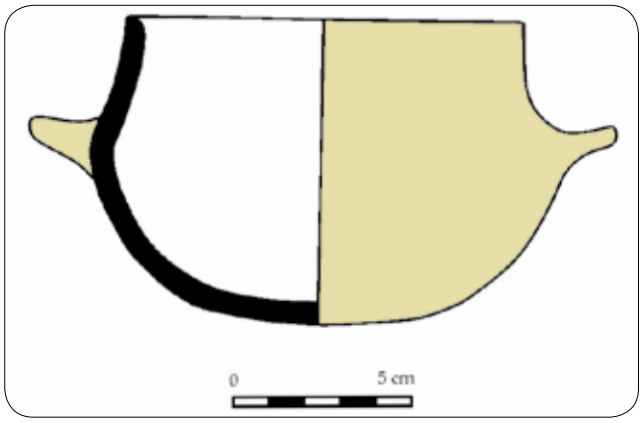


Figure 8: Çömlek, Tuzla-Kalekapısı, Geç Neolitik Dönem, Pişmiş Toprak / J*ug, Tuzla-Kalekapısı, Late Neolithic Period, Terracotta.*

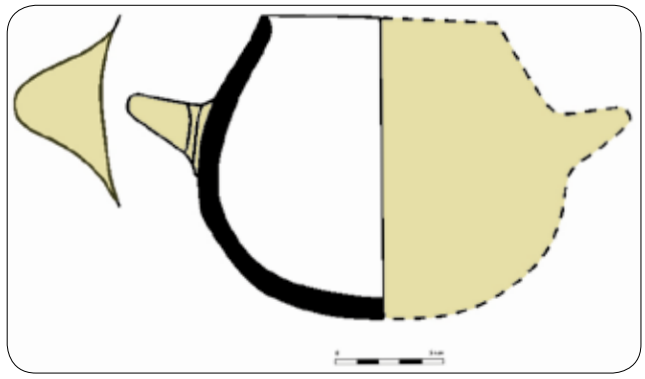


Figure 9: Çömlek, Tuzla-Kalekapısı, Geç Neolitik Dönem, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jug, Tuzla-Kalekapısı, Late Neolithic Period, Terracotta.*



Figure 10: Bataklığa Dönüşme Sürecindeki Lagün Kıyısı, Küçükçekmece Gölü, İstanbul (Şevket Dönmez) / *Shore of the Lagoon in the Process of Turning into a Swamp, Küçükçekmece Lake, Istanbul*

The main architectural character of Yenikapı Neolithic village had been formed on an axis of simple huts. The huts, had rectangular shaped plans, mostly while some had circular plan schemes. The main structure of the huts were the thin timber columns which had been fit into the holes on soil ground. In order to strengthen the columns, base parts were fixed with stones. It is assumed that the roof surfaces of the huts were constructed with a net system by using tree branches and both the interior and mostly exterior surfaces of the net were plastered[8].

It is also assumed that some revealed simple holes which had grain remains inside were used as some sort of grain storages. This data explains that there was not any production of big sized jars as storage in the settlement even if the clay made pottery had been produced before.

Similar pottery which were revealed in Yenikapı Neolithic village has been observed in Yarımburgaz Cave and Fikirtepe as well. Observing similarities of this sort in means of pottery and other small findings in close settlements is an ordinary situation. However, each settlement has its own culture and characteristic background. For this reason, considering Yenikapı Neolithic village in context of Fikirtepe Culture just depending on the similarities of small findings may warrant discussion[9].

[8] Dönmez 2011: Photo 4

[9] Özdoğan 2010b: 6.



Figure 11 a-d: İnsan Yüzü Betimli Çömlek, Hipodrom, Geç Kalkolitik Çağ, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jug with the Human Face Decoration, Hippodrome, Late Chalcolithic Period, Terracotta*

The swampland, which enabled the timber remains survive until today, stands an important issue with archaeological and historical value of the Neolithic village in Yenikapı. The most important ones among are the bows, spears and shovel-like objects[10]. The mentioned objects are assumed to be used for fishing. The quantity of the wooden pieces emphasizes the vital importance of wood in people's life as both raw material and tool or weapon which has always been felt even without any certain evidence. Except for the wooden pieces revealed; some tools made of flint, stone and bone were also revealed.

There had been detected two types of burials on Neolithic Cultural Layer of Yenikapı; one, of wooden structured[11] and other of cremation burials[12]. It was observed that the wooden structured ones contained multiple bodies. Two burial sites of this sort were detected. The first one contained four skeletons, some of which in hocker position. The second and the smaller one contained two skeletons, one in hocker position and the other was inhumed in a pot at the foot of the other. It was observed that the graves were bordered with fine sawed

[10] Kızıltan 2010: 18-19.

[11] Kızıltan 2010: 7, Res.10-11.

[12] Kızıltan 2010: 7.

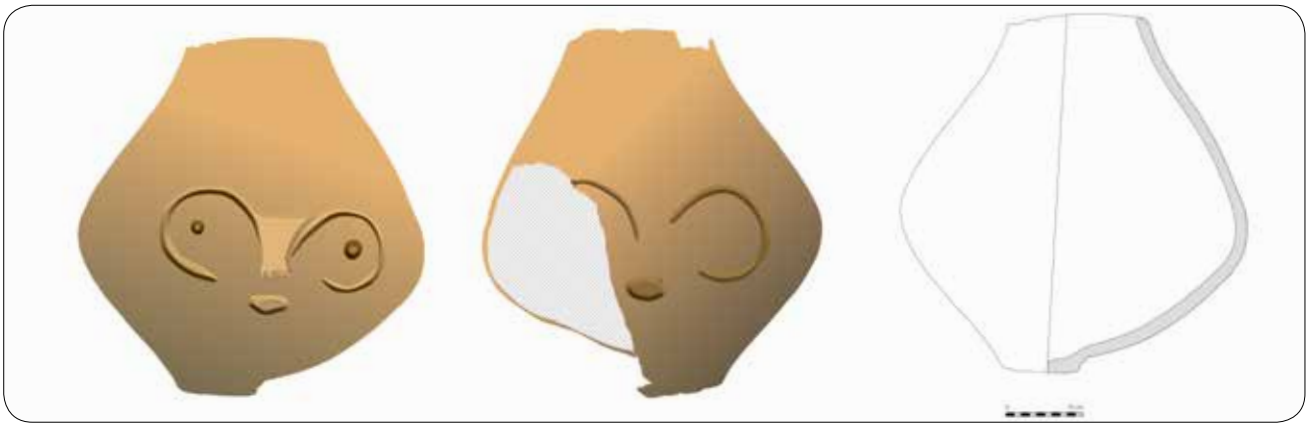


Figure 12a: İnsan Yüzü Betimli Çömlek, Hipodrom, Geç Kalkolitik Çağ, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jug with the Human Face Decoration, Hippodrome, Late Chalcolithic Period, Terracotta.*

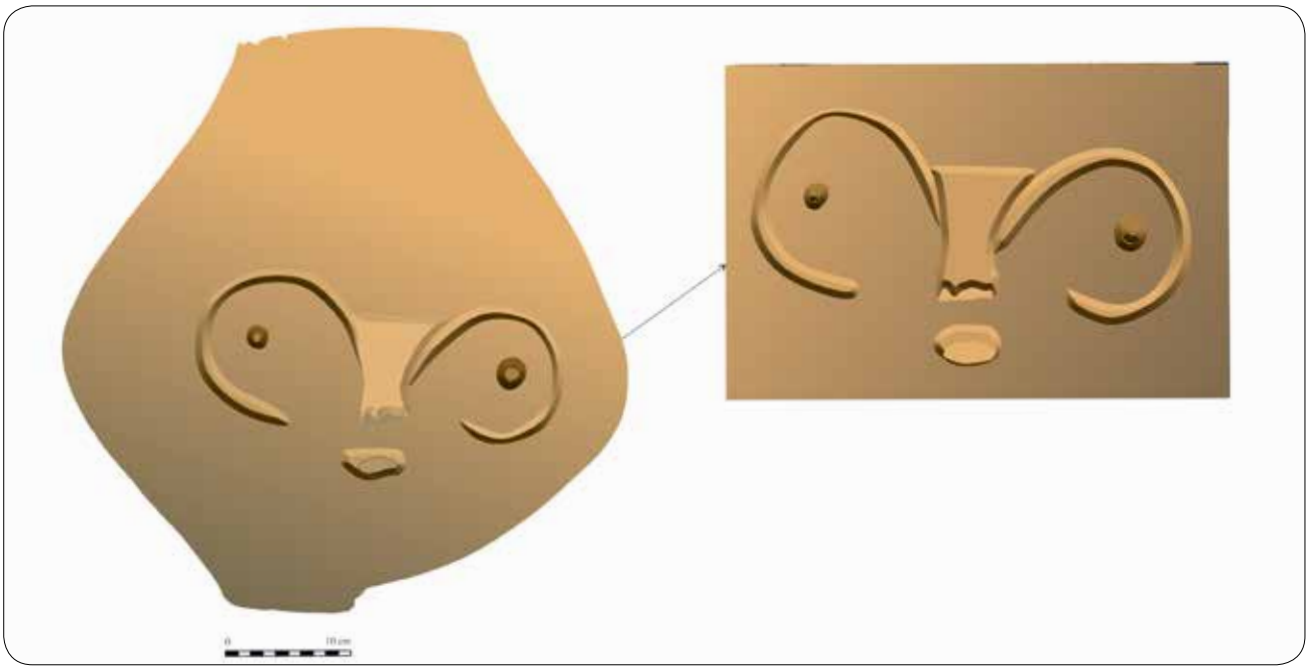


Figure 12b: İnsan Yüzü Betimli Çömlek, Hipodrom, Geç Kalkolitik Çağ, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jug with the Human Face Decoration, Hippodrome, Late Chalcolithic Period, Terracotta*

wood pieces. After burying the dead body, storing the remains and the ashes in a pot called 'urne' is defined as cremation type burial. Seven examples of this sort of burial urne on Late Neolithic Period layer in Yenikapı has the importance of being the oldest examples of this burial tradition in Turkey.

Chalcolithic Period

There are serious data on the location of another settlement of early period in Historical Peninsula, which is assumed to be close to the Hippodrome[13]. The mentioned data, which is dated to the Late Chalcolithic Period (4500-3500 BC), was reached during the excavations directed by St. Casson in the end of 1920s in Hippodrome[14]. Among those finds, two jugs[15] which are exhibited in Istanbul Archaeological Museums are especially amazing. One of those jugs is handmade with light buff paste, while the slip has buff. The surface has black spots because of the baking. The paste have mineral and medium and large plantal inclusions[16] (Figs.11 a-d, 12 a-b). The jug which has a narrow rim, bulging, pressed and narrowing body and flat base has decorations resembling human faces placed symmetrically

[13] Dönmez 2004: 43-44.

[14] Casson 1930: 213-242.

[15] I thank to the Directorate of Istanbul Archaeological Museums for permitting to study on the jugs which were revealed in Hippodrome and on the pottery of Late Proto-Corinth that were revealed in front of the second gate 'Babüsselam' of the Topkapı Palace, in the second courtyard and to publish Beşiktaş photo in Fig. 1.

[16] The dimensions of the jug: diameter of mouth 20cm; diameter of body 43,5cm; diameter of bottom 10cm; height 46.5cm.



Figure 13a-d: Çömlek, Hipodrom, Geç Kalkolitik Çağ, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jug, Hippodrome, Late Chalcolithic Period, Terracotta*

on its body. The vertical handles are interpreted as the nose of the mentioned face. The eyes and the wide eyebrows are shaped with carving technique. When focused on the face figure, it is noticed that the eyes and the eyebrows are not positioned at the same level on the clay jug. Moreover, the deformation of the body at the base could be interpreted as the Hippodrome jug was not made with great care. Similar examples of this human face figured jugs were observed in Bafra-İkiztepe[17] of the Central Black Sea Region and in Köşk Höyük, in Central Anatolia[18]. The date of the jug is assumed to be the beginning of the Late Chalcolithic Period (4500-4000 BC). The following issues support our proposal about the dating: Similar examples were not revealed during the Yenikapı Neolithic village excavations in terms of either objects or decoration elements. The production techniques and surface colors had similarities with the examples of İkiztepe and Köşk Höyük. The pots were revealed on the layers of Late Chalcolithic Period.

The second jug which has similar paste and technique qualities with the one with human face decorations is itself not decorated[19] (Figs.13 a-d, 14). Its buff paste has thin and medium mineral and medium plant tampered. The medium-baked jug has also a buff slip. It is understood

[17] Alkım 1986: Lev.I/10, VI/3.

[18] Dönmez 2004: Res.1.

[19] The dimensions of the jug: diameter of mouth 14.2cm; diameter of body 28cm; diameter of bottom 11.5cm, height 41 cm.

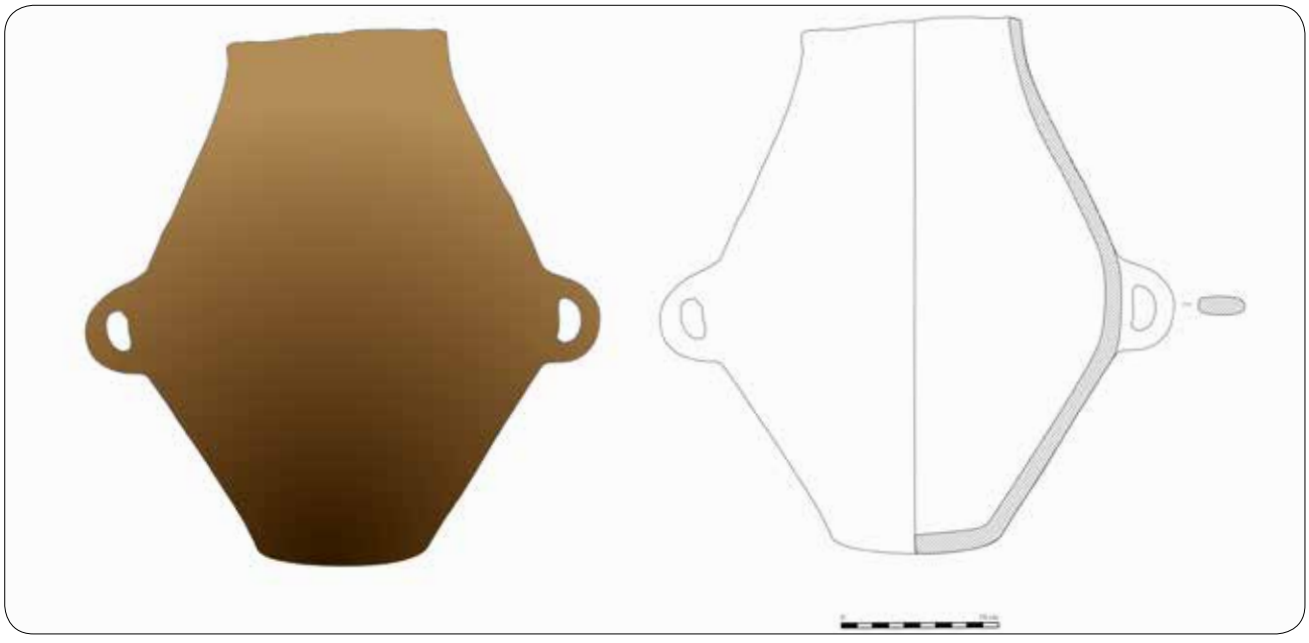


Figure 14: Çömlek, Hipodrom, Geç Kalkolitik Çağ, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jug, Hippodrome, Late Chalcolithic Period, Terracotta*

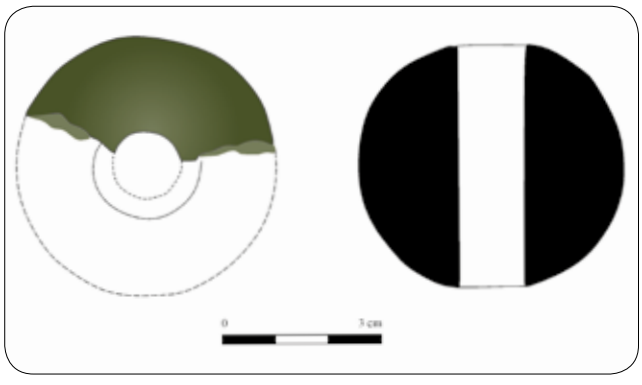


Figure 15: Topuz Başı, Sultanahmet, Geç Kalkolitik Çağ, Taş. / *Mace Head, Sultanahmet, Late Chalcolithic Period, Stone*

that the jug was handmade and has straight circular rim, rounded, narrowing body and a flat base. Two vertical handles are placed at the roundest part of the body. A string hole is observed on one of the handles which is understood to be crafted after production. This jug could be dated back to the Late Chalcolithic Age, same as the face decorated jug.

One of the other pieces which was revealed surrounding the Hippodrome and proves the existence of a settlement of Late Chalcolithic Period is a mace head made of stone (Fig.15). During the excavations directed by the German Archaeology Institute on the area between the Hippodrome and St. Euphemia Martyrion in 1942, a dark green colored mace head was revealed on a mixed layer[20]. Similar examples of this mace head were observed in many settlements of Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age.

[20] Erzen 1954: 134-135, Res.3; Dönmez 2006: Fig.2b.

Bronze Age

The most important factors and evidence pointing us to this conclusion come from the Anatolian/Asian side of Istanbul. Some pottery items were found on 15.05.1989 at the Fenerbahçe Yacht Harbour (Fig.16), where the Kurbağalı Stream reaches Kalamış Bay, during work being done by the Kadıköy Local Council to clean the riverbed. On the discovery of this pottery, consisting of two jug-shaped vessels or "dippers" (Figs.17 a-b, 18 a-b), and two jugs (Figs.19 a-b, 20 a-b), on 15.06.1989 and under the direction of a specialist archaeologist from Istanbul Archaeology Museums, Dr. Şeniz Atik[21], two underwater archaeologists called Dilek Tanöz and Jekfer Gökpınar did some exploratory diving at the site where the dippers and jugs had been found. Unfortunately, due to the fact that visibility was extremely poor as it was the time for cutting the seaweed, the underwater research carried out by means of diving was not able to fulfil its aims. However the underwater archaeologists were able to ascertain, through groping with their hands, the existence of some architectural remains that were probably walls but no evidence could be obtained to indicate which period these belonged to. Since then no further archaeological research has been done at the Fenerbahçe Yacht Harbour.

The two jug-shaped vessels or dippers[22] found at the Fenerbahçe Yacht Harbour in Kalamış Bay are handmade

[21] I extend my thanks to Dr. Şeniz Atik for permission to publish these finds.

[22] Dönmez 2006: Figs.3 a-b.

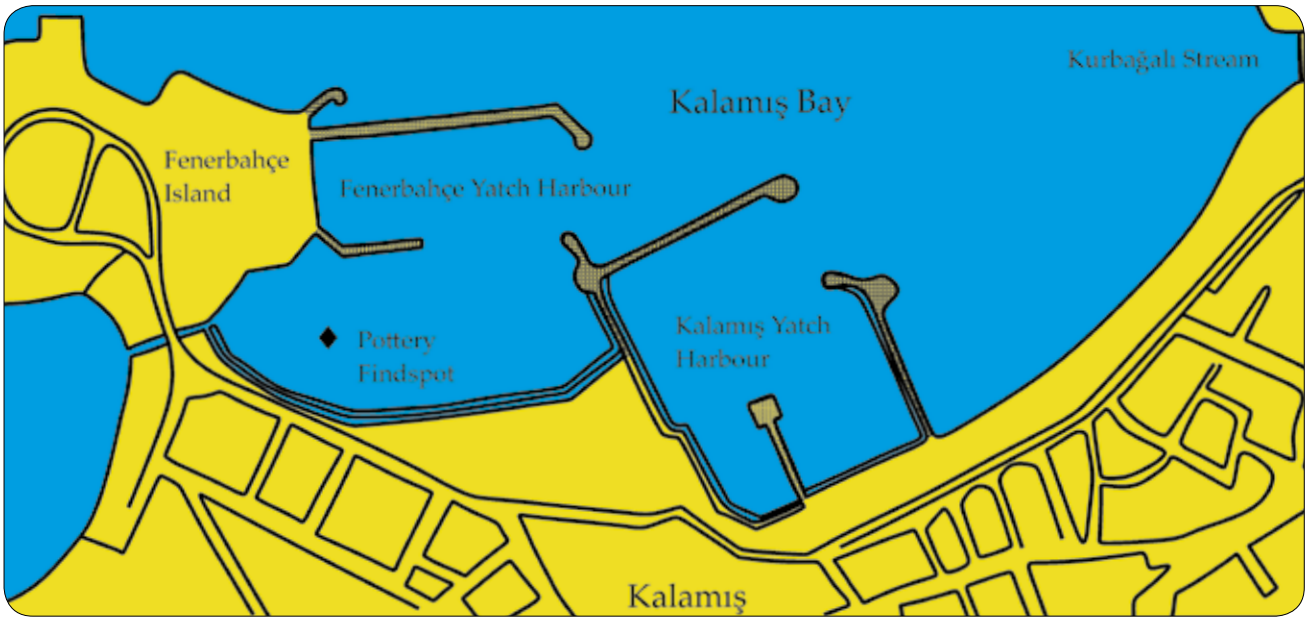


Figure 16: Kadıköy Erken Tunç Çağı Çanak Çömleklerinin Bulunduğu Yerin Krokisi, İstanbul / *The Plan of the Area where the Early Bronze Age Pottery Found in Kadıköy, Istanbul*



Figure 17 a-b: Maşrapa, Fenerbahçe Yat Limanı, Erken Tunç Çağı II, III, Pişmiş Toprak / *Dipper, Fenerbahçe Yacht Harbour, Early Bronze Age II, III, Terracotta*



Figure 18 a-b: Maşrapa, Fenerbahçe Yat Limanı, Erken Tunç Çağı II-III, Pişmiş Toprak / *Dipper, Fenerbahçe Yacht Harbour, Early Bronze Age II-III, Terracotta*

and beak-spouted. The first of these (Fig.17 a-b) is of dark grey paste and is unburnished. The upper part of the beak spout of this dipper is missing; it has a vertical handle that starts at the rim and finishes by joining with the body section; it is spherical in shape and has a rounded base. The second dipper is also dark grey and unburnished (Fig. 18 a-b). The body of this vessel widens as it extends downwards; its vertical handle that is now missing originally extended from the rim down to the plain base.

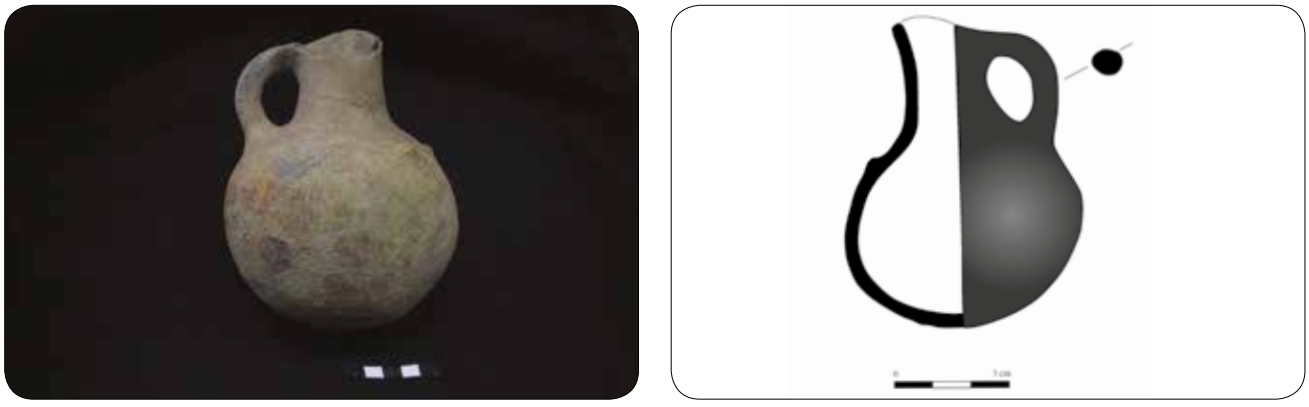


Figure 19 ab: Testi, Fenerbahçe Yat Limanı, Erken Tunç Çağı II-III, Pişmiş Toprak / *Pitcher, Fenerbahçe Yacht Harbour, Early Bronze Age II-III, Terracotta*

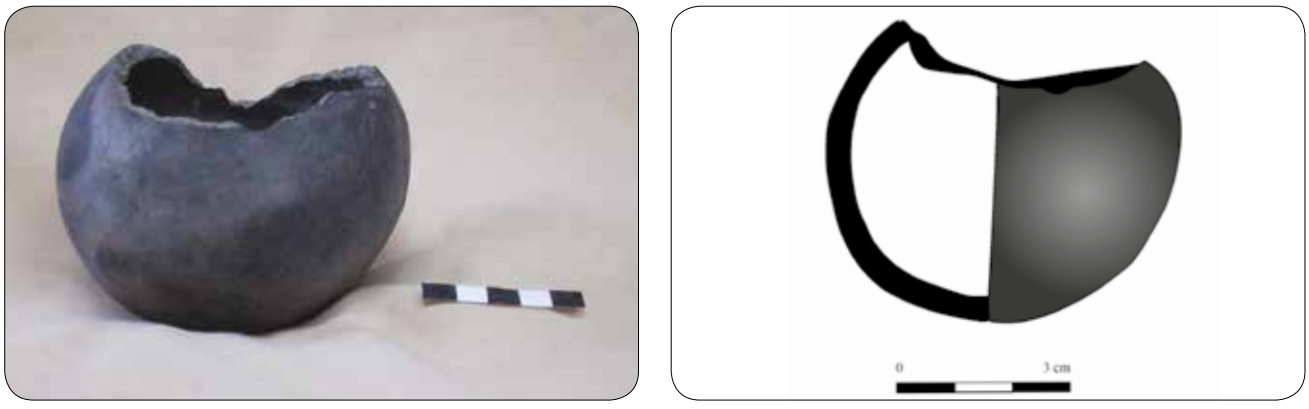


Figure 20 ab: Testi, Fenerbahçe Yat Limanı, Erken Tunç Çağı II-III, Pişmiş Toprak / *Pitcher, Fenerbahçe Yacht Harbour, Early Bronze Age II-III, Terracotta*

Of the jugs[23] that were found together with the jug-shaped vessels, one is complete and one has quite a large section missing. The complete, which like the vessels is shaped by hand (Fig.19 a-b) is slipped in a dark buff and unburnished. It has a slightly raised beak spout with a cylindrical neck, and a vertical handle extending from the rim down to the shoulder. This spherical jar with a rounded base has two circular bas-relief designs side by side on the shoulder symmetrical to the handle. The second jug, of which the rim, neck and upper part of the body are missing (Fig.20 a-b), is also spherical shaped and can be thought to have been similar in form to the first one. No decoration is seen on the surviving part of this jug, which is made of dark grey paste and unburnished.

There is some similarity in the general appearance of the vessels found at Kalamış Bay to the pottery of the Yortan Burials Culture[24]. However, the Kalamış Bay jugs and jug-shaped vessels do not reflect the same technical structure and typology as those of the Yortan Culture and Thrace settlements. This indicates that the Kalamış Bay pottery vessels, can be dated Early Bronze Age II-III, were probably of local manufacture.

Assuming that the Kalamış Bay pottery vessels were of local manufacture, and on the basis of the presence of wall-like architectural remains suggested by the underwater archaeologists, it is possible to speak of an ancient settlement that might have existed at Kalamış Bay that is now underwater. The fact that Kalamış is a suitable bay for a settlement, and is fed by a freshwater source like Kurbağalıdere, would have been the most likely reasons for choosing it as a site for establishing a settlement. The question of why such a settlement (if it exists) is now underwater can be explained by the fluctuation in water levels of the Marmara shores throughout history[25].

The most important reveal in the Historical Peninsula belonging to the periods following the Late Chalcolithic Period is a terracotta pitcher (Fig.21) which were revealed during a foundation excavation next to the Tomb of Merzifonlu Karamustafapaşa in Çarşıkapı[26].

[23] Dönmez 2006: Figs.4 a-b

[24] For information about the Yortan Burials Culture represented by graves at Yortan, Babaköy and Ovabayındır see Kamil 1982; Bittel 1939: 1-31; Özgüç 1944: 53-70; Akurgal 1958: 156-170; Orthmann 1966: 1-26.

[25] Erol 1991: 11-16.

[26] Fıratlı 1958a: 29-30; Fıratlı 1978: 572, Fig. III.5.

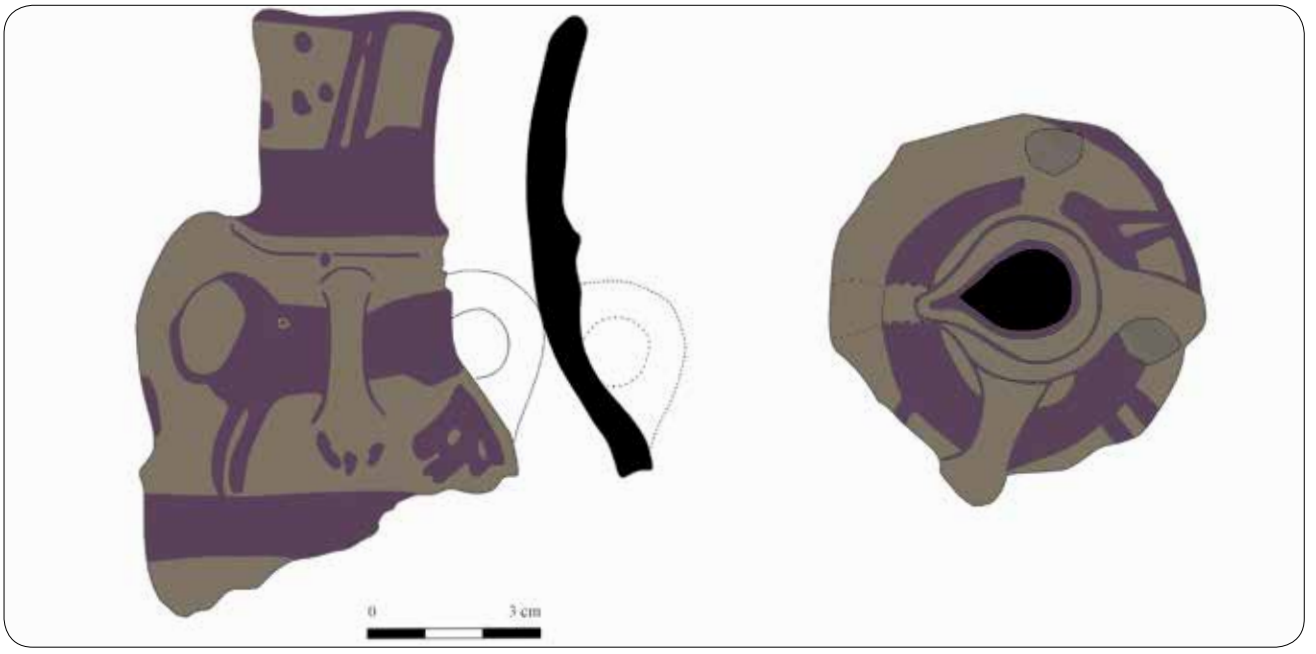


Figure 21: Testi, Merzifonlu Karamustafa Paşa Medresesi, Beyazıt, Orta Tunç Çağı, Pişmiş Toprak / *Pitcher, Madrasah of Merzifonlu Karamustafa Paşa, Beyazıt, Middle Bronze Age, Terracotta*

The pitcher was in dark buff and handcrafted (Fig.21). It contained thin and medium sized mineral and plant tamper. The color of the slip is also dark buff as its paste. It has four vertical handles. The pitcher is not well fired and the painted in aubergine color. The jug looks like the other jugs of the periods Middle Cyprus Age I (1900-1800 BC)[27], Middle Cyprus Age II (1800-1725 BC)[28], Middle Cyprus Age III (1725-1600 BC)[29] and Late Cyprus Age I-II (1600-1200 BC)[30] in terms of long neck part and similarity of decoration design. But the low-quality production of the said pot and that it has four handles which cannot be found in the pottery tradition of Cyprus is a property which proves that this one was a local production.

Iron Age

The people in Anatolia and close vicinity experienced a really difficult period especially in the second part of the 13th century BC because of changing climate conditions, famine, drought and the repeating earthquakes of 7.5-8.5 magnitude which occurred in a wide area including Greece to Middle Anatolia and from Crimea to Egypt[31]. For the mentioned difficulties, the Thracians who used to live especially in Macedonia and in Western Thrace and the Phrygians who were used to be called as Bhrygians by Herodotos (*Historiai*, VI, 45; VII, 73,185) in their homeland Macedonia had started their so-called Thraco-Phrygian migrations[32] of approximately 150-200 years towards the Anatolia. The mentioned migration took place through the *Bosporus* as well as the *Dardanelles* (the Çanakkale Straits). Besides the potsherds (Fig.22) which were revealed during the foundation excavations of the annex unit of Istanbul Archaeological Museums[33] some of the pottery (Figs.23-24) that was revealed in Yenikapı excavations is assumed as the evidence of the Thraco-Phrygian migration[34]. The revealed jug pieces (Fig.22) in foundation excavations of the annex unit were handcrafted. The color of the paste is dark gray and it has thin and medium mineral and medium plant tamper. The outer layer has the same color with the paste. Some handmade modifications are observed on outer surfaces and the clay that is medium fired. One of the pieces is a rim of a jug which has a rope figure in relief[35] (Fig.22). The other one is a piece of a bowl's body which does not have any figure decoration but has similar technical features with the first one. This period is named as 'Early Iron Age' of Istanbul in some essays and is interpreted

[27] Karageorghis 2000: 33/35 numbered jug.
[28] Maguire 1991: Fig.7/1-5.
[29] Karageorghis 1999: 106-107/75 and 76 numbered jugs.
[30] Malmgren 1999: Fig. 7/C 257; Karageorghis 2000: 37/47 numbered jug.
[31] Nur 2008.
[32] Dönmez 2004: 44-45; Dönmez 2006: 243-244; Dönmez 2011: 24; Dönmez 2014: 49.
[33] Dönmez 2004: Lev.2/1, Res.5; Dönmez 2006: Fig.1b. In my previous essays, I interpreted the pottery (handmade and rope figured pieces) of the annex unit excavation of Istanbul Archaeological Museums as the evidence of the Thracian-Phrygian migrations. However, depending on the current data on archaeology, today I believe that the mentioned pottery belong to an earlier settlement than Byzantion Period.
[34] Dönmez 2004: 44-45; Dönmez 2006: 243-244; Dönmez 2011: 24; Dönmez 2014: 4.
[35] Fıratlı 1978: 570, Pl.163/Fig.4.

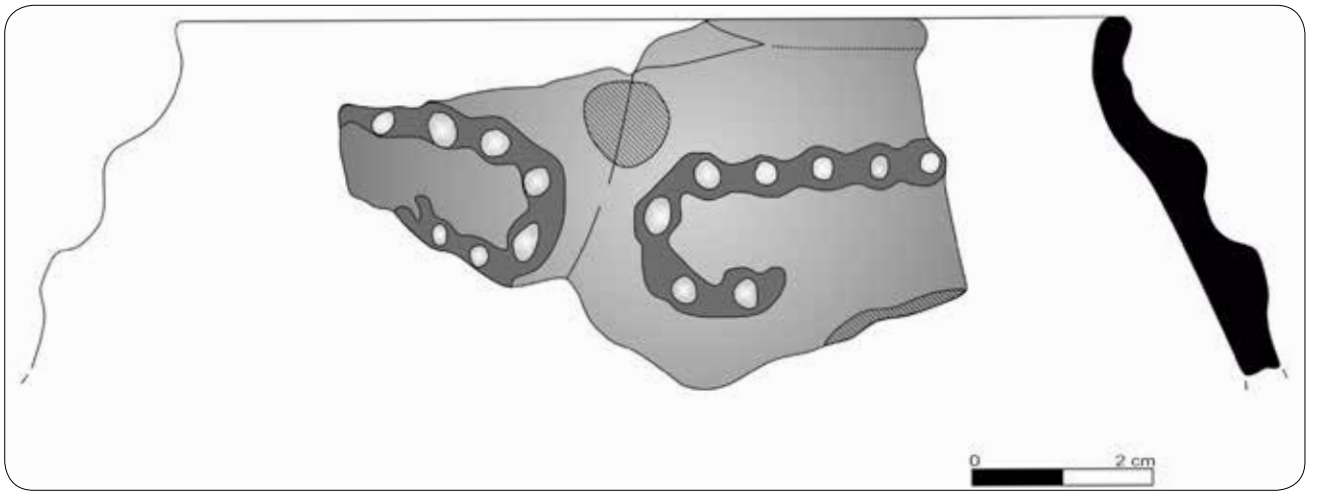


Figure 22: Çömlek Parçası, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Ek Bina, Erken Demir Çağı, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jug-Sherd, Annex Building of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, Early Bronze Age, Terracotta*

in context of Prehistoric Archaeology[36]. The information we got about both the Southern Balkan Peninsula and Troia War depending on Herodotos prove the inaccuracy of the assumption that Thracian Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages are Prehistoric Periods. Perception of the term Protohistory[37] correctly and arranging the publications accordingly would help set the chronological background of the history of Turkey accurately. In this context, the ancient written data on the Balkan Peninsula, Istanbul, Thrace and the nearby geography prove that the Early Iron Age would not be a section of Prehistoric Period. Since many ancient witnesses such as Herodotos, Strabo, Pliny, Stephanus Byzantios and Photius gave detailed information on the mentioned region, it is clear that the Early Iron Age is a section of Prehistoric Period.

There are several myths about the foundation and founder of *Byzantion*, the city which is assumed to be the first settlement of Istanbul. It is assumed to be placed near Sarayburnu region, which is named as Bosphorios Akra. Depending to the interpretation of the mentioned myths, the settlement had been founded as a colony of *Megara* in 669/658 BC. According to the legend, the inhabitants of *Megara*, who migrated from the Central Greece had a commander called Byzas and therefore the name of the city had been transformed accordingly. According to another legend, Byzas, the founder of *Byzantion* is the son of Poseidon- the God of the Sea- and Keroessa-the daughter of Zeus-. Depending on a city founded by Byzas, the city was called as *Byzantion* later on. *Byzantion* was located on a peninsula which is



Figure 23: Çömlek Parçası, Yenikapı, Erken Demir Çağı, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jugsherd, Yenikapı, Early Iron Age, Terracotta*



Figure 24: Çömlek Parçası, Yenikapı, Erken Demir Çağı, Pişmiş Toprak / *Jugsherd, Yenikapı, Early Iron Age, Terracotta*

[36] Özdoğan 2008: 83.

[37] In case the inhabitats of a settlement live in a Preliterate Period and however, in case the neighbourhood developed written language skills and give inscripted informaton on the Preliterate settlement and their geography; this means that the firstly mentioned settlement live in Protohistorical Times (Dönmez 2016: 52).

surrounded by *Bosphorus Thracios* (*the Bosporus*) on west, by *Keras* (the Horn) or *Khrysokeras* (the Golden Horn) on north and by *Propontis* (the Marmara Sea) (Fig.1).

After the excavations in Yenikapı, Sirkeci and Old Prison of Sultanahmet; it is noticed by me that the concept of "Byzas – Megarians - *Byzantion* – 669/658 BC", used to be studied depending on mythological legends rather than old or current archaeological data. Even though the Thracian name Byzas was stated to be strange for the Colonization Period by Afif Erzen many years ago[38], the subject was unfortunately ignored until today.

In case of interpreting Istanbul Colonization from a wider perspective; another issue, which has been mentioned historically although it has not been clarified archaeologically, is the naming of *Kalkhedon* (Kadıköy) as 'Country of the Blind'. According to the historical chronology, *Kalkhedon* (Fig.38) was founded on Asian side of *Thracian Bosporus* in 685 BC. On the other hand, *Byzantion* (Fig.38) was founded on European side in 669/658 BC. After approximately 150 years of foundation of these two cities, when the Persian commander Megabazos learned that *Kalkhedon* had been founded approximately 16 years earlier than *Byzantion*, he defined *Kalkhedon* as 'Country of the Blind'. Megabazos might have chosen this sort of definition in order to emphasize the irony of inhabitants of *Kalkhedon* for choosing more unsuitable area to settle. Who knows if this definition of Megabazos, probably the most interesting one of the Early Period of Istanbul, reflects the truth or not? Or does that definition belong to one who just passed near two settlements? I personally believe that the purpose of the foundation of *Kalkhedon* was to cultivate the hinterland of *Kalkhedon* (Papaz'ın Çayırı). The historical growth of both cities point out that the choice of land for the cities had totally been conscious. It is assumed that the *Kalkhedon* colonists had chosen Kadıköy Region because of its agricultural potential comparing to Sarayburnu Region. After the foundation of *Kalkhedon*, *Byzantion* was also founded by the Megarians (Fig.38). The reason for choosing the Sarayburnu Region should have been again because of positive agricultural reasons rather than naval ones. It could be assumed that the colonists who had settled in the Historical Peninsula, -the edge of the Thrace- changed their mind and decided on sailing instead of agriculture. In other words, the reason that made *Byzantion* a significant government center should have been the existence of the *Thrakion* (Fig.38) in that region rather than the blindness of the inhabitants of *Kalkhedon*. There exists several old and current archaeological data which make us think so. I personally believe that the hypothesizes which state that *Byzantion* had been founded by the Megarians in 669/658 BC or Istanbul had started the historical periods via an old Greek settlement should be reached with doubt. Any data could not have been reached yet during the archaeological excavations related with the colonization of *Megara* even though it is placed as a 'Trojan Horse' in almost every book about Istanbul and is assumed as a base data for 'Formal Ancient History.' The excavation works which carried out in Yenikapı[39] helped us percept a strong layer with an entire section of cultural development until the Late Neolithic Period of the Historical Peninsula. With regards to the layers discovered in Yenikapı, I have been the first one to set a system on those layers by getting help from the related sources and I coded the layers referring the cultural sequences (see Chronological Table). In this context, it is observed that the 7th layer, which included the data on both Archaic and Classical Periods, also included the Colonization Period of *Byzantion* (see Chronological Table). The three Middle Corinth aryballoi[40] (Fig.1) and two oinokhoi[41] (Fig.1), which were discovered in Theodosius Port, point out the commercial relations in early period of *Byzantion*. Besides, they prove that the port having a similar function 1000 years ago with the one founded in 4th century AD. Moreover, the date 6th century BC for the aryballoi and oinokhoi (Fig.1) that were discovered at the port, points out the commercial attraction of the town rather than the mythological foundation story on the Colonization.

Depending on the whole data, the Thracians started to settling down in Sultanahmet - Hagia Sofia flats (Figs.25-26, 38) in 13th-12th centuries BC and later on. The gray colored pottery pieces which were revealed during the excavation in the Hagia Irene -lead by Muzaffer Ramazanoğlu in 1945 and 1946 and interpreted as Phrygian by him- are very significant to support the previously mentioned hypothesis. The excavations reached the bedrock and revealed the layer on the rock as a Phrygian layer. Ruins of a wall which had similar technical and material features with the Phrygian walls in Boğazköy. The revealed pottery had light gray color and simple features. All the mentioned data is quoted Afif Erzen[42].

As a researcher, keen on the early period archaeology and history of Istanbul, I have had no positive feedbacks so far by either Istanbul Archaeological Museums or Hagia Sofia Museum on working the evidences of Muzaffer Ramazanoğlu directly. However, a Thracian jugsherd (Fig.22) which was revealed during the foundation excavation of annex unit of

[38] Erzen 1954: 131-154.

[39] Pekin 2007; Öztuncay/Coşkuner 2013.

[40] 575-550 BC, Öncü 2013: 95/26-27, 96/28.

[41] 6th Century BC, Öncü 2013: 97/29, 98/30.

[42] Erzen 1954: 135.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

	YENIKAPI STRATIFICATION	
LAYER	DATING	PERIOD
0	1923 and later	Republic of Turkey
1	1453 - 1923	Ottoman Period
2	13th century AD - 1453	Late Byzantine Period
3	9th century AD – 12th century AD	Middle Byzantine Period
4	303 AD – 8th century AD	Early Byzantine Period
5	30 BC – 303 AD	Roman Period
6	334 BC – 30 BC	Hellenistic Era
7	800 BC- 334 BC	Archaic and Classical Periods
8	1200 BC – 800 BC	Iron Age
9	6500 BC – 5200 BC	Neolithic Period



Figure 25: Bab-ı Hümayun'dan Sultanahmet-Ayasofya Düzlüğü Genel Görünümü (Şevket Dönmez) / *General View of Sultanahmet-Hagia Sophia Flats from Bab-ı Humayun*

Istanbul Archaeological Museums that is not so far to Hagia Irene and the evidences of Early Thracian and Phrygian Periods of Muzaffer Ramazanoğlu in Hagia Irene point out a settlement of Thraco-Phrygian character in the First Courtyard of Topkapı Palace (Fig. 26).

The Phoenician four-faceted glass bead (Fig.1, Fig. 27 a-b) in a human head form, which was revealed during the construction works of Istanbul Court in Sultanahmet in 1950-1952, has been one of the early period pieces of *Byzantion*. Furthermore, it has been an important proof that shows the development of commercial relations towards the East Mediterranean ports in the 5th century BC and later on which started with the Aegean culture in the 6th century BC.

The Historical Peninsula, which is located on southwest part of the Çatalca Peninsula, is a natural part and extension



Figure 26: Bab-ı Hümayun'dan Topkapı Sarayı Birinci Avlu Genel Görünüşü, Sultanahmet-Ayasofya Düzlüğü'nün Sarayburnu Uzantısı (Şevket Dönmez) / *General View of the First Courtyard of Topkapı Palace from Bab-ı Humayun, Seraglio Extension of the Sultanahmet-Hagia Sophia Flats*



Figure 27 ab: Çok Yüzlü Fenike Boncuğu, Sultanahmet, Geç Demir Çağı, Cam / *Multifaceted Phoenician Bead, Sultanahmet, Late Iron Age, Glass*

of Ancient Thrace because of its geo-strategic location. For this reason, it is a strong possibility that the Thraco-Phrygian inhabitants of the area had settled down in Sultanahmet (Hippodrome) - Hagia Sofia region during the 'Dark Age' (1200-1000 BC). The architectural ruins of the cottages in branch-mud technique[43], which were revealed on layers 7A and 7B in political capital of the Phrygians in *Gordion* (Yassıhöyük) help us create a simple picture of the settlement in Sultanahmet Hagia Sofia Region.

The important archaeological developments which support our Thracian presence theory in Istanbul happened in the summer of 2017 in Beşiktaş which lies at the European Side of the *Bosporus* and not so further away (roughly 6 kms) from the Historical Peninsula. At the foot of the Yıldız Hill, in the salvage excavations implemented by Istanbul Archaeological Museums in the construction site of the Beşiktaş Square entrance of the Kabataş-Mahmutbey subway line important evidence were uncovered which will shed light to the period just before the Greek colonization of Istanbul. The structures which were uncovered 6-7 meters beneath the modern city layer were discovered to be the kurgans (Fig.1) built in close vicinity to each other and constructed by rubbles. The most important aspect of the said kurgans that they were preserved from the effects of nature and men quite good by remaining beneath the ground and groving city. It is also understood that the kurgans of Beşiktaş are made of circular stone masonry in original. It is observed that in the area partially used in Roman and Ottoman periods, the cones of the kurgans were largely destroyed in modern infrastructure works and their masonry were scattered in a wide area. When the scattered masonry was removed kromlechs were uncovered (Fig.1). The Late Bronze-Early Iron Age pottery which is encountered with the cremation, the bone and ash remains of the burned

[43] Sevin 2003: 239.

bodies, found in the simple stone boxes placed in Kurgan tombs, which is a tradition of a wide geography spanning Balkans, Thrace and even in Ukraine without question proves that the said tombs belonged to Southeastern Europeans, Eurasians, Cimmerians or maybe even Thraco-Phrygian peoples. The similar pottery to the Beşiktaş kurgans are already known from Turkish Thrace, Sultanahmet, Troy and Gordion (Ankara-Polatlı) which later became the capital of the Phrygian Kingdom. It has proven that the Thraco-Phrygian Migrations (1250-900 BC) which was a contributing factor of the collapse of the Hittite Great Kingdom has happened through the *Bosporus*, *Dardanelles* and the Marmara Sea. According our recent observations the encounter of the cremation burial in the earlier examples of the *Gordion* and Ankara tumuli (kurgans) which was built 300-400 years later than the Beşiktaş Kurgans which in turn can be dated to 1300-1000 BC, clearly proves the connection between the Thraco-Phrygian Migrations and the Phrygian Kingdom even at this early point of the research. At this context, it seems that the missing-link of the Phrygian tumulus tradition which is yet to be understood by the way it arrived to Anatolia, can be found in Beşiktaş kurgans.

Even though the excavations have not been concluded, the burial structures uncovered seems to cause many information that is believed to be true about the Istanbul Iron Age Archaeology and the subsequent Greek Colonization Period to become urban legends. Could the reason why the Megarian Colonization which was concentrated in the Marmara entrance of *Bosporus* have not encompass the shores of Bosporus which is more suitable for settlement be the resistance of the people already inhabiting this territory? Even though the definitive dating has not been done yet the initial research on the pottery shows that the Beşiktaş kurgans (Fig.1) were built between 1300 and 900 BC. In this case the people that the cemetery in today's Beşiktaş Square is thought to be here when and before the arrival of the Megarians.

CONCLUSION

The archaeological data and the historical sources about the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of the Historical Peninsula support the possibility of existence of a Thraco-Phrygian settlement in Sultanahmet-Hagia Sofia flats (Figs.1, 25-26). The revealed data of the excavations in the flats, in the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace, in annex unit of Istanbul Archaeological Museums, in Hagia Irene and Sultanahmet Old Prison[44] (Fig.25) certainly point out a settlement before *Byzantion* Period. The pieces of a Thraco-Phrygian pottery (Fig.1, 22) and a Phrygian fibula[45] (Fig.1, 28) are the characteristic samples of the Iron Age of Istanbul. Besides, the name *Thrakion*[46] is quite interesting which could be mentioned inside the ancient city of *Byzantion* according to the Ancient Western sources. There exist historical sources which prove the Sultanahmet-Hagia Sofia flats (Fig.1, 25-26) is in fact the mentioned *Thrakion* Square, which is a square name in *Byzantion*. Xenophon states important information especially on the size of the square in his book called *Anabasis*. Xenophon mentions that there are not any houses on the square and it is useful enough for the mustering of the soldiers (*Anabasis*, VII, 1,21-30). The square is assumed to be fairly large.



Figure 28: Fibula, Sultanahmet, Orta Demir Çağı, Tunç. / *Fibula, Sultanahmet, Middle Iron Age, Bronze*

Murat Arslan claims that the public assembly was used to gather in Thrakion Square[47]. However, according the information which is gained from Pliny, Byzantion had a gate named as *Thrakion* (*Naturalis Historia* XXXVI, 23[99-100]). The relation between the *Thrakion* Square and the *Thrakion* Gate is approved by Xenophon (*Anabasis*, VII, 1, 21-30). There exist strong evidence that the *Thrakion* Gate was located in Bab-ı Hümayun[48]. In this context, it is reasonable to match the *Thrakion* Square with the Sultanhamet-Hagia Sofia flats.

[44] The excavation project of Sultanahmet Old Prison (Great Palace), which started in 1997, is one of the primary archaeological projects of the Historical Peninsula (Denker/Yağcı/Akay 2007: 126-141). Even though no layers were revealed, the oinokhoe piece of East Greek (625-600 BC; Denker/Yağcı/Akay 2007: 144/SC2) the Kylix piece (550-525 BC; Denker/Yağcı/Akay 2007: 144/SC3) and the dinos (6th century BC; Denker/Yağcı/Akay 2007: 145/SC4) stand as significant data referring to the beginning years of Byzantion.

[45] Denker/Yağcı/Akay 2007: 144/SC1.

[46] Arslan 2010: 125-126.

[47] Arslan 2010: 363

[48] Tunay 2014.

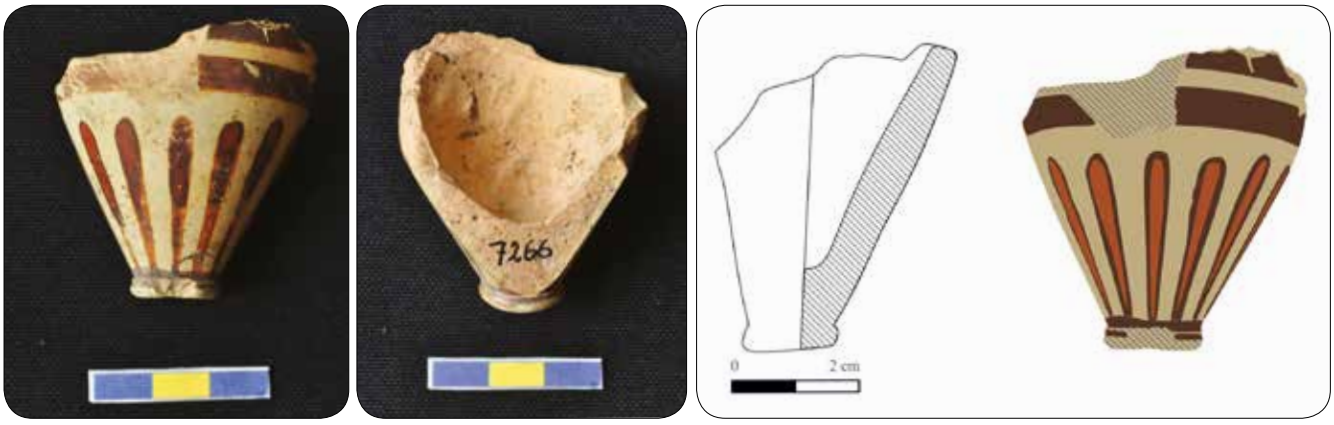


Figure 29 ab-30: Aryballos, Bab-üs-Selam, Topkapı Sarayı, Orta Proto-Korinth II Dönemi, Pişmiş Toprak / *Aryballos, Bab-üs-Selam, Topkapı Palace, Middle Proto-Corinth II Period, Terracotta*



Figure 31 ab-32: Aryballos, Bab-üs-Selam, Topkapı Sarayı, Orta Proto-Korinth II Dönemi, Pişmiş Toprak / *Aryballos, Bab-üs-Selam, Topkapı Palace, Middle Proto-Corinth II Period, Terracotta*



Figure 33 ab-34: Aryballos, Bab-üs-Selam, Topkapı Sarayı, Orta Proto-Korinth II Dönemi, Pişmiş Toprak / *Aryballos, Bab-üs-Selam, Topkapı Palace, Middle Proto-Corinth II Period, Terracotta*

The aryballoi[49] (Figs.1, 29 a-b, 30, 31 a-b, 32, 33 a-b, 34) of Middle Proto-Corinth II (660-650 BC) which were revealed by Aziz Organ in 1971, in the second courtyard of the Topkapı Palace; the aryballoi of Late Proto-Corinth (Fig.35 a-b, 36; 650-640 BC); the ones of Yenikapı and the oinokhoi of Yenikapı are the earliest samples that point out the establishment period of *Byzantion*. It is mindful that the Proto-Corinth (650-

[49] Ogan 1940: Lev. LXXIII/2.



Figure 35 ab-36: Aryballos, Bab-üs-Selam, Topkapı Sarayı, Proto-Korinth Dönemi, Pişmiş Toprak / *Aryballos, Bab-üs-Selam, Topkapı Palace, Proto-Corinth Period, Terracotta*



Figure 37: Byzantion Döneminden Kaldığı Düşünülen Sur Temel Parçası, Cankurtaran, İstanbul (Ferudun Özgümüş) / *Remains of a Defensive Wall Foundation Thought to be Dated to the Byzantion Period*

640 BC) pottery of Babüsselam (the Second Gate) are dated later than the pottery of the annex unit of Istanbul Archaeological Museums and then the Phrygian fibula of the Sultanahmet Old Prison. Therefore, it could be logical to assume that the revealed pieces of the annex unit and the Old Prison belong to a settlement before *Byzantion* in case the Babüsselam (the Second Gate) pottery prove the existence of *Byzantion*.

Except for the Proto-Corinth pottery of Babüsselam (the Second Gate), the most important data is presented by the City Walls which is characteristic for *Byzantion* in terms of archaeology. The information on early period walls (before Roman) reached during the railway construction in Sarayburnu in 1871 and afterwards in 1921 and in 1925[50]. Moreover, the fairly enormous stone block[51] (Fig.37), which is located nearby the coastal highway in Cankurtaran region, quite possibly belongs to the establishment period of *Byzantion* (the Archaic Period).

The existence of the Sultanahmet-Hagia Sofia flats in *Byzantion* city memory is quite reasonable. The naming of both a square and a gate *Thrakion*, which

[50] Gökbilgin 1950: 1145.
[51] Tezcan 1989: 50, Res.57.

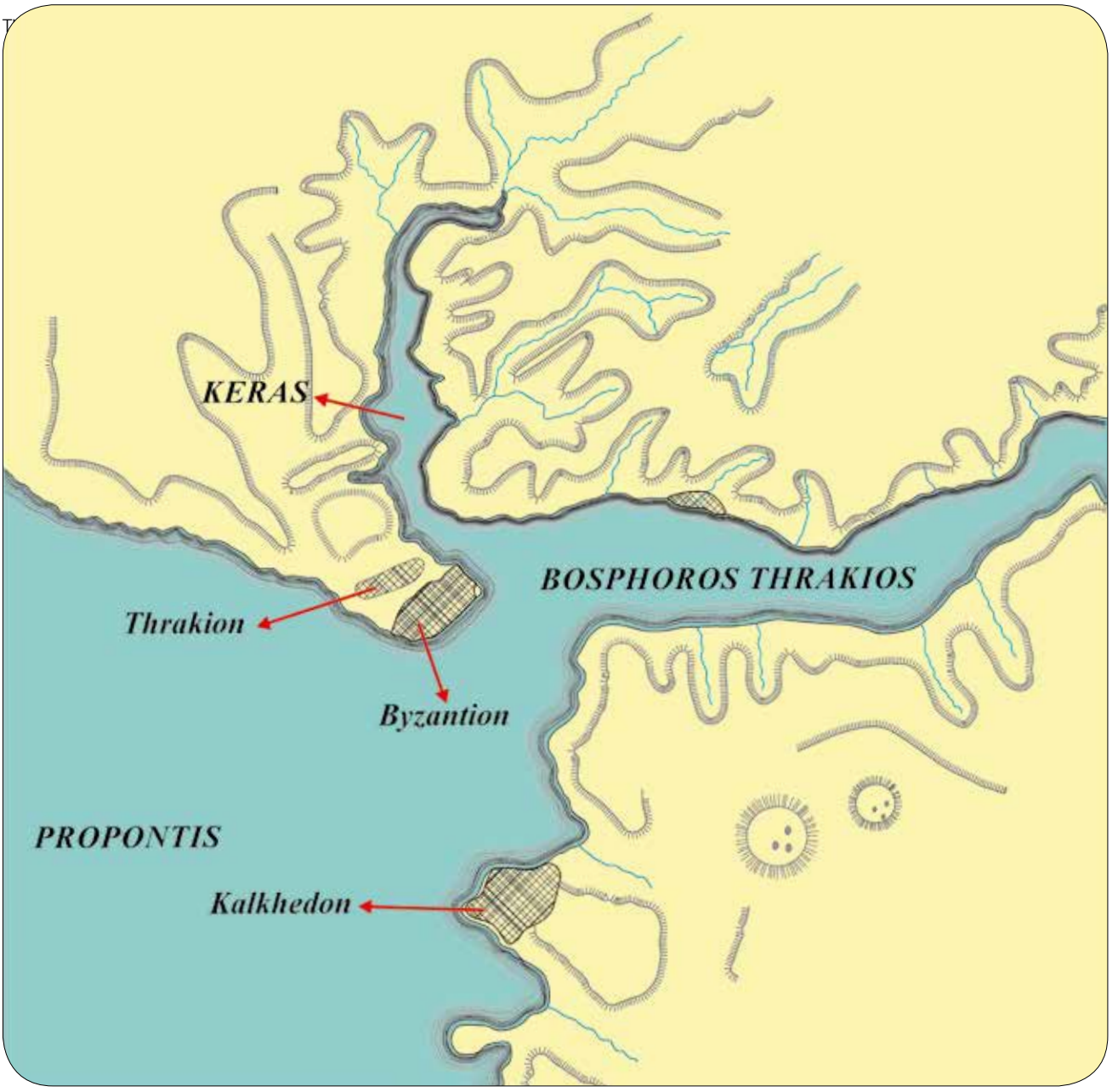


Figure 38: *Thrakion, Byzantion* ve *Kalkhedon*'un Yerlerini Gösteren Harita / *The Map Detailing the Locations of Thracion, Byzantion and Chalcedon.*

clearly is left either from a region or a settlement name, can be interpreted as a sort of reference to the Thrako-Phrygian settlement in Sultanahmet-Hagia Sofia flats (Fig.38). It could be assumed that the scale of Thrako-Phrygian settlement before *Byzantion* (Fig.38) was like a village or a small town rather than a big city, whose information was presented depending on the historical data in this essay. In this context, I personally believe that Sarayburnu Region had not been not vacant when the Megarians arrived there, there had been a Thrako-Phrygian settlement on the Sultanahmet-Hagia Sofia flats (Fig.38), the inhabitants of *Byzantion* had called the areas as Thrakion and the memory of this settlement-integrated with *Byzantion*- within the historical background of the city has been continued with the name Thrakion. The kurgan structures with cremation tradition and the pottery of Balkan origin which were uncovered in Beşiktaş Square Subway Station (Fig.1) strongly proved that Istanbul did not stepped into historic period by Greek Colonization and there was a strong presence of Thracian people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AKURGAL, E. 1958.

"Yortankultur – Siedlung in Ovabayındır bei Balıkesir", Anatolia 3: 156-170

ALKIM, H. 1986.

"İkiztepe Geç Kalkolitik Çağ Keramiği", Anadolu Araştırmaları/Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung X, 99-116.

ARSLAN, M. 2010.

İstanbul'un Antikçağ Tarihi. Klasik ve Helenistik Dönemler. İstanbul.

BITTEL, K. 1939.

"Ein Gräberfeld der Yortankultur bei Babaköy", Archiv für Orientforschung 13: 1-39.

CASSON. 1930.

"St. Casson, Les fouilles á l'hippodrome de Constantinople", Gazete des Beaux-Arts 6/3: 213-242.

DENKER A. / YAĞCI G. / AKAY A.B. 2007.

"Büyük Saray Kazısı", Günışığında. İstanbul'un 8000 Yılı. Marmaray, Metro,Sultanahmet Kazıları (Ed. A.K. Pekin). İstanbul: 126-163.

DÖNMEZ, Ş. 2004.

"Protohistorik Çağ'da Haliç ve Tarihi Yarımada", Dünü ve Bugünü ile Haliç Sempozyum Bildirileri. İstanbul: 41-55.

DÖNMEZ, Ş. 2006.

"The Prehistory of the İstanbul Region: A Survey", Ancient Near Eastern Studies 43: 239-264.

DÖNMEZ, Ş. 2011.

"Yeni Arkeolojik Araştırmalar Işığında İstanbul'un (Tarihi Yarımada) Neolitik, Kalkolitik ve Demir Çağı Kültürleri Üzerine Genel Değerlendirmeler", Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı 2. Restorasyon, Konservasyon, Arkeoloji, Sanat: 19-25.

DÖNMEZ, Ş. 2014.

"Byzantion'un (İstanbul) Kolonizasyonu Üzerine Yeni Değerlendirmeler", Vakıf Restorasyon Yıllığı 8. Restorasyon, Konservasyon, Arkeoloji, Sanat: 48-54.

DÖNMEZ, Ş. 2016.

Anadolu ve Ermeniler. Kızılırmak Havzası Demir Çağı Toplumunun Doğu Anadolu Yaylasına Büyük Göçü/Anatolia and Armenians, Great Exodus of the Halys Basin Iron Age Community to the Eastern Anatolian Plateau. İstanbul.

EROL, O. 1991.

"Türkiye Kıyılarındaki Terkedilmiş Tarihi Limanlar ve Bir Çevre Sorunu Olarak Kıyı Çizgisi Değişimlerinin Önemi", İstanbul Üniversitesi Deniz Bilimleri ve Coğrafya Enstitüsü Bülteni 8: 1-44.

ERZEN, A. 1954.

"İstanbul Şehrinin Kuruluşu ve İsimleri", Belleten XVIII/70: 131-158.

FIRATLI, N. 1958a.

"Çarşıkapıda Bulunan Prehistorik Keramik/The Prehistoric Pottery Found at Çarşıkapı", İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı/Annual of the Archaeological Museums of İstanbul 8: 29-30/74.

FIRATLI, N. 1958b.

"Tuzla'da Bulunan Prehistorik Keramik/Prehistoric Pottery Found at Tuzla", İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı/Annual of the Archaeological Museums of İstanbul: 30-31/74-75.

FIRATLI N. 1978.

"New Discoveries Concerning The First Settlement of Ancient İstanbul-Byzantion", The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Vol I. Ankara: 565-574.

GÖKBİLGİN, M. T. 1950.

"İstanbul", İslâm Ansiklopedisi. İslâm Âlemi Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnografya ve Biyografya Lugati, C. 5. İstanbul: 1135-1185.

HARMANKAYA, S. 1983.

"Pendik Kazısı 1981", IV. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı. Ankara: 25-30.

KAMİL, T. 1982.

Yortan Cemetery in the Early Bronze Age of Western Anatolia. BAR International Series 145. Oxford.

KARAGEORGHIS, V. 1999.

Ancient Cypriote Art in the Severis Collection. Athens.

KARAGEORGHIS, V. 2000.

Ancient Art from Cyprus. The Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York.

KIZILTAN, Z. 2010.

"Marmaray-Metro Projeleri Kapsamında Yapılan, Yenikapı, Sirkeci ve Üsküdar Kazıları/Excavations at Yenikapı, Sirkeci and Üsküdar within Marmaray and Metro Projects", İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri I. Marmaray-Metro Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı/İstanbul Archaeological Museums Proceedings of the 1st Symposium on Marmaray-Metro Salvage Excavations (Ed. U. Kocabaş). İstanbul.

MAGUIRE, L. C. 1991.

The Classification of Middle Bronze Age Painted Pottery: Wares, Styles, Workshops?, Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record (Eds. J.A. Barlow/D.L. Bolger/B. Kling). Pennsylvania: 59-66.

MALMGREN, K. 1999.

The White Slip Ware from Klavdhia-Tremithos, Cypriot Archaeology in Göteborg (Ed. K.H. Niklasson). Jonsered: 77-96.

MERİÇ, E. 2010.

Jeoloji ve Arkeoloji. İstanbul ve Yakın Çevresinin 8500 Yıllık Geçmişinden Kesitler. İstanbul.

NUR, A. 2008.

Apocalypse. Earthquakes, Archaeology and the Wrath of God. Princeton.

OGAN, A. 1940.

"1937 Yılında Türk Tarih Kurumu Tarafından Yapılan Topkapı Saray Hafriyatı/Les fouilles de Topkapı Saray, entreprises en 1937 par la seciètè d'Historie Turque", Belleten IV/16: 317-328/329-335.

ORTHMANN, W. 1966.

"Keramik der Yortankultur in den Berliner Museen, Istanbuler Mitteilungen" 16: 1-26.

ÖNCÜ, E. 2013.

Greek – Roman Period, Stories from the Hidden Harbour. Shipwrecks of Yenikapı (Eds. B. Öztuncay/B. Coşkuner). İstanbul: 95-103.

ÖZDOĞAN, M. 1992.

"Tarihöncesi Dönemde İstanbul", Semavi Eyice Armağanı, İstanbul Yazıları. İstanbul: 39-51.

ÖZDOĞAN, M. 2008.

"Tarihöncesi İstanbul. Yeni Bulgular Işığında İstanbul'un Tarihöncesine Bir Bakış", Aktüel Arkeoloji 8: 74-84.

ÖZDOĞAN, M. 2010a.

"Tarihöncesi Dönemlerin İstanbulu, Bizantion'dan İstanbul'a" Bir Başkentin 8000 Yılı (Ed. K. Durak). İstanbul: 36-45.

ÖZDOĞAN, M. 2010b.

"Tarihöncesi Çağlarda İstanbul", Kültürler Başkenti İstanbul (Ed. F. Başar). İstanbul: 2-11.

ÖZGÜÇ, T. 1944.

"Yortan Mezarlık Kültürüne Ait Yeni Buluntular", Belleten VIII/29: 53-70.

ÖZTUNCAY B. / COŞKUNER B. (Eds) 2013.

Stories from the Hidden Harbour. Shipwrecks of Yenikapı. İstanbul.

PASİNLİ, A. / UZUNOĞLU, E. / ATAKAN, N. / GİRGİN, Ç. / SOYSAL, M. 1994.

"Pendik Kurtarma Kazısı", IV. Müze Kurtarma Kazıları. Ankara: 147-163.

PEKİN, A. K. 2007.

Günışığında. İstanbul'un 8000 Yılı. Marmaray, Metro, Sultanahmet Kazıları. İstanbul.

POLAT, M. A. 2013.

"Neolithic Period", Stories from the Hidden Harbour. Shipwrecks of Yenikapı (Eds. B. Öztuncay/B. Coşkuner). İstanbul: 77-93.

SEVİN, V. 2003.

Eski Anadolu ve Trakya. Başlangıcından Pers Egemenliğine Kadar. İstanbul.

TEZCAN, H. 1989.

Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi. İstanbul.

TUNAY, İ. 2014.

İstanbul'un Sur Kapıları. İstanbul.