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AN OLD PERSIAN FRAGMENT AT HENDER BAHAR TOMB (HBa)¹

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Abstract

Our research in the Akarçay basin in Inner-West Anatolia indicates intense Middle and Late Iron Age settlements. Hender Bahar Mound, located on routes connecting North-West Anatolia, was an active multi-period settlement. This study presents the discovery of an Old Persian fragment found as spolia in the walls of the Hender Bahar Tomb, now HBa. The Tomb dates to the later thirteenth century and was built near Hender Bahar Mound. The find is a stone block on the western wall of the Tomb. It bears one fragmented sign, a remnant of

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an Old Persian royal inscription. The sign is a hitherto unknown variant of the logogram for Auramazdā, now AM₃. The block was originally part of an architectural structure yet undiscovered. It was probably deconstructed with its blocks serving as spolia in the region. The incisions point to a peripheral use of Old Persian cuneiform.

Keywords: Late Iron Age, cuneiform, Persians, Hender Bahar Mound

Hender Bahar Mezarında Bulunan Eski Persçe Fragman (HBa)

Öz

İç Batı Anadolu'da Akarçay havzasındaki araştırmalarımız bu alanda yoğun Orta ve Geç Demir Çağı yerleşimlerine işaret etmektedir. Kuzey Batı Anadolu bağlantısı üzerinde konumlanan Hender Bahar Höyüğü, aktif birçok dönemli yerleşim yeri idi. Bu çalışma, HBa olarak isimlendirdiğimiz Hender Bahar Mezarı'nın duvarlarında devşirme malzeme olarak bulunan bir Eski Persçe kraliyet yazıtının keşfini sunmaktadır. Mezar, 13. yüzyılın sonlarına tarihlenmekte olup Hender Bahar Höyüğü'nün yakınına inşa edilmiştir. Buluntu, Mezar'ın batı duvarındaki bir taş bloktur. Üzerinde, Eski Pers kraliyet yazıtının bir parçası olan parçalanmış bir işaret bulunmaktadır. İşaret, günümüzde AM₃ olarak bilinen Auramazdā logogramının bugüne kadar bilinmeyen bir çeşididir. Blok, başlangıçta henüz keşfedilmemiş bir mimari yapının parçasıydı. Muhtemelen bölgede devşirme malzeme olarak kullanılan bloklarıyla birlikte parçalanmıştır. Kesikler, Eski Pers çivi yazısının çevresel kullanımına işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Geç Demir Çağ, çivi yazısı, Persler, Hender Bahar Höyük

Hender Bahar Mound: A Multi-Period Site

Anatolia's Inner West is a strategic transition region connecting parts of Central and West/North-West Anatolia. The natural basin formed by the Akarçay River facilitates this. Thus, a natural route emerges for the road extending both to the shores of the Marmara Sea and to the Aegean. The road northwest leads towards Kütahya through Afyonkarahisar. On this route, Hender Bahar Mound, near Osmanköy village, is vitally located west of the Akarçay basin and on the main road stretching from Kütahya to the Marmara Region (Fig. 1).

Hender Bahar Mound is located 800 m southeast of Osmanköy, 300 m east of the Hender Bahar Tomb, and 600 m east of the Afyonkarahisar-

Kütahya road (Fig. 1-2; Fig. 4). The east-west direction of this settlement is 300 m, the north-south direction is 410 m. The Mound is 9 m high, and it spreads over an area of approximately 9 ha². A detailed survey of the area around the mound and the Hender Bahar Tomb has been conducted (Fig. 2-3)³. There are two tumuli possibly related to this settlement in the area called Çatalhöyük, 1100 m southwest of the mound and west of the Afyonkarahisar-Kütahya highway (Fig. 5). In the larger one of these tumuli, a deep illegal excavation destruction was detected⁴.

There are Chalcolithic Age, Early Bronze Age, second millennium BC, Iron Age materials and a small number of Late Antiquity finds in the mound. This indicates that the settlement has been inhabited almost uninterruptedly since the Chalcolithic Age. A large number of Early Bronze Age pottery in different forms and colors of red, brown, and cream were found in the settlement. This variety of forms and colors continue in the Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age finds. Among the Iron Age materials, one can find a variety of intense brown and grey wares, in addition to red samples. Among the Iron Age vessel types, bead-rimmed or everted-rimmed pots and inwards-outwards rimmed pots are common (Fig. 14-15). Materials of this period can be compared with the Middle and Late Iron Age samples⁵.

² The highest point on the mound is 1087 m. The plain level is 1078 m.

³ Based on TUSAGA-Active (Turkey National Main GPS Network-Active (CORS-TR (Continuously Operating Reference Station-Turkey)) network, which enables real-time kinematic (RTK) coordinate production with Topcon Hyper V GNSS receiver in current map studies of the settlement area, VRS (The point coordinates (x, y) and ellipsoidal height (h) were determined in the ITRF 96 coordinate system in accordance with the WGS 84 International system with 3 epoch measurements at 1 second recording interval using the correction technique (The Virtual Reference Station). The drawings were prepared using the NetCAD Asset Map Module and converted to the ED-50 coordinate system.

⁴ Surveys were carried out on September 11, 2019, at Hender Bahar mound and Çatalhöyük locations. Çatalhöyük Tumulus (North) coordinates: Y: 264585.85 X: 4319951.98 Kot: 1072.38 DOM: 33.0, Çatalhöyük Tumulus (South) coordinates: Y: 264564.83 X: 4319883.87 Altitude: 1072.38 DOM: 33.0

⁵ Eva Maria Bossert, *Die Keramik Phrygischer Zeit von Boğazköy* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, 2000), 168, Taf. 71, 74; Martha S. Joukowsk, *Prehistoric Aphrodisias*. (Louvain: Brown University, 1986), 162, 644, 646, Fig. 465-466; Pınar Kızıltepe Bilgin, *İçbatı Anadolu'da Demir Çağı*, (Denizli: Pamukkale Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Enstitüsü Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2018); Lisa Kealhofer- Peter Grave, "The Iron Age on the Central Anatolian Plateau", S. R. Steadman - G. McMahon (ed.), (New York: 2011) 415-442; Zeynep Akkuzu, *The Late Iron Age Pottery from Kaman-Kalehöyük*, (Ankara: İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent Üniversitesi Ekonomi ve Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, 2018); Hatice Ergürer, "Gövezli Tepesi Höyük Demir Çağı Seramikleri", *TÜBA-AR*, 22, (2018), Plate 3, 13; Yasemin Polat, *Daskyleion'da M.Ö. 8.-5. Yüzyıllar Arasında Gri Seramik*, (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, 2002), 93, Plate. 39, A.89; Plate. 46, 1; Plate. 67; Plate. 69-70; Plate. 114, 1; Plate. 115, 4.

Middle and Late Iron Age in the Akarçay Basin

Hender Bahar Mound's Middle Iron Age period can be identified with the Phrygian material record in the early first millennium BC. Following Phrygian and later Lydian rule, the region eventually came under Achaemenid rule after the defeat of Croesus c. 547/546 BC. The Persians maintained some of the earlier administrative structures in Western Anatolia. As a result, the old capitals, such as Sardis, which fell into the hands of the Persians, also became the capitals of the new Persian satrapies. In this period, Sardis and Daskyleion appear as two important satrapy centers around Western Anatolia⁶.

Table 1: Some of the Iron Age Settlements around Hender Bahar Mound

Location	Periods							Size (EW-NS) (hectare) / Height (m)	Mound (Altitude)
	Neolithic	Chalcolithic	Bronze Age			Iron Age	Hell./ Rome		
			EBA	MBA	LBA				
Afyon/City center/ İsmailköy Village/ Çorça Mound 2						+	Rome/ Late Rome	240x280 (6,7) 4	Mound (1016)
Afyon/ City center / Anıtkaya Village/ Bayram Bucağı			+			+		420x430 (14 ,7) 15	Mound (1127)
İhsaniye/ Karacaahmet Village/ Çiftlik Mound	+	+	+	+	+	+		580x510 (26,8) 29	Mound (1076)
İhsaniye/ Ablak Village/ Ablak Mound			+	+	+	+		460x340 (12,8) 21	Mound (1071)
İhsaniye/ Yukarıtandır Village/			+	+	+	+	Rome	260x220 (5,7) 17	Mound (1088)

⁶ Greek tradition mentions Artakamas and Khrysantas as satraps appointed during the reign of Cyrus II over Great Phrygia and Lydia-Ionia respectively as mentioned by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia* 8.6.7 (Mehmet Ali Kaya, "Anadolu'da Pers Satraplıkları: Kuruluş, Yönetim ve Etnik Yapı", *CEDRUS The Journal of MCRI*, VI (2018). 161, 163-164.). A new satrapy was established after Darius I in Greater Phrygia (Mehmet Ali Kaya, "Anadolu'da Pers Satraplıkları: Kuruluş, Yönetim ve Etnik Yapı", 164, 37).

Yukarıtandır Mound									
İhsaniye/Osman Village/ Hender Bahar			+	+	+	+	Late Antiquity	300x410 (8,9) 9	Mound (1087)

Among the important Iron Age settlements in this basin, the names of Beyköy Höyüktepe, Ablak Mound, Yukarıtandır, and Bayram Bucağı can be counted (Table 1; Fig. 1). In fact, this Iron Age settlements density continues from the Sultandağı District in the easternmost of Afyonkarahisar province to the Dazkırı environs in the southernmost. The discovery of painted wares from Phrygian, Lydian, and various types of Achaemenid ceramics, in addition to the grey ceramics, serves as evidence of the political developments in the region. It is also important that it is 35 km from the highway to Sinanpaşa Küçükhöyük Mound, which is almost the largest Iron Age settlement in the region and is located in the south of Hender Bahar Mound. The position of this settlement, situated in the eastern part of the Sincanlı Plain, the large area it covers, and the dense Iron Age ceramics detected especially with the painted samples, indicate that this is an important Iron Age city⁷. Probably Hender Bahar Mound is also related to this settlement.

Hender Bahar Tomb and the Old Persian Find

About 300 m west of the mound, there is the largely destroyed Hender Bahar Tomb (Herdane Bahar Baba Tomb) (Fig. 6-8). The tomb consists of the mummy section where the deceased is located and the rectangular place where the sarcophagus is located. Hender Bahar Tomb is made of rubble and cut stone walls. It has a rectangular plan. Triangular buttresses support the main walls on either side. The entrance door has a monolithic marble molding and opens to the outside with a large arch⁸. The tomb's epitaph is not extant, but its architectural features place it amongst and counted among the iwan tombs and point to the latter-thirteenth century.

⁷ The research we have done in the last years in Sinanpaşa Küçükhöyük, Kocaoğuz near Sultandağı district, and Menteş Üyük near Sandıklı, reveals that these may be large Iron Age settlements. Detailed surface collection and map purchases were carried out in these three settlements under the coordination of Survey Engineer Lecturer Ömür Esen. For information about Küçükhöyük, see Özdemir Koçak- Ömür Esen- Rahim Kızıgüt- Talat Koçak, "Afyonkarahisar İli ve İlçeleri 2018 Yılı Yüzey Araştırmaları", *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, XXXVII/3 (2020), 210-211. Our detailed publication studies on Menteş Üyük and Kocaoğuz settlements are continuing.

⁸ Abdülhalim Durma, *Evliyalar Şehri Afyonkarahisar*, (Amasya: 2009), 140-141.

On a cut stone block measuring 25.27 by 98.04 cm, utilized in the construction of the western wall of this tomb, prominently displays four horizontal cuneiform signs. And the two such broken signs are visible on the former's left (Fig. 9-13).

They are remnants of the logogram Auramazdā (also known from variants 𐎠𐎡𐎴 (AM₁), 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠 (AM₂), and 𐎠𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎡𐎴 (AMha= of Auramazdā)⁹. The Hender Bahar Tomb wall sign indicates it is a variant of 𐎠𐎡𐎴 (AM₂) which omits the initial horizontals seen with AM₂ and AMha. We can name this sign AM₃ (𐎠𐎡𐎴). The lines demarcating the block (cf. fig. 11-12) indicate that Auramazdā was the first word represented in the line with the fragmented sign 'AM₃'. Auramazdā occurs as the first word of lines mostly in Darius's royal inscriptions but rarely in royal inscriptions of other monarchs¹⁰. This is currently the only fragment of an Old Persian inscription found as spolia on the Hender Bahar Tomb wall. We postulate that Darius I's period (549-485 BC) is the most likely for the Old Persian script in an architectural context, but the present data does not prove a given period. This Old Persian fragment discovered within the wall of Hender Bahar Tomb can be named HBa. It was once integrated into an Achaemenid period satrapal architectural structure. Darius I initiated the tradition of inscribing bricks in palatial structures and such examples are known from mainland Persia¹¹. Satrapal palaces in Anatolia also extended Persian rule¹². HBa indicates that such palatial structures, similar to those in mainland Persia and Media, also used inscribed bricks. HBa as a fragment of Old Persian royal inscriptions probably iterated its formulas with Auramazdā (AM₃), and one of the three expressions repeated in Old Persian inscriptions: 1) *Auramazdāmaṣ upastām abara* "Ahuramazdā has bore me aid"¹³ *Auramazdā xšaçaṃ manā frābara* "Ahuramazdā has endowed me

⁹ Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, (New Haven: 1950), 12.

¹⁰ Rudiger Schmitt, *Die altpersischen Inschriften der Achaimeniden*, (Wiesbaden: 2009), 44, 45, 49, 54-59, 63-64, 66-71.

¹¹ Matthew Canepa, *Inscriptions, Royal Spaces and Iranian Identity*, in: A. Eastmond, ed. *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, (Cambridge: 2015), 17-18. An Old Persian royal inscription was found as spolia at Phanagoreia (DFa) (Vladimir D. Kuznetsov – Alexander B. Nikitin, "An Old Persian Inscription from Phanagoria", *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, XXV/1 (2019). 1-7). It may have an Anatolian provenance in or near Byzantion, but this remains disputed (Eduard Rung - Oleg Gabelko, "From Bosphorus ... To Bosphorus: A New Interpretation and Historical Context of the Old Persian Inscription from Phanagoreia", *Iranica Antiqua*, LIV (2019). 110-113).

¹² Elspeth R. M. Dusingberre, *Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*, (Cambridge: 2013), 56-60.

¹³ (e.g. Schmitt, *Die altpersischen Inschriften der Achaimeniden*, 44 [DB § 14 P], 2; cf. Kent, *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 120), 2.

kingship”¹⁴ *Auramazdā* (remaining text is provided in the previous and subsequent lines¹⁵).

While it cannot be excluded HBa an isolated find or even a cuneiform carving exercise block brought from elsewhere as spolia sometime after Anatolia’s Achaemenid era, it is more likely the spolia ultimately ended here from a nearby architectural structure deconstructed at a given point in time after Anatolia’s Achaemenid era, eventually making its way in the Hender Bahar Tomb structure. Ceramic finds found in the Hender Bahar mound, 300 m east of the tomb where the inscription is located, yield many Middle and Late Iron Age ceramics¹⁶. The Akarçay basin has yielded evidence for Hittite Empire period seals and bullae¹⁷. This part of Anatolia did not have a native tradition of monumental cuneiform monuments. Following Darius I’s policies of centralization and his new narrative of empire, it is likely that a tradition of architectural structures with Old Persian inscriptions also began outside mainland Persia. The most striking example is the satrapal palace at Daskyleion from the time of satrap Mitrobates and his son Cranaspes during the last quarter of the sixth century BC, with a brick superstructure¹⁸. An

¹⁴ (e.g. Schmitt, *Die altpersischen Inschriften der Achaimeniden*, 45 [DB § 13 Z], 3)

¹⁵ (e.g. Schmitt, *Die altpersischen Inschriften der Achaimeniden*, 102 [DNa § 4 B]). This reads in one example as: (A) *ṣātī Darayava.uš xšāyaθiya* (B) *Auramazdā* (C) *yaθā avajna imām būmīm yaūdantīm*, (D) *pasāvadīm manā frābara*; (E) *mām xšāyaθiyam akunauš* “Says Darius the king: Ahuramazda, when he saw this earth in turmoil, thereupon he endowed me; he made me king” (DNa § A-E *ibid.*).

¹⁶ Kealhofer- Grave, “The Iron Age on the Central Anatolian Plateau”, 415-442; Akkuzu, *The Late Iron Age Pottery from Kaman-Kalehöyük*; Bossert, *Die Keramik Phrygischer Zeit von Boğazköy*, 168, Tafel 71, 74; Bilgin, *İçbatı Anadolu’da Demir Çağı*; Joukowski, *Prehistoric Aphrodisias*, 162, 644, 646, Fig. 465-466; Hatice Ergüner, “Gövezli Tepesi Höyük Demir Çağı Seramikleri”, Plate 3, 13.

¹⁷ During the surveys we carried out in Afyonkarahisar province and its districts, in 2014, we found a piece of pithos with hieroglyphic seal printed in Küçük Çataltepe settlement in the Bağcılar Village of Dinar District. See Özdemir Koçak- Hatice Gül Küçükbezi- Rahim Kızılgut, “Afyonkarahisar İli ve İlçeleri 2014 Yılı Yüzey Araştırmaları”, *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, XXXIII/1, (2016), 30-31; Özdemir Koçak- Mustafa Bilgin- Hatice Gül Küçükbezi, “Afyonkarahisar İli ve İlçeleri 2015 Yılı Yüzey Araştırmaları”. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, XXXIV/1, (2017), 234, 246; Özdemir Koçak- Mustafa Bilgin- Hatice Gül Küçükbezi, *MÖ II. Binyılda Afyonkarahisar ve Çevresi Kültürleri*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2019), 107-108. During our 2018 surveys, a bulla with Anatolian hieroglyphs find was found in Ablak Mound in the Ablak Village of İhsaniye District. See Koçak- Bilgin- Küçükbezi, *MÖ II. Binyılda Afyonkarahisar ve Çevresi Kültürleri*, 107-108; Özdemir Koçak- Hasan Peker- Mustafa Bilgin- Hatice Gül Küçükbezi, “Afyonkarahisar Yüzey Araştırmaları ve Küçük Çataltepe, Ablak Höyük’ten Anadolu Hiyeroglif Yazılı Mühür Baskıları”, *TÜBA-AR*, 24 (2019), 45 ff. These were dated to the last quarter of the 2nd millennium BC.

¹⁸ Dussinberre, *Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*, 56-57.

architectural structure with blocks of Old Persian inscriptions likely existed around Hender Bahar Mound, though it is now lost or yet to be discovered. Alternatively, HBa and other bricks come from Daskyleion, although the relative distance may suggest this is less likely unless new evidence emerges.

Conclusion

During the research we have done in recent years, we have examined in detail the large Iron Age settlements such as Kocaoğuz in the district of Sultandağı, Küçükhöyük in the district of Sinanpaşa, Menteş Mound in the district of Sandıklı, and Ağılların Önü in the district of Dazkırı. In this part of Inner West Anatolia, there are also many settlements that one can define as Iron Age cities or towns. The settlement density of this period is increasing in the Akarçay basin. This density from the vicinity of Eber Lake to İhsaniye reveals itself clearly with ceramic finds.

The settlement of Hender Bahar Mound is located in the north/north-westernmost of this basin and on an important route extending towards the Marmara Region and the Persian satrapy center. The finds in this settlement suggest that it may have been a large and important town in the Middle and Late Iron Ages. In addition, the surrounding tumuli and the dense Iron Age finds discovered in the basin serve as supporting evidence for this situation. It is very likely that the Old Persian stone block on the Tomb (HBa) just west of the Hender Bahar Mound is related to this settlement. Additionally, it is plausible to consider that other colossal stones used in the tomb's construction were brought from the mound.

Although the relation HBa to the Persians cannot be clearly determined, it does seem to be part of either a satrapal architectural structure or another type of Persian monument in Inner-West Anatolia. The fragment contains a fragmented logogram which stands for the word Auramazdā. This variant form is now included in the inventory of Old Persian cuneiform as AM₃. In any case, its Achaemenid context in the Iron Age has been elucidated in the present study.

CATALOG

318.04.19.12 (Fig. 15: 1; Fig. 14: 5): GLEY 1 3/5G very dark greyish green (paste), fine sand, mica, lime, mixed with grit and plant, GLEY 2 2.5/10B bluish black (slip), wheelmade, hardly fired, unburned, rim diameter: 16 cm, height: 3,4 cm, wall: 0,7 cm

318.04.19.19 (Fig. 15: 2; Fig. 14: 3): 2.5 YR 6/6 light red (paste), fine sand, mica, lime, mixed with grit and plant, 2.5 YR 4/8 red (slip), wheelmade, underfired, burnished, rim diameter: 18 cm, height: 4,7 cm, wall: 0,8 cm

318.04.19.90 (Fig. 15: 3; Fig. 14: 4): 7.5 YR 7/4 pink (paste), fine sand, mica, lime, mixed with grit and plant, 10 R 5/6 red (slip), wheelmade, hardly fired, unburned, rim diameter: 18 cm, height: 4,1 cm, wall: 1,0 cm

318.04.19.88 (Fig. 15: 4; Fig. 14: 2): 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown (paste), fine sand, mica, lime, mixed with grit and plant, 7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow (slip), wheelmade, hardly fired, burnished, rim diameter: 22 cm, height: 4,0 cm, wall: 0,7 cm

318.04.19.84 (Fig. 15: 5; Fig. 14: 1): 10 R 6/6 light red (paste), fine sand, little mica, large lime, mixed with grit and plant, 7.5 YR 6/4 light brown (slip), wheelmade, underfired, burnished, rim diameter: 32 cm, height: 4,9 cm, wall: 1,0 cm

318.04.19.04 (Fig. 15: 6; Fig. 14: 6): 5 YR 6/4 light reddish brown (paste), fine sand, mica, lime, mixed with grit and plant, 5 YR 4/2 dark reddish grey (slip), wheelmade, hardly fired, burnished, rim diameter: 34 cm, height: 2,7 cm, wall: 1,0 cm

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Figures

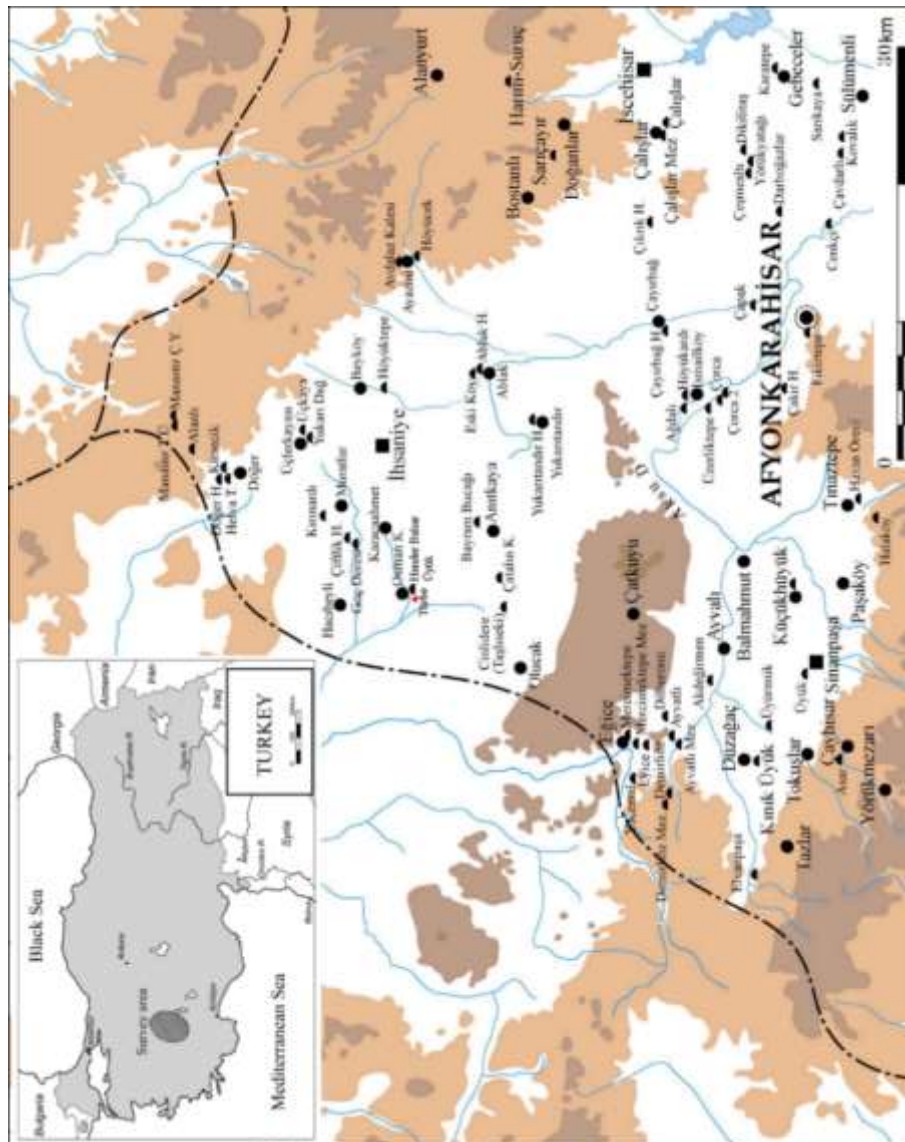


Fig. 1: Main residential areas in the west of the Akarçay basin.

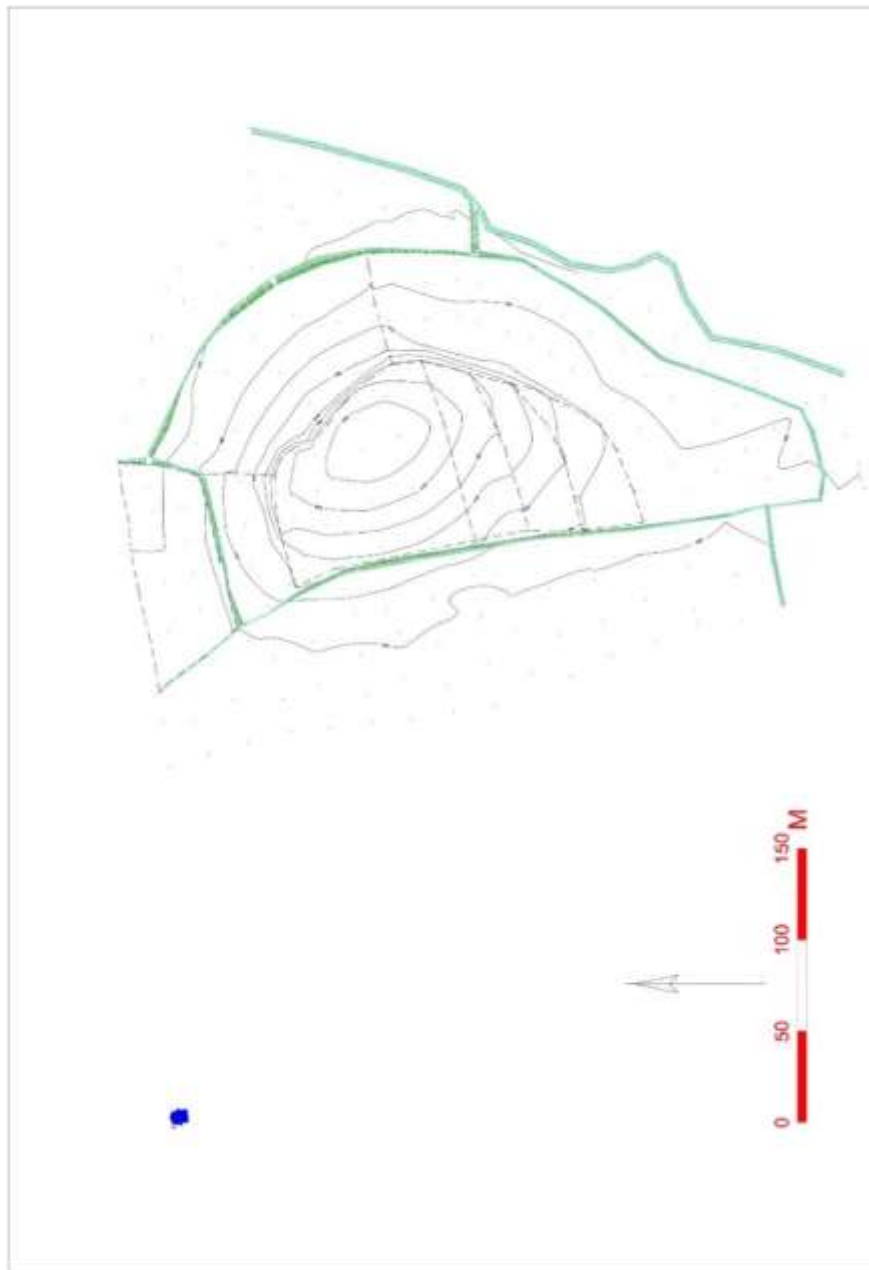


Fig. 2: Hender Bahar Mound (right) and Hender Bahar Tomb (left-northwest).

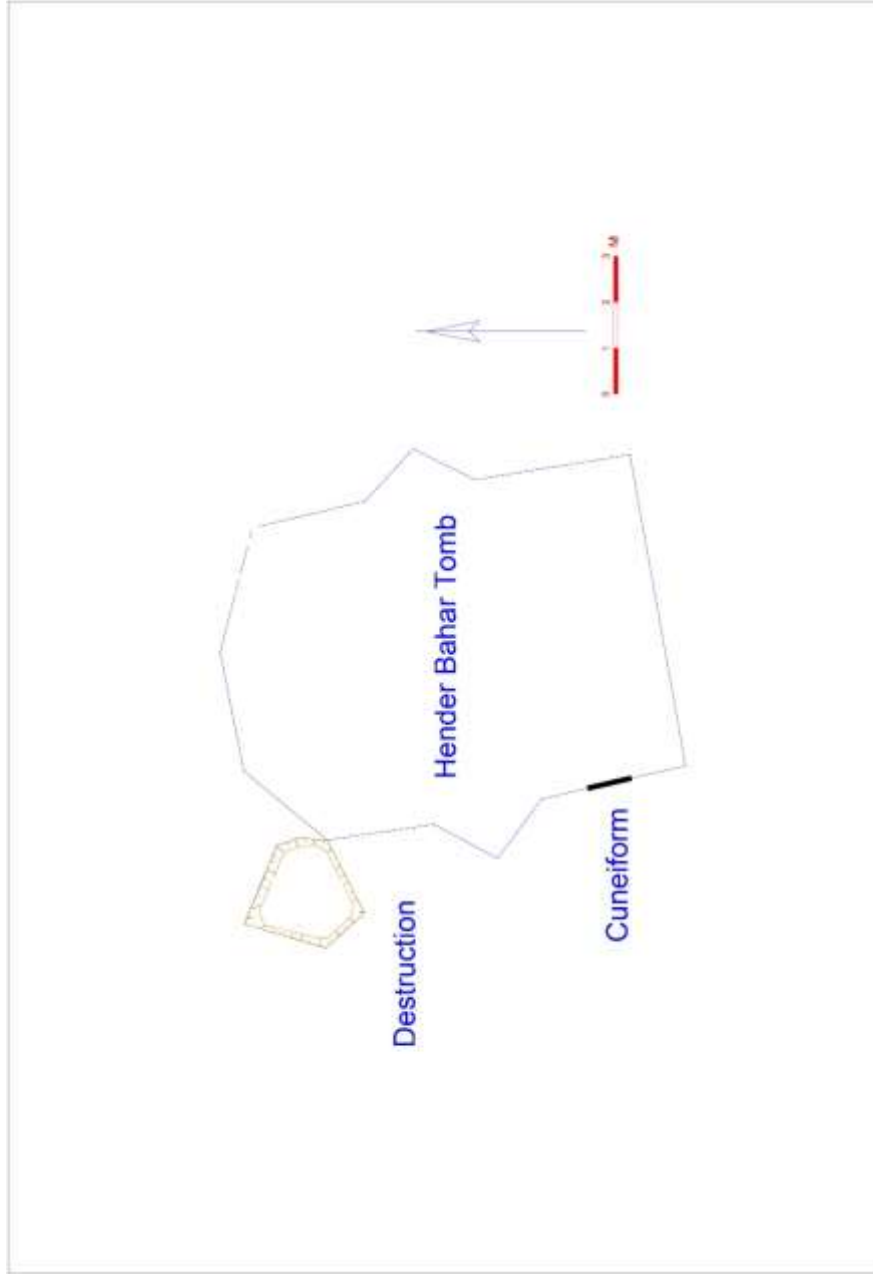


Fig. 3: Hender Bahar Tomb.



Fig. 4: Hender Bahar Tomb in the foreground, mound in the background.



Fig. 5: Çatalhöyük Tumuli.



Fig. 6: The northern entrance of the Hender Bahar Tomb.



Fig. 7: The western and southern walls of the Hender Bahar Tomb.



Fig. 8: Drawing Work of Hender Bahar Tomb.



Fig. 9: The first detection of the cuneiform script in the Hender Bahar Tomb.



Fig. 10: The western wall of the Hender Bahar Tomb with the cuneiform script.



Fig. 11: Cuneiform of Hender Bahar Tomb.

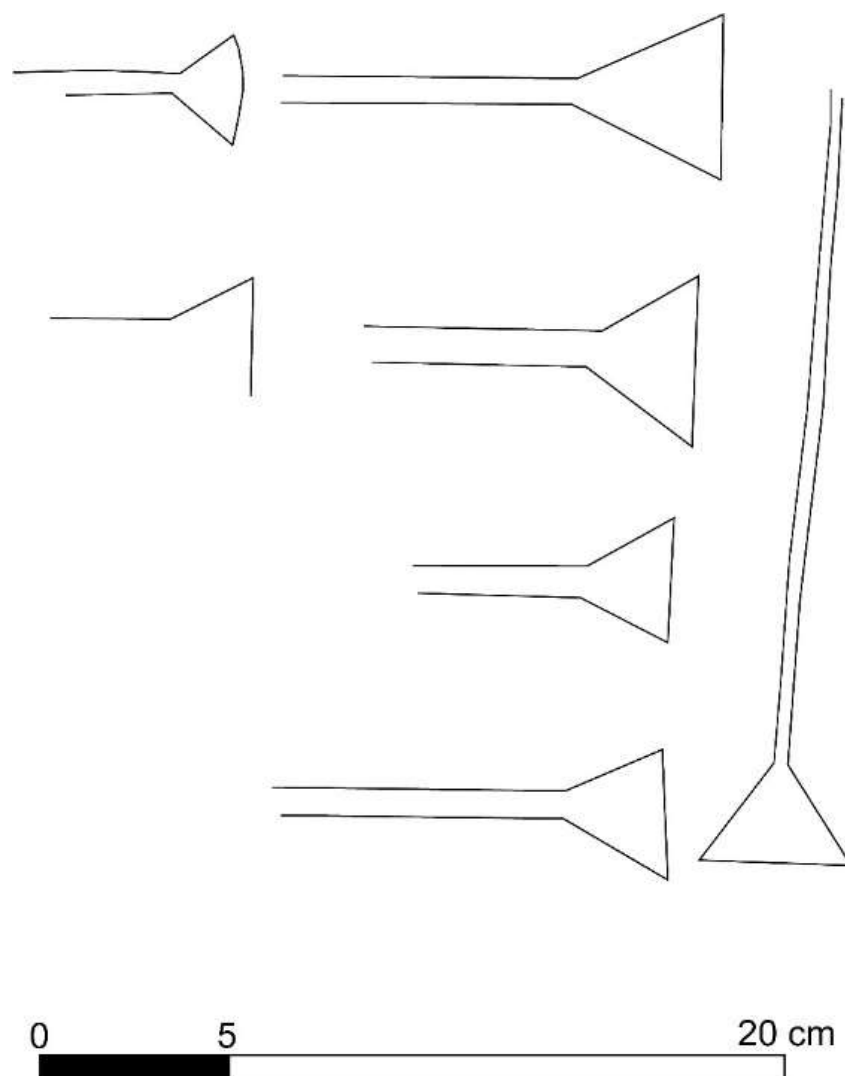


Fig. 12: Hender Bahar Tomb cuneiform's sketch drawing.



Fig. 13: The dimensions of the western wall where the cuneiform is located.

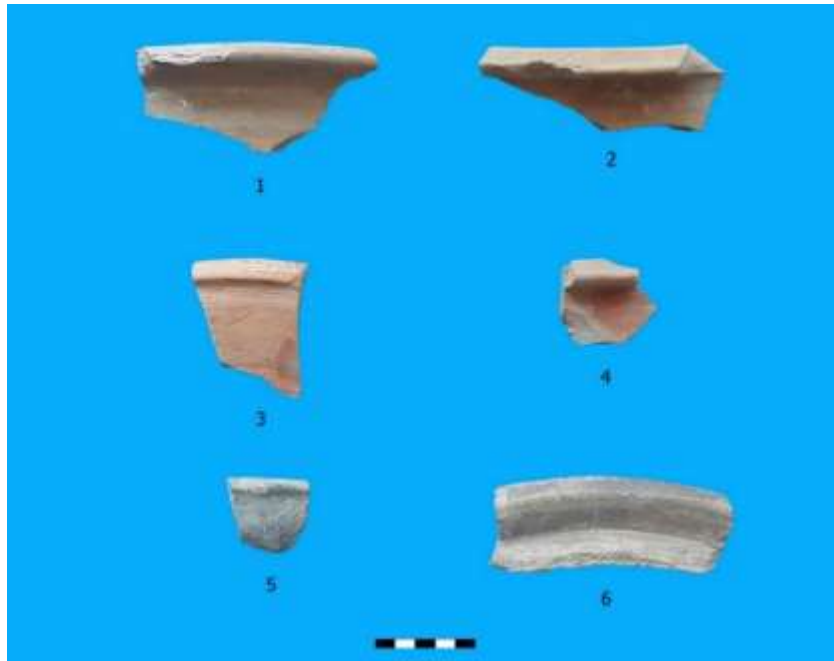


Fig. 14: Iron Age ceramics of Hender Bahar Mound.

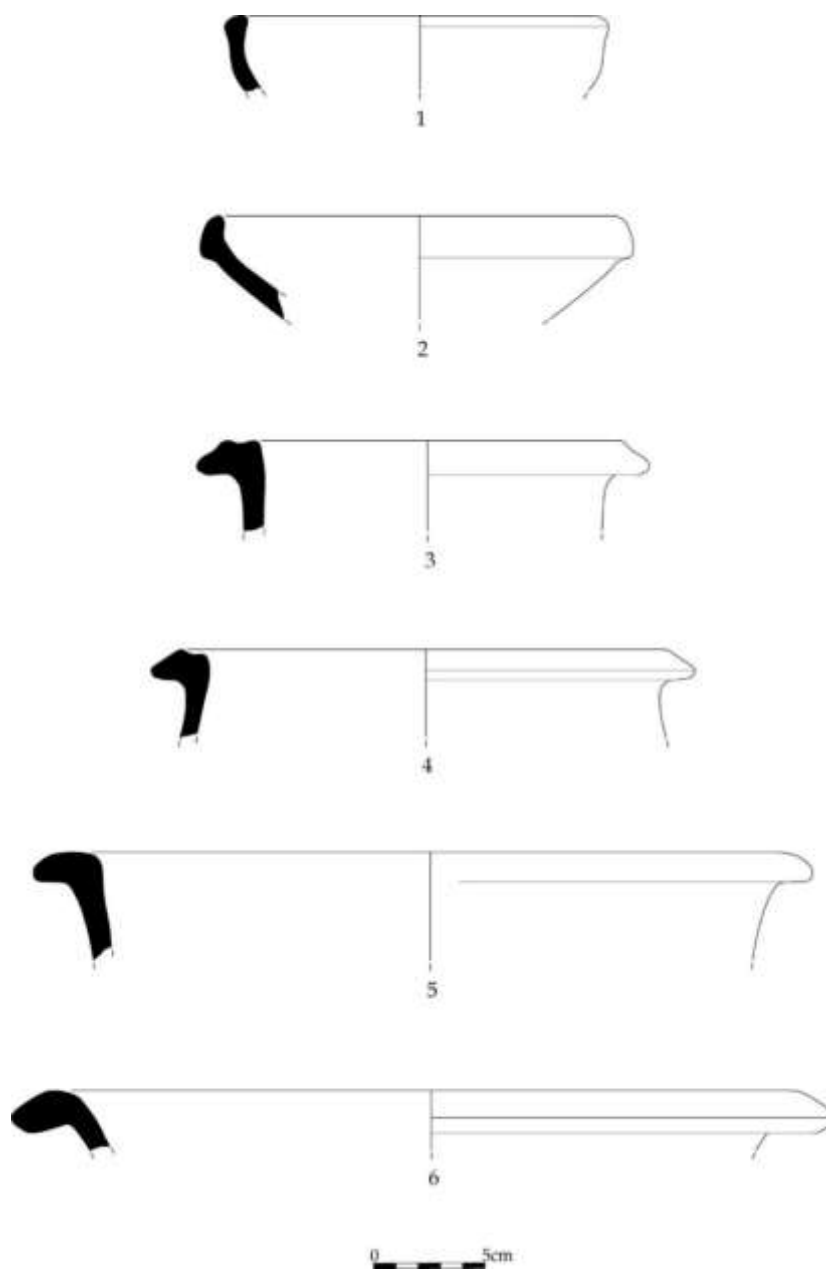


Fig. 15: Iron Age ceramics in Hender Bahar Mound.