

TWO SEALS AND ONE BULLA FROM DASKYLEION

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Introduction

In this study, two seals and one bulla from the Achaemenid Period, which were uncovered in the satrapy of Daskyleion, have been examined. The first is a cylinder seal, the second a pyramidal stamp seal, and the third is a bulla impressed with a stamp seal. The third sample, now preserved in the Ekrem Akurgal collection of Ankara University's Faculty of Letters, was probably found at Daskyleion. The new glyptic art samples studied here are quite important as they demonstrate the presence of a cosmopolitan structure in Daskyleion, which was the satrapy center in the western part of Anatolia.

1. The Pyramidal Stamp Seal

The pyramidal stamp seal¹ became known during the excavations directed by Tomris Bakır. It was found with Hellenistic Pottery sherds at the mixed deposit of Trench F7 in the Acropolis (Fig.1). Now it is protected with inventory number 617 at Bandırma Archaeological Museum. The pyramidal stamp seal is a large seal made of blue chalcedony with a rounded top and a pyramidal body shape with an octagonal impress surface. The Daskyleion stamp seal was depicted worshipping before divine symbols, which was a popular theme during the Late Babylonian Period². A person, probably a priest, wearing a long dress was engraved together with a worshipper with one hand up in the air. In front of the worshipper, the spade of Marduk on a brick altar and the lamb of Nusku were engraved. A crescent, the symbol of the God of Sin, was engraved on the upper part. The dimensions of the pyramidal seal are as follows; the height is 3.7 cm, the width is 2.4 cm and the thickness is 1.7 cm.

Many quartz deposits could be found around Daskyleion and include locations in Balıkesir, Bursa, Çanakkale and Istanbul. The closest deposit of blue chalcedony is in Eskişehir Sarıcakaya. According to the Mohs scale, quartz is in the class of hard

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¹ Tomris Bakır, "Die Satrapie in Daskyleion", *Achaemenid Anatolia Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period*, Bandırma 15-18 August 1997, Ed. Tomris Bakır, Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten, İstanbul, 2001, p.176, Fig. 13.

² Leon Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from Their Seals in the Collections of the Museum*, The University Museum, Philadelphia 1925, p. 47.

processing stones, its 'hardness' measures 7³. Chalcedony was a luxury material used in seals of the royal families or elites in the First Millennium BC⁴.

The *Aramaic* inscription on a grave stele found near Daskyleion displays the statement: "I adjure thee by Bēl and Nabû! Who (ever) passes by this way let no one do harm (to my tomb)"⁵. The presence of the bel of Marduk and Nabu's name on the grave stele show that they were amongst the important deities and indicate the presence of the Babylonians in the city. A bulla with a pyramidal seal impression dated back to the Late Babylonia period was found in Daskyleion. The bulla⁶ is contained emblems of Marduk and Nabu with a standing worshipper figure. This bulla is significant because it is the closest example to the Daskyleion stamp seal in terms of theme and form. The Daskyleion seal is a typical example of drill style from the Late Babylonian Period.

An example very similar to the Daskyleion seal is currently preserved in the Fitzwilliam Museum collection. It is a chalcedony stamp seal displaying a scene of worship to the gods Marduk and Nusku⁷. An impression of a stamp seal on a cuneiform tablet dated back to the period of the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562 BC) has been preserved at the British Museum. It was engraved with a scene of worshipping the Gods under a crescent⁸. A similar scene of worship was depicted on a stamp seal, uncovered in the city of Sippar in Mesopotamia⁹, dating back to the Nabonidus Period, approximately 556-539 BC. The same theme continues to appear on the stamp seals dating back to 524-508 BC and to Cambyses (530-522 BC)¹⁰ and Darius I (522-486 BC)¹¹. This schema continues to appear on the stamp seals of

³ Peter Roger Stuart Moorey, *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries*, Clarendon press, Oxford 1994, p. 76; Süleyman Özkan, "Eski Anadolu'da Kuvars Taşı İşlemeciliği", *Karadeniz'den Fırat'a Bilgi Üretimleri Önder Bilgi'ye Armağan Yazılar*, Eds. Aliye Öztan, Şevket Dönmez, Bilgin Kültür Sanat Yayınları, Ankara 2011, p. 325.

⁴ Densmore Curtis, *Sardis Volume XIII, Jewellery and Gold Work*, Part I 1910-1914, The American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, Roma 1925, p.38, no.101, p. 41, no. 107-109, p. 42, no.110-111, p. 43, no.112-113, p. 44, no.116, no.119, p. 45, no.120, p. 46, no.122, Pl. X.

⁵ Margret Nollé, *Denkmäler vom Satrapensitz Daskyleion Studien, zur Graeco-Persischen Kunst*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin 1992, p.16, Taf.1-2.

⁶ Deniz Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire*, Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabue Oosten, Leiden 2002, p. 3, DS 1.

⁷ Joan Margaret Munn-Rankin, "Ancient near Eastern Seals in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge" *Iraq*, 21/1, London 1959, p. 33, Pl. X, no. 56.

⁸ Terence C. Mitchell and Ann Searight, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Stamps Seals III: Impressions of Stamp Seals on Cuneiform Tablets, Clay Bullae, and Jar Handles*, Brill, Boston 2008, p.117, no. 288.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 126, no. 327.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 135, no. 377-379.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 141, no. 399.

the Artaxerxes I Period (464-424 BC)¹². A conical stamp seal kept in the collection of the Anatolian Civilizations Museum at Ankara displays the scene of worshipping under the crescent in front of the symbols of the gods Marduk and Nabu on the mušhuššu, similar to Daskyleion seal¹³. Similar seals have been uncovered in Samsat (Adıyaman), Doliche/Dülük Baba(Gaziantep), and Gordion (Ankara) in Anatolia¹⁴. The symbol of the god Nabu was a stylus and it was observed on a cylinder seal found Gırnavaç (Mardin) dating back to the Late Assyrian Period¹⁵. Apart from Southeast Anatolia, pyramidal seals of the Late Babylonian were uncovered in Sardis (Manisa) and Uylupınar in Western Anatolia¹⁶.

The chalcedony pyramidal stamp seals with worshipping scenes from the Late Babylonian Empire were dated back to the Early Achaemenid Period¹⁷. Daskyleion stamp seal probably belonged to a Persian official or a Babylonian artist assigned to Daskyleion, as previously stated by Tomris Bakır. Compared with the similar examples uncovered in Anatolia, this stamp seal dates back to the 6th century BC, in other words to the Early Achaemenid Period¹⁸.

2. The Cylinder Seal

The cylinder seal became known at the acropolis of the Daskyleion, during excavations carried out in 1954-1959 by Ekrem Akurgal (Fig.2). Today, it is preserved in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum; its inventory number is T.8210. It is made from black steatite which is a talc type stone. The seal includes two eagles on both sides of the tree of life. The height of the cylinder seal is 1.6 cm, diameter of the body 0.8 cm.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 160, no. 489.

¹³ Remzi Yağcı, "Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Koleksiyonu'nda Bulunan Geç Assur-Yeni Babil ve Akamenid Mühürleri Üzerindeki Apotropik Figürler", *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1989 Yılığ*, Ankara 1990, p.120, Fig.4a-b.

¹⁴ Nimet Özgüç, *Samsat Sümeysat, Samasota, Hahha, Hahhum, Bir Başkent ve Kalenin Uzun Yaşamının 6000 Yıllık Döneminden Kesitler*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 2009, p. 54, Pl. 126, no. 271; Michael Blömer and Engelbert Winter, "2011 Yılında Gaziantep'teki Dülük Baba Tepesi'nde Kazı Çalışmaları", *34. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 3, 2013, p. 365, Fig.1; Michael Blömer and Engelbert Winter, "Dülük Baba Tepesi/Dolice (Gaziantep) 2013 Çalışmalarının Raporu", *36. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1, 2014, Fig. 7; Elspeth R. M. Dusingberre, *Gordion Seals and Sealings: Individuals and Society*, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2005, p. 25.

¹⁵ Armağan Erkanal, "Mardin Yöresinden Yeni Assur Dönemi Mühürleri", *3. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 1985, p. 382-385, Fig.4.

¹⁶ Deniz Kaptan, "Türkiye Müzelerindeki Pers Devri Mühür, Mühür Yüzük ve Mühür Baskıları", *26. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2, Ankara 2009, p.455; Elspeth R. M. Dusingberre, "Sardeis'ten Lidya-Pers Mühürleri", *Lidyahlar ve Dünyaları*, Yapı Kredi Yayını, İstanbul 2010, p.177.

¹⁷ Madeline Noveck, *The Mark of Ancient Man, Ancient Near Eastern Stamp Seals: The Gorelick Collection*, The Brooklyn Museum, New York 1975, p.42, no.46.

¹⁸ Bakır 2001, p.176.

The nearest talc resources to Daskyleion are in Balıkesir, which also happens to be the largest reserve area in Turkey¹⁹. According to the Mohs scale, talc is one of the easiest stones to engrave and its hardness measures 1 on the scale²⁰. The main theme of this cylinder seal is the depiction of the eagle on both sides of the tree of life. The Daskyleion cylinder seal was engraved in an 'Elaborate style' using linear and drill techniques. Particularly the eyes of the eagles were engraved by the drill, the wings, and the details of the tree were indicated linearly. The origin of this style is the Late Assyrian seals, in linear style, composed of two figures standing next to the tree of life²¹. The tree on the Daskyleion seal is most likely a palm tree. Such trees are observed on cylinder seals with different themes, such as hunting, fighting scenes, and masters of animals during the Achaemenid Period²². The royal seals or officer seals were observed on administrative tablets found in Persepolis, Susa, Babylon, Daskyleion and Memphis, all under the governance of Achaemenid at that time. Generally, in royal seals, symmetrical animal or composite creatures were depicted next to a palm tree²³. The motif of the palm tree is one of the secondary motifs on fighting, hunting or religious or mythological scenes that appear on the cylinder and stamp seals from Daskyleion²⁴. The natural style of the eagle on the other Daskyleion seals is different from the one examined in this study. Our example is more like an emblem. A link between the eagle and the tree of life was known from the myth of *Etena* in Mesopotamian mythology. The eagle, known as '*Anzû*' in other words, was also the bird of Nabu²⁵.

There is a group of conoid stamp seals purchased and preserved by the Anatolian Civilizations Museum at Ankara. They display depictions of an eagle appearing from the front, wings open and head turned to the left. These seals are considered to be Achaemenid Free Style and are date back to the 5-4th century BC²⁶. These eagle depictions are similar to the Daskyleion stamps, in terms of the frontal body and left-turned head at the Achaemenid palace archive²⁷. Among the seals from the Persian period in Babylon, there are seals with the depictions of tree of life together with

¹⁹ DPT 8. Kalkınma Planı ÖİK Raporları, 2001, "Madencilik Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu, Endüstriyel Hammaddeler Alt Komisyonu Toprak Sanayi Hammaddeleri-I Çalışma Grubu Raporu", *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı DPT: 2611, ÖİK:622*, Ankara 2001, p.196.

²⁰ Moorey 1994, p. 100.

²¹ Parvine H. Merrillees, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Cylinder Seals VI, Pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid Periods*, British Museum, London 2005, p.34.

²² *Ibid* see no. 16 and no. 44.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 33.

²⁴ Kaptan 2002, Pl. 160 no. 26, Pl. 161, no. 28; Pl. 174, no. 80, Pl. 182, no. 110; Pl. 235, no. 413, Pl. 244, no. 462.

²⁵ *Ibid*, Pls. 224-225; Simo Parpola, "The Assyrian Tree of Life: Tracing the Origins of Jewish Monotheism and Greek Philosophy", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol. 52/3, Chicago 1993, p. 195-199, see footnote 143.

²⁶ Remzi Yağcı, "Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Koleksiyonunda Bulunan Akhaemenid Cam Mühürleri", *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1992 Yılığ*, Ankara 1993, p. 143,145, Pl.V-VI.

²⁷ Kaptan 2002, Pls. 220-225.

natural animals or composite creatures on both of its sides. Among them, there were various types of birds²⁸. For example, one of the six stamp seal impressions on the clay tablets of the Artaxerxes I Period in Babylonia, dated to 451/450 BC, show the heraldic eagle²⁹. A palm tree in a hunting scene was engraved on the cylinder seal found in Mardin-Stune in the south-eastern Anatolia, dating back to the Late Assyrian Period³⁰. A cylinder seal found at the Kavuşan Höyük (Diyarbakır) dates back to the 7-6th century BC and contains a depiction of the tree of life, together with winged-horses and astral symbols on each side³¹. Also, a stamp seal dated to the First Millennium BC found at Kinet Höyük (Hatay) depicts birds on both sides of the plant motif³².

3. The Bulla from the Ekrem Akurgal Collection

During the Daskyleion excavation carried out by Ekrem Akurgal in 1954, approximately 300 full and partial pieces of bullae were found at the southern part of the mound, the majorities were in the Achaemenid style and some were in the Greek style. The papyrus and rope marks on the back of the bullae indicate that they were used to seal papyrus rolls and indicate the presence of an archive of papyrus scrolls belonging to the Persian Satraps³³. The new bulla from the Ekrem Akurgal collection also contains papyrus marks and color variations due to fire (Fig.3). An archer man with Persian dress was depicted. The height of the bulla is 2.7 cm, the width is 2.1 cm and the thickness is 1.1 cm.

The archer in Persian dress on the Daskyleion bulla is in the *Greco-Persian style*. The figure of an archer in oriental clothing shooting arrows at wild animals or the figure of an archer standing with an arrow are the most popular themes of the *Greco-Persian style*³⁴. It is believed that in Achaemenid glyptic art, the battle and hunting scenes show the influence of Greek Art³⁵. It is even presumed that these stamps were carved by Greek seal engravers³⁶. This style is called *the Greco-Persian*

²⁸ Legrain 1925, p. 48, no. 809, 810, 845, 850.

²⁹ Mitchell and Searight 2008, no. 496d.

³⁰ Erkanal 1985, p. 379-380, Fig. 1.

³¹ Gülriz Kozbe, "Kavuşan Höyük Kazısı, 2008", *31. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 4, Ankara 2010, p. 176-177, Fig. 1.

³² Marie-Henriette Gates, "2003 Season at Kinet Höyük (Yeşil-Dörtyol, Hatay)", *26. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1, Ankara 2005, p. 24, Fig.13.

³³ Ekrem Akurgal, "Kyzikos ve Ergili Araştırmaları İon Yayılışının Tarihi Hakkında", *Anadolu/Anatolia* 1, Ankara 1956, p. 50; Deniz Kaptan-Bayburtluoğlu, "A Group of Seal Impressions on the Bullae from Ergili/ Daskyleion", *Epigraphica Anatolica*, Bonn 1990, p.16, Tafel I, no. 1; Kaptan 2002, p.13-14.

³⁴ Gisela Marie Augusta Richter, "The Late 'Achaemenian' or 'Graecopersian' Gems", *Hesperia Supplements*- 8, *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, Princeton 1949, p. 293; Natalia M. Nikoulina, "La Glyptique 'Grecque Orientale' Et 'Gréco-Perse' ", *Antike Kunst*, 14/2, Basel 1971, Pl. 35, no.18.

³⁵ Edith Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections: The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, Pantheon Books, Washington 1948, p. 102 and 104.

³⁶ Richter 1949, p. 292.

style and it was a new seal style used by the Persian satraps in Anatolia. The theme of archers is known from the Late Assyrian Period. It is a theme that came to Persian glyptic art from Mesopotamia and continued as a local style from the beginning of the First Millennium BC³⁷. The administrator figure holding a bow was first seen on the Hasanlu vase, and later it became a popular depiction in Medes and the Persian art. On the seal of Darius the Great, the king was depicted in his typical Persian dress and with a king's crown, standing on a chariot shooting arrows at a lion. This hunting scene was repeated in many Achaemenid seals. Sometimes guardians or hunters in hunting scenes were seen with a bow or spear, however those figures were uncrowned³⁸. In the Persian art of Anatolia, the figure of the standing archer is a feature that emerges on the seals and coins during a later phase in the 4th-5th century BC³⁹.

During the reign of Darius the Great, (522-486 BC) the king figure in Achaemenid dress shooting an arrow was present on stamp's seals⁴⁰. In the Period of Artaxerxes I (464-224 BC), the archer-king motif continued to appear on Babylonian stamp seals⁴¹. The figure of a naked kneeling archer shooting arrows at an animal was depicted on a stamp seal dating back to the 5th century BC of the Achaemenid Period at Tell el- Muqayyar (Ur)⁴². An example similar to Daskyleion bulla is preserved in Bologna is engraved in the *Greco-Persian style*⁴³ and depicts a standing Persian archer holding a bow in his hand. The figures of an archer are known from the Daskyleion bullae⁴⁴. A bulla uncovered in Daskyleion depicts a Persian figure in a fighting scene. Similarities can be observed in the elaborate and very detailed depiction of his dress, the head, and the facial details of the figure⁴⁵. The details of the depiction of the archer on the Daskyleion bulla indicates that it was from the 4th century BC or in other words the Late Achaemenid Period.

Conclusions

Daskyleion seals and impressions constitute an important archive of a satrapy center located in the Western part of Achaemenid Empire⁴⁶. Both of the seals and

³⁷ Michelle Marcus, "Glyptic Style and Seal Function: The Hasanlu Connection", *Aegaeum 5, Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration*. Proceedings of the NEH-Dickson Conference of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory of the Department of Classics, University of Texas at Austin, January 11-13 1989, ed. Thomas G. Palaima, Belgium 1990, p.184-185; Pl. XXXII a-b.

³⁸ Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, Gregg Press, London 1939 (Reprinted 1965), Pl. XXXVII, c, d and h.

³⁹ Kaptan 2002, p. 73.

⁴⁰ Mitchell and Searight, 2008, p.136, no. 381 h; p.160, no. 489a.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 159, no.484c.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 173, no.545.

⁴³ John Boardman, "Greek and Persian Glyptic in Anatolia and Beyond", *Revue Archéologique*, 1, Paris 1976, p.51-52, Fig.12.

⁴⁴ Kaptan 2002, p. 120-121.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, Pl. 182, no. 110.

⁴⁶ Garrison, Mark B. "Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period Glyptic Insights and Perspectives from Persepolis", *Achaemenid Anatolia Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in The Achaemenid*

bullae examined in this study were uncovered in the acropolis of Daskyleion which indicates that the seals and most probably the bulla belonged to the ruling class. At the same time, the use of seals in a variety of styles indicates the presence of a multi-ethnic elite class.

The presence of the Babylonian officials during the Persian Period is widely accepted. A large number of bullae and seals uncovered at Daskyleion indicate the presence of a glyptic workshop⁴⁷. The seals examined in this study were probably produced at a local workshop; however, the owner could have been a Babylonian officer living in Daskyleion. The stamp seals of the Late Babylonian Period depicting themes of worshipping the gods were not only used in Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Syria, but also in a large area extending all the way to Palestine⁴⁸. It is known that after the conquest of Babylonia, various gods, especially the Marduk and Sin, were absorbed by Achaemenid art and religion⁴⁹. The seals with a theme of worshipping the gods were used extensively in the period of Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius I⁵⁰. The stamp seals had to have been used as an amulet as they included the symbols of the gods. Also, the wide borders of the Achaemenid Empire allowed for the production of cosmopolitan seals in the glyptic workshops⁵¹.

The main theme of the Daskyleion cylinder seal is the depiction of the eagle on both sides of the tree of life. The scene of animals or creatures symmetrically placed on both sides of a tree is one of the most important features of Achaemenid glyptic art⁵². Although there is not a great quantity of cylinder seals depicting scenes with ritual characters, the examples that do depict this theme are found in the Achaemenid royal seals⁵³. Therefore, the eagles on the Daskyleion seal probably reflect a religious ritual related to Achaemenid Empire. Some of the seals and bullae uncovered in Daskyleion mention the names of Xerxes and Artaxerxes from the Persian

Period, Bandırma, 15-18 August 1997, Ed. Tomris Bakır, Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten, Leiden 2001, p.66.

⁴⁷ Kaptan-Bayburtluoğlu 1990, p.25.

⁴⁸ Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The Pantheon of Uruk During the Neo-Babylonian Period*, Brill, Leiden 2003, p. 268-274, p. 303-307; Barbara Parker, "Excavations at Nimrud, 1949-1953: Seals and Seal Impressions", *Iraq*, 17/2, London 1955, p.108, no. ND 3386, Pl. XIX, 1; Arlotte Douglas Tushingham, "A 'Neo-Babylonian' Seal from Tell Taanach", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 286, Boston 1992, p.15, Fig.1.

⁴⁹ Rémy Bouchard, "Southwestern Iran in the Achaemenid period", *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, Ed.D. T. Potts, Oxford University Press, New York 2013, p. 506; Mary Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism, Volume two Under The Achaemenians*, Brill, Leiden 1982, p. 27-28 and p.114.

⁵⁰ Richard Zettler, "On the Chronological Range of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Seals", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol.38/4, Chicago 1979, p. 257-258.

⁵¹ Garrison 2001, p.67.

⁵² Porada 1948, p. 105, no. 840-841.

⁵³ Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Persopolis Seal Studies an introduction with provisional concordances of seal numbers and associated documents on Fortification Tablets 1-2087*, Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden 1996, Fig.3; Merrillees 2005, p.37.

royal family⁵⁴. Those examples show that the royal composition schema was recognized in Daskyleion. The date palm became widespread on the Daskyleion bullae after Darius I's conquest of Egypt, similar to the Assyrian seals. This motif can be considered a symbol of Persian royalty⁵⁵. The cylinder seal probably was produced locally, but imitate the style of the royal seals.

The bulla with depiction of a figure in typical Achaemenid attire holding an arrow and depicting a hunting scene were mainly Greek influenced, however, according to the Nippur Archives; they were used during the periods of Darius I, Artaxerxes I and Darius II. The Daskyleion bulla discussed in this study was most likely produced in the aforementioned seal workshop in Western Anatolia. The theme suggests that it belonged to a Persian from the administrative class. As for the find-spots, Ekrem Akurgal and Kemal Balkan stated that bullae came from a single archive in the palace archives. Also, Deniz Kaptan remarked that all of the bullae belonged to a single archive⁵⁶. The bulla discussed here likely belonged to the same archive.

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⁵⁴ Deniz Kaptan, "On The Satrapal Center in Northwestern Asia Minor: Some Evidence from the Seal impressions of Ergili/ Daskyleion", *Achaemenid Anatolia Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period*, Bandırma 15-18 August 1997, Ed. Tomris Bakır, Netherlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten, İstanbul, 2001, p.58.

⁵⁵ Kaptan 2002, p. 64.

⁵⁶ Garrison 2001, p.70.

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DPT 8. *Kalkınma Planı ÖİK Raporları*, "Madencilik Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu, Endüstriyel Hammaddeler Alt Komisyonu Toprak Sanayi Hammaddeleri-I (Seramik Killeri-Kaolin-Feldspat-Profillit-Wollastonit-Talk) Çalışma Grubu Raporu", *DPT:2611, ÖİK:622*, Ankara 2001.

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Fig. 1. Stamp seal.



Fig. 2. Cylinder seal.



Fig. 3. Bulla from Ekrem Akurgal Collection.



