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Witnesses and Sealers of Seleucid Mesopotamia. A comparison between the seal impressions from Uruk and those from Seleucia on the Tigris

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(Article begins on next page)

ACTA SILENI – II

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI VERONA
Dipartimento di Discipline storiche, artistiche,
archeologiche e geografiche

**WITNESSING IN THE ANCIENT
NEAR EAST**

I TESTIMONI NELLA DOCUMENTAZIONE
DEL VICINO ORIENTE ANTICO

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WITNESSES AND SEALERS OF SELEUCID MESOPOTAMIA

A Comparison Between the Seal Impressions from Uruk and Those
from Seleucia on the Tigris

Vito Messina

Research into the administration and archival procedures of Seleucid Mesopotamia has made considerable advances over the last few decades. Recent publications by philologists¹ and archaeologists² who have examined a variety of heterogeneous documents found during excavations or held in collections and museums have shown the increasing complexity of the information that can be acquired from a study of seals and seal impressions. A number of sealed administrative documents have been found in Uruk, the ancient centre which retained its religious and administrative role during the Hellenistic period, and in Seleucia, the new royal capital founded on the right bank of the Tigris. Two types of documents have been identified: cuneiform clay tablets, mostly found in the temple archives at Uruk,³ as well as in other ancient Mesopotamian cities,⁴ and clay sealings – lumps of clay applied to strings that were used

¹ See for example Doty 1977; Joannès 1982; McEwan 1982; Del Monte 1997; Wallenfels 1994; *Id.* 1998; Corò 2005.

² On the seal impressions from Seleucid Mesopotamia see Wallenfels 1994; Mollo 1997; Invernizzi 2003; Lindström 2003; SIS; Messina 2005.

³ Although a number of cuneiform tablets from Uruk were acquired by traders in antiquities, so all information about their original context has been lost, scholars are still able to attribute these documents to the archives of the two main city sanctuaries, the Bit Reš and the Irigal, because most of the tablets found during the excavations come from those archives (see in particular Lindström 2003, 65-75).

⁴ Seleucid cuneiform tablets have been found in Babylon, Borsippa (Oelsner 1996, 103, fn. 11), Kiš, Kutha, Larsa and Ur (Oelsner 1986, 232-236); only a few fragments of tablets from Seleucia have been found, all of them in non-relevant layers (Doty 1978-79; Corò 2007).

to tie up folded parchments or papyri – also found at Uruk⁵ and other ancient centres⁶ but particularly numerous at Seleucia, in the largest archive building of the Hellenistic period to have been unearthed so far.⁷

Whereas a clay tablet is a complete document, since its surface bears both the text of a trade contract⁸ and the impressions of the seals of the individuals who were involved in the transaction, a clay sealing is usually a remnant of the binding of a perishable document – a written piece of parchment or papyrus⁹ – of which the seal impressions constitute the only surviving information. This is true of the finds from the archive building of Seleucia on the Tigris, where the folded documents were destroyed by a great fire in the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C.,¹⁰ whereas the clay sealings were solidified by the fire and therefore preserved.

Since these two kinds of sealed document can only be compared on the basis of their seal impressions, a new approach to the study of this subject has been developed, whereby different levels are distinguished with regard to the iconography and style of the subjects represented on the seals and to the practices in which the sealers were involved.¹¹

Particular attention has been paid to the relation between the administrative documents from Uruk and those from Seleucia, since impressions

⁵ See in particular Lindström 2003.

⁶ See in particular Rostovtzeff 1932.

⁷ During the period from 1967 to 1972 the Italian Archaeological Expedition in Iraq brought to light an archive building consisting of 14 rooms up to 140 m long, where more than 25,000 clay sealings were found *in situ* (SIS; Messina 2006, 28-29). A number of clay sealings were also found in two private archives by the archaeological expedition of the Kelsey Museum of Ann Arbor (McDowell 1935).

⁸ For the most part these concern the sale of land or slaves, the exchange and division of property, leases, gifts and prebends (Wallenfels 1994, *passim*).

⁹ Most of these documents were destroyed by fire. In any case, parchment and papyrus documents are unlikely to have survived in the alkaline soil of Mesopotamia, whereas written papyri have been recovered in Ptolemaic Egypt (see for example Vandorpe 1996).

¹⁰ See Messina 2006, 66-69.

¹¹ Seal impressions also provide information about the departments of the Seleucid administration, Seleucid propaganda, the mass-production of seals within a specific centre, and the relations between seals and coins (see for example Messina 2007, 196-199).

of the same seals have been identified both on tablets and on sealings preserved in the archives of both centres. With regard to the impressions of official seals, this seems to confirm that officers of the Seleucid administration may have been in charge in both cities,¹² while a further relation which exists between the sealed clay tablets and a particular type of clay sealing – the so-called *bullā* – is of special interest,¹³ since the content of the lost documents that were tied up and sealed by the latter may have been quite similar to that of the texts written on the tablets.¹⁴

Thanks to the written text, the information provided by the tablets may enhance our understanding of the lost folded documents, shedding light on Seleucid administration procedures, with particular regard to the sealers involved in the sealing practices: for whereas the name and the role of the sealers of a perishable document are unknown,¹⁵ the name and the role of the people involved in the sealing of a clay tablet are revealed by the captions written on its edges.

The content of the documents that were stored in the archive building of Seleucia has for the most part been lost,¹⁶ but the role of the sealers – which is still unclear – and the sealing practices involving them, or involving

¹² At Uruk sealed clay tablets and sealed tied parchments or papyri may have been preserved in the same archive, as in room 79b of the Bit Reš (Messina 2006, 61-63, fig. 59): on the clay sealings binding the latter documents seal impressions have been recognized which also appear in the archives building of Seleucia on the Tigris (see Wallenfels 1994, 150, and in particular Messina 2005).

¹³ See fn. 22 for further details.

¹⁴ The similarity between tablets and documents tied up and sealed by *bullae* seems to be confirmed by the cuneiform sources: in the texts of some clay tablets from Babylon these two kinds of document are rendered equivalent by the correspondence of the determinatives *im/kuš*, the former referring to a clay tablet, the latter to a parchment (see for example CT 49.144, bearing *imtab-sis-tu₄*, and CT 49.140.6, bearing *kuštab-sis-tu₄*, in Oelsner 2003, 295).

¹⁵ On the clay sealings there are no captions next to the seal impressions.

¹⁶ Even though the written parchments or papyri have been destroyed by fire, it is possible to link most of them with the salt trade, because more than half of the sealings bore the impressions of stamps, with a Greek inscription, of the ἀλικὴ ὠνή the department for the registration of the tax on the salt trade (SIS I, 3-24).

officers of the Seleucid administration, may be more clearly defined by a comparison with the clay tablets from Uruk.¹⁷

There are several types of clay sealings from Seleucia,¹⁸ which can be divided into 3 main groups:

- a) applied sealings, bearing one or more seal impressions. These are lumps of clay which englobed the strings tied round a folded parchment or papyrus, and which adhered to the surface of the document;¹⁹
- b) appended sealings, usually bearing only one seal impression. These are flat ellipsoidal lumps of clay which differ from the sealings of group *a* because they did not adhere to the surface of the folded document, but only englobed the loose ends of the binding strings;²⁰
- c) *bullae*, bearing from 2 to 20 seal impressions. These are spheroidal lumps of clay in the shape of a napkin ring, with a large hole through them, which englobed both the strings and the folded document.²¹

The latter sealings are peculiar to the Mesopotamian archives and are quite similar to the sealed clay tablets in the number and arrangement of the seal impressions on their surface and because the sealing practices of both documents were often restricted to small groups of sealers, as their seals are

¹⁷ More than ten categories of sealer are provided by the captions on the edges of the clay tablets from Uruk in the Yale Babylonian Collection (Wallenfels 1994, *passim*): sealers may be active parties to the contract (such as sellers, donors, exchangers, assignees, lessors or lessees), or they may be involved in the practice as professional (guarantors, witnesses, writers, officers, advisers).

¹⁸ More than 30,000 seal impressions have been identified on the 25,000 sealings from Seleucia. These have been published in an iconographical catalogue (SIS I-III); a statistical study is in progress.

¹⁹ The obverse of the applied sealings is either flat, if the sealing dried adhering to a parchment, or it bears fibre impressions, if the sealing dried adhering to a papyrus (see the reconstruction in Lindström 2003, 10, fig. 2).

²⁰ Appended sealings, also variously referred to as clay medallions or clay tags, are pierced lengthwise by a string hole. They have also been found at Uruk (Wallenfels 1994, 1-2).

²¹ *Bullae* have also been found in considerable numbers at Uruk (Wallenfels 1994, 1; see the reconstruction of a *bullae* in Lindström 2003, 8, fig. 1).

frequently impressed close to each other.²² The documents sealed by *bullae* and clay tablets also appear to have been considered equivalent by the Seleucid administration, since cuneiform sources mention documents being written in two copies, one on a folded parchment, the other on a clay tablet,²³ and, indeed, from the reign of Antiochus I, especially in the case of some taxed transactions, contracts on clay tablets were superseded by contracts written on folded parchment sealed by *bullae*.²⁴

In the light of the information that has been gathered, *bullae* are the only type of clay sealing that seems to have definitively bound the folded documents: it is uncertain whether a folder was tied up and sealed by just one applied or one appended sealing;²⁵ it seems unlikely that it was tied up and sealed by more than one *bullae*.²⁶

Among the similarities between the clay sealings and the clay tablets from Seleucia and Uruk, of particular interest are the subjects represented on the seals that are repeatedly impressed on their surface, for these are sometimes not merely very similar,²⁷ but actually identical. This suggests that the same patterns may have been reproduced by workshops in different

²² See in particular the *bullae* and clay tablets recovered in the Bit Reš at Uruk (Lindström 2003, 5-14, pl. 1-3). On some *bullae* from Seleucia impressions of recurrent groups of seals are arranged in rows aligned on the same axis. This arrangement resembles the way the seals are impressed on the edges of clay tablets: the 4 edges of a tablet may correspond to the 4 rows.

²³ Wallenfels 2000, 334-335.

²⁴ To judge from the cuneiform archival texts from Uruk, with Antiochus I's introduction of a tax on the sales of slaves, contracts formerly written in cuneiform on the clay tablets were superseded by contracts written on parchment (Doty 1977, 323).

²⁵ Folded papyri tied up and sealed by at least 3 applied sealings have been found in Elephantine, in Ptolemaic Egypt: these are Greek contracts from the late 4th and early 3rd century B.C., involving 6 witnesses who impressed their seals on 3 sealings (2 seal impressions on each sealing) and wrote their names on the folded papyrus next to their seal impression (see Vandorpe 1996, 232-235, pl. 45:1).

²⁶ The numerous seals usually impressed on the surface of *bullae* (up to 20) seem to rule out this possibility, as it seems unlikely that a document would have been sealed by dozens of sealers (up to 40 in the case of two *bullae* with 20 seal impressions each).

²⁷ See for example SIS I-III, *passim*; SIS III, Appendix 3; Wallenfels 1994, 150.

cities, or that seals produced in a limited number of city workshops may have circulated abroad.

To judge from the clay tablets from Uruk, where the name and the role of the sealers are indicated by captions, the motifs chosen to be represented on any particular individual's seals appear to have been a matter of personal choice.²⁸ Nevertheless small groups of sealers²⁹ have been identified on the basis of their preferences for certain motifs, which were repeated even when their seals were replaced because of wear and tear.³⁰ The clay sealings from Seleucia cannot provide this kind of information, because the name – and perhaps the role – of the sealers was probably written on the surface of the lost folded parchments or papyri,³¹ but the fact that some subjects have been reproduced many times on different seals, as attested by their recurrent impressions, suggests that at Seleucia, too, some sealers – or perhaps groups of sealers – had a preference for certain motifs.³²

In this respect, comparisons between seal impressions representing the same subjects on the clay tablets from Uruk and on the clay sealings from Seleucia may help us to identify groups or categories of sealers characterized by the choice of the same seal motifs. In order to verify this assumption, 30 seal impressions with similar representations – 15 on the clay sealings from the archive-building of Seleucia and 15 on the clay tablets from Uruk – are compared below, indicating possible correspondences in their sealing practices (see Table 1³³).

²⁸ Wallenfels 1994, 145-147.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 146, with regard to families or priestly circles.

³⁰ On the clay tablets from Uruk in the Yale Babylonian Collection a seal was generally used by the same sealer: seals used by more than one individual represent only 0.5% of the total number of seals identified (Wallenfels 1994, 144).

³¹ For this practice in Ptolemaic Egypt, see fn. 25.

³² Among the frequent subjects on the seal impressions from Seleucia are busts of Eros (SIS II, ErT 3-106) and masks of the New Comedy (SIS III, M 43-84).

³³ In the first column of Tab. 1 progressive numbers indicate the selected comparisons: the left column concerns the seal impressions from the archive building of Seleucia on the Tigris, the right one those from Uruk. Both columns are arranged in rows: the first row contains references and dimensions for each seal impression; the second the accession number of the relevant sealings or tablets, the date (if expressed), and the role of the sealer (only for the tablets from Uruk); the third the number of samples recovered; the fourth the type of sea-

The seal impressions reproduced in comparison no. 1 represent two female heads with “Melonenfrisur”, quite similar in their linear style (Pl. I:1);³⁴ both seals were used for sealing practices involving 14 sealers: the seal from Uruk was impressed on a clay tablet concerning the sale of a prebend, the seal of Seleucia was impressed on a *bullā*.

In comparison no. 4 two seals represent two facing heads with a bovine head or a vertical ellipse between them;³⁵ one seal was impressed at Uruk on two clay tablets concerning sales of prebends, with 15 and 14 sealers involved, the other was impressed at Seleucia on a *bullā* with 5 sealers involved.

In comparison no. 5 two crouching quadrupeds – two humpbacked bulls? – appear below a horizontal crescent³⁶ one seal was impressed at Uruk on a tablet concerning the sale of a prebend, with 6 sealers involved, the other was impressed at Seleucia on a fragment of a sealing with at least 5 sealers involved.

Two elliptic seals, representing a bull walking towards the right, with an eight-pointed star to the right,³⁷ are shown in comparison no. 6. One was impressed at Uruk on a tablet concerning a sale of land, involving 16 sealers, the other at Seleucia on a *bullā* with 6 sealers involved.

Two human-headed winged bulls leaping towards the right are shown on the two elliptical seals in comparison no. 10.³⁸ At Uruk the relevant seal was impressed on a tablet concerning a sale of land, involving 10 sealers, at Seleucia it was impressed on a *bullā* with 4 sealers involved, while the two winged bulls leaping towards the right, with a crescent on the right, shown

ling or the type of transaction recorded on the tablet; the fifth the number of further sealers involved in the practice. If more than one impression of the same seal is attested, the impressions are marked by a progressive number in brackets. The comparisons are arranged according to their iconography: human figures, animals, monsters.

³⁴ See SIS I, TF 28 (S-2535) for the seal impression from Seleucia and Wallenfels 1994, no. 22 (BRM 2.12) for the seal impression from Uruk.

³⁵ SIS I, TM 494 (S6-11316); Wallenfels 1994, no. 29 (BRM 2.11; BRM 2.12).

³⁶ SIS III, AR 3 (S7-4895); Wallenfels 1994, no. 907 (NCBT 1941).

³⁷ SIS III, AR 33 (S-4001); Wallenfels 1994, no. 855 (BRM 2.28).

³⁸ SIS III, AF 53 (S9-317); Wallenfels 1994, no. 382 (MLC 2174).

in comparison no. 11,³⁹ were impressed by two different seals, at Uruk on three tablets concerning the sale of lands or of prebends, involving 11, 10 and 17 sealers respectively, and at Seleucia on a *bullā* with 2 sealers involved.

In comparison no. 12 a Mušhuššu on a base or altar is reproduced on two elliptical seals:⁴⁰ at Uruk the seal was impressed on a tablet concerning a prebend, with 12 sealers involved, at Seleucia it was impressed on a small *bullā* with 3 sealers involved.

In comparison no. 15 a lion-griffin on a base (?) is reproduced on two oval seals,⁴¹ one impressed at Uruk on a tablet concerning a prebend, with 12 sealers involved, the other at Seleucia on a *bullā* with 4 sealers involved.

The 16 seal impressions compared in this group (8 from Uruk, 8 from Seleucia) reveal similarities both in the subjects represented and in the sealing practices, as at Seleucia the relevant seals were always impressed on *bullae* bearing many seal impressions – the type of sealing most similar to the clay tablets – even if, as a rule, the sealers involved in tying folders sealed by *bullae* are fewer than those involved in the sealing of clay tablets. These similarities suggest that the contents of these 8 lost folded documents from Seleucia may have been quite similar to the trade contracts on the tablets from Uruk.

In the next 3 cases we see 6 seals with similar motifs, which were impressed at Uruk on clay tablets concerning sales of lands, prebends or gifts with many sealers involved, and at Seleucia on *bullae* of a particular type, bearing 2 impressions of the same seal, and hence with only one sealer involved: in comparison no. 2 we see two female busts with a bun at the back of the head,⁴² in comparison no. 7 two elliptical seals with a lion walking towards the right,⁴³ in comparison no. 13 two elliptical seals with a scorpion monster.⁴⁴ These comparisons seem to indicate that in these cases the contents of the folders from Seleucia were different from those written

³⁹ SIS III, AF 57 (S-2532); Wallenfels 1994, no. 513 (NCBT 1976; BRM 2.16; NCBT 1970).

⁴⁰ SIS III, AF 78 (S6-929); Wallenfels 1994, no. 455 (BRM 2.8).

⁴¹ See SIS III, AF 70 (S6-913) for the seal impression from Seleucia; Lindström 2003, no. *2-7 (VAT 9185) for the seal impression from Uruk.

⁴² SIS I, TF 99 (S6-1947); Wallenfels 1994, no. 26 (YBC 8955).

⁴³ SIS III, AR 69 (S8-281); Wallenfels 1994, no. 758 (BRM 2.5).

⁴⁴ SIS III, AF 93 (S9-303); Wallenfels 1994, no. 215 (BRM 2.13; NCBT 1938).

on the tablets from Uruk, as the sealing practice involved many sealers at Uruk and only one at Seleucia.

In 3 further cases sealing practices seem to have been quite different in the two cities' archives as well. The seals reproduced in comparison no. 8 represent two leaping sphinxes,⁴⁵ and were impressed at Uruk on a tablet concerning a prebend, with 13 sealers involved, at Seleucia on an applied sealing with only one sealer involved; this is also true of the seals shown in comparison no. 9, each representing a pair of sphinxes flanking a column.⁴⁶ Completely different must have been the contents of the tablet from Uruk and of the two folded documents from Seleucia, tied and sealed by applied sealings, on which the seals reproduced in comparison no. 3 were impressed: both seals represent a head of Herakles in right profile,⁴⁷ but while at Uruk several sealers (11) were, as usual, involved in the practice – concerning a sale of land – at Seleucia the relevant seal has been impressed on 2 different sealings, close to the stamp of the department for the registration of the tax on the salt trade – the ἀλικὴ ὠνή – which suggests that the folded documents concerned this kind of transaction. This comparison seems to confirm that different sealing practices correspond to different contents, and further interest attaches to the dates of sealing, as the tablet from Uruk was sealed in 91 s.e. (222/221 BC) and the lost folders from Seleucia in 97 s.e. (216/215 BC): here the circulation of the same patterns in the two cities during the same period seems proven.

The seal impressions reproduced in comparison no. 14 represent a lion in right profile,⁴⁸ but since only a fragment of the sealing from Seleucia remains, nothing can be said about the sealing practices.

The correlation between the clay tablets and the *bullae* seems to be confirmed by this brief analysis: 11 out of 15 seal impressions from Seleucia recur on *bullae*. In one case (comparison no. 1), the relevant sealing practices show a high degree of correspondence, since in both documents the same number of sealers were involved (14), while most comparisons reveal compatibility (nos 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12 and 15), even if the tablets from Uruk usually bear more seal impressions than the *bullae* from Seleucia (about 10 at

⁴⁵ SIS III, AF 31 (S9-255); Wallenfels 1994, no. 347 (NCBT 1946).

⁴⁶ SIS III, AF 48 (S6-7537); Wallenfels 1994, no. 272 (MLC 2187).

⁴⁷ SIS III, EKT 41 (S-5026; S-5246); Wallenfels 1994, no. 6 (NCBT 1940).

⁴⁸ SIS III, AR 72 (S7-4862); Lindström 2003, no. *2-4 (VAT 9185).

Uruk, as against an average of 3 or 4 at Seleucia):⁴⁹ the sealing practices seem to have been simplified at Seleucia by the smaller number of sealers involved. In contrast, the particular type of *bullae* reproduced in comparisons nos 2, 7 and 13, bearing 2 impressions of the same seal, and the applied sealings reproduced in comparisons nos 3, 8 and 9 suggest that the sealing practices and, as a consequence, the contents of the lost folded documents from Seleucia were different from those of the tablets from Uruk (in comparison no. 14, the type of sealing from Seleucia is unclear).









The seals impressed on the tablets and reproduced in comparisons nos 1, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12 and 15, which reveal a clear connexion with those impressed on the *bullae*, belonged to witnesses: so we may infer that the sealers of the *bullae*, too, may have been witnesses and that these lost folded documents from Seleucia sealed by *bullae* may have concerned tax-exempt transactions between private subjects.







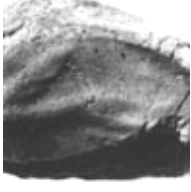

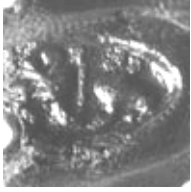

Nevertheless it is questionable whether groups or categories of sealers can be clearly identified by the patterns reproduced on their seals, for the statistics do not support this assumption: both at Uruk and at Seleucia the seal impressions compared in tab. 1 recur only about once in thousands of samples (tens of thousands in the case of Seleucia). The hypothesis that the patterns reproduced on some seals, possibly belonging to professional witnesses, were selected from a large set of subjects, which was quite similar in the two cities, seems more realistic: at Seleucia these seals were small, oval or elliptical and bore stylized figures of Greek gods or of Mesopotamian symbols or monsters. Other seals, larger than the former and showing portraits of kings or of other important people, must belong to the circles of the urban plutocracy.⁵⁰









⁴⁹ The seals impressed on the clay tablets from Uruk belong to witnesses, except in comparison no. 4, where the seal was also used by the guarantor, and in comparison no. 12, where the seal was used by the witness and the seller.





⁵⁰ At Uruk seals bearing portraits were only impressed on sealings of folded documents, never on tablets.

Table 1. Seal impressions with same subjects from Seleucia and Uruk. Sealing practices.

	SEALINGS FROM SELEUCIA		CUNEIFORM TABLETS FROM URUK	
1	SIS I, TF 28 (18 x 15 mm). 1 sample: S-2535; <i>bullae</i> with 14 impressions; + 13 seals.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 22 (14 x 8 mm). 1 sample: BRM 2.12; 48 s.e.; witness; tablet with 14 impressions (sale of prebend); + 13 seals of seller and witnesses.
2	SIS I, TF 99 (13 x 12 mm). 2 samples: S6-1947 (a, b); <i>bullae</i> with 2 impressions of the same seal.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 26 (14 x 10 mm). 1 sample: YBC 8955; 159 s.e.; seller; tablet with 4 impressions (sale of land); + 3 seals of witnesses.
3	SIS III, EkT 41 (> 11 x 11 mm). 2 samples: 1) S-5026, 97 s.e.; applied sealing with 2 impressions; + stamp of AΛIKH ΩNH (alk 14); 2) S-5246; 97 s.e.; applied sealing with 2 impressions; + stamp of AΛIKH ΩNH (alk 14).			Wallenfels 1994, no. 6 (13 x 15 mm). 1 sample: NCBT 1940; 91 s.e.; witness; tablet with 11 impressions (sale of land); + 10 seals of witnesses.
4	SIS I, TM 494 (> 8 x > 16 mm). 1 sample: S6-11316; <i>bullae</i> with 5 impressions; + 4 seals.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 29 (9 x 20 mm). 2 samples: 1) BRM 2.11; 47 s.e.; guarantor; tablet with 15 impressions (sale of prebend); + 14 seals of seller and witnesses; 2) BRM 2.12; 48 s.e.; witness; tablet with 14 impressions (sale of prebend); + 13 seals of seller and witnesses.

5	SIS III, AR 3 (> 13 x > 13 mm). 1 sample: S7-4895; fragment of sealing with 4 impressions; + 3 seals.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 907 (13 x 16 mm). 1 sample: NCBT 1941; 90-125 s.e.; witness; tablet with 6 impressions (sale of prebend); + 5 seals of seller and witnesses.
6	SIS III, AR 33 (> 8 x > 13 mm). 1 sample: S-4001; <i>bullā</i> with 6 impressions; + 5 seals.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 855 (8 x 16 mm). 1 sample: BRM 2.28; 89 s.e.; witness; tablet with 17 impressions (sale of land); + 16 seals of seller, guarantor and witnesses.
7	SIS III, AR 69 (> 9 x > 15 mm). 2 samples: S8-281 (a, b); <i>bullā</i> with 2 impressions of the same seal.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 758 (12 x 19 mm). 1 sample: BRM 2.5; 31 s.e.; witness; tablet with 12 impressions (gift of slave); + 11 seals of donor and witnesses.
8	SIS III, AF 31 (- x -). 1 sample: S9-255; applied sealing with 1 impression.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 347 (8 x 18 mm). 1 sample: NCBT 1946; 77 s.e.; seller; tablet with 13 impressions (sale of prebend); + 12 seals of sellers, guarantor and witnesses.
9	SIS III, AF 48 (> 7 x > 11 mm). 1 sample: S6-7537; applied sealing with 1 impression.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 272 (10 x 17 mm). 1 sample: MLC 2187; 128 s.e.; witness; tablet with 12 impressions (sale of land); + 11 seals of seller, guarantor and witnesses.

10	SIS III, AF 53 (> 11 x > 18 mm). 1 sample: S9-317; <i>bullā</i> with 4 impressions; + 3 seals.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 382 (9 x 15 mm). 1 sample: MLC 2174; 53 s.e.; witness; tablet with 10 impressions (sale of land); + 9 seals of witnesses.
11	SIS III, AF 57 (> 6 x > 14 mm). 1 sample: S-2532; <i>bullā</i> with 2 impressions; + 1 seal.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 513 (9 x 17 mm). 3 samples: 1) NCBT 1976; 38 s.e.; witness; tablet with 11 impressions (sale of land); + 10 seals of sellers and witnesses; 2) BRM 2.16; 57 s.e.; witness; tablet with 10 impressions (sale of prebend); + 9 seals of sellers and witnesses; 3) NCBT 1970; 52-63 s.e.; witness; tablet with 17 impressions (sale of land); + 16 seals of seller, guarantor and witnesses.
12	SIS III, AF 78 (> 10 x > 16 mm). 1 sample: S6-929; <i>bullā</i> with 3 impressions; + 2 seals.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 455 (9 x 15 mm). 1 sample: BRM 2.8; 35 s.e.; twice on the same tablet, as seller and as witness; tablet with 12 impressions (sale of prebend); + 10 seals of witnesses.
13	SIS III, AF 93 (> 17 x > 8 mm). 1 sample: S9-303 (a, b); <i>bullā</i> with 2 impressions of the same seal.			Wallenfels 1994, no. 215 (15 x 9 mm). 2 samples: 1) BRM 2.13; 49 s.e.; witness; tablet with 14 impressions (sale of prebend); + 13 seals of guarantor and witnesses;

				2) NCBT 1938; 50 s.e.; witness; tablet with 11 impressions (sale of prebend); + 10 seals of seller and witnesses.
14	SIS III, AR 72 (> 11 x > 14 mm). 1 sample: S7-4826; Fragment of sealing with 2 impressions; + 1 seal.			Lindström 2003, no. *2-4 (9 x > 15). 1 sample: VAT 9185; 36 s.e.; unknown (inscription incomplete); tablet with 12 impressions (prebend); + 11 seals of sellers, witnesses and unknown.
15	SIS III, AF 70 (> 12 x > 13 mm). 1 sample: S6-913; <i>bullā</i> with 4 impressions; + 3 seals.			Lindström 2003, no. *2-7 (11 x > 11). 1 sample: VAT 9185; 36 s.e.; witness; tablet with 12 impressions (prebend); + 11 seals of seller, witnesses and unknown.

Abbreviations

SIS Bollati A. – Messina V. – Mollo P. 2004.

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