

**Writings from the Ancient World
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Volume 6

Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor

by Martha T. Roth

Edited by Piotr Michalowski

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Martha T. Roth

With a contribution by
Harry A. Hoffner, Jr.

Volume editor
Piotr Michalowski

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Series Editor's Foreword

Writings from the Ancient World is designed to provide up-to-date, readable, English translations of writings recovered from the ancient Near East.

The series is intended to serve the interests of general readers, students, and educators who wish to explore the ancient Near Eastern roots of Western civilization, or compare these earliest written expressions of human thought and activity with writings from other parts of the world. It should also be useful to scholars in the humanities or social sciences who need clear, reliable translations of ancient Near Eastern materials for comparative purposes. Specialists in particular areas of the ancient Near East who need access to texts in the scripts and languages of other areas will also find these translations helpful. Given the wide range of materials translated in the series, different volumes will appeal to different interests. But these translations make available to all readers of English the world's earliest traditions as well as valuable sources of information on daily life, history, religion, etc. in the preclassical world.

The translators of the various volumes in this series are specialists in the particular languages and have based their work on the original sources and the most recent research. In their translations they attempt to convey as much as possible of the original texts in a fluent, current English. In the introductions, notes, glossaries, maps, and chronological tables, they aim to provide the essential information for an appreciation of these ancient documents.

Covering the period from the invention of writing (by 3000 B.C.E.) down to the conquests of Alexander the Great (ca. 330 B.C.E.), the ancient Near East comprised northeast Africa and southwest Asia. The cultures represented within these limits include especially Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Aramean, Phoenician, and Israelite. It is hoped that Writings from the Ancient World will eventually produce trans-

lations of most of the many different genres attested in these cultures: letters—official and private, myths, diplomatic documents, hymns, law collections, monumental inscriptions, tales, and administrative records, to mention but a few.

The preparation of this volume was supported in part by a generous grant from the Division of Research Programs of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Significant funding has also been made available by the Society of Biblical Literature. In addition, those involved in preparing this volume have received financial and clerical assistance from their respective institutions. Were it not for these expressions of confidence in our work, the arduous tasks of preparation, translation, editing, and publication could not have been accomplished or even undertaken. It is the hope of all who have worked on these texts or supported this work that Writings from the Ancient World will open up new horizons and deepen the humanity of all who read these volumes.

Simon B. Parker
Boston University School of Theology

Chronological Table

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Third Dynasty of Ur Ur-Namma (2112–2095 B.C.E.) Shulgi (2094–2047 B.C.E.) | 2112–2004 B.C.E. |
| Larsa Dynasty | 2025–2005 B.C.E. |
| First Dynasty of Isin Lipit-Ishtar (1934–1924 B.C.E.) | 2017–1794 B.C.E. |
| First Dynasty of Babylon Hammurabi (1792–1750 B.C.E.) | 1894–1595 B.C.E. |
| Middle Assyrian State Ashur-uballit (1363–1328 B.C.E.) Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207 B.C.E.) Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.E.) | ca. 1400–950 B.C.E. |
| Neo-Assyrian Empire | ca. 950–627 B.C.E. |
| Neo-Babylonian (or Chaldean) Dynasty Nabopolassar (625–605 B.C.E.) Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.E.) Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.E.) | 625–539 B.C.E. |
| Persian Empire Cyrus II (The Great) (538–530 B.C.E.) | 538–331 B.C.E. |

Explanation of Conventions, Signs, and Abbreviations

The typographical conventions and sigla used here follow generally accepted Assyriological practice. These include the differing typography marking the different languages: lower case roman (with morphemes separated by hyphens) for Sumerian; lower case italics (with hyphens when not normalized) for Akkadian; upper case roman (with periods) for logograms or Sumerograms of uncertain reading.

In the English translations, some proper nouns are given in their commonly accepted English spellings rather than in the more accurate transcription (Babylon rather than Bābili, Shalmaneser rather than Shulmānu-asharidu, Hammurabi rather than Ḥammu-rapī, etc.). In the English translations, I transcribe the phoneme /š/ as /sh/ (Shamash rather than Šamaš), but sometimes retain the velar fricative /ḫ/ (pronounced as in German "auch"), and the emphatics /ṣ/ and /ṭ/. Other notations and symbols include the following:

- [] Full square brackets mark restorations to broken text in the original.
- ⌈ ⌋ Half square brackets mark damaged but likely readings.
- < > Pointed brackets mark modern insertions of text omitted by the ancient scribe.
- « » Double pointed brackets mark deletions of text erroneously included by the ancient scribe.
- () Parentheses enclose material added to the English translation.
- ... Ellipses mark untranslatable text or a gap.

The only bibliographic abbreviations used are:

- AHw See von Soden 1959–81.
- CAD See Oppenheim, Reiner, et al. 1956–.

The law collections in this volume are identified by the following abbreviations:

| | |
|------|----------------------------------|
| HL | Hittite Laws |
| LE | Laws of Eshnunna |
| LH | Laws of Hammurabi |
| LL | Laws of Lipit-Ishtar |
| LNB | Neo-Babylonian Laws |
| LOx | Laws about Rented Oxen (Ox Laws) |
| LU | Laws of Ur-Namma |
| LX | Laws of X |
| MAL | Middle Assyrian Laws |
| MAPD | Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees |
| SLEx | Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet |
| SLHF | Sumerian Laws Handbook of Forms |

Additional abbreviations used:

| | |
|------|-------------------|
| col. | column |
| obv. | obverse of tablet |
| r. | reign |
| rev. | reverse of tablet |

Chronologies follow Brinkman 1977.

Weights and Measures

Weights and measures have been converted in the translations into basic units, to facilitate comparisons between and within the laws. Thus, silver and other commodities usually weighed are reduced to shekels, area measures to ikus, and capacities to silas. Although the correspondences varied during the three-thousand-year history of their attested uses, the measurement systems used in the Sumerian and Akkadian law collections are consistent.

The cuneiform writing systems almost always indicated numbers, measurements, and commodities using logograms, usually without phonetic complements, and the grammatically correct Akkadian readings often are impossible to determine. In transcribing weights and measures I render the numeral either in Akkadian or logographically in Arabic numerals and fractions, the measurement notation in the absolute state, and the commodity in the appropriate grammatical case: e.g., 1 *mana kaspam išaqqal*, "he shall weigh and deliver 1 mina of silver" (passim), or 6 *mana šipātum ana 1 šiqil kaspim*, "360 shekels of wool for 1 shekel of silver" (LE ¶ 1); so, too, when the commodity is understood but not written, as in 12 *uttet idūšu*, "12 barley-corns is his hire" (LE ¶ 7), with *kaspum*, "silver," understood. The distributive is rendered here with the locative-adverbial ending *-um*, with the associated commodity in the appropriate grammatical case: thus, e.g., *ana 1 burum 60 kur še'am imaddad*, "he shall measure and deliver 18,000 silas of grain per 18 ikus of land" (LH ¶ 255); see Goetze 1956: 36; and Borger 1979: 114 ad ¶ 44.

Table of Weights and Measures

Weight measures (used for silver, gold, tin, wool, etc.)

1 *biltu* (gín) "talent" (ca. 30 kilograms) = 60 "minas"

1 *manû* (ma-na) "mina" (ca. 500 grams) = 60 "shekels" [Hittite "mina" = 40 "shekels"]

1 *šiqu* (gín) "shekel" (ca. 8.33 grams) = 180 "barleycorns"

1 *uṭṭetu* (še) "barleycorn" (ca. 0.046 grams)

Capacity measures (used for grain, etc.)

1 *kurru* (gur) "kur" (ca. 300 liters) = 5 "bariga"

1 *pānu* (bariga) "bariga" (ca. 60 liters) = 6 "seahs"

1 *sūtu* (bán) "seah" (ca. 10 liters) = 10 "silas" [Neo-Babylonian "seah" = 6 "silas"]

1 *qû* (sila) "sila" (ca. 1 liter) = 60 "shekels"

Surface measures (used for fields, houses, etc.)

1 *buru* (bûr) "bur" (ca. 64,800 sq. meters or ca. 6.5 hectares) = 18 "ikus"

1 *ikû* (iku) "iku" (ca. 3600 sq. meters or ca. 0.36 hectares) = 100 "sars"

1 *mušaru* (sar) "sar" (ca. 36 sq. meters or ca. 0.0036 hectares)

Length measures (used for walls, textiles, etc.)

1 *nindānu* (ninda) "ninda" (ca. 6 meters) = 12 "cubits" [Neo-Babylonian "ninda" = 14 "cubits"]

1 *qanû* (gi) "reed" (ca. 3 meters) = 6 "cubits" [Neo-Babylonian "reed" = 7 "cubits"]

1 *ammātu* (kûš) "cubit" (ca. 50 centimeters) = 30 "fingers" [Neo-Babylonian "cubit" = 24 "fingers"]

1 *ubānu* (šu-si) "finger" (ca. 1.66 centimeters) = 6 "barleycorns"

1 *uṭṭetu* (še) "barleycorn" (ca. 0.28 centimeters)

Table 2. The standard Old Babylonian weights and measures as used in the Sumerian and Akkadian law collections. Akkadian terms are indicated in normalized italics, Sumerian terms in (hyphenated) syllabic roman, and English translations within quotation marks. The different equivalencies in the Hittite and Neo-Babylonian systems are indicated within square brackets. See Powell 1987 and van den Hout 1987.

Acknowledgments

It is a pleasure to offer my acknowledgments to many people. Sections of this volume have been in preparation for many years, since the mid-1970s, and the final product owes much to numerous conversations with teachers, colleagues, and students. Especially valuable have been the insights from colleagues in legal history at the University of Chicago, whose questions and promptings helped shape my translations, and I thank in particular Charles Gray and James Lindgren. I first studied the Mesopotamian law collections at the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Barry Eichler and Åke W. Sjöberg, to both of whom I am grateful for lessons in philology and methodology. Portions of the manuscript, in various drafts, were read and commented on by several colleagues at the Oriental Institute: Miguel Civil, who also allowed me access to his hypertext files, and Walter Farber, Erica Reiner, and Matthew W. Stolper; John A. Brinkman made available to me his draft translations of the Laws of Hammurabi and of the Middle Assyrian Laws. The manuscript was read with great care by the volume editor, Piotr Michalowski. I thank all these colleagues for their cooperation, suggestions, and insights.

Editorial assistance for this volume was provided by Stephanie Endy, Linda McLarnan, and Helen Rosner (for the Sumerian and Akkadian collections), and by Scott Branting (for Harry Hoffner's translation of the Hittite Laws). The maps were prepared by Peggy Sanders, Archaeological Graphic Services; the indexes were prepared with the assistance of Rachel Dahl. I am grateful for the patience and editorial guidance of the two series editors, Burke O. Long and Simon B. Parker. Numerous questions relating to computer problems were always cheerfully answered by John Sanders. The Oriental Institute and its Director, William Sumner, provided essential material support. Manuscript preparation was aided by a 1993 National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend.

I have been able to collate many of the original cuneiform documents for the Sumerian and Akkadian law collections, including all those in the University Museum, Philadelphia, by courtesy of Åke W. Sjöberg; in Yale University, New Haven, by courtesy of W. W. Hallo; in the Free Library of Philadelphia, by courtesy of the Curator of the Rare Books Department; in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, by courtesy of J. A. Brinkman; in the British Museum, London, by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum;¹ in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, by courtesy of the Trustees of the Musée du Louvre.

I dedicate this book to my family: to Bryon, Helen, Joseph, and Lillian.

Note

1. For the LU, Finkelstein (1969a: 66) noted that he was able to make "collations of the Ur fragments in the British Museum"; the tablets are now in Baghdad, at the Iraq Museum, and have not been recollated.

Introduction

The law collections presented in this volume are compilations, varying in legal and literary sophistication, recorded by scribes in the schools and the royal centers of ancient Mesopotamia and Asia Minor from the end of the third millennium through the middle of the first millennium B.C.E. Some of the collections, like the famous Laws of Hammurabi, achieved a wide audience throughout Mesopotamia for centuries; others, like the Laws about Rented Oxen, were scribal exercises limited to a local school center. All, however, reflected and influenced contemporary legal practice in the scribes' recordings of contracts, administrative documents, and court cases, and also provide the modern historian with evidence of abstractions of legal rules from cases.

Cuneiform Script

The cuneiform script—a system of wedges impressed into damp clay tablets or, in imitation, impressed into wax, incised into stone or metal, or painted on other surfaces—was used throughout the ancient Near East from the late fourth millennium B.C.E. until the first centuries C.E. In the local languages and dialects, cuneiform was used to record a range of private and public documentation: accountings of incomes and disbursements and ration lists, private letters and diplomatic correspondence, contracts and lawsuits, literary compositions and historical annals, medical and astronomical treatises, mathematical problems, ritual and religious compilations, lexical lists, and so on. In Mesopotamia, these texts in Sumerian and in the Semitic Akkadian dialects of Babylonian and Assyrian entered (or sometimes were composed for) the curricula of the schools where scribes were trained in the ancient and accepted formal traditions of their craft, both

practical and esoteric: from how to draft a letter or produce an inventory, to how to record an astronomical observation. (For an introduction to cuneiform writing, with further bibliography, see Walker 1987.)

The Scribal Curriculum

One of the skills necessary for the scribe was mastery of the legal terminology and clauses that he would use in recording a formal court case or in drawing up a contract or agreement between private parties. To this end, the scribal curriculum included such works as *ana ittišu* (Landsberger 1937)—a multitabular series of thousands of Sumerian and Akkadian legal terms and formulas which would be copied and memorized by the aspiring student—or the Laws about Rented Oxen (LOx, in this volume)—an exercise collecting a small series of laws or contract formulas relating to a single theme. Most students would later use the lessons learned from these to draft the daily contracts of local life. But the rare and fortunate scribes might be called upon to help collect, organize, and publicize a larger formal collection of laws and cases, possibly one with a royal sponsor and patron. One such collection is that promulgated under the name of King Hammurabi of Babylon about 1750 B.C.E., which was copied and recopied in the scribal centers for over a thousand years.

The Formats and Structures of the Law Collections

Some of the earlier Sumerian and Babylonian collections frame the body of legal provisions with a historical-literary prologue and epilogue (the Sumerian Laws of Ur-Namma, Laws of Lipit-Ishtar, Laws of X, and the Akkadian Laws of Hammurabi). These frames establish a political context for the compositions, relating the series of laws to the role of king as the divinely authorized guardian and administrator of justice. The high literary style and language of the prologue and epilogue contrast with the dry legal and contractual style of the laws, but the essential link between the laws and their literary frame must not be severed. The prologue and epilogue outline the historical circumstances that allow the ruler to present himself as a worthy recipient of the gods' favor and support, the highest mark of which is his ability to administer and dispense justice throughout his realm. In return for his able exercise of these powers, he demands absolute loyalty from his subjects. Surely it is no coincidence that the very first legal provisions in the Laws of Hammurabi, after a lengthy prologue establishing Hammurabi's credentials, deal with the consequences of false accusations (i.e., in the political realm, treason) and establish the state's right to impose a death penalty, and that the last provision, after more than 275 laws, deals

with the consequences of a slave's challenge to his master (i.e., insurrection). The political context of the laws is emphasized by these associations with the prologue and epilogue frame.

The law cases or legal provisions included in the collections are formulated in a variety of styles (Yaron 1988: 96-110). The most frequently used is the casuistic formulation that first describes a situation and then sets out the resolution or sanction that restores balance: "If a man (or an ox, or a slave, etc.) does such and such, then he shall weigh and deliver so many shekels (etc.)." This characteristic formulation predominates throughout most of the collections in this volume: in the Sumerian Laws of Ur-Namma, Laws of Lipit-Ishtar, Laws of X, Ox Laws, and Sumerian Laws Tablet (*tukum-bi lú*, etc.), in the Akkadian Laws of Eshnunna, Laws of Hammurabi, Middle Assyrian Laws, Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees (*šumma awilum*, etc.), and also in the Hittite Laws (*takku LÚ-an*). A variation of this casuistic formulation is the relative construction "A man who . . ." (*amēlu ša*), which is almost the only style used in the latest collection in this volume, the Neo-Babylonian Laws, and in the Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees. The relative construction is also found, along with other styles, in the Laws of Eshnunna, Middle Assyrian Laws, and Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees. Also less common is a negative apodictic statement, much like the "Thou shalt not" injunctions of the biblical commandments; a few of these formulations are found in the Laws of Eshnunna, Laws of Hammurabi, Middle Assyrian Laws, and Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees. Finally, in addition to legal rules, the Laws of X, Laws of Eshnunna, and Laws of Hammurabi also include wage and price regulations, helping to assess the relative values of labor and commodities; these should be compared to the standardizations established in the prologue of the Laws of Ur-Namma, again clearly linking the literary frame to the legalistic body.

Each "rule" or unit—casuistic clause, relative construction, negative apodictic statement, or wage and price regulation—usually (but not always) begins with a new line on the cuneiform tablet or stela; there is often no other marking, ruling, or indentation that would distinguish one unit from the next. The designation by seriatim numbers or letters of these units and the division of the text into "laws," "provisions," or "paragraphs" is purely the work of modern scholarship and not of the native compilers. The prologue and epilogue sections consist of continuous cuneiform text, and the paragraphing in these narrative sections also is a modern editorial innovation.

The sequences and groupings of legal situations within each law collection vary. In any one collection, there is a complex interplay of literary and compositional principles, of legal requirements, and of unusual cases and common circumstances. Associative principles draw law provisions together into larger blocks, and certain cases in the provisions serve as

bridges linking together such blocks (see Petschow 1965, Petschow 1968, Sauren 1989). These blocks (or "chapters") were sometimes consciously marked by the ancient scribes, as seen in the few subject headings found in some late Old Babylonian copies of the Laws of Hammurabi. Within these larger groups of laws, two compositional principles—presentation of polar cases with maximal variation and juxtaposition of individual legal cases—dictate sequencing of the provisions (Eichler 1987). The entire tablet of Middle Assyrian Laws A, with more than fifty-five provisions, deals almost exclusively with offenses involving women as victims or perpetrators and with sexual offenses (including charges of sodomy); these are best studied along with the Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees, which record the decrees formulated by Assyrian rulers to regulate the behavior and etiquette of the palace women and of those royal officers whose functions demand proximity to them. The more fragmentary collections (such as the Laws of X) and the less polished and shorter exercises, excerpts, or drafts (such as Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet or the Neo-Babylonian Laws) are more difficult to dissect and explain.

The Nature and Function of the Law Collections

The legal function of the law collections has been the subject of much debate throughout the twentieth century, ever since the stela of the Laws of Hammurabi was first published in 1902; and the debate has, predictably, centered on that most famous and largest of the collections. None of the collections is comprehensive or exhaustive, and it is clear that none attempts to set out a complete "law of the land"; but it is not clear what conclusions follow. Certainly, a lack of comprehensiveness does not, in itself, detract from the legal import or applicability of a set of laws. There are scholars who view the collections as codifications of existing practice, providing precedents for the courts and the administration of justice (see Haase 1965: 22ff.). In recent decades, the weight of scholarly opinion has come down strongly in recognition of the collections as products of the scribal schools, and as manifestations of the intellectual processes that developed other scientific treatises, including such topically diverse treatises as the god lists, tree lists, professions lists, mathematical lists, star lists, omen lists, pharmacopoeia, etc. (Kraus 1960; Bottéro 1992; Westbrook 1985). Others maintain that the connection of the law collections with their royal sponsors is paramount, and that the laws must be read with other products of the royal administration of justice (such as the edicts and debt remissions) as royal apologia with political and historical implications (Finkelstein 1961).

Throughout Mesopotamian history, the concern of the king with justice and the legal process is emphasized in royal inscriptions, royal epithets, iconographic representations, and literary allusions. Whether or not the

king was always himself an active participant in the administration of the legal system, he was always its guardian, for the application of justice was the highest trust given by the gods to a legitimate king. This point was made in a letter from eighteenth-century B.C.E. Mari on the upper Euphrates, which reports the message conveyed by a prophet of the god Addu of Aleppo to the Mari ruler Zimri-Lim: "I (Addu) gave the entire country to (your father) Yahdun-Lim . . . He abandoned me and so I gave the country which I had given to him instead to Samsi-Addu (of Assyria) . . . (Later) I restored you to the throne of your father's house . . . Now heed this one matter: When anyone makes an appeal to you for a judgment, saying, 'I have been wronged!' you be present and render a judgment for him! Respond to him with righteousness! This alone I ask of you!" (Durand 1993: 43-45). This important message was delivered on several occasions and reappears in yet another communication from the god to the same king: "Am I not Addu, lord of Aleppo, who raised you in my bosom and who restored you to the throne of your father's house? I ask nothing else of you but that when a man or woman who has been wronged appeals to you, you be present and render a judgment for them! This alone I ask of you" (Lafont 1984: 9-11). Any ruler would certainly take such admonitions seriously, and the law collections in this volume provide numerous examples (both in the literary prologues and epilogues and in the body of the legal provisions) of the king as the ultimate authority in the day-to-day affairs of the courts and the judicial process, and as the moral leader maintaining the divinely inspired and ordained ideals of justice.

These law collections are not the sole evidence of the law from the ancient Near East. Tens of thousands of surviving cuneiform tablets record lawsuits, court cases, and legal agreements and transactions (real estate sales and leases, loans, pledges, marriages, adoptions, inheritance dispositions, slave transfers, etc.), and any comprehensive treatment of a legal subject in a given time and place within the three millennia of the cuneiform record must rely on these functional and practical legal documents and not exclusively on the law collections. One must ask, then: What are the relationship and the degree of legal concord between the provisions of the law collections and the contemporary transactional documents?

In numerous studies of a range of legal situations, little correspondence has been found between the provisions in the law collections and contemporary practice. Furthermore, no court document or contract makes a direct reference to any of the formal law collections. From such an absence of linking evidence some scholars have concluded that the law collections had little or no impact on the daily operation of legal affairs. There is, however, one Old Babylonian letter which does make reference to a "stela" (Akkadian *narû*) upon which wages were inscribed, reminding us of the provisions in LH 99 273-74, which establish daily wages for several categories of work-

men. The letter was sent by an administrator to one of his team leaders in response to a complaint he received about unreasonable demands made by some weavers. The text reads, in full:¹

(1-3) Speak to Nabi-Shamash, thus says Alammush-našir: May the gods Shamash and Marduk keep you in good health!

(4-6) Concerning the woven-textile workers whom you brought in (to work) and who spoke to you as follows: (6-10) "15 barleycorns of silver is the daily wages per man. If you will not weigh and deliver 15 barleycorns of silver, then we (as a group) will take (payment in rations of) 20 silas of grain, 5 silas of beer, and 4 silas of bread per day." (10-11) Thus they spoke to you and thus you wrote to me. (12-13) The wages for a hired worker are recorded on the stela. (14-16) In accordance with what they spoke to you, either in grain or in silver, do not withhold their wages! (rev. 17-20) And when I come there, I will investigate the matter personally and I will deduct their wages from their work assignment.

(21-24) Furthermore, the mat which is to be produced should not require 3600 shekels (of fiber materials)! Rather 1800 shekels for the wool, 600 shekels for the warp, in all 2400 shekels is enough for one mat. (25-27) Let them make that mat 12 cubits long and 7 cubits wide.

(28-29) Furthermore, appoint a trustworthy person and let him supervise them!

The wages demanded by the workers in this letter are triple the daily wages set out in LH ¶ 274. But from that fact one cannot conclude that the economic parameters set forth in the law collection were out of touch with the reality of the market (Sweet 1958: 111). Furthermore, of course, there is no reason to assume that the wages set out in the Laws of Hammurabi were not *minimum* wages rather than *maximum* wages; the regulations in the Laws of Hammurabi, for example, could protect workers from exploitation. This would be in keeping with the intent and claims of the prologue as well. Nonetheless, whether or not the letter's reference in lines 12-13 to the stela is indeed an allusion to the stela of Hammurabi upon which his laws were inscribed, the tone of the entire letter is one of outrage—both at the workers' audacity in demanding high wages and at their attempt to cheat the administrator by using 50 percent more wool than necessary to accomplish their task. His response indicates neither acquiescence in the face of labor's demands nor acceptance of the inconsequence of the "stela"; rather, he orders his on-site representative to make the work progress at whatever cost, and promises that he himself will rectify the abuses when he arrives to assess the situation in person. Thus it is entirely possible that the writer referred to the Laws of Hammurabi (or to another collection of laws written and displayed on a stela, see below) and would keep in mind its provisions in his final settlement with his workmen. His comment, "The wages for a hired worker are recorded on the stela," confirms the publicity and publication value of the law collection in its contemporary context.

Another piece of evidence from the same period, but from outside of Mesopotamia, also refers to a stela that publicized prices and wages. This is an early nineteenth century B.C.E. stamped mudbrick from Susa, the Elamite capital, the entire text of which reads (Scheil 1939: 5 No. 3):

Addahushu, the shepherd² of the god Shushinak, the sister's-son³ of Shilhaha, set up the stela (listing) correct (prices) in the market place, (and thus) the god Shamash will instruct him who does not know the correct price.

The stela celebrated in this brick inscription has not been recovered, and it is possible that it recorded, in addition to prices and wages, the kinds of laws and cases we find in the Sumerian and Babylonian collections presented in this volume.

Ultimately, such questions as Is there any concord between the formal law collections and the transactional contracts? or Is the daily operation of the law constrained by the rules of the formal law collections? are not really answerable and, moreover, miss the intimate connections between law and society. The many and varied manifestations of the law—including the law collections, the scholastic exercises, the court cases, the royal edicts and remissions, and the daily transactional contracts and agreements—are all evidence of the law as a function of social life. The collections translated in this volume—which range from the sophisticated, self-conscious articulations of legal rules, of administrative measures, and of judicial reforms, to the purely scholastic handbook or the crude student exercise—are all products of the cultural assumptions and values of their drafters and copyists and are clear reflections of the ancient Near Eastern concern for justice.

About the Translations

The English translations of the Sumerian and Akkadian law collections in this volume reflect a deliberate awareness of all the others and aim for consistency in translational conventions and devices. Where possible, I use the simplest, most neutral English word, in order to avoid imposing my interpretations on the texts. Thus, for example, verbal forms of *dāku* (Akkadian) and *gaz* (Sumerian) are always translated with forms of "to kill" (thus, "they shall kill her," or "he shall be killed," etc.)—and not, depending on varying context, with "to execute," "to put to death," or "to die."

The translations remain faithful to the moods and tenses of the original languages as well, and thus a passive "he shall be killed" should not be confused with an active "they shall kill him," which implies actors for which there might be no evidence. In the apodosis, the third person imperfect-future tense usually is translated here with the auxiliary "shall" which in formal legal contexts conveys both the senses of ordering and permitting; however, when there can be no question but that the verbal form implies an

optional action, the auxiliary "may" is used in the translation instead. Injunctions expressed with Akkadian *la* are translated "he shall not . . .," and the simple negation with Akkadian *ul* is translated "he will not . . ." (thus *imât ul iballuṭ* is translated "he shall die, he will not live").

The protasis constructed with *šumma* includes preterite verbal forms expressing the simple conditional (translated, e.g., "If he rents"), perfect verbal forms expressing the hypothetical conditional ("If he should rent"), present verbal forms expressing intention ("If he intends to rent"), and stative verbal forms expressing states. Subsequent or sequential action is expressed by following a preterite form with a perfect form (translated usually, e.g., "If he rents . . . and then breaks . . .," but if the sequence is obvious in the English, "then" or another similar word is not always supplied).

In order to preserve the appropriate nuances and to convey the differing commodities (used in the penalty clauses or wage scales, for example), instead of translating "to pay" indiscriminately throughout, I translate "to weigh and deliver" for Akkadian *šaqaḷu* and Sumerian *lā* (always used with silver, gold, tin, etc.); "to measure and deliver" for Akkadian *madādu* and Sumerian *āg* (always used of grain, etc.); "to give" for Akkadian *nadānu* and Sumerian *sum* (or "to give for silver" or "to sell" for *ana kaspim nadānu*).

The most difficult question of translation involves the terms used to identify the subjects of the provisions and touches upon the larger and elusive question of the purpose and function of these law collections. The most frequent subject throughout is Sumerian *lú*, Akkadian *awīlum* (*a'īlu*, *amēlu*), usually a term referring to "man," "person," "someone," "anyone," etc. It is in this sense, as the unmarked, the indefinite subject, that I understand the term throughout. However, within some sets of law provisions, *lú* or *awīlum* is used as a marked subject and is deliberately juxtaposed with terms referring to specific social or legal classes and age or gender groups. Thus, when one provision identifies the subject as an *awīlum*, and the following one varies the provision in identifying the subject as a *muškēnum* or a *wardum*, it is clear that the *awīlum* is a member of the elite or upper class (mostly males), consciously opposed by the drafter of the composition to a member of the "commoner" class or of the "slave" class. In the latter such provisions, therefore, I have translated *awīlum* as "member of the *awīlu*-class"; in all other cases, I assume *awīlum*, etc., to be the unmarked subject, without respect to age and social or legal class. The translation used in all these other cases, then, is "man." Furthermore, I have tried throughout to avoid anachronistic translations or translations using terms with well-established modern or Western connotations. Thus such translations as "citizen" or "seignior" for *awīlum*, or "nun" for *nadītum*, can only confuse the reader who understands the "citizen" as a voting member of a *polis* or modern state, or the "nun" as a female religious living under vows of poverty and chastity. Instead I have sought and used the least encumbered or least loaded terms

possible, and when such were not forthcoming, I have allowed the native terminology to remain untranslated. The minor annoyance of these Akkadian or Sumerian terms in the English translations should be alleviated by recourse to the glossary, and compensated for by the avoidance of misplaced cultural assumptions.

I have tried to remain conservative in both my restorations and my translations. When restorations are conjectural, I mark the corresponding translations with square brackets. I have been unable completely to avoid the occasional translation that may be more literal than literary, especially when the original Akkadian or Sumerian syntax is particularly complex and I have not wanted to obscure the provision's legal reasoning. Throughout I have been guided by a concern to prevent an unwary user from drawing unwarranted conclusions from nonexistent text; thus, I have sought a balance between uncritical translation and interpretive paraphrase. This has been particularly difficult to achieve with the minimal footnotes permitted by the format of this series, but I hope that the resulting translations find some acceptance from both Assyriologists and comparative legal historians, as well as serve the needs of the general reader.

About the Transliterations and Transcriptions

A few comments about the transliteration and transcription of the Sumerian and Akkadian texts is in order. Assyriologists usually publish their critical editions using syllabic transliteration, in full score, with critical apparatus and citation of all textual variants. Such editions allow each manuscript to be reconstructed separately, and give full voice to each variant tradition or dialect. The value of such a publication remains undeniable for the cuneiformist. However, for both the general reader and the specialist, there is also a place for an edition that carries the critical edition to another level, to the publication of the *results* of the editor's autopsy of the cuneiform sources. In such an enterprise, as presented in this volume, all variants and discrepancies are of course examined and weighed by the editor-translator, but only those essential to the *interpretation* of the text are noted (and not those the value of which is strictly philological or lexicographical). The benefit of having the original language text along with the translation should be obvious: readers with only an introductory knowledge of the languages should have little difficulty following the transcriptions, and even readers with no experience at all of any of the cuneiform languages should be able to find the essential key words in using these sources for their own research.

For the transcriptions or normalizations of the Akkadian texts I refer the reader to the standard grammars, especially to the comprehensive GAG (von Soden 1969). The transcriptional conventions follow those of the

Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD), which diverge from those used in the German-language grammars and dictionaries; many of these conventions are noted in Brinkman 1966.

Notes

1. The letter, A 3529, in the collections of the Oriental Institute, belongs to a small archive and can be dated to about the tenth year of Samsuiluna, the immediate successor of King Hammurabi (thus to ca. 1740 B.C.E.); the archive probably comes from Kesh, less than ten miles east of the dynastic capital in Babylon. The only publications are in two University of Chicago Ph.D. dissertations (Sweet 1958: 104–11 and Stuneck 1927: 25f. and 57f.).

2. “Shepherd” is an epithet referring to the king, evoking the image of his responsible care for the population placed in his charge by the deity.

3. The designation “sister’s-son” (Sum. *dumu-nin*, Akk. *mār aḫāti*, Elamite *ruḫu-šak*) is part of the royal titlature, asserting the legitimacy of the ruler (in this case, possibly a usurper). The preferred line of succession in early second millennium Elam apparently was through the sister of a previous ruler, and the identification as “sister’s-son” is not necessarily an indication of descent from an incestuous union; see van Soldt 1990.

Translations

A. Sumerian

Laws of Ur-Namma (LU) (ca. 2100 B.C.E., Ur)

The beginning of the prologue, where the royal sponsor would have been identified, is not well preserved. Current opinion attributes this law collection either to King Ur-Namma of Ur (r. 2112–2095 B.C.E.) or to his son and successor on the throne, Shulgi (r. 2094–2047). Not all of the historical events recounted in the prologue can be placed within the reign of Ur-Namma, and Shulgi is known for his acts of administrative and judicial reform. See the summary of the arguments in Michalowski and Walker 1989: 384–86.

Ur-Namma achieved the independence of the city of Ur from the overlord Utu-ḫegal of Uruk. During his eighteen-year reign, Ur-Namma founded the Third Dynasty of Ur, uniting for only the second time in history the city-states of southern and northern Mesopotamia (“Sumer and Akkad”) after the collapse of the Dynasty of Akkad (ca. 2334–2193 B.C.E., founded by Sargon the Great). Ur-Namma’s centralized bureaucracies and administration of resources allowed him to undertake the building of the magnificent ziggurats (stepped temple-towers) and other labor-intensive projects, including local temple restorations and maintenance and expansions of the canal systems. The stability of the kingdom was maintained during the forty-eight-year reign of his son Shulgi, who introduced administrative and organizational reforms into the bureaucracy that are documented in tens of thousands of surviving cuneiform tablets. This period saw, too, a great flowering of Sumerian literature—hymns, prayers, and epic cycles revolving around the palace and temple.

About the Laws

Only the prologue and fewer than forty laws are preserved; the total number of provisions and the size of the epilogue in the original, complete

composition are unknown. It is possible that, after a gap, the last twenty laws and the epilogue are represented by the composition separately edited in this volume as LX. The prologue recounts the political and economic accomplishments of the king, including providing a peaceful climate for sea and land trade to flourish and regularizing and standardizing weights and measures. The first law provision of the collection provides for the death penalty for homicide and is followed by provisions dealing with various illegal or unlawful acts, the ownership of children of unions between slaves and free persons, sexual offenses, marriage, bodily injuries, insubordination, false witnesses, and agricultural offenses. Each provision is introduced by the Sumerian *tukum-bi*, "if."

The principal class of persons considered in the Laws of Ur-Namma is the free person (*lú*, "man"), which includes the wife (*dam*), the first-ranking wife (*nitadam*), the native-born woman (*dumu-gi₇*) and the widow (*nu-ma-su*), and probably also the young man (*guruš*) involved in royal- or temple-sponsored ventures; the laws also refer to the male and female slave (*arad* and *gēme*).

About the Sources

The three sources used in the reconstruction of the Laws of Ur-Namma come from three—or perhaps two—different sites: the Nippur tablet preserves the beginning of the prologue and laws ¶¶ 4-20; the Ur tablets preserve ¶¶ 7-37; and the "Sippar" tablet, which might also come from Nippur,¹ completes the prologue and provides the first ten laws.

The line numbering and provision numbering present some problems. First, the Nippur and Sippar tablets (A and C) were first published with line numbers running consecutively (rather than beginning anew with each tablet column), and most previous editions have used the consecutive line numbers. Although this practice can make for difficulty in locating provisions, it has been retained—with the addition of the column numbers—for the sake of consistency. Second, Yıldız's publication of the "Sippar" source (C) in 1981, which fully preserves the first provisions, revealed that earlier estimates of the number of missing or fragmentary provisions were incorrect; the provision numbers have been adjusted accordingly and conform to the numbering initiated by Yıldız.

Prologue

(A i 1-30) ... [...] ba [...] bi [...] an
[^dUr]-^dNam[ma nita ka]lag-g[a
lugal] Ūri[^{ki}-ma lugal K]i-en-[gi Ki-
uri] dingir [...] bi [...] (about 8 lines
broken) ... ka]lam²-ma-š[è ...] itu-da
90 še-gur 30 udu 30 sila i-nun sá-
dug₄-še mu-na-ni-gar

(A i 31-42) ud An-né ^dEn-lil-le
^dNanna-ar nam-lugal Ūri^{ki}-ma [mu-
na-sum¹-mu-uš-a-ba [ud-ba ^dUr]-
^dNamma-ke₄ dumu tu-da ^dNin-
súna-ka [émedu] ki-ág-gá-ni-ir nig-
si-sá-ni-še [nig-gi¹-[na]-ni-še (A i 43-
ii 74) [...] x [...] x [...] mu [...] x [...] x
[...] a [...] a [...] x [...] (about 20 lines
broken) ...] dingir [...] x x 7-bi hu-
mu-un-da-an-¹sum¹ (A ii 75-86)
Nam-ḥa-ni énsi Lagaš^{ki}-ke₄ [ḥé-mi-
il¹ ki-sar-ra má Māgan^{ki}-na ^dNanna á
^dNanna lugal¹ gá¹-ta ḥé-mi-gi₄ Ūri^{ki}-
ma ḥa-ba-zálag

(A ii 87-92) ud-ba a-ša ni-is-kum i-
gál-la-ām nam-ga-eš₈ má-laḥ₄ ga[l¹] i-
gál-la-ām (A iii 93-103) [...] x-e [...
gud] dab₅ [...] udu] dab₅ [...] -ām [...] x
x [(about 7 lines damaged)]

(A iii 104-113) [ud-ba ^dUr-^dN]amma
[nita kalag]-ga [lugal Ūri^{ki}]-ma
[lugal Ki-en-gi] Ki-uri [á ^dNanna
[lugal-g]á-ta [inim gi¹-na [^dUtu(?)]-
ta [nig-s]i¹-sá¹ [kalam-ma(?) ḥ]u-mu-
ni-gar

(A iii 114-124) [...] x ḥé-mi-gi₄ nam-
ga-eš₈ má-laḥ₄ gal ütul-e gud dab₅
udu dab₅ anše dab₅ uri lú gi[r₅-ra]
Ki-en-gi Ki-uri-a] šu ba-a[n-bar]

... Ur-Namma, the mighty warrior, king of the city of Ur, king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad ... he established 21,600 silas of barley, 30 sheep, 30 silas of butter, per month, as regular offerings ... in the land.

When the gods An and Enlil turned over the kingship of the city of Ur to the god Nanna, at that time, for Ur-Namma, son born of the goddess Ninsun, for her beloved house-born slave, according to his (the god Nanna's) justice and truth ... gave to him ... I promoted Namhani to be the governor of the city of Lagash. By the might of the god Nanna, my lord, I returned Nanna's Magan-boat to the quay(?), and made it shine in the city of Ur.

At that time, the *nisku*-people had control of the fields, the sea-captains had control of the foreign maritime trade. ... those who appropriate(?) [the oxen] ... those who appropriate(?) [the sheep ...]

[At that time, (I)], Ur-Namma, [mighty warrior, lord of the city of Ur, king of the lands of Sumer and] Akkad, [by the might] of the god Nanna, my lord, [by the true command of the god Utu(?)], I established [justice in the land(?)].

[...] I returned. I established freedom for the Akkadians and foreigners(?) in the lands of Sumer and Akkad, for those conducting foreign maritime trade (free from) the

(A iii 125-134, C i 1-10²) ud-ba Akšak^{ki} Mára-da^{ki} Gír-kal^{ki} Ka-zal-lu^{ki} ù maš-gán-bi Ū-ša-ru-um^{ki} níg An-ša₄-an^{ki}-a nam-arad hé-éb-ak-e á^dNanna lugal-gá-ta ama-ar-gi₄-bi hu-mu-gar

(A iii 135-iv 149, C i 11-21) urudu ba-ri-ga hu-mu-dím 60 sila-àm hé-ge-en urudu ba-an hu-mu-dím 10 sila-àm hé-ni-ge-en urudu ba-an si-sá lugal-la hu-mu-dím 5 sila-àm hé-ni-ge-en na₄ 1 gín kù zag 1 ma-na¹šē⁷ hé-ni-ge-en zabar 1 sila hu-mu-dím 1 ma-na-àm hé-ni-ge-en

(A iv 150-161, C i 22-ii 29) ud-ba gú^{id}Idigna gú^{id}Burun gú^{id}dù-a-bi add[ir si hé-em-mi-sá-sá] kas₄[?] ša [...] é hé-em-mi-in-[dù] s^{is}kiri₆ [hé-b]i-i[b-gub] šandana lugal-e hé-éb-tuk

(A iv 162-168, C ii 30-39) nu-síg lú níg-tuku-ra ba-ra-na-an-gar nu-mu-un-su lú á tuku-ra ba-ra-na-an-gar lú 1 gín-e lú 1 ma-na-ra ba-ra-na-an-gar lú 1 udu-e lú 1 gud-ra⁵ ba-ra-na-an-gar

(A iv 169-170, C ii 40-51) GÍR.NITÁ + GÍR.NITÁ-mu-ne ama-mu-[n]e šeš-šeš-mu-ne su-a-[su-a-ne]-ne ki ha-b[a-

sea-captains, for the herdsmen (free from) those who appropriate(?) oxen, sheep, and donkeys.

At that time, by the might of Nanna, my lord, I liberated Akshak, Marad, Girkal, Kazallu, and their settlements, and for Ušarum, whatever (territories) were under the subjugation of Anshan.

I made the copper bariga-measure and standardized it at 60 silas. I made the copper seah-measure, and standardized it at 10 silas. I made the normal king's copper seah-measure, and standardized it at 5 silas. I standardized (all) the stone weights (from?) the pure(?) 1-shekel (weight) to the 1-mina (weight). I made the bronze 1-sila measure and standardized it at 1 mina.³

At that time, [I regulated] the river-boat traffic on the banks of the Tigris River, on the banks of the Euphrates River, on the banks of all rivers. [I secured safe roads for] the couriers(?); I [built] the (roadside) house.⁴ [I planted] the orchard, the king placed a gardener in charge of them.

I did not deliver the orphan to the rich. I did not deliver the widow to the mighty. I did not deliver the man with but one shekel to the man with one mina (i.e., 60 shekels). I did not deliver the man with but one sheep to the man with one ox.

I settled (in independent settlements?) my generals, my mothers, my brothers, and their families; I

ni-gar]-re-eš á-[ág-gá-ne]-ne-a ba-ra-ba-[gu]b-bé-en kin ba-ra-[b]a-ni-gar nig-érim nig-á-zi i-^dUtu ug-gu hé-ni-dé nig-si-sá kalam-ma hu-mu-ni-gar

(C iii 52) ud-ba

did not accept their instructions(?), I did not impose orders. I eliminated enmity, violence, and cries for justice. I established justice in the land.

At that time:

Laws

(C iii 52-54) tukum-bi lú-ù sag-giš bi-in-ra lú-bi i-gaz-e-dam

¶ 1 If a man commits a homicide, they shall kill that man.

(C iii 55-56) tukum-bi lú-ù sa-gaz-šē in-ak in-gaz-e

¶ 2 If a man acts lawlessly(?), they shall kill him.

(A iv 195, C iii 57-60) tukum-bi lú-ù heš₅-šē in-ak lú-bi en-nu-gá i-ti-le 15 gín kù-babbar i-lá-e

¶ 3 If a man detains(?) (another), that man shall be imprisoned and he shall weigh and deliver 15 shekels of silver.

(A v 196-198, C iii 61-64) tukum-bi arad-dē gēme á-āš-a-ni in-tuk «x x» arad-bi ama-ar-gi₄-ni i-gá-gá é-ta nu-ub-ta-ē

¶ 4 If a male slave marries a female slave, his beloved, and that male slave (later) is given his freedom, she/he will not leave (or: be evicted from?) the house.

(A v 205-215, C iii 65-75) tukum-bi arad-dē dumu-gi₇ in-tuk dumu-nita 1-àm lugal-a-ni-ir in-na-an-gub-bu dumu lugal-a-ni-ir in-na-ab-gub-bu da nig-ga é ad-da-[na] BAR-bi é-gar₈ é [...] dumu dumu-gi₇ lugal-da n[u-me-a] nam-arad-d[a²-šē] la-ba-an-[ku₄-re]

¶ 5 If a male slave marries a native woman, she/he shall place one male child in the service of his master; the child who is placed in the service of his master, his paternal estate, ... the wall, the house, [...];⁶ (any other) child of the native woman will not be owned by the master, nor will he be pressed into slavery.

(C iv 76-80) tukum-bi dam guruš-a a nu-gi₄-a nig-á-gar-šē lú in-ak-ma a bi-in-gi₄ nita-bi i-gaz-e

¶ 6 If a man violates the rights of another and deflowers the virgin wife of a young man, they shall kill that male.

(A v 225-231, B i 1-10, C iv 86-92⁷) tukum-bi dam guruš-a ní-te-a-ni-ta

¶ 7 If the wife of a young man, on her own initiative, approaches a

lú ba-an-ús-ma úr-ra-né ba-an-ná
munus-bi i-gaz-e nita-bi ama-ar-gi₄-
ni i-gá-gá

(A v 232-235, B i 11-19, C iv 81-85)
tukum-bi géme lú-ù a nu-gi₄-a nig-á-
gar-še lú in-ak-ma a bi-in-gi₄⁹ 5 gin
kù-babbar i-lá-e

(B i 20-24, C iv 93-97) tukum-bi lú-
ù dam nitadam-a-ni in-tag₄-tag₄ 1
ma-na kù-babbar i-lá-e

(A vi 246-249, B i 25-29, C iv 98¹⁰)
tukum-bi nu-ma-su i-tag₄-tag₄ ½
ma-na kù i-lá-e

(A vi 250-254, B i 30-36) tukum-bi
nu-ma-su dub ka-kéšda nu-me-a lú
úr-ra-na ba-an-ná kù nu-lá-e

(A vi 267-269, B i 37) tukum-bi
[(gap of about 10 lines) ...] x x [x] x
bi lú x x x x

(A vi 270-vii 280, B ii 1-2) tukum-bi
nam-x-x lú lú-ra in-da-ab-lá ḏd-lú-
ru-gú-še in-túm ḏd-lú-ru-gú um-
dadag lú in-túm-mu (...) 3 gin kù¹¹
i-lá-e

(B ii 3-12) tukum-bi dam guruš-a-da
úr-ra ná-a lú i-da-lá ḏd-dè ù-um-
dadag lú i-da-lá-[a] ⅓ ŠA [kù] i-[lá-
e]

(B ii 13-23) tuk[um-bi] mí-ús-[sa tur]
é ú-[úr-ra-na-ka] i-[in-ku₄] ú-ù[r]
dam-a-ni] ègir-[ni-ta] lú [ku-li-ni-ir]

man and initiates sexual relations
with him, they shall kill that
woman;⁸ that male shall be released.

¶ 8 If a man acts in violation of the
rights of another and deflowers the
virgin slave woman of a man, he
shall weigh and deliver 5 shekels of
silver.

¶ 9 If a man divorces his first-rank-
ing wife, he shall weigh and deliver
60 shekels of silver.

¶ 10 If he divorces a widow, he shall
weigh and deliver 30 shekels of sil-
ver.

¶ 11 If a man has sexual relations
with the widow without a formal
written contract, he will not weigh
and deliver any silver (as a divorce
settlement).

¶ 12 If [...]

¶ 13 If a man accuses another man
of ... and he has him brought to the
divine River Ordeal but the divine
River Ordeal clears him, the one
who had him brought (i.e., the
accuser) (...) shall weigh and
deliver 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 14 If a man accuses the wife of a
young man of promiscuity but the
River Ordeal clears her, the man
who accused her shall weigh and
deliver 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 15 If a son-in-law [enters] the
household of his father-in-law but
subsequently the father-in-law

ba-a[n-na-sum] nig-[dé-a in-túm-a-
ni] a-rá [2-kam-ma] i-[na-lá-e]

(B ii 24-34) tuk[um-bi] x [...] x [...] x
ba[...] ki[...] i[...] x [...] lú [...] x x
[...] 2 gin [kù] i-n[a-lá-e]

(A vii 314-323) [tukum-bi ...] géme
[...] a ki-sur-ra uru-na-ka ib-te-bal lú
im-mi-gur lugal sag-gá-ke₄ lú im-mi-
in-gur-ra [x] gin kù-babbar i-lá-e

(A vii 324-viii 330, B ii 35-41¹³)
tukum-bi [lú lú-ra ...] a-ni [gi]ri-ni
in-ku₅ 10 gin kù-babbar i-lá-e

(A viii 331-338) tukum-bi lú lú-ra
ḡ¹⁴tukul-ta gir-pad-du al-mu-ra-ni in-
zi-ir 1 ma-na kù-babbar i-lá-e

(A viii 339-344, B ii 42-47) tukum-
bi lú lú-ra x-x-ta kiri₄-ni in-ku₅ ⅔
ma-na kù-babbar i-lá-e

(A viii 345-349, B ii 48-54) tukum-
bi [lú lú-r]a [...] t]a [in-ta]-ku₅ [...] -
àm [x gin kù-à]m [i-lá]-e

(B ii 55-iii 4) [tukum]-bi [lú lú-ra ...-
t]a z[ú-ni] i[n-...] 2 g[in kù-àm] i-[lá-
e]

(B iii 5) tu[kum-bi ...]

[gives his wife to his (the son-in-
law's) comrade], he (the father-in-
law) shall [weigh and deliver to him
(the jilted son-in-law)] twofold (the
value of) the prestations [which he
(the son-in-law) brought (when he
entered the house)].

¶ 16 If [...], he shall weigh and
deliver to him 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 17 If [a slave or(?)] a slave woman
[...] ventures beyond the borders of
(his or) her city and a man returns
(him or) her, the slave's master shall
weigh and deliver [x] shekels of sil-
ver to the man who returned (the
slave).

¶ 18 If [a man] cuts off the foot of
[another man with ...], he shall
weigh and deliver 10 shekels of sil-
ver.

¶ 19 If a man shatters the ...bone of
another man with a club, he shall
weigh and deliver 60 shekels of sil-
ver.

¶ 20 If a man cuts off the nose of
another man with ..., he shall weigh
and deliver 40 shekels of silver.

¶ 21 If [a man] cuts off [the ... of
another man] with [...], he shall
weigh and deliver [x shekels of sil-
ver].

¶ 22 If [a man] knocks out another
man's tooth with [...], he shall
weigh and deliver 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 23 If [...]

(gap)

(B iii 34–44) [tukum-bi ...]-a ḥa-ba-tūm-mu tukum-bi géme nu-tuku 10 gin kù-babbar-àm ḥé-na-lá-e tukum-bi kù nu-tuku níg-na-me «nu» na-ab-sum-mu

¶ 24 [If...], he shall bring [a slave woman]; if he has no slave woman, he shall instead weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver; if he has no silver, he shall give him whatever of value he has.¹⁴

(B iii 45–51) tukum-bi géme lú nin-a-ni-gin₇ dí-ma-ar áš i-ni-dug₄ 1 sila mun-àm ka-ka-ni i-sub₆-bé

¶ 25 If a slave woman curses someone acting with the authority of her mistress, they shall scour her mouth with one sila of salt.¹⁵

(B iii 52–55) tukum-bi géme lú nin-a-ni-gin₇ dí-ma-ar in-ni-ra [...]

¶ 26 If a slave woman strikes someone acting with the authority of her mistress, [...].

(gap)

(B iv x–33) [tukum-bi ... x] x x x

¶ 27 [If ...]

(B iv 34–40) tukum-bi lú lú-ki-inim-ma-šè ib-ta-è lú ní-zuḥ ba-an-ku₄ 15 gin kù-babbar-àm i-lá-e

¶ 28 If a man presents himself as a witness but is demonstrated to be a perjurer, he shall weigh and deliver 15 shekels of silver.

(B iv 41–46) tukum-bi lú lú ki-inim-ma-šè ib-ta-è nam-erím-ta e-gur ní-gú di-ba en-na-gál-la ib-su-su

¶ 29 If a man presents himself as a witness but refuses to take the oath, he shall make compensation of whatever was the object of the case.

(B iv 47–v 1) tukum-bi a-ša-aša₅ lú ní-gá-gar-šè lú i-ak ba-an-uru₄ di bí-dug₄ gú in-ni-šub lú-bi á-ni ib-ta-an-e₁₁-dè

¶ 30 If a man violates the rights of another and cultivates the field of another man, and he sues (to secure the right to harvest the crop, claiming that) he (the owner) neglected (the field)—that man shall forfeit his expenses.

(B v 2–7) tukum-bi a-ša-aša₅ lú lú a-da bi-GUB a-ša 1 iku 3 še-gur i-ág-gá

¶ 31 If a man floods(?) another man's field, he shall measure and deliver 720 silas of grain per 100 sars of field.

(B v 8–17) tukum-bi lú lú a-ša-aša₅ apin-lá-šè i-na-sum nu-un-uru₄ ša-su-ga i-gar 1 iku 3 še-gur i-ág-gá

¶ 32 If a man gives a field to another man to cultivate but he does not cultivate it and allows it to become wasteland, he shall measure out 720 silas of grain per 100 sars.

(B v 18–20) tukum-bi lú lú [...] a [(break of about 25 lines)]

¶ 33 If a man ... another man ...

(gap)

(B vi 1) [...] i-na-lá-e¹⁶

¶ 37 [...] he shall weigh and deliver to him.

(remainder broken)

Notes

1. The first publication of source C, Si. 277 (in Yıldız 1981), reported that the tablet came from the Sippar collection, although a Nippur provenience later was reported by V. Donbaz apud Lieberman 1989: 243.

2. For the passage, see Steinkeller 1987: 19 n. 1, with collation of P. Michalowski for C i 3 (= A iii 125, where the geographical name is lost in the break); the change to first person does not demand that the passage be assigned to King Shulgi.

3. The order of the final two of this group of five metrological standardizations is reversed in A and differs in some details.

4. Restored following suggestions offered by M. Civil.

5. C ii 34 incorrectly marks the subject and object markers—lú 1 udu-ra(for -e) lú 1 gud-e(for -ra); the clause is omitted in A.

6. The precise sense of the second clause in ¶ 5 is uncertain but probably deals with the inheritance rights to the master's estate of the child placed in service.

7. C reverses the order of ¶¶ 7 and 8; text follows C, although the order of the provisions follows A and B.

8. B: "the man shall kill that woman."

9. So C; B: é bi-gi₄ lú-bi "... deflowers ..., that man (shall weigh and deliver ...)."

10. C iv 98 ends the tablet with a catchline: tukum-bi nu-mu-su lú in-tuk "If a man marries a widow," either an error or evidence of a variant tradition.

11. So B; A: [2][+1? gin kù]-babbar.

12. Frymer-Kensky (1977: 138–44) understands the provision to deal with an accusation of sorcery (although the surrounding provisions all deal with accusations of sexual offenses). Interpretation of the provision is hampered by two uncertainties: first, the signs indicating the nature of the offense (accusation of which must be resolved by the River Ordeal) remain unclear; second, the coherence of the provision as suggested by the transcription is misleading: the bulk of the provision comes from Source A only (col. vi 270–278, end of column), and the final two lines

come only from Source B (col. ii 1-2) with a possible—but not certain—overlap at the line recording the monetary penalty (the traces at the beginning of A vii do not conflict with the readings in B, but could easily be reconciled with a number of other readings, see the previous note).

13. Kramer's numbering of the lines in B ii needs to be adjusted in accordance with Finkelstein's suggestion that U.7740 ii "36" follows immediately after U.7739 ii 37. The resulting provision in B is a single variant provision conflating the two in A (¶¶ 18 and 19), and reads tuk[um-bi] gir-pa[d-du] x [...] [...] x [in-t]a-ku₅ [x gin k]ù-àm [i-l]á-e "If ... he severs a bone ..., he shall weigh and deliver [x shekels] of silver."

14. Text (error) "he will not give him anything."

15. Different interpretations of this difficult provision are given by Finkelstein 1969a: 70, Römer 1982: 22, and Sauren 1990: 41–42.

16. Source B, which has four columns on the obverse, has inscribed signs on the reverse on only one column (B v) and on the first line of another (B vi 1), leaving blank almost three full columns.

Laws of Lipit-Ishtar (LL) (ca. 1930 B.C.E., Isin)

The royal authority behind this collection of laws is Lipit-Ishtar (r. 1934–1924), fifth ruler of the First Dynasty of Isin (founded after the collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur). Members of the dynasty ruled the city of Isin and consolidated military and political power in the cities of Lower Mesopotamia. Although political and military dominance in the region shifted to Larsa to the south soon after Lipit-Ishtar's reign, the city of Isin, which was a major cultic center for worship of the goddess of healing, continued to be an important cultic and strategic center throughout Mesopotamian history.

In Babylonia, from the end of the third millennium through the middle of the second, there was in use a sequential dating system involving "year names," formulaic statements commemorating an event of military or cultic importance during the preceding year and used to identify the year in all dated documents. One such year name in the reign of Lipit-Ishtar could include a reference to the erecting of the stela on which this composition was inscribed: "The year in which Lipit-Ishtar established justice in the lands of Sumer and Akkad." The commemoration in a year name of the king's act of justice is an indication of the importance of this royal responsibility.

About the Laws

A prologue, an epilogue, and almost fifty provisions are extant. The prologue includes a self-praise of Lipit-Ishtar's benevolence for all of Sumer and Akkad, lists the southern Mesopotamian cities under the care of his divinely sanctioned rule, and stresses his role as restorer of justice and the social order. The first laws securely identifiable with this collection deal with boats and are followed by laws dealing with agriculture, fugitive slaves, false testimony, foster care and apprenticeship, marriage and associated

property rights, and rented oxen. Each law provision is introduced by Sumerian *tukum-bi*, "if." The epilogue, after reiterating the fair application of justice under the rulership of Lipit-Ishtar, invokes blessings on any future king who honors and respects the monumental stela recording this composition and curses anyone who would desecrate or mutilate it.

The laws in this composition are concerned primarily with the free person (*lú*, "man"), which includes the child (*dumu*) in the context of adoption or apprenticeship and inheritance and the free-born or native son (*dumu-gi₇*), three categories of priestess or devotee (*nađitu*, *qadištu*, and *ugbaltu*), the wife (*dam*), and the first-ranking wife (*nitadam*). Insofar as the rights of the free person are affected, the laws also refer to the male and female slave (*arad* and *gēme*) and to the palace dependent or client (*miqtu*).

About the Sources

Almost all the sources for the LL come from Nippur, which had active scribal schools during the Old Babylonian period and from which archaeological excavations in this century have yielded rich cuneiform finds. Source R apparently comes from Kish, and source N from Sippar, both sites that have also yielded other law collections of the early second millennium B.C.E.

The LL is known from more than a dozen manuscripts,¹ but difficulties in reconstruction and placement of fragments remain. Thus, for example, the first provisions given here, identified as ¶¶a-g, might not belong to the composition at all. The large tablet which originally held the entire composition (sources B, C+H, and G, all from the same tablet although they cannot be physically joined) was thought by Steele to include ten columns on each side; in fact, there are the remains of wedges in a column to the right of the first well-preserved column on the reverse (Steele's "column XI"), and there were therefore at least eleven columns per surface.

Prologue

(i 1-19 [A i 1-19, B i 1'-2']) [ud An]-gal [a-a dingir-re]-ne-ke₄ [dEn]-lil [lugal kur-kur]-ra-ke₄ [en nam-tar]-re-dè [dNin]-i-si-na [dumu A]n-na-ra [nin s]un₅-na [nam-nir-gá]l-la-ni-še [ib-š]i-hul-la [i]gi-bar zalag-ga-ni-še mu-un-ši-in-¹gá-gá¹ ĩ-si-in^{ki} in-dub-ba An-né gar-ra-na bala ša₆-ga nam-lugal Ki-en-gi [Ki]-uri im-ma-an-sum-mu-uš-a

[When] great [god An, father of the gods], and the god Enlil, [king of the lands, the lord who determines] destinies, gave a favorable reign and the kingship of the lands of Sumer and Akkad to the goddess Ninisina, child of An, pious lady, for whose reign [...] rejoicing, for whose brilliant glance ..., in the city of Isin, her treasure house(?), established by the god An,

(i 20-37 [A i 20-ii 13, B i 3'-5']) ud-[ba] dLi-pi-it-Ištar sipa giš-tuku mu-pà-da dNu-nam-nir-ra nig-si-[sá] kalam-ma gá-gá-dè i-dUtu ka-ta ḥalam-e-dè nig-érim nig-á-zi giš-tukul gi₄gi₄-dè Ki-en-gi Ki-uri su-ba du₁₀-ge-dè An-né dEn-lil-le dLi-pi-it-Ištar nam-nun kalam-ma-še mu-un-pà-dè-eš-a-ba

At that time, the gods An and Enlil called Lipit-Ishtar to the princship of the land—Lipit-Ishtar, the wise shepherd, whose name has been pronounced by the god Nunamnir—in order to establish justice in the land, to eliminate cries for justice, to eradicate enmity and armed violence, to bring well-being to the lands of Sumer and Akkad.

(i 38-55 [A ii 14-iii 8]) ud-ba dLi-pi-it-Ištar sipa sun₅-na Nibru^{ki} engar zi Uri^{ki}-ma muš-nu-túm-mu Eridu^{ki}-ga en me-te Unu^{ki}-ga [lugal] ĩ-[si-in^{ki}]-na lu]gal Ki-e[n-gi Ki-uri š]à-ge-tú[m-a] dInanna-ka me-en inim dEn-lil-lá-ta nig-si-sá [Ki-e]n-gi Ki-uri [i-ni-i]n-gar-ra-aš

At that time, I, Lipit-Ishtar, the pious shepherd of the city of Nippur, the faithful husbandman of the city of Ur, he who does not forsake the city of Eridu, the befitting lord of the city of Uruk, the king of the city of Isin, king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad, the heart's desire of the goddess Inanna, by the command of the god Enlil, I established justice in the lands of Sumer and Akkad.

(ii 1-15 [A iii 9-23]) [ud-b]i-a [dumu-ni]ta dumu-munus [Nib]ru^{ki} [dumu-ni]ta dumu-munus [U]ri^{ki}-[ma] [du]mu-nita dumu-munus ĩ-si-in^{ki}-na [dumu]-nita dumu-munus [Ki-en]-gi Ki-uri [lú gú-b]i-a [šudul(?)] nam-arad [ḥu-m]u-ni-ib-ak [am]a-ar-gi₄-bi [ḥu]-mu-gar ki-bi-še ḥé-bi-dab₅

At that time, I liberated the sons and daughters of the city of Nippur, the sons and daughters of the city of Ur, the sons and daughters of the city of Isin, the sons and daughters of the lands of Sumer and Akkad, who were subjugated [by the yoke(?)], and I restored order.

(ii 16-24 [A iii 24-26, iv 1-6]) dub²-sag-ta ad-da dumu-ne-ne-er ḥu-mu-ne-en-il dumu ad-da-b[i-ir] ḥu-mu-ne-e[n-il] ad-da dumu-ne-[ne-da] ḥu-mu-ne-gub-b[a-àm] dumu ad-da-bi-[da] ḥé-eb-da-gub-ba-àm

With a ... decree(?) I made the father support his children, I made the child support his father. I made the father stand by his children, I made the child stand by his father.

(ii 25-40 [A iv 7-22, B ii 1'-5']) é ad-da é [šeš-šeš-a-ka] dū-a-[bi] ḥé-su₈-

I imposed service (equally) on the household of a living father and on

(v v 1-3) ugnim-ke₄ [x (x)]-gál-la [x x x]-ám ... (B vi 1-3) níg-gur₁₁ é ad-da x-x-ga-bi [...] ba ... (B vii 1-3) dumu GIRNITA dumu šà é-gal x-nu- [...] -ni

[ud-ba]

[...] the troops, ... (col. vi) ... the property of the paternal estate ... (col. vii) ... the son of the governor, the son of the palace official, ...

[At that time:]

Laws

(gap)

(P rev. ii' 2'-7') tukum-[bi] gud áb-ùr-ra lú [in-ḥun] mu 2-ám addi[r-šè] 8 še-gur in-na-ág-ág gud áb-sag murub₄ addir-[šè] 6 še-gur in-na-ág-ág

(P rev. ii' 8'-11') tukum-bi lú ba-ug₇ dumu-nita nu-un-tuku dumu-munus dam nu-un-du₁₂-a ibila-a-ni m[e-eš]

(P rev. ii' 12'-15') tukum-[bi lú ba-ug₇] dumu-munus-a-ni [...] níg-gur₁₁ é ad-da-na [...] nin₉ bàn-da murgu_x (LUM) é x [...]

(P rev. iii' 2'-6') tuku[m-bi ...] x dumu-munus lú-[ka i-ni-in]-ra níg-

¶ a If a man rents an ox for the rear of the team, he shall measure and deliver 2400 silas of grain for two years as its hire; if it is an ox for the front or middle, he shall measure and deliver 1800 silas of grain (for two years) as its hire.

¶ b If a man dies without male offspring, an unmarried daughter shall be his heir.

¶ c If [a man dies] and his daughter [is married(?)], the property of the paternal estate [...], a younger sister, after [...] the house [...]

¶ d If [a ...] strikes the daughter of a man and causes her to lose her

[...]

(gap)

(C xiii 9-11) x [...] má [...] má ib-[su-su]

(C xiii 12-23) tuku[m-bi] lú-ù má in-ḥun kaskal inim-dug₄^{du}-a in-na-an-gar [e-n]e kaskal-bi in-kúr ki-ba³ má-u₅ sa-gaz-šè ba-ak lú má i[n-ḥun-e] má i[b-su-su] ù [á-bi i-ág-e]

(C xiv 6-8) i-n[a-x ...] níg-ba-[ni-šè] ib-ba-a[n-sum-e]

(C xiv 9-22, R 1'-6') tukum-bi⁴ kiri₆ ni nu-kiri₆-ra ḥun-kiri₆ e₁₁-dè-dè in-na-an-sum nu-kiri₆-ke₄ lugal kiri₆-ra [...] in-da-gub-ba ^{giš}nimbar-ba igi-10-gál-bi-im zú-lum-bi in-da-gu₇-e

(C xiv 23-25, R 7') tukum-bi lú-ù [...]

(C xv 3-7, D i 1-11, E i 1-11) tukum-bi lú lú-ù kiri₆ giš gub-bu-dè kislāḥ in-na-an-sum kislāḥ-bi kiri₆ giš gub-

ga-[ām] ⁴Li-pi-it-Ištar dumu ⁴En-lil-lá me-en é ad-da é šeš-šeš-a-ka 70 hē-gub é guruš sag aša-ta itu-da ud 10-ām hē-gub [...] [...] [...] [...] dam-lú [...] dumu-lú [...] a [...]

the undivided household [of brothers]. I, Lipit-Ishtar, son of the god Enlil, obligated those in a household of a living father and in an undivided household of brothers to service for seventy (days per year), I obligated those in a household of dependent workers to service for ten days per month. ... the wife of a man ... the son of a man ... [(more than two columns lost)]

(B v 1-3) ugnim-ke₄ [x (x)]-gál-la [x x x]-ām ... (B vi 1-3) nig-gur₁₁ é ad-da x-x-ga-bi [...] ba ... (B vii 1-3) dumu GİR.NITÁ dumu ša é-gal x-nu [...] ni

[...] the troops, ... (col. vi) ... the property of the paternal estate ... (col. vii) ... the son of the governor, the son of the palace official, ...

[ud-ba]

[At that time:]

Laws

(gap)

(P rev. ii' 2'-7') tukum-[bi] gud áb-ūr-ra lú [in-hun] mu 2-ām addi[r-šē] 8 še-gur in-na-ág-ág gud áb-sag murub₄ addir-[šē] 6 še-gur in-na-ág-ág

¶ a If a man rents an ox for the rear of the team, he shall measure and deliver 2400 silas of grain for two years as its hire; if it is an ox for the front or middle, he shall measure and deliver 1800 silas of grain (for two years) as its hire.

(P rev. ii' 8'-11') tukum-bi lú ba-ug₇ dumu-nita nu-un-tuku dumu-munus dam nu-un-du₁₂-a ibila-a-ni m[e-eš]

¶ b If a man dies without male offspring, an unmarried daughter shall be his heir.

(P rev. ii' 12'-15') tukum-[bi lú ba-ug₇] dumu-munus-a-ni [...] ní-gur₁₁ é ad-da-na [...] nin₉ bān-da murgu_x (LUM) é x [...]

¶ c If [a man dies] and his daughter [is married(?)], the property of the paternal estate [...], a younger sister, after [...] the house [...]

(P rev. iii' 2'-6') tuku[m-bi ...] x dumu-munus lú-[ka i-ni-in]-ra ní-g-

¶ d If [a ...] strikes the daughter of a man and causes her to lose her

ša-[ga-n]a šu mu-u[n-da-an-lá] ½ ma-na [kà-babbar i-lá]-e

fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.

(P rev. iii' 7'-8') tukum-b[i b]a-ug₇ nita-bi i-[gaz]-e

¶ e If she dies, that male² shall be killed.

(P rev. iii' 9'-13') tukum-bi x-x géme lú-ka i-ni-in-ra ní-g-ša-ga-na šu mu-un-da-an-lá 5 gin kù-[babbar i-lá]-e

¶ f If a ... strikes the slave woman of a man and causes her to lose her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 5 shekels of silver.

(P rev. iii' 14'-15') tukum-[bi ...] x x [...]

¶ g If [...]

(gap)

(C xiii 9-11) x [...] má [...] má ib-[su-su]

¶ 4 [If ... the] boat [is lost], he shall [replace] the boat.

(C xiii 12-23) tuku[m-bi] lú-ù má in-hun kaskal inim-dug₄^{du}-a in-na-an-gar [e-n]e kaskal-bi in-kúr ki-ba³ má-u₅ sa-gaz-šē ba-ak lú má i[n-hun-e] má i[b-su-su] ù [á-bi i-ág-e]

¶ 5 If a man rents a boat and an agreed route is established for him, but he violates its route and the boat ... in that place—he has acted lawlessly; the man who rented the boat shall replace the boat and [he shall measure and deliver in grain its hire].

(C xiv 6-8) i-n[a-x ...] ní-g-ba-[ni-šē] ib-ba-a[n-sum-e]

¶ 6 [...] he shall give as his gift.

(C xiv 9-22, R 1'-6') tukum-bi⁴ kiri₆-ni nu-kiri₆-ra hun-kiri₆ e₁₁-dè-dè in-na-an-sum nu-kiri₆-ke₄ lugal kiri₆-ra [...] in-da-gub-ba ⁸ni⁸mbar-ba igi-10-gál-bi-im zú-lum-bi in-da-gu₇-e

¶ 7 If he leases his orchard to a gardener in an orchard-lease, the gardener shall plant [...] for the owner of the orchard, he (the gardener) shall have the use of the dates from one-tenth of the palm trees.

(C xiv 23-25, R 7') tukum-bi lú-ù [...]

¶ 7a If a man [...]

(C xv 3-7, D i 1-11, E i 1-11) tukum-bi lú-lú-i kiri₆ giš gub-bu-dè kislāh in-na-an-sum kislāh-bi kiri₆ giš gub-

¶ 8 If a man gives another man fallow land for the purpose of planting an orchard but he does not

bu-dè nu-ni-in-til lú kiri₆ in-gub-ba
šà ḥa-la-ba-na-ka kislāḥ ba-ra-ab-
tag₄-a in-na-ab-sum-mu

(C xv 8-14, D i 12-15, E i 12-15)
tukum-bi lú-ù kiri₆ lú-ka i-in-e₁₁
nam-nú-zuḥ-šè ba-dab₅ 10 gín kù-
babbar i-lá-e.

(C xv 15-19, D i 16-20, E i 16-18)
tukum-bi lú-ù kiri₆ lú-ka giš in-siḡ
1/3 ma-na kù-babbar i-lá-e

(D i 21-ii 13, E ii 1-15) tukum-bi lú
é-e ús-sa-ni kislāḥ lú al-tag₄ lugal é-
a-ke₄ lú kislāḥ-ra kislāḥ-zu al-tag₄ é-
mu lú i-bùr-dè é-zu kala-ga-ab
in-na-an-dug₄ inim ka-keš-du-bi un-
da-an-ge-en lugal kislāḥ-a-ke₄ lugal
é-a-ra nig-ù-gu-dé-a-ni in-na-ab-su-
su

(D ii 14-22, E ii 16-18) tukum-bi
géme arad lú-ù šà-uru-ka ba-zāḥ é
lú-ka 1 itu-ām i-tuš-a ba-an-ge-en
sag sag-gin₇ ba-ab-sum-mu

(D ii 23-iii 2, E iii 4-7) tukum-bi sag
nu-tuku 15 gín kù-babbar i-lá-e

(C xvi 1-4, D iii 3-13, E iii 8-17)
tukum-bi arad-lú-ke₄ lugal-a-ni-ir
nam-arad-da-ni ba-an-da-gur lugal-

complete the planting of the
orchard, they shall give the fallow
land which he neglected to one
who is willing to plant the orchard
as his share.

¶ 9 If a man enters the orchard of
another man and is seized there for
thievery, he shall weigh and deliver
10 shekels of silver.

¶ 10 If a man cuts down a tree in
another man's orchard, he shall
weigh and deliver 20 shekels of sil-
ver.

¶ 11 If a man—adjacent to whose
house another man has neglected
his fallow land—if this house-
holder declares to the owner of the
fallow land: "Your fallow land has
been neglected; someone could
break into my house. Fortify your
property!" and it is confirmed that
this formal warning was given, the
owner of the fallow land shall
restore to the owner of the house
any of his property that is lost.

¶ 12 If a man's female slave or male
slave flees within the city, and it is
confirmed that the slave dwelt in a
man's house for one month, he (the
one who harbored the fugitive
slave) shall give slave for slave.

¶ 13 If he has no slave, he shall
weigh and deliver 15 shekels of sil-
ver.

¶ 14 If a man's slave contests his
slave status against his master, and
it is proven that his master has

a-ni-ir nam-arad-da-ni a-rá 2-ām un-
ge-en arad-bi al-búr-e

(C xvi 5-8, D iii 14-17, E iii 18-21)
tukum-bi mi-iq-tum nig-ba lugal-
kām nu-ub-da-an-kar-re

(C xvi 9-15, D iii 18-25, E iv 1-8)
tukum-bi mi-iq-tum ni-te-a-ni-ta lú-ù
un-ši-gen lú-bi nu-un-tag-tag ki ša-
ga-na-šè ḥa-ba-gen

(D iv 1-9, E iv 9-18) tukum-bi lú lú-
ù á nu-gar-ra-ta inim nu-zu-ni in-da-
lá lú-bi nu-un-ge-en inim in-da-lá-a
nam-i-ni-tag-ba ib-il-e

(D iv 10-22, E iv 19-20) tukum-bi
lugal é-a ù nin é-a-ke₄ gú-un é-a in-
šub-bu-uš lú kúr-e in-il mu 3-kám-
ma-ka nu-ub-ta-è-e lú gú-un é-a
in-il-la é-bi ba-an-tùm lugal é-a-ke₄
inim nu-um-gá-gá-a

(B xvi 1'-9', D iv 23-24) tukum-bi
lugal é-a-ka [...] ... in-da-a[n-x]

(B xvi 10'-14') tukum-bi lú-ù dumu
túl-ta šu ba-ra-an-kar giri-[na šu bi-
in-ti ...]

been compensated for his slavery
two-fold, that slave shall be freed.

¶ 15 If a *miqtu*-person is a gift of the
king, he will not be appropriated.

¶ 16 If a *miqtu*-person goes (into
service) to a man of his own free
will, that man will not restrict(?)
him, but he (the *miqtu*) shall go
wherever he wishes.

¶ 17 If a man, without grounds(?),
accuses another man of a matter of
which he has no knowledge, and
that man does not prove it, he shall
bear the penalty of the matter for
which he made the accusation.

¶ 18 If the master or mistress of an
estate defaults on the taxes due
from the estate and an outsider
assumes the taxes, he (the master)
will not be evicted for three years;
(but after three years of defaulting
on the taxes) the man who has
assumed the tax burden shall take
possession of the estate and the
(original) master of the estate will
not make any claims.

¶ 19 If the master of the estate [...]

¶ 20 If a man rescues a child from a
well, he shall [take his] feet [and
seal a tablet with the size of his
feet (for identification).⁵]

(gap)

(N ii 1') ud x x lú á-è-a

¶ 20a ... when ... fosterage.

(N ii 2'-5') tukum-bi lú-ù dumu á-è-[a] á-kala-ni-gin₇ nu-bulug-[e-dè] igi di-kud-dè-šè un-ge-en ama tu-du-na ba-an-ši-gur-ru

¶ 20b If a man does not raise the son whom he contracted to raise in an apprenticeship, and it is confirmed before the judges, he (the child) shall be returned to his birth mother.

(N ii 6'-8') [tukum-bi lú]-ù dumu-munus á-è-[a ...]-x-na-a-e-na [...]

¶ 20c If a man [does not raise] the daughter whom he contracted to raise [...]

(gap)

(B xvii 1'-11') [tukum-bi ...] in-du₁₂ nig-ba é ad-da-na-ka ba-an-na-ba-a ibila-ni-im ba-an-tumu [...] (O rev. i' 1'-6') [tukum-bi ...] dam-e ba-an-sum nig-ba é ad-da-na-ka ba-an-na-ba-a šeš-a-ne-ne nu-um-da-ba-e-ne ù [...]

¶ 21⁶ (B) [If ...] marries, the (marriage) gift which is given by(?) her/his paternal estate shall be taken for her/his heir. [...] (O) [If ...] is given to a wife, her/his brothers will not include for division (among their inheritance shares) the (marriage) gift which had been given by(?) her/his paternal estate, but [...]

(B xvii 12'-18') tukum-bi ad-da ti-la dumu-munus-a-ni-ir nin-dingir lukur ù nu-gig hé-a ibila-gin₇-nam é i-ba-e-ne

¶ 22 If, during a father's lifetime, his daughter becomes an *ugbaltu*, a *naditu*, or a *qadištu*, they (her brothers) shall divide the estate considering her as an equal heir.

(B xvii 19'-20', M ii 5-9) tukum-bi dumu-munus é ad-da-ka ti-la dam-ra la-ba-[an-sum] šeš-a-ne-ne dam-ra in-na-an-sum-mu

¶ 23 If a daughter is not given in marriage while her father is alive, her brothers shall give her in marriage.

(M ii 10-18) [tu]kum-bi [nam]-arad in-tuku [x]-a-x ba-ug₇ [...] lú kúr-e [...] ... [...a]n-tuku-tuku-a [...]

¶ 23a If he takes a slave [...] he dies [...] an outsider [...] marries(?) [...]

(M ii 19-20) [tuku]m-bi [lú]-ù [...]

¶ 23b If a man [...]

(B xviii 1'-5', F i 1-13, J ii' 1'-7') [tuku]m-bi [dam eg]ir-ra [ba-a]n-

¶ 24 If the second wife whom he marries bears him a child, the

du₁₂-a [du]mu in-ši-in-tu-ud sag-rig₇ é ad-da-na-ta mu-un-túm-ma dumu-na-ka dumu dam-nitadam ù dumu dam-egir-ra nig-gur₁₁ ad-da-ne-ne téš-a si-ga-bi i-ba-e-ne

dowry which she brought from her paternal home shall belong only to her children; the children of the first-ranking wife and the children of the second wife shall divide the property of their father equally.

(B xviii 6'-19', F i 14-25, J ii' 8'-19', O ii' 1'-7') tukum-bi lú-ù dam in-du₁₂ dumu in-ši-in-tu-ud dumu-bi i-ti ù géme lugal-a-ni-ir dumu in-ši-in-tu-ud ad-da-a géme ù dumu-ne-ne ama-ar-gi₄-bi in-gar dumu géme-ke₄ dumu lugal-a-na-ra é nu-un-da-ba-e

¶ 25 If a man marries a wife and she bears him a child and the child lives and a slave woman also bears a child to her master, the father shall free the slave woman and her children; the children of the slave woman will not divide the estate with the children of the master.

(B xviii 20', F i 26-ii 6, G xix 11-12, J ii' 20', M iii 1', O ii' 8'-9') [tuk]um-bi [dam]-nitadam-a-ni [ba]-ug₇ [eg]ir dam-a-na-ta [géme]-ni nam-dam-šè [ba-a]n-du₁₂-du₁₂ [dumu] dam-nit[adam-a-na] ibi[la-a-ni i-me-en] dumu géme lugal-a-ni-[ir] in-ši-in-tu-ud dumu dumu-gi₇-gin₇-nam é-a ni ib-düg-g[e]

¶ 26 If his first-ranking wife dies and after his wife's death he marries the slave woman (who had borne him children), the child of his first-ranking wife shall be his (primary) heir; the child whom the slave woman bore to her master is considered equal to a native free-born son and they shall make good his (share of the) estate.

(F ii 7-25, G xix 13-17, M iii 2'-8') tukum-bi lú-ù dam-a-ni dumu nu-un-ši-in-tu-ud kar-kid-da tilla-a dumu in-ši-in-tu-ud kar-kid-ba še-ba i-ba sig-ba-ni in-na-ab-sum-mu dumu kar-kid-dè in-ši-in-tu-ud-da ibila-ni i-me-en ud dam-a-ni a-na-ti-la-aš kar-kid dam-nitadam-ra é-a nu-mu-un-da-an-tuš

¶ 27 If a man's wife does not bear him a child but a prostitute from the street does bear him a child, he shall provide grain, oil, and clothing rations for the prostitute, and the child whom the prostitute bore him shall be his heir; as long as his wife is alive, the prostitute will not reside in the house with his first-ranking wife.

(B xix 1'-8', F ii 26-iii 6, J iii 1'-6', L i 1'-5') tukum-bi lú-ù dam-nitadam-a-ni igi-ni ba-ab-gi₄ ù šu ba-an-lá-lá é-ta nu-ub-ta-è dam-a-ni dam

¶ 28 If a man's first-ranking wife loses her attractiveness or becomes a paralytic, she will not be evicted from the house; however, her hus-

galam-na ba-an-du₁₂-du₁₂ dam-egir-ra dam-nitadam in-il-il

(B xix 9'-19', F iii 7-20, J iii 7'-20', L ii 1'-2') tukum-bi mi-ús-sá-tur é ur₇-ra i-in-ku₄ nig-mi-ús-sá in-ak egir-bi-ta im-ta-an-è-eš dam-a-ni ku-li-ni-ir ba-na-an-sum-mu-uš nig-mi-ús-sá in-túm-a-ni in-na-ab-tab-e-ne dam-bi ku-li-ni nu-un-du₁₂-du₁₂

(B xix 20'-29', F iii 21-iv 5, J iii 21'-iv 8, L ii 3'-4', K iii 1'-5') tukum-bi guruš dam-du₁₂ kar-kid-dè tilla-a in-du₁₂-ám kar-kid-bi-ir nu-un-ši-gur-ru-da di-kud-e-ne in-na-an-eš egir-bi-ta dam-nitadam dam-a-ni ba-an-tag₄ kù dam-tag₄-a-ni ù-na-an-sum kar-kid-bi nu-un-du₁₂-du₁₂

(F iv 6-14, G xx 1'-7', J iv 9-19, K iii 6'-12') tukum-bi ad-da ti-la dumu igi-na ša₆-ga nig-ba in-na-an-ba kišib in-na-an-sar egir ad-da ba-ug₇-a-ta ibila-e-ne é ad-da i-ba-e-ne ha-la-ba-a nu-un-gá-gá-ne inim ad-da-ne-ne a-a nu-un-ne-ne

(G xx 8'-16', J iv 20-22, L iii 1'-6') tukum-bi ad-da ti-la dumu šeš gal-a-ni-ir nig-mi-ús-sá in-na-a[n-sum] igi ad-da ti-l[a-še] dam ba-an-du₁₂ egir ad-da [ba-ug₇-a-ta] ibila-[e-ne] é-a x [...] é ad-[da-ta] nig-mi-ús-[sa] in-x [...] nig-mi-ús-[sa ...]

(B xx 1') [...] -x-ne

band may marry a healthy wife,⁷ and the second wife shall support the first-ranking wife.⁸

¶ 29 If a son-in-law enters the household of his father-in-law and performs the bridewealth presentation, but later they evict him and give his wife to his comrade, they shall restore to him twofold the bridewealth which he brought, and his comrade will not marry his wife.

¶ 30 If a young married man has sexual relations with a prostitute from the street, and the judges order him not to go back to the prostitute, (and if) afterwards he divorces his first-ranking wife and gives the silver of her divorce settlement to her, (still) he will not marry the prostitute.

¶ 31 If a father, during his lifetime, gives his favored son a gift for which he writes a sealed document, after the father has died the heirs shall divide the (remaining) paternal estate; they will not contest the share which was allotted, they will not repudiate their father's word.

¶ 32 If a father, during his lifetime, designates the bridewealth for his eldest son and he (the son) marries while the father is still alive, after the father has died the heirs [shall ...] the estate [...] from the paternal estate [...] the bridewealth they shall [...] the bridewealth [...]

¶ 32a [...]

(B xx 2'-8') [tuk]um-bi dumu-munus lú é nu-gi₄-a giš i-zu lú ba-ab-dug₄ giš nu-un-zu-a un-ge-en 10 gín kù-babbar i-lá-e

(B xx 9'-13') tukum-bi lú-ù gud in-ḥun sa-sal-KU-a bi-in-sil igi-3-gál šám-ma-kám i-lá-e

(B xx 14'-17', L iv 1'-2') tukum-bi lú-ù gud in-ḥun igi-bi in-ḥul šu-ri-a šám-ma-kám i-lá-e

(B xx 18'-21', L iv 3'-6', S 1'-4') tukum-bi lú-ù gud in-ḥun si-bi ib-ta-an-kud igi-4-gál šám-ma-kám i-lá-e

(B xx 22'-26') tukum-bi lú-ù gud in-ḥun kun-bi ib-ta-an-kud-ru igi-4-gál šám-ma-kám i-lá-e

(G xxi 1-4, J v 1'-3', K iv' 1'-4') [tukum-bi ...] in-ak [...] -e [...] i-l]á-e

¶ 33 If a man claims that another man's virgin daughter has had sexual relations but it is proven that she has not had sexual relations, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.

¶ 34 If a man rents an ox and cuts the hoof tendon, he shall weigh and deliver one-third of its value (in silver).

¶ 35 If a man rents an ox and destroys its eye, he shall weigh and deliver one-half of its value (in silver).

¶ 36 If a man rents an ox and breaks its horn, he shall weigh and deliver one-quarter of its value (in silver).

¶ 37 If a man rents an ox and breaks its tail, he shall weigh and deliver one-quarter of its value (in silver).

¶ 38 [If a man ...], he shall weigh and deliver (in silver).

Epilogue

(xxi 5-17 [G xxi 5-17, J v 4'-17', K iv' 5'-11']) [inim gli-na «Utu-ta [Ki]-en-gi Ki-uri di gi-na hé-bi-dab₅ ka-ta-è «En-lil-la-ta «Li-pi-it-Ištar dumu «En-lil-lá me-en nig-érim nig-á-zi dug₄-ge hé-mi-gi ér a-nir i-«Utu di-bi nig-gig-ga hé-ni-ku₄ nig-zi nig-gi-na pa-è hé-mi-ak su Ki-en-gi Ki-uri ḥu-mu-du₁₀ [...]

In accordance with the true word of the god Utu, I made the lands of Sumer and Akkad hold fair judicial procedure. In accordance with the utterance of the god Enlil, I, Lipit-Ishtar, son of Enlil, eradicated enmity and violence. I made weeping, lamentation, shouts for justice, and suits taboo. I made right and truth shine forth, and I brought well-being to the lands of Sumer and Akkad. [...]

(xxi 36–48 [B xxi 1'–14', L vi 1'–7', M v 1'–13']) [...] kal-la [...] ... sag gi₆ ud tag-ga-ba ud nig-si-sá Ki-en-gi Ki-uri i-ni-in-gar-ra-a na₄-bi ki hé-im-ma-ni-tag lú á nig-hul dí-m-ma nu-ub-ši-ág-gá-a nig-dím-ma-mu nu-ub-zí-ri-a mu-sar-ra-ba šu bi-ib-úr-a mu-ni li-bi-ib-sar-ri-a nam-ti zi ud-sù-gál sag-e-eš hé-rig₇-ga É-kur-ra gú an-šè hé-ni-in-zi sag-ki zalag-ga En-lil-lá-ka an-ta hé-ib-gi₄

(xxi 49–60 [B xxi 15'–26']) lú á nig-hul dí-m-ma íb-ši-ág-gá-a nig-dím-ma-mu íb-zí-ri-a é-nig-gur₁₁-ra i-ni-ku₄-ku₄ ki-gub-ba-bi íb-kúr-ru-a mu-sar-ra-ba šu bi-ib-úr-ru-a mu-ni bi-ib-sar-re-a [áš-bala-ba]-ke₄-eš lú kúr [šu ba-a]n-zi-zi-a lú-bi lugal h]é-a [en hé]-a [ù lú énsi hé-à ...]

(gap)

(xxii 6–16 [G xxii 1'–9', S rev. 1–7]) [...] dumu-sag En-lil-lá-ke₄ [nu]-un-da-an-te numun¹ na-an-ni-ku₄ [...] ... ne kalag-ga numun [...] tukul-a ba-an-da-an-kar [é-a]-na ú-mu-na-ni-in-ku₄ [ibila]-a-ni nam-me [...] Ašnan Sumukan [en hé-g]ál-la-ke₄-ne [an k]i-a ba-an-da-an-[kar²]-r]e-eš

(gap)

(xxii 34–52 [B xxii 1'–19']) [...] En-lil-[lá] nig-ba-a É-kur-[ra] il-la-na

[...] all humankind. When I established justice in the lands of Sumer and Akkad, I erected this stela. He who will not do anything evil to it, who will not damage my work, who will <not> efface my inscription and write his own name on it – may he be granted life and breath of long days; may he raise his neck to heaven in the Ekur temple; may the god Enlil's brilliant countenance be turned upon him from above.

(But) he who does anything evil to it, who damages my work, who enters the treasure room, who alters its pedestal, who effaces this inscription and writes his own name (in place of mine), or, because of this curse, induces an outsider to remove it—that man, whether he is a king, an *ēnu*-lord, or an ensi-ruler [... may he be completely obliterated ...]

May [...] the god [...], primary son of the god Enlil, not approach; may the seed not enter; ... the mighty one, the seed, ... May he who escapes from the weapon, after he enters (the safety of) his house, may he not have [any heirs]. May [the gods ...], Ashnan, and Sumukan, lords of abundance, [withhold(?) the bounty of heaven and] earth. [...]

May [...] the god Enlil [...] revoke the gift of the lofty Ekur temple.

inim hé-im-mi-ib-gi₄-gi₄ Utu di-kud-an-ki-ke₄ [x] inim mah-da [ha-b]a-an-da-an-kar [x] x-ma-na [x]-na-ni úr-bi [é]-a-ni-a mu-tum [x] x in-sar⁷ [ur]u^{ki}-bi du₆-du₆-ra hé-en-šed ma-da-na úr-bi na-an-gi-ni lugal-bi nam-me Nin-urta [ur]-sag kala-ga [dumu-En-l]il-la [hé]-sub-bé [...]

May the god Utu, judge of heaven and earth, remove the august word. [...] its foundation bring into his house(?) ... May he make his cities into heaps of ruins. May the foundations of his land not be stable, may it have no king. May the god Ninurta, mighty warrior, son of the god Enlil, [...]

(remainder broken)

Notes

1. There are two fragments of a stone stela that could be Lipit-Ishtar's original monument on which the laws were inscribed: Biggs 1969: 40 No. 49 and Legrain 1926: pl. 17 No. 47 (here source T) are nonjoining fragments that preserve narrative belonging to the prologue of this collection.
2. The term is used elsewhere in the law collections (nita in LU, *zikaru* in LH) to refer to the "other man," the "not-husband" who violates the husband's exclusive procreative rights by engaging in illicit sexual intercourse; by using the same term here (in ¶e and probably to be restored at the beginning of ¶d) to identify the man responsible for a miscarriage, the violation of the husband's rights is extended beyond the sexual act.
3. Text UD.
4. Var. adds lú-[ù], "(If) a man ..."
5. The restoration is based on *ana ittišu* III iii 39ff., in Landsberger 1937: 44–45, and see CAD Š/2 298 s.v. *šēpu* mng. 1a-5' and Leichty 1989: 349–56.
6. It is not clear whether manuscripts B and O preserve nonoverlapping (or variant) portions of one provision, or if these lines in O preserve a new provision.
7. Var. dam-2-kam-ma "a second wife."
8. Var. "he shall support the second wife and the first-ranking wife."

Laws of X (LX) (ca. 2050–1800 B.C.E.)

The text does not preserve the name of the ruler who might have commissioned the composition (Michalowski and Walker 1989: 386, 395).¹ It is possible that this is not a separate, new Sumerian law composition but the end of the Laws of Ur-Namma.

About the Laws

Fewer than twenty law provisions are preserved, each beginning with Sumerian *tukum-bi*, “if.” The often fragmentary laws deal with deposits; marriage; fees for physicians, weavers, and other craftsmen or laborers; loans and interest; and real estate sale and rental values. An epilogue records curses against any future ruler who damages or dishonors the monumental inscription recording the laws.

The surviving laws deal only with the free person (*lú*, “man”), including both the husband and wife (*dam*) and several professionals.

About the Sources

The text is extremely fragmentary, preserving only the lower portions of the three columns of the reverse face of the tablet, and has been put together from a number of quite small pieces. Michalowski and Walker did not assign numbers to the provisions, in the expectation that additional joins will further the restoration of the law collection or make its relationship to other surviving collections more certain. In recognition of the provisional state of this, the most recently recovered cuneiform law collection, I have assigned consecutive alphabetic sigla to the provisions, without regard

for column gaps; this assignment should make it easier to accommodate the improvements and reconstructions of future editions.

Laws

(rev. i' 1'–4') *tukum-bi lú-ù é lù [...]* é-a-ni x [...] *lugal še-ke₄ nam-érim [...]* kud] *lugal é-e-ke₄ še nig-gu NE x [...]*

¶ a If a man [...s] the house of another man, his house [...] the owner of the grain shall swear the assertory oath, and the owner of the house [shall ...] the grain.

(rev. i' 5'–8') *tukum-bi lú-ù é lú x [...]* x x-ke₄ [...] *ki-inim-ma x x [...]* *lugal é]-e-ke₄ še šà-bi x [...]*

¶ b If a man [...s] the house of another man, [...] testimony [...] the owner of the house [...] out of the grain [...]

(rev. i' 9'–10') [tu] *kum-bi lú-ù é lú-k[a ...]* ... *addir-bi [...]*

¶ c If a man [...s] the house of another man, [...] its rental [...]

(rev. i' 11'–12') [tuku] *m-bi munus-e dam-a-ni [...]* x *in-na-an-x da[m ...]* ḥa- [...]

¶ d If a woman [...s] her husband, the wife [...]

(rev. i' 13'–14') [tukum-b] *i lú-ù dam-a-[ni ...]* ...

¶ e If a man [...s] his wife [...]

(gap)

(rev. ii' 1'–2') *tu[kum-bi lú-ù ...]* a-zu i-[silim ...]

¶ f If [a man ...s and] a physician [heals him, ...]

(rev. ii' 3'–4') *tukum-bi l[ú-ù ...]* a-zu i-silim 5 *gi[n kù-babbar i-lá-e]*

¶ g If a man [...s and] a physician heals him, [he shall weigh and deliver] 5 shekels [of silver].

(rev. ii' 5'–6') *tukum-bi x x x [...]* a-zu i-silim 4 [gin kù-babbar i-lá-e]

¶ h If [a man ...s and] a physician heals him, [he shall weigh and deliver] 4 shekels [of silver].

(rev. ii' 7'–8') *tukum-bi x [...]* a-zu i-silim 1 *g[in kù-babbar i-lá-e]*

¶ i If [a man ...s and] a physician heals him, [he shall weigh and deliver] 1 shekel [of silver].

(rev. ii' 9'-10') *gēmeuš-bar tan₄-tan₄-na á ud 1-a-ka-ni [...]* *gēmeuš-bar x-x-x-da á ud 1-a-ka-ni [...]*

(rev. ii' 11'-13') [...] *x á-bi 2 (bán) š[e-àm] x á-bi 6 sila š[e-àm] x x [...]* *x á-bi 1 (bariga) 1 (bán) še-àm*

(rev. ii' 14'-16') *tukum-bi munus-lúkurun-na-àm 1 dugU.S.A.K.A.NI lú-ra in-na-an-sum [ud] ebur-ke₄ 5 (bán) še [šu ba-ab-te-g]á*

(rev. ii' 17'-19') *tukum-bi lú [lú-ra] 1 še gur ur₅-ra-še [in-na-an-sum] mu 1-àm máš-bi [1 (nigida) 4 (bán) še-àm]*

(rev. ii' 20'-22') *tukum-bi lú l[ú-ra] 10 gin kù-babbar ur₅-ra-š[è in-na-an-sum] mu 1-àm máš-bi [2 gin kù-babbar-àm]*

(rev. ii' 23'-24') *tukum-bi lú x [...] ...*
[...]

(gap)

(rev. iii' 1'-2') [...] *x-gin₇-nam-[...]*

(rev. iii' 3'-4') [*tuku*]m-bi 1 sar é-[...] *lú in-sa₁₀ kù]-bi [x gin kù-babbar-àm]*

(rev. iii' 5'-6') [*tuk*]um-bi 1 sar KI-[*x lú in-sa₁₀ kù-bi 1 gin kù-bab[bar-àm]*]

(rev. iii' 7'-8') [*tuku*]m-bi 1 sar é-dù-[*a ...*] *x-e lú in-ḥun 1 gin kù-babbar i-l[á-e]*

¶ j A female weaver who launders(?), her hire for one day [is ...]; a female weaver who ...-s, her hire for one day [is ...]

¶ k [...] his/her hire is 20 silas of grain; [...] his/her hire is 6 silas of grain; [...] his/her hire is 70 silas of grain.

¶ l If a woman innkeeper gives one of her vats (of beer on credit) to a man, [she shall receive] 50 silas of grain at the harvest.

¶ m If a man [gives another man] 300 silas of grain as an interest-bearing loan, its interest rate per annum is [100 silas in grain (= 33%)].

¶ n If a man [gives] another man 10 shekels of silver as an interest-bearing loan, its interest rate per annum is [2 shekels in silver (= 20%)].

¶ o If a man [...]

¶ p [...]

¶ q If [a man purchases] one-sar of a (...)house, its [price is x shekels of silver.]

¶ r If [a man] purchases one sar of [...]land, its price is 1 shekel of silver.

¶ s If a man rents one sar of a roofed-over area [...], he shall weigh and deliver 1 shekel of silver.

Epilogue

(rev. iii' 9'-14') [*lú mu*]-sar-ra-ba šu bi-ib-ur-ru-a mu-ni bi-ib-sar-re-a [áš-bal]-ba-ke₄-eš lú kúr šu ba-an-zi-zi-a <<[*lú mu-s*]ar-ra-ba šu bi-ib-ur-ru-a mu-nu x-x in-na-ab-[x]-x>> [*lú*]-bi lugal ḥé-a en ḥé-a énsi ḥé-àm [...] x x x x ḥé-eb-ta-dag-dag

He who effaces this inscription and writes his own name (in place of mine), or, because of this curse, induces an outsider to remove it, <<...>>²—that man, whether he is a king, an *ēnu*-lord, or an ensi-ruler, [...] may he be completely obliterated.

(rev. iii' 15'-20') [*uru*]-ni uru ⁴En-lil nu-še-ga ḥé-a [*abu*]la uru-na-ke₄ gál [(x)] tag-tag [x (x)] guruš uru-na igi-nu-du₈ ḥé-me-eš [x (x)] ki-sikil uru-na ù nu-tu-du-[e]-eš [x (x)] uru-na-ke₄ ⁴En-ki ⁴Iškur ⁴Aš[*nan*] [inim] maḥ ⁴En-lil-lá-ka [x] x x [x] [(10 lines fragmentary)]

May his city be a city despised by the god Enlil; may the main gate of his city be left open (and undefended). May the young men of his city be blind; may the young maidens of his city be barren. May the [...] of his city <be ... by> the gods Enki, Ishkur, and Ashnan. [May] the mighty word of the god Enlil [curse him ...]

Notes

1. The suggestions and alternate readings proposed by Lieberman (1992: 130 with n. 18), upon which he based his conclusion that the tablet records not a royal law collection but rather a scholastic compilation of clauses and paradigms (comparable to SLHF) are not supported by collation.

2. A repetition with variation of the first clause ("he who erases this inscription and writes his own name"), probably a scribal error. A different and appealing interpretation is offered by Lieberman (1992: 130 n. 18), but not supported beyond doubt by collation.

Laws about Rented Oxen (LOx) (ca. 1800 B.C.E., Nippur)

About the Laws

A number of student exercise tablets include extracts from a series of laws dealing with issues of liability involving injury to or loss of rented oxen. The laws in this scholastic exercise reflect considerations similar to those found in groups of provisions within larger collections: LL ¶¶ 34–37, LH ¶¶ 244–49, HL ¶¶ 72–78, the SLHF col. vi, SLEx ¶¶ 9'–10' (and obverse i 36–ii 2), and in "Ai. IV Appendix" (Landsberger 1937: 68–69). It appears that there was a self-contained series consisting of such legal provisions that circulated independently of the larger and more formal collections, and, with its repetitive language and limited subject matter, lent itself to student copying and memorization. Each provision begins with the Sumerian *tukum-bi*, "if."

About the Sources

The student exercise tablets that preserve the Ox Laws permit a secure sequencing of the provisions for ¶¶ 1–4, ¶¶ 5–7, and ¶¶ 8–9; however, there is room for additional provisions between ¶ 4 and ¶ 5, and it is not certain that ¶¶ 8–9 belong to the composition.

(A 1', B 1'–4') *tuk[um-bi] gud igi-bi i[b-ta-an-ḫul] šu-ri šā[m-ba-ka] i-l[á-e]*

¶ 1 If he (the renter) destroys the eye of the ox, he shall weigh and deliver one-half of its value (in silver).

(A 2'–5', B r. 1–5, E 1'–2') *tuk[um-bi] gud si-bi ib-t[a-an]-kud igi-3-gál šām-b[a-ka] i-lá-e*

¶ 2 If he (the renter) cuts off the horn of the ox, he shall weigh and deliver one-third of its value (in silver).

(A 6', E 3'–5') *tukum-bi gud sa-sal-bi ib-ta-an-síl' igi-4-gál šām-ba-ka i-lá-e*

¶ 3 If he (the renter) severs(?) the hoof tendon of the ox, he shall weigh and deliver one-quarter of its value (in silver).

(E 6'–7') *tukum-bi gud kun-bi ib-ta-an-kud [igi-x-gál šām-ba-ka i-lá-e]*

¶ 4 If he (the renter) cuts off the tail of the ox, [he shall weigh and deliver one-... of its value (in silver)].

(gap)

(C r. 1'–4', D 1'–3') *tu[kum-bi gud] x-[bi ib-ta]-an-[x] igi-4-g[ál] šām-ba-[ka] i-lá-e*

¶ 5 If he (the renter) [...]s the ... of the ox, he shall weigh and deliver one-quarter of its value (in silver).

(A r. 1'–5', C r. 5'–8', D 4'–8') *tukum-bi gud id-da bal-da-bi gud ba-ug₇ šām til-la-bi-šē i-lá-e*

¶ 6 If an ox dies while crossing a river, he (the renter) shall weigh and deliver (silver) according to its full value.

(A r. 6'–9', C r. 9'–12', D 9'–11') *tukum-bi gud ^{gi}šudun gid-da-bi ur-maḫ-e ba-an-gaz nu-ub-[su-su]*

¶ 7 If a lion kills a yoked ox engaged in pulling (a plow or wagon), he (the renter) will not replace (the ox).

(gap)

(F 1–3) *tukum-bi gud an[še(?) ...] ki-ba ur-maḫ-e [ba-an-gaz] [nu]-ub-[su-su]*

¶ 8 If a lion kills an ox or an ass(?) [...] in that place, he (the renter) will not replace (the ox).

(F 4–7) *[tu]kum-bi [...] x x bal' [...] igi-[x-gál šām-ba-ka] i-[lá-e]*

¶ 9 If [...] crossing(?) [...] he shall [weigh and deliver] one-[... of its value (in silver)].

A Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet (SLEx) (ca. 1800 B.C.E.)

About the Laws

The composition is the product of a scribal school's training and was written—either copied or taken from dictation—by an intermediate student named Bēlshunu. The provenience of the tablet is not known. The composition is commonly cited by Assyriologists by reference to the publication of the autograph copy of the cuneiform tablet in the Yale Oriental Series, as YOS 1 28.

The ten provisions on the legible reverse involve cases of bodily injury resulting in miscarriage, violation of contracted use, repudiation of adoption, rape, and injury to rented oxen. Each provision is introduced by Sumerian *tukum-bi*, “if” (for which also see further below). Other legal situations are referred to on the unpublished fragmentary obverse, which originally had three columns, now effaced and mostly illegible. The signs or phrases that can be understood refer to a range of cases: *gār-ra i-dā-a nam-kū-ga in-na-an-sum*, “he marked him with a slave-hairdo, he sold him for silver” (i 5–6); *nam-lugal-la-ni-še i-ág-e*, “he shall measure and deliver grain to its owner” (i 18–19). A few casuistic clauses, either contractual clauses or complete law provisions, also can be read: *tukum-bi kišib ū-gu ba-an-dé nagar-e-ne gaz-e-dè ...*, “if he has lost a seal, the herald [shall announce] that it is invalid ...” (i 20–23; see Roth 1979: 54); [*tukum-bi*] *gud ū-gu ba-an-dé gud gud-gin₇ bi-ib-su-su*, “if he has lost an ox, he shall replace ox for ox” (i 37–ii 2; cf. Ox Laws in this volume); *tukum-bi má má-laḥ₄ ...*, “if a boat man [...s] a boat ...” (ii 7–8); *tukum-bi é a-ša ...*, “if a house (or) a field ...” (iii 2–3); *10 gín kū-babbar i-lá-e*, “he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver” (iii 17). Although the entire text is replete with ambiguities and mistakes, not all of which can be eliminated by a modern editor, the assortment of provisions decipherable on the reverse reflects situations known from the formal law

collections as well as from contracts; for example, ¶¶ 5 and 6 offer alternate repudiation clauses for an adoption contract.

The extant provisions on the reverse deal only with the free person (*lú*), including the free woman (*dumu-munus lú*, “daughter of a man”); the slave (*arad*) is mentioned only in the context of private property, and also on the poorly preserved obverse (see above).

The tablet closes with an invocation for the patron deities of the scribal arts, Nisaba and her consort Haja. Such blessings are not usually found on tablets written in Nippur or Ur, the major tablet-yielding sites of the early second millennium.

About the Source

The less-than-professional character of the tablet is revealed by the repetitive copying and recopying of selected basic phrases. For example, in the middle of the first column, the scribe tried to write *tukum-bi*, the Sumerian word translated here “if,” which begins each casuistically formulated provision in all the Sumerian law collections. *tukum-bi* is a compound logogram composed of the five signs *ŠU.GARTUR.LÁ.BI*; three times the scribe wrote the compound defectively as *ŠU.GARLÁ.BI* (i 11–13). To reinforce his mastery of the correct sequence of signs, he later wrote *ŠU.GARTUR.LÁ.BI* again three times (ii 17–19). The well-preserved reverse of the tablet, although easier to read, is still obviously the work of a scribe-in-training and not the polished product of the accomplished professional.

For consistency, the paragraph numbering here follows that established by Finkelstein (1969c), but the reader must be aware that the largely indecipherable obverse also included legal provisions, and that ¶ 1' is the first preserved provision on the reverse and not the first of the composition.

Laws

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (iv 1–5) <i>tukum-bi dumu-munus lú zag an-ús nig-ša-ga-ni a im-šub-šub¹ 10 gín kū-babbar i-lá-e</i> | ¶ 1' If he jostles the daughter of a man and causes her to miscarry her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver. |
| (iv 6–10) <i>tukum-bi dumu-<munus> lú ba-an-sig nig-ša-ga-ni a im-šub-šub^{1/3} ma-na kū-babbar i-lá-e</i> | ¶ 2' If he strikes the daughter of a man and causes her to miscarry her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver. |
| (iv 11–18) <i>tukum-bi kaskal dug₄-ga-ni in-ri-bal má ū-gu ba-an-dé en-na</i> | ¶ 3' If he alters his agreed route and thus causes the loss of the boat, |

má e-gibil₄ á-bi ba-ma-ta nam-lugal-la-a-ni-še i-ág-e

until he restores the boat he shall measure and deliver one-half of its hire in grain to its owner.

(iv 19–29) tukum-bi ad-da-ni ù ama-ni nu ad-da-mu nu ama-mu ba-an-dug₄ é a-ša kiri₆ arad-arad nig-gur₁₁-ra íb-ta-è-a ù kù-bi šám til-la-a-ni-še in-na-ab-sum-mu

¶ 4' If he (the adopted son) declares to his father and mother, "You are not my father," or "You are not my mother," he shall forfeit house, field, orchard, slaves, and possessions, and they shall sell him for silver (into slavery) for his full value.

(iv 30–33) ad-da-ni ù ama-ni nu dumu-[mu]-meš ba-an-na-ab-dug₄ ub' é-ta bar-ra-è-a

¶ 5' (If) his (adoptive) father and mother declare to him, "You are not our son," they shall forfeit ... the estate.

(iv 34–v 2) tukum-bi ad-da-ni ù ama-ni nu dumu-mu-meš [x-x]-x-dug₄ [é íb-t]a-è-a

¶ 6' If his (adoptive) father and mother declare [to him], "You are not our son," they shall forfeit [the estate].

(v 3–15) tukum-bi dumu-munus lú e-sir-ra é im-gi ad-da-ni ù ama-ni nu-ba-an-zu-uš ka-ar-ab-du₆ «nam ad-ni ù ama-e»³ i-dug₄-e ad-da-ni ù ama-ni nam-dam-ni-še in-na-ab-sum-mu

¶ 7'⁴ If he deflowers in the street the daughter of a man, her father and her mother do not identify(?) him, (but) he declares, "I will marry you"—her father and her mother shall give her to him in marriage.

(v 16–25) tukum-bi dumu-munus lú e-sir-ra(text: da) é im-gi ad-da-ni ù ama-ni ba-an-zu-uš lú é-im-gi in-zu in-kúr ká dingir-ra x-[x] in-¹pàd

¶ 8' If he deflowers in the street the daughter of a man, her father and her mother identify(?) him, (but) the deflowerer disputes the identification(?)—he shall swear an oath ... at the temple gate.

(v 26–31) tukum-bi gud nigin-nigin-na ur-mah e-gu₇-e gaba-ri nam-lugal-la-ni-še íb-ri-ri

¶ 9' If a lion devours a wandering ox, the misfortune falls to its owner.

(v 32–vi 1) tukum-bi gud nigin-nigin-na gud ú-gu ba-an-dé gud gud-gin₇ [bi-ib-su-su]

¶ 10' If a wandering ox is lost, he (the renter) shall replace ox for ox.

Colophon

(vi 1') [(...)] 60+ 130 mu-bi-im [(...)] 190 is the number of its lines.⁵

(vi 2'–3') ti-la ^dNisaba ù ^dHaja-ia (This copy of the composition is dedicated for the scribe's well-being (to) the goddess Nisaba and (her consort) Haja.⁶

(vi 4'–5') ¹šū Be-el-šū-nu [...] x x Personally written by (the scribe) Bēlshunu [son of ...].⁷

Notes

1. The Sumerian expression seems to refer to premature rupture of the amniotic membrane.

2. The last sign of v 9 (collated) is almost certainly du₆, and I take this for *ga-ra-ab-du₁₂.

3. The entire line (v 10) is deleted here, as a scribal error confusing the following lines.

4. The translations of ¶¶ 7' and 8' given here differ considerably from previous attempts at understanding these difficult provisions; see also Finkelstein 1966: 365.

5. Each column ends with a line subtotal; for the columns of the obverse the subtotals are written on the lower edge: column i is broken but should have counted about 37 lines; column ii indicates 41 lines, although the column actually has only 36; column iii indicates 37 lines. On the published reverse the subtotals indicate 37 and 35 lines respectively for columns iv and v; column vi, which only included a few lines (now eroded) of the body of the text, would have had no more than five to eight lines. Thus the restored total of 190 is probable.

6. See Hallo 1976: 195 n. 98.

7. See Hunger 1968: 29 No. 38.

Sumerian Laws Handbook of Forms (SLHF) (ca. 1700 B.C.E.)

About the Laws

This late Old Babylonian prism is a Sumerian compendium of contracts and contractual clauses, legal provisions comparable to those found in the law collections, and isolated phrases such as might be found in Old Babylonian contracts. The compendium was recorded by an accomplished scribe, and displays professional organization and care.

The situations considered in the contractual clauses and provisions include: manumission, oaths, theft, house sales and leases, rape, marriage, adoption, heirship and apprenticeship, agricultural offenses and leases, violation of contracted use, damage to rented boats and oxen, slaves, and debt pledges. The law provisions and some contractual clauses are introduced by Sumerian *tukum-bi*, "if," as in the other Sumerian law collections; other contractual clauses that relate narrative events, and isolated formularies or verbal clauses, have no such marked beginning.

The provisions include reference to the free person (*lú*), including both the husband and wife (*dam*), to the foster or adopted child (*dumu*), and to the female slave (*géme*); although no term for male slave is preserved, the manumission procedure in column ii certainly refers to male as well as female slaves.

About the Source

The four-sided prism (approximately 19.5 centimeters in height, with three columns on each face), which is in the collection of Philadelphia Free Library, was purchased from dealers in the early part of the twentieth century, and no information relating to excavation or provenience is available.

One face of the prism is eroded beyond reconstruction; there is no preserved indication of an initial or final column, and the numbering of the columns here begins for convenience with the first preserved column.¹ Although this edition translates continuous and coherent sections into "paragraphs," such divisions are not rendered on the prism itself. In some cases, the units are clear from the context of the clauses or law provisions, but often the units are determined solely by the limits of preservation and decipherment.² Because of the varied and fragmentary nature of the preserved text, the translations are marked by the column and line numbers rather than by the alphabetical or numerical notations used elsewhere in this volume.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (i 1-3) [...] x-ni [x-(x)]-du ₈ [ba]-an-du ₈ | (i 1-3) ... he released |
| (i 4-5) [x]-x-x-zalag [in-n]i-in-BU ⁷ | (i 4-5) ... |
| (i 6-8) [in]-pàd [in-p]àd-dè-eš [i]n-pàd-dè-eš | (i 6-8) He swore. They swore. They swore. |
| (i 9-11) [in]-tag ₄ [in]-na-an-tag ₄ [in]-dadag | (i 9-11) He left. He left him. He cleared. |
| (i 12-22) [x-(x)]-KA [x]-x-x [x]-x-al-U ³ [x-x]-bi-x-x [x-x-(x)] lugal ⁷ [x-x]-àm [x]-x-a-NE [x-x]-x-x [x-x]-ku ₅ -da [x-x]-in-x-[x] [x-x]-x-[x-x] [...] | (i 12-22) ... |
| (gap) | |
| (ii 1-3) til[la ₅] uru ^{ki} -na-ka si gù ba-ni-in-ra | (ii 1-3) In the streets of his city, he (the herald) sounded the horn. |
| (ii 4-6) kišib-a-ni sag-ki-ir táb-e-dè in-na-an-[ne]-eš | (ii 4-6) They ordered him to kiln-fire(?) (i.e., validate?) his document (of manumission) regarding (his) forehead. |
| (ii 7-9) sag-ki-ni in-dadag giš-giri-ni in-du ₈ dug-a-ni in-gaz | (ii 7-9) He cleared his forehead, he released his foot fetters, he smashed his pot. |
| (ii 10-13) ama-ar-gi ₄ -ni in-gar ù | (ii 10-13) He established his free- |

- kišib in-dadag-ga-ni in-na-an-tag₄ dom, and he executed for him the document of his having cleared him.
- (ii 14) x-a-ni in-BIR (ii 14) He ...-ed his ...
- (ii 15-18) é a-ša nig-gur₁₁ ù ^{giš}šu-kára a-na-me-a-bi ba-ra¹-è-dè (ii 15-18) He shall forfeit house, field, possessions, and utensils, as much as there may be.
- (ii 19-20) ù¹ [kù-š]è [ba-an-sum-mu-uš] (ii 19-20) And they sold him for silver.
- (ii 21-25) [tuk]um-bi¹ [inim-gá]l-la [ba]-an-tuku inim-gál¹la¹bi ba-ni-ib-gi₄gi₄ (ii 21-25) If there is a claim, he shall satisfy the claim.
- (ii 26-31) ù ^{min}min₆-e ugu [u]gu-na [u]gu-na in-tuku [u]gu-na [l]i-bi-in-tuku (ii 26-31) And double. Against. Against him. He has a claim against him. No one shall have a claim against him.
- (ii 32-33) [in]im-inim-ni¹ba-an¹-sum (ii 32-33) He promised him.
- (ii 34-36) kišib-ba¹-a-ni [na₄]kišib dili [n]a₄kišib didli-ta (ii 34-36) His document (or: seal). A single document (or: seal). Every individual document (or: seal).
- (ii 37-38) [lu]gal¹-e gaz-dè [ba]-an-sum (ii 37-38) The king(?) delivered him up to be killed(?).
- (ii 39-42) [bi]-ib-diri [nam]-ba-lá [hè-i]b-diri [ha-b]a-lá (ii 39-42) It may be more but not less. It may be more or it may be less.
- (ii 43-45) [mu luga]l-bi [x-x]-x [in]-pàd (ii 43-45) He swore ... by the name of the king that.
- (iii 1-2) [...] x [...] (iii 1-2) ...
- (iii 3-5) dili-[e-eš] mu-luga[l-bi] in-pàd-[dè-eš] (iii 3-5) They swore jointly by the name of the king that.

- (iii 6-7) téš-bi [mu-lugal-bi] in-pàd¹-[dè-eš] (iii 6-7) They swore together by the name of the king that.
- (iii 8-9) téš-a [sè-ga] i-ba-e-[ne] (iii 8-9) They shall divide equally.
- (iii 10-12) tukum-bi ^{giš}má in-zu_h su¹-šè³ min h[é-tab-b]é (iii 10-12) If he steals a boat, he shall double (its value) as compensation.
- (iii 13-15) tukum-bi ša_h i-zu_h su¹-šè min h¹é-tab-e (iii 13-15) If he steals a pig, he shall double (its value) as compensation.
- (iii 16-17) ud-na-me-ka é-mu nu-ub-bé-a (iii 16-17) He shall never, at any time in the future, declare "It is my house."
- (iii 18-19) iz-zi dal-ba-na šu-ne-ne aš-àm (iii 18-19) They share responsibility for the common wall.
- (iii 20-23) iz-zi dal¹ba-na¹ 2½ ninda uš-bi [x] kùš dagal-bi 1½ ninda s[ag-bi] (iii 20-23) The common wall measures 30 cubits as its length, [x] cubits as its width, 18 cubits as its height.
- (iii 24-25) ni-t[e-ni-ta] in-dag¹ù¹ [in-dù] (iii 24-25) He tore down and rebuilt (the wall) by himself.
- (iii 26-31) mu ni-te-ni-[ta] in-dag ù in-dù-a nam-á-kùš-a iz-zi dal-ba-na 1½ gin kù-babbar in¹na¹-an¹-sum¹ (iii 26-31) Because he tore down and rebuilt (the wall) by himself, he (the second party) gave him 1½ shekels of silver for the maintenance expenses for the common wall.
- (iii 32-38) ud-kùr¹šè¹ é-gin₇-nam¹ nu-dim-me-«en» ^{giš}gag nu-ub-dù-e ^{giš}ur-ra nu-ub-gi-na nu-mu-un¹na-ab¹-bé-a (iii 32-38) (In consideration of the sum received, the first party swore) that in the future he will not declare to him (the second party) that he may not build any structure such as a house, that he may not drive in a nail, that he may not place a beam in position (on the common wall).

- (iii 39-47) tukum-bi ni-x-x ni-x-hu
bi-ib-x-àm al-dù-e an-x-àm <x> sar
[é]-dù-a ^{giš}[x-x]-da ^{giš}ig x-x-x
- (iv 1-9) [...] x [...] é inim nu^lgá-gá
inim nu-gá-gá-dè é-mu nu-ub-bé-a
- (iv 10-11) a bi-in-gi₄ egir a bi-in-gi₄
- (iv 12-14) hul ba-an-gig kù dam-tag₄
i-lá-e
- (iv 15-16) ^{tùg}siki-ni in-kud
- (iv 17-18) [dam] h^é-en-du₁₂-du₁₂
dam-mu nu-ub-bé-a
- (iv 19-20) dam ša-ga-ni-še [i^l-ni-ib-
sum-mu
- (iv 21-22) [nam-dam^l-še [in^l-du₁₂
- (iv 23-24) mu-lugal-la-ka-ni in-pàd
- (iv 25-26) nam-dumu-ni-še ba-da-ri
- (iv 27-28) nam-ibila-ni-še in-gar
- (iv 29-30) nam-á-è-ni-še nam-bùlug-
gá-ni-še
- (iv 31-34) ibila 5-àm h^é-gál-le-eš
ibila 1-gin₇-nam i-ba-e-ne
- (iii 39-47) If ... <x> sar of a built-up
house plot, a wooden ..., a door,...
- (iv 1-9) ... house. He will not raise a
claim. He will not raise a claim. He
will not declare that "It is my
house."
- (iv 10-11) He deflowered her. After
he deflowered her.
- (iv 12-14) He despised her. He shall
weigh and deliver a divorce settle-
ment in silver.
- (iv 15-16) He cut her hem.
- (iv 17-18) (Another man) shall
marry her; he (the first husband)
will not declare that "She is my
spouse."
- (iv 19-20) He gave her in marriage
to a spouse of her choice.
- (iv 21-22) He married.
- (iv 23-24) He swore by his "name-
of-the-king" oath.
- (iv 25-26) He has adopted him as
his son.
- (iv 27-28) He has established him
as his heir.
- (iv 29-30) Into the status of foster
child. Into the status of apprentice-
foster child.
- (iv 31-34) Should there be even five
heirs, they shall divide as one heir
(i.e., as equal heirs).

- (iv 35-41) tukum-bi lú-ù a-šà^l lú ùr-
ra a i-ni-in-kud-ré a-šà a ba-an-dé še
ús-sa-du-ni-še bi-ib-si-ge
- (iv 42-v 11) tukum-bi lú-ù [g]^{is}m[á i-
hun] [kaskal^l dug₄g[a-ni] in-na-a[n-
gar] e-ne kaskal-b[i] in-kùr ki-ba
^{giš}má ba-su ù sa-ga[z-še] ba-an-ak^l
^{giš}má bi-ib-su^l-su ù á-bi i-ág-e
- (v 12-20) tukum-bi lú-ù ^{giš}má [i]-hun
^{giš}x-[x-(x)-t]a ^{giš}KA-[x-(x)-d]a ba-an-
[zi-i]r šu-ri-[(x)]-a šám-ba-[(x)]-kam
i^llá-e^l
- (v 21-26) tukum-b[i] ^{giš}má ba-su
^{giš}má bi-ib-su-s[u] ù á-bi kar-bi-še
bi-ib-gur-re
- (v 27-31) tukum-bi ^{giš}má ru-ru-gú
^{giš}má diri-ga ba-su ^{giš}má bi-ib-su-su
- (v 32-36) tukum-bi ^{giš}má diri-ga
^{giš}má ru-ru-gú ba-su ^{giš}má nu-ub-su-
su
- (v 37-44) tukum-bi lú-ù má «má»-
lah₅-ra mu 1-kam ^{giš}má-ni ba-an-
[kés^l ki-ulutin-bi^lšē] á^lbi^l i^lág^l-e
- (v 45) 1 gud á ùr^lra^l
- (iv 35-41) If a man diverts water
into a field that a man has harrowed
and floods the field, he shall replace
the grain according to (the yields of
the fields of) his neighbors.
- (iv 42-v 11) If a man rents a boat
and his agreed route is established
for him, but he violates its route
and the boat sinks in that place—
thus he has acted lawlessly; he
shall replace the boat and he shall
measure and deliver in grain its
hire.
- (v 12-20) If a man rents a boat, and
he destroys the wooden ... and the
wooden ..., he shall weigh and
deliver one-half of its value in sil-
ver.
- (v 21-26) If the boat sinks, he shall
replace the boat and return its hire
to the quay.
- (v 27-31) If an upstream-boat sinks
a downstream-boat, he (the cap-
tain/owner of the upstream-boat)
shall replace the (lost) boat.
- (v 32-36) If a downstream-boat
sinks an upstream-boat, he (the
captain/owner of the downstream-
boat) will not replace the (lost)
boat.
- (v 37-44) If a man commits his boat
to a boatman for one year, he (the
boatman) shall measure and deliver
in grain its hire at the completion
of its term.
- (v 45) One ox for the rear of the
team.

- (vi 1-10) [...] (vi 1-10) ...
- (vi 11-15) t[ukum-bi] gud [x-bi] i[b'-x-x-x] igi-4-[gál] i-lá-[e] (vi 11-15) If he (the renter) [...] (damages)] the ... of an ox, he shall weigh and deliver one-quarter of its value in silver.
- (vi 16-22) tuku[m-bi] gud-da-r[i-a] dag¹gi²-ta² giš³giš³-šē in-ku⁴ ur-mah-[e] in-g[az] gud nu-ub-s[u-su] (vi 16-22) If a reserve(?) ox enters(?) the canebrake from the protected area(?) and a lion kills it, he (the renter) will not replace the ox.
- (vi 23-31) [tu]ku[m-bi] [g]ud [id]-d[a] [bal]-e-d[è] ba-[u]g⁷ gud bi-ib-[s]u-su gud silim-[ma] [ù á-bi] ur⁵-bi-šē bi-ib¹gur-re¹ (vi 23-31) If an ox dies while crossing a river, he (the renter) shall replace the ox; he shall return a healthy ox together with its compensatory hire.
- (vi 32-36) tukum¹bi¹ gud giš³šudun¹-ta ur-mah-e in-gaz gud nu-ub¹su¹ (vi 32-36) If a lion kills a yoked ox, he (the renter) will not replace the ox.
- (vi 37-39) nam-érim ku⁵-ru-¹dam¹ ba-an-sum-mu-uš (vi 37-39) They handed him over to swear an assertory oath.
- (vi 40-42) ki nam-érim-ma im-me-gur-ru ba-an-na-dug⁴ (vi 40-42) He declared to him that he returned from the place of the assertory oath.
- (vi 43-48) kù nu-mu-un-¹sa⁶-ge¹ mu kù nu-mu-un-da-an-x-(x) ¹sum¹-mu-¹dam¹ ¹kù¹-pad-¹du¹ ¹x-x¹ nu-mu-un-tag²-tag²-g[e²] [š]i-bi-ir-tum-[m]a⁴ (vi 43-48) He did not satisfy him for the silver. Since he did not ... the silver. It is given. Unprocessed lump(s) of silver. ... he did not ... Unprocessed lump(s) of silver.
- (vii 1-12) [...] [...] -nu [...] -x-ga [...] [é¹]-mu [...] -x-en (vii 1-12) ... "My house" ...
- (vii 13-27) [ba-an]-¹na¹-dug⁴ [...] -x-ni-ta [...] -ra² [...] -x [...] [...] ug[u¹ ...] [i]b-r[a-x-x]-x [b]a-a[n-x-x]-x x-x-[x]-x b[a-da]-[an²]-du⁸ [x]¹nam-x-x¹-ni-šē [x]-ga-[x-x-r]a [...] -x [...] -r]a (vii 13-27) He shall say to him ...

- (vii 28-30) [...] géme ¹A-lí-ba-aš-ti mu-ni (vii 28-30) ... slave woman, Ali-bašti is her name.
- (vii 31-33) id-da a-rá 1-kam pú-ta a-rá 2-kam ¹a¹ bi-ib-tag⁴-tag⁴ (vii 31-33) In(?) the river once, in(?) the river twice, he shall ... her with water.
- (vii 34-36) ¹/₃ ma-na siki éš-gar nam-munus-a al²-x hē-e (vii 34-36) 20 shekels of wool, the assigned work quota of "womanhood" ...
- (vii 37-45) máš²-ta-àm àm-ur⁵-re àm-NI hē-e x-x-x-x-x [...] -x [...] -x [...] -an (vii 37-45) Interest(?) ... Accrues as interest ...
- (viii 1-2) [x-(x)]-bi [x]-x-e (viii 1-2) ...
- (viii 3-10) [t]ukum-¹bi¹ [ba]-¹ug⁷ [ba-an]-záh-a ¹ú¹-gu ba-an-dé ù tu-ra ba-an-TU á-giš-gar-ra-ni-šē bi-ib-si²-ge (viii 3-10) If she (the pledge) dies, flees, disappears, or falls ill, he (the debtor) shall compensate in full for her assigned work quota.
- (viii 11-15) géme ù kù-babbar igi-ne-ne-du⁸ ud kù mu-un-tùmu-da géme-ni ¹ba-an¹-tùmu (viii 11-15) The slave woman (as pledge) and the silver (owed as debt) are considered equal; when he brings the silver, he shall retrieve his slave woman.
- (viii 16-19) [na]m-uru⁴-lá-šē ¹á mu ú-a-šē¹ [i]gi-¹4-gál¹-šē ib-ta-an-è (viii 16-19) He leased for cultivation at the rate of one-quarter of the annual crop.
- (viii 20-21) kù máš a-šà-ga-ke⁴ šà-ga-ni al-düg (viii 20-21) He (the lessor) has been satisfied with the silver for the portion of the rent of the field paid in advance.
- (viii 22-25) išin²(PA².ŠE²) a-šà-ga gál-la-bi lugal a-šà-ga-ke⁴ mu-¹un¹-dab⁵ (viii 22-25) The owner of the field has taken the crops of the field while on the stalk, as much as there may be.
- (viii 26-30) ud e[bur]-ka še [a-š]à-ga (viii 26-30) At the time of the har-

gál-la-¹bi¹ šà igi-4-gál-ka i-bu-re-
m[a]

vest, he shall take(?) one-quarter of
the grain of the field, as much as
there may be.

(viii 31-34) lugal a-ša-ga-ke₄ nig-gál-
¹la¹ é-g[al] é saḥar ¹a-ša¹-g[a] ba-ni-
¹ib¹-[gi₄-gi₄]

(viii 31-34) The owner of the field
is responsible for maintaining the
property belonging to the palace
and the earthworks of the field.

(viii 35-43) tuku[m-bi] a-ša a x [...] ù
x [...] 10 gin [kù-babbar] x-x[...] a x
[...] KA [...]

(viii 35-43) If the field, water ... and
10 shekels [of silver] ... water ...

(ix 1-11) é-[dù-a] ½ ninda 1 [kùš] al-
[bal-e] egir-b[i x-(x)] kislāḥ-[bi x]
sila dag[al-la x] da é [PN] ki ¹ī-[¹ī-x-x-
ta] lugal é-[ke₄] ¹Giri-ni-[i-sa₆] in-ši-
in-s[a₁₀]

(ix 1-11) A built-up house plot—7
cubits; a second story; its rear ...; its
threshing floor ...; the main thor-
oughfare ...; adjacent to the house
of [so-and-so]—Girini-isa pur-
chased from Ili-..., the owner of the
house.

(ix 12-14) 1½ ¹ma¹-na kù-bab[bar]
šām ¹ti¹-la-bi-šè in-na-an-lá

(ix 12-14) He weighed and deliv-
ered to him 90 shekels of silver, its
full price.

(ix 15-25) ud-kúr-šè ud-na-me-a-
k[a] ¹ī-¹ī-x-[x] ibi[la]-ni ù [...] ù [x]-x-
[x]-x-x é x-[x]-x-[x] kù² ¹ù¹-[x-x]
nu-na-a[b]-bé¹-a¹ ¹mu lugal-bi¹ ¹in-
pàd¹

(ix 15-25) He (the seller) has sworn
by the name of the king that, at any
time in the future, Ili-..., his heirs,
and ... and ... will not declare that
the house [was not sold] nor (that)
the silver [was not paid].

(remainder of column ix and columns x-xii broken)

Notes

1. Column i includes verbal paradigms recalling the verbal paradigms with which
ana ittišu begins (see Landsberger 1937) and providing support on contextual
grounds for this column as the "beginning" of the prism.

2. There is a single incised line following vii 12, and a double incised line appears
to follow ix 25.

3. Text: BA-šè.

4. The Akkadian translates Sumerian kù-pad-du.

Translations

B. Babylonian

Laws of Eshnunna (LE) **(ca. 1770 B.C.E., Eshnunna)**

The date of the collection is determined by the fragmentary date formula at the beginning of Source A, which probably refers to events in one year of the reign of Dadusha, a ruler of the kingdom of Eshnunna. During the Old Babylonian period, Eshnunna's influence extended beyond the city on the Dijala River (modern Tell Asmar) and into Assyria to the north and Babylonia to the south, becoming one of the greatest powers in the region. Dadusha was an earlier contemporary of King Hammurabi of Babylon, and his kingdom eventually fell to Hammurabi and the expanding Babylonian empire.

About the Laws

The composition as known from the extant sources has no prologue or epilogue. In beginning with a date formula in Sumerian, the composition recalls the introductions to the Old Babylonian royal edicts and remissions (*mīšaru*-edicts), recurrent enactments, at irregular intervals, which canceled private debt obligations in order to implement economic reforms (see Kraus 1984). The association with economic measures is further enhanced by the silver and grain values for basic commodities in the first two sections, the wage and price standards for services and equipment, and the silver and grain interest rates. A similar economic motivation is found in the prologue of the Laws of Ur-Namma.

In addition to these economic measures, the composition includes provisions that deal with numerous situations, including renters' liability, agricultural matters, theft, pledges, deposits and loans, debt servitude, marital rights and property and sexual offenses, fosterage and care for children of dependent classes, bodily injuries, fugitive slaves, goring oxen and vicious dogs, and collapsing walls.

The provisions are introduced in a number of ways, including (most often) *šumma*, "if" ("If a man ..."), the relative formulation *awīlum ša* ("A man who ..."), the apodictic statement ("A merchant ... will not accept ..."), and the variously formulated statements of prices and hires.

The only source that preserves the end of the composition shows that the last column concluded with a blank section (about the space of six to eight lines) in which a scribe could have placed a colophon or self-identification (as in the final column of SLE_x).

The principal class with which the laws are concerned, the free person (*awīlu*), includes both men and women (*mār awīlim* and *mārat awīlim*); reference is also made to the wife (*aššatu*) and to the child (*māru*). The laws also refer to a secondary class of person, the commoner (*muškēnu*), and to the male and female slave (*wardu* and *amtu*) of free persons and of the palace (*ekallu*). Three categories of persons are mentioned whose status is uncertain but who occupy a place outside of the usual social order: the *ubarū*, the *naṭṭaru*, and the *mudū*. Special attention is given to the merchant or creditor (*tamkāru*) and to the woman innkeeper (*sābītu*).

About the Sources

Two large cuneiform tablets, excavated at Tell Harmal (ancient Shadup-pum) in the 1945 and 1947 seasons, preserve nearly complete copies of the collection of legal rules. A third witness to the collection (Source C), a student exercise tablet recording extracts from the laws, was excavated in the early 1980's during salvage operations conducted in the Hamrin Basin at Tell Haddad.

There is a double line incised between the introductory lines 1-7 and the first provision beginning in line 8; otherwise, however, the tablets do not mark divisions between the provisions, and in fact a new provision might begin even midline; furthermore, the three sources do not configure the lines and provisions identically. The provision numbers given here follow those used in the accepted standard publications; when provisions previously kept separate are understood as a single unit, the union is represented by a single slash (e.g., ¶ 17/18); when provisions previously viewed as one are separated, the separation of the subsequent portion is represented with the addition of "A" (e.g., ¶ 18A, ¶ 47A).

Superscription

(A i 1-7) [...] ud-21-kam [...] ^dEn-lil-lá ^dNin-a-zu [...] nam-lugal ^Ēš-nun-na^{ki} x-a é-ad-da-a-ni-šè [...] x-ra-ām ^{Šu}-pu-ur-^dUtu^{ki} [...] x-bal-ri-a ^dIḏiglat [...] mu-1-kam ^{gi}štukul-kalag-ga ba-an-dib

[...] day 21 [...] of the gods Enlil and Ninazu, [when Dadusha ascended to] the kingship of the city of Eshnunna [and entered] into the house of his father, [when] he conquered with mighty weapons within one year the cities Šupur-Shamash [and ... on] the far bank of the Tigris River [...].

Laws

(A i 8-17) 1 kur še'um ana 1 šiqil kaspim 3 qa šaman rūštim ana 1 šiqil kaspim 1 (sūt) 2 qa šamnum ana 1 šiqil kaspim 1 (sūt) 5 qa nāḥum ana 1 šiqil kaspim 4 (sūt) ittūm¹ ana 1 šiqil kaspim 6 mana šipātum ana 1 šiqil kaspim 2 kur ṭabtum ana 1 šiqil kaspim 1 kur uḫūlum ana 1 šiqil kaspim 3 mana erūm ana 1 šiqil kaspim 2 mana erūm epšum ana 1 šiqil kaspim

¶ 1 600 silas of barley (can be purchased) for 1 shekel of silver. 3 silas of fine oil—for 1 shekel of silver. 12 silas of oil—for 1 shekel of silver. 15 silas of lard—for 1 shekel of silver. 40 silas of bitumen—for 1 shekel of silver. 360 shekels of wool—for 1 shekel of silver. 600 silas of salt—for 1 shekel of silver. 300 silas of potash—for 1 shekel of silver. 180 shekels of copper—for 1 shekel of silver. 120 shekels of wrought copper—for 1 shekel of silver.

(A i 18-20) 1 qa šamnum ša nishātīm 3 (sūt) še'ušu 1 qa nāḥum ša nishātīm 2 (sūt) 5 qa še'ušu 1 qa ittūm ša nishātīm 8 qa še'ušu

¶ 2 1 sila of oil, extract(?)—30 silas is its grain equivalent. 1 sila of lard, extract(?)—25 silas is its grain equivalent. 1 sila of bitumen, extract(?)—80 silas is its grain equivalent.

(A i 21-23) ereqqum qadum alpīša u rēdīša 1 (pān) 4 (sūt) še'um idūša šumma kaspum ¹/₃ šiqil idūša kala ūmim ireddīši

¶ 3 A wagon together with its oxen and its driver—100 silas of grain is its hire; if (paid in) silver, ¹/₃ shekel (i.e., 60 barleycorns) is its hire; he shall drive it for the entire day.

(A i 23-24) idī elippim 1 kurrum 2 qa u [x] qa idī malabḥim kala ūmim ireddīši

¶ 4 The hire of a boat is, per 600-sila capacity, 2 silas; furthermore, [x] silas is the hire of the boatman; he shall drive it for the entire day.

(A i 25-26) *šumma malabḫum īgīma
elippam uttebbe mala utebbū umalla*

¶ 5 If the boatman is negligent and causes the boat to sink, he shall restore as much as he caused to sink.

(A i 27-28) *šumma awīlum ina nulāni
elippam la šattam iššabat 10 šiqil kas=
pam išaqqal*

¶ 6 If a man, under fraudulent circumstances, should seize a boat which does not belong to him, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.

(A i 28-29) 2 (sūt) *še'um idī ēšidim²
šumma kaspum 12 uttet idūšu*

¶ 7 20 silas of grain is the hire of a harvester; if (paid in) silver, 12 barleycorns is his hire.

(A i 29) 1 (sūt) *še'um idī zārī*

¶ 8 10 silas of grain is the hire of a winnower.

(A i 30-33) *awīlum 1 šiqil kaspam ana
ešēdim ana agrim [id]dinma šumma
rēssu la ukīlma [e]šēdam ešēdam³ la
ēšissu 10 šiqil kaspam [išaq]qal*

¶ 9 A man gave 1 shekel of silver to a workman for harvesting—if he (the workman) does not keep himself available to work and does not harvest for him, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.

(A i 33-34) 1 (sūt) 5 *qa idī niggallim u
kuzīrum [ana bēl]išuma itār*

¶ 9A 15 silas is the hire of a sickle, and the broken blade(?) shall revert to its owner.

(A i 34-35) 1 (sūt) *še'um idī imērim u 1
(sūt) še'um idī rēdišu kala ūmim
iredḏišu*

¶ 10 10 silas of grain is the hire of a donkey, and 10 silas of grain is the hire of its driver; he shall drive it for the entire day.

(A i 36-37) *idī agrim 1 šiqil kaspum 1
(pān) še'um ukullēšu warḫam ištēn illak*

¶ 11 The hire of a laborer is 1 shekel of silver, 60 silas of grain is his provender; he shall serve for one month.

(A i 37-40) *awīlum ša ina eqel
muškēnim ina kurullim ina mušlālim
iššabbatu 10 šiqil kaspam išaqqal [ša
ina mū]šim ina kurullim iššabbatu imāt
ul iballuṭ*

¶ 12 A man who is seized in the field of a commoner among the sheaves at midday shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver; he who is seized at night among the sheaves shall die, he will not live.

(A i 41-42, B i 4-7) *awīlum ša ina
bītim ša muškēnim ina bītim ina
mušlālim iššabbatu 10 šiqil kaspam
išaqqal ša ina mūšim ina bītim
iššabbatu imāt ul iballuṭ*

¶ 13 A man who is seized in the house of a commoner, within the house, at midday, shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver; he who is seized at night within the house shall die, he will not live.

(B i 8-9) *idī ašlākim 1 lubuštum 5
šiqil kaspam libilma 1 šiqil idūšu 10
šiqil kaspam libilma 2 šiqil idūšu*

¶ 14 The hire of a fuller, per one garment valued at 5 shekels of silver—1 shekel is his hire; (per one garment) valued at 10 shekels of silver—2 shekels is his hire.

(B i 10-11) *ina qāti wardim u amtīm
tamkārum u sābītum kaspam še'am
šipātim šamnam adi mādim ul
imaḫḫar*

¶ 15 A merchant or a woman innkeeper will not accept silver, grain, wool, oil, or anything else⁴ from a male or female slave.

(A ii 1, B i 12) *mār awīlim la zīzu u
wardum ul iqqīap*

¶ 16 The son of a man who has not yet received his inheritance share or a slave will not be advanced credit.

(A ii 2-3,⁵ B i 13-15) *mār awīlim ana
bīt emim terḫatam libilma šumma ina
kilallīn ištēn ana šīmtim ittalak
kaspum ana bēlišuma itār*

¶ 17 Should a member of the *awīlu*-class bring the bridewealth to the house of his father-in-law—if either (the groom or bride then) should go to his or her fate, the silver shall revert to its original owner (i.e., the widower or his heir).

(A ii 4-5, B i 16-18) *šumma iḫussima
ana bītišu īrub lu āḫizānu lu kallatum
ana šīmtim ittalak mala ublu ul ušeṣṣi
wataršuma ileqqe*

¶ 18 If he marries her and she enters his house and then either the groom or the bride goes to his or her fate, he shall not take out all that he had brought, but only its excess shall he take.⁶

(A ii 6-7, B i 19-20) 1 *šiqilum
IGL.6.GÁL u 6 uttet šibtam uššab 1 kur=
rum 1 (pān) 4 (sūt)⁷ šibtam uššab*

¶ 18A Per 1 shekel (of silver) interest accrues at the rate of 36 barleycorns (= 20%); per 300 silas (of grain) interest accrues at the rate of 100 silas (= 33%).

(A ii 8-9, B i 21-22) *awīlum ša ana*

¶ 19 A man who lends against its

*mehrišu inaddinu ina maškanim
ušaddan*

(A ii 10–13) *šumma awīlum še'am x x
x x x iddinma še'am ana kaspim
uštepīl ina ebūri še'am u šibassu 1
kurrum 1 (pān) 4 (sūt) ileqqe*

(A ii 13–15) *šumma awīlum kaspam
ana pānišu iddin kaspam u šibassu 1
šiqlum IGI.6.GAL u [6 uttet] ileqqe*

(A ii 15–18) *šumma awīlum eli awīlim
mimma la išūma amat awīlim ittepe
bēl amtīm nīš ilīm i[zakkar] mimma
elija la tīšū kaspam mala [šim(?)]
amtīm išaqqal*

(A ii 19–21) *šumma awīlum eli awīlim
mimma la išūma amat awīlim ittepe
nīpūtām ina bītišu iklāma uštāmīt 2
amātīm ana bēl amtīm iriab*

(A ii 23–25) *šumma mimma elišu la
išūma aššat muškēnim mār muškē-
nim ittepe nīpūtām ina bītišu iklāma
uštāmīt dīn napištīm nēpū ša ippū
imāt*

(A ii 26–28) *šumma awīlum ana bīt
emī issīma emušu ikšīšuma⁹ mārassu*

corresponding commodity(?) shall
collect at the threshing floor.

¶ 20 If a man loans ... grain ... and
then converts the grain into silver,
at the harvest he shall take the
grain and the interest on it at (the
established rate of 33%, i.e.,) 100
silas per 300 silas.

¶ 21 If a man gives silver for/to
his/its ..., he shall take the silver
and the interest on it at (the estab-
lished rate of 20%, i.e.,) 36 barley-
corns per 1 shekel.

¶ 22 If a man has no claim against
another man but he nonetheless
takes the man's slave woman as a
distress, the owner of the slave
woman shall swear an oath by the
god: "You have no claim against
me"; he (the distrainer) shall weigh
and deliver silver as much as is the
value(?) of the slave woman.

¶ 23 If a man has no claim against
another man but he nonetheless
takes the man's slave woman as a
distress, detains the distress in his
house, and causes her death, he
shall replace her with two slave
women for the owner of the slave
woman.

¶ 24 If he has no claim against him⁸
but he nonetheless takes the wife
of a commoner or the child of a
commoner as a distress, detains the
distress in his house, and causes
her or his death, it is a capital
offense—the distrainer who dis-
trained shall die.

¶ 25 If a man comes to claim (his
bride) at the house of his father-in-

*ana [šanīm it]tadin abi mārīm terḫat
imḫuru tašna utār*

(A ii 29–31) *šumma awīlum ana
mārat awīlim terḫatam ubilma šanū
balum šāl abiša u ummiša imšūšima
ittaqabši dīn napištīm imāt*

(A ii 31–34) *šumma awīlum mārat
awīlim balum šāl abiša u ummiša
iḫussima u kirram u rik[sā]tim ana
abiša u ummiša la i[škun] umī šattim
ištiat ina bītišu lišimma ul aššat*

(A ii 34–37, B ii 1–2) *šumma <...>¹⁰
riksātīm u kirram ana abiša u ummiša
iškunma iḫussi aššat um ina sūn
awīlim iššabbatu imāt ul iballuṭ*

(A ii 38–45, B ii 3–7) *šumma awīlum
ina ḫarrān šeḫtim u sakpim it[tašlal]
ulu naḫbutum ittaḫbat umī [arkūtīm]
ina mātīm šanītīm itta[šab]
aššassu šanūmma itaḫaz u mārām
ittalad inūma ittūram aššassu
ita[bba]*

(A ii 45–?, B ii 8–10) *šumma awīlum
ālšu u bēlšu izērma ittaḫbit aššassu
šanūmma itaḫaz inūma ittūram ana
aššatišu ul iraggam*

law, but his father-in-law wrongs(?)
him and then gives his daughter to
[another], the father of the daugh-
ter shall return two-fold the
bridewealth which he received.

¶ 26 If a man brings the bridewealth
for the daughter of a man, but
another, without the consent of her
father and mother, abducts her and
then deflowers her, it is indeed a
capital offense—he shall die.

¶ 27 If a man marries the daughter
of another man without the con-
sent of her father and mother, and
moreover does not conclude the
nuptial feast and the contract for(?)
her father and mother, should she
reside in his house for even one full
year, she is not a wife.

¶ 28 If he concludes the contract
and the nuptial feast for(?) her
father and mother and he marries
her, she is indeed a wife; the day
she is seized in the lap of another
man, she shall die, she will not
live.¹¹

¶ 29 If a man should be captured or
abducted during a raiding expedi-
tion or while on patrol(?), even
should he reside in a foreign land
for a long time, should someone
else marry his wife and even
should she bear a child, whenever
he returns he shall take back his
wife.

¶ 30 If a man repudiates his city
and his master and then flees, and
someone else then marries his
wife, whenever he returns he will
have no claim to his wife.

(B ii 11-12) *šumma awīlum amat awīlim ittaqab 1/3 mana kaspam išaqgal u amtum ša bēlišama*

(A iii 3-5, B ii 13-15) *šumma awīlum mārāšu ana šūnuqim ana tarbītim iddinma epram piššatam lubuštam šalaš šanātim la iddin 10 šiqil kas-pam¹² tarbīt mārīšu išaqqalma mārāšu itarru*

(A iii 6-9, B ii 16-18) *šumma amtum usarrirma mārāša ana mārāt awīlim ittadin inūma irtabū bēlšu immaršu išabbassuma itarrūšu*

(A iii 9-12, B ii 19-21) *šumma amat ekallim mārāša lu mārassa ana muškēnim ana tarbītim ittadin māram lu mārtaš ša iddinu ekallum itabbal*

(A iii 12-13, B ii 22-23) *u lēqū ša mār amat ekallim ilqū meheršu ana ekallim iriab*

(A iii 14-17, B ii 24-28) *šumma awīlum bušēšu ana naptaru ana maššartim iddinma bītum la palīš sippu la ḫališ aptum la naṣḫat bušē maššartim ša iddinuṣum uḫtalliḫ bušēšu iriabsum¹⁴*

¶ 31 If a man should deflower the slave woman of another man, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver, but the slave woman remains the property of her master.

¶ 32 If a man gives his child for suckling and for rearing but does not give the food, oil, and clothing rations (to the caregiver) for 3 years, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver for the cost of the rearing of his child, and he shall take away his child.

¶ 33 If a slave woman acts to defraud and gives her child to a woman of the *awīlu*-class, when he grows up should his master locate him, he shall seize him and take him away.

¶ 34 If a slave woman of the palace should give her son or her daughter to a commoner for rearing, the palace shall remove the son or daughter whom she gave.

¶ 35 However,¹³ an adoptor who takes in adoption the child of a slave woman of the palace shall restore (another slave of) equal value for the palace.

¶ 36 If a man gives his goods to a *naptaru* for safekeeping, and he (the *naptaru*) then allows the goods which he gave to him for safekeeping to become lost—even without evidence that the house has been broken into, the doorjamb scraped, the window forced—he shall replace his goods for him.

(A iii 18-23, B iii 1-6) *šumma bīt awīlim luqqut itti bušē awīl maššartim¹⁵ ša iddinuṣum ḫuluḫ bēl bītum ḫaliḫ bēl bītum ina bāb Tišpak¹⁶ nīš ilim izakkaršumma itti bušēka bušūja lu ḫalqū iwītam u sartam la ēpušu izakkaršumma mimma eliṣu ul iṣu*

(A iii 23-25, B 7-9) *šumma ina athī ištēn zittašu ana kaspim¹⁸ inaddin u aḫūšu šāmam ḫašeḫ qablīt šanīm umalla*

(A iii 25-27, B iii 10-11) *šumma awīlum īnišma bīssu ana kaspim ittadin ūm šājimānum inaddinu bēl bītum ipaṭṭar*

(A iii 28-29, B iii 12-13) *šumma awīlum wardam amtam alpam u šīmam mala ibaššū išāmma nādinānam la ukīn šūma šarrāq*

(A iii 30-31, B iii 14-16) *šumma ubarum naptarum u mudū šikaršu inaddin sābītum maḫīrat illaku šikaram inaddinšum*

(A iii 32-34, B iii 17-20) *šumma awīlum appi awīlim iššukma ittakis 1 mana kaspam išaqqal īnu 1 mana šinnu 1/2 mana uznu 1/2 mana meḫeṣ lētim 10 šiqil kaspam išaqqal*

¶ 37 If the man's house¹⁷ has been burglarized, and the owner of the house incurs a loss along with the goods which the depositor gave to him, the owner of the house shall swear an oath to satisfy him at the gate of (the temple of) the god Tishpak: "My goods have been lost along with your goods; I have not committed a fraud or misdeed"; thus shall he swear an oath to satisfy him and he will have no claim against him.

¶ 38 If, in a partnership, one intends to sell his share and his partner wishes to buy, he shall match any outside offer.¹⁹

¶ 39 If a man becomes impoverished and then sells his house, whenever the buyer offers it for sale, the owner of the house shall have the right to redeem it.

¶ 40 If a man buys a slave, a slave woman, an ox, or any other purchase, but cannot establish the identity of the seller, it is he who is a thief.

¶ 41 If a foreigner, a *naptaru*, or a *mudū*²⁰ wishes to sell his beer, the woman innkeeper shall sell the beer for him at the current rate.

¶ 42 If a man bites the nose of another man and thus cuts it off, he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver; an eye—60 shekels; a tooth—30 shekels; an ear—30 shekels; a slap to the cheek²¹—he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.

(A iii 35-36, B iii 21-22) *šumma awilum ubān awilim ittakis 1/3²² mana kaspam išaqqal*

(A iii 36-37, B iii 23-24, C 1-2) *šumma awilum awilam ina sūqim²³ iskimma qāssu ištebir 1/2 mana kaspam išaqqal*

(A iii 38, B iii 24, C 3-4) *šumma šēpšu ištebir 1/2 mana kaspam išaqqal*

(A iii 39-40, C 5-6) *šumma awilum awilam imḥašma kirrašu ištebir 1/3 mana kaspam išaqqal*

(A iii 40-41, C 7-8) *šumma awilum ina šigištīm awilam IG-te-el 10 šiqil kaspam išaqqal*

(C 9-11) *šumma awilum ina risbatim mār awilim uštāmīt 2/3 mana kaspam išaqqal*

(A iii 42-44, B iv 1-3) *u ana dīnim ša kaspim ištu 1/3 mana adi 1 mana dajānū dīnam ušaḥḥazušuma awat napištīm ana šarrimma*

(B iv 4-5) *šumma awilum ina wardim šarqim amtīm šariqtīm ittašbat wardum wardam amtum amtam iredde*

(A iv 1²-7, B iv 6-10) *šumma šakkanakkum šāpir nārim bēl tērtim*

¶ 43 If a man should cut off the finger of another man, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 44 If a man knocks down another man in the street(?) and thereby breaks his hand, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.

¶ 45 If he should break his foot, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.

¶ 46²⁴ If a man strikes another man and thus breaks his collarbone, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 47 If a man should inflict(?) any other injuries(?) on another man in the course of a fray, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.

¶ 47A If a man, in the course of a brawl, should cause the death of another member of the *awilu*-class, he shall weigh and deliver 40 shekels of silver.

¶ 48²⁵ And for a case involving a penalty of silver in amounts ranging from 20 shekels to 60 shekels, the judges shall determine the case against him; however, a capital case is only for the king.

¶ 49 If a man should be seized with a stolen slave or a stolen slave woman, a slave shall lead a slave, a slave woman shall lead a slave woman.²⁶

¶ 50 If a military governor, a governor of the canal system, or any per-

mala ibaššū wardam ḥalqam amtam ḥaliqtam alpam ḥalqam imēram ḥalqam ša ekallim u muškēnim²⁷ iṣbatma ana Ešnunna^{ki} la irdiamma ina bitišu iktala ūmī eli warḥim ištēn ušētiqma²⁸ ekallum šurqam ittišu itawwu

(A iv 7-9, B iv 11-13) *wardum u amtum ša Ešnunna^{ki} ša kannam maškanam u abbuttām šaknu abul Ešnunna^{ki} balum bēlišu ul ušši*

(A iv 10-13, B iv 14-16) *wardum u amtum ša itti mār šiprim našruma abul Ešnunna^{ki} iterbam kannam maškanam u abbuttām iššakkanma ana bēlišu našir*

(A iv 13-15, B iv 17-19) *šumma alpum alpam ikkimma uštāmīt šim alpim balḥim u šir alpim mītim bēl alpim kilallān izuzzu*

(A iv 15-18, B iv 20) *šumma alpum nakkāpima bābtum ana bēlišu ušēdima alapšu la u<šē>širma awilam ikkimma uštāmīt bēl alpim 2/3 mana kaspam išaqqal*

(A iv 18-19) *šumma wardam ikkimma uštāmīt 15 šiqil kaspam išaqqal*

(A iv 20-23) *šumma kalbum šegīma bābtum ana bēlišu ušēdima kalabšu la*

son in a position of authority seizes a fugitive slave, fugitive slave woman, stray ox, or stray donkey belonging either to the palace or to a commoner, and does not lead it to Eshnunna but detains it in his house and allows more than one month to elapse, the palace shall bring a charge of theft against him.

¶ 51 A slave or slave woman belonging to (a resident of) Eshnunna who bears fetters, shackles, or a slave hairlock will not exit through the main city-gate of Eshnunna without his owner.

¶ 52 A slave or slave woman who has entered the main city-gate of Eshnunna in the safekeeping of only a foreign envoy shall be made to bear fetters, shackles, or a slave hairlock and thereby is kept safe for his owner.²⁹

¶ 53 If an ox gores another ox and thus causes its death, the two ox-owners shall divide the value of the living ox and the carcass of the dead ox.

¶ 54 If an ox is a gorer and the ward authorities so notify its owner, but he fails to keep his ox in-check and it gores a man and thus causes his death, the owner of the ox shall weigh and deliver 40 shekels of silver.

¶ 55 If it gores a slave and thus causes his death, he shall weigh and deliver 15 shekels of silver.

¶ 56 If a dog is vicious and the ward authorities so notify its owner, but

iššurma awīlam iššukma uštāmīt bēl
kalbim ^{2/3} mana kaspam išaqqal

he fails to control his dog and it bites a man and thus causes his death, the owner of the dog shall weigh and deliver 40 shekels of silver.

(A iv 23–24) šumma wardam
iššukma³⁰ uštāmīt 15 šiql kaspam
išaqqal

¶ 57 If it bites a slave and thus causes his death, he shall weigh and deliver 15 shekels of silver.

(A iv 25–28) šumma igārum iqāmma
bābtum ana bēl igāri ušādīma igāršu
la u<dan>ninma igārum imqutma mār
awīlim uštāmīt napištum šimdat šar-
rim

¶ 58 If a wall is buckling and the ward authorities so notify the owner of the wall, but he does not reinforce his wall and the wall collapses and thus causes the death of a member of the *awīlu*-class—it is a capital case, it is decided by a royal decree.

(A iv 29–33) šumma awīlum mārī
wulludma aššassu īzimma šanītam
ītaḥaz ina bītim u mal[a ib]aššū³¹
innassaḥma warkī ša i-[x]-[x-x]-ma
ittallak [x-x]-[x] ē x-x-x

¶ 59 If a man sired children but divorces his wife and then marries another, he shall be expelled from the house and any possessions there may be and he shall depart after the one who ..., [...] the house ...³²

(A iv 33–37) [šumma] maššārum
[bītam ina n]ašārim īgūma pallišu
[bītam ipluš] maššār bitī ša ippalšu
[... idu]kku balum [qa]brišu [ina pani
p]ilšim iqqabbir

¶ 60³³ [If] a guard is negligent in guarding [a house], and a burglar [breaks into the house], they shall kill the guard of the house that was broken into [...], and he shall be buried [at] the breach without a grave.

Notes

1. See Stol 1988: 178, for *lūd* interpreted as *ittū*, "bitumen."
2. Reading *Ā GURUŠ ŠE.KUD.KIN*; see Moran 1957: 219, and Stol 1989: 165 n. 29.
3. Possibly to be deleted as dittography.
4. The meaning of the phrase *adi mādim* is still disputed, but is clear both from context here and from additional references; see (in addition to Yaron's summary of the treatments, 1988: 52f.) the references cited CAD M/1 24, and AbB 9 184: 10 cited by Stol 1993a: 247 with n. 12.

5. Source A conflates ¶¶ 17 and 18.

6. Subjects in the final clause are uncertain, and the resolutions outlined are not clear. Only one prestation, the bridewealth (*terḫatu*) is referred to in ¶ 17, in which following the death of one spouse the bridewealth is returned to the groom or his heir. In ¶ 18, before the death of one spouse the marriage had progressed to the stage of cohabitation which involved additional exchanges of marriage gifts, and the bridewealth is retained by its recipient (the bride's father) while only a specific but otherwise unknown payment ("excess"—of a bridewealth over a dowry?) is taken by the surviving spouse or his heir. For discussion of other possibilities and summary of solutions proposed, see Yaron 1988: 179ff.

7. Var. adds *še'am* "(100 silas) of grain."

8. See Yaron 1988: 141–42, for summary of the arguments involving the equations of the "man" (*awīlum*) of ¶ 23, the unidentified pronoun in "against him" (*elišu*), and the "commoner" (*muškēnum*) of ¶ 24. Does *elišu* refer back to and resume the *awīlum* (thus, "If a man has no claim against another man ...") or does it anticipate *muškēnum* (thus, "If a man has no claim against a commoner ...")? On balance, I find the latter resolution more satisfactory.

9. Reading *ik-ši-šu-ma* uncertain; see the suggestions reported Yaron 1988: 58 note, and see CAD K 294 s.v. *kašū* A discussion.

10. The text has *ḫe-pi*, "broken," a scribal notation indicating that the original from which the scribe was copying had a break at this point; if anything is lost after *šumma*, "If," it can only be *awīlum* (thus, "If a man concludes ...").

11. Yaron (1988: 284–85) maintains his earlier position that it is the lover and not the woman who is the subject of *imāt ul iballuṭ* "s/he shall die, s/he shall not live," and that her punishment is left to her husband. However, on contextual, legal, and philological grounds it is certain that the provision deals with the status of the woman and the consequent punishment for her actions; see Roth 1988.

12. Reading here 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR, with Eichler 1987: 78 and n. 25.

13. The ambiguity of the conjunction (*u*, "and," "or," or "but") makes uncertain the relationship of ¶ 35 to ¶ 34: that which follows *u* could be (a) a continuation of the resolution outlined in ¶ 34 (thus the palace retrieves the child and also demands another); (b) an alternative resolution option (thus the palace accepts *either* the child or his replacement); or (c) a new variation, in which the one who took the child is not the same individual identified in ¶ 34 as a *muškēnum* who reared the child but one who stood in a more formal relationship to the child as adoptor or foster parent, and therefore the child is kept by his new household and a substitute is given to the palace. The weight of scholarly opinion is in favor of the first option over the second (see Yaron 1988: 167ff., Eichler 1987: 79), but the third ("But an adoptor ...") has been largely overlooked since Goetze's editions (but see the translation of Borger 1982: 36, which implies an interpretation similar to that offered here).

14. Var. *iriab*, "he shall replace (his goods)."

15. Var. omits *bušē* LÜ.

16. Var. *ina bīt Tišpak*, "(an oath to satisfy him) in the temple of Tishpak."

17. I.e., the house of the depository, the "resident alien" (*naptarum*) of ¶ 36.

18. Var. omits *ana kaspim*, "for silver," thus reading "intends to give."

19. So with CAD Q 6 s.v. *qablitu* mng. 7, understanding that the willing partner

has the option of first right of refusal; for other interpretations, see Yaron 1988: 228ff.

20. The three terms are references to categories of persons outside of the common social and jural protective networks; see Westbrook 1994.

21. "Slap to the cheek" is a reference to a physical or social assault to a person's honor.

22. The copy and photograph clearly show $\frac{1}{3}$ (and not $\frac{2}{3}$, an error introduced in Goetze's first publication in 1948).

23. *ina sūqim* with CAD S 70 s.v. *sakāpu* A mng. 1a, although the traces legible on the photograph cannot confirm the reading.

24. On ¶¶ 46, 47, 47A, see Roth 1990.

25. The readings and restorations of ¶ 48 are uncertain at several points, but the general import is clear.

26. The probable meaning of *iredde*, "he shall lead, bring along," in this context is that the party in whose possession the slave is found shall return the slave and in addition provide another of equal value.

27. Var. omits *ša ekallim u muškēnim*, "belonging to the palace or to a commoner."

28. Var. omits *ūmī eli warḥim ištēn ušētiqma*, "allows more than a single month to elapse."

29. The translation is based on understanding the *mār šiprim*, "envoy," and the *bēlu*, "owner," as two different individuals.

30. Text (error) *ikkimma*, "it goes."

31. Westbrook (1988: 72 n. 21) reads *ù ma-a[k-ku-r]i šu-ú*.

32. The interpretation of the provision is disputed, revolving around the identity (or identities) of the subjects in the subclauses of the apodosis; see the summaries of the discussion in Yaron 1988: 214ff. and in Westbrook 1988: 72ff. The final subclause (beginning with *warki*) is very uncertain; I take *ittallak* as a Gt separative, in a hendiadys with *innassahma*, conveying the sense of the husband departing, leaving, or going away from the estate from which he is expelled. The traces visible on the photograph do not support any of the various proposals offered for reading the damaged lines 32 and 33, and the sense remains unclear.

33. The provision is damaged, and the restorations and interpretation are uncertain; here, I follow the treatment put forward by Landsberger 1968: 102.

Laws of Hammurabi (LH) (ca. 1750 B.C.E., Babylon)

The collection of rules was compiled toward the end of the forty-two year reign of Hammurabi (r. 1792–1750 B.C.E.), sixth ruler of the First Dynasty of Babylon, the king who directed the great political expansion of the empire and organized a complex and sophisticated government and military bureaucracy to administer it. He defeated powerful rival kingdoms and extended his political and diplomatic influence throughout the ancient Near East in an expansion rivaled only by that achieved by his early contemporary to the north, Shamshi-Adad of Assyria. The year name formula for Hammurabi's second year, "Year in which Hammurabi established justice in the land," is a testimony to Hammurabi's concern for justice and a possible reference to his enactment of a *mīšaru*-edict (see the introductory remarks to the Laws of Eshnunna).

About the Laws

The Laws of Hammurabi is the longest and best organized of the law collections from Mesopotamia. It draws on the traditions of earlier law collections and doubtless influenced those that came later. The composition consists of a lengthy prologue, between 275 and 300 law provisions, and an epilogue. The prologue stresses the gods' appointment of Hammurabi as ruler of his people, his role as guardian and protector of the weak and powerless, and his care and attention to the cultic needs of the patron deities of the many cities incorporated into his realm. The laws of this composition, inscribed on imposing black stone stelae, stand as evidence of Hammurabi's worthiness to rule.

The law provisions refer to many situations that require resolution, often expressed as a complicated or hard case, by analogy to which the simpler

case is readily resolved. For example, compare the complex first provision of the Laws of Hammurabi with the earlier and simpler first provision of the Laws of Ur-Namma; both provisions involve homicide and serve to establish immediately the state's right to impose the death penalty on a subject:

LU ¶1 If a man commits a homicide, they shall kill that man.

LH ¶1 If a man accuses another man and charges him with homicide but then cannot bring proof against him, his accuser shall be killed.

In formulating LH ¶ 1 in this manner, a number of pieces of information about the legal system are revealed: that a private individual (and not necessarily only an official body or officer) may bring charges against another person; that such charges must be substantiated in some way; and that a false accuser suffers the penalty he sought for his intended victim. We can only infer in the LH that which the LU provision, in its simpler formulation, makes explicit: that homicide demands the death penalty.

The cases dealt with in the Laws of Hammurabi include judicial procedure; theft and robbery; slave sales and matters affecting slaves; agricultural and irrigation work and offenses; pledges, debts, deposits and loans; real estate sales and rentals; marriage, matrimonial property, and sexual offenses; inheritance, adoption and foster care; assault and bodily injuries; rates of hire for equipment, laborers, and craftsmen; failure to complete contracted tasks; renters' and shepherds' liabilities; and goring oxen. The law provisions are marked by the introductory *šumma*, "if."

The epilogue emphasizes the king as military leader who brings peace to his subjects. It explicitly states that these laws were inscribed on a stela and publicly displayed in order to testify to Hammurabi's righteous and just rule, to bring consolation to anyone seeking justice, and to serve as an example for future rulers. It seeks blessings for Hammurabi from his successors and the beneficiaries of his legacy; it blesses them if they treat his stela and laws with respect; and it brings down the terrible curses of the great gods against any who would violate the path Hammurabi opened or who would mutilate or desecrate his monument.

The laws distinguish three principal classes of person: the free person (*awīlu*), including men, women, and minors; the commoner (*muškēnu*), inferior to the *awīlu* in some rights and privileges; and the male and female slave (*wardu* and *amtu*), including slaves belonging to free persons, to commoners, and to the palace. Unless otherwise specified, we assume that the various professionals, craftsmen, laborers, etc., belong to the class of free persons. The laws also take special note of additional groups: tenants or dependents of the palace, including the "soldier" (*rēdū*) and the "fisherman" (*bā'iru*), both of whom are included in the category of persons identified as

"state tenants" (*nāši bilti*); classes of priestesses identified as *kulmašītu*, *nadītu*, *qadištu*, *sekretu*, *šugītu*, *ugbabbu*; the courtier (*girseqū*) or palace attendant (*muzzaz ekalli*); the merchant (*tamkāru*) and the woman innkeeper (*sābītu*), both of whom function as creditors. Women are included in all categories and classes, and the laws refer to the wife (*aššatu*) of the free person, of the commoner, and of the state tenant, as well as to the "first-ranking" (*hīrtu*) wife and to the widow (*almattu*).

About the Sources

The LH is known from numerous manuscripts, copied and recopied over the centuries in the scribal centers of Mesopotamia. The most complete and famous exemplar is the black stone stela, now housed in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, excavated in 1901–1902 by archaeological teams working in the ancient Elamite capital Susa. The stela, one of several that were erected in Babylonian cities, was taken as booty to Susa in the twelfth century B.C.E. by the Elamite ruler Shutruk-Nahhunte I, probably from Sippar, from which he also plundered monuments of other Mesopotamian rulers. Fragments of yet a second and possibly a third stela recording Hammurabi's laws were also excavated in the same place, which suggests that the monuments, multiple copies of which were erected in various Babylonian cities, were highly prized plunder.

The Louvre stela, which forms the basis of every edition of the Laws, is a pillar of diorite almost seven and a half feet tall. On the top, covering almost one-third of the stela, is an imposing scene of the sun-god Shamash, god of justice, seated on his throne, and standing before him the king Hammurabi. The precise interpretation of this scene—that the god is dictating the laws to the king, or that the king is offering the laws to the god, or that the king is accepting the rod and ring that are the emblems of temple-building and sovereignty—is debated, but the iconographic message it communicated to even the illiterate must have been clear: King Hammurabi and the god of justice Shamash together protect the people of Babylonia.

The physically imposing Louvre stela, like other monumental inscriptions of its time, is inscribed in an archaic ductus and in the direction employed earlier, before the script was turned ninety degrees counterclockwise; the visual impact of the script and the orientation, along with the archaizing, literary language used in the prologue and epilogue that frame the collection of rules, magnify the authority of the composition. The columns of the text inscribed on the stela are written in bands across the front and then the back of the circumference, beginning immediately below the throne of the god Shamash; the prologue and epilogue each occupy about five columns, and the series of legal provisions occupies about forty-one columns.

We have recovered dozens of duplicates and extracts of the Laws, as well as commentaries, references to the composition in a first-millennium catalogue, and a bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian manuscript, from a variety of sites in Mesopotamia. Some of the manuscripts date to Hammurabi's immediate successors in the First Dynasty of Babylon, while others are copies from a thousand years later. This wide and varied evidence attests to the enduring popularity of the Laws of Hammurabi, which was both an influence on and a reflection of contemporary literary, political, as well as legal thought. The numerous manuscripts suggest more than one original exemplar, and what are sometimes viewed as discrepancies and errors in some manuscripts may be the results of different traditions.

The stela and manuscripts allow us to present almost the entire composition, leaving problematical only the restoration of the gap of seven columns (each with more than eighty lines) in the Louvre stela falling between the last preserved column on the front of the stela, column xvi (which ends in ¶ 65), and the first column on the back, here taken as column xxiv (which begins in the middle of what is traditionally numbered ¶ 100, following the first estimate of the number of lost provisions in the gap [Scheil 1902: 53]). This gap results from a deliberate erasure of the last columns on the bottom of the front of the stela, by the artisans in the Elamite workshop of the ruler Shutruk-Nahhunte I, in preparation for a secondary rededication inscription, which was, however, never added. Much of this gap can be filled in by the duplicate manuscripts, and especially with the aid of the recent publication by Donbaz and Sauren (1991) of a piece from the Nippur collection in Istanbul which previously had been only partially and imperfectly known (source t). As a result, some considerations and conventions accepted in the present edition need clarification.

The first problem is the size of the gap (five or seven columns lost) and the consequent numbering of the columns that follow it. Harper (1904) ignored the gap and continued the column numbering without interruption, picking up after the gap directly with "xvii" and continuing through to end with column "xliv"; Harper's edition included only the Louvre stela, and he was not concerned with restoring the gap. (This same numbering convention was used by Deimel 1930, and many others, and is followed by the CAD.) Meek (1950a) began column numbers anew after the gap, concluding with "reverse xxviii"; he numbered the restored provisions within the gap in sequence, thus ¶¶ 66, 67, 68, etc. Similar sequential provision numberings for the gap were employed by Laessøe (1950). In their edition, Driver and Miles (1955) identified the columns on the obverse, preceding the gap, as "ia" through "xvia" and those on the reverse, following the gap, as "ib" through "xxviii b"; they used capital letters to identify the provisions in the gap, thus ¶¶ A, B, C, etc. These conventions were accepted by Finet (1973), and by students since. Saporetti (1984: 60-62) mixes numbering conventions,

using both numerical (¶ 66, ¶ 67, ¶ 69 ... ¶ 91, etc.) and alphabetical (¶ A, ¶ B, etc.) sigla. In his editions (1963, 1979, and 1982b) Borger accepted a seven-column gap and began the columns on the reverse with "xxiv" but considerately provided the equivalent column number of the reverse; thus, for example, "Kol. XXVI (Rs. III)" (Borger 1979: 24). Furthermore, Borger attempted a new numbering system for the provisions restored in the gap, introducing an alphanumeric system that has the advantage of identifying securely sequenced provisions by the repetition of lower case letters. (Thus, for example, Borger's ¶ 68+c is followed without break by ¶ 69+c, and in turn is followed, after a break, by the uninterrupted run of ¶¶ 69+d, 70+d, 71+d, 72+d.) Another provision numbering system (for the entire composition, and for other Mesopotamian law collections as well) was used by Sauren (1989), in which the laws are grouped by legal and stylistic criteria into eleven groups of approximately twenty provisions each; this system was used in the recent publication of the important large tablet, Ni. 2553+2565 (source t) by Donbaz and Sauren (1991).

Although the numbering system of Sauren and Donbaz has the advantage of trying to account for every provision in the gap, both those recovered and those still lost, it has at least two flaws: first, my examination of Ni. 2553+2565 (source t) from the published copy and photograph has resulted in the decipherment of some additional provisions not in the Donbaz-Sauren edition; and, second, the new numbering system attempts to supplant completely the accepted and conventional numbering of the provisions in all scholarly literature. Nonetheless, Ni. 2553+2565 significantly adds to the reconstruction and restoration of the gap, and demands new sigla at least for those provisions restored within that gap. The present edition of the LH, therefore, attempts to reconcile some of these problems in the following manner: The transcription of the Akkadian identifies the sources that witness the provision. The English translation marks the provisions in the gap serially with lower case Latin letters (¶ a, ¶ b, etc.) and adds at the end of each provision the corresponding identification in three different, widely used systems. Thus, for example, the provision labeled here "gap ¶ t" corresponds to the provision labeled ¶ L in Driver and Miles 1955, to ¶ 70+d in Borger 1979, and to ¶ 5.9 in Donbaz and Sauren 1991.

Three manuscripts from the late Old Babylonian period include subject headings or rubrics at irregular intervals. The manuscripts, sources S, r, and t, include the rubrics: "legal decisions concerning soldier and fisherman" (r iii, before ¶ 26); "legal decisions concerning field, orchard, and house" (r iv, before ¶ 36); "legal decisions concerning contracts of hire and purchase" (t i 1-2, before gap ¶ h; see Donbaz and Sauren 1991: 8); "legal decisions concerning removing property from a house" (S v 28, before ¶ 113); "legal decisions concerning distraint and obligation" (t vii 2-3, before ¶ 117); and "legal decisions concerning [...] and storage" (t vii 21-22) and "legal decisions con-

cerning storage" (S vi 40, both before ¶ 120). No rubrics are included in the complete monumental stela, and their introduction in these three large late Old Babylonian manuscripts suggests a self-reflective scholastic tradition, engaged in organizing and studying the law collection as a whole. Furthermore, the division of the text into law provisions, which is the invention of the first modern editor of the stela (no markings or incised lines divide provisions in the Louvre stela), is clearly marked on some manuscripts in places different from those assumed in early editions, again providing some indication of the traditions current in scribal circles.

For reasons of accessibility and consistency, the Akkadian text is marked throughout by the corresponding column and line numbers of the Louvre stela only; however, for the passages placed in the gap of the stela's columns xvii-xxiii, I indicate all the extant witnesses (see above). As is the practice followed throughout this volume, variants are noted only infrequently.

Prologue

(i 1-26) *īnu Anum šīrum šar Anun-
nakī Enlil bēl šamē u eršetim šā'im
šīmāt mātīm ana Marduk mārīm
rēštim ša Ea illilūt kiššat nišī
išīmušum in Igiḡi ušarbiušu Bābīlam
šumšu šīram ibbiu in kibrātīm ušāte-
rušu ina libbišu šarrūtām dārītām ša
kīma šamē u eršetim išdāša šursudā
ukinnušum*

When the august god Anu, king of the Anunnaku deities, and the god Enlil, lord of heaven and earth, who determines the destinies of the land, allotted supreme power over all peoples to the god Marduk, the firstborn son of the god Ea, exalted him among the Igiḡu deities, named the city of Babylon with its august name and made it supreme within the regions of the world, and established for him within it eternal kingship whose foundations are as fixed as heaven and earth,

(i 27-49) *inūmišu Hammurabi rubām
na'dam pāliḡ ilī jāti mīšaram ina
mātīm ana šūpīm raggam u šēnam
ana ḡulluḡim dannum enšam ana la
ḡabālim kīma Šamaš ana šalmāt
qaqqadim wašēmma mātīm nuwwurim
Anum u Enlil ana šīr nišī ṭubbim
šumī ibbū*

at that time, the gods Anu and Enlil, for the enhancement of the well-being of the people, named me by my name: Hammurabi, the pious prince, who venerates the gods, to make justice prevail in the land, to abolish the wicked and the evil, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, to rise like

the sun-god Shamash over all humankind, to illuminate the land.

(i 50-62) *Ḥammurabi rē'um nibīt
Enlil anāku mukammer nuḡšim u
ṭubdim mušaklil mimma šumsu ana
Nippur markas šamē u eršetim
zāninum na'dum ša Ekur*

I am Hammurabi, the shepherd, selected by the god Enlil, he who heaps high abundance and plenty, who perfects every possible thing for the city Nippur, (the city known as) band-of-heaven-and-earth, the pious provider of the Ekur temple;

(i 63-ii 1) *šarrum lē'um mutīr Eridu
ana ašrišu mubbib šuluḡ Eabzu*

the capable king, the restorer of the city Eridu, the purifier of the rites of the Eabzu temple;

(ii 2-12) *tīb kibrāt erbettim mušarbi
zikru Bābīlim muṭīb libbi Marduk
bēlišu ša ūmīšu izzazzu ana Esagil*

the onslaught of the four regions of the world, who magnifies the reputation of the city Babylon, who gladdens the heart of his divine lord Marduk, whose days are devoted to the Esagil temple;

(ii 13-21) *zēr šarrūtīm ša Sīn ibniūšu
munabḡiš Urim wašrum muštēmiqum
bābīl ḡegallim ana Eḡišnugal*

seed of royalty, he whom the god Sīn created, enricher of the city of Ur, humble and talented, who provides abundance for the Eḡishnugal temple;

(ii 22-31) *šar tašīmtīm šēmū Šamaš
dannum mukīn išdī Sippar mušalbiš
warḡim ḡigunē Aja mušīr bīt Ebabbar
ša kī šubat šamā'ī*

discerning king, obedient to the god Shamash, the mighty one, who establishes the foundations of the city of Sippar, who drapes the sacred building of the goddess Aja with greenery, who made famous the temple of Ebabbar which is akin to the abode of heaven;

(ii 32-36) *qarrādum ḡāmil Larsa mud-
diš Ebabbar ana Šamaš rēšīšu*

the warrior, who shows mercy to the city of Larsa, who renews the Ebabbar temple for the god Shamash his ally;

(ii 37-47) *bēlum muballīṭ Uruk šākin
mē nuḡšim ana nišīšu mullī rēš*

the lord who revitalizes the city of Uruk, who provides abundant

- Eanna mukammer hišbim ana Anim u Ištar* waters for its people, who raises high the summit of the Eanna temple, who heaps up bountiful produce for the gods Anu and Ishtar;
- (ii 48-54) *šulūl mātim mupahhbir nišī saphātīm ša Isin mutahhbid nuḥšim bīt Egalmaḥ* the protecting canopy of the land, who gathers together the scattered peoples of the city of Isin, who supplies abundance for the temple of Egalmaḥ;
- (ii 55-67) *ušumgal šarrī talīm Zababa mušaršid šubat Kiš muštašbir melimmī Emeteursag muštešbi parši rabūtīm ša Ištar pāqid bītim Ḥur-sagkalamma* dragon among kings, beloved brother of the god Zababa, founder of the settlement of Kish, who surrounds the Emeteursag temple with splendor, who arranges the great rites for the goddess Ishtar, who takes charge of the temple of Ḥursagkalamma;
- (ii 68-iii 6) *sapar nakirī ša Erra rūšu ušakšidu nizmassu mušāter Kutī murappiš mimma šumšu ana <E>meslam* the enemy-ensnaring throw-net, whose companion, the god Erra, has allowed him to obtain his heart's desire, who enlarges the city of Kutū, who augments everything for the Emeslam temple;
- (iii 7-16) *rīmum kadrūm munakkip zā'irī narām Tutu murīš Barsippa na'dum la mupparkūm ana Ezida <šubat> ili šarrī¹* the fierce wild bull who gores the enemy, beloved of the god Tutu, the one who makes the city of Borsippa exult, the pious one who does not fail in his duties to the Ezida temple, <the dwelling of> the god of kings;
- (iii 17-23) *mudē igigallim mušaddil mēreštīm ša Dilbat mugarrin karē ana Uraš gašrim* the one who is steeped in wisdom, who enlarges the cultivated area of the city of Dilbat, who heaps up the storage bins for the mighty god Urash;
- (iii 24-35) *bēlum simat ḥaṭṭim u agēm ša ušaklilušu erištum Mama mukīn* the lord, worthy recipient of the scepter and crown bestowed upon

- uṣurātīm ša Keš mudešši mākali ellūtīm ana Nintu* him by the wise goddess Mama, who devised the plans of the city of Kesh, who provides the pure food offerings for the goddess Nintu;
- (iii 36-46) *muštālūm gitmālūm šā'im mirītīm u mašqītīm ana Lagaš u Girsīm mukīl nindabē rabūtīm ana Eninnu* the judicious one, the noble one, who allots pasturage and watering place for the cities of Lagash and Girsu, who provides plentiful food-offerings for the Eninnu temple;
- (iii 47-54) *mutammeh ajābī migir telītīm mušaklil tērētīm ša Zabala muḥaddi libbi Ištar* who seizes the enemies, beloved of (the goddess Ishtar) the able one, who perfects the oracles of the city of Zabala, who gladdens the heart of the goddess Ishtar;
- (iii 55-64) *rubūm ellum ša nīš qātišu Adad idū munēh libbi Adad qurādim ina Karkara muštakkīn simātīm ina Eudgalgal* the pure prince, whose prayers the god Adad acknowledges, appeaser of the heart of the god Adad, the hero in the city of Karkara, who installs the proper appointments throughout the Eudgalgal temple;
- (iii 65-69) *šarrum nādin napištīm ana Adab āšer bīt Emaḥ* the king who gives life to the city of Adab, who organizes the Emaḥ temple;
- (iii 70-iv 6) *etel šarrī qabal la maḥārim šū iqīšu napšatam ana Maškan-šāpir mušešqi nuḥšim ana <E>meslam* lord of kings, peerless warrior, who granted life to the city of Mashkan-shapir, who gives waters of abundance to the Emeslam temple;
- (iv 7-22) *emqum muttabbilum šū ikšudu nagab uršim mušpazzir nišī Malgium ina karašim mušaršidu šubātišin in nuḥšim ana Enki u Damkina mušarbū šarrūtišu dāriš ištīmu zībī ellūtīm* wise one, the organizer, he who has mastered all wisdom, who shelters the people of the city of Malgium in the face of annihilation, who founds their settlements in abundance, who decreed eternal pure food offerings for the gods Enki and Damkina who magnify his kingship;

(iv 23-31) *ašared šarrī mukanniš dadmē Nār Purattim ittum Dagan bānišu šū igmilu niši Mera u Tuttul*

leader of kings, who subdues the settlements along the Euphrates River by the oracular command of the god Dagan, his creator, who showed mercy to the people of the cities of Mari and Tuttul;

(iv 32-44) *rubūm na'dum munawwer pani Tišpak šākin mākalī ellūtim ana Ninazu šātip nišīšu in pušqim mukinnu išdīšin qerbum Bābilim šulmāniš*

the pious prince, who brightens the countenance of the god Tishpak, who provides pure feasts for the goddess Ninazu, who sustains his people in crisis, who secures their foundations in peace in the midst of the city of Babylon;

(iv 45-52) *rē'i niši ša epšētušu eli Ištar ṭabā mukinni Ištar ina Eulmaš qerbum Akkade ribitīm*

shepherd of the people, whose deeds are pleasing to the goddess Ishtar, who establishes Ishtar in the Eulmash temple in the midst of Akkad-the-City;

(iv 53-58) *mušēpī kīnātīm mušūšer ammi mutēr lamassīšu damiqtīm ana ālim Aššur*

who proclaims truth, who guides the population properly, who restores its benevolent protective spirit to the city of Assur;

(iv 59-63) *mušēppi nābiḫī šarrum ša ina Ninua ina Emesmes ušūpi'u mē Ištar*

who quells the rebellious, the king who proclaimed the rites for the goddess Ishtar in the city of Nineveh in the Emesmes temple;

(iv 64-v 13) *na'dum muštēmiqum ana ilī rabūtīm liplippim ša Sumu-la-el aplum dannum ša Sīn-muballiṭ zērum dārium ša šarrūtīm šarrum dannum šamšu Bābilim mušēši nūrim ana māt Šumerim u Akkadim šarrum muštešmi kibrāt arba'im migir Ištar anāku*

the pious one, who prays ceaselessly for the great gods, scion of Sumu-la-el, mighty heir of Sīn-muballiṭ, eternal seed of royalty, mighty king, solar disk of the city of Babylon, who spreads light over the lands of Sumer and Akkad, king who makes the four regions obedient, favored of the goddess Ishtar, am I.

(v 14-24) *inūma Marduk ana šutēšur niši mātim ūsim šūḫuzim uwa'eranni*

When the god Marduk commanded me to provide just ways for the

kittam u mišaram ina pī mātim aškun šir niši uṭib

people of the land (in order to attain) appropriate behavior, I established truth and justice as the declaration of the land, I enhanced the well-being of the people.

(v 25) *inūmišu*

At that time:

Laws

(v 26-32) *šumma awīlum awīlam ubbirma nērtam elišu iddīma la uktīnšu mubbiršu iddāk*

¶ 1 If a man accuses another man and charges him with homicide but cannot bring proof against him, his accuser shall be killed.

(v 33-56) *šumma awīlum kišpī eli awīlim iddīma la uktīnšu ša elišu kišpū nadū ana Id illak Id išalliamma šumma Id iktāšassu mubbiršu bīssu itabbal šumma awīlam šuāti Id ūteb= bibaššuma ištalmam ša elišu kišpī iddū iddāk ša Id išliam bīt mubbirīšu itabbal*

¶ 2 If a man charges another man with practicing witchcraft but cannot bring proof against him, he who is charged with witchcraft shall go to the divine River Ordeal, he shall indeed submit to the divine River Ordeal; if the divine River Ordeal should overwhelm him, his accuser shall take full legal possession of his estate; if the divine River Ordeal should clear that man and should he survive, he who made the charge of witchcraft against him shall be killed; he who submitted to the divine River Ordeal shall take full legal possession of his accuser's estate.

(v 57-67) *šumma awīlum ina dīnim ana šībūt sarrātīm ūšiamma awat iqbū la uktīn šumma dīnum šū dīn napištīm awīlum šū iddāk*

¶ 3 If a man comes forward to give false testimony in a case but cannot bring evidence for his accusation, if that case involves a capital offense, that man shall be killed.

(v 68-vi 5) *šumma ana šībūt še'im u kaspim ūšiam aran dīnim šuāti ittanašši?*

¶ 4 If he comes forward to give (false) testimony for (a case whose penalty is) grain or silver, he shall

(vi 6–30) *šumma dajānum dīnam idīn purussām iprus kunukkam ušēzib warkānumma dīnšu iteni dajānam šuāti ina dīn idīnu enēm ukannušu*ma rugummām ša ina dīnim šuāti ibbaššū adi 12-šu inaddin u ina puḥrim ina kussī dajānūtišu ušetbūšuma ul itārma itti dajānī ina dīnim ul uššab

(vi 31–40) *šumma awīlum makkūr ilim u ekallim išriq awīlum šū iddāk u ša šurqam ina qātišu imḥuru iddāk*

(vi 41–56) *šumma awīlum lu kaspam lu ḥurāšam lu wardam lu amtam lu alpam lu immeram lu imēram ulu mimma šumšu ina qāt mār awīlim ulu warad awīlim balum šībī u riksātīm ištām ulu ana maššarūtīm imḥur awīlum šū šarrāq iddāk*

(vi 57–69) *šumma awīlum lu alpam lu immeram lu imēram lu šaḥām ulu elip-pam išriq šumma ša ilim šumma ša ekallim adi 30-šu inaddin šumma ša muškēnim adi 10-šu iriab šumma šarrāqānum ša nadānim la išu iddāk*

(vi 70–vii 47) *šumma awīlum ša mim-māšu ḥalqu mimmāšu ḥalqam ina qāti*

be assessed the penalty for that case.

¶ 5 If a judge renders a judgment, gives a verdict, or deposits a sealed opinion, after which he reverses his judgment, they shall charge and convict that judge of having reversed the judgment which he rendered and he shall give twelvefold the claim of that judgment; moreover, they shall unseat him from his judgeship in the assembly, and he shall never again sit in judgment with the judges.

¶ 6 If a man steals valuables belonging to the god or to the palace, that man shall be killed, and also he who received the stolen goods from him shall be killed.

¶ 7 If a man should purchase silver, gold, a slave, a slave woman, an ox, a sheep, a donkey, or anything else whatsoever, from a son of a man or from a slave of a man without witnesses or a contract—or if he accepts the goods for safekeeping—that man is a thief, he shall be killed.

¶ 8 If a man steals an ox, a sheep, a donkey, a pig, or a boat—if it belongs either to the god or to the palace, he shall give thirtyfold; if it belongs to a commoner, he shall replace it tenfold; if the thief does not have anything to give, he shall be killed.

¶ 9 If a man who claims to have lost property then discovers his lost

awīlim iṣṣabat awīlum ša ḥulqum ina qātišu ṣabtu nādinānummi iddinam maḥar šībīmi ašām iqtabi u bēl ḥulqim šībī mudē ḥulqījami lublam iqtabi šājimānum nādin iddinuṣum u šībī ša ina maḥrišunu iṣāmu itbalam u bēl ḥulqim šībī mudē ḥulqišu itbalam dajānū awātišunu immaruma šībū ša maḥrišunu šīmum iṣšāmu u šībū mudē ḥulqim mudūssunu maḥar ilim iqabbūma nādinānum šarrāq iddāk bēl ḥulqim ḥuluqšu ileqqe šājimānum ina bīt nādinānim kasap iṣqulu ileqqe

property in another man's possession, but the man in whose possession the lost property was discovered declares, "A seller sold it to me, I purchased it in the presence of witnesses," and the owner of the lost property declares, "I can bring witnesses who can identify my lost property," (and then if) the buyer produces the seller who sold it to him and the witnesses in whose presence he purchased it, and also the owner of the lost property produces the witnesses who can identify his lost property—the judges shall examine their cases, and the witnesses in whose presence the purchase was made and the witnesses who can identify the lost property shall state the facts known to them before the god, then it is the seller who is the thief, he shall be killed; the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property, and the buyer shall take from the seller's estate the amount of silver that he weighed and delivered.

(vii 48–61) *šumma šājimānum nādinān iddinuṣum u šībī ša ina maḥrišunu iṣāmu la itbalam bēl ḥulqimma šībī mudē ḥulqišu itbalam šājimānum šarrāq iddāk bēl ḥulqim ḥuluqšu ileqqe*

¶ 10 If the buyer could not produce the seller who sold (the lost property) to him or the witnesses before whom he made the purchase, but the owner of the lost property could produce witnesses who can identify his lost property, then it is the buyer who is the thief, he shall be killed; the owner of the lost property shall take his lost property.

(vii 62–viii 3) *šumma bēl ḥulqim šībī mudē ḥulqišu la itbalam sār tuššamma iddi³ iddāk*

¶ 11 If the owner of the lost property could not produce witnesses who can identify his lost property,

(viii 4-13) *šumma nādinānum ana šīmtim ittalak šājimānum ina bīt nādinānim rugummē dīnim šuāti adi ḥamšīšu ileqqe*

(viii 14-24) *šumma awīlum šū šībūšu la qerbu dajānū adannam ana šeššet warḥī išakkanušumma šumma ina šeššet warḥī šībīšu la irdiam awīlum šū sār aran dīnim šuāti ittanašši*

(viii 25-29) *šumma awīlum mār awīlim šīḥram ištariq iddāk*

(viii 30-36) *šumma awīlum lu warad ekallim lu amat ekallim lu warad muškēnim lu amat muškēnim abullam uštēši iddāk*

(viii 37-48) *šumma awīlum lu warad lu amtam ḥalqam ša ekallim ulu muškēnim ina bītišu irtaqīma ana šisīt nāgirim la uštēšiam bēl bītim šū iddāk*

(viii 49-58) *šumma awīlum lu warad lu amtam ḥalqam ina šērīm iṣbatma ana bēlišu irtediaššu 2 šiqil kaspam bēl wardim inaddišsum*

(viii 59-67) *šumma wardum šū bēlišu la izzakar ana ekallim iredīšu warkassu ipparrasma ana bēlišu utar= rušu*

he is a liar, he has indeed spread malicious charges, he shall be killed.

¶ 12 If the seller should die, the buyer shall take fivefold the claim for that case from the estate of the seller.

¶ 13 If that man's witnesses are not available, the judges shall grant him an extension until the sixth month, but if he does not bring his witnesses by the sixth month, it is that man who is a liar, he shall be assessed the penalty for that case.

¶ 14 If a man should kidnap the young child of another man, he shall be killed.

¶ 15 If a man should enable a palace slave, a palace slave woman, a commoner's slave, or a commoner's slave woman to leave through the main city-gate, he shall be killed.

¶ 16 If a man should harbor a fugitive slave or slave woman of either the palace or of a commoner in his house and not bring him out at the herald's public proclamation, that householder shall be killed.

¶ 17 If a man seizes a fugitive slave or slave woman in the open country and leads him back to his owner, the slave owner shall give him 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 18 If that slave should refuse to identify his owner, he shall lead him off to the palace, his circumstances shall be investigated, and they shall return him to his owner.

(viii 68-ix 4) *šumma wardam šuāti ina bītišu iktalāšu warka wardum ina qātišu ittaṣbat awīlum šū iddāk*

(ix 5-13) *šumma wardum ina qāt šābitānišu iḥtaliq awīlum šū ana bēl wardim nīš ilim izakkarma ūtaššar*

(ix 14-21) *šumma awīlum bītam ipluṣ ina pani pilšim šuāti idukkušuma iḥallalušu*

(ix 22-27) *šumma awīlum ḥubtam iḥbutma ittaṣbat awīlum šū iddāk*

(ix 28-45) *šumma ḥabbātum la ittaṣbat awīlum ḥabtum mimmašu ḥalqam maḥar ilim ubārma ālum⁴ u rabiānum ša ina eršetisunu u paṭṭisunu ḥubtum iḥhabtu mimmašu ḥalqam iriabbu⁵*

(ix 46-50) *šumma napištum ālum u rabiānum 1 mana kaspam ana nišīšu išaqqalu*

(ix 51-65) *šumma ina bīt awīlim išātum innapiḥma awīlum ša ana bul⁶ līm⁶ illiku ana numāt bēl bītim īnšu iššīma numāt bēl bītim ilteqe awīlum šū ana išātīm šuāti innaddi*

(ix 66-x 12) *šumma lu rēdum ulu bā'irum ša ana ḥarrān šarrim alākšu*

¶ 19 If he should detain that slave in his own house and afterward the slave is discovered in his possession, that man shall be killed.

¶ 20 If the slave should escape the custody of the one who seized him, that man shall swear an oath by the god to the owner of the slave, and he shall be released.

¶ 21 If a man breaks into a house, they shall kill him and hang(?) him in front of that very breach.

¶ 22 If a man commits a robbery and is then seized, that man shall be killed.

¶ 23 If the robber should not be seized, the man who has been robbed shall establish the extent of his lost property before the god; and the city and the governor in whose territory and district the robbery was committed shall replace his lost property to him.

¶ 24 If a life (is lost during the robbery), the city and the governor shall weigh and deliver to his kinsmen 60 shekels of silver.

¶ 25 If a fire breaks out in a man's house, and a man who came to help put it out covets the household furnishings belonging to the householder, and takes household furnishings belonging to the householder, that man shall be cast into that very fire.

¶ 26 If either a soldier or a fisherman who is ordered to go on a royal

*qabū la illik ulu agram igurma pūḫšu
ittarad lu rēdūm ulu bā'irum šū iddāk
munaggiršu bīssu itabbal*

(x 13-29) *šumma lu rēdūm ulu
bā'irum ša ina dannat šarrim turru
warkišu eqelšu u kirāšu' ana šanīm
iddinuma ilikšu ittalak šumma
ittūramma ālšu iktašdam eqelšu u
kirāšu utarrušumma šūma ilikšu illak*

(x 30-40) *šumma lu rēdūm ulu
bā'irum ša ina dannat šarrim turru
mārušu ilkam alākam ile'i eqlum u
kirūm innaddiššumma ilik abišu illak*

(x 41-50) *šumma mārušu šeḫerma ilik
abišu alākam la ile'i šalušti eqlim u
kirīm ana ummišu innaddinma
ummašu urabbāšu*

(x 51-xi 4) *šumma lu rēdūm ulu
bā'irum eqelšu kirāšu u bīssu ina pani
ilkim iddīma uddappir šanūm war-
kišu eqelšu kirāšu u bīssu išbatma
šalaš šanātīm ilikšu ittalak šumma
itūramma⁸ eqelšu kirāšu u bīssu irriš
ul innaddiššum ša iššabtuma ilikšu
ittalku šūma illak*

campaign does not go, or hires and sends a hireling as his substitute, that soldier or fisherman shall be killed; the one who informs against him shall take full legal possession of his estate.

¶ 27 If there is either a soldier or a fisherman who is taken captive while serving in a royal fortress, and they give his field and his orchard to another to succeed to his holdings, and he then performs his service obligation—if he (the soldier or fisherman) should return and get back to his city, they shall return to him his field and orchard and he himself shall perform his service obligation.

¶ 28 If there is either a soldier or a fisherman who is taken captive while serving in a royal fortress, and his son is able to perform the service obligation, the field and orchard shall be given to him and he shall perform his father's service obligation.

¶ 29 If his son is too young and is unable to perform his father's service obligation, one third of the field and orchard shall be given to his mother, and his mother shall raise him.

¶ 30 If either a soldier or a fisherman abandons his field, orchard, or house because of the service obligation and then absents himself, another person takes possession of his field, orchard, or house to succeed to his holdings and performs the service obligation for three

years—if he then returns and claims his field, orchard, or house, it will not be given to him; he who has taken possession of it and has performed his service obligation shall be the one to continue to perform the obligation.

(xi 5-12) *šumma šattam ištātma
uddappirma ittūram eqelšu kirāšu u
bīssu innaddiššumma šūma ilikšu
illak*

(xi 13-38) *šumma lu rēdūm ulu
bā'irum ša ina ḥarrān šarrim turru
tamkārum ipturaššuma ālšu uštakši-
daššu šumma ina bītišu ša paṭārim
ibašši šūma ramanšu ipaṭṭar šumma
ina bītišu ša paṭārišu la ibašši ina bīt
ili ālišu ipaṭṭar šumma ina bīt ili
ālišu ša paṭārišu la ibašši ekallum
ipaṭṭaršu eqelšu kirāšu u bīssu ana
ipterišu ul innaddin*

(xi 39-50) *šumma lu ša ḥaṭṭātīm ulu
laputtūm šāb nishātīm⁹ irtaši ulu ana
ḥarrān šarrim agram pūḫam imḫurma
irtedi lu ša ḥaṭṭātīm ulu laputtūm šū
iddāk*

(xi 51-64) *šumma lu ša ḥaṭṭātīm ulu
laputtūm numāt rēdīm ilteqe rēdiam
iḫtabal rēdiam ana igrim ittadin
rēdiam ina dīnim ana dannim ištarak
qīšti šarrum ana rēdīm iddinu ilteqe¹⁰
lu ša ḥaṭṭātīm ulu laputtūm šū iddāk*

¶ 31 If he should absent himself for only one year and then return, his field, orchard, and house shall be given to him, and he himself shall perform his service obligation.

¶ 32 If there is either a soldier or a fisherman who is taken captive while on a royal campaign, a merchant redeems him and helps him to get back to his city—if there are sufficient means in his own estate for the redeeming, he himself shall redeem himself; if there are not sufficient means in his estate to redeem him, he shall be redeemed by his city's temple; if there are not sufficient means in his city's temple to redeem him, the palace shall redeem him; but his field, orchard, or house will not be given for his redemption.

¶ 33 If either a captain or a sergeant should recruit(?) deserters or accepts and leads off a hireling as a substitute on a royal campaign, that captain or sergeant shall be killed.

¶ 34 If either a captain or a sergeant should take a soldier's household furnishings, oppress a soldier, hire out a soldier, deliver a soldier into the power of an influential person in a law case, or take a gift that the king gave to a soldier, that captain or sergeant shall be killed.

(xi 65-xii 4) *šumma awilum liätim u šēnī ša šarrum ana rēdīm iddinu ina qāti rēdīm ištām ina kaspišu itelli*

(xii 5-9) *eqlum kirām u bītum ša rēdīm bā'irim u nāši biltim ana kaspim ul innaddin*

(xii 10-21) *šumma awilum eqlam kirām u bītum ša rēdīm bā'irim u nāši biltim ištām tuppašu iḥḥeppe u ina kaspišu itelli eqlum kirām u bītum ana bēlišu itār*

(xii 22-30) *rēdūm bā'irum u nāši bil-tim ina eqlim kirīm u bītim ša ilkišu ana aššatišu u mārītišu ul išaṭṭar u ana e'iltišu ul innaddin*

(xii 31-38) *ina eqlim kirīm u bītim ša išammuma iraššū ana aššatišu u mārītišu išaṭṭar u ana e'iltišu innaddin*

(xii 39-48) *nadītum tamkārum u ilkum aḥūm eqelšu kirāšu u bīssu ana kaspim innaddin šājimānum ilik eqlim kirīm u bītim ša išammu illak*

(xii 49-62) *šumma awilum eqlam kirām u bītum ša rēdīm bā'irim u nāši*

¶ 35 If a man should purchase from a soldier either the cattle or the sheep and goats which the king gave to the soldier, he shall forfeit his silver.

¶ 36 (Furthermore), the field, orchard, or house of a soldier, fisherman, or a state tenant will not be sold.

¶ 37 If a man should purchase a field, orchard, or house of a soldier, fisherman, or a state tenant, his deed shall be invalidated and he shall forfeit his silver; the field, orchard, or house shall revert to its owner.

¶ 38 (Furthermore), a soldier, fisherman, or a state tenant will not assign in writing to his wife or daughter any part of a field, orchard, or house attached to his service obligation, nor shall he give it to meet any outstanding obligation.

¶ 39 He shall assign in writing to his wife or daughter or give to meet an outstanding obligation only a field, orchard, or house which he himself acquires by purchase.

¶ 40 (However), a *nadītu*, a merchant, or a holder of a field with a special service obligation may sell her or his field, orchard, or house; the buyer shall perform the service obligation on the field, orchard, or house which he purchases.

¶ 41 If a man accepts a field, orchard, or house of a soldier, fish-

biltim upīḥ u niplātim iddin rēdūm bā'irum u nāši biltim ana eqlišu kirīšu u bītīšu itār u niplātim ša innad-nušum itabbal

(xii 63-xiii 5) *šumma awilum eqlam ana errēšūtīm ušēšīma ina eqlim še'am la uštābši ina eqlim šiprim la epēšim ukannušuma še'am kīma itēšu ana bēl eqlim innaddin*

(xiii 6-16) *šumma eqlam la īrišma ittadi še'am kīma itēšu ana bēl eqlim innaddin u eqlam ša iddū majārī imahḥaš išakkakma¹¹ ana bēl eqlim utār*

(xiii 17-34) *šumma awilum kankallam ana šalaš šanātim ana teptītīm ušēšīma aḥšu iddīma eqlam la iptete ina rebūtīm šattim eqlam majārī imahḥaš imarrar u išakkakma ana bēl eqlim utār u ana 1 burum 10 kur še'am imaddad*

(xiii 35-46) *šumma awilum eqelšu ana biltim ana errēšim¹² iddinma u bilat eqlišu imtaḥar warka eqlam Adad irtaḥiṣ ulu bibbulum itbal bitiq-tum ša errēšimma*

erman, or state tenant in an exchange and gives him a compensatory payment (for the difference in value), the soldier, fisherman, or state tenant shall reclaim his field, orchard, or house and shall also keep full legal possession of the compensatory payment which was given to him.

¶ 42 If a man rents a field in tenancy but does not plant any grain, they shall charge and convict him of not performing the required work in the field, and he shall give to the owner of the field grain in accordance with his neighbor's yield.

¶ 43 If he does not cultivate the field at all but leaves it fallow, he shall give to the owner of the field grain in accordance with his neighbor's yield, and he shall plow and harrow the field which he left fallow and return it to the owner of the field.

¶ 44 If a man rents a previously uncultivated field for a three-year term with the intention of opening it for cultivation but he is negligent and does not open the field, in the fourth year he shall plow, hoe, and harrow the field and return it to the owner of the field; and in addition he shall measure and deliver 3,000 silas of grain per 18 ikus (of field).

¶ 45 If a man leases his field to a cultivator and receives the rent for his field, and afterwards the storm-god Adad devastates the field or a flood sweeps away the crops, the loss is the cultivator's alone.

(xiii 47-57) *šumma bilat eqlišu la imtaḥar ulu ana mišlāni ulu ana šaluš eqlam iddin še'am ša ina eqlim ibbaššū errēšum u bēl eqlim ana apšitēm izuzzu*

(xiii 58-70) *šumma errēšum aššum ina šattim maḥrītīm mānaḥātīšu la ilqū eqlam erēšam iqtabi bēl eqlim ul uppas errēssuma eqelšu irrišma ina ebūrim kīma riksātīšu še'am ileqqe*

(xiii 71-xiv 17) *šumma awīlum ḥubullum elišu ibaššīma eqelšu Adad irtaḥiṣ ulu bibbulum itbal ulu ina la mē še'um ina eqlim la ittabši ina šat-tim šuāti še'am ana bēl ḥubullīšu ul utār tuppašu uraṭṭab u šibtam ša šat-tim šuāti ul inaddin*

(xiv 18-44) *šumma awīlum kaspam itti tamkārim ilqēma eqel epšētim ša še'im ulu šamaššammī ana tamkārim iddin eqlam erišma še'am ulu šamaššammī ša ibbaššū esip tabal iqbišum šumma errēšum ina eqlim še'am ulu šamaššammī uštābši ina ebūrim še'am u šamaššammī ša ina eqlim ibbaššū bēl eqlimma ileqqēma še'am ša kaspišu u šibassu ša itti tamkārim ilqū u mānaḥāt erēšim ana tamkārim inaddin*

¶ 46 If he (the owner) should not receive the rent for his field (before the catastrophe destroys the field) or he leases out the field on terms of a half share or a third share (of the yield), the cultivator and the owner of the field shall divide whatever grain there is remaining in the agreed proportions.

¶ 47 If the cultivator should declare his intention to cultivate the field (in the next year) because in the previous year he did not recover his expenses, the owner of the field will not object; his same cultivator shall cultivate his field and he shall take (his share of) the grain at the harvest in accordance with his contract.

¶ 48 If a man has a debt lodged against him, and the storm-god Adad devastates his field or a flood sweeps away the crops, or there is no grain grown in the field due to insufficient water—in that year he will not repay grain to his creditor; he shall suspend performance of his contract and he will not give interest payments for that year.

¶ 49 If a man borrows silver from a merchant and gives the merchant a field prepared for planting with either grain or sesame¹³ (as a pledge for the loan) and declares to him, "You cultivate the field and collect and take away as much grain or sesame as will be grown"—if the cultivator should produce either grain or sesame in the field, at the harvest it is only the owner of the field who shall take the grain or

sesame that is grown in the field, and he shall give to the merchant the grain equivalent to his silver which he borrowed from the merchant and the interest on it and also the expenses of the cultivation.

(xiv 45-55) *šumma eqel <še'im> eršam ulu eqel šamaššammī eršam iddin še'am ulu šamaššammī ša ina eqlim ibbaššū bēl eqlimma ileqqēma kaspam u šibassu ana tamkārim utār*

¶ 50 If he gives (to the merchant as a pledge for the loan) a field already plowed and sown with either <grain> or sesame, (at the harvest) it is only the owner of the field who shall take the grain or sesame that is grown in the field and he shall repay the silver and the interest on it to the merchant.

(xiv 56-66) *šumma kaspam ana tur-rim la išu <še'am ulu> šamaššammī ana maḥīrātīšunu ša kaspišu u šibtīšu ša itti tamkārim ilqū ana pī šimdat šurrim ana tamkārim inaddin*

¶ 51 If he does not have silver to repay, he shall give to the merchant, in accordance with the royal edict, <either grain or> sesame according to their market value for his silver borrowed from the merchant and the interest on it.

(xv 1-6) *šumma errēšum ina eqlim še'am ulu šamaššammī la uštābši riksātīšu ul inni*

¶ 52 If the cultivator should not produce grain or sesame in the field, he will not alter his agreement.

(xv 7-20) *šumma awīlum ana kār eqlīšu dunnunim aḥšu iddīma kāršu la udanninma ina kārišu pītum ittepte u ugāram mē uštābil awīlum ša ina kārišu pītum ippetū še'am ša uḥalliqu iriab*

¶ 53 If a man neglects to reinforce the embankment of (the irrigation canal of) his field and does not reinforce its embankment, and then a breach opens in its embankment and allows the water to carry away the common irrigated area, the man in whose embankment the breach opened shall replace the grain whose loss he caused.

(xv 21-30) *šumma še'am riābam la ile'i šuāti u bišašu ana kaspim inaddīnuma mārū ugārim ša še'šunu mū ublu izuzzu*

¶ 54 If he cannot replace the grain, they shall sell him and his property, and the residents of the common irrigated area whose grain

crops the water carried away shall divide (the proceeds).

(xv 31-38) *šumma awilum atappašu ana šiḡitīm ipṭe aḥṣu iddīma eḡel itēšu mē uštābil še'am kīma itēšu imaddad*

¶ 55 If a man opens his branch of the canal for irrigation and negligently allows the water to carry away his neighbor's field, he shall measure and deliver grain in accordance with his neighbor's yield.

(xv 39-45) *šumma awilum mē ipṭēma epṣētīm ša eḡel itēšu mē uštābil ana 1 burum 10 kur še'am imaddad*

¶ 56 If a man opens (an irrigation gate and releases) waters and thereby he allows the water to carry away whatever work has been done in his neighbor's field, he shall measure and deliver 3,000 silas of grain per 18 ikus (of field).

(xv 46-64) *šumma rē'um ana šammī šēnim šūkūlim itti bēl eqlim la imtašarma balum bēl eqlim eqlam šēnam uštākīl bēl eqlim eḡelšu iṣṣid rē'um ša ina balum bēl eqlim eqlam šēnam ušākīlu elēnumma ana 1 burum 20 kur še'am ana bēl eqlim inaddin*

¶ 57 If a shepherd does not make an agreement with the owner of the field to graze sheep and goats, and without the permission of the owner of the field grazes sheep and goats on the field, the owner of the field shall harvest his field and the shepherd who grazed sheep and goats on the field without the permission of the owner of the field shall give in addition 6,000 silas of grain per 18 ikus (of field) to the owner of the field.

(xv 65-xvi 3) *šumma ištu šēnum ina ugārim itelānim kannu gamartim ina abullim ittaḥlalu rē'um šēnam ana eqlim iddīma eqlam šēnam uštākīl rē'um eḡel ušākīlu inaššarma ina ebūrim ana 1 burum 60 kur še'am ana bēl eqlim imaddad*

¶ 58 If, after the sheep and goats come up from the common irrigated area when the pennants announcing the termination of pasturing are wound around the main city-gate, the shepherd releases the sheep and goats into a field and allows the sheep and goats to graze in the field—the shepherd shall guard the field in which he allowed them to graze and at the harvest he shall measure and deliver to the

owner of the field 18,000 silas of grain per 18 ikus (of field).

(xvi 4-9) *šumma awilum balum bēl kirīm ina kirī awilim iṣam ikkis ½ mana kasṣam iṣaqqal*

¶ 59 If a man cuts down a tree in another man's date orchard without the permission of the owner of the orchard, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.

(xvi 10-26) *šumma awilum eqlam ana kirīm zaqāpim ana nukaribbim iddin nukaribbum kiriam izqup erbe šanātīm kiriam urabba ina ḥamuštīm šattīm bēl kirīm u nukaribbum miṭḥāriš izuzzu bēl kirīm zittašu inas= saqma ileqqe*

¶ 60 If a man gives a field to a gardener to plant as a date orchard and the gardener plants the orchard, he shall cultivate the orchard for four years; in the fifth year, the owner of the orchard and the gardener shall divide the yield in equal shares; the owner of the orchard shall select and take his share first.

(xvi 27-33) *šumma nukaribbum eqlam ina zaqāpim la igmurma nidītam īzib nidītam ana libbi zittišu iṣakkanuṣum*

¶ 61 If the gardener does not complete the planting of (the date orchard in) the field, but leaves an uncultivated area, they shall include the uncultivated area in his share.

(xvi 34-47) *šumma eqlam ša innad= nuṣum ana kirīm la izqup šumma šer'um bilat eqlim ša šanātīm ša innadū nukaribbum ana bēl eqlim kīma itēšu imaddad u eqlam šīpram ippešma ana bēl eqlim utār*

¶ 62 If he does not plant as a date orchard the field which was given to him—if it is arable land, the gardener shall measure and deliver to the owner of the field the estimated yield of the field for the years it is left fallow in accordance with his neighbor's yield; furthermore he shall perform the required work on the field and return it to the owner of the field.

(xvi 48-57) *šumma kankallum eqlam šīpram ippešma ana bēl eqlim utār u ana 1 burum 10 kur še'am ša šattīm iṣtiat imaddad*

¶ 63 If it is uncultivated land, he shall perform the required work on the field and return it to the owner of the field, and in addition he shall measure and deliver 3,000 silas of grain per 18 ikus (of field) per year.

(xvi 58–70) *šumma awīlum kirāšu ana nukaribbim ana rukkubim iddin nukaribbum adi kirām šabtu ina bilat kirīm šittin ana bēl kirīm inaddin šaluštam šū ileqqe*

(xvi 71–xvii 1) *šumma nukaribbum kirām la urakkibma biltam umtaṭṭi nukaribbum bilat kirīm ana <bēl kirīm kīma> itēšu [imaddad (...)]*

(P ii 1–18; Q iii 1–27) *šumma awīlum kaspam itti tamkārim ilqēma tamkāršu īsiršuma mimma ša nadānim la ibaššīšum kirāšu ištu tarkibtim ana tamkārim iddinma suluppī mala ina kirīm ibbaššū ana kaspika tabal iqbīšum tamkārum šū ul immaggar suluppī ša ina kirīm ibbaššū bēl kirīm ileqqēma kaspam u šibassu ša pī ṭuppišu tamkāram ippalma suluppī watrūtīm ša ina kirīm ibbaššū bēl kirīm ile[qqe]*

(P ii 19–23) *šumma aw[īlum] bītam ip[pešma] tēḫušū [...] ša [...] x [...]*

(P i 1–6 and b 1–8; Q iv 1–15) *[šumma ...] ana šim[im ...] ul*

¶ 64 If a man gives his orchard to a gardener to pollinate (the date palms), as long as the gardener is in possession of the orchard, he shall give to the owner of the orchard two thirds of the yield of the orchard, and he himself shall take one third.

¶ 65 If the gardener does not pollinate the (date palms in the) orchard and thus diminishes the yield, the gardener [shall measure and deliver] a yield for the orchard to <the owner of the orchard in accordance with> his neighbor's yields.

gap ¶ a If a man borrows silver from a merchant and his merchant presses him for payment but he has nothing to give in repayment, and therefore he gives his orchard after pollination to the merchant and declares to him, "Take away as many dates as will be grown in the orchard as payment for your silver"—the merchant will not agree; the owner of the orchard himself shall take the dates that are grown in the orchard, he shall satisfy the merchant with silver and the interest on it in accordance with the terms of his contract, and only the owner of the orchard shall take the dates that are grown in the orchard in excess (of the debt).

(¶ A, ¶ 66)

gap ¶ b If a man intends to build a house and his neighbor [...]

(¶ B, ¶ 67)

gap ¶ c [If ...] he will not give to him [...] for a price; if he intends to

i[nad]diššum šumma še'am kaspam u bīšam ana bīt ilkim ša bīt itēšu ša išāmu inaddin ina mimma ša iddinu itelli bītum ana [bēli]šu itār šumma bītum šū ilkam la išu išām ana bītum šuāti še'am kaspam u bīšam inaddin

give grain, silver, or any other commodity for a house encumbered by a service obligation and belonging to the estate of his neighbor which he wishes to buy, he shall forfeit whatever he gave; it shall return to its owner. If that house is not encumbered by a service obligation, he may buy it; he may give grain, silver, or any other commodity for that house.

(¶ C, ¶ 67+a)

(Q iv 16–21) *šumma awī[lum] ni[dītam] balum i[tēšu] it[epuš] ina bīt [...] itē[šu ...] ana [...]*

gap ¶ d If a man should work his neighbor's uncultivated plot without his neighbor's permission, in the house [...] his neighbor [...]

(¶ D, ¶ 68+a)

(P iii 1–9; R i 1–12) *[šumma ...] nabalkattaka dunnin ištu bītika ibbaš lakkatunim ana bēl nidītim nidītka epuš [iš]tu nidītka [bīt]i ipallašunim [iq]bi [šī]bī iškun [šumma] ina nabalkattim [šarr]āqum(?) [...] [mimma ša ina] naba[lkattim ḫalqu] bēl [...] šumma x [...] bēl [...] mimma [...] iri[ab] šumma [...] ū-x [...]*

gap ¶ e [If ... a man] declares [to the owner of a rundown house], "Reinforce your scalable wall; they could scale over the wall to here from your house," or to the owner of an uncultivated plot, "Work your uncultivated plot; they could break into my house from your uncultivated plot," and he secures witnesses—if a thief [breaks in] by scaling the wall, the owner [of the rundown house shall replace anything which is lost by] the scaling; if [a thief breaks in by access through the uncultivated plot], the owner [of the uncultivated plot] shall replace anything [which was lost ...]; if [...]

(¶¶ H, G, ¶ 68+b)

(R ii 1–4) *[šumma ...] ina [...] bītum [...] i[...]*

gap ¶ f [If ...] house [...]

(¶ J₁, ¶ 68+c)

(P ii 1–18; R ii 5–13; s rev.) *š[umma] awīlum [...] i[na ...] x [...] awīlum*

gap ¶ g If [a man rents a house ... and] the tenant gives the full

ašbumm[a] kasap kišri[šu] gamram
ša šana[t] ana bēl [bitim] iddi[nma]
bēl bitim ana waššābi[m] ina ūmī[šu]
la malūtīm wašdā[m] iqtāb[i] bēl bitim
aš[šum] waššā[bam] ina ūmī[šu] la
malū[tim] ina bītišu u[sēšū] ina
kaspim ša waššāb[um] idd[inušum]
it[el]li

amount of the silver for his annual
rent to the owner of the house, but
the owner of the house then orders
the tenant to leave before the expi-
ration of the full term of his lease,
the owner of the house, because he
evicted the tenant before the expi-
ration of the full term of his lease,
shall forfeit the silver that the ten-
ant gave him.

(¶¶ J₂, E, ¶ 69+c)

(t i 3-15) [šumma waš]bum [bīt
muškēnim] išā[m ...] kišrim ša ippušu
[ana b]īt muškēnim šāmim [...] ša
išakkanu [...] x išakkanšu [...] ū
šumma rūqim [...] ša muškēnim [...] šumma
ul išamma [ina kaspim ša]
ilqū [itelli]ma [bīt muškēnim ana
bēl]išu [itā]r

gap ¶ h [If] a tenant intends to pur-
chase [the house of a commoner,
...] the rent obligation which he
shall perform, in order to purchase
the house of a commoner, [...] which he shall place [...] he shall
place it [...]; if he is abroad(?) [...] of
the commoner; if he does not pur-
chase (the house) [he shall forfeit
the silver that] he took and [the
house of the commoner shall
revert to] its owner.

(¶ 4.12)¹⁴

(t i 16-?) [...]

gap ¶¶ i, j, k [...]

(¶¶ 4.13, 4.14, 5.1)

(t i ?-ii 5) [šumma awilum ... i]na
ebūrim kasapšu u šibassu [išaqqal]
šumma a<na> nadānim ul [išu] mim
mūšu bīšam u še'am [inaddinšum]
šumma ana nadānim x išu [...]

gap ¶ l [If a man borrows silver ...]
he shall weigh and deliver his silver
and the interest on it at the harvest;
if he has nothing to give, [he shall
give to him] any of his property,
any commodity or grain; if he has ...
to give, [...]

(¶ 5.2)

(t ii 6-13) šumma tamkārum ša ana
[...] it-ta-x ša ana [...] ū-na-x-x-x [...] x
ana 5 šiql kaspim [...] kunukkišu la
išturšum [...] ma-ḥar(-)šu-ū-x-ma x x
mār awilim la ki tu x x x šuāti
idu[kkušu]

gap ¶ m If a merchant who for [...] ...
for 5 shekels of silver [...] he did
not write for him a sealed docu-
ment [...] ... the son of a man ... that
one ... they shall kill him.

(¶ 5.3)

(t ii 14-18) šumma warad awilim [...] ¹/₃ mana kaspam išaqqal u wardum
šū [...] g]amram ra(?)-ni(?)-a-[...] ša(?)
idū iddāk

gap ¶ n If a man's slave [...] he shall
weigh and deliver 20 shekels of sil-
ver, and that slave [...] complete ...
he shall be killed.

(t ii 19-26) [šumma] awilum awilam
... [...] -ma [...] kaspum [...]

gap ¶ o [If] a man [...] another man
[...] silver [...]

(¶ 5.4)

(t ii 27-iii 5) [...]

gap ¶¶ p, q [...]

(¶¶ 5.5, 5.6)

(t iii 6-23) [šumma ...] ū-[...] ana [...] idī
[...] kaspam x [...] šumma awilum
šua[ti] ša a-x [...] la ū-[...] ina(?)
kaspim ša iddinu(?) itelli

gap ¶ r [If ...] to [...] wages [...] silver
[...]; if that man who [...] does not
[...] he shall forfeit the silver that
he gave.

(¶ 5.7)

(S i 1'-3'; t iii 24-34) šumma [lu] war-
dum lu [amtum ...] ana bē[lišu] utar-
rušu šumma [...] itarrakaššu [...] ana
bēli]šu ul utarrušum

gap ¶ s If either a male slave or [a
female slave ..., they shall return
him] to [his] master; if [...] he
beats(?) him, they will not return
him [to] his [master].

(¶ K, ¶ 69+d, ¶ 5.8)

(S i 4'-12'; t iii 35-40) šumma
tamkārum še'am u kaspam ana ḥubul-
lim iddin ana 1 kurru 1 pān 4 sūt
še'am šibtam ileqqe šumma kaspam
ana ḥubullim iddin ana 1 šiql kaspim
IGI.6.GAL u 6 uttet šibtam ileqqe

gap ¶ t If a merchant gives grain or
silver as an interest-bearing loan,
he shall take 100 silas of grain per
kur as interest (= 33%); if he gives
silver as an interest-bearing loan,
he shall take 36 barleycorns per
shekel of silver as interest (= 20%).

(¶ L, ¶ 70+d, ¶ 5.9)

(S i 14'-27'; t iii 41-iv 7) šumma
awilum¹⁵ ša ḥubullam iršū kaspam
ana turrim la išu¹⁶ še'am u kaspam
kima šimdat šarim u šibassu 1 kur-
rum še'am 1 pān ana šattim(?) ileqqe
šumma tamkārum šibat ḥubulli [...] ana
1 kur [...] IGI.6.GAL 6 uttet [...] uwatterma
ilqe ina m[imma] ša iddinu
it[elli]

gap ¶ u If a man who has an inter-
est-bearing loan does not have sil-
ver with which to repay it, he (the
merchant) shall take grain and sil-
ver in accordance with the royal
edict and the interest on it at the
annual rate of 60 silas per 1 kur (= 20%);
if the merchant should
attempt to increase and collect the
interest on the (silver) loan [up to

the grain interest rate of 100 silas of grain] per 1 kur (= 33%), [or in any other way beyond] 36 barleycorns [per shekel (= 20%) of silver], he shall forfeit whatever he had given.

(¶ M, ¶ 71+d, ¶ 5.10)

(S i 29'-35'; t iv 8-19) *šumma tamkārūm še'am u kaspam ana šibtim [iddinm]a šibtam ma[la qaqqadi]šu še'am kaspam [...] ilteqēma [...] x [...] še'um u ka[spum qaqqada]šu u šib[assu ...] tuppi rik[istišu ihheppe]*

gap ¶ v If a merchant gives grain or silver at interest and he then takes [...] grain or silver as interest according to the amount of his capital sum, [...] the grain and silver, his capital and interest [...], the tablet recording [his debt obligation shall be broken].

(¶ N, ¶ 72+d, ¶ 5.11)

(S ii 1'-8'; t iv 20-39) *šumma tamkār[um ...] ana [...] šibtam [...] ilteqēma [...] ulu še'am [ulu kaspam] mala [imḥuru ulu] la uštaḥrišma tuppam eššam(?) la ištur ulu šibātim ana qaqqadim uṭṭeḥḥi tamkārūm šū še'am mala ilqū uštašannāma utār*

gap ¶ w If a merchant [...] should take [...] interest and [...], then does not deduct the payments of either grain [or silver] as much as [he received, or] does not write a new tablet, or adds the interest payments to the capital sum, that merchant shall return two-fold as much grain as he received.

(¶ O, ¶ 72+e, ¶ 5.12)

(S ii 10'-21') *šumma tamkārūm še'am u kaspam ana ḥubullim iddinma inūma ana ḥubullim iddinu kaspam ina abnim maṭītim u še'am ina sūtim maṭītim iddin u inūma imḥuru kaspam ina abnim [rabītim] še'am ina sūtim rabītim imḥur [tamkārūm šū] ina [mimma ša iddinu] i[telli]*

gap ¶ x If a merchant gives grain or silver as an interest-bearing loan and when he gives it as an interest-bearing loan he gives the silver according to the small weight or the grain according to the small seah-measure but when he receives payment he receives the silver according to the large weight or the grain according to the large seah-measure, [that merchant] shall forfeit [anything that he gave].

(¶ P, ¶ 73+e, ¶ 5.13)

(S ii 23'-28') *šumma [tamkārūm ...] ana ḥub[ullim ...] iddin ina mimma [ša] iddinu itelli*

gap ¶ y If [a merchant] gives [...] as an interest-bearing loan, [...] he shall forfeit anything that he gave.

(¶ Q, ¶ 74+e, <¶ 5.14>)

(P rev. i 1-13; S ii 30'-40') *šumma awilum še'am u kaspam itti tamkārīm ilqēma še'am u kaspam ana turrim la išu bišamma išu mimma ša ina qātišu ibaššū maḥar šībī kīma ubbalu ana tamkārīšu inaddin tamkārūm ul uppas imahḥar*

gap ¶ z If a man borrows grain or silver from a merchant and does not have grain or silver with which to repay but does have other goods, he shall give to his merchant in the presence of witnesses whatever he has at hand, in amounts according to the exchange value; the merchant will not object; he shall accept it.

(¶ R, ¶ 75+e, ¶ 5.15)

(T rev. i 1'-3') *[šumma awilum ...] i-si[...] kīma [...] x [...]*

gap ¶ aa [If a man ...] like [...]

(¶ S, ¶ 76+e, ¶ 5.16)

(S iii 1') *[šumma ...] iddāk*

gap ¶ bb [If ...] he shall be killed.

(¶ T, ¶ 76+f)

(S iii 3'-7') *šumma awilum ana awilim kaspam ana tappūtīm iddin nēmelam u butuqqām ša ibbaššū maḥar ilim mithāriš izuzzu*

gap ¶ cc If a man gives silver to another man for investment in a partnership venture, before the god they shall equally divide the profit or loss.

(¶ U, ¶ 77+f)

(S iii 8'-21'; xxiv 1-7) *šumma tamkārūm ana šamallēm kaspam ana [nad]ā[nim u maḥā]rim id[di]nma ana ḥarrānim iṭrussu šamallūm ina ḥarrānim [...] šumma ašar illiku [nēmelam] itamar šibāt kaspim mala ilqū isaddarma ūmīšu imannūma tamkāršu ippal*

¶ 100 If a merchant gives silver to a trading agent for conducting business transactions and sends him off on a business trip, the trading agent [shall ...] while on the business trip; if he should realize [a profit] where he went, he shall calculate the total interest, per transaction and time elapsed, on as much silver as he took, and he shall satisfy his merchant.

(¶ V = ¶ 100, ¶ 78+f)

(xxiv 8-14) *šumma ašar illiku nēmelam la itamar kasap ilqū uštašannāma šamallūm ana tamkārim inaddin*

(xxiv 15-23) *šumma tamkārum ana šamallīm kaspam ana tadmiqtim ittadinma ašar illiku bitiqtam itamar qaqqad kaspim ana tamkārim utār*

(xxiv 24-31) *šumma harrānam ina alākišu nakrum mimma ša našū uštaddišu šamallūm nīš ilim izak= karma utaššar*

(xxiv 32-45) *šumma tamkārum ana šamallīm še'am šipātīm šamnam u mimma bišam ana pašārim iddin šamallūm kaspam isaddarma ana tamkārim utār šamallūm kanīk kaspim ša ana tamkārim inaddinu ileqqe*

(xxiv 46-54) *šumma šamallūm itegīma kanīk kaspim ša ana tamkārim iddinu la ilteqe kasap la kanīkim ana nikkassim ul iššakkan*

(xxiv 55-67) *šumma šamallūm kas= pam itti tamkārim ilqēma tamkāršu ittakir tamkārum šū ina maḥar ilim u šībī ina kaspim leqēm šamallām ukānma šamallūm kaspam mala ilqū adi 3-šu ana tamkārim inaddin*

¶ 101 If he should realize no profit where he went, the trading agent shall give to the merchant twofold the silver he took.

¶ 102 If a merchant should give silver to a trading agent for an investment venture, and he incurs a loss on his journeys, he shall return silver to the merchant in the amount of the capital sum.

¶ 103 If enemy forces should make him abandon whatever goods he is transporting while on his business trip, the trading agent shall swear an oath by the god and shall be released.

¶ 104 If a merchant gives a trading agent grain, wool, oil, or any other commodity for local transactions, the trading agent shall return to the merchant the silver for each transaction; the trading agent shall collect a sealed receipt for (each payment in) silver that he gives to the merchant.

¶ 105 If the trading agent should be negligent and not take a sealed receipt for (each payment in) silver that he gives to the merchant, any silver that is not documented in a sealed receipt will not be included in the final accounting.

¶ 106 If the trading agent takes silver from the merchant but then denies the claim of his merchant, that merchant shall bring charges and proof before the god and witnesses against the trading agent

concerning the silver taken, and the trading agent shall give to the merchant threefold the amount of silver that he took.

(xxiv 68-xxv 14) *šumma tamkārum kaspam šamallām iqīpma šamallūm mimma ša tamkārum iddinušum ana tamkārīšu uttēr tamkārum mimma ša šamallūm iddinušum ittakiršu šamal= lūm šū ina maḥar ilim u šībī tamkāram ukānma tamkārum aššum šamallāšu ikkiru mimma ša ilqū adi 6-šu ana šamallēm inaddin*

(xxv 15-25) *šumma sābītum ana šīm šikarim še'am la imtaḥar ina abnim rabītīm kaspam imtaḥar u maḥīr šikarim ana maḥīr še'im umtaṭṭi sābītam šuāti ukannušima¹⁷ ana mē inaddūši*

(xxv 26-35) *šumma sābītum sarrūtum ina bītīša ittarkasuma sarrūtīm šunūti la iššabtamma ana ekallim la irdiam sābītum šī iddāk*

(xxv 36-44) *šumma nadītum ugbab= tum ša ina gagīm la wašbat bīt sībim iptete ulu ana šikarim ana bīt sībim iterub awīltam šuāti iqallūši*

¶ 107 If a merchant entrusts silver to a trading agent and the trading agent then returns to his merchant everything that the merchant had given him but the merchant denies (having received) everything that the trading agent had given him, that trading agent shall bring charges and proof before the god and witnesses against the merchant, and because he denied the account of his trading agent, the merchant shall give to the trading agent sixfold the amount that he took.

¶ 108 If a woman innkeeper should refuse to accept grain for the price of beer but accepts (only) silver measured by the large weight, thereby reducing the value of beer in relation to the value of grain, they shall charge and convict that woman innkeeper and they shall cast her into the water.

¶ 109 If there should be a woman innkeeper in whose house criminals congregate, and she does not seize those criminals and lead them off to the palace authorities, that woman innkeeper shall be killed.

¶ 110 If a *nadītu* or¹⁸ an *ugbābtu* who does not reside within the cloister should open a tavern or enter a tavern for some beer, they shall burn that woman.

(xxv 45-49) *šumma sābītum ištēn pīḥam ana qīptim iddin ina ebūrim 5 sūt še'am ileqqe*

(xxv 50-74) *šumma awīlum ina ḥarrānim wašibma kaspam ḥurāšam abnam u biš qātišu ana awīlim iddinma ana šēbultim ušābilsu awīlum šū mimma ša šūbulu ašar šūbulu la iddinma itbal bēl šēbultim awīlam šuāti ina mimma ša šūbuluma la iddinu ukānšuma¹⁹ awīlum šū adi 5-šu mimma ša innadnušum ana bēl šēbultim inaddin*

(xxv 75-xxvi 16) *šumma awīlum eli awīlim še'am u kaspam išūma ina balum bēl še'im ina našpakim ulu ina maškanim še'am ilteqe awīlam šuāti ina balum bēl še'im ina našpakim ulu ina maškanim ina še'im leqēm ukanušuma še'am mala ilqū utār u ina mimma šumšu mala iddinu itelli*

(xxvi 17-25) *šumma awīlum eli awīlim še'am u kaspam la išūma nipūssu ittepe ana nipūtum ištīat 1/3 mana kaspam išaqqal*

¶ 111 If a woman innkeeper gives one vat of beer as a loan(?), she shall take 50 silas of grain at the harvest.

¶ 112 If a man is engaged in a trading expedition and gives silver, gold, precious stones, or any other goods to another under consignment for transportation, and the latter man does not deliver that which was consigned to him where it was to be consigned but appropriates it, the owner of the consigned property shall charge and convict that man of whatever consignment he failed to deliver, and that man shall give to the owner of the consigned property fivefold the property that had been given to him.

¶ 113 If a man has a claim of grain or silver against another man and takes grain from the granary or from the threshing floor without obtaining permission from the owner of the grain, they shall charge and convict that man of taking grain from the granary or from the threshing floor without the permission of the owner of the grain, and he shall return as much grain as he took; moreover, he shall forfeit whatever he originally gave as the loan.

¶ 114 If a man does not have a claim of grain or silver against another man but distrains a member of his household, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver for each distrainee.

(xxvi 26-37) *šumma awīlum eli awīlim še'am u kaspam išūma nipūssu ippēma nipūtum ina bīt nēpīša ina šīmātiša imtūt dīnum šū rugummām ul išu*

(xxvi 38-53) *šumma nipūtum ina bīt nēpīša ina maḥāšim ulu ina uššūšim imtūt bēl nipūtum tamkāršu ukānma šumma mār awīlim mārāšu idukku šumma warad awīlim 1/3 mana kaspam išaqqal u ina mimma šumšu mala iddinu itelli*

(xxvi 54-67) *šumma awīlam e'iltum išbassuma aššassu mārāšu u mārassu ana kaspim iddin ulu ana kiššātim ittandin šalaš šanātim bīt šājimānišunu u kāšišišunu ippešu ina rebūtum šattim andurāršunu iššakkan*

(xxvi 68-73) *šumma wardam ulu amtam ana kiššātim ittandin tamkārūm ušetteq ana kaspim inaddin ul ibbaqqar*

(xxvi 74-xxvii 3) *šumma awīlam e'iltum išbassuma amassu ša mārī uldušum ana kaspim ittadin kasap tamkārūm išqulu bēl amtum išaqqalma amassu ipaṭṭar*

¶ 115 If a man has a claim of grain or silver against another man, distrains a member of his household, and the distrainee dies a natural death while in the house of her or his²⁰ distrainer, that case has no basis for a claim.

¶ 116 If the distrainee should die from the effects of a beating or other physical abuse while in the house of her or his distrainer, the owner of the distrainee shall charge and convict his merchant, and if (the distrainee is) the man's son,²¹ they shall kill his (the distrainer's) son; if the man's slave, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver; moreover, he shall forfeit whatever he originally gave as the loan.

¶ 117 If an obligation is outstanding against a man and he sells or gives into debt service his wife, his son, or his daughter, they shall perform service in the house of their buyer or of the one who holds them in debt service for three years; their release shall be secured in the fourth year.

¶ 118 If he should give a male or female slave into debt service, the merchant may extend the term (beyond the three years), he may sell him; there are no grounds for a claim.

¶ 119 If an obligation is outstanding against a man and he therefore sells his slave woman who has borne him children, the owner of the slave woman shall weigh and

deliver the silver which the merchant weighed and delivered (as the loan) and he shall thereby redeem his slave woman.

(xxvii 4–23) *šumma awīlum še'ašu ana našpakūtīm ina bīt awīlim iṣpukma ina qarītim ibbūm ittabši ulu bēl bitīm našpakam iptēma še'am ilqe ulu še'am ša ina bitišu iššapku ana gamrim ittakir²² bēl še'im maḥar ilim še'ašu ubārma bēl bitīm še'am ša ilqū uštašannāma ana bēl še'im inaddin*

(xxvii 24–30) *šumma awīlum ina bīt awīlim še'am iṣpuk ina šanat ana 1 kur še'im 5 qa še'am idī našpakim inaddin²³*

(xxvii 31–43) *šumma awīlum ana awīlim kaspam ḥurāšam u mimma šumšu ana maššarūtīm inaddin mimma mala inaddinu šībī ukallam riksātīm išakkanma ana maššarūtīm inaddin*

(xxvii 44–52) *šumma balum šībī u riksātīm ana maššarūtīm iddinma ašar iddinu ittakrušu dīnum šū rugummām ul išu*

(xxvii 53–65) *šumma awīlum ana awīlim kaspam ḥurāšam u mimma šumšu maḥar šībī ana maššarūtīm iddinma ittakiršu awīlam šuāti ukanu nušuma mimma ša ikkiru uštašannāma inaddin*

¶ 120 If a man stores his grain in another man's house, and a loss occurs in the storage bin or the householder opens the granary and takes the grain or he completely denies receiving the grain that was stored in his house—the owner of the grain shall establish his grain before the god, and the householder shall give to the owner of the grain twofold the grain that he took (in storage).

¶ 121 If a man stores grain in another man's house, he shall give 5 silas of grain per kur (i.e., per 300 silas) of grain as annual rent of the granary.

¶ 122 If a man intends to give silver, gold, or anything else to another man for safekeeping, he shall exhibit before witnesses anything which he intends to give, he shall draw up a written contract, and (in this manner) he shall give goods for safekeeping.

¶ 123 If he gives goods for safekeeping without witnesses or a written contract, and they deny that he gave anything, that case has no basis for a claim.

¶ 124 If a man gives silver, gold, or anything else before witnesses to another man for safekeeping and he denies it, they shall charge and convict that man, and he shall give twofold that which he denied.

(xxvii 66–xxviii 7) *šumma awīlum mimmašu ana maššarūtīm iddinma ašar iddinu ulu ina pilšim ulu ina nabalkattim mimmašu itti mimme bēl bitīm iḥtaliq bēl bitīm ša igūma mimma ša ana maššarūtīm iddinu nušuma uballiqu ušallamma ana bēl makkūrim iriab bēl bitīm mimmašu ḥalqam ištene'īma itti šarrāqānišu ileqqe*

(xxviii 8–24) *šumma awīlum mimmašu la ḥal[iq]ma mimme ḥaliq iqtabi babtašu ūtebbir kīma mimmašu la ḥalqu babtašu ina maḥar ilim ubāršuma mimma ša irgumu uštašannāma ana babtišu inaddin*

(xxviii 25–34) *šumma awīlum eli ugbabtīm u aššat awīlim ubānam uša-triṣma la uktīn awīlam šuāti maḥar dajānī inaṭṭūšu u muttassu ugallabu*

(xxviii 35–41) *šumma awīlum aššatam iḥuzma riksātiša la iškun sinništum šī ul aššat*

(xxviii 42–53) *šumma aššat awīlim itti zikarim šanīm ina itūlim ittašbat ikassūšunūtima ana mē inaddūšunūti šumma bēl aššatīm aššassu uballaṭ u šarrum warassu uballaṭ*

¶ 125 If a man gives his property for safekeeping and his property together with the householder's property is lost either by (theft achieved through) a breach or by scaling over a wall, the householder who was careless shall make restitution and shall restore to the owner of the property that which was given to him for safekeeping and which he allowed to be lost; the householder shall continue to search for his own lost property, and he shall take it from the one who stole it from him.

¶ 126 If a man whose property is not lost should declare, "My property is lost," and accuse his city quarter, his city quarter shall establish against him before the god that no property of his is lost, and he shall give to his city quarter twofold whatever he claimed.

¶ 127 If a man causes a finger to be pointed in accusation against an ugbabtu or against a man's wife but cannot bring proof, they shall flog that man before the judges²⁴ and they shall shave off half of his hair.

¶ 128 If a man marries a wife but does not draw up a formal contract for her, she is not a wife.

¶ 129 If a man's wife should be seized lying with another male, they shall bind them and throw them into the water; if the wife's master allows his wife to live, then the king shall allow his subject (i.e., the other male) to live.

(xxviii 54–67) *šumma awilum aššat awilim ša zikaram la idūma ina bīt abiša wašbat ukabbilšima ina sūniša ittatiłma iššabtušu awilum šū iddāk sinništum šī ūtaššar*

(xxviii 68–76) *šumma aššat awilim mussa ubbiršima itti zikarim šanīm ina utūlim la iššabit nīš ilim izak= karma ana bītiša itār*

(xxviii 77–xxix 6) *šumma aššat awilum aššum zikarim šanīm ubānum eliša ittarišma itti zikarim šanīm ina utūlim la ittašbat ana mutiša id išalli*

(xxix 7–17) *šumma awilum iššalilma ina bītišu ša akālim ibašši [ašš]assu [...]ša [...] ana bīt šanīm ul ir[rub*

(xxix 18–26) *šu[mma] sinništum šī [pa]garša la iššurma ana bīt šanīm iterub sinništam šuāti ukannušima ana mē inaddūši*

(xxix 27–36) *šumma awilum iššalilma ina bītišu ša akālim la ibašši aššassu ana bīt šanīm irrub sinništum šī arnam ul išu*

(xxix 37–56) *šumma awilum iššalilma ina bītišu ša akālim la ibašši ana panīšu aššassu ana bīt šanīm iterubma mārī ittalad ina warka mussa ittūramma ālšu ikaš=*

¶ 130 If a man pins down another man's virgin wife who is still residing in her father's house, and they seize him lying with her, that man shall be killed; that woman shall be released.

¶ 131 If her husband accuses his own wife (of adultery), although she has not been seized lying with another male, she shall swear (to her innocence by) an oath by the god, and return to her house.

¶ 132 If a man's wife should have a finger pointed against her in accusation involving another male, although she has not been seized lying with another male, she shall submit to the divine River Ordeal for her husband.

¶ 133a If a man should be captured and there are sufficient provisions in his house, his wife [...], she will not] enter [another's house].

¶ 133b If that woman does not keep herself chaste but enters another's house, they shall charge and convict that woman and cast her into the water.

¶ 134 If a man should be captured and there are not sufficient provisions in his house, his wife may enter another's house; that woman will not be subject to any penalty.

¶ 135 If a man should be captured and there are not sufficient provisions in his house, before his return his wife enters another's house and bears children, and afterwards her

dam sinništum šī ana hāwiriša itār mārū warki abišunu illaku

(xxix 57–73) *šumma awilum ālšu iddīma ittābit warkišu aššassu ana bīt šanīm iterub šumma awilum šū ittūramma aššassu iššabat aššum ālšu izēruma innabitu aššat munnabtim ana mutiša ul itār*

(xxix 74–xxx 13) *šumma awilum ana šugītim ša mārī uldušum ulu nadītim ša mārī ušaršūšu ezēbim panīšu ištakan ana sinništīm šuāti šeriktaša utarrušim u muttat eqlim kirim u bīšim inaddinušimma mārīša urabba ištu mārīša urtabbū ina mimma ša ana mārīša innadnu zittam kīma aplim ištēn inaddinušimma mutu lib= biša iḫḫassi*

(xxx 14–24) *šumma awilum ḫirtašu ša mārī la uldušum izzib kaspam mala terḫatiša inaddiššim u šeriktam ša ištu bīt abiša ublam ušallamšimma izzibši*

(xxx 25–29) *šumma terḫatum la ibašši 1 mana kaspam ana uzubbēm inaddiššim*

(xxx 30–32) *šumma muškēnum 1/3 mana kaspam inaddiššim*

(xxx 33–59) *šumma aššat awilim ša ina bīt awilim wašbat ana wašem*

husband returns and gets back to his city, that woman shall return to her first husband; the children shall inherit from their father.

¶ 136 If a man deserts his city and flees, and after his departure his wife enters another's house—if that man then should return and seize his wife, because he repudiated his city and fled, the wife of the deserter will not return to her husband.

¶ 137 If a man should decide to divorce a *šugītu* who bore him children, or a *nadītu* who provided him with children, they shall return to that woman her dowry and they shall give her one half of (her husband's) field, orchard, and property, and she shall raise her children; after she has raised her children, they shall give her a share comparable in value to that of one heir from whatever properties are given to her sons, and a husband of her choice may marry her.

¶ 138 If a man intends to divorce his first-ranking wife who did not bear him children, he shall give her silver as much as was her bridewealth and restore to her the dowry that she brought from her father's house, and he shall divorce her.

¶ 139 If there is no bridewealth, he shall give her 60 shekels of silver as a divorce settlement.

¶ 140 If he is a commoner, he shall give her 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 141 If the wife of a man who is residing in the man's house should

*panīša ištakanma sikiltam isakkil
bīssa usappah mussa ušamṭa ukan-
nušima šumma mussa ezēbša iqtabi
izzibši ḥarrānša uzubbūša mimma ul
innaddiššim šumma mussa la ezēbša
iqtabi mussa sinništam šanitam iḥḥaz
sinništum šī kīma amtim ina bīt
mutiša uššab*

(xxx 60–xxx 5) *šumma sinništum
mussa izērma ul taḥḥazanni iqtabi
warkassa ina bābtīša ipparrasma
šumma naṣratma ḥiṭitam la išu u
mussa wašīma magal ušamṭāši sin-
ništum šī arnam ul išu šeriktaša ileq-
qēma ana bīt abiša ittallak*

(xxx 6–12) *šumma la naṣratma
wašiat bīssa usappah mussa ušamṭa
sinništam šuāti ana mē inaddūši*

(xxx 13–27) *šumma awilum nadītam
iḥuzma nadītum šī amtam ana
mutiša iddinma mārī uštābši awilum
šū ana šugitima aḥāzim panīšu
ištakan awilam šuāti ul imaggarušu
šugitam ul iḥḥaz*

decide to leave, and she appropri-
ates goods, squanders her house-
hold possessions, or disparages her
husband, they shall charge and
convict her; and if her husband
should declare his intention to
divorce her, then he shall divorce
her; neither her travel expenses,
nor her divorce settlement, nor
anything else shall be given to her.
If her husband should not declare
his intention to divorce her, then
her husband may marry another
woman and that (first) woman shall
reside in her husband's house as a
slave woman.

¶ 142 If a woman repudiates her
husband, and declares, "You will
not have marital relations with
me"—her circumstances shall be
investigated by the authorities of
her city quarter, and if she is cir-
cumspect and without fault, but
her husband is wayward and dis-
parages her greatly, that woman
will not be subject to any penalty;
she shall take her dowry and she
shall depart for her father's house.

¶ 143 If she is not circumspect but
is wayward, squanders her house-
hold possessions, and disparages
her husband, they shall cast that
woman into the water.

¶ 144 If a man marries a *nadītu*, and
that *nadītu* gives a slave woman to
her husband, and thus she provides
children, but that man then decides
to marry a *šugītu*, they will not per-
mit that man to do so, he will not
marry the *šugītu*.

(xxx 28–42) *šumma awilum nadītam
iḥuzma mārī la ušaršīšuma ana
šugitima aḥāzim panīšu ištakan
awilum šū šugitam iḥḥaz ana bītīšu
ušerrebši šugitum šī itti nadītim ul
uštamaḥḥar*

(xxx 43–59) *šumma awilum nadītam
iḥuzma amtam ana mutiša iddinma
mārī ittalad warkānum amtum šī itti
bēltīša uštataḥḥir aššum mārī uldu
bēlessa ana kaspim ul inaddišši abbut-
tam išakkanšimma itti amātim
imannūši*

(xxx 60–64) *šumma mārī la ūlid
bēlessa ana kaspim inaddišši*

(xxx 65–81) *šumma awilum aššatam
iḥuzma la'bum iššabassi ana šanītim
aḥāzim panīšu ištakkan iḥḥaz
aššassu ša la'bum išbatu ul izzibši ina
bīt ipušu uššamma adi balṭat
ittanaššīši*

(xxx 82–99) *šumma sinništum šī ina
bīt mutiša wašābam la imtagar šerik-
taša ša ištu bīt abiša ublam ušal-
lamšimma ittallak*

(xxx 100–117) *šumma awilum ana
aššatišu eqlam kirām bītam u bīšam
išrukšim kunukkam īzibšim warki
mutiša mārūša ul ipaqqaruši ummum
warkassa ana mārīša ša irammu
inaddin ana aḥīm ul inaddin*

¶ 145 If a man marries a *nadītu*, and
she does not provide him with chil-
dren, and that man then decides to
marry a *šugītu*, that man may marry
the *šugītu* and bring her into his
house; that *šugītu* should not aspire
to equal status with the *nadītu*.

¶ 146 If a man marries a *nadītu*, and
she gives a slave woman to her hus-
band, and she (the slave) then bears
children, after which that slave
woman aspires to equal status with
her mistress—because she bore
children, her mistress will not sell
her; she shall place upon her the
slave-hairlock, and she shall reckon
her with the slave women.

¶ 147 If she does not bear children,
her mistress shall sell her.

¶ 148 If a man marries a woman,
and later *la'bum*-disease²⁵ seizes
her and he decides to marry
another woman, he will not divorce
his wife whom *la'bum*-disease
seized; she shall reside in quarters
he constructs and he shall continue
to support her as long as she lives.

¶ 149 If that woman should not
agree to reside in her husband's
house, he shall restore to her her
dowry that she brought from her
father's house, and she shall depart.

¶ 150 If a man awards to his wife a
field, orchard, house, or movable
property, and makes out a sealed
document for her, after her hus-
band's death her children will not
bring a claim against her; the
mother shall give her estate to

(xxxii 26-51) *šumma sinništum ša ina bīt awīlim wašbat aššum bēl ḥubullim ša mutiša la šabātiša mussa urtakkiš tuppam uštēzib šumma awīlum šū lāma sinništam šuāti iḥḥazu ḥubullum elišu ibašši bēl ḥubullīšu aššassu ul iṣabbatu u šumma sinništum šī lāma ana bīt awīlim irrubu ḥubullum eliša ibašši bēl ḥubullīša mussa ul iṣabbatu*

(xxxii 52-60) *šumma ištu sinništum šī ana bīt awīlim īrubu eliṣunu ḥubulum ittabši kilallāšunu tamkāram ippalu*

(xxxii 61-66) *šumma aššat awīlim aššum zikarim šanīm mussa ušdik sinništam šuāti ina gašīšim iškkanuši*

(xxxii 67-71) *šumma awīlum mārassu iltamad awīlam šuāti ālam ušēṣūšu*

(xxxii 72-xxxiii 1) *šumma awīlum ana mārišu kallatam iḥīrma mārušu ilmassi šū warkānumma ina sūniša ittatīlma iṣṣabtušu awīlam šuāti ikassūšuma ana mē inaddūšu²⁶*

(xxxiii 2-17) *šumma awīlum ana mārišu kallatam iḥīrma mārušu la ilmassima šū ina sūniša ittatīl ½ mana kaspam iṣaqqalšimma u mimma ša ištu bīt abiša ublam ušal-lamšimma mutu libbiša iḥpassi*

whichever of her children she loves, but she will not give it to an outsider.

¶ 151 If a woman who is residing in a man's house should have her husband agree by binding contract that no creditor of her husband shall seize her (for his debts)—if that man has a debt incurred before marrying that woman, his creditors will not seize his wife; and if that woman has a debt incurred before entering the man's house, her creditors will not seize her husband.

¶ 152 If a debt should be incurred by them after that woman enters the man's house, both of them shall satisfy the merchant.

¶ 153 If a man's wife has her husband killed on account of (her relationship with) another male, they shall impale that woman.

¶ 154 If a man should carnally know his daughter, they shall banish that man from the city.

¶ 155 If a man selects a bride for his son and his son carnally knows her, after which he himself then lies with her and they seize him in the act, they shall bind that man and cast him into the water.

¶ 156 If a man selects a bride for his son and his son does not yet carnally know her, and he himself then lies with her, he shall weigh and deliver to her 30 shekels of silver; moreover, he shall restore to her whatever she brought from her

father's house, and a husband of her choice shall marry her.

(xxxiii 18-23) *šumma awīlum warki abišu ina sūn ummišu ittatīl kilallīšunu iqallūšunūti*

(xxxiii 24-32) *šumma awīlum warki abišu ina sūn rabītišu²⁷ ša māri wal-dat ittašbat awīlum šū ina bīt abim innassaḥ*

(xxxiii 33-46) *šumma awīlum ša ana bīt emiṣu biblam ušābilu terḥatam iddinu ana sinništīm šanītim uptallisma ana emiṣu māratka ul aḥḥaz iqtabi abi mārtim mimma ša ibbablušum itabbal*

(xxxiii 47-59) *šumma awīlum ana bīt emim biblam ušābil terḥatam iddinma abi mārtim mārti ul anaddikkum iqtabi mimma mala ibbablušum uštašannāma utār*

(xxxiii 60-77) *šumma awīlum ana bīt emiṣu biblam ušābil terḥatam iddinma ibiršu uktarrissu emuṣu ana bēl ašša-tim mārti ul taḥḥaz iqtabi mimma mala ibbablušum uštašannāma utār u aššassu ibiršu ul iḥḥaz*

¶ 157 If a man, after his father's death, should lie with his mother, they shall burn them both.

¶ 158 If a man, after his father's death, should be discovered in the lap of his (the father's) principal wife who had borne children, that man shall be disinherited from the paternal estate.

¶ 159 If a man who has the ceremonial marriage prestation brought to the house of his father-in-law, and who gives the bridewealth, should have his attention diverted to another woman and declare to his father-in-law, "I will not marry your daughter," the father of the daughter shall take full legal possession of whatever had been brought to him.

¶ 160 If a man has the ceremonial marriage prestation brought to the house of his father-in-law and gives the bridewealth, and the father of the daughter then declares, "I will not give my daughter to you," he shall return twofold everything that had been brought to him.

¶ 161 If a man has the ceremonial marriage prestation brought to the house of his father-in-law and gives the bridewealth, and then his comrade slanders him (with the result that) his father-in-law declares to the one entitled to the wife, "You will not marry my daughter," he shall return twofold everything

(xxxiii 78–xxxiv 6) *šumma awīlum aššatam iḥuz mārī ūlissumma sinniš-tum šī ana šīmtim ittalak ana šerik-tiša abuša ul iraggum šeriktaša ša mārīšama*

(xxxiv 7–23) *šumma awīlum aššatam iḥuzma mārī la ušaršīšu sinniš-tum šī ana šīmtim ittalak šumma terḥatam ša awīlum šū ana bīt emišu ublu emušu uttēršum ana šerikti sinniš-tim šuāti mussa ul iraggum šeriktaša ša bīt abišama*

(xxxiv 24–32) *šumma emušu ter-ḥatam la uttēršum ina šeriktiša mala terḥatiša iḥarrašma šeriktaša ana bīt abiša utār*

(xxxiv 33–50) *šumma awīlum ana aplīšu ša īnšu maḥru eqlam kirām u bītam išruk kunukkam išuršum warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku inūma aḥḥū izuzzu qīšti abum iddinušum ileqqēma elēnumma ina makkūr bīt abim mithāriš izuzzu*

(xxxiv 51–73) *šumma awīlum ana mārīšu²⁸ ša irbū (text: iršū) aššatim iḥuz ana mārīšu šiḥrim aššatam la iḥuz warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku inūma aḥḥū izuzzu ina makkūr bīt abim ana aḥišunu šiḥrim ša aššatam*

that had been brought to him; moreover, his comrade will not marry his (intended) wife.

¶ 162 If a man marries a wife, she bears him children, and that woman then goes to her fate, her father shall have no claim to her dowry; her dowry belongs only to her children.

¶ 163 If a man marries a wife but she does not provide him with children, and that woman goes to her fate—if his father-in-law then returns to him the bridewealth that that man brought to his father-in-law's house, her husband shall have no claim to that woman's dowry; her dowry belongs only to her father's house.

¶ 164 If his father-in-law should not return to him the bridewealth, he shall deduct the value of her bridewealth from her dowry and restore (the balance of) her dowry to her father's house.

¶ 165 If a man awards by sealed contract a field, orchard, or house to his favorite heir, when the brothers divide the estate after the father goes to his fate, he (the favorite son) shall take the gift which the father gave to him and apart from that gift they shall equally divide the property of the paternal estate.

¶ 166 If a man provides wives for his eligible sons but does not provide a wife for his youngest son, when the brothers divide the estate after the father goes to his fate, they shall establish the silver

la aḥzu eliāt zittišu kasap terḥatim išakkanušumma aššatam ušaḥḥazušu

(xxxiv 74–xxxv 8) *šumma awīlum aššatam iḥuzma mārī ūlissum sinniš-tum šī ana šīmtim ittalak warkiša sinniš-tam šanītam itabazma mārī itta-lad warkānum abum ana šīmtim ittalku mārū ana ummātim ul izuzzu šerikti ummātišunu ileqqūma makkūr bīt abim mithāriš izuzzu*

(xxxv 9–24) *šumma awīlum ana mārīšu nasāḥim panam ištakan ana dajānī mārī anassaḥ iqtabi dajānū warkassu iparrasuma šumma mārū arnam kabtam ša ina aplūtim nasāḥim la ublam abum mārašu ina aplūtim ul inassaḥ*

(xxxv 25–36) *šumma arnam kabtam ša ina aplūtim nasāḥim ana abišu itbalam ana ištiššu panīšu ubbalu šumma arnam kabtam adi šinīšu itbalam abum mārašu ina aplūtim inassaḥ*

(xxxv 37–59) *šumma awīlum ḥīrtašu mārī ūlissum u amassu mārī ūlissum abum ina bulṭīšu ana mārī ša amtum uldušum mārūa iqtabi itti mārī ḥīrtim imtanūšunūti warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku ina makkūr bīt abim mārū ḥīrtim u mārū amtim²⁹ mithāriš*

value of the bridewealth for their young unmarried brother from the property of the paternal estate, in addition to his inheritance share, and thereby enable him to obtain a wife.

¶ 167 If a man marries a wife and she bears him children, and later that woman goes to her fate, and after her death he marries another woman and she bears children, after which the father then goes to his fate, the children will not divide the estate according to the mothers; they shall take the dowries of their respective mothers and then equally divide the property of the paternal estate.

¶ 168 If a man should decide to disinherit his son and declares to the judges, "I will disinherit my son," the judges shall investigate his case and if the son is not guilty of a grave offense deserving the penalty of disinheritance, the father may not disinherit his son.

¶ 169 If he should be guilty of a grave offense deserving the penalty of disinheritance by his father, they shall pardon him for his first one; if he should commit a grave offense a second time, the father may disinherit his son.

¶ 170 If a man's first-ranking wife bears him children and his slave woman bears him children, and the father during his lifetime then declares to (or: concerning) the children whom the slave woman bore to him, "My children," and he

izuzzu aplum mār hīrtim ina zittim
inassaḡma ileqqe

(xxxv 60–xxxvi 5) *u šumma abum
ina bulḫišu ana mārī ša amtum
uldušum³⁰ mārūja la iḡtabi warka
abum ana šīmtim ittalku ina makkūr
bīt abim mārū amtum itti mārī hīrtim
ul izuzzu andurār amtum u mārīša
iššakkan mārū hīrtim ana mārī
amtum ana wardūtum ul iraggumu
hīrtum šeriktaša u nudunnām ša
mussa iddinušim ina ṭuppi
išṭurušim ileqqēma ina šubat mutiša
uššab adi balḫat ikkal ana kaspim ul
inaddin warkassa ša mārīšama*

(xxxvi 6–40) *šumma mussa nudun-
nām la iddiššim šeriktaša ušalla-
mušimma ina makkūr bīt mutiša zit-
tam kīma aplim ištēn ileqqe šumma
mārūša aššum ina bītim šūšim
usabḫamuši dajānū warkassa iparra-
suma mārī arnam immidu sinništum
šī ina bīt mutiša ul ušši šumma sin-
ništum šī ana wašem panīša ištakan*

reckons them with the children of the first-ranking wife—after the father goes to his fate, the children of the first-ranking wife and the children of the slave woman shall equally divide the property of the paternal estate; the preferred heir is a son of the first-ranking wife, he shall select and take a share first.

¶ 171 But if the father during his lifetime should not declare to (or: concerning) the children whom the slave woman bore to him, "My children," after the father goes to his fate, the children of the slave woman will not divide the property of the paternal estate with the children of the first-ranking wife. The release of the slave woman and of her children shall be secured; the children of the first-ranking wife will not make claims of slavery against the children of the slave woman. The first-ranking wife shall take her dowry and the marriage settlement which her husband awarded to her in writing, and she shall continue to reside in her husband's dwelling; as long as she is alive she shall enjoy the use of it, but she may not sell it; her own estate shall belong (as inheritance) only to her own children.

¶ 172 If her husband does not make a marriage settlement in her favor, they shall restore to her in full her dowry, and she shall take a share of the property of her husband's estate comparable in value to that of one heir. If her children pressure her in order to coerce her to depart from the house, the judges shall

*nudunnām ša mussa iddinušim ana
mārīša izzib šeriktam ša bīt abiša
ileqqēma mut libbiša iḫḫassi*

(xxxvi 41–50) *šumma sinništum šī
ašar īrubu ana mutiša warkīm mārī
ittalad warka sinništum šī imtūt šerik-
taša mārū maḫrūtum u warkūtum
izuzzu*

(xxxvi 51–56) *šumma ana mutiša
warkīm mārī la ittalad šeriktaša mārū
ḫāwirišama ileqqū*

(xxxvi 57–68) *šumma lu warad
ekallim ulu warad muškēnim mārāt
awīlim iḫuzma mārī ittalad bēl
wardim ana mārī mārāt awīlim ana
wardūtum ul iraggum*

(xxxvi 69–xxxvii 9) *u šumma warad
ekallim ulu warad muškēnim mārāt
awīlim iḫuzma inūma iḫuzuši qadum
šeriktim ša bīt abiša ana bīt warad
ekallim ulu warad muškēnim³¹ īrubma
ištu innemdu bītam īpušu bīšam
iršū³² warkānumma lu warad ekallim
ulu warad muškēnim ana šīmtim itta-
lak mārāt awīlim šeriktaša ileqqe³³ u
mimma ša mussa u šī ištū innemdu
iršū ana šinīšu izuzzuma mišlam bēl
wardim ileqqe mišlam mārāt awīlim
ana mārīša ileqqe*

investigate her case and shall impose a penalty on the children; that woman will not depart from her husband's house. If that woman should decide on her own to depart, she shall leave for her children the marriage settlement which her husband gave to her; she shall take the dowry brought from her father's house and a husband of her choice shall marry her.

¶ 173 If that woman should bear children to her latter husband into whose house she entered, after that woman dies, her former and latter children shall equally divide her dowry.

¶ 174 If she does not bear children to her latter husband, only the children of her first husband shall take her dowry.

¶ 175 If a slave of the palace or a slave of a commoner marries a woman of the *awīlu*-class and she then bears children, the owner of the slave will have no claims of slavery against the children of the woman of the *awīlu*-class.

¶ 176a And if either a slave of the palace or a slave of a commoner marries a woman of the *awīlu*-class, and when he marries her she enters the house of the slave of the palace or of the slave of the commoner together with the dowry brought from her father's house, and subsequent to the time that they move in together they establish a household and accumulate possessions, after which either the slave of the palace or the slave of

the commoner should go to his fate—the woman of the *awīlu*-class shall take her dowry; furthermore, they shall divide into two parts everything that her husband and she accumulated subsequent to the time that they moved in together, and the slave's owner shall take half and the woman of the *awīlu*-class shall take half for her children.

(xxxvii 10–21) *šumma mārat awīlim šeriktam la išu mimma ša mussa u šī ištu innemdu iršū ana šinīšu izuzuma mišlam bēl wardim ileqqe mišlam mārat awīlim ana mārīša ileqqe*

¶ 176b If the woman of the *awīlu*-class does not have a dowry, they shall divide into two parts everything that her husband and she accumulated subsequent to the time that they moved in together, and the slave's owner shall take half and the woman of the *awīlu*-class shall take half for her children.

(xxxvii 22–60) *šumma almattum ša mārūša šehheru ana bīt šanīm erēbim panīša ištakan balum dajānī ul irrub inūma ana bīt šanīm irrubu dajānū warkat bīt mutiša panīm iparrasuma bītam ša mutiša panīm ana mutiša warkīm u sinništīm šuāti ipaqqiduma tuppam ušezzebušunūti bītam inaššaru u šehherūtīm urabbū uniātīm ana kaspim ul inaddinu šajimānum ša unūt mārī almattim išammu ina kaspišu itelli makkūrum ana bēlišu itār*

¶ 177 If a widow whose children are still young should decide to enter another's house, she will not enter without (the prior approval of) the judges. When she enters another's house, the judges shall investigate the estate of her former husband, and they shall entrust the estate of her former husband to her later husband and to that woman, and they shall have them record a tablet (inventorying the estate). They shall safeguard the estate and they shall raise the young children; they will not sell the household goods. Any buyer who buys the household goods of the children of a widow shall forfeit his silver; the property shall revert to its owner.

(xxxvii 61–xxxviii 19) *šumma ugbabtum nadītum ulu sekretum ša abuša šeriktam išrukušim tuppam išturušim ina tuppim ša išturušim warkassa ēma eliša tābu nadānamma la išturšimma mala libbiša la ušamšīši warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku egelša u kirāša abhūša ileqqūma kīma emūq zittiša ipram piššatam u lubūšam inaddinušimma libbaša uṭabbu šumma abhūša kīma emūq zittiša ipram piššatam u lubūšam la ittadnušimma libbaša la uṭṭibbu egelša u kirāša ana errēšim ša eliša tābu inaddinma errēssa ittanaššīši eqlam kirām³⁴ u mimma ša abuša iddinušim³⁵ adi balṭat ikkal ana kaspim ul inaddin šaniām ul uppal aplūssa ša abhīšama*

¶ 178 If there is an *ugbaltu*, a *nadītu*, or a *seketu* whose father awards to her a dowry and records it in a tablet for her, but in the tablet that he records for her he does not grant her written authority to give her estate to whomever she pleases and does not give her full discretion—after the father goes to his fate, her brothers shall take her field and her orchard and they shall give to her food, oil, and clothing allowances in accordance with the value of her inheritance share, and they shall thereby satisfy her. If her brothers should not give to her food, oil, and clothing allowances in accordance with the value of her inheritance share and thus do not satisfy her, she shall give her field and her orchard to any agricultural tenant she pleases, and her agricultural tenant shall support her. As long as she lives, she shall enjoy the use of the field, orchard, and anything else which her father gave to her, but she will not sell it and she will not satisfy another person's obligations with it; her inheritance belongs only to her brothers.

(xxxviii 20–42) *šumma ugbabtum nadītum³⁶ ulu sekretum ša abuša šeriktam išrukušim kunukkam išturušim ina tuppim ša išturušim warkassa ēma eliša tābu nadānam išturšimma mala libbiša uštamšīši warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku warkassa ēma eliša tābu inaddin abhūša ul ipaqqaruši*

¶ 179 If there is an *ugbaltu*, a *nadītu*, or a *seketu* whose father awards to her a dowry and records it for her in a sealed document, and in the tablet that he records for her he grants her written authority to give her estate to whomever she pleases and gives her full discretion—after the father goes to his fate, she shall give her estate to whomever she pleases; her brothers will not raise a claim against her.

(xxxviii 43-59) *šumma abum ana mārtišu nadīt gagīm³⁷ ulu sekretim šeriktam la iš<r>ukšim warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku ina makkūr bīt abim zittam kīma aplim ištēn izāzma adi balāt ikkal warkassa ša aḥḥišama*

(xxxviii 60-75) *šumma abum nadītam qadištam ulu kulmašitam ana ilim iššīma šeriktam la išrukšim warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku ina makkūr bīt abim šalušti aplūtiša izāzma adi balāt ikkal warkassa ša aḥḥišama*

(xxxviii 76-xxxix 1) *šumma abum ana mārtišu nadīt Marduk ša Bābilim šeriktam la išrukšim kunukkam la išturšim warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku ina makkūr bīt abim šalušti aplūtiša itti aḥḥiša izāzma ilkam ul illak nadīt Marduk warkassa ēma eliša ṭābu inaddin*

(xxxix 2-14) *šumma abum ana mārtišu šugītim šeriktam išrukšim ana mutim iddišši kunukkam išturšim warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku ina makkūr bīt abim ul izāz*

¶ 180 If a father does not award a dowry to his daughter who is a cloistered *nadītu* or a *seketu*, after the father goes to his fate, she shall have a share of the property of the paternal estate comparable in value to that of one heir; as long as she lives she shall enjoy its use; her estate belongs only to her brothers.

¶ 181 If a father dedicates (his daughter) to the deity as a *nadītu*, a *qadištu*, or a *kulmašītu* but does not award to her a dowry, after the father goes to his fate she shall take her one-third share³⁸ from the property of the paternal estate as her inheritance, and as long as she lives she shall enjoy its use; her estate belongs only to her brothers.

¶ 182 If a father does not award a dowry to his daughter who is a *nadītu* dedicated to the god Marduk of the city of Babylon or does not record it for her in a sealed document, after the father goes to his fate, she shall take with her brothers her one-third share³⁹ from the property of the paternal estate as her inheritance, but she will not perform any service obligations; a *nadītu* dedicated to the god Marduk shall give her estate as she pleases.

¶ 183 If a father awards a dowry to his daughter who is a *šugītu*, gives her to a husband, and records it for her in a sealed document, after the father goes to his fate, she will not have a share of the property of the paternal estate.

(xxxix 15-30) *šumma awīlum ana mārtišu šugītim šeriktam la išrukšim ana mutim la iddišši warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku aḥḥūša kīma emūq bīt abim šeriktam išarrakušimma ana mutim inaddinuši*

(xxxix 31-38) *šumma awīlum šīḥram ina mēšu ana mārūtīm ilqēma urtabbišu tarbītum šī ul ibbaqqar*

(xxxix 39-49) *šumma awīlum šīḥram ana mārūtīm ilqe inūma ilqūšu abašu u ummašu iḥiaṭ tarbītum šī ana bīt abišu itār*

(xxxix 50-53) *mār girseqīm muzzaz ekallim u mār sekretim ul ibbaqqar*

(xxxix 54-59) *šumma mār ummānim šīḥram ana tarbītīm ilqēma šīpir qātišu uštāḥissu ul ibbaqqar*

(xxxix 60-64) *šumma šīpir qātišu la uštāḥissu tarbītum šī ana bīt abišu itār*

(xxxix 65-74) *šumma awīlum šīḥram ša ana mārūtīšu ilqūšuma urabbūšu itti mārīšu la imtanūšu tarbītum šī ana bīt abišu itār*

(xxxix 75-95) *šumma awīlum šīḥram ša ana mārūtīšu ilqūšuma urabbūšu bīssu ipuṣ warka mārī irtašīma ana tarbītīm nasāḥim panam ištakan šīḥrum šū rēqūssu ul ittallak abum*

¶ 184 If a man does not award a dowry to his daughter who is a *šugītu*, and does not give her to a husband, after the father goes to his fate, her brothers shall award to her a dowry proportionate to the value of the paternal estate, and they shall give her to a husband.

¶ 185 If a man takes in adoption a young child at birth and then rears him, that rearling will not be reclaimed.

¶ 186 If a man takes in adoption a young child, and when he takes him, he (the child?) is seeking his father and mother, that rearling shall return to his father's house.

¶ 187 A child of (i.e., reared by) a courtier who is a palace attendant or a child of (i.e., reared by) a *seketu* will not be reclaimed.

¶ 188 If a craftsman takes a young child to rear and then teaches him his craft, he will not be reclaimed.

¶ 189 If he should not teach him his craft, that rearling shall return to his father's house.

¶ 190 If a man should not reckon the young child whom he took and raised in adoption as equal with his children, that rearling shall return to his father's house.

¶ 191 If a man establishes his household (by reckoning as equal with any future children) the young child whom he took and raised in adoption, but afterwards he has

*murabbīšu ina makkūrišu šalušti
aplūtišu inaddiššumma ittallak ina
eqlim kirīm u bītim ul inaddiššum*

children (of his own) and then decides to disinherit the rearling, that young child will not depart empty-handed; the father who raised him shall give him a one-third share⁴⁰ of his property as his inheritance and he shall depart; he will not give him any property from field, orchard, or house.

(xxxix 96–xl 9) *šumma mār girseqīm
ulu mār sekretim ana abim murabbīšu
u ummim murabbītišu ul abī atta ul
ummī atti iqtabi lišānšu inakkisu*

¶ 192 If the child of (i.e., reared by) a courtier or the child of (i.e., reared by) a *sekretu* should say to the father who raised him or to the mother who raised him, "You are not my father," or "You are not my mother," they shall cut out his tongue.

(xl 10–22) *šumma mār girseqīm ulu
mār sekretim bīt abišu uweddīma
abam murabbīšu u ummam
murabbīssu izīrma ana bīt abišu itta-
lak īnšu inassaḫu*

¶ 193 If the child of (i.e., reared by) a courtier or the child of (i.e., reared by) a *sekretu* identifies with his father's house and repudiates the father who raised him or the mother who raised him and departs for his father's house, they shall pluck out his eye.

(xl 23–40) *šumma awīlum mārašu
ana mušēniqtim iddinma šīḫrum šū
ina qāt mušēniqtim imtūt mušēniqtim
balum abišu u ummišu šīḫram šani-
amma irtakas ukannušima aššum
balum abišu u ummišu šīḫram šaniam
irkusu tulāša inakkisu*

¶ 194 If a man gives his son to a wet nurse and that child then dies while in the care of the wet nurse, and the wet nurse then contracts to care for another child without the consent of his (the dead child's) father and mother, they shall charge and convict her, and, because she contracted to care for another child without the consent of his father and mother, they shall cut off her breast.

(xl 41–44) *šumma mārum abašu
imtaḫaṣ rittašu inakkisu*

¶ 195 If a child should strike his father, they shall cut off his hand.

(xl 45–49) *šumma awīlum īn mār
awīlim uḫtappid īnšu uḫappadu*

¶ 196 If an *awīlu* should blind the eye of another *awīlu*, they shall blind his eye.

(xl 50–53) *šumma eṣemti awīlim ište-
bir eṣemtašu iṣebbīru*

¶ 197 If he should break the bone of another *awīlu*, they shall break his bone.

(xl 54–59) *šumma īn muškēnim uḫ-
tappid ulu eṣemti muškēnim ištebir 1
mana kaspam iṣaqqal*

¶ 198 If he should blind the eye of a commoner or break the bone of a commoner, he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver.

(xl 60–65) *šumma īn warad awīlim
uḫtappid ulu eṣemti warad awīlim ište-
bir mišil šīmišu iṣaqqal*

¶ 199 If he should blind the eye of an *awīlu*'s slave or break the bone of an *awīlu*'s slave, he shall weigh and deliver one-half of his value (in silver).

(xl 66–70) *šumma awīlum šinni
awīlim meḫrišu ittadi šinnašu inaddū*

¶ 200 If an *awīlu* should knock out the tooth of another *awīlu* of his own rank, they shall knock out his tooth.

(xl 71–74) *šumma šinni muškēnim
ittadi 1/3 mana kaspam iṣaqqal*

¶ 201 If he should knock out the tooth of a commoner, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.

(xl 75–81) *šumma awīlum lēt awīlim
ša elišu rabū imtaḫaṣ ina puḫrim ina
qinnaz alpim 1 šūši immaḫḫaṣ*

¶ 202 If an *awīlu* should strike the cheek of an *awīlu* who is of status higher than his own, he shall be flogged in the public assembly with 60 stripes of an ox whip.

(xl 82–87) *šumma mār awīlim lēt mār
awīlim ša kīma šuāti imtaḫaṣ 1 mana
kaspam iṣaqqal*

¶ 203 If a member of the *awīlu*-class should strike the cheek of another member of the *awīlu*-class who is his equal, he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver.

(xl 88–91) *šumma muškēnum lēt
muškēnim imtaḫaṣ 10 šīqil kaspam
iṣaqqal*

¶ 204 If a commoner should strike the cheek of another commoner, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.

(xl 92-xli 3) *šumma warad awīlim lēt mār awīlim imtaḥaṣ uzunšu inakkisu*

¶ 205 If an *awīlu*'s slave should strike the cheek of a member of the *awīlu*-class, they shall cut off his ear.

(xli 4-13) *šumma awīlum awīlam ina risbatim imtaḥaṣma simmam ištakanšu awīlum šū ina idū la amḥaṣu itamma u asām ippal*

¶ 206 If an *awīlu* should strike another *awīlu* during a brawl and inflict upon him a wound, that *awīlu* shall swear, "I did not strike intentionally," and he shall satisfy the physician (i.e., pay his fees).

(xli 14-19) *šumma ina maḥāṣiṣu imtūt itammāma šumma mār awīlim ½ mana kaspam išaqqal*

¶ 207 If he should die from his beating, he shall also swear ("I did not strike him intentionally"); if he (the victim) is a member of the *awīlu*-class, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.

(xli 20-22) *šumma mār muškēnim ⅓ mana kaspam išaqqal*

¶ 208 If he (the victim) is a member of the commoner-class, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.

(xli 23-30) *šumma awīlum mārat awīlim imḥaṣma ša libbiša uštaddīši 10 šiqil kaspam ana ša libbiša išaqqal*

¶ 209 If an *awīlu* strikes a woman of the *awīlu*-class and thereby causes her to miscarry her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver for her fetus.

(xli 31-34) *šumma sinništum šī imtūt mārassu idukku*

¶ 210 If that woman should die, they shall kill his daughter.

(xli 35-40) *šumma mārat muškēnim ina maḥāṣim ša libbiša uštaddīši 5 šiqil kaspam išaqqal*

¶ 211 If he should cause a woman of the commoner-class to miscarry her fetus by the beating, he shall weigh and deliver 5 shekels of silver.

(xli 41-44) *šumma sinništum šī imtūt ½ mana kaspam išaqqal*

¶ 212 If that woman should die, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.

(xli 45-50) *šumma amat awīlim imḥaṣma ša libbiša uštaddīši 2 šiqil kaspam išaqqal*

¶ 213 If he strikes an *awīlu*'s slave woman and thereby causes her to miscarry her fetus, he shall weigh and deliver 2 shekels of silver.

(xli 51-54) *šumma amtum šī imtūt ⅓ mana kaspam išaqqal*

¶ 214 If that slave woman should die, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.

(xli 55-66) *šumma asūm awīlam simmam kabtam ina karzilli siparrim īpuṣma awīlam ubtalliṣ ulu nakkapti awīlim ina karzilli siparrim iptēma īn awīlim ubtalliṣ 10 šiqil kaspam ileqqe*

¶ 215 If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon an *awīlu* and thus heals the *awīlu*, or opens an *awīlu*'s temple with a bronze lancet and thus heals the *awīlu*'s eye, he shall take 10 shekels of silver (as his fee).

(xli 67-69) *šumma mār muškēnim 5 šiqil kaspam ileqqe*

¶ 216 If he (the patient) is a member of the commoner-class, he shall take 5 shekels of silver (as his fee).

(xli 70-73) *šumma warad awīlim bēl wardim ana asīm 2 šiqil kaspam inaddin*

¶ 217 If he (the patient) is an *awīlu*'s slave, the slave's master shall give to the physician 2 shekels of silver.

(xli 74-83) *šumma asūm awīlam simmam kabtam ina karzilli siparrim īpuṣma awīlam uṣtamīt ulu nakkapti awīlim ina karzilli siparrim iptēma īn awīlim ubtappid rittašu inakkisu*

¶ 218 If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon an *awīlu* and thus causes the *awīlu*'s death, or opens an *awīlu*'s temple with a bronze lancet and thus blinds the *awīlu*'s eye, they shall cut off his hand.

(xli 84-88) *šumma asūm simmam kabtam warad muškēnim ina karzilli siparrim īpuṣma uṣtamīt wardam kīma wardim iriab*

¶ 219 If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon a slave of a commoner and thus causes the slave's death, he shall replace the slave with a slave of comparable value.

(xli 89-94) *šumma nakkaptašu ina karzilli siparrim iptēma īnšu ubtappid kaspam mišil šīmišu išaqqal*

¶ 220 If he opens his (the commoner's slave's) temple with a bronze lancet and thus blinds his eye, he shall weigh and deliver silver equal to half his value.

(xli 95-xlii 9) *šumma asūm ešemti awīlim šebirtam uštallim ulu šer'ānam maršam ubtalliṭ bēl simmim ana asīm 5 šiḡil kaspam inaddin*

(xlii 10-12) *šumma mār muškēnim 3 šiḡil kaspam inaddin*

(xlii 13-17) *šumma warad awīlim bēl wardim ana asīm 2 šiḡil kaspam inaddin*

(xlii 18-28) *šumma asī alpim ulu imērim lu alpam ulu imēram simmam kabtam ipušma ubtalliṭ bēl alpim ulu imērim IGI.6.GAL kaspam ana asīm idīšu inaddin*

(xlii 29-35) *šumma alpam ulu imēram simmam kabtam ipušma uštamiṭ IGI.4(?) GAL šīmišu ana bēl alpim ulu imērim inaddin*

(xlii 36-42) *šumma gallābum balum bēl wardim abbutti wardim la šēm ugallib ritti gallābim šuāti inakkisu*

(xlii 43-55) *šumma awīlum gallābam idāšma abbutti wardim la šēm ugdalib awīlam šuāti idukkušuma ina bābišu iḡallalušu gallābum ina idū la ugallibu itammāma ūtaššar*

¶ 221 If a physician should set an *awīlu*'s broken bone or heal an injured muscle, the patient shall give the physician 5 shekels of silver.

¶ 222 If he (the patient) is a member of the commoner-class, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 223 If he (the patient) is an *awīlu*'s slave, the slave's master shall give the physician 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 224 If a veterinarian performs major surgery upon an ox or a donkey and thus heals it, the owner of the ox or of the donkey shall give the physician as his fee one sixth (of a shekel, i.e., 30 barleycorns) of silver.

¶ 225 If he performs major surgery upon an ox or a donkey and thus causes its death, he shall give one quarter(?)⁴¹ of its value to the owner of the ox or donkey.

¶ 226 If a barber shaves off the slave-hairlock of a slave not belonging to him without the consent of the slave's owner, they shall cut off that barber's hand.

¶ 227 If a man misinforms a barber so that he then shaves off the slave-hairlock of a slave not belonging to him, they shall kill that man and hang him in his own doorway; the barber shall swear, "I did not knowingly shave it off," and he shall be released.

(xlii 56-63) *šumma itinnum bītam ana awīlim ipušma ušaklilšum ana 1 musar bītim 2 šiḡil kaspam ana qīštišu inaddiššum*

(xlii 64-72) *šumma itinnum ana awīlim bītam ipušma šipiršu la udan= ninma bīt ipušu imqutma bēl bītim uštamiṭ itinnum šū iddāk*

(xlii 73-76) *šumma mār bēl bītim uštamiṭ mār itinnim šuāti idukku⁴²*

(xlii 77-81) *šumma warad bēl bītim uštamiṭ wardam kīma wardim ana bēl bītim inaddin*

(xlii 82-92) *šumma makkūram uḡ= talliq mimma ša uḡalliqu iriab u aššum bīt ipušu la udanninuma imqutu ina makkūr ramanišu bīt imqutu ippeš*

(xlii 93-xliii 3) *šumma itinnum bītam ana awīlim ipušma šipiršu la uštešbīma igārum iqtūp itinnum šū ina kasap ramanišu igāram šuāti udannan*

(xliii 4-9) *šumma malāḫum elip 60 kur ana awīlim ipḫi 2 šiḡil kaspam ana qīštišu inaddiššum*

(xliii 10-26) *šumma malāḫum elip= pam ana awīlim ipḫīma šipiršu la*

¶ 228 If a builder constructs a house for a man to his satisfaction, he shall give him 2 shekels of silver for each sar of house as his compensation.

¶ 229 If a builder constructs a house for a man but does not make his work sound, and the house that he constructs collapses and causes the death of the householder, that builder shall be killed.

¶ 230 If it should cause the death of a son of the householder, they shall kill a son of that builder.

¶ 231 If it should cause the death of a slave of the householder, he shall give to the householder a slave of comparable value for the slave.

¶ 232 If it should cause the loss of property, he shall replace anything that is lost; moreover, because he did not make sound the house which he constructed and it collapsed, he shall construct (anew) the house which collapsed at his own expense.

¶ 233 If a builder constructs a house for a man but does not make it conform to specifications so that a wall then buckles, that builder shall make that wall sound using his own silver.

¶ 234 If a boatman caulks a boat of 60-kur capacity for a man, he shall give him 2 shekels of silver as his compensation.

¶ 235 If a boatman caulks a boat for a man but does not satisfactorily



utakkilma ina šattimma šuāti elippum
 šī iṣṣabar ḫītām irtaši malāḫum elip-
 pam šuāti inaqqarma ina makkūr
 ramanišu udannanma elippam dan-
 natam ana bēl elippim inaddin

(xlili 27-37) šumma awīlum elippašu
 ana malāḫim ana iḡrim iddinma
 malāḫum iḡīma elippam uṭṭebbi ulu
 uḫtalliḡ malāḫum elippam ana bēl
 elippim iriab

(xlili 38-55) šumma awīlum
 malāḫam u elippam iḡurma še'am
 šipātīm šamnam suluppī u mimma
 šumšu ša šēnim iṣēnši malāḫum šū
 iḡīma elippam uṭṭebbi u ša libbiša uḫ-
 talliḡ malāḫum elippam ša uṭṭebbū u
 mimma ša ina libbiša uḫalliḡ iriab

(xlili 56-61) šumma malāḫum elip
 awīlim uṭṭebbīma uštēliašši kaspam
 mišil šīmiša inaddin

(xlili 62-66) šumma awīlum
 malāḫam [iḡur] 6 [kur še'am] ina
 šan[at] inaddiš[šum]

(xlili 67-80) šumma elip ša māḫirtim
 elip ša muqqelpītīm imḫašma uṭṭebbi
 bēl elippim ša elippašu tebiat mimma
 ša ina elippišu ḫalqu ina maḫar ilim
 ubārma ša māḫirtim ša elip ša
 muqqelpītīm uṭṭebbū elippašu u mim-
 mašu ḫalqam iriabšum

complete his work and within that
 very year the boat founders or
 reveals a structural defect, the boat-
 man shall dismantle that boat and
 make it sound at his own expense,
 and he shall give the sound boat to
 the owner of the boat.

¶ 236 If a man gives his boat to a
 boatman for hire, and the boatman
 is negligent and causes the boat to
 sink or to become lost, the boat-
 man shall replace the boat for the
 owner of the boat.

¶ 237 If a man hires a boatman and
 a boat and loads it with grain, wool,
 oil, dates, or any other lading, and
 that boatman is negligent and
 thereby causes the boat to sink or
 its cargo to become lost, the boat-
 man shall replace the boat which
 he sank and any of its cargo which
 he lost.

¶ 238 If a boatman should cause a
 man's boat to sink and he raises it,
 he shall give silver equal to half of
 its value.

¶ 239 If a man hires a boatman, he
 shall give him 1,800 silas of grain
 per year.

¶ 240 If a boat under the command
 of the master of an upstream-boat
 collides with a boat under the com-
 mand of the master of a down-
 stream-boat and thus sinks it, the
 owner of the sunken boat shall
 establish before the god the prop-
 erty that is lost from his boat, and
 the master of the upstream-boat
 who sinks the boat of the master of

the downstream-boat shall replace
 to him his boat and his lost prop-
 erty.

(xlili 81-84) šumma awīlum alpam
 ana nipūtīm ittepe 1/3 mana kaspam
 išaqqal

(xlili 85-91) šumma awīlum ana šat-
 tim ištīat iḡur idī alpim ša warka 4
 kur še'am idī alpim ša qabla 3 kur
 še'am ana bēlišu inaddin

(xliv 1-5) šumma awīlum alpam
 imēram iḡurma ina šērim nēšum
 iddūkšu ana bēlišuma

(xliv 6-13) šumma awīlum alpam
 iḡurma ina mēgūtīm ulu ina maḫāšim
 uštāmīt alpam kīma alpim ana bēl
 alpim iriab

(xliv 14-21) šumma awīlum alpam
 iḡurma šēpšu ištebir ulu labiānšu
 ittakis⁴³ alpam kīma alpim ana bēl
 alpim iriab

(xliv 22-27) šumma awīlum alpam
 iḡurma īnšu uḫtappid kaspam 1/2
 šīmišu ana bēl alpim inaddin

(xliv 28-35) šumma awīlum alpam
 iḡurma qaranšu iš<te>bir zibbassu
 ittakis ulu šašallašu ittacak kaspam
 IGI.4(?) GAL šīmišu inaddin

¶ 241 If a man should distrain an
 ox, he shall weigh and deliver 20
 shekels of silver.

¶ 242/243 If a man rents it for one
 year, he shall give to its owner
 1,200 silas of grain as the hire of an
 ox for the rear (of the team), and
 900 silas of grain as the hire of an
 ox for the middle (of the team).

¶ 244 If a man rents an ox or a don-
 key and a lion kills it in the open
 country, it is the owner's loss.

¶ 245 If a man rents an ox and
 causes its death either by negli-
 gence or by physical abuse, he shall
 replace the ox with an ox of com-
 parable value for the owner of the
 ox.

¶ 246 If a man rents an ox and
 breaks its leg or cuts its neck ten-
 don, he shall replace the ox with an
 ox of comparable value for the
 owner of the ox.

¶ 247 If a man rents an ox and
 blinds its eye, he shall give silver
 equal to half of its value to the
 owner of the ox.

¶ 248 If a man rents an ox and
 breaks its horn, cuts off its tail, or
 injures its hoof tendon, he shall
 give silver equal to one quarter of
 its value.

(xliv 36–43) *šumma awīlum alpam īgurma ilum imḥassuma imtūt awīlum ša alpam īguru nīš ilim izakkarma ūtaššar*

(xliv 44–51) *šumma alpum sūqam ina alākišu awīlam ikkipma uštamīt dīnum šu rugummām ul išu*

(xliv 52–65) *šumma alap awīlim nakkāpīma kīma nakkāpū bābtašu ušēdišumma qarnīšu la ušarrim alapšu la usanniḡma alpum šu mār awīlim ikkipma uštamīt ½ mana kas=pam inaddin*

(xliv 66–68) *šumma warad awīlim ⅓ mana kaspam inaddin*

(xliv 69–82) *šumma awīlum awīlam ana panī eqlīšu uzuzzim īgurma aldām iqīpšu liātim ipqissu [ana] eqlim erēšim urakkissu šumma awīlum šu zēram ulu ukullām išriḡma ina qātišu ittašbat rittašu inakkisu*

(xliv 83–87) *šumma aldām ilqēma liātim ūtenniš tašna še'am ša imḥuru iriab*

(xliv 88–96) *šumma liāt awīlim ana igrim ittadin ulu zēram išriḡma ina eqlim la uštābši awīlam šuāti ukan=nušuma ina ebūrim ana 1 burum 60 kur še'am imaddad*

¶ 249 If a man rents an ox, and a god strikes it down dead, the man who rented the ox shall swear an oath by the god and he shall be released.

¶ 250 If an ox gores to death a man while it is passing through the streets, that case has no basis for a claim.

¶ 251 If a man's ox is a known gorer, and the authorities of his city quarter notify him that it is a known gorer, but he does not blunt(?) its horns or control his ox, and that ox gores to death a member of the *awīlu*-class, he (the owner) shall give 30 shekels of silver.

¶ 252 If it is a man's slave (who is fatally gored), he shall give 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 253 If a man hires another man to care for his field, that is, he entrusts to him the stored grain, hands over to him care of the cattle, and contracts with him for the cultivation of the field—if that man steals the seed or fodder and it is then discovered in his possession, they shall cut off his hand.

¶ 254 If he takes the stored grain and thus weakens the cattle, he shall replace twofold the grain which he received.

¶ 255 If he should hire out the man's cattle, or he steals seed and thus does not produce crops in the field, they shall charge and convict that man, and at the harvest he shall measure and deliver 18,000

silas of grain for every 18 *ik*us of land.

(xliv 97–100) *šumma piḥassu apālam la ile'i ina eqlim šuāti ina liātim⁴⁴ imtanaššarušu*

¶ 256 If he is not able to satisfy his obligation, they shall have him dragged around⁴⁵ through that field by the cattle.

(xliv 101–xliv 4) *šumma awīlum ikkaram īgur 8 kur še'am ina šattim ištīat inaddišum*

¶ 257 If a man hires an agricultural laborer, he shall give him 2,400 silas of grain per year.

(xliv 5–9) *šumma awīlum kullizām īgur 6 kur še'am ina šattim ištīat inaddišum*

¶ 258 If a man hires an ox driver, he shall give him 1,800 silas of grain per year.

(xliv 10–15) *šumma awīlum epinnam ina ugārim išriḡ 5 šiqil kaspam ana bēl epinnim inaddin*

¶ 259 If a man steals a plow from the common irrigated area, he shall give 5 shekels of silver to the owner of the plow.

(xliv 16–20) *šumma ḥarbam ulu maškakātīm ištariḡ 3 šiqil kaspam inaddin*

¶ 260 If he should steal a clod-breaking plow or a harrow, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

(xliv 21–27) *šumma awīlum nāqidam ana liātim u šēnim re'im īgur 8 kur še'am ina šattim ištīat inaddišum*

¶ 261 If a man hires a herdsman to herd the cattle and the sheep and goats, he shall give him 2,400 silas of grain per year.

(xliv 28–36) *šumma awīlum alpam ulu immeram ana [nāqidim ...]*

¶ 262 If a man [gives] an ox or a sheep to a [herdsman ...]

(xliv 37–43) *šumma [alpam] ulu [immeram] ša innadnušum uḫtalliḡ alpam kīma [alpm] immeram kīma [immerim] ana bēli[šu] iriab*

¶ 263 If he should cause the loss of the ox or sheep which were given to him, he shall replace the ox with an ox of comparable value or the sheep with a sheep of comparable value for its owner.

(xliv 44–60) *šumma [rē'um] ša liātum ulu šēnum ana re'im innadnušum idīšu gamrātīm maḥir libbašu ṭāb liātim uššabḫir šēnam uššabḫir tālit=*

¶ 264 If a shepherd, to whom cattle or sheep and goats were given for shepherding, is in receipt of his complete hire to his satisfaction,

tam umtaṭṭi ana pī riksātišu tālittam u biltam inaddin

then allows the number of cattle to decrease, or the number of sheep and goats to decrease, or the number of offspring to diminish, he shall give for the (loss of) offspring and by-products in accordance with the terms of his contract.

(xlv 61–75) *šumma rē'um ša liātum ulu šēnum ana re'im innadnušum usarrirma šimtam uttakkir u ana kaspim ittaḍin ukannušuma adi 10-šu ša išriqu liātum u šēnam ana bēlišunu iriab*

¶ 265 If a shepherd, to whom cattle or sheep and goats were given for shepherding, acts criminally and alters the brand and sells them, they shall charge and convict him and he shall replace for their owner cattle or sheep and goats tenfold that which he stole.

(xlv 76–81) *šumma ina tarbašim lipit ilim ittabši ulu nēšum iddūk rē'um maḥar ilim ubbamma miqitti tarbašim bēl tarbašim imaḥḥaršu*

¶ 266 If, in the enclosure, an epidemic⁴⁶ should break out or a lion make a kill, the shepherd shall clear himself before the god, and the owner of the enclosure shall accept responsibility for him for the loss sustained in the enclosure.

(xlv 82–89) *šumma rē'um iḡūma ina tarbašim pissatam uštabši rē'um ḫitit pissatim ša ina tarbašim ušabšū liātum u šēnam ušallamma ana bēlišunu inaddin*

¶ 267 If the shepherd is negligent and allows mange(?) to spread in the enclosure, the shepherd shall make restitution—in cattle or in sheep and goats—for the damage caused by the mange(?) which he allowed to spread in the enclosure, and give it to their owner.

(xlv 90–92) *šumma awīlum alpam ana diāšim iḡur 2 sūt še'um idūšu*

¶ 268 If a man rents an ox for threshing, 20 silas of grain is its hire.

(xlv 93–95) *šumma imēram ana diāšim iḡur 1 sūt še'um idūšu*

¶ 269 If he rents a donkey for threshing, 10 silas of grain is its hire.

(xlv 96–98) *šumma urīšam ana diāšim iḡur 1 qa še'um idūšu*

¶ 270 If he rents a goat for threshing, 1 sila of grain is its hire.

(xlv 99–xlv 2) *šumma awīlum liātum ereqqam u murteddīša iḡur ina ūmim ištēn 3 parsikat še'am inaddin*

¶ 271 If a man rents cattle, a wagon, and its driver, he shall give 180 silas of grain per day.

(xlv 3–7) *šumma awīlum ereqqamma ana ramaniša iḡur ina ūmim ištēn 4 sūt še'am inaddin*

¶ 272 If a man rents only the wagon, he shall give 40 silas of grain per day.

(xlv 8–19) *šumma awīlum agram iḡur ištu rēš šattim adi ḥamšim warḥim 6 uttet kaspam ina ūmim ištēn inaddin ištu šiššim warḥim adi taqtīt šattim 5 uttet kaspam ina ūmim ištēn inaddin*

¶ 273 If a man hires a laborer, he shall give 6 barleycorns of silver per day from the beginning of the year until (the end of) the fifth month, and 5 barleycorns of silver per day from the sixth month until the end of the year.

(xlv 20–44) *šumma awīlum mār ummānim iggar idī LÜ.[x] 5 uttet kas-pam idī kāmīdīm 5 uttet kaspam [idī] ša kitīm(?) [x uttet] kaspam [idī] purkullim [x uttet ka]spam [idī] sasin-nim(?) [x uttet kas]pam [idī] nap[pā]him [x uttet kas]pam [idī] naggārim 4(?) uttet kaspam idī aškāpim [x] uttet kaspam idī atkup-pim [x uttet] kaspam [idī] itinnim [x uttet kas]pam [ina ūmim] ištēn [inadd]in*

¶ 274 If a man intends to hire a craftsman, he shall give, per [day]: as the hire of a ..., 5 barleycorns of silver; as the hire of a woven-textile worker, 5 barleycorns of silver; as the hire of a linen-worker(?), [x barleycorns] of silver; as the hire of a stone-cutter, [x barleycorns] of silver; as the hire of a bow-maker,⁴⁷ [x barleycorns of] silver; as the hire of a smith, [x barleycorns of] silver; as the hire of a carpenter, 4(?) barleycorns of silver; as the hire of a leatherworker, [x] barleycorns of silver; as the hire of a reedworker, [x] barleycorns of silver; as the hire of a builder, [x barleycorns of] silver.

(xlv 45–48) *[šumma aw]īlum [...] iḡur ina ūmim ištēn 3 uttet kaspum idūša*

¶ 275 If a man rents a [...-boat], 3 barleycorns of silver per day is its hire.

(xlv 49–52) *šumma māḥirtam iḡur 2½ uttet kaspam idīša ina ūmim ištēn inaddin*

¶ 276 If a man rents a boat for traveling upstream, he shall give 2½ barleycorns of silver as its hire per day.

(xlvi 53–57) *šumma awīlum elip šūšim īgur ina ūmim ištēn IGI.6.GAL kaspam idīša inaddin*

(xlvi 58–66) *šumma awīlum wardam amtam išāmma waraḥṣu la imlāma benni eliṣu imtaqut ana nādinānišu utārma šājimānum kasap išqulu ileqqe*

(xlvi 67–71) *šumma awīlum wardam amtam išāmma baqrī irtaši nādinānšu baqrī ippal*

(xlvi 72–87) *šumma awīlum ina māt nukurtim wardam amtam ša awīlim ištām inūma ina libbū mātim ittalš kamma bēl wardim ulu amtum lu warassu ulu amassu ūteddi šumma wardum u amtum šunu mārū mātim balum kaspimma andurāršunu iššakkan*

(xlvi 88–96) *šumma mārū mātim šanītim šājimānum ina maḥar ilim kasap išqulu iqabbīma bēl wardim ulu amtum kasap išqulu ana tamkārim inaddinma lu warassu lu amassu ipaṭṭar*

(xlvi 97–102) *šumma wardum ana bēlišu ul bēlī atta iqtabi kīma warassu ukānšuma bēlišu uzunšu inakkis*

¶ 277 If a man rents a boat of 60-kur capacity, he shall give one sixth (of a shekel, i.e., 30 barleycorns) of silver per day as its hire.

¶ 278⁴⁸ If a man purchases a slave or slave woman and within his one-month period epilepsy then befalls him, he shall return him to his seller and the buyer shall take back the silver that he weighed and delivered.

¶ 279 If a man purchases a slave or slave woman and then claims arise, his seller shall satisfy the claims.

¶ 280 If a man should purchase another man's slave or slave woman in a foreign country, and while he is traveling about within the (i.e., his own) country the owner of the slave or slave woman identifies his slave or slave woman—if they, the slave and slave woman, are natives of the country, their release shall be secured without any payment.

¶ 281 If they are natives of another country, the buyer shall declare before the god the amount of silver that he paid, and the owner of the slave or slave woman shall give to the merchant the amount of silver that he paid, and thus he shall redeem his slave or slavewoman.

¶ 282 If a slave should declare to his master, "You are not my master," he (the master) shall bring charge and proof against him that he is indeed his slave, and his master shall cut off his ear.

Epilogue

(xlvi 1–8) *dīnāt mīšarim ša Hammurabi šarrum lē'ūm ukinnuma mātam ussam kīnam u rīdam damqam ušašbitu*

(xlvi 9–58) *Hammurabi šarrum gitmālum anāku ana šalmāt qaqqadim ša Enlil išrukam rē'ūssina Marduk iddinam ul ēgu aḥī ul addi ašrī šulmim ešte'īšināšim pušqī waštūtum upetti nūram ušēšišināšim ina kakkim dannim ša Zababa u Ištar ušatlimunim ina igigallim ša Ea ištīmam ina lē'ūtīm ša Marduk iddinam nakrī eliṣ u šapliš assuḥ qablātīm ubelli šīr mātim utīb niši dadmī aburrī ušarbiṣ mugallitam ul ušaršišināti ilū rabūtum ibbūninnima anākuma rē'ūm mušallimum ša ḥaṭṭašu išarat šilli tābum ana ālija tariṣ ina utlija niši māt Šumerim u Akkadīm ukil ina lamassija iḥḥiša ina šulmim attabbalšināti ina nēmeqija uštapziršināti*

(xlvi 59–78) *dannum enšam ana la ḥabālim ekūtam almattam šutēšurim ina Bābilim ālim ša Anum u Enlil rēšīšu ullū ina Esagil bītim ša kīma šamē u eršetim išdāšu kīnā dīn mātim*

These are the just decisions which Hammurabi, the able king, has established and thereby has directed the land along the course of truth and the correct way of life.

I am Hammurabi, noble king. I have not been careless or negligent toward humankind, granted to my care by the god Enlil, and with whose shepherding the god Marduk charged me. I have sought for them peaceful places, I removed serious difficulties, I spread light over them. With the mighty weapon which the gods Zababa and Ishtar bestowed upon me, with the wisdom which the god Ea allotted to me, with the ability which the god Marduk gave me, I annihilated enemies everywhere, I put an end to wars, I enhanced the well-being of the land, I made the people of all settlements lie in safe pastures, I did not tolerate anyone intimidating them. The great gods having chosen me, I am indeed the shepherd who brings peace, whose scepter is just. My benevolent shade is spread over my city, I held the people of the lands of Sumer and Akkad safely on my lap. They prospered under my protective spirit, I maintained them in peace, with my skillful wisdom I sheltered them.

In order that the mighty not wrong the weak, to provide just ways for the waif and the widow, I have inscribed my precious pronouncements upon my stela and set it up

ana diānim purussē mātīm ana parāsim ḥablim šutēšurim awātija šūqurātīm ina narīja aššurma ina maḥar šalmija šar mīšarim ukīn

(xlvi 79–xlvi 2) *šarrum ša in šarri šūturu anāku awātūa nasqā lē'ūtī šāninam ul iṣū ina qibīt Šamaš dajānim rabīm ša šamē u eršetim mīšarī ina mātīm lištēpi ina awat Marduk bēlija ušurātūa mušassikam aj iršia ina Esagil ša arammū šumī ina damiqtim ana dār lizzakir*

(xlvi 3–19) *awīlum ḥablum ša awatam iraššū ana maḥar šalmija šar mīšarim lillickma narī šaṭram lištassīma awātija šūqurātīm lišmēma narī awatam likallimšu dīnšu līmur libbašu linappiṣma*

(xlvi 20–38) *Ḥammurabimi bēlum ša kīma abim wālidīm ana niši ibaššū ana awat Marduk bēlišu uštaktitma irnitti Marduk eliṣ u šapliš iḱṣud libbi Marduk bēlišu uṭīb u šīram ṭābam ana niši ana dār iṣīm u mātām uštēšer*

before the statue of me, the king of justice,⁴⁹ in the city of Babylon, the city which the gods Anu and Enlil have elevated, within the Esagil, the temple whose foundations are fixed as are heaven and earth, in order to render the judgments of the land, to give the verdicts of the land, and to provide just ways for the wronged.

I am the king preeminent among kings. My pronouncements are choice, my ability is unrivaled. By the command of the god Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth, may my justice prevail in the land. By the order of the god Marduk, my lord, may my engraved image not be confronted by someone who would remove it. May my name always be remembered favorably in the Esagil temple which I love.

Let any wronged man who has a lawsuit come before the statue of me, the king of justice, and let him have my inscribed stela read aloud to him, thus may he hear my precious pronouncements and let my stela reveal the lawsuit for him; may he examine his case, may he calm his (troubled) heart, (and may he praise me), saying:

"Hammurabi, the lord, who is like a father and begetter to his people, submitted himself to the command of the god Marduk, his lord, and achieved victory for the god Marduk everywhere. He gladdened the heart of the god Marduk, his lord, and he secured the eternal well-

being of the people and provided just ways for the land."

(xlvi 39–58) *annītam liqbīma ina maḥar Marduk bēlija Zarpānītum bēltija ina libbišu gamrim likrubam šēdum lamassum ilū ēribūt Esagil libitti Esagil igirrē ūmišam ina maḥar Marduk bēlija Zarpānītum bēltija lidammiqu*

(xlvi 59–94) *ana warkiāt ūmī ana matima šarrum ša ina mātīm ibbaššū awāt mīšarim ša ina narīja aššuru liššur dīn mātīm ša adīnu purussē mātīm ša aprusu aj unakkir ušurātija aj ušassik šumma awīlum šū tašīmtam iṣūma māssu šutēšuram ile'i ana awātīm ša ina narīja aššuru liqūlma kībsam rīdam dīn mātīm ša adīnu purussē mātīm ša aprusu narūm šū likallimšuma šalmāt qaqqadišu lištēšer dīnšina lidīn purussāšina līprus ina mātīšu raggam u šēnam lissuḥ šīr nišīšu lītīb*

(xlvi 95–xli 17) *Ḥammurabi šar mīšarim ša Šamaš kīnātīm iṣrukušum anāku awātūa nasqā epšētūa šāninam ul iṣā ela ana la ḥas= sim rēqa ana emqim ana tanādātīm šūšā šumma awīlum šū ana awātija*

May he say thus, and may he pray for me with his whole heart before the gods Marduk, my lord, and Zarpānitu, my lady. May the protective spirits, the gods who enter the Esagil temple, and the very brickwork of the Esagil temple, make my daily portents auspicious before the gods Marduk, my lord, and Zarpānitu, my lady.

May any king who will appear in the land in the future, at any time, observe the pronouncements of justice that I inscribed upon my stela. May he not alter the judgments that I rendered and the verdicts that I gave, nor remove my engraved image. If that man has discernment, and is capable of providing just ways for his land, may he heed the pronouncements I have inscribed upon my stela, may that stela reveal for him the traditions, the proper conduct, the judgments of the land that I rendered, the verdicts of the land that I gave and may he, too, provide just ways for all humankind in his care. May he render their judgments, may he give their verdicts, may he eradicate the wicked and the evil from his land, may he enhance the well-being of his people.

I am Hammurabi, king of justice, to whom the god Shamash has granted (insight into) the truth. My pronouncements are choice, and my achievements are unrivaled; they are meaningless only to the

ša ina narija ašturu iqūlma dīnī la
ušassik awātija la uštepīl ušurātija la
unakkir awīlum šū kīma jāti šar
mīšarim Šamaš haṭṭašu lirrik nišīšu
ina mīšarim lirī

(xlix 18–44) šumma awīlum šū ana
awātija ša ina narija ašturu la iqūlma
errētija imēšma errēt ilī la idurma dīn
adīnu uptassis awātija uštepīl
ušurātija uttakkir šumī šaṭram
ipšīma šumšu ištaṭar aššum errētim
šināti šaniamma uštāḥiz awīlum šū
lu šarrum lu bēlum⁵⁰ lu iššiakkum ulu
awīlūtum ša šumam nabiat

(xlix 45–52) Anum rabūm abu ilī
nābū palēja melimmī šarrūtīm līteršu
haṭṭašu lišbir šīmātišu lirur

(xlix 53–80) Enlil bēlum mušim
šīmātīm ša qibīssu la uttakkaru
mušarbū šarrūtija tēšī la šubbīm
gabarab ḥalāqīšu ina šubtišu
lišappiḥaššum⁵¹ palē tānēḥim ūmī
iṣūtīm šanāt ḥušaḥḥim iklet la
nawārim mūt niṭil inīm ana šīmtim
lišīmšum ḥalāq ālišu naspuḥ nišīšu

fool, but to the wise they are
praiseworthy. If that man (a future
ruler) heeds my pronouncements
which I have inscribed upon my
stela, and does not reject my judg-
ments, change my pronounce-
ments, or alter my engraved image,
then may the god Shamash length-
en his reign, just as (he has done)
for me, the king of justice, and so
may he shepherd his people with
justice.

(But) should that man not heed my
pronouncements, which I have
inscribed upon my stela, and
should he slight my curses and not
fear the curses of the gods, and
thus overturn the judgments that I
rendered, change my pronounce-
ments, alter my engraved image,
erase my inscribed name and
inscribe his own name (in its
place)—or should he, because of
fear of these curses, have someone
else do so—that man, whether he is
a king, a lord, or a governor, or any
person at all,

may the great god Anu, father of
the gods, who has proclaimed my
reign, deprive him of the sheen of
royalty, smash his scepter, and
curse his destiny.

May the god Enlil, the lord, who
determines destinies, whose utter-
ance cannot be countermanded,
who magnifies my kingship, incite
against him even in his own resi-
dence disorder that cannot be
quelled and a rebellion that will
result in his obliteration; may he

šarrūssu šupēlam šumšu u zikiršu ina
mātim la šubšām ina pīšu kabtim liqbi

(xlix 81–97) Ninlil ummum rabītum
ša qibīssa ina Ekur kabtat bēltum
mudammīqat igirrēja ašar šiptim u
purussēm ina maḥar Enlil awassu
lilemmīn šulput mātišu ḥalāq nišīšu
tabāk napištišu kīma mē ina pī Enlil
šarrim lišaškin

(xlix 98–113) Ea rubūm rabium ša
šīmātušu ina maḥra illaka apkal ilī
mudē mimma šumšu mušārīku ūm
balāṭija uznam u nēmeqam līteršuma
ina mīšītīm littarrūšu nārātišu ina
nagbim liskir ina eršetīšu ašnan
napišti nišī aj ušabši

(l 14–40) Šamaš dajānum rabium ša
šamē u eršetim muštēšer šaknat
napištīm bēlum tukultī šarrūssu liskip
dīnšu aj idīn uruḥšu liši išdī
ummānišu lišḥelši ina bīrišu šīram
lemnam ša nasāḥ išdī šarrūtīšu u
ḥalāq mātišu liškunšum awatum
maruštum ša Šamaš arḥiṣ likšussu

cast as his fate a reign of groaning,
of few days, of years of famine, of
darkness without illumination, and
of sudden death; may he declare
with his venerable speech the
obliteration of his city, the disper-
sion of his people, the supplanting
of his dynasty, and the blotting out
of his name and his memory from
the land.

May the goddess Ninlil, the great
mother, whose utterance is hon-
ored in the Ekur temple, the mis-
tress who makes my portents
auspicious, denounce his case
before the god Enlil at the place of
litigation and verdict; may she
induce the divine king Enlil to pro-
nounce the destruction of his land,
the obliteration of his people,⁵² and
the spilling of his life force like
water.

May the god Ea, the great prince,
whose destinies take precedence,
the sage among the gods, all-know-
ing, who lengthens the days of my
life, deprive him of all understand-
ing and wisdom, and may he lead
him into confusion; may he dam up
his rivers at the source; may he not
allow any life-sustaining grain in
his land.

May the god Shamash, the great
judge of heaven and earth, who
provides just ways for all living
creatures, the lord, my trust, over-
turn his kingship; may he not ren-
der his judgments, may he confuse
his path and undermine the morale
of his army; when divination is per-

*eliš ina balūtūtim lissuḥṣu šapliš ina
eršetim eṭemmašu mē lišašmi*

formed for him, may he provide an inauspicious omen portending the uprooting of the foundations of his kingship and the obliteration of his land; may the malevolent word of the god Shamash swiftly overtake him, may he uproot him from among the living above and make his ghost thirst for water below in the nether world.

(l 41–63) *Sin bēl šamē ilum bānī ša
tēressu⁵³ ina ilī šūpāt agām kussiam
ša šarrūtīm liṭeršu arnam kabtam
šēressu rabītam ša ina zumrišu la
iḫalliqu līmussuma ūmī warḫī šanāt
palēšu ina tānēḫim u dimmatim lišaqtī
kammāl šarrūtīm lišaṭṭilšu balāṭam ša
itti mūtīm šitannu ana šīmtim
lišīmšum*

May the god Sin, my creator, whose oracular decision prevails among the gods, deprive him of the crown and throne of kingship, and impose upon him an onerous punishment, a great penalty for him, which will not depart from his body; may he conclude every day, month, and year of his reign with groaning and mourning; may he unveil before him a contender for the kingship; may he decree for him a life that is no better than death.

(l 64–80) *Adad bēl ḫegallim gugal
šamē u eršetim rēšūa zunnī ina šamē
mīlam ina nagbim liṭeršu māssu ina
ḫušahḫim u bubūtīm liḫalliq eli ālišu
ezziš lissīma māssu ana til abūbim
litēr*

May the god Adad, lord of abundance, the canal-inspector of heaven and earth, my helper, deprive him of the benefits of rain from heaven and flood from the springs, and may he obliterate his land through destitution and famine; may he roar fiercely over his city, and may he turn his land into the abandoned hills left by flood.

(l 81–91) *Zababa qarrādum rabium
mārum rēštūm ša Ekur āliku imniya
ašar tamḫārim kakkašu lišbir ūmam
ana mūšim litēršumma nakiršu elišu
lišziz*

May the god Zababa, the great warrior, the firstborn son of the Ekur temple, who travels at my right side, smash his weapon upon the field of battle; may he turn day into

night for him, and make his enemy triumph over him.

(l 92–li 23) *Ištar bēlet tāḫazim u
qablim pātiat kakkija lamassī damiq=
tum rā'imat palēja ina libbiša aggim
ina uzzātiša rabiātīm šarrūssu līrur
damqātišu ana lemnētīm litēr⁵⁴ ašar
tāḫazim u qablim kakkašu lišbir⁵⁵
ištām saḫmaštam liškunšum
qarrādīšu lišamqit damīšunu eršetam
lišqi gurun šalmāt ummānātišu ina
šērim littaddi ummānšu rēmam aj
ušarši šuāti ana qāt nakrīšu
limallīšuma ana māt nukurtišu kamīš
līrūšu*

May the goddess Ishtar, mistress of battle and warfare, who bares my weapon, my benevolent protective spirit, who loves my reign, curse his kingship with her angry heart and great fury; may she turn his auspicious omens into calamities; may she smash his weapon on the field of war and battle, plunge him into confusion and rebellion, strike down his warriors, drench the earth with their blood, make a heap of the corpses of his soldiers upon the plain, and may she show his soldiers no mercy; as for him, may she deliver him into the hand of his enemies, and may she lead him bound captive to the land of his enemy.

(li 24–39) *Nergal dannum ina ilī
qabal la maḫār mušakšidu irnittiya
ina kašūšišu rabīm kīma išātīm ezze=
tim ša apim nišīšu liqmi ina kakkišu
dannim lišaṭṭīšuma biniātišu kīma
šalam ḫiddim liḫbuš*

May the god Nergal, the mighty one among the gods, the irresistible onslaught, who enables me to achieve my triumphs, burn his people with his great overpowering weapon like a raging fire in a reed thicket; may he have him beaten with his mighty weapon, and shatter his limbs like (those of) a clay figure.

(li 40–49) *Nintu bēltum šīrtum ša
mātātīm ummum bānītī aplam
liṭeršuma šumam aj ušaršīšu ina
qerbīt nišīšu zēr awīlūtīm aj ibni*

May the goddess Nintu, august mistress of the lands, the mother, my creator, deprive him of an heir and give him no offspring; may she not allow a human child to be born among his people.

(li 50–69) *Ninkarrak mārāt Anim
qābiat dumqija ina Ekur mušam kab=*

May the goddess Ninkarrak, daughter of the god Anu, who pro-

*tam asakkam lemmam simmam
maršam ša la ipaššeḫu ašum qereḇšu
la ilammadu ina šimdi la unahḫūšu
kīma nišik mūtim la innassaḫu ina
biniātišu lišāšiasšumma adi napiš-
tašu ibellū ana eḫlūtišu liddammam*

(li 70–85) *ilū rabūtum ša šamē u
eršetim Anunnakū ina napharišunu
šēd bītim libitti Ebabbara šuāti zērašu
māssu šābašu nišīšu u ummānšu erre-
tam maruštam līruru erreṭim
anniātīm*⁵⁷

(li 86–91) *Enlil ina pīšu ša la
uttakkaru līruršuma arḫiṣ likšudašu*

motes my cause in the Ekur temple,
cause a grievous malady to break
out upon his limbs, an evil demonic
disease, a serious carbuncle which
cannot be soothed, which a physi-
cian cannot diagnose, which he
cannot ease with bandages, which,
like the bite of death, cannot be
expunged;⁵⁶ may he bewail his lost
virility until his life comes to an
end.

May the great gods of heaven and
earth, all the Anunnaku deities
together, the protective spirit of
the temple, the very brickwork of
the Ebabbar temple, curse that one,
his seed, his land, his troops, his
people, and his army with a terrible
curse.

May the god Enlil, whose com-
mand cannot be countermanded,
curse him, and may these curses
swiftly overtake him.

Notes

1. The emendation inserting *šubat*, "the dwelling of" (and following three variants with the genitive *ili* against the stela's nominative *ilu*) follows Reiner 1970: 73, but see the reservations in Borger 1971: 22 n. 5, and see also Ries 1983: 47–48; here, however, I include *mudē igigallim* (iii 17) with the following section dealing with Dilbat and as an epithet of Hammurabi, rather than as a further qualification of the god Tutu of the Ezida temple. Although it is difficult to accept as epithet of Hammurabi *ilu šarri*, "god among kings" (so, e.g., Borger 1982: 42, and passim in translations; but see AHw 372 s.v. *illu(m)* I, already in 1962 expressing doubts about the force of the epithet, and compare the still grandiose but not blasphemous *etel šarri* [iii 70] and *ašared šarri* [iv 23]), the emendation of the passage still presents difficulties.

2. Var. *rugummānē* [dīnim šuā]ti *ippal*, "he shall satisfy the claims for that case."

3. Texts *id-KI* and *iq-bi*, "he has spoken (malicious ...)."

4. Var. possibly *puḫrum*, "the assembly (and the governor ...)," but Borger (1979: 13) prefers reading URU^{ki} (*alum*) to UNKIN (Finkelstein 1967: 45, 47).

5. Error for *iribbušum*, see Gelb 1955: 111.

6. Var. *ana išāti bullim*, "to put out the fire."

7. Var. [*eqelšu kirāšu*] *u bītišu ana šanūmma iddinuma*, "they give [his field, his orchard] and his house to another and ..."

8. Text gives the perfect *it-tu-ra-am-ma*.

9. Var. *šābē ana nisiḫtim*, "(should recruit(?)) [or: induce(?)] troops for desertion(?)." 10. Var. *ina qāti rēdim ilteqe*, "or take from the soldier (the gift that ...)."

11. Var. *imahḫaš imarrar* [*u i*]šakkakma, "he shall plow, hoe, and harrow."

12. Var. *ana errešūtim*, "for cultivation."

13. Or "linseed"; see the discussion and literature cited in CAD Š/1 306f. s.v. *šamaššammū*.

14. Taken by Donbaz and Sauren (1991: 8–13) as a variant of the preceding provision presented here separately as gap ¶ g.

15. Var. adds *kasapšu*, "(has) his silver (as an interest-bearing loan)."

16. Var. adds *še'amma išu*, "but he has grain."

17. Var. *ikassūšima*, "they shall bind her in fetters and (cast her ...)."

18. Or: "If a *naḫitu* who is an *ugbattu* ..."

19. Text *ukannušuma*, "they shall charge and convict him and ..."

20. The Akkadian *nipātu* is fem., hence the feminine pronoun, but the person or animal given in distress could be male or female.

21. Or: "(if the distress is) a member of the *awilu*-class."

22. Var. *šapku ana gamrimma ittadin* (error).

23. Var. *ileqqe*, "he (the owner of the granary) shall take."

24. Others suggest the verb *nadū* (*inaddūšu*), thus "they shall drag that man into the presence of (or: before) the judges," but for that sense (not well attested) the text should have *ana pani dajāni* ...

25. The disease or illness *la'bu* might refer to a contagious skin disease; see Stol 1993b: 143 with literature.

26. Text *inaddūši*, "they shall cast her," var. *inaddūši inaddūšu*, "they shall cast her, they shall cast him."

27. Some emend to <mu>*rabbitišu*, "the woman who raised him (i.e., his father's wife)" (so CAD M/2 216 s.v., and cf. MAL A ¶ 51 cited CAD s.v. *rabū* A mng. 5a-1'), but with Cardascia (1980: 12–13 with n. 22) I prefer the sense obtained from the feminine adjective, without emending the manuscripts.

28. Var. *ana mārī*, "for the (eligible) sons."

29. Var. reverses the order: *mārū amtīm u mārū ḫirtim* ..., "the children of the slave woman and the children of the first-ranking wife (shall divide ...)."

30. Var. omits "during his lifetime" (*šumma abum ana* [mārī] *ša amtum ul* [dušum ...]).

31. Var. *ulu warad awilim*, "(she enters the house of the slave of the palace) or of the slave of an *awilum*."

32. Var. *ikšudu*, "they attain (possessions)."

33. Var. *elēnumma ileqqe*, "she shall take in addition."

34. Var. adds *bītam*, "(the usufruct of the field, orchard,) house (or anything ...)."

35. Var. *išturušim*, "(which her father) wrote for her."

36. Var. *kulmašītum*.

37. Stol 1979 suggests a third class of priestess, reading É.GI₄A (*kallatum*, usually "bride" or "daughter-in-law") rather than G₄.GI₄A (*gagūm*, "cloistered").

38. That is, not the preferential (double) inheritance share of a primary heir, but

the single share of any other heir; the terminology derives from the paradigmatic case of two heirs in which the estate is divided into three parts.

39. See note at ¶ 181.

40. See note at ¶ 181.

41. Or IGL5.GÁL, "one fifth."

42. Var. *iddāk*, "(the son of the builder) shall be killed."

43. Var. *šēpšu ištebir ulu gilissu ištaḫaṭ*, "breaks its leg or flays its hide."

44. Var. *ina alpim*, "by an ox."

45. Akkadian expresses this in the active voice ("they shall drag him around ...").

46. Literally, "a plague (or touch) of the god."

47. Or *zadimmu*, "lapidary."

48. See Stol 1993b, especially pp. 133ff.

49. The understanding of *šar mīšarim*, "king of justice," as an epithet of Hammurabi here (xlvi 77) and below (xlviii 7) agrees with that put forth in CAD N/1 364a s.v. *narû* A mng. 1, and is supported by the repetition of the phrase elsewhere in the epilogue (xlviii 96 and xlix 13), where it clearly is a royal epithet in apposition to a proper noun or a pronoun.

50. EN, read *bēlum*, "lord," or *ēnum*, "high priest."

51. See CAD Š/3 s.v. *šuppūu*.

52. Var. "his city."

53. Emended, with CAD A/2 203b; text *še-re-sú*.

54. *li-te-er* mistakenly repeated in the last line of column I and the first line of column II.

55. Variant (source w) provides a bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian version from here (li 5) through li 75.

56. Bilingual var. reads [...] *su-ni-še* (error for *-ta*) *na-an-zi-zi : ina širišu la itebbū*, "which cannot rise up(?) from his flesh"; see the comments in Sjöberg 1991: 223.

57. Text *DA-ni-a-tim*.

Neo-Babylonian Laws (LNB) (ca. 700 B.C.E., Sippar)

From the middle of the second millennium, after the weakening and ultimately the demise of the Old Babylonian dynasty of Hammurabi, the military supremacy of the Assyrian empire held most of the ancient Near East, including Babylonia, under its domination. But toward the end of the seventh century B.C.E., when Babylonian and Median forces decisively defeated the Assyrians and the Neo-Babylonian (or Chaldean) dynasty (625–539 B.C.E.) became the political and military successor to the Sargonid kings of the Neo-Assyrian empire, Babylonia had regained a position of economic and military strength. During the reigns of the first of the Neo-Babylonian kings, Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar, there were conscious attempts to emulate the achievements of Hammurabi's dynasty more than a millennium earlier, in temple and public building projects, social reforms, scientific (especially astronomical) and literary enterprises, legal and bureaucratic organizations, etc. This is the Babylon of political and cultural sophistication that, with its ziggurat temple tower and hanging gardens, entered the popular imagination and found expression in biblical and classical writings. By the end of the sixth century B.C.E., however, the expanding Persian state under Cyrus the Great swept through Babylonia. Cyrus incorporated Babylonia into his empire as a satrapy, ending independent native rule in Mesopotamia.

About the Laws

Fifteen law provisions are preserved. There is no recognizable prologue or epilogue. The tablet is a copy of a damaged original, or records a collection assembled from incomplete sources, as is demonstrated by the brief

tukappiru bilassu ištēn adi 3 ana bēl
eqli tanandin šumma ina elippi⁴ ina
utūni u mimma šumšu tukappiru
miṭṭi ša ina eqli taššakkanu ištēn adi⁵
3 tanandin kī ina bāb [bīt] amēli x x
[...]x⁶ šabtatū taddā[ku]

(iii 1–2) dīnšu ul qatī u ul šaṭir

(iii 3–22) amēlu ša mārassu ana mār
amēli iddinuma abu mimma ina
tuppišu ušēdūma ana mārišu iddinu u
emu nudunnū ša mārtišu ušēdūma
tuppi itti aḫāmeš išturu tuppašunu ul
innū abi nušurrū ina mimma ša ana
mārišu ina tuppi išturuma ana emišu
ukallimu ul išakkan kīma abu aššassu
šīmti ublu⁹ aššati arkīti itaḫzuma
mārē ittaldūšu šalšu ina rēḫet
nikkassīšu mārū arkīti ileqqū

(iii 23–31) amēlu ša nudunnū ana
mārtišu iqbūma lu tuppi išturušu u
arki nikkassīšu imṭū akī nikkassīšu ša
rēḫi nudunnū ana mārtišu inandin
eme u ḫatanu aḫāmeš ul innū

anything whatsoever—(if it is a
field, then concerning) the trees
(or: wood) among which(?) she per-
forms the ritual, she shall give to
the owner of the field threefold its
yield. If she performs the purifica-
tion against(?) (i.e., in order to
affect?) a boat, or an oven, or any-
thing else, she shall give threefold
the losses caused to the property
(text: field). Should she be seized
[performing the purification]
against(?) (i.e., in order to affect?)
the door of a man's [house], she
shall be killed.

Its case⁸ is not complete and is not
written (here).

¶ 8 A man who gives his daughter
in marriage to a member of the
amēlu-class, and the father (of the
groom) commits certain properties
in his tablet and awards them to his
son, and the father-in-law commits
the dowry of his daughter, and they
write the tablets in mutual agree-
ment—they will not alter the com-
mitments of their respective
tablets. The father will not make
any reduction to the properties as
written in the tablet to his son's
benefit which he showed to his in-
law. Even should the father, whose
wife fate carries away, then marry a
second wife and should she then
bear him sons, the sons of the sec-
ond woman shall take one third¹⁰ of
the balance of his estate.

¶ 9 A man who makes an oral
promise of the dowry for his
daughter, or writes it on a tablet for
her, and whose estate later
decreases—he shall give to his

daughter a dowry in accordance
with the remaining assets of his
estate; the father-in-law (i.e., the
bride's father) and the groom will
not by mutual agreement alter the
commitments.

(iii 32–36) amēlu ša nudunnū ana
mārtišu iddinuma mārā u mārtā la
tišū u šīmti ubluš nudunnāšu ana bīt
abišu itārī¹¹

(iv 1–8) [aššatu ša...] ana [...] šī[mti
ubluš (...)] ana muḫḫi māri x x
nudunnāšu ana mutišu u ana mamma
ša panīšu maḫru tanandin

(iv 9–25) aššatu ša nudunnāšu mussu
ilqū mārā u mārtā la tišū u mussu
šīmti ublu ina nikkassī ša mutišu
nudunnū mala nudunnū innandinšu
šumma mussu širikta ištarakšu širikti
ša mutišu itti nudunnēšu taleqqēme
aplat šumma nudunnū la tiši dajānu
nikkassī ša mutišu imma[r]ma kī
nikkassī ša mutišu mimma inandinšu

(iv 26–v 4) amēlu aššata iḫuzma
mārē ulissu arki amēlu šuāti šīmti
ubilšuma amēltu šuāti ana bīt šanī
erēbi panīšu iltakan nudunnā ša ultu
bīt abišu tublu u mimma ša mussu
išrukušū ileqqēma muti libbišu iḫḫassi
adi umē baḫtatu akalū itti aḫ[āmeš]
ina libbi ikk[alu] šumma ana mu[tišu]

¶ 10 A man who gives a dowry to
his daughter, and she has no son or
daughter, and fate carries her
away—her dowry shall revert to her
paternal estate.

¶ 11 [A wife who ...] fate [carries
her away (...)] to a son [...]—she
shall give her dowry to her hus-
band or to whomever she wishes.

¶ 12 A wife whose husband takes
her dowry, and who has no son or
daughter, and whose husband fate
carries away—a dowry equivalent
to the dowry (which her husband
had received) shall be given to her
from her husband's estate. If her
husband should award to her a mar-
riage gift, she shall take her hus-
band's marriage gift together with
her dowry, and thus her claim is
satisfied. If she has no dowry, a
judge shall assess the value of her
husband's estate, and shall give to
her some property in accordance
with the value of her husband's
estate.

¶ 13 A man marries a wife, and she
bears him sons, and later on fate
carries away that man, and that
woman then decides to enter
another man's house—she shall
take (from her first husband's
estate) the dowry that she brought
from her father's house and any-

*mārē it[taldu] arkišu mārū [arkī] u
mārū maḥ[ri] nudun[nāšu] aḥāti
[šunu]¹² [...]*

thing that her husband awarded to her, and the husband she chooses shall marry her; as long as she lives, they shall have the joint use of the properties. If she should bear sons to her (second) husband, after her death the sons of the second and first (husbands) shall have equal shares in her dowry. [...]

(v 5-31) [...] -x-x-šū [...] mutišu [...] x
taleqqū [...] -ab ina muḥḥi abišu u
[...] ¹³

¶ 14 [...] her husband [...] she shall
take [...] to her father [...]

(v 32-44, vi 1ff.) *amēlu ša aššata
iḥuzuma mārē uldušuma aššassu
šīmti ublu aššati šanīti iḥuzuma
mārē uldušu arki abu ana šīmti
ittalku ina nikkassī ša bīt abi 2.TA
qātāti mārē maḥrīti u šalšu mārē
arkīti ileqqū aḥḥātīšunu ša ina bīt abi
ašbāma (vi 1ff.) [...]*

¶ 15 A man who marries a wife who bears him sons, and whose wife fate carries away, and who marries a second wife who bears him sons, and later on the father goes to his fate—the sons of the first woman shall take two-thirds of the paternal estate, and the sons of the second shall take one-third. Their sisters, who are still residing in the paternal home [...]

Colophon

(vi x+1-2) [...] -a⁷ [(...) šar] Bābili

[... king of] the city of Babylon.

Notes

1. Written (here in ii 5 and again in ¶ 11, iv 7) MAN-*ma*, possibly to be read *šanima*.
2. The beginning of ii 27, reading *ina AŠA LÚ*, is clear and the wedges are incised deeply on the tablet; in contrast, the wedges that follow are faint and partially obscured by the signs of the lines both above and below. The readings for these wedges proposed by previous editors are all unsatisfactory, and I conclude that the final signs simply were incompletely erased by the scribe.
3. Text: *šum-ma* (error).
4. The copy's line 36 (reading *tu-kap-pi-ru*) is not on the tablet.
5. Read *išten adi*, although the first signs are represented as the ligature 1+*en*.
6. The entire line (ii 43) is damaged, and no satisfactory reading can be provided.

7. The difficult provision deals with a case in which a woman sought to undermine the basis of a man's livelihood—exemplified by the selection of the essentials of three common professions: a farmer's field, a boatman's boat, and a baker's or potter's kiln—for which, in the first and second apodoses, she is to compensate the man threefold for his loss. One of the many obstacles to a full understanding of the provision is the sense of the preposition *ina* which is most commonly used as a locative preposition ("in"), but also can be a causative or an instrumental. My understanding of the provision takes *ina* as a causative, thus "... performed a magic act ... in order to cause harm to a man's field ..." But it is also possible to understand *ina* as an instrumental particle, thus the woman would be using a model or figurine representing the profession (a model of a tree, a boat, or a kiln) in her act of magic, or as the common locative, thus the woman would be performing her magic within the field, boat, oven, etc. In any case, at least one scribal error appears and an emendation is necessary: "... caused to the property (text: field)." The third and final case is damaged, but the protasis presents a variant situation in which she appears to be performing the act of magic against a man's private residence, thus bringing harm to his entire household, for which the apodosis calls for the woman's death.

8. The Akkadian word *dimu* is translatable as "case," "decision," or "judgment," and refers both to the entire proceedings of a suit or trial and to the decision rendered by the officiating judge; this is the term used in the LH, for example, at the beginning of the epilogue, in order to characterize the preceding law provisions as Hammurabi's "just decisions." The antecedent of "its" is not clear; the reference could be, for example, to a defective original exemplar from which this tablet was copied, or to a court case that has not yet been decided.

9. Only the first sign of the word is clear in iii 17 (= iii 24 in Borger 1982d: 92-93 n. a), and none of the expected readings can be confirmed.

10. I.e., not the preferential or double share; see n. 38 to LH ¶ 181.

11. There is an incised line at the bottom of column iii, marking the end of the provision.

12. There is no line incised at the bottom of column iv, thus indicating that the provision continued into the first lines of the next column.

13. There may be more than one provision lost in the breaks of these fragmentary lines.

Translations

C. Assyrian

Middle Assyrian Laws (MAL) **(ca. 1076 B.C.E., Assur)**

By the fourteenth century B.C.E., political and military control of the Near East was in the hands of the Hittites in Anatolia, the Egyptians in the Mediterranean coastal areas, the Assyrians in northern Mesopotamia, and the Kassites in southern Mesopotamia. The Assyrian king Ashur-uballit I (r. 1363–1328 B.C.E.) challenged the dominance of the Hittite New Kingdom; Tukulti-Ninurta I (r. 1244–1208 B.C.E.) captured Babylon; by the time of Tiglath-pileser I (r. 1114–1076 B.C.E.), both Kassite Babylonia and Hittite Anatolia were no longer forces in the region, and Assyria was established as the unrivaled political power in the region.

About the Laws

Each “tablet” (A through O) of the Middle Assyrian Laws is represented by only one source, with the exception of MAL A, which does have a late but fragmentary duplicate, and the duplication of provisions in MAL B and MAL O. Thus, we have a series of tablets with law provisions, rather than a single systematic, reconstructed, composition. Some of the tablets appear to record laws dealing with one or more related concerns, most prominently the well-preserved MAL A, which deals almost exclusively with laws in which women figure as victims or principals. The specific situations in the fifty-nine provisions of MAL A, however, range throughout the legal realm, and include theft, blasphemy, deposit, bodily injury and assault, sexual assault and sexual offenses, homicide, false accusations, inheritance, marriage and matrimonial property, veiling, witchcraft, pledges and debts, and abortion. The twenty provisions in MAL B include situations dealing with inheritance, and with agriculture and irrigation. MAL C+G has eleven provisions, generally dealing with pledges and deposits. In the remaining

tablets, all smaller and less well preserved, some topics covered are: theft, herders' responsibilities, maritime traffic rules, blasphemy, false accusations, inheritance, irrigation.

Almost all the paragraphs begin with *šumma* and are clearly marked on the cuneiform tablets by single incised horizontal lines. The rationale for such divisions is not, however, always clear; some separate provisions are variations or alternative situations which should be considered together as one legal situation, and in other cases longer paragraphs include multiple subparagraphs that might logically be separated. To facilitate the translations of these longer, sometimes rambling, paragraphs, line numbers are occasionally presented with the beginning of a new situation or variation, usually introduced by Akkadian *šumma*, "if."

The laws in the MAL consider two principal classes of person, the free person (*aṣīlu*, "man"), and the male and female slave (*urdu* and *amtu*).¹ MAL A, which is concerned with regulations involving women of the *aṣīlu*-class, refers to wives, widows, and devotees of the *qadiltu*-class.

About the Sources

The provisions are found on a number of tablets, almost all of which are eleventh century B.C.E. copies of earlier fourteenth-century originals, excavated in the Assyrian capital Assur.² One later Neo-Assyrian fragment is a fragmentary piece from Nineveh which duplicates some of the first paragraphs of MAL A. The only preserved date formula, on the Middle Assyrian copy of MAL A, refers to an official named Sagiū, during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (r. 1114–1076 B.C.E. or, with Freydank 1991, of Ninurta-apil-ekur, r. 1191–1179 B.C.E.). Although the tablets were written and the collection assembled probably during the reign of that Assyrian monarch, it is uncertain whether the recovered texts were compiled for his royal library (Weidner 1952/53b) or for later scribes' personal libraries (Lambert 1976: 85–86 n. 2).

The provision numbers used here conform to those in the standard editions; the reader must be aware, however, that there are gaps at the beginnings and ends of columns or surfaces in which an unknown number of provisions might be lost, and that these gaps are not reflected in the sequence of provision numbers. Thus, for example, in MAL B the entire first and last columns are lost, and undetermined portions of the beginnings and ends of columns are missing, but the provision numbering is sequential without gaps; MAL N is known from a fragment with one surface preserving only the left edge (but not the beginning) and portions of two provisions. Thus, although provision numbers within each Tablet begin with "1," the first preserved provision might not have been the first on the complete tablet.

MAL A

(a i 1–13; b 1–4) *šumma sinniltu lu aššat aṣīle u lu mār[at] aṣīle [ana] bēt ile tētarab ina bēt ile mimma [ša eš]rēte t[alti]riq [ina qātēša] iṣṣabi[t]³ u lu ubta'erusi lu ukta'inu[ši] bārāta [...] ila iša'[ulu] u ki ša ilu [ana epāše iq]ab[biuni] eppušuši*

A ¶ 1 If a woman,⁴ either a man's wife or a man's daughter, should enter into a temple and steal something from the sanctuary in the temple⁵ and either it is discovered in her possession or they prove the charges against her and find her guilty, [they shall perform(?)] a divination(?), they shall inquire of the deity; they shall treat her as the deity instructs them.

(a i 14–22; b 5–7) *šumma sinniltu lu aššat aṣīle u lu mārat aṣīle šillata taqtibi lu miqit pē tartiši sinniltu šit aranša tanašši ana mutiša mārēša mārāteša la iqarribu*

A ¶ 2 If a woman,⁶ either a man's wife or a man's daughter, should speak something disgraceful or utter a blasphemy, that woman alone bears responsibility for her offense; they shall have no claim against her husband, her sons, or her daughters.

(a i 23–45; b 8–10) *šumma aṣīlu lu mariš lu mēt aššassu ina bētišu mimma taltiriq lu ana aṣīle lu ana sinnilte u lu ana mamma šanēmma tat= tidin aššat aṣīle u māḥirānūtema idukkušunu (a i 32) u šumma aššat aṣīle ša mussa baḥtuni ina bēt mutiša taltiriq lu ana aṣīle lu ana sinnilte u lu ana mamma šanēmma tattidin aṣīlu aššassu uba'ar u ḥīṭa emmed u māḥirānu ša ina qāt aššat aṣīle imḥu= runi šurqa iddan u ḥīṭa ki ša aṣīlu aššassu emiduni māḥirāna emmidu*

A ¶ 3 If a man is either ill or dead, and his wife should steal something from his house and give it either to a man, or to a woman, or to anyone else, they shall kill the man's wife as well as the receivers (of the stolen goods). (a i 32) And if a man's wife, whose husband is healthy, should steal from her husband's house and give it either to a man, or to a woman, or to anyone else, the man shall prove the charges against his wife and shall impose a punishment; the receiver who received (the stolen goods) from the man's wife shall hand over the stolen goods, and they shall impose a punishment on the receiver identical to that which the man imposed on his wife.

(i 46-56⁷) *šumma lu urdu lu amtu ina qāt aššat a'ile mimma imtaḥru ša urde u amte appēšunu uznēšunu unakkusu šurqa umallū a'ilu ša aššiti[šu] uznēša unakkas u šumma aššassu uššer [uz]nēša la unakkis ša urde u amte la unakkusuma šurqa la umallū*

(i 57-69) *šumma aššat a'ile ina bēt a'ile šanēmma mimma taltiriq ana qāt 5 mana anneke tūtatter bēl šurqe itam= ma mā šumma ušāḥizušini mā ina bētija širqī (i 63) šumma mussa magir šurqa iddan u ipaṭṭarši uznēša unakkas šumma mussa ana paṭāriša la imaggur bēl šurqe ilaqqēši u appaša inakkis*

(i 70-73) *šumma aššat a'ile maškatta ina kīde taltakan māḥirānu šurqa inašši*

(i 74-77) *šumma sinniltu qāta ana a'ile tattabal ubta'erusi 30 mana annaka taddan 20 ina ḥaṭṭāte imah= ḥušuši*

(i 78-87) *šumma sinniltu ina šalte iška ša a'ile taḥtepi 1 ubānša inakkisu u šumma asū urtakkišma išku šanitu*

A ¶ 4 If either a slave or a slave woman should receive something from a man's wife, they shall cut off the slave's or slave woman's nose and ears; they shall restore the stolen goods; the man shall cut off his own wife's ears. But if he releases his wife and does not cut off her ears, they shall not cut off (the nose and ears) of the slave or slave woman, and they shall not restore the stolen goods.

A ¶ 5 If a man's wife should steal something with a value greater than 300 shekels of lead⁸ from the house of another man, the owner of the stolen goods shall take an oath, saying, "I did not incite her, saying, 'Commit a theft in my house.'" (i 63) If her husband is in agreement, he (her husband) shall hand over the stolen goods and he shall ransom her; he shall cut off her ears. If her husband does not agree to her ransom, the owner of the stolen goods shall take her and he shall cut off her nose.

A ¶ 6 If a man's wife should place goods for safekeeping outside of the family, the receiver of the goods shall bear liability for stolen property.

A ¶ 7 If a woman should lay a hand upon a man and they prove the charges against her, she shall pay 1,800 shekels of lead; they shall strike her 20 blows with rods.

A ¶ 8 If a woman should crush a man's testicle during a quarrel, they shall cut off one of her fin-

iltešama tattalpat [x]-ri-im-ma tartiši [u] lu ina šalte [iš]ka šanita taḥtepi [...M]EŠ-ša kilallūn inappulu

(i 88-96) *[šumma] a'ilu qāta ana aššat a'ile [u]bil kī būre ēpušši [ub]ta'erus [uk]ta'inuš [1] ubānšu inakkisu [šumm]a ittišiqši [ša]passu šaplita [ana p]an erimte ša pāše [iša]ddudu inakkisu*

(i 97-ii 6) *[šumma] l[u] a'ilu lu sinniltu [ana bēt a'ile] ērubuma [lu a'ila l]u sinnilta idūku [ana bēl bēte] dā'ikānūte [iddunu] panūšuma [idukk]ušunu [panūšuma imma]ggar [mimmāšunu] ilaqqe (ii 1) [u šumma ina bē]t dā'i[kānūte] mimm[a ša tadāne laššu] lu mā[ra lu mārta ...] im [...]*

(ii 7-13) *[šumma ...] ši-[...] ša [x x] x pa-a-[...]-li*

(ii 14-24) *šumma aššat a'ile ina rebēte tētetiḳ a'ilu iṣṣabassu lanikkime iqtibi= ašše la tamaggur tattanaššar emū= qamma iṣṣabassi ittiakši lu ina muḥḫi aššat a'ile ikšuduš u lu kī sinnilta inikuni šēbūtu ubta'erus a'ila idukku ša sinnilte ḫītu laššu*

gers. And even if the physician should bandage it, but the second testicle then becomes infected(?) along with it and becomes ...,⁹ or if she should crush the second testicle during the quarrel—they shall gouge out both her [...]-s.¹⁰

A ¶ 9 If a man lays a hand upon a woman, attacking her like a rutting bull(?), and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, they shall cut off one of his fingers. If he should kiss her, they shall draw his lower lip across the blade(?) of an ax and cut it off.

A ¶ 10 [If either] a man or a woman enters [another man's] house and kills [either a man] or a woman, [they shall hand over] the manslayers [to the head of the household]; if he so chooses, he shall kill them, or if he chooses to come to an accommodation, he shall take [their property]; and if there is [nothing of value to give from the house] of the manslayers, either a son [or a daughter ...]

A ¶ 11 [If ...]

A ¶ 12 If a wife of a man should walk along the main thoroughfare and should a man seize her and say to her, "I want to have sex with you!"¹¹—she shall not consent but she shall protect herself; should he seize her by force and fornicate with her—whether they discover him upon the woman or witnesses later prove the charges against him that he fornicated with the

(ii 25–29) *šumma aššat aʾile ištu bētiša tattišima ana muḥḥi aʾile ašar usbuni tattalak ittiakši kī aššat aʾilenni īde aʾila u aššata idukku*

(ii 30–40) *šumma aššat aʾile aʾilu lu ina bēt altamme lu ina rebēte kī aššat aʾilenni īde ittiakši kī aʾilu ša aššassu ana epāše iqabbiuni nāʾikāna eppušu šumma kī aššat aʾilenni la īde ittiakši nāʾikānu zaku aʾilu aššassu ubār kī libbišu eppassi*

(ii 41–57) *šumma aʾilu ištu aššitišu aʾila iṣšabat ubtaʾeruṣ uktaʾinuṣ kilallēšunuma idukkušunu aranšu laššu šumma iṣšabta lu ana muḥḥi šarre lu ana muḥḥi dajānī ittabla ubtaʾeruṣ uktaʾinuṣ šumma mut sin= nilte aššassu iduak u aʾila iduakma šumma appa ša aššitišu inakkis aʾila ana ša rēšēn utār u panīšu gabba inaqguru u šumma aššass[u uššar] aʾila u[ššar]*

(ii 58–66) *šumma aʾilu aššat [aʾile ...] pīša [...] ḥītu ša aʾile laššu aʾilu aššassu ḥīta kī libbišu emmid šumma*

woman—they shall kill the man; there is no punishment for the woman.

A ¶ 13 If the wife of a man should go out of her own house, and go to another man where he resides, and should he fornicate with her knowing that she is the wife of a man, they shall kill the man and the wife.

A ¶ 14 If a man should fornicate with another man's wife either in an inn or in the main thoroughfare, knowing that she is the wife of a man, they shall treat the fornicator as the man declares he wishes his wife to be treated. If he should fornicate with her without knowing that she is the wife of a man, the fornicator is clear; the man shall prove the charges against his wife and he shall treat her as he wishes.

A ¶ 15 If a man should seize another man upon his wife and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, they shall kill both of them; there is no liability for him (i.e., the husband). If he should seize him and bring him either before the king or the judges, and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty—if the woman's husband kills his wife, then he shall also kill the man; if he cuts off his wife's nose, he shall turn the man into a eunuch and they shall lacerate his entire face; but if [he wishes to release] his wife, he shall [release] the man.

A ¶ 16 If a man [should fornicate] with the wife of a man [...] by her invitation, there is no punishment

emūqamma ittiakši ubtaʾeruṣ uktaʾinuṣ ḥītašu kī ša aššat aʾilemma

(ii 67–71) *šumma aʾilu ana aʾile iqtibi mā aššatka ittinikku šēbūtu laššu riksāte iṣakkunu ana lā illuku*

(ii 72–81) *šumma aʾilu ana tappāʾišu lu ina puzre lu ina šalte iqbi mā aššatka ittinikku mā anāku ubār baʾura la ilaʾe la ubaʾer aʾila šuātu 40 ina ḥaṭṭāte imaḥḥuṣuṣ iltēn uraḥ ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš igaddimuṣ u 1 bilat annaka iddan*

(ii 82–92) *šumma aʾilu ina puzre ina muḥḥi tappāʾišu abata iškun mā ittinikku lu ina šalte ana pani šābē iqbiaššu mā ittinikkuka mā ubārka baʾura la ilaʾe la ubaʾer aʾila šuātu 50 ina ḥaṭṭāte imaḥḥuṣuṣ iltēn uraḥ ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš igaddimuṣ u 1 bilat annaka iddan*

for the man; the man (i.e., husband) shall impose whatever punishment he chooses upon his wife. If he should fornicate with her by force and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, his punishment shall be identical to that of the wife of the man.

A ¶ 17 If a man should say to another man, "Everyone has sex with¹² your wife," but there are no witnesses, they shall draw up a binding agreement, they shall undergo the divine River Ordeal.

A ¶ 18 If a man says to his comrade, either in private or in a public quarrel, "Everyone has sex with¹³ your wife," and further, "I can prove the charges," but he is unable to prove the charges and does not prove the charges, they shall strike that man 40 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for one full month; they shall cut off his hair;¹⁴ moreover, he shall pay 3,600 shekels of lead.

A ¶ 19 If a man furtively spreads rumors about his comrade, saying, "Everyone sodomizes him,"¹⁵ or in a quarrel in public says to him, "Everyone sodomizes you," and further, "I can prove the charges against you," but he is unable to prove the charges and does not prove the charges, they shall strike that man 50 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for one full month; they shall cut off his hair;¹⁶ moreover, he shall pay 3,600 shekels of lead.

(ii 93–97) *šumma aʾilu tappāšu inīk ubtaʾeruš uktaʾinuš inīkkuš ana ša rēšēn utarruš*

(ii 98–104) *šumma aʾilu mārat aʾile imḥašma ša libbiša ultašlēš ubtaʾeruš uktaʾinuš 2 bilat 30 mana annaka iddan 50 ina ḥaṭṭāte imḥḥušuš ilṭēn uraḥ ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš*

(ii 105–iii 13) *šumma aššat aʾile la abuša la aḥuša la māruša aʾilu šani= umma ḥarrāna ultašbissi u kī aššat aʾilenni la īde itamma u 2 bilat anna= ka ana mut sinnilte iddan [šu]mma kī [aššat aʾilenni īde b]itqāte idd[anma itamma m]ā šumma anī[kušini] u šumma aššat [aʾile taqtibi m]ā ittīkanni [kī aʾ]ilu bitqāte [ana] aʾile iddinuni [ana] Id illak [rik]sātušu laššu šumma ina Id ittūra kī mut sin= nilte aššassu eppušuṇi ana šuāšu eppušuš*

(iii 14–40) *šumma aššat aʾile aššat aʾilimma ana bētiša taltege ana aʾile ana niāke tattidinši u aʾilu kī aššat aʾilenni īde kī ša aššat aʾile inīkuni*

A ¶ 20 If a man sodomizes¹⁷ his comrade and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, they shall sodomize him and they shall turn him into a eunuch.

A ¶ 21 If a man strikes a woman of the aʾilu-class thereby causing her to abort her fetus, and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty—he shall pay 9,000 shekels of lead; they shall strike him 50 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for one full month.

A ¶ 22 If an unrelated man—neither her father, nor her brother, nor her son—should arrange to have a man's wife travel with him, then he shall swear an oath to the effect that he did not know that she is the wife of a man and he shall pay 7,200 shekels of lead to the woman's husband. If [he knows that she is the wife of a man], he shall pay damages and he shall swear, saying, "I did not fornicate with her." But if the man's wife should declare, "He did fornicate with me," since the man has already paid damages to the man (i.e., husband), he shall undergo the divine River Ordeal; there is no binding agreement. If he should refuse to undergo the divine River Ordeal, they shall treat him as the woman's husband treats his wife.

A ¶ 23 If a man's wife should take another man's wife into her house and give her to a man for purposes of fornication, and the man knows

eppušuš u kī ša mut sinnilte aššassu nīkta eppušuṇi mummerta eppušu u šumma mut sinnilte aššassu nīkta mimma la eppaš nāʾikāna u mum= merta mimma la eppušu uššurušunu u šumma aššat aʾile la fīde u sinniltu ša ana bētiša talqeušini kī pīge aʾila ana muḥḥiša tultērib u ittiakši šumma ištu bēte ina ušāiša kī nīkutuni taqtibi sin= nilta uššuru zakuat nāʾikāna u mum= merta idukku u šumma sinniltu la taqtibi aʾilu aššassu ḥīta kī libbišu emmid nāʾikāna u mummerta idukku

(iii 41–81) *šumma aššat aʾile ina pani mutiša ramanša taltadad lu ina libbi āle ammiemma lu ina ālāni qurbūte ašar bēta uddūšenni ana bēt Aššu= rājae tētarab ištu bēlet bēte usbat 3-šu 4-šu bēdat bēl bēte kī aššat aʾile ina bētišu usbutuni la īde ina urkette sin= niltu šī<t> tattašbat bēl bēte ša aššas= su [ina pa]nīšu ramanša [tald]uduni aššassu [unakkasma la¹⁸] ilaqge [ašša]t aʾile ša aššassu ilteša usbu= tuni uznēša unakkusu ḥadīma mussa 3 bilat 30 mana annaka šimša iddan u ḥadīma aššassu ilaqgeu (iii 61) u šumma bēl bēte kī aššat aʾile ina bētišu ištu ašši[tišu] usbutuni ī[de]*

that she is the wife of a man, they shall treat him as one who has fornicated with the wife of another man; and they treat the female procurer just as the woman's husband treats his fornicating wife. And if the woman's husband intends to do nothing to his fornicating wife, they shall do nothing to the fornicator or to the female procurer; they shall release them. But if the man's wife does not know (what was intended), and the woman who takes her into her house brings the man in to her by deceit(?), and he then fornicates with her—if, as soon as she leaves the house, she should declare that she has been the victim of fornication, they shall release the woman, she is clear; they shall kill the fornicator and the female procurer. But if the woman should not so declare, the man shall impose whatever punishment on his wife he wishes; they shall kill the fornicator and the female procurer.

A ¶ 24 If a man's wife should withdraw herself from her husband and enter into the house of another Assyrian, either in that city¹⁹ or in any of the nearby towns, to a house which he assigns to her, residing with the mistress of the household, staying overnight three or four nights, and the householder is not aware that it is the wife of a man who is residing in his house, and later that woman is seized, the householder whose wife withdrew herself from him shall [mutilate] his wife and [not] take her back. As for the man's wife with whom his

šalšāte iddan u šumma itteker la idema iqabbi ana Id illuku (iii 68) u šumma aʾilu ša aššat aʾile ina bētišu usbutuni ina Id ittūra šalšāte iddan šumma aʾilu ša aššassu ina panīšu ramanša talduduni ina Id ittūra zaku gimrī ša Id umalla u šumma aʾilu ša aššassu ina panīšu ramanša taldu duni aššassu la unakkis aššassu ilaqge emittu mimma laššu

(iii 82–94) šumma sinniltu ina bēt abišama usbat u mussa mēt aḥḥē mutiša la zēzu u māruša laššu mimma dumāqē ša mussa ina muḥḥiša iškununi la ḥalquni aḥḥē mutiša la zizūtu ilaqgeu ana rīḫāte ilāni ušet-tuqu ubarru ilaqgeu ana Id u māmīte la iššabbutu

wife resided, they shall cut off her ears; if he pleases, her husband shall give 12,600 shekels of lead as her value, and, if he pleases, he shall take back his wife. (iii 61) However, if the householder knows that it is a man's wife who is residing in his house with his wife, he shall give "triple."²⁰ And if he should deny (that he knew of her status), he shall declare, "I did not know," they shall undergo the divine River Ordeal. (iii 68) And if the man in whose house the wife of a man resided should refuse to undergo the divine River Ordeal, he shall give "triple"; if it is the man whose wife withdrew herself from him who should refuse to undergo the divine River Ordeal, he (in whose house she resided) is clear; he shall bear the expenses of the divine River Ordeal. However, if the man whose wife withdrew herself from him does not mutilate his wife, he shall take back his wife; no sanctions are imposed.

A ¶ 25 If a woman is residing in her own father's house and her husband is dead, her husband's brothers have not yet divided their inheritance, and she has no son—her husband's brothers who have not yet received their inheritance shares shall take whatever valuables her husband bestowed upon her that are not missing. As for the rest (of the property), they shall resort to a verdict by the gods, they shall provide proof, and they shall take the property; they shall not be seized for (the settlement of any

dispute by) the divine River Ordeal or the oath.

(iii 95–102) šumma sinniltu ina bēt abišama usbat u mussa mēt mimma dumāqē ša mussa iškunušini šumma mārū mutiša ibašši ilaqgeu šumma mārū mutiša laššu šitma talaqge

(iii 103–108) šumma sinniltu ina bēt abišama usbat mussa ētanarrab mimma nudunnā ša mussa iddi naššenni šuamma ilaqge ana ša bēt abiša la iqarrib

(iv 1–10) šumma almattu ana bēt aʾile tētarab u māraša ḥurda ilteša naššat ina bēt aḥizāniša irtibi u tuppu ša mārūtišu la šaṭrat zitta ina bēt murab biānišu la ilaqge ḥubullē la inašši ina bēt ālīdānišu zitta kī qātišu ilaqge

(iv 11–19) šumma sinniltu ana bēt mutiša tētarab širkīša u mimma ša ištu bēt abiša naššutuni u lu ša emuša ina erābiša iddinaššenni ana mārēša zaku mārū emeša la iqarribu u šumma mussa ipūagši ana mārēšu ša libbišu iddan

A ¶ 26 If a woman is residing in her own father's house and her husband is dead, if there are sons of her husband, it is they who shall take whatever valuables her husband bestowed upon her; if there are no sons of her husband, she herself shall take the valuables.

A ¶ 27 If a woman is residing in her own father's house and her husband visits her regularly, he himself shall take back any marriage settlement which he, her husband, gave to her; he shall have no claim to anything belonging to her father's house.

A ¶ 28 If a widow should enter a man's house and she is carrying her dead husband's surviving son with her (in her womb), he grows up in the house of the man who married her but no tablet of his adoption is written, he will not take an inheritance share from the estate of the one who raised him, and he will not be responsible for its debts; he shall take an inheritance share from the estate of his begetter in accordance with his portion.

A ¶ 29 If a woman should enter her husband's house, her dowry and whatever she brings with her from her father's house, and also whatever her father-in-law gave her upon her entering, are clear for her sons; her father-in-law's sons shall

(iv 20–39) *šumma abu ana bēt eme ša mārišu bibla ittabal <zubullā> izzibil sinniltu ana mārišu la tadnat u mārūšu šaniu ša aššassu ina bēt abiša usbutuni mēt aššat mārišu mēte ana mārišu šanā'ije ša ana bēt emešu izbiluni ana aḥuzzete iddanši šumma bēl mārte ša zubullā imtaḥḥuruni mārassu ana tadāne la imaggur ḥadīma abu ša zubullā izbiluni kallassu ilaqqa ana mārišu iddan u ḥadīma ammar izbiluni annaka šarpa ḥurāša ša la akāle qaqqadamma ilaqqa ana ša akāle la iqarrib*

(iv 40–49) *šumma aḥlu ana bēt emišu zubullā izbil u aššassu mētat mārāt emišu ibašši ḥadīma «emu» mārāt emišu kī aššitišu mette iḥḥaz u ḥadīma kaspā ša iddinuni ilaqqa lu še'am lu immerē lu mimma ša akāle la iddununeššu kaspamma imahḥar*

have no valid claim. But if her husband intends to take control of her,²¹ he shall give it to whichever of his sons he wishes.

A ¶ 30 If a father should bring the ceremonial marriage prestation and present <the bridal gift> to the house of his son's father-in-law, and the woman is not yet given to his son, and another son of his, whose wife is residing in her own father's house, is dead, he shall give the wife of his deceased son into the protection of the household²² of his second son to whose father-in-law's house he has presented (the ceremonial marriage prestation). If the master of the daughter who is receiving the bridal gift decides not to agree to give his daughter (in these altered circumstances), if the father who presented the bridal gift so pleases, he shall take his daughter-in-law (i.e., the wife of his deceased son) and give her in marriage to his (second) son. And if he so pleases, as much as he presented—lead, silver, gold, and anything not edible—he shall take back in the quantities originally given; he shall have no claim to anything edible.

A ¶ 31 If a man presents the bridal gift to his father-in-law's house, and although his wife is dead there are other daughters of his father-in-law, if he so pleases, he²³ shall marry a daughter of his father-in-law in lieu of his deceased wife. Or, if he so pleases, he shall take back the silver that he gave; they shall not give back to him grain, sheep,

(iv 50–55) *šumma sinniltu ina bēt abišama usbat [...]-ša tadnat lu ana bēt emiša laqiat lu la laqiat ḥubullē arna u ḥiṭa ša mutiša tanašši*

(iv 56–70) [*šumma*] *sinniltu ina bēt abišama usbat mussa mēt u mārū ibašši [...](59–64 broken)] u [ḥadīma] ana emiša ana aḥuzzete iddanši šumma mussa u emuša mētuma u mārūša laššu almattu šīt ašar ḥadīma [ut]uni tallak*

(iv 71–74) *šumma aḥlu almattu ētaḥaz rikassa la rakis 2 šanāte ina bētišu usbat aššutu šīt la tušša*

(iv 75–81) *šumma almattu ana bēt aḥle tētarab mimma ammar naššatuni gabbu ša mutiša u šumma aḥlu ana muḥḥi sinnilte ētarab mimma ammar naššuni gabbu ša sinnilte*

(iv 82–v 14) *šumma sinniltu ina bēt abiša usbat lu mussa bēta ana batte ušēšibši u mussa ana egle ittalak la šamna la šapāte la lubulta la ukullā la mimma ēzibašše la mimma šūbulta ištu egle ušēbilašše sinniltu šīt 5 šanāte pani mutiša tadaggal ana mute la tuššab* (iv 93) *šumma mārūša*

or anything edible; he shall receive only the silver.

A ¶ 32 If a woman is residing in her own father's house and her [...] is given, whether or not she has been taken into her father-in-law's house, she shall be responsible for her husband's debts, transgression, or punishment.

A ¶ 33 If a woman is residing in her own father's house, her husband is dead, and she has sons [...], or [if he so pleases], he shall give her into the protection of the household of her father-in-law. If her husband and her father-in-law are both dead, and she has no son, she is indeed a widow; she shall go wherever she pleases.

A ¶ 34 If a man should marry a widow without her formal binding agreement and she resides in his house for two years, she is a wife; she shall not leave.

A ¶ 35 If a widow should enter into a man's house, whatever she brings with her belongs to her (new) husband; and if a man should enter into a woman's house, whatever he brings with him belongs to the woman.

A ¶ 36 If a woman is residing in her father's house, or her husband settles her in a house elsewhere, and her husband then travels abroad but does not leave her any oil, wool, clothing, or provisions, or anything else, and sends her no provisions from abroad—that

ibašši innagguru u ekkulu sinniltu mussa tuqa'a ana mute la tuššab (iv 97) šumma mārūša laššu 5 šanāte mussa tuqa'a 6 šanāte ina kabāse ana mut libbiša tuššab mussa ina alāke la iqarribašše ana mutiša urkie zakuat (iv 103) šumma ana qāt 5 šanāte uḫḫeranni ina raminišu la ikkaluni lu qa-a-li iṣbassuma innabi[te] lu kī sar[te] šabitma ūtaḫ[ḫer] ina alāke ubār sinnilta ša kī aššitišu iddan u aššassu ilaqqe (v 4) u šumma šarru ana māte šanitemma iltaparšu ana qāt 5 šanāte ūtaḫḫera aššassu tuqa'ašu ana mute la tuššab (v 8) u šumma ina pani 5 šanāte ana mute tattašab u tattalad mussa ina alāke aššum riksa la tuqa'iuni u tannaḫizuni ana šuāša u lidānišama ilaqqēšunu

(v 15–19) šumma aṛīlu aššassu ezzib

woman shall still remain (the exclusive object of rights) for her husband for five years, she shall not reside with another husband. (iv 93) If she has sons, they shall be hired out and provide for their own sustenance; the woman shall wait for her husband, she shall not reside with another husband. (iv 97) If she has no sons, she shall wait for her husband for five years; at the onset of(?) six years, she shall reside with the husband of her choice; her (first) husband, upon returning, shall have no valid claim to her; she is clear for her second husband. (iv 103) If he is delayed beyond the five years but is not detained of his own intention, whether because a ... seized him and he fled or because he was falsely arrested²⁴ and therefore he was detained, upon returning he shall so prove, he shall give a woman comparable to his wife (to her second husband) and take his wife. (v 4) And if the king should send him to another country and he is delayed beyond the five years, his wife shall wait for him (indefinitely); she shall not go to reside with another husband. (v 8) And furthermore, if she should reside with another husband before the five years are completed and should she bear children (to the second husband), because she did not wait in accordance with the agreement, but was taken in marriage (by another), her (first) husband, upon returning, shall take her and also her offspring.

A ¶ 37 If a man intends to divorce

libbušuma mimma iddanašše la libbušuma mimma la iddanašše rāqū= teša tušša

(v 20–25) šumma sinniltu ina bēt abišama usbat u mussa ētezibši dumāqē ša sūtma iškunušenni ilaqqe ana terḫete ša ubluni la iqarrib ana sinnilte zaku

(v 26–41) šumma aṛīlu la mārassu ana mute ittidin šumma panīma abuša ḫabbul kī šaparte šēšubat ummiānu paniu ittalka ina muḫḫi tādināne ša sinnilte šim sinnilte iṣallim šumma ana tadāne laššu tādināna ilaqqe u šumma ina lumne balluṭat ana mubal-liṭāniša zakuat u šumma āḫizā[nu š]a sinnilte lu tuppā ul-ta-[x-(x)]-ū-šu²⁵ u lu rugu[mmān]ā irtiṣiuneššu šim sinnilte ū-[x-x-x] u tādinānu [x-x-x-x]

(v 42–106) lu aššāt aṛīle lu [alma=nātu] u lu sinnišātu [Aššurājātu] ša ana rebēte u[ššāni] qaqqassina [la pattu] mārāt aṛīle [...] lu TUG ša ri-[...] lu šubāti lu [...] paš[šuna] qaqqassina

his wife, if it is his wish, he shall give her something; if that is not his wish, he shall not give her anything, and she shall leave empty-handed.

A ¶ 38 If a woman is residing in her own father's house and her husband divorces her, he shall take the valuables which he himself bestowed upon her; he shall have no claim to the bridewealth which he brought (to her father's house), it is clear for the woman.

A ¶ 39 If a man should give one who is not his own daughter in marriage to a husband—if (this situation arose because) previously her father had been in debt and she had been made to reside as a pledge—and a prior creditor should come forward, he (i.e., the prior creditor) shall receive the value of the woman, in full, from the one who gives the woman in marriage; if he has nothing to give, he (i.e., the prior creditor) shall take the one who gives the woman in marriage. However, if she had been saved from a catastrophe, she is clear for the one who saved her. And if the one who marries the woman either causes a tablet to be ... for him or they have a claim in place against him, he shall [...] the value of the woman, and the one who gives (the woman) [...]

A ¶ 40 Wives of a man, or [widows], or any [Assyrian] women who go out into the main thoroughfare [shall not have] their heads [bare]. Daughters of a man [...] with] either

[...] *lu* [...] *lu* [...] *aš-ša* [...] *ina ūme ina rebēte e* [...] *illakāni uptašša* [namma] *esirtu ša ištu bēlti[ša] ina rebēte tallukuni paššunat qadiltu ša mutu aḫzušini ina rebēte paššunatma ša mutu la aḫzušini ina rebēte qaqqassa pattu la tuptaššan ḥarimtu la tuptaššan qaqqassa pattu* (v 68) *ša ḥarimta paššunta ētamruni i<ša>b= bassi sēbūte iškkan ana pī ekalle ubbalašši šukuttaša la ilaqqu lubul= taša sābitānša ilaqqu 50 ina ḥaṭṭāte imah<ḥu>suši qīra ana qaqqidiša itabbuku* (v 77) *u šumma aṭilu ḥa= rimta paššunta ētamarma ūtaššer ana pī ekalle la ublašši aṭilu šuātu 50 ina ḥaṭṭāte imahḥušuš bātiqānšu lubul= tušu ilaqqu uznēšu upallušu ina eble iškakkuku ina kutallišu irakkusu iltēn uraḥ ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš* (v 88) *amātu la uptaššanama ša amta paššunta ētamruni iṣabbatašši ana pī ekalle ubbalašši uznēša unakkusu sābitānša lubultaša ilaqqu* (v 94) *šumma aṭilu amta paššunta ēta= maršima ūtaššer la iṣabtašši ana pī ekalle la ublašši ubta'eruš ukta'inuš 50 ina ḥaṭṭāte imahḥušuš uznēšu upallušu ina eble iškakkuku [ina kut]allišu irakkusu [bāti]qānšu lubul= tušu ilaqqu iltēn uraḥ ūmāte šipar [šarre] eppaš*

a ...cloth or garments or [...] shall be veiled, [...] their heads [...] (gap of ca. 6 lines) [...] When they go about [...] in the main thoroughfare during the daytime, they shall be veiled. A concubine who goes about in the main thoroughfare with her mistress is to be veiled. A married *qadiltu*-woman is to be veiled (when she goes about) in the main thoroughfare, but an unmarried one is to leave her head bare in the main thoroughfare, she shall not be veiled. A prostitute shall not be veiled, her head shall be bare. (v 68) Whoever sees a veiled prostitute shall seize her, secure witnesses, and bring her to the palace entrance. They shall not take away her jewelry, but he who has seized her takes her clothing; they shall strike her 50 blows with rods; they shall pour hot pitch over her head. (v 77) And if a man should see a veiled prostitute and release her, and does not bring her to the palace entrance, they shall strike that man 50 blows with rods; the one who informs against him shall take his clothing; they shall pierce his ears, thread them on a cord, tie it at his back; he shall perform the king's service for one full month. (v 88) Slave women shall not be veiled, and he who should see a veiled slave woman shall seize her and bring her to the palace entrance; they shall cut off her ears; he who seizes her shall take her clothing. (v 94) If a man should see a veiled slave woman but release her and not seize her, and does not bring her to the palace entrance, and they then prove the

charges against him and find him guilty, they shall strike him 50 blows with rods; they shall pierce his ears, thread them on a cord, tie it at his back; the one who informs against him shall take his garments; he shall perform the king's service for one full month.

(vi 1–13) *šumma aṭilu esirtušu upaššan 5 6 tappa'ešu ušēššab ana panišunu upaššanši mā aššiti šit iqabbi aššassu šit esirtu ša ana pani šābē la paššunutuṭni mussa la iqbiuni mā aššiti šit la aššat esirtumma šit šumma aṭilu mēt mārū aššitišu paš= šunte laššu mārū esrāte mārū šunu zitta ilaqqu*

A ¶ 41 If a man intends to veil his concubine, he shall assemble five or six of his comrades, and he shall veil her in their presence, he shall declare, "She is my *aššutu*-wife"; she is his *aššutu*-wife. A concubine who is not veiled in the presence of people, whose husband did not declare, "She is my *aššutu*-wife," she is not an *aššutu*-wife, she is indeed a concubine. If a man is dead and there are no sons of his veiled wife, the sons of the concubines are indeed sons; they shall (each) take an inheritance share.

(vi 14–18) *šumma aṭilu ina ūme rāqe šamna ana qaqqad mārāt aṭile itbuk lu ina šākulte ḥuruppāte ubil tūrta la utarru*

A ¶ 42 If a man pours oil on the head of a woman of the *aṭilu*-class on the occasion of a holiday, or brings dishes on the occasion of a banquet, no return (of gifts) shall be made.

(vi 19–39) *šumma aṭilu lu šamna ana qaqqade itbuk lu ḥuruppāte ubil mārū ša aššata uddiuneššunni lu mēt lu innabit ina mārēšu riḥāte ištu muḥḫi mārē rabē adi muḥḫi mārē šeḫre ša 10 šanātušuni ana ša ḥadiuni iddan šumma abu mēt u mārū ša aššata uddiuniššunni mētma mār mārē mēte ša 10 šanātušuni ibašši eḥḥazma* (vi 31) *šumma ana qāt 10 šanāte mārū mārē šeḫheru abu ša mārte ḥadīma mārassu iddan u ḥadīma tūrta ana*

A ¶ 43 If a man either pours oil on her head or brings (dishes for) the banquet, (after which) the son to whom he assigned the wife either dies or flees, he shall give her in marriage to whichever of his remaining sons he wishes, from the oldest to the youngest of at least ten years of age. If the father is dead and the son to whom he assigned the wife is also dead, a son of the deceased son who is at

mithār utār šumma mārū laššu ammar imburuni abna u mimma ša la akāle qaqqadamma utār u ša akāle la utār

(vi 40-45) *šumma Aššurājau u šumma Aššurājitu ša kī šaparte ammar šimišu ina bēt a'ile usbuni ana šīm gamer laqeuni inattu ibaqqan uznēšu uḥappa upallaš*

(vi 46-88) *[šumm]a sinniltu tadnat [u] mussa nakru ilteqe emuša u mārūša laššu 2 šanāte pani muteša tadaggal ina 2 šanāte annāte šumma ša akāle laššu tallakamma taqabbi [šumma] ālājitu ša ekalle šīt [ab]uša(?) ušakkalši [u šip]aršu tep= paš [šumma aššutu š]a ḥupše šīt [... ušakk]alši [šiparšu teppaš] (vi 58) u [šumma aššat a'ile(?) šīt ša] eqla u [bēta ...] tallaka[mma ana dajānē taqabbi] mā ana akā[le laššu] dajānū ḥazāna rabiūte ša āle iša'ulu kī eqla ina āle šuātu illukuni eqla u bēta ana ukullāiša ša 2 šanāte uppušu iddu= nunešše usbat u tuppāša išatturu 2 šanāte tumalla ana mut libbiša tuššab tuppāša kī almattemma išatturu (vi 72) šumma ina arkat umē mussa*

least ten years old shall marry her. (vi 31) If the sons of the (dead) son are less than ten years old, if the father of the daughter wishes, he shall give his daughter (to one of them), but if he wishes he shall make a full and equal return (of gifts given). If there is no son, he shall return as much as he received, precious stones or anything not edible, in its full amount; but he shall not return anything edible.

A ¶ 44 If there is an Assyrian man or an Assyrian woman who is residing in a man's house as a pledge for a debt, for as much as his value, and he is taken for the full value (i.e., his value as pledge does not exceed that of the debt), he (the pledge holder) shall whip (the pledge), pluck out (the pledge's) hair, (or) mutilate or pierce (the pledge's) ears.

A ¶ 45²⁶ If a woman is given in marriage and the enemy then takes her husband prisoner, and she has neither father-in-law nor son (to support her), she shall remain (the exclusive object of rights) for her husband for two years. During these two years, if she has no provisions, she shall come forward and so declare. If she is a resident of the community dependent upon the palace, her [father(?)] shall provide for her and she shall do work for him. If she is a wife of a ḥupšu-soldier, [...] shall provide for her [and she shall do work for him]. (vi 58) But [if she is a wife of a man(?) whose] field and [house are not sufficient to support her(?)], she

ḥalqu ana mâte ittūra aššassu ša ana kīde aḥzutuni ilaqqašši ana mārē ša ana mutiša urkie uldutuni la iqarrib mussama urkiu ilaqqe eqlu u bētu ša kī ukullāiša ana šīm gamer ana kīde taddinuni šumma ana dannat šarre la ērub kī tadnunima iddan u ilaqqe (vi 85) u šumma la ittūra ina mâte šanī= temma mēt eqelšu u bēssu ašar šarru iddununi iddan

shall come forward and declare before the judges, "[I have nothing] to eat"; the judges shall question the mayor and the noblemen of the city to determine the current market rate(?) of a field in that city; they shall assign and give the field and house for her, for her provisioning for two years; she shall be resident (in that house), and they shall write a tablet for her (permitting her to stay for the two years). She shall allow two full years to pass, and then she may go to reside with the husband of her own choice; they shall write a tablet for her as if for a widow. (vi 72) If later her lost husband should return to the country, he shall take back his wife who married outside the family; he shall have no claim to the sons she bore to her later husband, it is her later husband who shall take them. As for the field and house that she gave for full price outside the family for her provisioning, if it is not entered into the royal holdings(?),²⁷ he shall give as much as was given, and he shall take it back. (vi 85) But if he should not return but dies in another country, the king shall give his field and house wherever he chooses to give.

(vi 89-112) *šumma sinniltu ša mussa mētuni mussa ina muāte ištu bētiša la tušša šumma mussa mimma la iłtu= rašše ina bēt mārēša ašar panūšani tuššab mārū mutiša ušakkuluši ukul= lāša u maltiṣsa kī kallette ša ira'u= mūšini irakkusunešše (vi 99) šumma urkittu šīt mārūša laššu ištu iłtēn tuššab ana puḥrišunu ušakkuluši*

A ¶ 46 If a woman whose husband is dead does not move out of her house upon the death of her husband, if her husband (while alive) does not deed her anything in writing, she shall reside in the house of (one of) her own sons, wherever she chooses; her husband's sons shall provide for her, they shall

(vi 108) *šumma mārūša ibašši mārū panīte ana šākuliša la imagguru ina bēt mārē raminiša ašar panūšani tuššab mārū raminišama ušakkuluši u šiparšunu teppaš u šumma ina mārē mutišama ša eḫḫuzušini i[baš]ši [... mārūšama l]a ušakkuluši*

draw up an agreement to supply her with provisions and drink as for an in-law whom they love. (vi 99) If she is a second wife and has no sons of her own, she shall reside with one (of her husband's sons) and they shall provide for her in common. (vi 103) If she does have sons, and the sons of a prior wife do not agree to provide for her, she shall reside in the house of (one of) her own sons, wherever she chooses; her own sons shall provide for her, and she shall do service for them. And if there is one among her husband's sons who is willing to marry her, [it is he who shall provide for her; her own sons] shall not provide for her.

(vii 1-31) *šumma lu aṭilu lu sinniltu kišpī uppišuma ina qātēšunu iṣṣabtu ubta²erušunu ukta²inušunu muppi² šāna ša kišpē idukku aṭilu ša kišpē epāša ēmuruni ina pī āmerāne ša kišpē iše²uni mā anāku ātamar iqbi² aššunni šame²ānu illaka ana šarre iqabbi (vii 14) šumma āmerānu ša ana šarre iqbiuni itteker ana pani⁴ GUD.DUMU.UTU iqabbi mā šumma la iqbianni zaku āmerānu ša iqbiuni u ikkeruni šarru kī ila²uni iltana²alšu u kutallušu emmar ašipu ina ūme ullulūni aṭila ušaqba u šūt iqabbi mā māmīta ša ana šarre u mārišu tam²ātani la ipaššarakkunū kī pī tuppima ša ana šarre u mārišu tam²ātani tam²āta*

A ¶ 47 If either a man or a woman should be discovered practicing witchcraft, and should they prove the charges against them and find them guilty, they shall kill the practitioner of witchcraft. A man who heard from an eyewitness to the witchcraft that he witnessed the practice of the witchcraft, who said to him, "I myself saw it," that hearsay-witness shall go and inform the king. (vii 14) If the eyewitness should deny what he (i.e., the hearsay-witness) reports to the king, he (i.e., the hearsay-witness) shall declare before the divine Bull-the-Son-of-the-Sun-God, "He surely told me"—and thus he is clear. As for the eyewitness who spoke (of witnessing the deed to his comrade) and then denied (it to the king), the king shall interrogate him as he sees fit, in order to determine his intentions; an exorcist

shall have the man make a declaration when they make a purification, and then he himself (i.e., the exorcist) shall say as follows, "No one shall release any of you from the oath you swore by the king and by his son; you are bound by oath to the stipulations of the agreement to which you swore by the king and by his son."

(vii 32-52) *šumma aṭilu mārat ḫabbu² lišu ša kī ḫubulle ina bētišu usbutuni <...> abuša iša'al ana mute iddanši šumma abuša la mager la iddan šumma abuša mēt iltēn ina aḫḫēša iša'al u šūt ana aḫḫēša iqabbi šumma aḫu iqabbi mā aḫātī adi iltēn uraḫ ūmāte apaṭṭar šumma adi iltēn uraḫ ūmāte la iptatar bēl kaspe ḫadīma uzakkašši ana mute iddanši [... kī] pī [... id]danši [...]-šu-nu [...]-šu-nu [...]-šu*

A ¶ 48 If a man <wants to give in marriage> his debtor's daughter who is residing in his house as a pledge, he shall ask permission of her father²⁸ and then he shall give her to a husband. If her father does not agree, he shall not give her. If her father is dead, he shall ask permission of one of her brothers and the latter shall consult with her (other) brothers. If one brother so desires he shall declare, "I will redeem my sister within one month"; if he should not redeem her within one month, the creditor, if he so pleases, shall clear her of encumbrances and shall give her to a husband. [...] according to [...] he shall give her [...]

(vii 53-62) *[...] kī aḫe [...] u šumma ḫarimtu mētāt [aš]šum aḫḫūša iqab² biūni [x] ša kī [x] aḫe zitte [x x] aḫḫē [um]mišunu [izu]zzu*

A ¶ 49 [...] like a brother [...]. And if the prostitute is dead, because(?) her brothers so declare, ... they shall divide shares [with(?)] the brothers of their mother(?).

(vii 63-81) *[šumma aṭilu aššat aṭili²⁹ i]mḫašma [ša libbiša ušašlī]ši [... ašša]t aṭile š[a ...]-ni u [kī ša epuš]u² šini eppu[šušu kīmū š]a libbiša napšāte umalla u šumma sinniltu šit mētāt aṭila idukku kīmū ša libbiša napšāte umalla u šumma ša mut sin²*

A ¶ 50 [If a man] strikes [another man's wife thereby causing her to abort her fetus, ...] a man's wife [...] and they shall treat him as he treated her; he shall make full payment of a life for her fetus. And if that woman dies, they shall kill

nilte šiāte mārūšu laššu aššassu imbušuma ša libbiša tašli kimū ša libbiša māḫiṣāna idukku šumma ša libbiša šubārtu napšātemma umalla

(vii 82–86) *šumma aṛīlu aššat aṛīle la murabbīta imbašma ša libbiša ušašlī ša ḫītu anniu 2 bilat annaka iddan*

(vii 87–91) *šumma aṛīlu ḫarīmta imbašma ša libbiša ušašlīši miḫši kī miḫši išakkunuš napšāte umalla*

(vii 92–108) *šumma sinniltu ina raminiša ša libbiša taššili ubta²eruši ukta²inuši ina išše izaqqupuši la iqabberuši šumma ša libbiša ina šalē mētat ina išše izaqqupuši la iqabberuši šumma sinnilta šit kī ša libbiša tašliuni [uptazz]eruši [...] iqbū [...] x-me [...] -te [...]*

(vii 109–viii 5) [*šumma ...*] *laššu [...] MEŠ [...] -ū-ni [...] lu amāte [...] -aš*

(viii 6–41) [*šumma aṛīlu*] *batulta [ša ina bēt a]biša [usbu]tuni [...] ša la utarrišuni [puš]qa(?) la patteatuni la aḫzatuni u rugummānā ana bēt abiša la iršiuni aṛīlu lu ina libbi āle lu ina šēre lu ina mūše ina rebēte lu ina bēt qarīte lu ina isinni āle aṛīlu kī da'āne batulta iṣbatma umanzi²ši abu ša*

that man; he shall make full payment of a life for her fetus. And if there is no son of that woman's husband, and his wife whom he struck aborted her fetus, they shall kill the assailant for her fetus. If her fetus was a female, he shall make full payment of a life only.

A ¶ 51 If a man strikes another man's wife who does not raise her child, causing her to abort her fetus, it is a punishable offense; he shall give 7,200 shekels of lead.

A ¶ 52 If a man strikes a prostitute causing her to abort her fetus, they shall assess him blow for blow, he shall make full payment of a life.

A ¶ 53 If a woman aborts her fetus by her own action and they then prove the charges against her and find her guilty, they shall impale her, they shall not bury her. If she dies as a result of aborting her fetus,³⁰ they shall impale her, they shall not bury her. If any persons should hide that woman because she aborted her fetus [...]

A ¶ 54 [If ...] or slave women [...]

A ¶ 55 If a man forcibly seizes and rapes a maiden who is residing in her father's house, [...] who is not betrothed(?),³¹ whose [womb(?)] is not opened, who is not married, and against whose father's house there is no outstanding claim—whether within the city or in the

batulte aššat nā'ikāna ša batulte ilaqe ana manzu²e iddanši ana mutiša la utārši ilaqqēši abu mārassu nīkta ana nā'ikāniša kī aḫuzzete iddanši (viii 33) šumma aššassu laššu šalšāte kaspe šīm batulte nā'ikānu ana abiša iddan nā'ikānša iḫḫassi la isammakši šumma abu la ḫadi kaspa šalšāte ša batulte imaḫḫar mārassu ana ša ḫadiuni iddan

(viii 42–49) *šumma batultu ramanša ana aṛīle tattidin aṛīlu itamma ana aššitišu la iqarribu šalšāte kaspe šīm batulte nā'ikānu iddan abu mārassu[*su*] kī ḫadiuni epp[aš]*

(viii 50–53) *lu maḫāšu lu [...] ša aššat aṛīli [...] ša ina tuḫpe šatru[ni ...]*

(viii 54–57) *ina ḫītāni gab[bi ...] nakāse [...] u gallule de-e[...] kī ša [...]*

(viii 58–62) *uššer ḫītāni ša [aššat aṛīle] ša ina tuḫpe [šatruni] aṛīlu aššassu [inattu] ibaqqa[n u]znēša[*uḫappa ul[appat] aranšu laššu*]³³*

countryside, or at night whether in the main thoroughfare, or in a granary, or during the city festival—the father of the maiden shall take the wife of the fornicator of the maiden and hand her over to be raped; he shall not return her to her husband, but he shall take (and keep?) her; the father shall give his daughter who is the victim of fornication into the protection of the household of her fornicator. (viii 33) If he (the fornicator) has no wife, the fornicator shall give “triple” the silver as the value of the maiden to her father; her fornicator shall marry her; he shall not reject(?) her. If the father does not desire it so, he shall receive “triple” silver for the maiden, and he shall give his daughter in marriage to whomever he chooses.

A ¶ 56 If a maiden should willingly give herself to a man, the man shall so swear; they shall have no claim to his wife; the fornicator shall pay “triple” the silver as the value of the maiden; the father shall treat his daughter in whatever manner he chooses.

A ¶ 57 Whether it is a beating or [...] for] a man's wife [...] that is (specifically)] written on the tablet [...]

A ¶ 58 For all punishable offenses [...] cutting off [...] and ...³² [...]

A ¶ 59 In addition to the punishments for [a man's wife] that are [written] on the tablet, a man may [whip] his wife, pluck out her hair,

mutilate her ears, or strike her,
with impunity.

(viii 64–65) *uraḥ ša-sarrāte ūm 2.KAM*
ṭimu Sa[gi]u

Month II, day 2, eponym of Sagiu.

MAL B

(break of undetermined size)

(ii 1–14) [*šumma aḥḥū bēt abišunu*
izūzu ki[rāte] u būrāte in]a qaqqere [...]
māru rab]ū 2 qātā[te] inassaq [i]laqqe
u aḥḥūšu urki aḥā'iš inassuqu ilaqqe
ina eqle šilublē mimma u mānaḥāte
gabbe māru šeḥru ussaq māru rabū 1
qāta inassaq ilaqqe u ša šanīte qātīšu
ištu aḥḥēšu pūršu iṣalli

(ii 15–21) *šumma a'īlu ina aḥḥē la*
zēzūte napšāte igmur ana bēl napšāte
iddunuš panūšuma bēl napšāte idu-
akšu u panūšuma immagar [u] zittašu
ilaqqe

(ii 22–26) [*šumm]a a'īlu ina aḥḥē [l]a*
zēzūte lu šillata³⁶ [iq]bi u lu innabit
[u] zittašu šarru [k]i libbišu

(ii 27–38) [*šumma] aḥḥū ina eqle la*
zēze [iltēn] aḥu ina libbišunu [...] *zēra*
izru [...] *eqla ēruš [aḥu šaniu]mma*
ittalka [zēr mēr]eše ša aḥišu [... ina]

B ¶ 1³⁴ [If brothers divide the estate of their father], orchards [and wells] in the plot of land [...], the oldest son shall select and take a double share, and his brothers shall select and take shares one after the other; the youngest son is the one who apportions whatever šilublu-personnel there are and all the associated equipment in the field; the oldest son shall select and take one share, and for his second share he shall cast lots with his brothers.

B ¶ 2 If a man, who has not yet received his inheritance share, takes a life, they shall hand him over to the next-of-kin.³⁵ Should the next-of-kin so choose, he shall kill him, or, if he chooses to come to an accommodation, then he shall take his inheritance share.

B ¶ 3 If a man, who has not yet received his inheritance share, speaks treason or flees, the disposition of his inheritance share shall be determined by the king.

B ¶ 4 If there are brothers in possession of an undivided field, and one brother among them [...] sows seed [...] cultivates the field, [and a

šanūtešu [ilqe ub]ta'erus [ukta]inuš
[ina ūme šūt ill]akanni [aḥu ša eqle]
ērušuni [zittašu] ilaqqe

second brother] then comes and for a second time [takes the seed of] his brother's cultivation [...], and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty—[on the day that he himself] comes forward, [the brother] who cultivated [the field] shall take [his inheritance share].

(ii 39–46) [*šumma aḥḥū ina eqle la*
zēze [iltēn aḥu ina libbi]šunu [...]-aš
[...]-x-ma [...]-ka [...]-li [...]-ni [...]

B ¶ 5 [If there are brothers in possession of] an undivided [field, and one brother] among them [...]

(gap)

(iii 1–51) [...] *-la²-a ana kaspe [(...]*
ilaq]qe udīni eq[la u] bēta ana kaspe
la [ilaq]qeuni iltēn uraḥ ūmāte nāgira
3-šu ina libbi Āl-Aššur usassa 3-šu-
ma ina libbi āl eqle u bēte ša ilaqqeuni
usassa mā eqle u bēta ša annanna
mār annanna ina ugār āle annie ana
[kaspe] alaqqe ša [la]qāšunu u
[da]bābšunu ibaššiūni tuppātešunu
lušēlianemma ana pani qēpūte liškunu
līdbubu luzakkiuma lilqeu ša ina uraḥ
ūmāte annāte udīni edānu la mašāe
tuppātešunu ittablūnenni³⁷ ana pani
qēpūte iltaknūni a'īlu ana sīr eqlišu
išallim ilaqqe (iii 28) ina ūme nāgiru
ina libbi Āl-Aššur isassiuni iltēn ina
sukkallē ša pani šarre tuppār āle
nāgiru u qēpūtu ša šarre izzazzu ša āl
eqle u bēte ilaqqeuni ḥaziānu 3 rabiūte
ša āle izzazzu nāgiramma usassū
tuppātešunu išatturu iddunu mā ina
iltēn uraḥ ūmāte annāte 3-šu nāgiru
issisi ša ina iltēn uraḥ ūmāte annāte
tuppušu la ittablanni ana pani qēpūte
la iltaknuni ina eqle u bēte qāssu elli
ana musassiāne ša nāgire zaku 3
tuppāte ša sassu nāgire ša dajānū
išatturū 1 [tuppa qēp]ūtu [...]

B ¶ 6 [If ...] intends to purchase [a field or house ...]; before he purchases the field or house, he shall have the herald make a proclamation three times during the course of one full month within the City of Assur, and he shall also have him make a proclamation three times within the city of the field or house which he intends to purchase, as follows: "I intend to purchase the field or house, within the common irrigated area of this city, belonging to so-and-so, son of so-and-so. Let all who have a right to acquire (the property) or a contest (against this transfer) bring forth their tablets and present them before the officials, let them thus contest (the purchase), let them clear (the property of other claims), and let them take it. Of those who, during the course of this full month, bring their tablets without fail by the due date and present them before the officials, the man (whose claim is successful) shall take full possession of the extent of his field."

(iii 28) When the herald makes his proclamation in the City of Assur, one of the royal court officials, the city scribe, the herald, and the royal officials are to be present; representing the city of the field or house that he intends to purchase, the mayor and three noblemen of the city are to be present; they also shall have the herald make his proclamation; they shall write their tablets and give (them to the purchaser, saying) as follows: "The herald has made proclamations three times during the course of this full month. He who during the course of this full month has not brought his tablet and has not presented it before the officials forfeits (any claims to) the field or house; it is cleared for the benefit of the person who had the herald make the proclamation." Three tablets that the judges will write (attesting to the fact) of having the herald make a proclamation, one [tablet] the officials [...]

(gap)

(iv 1-10) *ammar* [...] *ira*[ggumuni ...] *ana x-x*[...] *u* *šim bē*[te ...] *iqqurun*[i ...] *2-šu* *ina* *šim bēte* [...] *a*[na *bēl bēte id*[dan] *ana* *iltēn bilat anneke* 5 [*ina* *ḫaṭṭāte*] *imaḫḫušu* *iltēn ur*[aḫ *ūmate*] *šipar šarre epp*[aš]

(iv 11-19) *šumma aṭilu taḫūma rabia* *ša tappā*ʾišu *ussammeḫ ubta*ʾeruš *ukta*ʾinuš *eqla ammar usammeḫuni* *šalšāte iddan* 1 *ubānšu inakkisu* 1

B ¶ 7 [...] as much as [...] he shall claim [...] and the price of the house [...] he demolished [...] he shall give] the owner of the house [...] twofold from the value of the house. For 3,600 shekels of lead they shall strike him 5 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for one full month.

B ¶ 8 If a man should incorporate a large border area of his comrade's (property into his own) and they prove the charges against him and

meat ina ḫaṭṭāte imaḫḫušu *iltēn uraḫ* *ūmate šipar šarre eppaš*

(iv 20-28) *šumma aṭilu taḫūma seḫra* *ša pūrāni usbalkit ubta*ʾeruš *ukta*ʾinuš *iltēn bilat annaka iddan eqla ammar usammeḫuni* *šalšāte*³⁸ *iddan* 50 *ina* *ḫaṭṭāte imaḫḫušu* *iltēn uraḫ* *ūmate* *šipar šarre eppaš*

(iv 29-46) *šumma aṭilu ina la eqlišu* *būrta iḫri dunna* *ēpu*[š] *ina būrtišu* *dunni*[šu] *qāssu elli* 30 *ina* *ḫaṭṭāte* *imaḫḫušu*[š] 20 *ūmate* *šipar šarre* *[eppaš]* *sum-ma* *ḫu-ú-ga-a-x*[...] *i-na* *ma-āš-šu-ú-te* [...] *dunna* [...] *itamma mā* [...] *mā* *šumma* [...] *būrta la* [...] *u* *du*[nna *la* ...] *bēl eqle* [...] *ka-x*[...] *ina* [...] *būrta* [...] *x* [...]

find him guilty, he shall give a field "triple" that which he had incorporated; they shall cut off one of his fingers; they shall strike him 100 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for one full month.

B ¶ 9 If a man transfers a small border area of the lots and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, he shall give 3,600 shekels of lead; he shall give a field "triple" that which he had incorporated; they shall strike him 50 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for one full month.

B ¶ 10 If a man digs a well and builds a permanent structure in a field not his own, he shall forfeit his claim to his well and his permanent structure; they shall strike him 30 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for 20 days. ... [...] the permanent structure [...] he shall swear, "[...]," and further, "I have indeed [dug] the well, I have [indeed built] a permanent structure." The owner of the field [...] the well [...]

(gap)

(v 1-12) *x* [...] *u* [...] *ummi*[ānu...] *ana x* [...] *ū lu-ú* [...] *ummiān*[u ...] *tuppātu* [...] *mānaḫta* [...] *ana* *ēpi*[še ...] *A.ŠA* *ši-in*[...] *ana ummiāne* [...] *inad*[din]

(v 13-18) *šumma aṭilu ina eqle* *ša* *[tappā*ʾišu] *kiria iddi būrta* *[iḫri]* *iṣṣē* *urab*[bi] *bēl eqle idagga* *la* [...] *kiriu*

B ¶ 11 [...] creditor [...] creditor [...] tablets [...] improvements [...] to the worker [...] the field ... [...] he shall give to the creditor.

B ¶ 12 If a man plants an orchard, digs a well, or raises trees in a field belonging to [his comrade], and the

ana nādiāne za[ku] eqle kī eqle ana
bēl kiri ina[ddin]

(v 19–25) *šumma aʾīlu ina la qaq=*
qirišu lu kiria iddi lu būrta ihri lu urqē
lu iṣṣē urabbi ubtaʾerus uktaʾinuš ina
ūme bēl eqle illakanni kiria adi māni=
hātīšu ilaqqe

(v 26–33) *šumma aʾīlu ina la qaq=*
qirišu iglušuma libitta ilbin ubtaʾerus
uktaʾinuš qaqqara šalsāte iddan
libnātišu ilaqque [50ʳ] *ina haṭṭāte*
imahḥušuš [x ūmāt]e *šipar šarre*
eppaš

(v 34–38) [*šumma aʾīlu ina*] *la*
qaqqirišu [...] *libitta ilbin* [*libnātišu*
il]aqque [x *ina haṭṭāte imahḥu*]suš [x
ūmate šipar šarre] *eppa[š]*

(vi 1) [...] *la-a* [...]

(vi 2–20) [*šumma ina ug*]āre *ina libbi*
b[ūrāte māʾu ša a]na *šiqe* [ana
ša]kāne [ill]ukūni *ibašši* [bēl]ū *eqlāte*
ištu aḥāʾiṣ [iz]zazzu *aʾīlu ana sīr*
eqlišu šipra eppaš eqelšu išaqqi u
šumma ina libbišunu la magrūtu

owner of the field notices it but
does not [object], the orchard is
clear for the benefit of the planter;
he shall give another field in lieu of
the field to the owner of the
orchard.

B ¶ 13 If a man either plants an
orchard, or digs a well, or raises
vegetables or trees in a plot not his
own, and they prove the charges
against him and find him guilty,
when the owner of the field comes
forward, he shall take the orchard
together with its (new) installa-
tions.

B ¶ 14 If a man digs(?) a pit) and
makes bricks in a plot not his own
and they prove the charges against
him and find him guilty, he shall
give “triple” the plot; they shall
take his bricks; they shall strike
him 50(?) blows with rods; he shall
perform the king's service for [x
days].

B ¶ 15 [If a man ...] and makes
bricks in a plot not his own, they
shall take [his bricks; they shall]
strike him [x blows with rods]; he
shall perform [the king's service
for x days.]

(gap)

B ¶ 16 [If ...] will not [...]

B ¶ 17³⁹ If there is sufficient water
for irrigation available in the com-
mon irrigated area in the wells, the
owners of the fields shall act
together; each man shall perform
the work in accordance with the

ibašši magru ša libbišunu dajānē
išaʾal tuppā ša dajānē iṣabbat u šipra
eppaš māʾe šunātunu ana raminišu
ilaqqe eqelšu išaqqi mamma šani=
umma la išaqqi

(vi 21–vii 3) *šumma māʾu ša Adad ša*
ana šiqe ana šakāne illukūni ibašši
bēlū eqlāte ištu aḥāʾiṣ izzazzu aʾīlu
ana sīr eqlišu šipra eppaš eqelšu
išaqqi u šumma ina libbišunu la
magrūtu ibašši u magru ša libbišunu
tuppā ša dajānē ana muḥḥi la
magrūte ilaqque [hazianu] *u 5 rabiūtu*
[ša āle izzazzu ... (gap)] (vii 1) [...] x
[x *ina haṭṭāte imahḥu*]uš [x ūmate
šipar šarre] *eppaš*

(vii 4–17) [*šumma aʾīlu eqe*]l
tappāʾišu [e]rraš [...]ū *iklāšu* [...] *niš*
šarre [izkur]aššumma *ēruš* [*šumma*
...]–x *ittalkanni* [ēri]šānu *ša eqle* [ina
t]urēze [šeʾa eš]sid *uṣrāq*⁴⁰ [šeʾa] *ana*
bēt hašime itabbak [...] *ana kurdišše*
utār [kī] *bilat eqle ša āle* [2 na]ppaltēn
[ana bēl e]qlē *inaddin*

extent of his field, and shall irrigate
his field. But if there are some
among them who are not amenable
to an agreement, the one among
them who is amenable to an agree-
ment shall appeal to the judges; he
shall obtain a tablet (with the deci-
sion) of the judges, and perform
the work; he shall take those
waters for himself, and irrigate his
own field; no one else may irrigate
(with the waters).

B ¶ 18 If there is sufficient rain-
water for irrigation available, the
owners of the fields shall act
together; each man shall perform
the work in accordance with the
extent of his field, and shall irrigate
his field. But if there are some
among them who are not amenable
to an agreement, then the one
among them who is amenable to an
agreement shall take the tablet
(with the decision) of the judges
before those who are not amenable
to an agreement; the mayor and
five noblemen [of the city shall be
present ... (gap) ... they shall strike]
him [x blows with rods]; he shall
perform [the king's service for x
days].

B ¶ 19⁴¹ If a man intends to culti-
vate the field of his comrade, [and
...] prevented(?) him, [...] he swore
for] him an oath by the king and he
cultivated it. [If ...] he should come
forth, the cultivator of the field
shall harvest and thresh [the grain]
at harvest time, he shall store [the
grain] in the storage facility, [...
and] he shall return the [straw(?)]
to the barn; in accordance with the

yield of a field of the city, he shall give two shares [to the owner] of the field.

(vii 18–25) [šumma aṭī]lu ina la eqlišu [...]x-ša itruḥ [taḥ]ūma ilbi [kudur]ra ukaddir [...]x-me iqbi [ubta'e]ruš [ukta'in]uš [...]

B ¶ 20 If a man digs [...] in a field not belonging to him, surrounds it with a border, sets up a boundary stone, and says, ["...,"] and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, [...]

(remainder broken)

MAL C+G

(break of undetermined size)

(obv. 1–7) [...] bēlšunu [...]nu u šumma lāqīānu [iqabbi mā ...] x ša apturanni mi-[... urdu ana x] bilat anneke amtu ana 4 bilat anneke [...] u šumma māḥirānu iqabbi mā [...] ana paṇi ile itamma u ammar ina [...] ilaqqe [...]

(8–13) [šumma aṭīlu lu mār aṭīle] u lu mārat aṭīle ša kī kaspe u kī [šaparte ina bētišu us]buni ana kaspe ana aṭīle šanimma [iddin u mamma šaniam]ma ša ina bētišu usbuni id[din ubta' erušu] ina kaspišu qāssu el[li ...]x-šu ana bēl mimmū idd[an x ina ḥaṭṭāte im]aḥḥušu 20 ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš

(14–21) [šumma aṭīlu lu mār aṭīle] u lu mārat aṭīle ša kī kaspe u kī šaparte [ina bētišu usbuni] ana māte šanīte

C ¶ 1 [...] their owner [...] and if the buyer [declares, "...] which I redeemed [...]" he shall give a slave for x] shekels of lead and a slave woman for 14,400 shekels of lead [...]; and if the one who receives should declare, ["..."]; he shall swear an oath before the god and as much as [...] he shall take [...]

C ¶ 2 [If a man] sells to another man [either a man's son] or a man's daughter who is residing [in his house] either for a silver (debt?) or as [a pledge], or sells [anyone else] who is residing in his house, [and they prove the charges against him], he shall forfeit his silver; [...] he shall give his/its [...] to the owner of the property; they shall strike him [x blows with rods]; he shall perform the king's service for 20 days.

C ¶ 3 [If a man] sells into a foreign land [either a man's son] or a man's daughter who [is residing in his

ana kaspe iddin [ubta' erušu ukt]aṭi= nušu ina kaspišu qāssu elli [...]x-šu ana bēl mimmū iddan [x ina ḥaṭṭāte im]aḥḥušu 40 ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš [u šumma aṭīlu ša iddinu]ni ina māte šanīte mēt [napšāte umal]la Aššurājav u Aššurājitu [ša ana šim gam]er laqeuni ana māt šanīte [inad]din

(22–27) [šumma aṭīlu lu alpa lu] emāra lu sīsā u lu mimmā la u[māmšu ša kī šaparte ina] bētišu usbuni ana kaspe id[din ... umāma id]dan kaspa la utār šumma u[māma la iddin ina kaspišu qās]su elli bēl mimmū ša [umāmšu ina bēt aṭīle us]buni umām= šu iṣabbat mā[ḥirānu ša um]āme kasapšu ina muḥḥi tādinā[ne ...]

(28–32) [šumma aṭīlu ištu u]šallimma lu alpa lu emāra lu sīsā u lu mimmā la umāmšu ištari]q(?)⁴² kī šīme tarše ana a[ṭīle iddin u māḥir]ānu la īde šīma [tarša ana aṭīle id]din šurqa ammar e-[...] (32)⁴³ [tādin]ānu um[alla]

(33–43) [šumma aṭīlu ...]x-ta lu umāma u [lu ...] u aṭīlu šībūt[lu ...] bēl

house] either for a silver (debt?) or as a pledge, and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, he shall forfeit his silver; [...] he shall give his/its [...] to the owner of the property; they shall strike him [x blows with rods]; he shall perform the king's service for 40 days. But if the man whom he sells dies in the foreign land, he shall make full payment for a life. He may sell into a foreign land an Assyrian man or an Assyrian woman who had been taken for full value (i.e., the value as pledge does not exceed that of the debt).

C ¶ 4 [If a man] sells [an ox, or] a donkey, or a horse, or any other animal not his own, that is staying in his house as a pledge, [...] he shall give [another animal], he shall not return the silver. If [he does not give another animal], he shall forfeit his silver. The owner of the property [whose animal had been in the man's house] shall seize his animal; the purchaser of the animal [shall ...] his silver from the seller [...]

C ¶ 5 [If a man should steal(?) from] a meadow either an ox, or a donkey, or a horse, or any other animal not his own, and then sells it to another man at the prevailing price, and the purchaser is not aware (that it is stolen property) and he gives the man the prevailing price, the seller shall restore the stolen goods, as much as [...]

C ¶ 6a [If a man ...s a ...] ... or an animal or [...] and witnesses [...] the

mimma annē [...] -ad-di iṣṣabbat u aʿīlu [...] b]ēl mimṣū mimṣū [...] x x [...] ina muḥḥi] i tādināne ilaqqēma [...] ša] x ilqeuni u ina qātišu [...] x ina muḥḥi aʿīle ša iddinaš[uni ... t]ādīnānu ḥalāq mimṣū la [...] x-x-ni ubar[ru ...] TA [...]

(gap)

(G rev. 1–6) [*šumma ...] ša id-[...] ilaqqe u lāqīā[nu ...] ša ana kaspe x [...] 2(?) urīṣē(?) ana bēl kaspe [...] x ittalkamma mimma ša [...] x ina muḥḥiṣu la ila[qqe ...]*

(G rev. 7–13 + C rev. 1–2) [*šumma ...] u lu mimma ša kī šaparte [...] ina bēt Aššu]rājae usbuni u edannu ēt[iquni ...]-x-ū-ni šumma kaspu ammar šimi= šu ik[tašad ...] x la-qē šumma kaspu ammar šimišu la ik[tašad ...] uppašma ilaqqe [...] x ušaddi qaqqad kaspimma x [...] laššu [...]*

(C rev. 3–9) [*šumma aʿīlu ...] lu umāma u lu mimma šanāmma [ištariq ubt]aʿerušu uktaʿinu[šu šurq]a(?) iddan 50 ina ḥaṭṭāte imaḥḥuṣu[šu x ūmāte šipar šarre] eppaš dēna annia dajānū x⁴⁴ [idinnu u šumma ...] iktal= damma šurqa ammar iṣr[iquni ana šim gam]er ēši u mādma [utār ḥīta ša] šarre kī libbišu emmid[uš]*

owner of all this [...] shall be seized, and the man [...] the owner of the property his property [...] he shall take from the seller and [...] which] he has taken, and in his hand [...] against the man who gave it to him [...] the seller shall not [...] the loss of his property [...] he shall prove the charges [...]

C ¶ 6b [If ...] he shall take and the purchaser [...] for silver [...] two(?) goats(?) to the owner of the silver [...] he shall come and something which [...] he shall not take against him [...]

C ¶ 7 [If ...] or anything else that is staying in the house of an Assyrian as a pledge [...] and the term (of the loan) elapses [...]; if the silver (owed) amounts to as much as its/his value [...]; if the silver (owed) does not amount to as much as its/his value [...] he shall acquire and he shall take [...] he made abandon, the capital sum of the silver [...] there is not [...]

C ¶ 8 [If a man should steal] either [...], or an animal, or anything else, and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, he shall repay [the stolen goods]; they shall strike him 50 blows with rods; he shall perform [the king's service for x days]; the judges ... shall render this judgment. [But if ...] he/it should "reach" [...] (in value?), he shall return the stolen goods, as much as he stole, to the full value, as much as it may be; they shall impose upon him the punishment determined by the king.

(rev. 10–15) [*šumma aššat* (or: *mār, mārāt?*) *aʿīle] u lu urdu mimma šumšu gabba qip[ta ...] ana maškattē ina kīde šaknat [u aʿīlu (...) š]a maškattu ina bētišu šaknutu[ni ana bēl ...] ša bēssu qīpuni la iq[bi mimṣū ina qā]tišu ittašbat [bēlšu ilaqqeš]u aʿīlu šūt šurqa inaš[ši]*

C ¶ 9 [If a man's wife (or: son, or: daughter?)] or a slave [...] anything of value as trust [...] it is deposited outside of the family [and the man] in whose house the goods are deposited does not notify [the owner of (the property)] that was entrusted to his house, and the property is then seized in his possession, [its owner shall take it]; that man shall be liable for theft.

(rev. 16–19) [*šumma aʿīlu qipta] ša tappāišu ūtattir [...] ubtaʿer]ušu ukta= ʿinušu [šarrāqu] šūt u ḥīta ša šarre [kī libbišu] emmiduš*

C ¶ 10 If a man should inflate the value of his comrade's [goods left in trust, ...] and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, that man is [a thief]; and they shall impose upon him the punishment determined by the king.

(rev. 20–26) [*šumma aʿīlu ...] ūtattir iltaṭar [...] ummiānāte šēlue [ubta= ʿerušu] uktaʿinušu [...] a-ti iṭturni [...] x ina] ḥaṭṭāte imaḥḥuṣu [...] ina qāt ummiā[nāte ...] tupšar= ru(?) [...]*

C ¶ 11 If a man should inflate (the value) and record (the inflated value) [...] the creditors are debited, and [they prove the charges against him] and find him guilty, [...] which] he has recorded; they shall strike him [x blows with] rods; [...] the possession of the creditors [...] scribe(?) [...]

(remainder broken)

MAL D

(break of undetermined size)

(1–6) [...] x bu [...] ana x LUGAL KĀ⁴⁵ [...] i]qabbiaššu(?) [...] x-ri-iš alāka la i[...] -x-nu aḥḥiṣu iqabbi [...] ina dēnišu abi [...]

D ¶ 1 [If ...] to the official in charge of the gate [...] shall declare to him [...] ... not [...] ... his brother shall declare [...] in his judgment, the father [...]

(7-8) [šumma ...]-x šarru id-[...] x x **D 12** [If ...] the king [...]
[...]

(remainder broken)

MAL E

(break of undetermined size)

(1-10) [šumma ... ubta'eru]š
ukta'inu[š ša ...]-x-ši ubbuluni x-... x
ina ḥaṭṭāte i]maḥḥušuš istu x-... x
30 mana anneke x-...-ma riḥāte 14
mana [...] x mārū šarre dajānū [...] ni
ubbuluni kī ša šar[ru ... š]a⁴⁶ kīde ana
muḥḥi mār x [...] šarrumma [...]

(11-rev. 3) [šumma ...]-bu-šu imḥaš
ub-x-...-x ana rēš x-... (gap) ... (rev.
1) [...] ša [...] x⁴⁷ mana x [...] x-ku-su-
uš [...]

(rev. 4-9) [šumma ...] gabbu ammar
qi-x-... limḥur u šumma išt[u ...]
iṣbat u ši-ip-...-x-qi la i-pa-an-ni-x-
[...] igrišu la i-ša-x-... bēl šipre [...]

(rev. 10-15) [šumma ...]-x-qi ki-ip ēpiš
[...] iṣakkunu x [...] um]miāne pani [...] x
ummiāne [...] u x [...] x i-...]

(remainder broken)

E 1 [If ... and they prove the
charges] against him and find him
guilty, [... which ...] he shall bring
[...]; they shall strike him [x blows
with rods]; from [...] 1,800 shekels
of lead [...] the remainder, 840
shekels [...] the princes, the judges
[...] he shall bring, according to the
king [...] outside of the family
against the son [...] the king him-
self [...].

E 2 [If ...] his [...] he strikes [...] to
the head(?) [...] (gap) [...] shekels [...]

E 3 [If ...] all, as much as [...] he
shall receive and if from [...] he
seizes and [...] he shall not [...] his
hire he shall not [...] the official in
charge of the work [...]

E 4 [If ...] ... the one who per-
forms [...] they shall do [...] the pre-
vious creditor [...] the creditor [...]

MAL F

(break of undetermined size)

(col. i, fragmentary ends of about 8
lines)

[šumma ...] (ii 1-8) ana [...] immeru
ša x [...] x [...] u šumma [...] x x x x
[...] ina pitqe ša tappāišu x [...] ušašnīma
šūma ša-... nāšīāna ša
immere 1 meat in[a ḥaṭṭāte imah-
ḥušuš] ibaqqunuš iltēn uraḥ ūmāte
šip[ar šarre eppaš] u šurqa ša immere
i]našši

(ii 9-14) rē'i sugulle ša sīs[ā'ē ...] balu
bēlišu šāle lu ana kaspe [lu ana ...] la
iddan ina qātišu la [...] rē'i sugulle u
māḥirā[na ...] umāma ša iddi[nuni
...]-x-šu inaqquru

(ii 15-17) [šumma ...] ša ekalle [...] x-
x-... TA [...]

(remainder broken)

F 1 [If ...] a sheep of [...] and if [...] in his comrade's sheepfold [...] he changes ... [...] they shall strike] the one who carried off the sheep 100 blows [with rods], and they shall tear out his hair; he shall perform service for the king for one full month; and he shall be liable for the theft of the sheep.

F 2 The horse herder who [tends] horses shall not give [a horse] for silver [or for ...] without obtaining the permission of its owner.⁴⁹ [...] shall not [...] from him. The horse herder and the buyer [...] the animal which he sold [...] they shall lacerate his [entire face(?)].

F 3 [If ...] of the palace [...]

MAL J

(break of undetermined size)

(obv. 1) [...] il]aqqe

(2-3) [šumma ... i]šaqqe [...] i]šaqqe

(4-7) [šumma ...] 3⁵⁰ aṛilū 1 aṛilu [...] ša āle ma-e-ni [...] la]ššu ina ūme
kesēra [...] x ēpušu ušallumu

J 1 [If ...] they shall take.

J 2 [If ...] he shall irrigate, [...] he shall irrigate.

J 3 [If ...] three(?) men one man [...] of the city ... [...] there is not [...] when the (irrigation canal?) is blocked(?) [...] they have performed, they shall make restitution.

(8-13) [šumma ...] ēpušu ana iltēt šat-tišunu [... iba]ššiuni [...]-aš-tu ki 2^a qatinnu [... ša š]arre izzazzu [... ana š]ipirti šarre [... uša]llumu

(rev. 1-4) [šumma ...] ušēšūni [...] ušēšū[ni ...]-x-ru-šu-nu [...]-x ušep-pušušunu

(rev. 5-7) [šumma ...]-šu ukalluni [...]-a-ar [...]

(remainder broken)

MAL K

(break of undetermined size)

(1-2) [...] x ù x [...] x ù sūt ki-x- [...]

(3-6) [šumma ...] x ša šarre la t[al]aq-
qe ... qā[tā]te kaspe ina muḫḫi [...]
qātāt[e] la talaqqe qātāt[te] ... qātāt[e] la
talaqqe qātāte [...]

(7-9) [šumma ...] kaspu lu šēlu
mimma qāḫipānu x [...] šanāte(?) liš-
ḫut lu ša [... M]EŠ annāte kaspa u
miḫaršu [...]

(remainder broken)

MAL L

(break of undetermined size)

(1-4) [šumma ...] x [...] x [...] in]a
muḫḫišu x [...] ti la talaqq[e] ...]

(5-6) [šumma ...] x ana LÜ ubre [...] x
x ša šaknuni [...]

J ¶ 4 [If ...] they perform, for their
one year [...] there is [...] ... two
qatinnu-personnel [...] of the king
shall be present [...] for] the royal
assignment [...] they shall make
restitution.

J ¶ 5 [If ...] they lease [...] they lease
[...] ... [...] they shall have them per-
form.

J ¶ 6 [If ...]

(7-9) [šumma ... mā]r mātišu
ultata²idma⁵² i- [...] x ubta²erus ukta-
²inu[š ...] x ina ku si igammaršu u [...]

(10-12) [šumma ...] x dajānu ḫabbu-
laššu ana bēt[išu ... da]jānu ḫabbulu
la eppal šumma [...] ša bēl dēnišu e-
[...]

(13-15) [šumma ...] x ukalluni [...] x
šulmān[u ...] an[a ...]

(remainder broken)

MAL M

(obv. 1-7) [šumma ...] ina raminiš[u x
...] ... mā pušran[i elip]pu(?) x-it-x-[x]-
ša-ru-ša⁵³ lu iḫbu lu innie [eli]ppa adi
māniḫāteša lu rabiū [ša i]špurušuni u
lu sūtma ša elippa [ut]taeranni⁵⁴
umallū malabḫu [ša n]iš šarre la
izkurūneššuni la iturra

L ¶ 3 [If ...] a native of his country
[...] ... [...] and they prove the
charges against him and find him
guilty [...] ... he shall settle with
him [...]

L ¶ 4 [If ...] the judge [shall ...] his
indebtedness to/for his house [...] the
judge, he is indebted, he shall
not satisfy; if [...] of his adversary
in court [...]

L ¶ 5 [If ...] he shall hold [...] the
gratuity [...]

M ¶ 1 [If a boat drifts(?)] by itself
[and the captain(?) calls a warning],
saying, "Clear (a passage) for me,"
the boat(?) ... whether it sinks or
capsizes(?)⁵⁵—either the comman-
der(?) who dispatched him or he
who steered(?) the boat shall
restore the boat together with all
its equipment. The boatman
against whom they do not swear an
oath by the life of the king (accus-
ing him of negligence) shall not
turn back (from taking the oath?).

(8-14) [šumm]a elippu lu ištu eliš
iqqalpuā [u l]u ištu ebertain ēbera ina
šahāt [(x) nā]bili lu elippa malīta
imḫašma u[tebbi u lu eli]ppa rāq-
tamma imḫa[šma utebbi] mimma
māniḫāte ammar iḫall[iquni ... elip]pu
maḫiltu [...] x x [...]

M ¶ 2a If a boat either drifts down
from upstream or crosses over
from the opposite bank, and either
rams and sinks a fully laden boat or
rams and [sinks] an empty boat
moored at the bank, whatever
equipment is lost [...] the rammed
boat [...]

(gap)

(rev. 1-3) [...] x x [...] x x.HIA [...] ⁵⁶

(rev. 4-13) [šumma aʾīlu ...] šubātē adi muḥḥi ša ḥarr[āne ... ana a]šlāke ana masāe iddin[aššu ...] ḥalaqme iqbi mimm[a ša ... ḥalq]uni qaq qadamma ana x [x umalla] u šumma kī ana kaspe iddinuni ⁵⁷ [...] ittašme [ubtaʾerus] uktaʾinuš [...] iṣṣabtu ša aʾīle [...] x šurqa x [...] (one or two lines lost)

MAL N

(break of undetermined size)

(1-4) [šumm]a aʾīlu ina šalte ana aʾīle [...] iqbi] mā šillata ta[qbi ...] u bēt ile tuḥtammiš x [...] 40 ina ḥaṭṭāte imaḥḥušuš [x ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš]

(5-10) šumma aʾīlu ina šalte ana [aʾīle(?) ... iqbi] mā šillata [taqbi ...] u bēt ile tuḥt[ammiš ...] baʾura l[a ilaʾe la ubaʾer] aʾīla šuā[tu x ina ḥaṭṭāte imaḥḥušuš] iltēn ur[aḥ ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš]

(remainder broken)

MAL O

(obv. col. i 1-2) [šumma aʾīlu šīmat ... ana m]ārēšu išim [...] x x x eppušu

M ¶ 2b [...]

M ¶ 3 [If a man] gives [...] garments to the cleaner for washing while he is off on a journey, [...] and] the cleaner declares, "They are lost," [he shall restore to him garments equal to those] lost, up to the original value. But if it is known [...] that he sold them [and they prove the charges against him] and find him guilty, [...] they are seized, of the man [...] the theft [...]

N ¶ 1 If a man [says ...] to another man in a quarrel, "You have spoken blasphemy, [...] and furthermore you have pilfered the temple," [...] they shall strike him 40 blows with rods; [he shall perform the king's service for x days].

N ¶ 2 If a man [says ...] to [another man(?) in a quarrel, "You have spoken blasphemy, [...] and furthermore you have pilfered the temple," [...] but he is unable to prove the charges and does not prove the charges, [they shall strike] that man [x blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service] for one full month.

O ¶ 1 [If a man] determines [the disposition of his estate in favor of] his sons [...] they shall perform.

(obv. col. i 3-9) [šumma aʾīlu ...]-x-zu-ma ṭēmšu šanīšu [...] u šīmat] bētišu la išīam [...] x x x eppušuni [...] -lu-ku [...] -ur [...] x [...]

O ¶ 2a [If a man ...] ... and he is incompetent [...] and] he does not determine the [disposition] of his household [...] which they make [...]

(gap)

[šumma ...] (col. ii 1-7) ina ūmāte x x [...] bētāte ša x [...] urdē izuzz[u ...] u kirāte [...] urki annē x [...] ṭuppāte ša x [...] u šēbūte amma[r ...]

O ¶ 2b [If ...] days [...] houses which [...] slaves they shall divide [...] and orchards [...] later these [...] tablets which [...] and as many witnesses [...]

(obv. col. ii 8-13) [šumm]a aḥḥū bēt abi[šunu izūzu kir]āte u būrāte [ina qaqqere ... māru rabū 2 qāt]āte in[as saq ilaqqe u aḥḥūšu urki a]ḥāʾiṣ in[assuqu ilaqqueu ina eqel šiluhlē mimmā u] māna[ḥāte gabbe māru šeḥru ussaq ...]

O ¶ 3⁵⁸ If brothers [divide] the estate of their father, orchards and wells [in the plot of land ..., the oldest son shall select and take a double] share, [and his brothers shall select and take] shares one after the other; [the youngest son is the one who apportions whatever šiluhlu-personnel there are and all the associated] equipment [in the field (to be divided) ...]

(gap)

(rev. col. i 1-3) šumma bēl [...] mēšīna x [...] ubarrū u id[dīnu ...]

O ¶ 4 If the owner of [...] their water [...] they claim and they give [...]

(rev. col. i 4-11) [šu]mma ina ugāre ina libbi [būrāte māru ša ana šīqe ana šakāne illukūni] ibašši bēlū [eqlēte ištū aḥāʾiṣ izzazzu aʾīlu ana sīr eqlišu] šipra eppaš eqelšu i[šaqqi u šumma ina libbišunu] la magrūtu iba[šši magru ša libbišunu dajānē] išaʾal ṭuppa ša d[ajānē iṣabbat u šipra eppaš] māʾe šunātunu ana ra[minišu ilaqqe eqelšu išaqqi mamma šani= umma la išaqqi]

O ¶ 5⁵⁹ If there is sufficient water for irrigation available in the common irrigated area in the wells, the owners of the fields shall act together; each man shall perform the work in accordance with the extent of his field, and shall irrigate his field. But if there are some among them who are not amenable to an agreement, the one among them who is amenable to an agreement shall appeal to the judges; he shall obtain a tablet (with the decision) of the judges, and perform

the work; [he shall take] those waters for himself [and irrigate his own field; no one else may irrigate (with the waters)].

(gap)

(rev. col. ii 1-9) [šumma ...] x x x uššurašu [...]ki ibtuq iltēn mana šarpa iddan [...] x m]ana šarpa iddan [(x) ...] bilat annaka idd[an (x) ...] šurqa⁶⁰ idd[an (x) ...]-x-x-ab-bu-šu ina ki-x [...] ... ilaqqu

O ¶ 6 [If ...] his release [...] he accuses, he shall give 60 shekels of silver, [...] he shall give [x] shekels of silver, [...] he shall give [x] talents of lead, [...] he shall give [...] the theft [...] ... [...] they shall take.

Notes

1. Some literature refers to a third class, the "Assyrian (man or woman)" (*aššurāju* or *aššurāṭtu*), and suggests that persons so designated were members of a class socially, legally, or economically inferior to the *aṭlu* (see Driver and Miles 1935: 284-86). However, the distinction is not borne out in the provisions in the MAL that refer to the *aššurāju* (especially A ¶ 44 and C ¶ 3; see also A ¶¶ 24 and 40 and C ¶ 7), or in other contemporary Middle Assyrian texts (KAJ 2 and 167 [= ARU 5 and 7] are cited in the arguments). The distinguishing point in MAL C ¶ 3 (the key provision in the arguments) is whether or not the value of the person as pledge exceeds the amount of the debt, and not whether the person is an "Assyrian."

2. David 1939: 121 n. 4 argued that Schroeder 1920: no. 144 ("MAL H") is a fragment of a ritual and not of a law collection; see further Saporetti 1979: 134 with n. 91.

3. Lines 5-6 differently restored by Otto 1993: 157; see p. 158 n. 49.

4. Var. omits *sinniltu*, "a woman."

5. Var. omits "from the sanctuary."

6. Var. omits *sinniltu*, "a woman."

7. Only source preserved from here on.

8. AN.NA (*annuku*) is translated "lead" (rather than "tin"), following the arguments presented by Freydank 1982: 74-75 n. 27 and Müller 1982.

9. Restoration [e]-ri-im-ma, "became inflamed(?), atrophied(?)," remains uncertain; see CAD E 295 s.v. *erimu* discussion section.

10. Possible restorations include "eyes" and "breasts"; see Paul 1990: 337-38 with notes.

11. Literally, "I want to fornicate with you"; the verb *nāku* is used of initiating illicit sexual intercourse.

12. See the note at MAL A ¶ 12.

13. See the note at MAL A ¶ 12.

14. Or "beard."

15. The implication of sodomy is obtained from the context, and not from the verb *nāku*, which refers to fornication; see also the note at MAL A ¶ 12.

16. Or "beard."

17. See the note at MAL A ¶ 19.

18. Otto 1993: 146 restores in line 55 [ú-na-ka-āš la-a]; CAD Š/1 s.v. *šadādu* mng. 3c restores [ana bētišu], thus "... takes his wife back to his house." The restoration here follows Driver and Miles 1935, Borger 1982c: 84, etc., seeing a form of *nakāsu* (see CAD N/1 s.v., mng. 6b) and presenting the opposite solution to that foreseen in the final clause of the provision.

19. Or, reading (albeit without the geographical determinative) the proper noun *Libbi-āle*, thus "either in the Inner City (i.e., Assur) itself or in any of the nearby towns."

20. See CAD Š/1 288 s.v. *šaluštu* A mng. 2b; written 3-a-te (in MAL A ¶¶ 24, 55, 56, and B ¶ 14), 3.TA.AM-a-te (in MAL B ¶ 8) and 3-ti (in MAL B ¶ 9). The amount and nature of the compensation indicated by *šalšāte*, "one-third" or "triple," of what commodity it consists, and to whom it is paid, all remain obscure.

21. The full legal implications of this action are unclear.

22. See CAD A/1 217 s.v. *aḫūzatu*, understanding a "marriage-like relationship of dependency and protection between an unprotected female and the head of a household."

23. Text: "the father-in-law" (error).

24. Or, restoring *ki sar[re] šabitma*, "he was arrested as a criminal."

25. Restoring a II/2 or III/2 of *šatāru* (so Driver and Miles 1935, Cardascia 1969, Borger 1982, etc.) not certain.

26. Problems in restoration and interpretation of A ¶ 45 are discussed by Postgate 1971: 502-8 and Aynard and Durand 1980: 9-13.

27. The clause (*šumma ana dannat šarre la ērub*) is usually translated with the sense "if he (the husband) does not enter royal military service" (e.g., CAD E 264 s.v. *erēbu* mng. 1b-2', Cardascia 1969: 218, etc.), with parallels drawn to LH ¶¶ 27-28, but this fails to explain the import of the clause here. Perhaps the clause includes an elliptical allusion to the *tuppu dannutu*, "binding tablet" of MA real estate transfers which receives royal sanction and provides final and irrevocable proof of purchase (see Postgate 1971: 514-17; also Aynard and Durand 1980: 12-13); thus here the sense would be that if the sale were not yet registered by a binding tablet, the original owner could reclaim the house and field by payment of the sum realized from the sale.

28. Text: "Her father will ask ..."

29. The break may rather have room for only [*šumma aṭlu sinniltu im*]ḫašma, "If a man strikes a woman ..."

30. Or "If the fetus dies as a result of the (attempted) abortion, ..." (?).

31. *ūtarrīšuni* (viii 9) is taken, following von Soden (AHw. s.v. *urrušu* II), as a II/2 of *erēšu* (B) "to ask, request."

32. Borger 1982: 92: "des Blendens," cf. CAD G s.v. **gullulu* adj.; perhaps *gullulu* v. "to commit a sin?"

33. ¶ 59 concludes, following line 63, with double incised partition lines, following which there are five sections before the date formula which begins in line 64. The first and largest section is a completely blank space the size of about 15 lines concluded by a single incised line; the second is a space with traces of 10 erased lines, concluded by double lines, within which there is a drawing of a bisected

triangle; the third, fourth, and fifth, each concluded by double lines, show traces of four erased lines, four erased lines, and three erased lines, respectively.

34. See O ¶ 3.
35. Lit., "owner of life."
36. Reading *lu ši*(text Pl)-*la-ta*, see CAD Š/2 446 s.v. *šillatu* mng. 1b.
37. Reading with Weidner 1937/39: 50.
38. Copy *a-ti*, emended to *3-ti* with Weidner 1937/39: 50.
39. See O ¶ 5.
40. Text: *ut*(error for *uš*)-*ra-a-aq*, following Cardascia 1969: 290 n. b.
41. Restorations are conjectural; see the various restorations and interpretations proposed in Landsberger 1949: 291; Driver and Miles 1935; Cardascia 1969; Saporetti 1979; and Aynard and Durand 1980: 32-33 n. 41.
42. So with Saporetti 1979 ([... *iš-ta-r*]-*i-iq*); copy [...]-*x-bu-ḫi*.
43. G obv. joins C here, and provides most or all of the following ¶ 6a; G rev. 1-6 = ¶ 6b; G rev. 7-13 (the last two lines joining C rev. 1-2) = ¶ 7; and G rev. 14 restores some of the first line of ¶ 8. (For consistency, the line numbering of C is continued through the obverse, and resumed at ¶ 8; the line numbers of G rev. are used only for ¶¶ 6b and 7.)
44. Reading KUR, "(the judges of) the land" is not certain.
45. So Weidner 1937/39: 50.
46. Reading follows Weidner 1937/39: 50.
47. Possibly read: [...] 1 MA.NA "[...] one mina (= 60 shekels)."
48. Line 15 is the final line of the provision.
49. Or: "his master."
50. The sign is partially broken, and could also be "7."
51. Saporetti 1979: 177 reads [... *qe-p*]-*u-tu ū* 1 LÜ ...
52. See CAD N/1 6 s.v. *na'ādu* mng. 7b.
53. Saporetti 1979 reads in line 3, [GİŠ.M]A *š[i]ḫi-it p[u-uš']-ša-ru-ša*, etc., translating the passage, "q[ue]sta(?) barca x [x] x x x."
54. Taking a II/3 from *āru*, see the references CAD A/2 323 s.v. *āru* mng. 5 and compare CAD A/2 315 s.v. *arū* A mng. 2b (I/3).
55. See Cardascia 1969: 330.
56. The gap between the end of the preserved obverse and the beginning of the preserved reverse is probably much too large to permit including these lines within the previous provision.
57. Reading *id-di-nu-ni*(copy -*uš*) follows David 1939: 132.
58. See B ¶ 1.
59. See B ¶ 17.
60. Weidner 1937/39: 54, followed by Cardascia 1969: 338, reads 4 SILA; *šur-qa* here follows Saporetti 1979: 146.

Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees (MAPD) (ca. 1076 B.C.E., Assur)

About the Laws

The Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees (also known as the "Harem Edicts") is a collection of regulations dealing with the internal activities and behavior of the palace personnel, and in particular of the palace women (the "harem") and those male officials who interact with them. The decrees were issued by the Assyrian kings, who were personally concerned with maintaining the order and inviolability of the "Inner Quarters" in which the royal women resided. The collection as we have it includes decrees issued by nine kings and was assembled in the time of Tiglath-pileser I (r. 1114-1076 B.C.E.), four of whose palace decrees conclude the collection. The Assyrian practice of dating years by eponyms—sequential reference to named high officials—allows us to assign the eponym in the colophon of Source A to an official of the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, placing the scribal effort that assembled the collection within the first quarter of the eleventh century.

There are few precedents for such decrees, but one unusual text suggests that royal involvement in the daily affairs of the palace household was not unique to the Middle Assyrian kings. An edict (*šūdūtu*) from fourteenth-century B.C.E. Nuzi (roughly contemporary with the earliest of the Assyrian rulers whose decrees are included in the MAPD) dictates internal palace behavior. The Nuzi edict (Pfeiffer and Speiser 1936: No. 51) reads:

This is the old edict concerning the personnel, the palace slaves and the palace retainers. Thus says [the king]:

No one, whether palace slave or palace retainer, shall force his daughter into homeless destitution or into prostitution without the permission of the king. Whosoever, whether palace slave <or palace retainer>, has forced his daughter into homeless destitution or into prostitution without the permission of the king, or has ...-ed his daughter into homeless destitution or into

prostitution—they shall take him into the palace and they shall moreover(?) take into the palace as a gift (dedicated to palace service) a second daughter of his in lieu of (the daughter lost to the palace); and as for him, they shall impose a replacement-fine upon him.

They shall proclaim this tablet in their (the palace personnel's) presence every three or four years, lest it be forgotten.

Although the precise subject matter with which the Nuzi edict is concerned does not appear in the extant MAPD, there are several illuminating similarities between the two documents.¹ First, of course, is the Nuzi and Assur palaces' efforts to secure the women in their charge or to whom they have a claim. Second, the Nuzi text's self-identification as an "old" edict parallels the MAPD's assembly and reporting of the decrees of previous kings and the continuing relevance of these earlier pronouncements for palace life. Third, the Nuzi edict is to be proclaimed periodically as a reminder for the relevant personnel, clarifying the sense of the largely broken subscript in the MAPD. Other, similar palace edicts or decrees may have been common elsewhere, too, in the middle of the second millennium.

About the Sources

Each decree (Akkadian *riksu*) in the MAPD is marked off on the tablets by a single horizontal line, and a shift to the decrees of a subsequent king is marked by a double horizontal line (source G, exceptionally, has a double line also before ¶ 17). The reconstruction of the sequence of decrees within the compilation is generally secure, resulting in a composition with twenty-three decrees of nine rulers whose reigns spanned almost three centuries, from 1363 to 1076 B.C.E.² The cumulative nature of the compilation reveals an overlap and repetition of decrees from one ruler to another and suggests that the final compilation may have served as a reference work rather than as (or in addition to) a set of immediately practical rules.

The nine fragmentary sources of the MAPD are all Middle Assyrian in date and from the capital city Assur. Eight (now in Berlin) were excavated in Assur and published together, with the first edition of the composition, by Weidner 1954/56; a ninth (at Yale), from a purchased collection without documented provenience, was published by Beckman and Foster 1988.

¶ 1. Ashur-uballit I (r. 1363–1328 B.C.E.)

(1–12 [A 1–12, B 1–11, C 1–2])
[Aššur-uballit uklu mār Erība-
Marduk uklemma riksa ana ... irkus]

¶ 1 [Ashur-uballit, overseer, son of
Erība-Adad, himself also overseer,
issued a decree for ...]

[šumma ...] sikkāte ša pan šābē ekalle
[...] la uššab sikkāte [...] u ki-i(-)mu(-)
še-im-ma epšu [...] lu mār mamma ša
kalze ekalle [...] ša] errubu emmu=
rušunu [...] sikkāte balut rab ekalle
[ša'āle ...]-ni bēl pāhite ana [...] -te ūr
ekalle iserru [...] ša ana ūr eka]lle ētel=
liuni hīta inašši [...] -bu kī qāt
gišburāte [...] sabsūtu u qadiltu [...] la
irra ba la uššā

[If ...] the locks(?) which are before
the palace personnel [...] he shall
not reside; the locks(?) [...] and ... is
made [...] or anyone from the
palace area [...] who] enters and
sees them, [...] the locks(?), without
asking the permission of the palace
commander [...] the provincial gov-
ernor to the [...]; they shall plaster
the roof of the palace; [...] he who]
goes up to the roof of the palace is
held responsible for a punishable
offense [...] according to the build-
ing plans [...] the midwife and the
qadiltu-woman [...] shall not go in
or go out.

¶ 2. Enlil-nārārī (r. 1327–1318 B.C.E.)

(13–21 [A 13–21, B 12–20, C 3–11, D
1–9]) Enlil-nārārī uklu [mār Aššur-
uballit uklemma riksa ana ... irk]us

¶ 2 Enlil-nārārī, overseer, [son of
Ashur-uballit, himself also over-
seer,] issued [a decree for ...]

ilu lu la iqabbi šumma lu mār šarre lu
aḫi šarre [...] ša aššāt šarre ina kīde
mēt u lu [...] gabbu ša sinništāte ša
ekalle mēt šumma šarru ina Libbi-[āle
uššab ... ša] ibbaššūni illaka ana ukal
ekalle iqabbi u ukal ek[alle ana šarre
iqabbi ...]

God forbid, if either the king's son,
or the king's brother, [or ... one] of
the wives of the king dies outside
of the palace, or [...] one of] any of
the palace women dies, if the king
is residing in the Inner City, [...] any
official] who is available shall go
and report to the palace overseer,
and the palace overseer shall report
to the king ...]

u šumma šarru ina 2 bēr egle uššab
ukal ekalle ana muḫḫi [šarre išappar
...]

However, if the king is residing
within a distance of two double-
hours³ (travel time from the palace),
the palace overseer [shall send
written tablets] to [the king ...]

[... šumm]a šarru aqqāt 2 bēr egle
[uššab] iuppāte ana muḫḫi šarre la
iša[ppar ... sinništāte ša ekalle] kī pī
rikse ša šarre ibakkia

[... If] the king [is residing] farther
away than two double-hours (travel
time from the palace), he shall not
send written tablets to the king; [...]

the palace women] shall perform the mourning rites according to the king's decree.

šumma balut ukal ekal[le ša'āle ... an]a šābē ša ekalle iqtibi ubarrušu [... appušu uznēšu] inakkisu

If, without asking the permission of the palace overseer, he (the official) should report (the death directly) to the palace personnel, they shall prove the charge against him, [...] they shall cut off [his nose and ears(?).]

¶ 3. Adad-nārārī I (r. 1305–1274 B.C.E.)

(22–27 [B 21–22, C 12–17, D 10–15])
Adad-nārārī uklu mār Ar[ik-dēn-ili uklemma riksa ana ... irkus ...]

¶ 3 Adad-nārārī, overseer, son of Arik-[dēn-ili, himself also overseer, issued a decree for ...:]

[sinnišātu ... ša] kīdānu abhuzāni ina bēt mutēšina us[bāni ...] lu [ina] ūme rāqe balut šarre ša'ā[le la ... šumma ... ša ina Libbi-āl]e usbuni la iš'aluni [... us]buni atū [... l]u ša rēš šarre lu mazz[iz pane ...]

[Women ... (working in the palace) who are] married to men from outside of it and who are residing in their husbands' houses [shall not ... either during ...] or on the day of a holiday, without asking permission of the king; [if ... who] resides within the Inner City does not ask permission, [... who] resides, the doorkeepers [...], or a royal eunuch, or a court attendant [...]

¶¶ 4–5. Shalmaneser I (r. 1273–1244 B.C.E.)

(28–32 [D 16–19, E 1–3]) *Šulmā[nu-ašarid uk]lu [mār Adad-nārārī uklemma riksa ana ... irkus]*

¶ 4 Shalmaneser, overseer, [son of Adad-nārārī, himself also overseer, issued a decree for ...:]

[...] a[na harr]āne [...] x [...] tu [...] x [...]

[...] on a journey [...]

(33–37 [E 4–8, I 1–5]) *Šulmānu-ašarid uklu mār Adad-nārārī uklemma riksa ana šā[bē ša ekalle irk]us*

¶ 5 Shalmaneser, overseer, son of Adad-nārārī, himself also overseer, issued a decree for the [palace] personnel:

sinniltu ša ek[alle] lu hūrāša lu šarpa u lu abnā ana urad ekalle la [taddan ... ēpiš] šipre la ū-te[... šumma ...] u rab ekalle ultēši sinniltu ša ekalle la uššuru [šumma ... lu] urad ekalle lu [... appušu uznēšu inakkisu ēpiš šipre [ša lu hūrāša lu šarpa u lu abna ina qāt urad ekalle ...] imtabruni šipra x [... a'īlu ša] ana šarre la ibtatquni utabhūbušu [...] mārūšu ana ekalle i[t-...]

A palace woman shall not [give] gold, silver, or precious stones to a palace slave; [...] a craftsman shall not [...; if the ...] and the palace commander should allow (him/her) to leave, they shall not release the palace woman; [if ... either] a palace slave or [a ...] they shall cut off his nose and ears. A craftsman [who] has received [gold, silver, or precious stones from a palace slave shall ...], the work [...]; they shall douse (with hot oil?) [the person who] has not denounced (the craftsman) to the king; [...] his sons shall [be enslaved(?)] to the palace.

¶¶ 6–8. Tukultī-Ninurta I (r. 1243–1207 B.C.E.)

(38–45 [E 9–16, F 1–8, I 6–13])
Tukultī-Ninurta uklu mār Šulmānu-ašarid uklemma riksa an[a ... irkus]

¶ 6 Tukultī-Ninurta, overseer, son of Shalmaneser, himself also overseer, [issued] a decree for the [...]

kī šarru ištu Libbi-āle i-x[... šābē ša ekalle ša ištu šarre ana harrāne illakūni bētāssunu [...] -x-ub-bu lu dumāqē lu lubu[ite lu šapāte] u lu šamnē ša šābē ekalle ša ištu šarre illakūni rab ek[allema] ipatte e-šar ū-še-š[u-ū(?) ...] ša balut rab ekalle lu ina mūše lu ina kal ūme mamma mimma [uš]ēšiuni idukkuš

When the king [leaves] the Inner City, the palace personnel who travel with the king on the journey [shall bring] their containers(?) [into the palace; only] the palace commander shall open (the containers holding) the jewelry, the clothing, [the wool], and the oil rations of the palace personnel who travel with the king; they shall remove(?) in proper manner(?) [...]; they shall kill anyone who removes anything, either at night or anytime during the day, without the permission of the palace commander.

[šumma šarru] lu ina bīt lušme lu ina bīt nāre lu ina ekallāte ša li[bīt] Libbi-āle uššab sinniltu ša ekal[le] la tašap paramma ištu muḫḫi šubāte ša qable

[If the king] should reside either in the Lushmu House or in the River House or in any of the other palaces within the environs of the

*lēdē pašiūte šubāte ša ḥarrā[ne ...]
 šuḥuppāte u mim[ma šumšu] balut
 šarre u rab ekalle ša'āle la tašappa=
 ramma ištu ek[all]e la ušēšū ina ūme
 a[na ...] tuššūni lubultaša rab ekalle u
 atū emmuru la ikallu[ši]*

(46–47 [E 17–18, F 9–10, G 1–2, I 14–15]) *Tukultī-Ninurta uklu mār Šulmānu-ašarid uklemma riksa ana sabbē ša ekalle irkus*

*ištu niqiāte kašāde sinniltu ša ekalle
 ša la qarābšani ana pan šarre la
 terrab*

(48–51 [E 19, F 11–14, G 3–6, I 16]) *Tukultī-Ninurta uklu mār Šulmānu-ašarid uklemma ana mazziz panūte riksa irkus*

*ina ūm il ḥarrāne kī ana ekalle
 errabuni ša muḥḥi ekalle nāgir ekalle
 rab zāriqē asū ša bētānu kī mazziz
 panūte iḥirrūni lu ša rēš šarre lu
 mazziz pane ša la marruruni iqabbiu
 ša šanuttešu ana mazziz panutte
 iddunuš šumma qēpūtu annūtu la
 iqitbiu ḥīṭa inaššiu*

Inner City, a palace woman shall not send for anything; she shall not send for a skirt, white wraps, a travel cloak, [...], leather boots, or anything else, without asking permission of the king or of the palace commander, and they shall remove nothing from the palace (without permission). On the day that she leaves (the palace) to [meet the king(?)], the palace commander and the door keepers shall inspect her wardrobe but they shall not detain her (or: withhold it).

¶ 7 *Tukultī-Ninurta*, overseer, son of *Shalmaneser*, himself also overseer, issued a decree for the palace personnel:

When the time for making sacrifices draws near, a palace woman who is menstruating (lit.: unapproachable) shall not enter into the presence of the king.

¶ 8 *Tukultī-Ninurta*, overseer, son of *Shalmaneser*, himself also overseer, issued a decree for the court attendants:

On the day of the God-of-the-Journey,⁴ when he (the statue of the deity) enters the palace, and when the palace administrator, the palace herald, the chief of the water-sprinklers (of the Processional Residence⁵), and the physician of the Inner Quarters inspect the court attendants, they shall report any royal eunuch or court attendant who is not castrated (lit.: who is not checked) and they shall hand him over to be made into a (castrated)

court attendant for a second time. If these officials should not make a report, they are held responsible for a punishable offense.

¶¶ 9–17. *Ninurta-apil-Ekur* (r. 1191–1179 B.C.E.)

(52–55 [F 15–18, G 7–10]) [*Ninurta-api*]-*Ekur uklu mār Erība-Adad uklemma riksa ana ekallišu irkus*

*šumma šarru ša rēš šarre ina kal ūme
 ana muḥḥi [sinnišāte ša ekalle] išap=
 par šumma ina āle balut rab ekalle ša
 āle ana ekall[e ad]i(?) maškan-iṭḥuru
 šaknuni [la errab ana rab] ekalle
 iqabbi adi errabuni uššāni rab ekalle
 ina pī x-[(x)]-sa-te izzaz*

*šumma ina ḥūle [balut rab ek]alle u
 rab zāriqē la errab šumma ša rēš šarre
 balut qēp[ūte] annūte ētarab ḥīṭa
 inaššī*

(56–59 [F 19–22, G 11–13]) [*Ninurta-apil-Ekur uklu*] *mār Erība-Adad uklemma riksa ana ekallišu irk[us]*

*lu aššāt šarre lu sinnišātu mādātu [ša
 ekalle ša ...] aḥa'is idūkāni ina*

¶ 9 *Ninurta-apil-Ekur*, overseer, son of *Erība-Adad*, himself also overseer, issued a decree for his palace:

If the king intends to send a royal eunuch during the daytime to [the quarters of the palace women]—if (the women are) in the city, [he (the royal eunuch) shall not enter] into the palace, without the permission of the palace commander of the city, as long as(?) the tent of the *iṭḥuru*-standard is erected. He shall (first) report to the palace commander. As long as he enters (and stays inside), the women shall leave and the palace commander shall stand at the entrance to the [...]

If (the women are) in the Processional Residence,⁶ he shall not enter (their quarters) without the permission of the palace commander and of the chief of the water sprinklers. If the royal eunuch enters without the permission of these officials, he is held responsible for a punishable offense.

¶ 10 [*Ninurta-apil-Ekur*, overseer,] son of *Erība-Adad*, himself also overseer, issued a decree for his palace:

(Any royal women), either the king's wives or other women [of

šaltišina šum il]e ana masikte taz-
zakrūni [...] (la) e]rrab napšāte ša
Aššur it[...] inakkisu ina šaltišina
[...] -ki ana pi-x-[x-x]-x la tappal

(60-63 [F 23-26, G 14]) [Ninurta-
apil-Ekur uklu mār Erība-Adad
uklemma] riksa irkus

[šumma ...] napšāteja ana la kitte [...
šu]m šarre ina šalte la [izakkar šu]m
ile lu la izakkar [...] ... [...] šum ile ana
la kitte [...] ... [...] la uballušu

(64-66 [F 27-29]) [Ninurta-apil-
Ekur uklu mār Erība-Adad uklemma
riksa ana ... irkus]

[...] aššat šarre [...] -šu [...] -ši-na [...] izzakar [...] (la) tap]pal

(67-69 [F 30-32]) [Ninurta-apil-Ekur
uklu mār Erība-Adad uklemma riksa
ana ...] irkus

šumma [...] -ta-at [...] sinniltu ša
ekal[le ...] -ni [...] x [...] -ru

(70-72 [F 33-35, H 1-2]) [Ninurta-
apil-Ekur uklu mār Erība-Adad
uklemma riksa ana ...] -šu irkus

the palace, who ...] fight among
themselves and in their quarrel
blasphemously swear by the name
of the god, [...] he shall [(not)]
enter; they shall cut the throat of
the one who has [cursed(?)] the god
Ashur; in their quarrel [...] ... [...] she shall not satisfy the claim.

¶ 11 [Ninurta-apil-Ekur, overseer,
son of Erība-Adad, himself also
overseer,] issued a decree:

[If ... says: "...] my life," for improper
purposes [...; he shall] not [swear]
by the name of the king in a quar-
rel; and even more so indeed he
shall not swear by the name of the
god. [...] They shall kill a palace
woman who swears] by the name
of the god for improper purposes
[...], they shall not spare her life.

¶ 12 [Ninurta-apil-Ekur, overseer,
son of Erība-Adad, himself also
overseer, issued a decree for ...:]

[...] a wife of the king [...] his [...] their (fem.) [...] he has sworn [...] she shall (not)] satisfy the claim.

¶ 13 [Ninurta-apil-Ekur, overseer,
son of Erība-Adad, himself also
overseer,] issued a [decree for ...:]

If [...] a palace woman [...]

¶ 14 [Ninurta-apil-Ekur, overseer,
son of Erība-Adad, himself also
overseer, issued a decree for] his
[...:]

šumma [...] ma]šikta [...] -ma taqībi
kinat[tu ...] x [...] -ru-ni tašmeuni la
[...]

(73-75 [F 36-38, G rev. 1, H 3-5])
[Ninurta-apil-Ekur uklu mār Erība-
Adad uklemma riksa ana] šābē ša
ekalli[šu irkus]

[...] ḫaliqta [...] adi šarru
iqabbiašš[enni ...] šarru [...] la iqbi-
aššenni [...]

(76-77 [F rev. 1-2, G rev. 2, H 6-7])
[Ninurta-apil-Ekur uklu mār Erība-
Adad uklem]ma riksa ana ekallišu
irkus

[šumma sinniltu ša ekal]le [...] ekalle
ta-x[...] i-[x]-x-qu

(78-81 [F rev. 3-6, G rev. 3-5, H
8-10]) [Ninurta-apil-Ekur uklu mār
Erība-Adad uklem]ma riksa ana
ekallišu irkus

[šumma sinniltu ša] ekalle [...] tātarar
lu mār Tukultī-Ninurta [lu ... lu ša
bē]te ša šarre ša majā[le ... lu] ša litte
[...] tātarar lu sinnilta] ša šaplānuša
tātarar lemniš [...] x-na našā[enni sin-
niltu ša [ekalle a]ppaša ipallušu [30(?)
ina ḫaṭṭāte] imabḫušuši

If [...] she should [...] or utter a blas-
phemy, a woman of equal status [...] that she [...] saw or heard, [she shall] not [...]

¶ 15 [Ninurta-apil-Ekur, overseer,
son of Erība-Adad, himself also
overseer, issued a decree for] the
personnel of [his] palace:

[...] a fugitive woman [...] until the
king reports it to her [...] the king
[...]) did not report it to her [...]

¶ 16 [Ninurta-apil-Ekur, overseer,
son of Erība-Adad,] himself also
[overseer,] issued a decree for his
palace:

[If a palace woman ... (the ... of)] the
palace [...]

¶ 17 [Ninurta-apil-Ekur, overseer,
son of Erība-Adad,] himself also
[overseer,] issued a decree for his
palace:

[If a] palace [woman] should curse
[...], or [should she curse] either a
descendant of Tukultī-Ninurta, [or
another member of the royal
household, or an official of the]
royal bedroom, [...] or an official of
the stool,⁷ or if she should spite-
fully curse any woman who is
beneath her in station, [...] carrying
(a child?); they shall pierce the nose
of the palace woman; they shall
strike her [30(?) blows with rods].

¶ 18. Ashur-dan I (r. 1178-1133 B.C.E.)

(82-90 [F rev. 7-15, G rev. 6-12])
[Aššur-dan uklu mār Ninurta-apil-

¶ 18 [Ashur-dan, overseer, son of
Ninurta-apil-Ekur,] himself also

Ek[ur uklemma riksa ana šabē ša ekall[išu irkus]

[l]u aššat šarre [lu sinniltu ša ekalle šumma amassa lu hīta ana bēltiša taḫtia lu ...] lu sarta mimma tētapāš lu [aššat šarre lu] sinniltu ša [ekalle ša am]assa hīta taḫtiaššini 30 ina ḫaṭṭāte tamabḫassi

[... šumma amtu] naṭītu tu-ur-[... lu hī]ta ana bēltiša taḫti[a lu ... lu s]arta tētapāš bēltuša ana [muḫḫi šarre tušerr]ab pan šarre hīta š[a libb]išu emmid[uši ...] šanītamma ana bēltiša iddan

šumma sinniltu [ša ekall]e ša pī ri[kse ša šarre ... ša amassa] tattutu ina ḫaṭṭāte mētat lu ana muḫ[ḫi ... sinniltu ša ekal]le ša amassa taddūkuni ana šillitiša [...] hīta ša šarre ta[našši]

¶ 19. Ashur-rēsha-ishi I (r. 1132–1115 B.C.E.)

(91–94 [F rev. 16–19, G rev. 13–16])
[Aššur-rēša-iši šar māt Aššur mār]
Mutakkil-Nusku šar māt Aššurma
riksa ana ekallišu irkus

overseer, issued a decree for his palace personnel:

Either a wife of the king [or any other palace woman—if her slave woman] commits [a punishable offense against her mistress, or ...s a ...], or should commit any misdeed, either [the wife of the king or] the palace woman whose slave woman committed a punishable offense against her shall strike her 30 blows with rods.

[... If the slave woman] who was beaten (by her mistress for her first offense) [...] commits a (second) punishable offense against her mistress, [or ...s a (second) ..., or] commits a (second) misdeed, her mistress shall bring her [before the king]; in the presence of the king, they shall impose upon her the punishment which he shall determine; [...] a second time he shall give (the slave woman back) to her mistress.

If the palace woman [whose slave woman] she beat in accordance with [the royal decree ... is excessive and the slave] dies from the blows, or to [...], the palace woman] who has killed her slave woman [shall suffer] for her insolence; she [is held responsible for] a punishable offense against the king.

¶ 19 [Ashur-rēsha-ishi, king of Assyria, son of] Mutakkil-Nusku, himself also king of Assyria, issued a decree for his palace:

šumma sinniltu ša ekall[e ...]-si udišunu izzazzu šaššu iltešunu laššu lu namutta [...] idukkušunu

If a palace woman [and a ... (man)] are standing by themselves, with no third person with them, whether [they are behaving] in a flirtatious manner [or in a serious manner(?)], they shall kill them.

šumma lu mazziz pane lu sinnišat kinattēša ša tāmurušini [...] -a-x ana bēliša katmat lu sinniltu lu aṭila āmerāna ana libbi utūne ikarrurušunu

If a court attendant or a woman of her own status who sees her [does not inform the king(?), ...]; she is veiled for her master; they shall throw the eyewitness, whether a woman or a man, into the oven.

¶¶ 20–23. Tiglath-pileser I (r. 1114–1076 B.C.E.)

(95–101 [F rev. 20–26, G rev. 17–22])
[Tukulti-apil]-ešarra šar kiššete šar māt Aššur mār Aššur-rēša-iši šar māt Aššurma riksa ana rab ekalle ša Libbi-āle nāgir ekalle [rab] zāriqē ša ḫūle asue ša bētānu u ša muḫḫi ekallāte ša šiddi mātē gabba irkus

¶ 20 Tiglath-pileser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashur-rēsha-ishi, himself also king of Assyria, issued a decree for the palace commander of the Inner City, the palace herald, the chief of the water sprinklers of the Processional Residence, the physician of the Inner Quarters, and the administrator of all the palaces of the entire extent of the country:

lu mazziz panūte ša šarre u lu širkū ša šabē ekalle ša ana ekalle errabūni balut ḫiāre [an]a ekalle la errab šumma la marrur ša šanuttešu ana mazziz panutte utarrušu

Royal court attendants or dedicatees of the palace personnel who have access to the palace shall not enter the palace without an inspection; if he is not (properly) castrated, they shall turn him into a (castrated) court attendant for a second time.

šumma lu rab ekalle ša Libbi-āle lu nāgir ekalle lu rab zāriqē ša ḫūle lu asū ša bētānu u lu ša muḫḫi ekallāte ša šiddi mātē gabba mazziz pane la marrura ana ekalle ultēribu urkiš

If either the palace commander of the Inner City, or the palace herald, or the chief of the water sprinklers of the Processional Residence, or the physician of the Inner Quar-

ētamru ša qēpūte annūte iltēnā⁸
šēpēšunu ubattuqu

(102–112 [E rev. 1–7, F rev. 27–37])
Tukultī-apil-ešarra šar kiššete šar māt
Aššur mār Aššur-rēša-iši šar māt
Aššurma riksa ana mazziz panūte
irkus

lu ša-rēš-šarrānu lu mazziz panūte u
lu širkū šumma sinniltu ša ekalle lu
tazammur u lu šalta ištu meḫertiša
gar'at u šūt izzaz iltanamme 100
immaḫḫaš l uzanšu inakkisu

[šumm]a sinniṣat ekalle naglabāša
pattua kindabašše la kattumat ana
ma[zziz] pane tartugum [mā ... al]ka
lašpurka u šūt iltuḫur ilteša idabbub
100 [immaḫḫ]aš āmerānšu [kuz]ip-
pēšu ilaqqe u šua sāga qablīšu
irakkusu

šumma mazzi[z pane] ištu sinniṣat
ekalle [i]dabbub 7 ebarta^{MEŠ} ana
muḫḫiša la iqarrib

ša riksa annia ē[tiq]uni u rab ekalle
išmiuni ḫīta la ēmiduṣuni rab ekalle
ḫīta inašši šumma ša [rab ek]alle

ters, or the administrator of all the
palaces of the entire expanse of the
country allows an uncastrated
court attendant to enter into the
palace, and he is later discovered,
they shall amputate one foot of
each of these officials.

¶ 21 Tiglath-pileser, king of the uni-
verse, king of Assyria, son of
Ashur-rēša-ishi, himself also king
of Assyria, issued a decree for the
court attendants:

Either royal eunuchs or court
attendants or dedicatees—if a
palace woman either sings, or quar-
rels with her colleague, and he
stands by and eavesdrops, he shall
be struck 100 blows, they shall cut
off one of his ears.

If a woman of the palace has bared
her shoulders and is not covered
with even a kindabašše-garment,
and she summons a court atten-
dant, [saying: "... , come] hither, I
wish to give you an order," and he
tries to speak with her—he shall
be struck 100 blows. The eyewit-
ness who denounces him shall take
his clothing; and as for him, they
shall tie (only) sackcloth around his
waist.

If a court attendant wishes to speak
with a palace woman, he shall
approach no closer to her than
seven paces.

Whoever violates this decree, and
the palace commander hears of it
and does not impose a punishment
upon him, the palace commander

qēpūtušu ana šiddi ekalle la iṭṭulu
ḫīṭāni la utta'eruneššu urkiš šarru
[ḫī]ta ilteme gabbi ḫīṭāni rab ekalle
emmid[ušu]

šumma zāriqū ina qabal ekalle šipra
ana epāše u sinniṣāte ša ekalle ina pī
ḫūliṣunu ana r[ab ekalle] iqabbiu ištu
pī ḫūle upaṭ[ta]r[ā]na

(113–121 [D rev. 1–6, E rev. 8–16, F
rev. 38–39]) Tukultī-apil-ešarra šar
kiššete šar māt Aššur mār Aš[šur-
rēša-iši šar māt Aššur]ma riksa ana
ekalli[šu irkus]

[...] lu širku lu nuāru mā šābē ekalle
[...] šumma šābē ekalle ištu ekal šarre
ana [...] š[a-rēš]-šarrāne mazziz
panūte u širkē [...] ša akelē u šikerē
ana ekalle [...] ša [...]ni la iptete [...] lu
ummi [šarre l]u aššat šarre [...] upaṭtar
[...] lu ekurr[e ...] usbat [...] ša
rēš šarre [...]

(122–136 [A rev. 1–2, D rev. 7–21, E
rev. 17]) Tukultī-apil-ešarra [šar

shall be held responsible for a pun-
ishable offense. Even if the officials
of the palace commander do not
carefully inspect the entire palace
area, and do not inform him of any
punishable offenses—later should
the king hear of a punishable
offense, they shall impose all the
appropriate punishments upon the
palace commander.

If the water sprinklers have a task
to perform within the palace and
the palace women are at the
entrance to their (masc.) Proces-
sional Residence, they shall report
it to the palace commander; (only)
he shall clear them from the
entrance to the Processional Resi-
dence.

¶ 22 Tiglath-pileser, king of the uni-
verse, king of Assyria, son of
Ashur-[rēša-ishi, himself also king
of Assyria, issued] a decree for his
palace:

[If ...] either a dedicatee or a musi-
cian [speaks to ...], saying, "The
palace personnel [...], saying, "The
palace personnel [...], saying, "The
palace personnel [leave] the royal
palace to [go to ... of(?)] the royal
eunuchs, the court attendants, and
the dedicatees [...] who [bring(?)]
food and beer to the palace [...] ...
he has not opened [...] either the
king's mother or the king's wife [...] he
shall clear [...] either the temple
[...] she is residing [...] the royal
eunuch [...]

¶ 23 Tiglath-pileser, [king of the
universe, king of Assyria, son of

*kiššete šar māt Aššur mār Aššur-
rēša-iši šar māt Aššurma riksa ana
... irkus mā*

*mamma [...] ša ekal Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē
[...] 2 šāqē 1 nuḥatimmu [...] ša
qātišunu šābē ek[alle ...] innammuru
lu pan [...] ana šābē ekalle ana [...] la
amārišu atū [...] rāqūtu ša [...] ina
ekal Aššur-nādin-aḥḥē [...] ištu atu'e
[...] napḥarma 19 mazziz [panūte ...]
mazziz pa[ne ...] mazz[iz pa[ne ...]
(A rev. 1-2) [...] -ši*

Ashur-rēša-ishi, himself also king
of Assyria, issued [a decree for ...]
saying:

Anyone [who ...] of the palace of
Ashur-nādin-aḥḥē⁹ [...] two butlers,
one baker, [...] whose hands the
palace personnel [...] are discov-
ered, or before [...] to the palace
personnel to [...] without his see-
ing, the door keepers [...] empty
[...] in the palace of Ashur-nādin-
aḥḥē [...] with the door keepers [...] a
total of 19 court attendants [...] a
court attendant [...] a court atten-
dant [...]

Colophon

(A rev. 3-5) [...] širkē [... ḥīta] inašši
[...] isassiu

[If any one of the court attendants,
eunuchs, ... (palace officials),] dedi-
catees, [...] violates any of these
decrees,] he is held responsible [for
a punishable offense.] They shall
proclaim [these decrees ... every x
years(?).]

(A rev. 6) [uraḥ ... ūm ... līmu Sī]n-
apla-iddina¹⁰

[Month ..., day ..., eponym of] Sīn-
apla-iddina.

Notes

1. In the first publication of the MAPD, Weidner (1954/56: 257-58) also drew par-
allels to Hittite palace instructions.

2. Source A preserves the top edge, presenting the first decree, but there could
have been additional decrees of Tiglath-pileser at the end. Note also that there
could have been more than the two decrees (¶¶ 4 and 5) attributed here (with Weid-
ner 1954/56) to Shalmaneser: Source D preserves a first decree of Shalmaneser
(preceded by a double horizontal line), and source E preserves a decree—perhaps
the first but also perhaps a subsequent one—and the final decree of Shalmaneser
(followed by a double horizontal line). Furthermore, the sources for ¶ 4 (D and E) do
not duplicate at any point. Thus what is taken as ¶ 4 could be two separate decrees,
perhaps also with one or more additional decrees between.

3. The "double-hour" (*bēru*) is the distance that can be covered in a twelfth part of
a full day, approximately six miles.

4. This probably refers to the chief god, Ashur; see Weidner 1954/56: 277.

5. See n. 6 below.

6. *ḥūlu* generally is taken as "road, track, processional way" (thus: "If the women
are on the road ...") but the context of the references in the MAPD, and especially of
the final clause of ¶ 21, suggests rather a residence or private quarters; in the
MAPD, the duties of the "water sprinklers" are associated with the *ḥūlu*.

7. Probably references to two groups of ranking officials, with access to the
king's bedchamber and permitted to sit in the presence of the king.

8. 1.TA.AM, both the Akkadian reading and the sense of the distributive are uncer-
tain; W. Farber suggests "they shall cut off the feet of one of these officials."

9. Predecessor of the father of Ashur-uballit I, the first king whose palace decree
is included in this collection.

10. For the eponym, see Weidner 1957/58: 347 n. 21.

Translations

D. Hittite

Hittite Laws

Introduction

The Hittite People

The Hittites were one of a small number of groups speaking languages belonging to the Indo-European family who migrated into the Anatolian peninsula—corresponding roughly to the present republic of Turkey—from the north. The date of their immigration is unknown but is generally set in the final quarter of the third millennium. The Hittites established themselves as a political power during the seventeenth century and continued to dominate central Anatolia until the beginning of the twelfth century.

Although at the peak of its power the Hittite empire included subordinate states as far west as the Aegean coast and as far southeast as Damascus in Syria, its heartland was the central plateau of Anatolia, represented by the basin of the great river known in modern Turkey as the Kızıl Irmak (English “Red River”), which lies to the east of the Turkish capital city, Ankara.

The Hittites left behind in the ruins of their capital city, Hattusha, thousands of baked clay tablets inscribed with cuneiform characters. Among these tablets can be found historical narratives, treaties with foreign powers, literary compositions (myths, hymns, collections of proverbs), descriptions of religious ceremonies, and administrative records (inventories and censuses). Of great interest is a collection of laws the earliest copies of which date to the Old Hittite period (ca. 1650–1500).

Origin and Revision of the Laws

The Hittite laws were first written down in the early Old Kingdom (ca. 1650–1500). Four of the many copies of the laws are Old Hittite (henceforth abbreviated OH), and the remainder are copies made during the Middle Hittite (MH) or New Hittite (NH) periods (ca. 1500–1180). The OH copies are characterized by a more archaic form of the language and by a form of cuneiform writing that is typical of the Hittite Old Kingdom.

Only one NH copy actually attempts to revise the law. The others are content to modernize the language of the OH copies. The NH revising text is called the Late Parallel Version,¹ abbreviated PT for “Parallel Text.” It contains forty-one sections, customarily numbered with roman numerals by modern scholars. Although in Hrozný 1922: 78–99 and Friedrich 1959: 48–61 this parallel version was presented separately, it has been decided here to interleave the Late Parallel Version with the Main Version of Series One in the manner of Goetze 1969. In order to distinguish it more clearly from the copies of the main recension I have indented the translation of paragraphs from this Late Parallel Version. NH copies other than PT differ from the earlier OH ones only in minor details and together with the OH ones are assigned to the Main Version.

Even the OH copies occasionally indicate a process of revising an earlier form of the laws that has not come down to us. These notations are worded thus: “Formerly they did such-and-such, but now he shall do such-and-such,” with the second ruling differing significantly from the former. Since the Main Version itself dates from the Old Kingdom, the earlier formulations marked by the word “formerly” (Hittite *karū*) must belong to a very early stage of the Old Kingdom, perhaps to the reigns of the very first monarchs, Labarna I and Hattuşili I (first half of the seventeenth century). I date the Main Version to the reign of King Telipinu, since in other respects he is attested as reforming the laws of royal succession and has left behind a lengthy royal edict pertaining to that reform.² At the end of King Telipinu's edict (see p. 237 below) there are even rulings on murder and sorcery, the former being a notable omission from the main law collection. Von Schuler (1982: 96) considers the king referred to in law § 55 as the “father of the king” to be the one responsible for this first revision of the laws.

The revisions follow a pattern. Some corporal punishments were replaced by fines (compare §§ 92 and 121). There is also a general reduction in the amounts of the fines. In several cases it is stated that this reduction results from abolishing the palace's share of the fine (§ 9; see also § 25). Although other cases in which a 50 percent reduction in the fine has occurred may likewise be due to the king forfeiting his share, other ratios of reduction warn us against assuming that forfeiture of the royal share was the cause of each reduction. The main recension sometimes reformed an earlier ruling by adding further specifications, such as differentiating between free per-

sons and slaves (§§ 94–95). Another noticeable characteristic of the reform was a reduction of the number of exemptions from required public services, see §§ 51, 54–55.

Form of the Laws

Scope and Organization

The laws were grouped in two series, each named after its opening words. The Hittite scribes designated Series One, consisting of laws 1–100, “If a man,” and Series Two, consisting of laws 101–200, “If a vine.”

Most scholars agree that the technical term “code” is inappropriate for the collections from Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Clearly, not every type of legal case is represented in the collection of laws. For example, the Hittite corpus does not include a ruling on premeditated homicide of an ordinary person, although the special case of the merchant is included. From the Telipinu Proclamation § 49 (see p. 237 below), it is known that “Whoever commits murder, whatever the heir of the murdered man says (will be done): if he says: ‘Let him die,’ he shall die; if he says ‘Let him make compensation,’ he shall make compensation. The king shall have no role in the decision.”³ If the main version of the law corpus was introduced during the reign of Telipinu, it is possible that premeditated homicide (murder) was omitted because it was already described in the Telipinu Proclamation. Inheritance law is involved only marginally in § 171, which is so specifically worded that it almost certainly derives from a precedent case, and possibly in § 192, alternate version (see note 62). There is much to be said for the idea that the Hittite laws represent a collection of cases that served originally as precedents. Such a theory can explain, for instance, the occurrence of irrelevant details in some laws, which look like remnants of the precedent cases (see §§ 43 and 44).

A certain degree of organization can be seen in the arrangement of the individual cases: homicide (§§ 1–6, 42–44), assault (§§ 7–18), stolen and runaway slaves (§§ 19–24), marriage (§§ 26–36), land tenure (§§ 39–41, 46–56), lost property (§ 45), theft of or injury to animals (§§ 57–92), unlawful entry (§§ 93–97), arson (§§ 98–100), theft of or damage to plants (§§ 101–120), theft of or damage to implements (§§ 121–144), wages, hire, and fees (§§ 150–161), prices (§§ 176–186), and sexual offences (§§ 187–200). Individual laws are sandwiched between the above-mentioned categories, but it is clear that the collection aimed at some organization. Within some of the categories, individual laws are arranged according to a gradation of penalties, from the more to the less severe.

In a number of cases the fines are graded according to the social status or gender of the victim or the offender. Fines in cases involving slaves are often half that of cases involving free persons (see §§ 7–8, 13–18); and those

involving free women half that of free men (see ¶ II [= ¶¶ 3–4], IV [= 6], XVI [= 17]). Similarly, the wages of women are usually half that of men (¶¶ 24, 158). Yet the price of an unskilled man or woman is the same (¶ 177), and fines expressed in terms of slaves are often indifferent as to biological gender, as though male and female slaves were of equal value (e.g., ¶¶ 1–2).

Formulation

The laws are formulated in what is known as “case law.” The condition—“if a person does such-and-such a thing”—is followed by a statement of the ruling: “he shall pay ... shekels of silver,” “he shall be put to death,” “they shall ... him,” or something similar. This manner of formulation is one of several types of formulation found in the laws of the Hebrew Bible and the Mesopotamian law collections. No laws in the Hittite collection are expressed in the second person, that is, “you shall (not) do such-and-such,” although such a formulation can be found in texts of a legal nature outside the law corpus, such as treaties or loyalty oaths.

Conventions Employed in the Presentation of the Text

Unlike previous published translations of the laws, this one uses the Old Hittite manuscripts (ca. 1650–1500), as the primary source, even if a New Hittite manuscript (ca. 1400–1180)⁴ is better preserved in that passage. Reasons behind this decision will be given in my forthcoming full edition of the Hittite laws. A transliteration of the Hittite text has not been provided for this translation because of the complexity of the source material, which can be presented more adequately in my new edition.

Restorations of broken portions of the text stand in square brackets []. Alternative translations have been inserted in the main text, following the format: “a dog trainer (or: hunter).” Other words not actually in the Hittite text but supplied for clarity also appear in the main text in parentheses. An ellipsis (...) represents either an unrestorable lacuna or an untranslatable term not discussed in the glossary.

Unknown words designating plants, animals, personnel, institutions, and so forth, are represented as “*eya*-tree,” “*hipparaš*-man,” “TUKUL-obligation.” Hittite units of measure, so far as they are known, have been converted into modern metrical equivalents. Exceptions are the shekel and mina, used for weighing silver. When these units are used simply to indicate size or weight of objects (¶ 157), we have converted them to metrical equivalents. We have not done so when they represent standard units of universal exchange (i.e., shekels of silver). Paragraphs are numbered following Hrozný 1922. Subdivided paragraphs (i.e., those with numbers like ¶ 19a and ¶ 19b) appear in

separate paragraphs only when they occur this way in the base manuscript being used at that point in the translation.

At the request of the series editor I have included in the translations clarifying words not actually found in the original. These additions are not indicated by parentheses. No transliterated Hittite text accompanies this translation, by means of which readers with some knowledge of Hittite could see what those additions are. Therefore, scholars planning to use my translations in discussions of ancient society and law are referred to my forthcoming edition of the Hittite text for details.

Text of the Laws

¶ 1 [If] anyone kills [a man] or a woman in a [quarr]el, he shall [bring him] for burial and shall give 4 persons, male or female respectively. He shall look [to his house for it].⁵

¶ 2 [If] anyone kills [a male] or female slave in a quarrel, he shall bring him for burial [and] shall give [2] persons (lit., heads), male or female respectively. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 3 [If] anyone strikes a free [man] or woman so that he dies, but it is an accident, he shall bring him for burial and shall give 2 persons. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 4 If anyone strikes a male or female slave so that he dies, but it is an accident, he shall bring him for burial and shall give one person. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ II (= late version of ¶¶ 3–4) [If anyone] strikes [a (free) man,] so that he dies, but it is an accident, [he shall pay ... shekels of silver.] If it is a free woman or a female slave, he shall pay 80 shekels of silver.⁶

¶ 5 If anyone kills a Hittite merchant (in a foreign land), he shall pay 4,000 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If it is in the lands of Luwiya or Pala, he shall pay the 4,000 shekels of silver and also replace his goods. If it is in the land of Hatti, he shall also bring the merchant himself for burial.

¶ III (= late version of ¶ 5) [If] anyone kills a Hittite [merchant] in the midst of his goods, he shall pay [... shekels of silver], and he shall pay three times the value of his goods. But [if] the merchant has no goods with him, and someone kills him in a quarrel, he shall pay 240 shekels of silver. If it is only an accident, he shall pay 80 shekels of silver.

¶ 6 If a person, man or woman, is killed in another city, the victim's heir

involving free women half that of free men (see ¶ II [= ¶¶ 3–4], IV [= 6], XVI [= 17]). Similarly, the wages of women are usually half that of men (¶¶ 24, 158). Yet the price of an unskilled man or woman is the same (¶ 177), and fines expressed in terms of slaves are often indifferent as to biological gender, as though male and female slaves were of equal value (e.g., ¶¶ 1–2).

Formulation

The laws are formulated in what is known as “case law.” The condition—“if a person does such-and-such a thing”—is followed by a statement of the ruling: “he shall pay ... shekels of silver,” “he shall be put to death,” “they shall ... him,” or something similar. This manner of formulation is one of several types of formulation found in the laws of the Hebrew Bible and the Mesopotamian law collections. No laws in the Hittite collection are expressed in the second person, that is, “you shall (not) do such-and-such,” although such a formulation can be found in texts of a legal nature outside the law corpus, such as treaties or loyalty oaths.

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¶ 6 If a person, man or woman, is killed in another city, the victim's heir

shall deduct 12,000 square meters⁷ from the land of the person on whose property the person was killed and shall take it for himself.

¶ IV (= late version of ¶ 6) If a free man is found dead on another's property, the property owner shall give his property, house, and 40 shekels of silver. If the dead person is a woman, the property owner shall give (no property, but) 120 shekels of silver. If the place where the dead person was found is not private property, but uncultivated open country, they shall measure 3 miles in all directions, and the dead person's heir shall take those same payments from whatever village is found to lie within that radius.⁸ If there is no village within that radius, the heir shall forfeit his claim.

¶ 7 If anyone blinds a free person or knocks out his tooth,⁹ they used to pay 40 shekels of silver. But now he shall pay 20 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ V (=late version of ¶ 7) If anyone blinds a free man in a quarrel, he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. If it is an accident, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 8 If anyone blinds a male or female slave or knocks out his tooth, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ VI (= late version of ¶ 8) If anyone blinds a male slave in a quarrel, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver. If it is an accident, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

¶ VII (= late version of ¶¶ 7-8) If anyone knocks out a free man's tooth—if he knocks out 2 or 3 teeth—he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. If the injured party is a slave, his assailant shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

¶ 9 If anyone injures a person's head, they used to pay 6 shekels of silver: the injured party took 3 shekels of silver, and they used to take 3 shekels of silver for the palace. But now the king has waived the palace share, so that only the injured party takes 3 shekels of silver.

¶ VIII (= late version of ¶ 9) If anyone injures a free man's head, the injured man shall take 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 10 If anyone injures a person and temporarily incapacitates him, he shall provide medical care for him. In his place he shall provide a person to work on his estate until he recovers. When he recovers, his assailant shall pay him 6 shekels of silver and shall pay the physician's fee as well.

¶ IX (= late version of ¶ 10) If anyone injures a free man's head, he shall provide medical care for him. In his place he shall provide a person to work on his estate until he recovers. When he recovers, his assailant

shall pay him 10 shekels of silver and shall pay the 3-shekel physician's fee as well. If it is a slave, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 11 If anyone breaks a free person's arm or leg, he shall pay him 20 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ X (= late version of ¶ 11) If anyone breaks a free man's arm or leg, if the injured man is permanently disabled(?), he shall pay him 20 shekels of silver. If he is not permanently disabled(?), he shall pay him 10 shekels of silver.

¶ 12 If anyone breaks a male or female slave's arm or leg, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ XI (= late version of ¶ 12) If anyone breaks a slave's arm or leg, if he is permanently disabled(?), he shall pay him 10 shekels of silver. If he is not permanently disabled(?), he shall pay him 5 shekels of silver.

¶ 13 If anyone bites off the nose of a free person, he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ XII (=late version of ¶ 13) If anyone bites off the nose of a free man, he shall pay 1,200 shekels¹⁰ of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 14 If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ XIII (=late version of ¶ 14) If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female slave, he shall pay 600 shekels¹¹ of silver.

¶ 15 If anyone tears off the ear of a free person, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ XIV (=late version of ¶ 15) If anyone tears off the ear of a free man, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver.

¶ 16 If anyone tears off the ear of a male or female slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ XV (=late version of ¶ 16) If anyone tears off the ear of a male or female slave, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

¶ 17 If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, [if] it is her tenth month,¹² he shall pay 10 shekels of silver, if it is her fifth month, he shall pay 5 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ XVI (=late version of ¶ 17) If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 18 If anyone causes a female slave to miscarry,¹³ if it is her tenth month, he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.

¶ XVII (=late version of ¶ 18) If anyone causes a female slave to miscarry, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. [...]

¶ 19a If a Luwian abducts a free person, man or woman, from the land of Hatti, and leads him away to the land of Luwiya/Arzawa, and subsequently the abducted person's owner¹⁴ recognizes him, the abductor shall forfeit his entire house.

¶ 19b If a Hittite abducts a Luwian man in the land of Hatti itself, and leads him away to the land of Luwiya, formerly they gave 12 persons, but now he shall give 6 persons. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 20 If a Hittite man abducts a Hittite male slave from the land of Luwiya, and leads him here to the land of Hatti, and subsequently the abducted person's owner recognizes him, the abductor shall pay him 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 21 If anyone abducts the male slave of a Luwian man from the land of Luwiya and brings him to the land of Hatti, and his owner later recognizes him, the owner shall only take back his own slave: there shall be no compensation.

¶ 22a If a male slave runs away, and someone brings him back, if he seizes him nearby, his owner shall give shoes to the finder. ¶ 22b If he seizes him on the near side of the river, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver. If on the far side of the river, he shall pay him 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 23a If a male slave runs away and goes to the land of Luwiya, his owner shall pay 6 shekels of silver to whomever brings him back. ¶ 23b If a male slave runs away and goes into an enemy country, whoever brings him back shall keep him for himself.

¶ 24 If a male or female slave runs away, the one at whose hearth the slave-owner finds him/her shall pay one month's wages: 12 shekels of silver for a man, 6 shekels of silver for a woman.¹⁵

¶ 25a [If] a person is impure in a vessel or a vat,¹⁶ they used to pay 6 shekels of silver: the one who is impure pays 3 shekels of silver,¹⁷ and they used to take 3 shekels for the [king]'s house.¹⁸ ¶ 25b But now the king has [waived] the palace's share. The one who is impure only pays 3 shekels of silver.¹⁹ The claimant shall look to his/her house for it.

¶ 26a If a woman re[fuses]²⁰ a man, [the man] shall give [her ...], and [the woman shall take] a wage for her seed.²¹ But the man [shall take the land] and the children. [...]

¶ 26b But if a man divor[ces] a woman, [and she ...s, he shall] s[ell her.] Whoever buys her [shall] pa[y him] 12 shekels of silver.

¶ 27 If a man takes his wife and leads [her] away to his house, he shall carry

her dowry to his house. If the woman [dies] th[ere], they shall burn her personal possessions, and the man shall take her dowry. If she dies in her father's house, and there [are] children, the son(s) is/are his, but the man shall not [take] her dowry.

¶ 28a If a daughter has been promised to a man, but another man runs off with her, he who runs off with her shall give to the first man whatever he paid and shall compensate him.²² The father and mother (of the woman) shall not make compensation. 28b If her father and mother give her to another man, the father and mother shall make compensation (to the first man). 28c If the father and mother refuse to do so,²³ they shall separate her from him._

¶ XX (=late version of ¶ 28) [Too broken for connected translation.]

¶ XXI [Too broken for connected translation.]

¶ 29 If a daughter has been betrothed to a man, and he pays a brideprice for her, but afterwards the father and mother abrogate the agreement, they shall separate her from the man, but they²⁴ shall restore the brideprice double.

¶ XXII (=late version of ¶ 29) [Too broken for connected translation.]

¶ 30 But if before a man has taken the daughter in marriage he refuses her, he shall forfeit the brideprice which he has paid.

¶ XXIII (=late version of ¶ 30) If a man [...s] a young woman, the brideprice which [he paid, ²⁵].

¶ 31 If a free man and a female slave are lovers and live together, and he takes her as his wife, and they make a house and children, but afterwards either they become estranged or they each find a new marriage partner, they shall divide the house equally, and the man shall take the children, with the woman taking one child.

¶ XXIV (=late version of ¶ 31) [Too broken for connected translation.]

¶ 32 If a male slave [takes] a [free] woman in marriage, [and they make a home and children], if they separate, they shall divide their possessions [equally, and the free woman shall take] most of [the children,] with [the male slave taking] one child.

¶ 33 If a male slave takes a female slave in marriage, [and they have children,] when they divide their house, they shall divide their possessions equally. [The slave woman shall take] mos[t of the children,] with the male slave [taking] one child.

¶ 34 If a male slave pays a brideprice for a woman and takes her as his wife, no one shall free her from slavery.

¶ XXVI (=late version of ¶ 32 or ¶ 34) If a male slave [...], and takes] her [in] marriage ...]

¶ 35 If a herdsman²⁶ elopes with a free woman and does not pay a bride-price for her, she will become a slave for (only) 3 years.

¶ 36 If a slave pays a brideprice for a free young man and acquires him as a son-in-law, no one shall free him from slavery.

¶ 37 If anyone elopes with a woman, and a group of supporters goes after them, if 3 or 2 men are killed, there shall be no compensation: "You (singular) have become a wolf."

¶ 38 If persons are engaged in a lawsuit, and some supporter goes to them, if a litigant becomes furious and strikes the supporter, so that he dies, there shall be no compensation.

¶ XXXII (=late version of ¶ 38) If a person [...], and if/when [a supporter(?) ...] and he/she becomes angry [...], and he/she dies, [if(?) ...], and he/she dies, [...].

¶ 39 But if a person holds another's land, he shall perform the *šabhan*-services entailed by it. [But if] he refuses(?)²⁷ [the *šabhan*-services,] he shall relinquish the land: he shall not sell it.

¶ XXXIII (=late version of ¶ 39) If [anyone holds] vacated [land], he shall work [it,] and not [...]

¶ 40 If a man who has a TUKUL-obligation defaults, and a man owing *šabhan*-services has taken his place, the man owing *šabhan*-services shall say: "This is my TUKUL-obligation, and this other is my obligation for *šabhan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the land of the man having the TUKUL-obligation, he shall hold the TUKUL-obligation and perform the *šabhan*-services. But if he refuses the TUKUL-obligation, they will declare the land to be that of a man having a TUKUL-obligation who has defaulted,²⁸ and the men of the village will work it.²⁹ If the king gives an *arnuwalaš*-man, they will give him the land, and he will become a TUKUL-(man).

¶ XXX (=late version of ¶ 40) If a free man [defaults], and a man owing *šabhan*-services [has taken his place, the man owing *šabhan*-services shall declare: "This is my [...], and this other is [my] obligation for *šabhan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning [the land of the man having the ...-obligation, he shall ... the ...-obligation] and perform [the *šabhan*-services. But if he refuses the ...-obligation, they will declare the land] vacated, [and the men of the village will work it.] If the king [gives an *arnuwalaš*-man,] they will give [him the land, and he will become a ...-(man).]

¶ 41 If a man owing *šabhan*-services defaults, and a man having a TUKUL-obligation has stepped in his place, the man having the TUKUL-obligation shall say: "This is my TUKUL-obligation, and this other is my obligation for *šabhan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the land of the man owing *šabhan*-services. He shall hold the TUKUL-obligation and perform the *šabhan*-services. But if he refuses to perform the *šabhan*-services, they will take for the palace the land of the man owing *šabhan*-services. And the obligation for *šabhan*-services shall cease.

¶ XXXI (=late version of ¶ 41) [See ¶ 41 for probable translation.]

¶ 42 If anyone hires a person, and that person goes on a military campaign and is killed, if the hire has been paid, there shall be no compensation. But if the hire has not been paid, the hirer shall give one slave.³⁰

¶ 43 If a man is crossing a river with his ox, and another man pushes him off (the ox's tail), seizes the tail of the ox, and crosses the river, but the river carries off the owner of the ox, the dead man's heirs shall take that man who pushes him off.

¶ 44a If anyone makes a man fall into a fire, so that he dies, he shall give one person in return.

¶ 44b If anyone performs a purification ritual on a person, he shall dispose of the remnants (of the ritual) in the incineration dumps. But if he disposes of them in someone's house,³¹ it is sorcery and a case for the king.

¶ XXXIV (=late version of ¶ 44b?) ... and he shall make it ritually pure again. If in the house anything goes wrong, he shall make it pure again. And he shall make compensation for whatever is lost.

¶ 45 If anyone finds implements, [he shall bring] them back to their owner. He (the owner) will reward him. But if the finder does not give them (back), he shall be considered a thief.

¶ XXXV (=late version of ¶¶ 45 and 71) If anyone finds implements or an ox, a sheep, a horse, or an ass, he shall drive it back to its owner, and the owner will lead it away. But if he cannot find its owner, he shall secure witnesses (that he is only maintaining custody). Afterwards when its owner finds it, he shall produce it according to the law. But if he does not secure witnesses, and afterwards its owner finds it (in his possession), he shall be considered a thief, and he shall make threefold compensation.

¶ 46 If in a village someone holds fields as an inheritance share, if the [larger part of] the fields has been given to him, he shall render the *luzzi*-services. But if the sm[aller part] (of) the fields [has been given] to him, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services: they shall render them from the house of

his father.³² If an heir cuts out for himself new(?) land, or the men of the village give land to him in addition to his inheritance, he shall render the *luzzi*-services on the new land.

¶ XXXVIII (=late version of ¶ 46) If anyone holds land and obligation to perform *šabhan*-services as an inheritance share in a village, if the land was given him in its entirety, he shall render the *luzzi*-services. If the land was not given him in its entirety, but only a small portion was given to him, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services. They shall render them from his father's estate. If the land of the heir is vacated, and the men of the village give him other public land, he shall render the *luzzi*-services.

¶ 47a If anyone holds land by a royal grant, [he shall] not [have to render] *šabhan*- and *luzzi*-services. Furthermore, the king shall provide him with food at royal expense.³³

¶ 47b If anyone buys all the land of a man having a TUKUL-obligation, he shall render the *luzzi*-services. But if he buys only the largest portion of the land, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services. But if he carves out for himself new land, or the men of the village give him land, he shall render the *luzzi*-services.

¶ XXXVI (= late version of ¶ 47a) If anyone holds land by a royal grant, he shall perform the *luzzi*-services. But if the king exempts him, he shall not perform the *luzzi*-services.

¶ XXXVII (= late version of ¶ 47b) If anyone buys all the land of a TUKUL-man, and the former owner of the land dies, the new owner shall perform whatever *šabhan*-services the king determines. But if the former owner is still living, or there is an estate of the former owner of the land, whether in that country or another country, he shall not perform the *šabhan*-services.

¶ XXXIXa (= late version of ¶ 47) If anyone holds land by a royal grant, he shall perform the *luzzi*-services devolving on the land. If they exempt him from the palace, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services. XXXIXb If anyone buys all the land of a TUKUL-man, they shall ask the king, and he shall render whatever *luzzi*-services the king says. If he buys in addition someone else's land, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services of that. If the land is vacated, or the men of the village give him other land, he shall perform the *luzzi*-services.

¶ 48 A *hipparaš*-man renders the *luzzi*-services. Let no one transact business with a *hipparaš*-man. Let no one buy his child, his land, or his vineyard(s). Whoever transacts business with a *hipparaš*-man shall forfeit his purchase price, and the *hipparaš*-man shall take back whatever he sold.

¶ XL (= late version of ¶ 48) If a *hipparaš*-man renders the *luzzi*-services, let no one transact business with a *hipparaš*-man. Let no one buy his child, his land or his vineyard(s). Whoever transacts business with a *hipparaš*-man shall forfeit his purchase price, and the *hipparaš*-man [shall take] back whatever he sold.

¶ 49 [If] a *hipparaš*-man steals, there will be no compensation. But [if] ..., only his ... shall give compensation. If they (i.e., the *hipparaš*-men) [were] to have to give (compensation for) theft, they would all have been dishonest, or would have become thieves. This one would have seized that one, and that one this one. [They] would have overturned the king's authority(?).

¶ XLI (= late version of ¶ 49) [If] a *hipparaš*-man steals, they will impose upon him no [compensation, or else only his ...] will [make compensation.] If [the *hipparaš*-men had been required ...] [Continuation broken away.]

¶ 50 The ... [man] who ...-s in Nerik, Arinna or Ziplanta, and he who is a priest in any town ... their houses are exempt, and their associates render the *luzzi*-services. In Arinna when the eleventh month arrives, [the house of him] at whose gate an *eyan* (tree or pole) is erected is likewise exempt.

¶ 51 Formerly the house of a man who became a weaver in Arinna was exempt, also his associates and relatives were exempt. Now only his own house is exempt, but his associates and relatives shall render the *luzzi*-services. In Zippalantiya it is just the same.

¶ 52 A slave of a Stone House, a slave of a prince or a person entitled to wear a reed-shaped emblem(?)—any of such people who hold land among TUKUL-men, shall render the *luzzi*-services.

¶ 53 If a man having a TUKUL-obligation and his associate live together, if they have a falling out, they shall divide their household. If there are on their land 10 persons, the man having a TUKUL-obligation shall receive 7 and his associate 3. They shall divide the cattle and sheep on their land in the same ratio. If anyone holds a royal grant by tablet, if they divide old land, the man having a TUKUL-obligation shall take 2 parts, and his associate shall take one part.

¶ 54 Formerly, the ... troops, the troops of Sala, Tamalki, Hatra, Zalpa, Tashiniya and Hemuwa, the bowmen, the carpenters, the chariot warriors and their ...-men did not render the *luzzi*-services, nor did they perform *šabhan*-services.

¶ 55 When (a delegation of) Hittites, men owing *šabhan*-services, came, they did reverence to the father of the king, and said: "No one pays us a wage. They say to us: 'You are men required to perform your jobs as a *šabhan*-ser-

vice!" The father of the king [stepped] into the assembly and declared under his seal: "You must continue to perform *šabhan*-services just like your colleagues."³⁴

¶ 56 None of the coppersmiths is exempt from participating in ice procurement,³⁵ construction of fortresses and royal roads, or from harvesting vineyards. The gardeners render the *luzzi*-services in all the same kinds of work.

¶ 57 If anyone steals a bull—if it is a weanling calf, it is not a "bull"; if it is a yearling calf, it is not a "bull"; if it is a 2-year-old bovine, that is a "bull." Formerly they gave 30 cattle. But now he shall give 15 cattle: 5 two-year-olds, 5 yearlings, and 5 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 58 If anyone steals a stallion—if it is a weanling, it is not a "stallion"; if it is a yearling, it is not a "stallion"; if it is a two-year-old, that is a "stallion." They used to give 30 horses. But now he shall give 15 horses: 5 two-year-olds, 5 yearlings, and 5 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 59 If anyone steals a ram, they used to give 30 sheep. Now he shall give [15] sheep: he shall give 5 ewes, 5 wethers, and 5 lambs. And he shall look to his house for it.

¶ 60 If anyone finds a bull and castrates it, when its owner claims it, the finder shall give 7 cattle: 2 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings, and 2 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 61 If anyone finds a stallion and castrates it, when its owner claims it, the finder shall give 7 horses: 2 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings, and 2 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 62 If anyone finds a ram and castrates it, when its owner claims it, the finder shall give 7 sheep: 2 ewes, 3 wethers, and 2 sexually immature sheep. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 63 If anyone steals a plow ox, formerly they gave 15 cattle, but now he shall give 10 cattle: 3 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings, and 4 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 64 If anyone steals a draft horse, its disposition is the same.³⁶

¶ 65 If anyone steals a trained he-goat or a trained deer or a trained mountain goat,³⁷ their disposition is the same as of the theft of a plow ox.³⁸

¶ 66 If a plow ox, a draft horse, a cow, or a mare³⁹ strays into another corral, if a trained he-goat, a ewe, or a wether strays into another pen, and its owner finds it, he shall take it back according to the law. He shall not have the pen's owner arrested as a thief.

¶ 67 If anyone steals a cow, they used to give 12 oxen. Now he shall give 6

oxen:⁴⁰ he shall give 2 two-year-old oxen, 2 yearling oxen, and 2 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 68 If anyone steals a mare, its disposition is the same (i.e., 2 two-year-olds, 2 yearlings, and 2 weanlings).

¶ 69 If anyone steals either a ewe or a wether, they used to give 12 sheep, but now he shall give 6 sheep: he shall give 2 ewes, 2 wethers, and 2 (sexually) immature sheep. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 70 If anyone steals an ox, a horse, a mule, or an ass, when its owner claims it, [he shall take] it according to the law. In addition the thief shall give to him double. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 71 If anyone finds an ox, a horse, or a mule, he shall drive it to the king's gate. If he finds it in the country, they shall present it to the elders. The finder shall harness it (i.e., use it while it is in his custody). When its owner finds it, he shall take it according to the law, but he shall not have the finder arrested as a thief. But if the finder does not present it to the elders, he shall be considered a thief.

¶ 72 If an ox is found dead on someone's property, the property-owner shall give 2 oxen. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 73 If anyone ... s a living ox, that is the same as a case of theft.

¶ 74 If anyone breaks the horn or leg of an ox, he shall take that ox for himself and give an ox in good condition to the owner of the injured ox. If the owner of the ox says: "I will take my own ox," he shall take his ox, and the offender shall pay 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 75 If anyone hitches up an ox, a horse, a mule or an ass, and it dies, [or] a wolf devours [it], or it gets lost, he shall give it according to the law. But if he says: "It died by the hand of a god," he shall take an oath to that effect.

¶ 76 If anyone impresses an ox, a horse, a mule or an ass, and it dies at his place, he shall bring it and shall pay its rent also.

¶ 77a If anyone strikes a pregnant cow, so that it miscarries, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver. If anyone strikes a pregnant horse, so that it miscarries, he shall pay 3⁴¹ shekels of silver. ¶ 77b If anyone blinds the eye of an ox or an ass, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 78 If anyone rents an ox and then puts on it a leather ... or a leather ..., and its owner finds it, he shall give 50 liters⁴² of barley.

¶ 79 If oxen enter another man's field, and the field's owner finds them, he may hitch them up for one day until the stars come out. Then he shall drive them back to their owner.

¶ 80 If any shepherd throws a sheep to a wolf, its owner shall take the meat, but the shepherd shall take the sheepskin.

¶ 81 If anyone steals a fattened pig, they used to pay 40 shekels of silver. But now he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 82 If anyone steals a pig of the courtyard, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 83 If anyone steals a pregnant sow, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver, and they shall count the piglets: for each 2 piglets he shall give 50 liters of barley. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 84 If anyone strikes a pregnant sow a lethal blow, its settlement is exactly the same.

¶ 85 If anyone cuts out a piglet and steals it, he shall give 100 liters of barley.

¶ 86 If a pig enters a grain-heap, a field, or a garden, and the owner of the grain-heap, field, or garden strikes it a lethal blow, he shall give it back to its owner. If he doesn't give it back, he shall be considered a thief.

¶ 87 If anyone strikes the dog of a herdsman a lethal blow, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 88 If anyone strikes the dog of a dog trainer (or: hunter?) a lethal blow, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 89 If anyone strikes a dog of the enclosure(?) a lethal blow, he shall pay one shekel of silver.

¶ 90 If a dog devours lard, and the owner of the lard finds the dog, he shall kill it and retrieve the lard from its stomach. There will be no compensation for the dog.

¶ 91 [If] anyone [steals bees] in a swarm, [formerly] they paid [... shekels of silver], but now he shall pay 5 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 92 [If] anyone steals [2] or 3 bee hives, formerly the offender would have been exposed to bee-sting. But now he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. If anyone steals a bee-hive, if there are no bees in the hive, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 93 If they seize a free man at the outset, before he enters the house, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. If they seize a slave at the outset, before he enters the house, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

¶ 94 If a free man burglarizes a house, he shall pay only according to the law. Formerly they paid 40 shekels of silver as fine for the theft, but now [he

shall pay] 12 shekels of silver. If he steals much, they will impose much upon him. If he steals little, they shall impose little upon him. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 95 If a slave burglarizes a house, he shall pay only according to the law. He shall pay 6 shekels of silver for the theft. He⁴³ shall disfigure the nose and ears of the slave and they will give him back to his owner. If he steals much, they will impose much upon him; if he steals little, they will impose little upon him. [If] his owner says: "I will make compensation for him," then he shall make it. But [if] he refuses, he shall lose that slave.

¶ 96 If a free man breaks into a grain storage pit, and finds grain in the storage pit, he shall fill the storage pit with grain and pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 97 If a slave breaks into a grain storage pit, and finds grain in the storage pit, he shall fill the storage pit with grain and pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 98 If a free man sets fire to a house, he shall rebuild [the house]. And whatever perished in the house—whether it is persons, [cattle, or sheep], it is damage(?). He shall make compensation for it.

¶ 99 If a slave sets fire to a house, his owner shall make compensation for him, and they shall disfigure the slave's nose and ears and return him to his owner. But if the owner will not make compensation, he shall forfeit that slave.

¶ 100 If anyone sets fire to a shed, he shall feed his (sc. the owner's) cattle and bring them through to the following spring. He shall give back the shed. If there was no straw in it, he shall (simply) rebuild the shed.

¶ 101 If anyone steals a vine, a vine branch, a ..., or an onion/garlic, formerly [they paid] one shekel of silver for one vine and one shekel of silver for a vine branch, one shekel of silver [for one *karpina*, one] shekel of silver for one clove of garlic. And they shall strike a spear on his [...] [Formerly] they proceeded so. But now if he is a free man, he shall pay 6 shekels [of silver]. But if he is a slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 102 [If] anyone steals wood from a [...] pond, [if] he steals [one talent (= 30.78 kg) of wood], he shall pay 3 shekels of silver; if he steals 2 talents (= 61.56 kg) of wood, [he shall pay] 6 shekels of silver; if he steals [3] talents (= 92.34 kg) of wood, it becomes a case for the king's court.

¶ 103 [If] anyone steals plants, if it is 0.25 square meters [of planting], he shall replant it and [give] one shekel of silver. [If it is 0.5] square meters of planting, he shall replant it and pay 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 104 [If] anyone cuts down a pear(?) tree or plum(?) tree, he shall pay [...] shekels] of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 105 [If] anyone sets [fire] to a field, and the fire catches a vineyard with fruit on its vines, if a vine, an apple tree, a pear(?) tree or a plum tree burns, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver for each tree. He shall replant [the planting]. And he shall look to his house for it. If it is a slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver for each tree.

¶ 106 If anyone carries embers into his field, catches(?) it while in fruit, and ignites the field, he who sets the fire shall himself take the burnt-over field. He shall give a good field to the owner of the burnt-over field, and he will reap it.

¶ 107 If a person lets his sheep into a productive vineyard, and ruins it, if it has fruit on the vines, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver for each 3,600 square meters.^{44, 45} But if it is bare, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 108 If anyone steals vine branches from a fenced-in vineyard, if he steals 100 vines, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. But if the vineyard is not fenced in, and he steals vine branches, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 109 If anyone cuts off fruit trees from their irrigation ditch, if there are 100 trees, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

¶ 110 If anyone steals clay from a pit, [however much] he steals, he shall give the same amount in addition.

¶ 111 [If] anyone forms clay for [an image] (for magical purposes), it is sorcery and a case for the king's court.

¶ 112 [If] they give [to an *arnuwalaš*-man] the land of a man having a TUKUL-obligation who has disappeared, [for 3 years] they shall perform no [*šabhan*-services], but in the fourth year he shall begin to perform *šabhan*-services and join the men having TUKUL-obligations.

¶ 113 [If] anyone cuts down a vine, he shall take the cut-down [vine] for himself and give to the owner of the vine the use of a good vine. The original owner of the cut-down vine shall gather fruit from the new vine [until] his own vine recovers. ...

[¶¶ 114 and 118 too broken for translation. ¶¶ 115-117 lost in a lacuna.]

¶ 119 If anyone [steals] a duck (lit., pond bird) trained (as a decoy) [or] a mountain goat trained (as a decoy), [formerly] they paid [40] shekels of silver, but now [he shall pay] 12 shekels [of silver]. He shall look [to his house for it].

¶ 120 If anyone steals ...-ed birds [...], if there are 10 birds, he shall pay one shekel [of silver].

¶ 121 If some free man steals a plow, and its owner finds it, he shall put [(the offender's) neck] upon the ..., and [he shall be put to death] by the oxen. So they proceeded formerly. But now he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If it is a slave, [he shall pay] 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 122 If anyone steals a wagon with all its accessories, initially they paid one shekel of silver, [but now] he shall pay [...] shekels of silver]. He shall look [to his] house [for it].

¶ 123 If [anyone steals a ..., ..., Now he shall pay] 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 124 If anyone steals a ... tree, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If anyone loads a wagon, [leaves] it in his field, and someone steals it, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 125 If anyone steals a wooden water trough, he shall pay [...] + one shekel of silver. If anyone steals a leather ... or a leather ..., he shall pay one shekel of silver.

¶ 126 If anyone steals a wooden ... in the gate of the palace, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. If anyone steals a bronze spear in the gate of the palace, he shall be put to death. If anyone steals a copper pin, he shall give 25 liters of barley. If anyone steals the threads (or strands of wool) of one bolt of cloth, he shall give one bolt of woolen cloth.

¶ 127 If anyone steals a door in a quarrel, he shall replace everything that may get lost in the house, and he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 128 If anyone steals bricks, however many he steals, he shall give the same number a second time over. If [anyone] steals stones from a foundation, for 2 stones he shall give 10 stones. If anyone steals a stela or a ... stone, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 129 If anyone steals a leather ..., a leather ..., a [...], or a bronze bell(?) <of> a horse or a mule, formerly they paid 40 shekels of silver, but now [he shall pay] 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 130 If anyone steals [...] of an ox or a horse, [he shall pay ... shekels of silver.] He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 131 If [anyone steals] a leather harness(?), he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to his house for it.]

¶ 132 If a free man [steals ..., he shall pay] 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to his house for it.] If he is a slave, [he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.]

¶ 133 If a free man [steals ...] he shall pay [...] shekels [of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If he is a slave, he shall pay ... shekels of silver.]

¶ 142 [If] anyone drives [...], ... anyone steals] its wheel(s), he shall give 25 liters of barley [for each] wheel. [If he is a slave, he shall give ... of barley] for each wheel.

¶ 143 If a free man [steals] copper shears(?) [or] a copper nail file(?), he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to] his house [for it]. If it is a slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 144 If a barber gives copper [...] to his associate, and the latter ruins them, he shall replace [them] according to the law. If anyone cuts fine cloth with a [...], he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. If anyone cuts [...], he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.

¶ 145 If anyone builds an ox barn, his employer shall pay him 6 shekels of silver. [If] he leaves out [...], he shall forfeit his wage.

¶ 146a If anyone offers a house, a village, a garden or a pasture for sale, and another goes and obstructs(?) the sale, and makes a sale of his own instead, as a fine for his offense he shall pay 40 shekels of silver, and buy [the ...] at the original prices. ¶ 146b⁴⁶ [If] anyone offers a [...] person for sale, and another person obstructs(?) the sale, for his offense he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He shall buy the person at the original prices.

¶ 147 [If] anyone offers an unskilled person for sale, and another person obstructs(?) the sale, as the fine for his offense he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.

¶ 148 [If] anyone [offers] an ox, a horse, a mule, or an ass [for sale], and another person preempts(?), as the fine for his offense he shall pay ... shekels of silver.

¶ 149 If anyone sells a trained person, and (afterwards, before delivery) says: "He has died," but his (new) owner tracks him down, he shall take him for himself, and in addition the seller shall give 2 persons to him. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 150 If a man hires himself out for wages, his employer [shall pay ... shekels of silver] for [one month. If a woman] hires herself out for wages, her employer [shall pay ... shekels] for one month.

¶ 151 If anyone rents a plow ox, [he shall pay] one shekel [of silver] for one month. [If] anyone rents a [...], he shall pay] a half shekel of silver for one month.

¶ 152 If anyone rents a horse, a mule, or an ass, he shall pay one shekel of silver [for one month].

¶ 157⁴⁷ If a bronze axe weighs 1.54 kg,⁴⁸ its rent shall be one shekel of silver for one month. If a copper axe weighs 0.77 kg, its rent shall be ½ shekel of silver for one month. If a bronze ...-tool weighs 0.5 kg, its rent shall be ½ shekel of silver for one month.

¶ 158a If a free man hires himself out for wages, to bind sheaves, load them on wagons, deposit them in barns, and clear the threshing floors, his wages for 3 months shall be 1,500 liters of barley. ¶ 158b If a woman hires herself out for wages in the harvest season, her wages shall be 600 liters of barley for 3 months' work.⁴⁹

¶ 159 If anyone hitches up a team of oxen for one day, its rent shall be 25 liters of barley.

¶ 160a If a smith makes a copper box weighing 1½ minas, his wages shall be 5,000 liters of barley. ¶ 160b If he makes a bronze axe weighing 2 minas, his wages shall be 50 liters of wheat.

¶ 161 If he makes a copper axe weighing one mina, his wages shall be 50 liters of barley.

¶ 162a If anyone diverts an irrigation ditch, he shall pay one shekel of silver. If anyone stealthily takes water from an irrigation ditch, he/it is ... ed. If he takes water at a point below the other's branch, it is his to use.

¶ 162b [If] anyone takes [...], whosoever [...] he prepares, [...]. [If] anyone [...] sheep from a pasture, [...] will be] the compensation, and he shall give its hide and meat.

¶ 163 If anyone's animals go crazy(?),⁵⁰ and he performs a purification ritual upon them, and drives them back home, and he puts the mud(?) (used in the ritual) on the mud pile(?), but doesn't tell his colleague, so that the colleague doesn't know, and drives his own animals there, and they die, there will be compensation.

¶ 164 If anyone goes to someone's house to impress something, starts a quarrel, and breaks either the sacrificial bread or the libation vessel,

¶ 165 he shall give one sheep, 10 loaves of bread, and one jug of ... beer, and reconsecrate his house. Until [a year's] time has passed he shall keep away from his house.

¶ 166 If anyone sows his own seed on top of another man's seed, his neck shall be placed upon a plow. They shall hitch up 2 teams of oxen: they shall turn the faces of one team one way and the other team the other. Both the offender and the oxen will be put to death, and the party who first sowed the field shall reap⁵¹ it for himself. This is the way they used to proceed.

¶ 167 But now they shall substitute one sheep for the man and 2 sheep for

the oxen. He shall give 30 loaves of bread and 3 jugs of ... beer, and reconsecrate (the land?). And he who sowed the field first shall reap it.

¶ 168 If anyone violates the boundary of a field and takes⁵² one furrow off the neighbor's field, the owner of the field shall cut 0.25 square meters of field from the other's field and take it for himself. He who violated the boundary shall give one sheep, 10 loaves, and one jug of ... beer and reconsecrate the field.

¶ 169 If anyone buys a field and violates the boundary, he shall take a thick loaf and break it to the Sungod [and] say: "You ... ed my scales into the ground." And he shall speak thus: "O Sungod, O Stormgod. No quarrel (was intended)."⁵³

¶ 170 If a free man kills a snake, and speaks another's name, he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. If it is a slave, he alone shall be put to death.

¶ 171 If a mother removes her son's garment, she is disinheriting her sons. If her son comes back into her house (i.e., is reinstated), he/she⁵⁴ takes her door and removes it, he/she takes her ... and her ... and removes them, in this way she takes them (i.e., the sons) back; she makes her son her son again.⁵⁵

¶ 172 If anyone preserves a free man's life in a year of famine, the saved man shall give a substitute for himself. If it is a slave, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

¶ 173a If anyone rejects a judgment of the king, his house will become a heap of ruins. If anyone rejects a judgment of a magistrate, they shall cut off his head.

¶ 173b If a slave rebels against⁵⁶ his owner, he shall go into a clay jar.

¶ 174 If men are hitting each other, and one of them dies, the other shall give one slave.

¶ 175 If either a shepherd or a foreman takes a free woman in marriage, she will become a slave after either two or four years. They shall ... her children, but no one shall seize their belts.⁵⁷

¶ 176a If anyone keeps a bull outside a corral,⁵⁸ it shall be a case for the king's court. They shall sell the bull. A bull is an animal that is capable of breeding in its third year. A plow ox, a ram, and a he-goat are animals that are capable of breeding in their third year. ¶ 176b If anyone buys a trained artisan: either a potter, a smith, a carpenter, a leather-worker, a fuller, a weaver, or a maker of leggings, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

¶ 177 If anyone buys a man trained as an augur(?), he shall pay 25 shekels of silver. If anyone buys an unskilled man or woman, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 178 The price of a plow ox is 12 shekels of silver. The price of a bull is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a full-grown cow is 7 shekels of silver. The price of a yearling plow ox or cow is 5 shekels of silver. The price of a weaned calf is 4 shekels of silver. If the cow is pregnant with a calf, the price is 8 shekels of silver. The price of one calf is 2 (variant: 3) shekels of silver. The price of one stallion, one mare, one male donkey, and one female donkey are the same.

¶ 179 If it is a sheep, its price is one shekel of silver. The price of 3 goats is 2 shekels of silver. The price of 2 lambs is one shekel of silver. The price of 2 goat kids is ½ shekel of silver.

¶ 180 If it is a draft horse, its price is 20 (variant: 10) shekels of silver. The price of a mule is 40 shekels of silver. The price of a pastured horse is 14 (variant: 15) shekels of silver.⁵⁹ The price of a yearling colt is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a yearling filly is 15 shekels of silver.

¶ 181 The price of a weaned colt or a weaned filly is 4 shekels of silver. The price of 4 minas of copper is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of fine oil is 2 shekels of silver, of one bottle of lard is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of butter/ghee is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of honey is one shekel of silver, of 2 cheeses is one shekel [of silver], of 3 rennets is one shekel of silver.

¶ 182 The price of a ... garment is 12 shekels of silver. The price of a fine garment is 30 shekels of silver. The price of a blue wool garment is 20 shekels of silver. The price of a ... garment is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a tattered(?) garment is 3 shekels of silver. The price of a ... garment is 4 shekels of silver. The price of a sackcloth garment is one shekel of silver. The price of a sheer/thin tunic is 3 shekels of silver. The price of an ordinary tunic is [... shekels of silver]. The price [of one] bolt of cloth weighing 7 minas is [... shekels of silver]. The price of one large bolt of linen is 5 shekels of silver.

¶ 183 The price of 150 liters of wheat is one shekel of silver. The price of 200 liters [of barley is ½ shekel of silver.] The price of 50 liters of wine is ½ shekel of silver, of 50 liters of [...] is [...] shekels of silver. The price] of 3,600 square meters of irrigated(?) field is 3 [shekels of silver. The price] of 3,600 square meters of ... field is 2 shekels of silver. [The price] of a field adjoining(?) it is one shekel of silver.

¶ 184 This is the tariff, as it was ... ed in the city.

¶ 185 The price of 3,600 square meters of vineyard is 40 shekels of silver. The price of the hide of a full-grown ox is one shekel of silver. The price of 5 hides of weanling calves is one shekel of silver, of 10 oxhides is 40 shekels of silver, of a shaggy sheepskin is one shekel of silver, of 10 skins of young sheep is one shekel of silver, of 4 goatskins one shekel of silver, of 15

sheared(?) goatskins is one shekel of silver, of 20 lambskins is one shekel of silver, of 20 kidskins is one shekel of silver. Whoever buys the meat of 2 fullgrown cattle shall give one sheep.

¶ 186 Whoever buys the meat of 2 yearling cattle shall give one sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 5 weanlings shall give one sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 10 calves shall give one sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 10 sheep shall give one sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 20 lambs shall give one sheep. [If] anyone buys the meat of [20] goats, he shall give one sheep.

¶ 187 If a man has sexual relations⁶⁰ with a cow, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing: he will be put to death. They shall conduct him to the king's court. Whether the king orders him killed or spares his life, he shall not appear before the king (lest he defile the royal person).

¶ 188 If a man has sexual relations with a sheep, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing: he will be put to death. They will conduct him [to the] king's [court]. The king may have him executed, or may spare his life. But he shall not appear before the king.

¶ 189 If a man has sexual relations with his own mother, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing. If a man has sexual relations with his daughter, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing. If a man has sexual relations with his son, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.

¶ 190 If they ... with the dead—man, woman—it is not an offense. If a man has sexual relations with his stepmother, it is not an offense. But if his father is still living, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.

¶ 191 If a free man sleeps with free sisters who have the same mother and with their mother—one in one country and the other in another, it is not an offense. But if it happens in the same location, and he knows of the relationship, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.⁶¹

¶ 192 If a man's wife dies, [he may take her] sister [as his wife.] It is not an offense.⁶²

¶ 193 If a man has a wife, and the man dies, his brother shall take his widow as wife. (If the brother dies,) his father shall take her. When afterwards his father dies, his (i.e., the father's) brother shall take the woman whom he had.⁶³

¶ 194 If a free man sleeps with slave women who have the same mother and with their mother, it is not an offense. If brothers sleep with a free woman, it is not an offense. If father and son sleep with the same female slave or prostitute, it is not an offense.

¶ 195a If a man sleeps with his brother's wife, while his brother is alive, it is

an unpermitted sexual pairing. ¶ 195b If a free man has a free woman in marriage and approaches her daughter sexually, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing. ¶ 195c If he has the daughter in marriage and approaches her mother or her sister sexually, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.

¶ 196 If anyone's male and female slaves enter into unpermitted sexual pairings, they shall move them elsewhere: they shall settle one in one city and one in another. A sheep shall be offered in place of one and a sheep in place of the other.

¶ 197 If a man seizes a woman in the mountains (and rapes her), it is the man's offense, but if he seizes her in her house, it is the woman's offense: the woman shall die.⁶⁴ If the woman's husband discovers them in the act, he may kill them without committing a crime.

¶ 198 If he brings them to the palace gate (i.e., the royal court) and says: "My wife shall not die," he can spare his wife's life, but he must also spare the lover and 'clothe his head,'⁶⁵ If he says, "Both of them shall die," they shall 'roll the wheel.'⁶⁶ The king may have them killed or he may spare them.

¶ 199 If anyone has sexual relations with a pig or a dog, he shall die. He shall bring him to the palace gate (i.e., the royal court). The king may have them (i.e., the human and the animal) killed or he may spare them, but the human shall not approach the king. If an ox leaps on a man (in sexual excitement), the ox shall die; the man shall not die. They shall substitute one sheep for the man and put it to death. If a pig leaps on a man (in sexual excitement), it is not an offense.

¶ 200a If a man has sexual relations with either a horse or a mule, it is not an offense, but he shall not approach the king, nor shall he become a priest.⁶⁷ If anyone sleeps with an *arnuwala*-woman,⁶⁸ and also sleeps with her mother, it is not an offense.

¶ 200b If anyone gives his son for training either as a carpenter or a smith, a weaver or a leatherworker or a fuller, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver as the fee for the training. If the teacher makes him an expert, the student shall give to his teacher one person.

Telipinu Edict ¶ 49: And a case of murder is as follows. Whoever commits murder, whatever the heir himself of the murdered man says (will be done). If he says: "Let him die," he shall die; but if he says: "Let him make compensation," he shall make compensation. The king shall have no role in the decision.

Telipinu Edict ¶ 50: Regarding cases of sorcery in *Ḫattuša*: keep cleaning up (i.e., investigating and punishing) instances. Whoever in the royal family practises sorcery, seize him and deliver him to the king's court. But it will go

badly for that man (C adds: and for his household) who does not deliver him.

Notes

1. See Friedrich 1959: 48–61.
2. English translations of King Telipinu's edict may be found in Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 and in Bryce 1982.
3. The latest edition of this text is Hoffmann 1984.
4. No manuscript of the laws §§ 1–100 dates from the intervening Middle Hittite period (ca. 1500–1400). For laws §§ 101–200, manuscript q, commonly regarded as OH, is definitely later than the other OH manuscripts of the laws and might possibly be MH.
5. The significance of this phrase has been much debated. I favor the view that the person entitled to make a claim in the case is entitled to recover damages from the estate of the perpetrator.
6. Given the price of a slave, this fine of 2 minas (= 80 shekels) seems inordinately high.
7. Hittite: 100 *gipeššar* = 3.3 IKU = 3 acres = 1 hectar, worth about 8.25 shekels of silver according to § 183. The fine in the late version (all his land plus 40 shekels) is much higher.
8. Or perhaps: "he shall take those very (people who inhabit the village)."
9. Cf. LU § 22, LE § 42, LH §§ 196, 198, 200, 201.
10. "30 minas." Perhaps a scribal error for "30 shekels." See also in § XIII.
11. Perhaps a scribal error for "15 shekels."
12. Remainder of the paragraph in manuscript C reads: "he shall pay 20 shekels of silver."
13. Remainder of the paragraph in manuscript C reads: "he shall pay 10 shekels of silver."
14. Since the victim is a free person, "owner" probably indicates only the head of his household.
15. So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscript substitutes: "shall pay one year's wages: 100 shekels of silver for a man, 50 shekels of silver for a woman."
16. Although the Hittite wording cannot support the translation "brings impurity into a vessel or vat," yet the act referred to must be urinating or in some other manner defiling the vessel and its contents.
17. Another manuscript reads "[the victim] ta[kes] 3 shekels of silver."
18. So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscript has: "for the palace."
19. Another manuscript reads: "The victim [takes three shekels of silver]."
20. Another manuscript reads: "divorces."
21. That is, she shall be paid for the number of children she has borne?
22. Another manuscript reads: "As soon as (*kuššan*) he runs off ... they (i.e., the parents) shall compensate ..."
23. Another manuscript reads: "But if it is not the wish of the father and mother."
24. Another manuscript adds: "who runs off with her."
25. Another manuscript has a singular verb.

26. So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscript substitutes: "If a foreman or a herdsman."
27. One NH manuscript has "releases," while another has "casts off," "rejects."
28. A later manuscript reads "they declare the land of the TUKUL-man vacant."
29. A later manuscript reads "men will work it for the village."
30. A later manuscript adds: "And as hire he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. As the hire of a woman he shall pay 6 shekels of silver."
31. Another manuscript reads: "on someone's land or house."
32. That is, the principal heir shall inherit the *luzzi*-obligation.
33. Literally, "shall take bread from his table and give it to him."
34. Presumably only a delegation of the men subject to the *ILKU*-obligation appeared before the king.
35. Post-OH manuscripts omit "ice procurement."
36. Literally, "is this very (same)."
37. That is, decoys used by hunters.
38. A later copy incorrectly substitutes "its compensation is the same as that for a he-goat."
39. NH text: "jenny."
40. The OH manuscript omits: "Now he shall give 6 oxen."
41. A NH manuscript reads: 2.
42. Hittite: 1 *PARISU*.
43. Another manuscript reads: "They."
44. Hittite: 1 IKU, which equals 30 *gipeššar*.
45. Two late manuscripts add: "He shall look to his house for it."
46. § 146b is omitted in the post-Old Hittite copies.
47. The OH manuscript q shows that there was no gap in which four additional laws (§§ 153–156 in Hrozný's numbering) might fit. We preserve the traditional numbering of §§ 157–200 for convenience of reference.
48. So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscripts describe lighter axes, for the same rent, yielding a higher rental rate.
49. A NH manuscript has: "He (the employer) shall give 600 liters of barley for two months' (work)."
50. The translation "are smitten by a god" proposed by (Friedrich 195: 75) and others is unsatisfactory, since the word ought to mean literally "to make oneself divine" or "to be made divine." The translation "are branded" (Goetze 1969: 195) is impossible.
51. A later manuscript reads "take."
52. A later manuscript reads "drives."
53. The meaning of these two sayings is obscure. I offer here a literal translation. The second may be a disavowing of evil intention. The field-owner accidentally transgressed the border with his neighbor, not intending to steal land from him.
54. It is unclear if the actor in the following clauses is the mother or the son.
55. Hittitologists are divided in their interpretation of this law. I have resorted to a literal translation in order not to obscure the data, confusing though they may be. The alternation of "son" and "sons" is unexpected, but it is unmistakably in the text and is probably an original. The referent of "them" in the penultimate clause cannot

be the untranslatable items in the preceding sentence, because they are nouns, while the pronoun "them" is animate.

56. Literally, "exempts/frees himself from."

57. The significance of this gesture is unknown.

58. Literally "dispenses with a bull's corral."

59. For what follows, another manuscript substitutes: "The price of a yearling filly is 15 shekels of silver. The price of a gelding(?) or a mare is [...] shekels of silver. The price of 4 minas of copper is one shekel [of silver]."

60. Literally, "sins." So also in §§ 188–190, 199–200.

61. One NH manuscript mistakenly adds: "It is not an offense."

62. Another version reads: "If a woman's husband dies, the wife shall take the man's inheritance share."

63. A NH manuscript adds: "There is no offense."

64. Cf. Deut. 22:25f.

65. The significance of this gesture are unknown.

66. The nature and significance of this action is unknown.

67. That is, he has committed no punishable crime, but he has become so defiled by the incident that he may not enter the king's presence or ever become a priest.

68. Perhaps a woman who has been taken captive in war.

Sources for Hittite Laws

Editions are Hrozný 1922, Neufeld 1951, Imparati 1964. **Translations** without accompanying critical transliteration and variants are Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935, Hoffner 1963, Goetze 1969, Haase 1979, von Schuler 1982, Haase 1984. Systematic commentary on the laws may be found in Hoffner 1963, and detailed and valuable commentary on individual laws in Güterbock 1961.

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Glossary for Hittite Laws

ḫipparaš

In laws §§ 48–49 and their late parallels we learn of a class of people called *ḫipparaš*. The word is without cognate in Hittite and without a clear etymology. In the Main Version of the laws, which stems from the OH period, the *ḫipparaš*-man renders the *luzzi*-services. In the late parallel to §§ 48 (XL) the opening words have been modified to "If a *ḫipparaš*-man renders *luzzi*." If the text is in order here, we must assume that it was no longer the case that all persons in this category were subject to *luzzi*. In the late parallel, *ḫipparaš* is rendered by the Akkadogram *asīru*, "prisoner." The *ḫipparaš* may not sell anything he owns, which suggests that perhaps as a prisoner of the crown all that he was or possessed belonged to the king. For the same reason, if he steals, he must return the stolen items, but he cannot be fined, since anything he might give to pay the fine would be the king's.

luzzi and *šaḫḫan*

In laws dealing with land tenure or ownership two terms occur denoting obligations required of holders or owners of certain types of land. The terms, *šaḫḫan* and *luzzi*, have been claimed to denote "feudal" obligations. But one cannot indiscriminately apply a model of medieval European society to Hittite society. The conditions were quite different. The issue is further complicated by the fact that our documentation doesn't always make it clear to whom the *luzzi* or *šaḫḫan* was rendered. *luzzi* is clearly at times, and possibly always, a service rather than a transfer of goods (i.e., a tax). It is often translatable by the French word *corvée*. *šaḫḫan*, which seems to be rendered at times by the Akkadogram *ILKU*, is more difficult to pin down, but it too may well have been always in the form of services. In § 55 men owing *šaḫḫan* = *ILKU* are refused wages (*kuššan*) for their services on that basis. It is also unclear if in the later stages of Hittite law (in the Late Parallel

Version) there was any distinction between the two. We have adopted the translation of "*šaḫḫan*-services" and "*luzzi*-services," merely as a means to distinguish the two while indicating that they were probably services rather than transfers. To the extent that (during the early period?) the two types differed, the scribes indicated this by the choice of verbs. One "performs" (Hittite *išša-*) *šaḫḫan*, whereas one "renders" (literally, "carries" or "lifts," Hittite *karp-*) *luzzi*.

TUKUL-obligation.

In addition to *šaḫḫan* and *luzzi*, a third category of obligation toward the state devolving on holders of land is the TUKUL-obligation, from Sumerian *GIS¹TUKUL*. The man owing it is the LÚ *GIS¹TUKUL* "man of the TUKUL." Although *GIS¹TUKUL* usually means "weapon," at times it seems to denote non-military services, as in Queen Puduḫepa's vow.¹ Goetze's translation (in Pritchard 1969) of LÚ *GIS¹TUKUL* in the laws as "craftsman" reflects this concept. The obligation of such a person according to § 40 is to "hold" (Hittite *ḫar-*) the *GIS¹TUKUL*. Because of the uncertainty in determining the nature of this obligation, we have rendered it "the TUKUL-obligation."²

Notes

1. Otten 1965: 44f. with n. 4 ("Handwerk"), including dairyman, baker, bee-keeper.
2. For a thorough discussion of the TUKUL-obligation, see Beal 1988.

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Sources

The sources listed provide the reader with two categories of references for the Sumerian and Akkadian collections. First, for each law collection, there are references to *selected treatments*. The treatments include one or more of the following: full editions, transliterations, translations, and commentaries on the entire composition or major portions of it. Some of the law collections have received wide scholarly and popular attention and have been translated into several modern languages, and a complete bibliography of treatments is neither possible nor desirable here. Rather, the selection provided is intended to refer the reader to the *editio princeps*, to the most reliable or the most current editions available in modern European languages, and to treatments with critical philological or legal commentaries. Second, publication data for the *copies and photographs* of the cuneiform tablets used in the reconstructions of the law collections are listed, along with the cuneiform tablet sigla. This information is primarily for the cuneiformist, but may prove useful to the reader who compares the editions here with earlier ones. The few notes referring to textual variants identify sources by these sigla.

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D (N 4938): Roth 1979: 362; Roth 1980: 145.

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Selected treatments: Roth 1979.

Copies and photographs:

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 q (BM 59776): Sollberger 1964: 130.

- r (BM 78944 + BM 78979): Finkelstein 1967: 40–41.
 s (U 13622): Gadd and Kramer 1966: No. 401.
 t (Ni 2553+2565): [used by Driver and Miles 1955: 1 from unpublished copy; quoted in part by Finkelstein 1967: 39 n. 2 and 48] Donbaz and Sauren 1991: 16–19, pls. 1–2.
 u (L.78.79): Arnaud 1983: 253.
 v (BM 59739): Lambert 1989: 98.
 w (CBS 1511): Sjöberg 1991: 224–25.
 x (K 11795).
 y (no museum number): al-Qit 1985: 143 No. 4.

9. NEO-BABYLONIAN LAWS (LNB)

Selected treatments: Peiser 1889; Meek 1950c; Driver and Miles 1955: 324–47; Petschow 1959; Szlechter 1971, 1972, 1973; Borger 1982d; Saporetti 1984: 117–20; Roth 1989a: 29–34.

Copies and photographs:

(BM 56606 [82–7–14,988]): Peiser 1889: pl. 7.

10. MIDDLE ASSYRIAN LAWS (MAL)

Selected treatments: Driver and Miles 1935; Weidner 1937/39; Meek 1950b; Cardascia 1969; Saporetti 1979; Borger 1982c; Saporetti 1984: 93–116.

Copies and photographs:

MAL A–a (VAT 10000): Schroeder 1920: No. 1; Weidner 1937/39: pl. 4.

b (K 10135): Postgate 1973: pl. 12 No. 4.

MAL B–(VAT 10001): Schroeder 1920: No. 2.

MAL C+G–(VAT 10093+10266): Schroeder 1920: No. 6 + No. 143; Weidner 1937/39: pl. 3.

MAL D–(VAT 9575): Schroeder 1920: No. 3.

MAL E–(VAT 9839): Schroeder 1920: No. 4.

MAL F–(VAT 10109): Schroeder 1920: No. 5.

MAL J–(VAT 11153): Schroeder 1920: No. 93.

MAL K–(VAT 14388): Weidner 1937/39: pl. 5 No. 1.

MAL L–(VAT 14426): Weidner 1937/39: pl. 3 No. 2.

MAL M–(Assur 13221): Weidner 1937/39: pl. 6 No. 1.

MAL N–(Assur 23078): Weidner 1937/39: pl. 6 No. 2.

MAL O–(Assur 5732): Weidner 1937/39: pl. 5 No. 2.

11. MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PALACE DECREES (MAPD)

Selected Treatments: Weidner 1954/56; Grayson 1972: 46–47, 52–53, 78, 100, 130–32, 139–40, 142, 152; Grayson 1976: 42–44.

Copies and photographs:

A (VAT 9629): Weidner 1954/56: pl. 7.

B (VAT 9614): Weidner 1954/56: pl. 8.

C (VAT 9571): Weidner 1954/56: pl. 9.

- D (VAT 9491): Weidner 1954/56: pl. 8.
 E (VAT 14407): Weidner 1954/56: pl. 12.
 F (VAT 9652+9655+10402): Weidner 1954/56: pl. 10-11.
 G (VAT 9140+12959): Weidner 1954/56: pl. 9
 H (VAT 9567): Weidner 1954/56: pl. 12.
 I (YBC 7148): Beckman and Foster 1988: 5 No. 2.

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Glossary

- Adab.** Central Mesopotamian city, seat of the worship of the mother-goddess Ninmah; modern Bismāya.
- Adad.** God of the rains and violent weather, whose temple Eudgalgal was in Karkara.
- Adad-nārārī I.** Assyrian king, son of Arik-dēn-ili, reigned 1305–1274 B.C.E.
- Aja.** Goddess associated with light, consort of the sun-god Shamash, her temple Ebabbar was in Sippar.
- Akkad.** The north Mesopotamia city founded by Sargon I as capital of the "Sargonic Dynasty"; also, more broadly, used to refer to all of Babylonia; site of the temple Eulmash, dedicated to Ishtar. The "Akkadian Period," also known as the "Sargonic Period" (ca. 2300–2100 B.C.E.), saw the unification of much of settled Mesopotamia under one rule.
- An.** Father of the gods of the Sumerian pantheon, the sky god; Akkadian Anu.
- Anshan.** City in Iran, north of Persepolis; modern Tall-i Malyān.
- Anu.** See An.
- Anunnaku.** A term including all the gods of heaven, earth, and the nether world.
- Ashnan.** Sumerian god of agriculture and grain.
- Ashur (Aššur).** The patron deity of the city Assur and of the Assyrian nation.
- Ashur-dan I.** Assyrian king, son of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, reigned 1178–1133 B.C.E.
- Ashur-nādin-aḥḥē.** Assyrian king, reigned 1400–1391 B.C.E.
- Ashur-rēsha-ishi I.** Assyrian king, son of Mutakkil-Nusku, reigned 1132–1115 B.C.E.
- Ashur-uballiṭ.** Assyrian king, son of Erība-Adad, reigned 1363–1328 B.C.E.
- Assur (Aššur).** The capital city of the Assyrian empire in the second and early first millennia, situated on the Tigris River in northern Mesopotamia.

tamia; *Libbi-āle*, "Inner City," is either another name for the city or a district within it; modern Qal'at ash-Sherqāt.

awīlu (or later Babylonian *amēlu*, Assyrian *a'īlu*, and Sumerian *lú*). The term used for (1) the general, nonspecific, "person" as subject of a law provision, and for (2) a member of the highest privileged class, in contrast to a member of the *muškēnu*-class or to a slave.

Babylon. City in central Mesopotamia, seat of the second-millennium empire of the First Dynasty of Babylon (or Hammurabi Dynasty); modern Bābil.

bā'iru. Translated "fisherman"; see soldier.

bariga. A capacity measure equal to sixty silas; see the Table of Weights and Measures.

barleycorn. A weight measure, approximately 0.046 grams, equal to 1/180 of a shekel; a length measure, approximately 0.28 centimeters, equal to six fingers; see the Table of Weights and Measures.

Borsippa. Central Mesopotamian city, cult center of the god Nabū and, earlier, of Tutu, in the temple Ezida; modern Birs Nimrūd.

bur. A surface measure, approximately 6.5 hectares; see the Table of Weights and Measures.

commoner. The translation used here for Akkadian *muškēnu*, designating a class of protected persons with lesser rights and privileges.

cubit. A length measure, approximately 50 centimeters; see the Table of Weights and Measures.

Dadusha. An early ruler of the kingdom of Eshnunna.

Dagan. A West Semitic deity associated with grain, also worshiped in Mesopotamia and at Mari and Tuttul.

Damkina. Spouse of the god Enki, with a cult center in Malgium.

Dilbat. Central Mesopotamian city, seat of the worship of the god Urash; possibly modern Tall Dulaihim.

Ea. See Enki.

Eabzu. "House of the Subterranean Waters (Abyss)," temple of the god Ea/Enki in Eridu.

Eanna. "House of Heaven (of the god An)," temple of the goddess Ishtar (Inanna) in Uruk.

Ebabbar. "White House," or "House of Bright Light," the name of temples in Sippar and in Larsa dedicated to the gods Shamash and Aja.

Egalmah. "Vast Splendid House," temple of the goddess Gula in Isin.

Egishnugal. "House Filled with (Moon) Light," temple of the moon god Sin (Sumerian Nanna) in Ur.

Ekur. "Mountain House," temple of the god Enlil in Nippur.

Emah. "Splendid House," temple of the goddess Ninmah in Adab.

Emeslam. "House of the Warrior of the Nether World," name of the temple of the god Erra in Kutū, and of the temple in Mashkan-shapir.

Emesmes. Temple of the goddess Ishtar in Nineveh.

Emeteursag. "House Befitting the Hero," temple of the god Zababa in Kish.

Eninnu. "House of the Fifty (White *anzū*-birds)," temple of the god Ningirsu in Girsu.

Enki. Sumerian god of subterranean waters, associated with magic and wisdom, whose main city was Eridu and whose temple there was Eabzu; Akkadian Ea.

Enlil. Patron god of the city Nippur, whose temple was the Ekur; consort of the goddess Ninlil; one of the most important deities of the Sumerian pantheon.

Enlil-nārārī. Assyrian king, son of Ashur-uballit, reigned 1327–1318 B.C.E.

ensi-ruler. A term for ruler (Sumerian).

ēnu-lord. A term for ruler, also a term for high priest (Akkadian; Sumerian en).

Eridu. A city in southern Mesopotamia, seat of the god Enki (Akkadian Ea) and his temple Eabzu; the city to which kingship was said to first descend from heaven; modern Abu-Shahrēn.

Erra. A war-god, patron deity of Kutū.

Esagil. "House with a Lofty Top," temple of the god Marduk in Babylon, inspiration for the biblical "Tower of Babel."

Eshnunna. Capital of an early-second-millennium kingdom between the Tigris River and the Zagros Mountains; modern Tell Asmar.

Eudgalgal. "House of the Fierce Storms," temple of the god Adad in Karkara.

Eulmash. Temple of the goddess Ishtar in Akkad.

Ezida. "Righteous House," temple of the god Nabū (earlier of Tutu) in Borsippa.

finger. A length measure, approximately 1.66 centimeters; see the Table of Weights and Measures.

Girsu. Site of the temple Eninnu for the god Ningirsu; modern Tello.

Haja. Divine consort of the goddess Nisaba.

Hammurabi (or Hammurapi). Sixth king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, reigned 1792–1750 B.C.E., among whose many military, economic, and political accomplishments is the largest and most famous cuneiform law collection.

Hursagkalamma. "(House of) the Mountain of the World," temple of the goddess Ishtar in Kish.

Id. The deity of the river; see River Ordeal.

Igigu. The chief gods of the pantheon.

iku. A surface measure, approximately 0.36 hectares; see the Table of Weights and Measures.

Inanna. Sumerian goddess associated particularly with the arts of love and war; Inanna was important in many Sumerian and Akkadian cities, especially Uruk with its temple Eanna; Akkadian Ishtar.

Inner City. Akkadian *Libbi-āle*, a name for the Assyrian capital city Assur.

- innkeeper.** The woman innkeeper, Akkadian *sābītu*, appears in the laws in her capacity as a money-lender and creditor.
- Ishkur.** Sumerian god associated with rainstorms, identified with the Akkadian god Adad.
- Ishtar.** See Inanna.
- Isin.** A city in southern Mesopotamia, prominent in the late third and early second millennia with the rise of the Isin Dynasty and the Isin-Larsa Period (also known as the Early Old Babylonian Period, ca. 2000–1800 B.C.E.); site of the temple Egalmaḥ dedicated to Ishtar; modern Ishān Bahriyāt.
- Karkara.** A center of worship of the storm-god Adad.
- Kesh.** A city in central Mesopotamia, as yet unidentified, probably in the vicinity of Adab.
- Kish.** A city in southern Mesopotamia, center of worship of the god Zababa; modern Tall al-Uḥēmīr.
- kulmašītu.** A member of a group or class of minor temple dedicatees, with special privileges; Sumerian nu-bar.
- kur.** A capacity measure, approximately 300 liters; see the Table of Weights and Measures.
- Kutū.** Central Mesopotamian city, cult center of the god Erra and his temple Emeslam; modern Tall Ibrāhīm.
- Lagash.** Center of the important state of Lagash; modern al-Hibā.
- Larsa.** City in southern Mesopotamia; modern Sinkara.
- Libbi-āle.** See Assur.
- Lipit-Ishtar.** Ruler (1934–1924 B.C.E.) in the First Dynasty of Isin, a Sumerian dynasty based in southern Mesopotamia.
- Lushmu House.** A palace of the Middle Assyrian rulers.
- Malgium.** City on the east bank of the Tigris River, exact location unknown, that resisted but was defeated by Hammurabi's forces; a cult-center of the gods Enki and his spouse Damkina.
- Mama.** A name of the mother-goddess.
- Marduk.** Chief god of Babylon, whose temple there was Esagil.
- Mari.** Large and important early second-millennium site on the middle Euphrates, a center of the worship of the god Dagan; modern Tall al-Ḥarīrī.
- marriage prestations.** The customary and obligatory exchanges of gifts at marriage, and the terms for the gifts, vary through time and dialects: *bīblu* (in the LE, LH, and MAL) and *nīg-dé-a* (in the LU), "ceremonial marriage prestation," is given on behalf of the groom to the bride's father; *nudunnū* (in the LE, LH, and MAL), "marriage settlement," is given by the husband to the wife, but the same term later (in the LNB) refers to the "dowry" given by the bride's family to the groom; *šeriktu* (in the LE and LH) and *širku* (in the MAL), and *sag-rig*, (in the LL),

"dowry," is given by the bride's father to the groom; *terḥatu* (in the LE, LH, MAL), "bridewealth," is given by the groom to the bride's father; *zubullū* (in the MAL), "bridal gift," is given by the bride's father to the groom. (Note that in contemporary Old Babylonian transactional documents, the prestations identified by the labels *nudunnū* and *šeriktu* are reversed; and see Roth 1989b: 246–48.)

- Mashkan-shapīr.** City on the Tigris River; modern Tall Abu-Duwari.
- merchant.** Translates Akkadian *tamkāru*, and refers to a person engaged in trade and mercantile activities, often in the laws functioning as a creditor.
- mina.** A weight measure, approximately 500 grams, equal to 60 shekels; see the Table of Weights and Measures.
- miqtu.** A member of a social or economic class of persons, possibly under royal patronage.
- muškēnu.** See commoner.
- nadītu.** A member of a group or class of Old Babylonian temple dedicatees, with special inheritance privileges and economic freedoms; some groups lived in cloisters or compounds, others married but were not permitted to bear children; Sumerian lukur.
- Nanna.** Sumerian moon-god, patron deity of the city Ur whose temple there was Egishnugal; Akkadian Sîn (or Suen).
- Nergal.** God of the nether world, closely identified with Erra, worshiped at the Emeslam at Kutū.
- Ninazu.** A Sumerian god, son of Enlil, worshiped at Eshnunna.
- ninda.** A length measure, approximately 6 meters; see the Table of Weights and Measures.
- Nineveh.** Assyrian city, capital of the Assyrian empire in the eighth century B.C.E.; site of the Emesmes temple for Ishtar; modern Kouyunjik.
- Ninisina.** Sumerian patron goddess of the city Isin, associated with healing arts.
- Ninkarrak.** A Sumerian goddess associated with the healing arts.
- Ninlil.** Consort of the god Enlil.
- Ninsun.** A Sumerian bovine goddess, important in the cities of Ur and Uruk where the rulers claimed descent from her.
- Nintu.** A name of the mother-goddess.
- Ninurta.** Sumerian god, associated with vegetation and also with warfare.
- Ninurta-apil-Ekur.** Assyrian king, son of Eriba-Adad, reigned 1191–1179 B.C.E.
- Nippur.** An important city in the third and second millennia, located in central Babylonia, cult center of the god Enlil and his temple Ekur; modern Nuffar.
- Nisaba.** Sumerian goddess, patron of the scribal arts and learning, and of grain.
- nisku.** A class of persons, probably of menial or lower-class status.

- Nunamnir.** A name of the god Enlil.
- Nuzi.** A mound in the area of ancient Arrapha (modern Kirkūk); the mid-second millennium tablets reveal a mixture of native, Hurrian, and Babylonian social and linguistic patterns; modern Yorghān Tepe.
- overseer.** Translation of Assyrian *uklu* (Babylonian *aklu* or *waklu*), in common contexts the term is used of persons in charge of military groups, artisans, and workers, and of high political and military leaders; it is also a royal title or honorific of Assyrian kings from the fifteenth through the seventh centuries.
- Processional Residence** (Akkadian *hūlu*). A part of the women's quarters in the Middle Assyrian palace; see MAPD note 6.
- qadištu** (Assyrian *qadiltu*). A member of a group or class of minor temple dedicatees, with special privileges; Sumerian *nu-gig*.
- rēdū.** See soldier.
- reed.** A length measure, approximately 3 meters; see the Table of Weights and Measures.
- River House.** A palace of the Middle Assyrian rulers.
- River Ordeal.** A judicial process in which, for a case without clear evidence or witnesses, the deity of the river is asked to judge the claims of disputing parties; both parties apparently can survive the process, although usually only one party will "turn from" (i.e., refuse to undergo) the ordeal and is declared the loser or guilty party.
- sar.** A surface measure, approximately 0.0036 hectares; see the Table of Weights and Measures.
- seah.** A capacity measure, approximately 10 liters; see the Table of Weights and Measures.
- sekretu.** A member of a group or class of temple dedicatees, with special privileges, sometimes living in cloistered groups.
- Shalmaneser I.** Assyrian king, son of Adad-nārārī I, reigned 1273–1244 B.C.E.
- Shamash.** Sun-god; see Utu.
- shekel.** A weight measure, one-sixtieth of a mina, approximately 8.33 grams; see the Table of Weights and Measures.
- Shulgi.** A king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, son of Ur-Namma, ruled 2094–2047 B.C.E.
- silā.** A capacity measure, approximately 1 liter; see the Table of Weights and Measures.
- Sîn.** See Nanna.
- Sîn-muballit.** Fifth king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, reigned 1812–1793 B.C.E., father of Hammurabi.
- Sippar.** A city in northern Lower Mesopotamia, cult center of the sun-god Shamash and his consort Aja; modern Tall Abu-Ḥabba.
- soldier.** Translation of Akkadian *rēdū*, usually in the phrase *rēdūm u bā'irum*, "soldier and fisherman," a designation of a person granted

- land rights in exchange for service for the state; both the soldier and the fisherman are *nāši biltim*, "state tenant."
- Sumer.** Southern Mesopotamia; the phrase "Sumer and Akkad," refers to all of Mesopotamia.
- Sumukan.** Sumerian god of wild game animals.
- Sumu-la-el.** Second king of the First Dynasty of Babylon, reigned 1880–1845 B.C.E.
- Susa.** Capital city of Elam, in southwestern Iran; modern Shūsh.
- šiluhlu.** A dependent agricultural worker; the duties and privileges of persons so identified are unclear.
- šugitu.** A member of a group or class of temple dedicatees, with special privileges, but always inferior to a *naditu*.
- Tiglath-pileser I.** Assyrian king, son of Ashur-rēsha-ishi I, reigned 1114–1076 B.C.E.
- Tishpak.** Chief god of the city of Eshnunna.
- Tukulti-Ninurta I.** Assyrian king, son of Shalmaneser I, reigned 1243–1207 B.C.E.
- Tuttul.** A city at the mouth of the Baliḥ on the upper Euphrates. Also, a city on the middle Euphrates, cult center of the god Dagan; probably modern Hit.
- Tutu.** God of the city of Borsippa, with a temple, Ezida, there.
- ugbaltu.** A member of a group or class of priestesses, with special privileges, sometimes of royal lineage; Sumerian *nin-dingir*.
- Ur.** An important city in Mesopotamia, probably the Biblical "Ur of the Chaldees," city of the moon-god Nanna (Akkadian *Sîn*); center of the Ur III Dynasty (also known as the Third Dynasty of Ur or as the Neo-Sumerian Period, ca. 2100–2000 B.C.E.); modern Tell al-Muqayyar.
- Urash.** Patron deity of the city Dilbat.
- Ur-Namma.** A king and founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, ruled 2112–2095 B.C.E.
- Uruk.** City in southern Babylonia, cult center of Anu and Ishtar; biblical Erech, modern Warka.
- Utu.** Sumerian sun-god, patron deity of justice, with important cult centers in Sippar and in Larsa; Akkadian Shamash.
- wife.** The translation of Akkadian *aššatu* and Sumerian *dam*; the designation of a full legal spouse, owing her husband exclusive sexual rights, entitled to economic support, whose children will be his heirs. "First-ranking wife" translates Akkadian *hirtu* and Sumerian (dam) *nitadam*, terms designating the wife with primary rights (including preferential inheritance rights for her children).
- Zababa.** God associated with warfare; patron deity of the city Kish, where he had a temple, Emeteursag.
- Zabala.** Modern Tall Ibzeḥ.
- Zarpanitu.** Spouse of the god Marduk of Babylon.

Elam: Intro n
Eridu: LL prol; LH prol
Eshnunna: Intro; LE prol, ¶¶ 50, 51–52
Euphrates River: LH prol
Girkal: LU prol
Girsu: LH prol
Isin: LL prol, LH prol
Karkara: LH prol
Kazallu: LU prol
Kesh: Intro n; LH prol
Kish: LH prol
Kutū: LH prol
Lagash: LU prol; LH prol
Larsa: LH prol

- Libbi-āle (Inner City [i.e., Assur]): MAL A ¶ 24n; MAPD ¶¶ 2-3, 6, 20
 Malgium: LH prol
 Marad: LU prol
 Mari: Intro; LH prol
 Mashkan-shapir: LH prol
 Nineveh: LH prol
 Nippur: LU intro n; LL prol; LH prol
 Sippar: LU intro n; LH prol
- Sumer: LU prol; LL prol, epil; LH prol, epil
 Susa: Intro
 Šupur-Shamash: LE prol
 Tigris River: LU prol; LE prol
 Tuttul: LH prol
 Ur: LU prol; LL prol; LH prol
 Uruk: LL prol; LH prol
 Ušarum: LU prol
 Zabala: LH prol

4. Temples and Palaces

- Eabzu: LH prol
 Eanna: LH prol
 Ebabbar: LH prol, LH epil
 Egalmaḥ: LH prol
 Egishnugal: LH prol
 Ekur: LL epil; LH prol, epil
 Emah: LH prol
 Emeslam: LH prol
 Emesmes: LH prol
 Emeteursag: LH prol
 Eninnu: LH prol
- Esagil: LH prol, epil
 Eudgalgal: LH prol
 Eulmash: LH prol
 Ezida: LH prol, prol n
 Ḫursagkalamma: LH prol
 Inner Quarters: MAPD ¶¶ 8, 20
 Lushmu House: MAPD ¶ 6
 Processional Residence: MAPD ¶¶ 8-9, 20-21
 River House: MAPD ¶ 6

5. Selected Legal Topics and Key Words

- abortion and miscarriage: LL ¶¶ d-f; SLEx ¶¶ 1'-2'; LH ¶¶ 209, 211-14; MAL A ¶¶ 21, 50-53. *See also* assault
 absence. *See* desertion
 abuse and mistreatment: LH ¶¶ gap s, 116, 245; MAPD ¶ 18. *See also* assault
 accusation, slander, and testimony: LU ¶¶ 13-14, 28; LL ¶¶ 17, 33; LH ¶¶ 1-4, 9-13, 26, 126-27, 131-32, 161; LNB ¶ 2; MAL A ¶¶ 17-19. *See also* denial, oath and ordeal, speech offenses
 adoption, fosterage, and apprenticeship: LL ¶¶ 20a-20c; SLHF iv 25-30; LE ¶¶ 32-35; LH ¶¶ 185-93; MAL A ¶ 28. *See also* children and minors
- adultery. *See* sexual offenses
 agriculture and agricultural offenses. *See* animals, fields, hire of persons, irrigation, natural catastrophe, orchards, rates
 alteration of terms: LNB ¶¶ 8-9
 animals: MAL C ¶ 8. *See also* hire
 dog: LE ¶¶ 56-57
 donkey (ass): LOx ¶ 8; LE ¶ 50; LH ¶¶ 7-8, 224-25, 244; MAL C ¶¶ 4-5
 goat: MAL C ¶ 6b
 horse: MAL C ¶¶ 4-5; MAL F ¶ 2
 lion: LOx ¶¶ 7-8; SLEx ¶ 9'; SLHF vi 16-22, vi 32-36; LH ¶¶ 244, 266
 onager: LNB ¶ 4
 ox: SLHF v 45; LE ¶¶ 40, 50; LH ¶¶ 7-8, 224-25, 241-43, 245, 262-63; MAL C ¶¶ 4-5
 ox, death of: LOx ¶¶ 6-9; SLEx ¶ 9';

- animals: ox, death of (*cont.*)
 SLHF vi 16-36; LE ¶ 53; LH ¶¶ 225, 244-45, 249
 ox, goring: LE ¶¶ 53-54; LH ¶¶ 250-52
 ox, injury to: LL ¶¶ 34-38; LOx ¶¶ 1-5; SLHF vi 11-15; LH ¶¶ 246-48
 ox, loss of: SLEx ¶ 10'; LH ¶ 263
 pig: SLHF iii 13-15; LH ¶ 8
 sheep: LH ¶¶ 7-8, 262-63; MAL F ¶ 1
 apprenticeship. *See* adoption
 assault and bodily injury: LU ¶¶ 18-22, 26; LE ¶¶ 42-47; LH ¶¶ 195-201, 206-14; MAL A ¶¶ 7-9, 21, 50-52, 57; MAL E ¶ 2. *See also* abortion, abuse, cheek slapping, sexual offenses
 authorities, judicial responsibility of: LE ¶¶ 40, 54-58; LH ¶¶ 16, 23-24, 32, 109, 126, 142-43; MAL A ¶ 45
 blasphemy. *See* speech offenses
 blinding: LH ¶¶ 218, 220. *See also* penalties—corporal, animals: ox (injury to)
 boats: LU prol; LL ¶¶ 4-5; SLEx ¶ 3'; SLHF iii 10-12; iv 42-v 44; LE ¶¶ 4-6; LH ¶¶ 8, 234-40; LNB ¶ 7; MAL M ¶¶ 1-2a
 bodily injury. *See* assault
 bribes and gratuities: MAL L ¶ 5
 brick-making: MAL B ¶¶ 14-15
 brothers: LL ¶¶ 21-23; LH ¶¶ 165-66, 178-82, 184; LNB ¶ 15; MAL A ¶¶ 22, 25, 48-49; MAL B ¶¶ 1, 4-5; MAL D ¶ 1; MAL O ¶ 3
 burglary, robbery, and theft: LL ¶¶ 9, 11; SLHF iii 10-15; LE ¶¶ 6, 12-13, 36-37, 40, 49-50; LH ¶¶ 6-13, 21-25, gap e, 125, 253-56, 259-60, 265; MAL A ¶¶ 1, 3-6; MAL B ¶¶ 8-9; MAL C ¶¶ 5, 8-10; MAL F ¶ 1; MAL M ¶ 3; MAL N ¶¶ 1-2; MAL O ¶ 6
 castration: MAPD ¶¶ 8, 20. *See also* professions—palace: eunuch
 cheek slapping: LE ¶ 42; LH ¶¶ 202-5. *See also* assault
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