

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

The collection of rules was compiled toward the end of the forty-three 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'īru*), both of whom are included in the category of persons identified as

“state tenants” (*nāši bilti*); classes of priestesses identified as *kulmašītu*, *nađītu*, *qadištu*, *sekretu*, *šugītu*, *ugḥabtu*; 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” (*ḫīrtu*) 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. Saporetto (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 considerably 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 šimāt mātīm ana Marduk mārīm rēštim ša Ea illilūt kiššat niši išīmušum in Igiḡi ušarbiušu Bābīlam šumšu šīram ibbiu in kibrātīm ušāte= rušu ina libbišu šarrūtām dārītām ša kīma šamē u eršetim išdāša šuršudā 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 Ḥammurabi rubām na'dam pālīḡ ilī jāti mīšaram ina mātīm ana šūpīm raggam u šēnam ana ḡulluqīm dannum enšam ana la ḡabālim kīma Šamaš ana šalmāt qaqqadīm wašēmma mātīm nuwwurim Anum u Enlil ana šīr niši ḡubbim 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

(i 50–62) *Ḥammurabi rē'ūm nibīt
Enlil anāku mukammer nuḥšim u
ṭuḥdim mušaklil mimma šumsu ana
Nippur markas šamē u eršetim
zāninum na'dum ša Ekur*

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

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'ūm mutīr Eridu
ana ašrišu mubbib šuluḥ 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 Bābilim muṭīb libbi Marduk
bēlišu ša ūmišu izzazzu ana Esagil*

the onslaught of the four regions of
the world, who magnifies the repu-
tation 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 Sîn ibniūšu
munabḥiš Urim wašrum muštēmiqum
bābil ḥegallim ana Egišnugal*

seed of royalty, he whom the god
Sîn created, enricher of the city of
Ur, humble and talented, who pro-
vides abundance for the Egišnugal
temple:

(ii 22–31) *šar tašīmtīm šēmū Šamaš
dannum mukīn išdī Sippar mušalbiš
warqim gigunē 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 gāmīl Larsa mud-
diš Ebabbar ana Šamaš rēšišu*

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 muballīt Uruk šākin
mē nuḥšim ana nišīšu mullī rēš*

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

*Eanna mukammer ḥiṣbim ana Anim u
līstar*

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) *ṣulūl mātim mupahḥir nišī
saḫātim ša Isin muṭahḥid nuḥšim bīt
Egalmah*

the protecting canopy of the land, who gathers together the scattered peoples of the city of Isin, who supplies abundance for the temple of Egalmah;

(ii 55–67) *uṣumgal šarrī talīm Zababa
mušaršid šubat Kiš muštašḥir
melimmī Emeteursag mušteṣbī paršī
rabūtīm ša līstar 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) *saḫar nakiri ša Erra rūšu
uṣakšidu nizmāssu mušāter Kutī
murappiṣ mimma šumšu ana <E>mes-
lam*

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) *rīnum kadrum munakkip
zā'iri 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 uṣaklilušu erištum Mama mukīn*

the lord, worthy recipient of the scepter and crown bestowed upon

*uṣurātīm ša Keš mudeššī mākalī
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
Girsim 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 mušaklīl 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 munēḥ 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 nuḥšīm 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 mušarḫū šarrūtišu dāriš
išīmu 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
dadme 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 šātīp 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'ī niši ša epšētušu eli
Ištar tābā 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 mutīr lamassišu damiqtim 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) *mušepi 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 muštēniqum ana
ilī rabūtīm liplippim ša Sumu-la-el
aplum dannum ša Sīn-muballiḫ zērum
dārium ša šarrūtīm šarrum dannum
šamšu Bābilim mušēši nūrim ana māt
Šumerim u Akkadīm 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-muballiḫ, 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 mātīm ūsim šūḫuzim urwa'eranni*

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

*kittam u mīšaram ina pī mātīm aškun
šīr niši uṭīb*

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 iktašassu mubbiršu bīssu
itabbal šumma awīlam šuāti Id ūteb-
bibaššuma ištalmam ša elišu kišpī
iddū iddāk ša Id išliam bīt mubbirišu
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
ittanašši²*

¶ 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 ītenī dajānam šuāti ina dīn idīnu enēm ukannušuma rugummām ša ina dīnim šuāti ibbaššū adi 12-šu inaddīn 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 elipšam išriq šumma ša ilim šumma ša ekallim adi 30-šu inaddīn šumma ša muškēnim adi 10-šu iriab šumma šarrāqānum ša nadānim la išu iddāk*

(vi 70–vii 47) *šumma awīlum ša mimmušū 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 iššabat awīlum ša ḥulqum ina qātīšu šabtu nādinānummi iddinam maḥar šībīmi ašām iqtabi u bēl ḥulqim šībī mudē ḥulqijami lublam iqtabi šājimānum nādin iddinušum u šībī ša ina maḥrišunu išāmu itbalam u bēl ḥulqim šībī mudē ḥulqišu itbalam dajānū awātišunu immaruma šībū ša maḥrišunu šīmum iššāmu u šībū mudē ḥulqim mudūssunu maḥar ilim iqabbūma nādinānum šarrāq iddāk bēl ḥulqim ḥuluqšu ileqqe šājimānum ina bīt nādinānim kasap išqulu 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 iddinušum u šībī ša ina maḥrišunu išāmu 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 ḥamšišu 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 šīḫram 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 ḫalqam ša ekallim ulu muškēnim ina bītīšu irtaqīma ana šisīt nāgirim la uštēšiam bēl bītīm šū iddāk*

(viii 49–58) *šumma awīlum lu warad lu amtam ḫalqam ina šērīm iṣbatma ana bēlišu irtediaššu 2 šiqil kaspam bēl wardim inaddišum*

(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 go to his fate, 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 bitišu iktalāšu warka wardum ina
qātišu ittašbat awīlum šū iddāk*

¶ 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.

(ix 5–13) *šumma wardum ina qāt
šābitānišu iḫtaliq awīlum šū ana bēl
wardim nīš ilim izakkamma ūtaššar*

¶ 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.

(ix 14–21) *šumma awīlum bītam
ipluṣ ina pani pišim šuāti idukkušuma
iḫallalušu*

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

(ix 22–27) *šumma awīlum ḫubtam
iḫbutma ittašbat awīlum šū iddāk*

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

(ix 28–45) *šumma ḫabbātum la
ittašbat awīlum ḫabtum mimmašu
ḫalqam maḫar ilim ubārma ālum⁴ u
rabiānum ša ina eršetišunu u
paṭtišunu ḫubtum iḫhabtu mimmašu
ḫalqam iriabbušu⁵*

¶ 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.

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

¶ 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.

(ix 51–65) *šumma ina bīt awīlim
iṣātum innapiḫma awīlum ša ana bul-
līm⁶ illiku ana numāt bēl bītim inšu
iṣšima numāt bēl bītim ilteqe awīlum
šū ana iṣātīm šuāti innaddi*

¶ 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.

(ix 66–x 12) *šumma lu rēdūm ulu
bā'irum ša ana ḫarrān šarrim alākšu*

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

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

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.

(x 13–29) *šumma lu rēdūm ulu
bā'irum ša ina dannat šarrim turru
warkīšu eḡelšu u kirāšu⁷ ana šanīm
iddinuma ilikšu ittalak šumma
ittūramma ālšu iktāšdam eḡelšu u
kirāšu utarrušumma šūma ilikšu illak*

¶ 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.

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

¶ 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.

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

¶ 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.

(x 51–xi 4) *šumma lu rēdūm ulu
bā'irum eḡelšu kirāšu u bīssu ina paṇi
ilkim iddīma uddappir šanūm war-
kišu eḡelšu kirāšu u bīssu iṣbatma
šalaš šanātīm ilikšu ittalak šumma
ittūramma⁸ eḡelšu kirāšu u bīssu irriš
ul innaddiššum ša iṣṣabtuma ilikšu
ittalku šūma illak*

¶ 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

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

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

(xi 39-50) *šumma lu ša ḥaṭṭātim ulu laputtūm sīb nishātīm⁹ irtaši ulu ana ḥarrān šarrim agram pūḥam imḥurma irtedi lu ša ḥaṭṭātim ulu laputtūm šū iddāk*

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

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.

¶ 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 awīlum liātīm u
šēnī ša šarrum ana rēdim iddinu ina
qāti rēdim istām ina kaspišu itelli*

¶ 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.

(xii 5–9) *eqlum kirūm u bītum ša
rēdim bā'irim u nāši biltim ana
kaspim ul innaddin*

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

(xii 10–21) *šumma awīlum eqlam
kirām u bītam ša rēdim bā'irim u nāši
biltim istām tuppašu iḫḫeppe u ina
kaspišu itelli eqlum kirūm u bītum
ana belīšu itār*

¶ 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.

(xii 22–30) *rēdum bā'irim u nāši bil-
tim ina eqlim kirīm u bītim ša ilkišu
ana aššatišu u mārṭišu ul išaṭṭar u
ana e'iltišu ul inaddin*

¶ 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 will he give it to meet any outstanding obligation.

(xii 31–38) *ina eqlim kirīm u bītim ša
išammuma iraššū ana aššatišu u
mārṭišu išaṭṭar u ana e'iltišu inaddin*

¶ 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.

(xii 39–48) *nadītum tamkārūm u
ilkum aḫūm eqelšu kirāšu u bīssu ana
kaspim inaddin šājimānum ilik eqlim
kirīm u bītim ša išammu illak*

¶ 40 (However), a *nadītu*, a merchant, or any 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.

(xii 49–62) *šumma awīlum eqlam
kirām u bītam ša rēdim bā'irim u nāši*

¶ 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 kirišu
u bītisu itār u niplātim ša innad-
nušum itabbal*

(xii 63–xiii 5) *šumma awīlum eqlam
ana errēšūtim ušēšīma ina eqlim
še'am la uštabši ina eqlim šiprim la
epēšim ukannušuma še'am kīma itēšu
ana bēl eqlim inaddin*

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

(xiii 17–34) *šumma awīlum
kankallam ana šalaš šanātim ana
teptitum ušēšīma aḥšu iddīma eqlam
la iptete ina rebūtīm šattīm eqlam
majārī imaḥḥaš imarrar u išakkakma
ana bēl eqlim utār u ana 1 burum 10
kur še'am imaddad*

(xiii 35–46) *šumma awīlum eḡelšu
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 apšītēm izuzzu*

¶ 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.

(xiii 58–70) *šumma errēšum aššum ina šattim maḥrītīm mānaḥātišu la ilqū eqlam erēšam iqtabi bēl eqlim ul uppas errēssuma eqelšu irrišma ina ebūrim kīma riksātišu še'am ileqqe*

¶ 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.

(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 ḥubullišu ul utār tuppašu uraṭtab u šibtam ša šat= tim šuāti ul inaddin*

¶ 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.

(xiv 18–44) *šumma awīlum kaspaṃ itti tamkārim ilqēma eqel epšētīm ša še'im ulu šamaššammī ana tamkārim iddin eqlam erišma še'am ulu šamaššammī ša ibbaššū esip tabal iqbīšum 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*

¶ 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

(xiv 45–55) *šumma eḡel <še'im> eršam ulu eḡel šamaššammī eršam iddin še'am ulu šamaššammī ša ina eḡlim ibbaššū bēl eḡlimma ileqqēma kaspam u šibassu ana tamkārim utār*

(xiv 56–66) *šumma kaspam ana turrim la išu <še'am ulu> šamaššammī ana maḥīrātišunu ša kaspišu u šibtīšu ša itti tamkārim ilqū ana pī šimdat šarrim ana tamkārim inaddin*

(xv 1–6) *šumma errēšum ina eḡlim še'am ulu šamaššammī la uštābši riksātišu ul inni*

(xv 7–20) *šumma awīlum ana kār eḡlišu dunnunim aḥšu iddīma kāršu la udanninma ina kārīšu pītum ittepte u ugāram mē uštābīl awīlum ša ina kārīšu pītum ippetū še'am ša uḥalliqu iriab*

(xv 21–30) *šumma še'am riābam la ile'i šuāti u bīšašu ana kaspim inaddinuma mārū ugārim ša še'šunu mū ublū izuzzu*

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.

¶ 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.

¶ 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.

¶ 52 If the cultivator should not produce grain or sesame in the field, he will not alter his agreement.

¶ 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.

¶ 54 If he cannot replace the grain, they shall sell him and his property, and the residents of the common irrigated area whose grain

(xv 31–38) *šumma awīlum atappašu ana šiḡitīm ip̄te aḫšu iddīma eḡel itēšu mē uštābil še'am kīma itēšu imaddad*

(xv 39–45) *šumma awīlum mē iptēma ep̄šētīm ša eḡel itēšu mē uštābil ana 1 burum 10 kur še'am imaddad*

(xv 46–64) *šumma rē'ūm ana šammī šēnim šūkūlim itti bēl eḡlim la imta-garma balum bēl eḡlim eḡlam šēnam uštākīl bēl eḡlim eḡelšu iṣṣīd rē'ūm ša ina balum bēl eḡlim eḡlam šēnam ušākīlu elēnumma ana 1 burum 20 kur še'am ana bēl eḡlim inaddin*

(xv 65–xvi 3) *šumma ištu šēnum ina ugārim itēlianim kannu gamartim ina abullim ittaḫlalu rē'ūm šēnam ana eḡlim iddīma eḡlam šēnam uštākīl rē'ūm eḡel ušākīlu inaššarma ina ebūrim ana 1 burum 60 kur še'am ana bēl eḡlim imaddad*

crops the water carried away shall divide (the proceeds).

¶ 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.

¶ 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).

¶ 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.

¶ 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

(xvi 4-9) *šumma awīlum balum bēl
kirīm ina kirī awīlim iṣam ikkis ½
mana kaspam iṣaqqal*

(xvi 10-26) *šumma awīlum eqlam
ana kirīm zaqāpim ana nukaribbum
iddin nukaribbum kiriam izqup erbe
šanātīm kiriam urabba ina ḥamuštīm
sattim bēl kirīm u nukaribbum
mīḥārīš izuzzu bēl kirīm zittašu inas-
saqma ileqqe*

(xvi 27-33) *šumma nukaribbum
eqlam ina zaqāpim la igmurma
niditam īzib niditam ana libbi zittišu
iṣakkanuṣum*

(xvi 34-47) *šumma eqlam ša innad-
nuṣum ana kirīm la izqup šumma
šeṛum bilat eqlim ša šanātīm ša
innadū nukaribbum ana bēl eqlim
kīma itēšu imaddad u eqlam šipram
ippešma ana bēl eqlim utār*

(xvi 48-57) *šumma kankallum eqlam
šipram ippešma ana bēl eqlim utār u
ana 1 burum 10 kur še'am ša sattim
ištīat imaddad*

owner of the field 18,000 silas of grain per 18 ikus (of field).

¶ 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.

¶ 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.

¶ 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.

¶ 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.

¶ 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 šittīn 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 tamkārīm ilqēma tamkāršu īsiršuma mimma ša nadānim la ibaššīšum kirāšu ištu tarkibtīm ana tamkārīm iddinma suluppī mala ina kirīm ibbaššū ana kaspika tabal iqbīšum tamkārūm šū ul immaggar suluppī ša ina kirīm ibbaššū bēl kirīmma ileqqēma kaspam u šibassu ša pī tuppišu tamkāram iṣpalma suluppī watrūtīm ša ina kirīm ibbaššū bēl kirīmma ile[qqe]*

(P ii 19–23) *šumma aw[īlum] bītam ip[pešma] tēbušu [...] ša [...] x [...] ul*

(P i 1–6 and b 1–8; Q iv 1–15) *[šumma ...] ana šīm[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
bišam ana bīt ilkin ša bīt itēšu ša
išammu inaddin ina mimma ša iddinu
itelli bītum ana [bēli]šu itār šumma
bītum šū ilkam la išu išām ana bītīm
šuāti še'am kaspam u bišam 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 ibba=
lakkatunim ana bēl nidītīm nidītka
epuš [iš]tu nidītika [bīt]i ipallašunim
[iq]bi [šī]bī iškun [šumma] ina
nabalkattīm [šarr]āqum(?) [...] [mimma
ša ina] naba[lkattīm] 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 [bītim] iddi[nma]
bēl bītim ana waššābi[m] ina ūmī[šu]
la malūtīm wašā[m] iqtāb[i] bēl bītim
aš[šum] waššā[bam] ina ūmī[šu] la
malū[tim] ina bītišu u[šēyū] 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 expiration of the full term of his lease, the owner of the house, because he evicted the tenant from his house before the expiration of the full term of his lease, shall forfeit the silver that the tenant gave him.

(¶¶ J₂, E, ¶ 69+c)

(t i 3–15) [šumma waš]bum [bīt
muškēnim] išā[m ...] kišrim ša ippušu
[ana b]īt muškēnim šānim [...] ša
išakkanu [...] x išakkanšu [...]–ū
šumma rūqim [...] ša muškēnim [...]
šumma ul išāmma [ina kaspim ša]
ilqū [itellī]ma [bīt muškēnim ana
bēl]išu [itā]r

gap ¶ h [If] a tenant intends to purchase [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 purchase (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 awīlum ... i]na
ebūrim kasapšu u šibassu [išaqqal]
šumma a<na> nadānim ul [išu] mim=
mūšu bīšam u šē'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 šiqil kaspim [...] kunukkišu la
išturšum [...] ma-ḥar(-)šu-ū-x-ma x x
mār awīlim 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 document [...] ... the son of a man ... that one ... they shall kill him.

(¶ 5.3)

(t ii 14–18) *šumma warad awīlim [...]*
 $\frac{1}{3}$ *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 silver, and that slave [...] complete ... he shall be killed.

(t ii 19–26) [*šumma*] *awīlum awīlam*
 ... [...] -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 ...*] *ú- [...]* *ana [...]*
idī [...] *kaspam x [...]* *šumma awīlum*
šūā[ti] ša a-x [...] *la ú- [...]* *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[li]šu utar-*
rušu *šumma [...]* *itarrakušū [...]* *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 kurrum 1 pān 4 sūt
še'am šibtam ileqqe šumma kaspam
ana ḥubullim iddin ana 1 šiqil kaspim
 IGI.6.GÁL u 6 *uṭtet 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*
awīlum¹⁵ ša ḥubullam iršū kaspam
ana turrim la išu¹⁶ še'am u kaspam
kīma šimdat šarrim u šibassu 1 kur-
rum še'am 1 pān ana šattim(?) ileqqe
šumma tamkārum šibat ḥubulli [...]
ana 1 kur [...] IGI.6.GÁL 6 *uṭtet [...]*
uwatterma ilqe ina m[imma] ša iddinu
it[elli]

gap ¶ u If a man who has an interest-bearing loan does not have silver with which to repay it, he (the merchant) shall take grain and silver 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 tamkārum 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 uštaḥriṣma tuppam eššam(?) la ištur ulu šibātim ana qaqqadim uṭteḥḫi tamkārum 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 tamkārum še'am u kaspam ana ḥubullim iddinma inūma ana ḥubullim iddinu kaspam ina abnim maṭitim u še'am ina sūtim maṭitim iddin u inūma imḥuru kaspam ina abnim [rabītim] še'am ina sūtim rabītim imḥur [tamkārum šū] ina [mimma ša iddinu] ī[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 [tamkārum ...]
ana ḥub[ullim ...] iddin ina mimma
[ša] iddinu itelli*

(P rev. i 1-13; S ii 30'-40') *šumma
awīlum še'am u kaspam itti tamkārim
ilqēma še'am u kaspam ana turrim la
išu bišamma išu mimma ša ina qātišu
ibaššū maḥar šībī kīma ubbalu ana
tamkārišu inaddin tamkārum ul
uppas imaḥḥar*

(T rev. i 1'-3') [*šumma awīlum ...*] *i-
si-[...] kīma [...] x [...]*

(S iii 1') [*šumma ...*] *iddāk*

(S iii 3'-7') *šumma awīlum ana
awīlim kaspam ana tappūtim iddin
nēmelam u butuqqām ša ibbaššū
maḥar ilim miḥāriš izuzzu*

(S iii 8'-21'; xxiv 1-7) *šumma
tamkārum ana šamallēm kaspam ana
[nad]ā[nim u maḥā]rim id[di]nma
ana ḥarrānim iṭrussu šamallūm ina
ḥarrānim [...] šumma ašar illiku
[nēmelam] itamar sibāt kaspim mala
ilqā isaddarma ūmīšu imannūma
tamkāršu ippal*

gap ¶ y If [a merchant] gives [...] as
an interest-bearing loan, [...] he
shall forfeit anything that he gave.
(¶ Q, ¶ 74+e, <¶ 5.14>)

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 mer-
chant will not object; he shall
accept it.

(¶ R, ¶ 75+e, ¶ 5.15)

gap ¶ aa [If a man ...] like [...]
(¶ S, ¶ 76+e, ¶ 5.16)

gap ¶ bb [If ...] he shall be killed.
(¶ T, ¶ 76+f)

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)

¶ 100 If a merchant gives silver to a
trading agent for conducting busi-
ness transactions and sends him
off on a business trip, the trading
agent [shall ...] while on the busi-
ness trip; if he should realize [a
profit] where he went, he shall cal-
culate the total interest, per trans-
action 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 tadmiqtīm ittadinma ašar illiku bitiqtam itamar qaqqad kaspim ana tamkārim utār*

(xxiv 24–31) *šumma ḥarrānam 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 nikḫassīm ul iššakkan*

(xxiv 55–67) *šumma šamallūm kaspam 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

(xxiv 68–xxv 14) *šumma tamkārūm kaspam šamallām iqīpma šamallūm mimma ša tamkārūm iddinušu ana tamkārišu uttēr tamkārūm mimma ša šamallūm iddinušu ittakiršu šamal-
lūm šū ina maḥar ilim u šībī tamkāram ukānma tamkārūm 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 rabītum kaspam imtaḥar u maḥīr šikarim ana maḥīr še'im umtaṭṭi sābītam šuāti ukannušima^v 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
īterub awīltam šuāti iqallūši*

concerning the silver taken, and the trading agent shall give to the merchant threefold the amount of silver that he took.

¶ 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 *ugbaltu* who does not reside within the cloister should open (the door to?) a tavern or enter a tavern for some beer, they shall burn that woman.

(xxv 45–49) *šumma sâbîtum ištēn pīḫam ana qīptim iddin ina ebūrim 5 sūt še'am ileqqe*

(xxv 50–74) *šumma awīlum ina ḥarrānim wašibma kaspam ḥurāšam abnam u bīš qātišu ana awīlim iddinma ana šēbultim ušābilšu 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 ukan-
nušuma 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 nipūtim ištīat 1/3 mana kaspam išaqqa*

¶ 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 šā rugummām ul išu*

(xxvi 38-53) *šumma nipūtum ina bīt nēpīša ina maḥāšim ulu ina uššušim 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 rebūtīm 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 amtīm 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

(xxvii 4–23) *šumma awīlum še'ašu ana našpakūtīm ina bīt awīlim išpukma ina qarītīm ibbūm ittabši ulu bēl bītīm našpakam iptēma še'am ilqe ulu še'am ša ina bītišu iššapku ana gamrim ittakir²² bēl še'im maḥar ilim še'ašu ubārma bēl bītīm še'am ša ilqū uštašannāma ana bēl še'im inaddin*

(xxvii 24–30) *šumma awīlum ina bīt awīlim še'am išpuk 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 ukan= nušuma mimma ša ikkiru uštašannāma inaddin*

deliver the silver which the merchant weighed and delivered (as the loan) and he shall thereby redeem his slave woman.

¶ 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 mimmušu itti mimme bēl bītim iḫṭaliq bēl bītim ša īgūma mimma ša ana maššarūtīm iddi= nušumma uḫalliḫ ušallamma ana bēl makkūrim iriab bēl bītim mimmašu ḫalqam išteneʾīma itti šarrāqānišu ileqqe*

¶ 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.

(xxviii 8–24) *šumma awīlum mimmušu la ḫal[iq]ma mimme ḫaliq iqtabi babtašu ūtebbir kīma mimmušu la ḫalqu babtašu ina maḫar ilim ubāršuma mimma ša irgumu uštašannāma ana babtīšu inaddin*

¶ 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.

(xxviii 25–34) *šumma awīlum eli ugbabtīm u aššat awīlim ubānam uša= trišma la uktīn awīlam šuāti maḫar dajānī inattūšu u muttassu ugallabu*

¶ 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.

(xxviii 35–41) *šumma awīlum aššatam iḫuzma riksātiša la iškun sinništum šī ul aššat*

¶ 128 If a man marries a wife but does not draw up a formal contract for her, that woman is not a wife.

(xxviii 42–53) *šumma aššat awīlim itti zikarim šanīm ina itūlim ittašbat ikassūšunūtima ana mē inaddūšunūti šumma bēl aššatim aššassu uballaṭ u šarrum warassu uballaṭ*

¶ 129 If a man's wife should be seized lying with another male, they shall bind them and cast 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 awīlum aššat awīlim ša zikaram la idūma ina bīt abiša wašbat ukabbišima ina sūniša ittatiłma iššabtušu awīlum šū iddāk sinništum šī ūtaššar*

(xxviii 68–76) *šumma aššat awīlim mussa ubbiršima itti zikarim šanīm ina utūlim la iššabit nīš ilim izak= karma ana bītiša itār*

(xxviii 77–xxix 6) *šumma aššat awīlim aššum zikarim šanīm ubānum eliša ittarišma itti zikarim šanīm ina utūlim la ittašbat ana mutiša id išalli*

(xxix 7–17) *šumma awīlum 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 itērub sinništam šuāti ukannušima ana mē inaddūši*

(xxix 27–36) *šumma awīlum iššalilma ina bītišu ša akālim la ibašši aššassu ana bīt šanīm irrub sinništum šī arnam ul išu*

(xxix 37–56) *šumma awīlum iššalilma ina bītišu ša akālim la ibašši ana pañišu aššassu ana bīt šanīm itērubma mārī ittalaḍ ina warka mussa ittūramma ālšu iktāš=*

¶ 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 ḥāwiriša itār
mārū warki abišunu illaku*

husband returns and gets back to his city, that woman shall return to her first husband; the children shall inherit from their father.

(xxix 57–73) *šumma awīlum ālšu
iddīma ittābit warkišu aššassu ana
bīt šanīm iterub šumma awīlum šū
ittūramma aššassu iṣṣabat aššum
ālšu izēruma innabitu aššat munnab-
tim ana mutiša ul itār*

¶ 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.

(xxix 74–xxx 13) *šumma awīlum ana
šugītim ša mārī uldušum ulu nadītim
ša mārī ušaršūšu ezēbim panīšu
ištakan ana sinništum 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 iḥḥassi*

¶ 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.

(xxx 14–24) *šumma awīlum ḥīrtašu
ša mārī la uldušum izzib kaspam
mala terḫatiša inaddiššim u šeriktam
ša ištu bīt abiša ublam ušallamšimma
izzibši*

¶ 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.

(xxx 25–29) *šumma terḫatum la
ibašši 1 mana kaspam ana uzubbēm
inaddiššim*

¶ 139 If there is no bridewealth, he shall give her 60 shekels of silver as a divorce settlement.

(xxx 30–32) *šumma muškēnum $\frac{1}{3}$
mana kaspam inaddiššim*

¶ 140 If he is a commoner, he shall give her 20 shekels of silver.

(xxx 33–59) *šumma aššat awīlim ša
ina bīt awīlim wašbat ana wašēm*

¶ 141 If the wife of a man who is residing in the man's house should

*panīša ištakanma sikiltam isakkil
bīssa usappaḥ mussa ušamṭa ukan=
nušima šumma mussa ezēbša iqtabi
izzibši ḥarrānša uzubbūša mimma ul
innaddiššim šumma mussa la ezēbša
iqtabi mussa sinništam šanītam iḥḥaz
sinništum šī kīma amtūm ina bīt
mutiša uššab*

(xxx 60–xxx 5) *šumma sinništum
mussa izērma ul taḥḥazanni iqtabi
warkassa ina bābīša ipparrasma
šumma naṣratma ḥiṭītam la išu u
mussa wašīma magal ušamṭāši sin=
ništum šī arnam ul išu šeriktaša ileq=
qēma ana bīt abiša ittallak*

(xxxi 6–12) *šumma la naṣratma
wašiat bīssa usappaḥ mussa ušamṭa
sinništam šuāti ana mē inaddūši*

(xxxi 13–27) *šumma awīlum nadītam
iḥuzma nadītum šī amtam ana
mutiša iddinma mārī uštābši awīlum
šū ana šugītim aḥāzim panīšu
ištakan awīlam šuāti ul imaggarušu
šugītam ul iḥḥaz*

decide to leave, and she appropriates goods, squanders her household 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 declare his intention to not 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 circumspect and without fault, but her husband is wayward and disparages 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 household 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 permit that man to do so, he will not marry the *šugītu*.

(xxx1 28–42) *šumma awilum nadītam iḥuzma mārī la ušaršīšuma ana šugītim aḥāzim panīšu ištakan awilum šū šugītam iḥḥaz ana bitīšu ušerrebši šugitum šī itti nadītim ul uštamahḥar*

(xxx1 43–59) *šumma awilum nadītam iḥuzma amtam ana mutiša iddinma mārī ittalad warkānum amtum šī itti bēlīša uštatamḥir aššum mārī uldu bēlessa ana kaspim ul inaddišši abbutam išakkanšimma itti amātim imannūši*

(xxx1 60–64) *šumma mārī la ūlid bēlessa ana kaspim inaddišši*

(xxx1 65–81) *šumma awilum aššatam iḥuzma la'bum iššabassi ana šanītim aḥāzim panīšu ištakkan iḥḥaz aššassu ša la'bum iṣbatu ul izzibši ina bīt īpušu uššamma adi balḫat ittanaššīši*

(xxxii 1–9) *šumma sinništum šī ina bīt mutiša wašābam la imtagar šerik= taša ša ištu bīt abiša ublam ušal= lamīšimma ittallak*

(xxxii 10–25) *šumma awilum ana aššatišu eqlam kirām bītam u bīšam išrukšim kunukkam izibšim warki mutiša mārūša ul ipaqqaruši ummum warkassa ana mārīša ša irammum inaddin ana aḥim ul inaddin*

¶ 145 If a man marries a *nadītu*, and she does not provide him with children, 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 husband, 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 may marry, 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 husband'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 urtakkis ṭuppam uštēzib šumma awīlum šū lāma sinništam šuāti iḥḥazu ḥubullum elišu ibašši bēl ḥubullīšu aššassu ul iṣabbatu u šumma sinništum sī lāma ana bīt awīlim irrubu ḥubullum eliša ibašši bēl ḥubullīša mussa ul iṣabbatu*

(xxxii 52–60) *šumma ištu sinništum sī ana bīt awīlim irrubu elišunu ḥubullum ittabši kilallāšunu tamkāram ippalu*

(xxxii 61–66) *šumma aššat awīlim aššum zikarim šanīm mussa ušdīk sinništam šuāti ina gašīšim iṣakkanuši*

(xxxii 67–71) *šumma awīlum mārassu iltamad awīlam šuāti ālam ušeššūšu*

(xxxii 72–xxxiii 1) *šumma awīlum ana mārīšu kallatam iḥīrma mārūšu ilmassi šū warkānumma ina sūnīša ittatiḥma iṣṣabtušu awīlam šuāti ikassūšuma ana mē inaddūšu²⁶*

(xxxiii 2–17) *šumma awīlum ana mārīšu kallatam iḥīrma mārūšu la ilmassima šū ina sūnīša ittatiḥ ½ mana kaspam iṣaqqalšimma u mimma ša ištu bīt abiša ublam ušal= lamšimma mutu libbiša iḥḥassi*

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 awilum warki abišu ina sūn ummišu ittatiḷ kilallīšunu iqallūšunūti*

¶ 157 If a man, after his father's death, should lie with his mother, they shall burn them both.

(xxxiii 24-32) *šumma awilum warki abišu ina sūn rabītišu²⁷ ša mārī wal= dat ittašbat awilum šū ina bīt abim inmassaḅ*

¶ 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.

(xxxiii 33-46) *šumma awilum ša ana bīt emišu biblam ušābilu terḫatam iddinu ana sinništīm šanītim uptallisma ana emišu mārarka ul aḫḫaz iqtabi abi mārtim mimma ša ibbablušum itabbal*

¶ 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.

(xxxiii 47-59) *šumma awilum ana bīt emim biblam ušābil terḫatam iddinma abi mārtim mārtī ul anaddikkum iqtabi mimma mala ibbablušum uštašannāma utār*

¶ 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.

(xxxiii 60-77) *šumma awilum ana bīt emišu biblam ušābil terḫatam iddinma ibiršu uktarrissu emušu ana bēl ašša= tim mārtī ul taḫḫaz iqtabi mimma mala ibbablušum uštašannāma utār u aššassu ibiršu ul iḫḫaz*

¶ 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 ūlišsumma sinništum šī ana šīmtim ittalak ana šeriketiša abuša ul iraggum šeriketaša ša mārīšama*

(xxxiv 7–23) *šumma awīlum aššatam iḥuzma mārī la ušaršišu sinništum šī ana šīmtim ittalak šumma terḥatam ša awīlum šū ana bīt emišu ublu emišu uttēršum ana šerikti sinništum šuāti mussa ul iraggum šeriketaša ša bīt abišama*

(xxxiv 24–32) *šumma emišu terḥatam la uttēršum ina šeriketiša mala terḥatiša iḥarrašma šeriketaša ana bīt abiša utār*

(xxxiv 33–50) *šumma awīlum ana aplišu ša inšu maḥru eqlam kirām u bītam išruk kunukkam ištūršum warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku inūma aḥḥū izuzzu qīšti abum iddinušum ileqqēma elēnumma ina makkūr bīt abim mitḥāriš izuzzu*

(xxxiv 51–73) *šumma awīlum ana mārīšu²⁸ ša irbū (text: iršū) aššatim iḥuz ana mārīšu šīḥrim aššatam la iḥuz warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku inūma aḥḥū izuzzu ina makkūr bīt abim ana aḥīšunu šīḥrim 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 will 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
išakkanuṣumma aššatam uṣaḥḥazušu*

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.

(xxxiv 74–xxxv 8) *šumma awīlum
aššatam iḥuzma mārī ūlissum sinniṣ-
tum šī ana šīmtim ittalak warkiša sin-
niṣtam šanītam itaḥazma mārī itta-
lad warkānum abum ana šīmtim
ittalku mārū ana ummātim ul izuzzu
šerikti ummātišunu ileqqūma makkūr
bīt abim mithāriṣ izuzzu*

¶ 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.

(xxxv 9–24) *šumma awīlum ana
mārišu nasāḥim panam ištakan ana
dajānī mārī anassaḥ iqtabi dajānū
warkassu iparrasuma šumma mārūm
arnam kabtam ša ina aplūtim
nasāḥim la ublam abum mārašu ina
aplūtim ul inassaḥ*

¶ 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.

(xxxv 25–36) *šumma arnam kabtam
ša ina aplūtim nasāḥim ana abišu
itbalam ana ištiššu panišu ubbalu
šumma arnam kabtam adi šinīšu
itbalam abum mārašu ina aplūtim
inassaḥ*

¶ 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.

(xxxv 37–59) *šumma awīlum ḥīrtāšu
mārī ūlissum u amassu mārī ūlissum
abum ina bultišu ana mārī ša amtum
uldušum mārūa iqtabi iti mārī ḥīrtim
imtanūšunūti warka abum ana šīmtim
ittalku ina makkūr bīt abim mārū
ḥīrtim u mārū amtim²⁹ mithāriṣ*

¶ 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
inassaqma ileqqe*

(xxxv 60–xxxvi 5) *u šumma abum
ina bulṭišu ana mārī ša amtum
uldušum³⁰ mārūja la iqtabi 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 baḷṭat 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
usaḫḫamuši dajānū warkassa iparra=
suma mārī arnam immidu sinništum
ši ina bīt mutiša ul ušši šumma sin=
ništum ši 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

*nudunnâm ša mussa iddinušim ana
mārīša izzib šeriktam ša bīt abiša
ileqqēma mut libbiša iḫḫassi*

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.

(xxxvi 41-50) *šumma sinništum šī
ašar īrubu ana mutiša warkīm mārī
ittalad warka sinništum šī imtūt šerik-
taša mārū mahrūtum u warkūtum
izuzzu*

¶ 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.

(xxxvi 51-56) *šumma ana mutiša
warkīm mārī la ittalad šeriktaša mārū
ḫāwirišama ileqqū*

¶ 174 If she does not bear children to her latter husband, only the children of her first husband shall take her dowry.

(xxxvi 57-68) *šumma lu warad
ekallim ulu warad muškēnim mārat
awīlim iḫuzma mārī ittalad bēl
wardim ana mārī mārat awīlim ana
wardūtum ul iraggum*

¶ 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.

(xxxvi 69-xxxvii 9) *u šumma warad
ekallim ulu warad muškēnim mārat
awīlim iḫuzma inūma iḫuzuši qadum
šeriktim ša bīt abiša ana bīt warad
ekallim ulu warad muškēnim³¹ īrubma
ištu innemḏū bītam īpušu bīšam
iršū³² warkānumma lu warad ekallim
ulu warad muškēnim ana šīmtim itta-
lak mārat awīlim šeriktaša ileqqe³³ u
mimma ša mussa u šī ištu innemḏū
iršū ana šīnīšu izuzzuma mišlam bēl
wardim ileqqe mišlam mārat awīlim
ana mārīša ileqqe*

¶ 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

(xxxvii 10–21) *šumma mārāt awīlim
šeriktam la išu mimma ša mussa u šī
ištū innemdū iršū ana šinīšu izuz-
zuma mišlam bēl wardim ileqqe
mišlam mārāt awīlim ana mārīša
ileqqe*

(xxxvii 22–60) *šumma almattum ša
mārūša šēḫḫeru ana bīt šanīm erēbim
panīša ištakan balum dajānī ul irrub
inūma ana bīt šanīm irrubu dajānū
warkat bīt mutiša panīm iparrasuma
bitam ša mutiša panīm ana mutiša
warkīm u sinništīm šuāti ipaqqiduma
tuppam ušezzebušunūti bitam
inaššaru u šēḫḫerūtīm urabbū uniātīm
ana kaspim ul inaddīnu šājimānum ša
unūt mārī almattim išammu ina
kaspīšu itelli makkūrum ana bēlišu
itār*

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.

¶ 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.

¶ 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 ugbab-*
tum nadītum ulu sekretum ša abuša
šeriktam išrukušim tuppam išturušim
ina tuppim ša išturušim warkassa
ēma eliša tābu nadānamma la
išturšimma mala libbiša la ušamšiši
warka abum ana šimtim ittalku eqelša
u kirāša aḥḥūša ileqqūma kīma emūq
zittiša ipram piššatam u lubūšam
inaddinušimma libbaša uṭabbu
šumma aḥḥūša kīma emūq zittiša
ipram piššatam u lubūšam la ittad-
nušimma libbaša la uṭṭibbu eqelša u
kirāša ana errēšim ša eliša tābu
inaddinma errēssa ittanaššiši eqlam
kirām³⁴ u mimma ša abuša iddinu-
šim³⁵ adi baḷtat ikkal ana kaspim ul
inaddin šaniam ul uppal aplussa ša
aḥḥīšama

¶ 178 If there is an *ugbabtu*, a *nadītu*, or a *sekretu* 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 ištu-
rušim ina tuppim ša išturušim
warkassa ēma eliša tābu nadānam
išturšimma mala libbiša uštamšiši
warka abum ana šimtim ittalku
warkassa ēma eliša tābu inaddin
aḥḥūša ul ipaqqaruši

¶ 179 If there is an *ugbabbu*, a *nadītu*, or a *sekretu* 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 baḷḷat ikkal warkassa ša aḥḥīšama*

(xxxviii 60–75) *šumma abum nadītam qadīštam ulu kulmašītam ana ilim iššīma šeriktam la išrukšim warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku ina makkūr bīt abim šalušti aplūtiša izāzma adi baḷḷat ikkal warkassa ša aḥḥīšama*

(xxxviii 76–xxxix 1) *šumma abum ana mārtišu nadīt Marduk ša Bābīlīm šeriktam la išrukšim kunukkam la išturšim warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku ina makkūr bīt abim šalušti aplūtiša itti aḥḥīša izāzma ilkam ul illak nadīt Marduk warkassa ēma eliša ṭābu inaddīn*

(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 *sekretu*, 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 *qadīštu*, 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 šugītīm šeriktam la išrukšim ana mutim la iddišši warka abum ana šīmtim ittalku aḥḥūša kīma emūq bīt abim šeriktam išarrakušimma ana mutim inaddinuši*

¶ 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.

(xxxix 31–38) *šumma awīlum šīḫram ina mēšu ana mārūtīm ilqēma urtabbišu tarbītum šī ul ibbaqqar*

¶ 185 If a man takes in adoption a young child at birth and then rears him, that rearling will not be reclaimed.

(xxxix 39–49) *šumma awīlum šīḫram ana mārūtīm ilqe inūma ilqūšu abašu u ummašu iḥiaṭ tarbītum šī ana bīt abīšu itār*

¶ 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.

(xxxix 50–53) *mār girseqīm muzzaz ekallim u mār sekretim ul ibbaqqar*

¶ 187 A child of (i.e., reared by) a courtier who is a palace attendant or a child of (i.e., reared by) a *sekretu* will not be reclaimed.

(xxxix 54–59) *šumma mār ummānim šīḫram ana tarbītīm ilqēma šīpir qātīšu uštāḥissu ul ibbaqqar*

¶ 188 If a craftsman takes a young child to rear and then teaches him his craft, he will not be reclaimed.

(xxxix 60–64) *šumma šīpir qātīšu la uštāḥissu tarbītum šī ana bīt abīšu itār*

¶ 189 If he should not teach him his craft, that rearling shall return to his father's house.

(xxxix 65–74) *šumma awīlum šīḫram ša ana mārūtīšu ilqūšuma urabbūšu itti mārīšu la imtanūšu tarbītum šī ana bīt abīšu itār*

¶ 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.

(xxxix 75–95) *šumma awīlum šīḫram ša ana mārūtīšu ilqūšuma urabbūšu bīssu īpuš warka mārī irtašīma ana tarbītīm nasāḥim panam ištakan šīḫrum šū rēqūssu ul ittallak abum*

¶ 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 attā ul
ummī atti iqtabi lišanšu 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 inassaḥu*

¶ 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 šihrum šū
ina qāt mušēniqtim imtūt mušēniqtim
balum abišu u ummišu šihram šani-
amma irtakas ukannušima aššum
balum abišu u ummišu šihram 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 for another child without the knowledge of his father and mother, they shall charge and convict her, and, because she contracted for another child without the consent of his father and mother, they shall cut off her breast.

(xl 41–44) *šumma mārum abašu
imtaḥaṣ 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 eliṣu 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 šiqil 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 awilim lēt mār awilim imtaḫaṣ 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 awilum awilam ina risbatim imtaḫaṣma simmam ištakanšu awilum šū ina idū la amḫaṣu 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 maḫāṣišu imtūt itammāma šumma mār awilim ½ mana kaspam išaqqa*

¶ 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 išaqqa*

¶ 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 awilum mārat awilim imḫaṣma ša libbiša uštaddīši 10 šiqil kaspam ana ša libbiša išaqqa*

¶ 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 sinmištum šī imtūt mārassu idukku*

¶ 210 If that woman should die, they shall kill his daughter.

(xli 35–40) *šumma mārat muškēnim ina maḫāṣim ša libbiša uštaddīši 5 šiqil kaspam išaqqa*

¶ 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 sinmištum šī imtūt ½ mana kaspam išaqqa*

¶ 212 If that woman should die, he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.

(xli 45–50) *šumma amat awīlim imḥašma ša libbiša uštaddiši 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 1/3 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 īpušma awīlam ubtalliṭ ulu nakkapti awīlim ina karzilli siparrim iptēma in awīlim ubtalliṭ 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 asim 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 īpušma awīlam uštamīt ulu nakkapti awīlim ina karzilli siparrim iptēma in awīlim uḫtappid 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 īpušma uštamīt 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 inšu uḫtappid 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 eṣemti awīlim šebirtam uštallim ulu šerʾānam maršam ubtalliṭ bēl simmim ana asīm 5 šiqil kaspam inaddin*

¶ 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.

(xlii 10–12) *šumma mār muškēnim 3 šiqil kaspam inaddin*

¶ 222 If he (the patient) is a member of the commoner-class, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

(xlii 13–17) *šumma warad awīlim bēl wardim ana asīm 2 šiqil kaspam inaddin*

¶ 223 If he (the patient) is an *awīlu*'s slave, the slave's master shall give the physician 2 shekels of silver.

(xlii 18–28) *šumma asī alpim ulu imērim lu alpam ulu imēram simmam kabtam īpušma ubtalliṭ bēl alpim ulu imērim IGI.6.GĀL kaspam ana asīm idīšu inaddin*

¶ 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.

(xlii 29–35) *šumma alpam ulu imēram simmam kabtam īpušma uštamiṭ IGI.4(?)GĀL šīmišu ana bēl alpim ulu imērim inaddin*

¶ 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.

(xlii 36–42) *šumma gallābum balum bēl wardim abbutti wardim la šēm ugallib ritti gallābim šuāti inakkisu*

¶ 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.

(xlii 43–55) *šumma awīlum gallābam idāšma abbutti wardim la šēm ugdal= lib awīlam šuāti idukkušuma ina bābišu iḫallalušu gallābum ina idū la ugallibu itammāma ūtaššar*

¶ 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 itinum bītam ana awīlim īpušma ušaklilšum ana 1 musar bītim 2 šiqil kaspam ana qīštišu inaddiššum*

¶ 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.

(xlii 64–72) *šumma itinum ana awīlim bītam īpušma šipiršu la udan= ninma bīt īpušu imqutma bēl bītim uštāmīt itinum šū iddāk*

¶ 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.

(xlii 73–76) *šumma mār bēl bītim uštāmīt mār itinnim šuāti idukku*⁴²

¶ 230 If it should cause the death of a son of the householder, they shall kill a son of that builder.

(xlii 77–81) *šumma warad bēl bītim uštāmīt wardam kīma wardim ana bēl bītim inaddin*

¶ 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.

(xlii 82–92) *šumma makkūram uḫ= talliq mimma ša uḫalliqu iriab u aššum bīt īpušu la udanninuma imqutu ina makkūr ramanišu bīt imqutu ippeš*

¶ 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.

(xlii 93–xliii 3) *šumma itinum bītam ana awīlim īpušma šipiršu la uštešbīma igārum iqtūp itinum šū ina kasap ramanišu igāram šuāti udannan*

¶ 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.

(xliii 4–9) *šumma malāḫum elip 60 kur ana awīlim ipḫi 2 šiqil kaspam ana qīštišu inaddiššum*

¶ 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.

(xliii 10–26) *šumma malāḫum elip= pam ana awīlim ipḫīma šipiršu la*

¶ 235 If a boatman caulks a boat for a man but does not satisfactorily

*utakkilma ina šattimma šuāti elippum
ši iššabar biṭitām irtaši malāḥum elip=
pam šuāti inaqqarma ina makkūr
ramanišu udannanma elippam dan=
natam ana bēl elippim inaddin*

complete his work and within that very year the boat founders or reveals a structural defect, the boatman 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.

*(xlili 27-37) šumma awīlum elippašu
ana malāḥim ana igrim iddinma
malāḥum igīma elippam uṭṭebbi ulu
uḥtalliq malāḥum elippam ana bēl
elippim iriab*

¶ 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 boatman shall replace the boat for the owner of the boat.

*(xlili 38-55) šumma awīlum
malāḥam u elippam igurma še'am
šipātīm šamnam suluppī u mimma
šumšu ša šēnim išēnši malāḥum šū
igīma elippam uṭṭebbi u ša libbiša uḥ=
talliq malāḥum elippam ša uṭebbū u
mimma ša ina libbiša uḥalliqu iriab*

¶ 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 boatman shall replace the boat which he sank and any of its cargo which he lost.

*(xlili 56-61) šumma malāḥum elip
awīlim uṭṭebbīma uštēliašši kaspaṃ
mišil šīmiša inaddin*

¶ 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.

*(xlili 62-66) šumma awīlum
malāḥam [igur] 6 [kur še'am] ina
šan[at] inaddiš[šum]*

¶ 239 If a man hires a boatman, he shall give him 1,800 silas of grain per year.

*(xlili 67-80) šumma elip ša māḥirtim
elip ša muqqelpītim imḥašma uṭṭebbi
bēl elippim ša elippašu tebiat mimma
ša ina elippišu ḥalqu ina maḥar ilim
ubārma ša māḥirtim ša elip ša
muqqelpītim uṭebbū elippašu u mim=
mašu ḥalqam iriabšum*

¶ 240 If a boat under the command of the master of an upstream-boat collides with a boat under the command of the master of a downstream-boat and thus sinks it, the owner of the sunken boat shall establish before the god the property 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 property.
- (xliii 81-84) *šumma awīlum alpaṃ ana nipūtim ittepe 1/3 mana kaspam išaqqal* ¶ 241 If a man should distraint an ox, he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.
- (xliii 85-91) *šumma awīlum ana šat=tim ištiat īgur idī alpim ša warka 4 kur še'am idī alpim ša qabla 3 kur še'am ana bēlišu inaddin* ¶ 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).
- (xliv 1-5) *šumma awīlum alpaṃ imēram īgurma ina šērīm nēšum iddūkšu ana bēlišuma* ¶ 244 If a man rents an ox or a donkey and a lion kills it in the open country, it is the owner's loss.
- (xliv 6-13) *šumma awīlum alpaṃ īgurma ina mēgūtīm ulu ina maḥāšim uštamiṭ alpaṃ kīma alpim ana bēl alpim iriab* ¶ 245 If a man rents an ox and causes its death either by negligence or by physical abuse, he shall replace the ox with an ox of comparable value for the owner of the ox.
- (xliv 14-21) *šumma awīlum alpaṃ īgurma šēpšu ištebir ulu labiānšu ittakis⁴³ alpaṃ kīma alpim ana bēl alpim iriab* ¶ 246 If a man rents an ox and breaks its leg or cuts its neck tendon, he shall replace the ox with an ox of comparable value for the owner of the ox.
- (xliv 22-27) *šumma awīlum alpaṃ īgurma īnšu uḫtappid kaspam 1/2 šīmišu ana bēl alpim inaddin* ¶ 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.
- (xliv 28-35) *šumma awīlum alpaṃ īgurma qaranšu iš<te>bir zibbassu ittakis ulu šašallašu ittasak kaspam IGI.4(?)GAL šīmišu inaddin* ¶ 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 imḫassuma imtūt awīlum ša alpam īguru nīš ilim izakkarma uṭaššar*

(xliv 44–51) *šumma alpum sūqam ina alākišu awīlam ikkipma uštamīt dīnum šū rugummām ul išu*

(xliv 52–65) *šumma alap awīlim nakkāpīma kīma nakkāpū bābtašu ušēdīšumma qarnīšu la ušarrim alapšu la usanniḡma alpum šū mār awīlim ikkipma uštamīt ½ mana kas-pam inaddīn*

(xliv 66–68) *šumma warad awīlim ⅓ mana kas-pam inaddīn*

(xliv 69–82) *šumma awīlum awīlam ana panī eqlīšu uzuzzim īgurma aldām iqīpšu liātīm ipqissum [ana] eqlīm erēšīm urakkissu šumma awīlum šū zēram ulu ukullām išriḡma ina qātišu ittašbat rittašu inakkisu*

(xliv 83–87) *šumma aldām ilqēma liātīm ūtenniš tašna še'am ša imḫuru iriab*

(xliv 88–96) *šumma liāt awīlim ana īgrim ittadin ulu zēram išriḡma ina eqlīm la uštabši 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 ikus of land.
- (xliv 97–100) *šumma pīḥassu apālam la ileʿi ina eqlīm 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–xlv 4) *šumma awīlum ikkaram īgur 8 kur šeʿam ina šattim ištīat inaddiššum* ¶ 257 If a man hires an agricultural laborer, he shall give him 2,400 silas of grain per year.
- (xlv 5–9) *šumma awīlum kullizām īgur 6 kur šeʿam ina šattim ištīat inaddiššum* ¶ 258 If a man hires an ox driver, he shall give him 1,800 silas of grain per year.
- (xlv 10–15) *šumma awīlum epinnam ina ugārim išriq 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.
- (xlv 16–20) *šumma ḥarbam ulu maškakātīm ištariq 3 šiqil kaspam inaddin* ¶ 260 If he should steal a clod-breaking plow or a harrow, he shall give 3 shekels of silver.
- (xlv 21–27) *šumma awīlum nāqidam ana liātim u šēnim reʿim īgur 8 kur šeʿam ina šattim ištīat inaddiššum* ¶ 261 If a man hires a herdsman to herd the cattle or the sheep and goats, he shall give him 2,400 silas of grain per year.
- (xlv 28–36) *šumma awīlum alpam ulu immeram ana [nāqidim ...]* ¶ 262 If a man [gives] an ox or a sheep to a [herdsman ...]
- (xlv 37–43) *šumma [alpam] ulu [immeram] ša innadnušum uḫtalliḡ alpam kīma [alpim] immeram kīma [immerim] ana bēli[šu] iriāb* ¶ 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.
- (xlv 44–60) *šumma [rēʾūm] ša liātum ulu šēnum ana reʿim innadnušum idīšu gamrātīm maḥir libbašu tāb liātim uṣṣaḫḫir šēnam uṣṣaḫḫir 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 ittadin ukannušuma adi 10-šu
ša išriqu liātum u šenam 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 idduk 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 īgūma ina
tarbašim pissatam uštabši rē'um ḥiīt
pissatim ša ina tarbašim ušabšū
liātum u šenam 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 īgur 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 īgur 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 īgur 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 liātim ereqqam u murteddīša īgur ina ūmim ištēn 3 parsikat še'am inaddin*

(xlvi 3–7) *šumma awīlum ereqqamma ana ramanīša īgur ina ūmim ištēn 4 sūt še'am inaddin*

(xlvi 8–19) *šumma awīlum agram īgur ištu rēš šattim adi ḥamšim warḥim 6 uṭtet kaspam ina ūmim ištēn inaddin ištu šiššim warḥim adi taqtīt šattim 5 uṭtet kaspam ina ūmim ištēn inaddin*

(xlvi 20–44) *šumma awīlum mār ummānim iggar idī LU.[x] 5 uṭtet kas=pam idī kāmīdim 5 uṭtet kaspam [idī] ša kitīm(?) [x uṭtet] kaspam [idī] purkullim [x uṭtet ka]spam [idī] sasin=nim(?) [x uṭtet kas]pam [idī] nap[pāḥim] [x uṭtet kas]pam [idī] naggārīm 4(?) uṭtet kaspam idī aškāpim [x] uṭtet kaspam idī atkup=pim [x uṭtet] kaspam [idī] itinnim [x uṭtet kas]pam [ina ūmim] ištēn [inadd]in*

(xlvi 45–48) *[šumma aw]īlum [...] īgur ina ūmim ištēn 3 uṭtet kaspum idūša*

(xlvi 49–52) *šumma māḥirtam īgur 2½ uṭtet kaspam idīša ina ūmim ištēn inaddin*

¶ 271 If a man rents cattle, a wagon, and its driver, he shall give 180 silas of grain per day.

¶ 272 If a man rents only the wagon, he shall give 40 silas of grain per day.

¶ 273 If a man hires a hireling, 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.

¶ 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.

¶ 275 If a man rents a [...-boat], 3 barleycorns of silver per day is its hire.

¶ 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 idiša inaddin*

(xlvi 58–66) *šumma awīlum wardam
amtam išamma waraḥšu la imlāma
benni elišu imtaqut ana nādinānišu
utārma šājimānum kasap išqulu
ileqqe*

(xlvi 67–71) *šumma awīlum wardam
amtam išamma baqri irtaši
nādinānšu baqri ippal*

(xlvi 72–87) *šumma awīlum ina māt
nukurtim wardam amtam ša awīlim
ištām inūma ina libbū mātīm ittalz
kamma bēl wardim ulu amtīm lu
warassu ulu amassu ūteddi šumma
wardum u amtum šunu mārū mātīm
balum kaspimma andurāršunu
iššakkan*

(xlvi 88–96) *šumma mārū mātīm
šanītim šājimānum ina maḥar ilim
kasap išqulu iqabbīma bēl wardim ulu
amtīm kasap išqulu ana tamkārim
inaddinma lu warassu lu amassu
ipaṭṭar*

(xlvi 97–102) *šumma wardum ana
bēlišu ul bēlī atta iqtabi kīma warassu
ukānšuma bēlšu 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 weighed, 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*

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.

(xlvi 9-58) *Hammurabi šarrum gitmālum anāku ana šalmāt qaqqadim ša Enlil išrukam rē'ūssina Marduk iddinam ul ēgu aḫi ul addi ašrī šulmim ešte'īšināšim pušqī waštūtīm upettī nūram ušēšišināšim ina kakkim dannim ša Zababa u Ištar ušatlimūnim ina igigallim ša Ea ištīmam ina lē'ūtīm ša Marduk iddinam nakrī eliš u šapliš assuḫ qablātīm ubelli šīr mātīm uṭīb niši dadmī aburrī ušarbiš mugallitam ul ušaršišināti ilū rabūtum ibbūninnima anākuma rē'ūm mušallimum ša ḥaṭṭašu išarat šilli ṭābum ana ālija tariš ina utlija niši māt Šumerim u Akkadīm ukil ina lamassija iḫḫiša ina šulmim attabbalšināti ina nēmeqija uštapziršināti*

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.

(xlvi 59-78) *dannum enšam ana la ḥabālim ekūtam almattam šutēšurim ina Bābilim ālim ša Anum u Enlil rēšīšu ullū ina Esagil bitim ša kīma šamē u eršetim išdāšu kīnā dīn mātīm*

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 mātim ana
parāsim ḥablim šutēšurim awātiya
šūqurātim ina nariya ašturma ina
maḥar šalmiya šar mišarim ukīn*

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.

*(xlvi 79–xlvi 2) šarrum ša in šarri
šūturu anāku awātūa nasqā lē'ūtī
šāninam ul išu ina qibīt Šamaš
dajānim rabīm ša šamē u eršetim
mīšari ina mātim lištēpi ina awat
Marduk bēliya ušurātūa mušassikam
aj iršia ina Esagil ša arammu šumī
ina damiqtim ana dār lizzakir*

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.

*(xlvi 3–19) awilum ḥablum ša
awatam iraššū ana maḥar šalmiya šar
mīšarim lillikma nari šaṭram
lištassīma awātiya šūqurātim lišmēma
nari awatam likallimšu dīnšu līmur
libbašu linappišma*

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:

*(xlvi 20–38) Ḥammurabimi bēlum
ša kīma abim wālidim ana nišī ibaššū
ana awat Marduk bēlišu uštaktitma
irnitti Marduk eliš u šapliš ikšud libbi
Marduk bēlišu uṣīb u šīram ṭābam
ana nišī ana dār išīm u mātam
uštēšer*

"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-

(xlvi 39–58) *amītam liqbīma ina maḥar Marduk bēlija Zarpānītum bēltija ina libbišu gamrim likrubam sēdum lamassum ilū ēribūt Esagil libitti Esagil igirrē ūmīšam ina maḥar Marduk bēlija Zarpānītum bēltija lidammiqu*

being of the people and provided just ways for the land.”

May he say thus, and may he pray for me with his whole heart before the gods Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanitu, 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 Zarpanitu, my lady.

(xlvi 59–94) *ana warkīāt ūmī ana matima šarrum ša ina mātīm ibbaššū awāt mīšarim ša ina narija ašturu liššur dīn mātīm ša adīnu purussē mātīm ša aprusu aj unakkir ušurātija aj ušassik šumma awīlum šū tašīmtam išūma māssu šutēšuram ile²i ana awātīm ša ina narija ašturu liqūlma kībsam rīdam dīn mātīm ša adīnu purussē mātīm ša aprusu narūm šū likallimšuma šal māt qaqqadišu lištēšer dīnšina lidīn purussāšina liprus ina mātišu raggam u šēnam lissuh šīr nišīšu liṭib*

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.

(xlvi 95–xlix 17) *Ḥammurabi šar mīšarim ša Šamaš kīnātīm išrukušum anāku awātūa nasqā epšētūa šāninam ul išā ela ana la ḥas= sim rēqa ana emqim ana tanādātīm šūšā šumma awīlum šū ana awātija*

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 iqulma dīnī la
uṣṣassik awātija la uštepīl uṣurātija la
unakkir awīlum šū kīma jāti šar
mīšarim Šamaš ḥaṭṭašu lirrik nišīšu
ina mīšarim lirī*

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 judgments, change my pronouncements, or alter my engraved image, then may the god Shamash lengthen his reign, just as (he has done) for me, the king of justice, and so may he shepherd his people with justice.

(xlix 18–44) *šumma awīlum šū ana
awātija ša ina narija ašturu la iqulma
errētija imēšma errēt ilī la idurma dīn
adīnu uptassis awātija uštepīl
uṣurātija uttakkir šumī šaṭram
ipšīṭma šumšu iṣṭatar aššum errētim
šināti šaniamma uštāḥiz awīlum šū
lu šarrum lu bēlum⁵⁰ lu iṣṣiakkum ulu
awīlūtum ša šumam nabiat*

(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 pronouncements, 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,

(xlix 45–52) *Anum rabūm abu ilī
nābū palēja melimmī šarrūtīm līṭeršu
ḥaṭṭašu lišbir šīmātišu lirur*

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.

(xlix 53–80) *Enlil bēlum mušīm
šīmātīm ša qibīssu la uttakkaru
mušarbū šarrūtija tēšī la šubbīm
gabaraḥ ḥalāqīšu ina šubtišu
lišappiḥaššum⁵¹ palē tānēḥim ūmī
iṣūtīm šanāt ḥušaḥḥim iklet la
nawārim mūt niṭil īnim ana šīmtim
lišimšum ḥalāq ālišu naspuḥ nišīšu*

May the god Enlil, the lord, who determines destinies, whose utterance cannot be countermanded, who magnifies my kingship, incite against him even in his own residence 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*

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 dispersion of his people, the supplanting of his dynasty, and the blotting out of his name and his memory from the land.

(xl ix 81–97) *Ninlil ummum rabitum
ša qibīssa ina Ekur kabtat bēltum
mudammiqat igirrēja ašar šiptim u
purussēm ina maḥar Enlil awassu
lilemmīn šulput mātišu ḫalāq nišīšu
tabāk napištišu kīma mē ina pī Enlil
šarrim lišaškin*

May the goddess Ninlil, the great mother, whose utterance is honored in the Ekur temple, the mistress 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 pronounce the destruction of his land, the obliteration of his people,³² and the spilling of his life force like water.

(xl ix 98–l 13) *Ea rubūm rabium ša
šīmātušu ina maḥra illakā apkāl ilī
mudē mimma šumšu mušāriku ūm
balātiya uznam u nēmeqam līteršuma
ina mīšītim littarrūšu nārātišu ina
nagbim liskir ina eršetīšu ašnan
napišti nišī aj ušabši*

May the god Ea, the great prince, whose destinies take precedence, the sage among the gods, all-knowing, who lengthens the days of my life, deprive him of all understanding 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.

(l 14–40) *Šamaš dajānum rabium ša
šamē u eršetim muštēšer šaknat
napištim bēlum tukultī šarrūssu liskip
dīnšu aj idīn uruḫšu līši išdī
ummānišu lišḫešī ina bīrišu šīram
lemnam ša nasāḫ išdī šarrūtišu u
ḫalāq mātišu liškunšum awatum
maruštum ša Šamaš arḫiṣ likšussu*

May the god Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth, who provides just ways for all living creatures, the lord, my trust, overturn his kingship; may he not render his judgments, may he confuse his path and undermine the morale of his army; when divination is per-

*eliš ina baḫūtīm lissuḫṣu šapliš ina
eršetim eṭemmašu mē lišaṣmi*

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
tēressu³³ ina ilī šūpāt agām kussiam
ša šarrūtīm līteršu arnam kabtam
šēressu rabītam ša ina zumrišu la
iḫalliqu līmussuma ūmī warḫī šanāt
palēšu ina tānēḫim u dimmatim lišaṣti
kammāl šarrūtīm lišaṭṭilsu 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 līteršu māssu ina
ḫuṣaḫḫim 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 imniija
ašar tamḫārim kakkašu lišbir ūmam
ana mūšim litēršumma nakīršu 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 tāḥazim u qablim pātiat kakkija lamassī damiq=tum rāḫimat palēja ina libbiša aggim ina uzzātiša rabiātīm šarrūssu līrur damqātišu ana lemnētīm lītēr³⁴ ašar tāḥazim u qablim kakkašu lišbir³⁵ ištām saḫmaštām liškunšum qarrādīšu lišamqit damišunu eṣetam lišqi gurun šalmāt ummānātišu ina šērim littaddi ummānšu rēmam aj ušarši šuāti ana qāt nakrīšu limallišuma 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 maḥār mušakšidu irnittiija ina kašūšišu rabīm kīma ištīm ezze=tīm ša apim nišišu liqmi ina kakkišu dannim lišaṭṭīšuma biniātišu kīma šalam ṭiddim 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 lītēršuma šumam aj ušaršišu ina qerbīt nišišu 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 mārat Anim qābiat dumqija ina Ekur muṣam kab=*

May the goddess Ninkarrak, daughter of the god Anu, who pro-

*tam asakkam lemnam simmam
maršam ša la ipaššeḫu ašūm qerebšu
la ilammaḍu ina šimḍi la unahḫušu
kīma nišik mūtim la innassaḫu ina
biniātišu lišāšiaššumma adi napiš-
tašu ibellū ana eṭlūtišu liddammam*

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 physician 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.

(li 70–83) *ilū rabūtum ša šamē u
eršetim Anunnakū ina napharišunu
šēd bītīm libitti Ebabbara šuāti zērašu
māssu šābašu nišīšu u ummānšu erre-
tam maruštam līruru*

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.

(li 84–91) *errētim anniātīm⁵⁷ Enlil ina
pišu ša la uttakkaru līruršuma arḫiṣ
likšūdašu*

May the god Enlil, whose command cannot be countermanded, curse him with these curses and may they 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)* 1, 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* [*dinim 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^{ka}* (*ālum*) 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 nisihtim*, "(should recruit(?)) [or: induce(?)] troops for desertion(?)."

10. Var. *ina qāti rēdim ilteqe*, "or take from the soldier (the gift that ...)."

11. Var. *imabḥaṣ imarrar [u i]šakkakma*, "he shall plow, hoe, and harrow."

12. Var. *ana errēšūtim*, "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 *kaṣapšu*, "(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 *naditu* who is an *ugbabbu* ..."

19. Text *ukannušu*, "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 *awīlu*-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 paṇi 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>*rabbītišu*, "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 ḥīrtīm* ..., "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 awīlim*, "(she enters the house of the slave of the palace) or of the slave of an *awīlum*."

32. Var. *ikšudu*, "they attain (possessions)."

33. Var. *elēnumma ileqqe*, "she shall take in addition."

34. Var. adds *bitam*, "(the usufruct of the field, orchard,) house (or anything ...)."

35. Var. *išurušim*, "(which her father) wrote for her."

36. Var. *kuḥmašūtim*.

37. Stol 1979 suggests a third class of priestess, reading É.GI₄.A (*kallatum*, usually "bride" or "daughter-in-law") rather than GĀ.GI₄.A (*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 IGI.5.GÁL, "one fifth."

42. Var. *iddāk*, "(the son of the builder) shall be killed."

43. Var. *šēpšu ištebir ulu gilissu ištaḥaṭ*, "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 mišarim*, "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. *šuppuḫu*.

52. Var. "his city."

53. Emended, with CAD A/2 203b; text *še-re-sû*.

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 šīrišu la itebbû*, "which cannot rise up(?) from his flesh"; see the comments in Sjöberg 1991: 223.

57. Text *DA-ni-a-tim*.