

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

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

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

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

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

24. On ¶¶ 46, 47, 47A, see Roth 1990.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The collection of rules was compiled toward the end of the forty-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 *mišaru*-edict (see the introductory remarks to the Laws of Eshnunna).

About the Laws

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"state tenants" (*nāši bilti*); classes of priestesses identified as *kulmašītu*, *nađītu*, *qadištu*, *sekretu*, *šugītu*, *ugbābtu*; 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" (*ḫirtu*) 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 counter-clockwise; 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"; they used capital letters to identify the provisions in the gap, thus ¶¶ A, B, C, etc. These conventions were accepted by Finet (1973), and by students since. Saporetti (1984: 60-62) mixes numbering conventions,

using both numerical (¶ 66, ¶ 67, ¶ 69 ... ¶ 91, etc.) and alphabetical (¶ A, ¶ B, etc.) sigla. In his editions (1963, 1979, and 1982b) Borger accepted a seven-column gap and began the columns on the reverse with "xxiv" but 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
šīmāt mātīm ana Marduk mārīm
rēšīm ša Ea illilūt kiššat nišī
išīmušum in Igiḡi ušarbiušu Bābīlam
šumšu šīram ibbiu in kibrātīm ušāte-
rušu ina libbišu šarrūtām dārītām ša
kīma šamē u eršetim išdāša 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 Hammurabi rubām
na'dam pāliḡ ilī jāti mīšaram ina
mātīm ana šūpīm raggam u šēnam
ana ḡulluḡim dannum enšam ana la
ḡabālim kīma Šamaš ana šalmāt
qaqqadim wašemma mātīm nuwwurim
Anum u Enlil ana šīr nišī ḡubbiḡ
šumī ibbā*

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

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

I 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 50-62) *Ḥammurabi rē'ūm nibīt
Enlil anāku mukammer nuḡšim u
ḡubbiḡ mušaklil mimma šumsu ana
Nippur markas šamē u eršetim
zāninum na'dum ša Ekur*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(ii 32-36) *qarrādum ḡāmil Larsa mud-
diḡ Ebabbar ana Šamaš rēšiḡu*

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 muballiḡ Uruk šākin
mē nuḡšim ana nišīšu mullī rēš*

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

Eanna mukammer bišim ana Anim u Istar

(ii 48-54) *šulul mātīm mupabhir niši sapbātīm ša Isin muṭabhid nuḫšim bīt Egalmaḫ*

(ii 55-67) *ušumgal šarri talīm Zababa mušaršid šubat Kiš muštašbir melimmī Emeteursag muštešbī parši rabūtīm ša Istar pāqīd bītīm Hur-sagkalamma*

(ii 68-iii 6) *sapar nakiri ša Erra rūšu ušakšidu nizmāssu mušāter Kutī murappiš mimma šumšu ana <E>meslam*

(iii 7-16) *rīmum kadrum munakkip zā'iri narām Tutu muriš Barsippa na'dum la mupparkūm ana Ezida <šubat> ili šarri¹*

(iii 17-23) *mudē igigallim mušaddil mēreštim ša Dilbat mugarrin karē ana Uraš gašrim*

(iii 24-35) *belum simat ḫaṭṭim u agēm ša ušaklilušu erištum Mama mukin*

waters for its people, who raises high the summit of the Eanna temple, who heaps up bountiful produce for the gods Anu and Ishtar;

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

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 Hursagkalamma;

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;

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;

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;

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

uṣurātīm ša Keš mudešši mākali ellūtīm ana Nintu

(iii 36-46) *muštālum gitmālum šā'im mirītīm u mašqītīm ana Lagaš u Girsīm mukil nindabē rabūtīm ana Eninnu*

(iii 47-54) *mutammeḫ ajābi migir telītīm mušaklil tērētīm ša Zabala muḫaddi libbi Istar*

(iii 55-64) *rubūm ellum ša nīš qātišu Adad idū munēḫ libbi Adad qurādīm ina Karkara muštakkīn simātīm ina Eudgalgal*

(iii 65-69) *šarrum nādin napištīm ana Adab āšer bīt Emaḫ*

(iii 70-iv 6) *etel šarri qabal la maḫārim šū iqīšu napšatam ana Maškan-šāpir mušešqi nuḫšim ana <E>meslam*

(iv 7-22) *emqum muttabbilum šū ikšudu nagab uršim mušpazzir niši Malgium ina karašim mušaršidu šubātīšin in nuḫšim ana Enki u Damkina mušarbū šarrūtīšu dāriš išīmu zībī ellūtīm*

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;

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;

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;

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;

the king who gives life to the city of Adab, who organizes the Emaḫ temple;

lord of kings, peerless warrior, who granted life to the city of Mashkan-shapir, who gives waters of abundance to the Emeslam temple;

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 šarri 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 šāṭip nišīšu in pušqim
mukinnu išdīšin qerbum Bābilim
šulmāniš*

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

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

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) *mušēpi kīnātīm mušūšer
ammi mutir 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) *mušēppi nābihi šarrum ša
ina Ninua ina Emesmes ušūpi'u mē
Ištar*

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

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

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

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

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

*kittam u mišaram ina pī mātīm aškun
šir niši uṭib*

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

(v 25) *inūmišu*

At that time:

Laws

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

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

(v 33-56) *šumma awīlum kišpī eli
awīlim iddīma la uktīnšu ša elišu
kišpū nadū ana Id illak Id išalliamma
šumma Id 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 iteni dajānam šuāti ina dīn idīnu enēm ukannušuma rugummām ša ina dīnim šuāti ibbaššū adi 12-šu inaddin u ina puḥrim ina kussī dajānūtišu ušetbūšuma ul itārma itti dajānī ina dīnim ul uššab*

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

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

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

(vi 70–vii 47) *šumma awīlum ša mim= mūšu ḥalqu mimmašu 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 qātišu 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 šimū iššāmu u šībū mudē ḥulqim mudūssunu maḥar ilim iqabbūma nādinānum šarrāq iddāk bēl ḥulqim ḥuluqšu ileqqe šājimānum ina bīt nādinānim kasap išqule ileqqe

(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*

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

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.

¶ 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.

¶ 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 haṁšīšu 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 šihram 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 dam lu amtam ḥalqam ša ekallim ulu muškēnim ina bītišu irtaqīma ana šisīt nāgirim la uštēšiam bēl bītim šū iddāk*

(viii 49-58) *šumma awīlum lu warad dam lu amtam ḥalqam ina šērim iṣbatma ana bēlišu intediaššu 2 šiqil kaspam bēl wardim inaddiššum*

(viii 59-67) *šumma wardum šū bēlišu la izzakar ana ekallim ireddīšu 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 bītišu iktalāšu warka wardum ina qātišu ittašbat awīlum šū iddāk*

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

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

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

(ix 28-45) *šumma ḥabbātum la ittašbat awīlum ḥabtum mimmašu ḥalqam maḥar ilim ubārma ālum⁴ u rabiānum ša ina eršetišunu u paṭtišunu ḥubtum iḥhabtu mimmašu ḥalqam iriabbušu⁵*

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

(ix 51-65) *šumma ina bīt awīlim išātum innapiḥma awīlum ša ana bul-lim⁶ illiku ana numāt bēl bītim īnšu iššima numāt bēl bītim ilteqe awīlum šū ana išātim šuāti innaddi*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¶ 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 5-12) *šumma šattam iṣtiatma
uddappirma ittūram eqelšu kirāšu u
bīssu innaddiššumma šūma ilikšu
illak*

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

(xi 39-50) *šumma lu ša ḫaṭṭātim ulu
laputtūm šāb niṣḫātim⁹ irtaši ulu ana
ḫarrān šarrim agram pūḫam imḫurma
irtedi lu ša ḫaṭṭātim ulu laputtūm šū
iddāk*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

biltim upiḫ u niplātim iddin rēdum bā'irum u nāši biltim ana eqlišu kirīšu u bītišu itār u niplātim ša innadnušum itabbal

(xii 63-xiii 5) *šumma awilum 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 irišma ittadi še'am kīma itēšu ana bēl eqlim inaddin u eqlam ša iddū majārī imahḫaš išakkakma¹¹ ana bēl eqlim utār*

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

(xiii 35-46) *šumma awilum eqelšu ana biltim ana errēšim¹² iddinma u bilat eqlišu imtaḫar warka eqlam Adad irtaḫiṣ ulu bibbulum itbal bitiqatūm ša errēšimma*

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

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

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

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

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

(xiii 47-57) *šumma bilat eqlišu la imtaḥar ulu ana mišlāni ulu ana šaluš eqlam iddin še'am ša ina eqlim ibbaššū errēšum u bēl eqlim ana apšitēm izuzzu*

(xiii 58-70) *šumma errēšum aššum ina šattim maḥrītīm mānaḥātīšu la ilqū eqlam erēšam iqtabi bēl eqlim ul uppas errēšsuma eqlišu irrišma ina ebūrim kīma riksātīšu še'am ileqqe*

(xiii 71-xiv 17) *šumma awīlum ḥubullum elišu ibaššīma eqlišu Adad irtaḥiṣ ulu bibbulum itbal ulu ina la mē še'um ina eqlim la ittabši ina šat-tim šuāti še'am ana bēl ḥubullīšu ul utār tuppašu uraṭṭab u šibtam ša šat-tim šuāti ul inaddin*

(xiv 18-44) *šumma awīlum kaspam itti tamkārim ilqēma eqel epšētim ša še'im ulu šamaššammī ana tamkārim iddin eqlam erišma še'am ulu šamaššammī ša ibbaššū esip tabal 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*

¶ 46 If he (the owner) should not receive the rent for his field (before the catastrophe destroys the field) or he leases out the field on terms of a half share or a third share (of the yield), the cultivator and the owner of the field shall divide whatever grain there is remaining in the agreed proportions.

¶ 47 If the cultivator should declare his intention to cultivate the field (in the next year) because in the previous year he did not recover his expenses, the owner of the field will not object; his same cultivator shall cultivate his field and he shall take (his share of) the grain at the harvest in accordance with his contract.

¶ 48 If a man has a debt lodged against him, and the storm-god Adad devastates his field or a flood sweeps away the crops, or there is no grain grown in the field due to insufficient water—in that year he will not repay grain to his creditor; he shall suspend performance of his contract and he will not give interest payments for that year.

¶ 49 If a man borrows silver from a merchant and gives the merchant a field prepared for planting with either grain or sesame¹³ (as a pledge for the loan) and declares to him, "You cultivate the field and collect and take away as much grain or sesame as will be grown"—if the cultivator should produce either grain or sesame in the field, at the harvest it is only the owner of the field who shall take the grain or

sesame that is grown in the field, and he shall give to the merchant the grain equivalent to his silver which he borrowed from the merchant and the interest on it and also the expenses of the cultivation.

(xiv 45-55) *šumma eqel <še'im> eršam ulu eqel šamaššammī eršam iddin še'am ulu šamaššammī ša ina eqlim ibbaššū bēl eqlimma ileqqēma kaspam u šibassu ana tamkārim utār*

¶ 50 If he gives (to the merchant as a pledge for the loan) a field already plowed and sown with either <grain> or sesame, (at the harvest) it is only the owner of the field who shall take the grain or sesame that is grown in the field and he shall repay the silver and the interest on it to the merchant.

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

¶ 51 If he does not have silver to repay, he shall give to the merchant, in accordance with the royal edict, <either grain or> sesame according to their market value for his silver borrowed from the merchant and the interest on it.

(xv 1-6) *šumma errēšum ina eqlim še'am ulu šamaššammī la uštābši riksātīšu ul inni*

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

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

¶ 53 If a man neglects to reinforce the embankment of (the irrigation canal of) his field and does not reinforce its embankment, and then a breach opens in its embankment and allows the water to carry away the common irrigated area, the man in whose embankment the breach opened shall replace the grain whose loss he caused.

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

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

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

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

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

(xv 46–64) *šumma rē'um ana šammī šēnim šūkūlim itti bēl eḡlim la imta-garma balum bēl eḡlim eḡlam šēnam uštākīl bēl eḡlim eḡlšu iṣṣid rē'um 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 itelīanīm kannu gamartīm ina abullīm ittablalu rē'um šēnam ana eḡlim iddīma eḡlam šēnam uštākīl rē'um eḡel ušākīlu inaššarma ina ebūrim ana 1 burum 60 kur še'am ana bēl eḡlim imaddad*

¶ 55 If a man opens his branch of the canal for irrigation and negligently allows the water to carry away his neighbor's field, he shall measure and deliver grain in accordance with his neighbor's yield.

¶ 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 eḡlam ana kirīm zaqāpim ana nukaribbim iddin nukaribbum kiriam izqup erbe šanātīm kiriam urabba ina ḥamuštīm šattīm bēl kirīm u nukaribbum mīḥārīš izuzzu bēl kirīm zittašu inaš-saqma ileqqe*

(xvi 27–33) *šumma nukaribbum eḡlam ina zaqāpim la igmurma niditam izib niditam ana libbi zittišu iṣakkanuṣum*

(xvi 34–47) *šumma eḡlam ša innad-nuṣum ana kirīm la izqup šumma šerum bilat eḡlim ša šanātīm ša innadū nukaribbum ana bēl eḡlim kīma itēšu imaddad u eḡlam šipram ippešma ana bēl eḡlim utār*

(xvi 48–57) *šumma kankallum eḡlam šipram ippešma ana bēl eḡlim utār u ana 1 burum 10 kur še'am ša šattīm iṣtiat 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 awilum kirāšu ana nukaribbim ana rukkubim iddin nukaribbum adi kirām šabtu ina bilat kirīm šittin ana bēl kirīm inaddin šaluštam šū ileqqe*

(xvi 71-xvii 1) *šumma nukaribbum kirām la urakkibma biltam umtaṭṭi nukaribbum bilat kirīm ana <bēl kirīm kīma> itēšu [imaddad (...)]*

(P ii 1-18; Q iii 1-27) *šumma awilum kaspam itti tamkārīm ilqēma tamkāršu isiršuma mimma ša nadānim la ibaššišum kirāšu ištu tarkibtim ana tamkārīm iddinma suluppī mala ina kirīm ibbaššū ana kaspika tabal iqbišum tamkārūm šū ul immaggar suluppī ša ina kirīm ibbaššū bēl kirīmma ileqqēma kaspam u šibassu ša pī ṭuppišu tamkārām ippalma suluppī watrūtīm ša ina kirīm ibbaššū bēl kirīmma ile[qqe]*

(P ii 19-23) *šumma aw[ilum] bītam ip[pešma] tēḫušu [...] ša [...] x [...]*

(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 ilkim ša bīt itēšu ša išammu inaddin ina mimma ša iddinu itelli bitum ana [bēli]šu itār šumma bitum šū ilkam la išu išām ana bitim šuāti še'am kaspam u bišam inaddin

(Q iv 16-21) *šumma awi[lum] ni[dītam] balum i[tēšu] it[epuš] ina bīt [...] itē[šu ...] ana [...]*

(P iii 1-9; R i 1-12) *[šumma ...] nabalkattaka dunnin ištu bītika ibbaš lakkatunim ana bēl nidītim nidītka epuš [i]š[itu] nidītika [bīt]i ipallašunim [iq]bi [šī]bī iškun [šumma] ina nabalkattim [šarr]āqum(?) [...] [mimma ša ina] naba[lkattim] ḫalqu bēl [...] šumma x [...] bēl [...] mimma [...] iri[ab] šumma [...] ū-x [...]*

(R ii 1-4) *[šumma ...] ina [...] bitum [...] i-[-]*

(P ii 1-18; R ii 5-13; s rev.) *š[umma] awilum [...] i[na ...] x [...] awilum*

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)

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)

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)

gap ¶ f [If ...] house [...]

(¶ J₁, ¶ 68+c)

gap ¶ g If [a man rents a house ... and] the tenant gives the full

ašbum[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[šēšū] ina
kaspim ša waššāb[um] idd[inušum]
it[el]li

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

(t i 16-?) [...]

(t i ?-ii 5) [šumma awīlum ... i]na
ebūrim kasapšu u šibassu [išaqqal]
šumma a<na> nadānim ul [išu] mim
mūšu bīšam u še'am [inaddinšum]
šumma ana nadānim x išu [...]

(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
išuršum [...] ma-ḥar(-)šu-ū-x-ma x x
mār awīlim la ki tu x x x šuāti
idu[kkušu]

amount of the silver for his annual
rent to the owner of the house, but
the owner of the house then orders
the tenant to leave before the expi-
ration of the full term of his lease,
the owner of the house, because he
evicted the tenant from his house
before the expiration of the full
term of his lease, shall forfeit the
silver that the tenant gave him.

(¶¶)₂, E, ¶ 69+c)

gap ¶ h [If] a tenant intends to pur-
chase [the house of a commoner,
...] the rent obligation which he
shall perform, in order to purchase
the house of a commoner, [...] which
he shall place [...] he shall place
it [...]; if he is abroad(?) [...] of
the commoner; if he does not pur-
chase (the house) [he shall forfeit
the silver that] he took and [the
house of the commoner shall revert
to] its owner.

(¶ 4.12)¹⁴

gap ¶¶ i, j, k [...]

(¶¶ 4.13, 4.14, 5.1)

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)

gap ¶ m If a merchant who for [...]
... for 5 shekels of silver [...] he did
not write for him a sealed docu-
ment [...] ... the son of a man ... that
one ... they shall kill him.

(¶ 5.3)

(t ii 14-18) šumma warad awīlim [...] 1/3
mana kaspam išaqqal u wardum
šū [...] g]amram ra(?)-ni(?)-a-[...] ša(?)
idū iddāk

(t ii 19-26) [šumma] awīlum awīlam
... [...]—ma [...] kaspum [...]

(t ii 27-iii 5) [...]

(t iii 6-23) [šumma ...] ū-[...] ana [...] idi
[...] kaspam x [...] šumma awīlum
šūā[ti] ša a-x [...] la ū-[...] ina(?)
kaspim ša iddinu(?) itelli

(S i 1'-3'; t iii 24-34) šumma [lu] war-
dum lu [amtum ...] ana bē[lišu] utar-
rušu šumma [...] itarrakaššu [...] ana
bēli]šu ul utarrušum

(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
IGL6.GAL u 6 uṭtet šibtam ileqqe

(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 [...] IGL6.GAL 6 uṭtet [...] uwatterma
ilqe ina m[imma] ša iddinu
it[elli]

gap ¶ n If a man's slave [...] he shall
weigh and deliver 20 shekels of sil-
ver, and that slave [...] complete ...
he shall be killed.

gap ¶ o [If] a man [...] another man
[...] silver [...]

(¶ 5.4)

gap ¶¶ p, q [...]

(¶¶ 5.5, 5.6)

gap ¶ r [If ...] to [...] wages [...] sil-
ver [...]; if that man who [...] does
not [...] he shall forfeit the silver
that he gave.

(¶ 5.7)

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)

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)

gap ¶ u If a man who has an inter-
est-bearing loan does not have sil-
ver with which to repay it, he (the
merchant) shall take grain and sil-
ver in accordance with the royal
edict and the interest on it at the
annual rate of 60 silas per 1 kur (= 20%);
if the merchant should attempt to increase
and collect the interest on the (silver) loan [up to

the grain interest rate of 100 silas of grain] per 1 kur (= 33%), [or in any other way beyond] 36 barleycorns [per shekel (= 20%) of silver], he shall forfeit whatever he had given.

(¶ M, ¶ 71+d, ¶ 5.10)

(S i 29'-35'; t iv 8-19) *šumma tamkārūm še'am u kaspam ana šibtim [iddinm]a šibtam ma[la qaqqadi]šu še'am kaspam [...] ilteqēma [...] x [...] še'um u ka[spum qaqqada]šu u šib[assu ...] tuppi rik[istišu ihheppe]*

(S ii 1'-8'; t iv 20-39) *šumma tamkār[um ...] ana [...] šibtam [...] ilteqēma [...] ulu še'am [ulu kaspam] mala [imḥuru ulu] la uštaḥrišma tuppam eššam(?) la ištur ulu šibātim ana qaqqadim uṭṭeḥḥi tamkārūm ša še'am mala ilqū uštašannāma utār*

(S ii 10'-21') *šumma tamkārūm še'am u kaspam ana ḥubullim iddinma inūma ana ḥubullim iddinu kaspam ina abnim maṭītim u še'am ina sūtim maṭītim iddin u inūma imḥuru kaspam ina abnim [rabītim] še'am ina sūtim rabītim imḥur [tamkārūm ša] ina [mimma ša iddinu] i[telli]*

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)

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)

gap ¶ x If a merchant gives grain or silver as an interest-bearing loan and when he gives it as an interest-bearing loan he gives the silver according to the small weight or the grain according to the small seah-measure but when he receives payment he receives the silver according to the large weight or the grain according to the large seah-measure, [that merchant] shall forfeit [anything that he gave].

(¶ P, ¶ 73+e, ¶ 5.13)

(S ii 23'-28') *šumma [tamkārūm ...] ana ḥub[ullim ...] iddin ina mimma [ša] iddinu itelli*

(P rev. i 1-13; S ii 30'-40') *šumma awīlum še'am u kaspam itti tamkārīm ilqēma še'am u kaspam ana turrim la išu bīšamma išu mimma ša ina qātišu ibaššū maḥar šībī kīma ubbalu ana tamkārīšu inaddin tamkārūm 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 tappūtīm iddin nēmelam u butuqqām ša ibbaššū maḥar ilim miṭḥāriš izuzzu*

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

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 merchant 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 business transactions and sends him off on a business trip, the trading agent [shall ...] while on the business trip; if he should realize [a profit] where he went, he shall calculate the total interest, per transaction and time elapsed, on as much silver as he took, and he shall satisfy his merchant.

(¶ V = ¶ 100, ¶ 78+f)