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## Laws of Hammurabi

Martha T. Roth

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## Laws of Hammurabi

This is a revised translation of the published version in my Law Collections from Mesopotamia. See there for intro and context.

### Prologue

(i 1-26) At the time when august <sup>d</sup>Anum, king of the <sup>d</sup>Anunnakum deities, and <sup>d</sup>Enlil, lord of heaven and earth, who determines the destinies of the land, allotted supreme power over all peoples to <sup>d</sup>Marduk, firstborn son of <sup>d</sup>Ea, (when they) exalted him among the <sup>d</sup>Igigum deities, named the city Babylon with its august name and made it supreme within the regions of the world, and (when they) established for him within it an eternal kingship whose foundations are as fixed as the heavens and the earth –

(i 27-49) at that time, <sup>d</sup>Anu and <sup>d</sup>Enlil – for the enhancement of the wellbeing of the people, 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 <sup>d</sup>Šamaš over all humankind (lit., black-headed ones), to illuminate the land – named me, by my name: Hammurabi, the pious prince, he who venerates the gods.

(i 50-62) I am Hammurabi, the shepherd, selected by <sup>d</sup>Enlil, he who heaps high abundance and plenty, who perfects every possible thing for the city Nippur, the band-of-heaven-and earth, the pious provide of the E-Kur temple;

(i 63-ii 1) (I am) the capable king, the restorer of the city Eridu, the purifier of the rites of E-Abzu temple;

(ii 2-12) (I am) the onslaught of the four regions of the world, who magnifies the reputation of the city Babylon, who gladdens the heart his lord <sup>d</sup>Markuk, whose days are devoted to the E-Sagil temple;

(ii 13-21) (I am) seed of royalty whom <sup>d</sup>Šin created; who enriches of the city Ur; (I am) humble and prayerful, who provides abundance for the E-Gišnugal temple,

(ii 22-31) (I am) the discerning king obedient to mighty <sup>d</sup>Šamaš, who establishes the foundations of the city Sippar, who drapes the sacred building of the <sup>d</sup>Aya with greenery, who decorates the E-Babbar temple which is akin to the abode of heaven;

(ii 32-36) (I am) the warrior who shows mercy to city Larsa, who renews the E-Babbar temple for his ally <sup>d</sup>Šamaš;

(ii 37-47) (I am) the lord who revitalizes the city Uruk, who provides abundant waters for its people, who raises high the summit of the E-Anna temple, who heaps up bountiful produce for <sup>d</sup>Anum and <sup>d</sup>Ištar;

(ii 48-54) (I am) the canopy of the land, who gathers together the scattered peoples of the city Isin, who supplies abundance for the E-Galmah temple;

(ii 55-67) (I am) a dragon among kings, beloved brother of <sup>d</sup>Zababa, founder of the settlement of the city Kish, who surrounds the Emeteursag temple with splendor, who arranges the great rites for the goddess <sup>d</sup>Ištar, who takes charge of the E-Hursagkalama temple;

(ii 68-iii 6) (I am) an enemy-ensnaring throw-net, whose companion <sup>d</sup>Erra has allowed him to obtain his heart's desire, who enlarges the city Kutû, who augments everything for the E-Meslam temple;

(iii 7-16) (I am) a fierce wild bull who gores the enemy, beloved of <sup>d</sup>Tutu, who makes the city Borsippa exult, the pious one who does not fail in his duties to the E-Zida temple, <dwelling of> the god of kings;

(iii 17-23) (I am) the one steeped in wisdom, who enlarges the cultivated area of the city Dilbat, who heaps up the storage bins for the mighty <sup>d</sup>Uraš;

(iii 24-35) (I am) the lord, worthy recipient of the scepter and crown which the wise <sup>d</sup>Mama bestowed upon him, who devises the plans of the city Keš, who provides the pure food offerings for <sup>d</sup>Nintu;

(iii 36-46) (I am) the judicious one, the noble one, who allots pasturage and watering places for the cities Lagaš and Girsu, who provides plentiful food offerings for the E-Ninnu temple;

(iii 47-54) (I am) he who seizes the enemies, beloved of the able one (<sup>d</sup>Ištar), who perfects the oracles of the city Zabala, who gladdens the heart of <sup>d</sup>Ištar;

(iii 55-64) (I am) the pure prince, whose prayers <sup>d</sup>Adad acknowledges, he who appeases the heart of <sup>d</sup>Adad; the hero in the city Karkara, who installs the proper appointments throughout the E-Udgalgal temple;

(iii 65-69) (I am) the king who gives life to the city Adab, who organizes the E-Mah temple;

(iii 70-iv 6) (I am) lord of kings, peerless warrior, who grants life to the city Maškan-šapir, who gives waters of abundance to the E-Meslam temple;

(iv 7-22) (I am) the wise one, the organizer, he who has mastered all wisdom, who shelters the people of the city Malgium in the face of annihilation, who founds their settlements in

abundance, who decrees eternal pure food offerings for <sup>d</sup>Enki and <sup>d</sup>Damkina who magnify his kingship;

(iv 23-31) (I am) the leader of kings, who subdues the settlements along the Euphrates River by the oracular command of his creator <sup>d</sup>Dagan, he who shows mercy to the people of the cities Mari and Tuttul;

(iv 32-44) (I am) the pious prince, who brightens the countenance of <sup>d</sup>Tišpak, who provides pure feasts for <sup>d</sup>Ninazu, who sustains his people in crisis, who secures their foundations in peace in the midst of the city Babylon;

(iv 45-52) (I am) the shepherd of the people whose deeds are pleasing to <sup>d</sup>Ištar, who establishes <sup>d</sup>Ištar in the E-Ulmaš temple in the midst of Akkad-the-City;

(iv 53-58) (I am) the proclaimer of truth who guides the population properly, who restores its benevolent protective spirit to the city Aššur;

(iv 59-63) (I am) the subduer of the rebellious, the king who proclaims the rites for <sup>d</sup>Ištar in the city Nineveh in the E-Mesmes temple;

(iv 64-v 13) (I am) the pious one, who prays ceaselessly for the great gods, scion of Sumu-la-el, mighty heir of Sîn-muballit, eternal seed of royalty, mighty king, solar disk of the city Babylon, who spreads light over the lands of Sumer and Akkad, the king who makes obedient the four regions, the favorite of <sup>d</sup>Ištar – (all this) am I.

(v 14-24) At the time when the god <sup>d</sup>Marduk commanded me to provide just ways for the people of the land and appropriate behavior, I established truth and justice as the declaration of the land, I enhanced the wellbeing of the people.

(v 25) At that time ...

§1 If an *awilum* accuses an *awilum* and charges him with homicide and does not bring proof against him → his accuser shall be killed.

§2 If an *awilum* charges an *awilum* with witchcraft and does not bring proof against him → he who is charged with witchcraft shall go to the <sup>d</sup>River Ordeal, he shall indeed submit to the <sup>d</sup>River Ordeal.

If the <sup>d</sup>River Ordeal overwhelms him → his accuser shall take full possession of his estate.

If the <sup>d</sup>River Ordeal clears that *awilum* and he survives → he who made the charge of witchcraft against him shall be killed; he who submitted to the <sup>d</sup>River Ordeal shall take full possession of his accuser's estate.

§3 If an *awilum* comes forward to give false testimony in a case and does not prove (his) accusation, (and) if that case involves a capital offence → that *awilum* shall be killed.

§4 If he comes forward to give the testimony in (a case whose penalty is) grain or silver → he shall 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 bring charge and proof against that judge for having reversed the judgment which he rendered; he shall give twelve-fold 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 an *awilum* steals valuables belonging the god or to the palace → that *awilum* shall be killed. Moreover, he who received the stolen goods from him shall be killed.

§7 If an *awilum* purchases silver, gold, a slave, a slave-woman, an ox, a sheep, a donkey, or anything else whatsoever, from a son of an *awilum* or from a slave of an *awilum* without witnesses or a contract, or if he accepts (items) for safekeeping → that *awilum* is a thief. He shall be killed.

§8 If an *awilum* steals an ox, a sheep, a donkey, a pig, or a boat –

If it belongs to the god or if belongs to the palace → he shall give thirtyfold.  
If the thief does not have anything to give → he shall be killed.

§9 If an *awilum* who claims to have lost property discovers his lost property in another *awilum*'s possession,

(if) the *awilum* in whose possession the lost property was discovered declares: "A seller sold it to me, I purchased it in the presence of witnesses," and (also) the owner of the lost property declares: "I can bring witnesses who can identify my lost property,"

(if then) the buyer produces the seller who sold it to him and the witnesses in whose presence he purchased it, and the owner of the lost property produces the witnesses who identify his lost property →

the judges shall examine their cases, and the witnesses in whose presence the purchase was made and the witnesses who 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 had weighed and delivered.

§10 If the buyer does not produce the seller who sold (the lost property) to him or the witnesses before whom he made the purchase, (but) the owner of that lost property does produce witnesses who identify his lost property → 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 does not produce witnesses who identify his lost property → he is a liar, he has indeed spread (var.: “spoken”) malicious charges, he shall be killed.

§12 If the seller goes to (his) fate → the buyer shall take fivefold the claim for that case from the estate of the (deceased) seller.

§13 If that *awīlum*'s witnesses are not available → the judges shall grant him an extension until the sixth month, and

If he does not bring his witnesses by the sixth month → it is that *awīlum* who is the liar, he shall be assessed the penalty for that case.

§14 If an *awīlum* kidnaps the young son of an *awīlum* → he shall be killed.

§15 If an *awīlum* enables a slave of the palace, a slave-woman of the palace, a slave of a *muškēnum*, or a slave-woman of a *muškēnum* to leave through the main city-gate → he shall be killed.

§16 If an *awīlum* harbors a fugitive slave or slave-woman of either the palace or of a *muškēnum* in his house and does not bring him out at the herald's proclamation → that householder shall be killed.

§17 If an *awīlum* seizes a fugitive slave or slave-woman in the open country and leads him back to his owner → the slave's 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.

§19 If he detains that slave in his own house and afterward the slave is discovered in his possession → that *awīlum* shall be killed.

§20 If the slave escapes the custody of the one who seized him → that *awīlum* shall swear an oath by the god to the owner of the slave, and he shall be released.

§21 If an *awīlum* breaks into a house → they shall kill him and hang him in front of that very breach.

§22 If an *awīlum* commits a burglary and is seized → that *awīlum* shall be killed.

§23 If the burglar is not seized → the *awīlum* who has been burgled shall establish the extent of his lost property before the god. And the city and the governor in whose territory and district the burglary was committed shall replace his lost property to him.

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

§25 If a fire breaks out in an *awīlum*'s house, and an *awīlum* who comes to help put it out covets the furnishings belonging to the householder and then takes furnishings belonging to the householder → that *awīlum* shall be cast into that very fire.

§26 If either a soldier or a fisherman who is ordered to go on a royal campaign does not go or hires and sends a hireling as his substitute → that *rēdûm*-soldier or fisherman shall be killed. The one who informs against him shall take full possession of his estate.

§27 If (there is) either a soldier or a fisherman who is taken captive while serving in a royal fortress, afterward they give his field and his date orchard to another, and he performs his/*its* *ilkum*-service – if he returns and reaches his city → they shall return to him his field and date orchard and he himself shall perform his *ilkum*-service.

§28 If (there is) either a soldier or a fisherman who is taken captive while serving in a royal fortress, his son is able to perform the *ilkum*-service → the field and date orchard shall be given to him, and he shall perform his father's *ilkum*-service.

§29 If his son is young is unable to perform his father's *ilkum*-service → one third of the field and date orchard shall be given to his mother and his mother shall raise him.

§30 If either a soldier or a fisherman abandons his field, his date orchard, or his house because of the *ilkum*-service and absents himself, (if) another afterward takes possession of his field, his date orchard, or his house and performs the *ilkum*-service for three years – if he then returns and claims his field, his date orchard, and/or his house → it will not be given to him. He who had taken possession and performed his/*its* *ilkum*-service → he himself shall perform (the *ilkum*-service).

§31 If he absents himself for only one year and then returns → his field, his date orchard, and/or his house shall be given to him, and he himself shall perform his/*its* *ilkum*-service.

§32 If (there is) either a soldier or a fisherman who is taken captive while on a royal campaign, a merchant/creditor redeems him and helps him get back to his city – if there are sufficient means in his own household for redeeming → he himself shall redeem himself.

If there are not sufficient means in his own household for his redeeming → he shall be redeemed by his city's temple.

If there are not sufficient means in his city's temple for his redeeming → the palace shall redeem him.

His field, his date orchard, and/or his house shall not be given for his redeeming.

§33 If either a captain or a sergeant has in his command troops designated-for-other-duties 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 takes a soldier's household-furnishings, wrongs a soldier, hires out a soldier, delivers a soldier into the power of an influential person in a law case, or takes a gift that the king gave to a soldier → that captain or sergeant shall be killed.

§35 If an *awilum* purchases from a soldier the cattle or flocks which the king gave to the soldier → he shall forfeit his silver.

§36 The field, date orchard, and/or house of a soldier, a fisherman, or a state-tenant shall not be sold.

§37 If an *awilum* purchases a field, date orchard, or house of a soldier, a fisherman, or a state-tenant → his tablet (of purchase) shall be invalidated, and he shall forfeit his silver. The field, date orchard, and/or house shall revert to its owner.

§38 A soldier, a fisherman, or a state-tenant shall not assign in writing to his wife or daughter (property out of) a field, a date orchard, or a house associated with his *ilkum*-service. And moreover, he shall not give (it) to meet his outstanding obligations.

§39 He shall assign in writing to his wife or daughter or give to meet his outstanding obligations only (property out of) a field, a date orchard, or a house which he himself acquires by purchase.

§40 A *naditum*-priestess, a merchant/creditor, or holder of an extraordinary *ilkum*-field shall sell his field, his date orchard, or his house. The buyer shall perform the *ilkum*-service for the field, date orchard, or house which he purchases.

§41 If an *awilum* accepts a field, a date orchard, or a house of a soldier, a fisherman, or a state-tenant in an exchange and gives a compensatory payment → the soldier, fisherman, or state-tenant shall reclaim his field, his date orchard, or his house. He shall keep possession of the compensatory payment which was given to him.



§42 If an *awilum* rents a field in tenancy and then does not plant any grain → they shall charge-and-convict him of not performing the fieldwork 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 and leaves it unworked → he shall give to the owner of the field grain in accordance with his neighbor's yield. Moreover, he shall plow and harrow the field which he left fallow and return it (thus) to the owner of the field.

§44 If an *awilum* rents a previously uncultivated field for a three-year term with the intention of opening it for cultivation, and he is negligent and does not open the field → in the fourth year he shall plow, hoe, and harrow the field and return it (thus) to the owner of the field. And moreover, he shall measure and deliver 3,000 silas of grain per 19 ikus (of field).

§45 If an *awilum* leases his field to a cultivator (var.: "for cultivation") and received the rent for his field, and afterwards (the storm god) <sup>d</sup>Adad devastates the field or a flood sweeps away the crops → the loss is the cultivator's alone.

§46 If he did not receive the rent for his field, or he leases the field on terms of a half-share or a third-share → the cultivator and the owner of the field shall divide whatever grain there is (remaining) according to the agreed terms.

§47 If a cultivator, because he did not recover his expenses in the previous year, declares his intention to cultivate the field (again in the next year) → the owner of the field will not object. His same cultivator shall cultivate his field and he shall take grain at harvest-time in accordance with his contract.

§48 If an *awilum* has a debt lodged against him and (the storm god) <sup>d</sup>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 shall not repay grain to his creditor. He shall suspend performance his contract, and he will not give interest payments for that year.

§49 If an *awilum* takes (borrows) silver from a merchant/creditor and gives the merchant/creditor a field prepared for planting with either grain or sesame and declares to him: "You cultivate the field and you collect and take away as much grain or sesame as will be produced" –

If the cultivator (merchant/creditor) should produce either grain or sesame in the field → at the harvest only the owner of the field shall take the grain or sesame produced in the field. And he shall give to the merchant/creditor the grain equivalent for his silver and its interest which he took from the merchant/creditor as well as the expenses for cultivation.

§50 If he gives a field sown with <grain> or a field sown with sesame → it is only the owner of the field who shall take the grain or sesame produced in the field. And he shall repay the silver and the interest on it to the merchant/creditor.

§51 If he does not have silver to repay → in accordance with the royal edict he shall give to the merchant/creditor <either grain or> sesame according to their market price for his silver and its interest which he took from the merchant/creditor.

§52 If the cultivator does not produce grain or sesame in the field → he shall not alter his agreement.

§53 If an *awīlum* neglects to reinforce the embankment of his field and does not reinforce his embankment, and then a breach opens in his embankment and hence water carries away the common irrigated area → the *awīlum* 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 (*mārū*) of the common irrigated area whose grain the water carried away shall divide (the proceeds).

§55 If an *awīlum* opens his canal branch for irrigation, is negligent, and hence allows water to carry away his neighbor's field → he shall measure and deliver grain in accordance with his neighbor's yield.

§56 If an *awīlum* opens waters and hence allows 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 a field owner to graze flocks, and without the permission of the field owner he grazes flocks on the field → the field owner shall harvest his field and the shepherd who grazed flocks in the field without the permission of the field owner shall give to the field owner in addition 6,000 silas of grain per 18 ikus (of field).

§58 If, after the flocks come up from the common irrigated area when the pennants announcing the termination of pasturing are wound around the main city-gate, a shepherd releases flocks into a field allows the flocks to graze in the field → the shepherd shall guard the field in which he allowed grazing and at the harvest he shall measure and deliver to the field owner 18,000 silas of grain per 18 ikus (of field).

§59 If an *awīlum* cuts down a tree in an *awīlum's* date orchard without the permission of the date orchard owner → he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.

§60 If an *awīlum* gives a field to a gardener to plant as a date orchard and the gardener plants the date orchard → he shall cultivate the date orchard for four years. In the fifth year, the date

orchard owner and the gardener shall divide the yield in equal shares. The date orchard owner shall select and take his share first.

§61 If the gardener does not complete the planting of the field and leaves an uncultivated area → they shall include the uncultivated area in his share.

§62 If he does not plant the field which was given to him as a date orchard –

If it is arable land → the gardener shall measure and deliver to the field owner the estimated yield of the field for the years it is left fallow in accordance with his neighbor's yield. And moreover, he shall perform any required work on the field and return it to the field owner.

§63 If it is uncultivated land → he shall perform the required work on the field and return it to the field owner. And moreover, he shall measure and deliver 3,000 silas of grain per 18 ikus (of field).

§64 If an *awīlum* gives his date orchard to a gardener to pollinate (date palms) → as long as the gardener is in possession of the date orchard, he shall give to the date orchard owner two thirds of the yield of the date orchard. He himself shall take one third.

§65 If a gardener does not pollinate the date orchard and hence diminishes the yield → the gardener [shall measure and deliver] to <the orchard owner> the yield for the date orchard <in accordance with> his neighbors.

gap §a If an *awīlum* borrows silver from a merchant/creditor and his merchant/creditor presses him for payment and he has nothing to give, and he gives his date orchard after pollination to the merchant/creditor and he declares to him: "Take away as many dates as there are in the orchard for your silver" → the merchant/creditor shall not agree. Only the orchard owner himself will take as many dates as there are in the date orchard; he shall satisfy the merchant/creditor with silver and its interest in accordance with the terms of his tablet; only the orchard owner shall take the excess dates that there may be in the orchard.

gap §b If an *awīlum* builds a house and his neighbor [...].

gap §c [If ...] → he will not give to him [...] for a price.

If he gives grain, silver, or commodities for a house encumbered with an *ilkum*-obligation belonging to his neighbor which he buys → he shall forfeit whatever he gave. The house shall return to its [owner].

If that house is not encumbered with an *ilkum*-obligation, he shall buy it. He shall give grain, silver, or commodities for that house.

gap §d If an *awīlum* works his neighbor's uncultivated plot without his neighbor's permission → in the house [... his] neighbor [...].

gap §e [If an *awīlum* ...] declares [to the owner of a dilapidated house]: "Reinforce your scalable wall; from your house they could scale" (or) to the owner of an uncultivated plot: "Work your uncultivated plot; from your uncultivated plot they could break into my house," (and) he secures witnesses –

If a thief [...] by scaling [...] → the owner [of the dilapidated house shall replace (...)] anything lost because of the scaling.

If [a thief breaks in through the uncultivated plot] the owner [of the uncultivated plot] shall replace anything [lost ...]  
If [...]

gap §f [if] ... house [...]

gap §g If [an *awīlum* rents a house ...] the tenant gives the full annual rent in silver to the house owner, and the house owner orders the tenant's eviction before the expiration of the full term of his lease → because he evicted the tenant from his house before the expiration of the full term of his lease, the house owner shall forfeit the silver that the tenant gave him.

gap §h [If] a tenant purchases [the house of a *muškēnum* ...] → the rent which he shall make for the purchasing of the *muškēnum*'s house. [...] he shall place [...] he shall place it [...]

If he is far-off [...] of the *muškēnum* [...]

If he does not purchase → he shall forfeit the silver which he took and [the *muškēnum*'s house shall revert to] its owner.

gap §i, j, k [...]

gap §l [If an *awīlum* ...] → he shall weigh and deliver his silver and its interest at the harvest.

If he has nothing to give → [he shall give to him] any of commodity or grain.

If he has ... to give [...]

gap §m If a merchant/creditor who for [...] for 5 shekels of silver [...] he did not write for him a sealed document ... son of an *awīlum* ... → they shall kill that one.

gap §n If an *awīlum*'s slave [...] → he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver. And that slave [...] complete ... → he shall be killed.

gap §o [If] an *awīlum* [...] -s an *awīlum* [...]

gap §p, q [...]

gap §r [If ...] wages [...] → silver [...]

If that *awīlum* who [...] does not [...] → he shall forfeit the silver which he gave.

gap §s If either a slave or [slave-woman ...] → [they shall return him to his] owner.

If [...] he beats him [...] → they shall not return him [to] his [owner].

gap §t If a merchant/creditor gives grain or silver as an interest-bearing loan → he shall take 100 (var.: “60”) silas of grain per kur as interest (= 33%, var. 20%).

If he gives silver as an interest-bearing loan → he shall take 36 barleycorns per shekel of silver as interest (= 20%)

gap §u If an *awīlum* who has (var. adds: “silver as”) an interest-bearing loan does not have silver with which to repay (var. adds: “but he has grain”) → he shall take grain and silver in accordance with the royal edict and the interest on it at the annual rate of 60 silas per kur (= 20%).

If the merchant/creditor increases and takes the interest of the loan [...] for 1 kur [...] 36 barleycorns → he shall forfeit what he had given.

gap §v If a merchant/creditor gives grain or silver at interest and he then takes interest in grain or silver up to the amount of his capital sum → [...] grain or silver, the capital sum and its interest [...] the tablet of his obligation [shall be broken].

gap §w If a merchant/creditor [...] takes [...] interest [...] he does not deduct either grain [or silver] as much as [he received] and did not write a new tablet, or he adds interest payments to the capital sum → that merchant/creditor shall return two-fold as much grain as he took.

gap §x If a merchant/creditor gives grain or silver as an *hubullum*-loan and when he gives the *hubullum*-loan he gives silver according to the small weight or grain according to the small seah-measure, but when he receives (payment) he receives silver according to the large weight or grain according to the large seah-measure → [that merchant/creditor] shall forfeit [anything he gave].

gap §y If [a merchant/creditor] gives [...] as interest-bearing loan

gap §z If an *awīlum* takes grain or silver from a merchant/creditor and does not have grain or silver to return, (but) he does have other goods → before witnesses he shall give to his

merchant/creditor whatever he has at hand, in amounts according to the exchange value. The merchant/creditor shall not object; he shall accept it.

gap §aa [If an *awilum* ...] like [...]

gap §bb [If ...] → he shall be killed.

gap §cc If an *awilum* gives silver to an *awilum* for investment in a partnership venture → they shall divide equally the profit and loss before the god.

gap §100 If a merchant/creditor gives silver to a trading agent for conducting business transactions and sends him off on a business trip → the trading agent [shall ...] on a business trip.

If he realizes [a profit] where he went → he shall calculate the interest on the silver as much as he took, per transaction, according to the periods elapsed, and he shall satisfy his merchant/creditor.

§101 If he realizes no profit where he went → the trading agent shall give to the merchant/creditor twofold the silver that he took.

§102 If a merchant/creditor gives silver to a trading agent for an investment venture and he incurs a loss where he went → he shall return silver to the merchant/creditor in the amount of the capital sum.

§103 If enemy forces make his abandon whatever goods he is transporting while on his journey where he goes → the trading agent shall swear an oath by the god, and he shall be released.

§104 If a merchant/creditor gives a trading agent grain, wool, oil, or any other commodity for local transactions → the trading agent shall return to the merchant/creditor the silver, per transaction. The trading agent shall take a sealed receipt for the silver that he gives to the merchant/creditor.

§105 If a trading agent is negligent and does not take a sealed receipt for the silver that he gives to the merchant/creditor → any silver that is not documented in a sealed receipt shall not be included in the accounting.

§106 If a trading agent takes silver from a merchant/creditor and then contests (the claim of) his merchant/creditor → that merchant/creditor shall bring charge and proof before the god and witnesses against the trading agent concerning the silver taken. And the trading agent shall give to the merchant/creditor threefold the amount of silver that he took.

§107 If a merchant/creditor entrusts silver to a trading agent and the trading agent returns to his merchant/creditor everything that the merchant/creditor had given to him, the

merchant/creditor contests anything that the trading agent gave to him → that trading agent shall bring charge and proof before the god and witnesses against the merchant/creditor. And the merchant/creditor, because he contested his trading agent, shall give to the trading agent sixfold the amount that he took.

§108 If a brewster refuses to accept grain for the price of beer and accepts (only) silver measured by the large weight, thereby reducing the value of beer in relation to the value of grain → they shall bring charge and proof against that brewster and (var.: “they shall bind that brewster in fetters and”) they shall cast her into the water.

§109 If (concerning) a brewster, criminals congregate in her house, and she does not seize those criminals and lead them off to the palace → that brewster shall be killed.

§110 If a *naditum*-priestess or an *ugbaltum*-priestess who does not reside within the cloister opens a tavern or enters a tavern for beer → they shall burn that woman.

§111 If a brewster gives one vat of beer as a *qiptum*-investment → she shall take 50 silas of grain at the harvest.

§112 If an *awilum* is engaged in a trading expedition and gives silver, gold, gems, or any other goods to an *awilum* on consignment for transportation, that *awilum* does not give that which was consigned where it was consigned but appropriates it → the owner of the consigned property shall bring charge and proof against that *awilum* for any consigned property he did not deliver. And that *awilum* shall give to the owner of the consigned property fivefold the property that had been consigned.

§113 If an *awilum* has a claim of grain or silver against an *awilum*, and he takes grain from the granary or from the threshing floor without permission of the owner of the grain → they shall bring charge and proof against that *awilum* for taking grain from the granary or from the threshing floor without permission of the owner of the grain, and he shall return as much grain as he took. And moreover, he shall forfeit whatever he originally gave as loan.

§114 If an *awilum* does not have a claim of grain or silver against an *awilum*, and he distrains (a member of his household) → he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver for each distrainee.

§115 If an *awilum* has a claim of grain or silver against an *awilum*, distrains (a member of his household), and the distrainee goes to his fate and dies in the house of his distrainor → that case has no basis for a claim.

§116 If a distrainee dies from a beating or abuse while in the house of his distrainor → the owner of the distrainee shall bring charge and proof against his merchant/creditor.

And if (the distrainee is) a son of an *awilum* → they shall kill his son.

If a slave of an *awīlum* → he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.

Moreover, he shall forfeit whatever he originally gave.

§117 If an obligation is outstanding against an *awīlum* and he sells or gives into debt servitude his wife, his son, and/or his daughter → they shall perform service for three years in the house of their buyer or of the one who holds them in debt servitude; their release shall be secured in the fourth year.

§118 If he should give a slave or slave-woman into debt servitude → the merchant/creditor shall extend the term, he may sell (the slave), he shall not be reclaimed.

§119 If an obligation is outstanding against an *awīlum* and he sells his slave-woman who has borne him sons → the owner of the slave-woman shall weigh and deliver the silver which the merchant/creditor weighed and delivered, and he shall redeem his slave-woman.

§120 If an *awīlum* stores his grain in an *awīlum*'s house and a loss occurs in the storage bin or (if) the householder opens the granary and takes the grain or (if) he completely denies (receiving) the grain 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.

§121 If an *awīlum* stores grain in an *awīlum*'s house → he shall give annually 5 silas of grain per kur (i.e., per 300 silas) of grain as rent for the granary.

§122 If an *awīlum* gives silver, gold, or anything else to an *awīlum* for safekeeping → he shall exhibit before witnesses anything he intends to give, he shall establish a (written) agreement, and he shall give the goods for safekeeping.

§123 If he gives goods for safekeeping without witnesses or a (written) agreement and he denies that which he gave → that case shall have no claim.

§124 If an *awīlum* gives silver, gold, or anything else before witnesses to an *awīlum* for safekeeping and he denies it → they shall bring charge and proof against that *awīlum*, and he shall give twofold that which he contested.

§125 If an *awīlum* gives any property of his for safekeeping, and that which he gave is lost – (both) his property together with the householder's property – either by a breach or by scaling over a wall → the householder who was negligent/careless shall make whole and restore to the owner of the property anything that was given to him for safekeeping and was lost. The householder may continue to search for his lost property and take it from his thief.



§126 If an *awilum* whose property is not lost declares, “My property is lost,” and he accuses his city-quarter → his city-quarter shall establish against him before the god that property of his is not lost, and he shall give to his city-quarter twofold that which he claimed.

§127 If an *awilum* causes a finger to be pointed in accusation against an *ugbaltum*-priestess or against an *awilum*'s wife and does not bring charge and proof → they shall flog that *awilum* before the judges and they shall shave half of his hair.

§128 If an *awilum* takes (in marriage) a wife and does not conclude a contract for her → that woman is not a wife.

§129 If an *awilum*'s wife is seized lying with another male → they shall bind them and cast them into the water.

If the wife's master/husband allows his wife to live → then then king shall allow his slave/subject to live.

§130 If an *awilum* pins down an *awilum*'s wife who has not known a male and is residing in her father's house, and they seize him lying in her lap → that *awilum* shall be killed. That woman shall be released.

§131 If her husband accuses his own wife and she has not been seized lying with another male → she shall swear an oath of the god and she shall return to her house.

§132 If an *awilum*'s wife has a finger pointed against her concerning another male, and she has not been seized lying with another male → she shall submit to the <sup>d</sup>River Ordeal for her husband.

§133a If an *awilum* is captured and there are sufficient provisions in his house → his wife [... she shall not] enter [another *awilum*'s house].

§133b If that woman does not keep herself chaste and enters another's house → they shall bring charge and proof against that woman and they shall cast her into the water.

§134 If an *awilum* is captured and there are not sufficient provisions in his house → his wife shall enter another's house. That woman shall not have any fault.

§135 If an *awilum* is captured and there are not sufficient provisions in his house, (and if) before his return his wife enters another's house and bears sons, and later her husband returns and reaches his city → that woman shall return to her first-husband; the children shall inherit from their fathers.

§136 If an *awīlum* deserts his city and flees, (and if) afterward his wife enters another's house, if that *awīlum* returns and seizes his wife → because he repudiated ("hated") his city and fled, the wife of the deserter shall not return to her husband.

§137 If an *awīlum* decides to divorce a *šugītum*-priestess who bore him sons or a *nadītum*-priestess who provided him with sons → they shall return to that woman her dowry and they shall give to her one half of the field, orchard, and property, and she shall raise her sons. After she has raised her sons, they shall give her a share of whatever properties are given to her sons comparable in value to that of one heir, and a husband of her choice shall take her (in marriage).

§138 If an *awīlum* decides to divorce his first-wife who did not bear him sons → he shall give to her silver as much as her bridewealth and restore to her the dowry that she brought from her father's house, and he shall divorce her.

§139 If there is no bridewealth → he shall give her 60 shekels of silver as divorce settlement.

§140 If he is a *muškēnum* → he shall give her 20 shekels of silver.

§141 If an *awīlum*'s wife who is residing in the *awīlum*'s house determines to be wayward, and she appropriates goods, squanders her household possessions, disparages her husband → they shall bring charge and proof against her.

And if her husband declares his intention to divorce her → 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 → her husband shall take (in marriage) another woman. That woman shall reside in her husband's house like a slave-woman.

§142 If a woman repudiates her husband and declares, "You will not take me (in marriage)" → her circumstances shall be investigated by her city-quarter.

And if she is circumspect and without fault and her husband is wayward and disparages her greatly → that woman shall not have any fault. She shall take her dowry and she shall depart for her father's house.

§143 If she is not circumspect and is wayward, squanders her household possessions, disparages her husband → they shall cast that woman into the water.

§144 If an *awīlum* takes (in marriage) a *nadītum*-priestess and that *nadītum*-priestess gives a slave-woman to her husband and thereby she provides sons, (and if) that *awīlum* then intends to take (in marriage) a *šugītum*-priestess → they will not permit that *awīlum* to do so, he shall not take (in marriage) a *šugītum*-priestess.

§145 If an *awilum* takes (in marriage) a *naditum*-priestess and she does not provide him with sons, and he then intends to take (in marriage) a *šugitum*-priestess → that *awilum* shall take (in marriage) a *šugitum*-priestess, he shall bring her into his house. That *šugitum*-priestess shall not aspire to equal status with the *naditum*-priestess.

§146 If an *awilum* takes (in marriage) a *naditum*-priestess and she gives a slave-woman to her husband and she then bears sons, afterward that slave-woman aspires to equal status with her mistress → because she bore sons, her mistress shall not sell her. She shall place upon her the slave-hairlock and she shall reckon her among the enslaved-women.

§147 If she does not bear sons → her mistress shall sell her.

§148 If an *awilum* take (in marriage) a wife and then *la'bum*-disease seizes her, and he intends to take (in marriage) another woman → he shall take (in marriage) another woman). He shall not divorce his wife whom *la'bum*-disease seized; she shall reside in quarters which he constructs, and he shall continue to support her as long as she is alive.

§149 If that woman then does not consent to reside in her husband's house → he shall restore her dowry that she brought from her father's house to her and she shall depart.

§150 If an *awilum* awards to his wife a field, orchard, house, or movable property and makes a sealed document for her → after husband's death her sons shall not bring a claim against her. The mother shall give her estate to the son whom she loves; she shall not give it to an outsider.

§151 If a woman who is residing in an *awilum*'s house has her husband make a contract that a creditor of her husband's shall not seize her – if that *awilum* has a debt incurred before he takes (in marriage) that woman → his creditors shall not seize his wife.

And if that woman has a debt incurred before she entered the *awilum*'s house → her creditors shall not seize her husband.

§152 If there is a debt incurred by them after that woman enters the *awilum*'s house → both of them shall satisfy the merchant/creditor.

§153 If an *awilum*'s wife has her husband killed on account of another male → they shall impale that woman.

§154 If an *awilum* knows his own daughter → they shall banish that *awilum* from the city.

§155 If an *awilum* selects a bride for his son and his son knows her, after which he lies in her lap and they seize him → they shall bind that *awilum* and cast him (var.: "they shall cast her, they shall cast him") into the water.

§156 If an *awilum* selects a bride for his son and his son does not know her and he himself then lies in her lap → he shall weigh and deliver to her 30 shekels of silver. And moreover, he shall restore to her whatever she brought from her father's house and a husband of her choice shall take her (in marriage).

§157 If an *awilum*, after his father's death, lies with his own mother → they shall burn them both.

§158 If an *awilum*, after his father's death, is discovered in the lap of his principal wife who had borne sons → that *awilum* shall be disinherited from the paternal estate.

§159 If an *awilum* who has the ceremonial marriage prestation brought to the house of his father-in-law, who gives the bridewealth, then has his attention diverted to another woman and declares to his father-in-law, "I shall not take (in marriage) your daughter" → the father of the daughter shall take full possession of whatever had been brought to him.

§160 If an *awilum* has the ceremonial marriage prestation brought to the house of his father-in-law, gives the bridewealth, and the father of the daughter then declares, "I will not give my daughter to you" → he shall return twofold everything that had been brought to him.

§161 If an *awilum* has the ceremonial marriage prestation brought to the house of his father-in-law, gives the bridewealth, and then his comrade slanders him, (and) his father-in-law then declares to the owner/master of the wife, "You shall not take my daughter (in marriage)" → he shall return twofold everything that had been brought to him, and moreover his comrade shall not take his wife (in marriage).

§162 If an *awilum* takes (in marriage) a wife, she bears him sons, 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 an *awilum* takes (in marriage) a wife and she does not provide him with sons, and that woman then goes to her fate – if his father-in-law then returns to him the bridewealth that that *awilum* brought to his father-in-law's house → her husband shall have no claim to that woman's dowry; her dowry belongs only to her father's house.

§164 If his father-in-law does 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 an *awilum* awards by written sealed contract a field, an orchard, or a house to his favorite heir → after the father goes to his fate, when the brothers divide the inheritance, he shall take the gift which the father gave to him and, apart from that, they shall divide equally the property of paternal estate.

§166 If an *awilum* provides wives for his grown sons (but) does not provide a wife for his young son → after the father goes to his fate, when the brothers divide the inheritance, they shall establish the silver value of the bridewealth for their young brother who has not taken (in marriage) a wife from the property of the paternal estate, in addition to his inheritance share, and they shall enable him to obtain a wife.

§167 If an *awilum* takes (in marriage) a wife and she bears him sons, and then that woman goes to her fate; and after death he takes (in marriage) another woman, and she bears sons; and later the father then goes to his fate → the sons shall not divide according to the mothers; they shall (each) take the dowries of their respective mothers and then equally divide the property of the paternal estate.

§168 If an *awilum* intends to disinherit his son and declares to the judges, “I shall disinherit my son” → the judges shall investigate his case, and, if the son does not bear a grave offense warranting disinheritance, the father shall not disinherit his son.

§169 If he does bear a grave offense warranting disinheritance by his father → they shall pardon him for his first (offense).

If he bears a grave offense a second time → the father shall disinherit his son.

§170 If an *awilum*'s first-wife bears him sons and also his slave-woman bears him sons, the father during his lifetime then declares to/about the sons whom the slave-woman bore him, “My sons,” and he reckons them with the sons of the first-wife → after the father goes to his fate the sons of the first-wife and the sons of the slave-woman shall divide equally the property of the paternal estate. The primary heir shall be a son of the first-wife; he shall select and take a share (first).

§171 And if the father during his lifetime does not declare to/about the sons whom the slave-woman bore him, “My sons” → after the father goes to his fate the sons of the slave-woman shall not divide the property of the paternal estate with the sons of the first-wife.

→ The release of the slave-woman and her sons shall be secured.

→ The sons of the first-wife shall not make claims of slavery against the sons of the slave-woman.

→ The first-wife shall take her dowry and the marriage settlement which her husband awarded to her in writing, and she shall reside in her husband's dwelling. At long as she lives, she shall enjoy the use of; she shall not sell it. Her estate belongs only to her own sons.

§172 If her husband does not make a marriage settlement for her → 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 sons pressure her in order to coerce her to depart from the house → the judges shall investigate her case and they shall impose a penalty on the sons; that woman shall not depart from her husband's house.

If that woman determines to be wayward → she shall leave for her sons the marriage settlement which her husband gave to her. She shall take the dowry from her father's house and a husband of her own choice shall take her (in marriage).

§173 If that woman then bears sons to her latter husband where she entered, after that woman has died → her former and latter sons shall divide her dowry.

§174 If she does not bear sons to her latter husband → only the sons of her first-husband shall take her dowry.

§175 If a slave of the palace or a slave of a *muškēnum* takes (in marriage) an *awīlum's* daughter and she bears sons → the owner of the slave shall have no claims of slavery against the sons of the *awīlum's* daughter.

§176a And if a slave of the palace or a slave of *muškēnum* takes (in marriage) an *awīlum's* daughter, and when he takes her (in marriage) , she enters the house of the slave of the palace or the slave of the *muškēnum* (var. (error): "of the *awīlum*") together with the dowry brought from her father's house, and after they join together they establish a household and accumulate possessions, after which either the slave of the palace or the slave of the *muškēnum* goes to his fate → the *awīlum's* daughter shall take (var. adds: "in addition to") her dowry. And moreover, they shall divide into two parts everything that her husband and she accumulated subsequent to the time they joined together; the slave's owner shall take half and the *awīlum's* daughter shall take have for her sons.

§176b If the *awīlum's* daughter does not have a dowry → they shall divide into two parts everything that her husband and she accumulated subsequent to the time they joined together, and the slave's owner shall take half and the *awīlum's* daughter shall take half for her sons.

§177 If a widow whose sons are still young determines to enter another's house → she shall not enter without 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 latter husband and to that woman. They shall have them execute a tablet, they shall safeguard the estate, and they shall raise the youngsters. They shall not sell the household goods; any buyer who buys the household goods of sons of a widow shall forfeit his silver; the property shall revert to its owner.

§178 If there is an *ugbabtum*-priestess, a *nadītum*-priestess, or a *sekretum*-priestess whose father awards to her a dowry, records it in a tablet, does not grant her written authority in the tablet that he records for her to give her estate to whomever she pleases and does not give her

full discretion – after her father has gone 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 thereby satisfy her.

If her brothers have not given to her food, oil, and clothing allowances in accordance with the value of her inheritance share and thus have not satisfied her → she shall give her field and her orchard to any agricultural tenant she pleases, and her agricultural tenant shall support her. She shall enjoy the use of the field, orchard, (var. adds: “house”) and anything else which her father gave to her (var.: “wrote for her”) as long as she lives; she shall not sell it, she shall not satisfy another’s obligations. Her inheritance belongs to her brothers only.

§179 If there is an *ugbaptum*-priestess, a *naditum*-priestess (var.: “*kulmašitum*-priestess”), or a *sekretum*-priestess whose father awards to her a dowry, records it for her in a sealed document, does grant her written authority in the tablet that he records for her to give her estate to whomever she pleases and does give her full discretion – after her father has gone to his fate → she shall give her estate to whomever she pleases. Her brothers shall. not have a claim against her.

§180 If a father does not award a dowry to his daughter who is a cloistered *naditum*-priestess or a *sekretum*-priestess, after the father has gone to his fate → she shall have a share of the property of the paternal estate comparable in value to that of one heir. She shall enjoy its use for as long as she lives. Her estate belongs to her brothers only.

§181 If a father dedicates (a daughter) to the deity as a *naditum*-priestess, a *qadištum*-priestess, or a *kulmašitum*-priestess, and does not award to her a dowry – after the father has gone to his fate → she shall take her one-third\* share from the property of the paternal estate as her inheritance. She shall enjoy its use for as long as she lives. Her estate belongs to her brothers only.

§182 If a father does not award a dowry to his daughter who is a *naditum*-priestess of <sup>d</sup>Marduk in the city Babylon, does not record for her in a sealed document – after the father has gone to his fate → she shall take, with her brothers, her one-third\* share from the property of the paternal estate as her inheritance; she shall not perform *ilkum*-obligations. A *naditum*-priestess of <sup>d</sup>Marduk shall give her estate as she pleases.

§183 If a father awards a dowry to his daughter who is a *šugitum*-priestess, gives her to a husband, records it in a sealed document – after the father has gone to his fate → she shall not have a share of the property of the paternal estate.

§184 If an *awilum* does not award a dowry to his daughter who is a *šugitum*-priestess and does not give her to a husband – after the father has gone to his fate → her brothers shall award to her a dowry proportionate to the value of the paternal estate and they shall give her to a husband.

§185 If an *awīlum* takes in adoption a youngster at birth and rears him → that rearing shall not be reclaimed.

§186 If an *awīlum* takes in adoption a youngster, and when he takes him, he is seeking his father and his mother → that rearing shall return to his father's house.

§187 (If he takes in adoption) a son of a courtier (or?) a palace attendant or a son of a *sekretum*-priestess → he shall not be reclaimed.

§188 If a craftsman takes a youngster to rear and teaches him his craft → he shall not be reclaimed.

§189 If he does not teach him his craft → that rearing shall return to his father's house.

§190 If an *awīlum* does not reckon the youngster whom he took in adoption and raised as equal with his own sons → that rearing shall return to his father's house.

§191 If an *awīlum* establishes his house with the youngster whom he took in adoption and raised, and later on he has sons and determines to disinherit the rearing → that youngster shall not depart empty-handed; the father who raised him shall give him a one-third\* share of his property as his inheritance and he shall depart. He shall not give him (inheritance) from field, orchard, or house.

§192 If a son of a courtier or a son of a *sekretum*-priestess says to the father who raised him or to the mother who raised him, "You are not my father," "You are not my mother" → they shall cut out his tongue.

§193 If a son of a courtier or a son of a *sekretum*-priestess identifies with his father's house and repudiates the father who raised him and the mother who raised him and departs for his father's house → they shall pluck out his eye.

§194 If an *awīlum* gives his son to a wet nurse and that youngster then dies in the care of the wet nurse, the wetnurse then contracts (to care for) another youngster without the knowledge/consent of his father and his mother → they shall bring charge and proof against her. And because she contracted for another youngster without the knowledge/consent of his father and his mother, they shall cut off her breast.

§195 If a son strikes his father → they shall cut off his hand.

§196 If an *awīlum* blinds the eye of an *awīlum* (text: of the son of an *awīlum*) → they shall blind his eye.

§197 If he breaks the bone of an *awīlum* → they shall break his bone.



§198 If he blinds the eye of a *muškēnum* or breaks the bone of a *muškēnum* → he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver.

§199 If he blinds the eye of an *awīlum*'s slave or breaks the bone of an *awīlum*'s slave → he shall weigh and deliver one-half of his value.

§200 If an *awīlum* knocks out the tooth of an *awīlum* of his own rank → they shall knock out his tooth.

§201 If he knocks out the tooth of a *muškēnum* → he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.

§202 If an *awīlum* strikes the cheek of an *awīlum* who is his superior → he shall be flogged in the public assembly with 60 stripes of an ox-whip.

§203 If a son of an *awīlum* strikes the cheek of a son of an *awīlum* who is his equal → he shall weigh and deliver 60 shekels of silver.

§204 If a *muškēnum* strikes the cheek of a *muškēnum* → he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver.

§205 If an *awīlum*'s slave strikes the cheek of a son of an *awīlum* → they shall cut off his ear.

§206 If an *awīlum* strikes an *awīlum* inadvertently and inflicts upon him a wound → that *awīlum* shall swear, "I did not strike intentionally," and he shall pay the physician.

§207 If he dies from his striking → he shall so swear.

If he is a son of an *awīlum* → he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.

§208 If he is a son of a *muškēnum* → he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.

§209 If an *awīlum* strikes a daughter of an *awīlum* and causes her to miscarry her fetus → he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver for her fetus.

§210 If that woman dies → they shall kill his daughter.

§211 If he causes a daughter of a *muškēnum* to miscarry her fetus by the striking → he shall weigh and deliver 5 shekels of silver.

§212 If that woman dies → he shall weigh and deliver 30 shekels of silver.

§213 If he strikes an *awīlum*'s slave-woman and causes her to miscarry her fetus → he shall weigh and deliver 2 shekels of silver.

§214 If that slave-woman dies → he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.

§215 If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon an *awīlum* and heals the *awīlum* or opens an *awīlum*'s temple with a bronze lancet and heals the *awīlum*'s eye → he shall take 10 shekels of silver.

§216 If he is a son of a *muškēnum* → he shall take 5 shekels of silver.

§217 If he is a slave of an *awīlum* → the slave's owner shall give to the physician 2 shekels of silver.

§218 If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon an *awīlum* and causes the *awīlum*'s death or opens an *awīlum*'s temple with a bronze lancet and blinds the *awīlum*'s eye → they shall cut off his hand.

§219 If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon a slave of a *muškēnum* and causes his death → he shall replace the slave with an equivalent slave.

§220 If he opens his temple with a bronze lancet and blinds his eye → he shall weigh and deliver silver equivalent to half his value.

§221 If a physician sets an *awīlum*'s broken bone or heals an injured muscle → the patient shall give to the physician 5 shekels of silver.

§222 If he is a son of a *muškēnum* → he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

§223 If he is a slave of an *awīlum* → the slave-woman owner shall give to the physician 2 shekels of silver.

§224 If a physician of an ox or a donkey performs major surgery upon an ox or a donkey and heals it → the owner of the ox or the donkey shall give to the physician as his fee one sixth (of a shekel, i.e., 30 barleycorns) of silver.

§225 If he performs major surgery upon an ox or a donkey and causes its death → he shall give one-quarter(?) of its value to the owner of the ox or the donkey.

§226 If a barber shaves off the slave-hairlock of a slave not belonging to him without the consent/knowledge of the slave's owner → they shall cut off that barber's hand.

§227 If an *awīlum* misleads a barber and he shaves off the slave-hairlock of a slave not belonging to him → they shall kill that *awīlum* and hang him in his own doorway. The barber shall swear, “I did not knowingly shave it off,” and he shall be released.

§228 If a builder constructs a house for an *awīlum* to his satisfaction → he shall give him 2 shekels of silver for each sar of house as his compensation.

§229 If a builder constructs a house for an *awīlum* and does not make his work sound and the house that he constructs collapses and causes the death of the householder → that builder shall be killed.

§230 If it causes the death of a son of the householder → they shall kill a son of that builder.

§231 If it causes the death of a slave of the householder → he shall give to the householder an equivalent slave for the slave.

§232 If it causes 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 (re)construct the house that collapsed at his own expense.

§233 If a builder constructs a house for an *awīlum*, does not make it according to specifications, and a wall then buckles → that builder shall make that wall sound using his own silver.

§234 If a boatman caulks a boat of 60-kur capacity for an *awīlum* → he shall give him 2 shekels of silver as his compensation.

§235 If a boatman caulks a boat for an *awīlum* and does 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.

§236 If an *awīlum* 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.

§237 If an *awīlum* hires a boatman and a boat, loads it with grain, wool, oil, dates, or any other lading, and that boatman is negligent and 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.

§238 If a boatman causes an *awīlum*'s boat to sink and he then raises it → he shall give silver equal to half of its value.

§239 If an *awīlum* hires a boatman → he shall give him 1,800 silas of grain per year.

§240 If a boat under the command of the master of an upstream-boat collides with a boat under the command of the master of a downstream boat and sinks it → the owner of the sunken boat shall establish before the god the property that is lost from his boat; 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.

§241 If an *awilum* distrains an ox → he shall weigh and deliver 20 shekels of silver.

§242/243 If an *awilum* 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.

§244 If an *awilum* rents an ox or a donkey and a lion kills it in the open country → it is the owner's (loss).

§245 If an *awilum* rents an ox and causes its death either by negligence or by beating → he shall replace the ox for the owner of the ox with an equivalent ox.

§246 If an *awilum* rents an ox and breaks its leg or cuts its neck tendon (var.: "or flays its hide") → he shall replace the ox for the owner of the ox with an equivalent ox.

§247 If an *awilum* rents an ox and blinds its eye → he shall give silver to the owner of the ox equal to half its value.

§248 If an *awilum* 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.

§249 If an *awilum* rents an ox and a god strikes it dead → the *awilum* who rented the ox shall swear an oath by the god and he shall be released.

§250 If an ox fatally gores an *awilum* while it is passing through the streets → that case has no claim.

§251 If an *awilum*'s ox is a known gorer and the authorities of his city-quarter notify him that it is a known gorer, and he does not blunt(?) its horns or control his ox – and that ox fatally gores a son of an *awilum* → he shall give 30 shekels of silver.

§252 If it is an *awilum*'s slave → he shall give 20 shekels of silver.

§253 If an *awilum* hires an *awilum* to care for his field, 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 *awilum* steals the seed or fodder and it is then found in his possession → they shall cut off his hand.

§254 If he takes the stored grain and thereby weakens the cattle → he shall replace twofold the grain which he received.

§255 If he hires out the *awīlum*'s cattle or steals seed and thereby does not produce crops in the field → they shall bring charge and proof against that man, and at the harvest he shall measure and deliver 18,000 silas of grain for every 18 ikus of field.

§256 If he is not able to satisfy his obligation → they shall have him dragged by cattle (var.: "by an ox") though that very field.

§257 If an *awīlum* hires an agricultural laborer → he shall give him 2,400 silas of grain per year.

§258 If an *awīlum* hires an ox-driver → he shall give him 1,800 silas of grain per year.

§259 If an *awīlum* steals a plow from the common irrigated area → he shall give 5 shekels of silver to the owner of the plow.

§260 If he steals a clod-breaking plow or a harrow → he shall give 3 shekels of silver.

§261 If an *awīlum* hires a herdsman to herd the cattle or flocks → he shall give him 2,400 silas of grain per year.

§262 If an *awīlum* [gives] an ox or a sheep to [...]

§263 If he causes the loss of the ox or sheep which were given to him → he shall replace the ox with an equivalent ox or the sheep with an equivalent sheep.

§264 If a shepherd to whom cattle or flocks are given for shepherding is in receipt of his complete hire to his satisfaction, and he allows the cattle to decrease or the flocks to decrease or the offspring to diminish → he shall give for the offspring and by-products in accordance with the terms of his contract.

§265 If a shepherd to whom cattle or flocks are given for shepherding acts criminally and alters the brand-mark and sells them → they shall bring charge and proof against him, and he shall replace for their owner tenfold the cattle or flocks which he stole.

§266 If an epidemic (lit., "touch of a god") breaks out in the enclosure or a lion kills (animals in an enclosure) → the shepherd shall clear himself before the god and the owner of the enclosure shall accept responsibility for the losses in the enclosure.

§267 If a shepherd is negligent and allows mange(?) to occur in the enclosure → the shepherd shall make full restitution of the cattle or flocks for the damage caused by the mange(?) which he allowed to occur in the enclosure, and he shall give it to their owner.

§268 If an *awīlum* rents an ox for threshing → 20 silas of grain is its hire.

§269 If he rents a donkey for threshing → 10 silas of grain is its hire.

§270 If he rents a goat for threshing → 1 sila of grain is its hire.

§271 If an *awīlum* rents cattle, a wagon, and its driver → he shall give 180 silas of grain per day.

§272 If he rents only the wagon itself → he shall give 40 silas of grain per day.

§273 If an *awīlum* 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 an *awīlum* hires a craftsman → he shall give, per [day]:  
the hire of [...]: 5 barleycorns of silver;  
the hire of a woven-textile worker: 5 barleycorns of silver;  
the hire of a linen-textile worker: [x barleycorns] of silver;  
the hire of a stone-cutter: [x barleycorns] of silver;  
the hire of a bow-maker (or: “lapidary”): [x barleycorns of] silver;  
the hire of a smith: [x barleycorns of] silver;  
the hire of a carpenter: 4(?) barleycorns of silver;  
the hire of a leather-worker: [x] barleycorns of silver;  
the hire of a reed-worker: [x] barleycorns of silver;  
the hire of a builder: [x barleycorns of] silver.

§275 If an *awīlum* rents a [... boat] → 3 barleycorns of silver per day is its hire.

§276 If an *awīlum* rents a boat for traveling upstream → he shall give  $2\frac{1}{2}$  barleycorns of silver as its hire per day.

§277 If an *awīlum* rents a boat of 60-kur capacity → he shall give 30 barleycorns of silver per day as its hire.

§278 If an *awīlum* purchases a slave or a slave-woman and within his one-month period, epilepsy befalls him → he shall return him to his seller and the buyer shall take back the silver that he weighed and delivered.

§279 If an *awīlum* purchases a slave or a slave-woman and claims then arise → his seller shall satisfy the claims.

§280 If an *awīlum* purchases an *awīlum*'s slave or slave-woman in a foreign country, and while he is traveling about within the country the owner of the slave or slave-woman identifies his

slave or slave-woman – if they, the slave or slave-woman, are natives of the country → their release shall be secured without any silver.

§281 If they are natives of another country → the buyer shall declare before the god the amount of silver that he weighed and delivered; the owner of the slave or slave-woman shall give to the merchant/creditor the amount of silver that he paid; thus he shall redeem his slave or his slave-woman.

§282 If a slave declares to his master, “You are not my master” → he 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) 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) I am Hammurabi, noble king. I have not been careless or negligent toward humankind (lit., “black-headed ones”), granted to my care by <sup>d</sup>Enlil, and with whose shepherding <sup>d</sup>Marduk charged me. I have sought for them peaceful places. I removed serious difficulties. I spread light over them. With the mighty weapon which <sup>d</sup>Zababa and <sup>d</sup>Ištar bestowed upon me, with the wisdom which <sup>d</sup>Ea allotted to me, with the ability which <sup>d</sup>Marduk gave me, I annihilated enemies everywhere, I put and to wars, I enhanced the wellbeing of the land, I made the people of all settlements lie in safe pastures, I did not tolerate anyone intimidating them. The great gods have 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 in my lap. They prospered under my protective spirit, I maintained them in peace, with my skillful wisdom I sheltered them.

(xlvi 59-78) 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 before the image of me, the king of justice, in the city Babylon, the city which <sup>d</sup>Anum and <sup>d</sup>Enlil have elevated, with the Esagil, the temple whose foundation 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-xlviii 2) I am the king preeminent among kings. My pronouncements are choice, my ability is unrivaled. By the command of <sup>d</sup>Šamaš, the great judge of heaven and earth, may my justice prevail in the land. By the order of <sup>d</sup>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.

(xlviii 3-19) May any wronged *awilum* who has a lawsuit come before the image of me, the king of justice, and may he read aloud my inscribed stela, may he hear my precious

pronouncements, may my stela reveal the lawsuit for him, may he examine his case, may he calm his heart, saying:

(xlvi 20-38) “Hammurabi, the lord, who is like a father and begetter to his people, submitted himself to the command of <sup>d</sup>Marduk, his lord, and achieved victory for <sup>d</sup>Marduk everywhere. He gladdened the heart of <sup>d</sup>Marduk, his lord, and he secured the eternal wellbeing of the people and provided just ways for the land.”

(xlvi 29-58) May he say thus and may he pray for me with his whole heart before <sup>d</sup>Marduk, my lord, and <sup>d</sup>Zarpanitum, 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 <sup>d</sup>Marduk, my lord, and <sup>d</sup>Zarpanitum, my lady.

(xlvi 59-94) 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 *awilum* has discernment and is capable of providing just ways for his land, may he heed the pronouncement 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 wellbeing of his people.

(xlvi 95-xlvii 17) I am Hammurabi, the king of justice, to whom <sup>d</sup>Šamaš has granted truth. My pronouncements are choice, and my achievement are unrivaled; they are meaningless only to the fool, but to the wise they are praiseworthy. If that man (*awilum*) 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 <sup>d</sup>Šamaš lengthen his reign, just as (he has done) for me, the king of justice, and so may he shepherd his people with justice.

(xlvii 18-44) If that man (*awilum*) does not heed my pronouncements, which I have inscribed upon my stela, and if he slights my curses and does not fear the curses of the gods and thus overturns the judgments that I rendered, changes my pronouncements, alters my engraved image, erases my inscribed name and inscribes his own name – (or if), because of fear of these curses, he has someone else do so – that man (*awilum*), whether he is a king, a lord (or: “priest”), or a governor, or any person at all,

(xlvii 45-52) may great <sup>d</sup>Anum, father of the gods, who has proclaimed my reign, deprive him of the sheen of royalty, smash his scepter, and curse his destiny.

(xlvii 53-80) May lord <sup>d</sup>Enlil 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 a rebellion that will result in his obliteration. May he cast as his fate a reign of groaning, or few days, or 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.

(xlix 81-97) May great mother <sup>d</sup>Ninlil, whose utterance is honored in the Ekur temple, the mistress who makes my portents auspicious, denounce his case before <sup>d</sup>Enlil at the place of litigation and verdict. May she induce the king <sup>d</sup>Enlil to pronounce the destruction of his land, the obliteration of his people (var.: “his city”), and the spilling of his life-force like water.

(xlix 98-l 13) May great prince <sup>d</sup>Ea, 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) May the great judge of heaven and earth, <sup>d</sup>Šamaš, 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 performed 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 <sup>d</sup>Šamaš 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) May the lord of heavens, <sup>d</sup>Šin, 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 with no better than death.

(l 64-80) May the lord of abundance, <sup>d</sup>Adad, canal-inspector of heaven and earth, my helper, deprive him of the benefits of rain from heaven and flooding from the springs. 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) May the great warrior, <sup>d</sup>Zababa, 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 may he make his enemy triumph over him.

(l 92-li 23) May the mistress of battle and warfare, <sup>d</sup>Ištar, who unsheathes 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 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 and captive to the land of this enemy.

(li 24-39) May the mighty among the gods, <sup>d</sup>Nergal, 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 may he shatter his limbs like (those of) a clay figure.

(li 40-49) May august mistress of the lands, <sup>d</sup>Nintu, the mother, my creator, deprive him of an heir and give him no offspring. May she not allow a human birth (*zēr awīlūtim*) among his people.

(li 50-69) May <sup>d</sup>Ninkarrak, daughter of <sup>d</sup>Anum, who promotes 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 cannot ease with bandages, which, like the bite of death, cannot be expunged. May he bewail his lost virility until his life comes to an end.

(li 70-83) May the great gods of heaven and earth, all the <sup>d</sup>Anunnakum 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.

(li83-91) May <sup>d</sup>Enlil, whose command cannot be countermanded, curse him with these curses and may they swiftly overtake him.

\* §§ 181, 182, 191: “one-third share” refers to a single share rather than the double share of the primary heir, reflecting the paradigmatic case of two heirs in which the estate is divided into three parts and the primary heir takes two portions.