

Hittite Laws

Introduction

The Hittite People

The Hittites were one of a small number of groups speaking languages belonging to the Indo-European family who migrated into the Anatolian peninsula—corresponding roughly to the present republic of Turkey—from the north. The date of their immigration is unknown but is generally set in the final quarter of the third millennium. The Hittites established themselves as a political power during the seventeenth century and continued to dominate central Anatolia until the beginning of the twelfth century.

Although at the peak of its power the Hittite empire included subordinate states as far west as the Aegean coast and as far southeast as Damascus in Syria, its heartland was the central plateau of Anatolia, represented by the basin of the great river known in modern Turkey as the Kızıl Irmak (English "Red River"), which lies to the east of the Turkish capital city, Ankara.

The Hittites left behind in the ruins of their capital city, Hattusha, thousands of baked clay tablets inscribed with cuneiform characters. Among these tablets can be found historical narratives, treaties with foreign powers, literary compositions (myths, hymns, collections of proverbs), descriptions of religious ceremonies, and administrative records (inventories and censuses). Of great interest is a collection of laws the earliest copies of which date to the Old Hittite period (ca. 1650–1500).

Origin and Revision of the Laws

The Hittite laws were first written down in the early Old Kingdom (ca. 1650–1500). Four of the many copies of the laws are Old Hittite (henceforth abbreviated OH), and the remainder are copies made during the Middle Hittite (MH) or New Hittite (NH) periods (ca. 1500–1180). The OH copies are characterized by a more archaic form of the language and by a form of cuneiform writing that is typical of the Hittite Old Kingdom.

Only one NH copy actually attempts to revise the law. The others are content to modernize the language of the OH copies. The NH revising text is called the Late Parallel Version,¹ abbreviated PT for "Parallel Text." It contains forty-one sections, customarily numbered with roman numerals by modern scholars. Although in Hrozný 1922: 78–99 and Friedrich 1959: 48–61 this parallel version was presented separately, it has been decided here to interleave the Late Parallel Version with the Main Version of Series One in the manner of Goetze 1969. In order to distinguish it more clearly from the copies of the main recension I have indented the translation of paragraphs from this Late Parallel Version. NH copies other than PT differ from the earlier OH ones only in minor details and together with the OH ones are assigned to the Main Version.

Even the OH copies occasionally indicate a process of revising an earlier form of the laws that has not come down to us. These notations are worded thus: "Formerly they did such-and-such, but now he shall do such-and-such," with the second ruling differing significantly from the former. Since the Main Version itself dates from the Old Kingdom, the earlier formulations marked by the word "formerly" (Hittite *karū*) must belong to a very early stage of the Old Kingdom, perhaps to the reigns of the very first monarchs, Labarna I and Hattušili I (first half of the seventeenth century). I date the Main Version to the reign of King Telipinu, since in other respects he is attested as reforming the laws of royal succession and has left behind a lengthy royal edict pertaining to that reform.² At the end of King Telipinu's edict (see p. 237 below) there are even rulings on murder and sorcery, the former being a notable omission from the main law collection. Von Schuler (1982: 96) considers the king referred to in law ¶ 55 as the "father of the king" to be the one responsible for this first revision of the laws.

The revisions follow a pattern. Some corporal punishments were replaced by fines (compare ¶¶ 92 and 121). There is also a general reduction in the amounts of the fines. In several cases it is stated that this reduction results from abolishing the palace's share of the fine (¶ 9; see also ¶ 25). Although other cases in which a 50 percent reduction in the fine has occurred may likewise be due to the king forfeiting his share, other ratios of reduction warn us against assuming that forfeiture of the royal share was the cause of each reduction. The main recension sometimes reformed an earlier ruling by adding further specifications, such as differentiating between free per-

sons and slaves (§§ 94–95). Another noticeable characteristic of the reform was a reduction of the number of exemptions from required public services, see §§ 51, 54–55.

Form of the Laws

Scope and Organization

The laws were grouped in two series, each named after its opening words. The Hittite scribes designated Series One, consisting of laws 1–100, "If a man," and Series Two, consisting of laws 101–200, "If a vine."

Most scholars agree that the technical term "code" is inappropriate for the collections from Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Clearly, not every type of legal case is represented in the collection of laws. For example, the Hittite corpus does not include a ruling on premeditated homicide of an ordinary person, although the special case of the merchant is included. From the Telipinu Proclamation § 49 (see p. 237 below), it is known that "Whoever commits murder, whatever the heir of the murdered man says (will be done): if he says: 'Let him die,' he shall die; if he says 'Let him make compensation,' he shall make compensation. The king shall have no role in the decision."³ If the main version of the law corpus was introduced during the reign of Telipinu, it is possible that premeditated homicide (murder) was omitted because it was already described in the Telipinu Proclamation. Inheritance law is involved only marginally in § 171, which is so specifically worded that it almost certainly derives from a precedent case, and possibly in § 192, alternate version (see note 62). There is much to be said for the idea that the Hittite laws represent a collection of cases that served originally as precedents. Such a theory can explain, for instance, the occurrence of irrelevant details in some laws, which look like remnants of the precedent cases (see §§ 43 and 44).

A certain degree of organization can be seen in the arrangement of the individual cases: homicide (§§ 1–6, 42–44), assault (§§ 7–18), stolen and runaway slaves (§§ 19–24), marriage (§§ 26–36), land tenure (§§ 39–41, 46–56), lost property (§ 45), theft of or injury to animals (§§ 57–92), unlawful entry (§§ 93–97), arson (§§ 98–100), theft of or damage to plants (§§ 101–120), theft of or damage to implements (§§ 121–144), wages, hire, and fees (§§ 150–161), prices (§§ 176–186), and sexual offences (§§ 187–200). Individual laws are sandwiched between the above-mentioned categories, but it is clear that the collection aimed at some organization. Within some of the categories, individual laws are arranged according to a gradation of penalties, from the more to the less severe.

In a number of cases the fines are graded according to the social status or gender of the victim or the offender. Fines in cases involving slaves are often half that of cases involving free persons (see §§ 7–8, 13–18); and those

involving free women half that of free men (see ¶ II [= ¶¶ 3–4], IV [= 6], XVI [= 17]). Similarly, the wages of women are usually half that of men (¶¶ 24, 158). Yet the price of an unskilled man or woman is the same (¶ 177), and fines expressed in terms of slaves are often indifferent as to biological gender, as though male and female slaves were of equal value (e.g., ¶¶ 1–2).

Formulation

The laws are formulated in what is known as "case law." The condition—"if a person does such-and-such a thing"—is followed by a statement of the ruling: "he shall pay ... shekels of silver," "he shall be put to death," "they shall ... him," or something similar. This manner of formulation is one of several types of formulation found in the laws of the Hebrew Bible and the Mesopotamian law collections. No laws in the Hittite collection are expressed in the second person, that is, "you shall (not) do such-and-such," although such a formulation can be found in texts of a legal nature outside the law corpus, such as treaties or loyalty oaths.

Conventions Employed in the Presentation of the Text

Unlike previous published translations of the laws, this one uses the Old Hittite manuscripts (ca. 1650–1500), as the primary source, even if a New Hittite manuscript (ca. 1400–1180)⁴ is better preserved in that passage. Reasons behind this decision will be given in my forthcoming full edition of the Hittite laws. A transliteration of the Hittite text has not been provided for this translation because of the complexity of the source material, which can be presented more adequately in my new edition.

Restorations of broken portions of the text stand in square brackets []. Alternative translations have been inserted in the main text, following the format: "a dog trainer (or: hunter)." Other words not actually in the Hittite text but supplied for clarity also appear in the main text in parentheses. An ellipsis (...) represents either an unrestorable lacuna or an untranslatable term not discussed in the glossary.

Unknown words designating plants, animals, personnel, institutions, and so forth, are represented as "eya-tree," "hipparas-man," "TUKUL-obligation." Hittite units of measure, so far as they are known, have been converted into modern metrical equivalents. Exceptions are the shekel and mina, used for weighing silver. When these units are used simply to indicate size or weight of objects (¶ 157), we have converted them to metrical equivalents. We have not done so when they represent standard units of universal exchange (i.e., shekels of silver). Paragraphs are numbered following Hrozný 1922. Subdivided paragraphs (i.e., those with numbers like ¶ 19a and ¶ 19b) appear in

separate paragraphs only when they occur this way in the base manuscript being used at that point in the translation.

At the request of the series editor I have included in the translations clarifying words not actually found in the original. These additions are not indicated by parentheses. No transliterated Hittite text accompanies this translation, by means of which readers with some knowledge of Hittite could see what those additions are. Therefore, scholars planning to use my translations in discussions of ancient society and law are referred to my forthcoming edition of the Hittite text for details.

Text of the Laws

¶ 1 [If] anyone kills [a man] or a woman in a [quarr]el, he shall [bring him] for burial and shall give 4 persons, male or female respectively. He shall look [to his house for it.]⁵

¶ 2 [If] anyone kills [a male] or female slave in a quarrel, he shall bring him for burial [and] shall give [2] persons (lit., heads), male or female respectively. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 3 [If] anyone strikes a free [man] or woman so that he dies, but it is an accident, he shall bring him for burial and shall give 2 persons. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 4 If anyone strikes a male or female slave so that he dies, but it is an accident, he shall bring him for burial and shall give one person. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ II (= late version of ¶¶ 3-4) [If anyone] strikes [a (free) man,] so that he dies, but it is an accident, [he shall pay ... shekels of silver.] If it is a free woman or a female slave, he shall pay 80 shekels of silver.⁶

¶ 5 If anyone kills a merchant^{6a} (in a foreign land), he shall pay 4,000 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If it is in the lands of Luwiya or Pala, he shall pay the 4,000 shekels of silver and also replace his goods. If it is in the land of Hatti, he shall also bring the merchant himself for burial.

¶ III (= late version of ¶ 5) [If] anyone kills a Hittite [merchant] in the midst of his goods, he shall pay [... shekels of silver], and he shall pay three times the value of his goods. But [if] the merchant has no goods with him, and someone kills him in a quarrel, he shall pay 240 shekels of silver. If it is only an accident, he shall pay 80 shekels of silver.

¶ 6 If a person, man or woman, is killed in another city, the victim's heir

shall deduct 12,000 square meters⁷ from the land of the person on whose property the person was killed and shall take it for himself.

¶ IV (= late version of ¶ 6) If a free man is found dead on another's property, the property owner shall give his property, house, and 60 shekels of silver. If the dead person is a woman, the property owner shall give (no property, but) 120 shekels of silver. If the place where the dead person was found is not private property, but uncultivated open country, they shall measure 3 miles in all directions, and the dead person's heir shall take those same payments from whatever village is found to lie within that radius.⁸ If there is no village within that radius, the heir shall forfeit his claim.

¶ 7 If anyone blinds a free person or knocks out his tooth,⁹ they used to pay 40 shekels of silver. But now he shall pay 20 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ V (=late version of ¶ 7) If anyone blinds a free man in a quarrel, he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. If it is an accident, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 8 If anyone blinds a male or female slave or knocks out his tooth, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ VI (= late version of ¶ 8) If anyone blinds a male slave in a quarrel, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver. If it is an accident, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

¶ VII (= late version of ¶¶ 7-8) If anyone knocks out a free man's tooth—if he knocks out 2 or 3 teeth—he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. If the injured party is a slave, his assailant shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

¶ 9 If anyone injures a person's head, they used to pay 6 shekels of silver: the injured party took 3 shekels of silver, and they used to take 3 shekels of silver for the palace. But now the king has waived the palace share, so that only the injured party takes 3 shekels of silver.

¶ VIII (= late version of ¶ 9) If anyone injures a free man's head, the injured man shall take 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 10 If anyone injures a person and temporarily incapacitates him, he shall provide medical care for him. In his place he shall provide a person to work on his estate until he recovers. When he recovers, his assailant shall pay him 6 shekels of silver and shall pay the physician's fee as well.

¶ IX (= late version of ¶ 10) If anyone injures a free man's head, he shall provide medical care for him. In his place he shall provide a person to work on his estate until he recovers. When he recovers, his assailant

shall pay him 10 shekels of silver and shall pay the 3-shekel physician's fee as well. If it is a slave, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 11 If anyone breaks a free person's arm or leg, he shall pay him 20 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ X (= late version of ¶ 11) If anyone breaks a free man's arm or leg, if the injured man is permanently disabled(?), he shall pay him 20 shekels of silver. If he is not permanently disabled(?), he shall pay him 10 shekels of silver.

¶ 12 If anyone breaks a male or female slave's arm or leg, he shall pay 10 shekels^{9a} of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ XI (= late version of ¶ 12) If anyone breaks a slave's arm or leg, if he is permanently disabled(?), he shall pay him 10 shekels of silver. If he is not permanently disabled(?), he shall pay him 5 shekels of silver.

¶ 13 If anyone bites off the nose of a free person, he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ XII (=late version of ¶ 13) If anyone bites off the nose of a free man, he shall pay 1,200 shekels¹⁰ of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 14 If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ XIII (=late version of ¶ 14) If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female slave, he shall pay 600 shekels¹¹ of silver.

¶ 15 If anyone tears off the ear of a free person, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ XIV (=late version of ¶ 15) If anyone tears off the ear of a free man, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver.

¶ 16 If anyone tears off the ear of a male or female slave, he shall pay him 3 shekels of silver.

¶ XV (=late version of ¶ 16) If anyone tears off the ear of a male or female slave, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

¶ 17 If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, [if] it is her tenth month,¹² he shall pay 10 shekels of silver, if it is her fifth month, he shall pay 5 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ XVI (=late version of ¶ 17) If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 18 If anyone causes a female slave to miscarry,¹³ if it is her tenth month, he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.

¶ XVII (=late version of ¶ 18) If anyone causes a female slave to miscarry, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. [...]

¶ 19a If a Luwian abducts a free person, man or woman, from the land of Hatti, and leads him away to the land of Luwiya/Arzawa, and subsequently the abducted person's owner¹⁴ recognizes him, the abductor shall bring (i.e., forfeit) his entire house.^{14a}

¶ 19b If a Hittite abducts a Luwian man in the land of Hatti itself, and leads him away to the land of Luwiya, formerly they gave 12 persons, but now he shall give 6 persons. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 20 If a Hittite man abducts a Hittite male slave from the land of Luwiya, and leads him here to the land of Hatti, and subsequently the abducted person's owner recognizes him, the abductor shall pay him 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 21 If anyone abducts the male slave of a Luwian man from the land of Luwiya and brings him to the land of Hatti, and his owner later recognizes him, the owner shall only take back his own slave: there shall be no compensation.

¶ 22a If a male slave runs away, and someone brings him back, if he seizes him nearby, his owner shall give shoes to the finder. ¶ 22b If he seizes him on the near side of the river, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver. If on the far side of the river, he shall pay him 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 23a If a male slave runs away and goes to the land of Luwiya, his owner shall pay 6 shekels of silver to whomever brings him back. ¶ 23b If a male slave runs away and goes into an enemy country, whoever brings him back shall keep him for himself.

¶ 24 If a male or female slave runs away, the one at whose hearth the slave-owner finds him/her shall pay one month's wages: 12 shekels of silver for a man, 6 shekels of silver for a woman.¹⁵

¶ 25a [If] a person is impure in a vessel or a vat,¹⁶ they used to pay 6 shekels of silver: the one who is impure pays 3 shekels of silver,¹⁷ and they used to take 3 shekels for the [king]'s house.¹⁸ ¶ 25b But now the king has [waived] the palace's share. The one who is impure only pays 3 shekels of silver.¹⁹ The claimant shall look to his/her house for it.

¶ 26a If a woman re[fuses]²⁰ a man, [the man] shall give [her ...], and [the woman shall take] a wage for her seed.²¹ But the man [shall take the land] and the children. [...]

¶ 26b But if a man divor[ces] a woman, [and she ...s, he shall] s[ell her.] Whoever buys her [shall] pa[y him] 12 shekels of silver.

¶ 27 If a man takes his wife and leads [her] away to his house, he shall carry

her dowry to his house. If the woman [dies] th[ere], they shall burn her personal possessions, and the man shall take her dowry. If she dies in her father's house, and there [are] children,^{21a} the man shall not [take] her dowry.

¶ 28a If a daughter has been promised to a man, but another man runs off with her, he who runs off with her shall give to the first man whatever he paid and shall compensate him.²² The father and mother (of the woman) shall not make compensation. 28b If her father and mother give her to another man, the father and mother shall make compensation (to the first man). 28c If the father and mother refuse to do so,²³ they shall separate her from him.

¶ XX (=late version of ¶ 28) [Too broken for connected translation.]

¶ XXI [Too broken for connected translation.]

¶ 29 If a daughter has been betrothed to a man, and he pays a brideprice for her, but afterwards the father and mother contest the agreement, they shall separate her from the man, but they²⁴ shall restore the brideprice double.

¶ XXII (=late version of ¶ 29) [Too broken for connected translation.]

¶ 30 But if before a man has taken the daughter in marriage he refuses her, he shall forfeit the brideprice which he has paid.

¶ XXIII (=late version of ¶ 30) If a man [...s] a young woman, the brideprice which [he paid, ²⁵].

¶ 31 If a free man and a female slave are lovers and live together, and he takes her as his wife, and they make a house and children, but afterwards either they become estranged or they each find a new marriage partner, they shall divide the house equally, and the man shall take the children, with the woman taking one child.

¶ XXIV (=late version of ¶ 31) [Too broken for connected translation.]

¶ 32 If a male slave [takes] a [free] woman in marriage, [and they make a home and children, when they divide their house], they shall divide their possessions [equally, and the free woman shall take] most of [the children,] with [the male slave taking] one child.

¶ 33 If a male slave takes a female slave in marriage, [and they have children,] when they divide their house, they shall divide their possessions equally. [The slave woman shall take] mos[t of the children,] with the male slave [taking] one child.

¶ 34 If a male slave pays a brideprice for a woman and takes her as his wife, no one shall free her from slavery.

¶ XXVI (=late version of ¶ 32 or ¶ 34) If a male slave [..., and takes] her [in] ma[rriage ...]

¶ 35 If a herdsman²⁶ [takes] a free woman [in marriage], she will become a slave for (only) 3 years.^{26a}

¶ 36 If a slave pays a brideprice for a free young man and acquires him as a son-in-law, no one shall free him from slavery.

¶ 37 If anyone elopes with a woman, and a group of supporters goes after them, if 3 or 2 men are killed, there shall be no compensation: "You (singular) have become a wolf."

¶ 38 If persons are engaged in a lawsuit, and some supporter goes to them, if a litigant becomes furious and strikes the supporter, so that he dies, there shall be no compensation.

¶ XXXII (=late version of ¶ 38) If a person [...], and if/when [a supporter(?) ...] and he/she becomes angry [...], and he/she dies, [if(?) ...], and he/she dies, [...].

¶ 39 But if a person holds another's land, he shall perform the *šabhan*-services entailed by it. [But if] he refuses(?)²⁷ [the *šabhan*-services,] he shall relinquish the land: he shall not sell it.

¶ XXXIII (=late version of ¶ 39) If [anyone holds] vacated [land], he shall work [it,] and not [...]

¶ 40 If a man who has a TUKUL-obligation defaults, and a man owing *šabhan*-services has taken his place, the man owing *šabhan*-services shall say: "This is my TUKUL-obligation, and this other is my obligation for *šabhan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the land of the man having the TUKUL-obligation, he shall hold the TUKUL-obligation and perform the *šabhan*-services. But if he refuses the TUKUL-obligation, they will declare the land to be that of a man having a TUKUL-obligation who has defaulted,²⁸ and the men of the village will work it.²⁹ If the king gives an *amuwalaš*-man, they will give him the land, and he will become a TUKUL-(man).

¶ XXX (=late version of ¶ 40) If a free man [defaults], and a man owing *šabhan*-services [has taken his place, the man owing *šabhan*-services shall declare: "This is my ...], and this other is [my] obligation for *šabhan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning [the land of the man having the ...-obligation, he shall ... the ...-obligation] and perform [the *šabhan*-services. But if he refuses the ...-obligation, they will declare the land] vacated, [and the men of the village will work it.] If the king [gives an *amuwalaš*-man,] they will give [him the land, and he will become a ...-(man).]

¶ 41 If a man owing *šabhan*-services defaults, and a man having a TUKUL-obligation has stepped in his place, the man having the TUKUL-obligation shall say: "This is my TUKUL-obligation, and this other is my obligation for *šabhan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the land of the man owing *šabhan*-services. He shall hold the TUKUL-obligation and perform the *šabhan*-services. But if he refuses to perform the *šabhan*-services, they will take for the palace the land of the man owing *šabhan*-services. And the obligation for *šabhan*-services shall cease.

¶ XXXI (=late version of ¶ 41) [*See ¶ 41 for probable translation.*]

¶ 42 If anyone hires a person, and that person goes on a military campaign^{29a} and is killed, if the hire has been paid, there shall be no compensation. But if the hire has not been paid, the hirer shall give one slave.³⁰

¶ 43 If a man is crossing a river with his ox, and another man pushes him off (the ox's tail), seizes the tail of the ox, and crosses the river, but the river carries off the owner of the ox, the dead man's heirs shall take that man who pushes him off.

¶ 44a If anyone makes a man fall into a fire, so that he dies, he shall give a son in return.

¶ 44b If anyone performs a purification ritual on a person, he shall dispose of the remnants (of the ritual) in the incineration dumps. But if he disposes of them in someone's house,³¹ it is sorcery and a case for the king.

¶ XXXIV (=late version of ¶ 44b?) ... and he shall make it ritually pure again. If in the house anything goes wrong, he shall make it pure again. And he shall make compensation for whatever is lost.

¶ 45 If anyone finds implements, [he shall bring] them back to their owner. He (the owner) will reward him. But if the finder does not give them (back), he shall be considered a thief.

¶ XXXV (=late version of ¶¶ 45 and 71) If anyone finds implements or an ox, a sheep, a horse, or an ass, he shall drive it back to its owner, and the owner will lead it away. But if he cannot find its owner, he shall secure witnesses (that he is only maintaining custody). Afterwards when its owner finds it, he shall carry off in full what was lost. But if he does not secure witnesses, and afterwards its owner finds it (in his possession), he shall be considered a thief, and he shall make threefold compensation.

¶ 46 If in a village someone holds fields as an inheritance share, if the [larger part of] the fields has been given to him, he shall render the *luzzi*-services. But if the sm[aller part] (of) the fields [has been given] to him, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services: they shall render them from the house of

his father.³² If an heir cuts out for himself idle land, or the men of the village give land to him in addition to his inheritance, he shall render the *luzzi-services* on the idle land.

¶ XXXVIII (=late version of ¶ 46) If anyone holds land and obligation to perform *šabhan-services* as an inheritance share in a village, if the land was given him in its entirety, he shall render the *luzzi-services*. If the land was not given him in its entirety, but only a small portion was given to him, he shall not render the *luzzi-services*. They shall render them from his father's estate. If the land of the heir is vacated, and the men of the village give him other public land, he shall render the *luzzi-services*.

¶ 47a If anyone holds land by a royal grant, [he shall] not [have to render] *šabhan-* and *luzzi-services*. Furthermore, the king shall provide him with food at royal expense.³³

¶ 47b If anyone buys all the land of a man having a TUKUL-obligation, he shall render the *luzzi-services*. But if he buys only the largest portion of the land, he shall not render the *luzzi-services*. But if he carves out for himself idle land, or the men of the village give him land, he shall render the *luzzi-services*.

¶ XXXVI (= late version of ¶ 47a) If anyone holds land by a royal grant, he shall perform the *luzzi-services*. But if the king exempts him, he shall not perform the *luzzi-services*.

¶ XXXVII (= late version of ¶ 47b) If anyone buys all the land of a TUKUL-man, and the former owner of the land dies, the new owner shall perform whatever *šabhan-services* the king determines. But if the former owner is still living, or there is an estate of the former owner of the land, whether in that country or another country, he shall not perform the *šabhan-services*.

¶ XXXIXa (= late version of ¶ 47) If anyone holds land by a royal grant, he shall perform the *luzzi-services* devolving on the land. If they exempt him from the palace, he shall not render the *luzzi-services*. XXXIXb If anyone buys all the land of a TUKUL-man, they shall ask the king, and he shall render whatever *luzzi-services* the king says. If he buys in addition someone else's land, he shall not render the *luzzi-services* of that. If the land is vacated, or the men of the village give him other land, he shall perform the *luzzi-services*.

¶ 48 A *hipparaš*-man renders the *luzzi-services*. Let no one transact business with a *hipparaš*-man. Let no one buy his child, his land, or his vineyard(s). Whoever transacts business with a *hipparaš*-man shall forfeit his purchase price, and the *hipparaš*-man shall take back whatever he sold.

¶ XL (= late version of ¶ 48) If a *hipparaš*-man renders the *luzzi*-services, let no one transact business with a *hipparaš*-man. Let no one buy his child, his land or his vineyard(s). Whoever transacts business with a *hipparaš*-man shall forfeit his purchase price, and the *hipparaš*-man [shall take] back whatever he sold.

¶ 49 [If] a *hipparaš*-man steals, there will be no compensation. But [if] ..., only his ... shall give compensation. If they (i.e., the *hipparaš*-men) [were] to have to give (compensation for) theft, they would all have been dishonest, or would have become thieves. This one would have seized that one, and that one this one. [They] would have overturned the king's authority(?).

¶ XLI (= late version of ¶ 49) [If] a *hipparaš*-man steals, they will impose upon him no [compensation, or else only his ...] will [make compensation.] If [the *hipparaš*-men had been required ...] [*Continuation broken away.*]

¶ 50 The ... [man] who ...s in Nerik, Arinna or Ziplanta, and he who is a priest in any town ... their houses are exempt, and their associates render the *luzzi*-services. In Arinna when the eleventh month arrives, [the house of him] at whose gate an *eyan* (tree or pole) is erected is likewise exempt.

¶ 51 Formerly the house of a man who became a weaver in Arinna was exempt, also his associates and relatives were exempt. Now only his own house is exempt, but his associates and relatives shall render the *luzzi*-services. In Zippalantiya it is just the same.

¶ 52 A slave of a Stone House, a slave of a prince or a person entitled to wear a reed-shaped emblem(?)—any of such people who hold land among TUKUL-men, shall render the *luzzi*-services.

¶ 53 If a man having a TUKUL-obligation and his associate live together, if they have a falling out, they shall divide their household. If there are on their land 10 persons, the man having a TUKUL-obligation shall receive 7 and his associate 3. They shall divide the cattle and sheep on their land in the same ratio. If anyone holds a royal grant by tablet, if they divide old land, the man having a TUKUL-obligation shall take 2 parts, and his associate shall take one part.

¶ 54 Formerly, the ... troops, the troops of Sala, Tamalki, Hatra, Zalpa, Tashiniya and Hemuwa, the bowmen, the carpenters, the chariot warriors and their ...-men did not render the *luzzi*-services, nor did they perform *šabhan*-services.

¶ 55 When (a delegation of) Hittites, men owing *šabhan*-services, came, they did reverence to the father of the king, and said: "No one pays us a wage. They say to us: 'You are men required to perform your jobs as a *šabhan*-ser-

vice!" The father of the king [stepped] into the assembly and declared under his seal: "You must continue to perform *sabhan*-services just like your colleagues."³⁴

¶ 56 None of the coppersmiths is exempt from participating in ice procurement,³⁵ construction of fortresses and royal roads, or from harvesting vineyards. The gardeners render the *luzzi*-services in all the same kinds of work.

¶ 57 If anyone steals a bull—if it is a weanling calf, it is not a "bull"; if it is a yearling calf, it is not a "bull"; if it is a 2-year-old bovine, that is a "bull." Formerly they gave 30 cattle. But now he shall give 15 cattle: 5 two-year-olds, 5 yearlings, and 5 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 58 If anyone steals a stallion—if it is a weanling, it is not a "stallion"; if it is a yearling, it is not a "stallion"; if it is a two-year-old, that is a "stallion." They used to give 30 horses. But now he shall give 15 horses: 5 two-year-olds, 5 yearlings, and 5 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 59 If anyone steals a ram, they used to give 30 sheep. Now he shall give [15] sheep: he shall give 5 ewes, 5 wethers, and 5 lambs. And he shall look to his house for it.

¶ 60 If anyone finds a bull and castrates it, when its owner claims it, the finder shall give 7 cattle: 2 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings, and 2 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 61 If anyone finds a stallion and castrates it, when its owner claims it, the finder shall give 7 horses: 2 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings, and 2 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 62 If anyone finds a ram and castrates it, when its owner claims it, the finder shall give 7 sheep: 2 ewes, 3 wethers, and 2 sexually immature sheep. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 63 If anyone steals a plow ox, formerly they gave 15 cattle, but now he shall give 10 cattle: 3 two-year-olds, 3 yearlings, and 4 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 64 If anyone steals a draft horse, its disposition is the same.³⁶

¶ 65 If anyone steals a trained he-goat or a trained deer or a trained mountain goat,³⁷ their disposition is the same as of the theft of a plow ox.³⁸

¶ 66 If a plow ox, a draft horse, a cow, or a mare³⁹ strays into another corral, if a trained he-goat, a ewe, or a wether strays into another pen, and its owner finds it, he shall take it back in full. He shall not have the pen's owner arrested as a thief.

¶ 67 If anyone steals a cow, they used to give 12 oxen. Now he shall give 6

oxen:⁴⁰ he shall give 2 two-year-old oxen, 2 yearling oxen, and 2 weanlings. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 68 If anyone steals a mare, its disposition is the same (i.e., 2 two-year-olds, 2 yearlings, and 2 weanlings).

¶ 69 If anyone steals either a ewe or a wether, they used to give 12 sheep, but now he shall give 6 sheep: he shall give 2 ewes, 2 wethers, and 2 (sexually) immature sheep. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 70 If anyone steals an ox, a horse, a mule, or an ass, when its owner claims it, [he shall take] it in full. In addition the thief shall give to him double. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 71 If anyone finds an ox, a horse, or a mule, he shall drive it to the king's gate. If he finds it in the country, they shall present it to the elders. The finder shall harness it (i.e., use it while it is in his custody). When its owner finds it, he shall take it in full, but he shall not have the finder arrested as a thief. But if the finder does not present it to the elders, he shall be considered a thief.

¶ 72 If an ox is found dead on someone's property, the property-owner shall give 2 oxen. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 73 If anyone ... s a living ox, that is the same as a case of theft.

¶ 74 If anyone breaks the horn or leg of an ox, he shall take that ox for himself and give an ox in good condition to the owner of the injured ox. If the owner of the ox says: "I will take my own ox," he shall take his ox, and the offender shall pay 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 75 If anyone hitches up an ox, a horse, a mule or an ass, and it dies, [or] a wolf devours [it], or it gets lost, he shall give it in full. But if he says: "It died by the hand of a god," he shall take an oath to that effect.

¶ 76 If anyone impresses an ox, a horse, a mule or an ass, and it dies at his place, he shall bring it and shall pay its rent also.

¶ 77a If anyone strikes a pregnant cow, so that it miscarries, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver. If anyone strikes a pregnant horse, so that it miscarries, he shall pay 3⁴ shekels of silver. ¶ 77b If anyone blinds the eye of an ox or an ass, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 78 If anyone rents an ox and then puts on it a leather ... or a leather ..., and its owner finds it, he shall give 50 liters⁴² of barley.

¶ 79 If oxen enter another man's field, and the field's owner finds them, he may hitch them up for one day until the stars come out. Then he shall drive them back to their owner.

¶ 80 If any shepherd throws a sheep to a wolf, its owner shall take the meat, but the shepherd shall take the sheepskin.

¶ 81 If anyone steals a fattened pig, they used to pay 40 shekels of silver. But now he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 82 If anyone steals a pig of the courtyard, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 83 If anyone steals a pregnant sow, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver, and they shall count the piglets: for each 2 piglets he shall give 50 liters of barley. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 84 If anyone strikes a pregnant sow a lethal blow, its disposition is exactly the same.

¶ 85 If anyone cuts out a piglet and steals it, he shall give 100 liters of barley.

¶ 86 If a pig enters a grain-heap, a field, or a garden, and the owner of the grain-heap, field, or garden strikes it a lethal blow, he shall give it back to its owner. If he doesn't give it back, he shall be considered a thief.

¶ 87 If anyone strikes the dog of a herdsman a lethal blow, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 88 If anyone strikes the dog of a dog trainer (or: hunter?) a lethal blow, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 89 If anyone strikes a dog of the enclosure(?) a lethal blow, he shall pay one shekel of silver.

¶ 90 If a dog devours lard, and the owner of the lard finds the dog, he shall kill it and retrieve the lard from its stomach. There will be no compensation for the dog.

¶ 91 [If] anyone [steals bees] in a swarm, [formerly] they paid [... shekels of silver], but now he shall pay 5 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 92 [If] anyone steals [2] or 3 bee hives, formerly the offender would have been exposed to bee-sting. But now he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. If anyone steals a bee-hive, if there are no bees in the hive, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 93 If they seize a free man at the outset, before he enters the house, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. If they seize a slave at the outset, before he enters the house, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

¶ 94 If a free man burglarizes a house, he shall pay in full. Formerly they paid 40 shekels of silver as fine for the theft, but now [he shall pay] 12

shekels of silver. If he steals much, they will impose much upon him. If he steals little, they shall impose little upon him. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 95 If a slave burglarizes a house, he shall pay in full. He shall pay 6 shekels of silver for the theft. He⁴³ shall disfigure the nose and ears of the slave and they will give him back to his owner. If he steals much, they will impose much upon him; if he steals little, they will impose little upon him. [If] his owner says: "I will make compensation for him," then he shall make it. But [if] he refuses, he shall lose that slave.

¶ 96 If a free man breaks into a grain storage pit, and finds grain in the storage pit, he shall fill the storage pit with grain and pay 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 97 If a slave breaks into a grain storage pit, and finds grain in the storage pit, he shall fill the storage pit with grain and pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 98 If a free man sets fire to a house, he shall rebuild [the house]. And whatever perished in the house—whether it is persons, [cattle, or sheep], it is damage(?). He shall make compensation for it.

¶ 99 If a slave sets fire to a house, his owner shall make compensation for him, and they shall disfigure the slave's nose and ears and return him to his owner. But if the owner will not make compensation, he shall forfeit that slave.

¶ 100 If anyone sets fire to a shed, he shall feed his (sc. the owner's) cattle and bring them through to the following spring. He shall give back the shed. If there was no straw in it, he shall (simply) rebuild the shed.

¶ 101 If anyone steals a vine, a vine branch, a ..., or an onion/garlic, formerly [they paid] one shekel of silver for one vine and one shekel of silver for a vine branch, one shekel of silver [for one *karpina*, one] shekel of silver for one clove of garlic. And they shall strike a spear on his [...] [Formerly] they proceeded so. But now if he is a free man, he shall pay 6 shekels [of silver]. But if he is a slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 102 [If] anyone steals wood from a [...] pond, [if] he steals [one talent (= 30.78 kg) of wood], he shall pay 3 shekels of silver; if he steals 2 talents (= 61.56 kg) of wood, [he shall pay] 6 shekels of silver; if he steals [3] talents (= 92.34 kg) of wood, it becomes a case for the king's court.

¶ 103 [If] anyone steals plants, if it is 0.25 square meters [of planting], he shall replant it and [give] one shekel of silver. [If it is 0.5] square meters of planting, he shall replant it and pay 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 104 [If] anyone cuts down a pear(?) tree or plum(?) tree, he shall pay [... shekels] of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 105 [If] anyone sets [fire] to a field, and the fire catches a vineyard with fruit on its vines, if a vine, an apple tree, a pear(?) tree or a plum tree burns, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver for each tree. He shall replant [the planting]. And he shall look to his house for it. If it is a slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver for each tree.

¶ 106 If anyone carries embers into his field, catches(??) it while in fruit, and ignites the field, he who sets the fire shall himself take the burnt-over field. He shall give a good field to the owner of the burnt-over field, and he will reap it.

¶ 107 If a person lets his sheep into a productive vineyard, and ruins it, if it has fruit on the vines, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver for each 3,600 square meters.^{44,45} But if it is bare, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 108 If anyone steals vine branches from a fenced-in vineyard, if he steals 100 vines, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. But if the vineyard is not fenced in, and he steals vine branches, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 109 If anyone cuts off fruit trees from their irrigation ditch, if there are 100 trees, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

¶ 110 If anyone steals clay from a pit, [however much] he steals, he shall give the same amount in addition.

¶ 111 [If] anyone forms clay for [an image] (for magical purposes), it is sorcery and a case for the king's court.

¶ 112 [If] they give [to an *arnuwalaš*-man] the land of a man having a TUKUL-obligation who has disappeared, [for 3 years] they shall perform no [*šabhan*-services], but in the fourth year he shall begin to perform *šabhan*-services and join the men having TUKUL-obligations.

¶ 113 [If] anyone cuts down a vine, he shall take the cut-down [vine] for himself and give to the owner of the vine the use of a good vine. The original owner of the cut-down vine shall gather fruit from the new vine [until] his own vine recovers. ...

[¶¶ 114 and 118 too broken for translation. ¶¶ 115-117 lost in a lacuna.]

¶ 119 If anyone [steals] a duck (lit. pond bird) trained (as a decoy) [or] a mountain goat trained (as a decoy), [formerly] they paid [40] shekels of silver, but now [he shall pay] 12 shekels [of silver]. He shall look [to his house for it].

¶ 120 If anyone steals ...-ed birds [...], if there are 10 birds, he shall pay one shekel [of silver].

¶ 121 If some free man steals a plow, and its owner finds it, he shall put [(the offender's) neck] upon the ..., and [he shall be put to death] by the oxen. So they proceeded formerly. But now he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If it is a slave, [he shall pay] 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 122 If anyone steals a wagon with all its accessories, initially they paid one shekel of silver, [but now] he shall pay [... shekels of silver]. He shall look [to his] house [for it].

¶ 123 If [anyone steals a ..., Now he shall pay] 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 124 If anyone steals a ... tree, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If anyone loads a wagon, [leaves] it in his field, and someone steals it, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 125 If anyone steals a wooden water trough, he shall pay [...] + one shekel of silver. If anyone steals a leather ... or a leather ..., he shall pay one shekel of silver.

¶ 126 If anyone steals a wooden ... in the gate of the palace, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. If anyone steals a bronze spear in the gate of the palace, he shall be put to death. If anyone steals a copper pin, he shall give 25 liters of barley. If anyone steals the threads (or strands of wool) of one bolt of cloth, he shall give one bolt of woolen cloth.

¶ 127 If anyone steals a door in a quarrel, he shall replace everything that may get lost in the house, and he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 128 If anyone steals bricks, however many he steals, he shall give the same number a second time over. If [anyone] steals stones from a foundation, for 2 stones he shall give 10 stones. If anyone steals a stela or a ... stone, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver.

¶ 129 If anyone steals a leather ..., a leather ..., a [...], or a bronze bell(?) <of> a horse or a mule, formerly they paid 40 shekels of silver, but now [he shall pay] 12 shekels of silver. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 130 If anyone steals [...s] of an ox or a horse, [he shall pay ... shekels of silver.] He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 131 If [anyone steals] a leather harness(?), he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to his house for it.]

¶ 132 If a free man [steals ..., he shall pay] 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to his house for it.] If he is a slave, [he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.]

¶ 133 If a free man [steals ...] he shall pay [...] shekels [of silver. He shall look to his house for it. If he is a slave, he shall pay ... shekels of silver.]

¶ 142 [If] anyone drives [..., ... anyone steals] its wheel(s), he shall give 25 liters of barley [for each] wheel. [If he is a slave, he shall give ... of barley] for each wheel.

¶ 143 If a free man [steals] copper shears(?) [or] a copper nail file(?), he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to] his house [for it]. If it is a slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

¶ 144 If a barber gives copper [...s] to his associate, and the latter ruins them, he shall replace [them] in full. If anyone cuts fine cloth with a ..., he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. If anyone cuts [...], he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.

¶ 145 If anyone builds an ox barn, his employer shall pay him 6 shekels of silver. [If] he leaves out [...], he shall forfeit his wage.

¶ 146a If anyone offers a house, a village, a garden or a pasture for sale, and another goes and obstructs(?) the sale, and makes a sale of his own instead, as a fine for his offense he shall pay 40 shekels of silver, and buy [the ...] at the original prices. ¶ 146b⁴⁶ [If] anyone offers a [...] person for sale, and another person obstructs(?) the sale, for his offense he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He shall buy the person at the original prices.

¶ 147 [If] anyone offers an unskilled person for sale, and another person obstructs(?) the sale, as the fine for his offense he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.

¶ 148 [If] anyone [offers] an ox, a horse, a mule, or an ass [for sale], and another person preempts(?), as the fine for his offense he shall pay ... shekels of silver.

¶ 149 If anyone sells a trained person, and (afterwards, before delivery) says: "He has died," but his (new) owner tracks him down, he shall take him for himself, and in addition the seller shall give 2 persons to him. He shall look to his house for it.

¶ 150 If a man hires himself out for wages, his employer [shall pay ... shekels of silver] for [one month. If a woman] hires herself out for wages, her employer [shall pay ... shekels] for one month.

¶ 151 If anyone rents a plow ox, [he shall pay] one shekel [of silver] for one month. [If] anyone rents a [... he shall pay] a half shekel of silver for one month.

¶ 152 If anyone rents a horse, a mule, or an ass, he shall pay one shekel of silver [for one month].

¶ 157^a If a bronze axe weighs 1.54 kg,⁴⁸ its rent shall be one shekel of silver for one month. If a copper axe weighs 0.77 kg, its rent shall be ½ shekel of silver for one month. If a bronze ...-tool weighs 0.5 kg, its rent shall be ½ shekel of silver for one month.

¶ 158a If a free man hires himself out for wages, to bind sheaves, load them on wagons, deposit them in barns, and clear the threshing floors, his wages for 3 months shall be 1,500 liters of barley. ¶ 158b If a woman hires herself out for wages in the harvest season, her wages shall be 600 liters of barley for 3 months' work.⁴⁹

¶ 159 If anyone hitches up a team of oxen for one day, its rent shall be 25 liters of barley.

¶ 160a If a smith makes a copper box weighing 1½ minas, his wages shall be 5,000 liters of barley. ¶ 160b If he makes a bronze axe weighing 2 minas, his wages shall be 50 liters of wheat.

¶ 161 If he makes a copper axe weighing one mina, his wages shall be 50 liters of barley.

¶ 162a If anyone diverts an irrigation ditch, he shall pay one shekel of silver. If anyone stealthily takes water from an irrigation ditch, he/it is ... ed. If he takes water at a point below the other's branch, it is his to use.

¶ 162b [If] anyone takes [...], whoseever [...] he prepares, [...]. [If] anyone [...s] sheep from a pasture, [... will be] the compensation, and he shall give its hide and meat.

¶ 163 If anyone's animals go crazy(?),⁵⁰ and he performs a purification ritual upon them, and drives them back home, and he puts the mud(?) (used in the ritual) on the mud pile(?), but doesn't tell his colleague, so that the colleague doesn't know, and drives his own animals there, and they die, there will be compensation.

¶ 164 If anyone goes to someone's house to impress something, starts a quarrel, and breaks either the sacrificial bread or the libation vessel,

¶ 165 he shall give one sheep, 10 loaves of bread, and one jug of ... beer, and reconsecrate his house. Until [a year's] time has passed he shall keep away from his house.

¶ 166 If anyone sows his own seed on top of another man's seed, his neck shall be placed upon a plow. They shall hitch up 2 teams of oxen: they shall turn the faces of one team one way and the other team the other. Both the offender and the oxen will be put to death, and the party who first sowed the field shall reap⁵¹ it for himself. This is the way they used to proceed.

¶ 167 But now they shall substitute one sheep for the man and 2 sheep for

the oxen. He shall give 30 loaves of bread and 3 jugs of ... beer, and reconsecrate (the land?). And he who sowed the field first shall reap it.

¶ 168 If anyone violates the boundary of a field and takes⁵² one furrow off the neighbor's field, the owner of the violated field shall cut off a strip of his neighbor's land 0.25 meters deep along their common boundary and take it for himself. He who violated the boundary shall give one sheep, 10 loaves, and one jug of ... beer and reconsecrate the field.

¶ 169 If anyone buys a field and violates the boundary, he shall take a thick loaf and break it to the Sungod [and] say: "You ... ed my scales into the ground." And he shall speak thus: "O Sungod, O Stormgod. No quarrel (was intended)."⁵³

¶ 170 If a free man kills a snake, and speaks another's name, he shall pay 40 shekels of silver. If it is a slave, he alone shall be put to death.

¶ 171 If a mother removes her son's garment, she is disinheriting her sons. If her son comes back into her house (i.e., is reinstated), he/she⁵⁴ takes her door and removes it, he/she takes her ... and her ... and removes them, in this way she takes them (i.e., the sons) back; she makes her son her son again.⁵⁵

¶ 172 If anyone preserves a free man's life in a year of famine, the saved man shall give a substitute for himself. If it is a slave, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

¶ 173a If anyone rejects a judgment of the king, his house will become a heap of ruins. If anyone rejects a judgment of a magistrate, they shall cut off his head.

¶ 173b If a slave rebels against⁵⁶ his owner, he shall go into a clay jar.

¶ 174 If men are hitting each other, and one of them dies, the other shall give one slave.

¶ 175 If either a shepherd or a foreman takes a free woman in marriage, she will become a slave after either two or four years. They shall ... her children, but no one shall seize their belts.⁵⁷

¶ 176a If anyone keeps a bull outside a corral,⁵⁸ it shall be a case for the king's court. They shall sell the bull. A bull is an animal that is capable of breeding in its third year. A plow ox, a ram, and a he-goat are animals that are capable of breeding in their third year. ¶ 176b If anyone buys a trained artisan: either a potter, a smith, a carpenter, a leather-worker, a fuller, a weaver, or a maker of leggings, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

¶ 177 If anyone buys a man trained as an augur(?), he shall pay 25 shekels of silver. If anyone buys an unskilled man or woman, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver.

¶ 178 The price of a plow ox is 12 shekels of silver. The price of a bull is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a full-grown cow is 7 shekels of silver. The price of a yearling plow ox or cow is 5 shekels of silver. The price of a weaned calf is 4 shekels of silver. If the cow is pregnant with a calf, the price is 8 shekels of silver. The price of one calf is 2 (variant: 3) shekels of silver. The price of one stallion, one mare, one male donkey, and one female donkey are the same.

¶ 179 If it is a sheep, its price is one shekel of silver. The price of 3 goats is 2 shekels of silver. The price of 2 lambs is one shekel of silver. The price of 2 goat kids is $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel of silver.

¶ 180 If it is a draft horse, its price is 20 (variant: 10) shekels of silver. The price of a mule is 40 shekels of silver. The price of a pastured horse is 14 (variant: 15) shekels of silver.³⁹ The price of a yearling colt is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a yearling filly is 15 shekels of silver.

¶ 181 The price of a weaned colt or a weaned filly is 4 shekels of silver. The price of 4 minas of copper is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of fine oil is 2 shekels of silver, of one bottle of lard is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of butter/ghee is one shekel of silver, of one bottle of honey is one shekel of silver, of 2 cheeses is one shekel [of silver], of 3 rennets is one shekel of silver.

¶ 182 The price of a ... garment is 12 shekels of silver. The price of a fine garment is 30 shekels of silver. The price of a blue wool garment is 20 shekels of silver. The price of a ... garment is 10 shekels of silver. The price of a tattered(?) garment is 3 shekels of silver. The price of a ... garment is 4 shekels of silver. The price of a sackcloth garment is one shekel of silver. The price of a sheer/thin tunic is 3 shekels of silver. The price of an ordinary tunic is [... shekels of silver]. The price [of one] bolt of cloth weighing 7 minas is [... shekels of silver]. The price of one large bolt of linen is 5 shekels of silver.

¶ 183 The price of 150 liters of wheat is one shekel of silver. The price of 200 liters [of barley is $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel of silver.] The price of 50 liters of wine is $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel of silver, of 50 liters of [... is ... shekels of silver. The price] of 3,600 square meters of irrigated(?) field is 3 [shekels of silver. The price] of 3,600 square meters of ... field is 2 shekels of silver. [The price] of a field adjoining(?) it is one shekel of silver.

¶ 184 This is the tariff, as it was ... ed in the city.

¶ 185 The price of 3,600 square meters of vineyard is 40 shekels of silver. The price of the hide of a full-grown ox is one shekel of silver. The price of 5 hides of weanling calves is one shekel of silver, of 10 oxhides is 40 shekels of silver, of a shaggy sheepskin is one shekel of silver, of 10 skins of young sheep is one shekel of silver, of 4 goatskins one shekel of silver, of 15

sheared(?) goatskins is one shekel of silver, of 20 lambskins is one shekel of silver, of 20 kidskins is one shekel of silver. Whoever buys the meat of 2 fullgrown cattle shall give one sheep.

¶ 186 Whoever buys the meat of 2 yearling cattle shall give one sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 5 weanlings shall give one sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 10 calves shall give one sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 10 sheep shall give one sheep. Whoever buys the meat of 20 lambs shall give one sheep. [If] anyone buys the meat of [20] goats, he shall give one sheep.

¶ 187 If a man has sexual relations⁶⁰ with a cow, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing: he will be put to death. They shall conduct him to the king's court. Whether the king orders him killed or spares his life, he shall not appear before the king (lest he defile the royal person).

¶ 188 If a man has sexual relations with a sheep, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing: he will be put to death. They will conduct him [to the] king's [court]. The king may have him executed, or may spare his life. But he shall not appear before the king.

¶ 189 If a man has sexual relations with his own mother, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing. If a man has sexual relations with his daughter, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing. If a man has sexual relations with his son, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.

¶ 190 If they ... with the dead—man, woman—it is not an offense. If a man has sexual relations with his stepmother, it is not an offense. But if his father is still living, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.

¶ 191 If a free man sleeps with free sisters who have the same mother and with their mother—one in one country and the other in another, it is not an offense. But if it happens in the same location, and he knows the women are related, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.⁶¹

¶ 192 If a man's wife dies, [he may take her] sister [as his wife.] It is not an offense.⁶²

¶ 193 If a man has a wife, and the man dies, his brother shall take his widow as wife. (If the brother dies,) his father shall take her. When afterwards his father dies, his (i.e., the father's) brother shall take the woman whom he had.⁶³

¶ 194 If a free man sleeps with slave women who have the same mother and with their mother, it is not an offense. If brothers sleep with a free woman, it is not an offense. If father and son sleep with the same female slave or prostitute, it is not an offense.

¶ 195a If a man sleeps with his brother's wife, while his brother is alive, it is

an unpermitted sexual pairing. ¶ 195b If a free man has a free woman in marriage and approaches her daughter sexually, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing. ¶ 195c If he has the daughter in marriage and approaches her mother or her sister sexually, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.

¶ 196 If anyone's male and female slaves enter into unpermitted sexual pairings, they shall move them elsewhere: they shall settle one in one city and one in another. A sheep shall be offered in place of one and a sheep in place of the other.

¶ 197 If a man seizes a woman in the mountains (and rapes her), it is the man's offense, but if he seizes her in her house, it is the woman's offense: the woman shall die.⁶⁴ If the woman's husband discovers them in the act, he may kill them without committing a crime.

¶ 198 If he brings them to the palace gate (i.e., the royal court) and says: "My wife shall not die," he can spare his wife's life, but he must also spare the lover and 'clothe his head.'⁶⁵ If he says, "Both of them shall die," they shall 'roll the wheel.'⁶⁶ The king may have them killed or he may spare them.

¶ 199 If anyone has sexual relations with a pig or a dog, he shall die. He shall bring him to the palace gate (i.e., the royal court). The king may have them (i.e., the human and the animal) killed or he may spare them, but the human shall not approach the king. If an ox leaps on a man (in sexual excitement), the ox shall die; the man shall not die. They shall substitute one sheep for the man and put it to death. If a pig leaps on a man (in sexual excitement), it is not an offense.

¶ 200a If a man has sexual relations with either a horse or a mule, it is not an offense, but he shall not approach the king, nor shall he become a priest.⁶⁷ If anyone sleeps with an *arnuwalaš*-woman,⁶⁸ and also sleeps with her mother, it is not an offense.

¶ 200b If anyone gives his son for training either as a carpenter or a smith, a weaver or a leatherworker or a fuller, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver as the fee for the training. If the teacher makes him an expert, the student shall give to his teacher one person.

Telipinu Edict ¶ 49: And a case of murder is as follows. Whoever commits murder, whatever the heir himself of the murdered man says (will be done). If he says: "Let him die," he shall die; but if he says: "Let him make compensation," he shall make compensation. The king shall have no role in the decision.

Telipinu Edict ¶ 50: Regarding cases of sorcery in Hattuša: keep cleaning up (i.e., investigating and punishing) instances. Whoever in the royal family practises sorcery, seize him and deliver him to the king's court. But it will go

badly for that man (C adds: and for his household) who does not deliver him.

Notes

1. See Friedrich 1959: 48–61.
2. English translations of King Telipinu's edict may be found in Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 and in Bryce 1982.
3. The latest edition of this text is Hoffmann 1984.
4. No manuscript of the laws §§ 1–100 dates from the intervening Middle Hittite period (ca. 1500–1400). For laws §§ 101–200, manuscript q, commonly regarded as OH, is definitely later than the other OH manuscripts of the laws and might possibly be MH.
5. The significance of this phrase has been much debated. I favor the view that the person entitled to make a claim in the case is entitled to recover damages from the estate of the perpetrator.
6. Given the price of a slave, this fine of 2 minas (= 80 shekels) seems inordinately high.
 - 6a. OH manuscript. NH reads "a Hittite merchant."
7. Hittite: 100 *gipessar* = 3.3 IKU = 3 acres = 1 hectar, worth about 8.25 shekels of silver according to § 183. The fine in the late version (all his land plus 60 shekels) is much higher.
 8. Or perhaps: "he shall take those very (people who inhabit the village)."
 9. Cf. LU § 22, LE § 42, LH §§ 196, 198, 200, 201.
 - 9a. Later variant: 6 shekels.
 10. "30 minas." Perhaps a scribal error for "30 shekels." See also in § XIII.
 11. Perhaps a scribal error for "15 shekels."
 12. Remainder of the paragraph in manuscript C reads: "he shall pay 20 shekels of silver."
 13. Remainder of the paragraph in manuscript C reads: "he shall pay 10 shekels of silver."
 14. Since the victim is a free person, "owner" probably indicates only the head of his household.
 - 14a. Or: "the claimant shall confiscate the entire house of the abductor."
 15. So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscript substitutes: "shall pay one year's wages: 100 shekels of silver for a man, 50 shekels of silver for a woman."
 16. Although the Hittite wording cannot support the translation "brings impurity into a vessel or vat," yet the act referred to must be urinating or in some other manner defiling the vessel and its contents.
 17. Another manuscript reads "[the victim] ta[kes] 3 shekels of silver."
 18. So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscript has: "for the palace."
 19. Another manuscript reads: "The victim [takes three shekels of silver]."
 20. Another manuscript reads: "divorces."
 21. That is, she shall be paid for the number of children she has borne?
 - 21a. Variant: and he/she has a son.

22. Another manuscript reads: "As soon as (*kuššan*) he runs off ... they (i.e., the parents) shall compensate ..."
23. Another manuscript reads: "But if it is not the wish of the father and mother."
24. Another manuscript adds: "who runs off with her."
25. Another manuscript has a singular verb.
26. So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscript substitutes: "If a foreman or a herdsman."
- 26a. So OH manuscript. NH reads: If an overseer or a herdsman elopes with a free woman and does not pay a brideprice for her, she will become a slave for (only) 3 years.
27. One NH manuscript has "releases," while another has "casts off," "rejects."
28. A later manuscript reads "they declare the land of the TUKUL-man vacant."
29. A later manuscript reads "men will work it for the village."
- 29a. Or: on a business trip.
30. A later manuscript adds: "And as hire he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. As the hire of a woman he shall pay 6 shekels of silver."
31. Another manuscript reads: "on someone's land or house."
32. That is, the principal heir shall inherit the *luzzi*-obligation.
33. Literally, "shall take bread from his table and give it to him."
34. Presumably only a delegation of the men subject to the *ILKU*-obligation appeared before the king.
35. Post-OH manuscripts omit "ice procurement."
36. Literally, "is this very (same)."
37. That is, decoys used by hunters.
38. A later copy incorrectly substitutes "its compensation is the same as that for a he-goat."
39. NH text: "jenny."
40. The OH manuscript omits: "Now he shall give 6 oxen."
41. A NH manuscript reads: 2.
42. Hittite: 1 *PARISU*.
43. Another manuscript reads: "They."
44. Hittite: 1 *IKU*, which equals 30 *gipešsar*.
45. Two late manuscripts add: "He shall look to his house for it."
46. ¶ 146b is omitted in the post-Old Hittite copies.
47. The OH manuscript q shows that there was no gap in which four additional laws (¶¶ 153–156 in Hrozný's numbering) might fit. We preserve the traditional numbering of ¶¶ 157–200 for convenience of reference.
48. So the OH manuscript. The NH manuscripts describe lighter axes, for the same rent, yielding a higher rental rate.
49. A NH manuscript has: "He (the employer) shall give 600 liters of barley for two months' (work)."
50. The translation "are smitten by a god" proposed by (Friedrich 195: 75) and others is unsatisfactory, since the word ought to mean literally "to make oneself divine" or "to be made divine." The translation "are branded" (Goetze 1969: 195) is impossible.
51. A later manuscript reads "take."
52. A later manuscript reads "drives."

53. The meaning of these two sayings is obscure. I offer here a literal translation. The second may be a disavowing of evil intention. The field-owner accidentally transgressed the border with his neighbor, not intending to steal land from him.

54. It is unclear if the actor in the following clauses is the mother or the son.

55. Hittitologists are divided in their interpretation of this law. I have resorted to a literal translation in order not to obscure the data, confusing though they may be. The alternation of "son" and "sons" is unexpected, but it is unmistakably in the text and is probably an original. The referent of "them" in the penultimate clause cannot be the untranslatable items in the preceding sentence, because they are nouns, while the pronoun "them" is animate.

56. Literally, "exempts/frees himself from."

57. The significance of this gesture is unknown.

58. Literally "dispenses with a bull's corral."

59. For what follows, another manuscript substitutes: "The price of a yearling filly is 15 shekels of silver. The price of a gelding(?) or a mare is [...] shekels of silver. The price of 4 minas of copper is one shekel [of silver]."

60. Literally, "sins." So also in §§ 188–190, 199–200.

61. One NH manuscript mistakenly adds: "It is not an offense."

62. Another version reads: "If a woman's husband dies, the wife shall take the man's inheritance share."

63. A NH manuscript adds: "There is no offense."

64. Cf. Deut. 22:25f.

65. The significance of this gesture are unknown.

66. The nature and significance of this action is unknown.

67. That is, he has committed no punishable crime, but he has become so defiled by the incident that he may not enter the king's presence or ever become a priest.

68. Perhaps a woman who has been taken captive in war.

Sources for Hittite Laws

Editions are Hrozný 1922, Neufeld 1951, Imparati 1964. **Translations** without accompanying critical transliteration and variants are Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935, Hoffner 1963, Goetze 1969, Haase 1979, von Schuler 1982, Haase 1984. Systematic commentary on the laws may be found in Hoffner 1963, and detailed and valuable commentary on individual laws in Güterbock 1961.

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Glossary for Hittite Laws

ḫipparaš

In laws ¶¶ 48–49 and their late parallels we learn of a class of people called *ḫipparaš*. The word is without cognate in Hittite and without a clear etymology. In the Main Version of the laws, which stems from the OH period, the *ḫipparaš*-man renders the *luzzi*-services. In the late parallel to ¶ 48 (XL) the opening words have been modified to "If a *ḫipparaš*-man renders *luzzi*." If the text is in order here, we must assume that it was no longer the case that all persons in this category were subject to *luzzi*. In the late parallel, *ḫipparaš* is rendered by the Akkadogram *asīru*, "prisoner." The *ḫipparaš* may not sell anything he owns, which suggests that perhaps as a prisoner of the crown all that he was or possessed belonged to the king. For the same reason, if he steals, he must return the stolen items, but he cannot be fined, since anything he might give to pay the fine would be the king's.

luzzi and *šahḫan*

In laws dealing with land tenure or ownership two terms occur denoting obligations required of holders or owners of certain types of land. The terms, *šahḫan* and *luzzi*, have been claimed to denote "feudal" obligations. But one cannot indiscriminately apply a model of medieval European society to Hittite society. The conditions were quite different. The issue is further complicated by the fact that our documentation doesn't always make it clear to whom the *luzzi* or *šahḫan* was rendered. *luzzi* is clearly at times, and possibly always, a service rather than a transfer of goods (i.e., a tax). It is often translatable by the French word *corvée*. *šahḫan*, which seems to be rendered at times by the Akkadogram *ILKU*, is more difficult to pin down, but it too may well have been always in the form of services. In ¶ 55 men owing *šahḫan* = *ILKU* are refused wages (*kuššan*) for their services on that basis. It is also unclear if in the later stages of Hittite law (in the Late Parallel

Version) there was any distinction between the two. We have adopted the translation of "*šabhan*-services" and "*luzzi*-services," merely as a means to distinguish the two while indicating that they were probably services rather than transfers. To the extent that (during the early period?) the two types differed, the scribes indicated this by the choice of verbs. One "performs" (Hittite *išša-*) *šabhan*, whereas one "renders" (literally, "carries" or "lifts," Hittite *karp-*) *luzzi*.

TUKUL-obligation.

In addition to *šabhan* and *luzzi*, a third category of obligation toward the state devolving on holders of land is the TUKUL-obligation, from Sumerian ^{GIS}TUKUL. The man owing it is the LÚ ^{GIS}TUKUL "man of the TUKUL." Although ^{GIS}TUKUL usually means "weapon," at times it seems to denote non-military services, as in Queen Puduḥepa's vow.¹ Goetze's translation (in Pritchard 1969) of LÚ ^{GIS}TUKUL in the laws as "craftsman" reflects this concept. The obligation of such a person according to ¶ 40 is to "hold" (Hittite *ḫar-*) the ^{GIS}TUKUL. Because of the uncertainty in determining the nature of this obligation, we have rendered it "the TUKUL-obligation."²

Notes

1. Otten 1965: 44f. with n. 4 ("Handwerk"), including dairyman, baker, bee-keeper.
2. For a thorough discussion of the TUKUL-obligation, see Beal 1988.

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