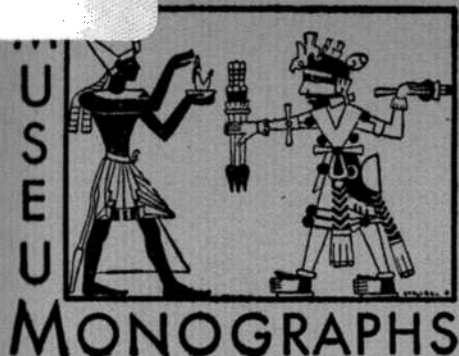


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THE CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR

FRANCIS R. STEELE

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THE CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR

FRANCIS R. STEELE

*In a historical discussion and bibliography of Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*; p. 95-462.*

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THE CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR

FRANCIS RUE STEELE

PLATES I-VII

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THE identification of four tablet fragments from Nippur as parts of a copy of the Lipit-Ishtar law code* made two significant additions to the cultural history of the ancient Near East. In the first place, a law code in the Sumerian language was added to those already known in Babylonian,¹ Assyrian,² and Hittite.³ Secondly, a code nearly two centuries older than that of Hammurabi, yet clearly related to it, provided material for studying the growth of legal concepts in Southern Mesopotamia.

Since the discovery of his code, at the beginning of the present century, Hammurabi has been generally credited with the first codification of law, although it was fully expected that an earlier code would eventually turn up. The existence of a pre-Hammurabi code was predicated upon the highly developed system of business and family laws witnessed by hundreds of contracts and other legal documents from as early as the last half of the third millennium B.C. Moreover, there are explicit statements in historic inscriptions and date formulae of a number of early rulers to the effect that they "established righteousness in the land." As a matter of fact, Lipit-Ishtar himself had been suggested as an early codifier

* It is the pleasant duty of the author to acknowledge with gratitude the services of those who have assisted him in the publication of the law code. Chief among these is Dr. Samuel N. Kramer who gave unstintingly of his time and special talent for the translation of the text. Many valuable suggestions were also made by Dr. E. A. Speiser with regard to legal problems and connections with the Hammurabi code. The contributions of these scholars have added immeasurably to the value of this publication and I am happy to acknowledge them. Full responsibility for final judgment, however, must remain my own.

I wish also to thank Dr. Jean Nougayrol of the Louvre Museum for permission to publish a photograph of tablet AO 5473 in their collection. Of the many others who have assisted I can but single out a few: Mr. A. Eric Parkinson for drafting the charts and map; Mr. Reuben Goldberg for photographic assistance in preparing the copies and illustrations; and finally, Dr. Froelich G. Rainey and the administration of the University Museum for every encouragement in the work.

The following abbreviations are used: *AJSL* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago; *BASOR* = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Baltimore; *CH* = Code of Hammurabi; *CL* = Code of Lipit-Ishtar; *GSG* = A. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, Rostock (1923); *JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Bal-

timore; *JCS* = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, New Haven; *JRAS* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London; *PBS* = *Publications of the Babylonian Section (Museum of the University of Pennsylvania)*, Philadelphia; *RAAO* = *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, Paris; *REa* = E. Ebeling and B. Meissner, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, (2 vols.) Berlin (1933-); *SAK* = F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig (1907); *Sav.Stift.* = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, romanistische Abteilung*, Weimar; *SL* = A. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici)* Rome (1928-37); *TRS* = H. de Genouillac, *Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre, (Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales: Textes cunéiformes, vols. xv-xvi)* Paris (1930); *YOS*, ix = F. Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria (Yale Oriental Series: Babylonian Texts, vol. ix)* New Haven (1937).

¹ The Hammurabi code. For the text see A. Deimel, *Codex Hammurabi (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici)* Rome (1930), for the translation, W. Eilers, "Die Gesetzstele Chamurabis," *Der alte Orient*, vol. xxxi, nos. 3/4 (1932).

² G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, Oxford, 1935.

³ F. Hrozný, *Code hittite provenant de l'Asie mineure*, Paris, 1922.

of law⁴ on the basis of references in hymns⁵ and a date formula.⁶ Indeed, it is not impossible that future excavations will uncover a much older code of, say, Urukagina, king of Lagash.⁷

The four fragments—all originally part of one tablet upon which the Lipit-Ishtar code was inscribed—were recovered from the ancient city of Nippur during the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania to that site from 1889–1900.⁸ As part of the University's share in the finds they were brought to Philadelphia and later housed in the University Museum. In 1929 these pieces, together with nearly 3,000 other tablets and fragments, were taken from storage, registered and placed among the previously catalogued archives from Nippur. About ten years later, Dr. Samuel N. Kramer, while making a brief survey⁹ of the Nippur tablet collection in order to locate all the pieces containing Sumerian literary material, noted the presence and general content of the four law fragments. Shortly afterwards, I also noted these pieces in the course of an inventory of the uncatalogued material in the Babylonian tablet collection and proposed to publish them. However, it was not until work had actually begun on the transliteration and translation of the code fragments that their real import became clear. We soon discovered that they contained more than arbitrary collections of laws in Sumerian. Their relationship to previously published documents containing Sumerian laws demonstrated that all four of the new pieces came from one large tablet. Sections of a prologue and an epilogue also came to light indicating that the text was actually a code of laws; and, finally, the name of the codifier, Lipit-Ishtar, was deciphered.¹⁰

There are, in addition, four tablets, long since published, which relate directly to the new code pieces. Of these, three belong to our Babylonian collection and one is in the Louvre Museum. The three University Museum tablets were copied and published by Lutz in 1919.¹¹ The following year translations by Ungnad,¹² Scheil¹³ and Langdon¹⁴ appeared, as well as a study by Koschaker¹⁵ of the relationship of the newly discovered Sumerian laws to the Hammurabi code. The Louvre tablet was published ten years later by de Genouillac.¹⁶ Photographs of all four tablets, hitherto unpublished, will be found on plates IV–VII.

In preparing a tentative translation of the legal portion of the code, all the previously published examples of Sumerian laws were studied. A striking similarity between laws on the new fragments (pls. I–III) and those on the three tablets from the University Museum (pls. IV–VI)—mentioned above—led to a more careful collation of the latter documents. As a result, exact correspondences were discovered between laws on the Lutz tablets and some of those on the new pieces.¹⁷ For example, 14 lines from column one and 15 lines from column three of Lutz tablet D¹⁸ duplicated the extant text of the two left-hand columns of fragment C. It was therefore clear that the remainder of the text of the Lutz tablet had been inscribed on these two columns of the code tablet. A count of the number of

⁴ A. Boissier, *Babyloniaca*, vol. ix (1926), pp. 19–22.

⁵ Cf. *Ber. ü. d. Verhand. d. säch. Gesell. d. Wissen., phil.-hist.* Klasse, vol. lxxviii, no. 5 (1916), p. 14, and RAO, vol. xxv (1928), pp. 149 ff.

⁶ Cf. *REa*, vol. ii (1934), p. 148.

⁷ Cf. Cone A in *SAK*, 1907, pp. 45 ff. Moreover, in a recent report from Baghdad, Goetze has announced the discovery of a code in Babylonian belonging to king Bilalama of Eshnunna which is probably a generation or so earlier than the Lipit-Ishtar code.

⁸ For a detailed description cf. J. P. Peters, *Nippur* (2 vols.), New York (1897).

⁹ Reported in *JAOS*, vol. lxvii (1947), pp. 321 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. the announcement of the Lipit-Ishtar code in *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY*, vol. li (1947),

pp. 158–164.

¹¹ "Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts," *PBS*, i, pt. 2, nos. 100, 101 and 102.

¹² *Sav.Stift.*, vol. xli (1920), pp. 186–194.

¹³ *RAAO*, vol. xvii, pp. 35–53. See also Scheil's article, "The Oldest Written Code," in *Museum Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 130–132.

¹⁴ *JRAS*, 1920, pp. 489–515.

¹⁵ *Sav.Stift.*, vol. xli, pp. 278–284.

¹⁶ *TRS*, vol. i (1930), p. 34. I am indebted to Dr. Jacobsen for suggesting the connection of this tablet to the code.

¹⁷ Cf. fig. 1 for details of the interconnections.

¹⁸ See lists of texts for code letters. Cf. also note 25 below.

lines supplied by the Lutz tablet between two given lines adjacent to each other in the two columns of C showed that the original code tablet had been 53 lines long at this point. Furthermore, the average height of a line indicated that the code tablet had been about eleven inches high. Further study revealed several additional parallels of this nature between the other Lutz tablets and the code pieces. There are in all six points of contact between the two bodies of texts. There is, to be sure, no direct contact between the group represented by C and D and the other group B, F and G. That all belong together, however, is indicated by the following facts. The curvature of B shows quite clearly that the second and third columns from the right were at the mid-point of the complete tablet. Furthermore, the marked curvature of C indicates that this piece formed a part very near the upper right-hand corner of the reverse of the tablet to which it belonged. The only possible arrangement of the pieces, therefore, is that which has been followed in our reconstruction. As a result of the mutual supplementation of the two bodies of texts we were able to add about 125 lines of legal text to that preserved on the code fragments. In addition, this duplication has made it possible to restore the meaning of many lines broken away from an individual text. Not long afterward, part of the text of the Louvre tablet (pl. XLV) was found to duplicate the small group of broken signs at the bottom left-hand corner of the obverse of the largest code fragment.¹⁹ The few extant signs on the code piece proved to come from the right edge of column one and the left edge of column two of the code tablet and to include the name Lipit-Ishtar. These traces fitted the text of the Louvre tablet at lines 18–23 and 82–86 respectively. Thus a further addition was made to the code, this time of approximately 85 intelligible lines. In short, we now know that the Lipit-Ishtar code tablet measured roughly nine by eleven inches and contained around 1,200 lines of text, of which about 400 can be restored. All this would have been impossible had it not been for the tablets which contain excerpts from the code. Moreover, the contacts between the excerpt tablets and the code fragments placed the excerpts in their proper historic context and thus enhanced their scientific value.

The Lipit-Ishtar code begins with a prologue of almost a hundred lines. Although the opening paragraphs are so badly damaged that only a few signs remain, nearly all can be restored with reasonable accuracy from similar passages in the contemporary literature relating to Lipit-Ishtar. After recounting the selection of the goddess Ninisinna as the tutelary deity of the city of Isin, the prologue records the selection of king Lipit-Ishtar by Anu and Enlil as the one to "establish justice in the land" and "bring well-being to the Sumerians and Akkadians." The text breaks off after two paragraphs which relate that the king emancipated the enslaved peoples of Nippur, Ur and Isin—presumably from the foreigners who brought about the downfall of the Third Dynasty of Ur—and reestablished equitable family relations among his subjects. Then follows the body of the legal text.

Since only a few traces of laws remain from the obverse of the code tablet we have no idea what type of legislation the first half of the code contained. However, about two thirds of the reverse can be restored from the code fragments and excerpts, furnishing a fairly clear picture of the content and arrangement of this section.²⁰ Two fragmentary laws regarding the

¹⁹ Cf. fig. 2 for the relationship between the two tablets.

²⁰ The present enlarged text, as compared with the laws first published in 1919, does not indicate so close a parallel in arrangement with the Hammurabi code as was thought at first. Ungnad (*op. cit.*, p. 194) felt that the text of D and E (his B and C) followed the

pattern of the later code. He could not account for F (his D) and, for that matter, could not know its exact position in the Sumerian code with reference to the other excerpts. Therefore, the apparent similarity in arrangement between the two codes was more compelling than now. Likewise Koschaker (*op. cit.*, pp. 280–281), with the same data and on the basis of as-

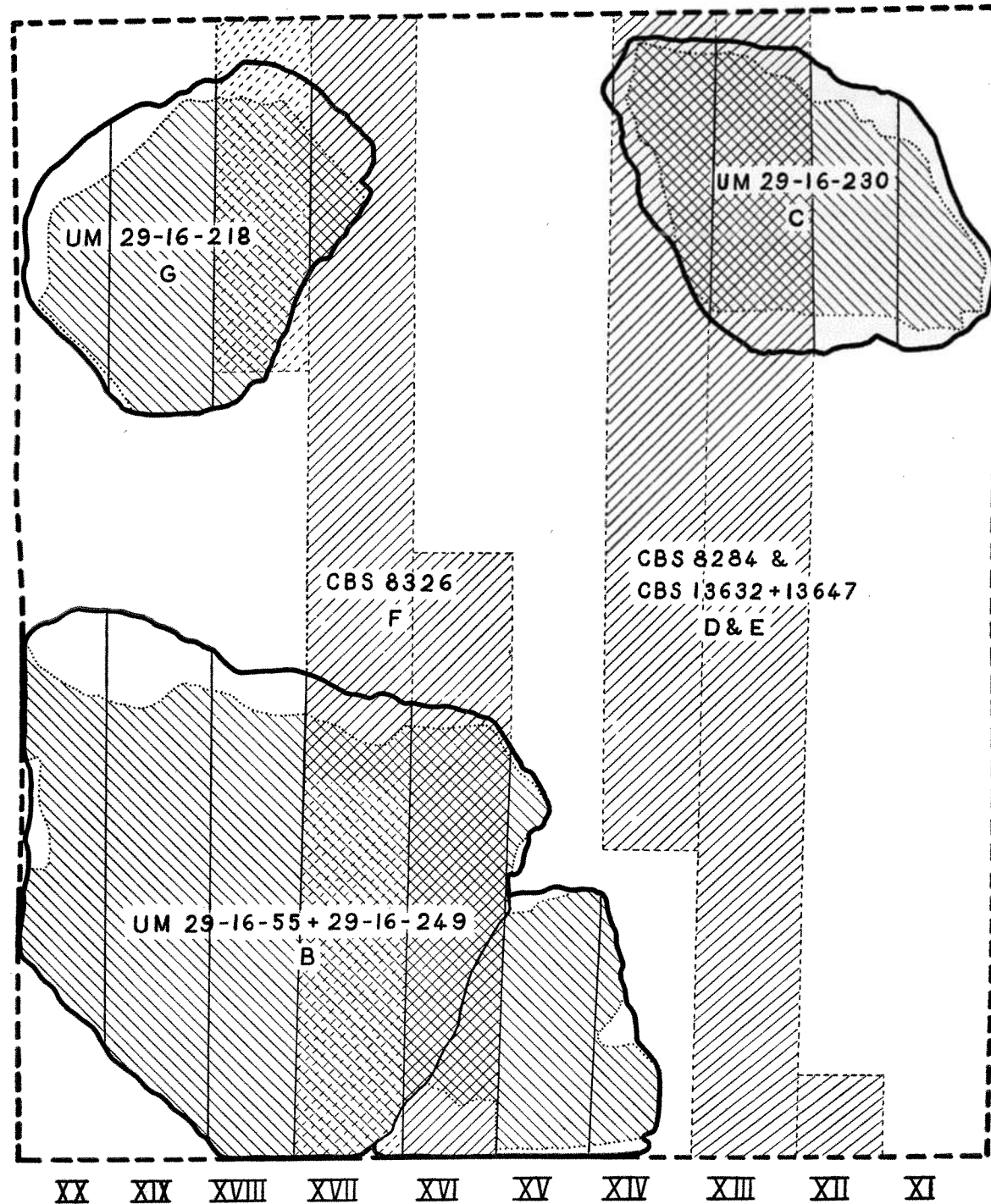


FIG. 1. A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE REVERSE OF THE LIPIT-ISHTAR LAW CODE TABLET FROM FRAGMENTS AND COPIES IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM.

C, B (two pieces), G: fragments of the code tablet published here. D, E, F: tablets published by Lutz. Cross hatching: sections preserved on two or three tablets. Broken hatching: text largely effaced on F; well preserved on B and G.

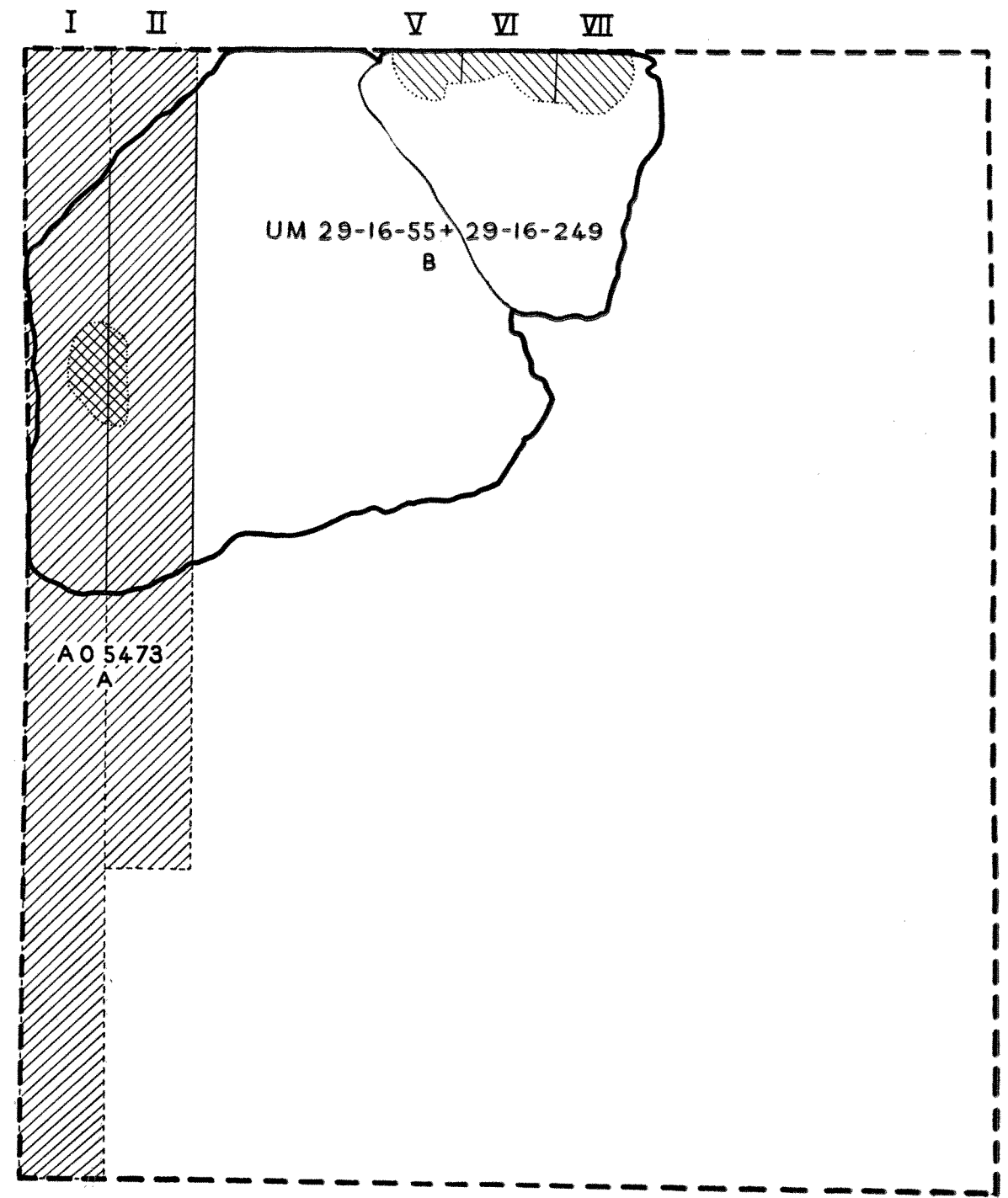


FIG. 2. A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OBTVERSE OF THE LIPIT-ISHTAR LAW CODE TABLET.

A: A tablet in the Louvre published by de Genouillac. B (two pieces): A fragment of the code tablet published here. Cross hatching indicates sections preserved on both tablets.

use of boats are all that remain of column XI. Column XII and over half of column XIII were apparently concerned with legislation regarding real estate, dealing largely with regulations for orchards. Line 35 of column XIII introduces a section of six laws concerning various degrees of servitude. There follow two paragraphs—largely destroyed—bearing on the royal fief. A series of laws regarding the rights of inheritance and marriage begins at the end of column XIV and continues through the beginning of column XVIII. The final intelligible laws cover damage penalties arising from accidents to rented oxen. In all there are just under forty laws, of which nearly half are to some extent damaged and difficult to understand. An epilogue of over a hundred lines concludes the code, but the damaged condition of the last column and the gaps in the preceding column render about two thirds of the text unintelligible. The extant text explains that Lipit-Ishtar, having received the law from Utu through the mediation of Enlil, caused "righteousness and truth to shine forth." After a break of about twenty lines, we find the customary pattern of blessings or curses directed upon that man who will either respect or desecrate the code stele. The list of gods whose power is invoked in curses is largely destroyed.

The date of the Lipit-Ishtar code may be set with a fair degree of accuracy. Lipit-Ishtar was the fifth king of Isin, ascending the throne eighty-five years after Ishbi-Irra had founded the dynasty. After Lipit-Ishtar, eleven kings ruled over Isin for a total of one hundred and thirty years until it was conquered by Rim-Sin, king of Larsa.²¹ The year before the fall of the Isin dynasty Hammurabi had become king of Babylon. Correspondence between Hammurabi and Zimri-lim of Mari, which can be dated in the reign of Shamshi-Adad of Assur, suggests the year 1728 for the accession of Hammurabi.²² Accordingly, Lipit-Ishtar reigned in Isin from 1868–1857 B.C. Since the exact year when he compiled his code is not known, we may perhaps assume 1860 as the date of compilation.²³

The importance of the Lipit-Ishtar law code can scarcely be over-emphasized. Its discovery extends the history of codified law by nearly two centuries and thereby paves the way for a comparative study of law almost four thousand years old. At last we have a bona fide law code in the Sumerian language where formerly only isolated legal concepts from business documents or a few brief collections of Sumerian laws existed. It is true that Lipit-Ishtar was king of an Amorite or West Semitic dynasty, but the fact that he reigned less than a century after the great Sumerian Third Dynasty of Ur and compiled his code in the Sumerian language makes it highly probable that his laws stem in large measure from the Sumerian cultural heritage. It is also noteworthy that although the Sumerian and Babylonian codes are separated in time by nearly two centuries, they come from cities relatively close to each other. Furthermore, from even a cursory examination, it is quite clear that the Babylonian code is in large measure derived from the Sumerian.²⁴ Therefore, a detailed

sumed relationships between CL 8, 10, 11, 24, and 25 with CH 61, 59, 73–76, 167, and 171 respectively, suggested that the two codes followed a similar order. Note, however, the omission of CL 12–23; he suggests that such of these lines as he knew were included in the material of the seven columns lost from the Hammurabi stele. It is interesting that, on the basis of their apparent connection with the Babylonian code, the Sumerian excerpts were arranged in their correct order before their exact relationship to each other was known. This suggests a more or less similar arrangement of the two codes. The possible connections between CL 12–13, 15–16, 18–19 and 21–22 with CH 17,

15–21, 30–31 and 178–184, however, show that considerable rearrangement of the material took place within the larger sections of the two codes. Note especially that laws regarding the use of boats (CL 4–5 and CH 236–240) are at opposite ends of the two codes. Cf. the table of comparisons below, p. 450.

²¹ Cf. *REa*, vol. ii, pp. 147–163.

²² For a detailed discussion see Albright, *BASOR*, lxxxviii (1942), pp. 28–36.

²³ Compare with 1690 B.C. for the Hammurabi code; Albright, *op. cit.*

²⁴ Cf. the commentary which follows the text in this volume.

study of the additions to and modifications of the law of the land from the days of Lipit-Ishtar to those of Hammurabi should assist to no small degree in the analysis of the social evolution of Southern Mesopotamia in the first half of the second millennium B.C.

It should be noted here that changes in the numbering of the lines and code letters²⁵ for the texts have been made since the first publication of material from the law code. Also, the numbers provisionally assigned the columns of the reverse have been increased by ten.²⁶ Most important, however, the numbers for the lines of the Lutz copies have been made a consistent system. On all three tablets the lines are now numbered consecutively throughout each tablet and not by columns.²⁷ An indented line is counted as part of the preceding line and is not numbered separately.²⁸ Finally, it should be noted that the numbering of the Louvre copy, which is off by one, has been corrected.²⁹

TEXTS

The sources of the reconstructed text of the code are listed below. The column and line numbers of the text are shown on the left; the corresponding entries on the right enumerate the tablets on which the text in question occurs.

A. AO 5473 (<i>TRS</i> , I, no. 34)	E. CBS 13647+13632 (<i>PBS</i> , I ² , no. 100)
B. UM 29-16-55+29-16-249	F. CBS 8326 (<i>PBS</i> , I ² , no. 102)
C. UM 29-16-230	G. UM 29-16-218
D. CBS 8284 (<i>PBS</i> , I ² , no. 101)	

COLUMN	LINE	TABLET, COLUMN AND LINE	COLUMN	LINE	TABLET, COLUMN AND LINE
I	1–55	A i–iii 54	XIV	2–15	C iv
	18–23	B obv. i		11–26	E iv
II	1–40	A iii 55–iv		42–54	B rev. i
	27–31	B obv. ii	XV	34–53	B rev. ii
V	1–3	B obv. iv	XVI	23–54	F i 1–30
VI	1–3	B obv. v		31–50	B rev. iii
VII	1–4	B obv. vi	XVII	1–49	F i 31–iii
XI	9–18	C i		7–11	G i
XII	6–17	C ii		38–59	B rev. iv
	50–53	D i 1–4; E i 1–4	XVIII	5–20	G ii
XIII	1–54	D i 5–iii 55		5–8	F iv
	1–17	E i 5–18		36–57	B rev. v
	3–14	C iii	XIX	5–18	G iii
	20–36	E ii		35–58	B rev. vi
XIV	46–54	E iii 47–55	XX	8–16	G iv
	1–39	D iii 56–iv		33–52	B rev. vii
	1–8	E iii 56–63			

²⁵ For A, B, C, D, E, and F in the earlier publications please read C, D, E, B, F, G respectively and add A for the Louvre tablet.

²⁶ The numbers assigned to the columns of legal text on the obverse are merely tentative. Too little text remains for positive identification.

²⁷ Compare Lutz text 101 with 102; note also that the numbering of the reverse of 102 begins afresh.

²⁸ Cf. Lutz text 101.13 and 14 which ought to be read as one line.

²⁹ De Genouillac apparently overlooked the first line in his numbering; this is confirmed by the photograph.

PROLOGUE³⁰

Col. I.

1. [u₄-an]-gal
2. [a-a-dingir-ri]-ne-ke₄
3. [°en]-lil
4. [lugal-kur-kur]-ra-ke₄
5. [en-nam-tar]-ri-de
6. [°nin-in]-si-na
7. [dumu-an]-na-ra
8. . . . -ra
9. . . . [-gá]l-la-ni-šè
10. . . . -húl-la
11. [sag-ki]-zalag-ga-ni-šè
12. mu-un-ši-in . . . [-a]
13. ì-si-in^{ki}
14. in-dub-ba³²
15. an-ni-gar-ra-na
16. bal-sag₅-ga
17. nam-lugal
18. ki-en-gi ki-uri
19. im-m[a-n]a-sì-mu-uš-a
20. u₄³³
21. °li-pí-it-iš₄-tar
22. sipad-giš-tuku
23. mu-pàd-da
24. °nu-na[m]-n[i]r-ra
25. níg-si-sá
26. kalam-ma gá-gá-dè
27. I . AN . UTU
28. ka-ta ku₆-lam-e-dè³⁵
29. níg-erím níg-á-zi
30. giš-tukul gi₄-gi₄-dè³⁶
31. ki-en-gi ki-uri
32. kuš-ba dùg-gi-dè³⁷

³⁰ In the transliteration and translation two dots indicate a break of one sign; three dots, a break of two signs; four dots, a break of three or more signs; a question mark indicates that traces of a sign are visible but that the actual sign is unclear. In the translation parentheses enclose words which are not in the Sumerian text, but which are required in English, and italics indicate doubtful translations or foreign words.

³¹ The prologue is very poorly preserved. Consequently the following restoration and translation are presented in the realization that they may prove erroneous at several points. One might have expected lines 1-12 to contain the statement that Anu and Enlil looked with favorable eyes upon Ninisinna; if so, the

[When]³¹ the great [Anu, the father of the go]ds, and [En]lil, [the king of all the lan]ds, [the lord who determines destin]ies, had . . . ed to [Nini]-sinna, [the daughter of A]nu the . . . for her . . . , and the rejoicing . . . for her bright forehead;

when they had giv[en h]er the kingship of Sumer and Akkad and a favorable reign in her (city) Isin, the . . . established by Anu;

when Anu and Enlil had called Lipit-Ishtar — Lipit-Ishtar the wise shepherd whose name had been pronounced by Nunamnir³⁴ — to the princship of the land in order to establish justice in the land, to banish complaints,³⁵ to turn back enmity and rebellion by force of arms,³⁶ and to bring well-being to the Sumerians and Akkadians,³⁷

word *igi* ought to be restored somewhere in lines 8, 9, or 10, while line 12 might perhaps be expected to read *mu-un-ši-in-[bar-ri-eš-a-ba]*. However, the extant traces do not favor this restoration.

³² For *in-dub-ba*, cf. *ŠL*, 148:39.

³³ Lines 20 and 21 of A are written on one line in B.

³⁴ I.e., Enlil.

³⁵ Literally, "to wipe out the complaints from the mouth."

³⁶ Literally, "to cause the weapons to turn back enmity and rebellion."

³⁷ Literally, "of the Sumerians and the Akkadians to make good their bodies."



FIG. 3. OBTVERSE OF FRAGMENT B. UM 29-16-55 + 29-16-249.

33. an-ni
34. °en-lil-li
35. °li-pí-it-iš₄-tár
36. nam-nun-kalam-ma-šè
37. mu-un-pàd-dè-eš-a-ba
38. u₄-ba
39. °li-pí-it-iš₄-tár³⁸

then I, Lipit-Ishtar, the humble shepherd of Nipur, the stalwart farmer of Ur, who abandons not

³⁸ Lines 39-55 parallel *YOS*, vol. ix, text 26, lines 1-19.

40. sipad-BURUN-na
 41. nibru^{ki}
 42. engar-zi
 43. urí^{ki}-ma
 44. muš-nu-túm-mu
 45. eridu^{ki}-ga
 46. en-me-te
 47. unu^{ki}-ga
 48. [lugal]-ì-[si-in^{ki}-na]
 49. [luga]l-ki-e[n-gi ki-uri]
 50. šà-gi-d[u-a]
 51. ⁴inanna-ka me-[en]³⁹
 52. inim-⁴en-líl-lá-ta⁴⁰
 53. [níg]-si-sá⁴¹
 54. [ki]-en-gi ki-uri⁴²
 55. [i-ni-i]n-gar-ra-aš⁴³

Col. II.

1. [u₄]-bi-a
 2. [ibi]la-DUMU . SAL-
 3. [nibru]^{ki}
 4. [ibi]la-DUMU . SAL-
 5. urí^{ki}-[ma]
 6. ibila-DUMU . SAL-
 7. [ì]-si-in^{ki}-na
 8. [ibi]la-DUMU . SAL-
 9. [ki-en]-gi ki-uri
 10. . . . ?-a
 11. . . . nam-arad
 12. . . . mu-ni-ìb-ag
 13. [ama]-ar-gi₄-bi
 14. . . mu-a
 15. . . -bi-šè h_é-bí-díb
 16. ?-sag-ta
 17. ad-da dumu-ne-ne-ir(!)
 18. hu-mu-ne-en-íl
 19. dumu ad-da-[bi-ir]
 20. hu-mu-ne-[en-íl]
 21. ad-da dumu-ne-[ne-da]
 22. hu-mu-ne-gub-b[a-àm]
 23. dumu ad-da-bi-[da]

Eridu, the suitable lord of Erech, [king] of I[sin], [kin]g of Sum[er and Akkad], who am f[it] for the heart of Inanna, [estab]lished [jus]tice in [Su]mer and Akkad in accordance with the word of Enlil.

Verily, in those [days] I *procured* the [fre]edom of the [so]ns and daughters of [Nippur], the [so]ns and daughters of Ur, the sons and daughters of [I]sin, the [so]ns and daughters of [Sum]er and Akkad upon whom slavery . . . had been imposed.

Verily in accordance with . . . , I made the father *support* his children and I made the children [*sup*-port their] father; I made the father *stand by* his children and I made the children *stand by* their father; in the father's house and [in the brother's] house I

³⁹ Cf. pl. VII, B; not as copied. YOS, vol. ix, text 26, line 16 omits *-ka*.

⁴⁰ YOS, vol. ix, text 26 omits this line.

⁴¹ YOS, vol. ix, text 26, line 17 adds *u₄* before *níg-*.

⁴² YOS, vol. ix, text 26, line 18 adds *-a*.

⁴³ The final *-aš* seems to be inexplicable; YOS, vol. ix, text 26, line 19, and text 68, line 9, read *-a* for *-aš*.

24. h_é-ib-da-gub-ba-àm
 25. é-ad-da
 26. é-[š_éš-š_éš-a-ka]
 27. d_ù-a-[bi]
 28. h_é-s_ùb-bi- . . .
 29. ⁴li-pí-it-iš₄-tár
 30. dumu-⁴en-líl-lá-me-en
 31. é-ad-da
 32. é-š_éš-š_éš-a-ka
 33. 70 h_é-D_U
 34. é-guruš-sag-aš- . . .
 35. . . -da itu 10-àm h_é-D_U
 36. . . . a . . .
 37.
 38. 10
 39. dam-l[ú]
 40. dumu-l[ú] ⁴⁴

Verily I, Lipit-Ishtar, the son of Enlil, *brought* seventy into the father's house and the brother's house; *into* the bachelor's house I *brought* . . . for ten months , the wife of a ma[n], the child of a ma[n]

LAW

Obverse

Col. V.

1. . . -ba(?) ba-da-gar-ra
 2. . . . -la

1. . . . which had been set up

Col. VI.

1. níg-ga-é-ad-da
 2. . . . -bi-ta

2. . . . the property of the father's house from its

Col. VII.

1. dumu-šakkanak
 2. dumu-šà-é-ga[l]
 3. dumu-nu-[banda]
 4. . . . ni . . .

3. . . . the son of the state official, the son of the pala[ce] official, the son of the sup[ervisor]

Reverse

Col. XI.

9. ?
 10. má
 11. má íb-
 12. tuku[m-bi]
 13. lú-ù
 14. má in-h_un⁴⁵

4. . . . a boat a boat he shall

5. I[f] a man *hired* a boat and *set it on a* *jour*-ney for him

⁴⁴ TRS, vol. i, text 34, ends at this point although the text of the prologue is obviously incomplete.

⁴⁵ The sense requires *hun* but the sign looks more like *dib*.

15. kaskal KA . KA . DU . A
 16. in-na-an-gar
 17. kaskal-bil(?)

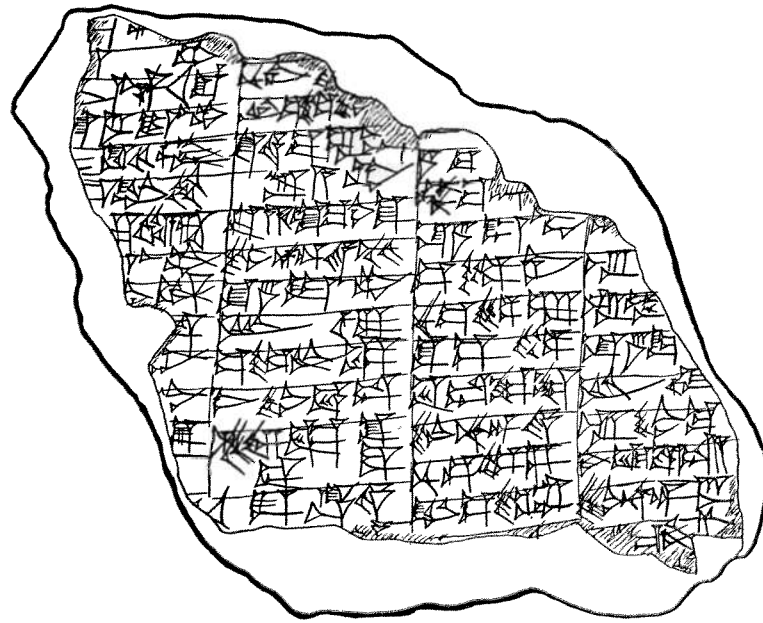


FIG. 4. REVERSE OF FRAGMENT C. UM 29-16-230.

Col. XII.

7. ninda-ba
 8. šb-ba-a[n]- . . .
 9. tukum-bi⁴⁶
 10. kiri₆-ni
 11. nukaribu-ra
 12. ku(?)₆-kiri₆
 13. e₁₁-dè-dè
 14. in-na-an-si
 15. nukaribu-ke₄
 16. lugal-kiri₆-ra

6. the gift he shall

7. If he gave his orchard to a gardener to raise . . .
 and the gardener to the owner of the garden

(about 33 lines missing)

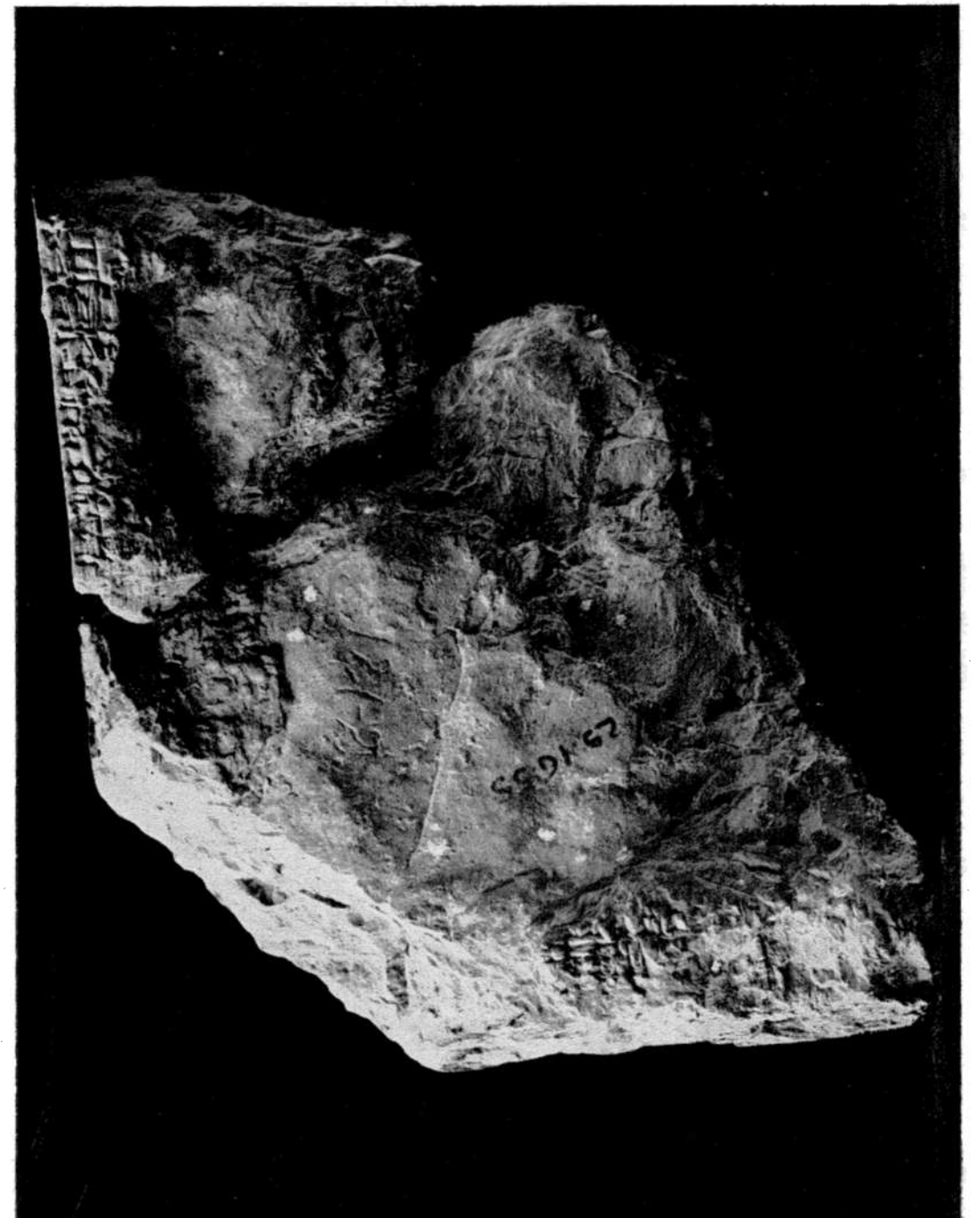
50. tukum-bi
 51. lú lú-ù
 52. kiri₆-giš-gub-bu-dè
 53. ki-gal₆⁴⁷ in-na-an-si

8. If a man gave bare ground⁴⁷ to (another) man
 to set out as an orchard and (the latter) did not
 complete setting out that bare ground as an or-
 chard, he shall give to the man who set out the
 orchard the bare ground which he neglected as part
 of his share.

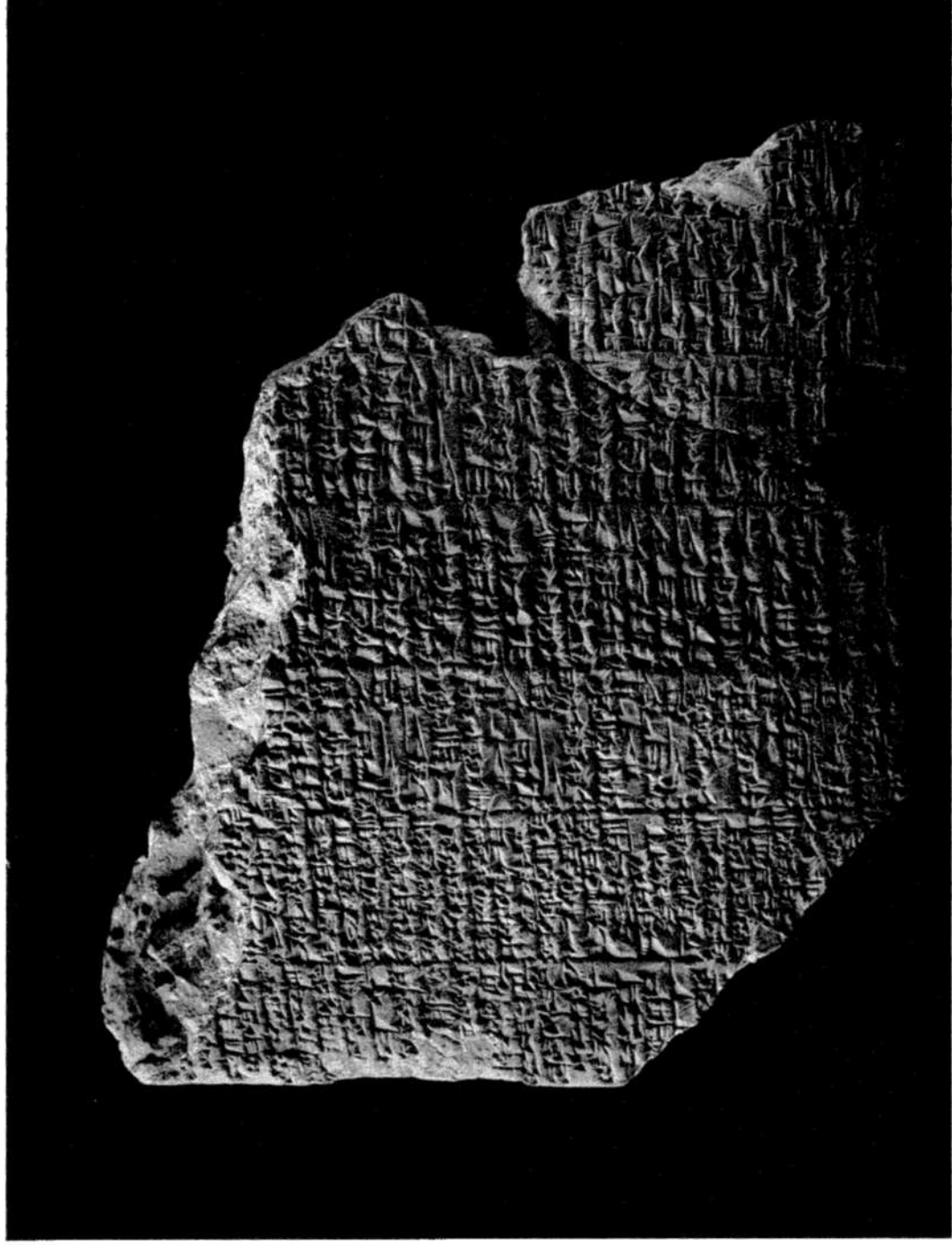
⁴⁶ One would expect *lu* here unless this paragraph is
 a supplement to the one preceding.

⁴⁷ Cf. Goetze in *AJSL*, vol. lii (1936), pp. 146 ff.
 The translation "bare ground" is used here in con-

nection with land intended for cultivation and in
 paragraph 11 for land adjacent to built up property so
 as not to prejudice the meaning.



CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR. OBERSE OF FRAGMENT B OF CODE TABLET (UM 29-16-55 + 29-16-249), CONTAINING
 TRACES OF THE PROLOGUE AND A FEW PHRASES OF LAWS.



CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR. REVERSE OF FRAGMENT B OF CODE TABLET (UM 29-16-55 + 29-16-249), CONTAINING PORTIONS OF THE EPILOGUE AND OF THE LEGAL TEXT.

PLATE II

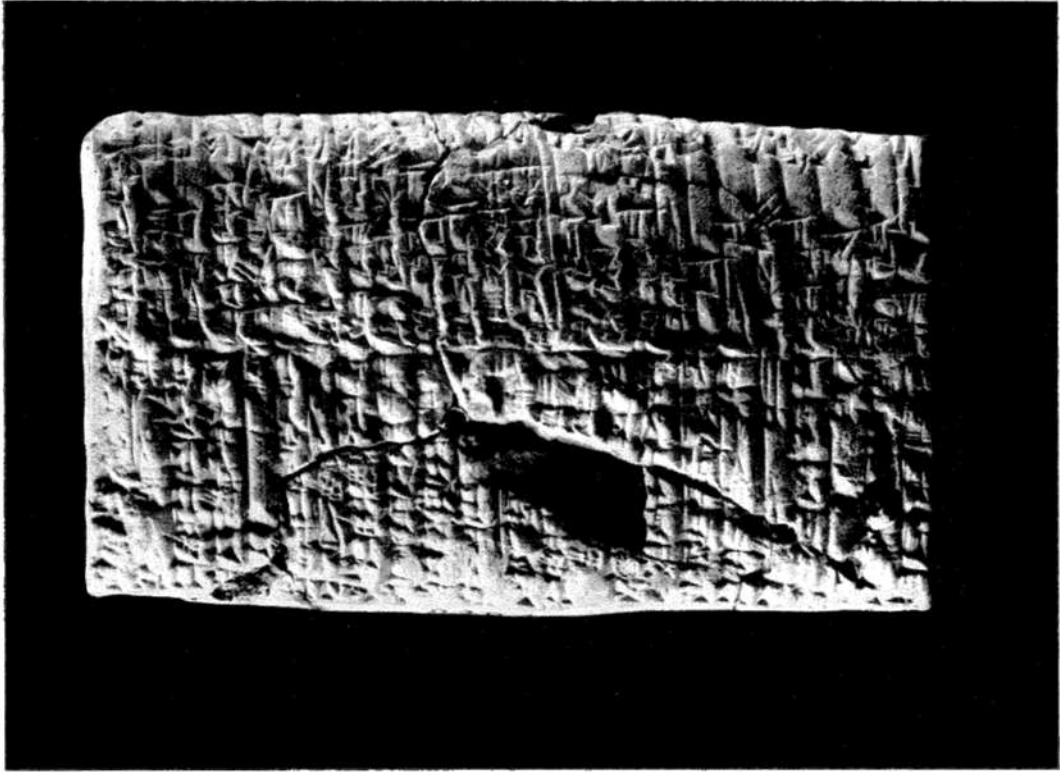


CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR. REVERSE OF FRAGMENT C OF CODE TABLET (UM 29-16-230), CONTAINING PORTIONS OF LAWS REGARDING REAL ESTATE AND THE HIRING OF BOATS.



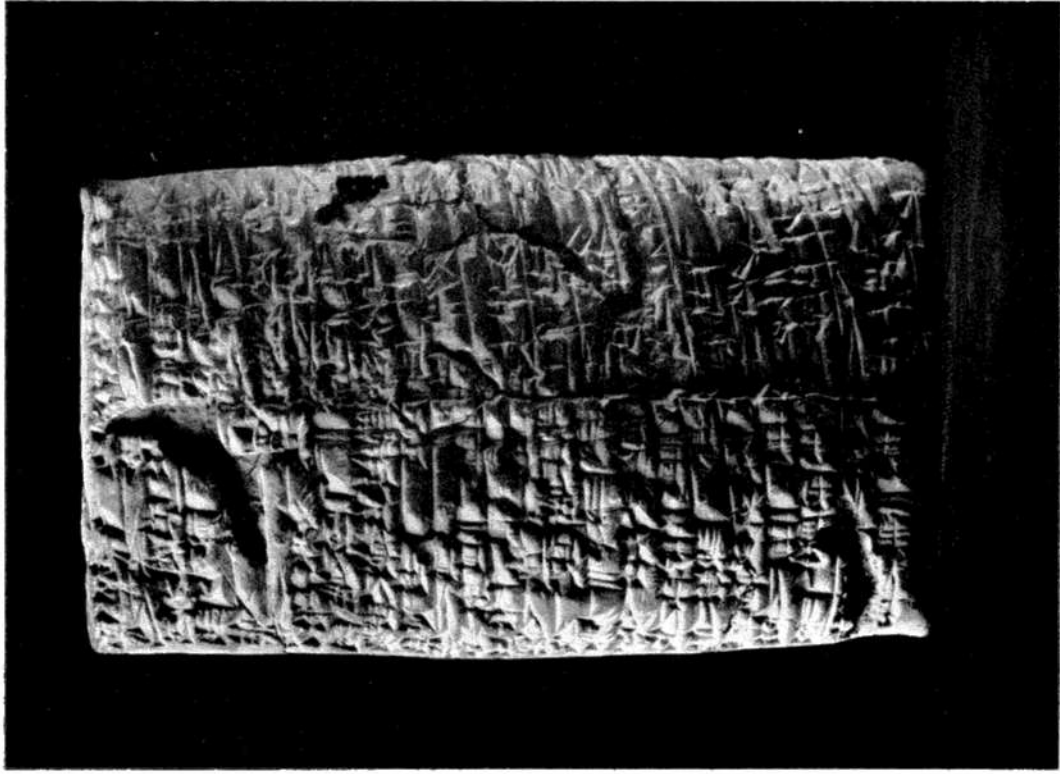
CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR. REVERSE OF FRAGMENT G OF CODE TABLET (UM 29-16-218), CONTAINING PORTIONS OF EPILOGUE AND BRIEF SECTIONS OF LEGAL TEXT.

PLATE III



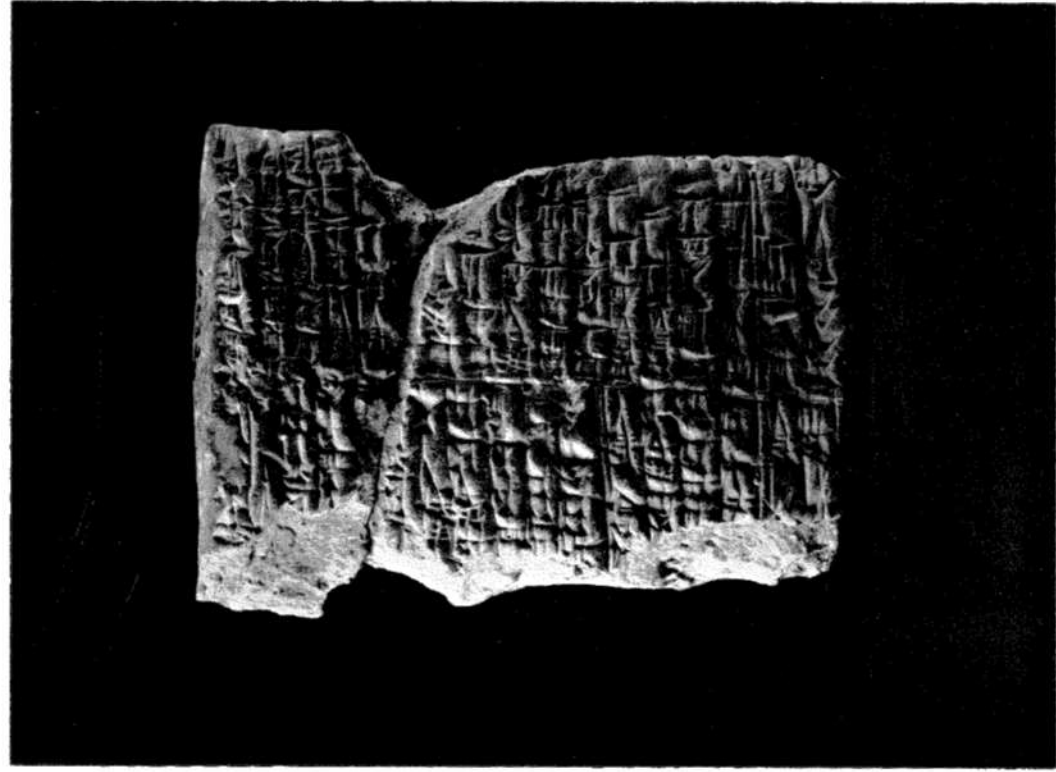
A. OBVERSE

CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR. TABLET D (CBS 8284), CONTAINING THE TEXT OF LAWS 8-19.



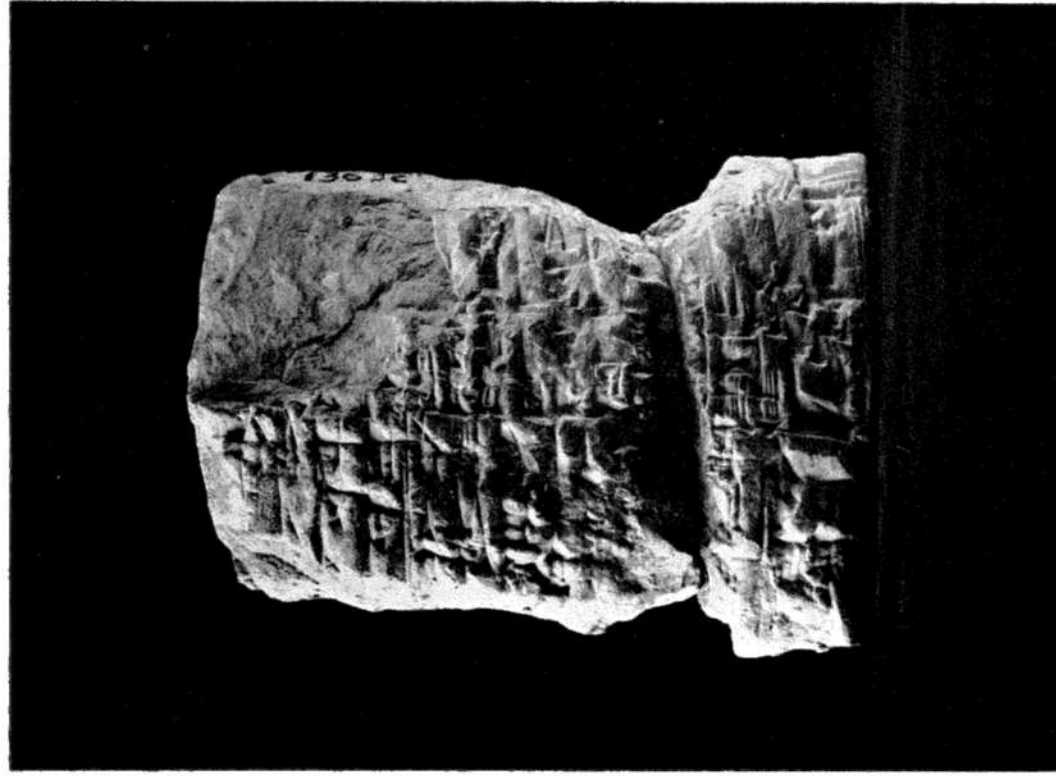
B. REVERSE

PLATE IV



A. OBVERSE

CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR. TABLET E (CBS 13647 + 13632), CONTAINING THE TEXT OF LAWS 8-19.



B. REVERSE

PLATE V



A. OBVERSE

CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR. TABLET F (CBS 8326), CONTAINING THE TEXT OF LAWS 24-32.

B. REVERSE

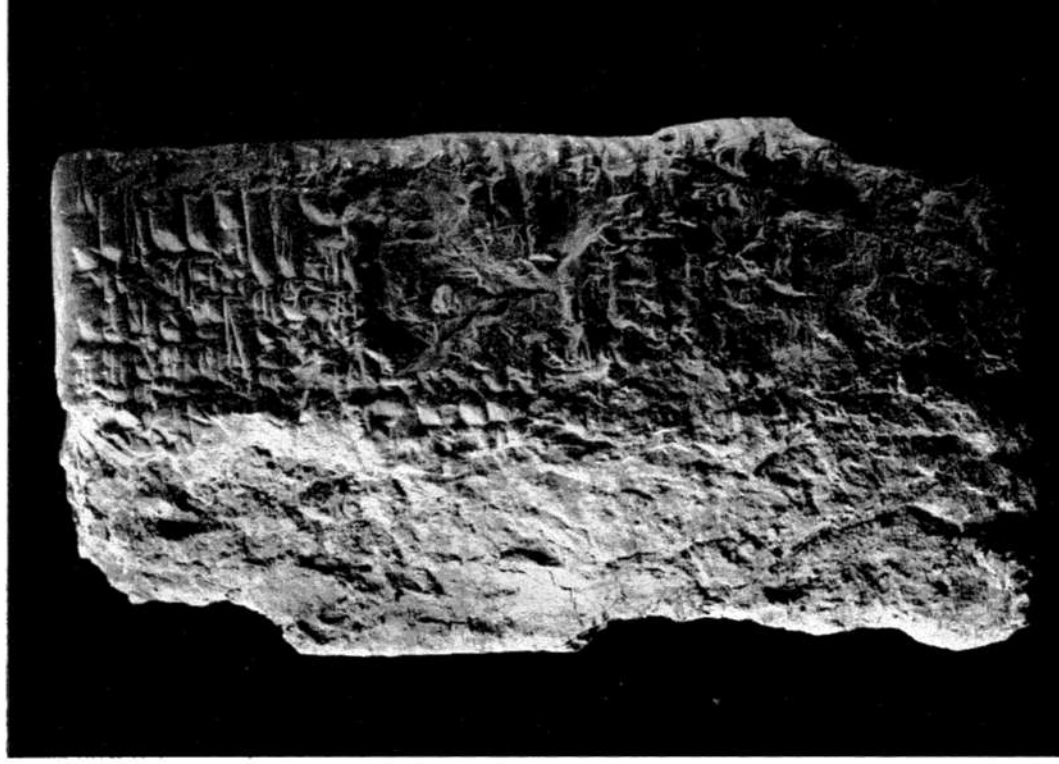


PLATE VI

PLATE VII



A. OBVERSE

B. REVERSE

CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR. TABLET A (AO 5473), CONTAINING 95 LINES OF PROLOGUE.
(Courtesy of Musée du Louvre)

Col. XIII.

1. ki-gal₆-bi
2. kiri₆-giš-gub-bu-dè
3. nu-ni-in-til
4. lú-kiri₆⁴⁸-in-gub-ba
5. ki-gal₆-ba-ra-ab-tag₄-a-bi⁴⁹
6. šà-ha-la-ba-ni-šè⁵⁰
7. in-na-an⁵¹-sì-mu
8. tukum-bi⁵²
9. lú-ù⁵³
10. kiri₆-lú-ka⁵⁴
11. ì-in-e₁₁⁵⁵
12. nam-IM-zuh-šè ba-dib
13. 10-gín-kù-babbar⁵⁶
14. ì-lá-e
15. tukum-bi lú
16. kiri₆-lú-ka
17. giš in-sig
18. maš-ma-na-kù-babbar
19. ì-lá-e
20. tukum-bi lú
21. é-e-ús-sa-ni
22. ki-gal₆-lú al-tag₄⁵⁷
23. lugal-é-a-ke₄
24. lu(!)⁵⁸-ki-gal₆-ra
25. ki-gal₆-zu al-tag₄
26. é-mu lú ì-burú-dè
27. é-zu⁵⁹ kala-ga-ab
28. in-na-an-dug₄
29. inim-(i)nim-kéš-du-bi
30. un-da-an-gi-en
31. lugal-ki-gal₆-a-ke₄
32. lugal-é-a-ra
33. níg-u-gu-dè-a-ni
34. in-na-an-su-su⁶⁰
35. tukum-bi
36. geme-arad-lú-ù
37. šà-uru-ka ba-zah
38. é-lu-ka

9. If a man entered the orchard of (another) man and was seized there for stealing, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.

10. If a man cut down a tree in the garden of (another) man, he shall pay one half mina of silver.

11. If adjacent to the house of a man the bare ground of (another) man has been neglected⁵⁷ and the owner of the house has said to the owner of the bare ground, "Because your ground has been neglected someone may break into my house: strengthen your house,"⁵⁹ and this agreement has been confirmed by him, the owner of the bare ground shall restore to the owner of the house any of his property that is lost.

12. If a slave-girl or slave of a man has fled into the heart of the city and it has been confirmed that he (or she) dwelt in the house of (another) man for one month, he shall give slave for slave.

⁴⁸ All texts omit *-giš-* before the verb.

⁴⁹ Line 7 precedes lines 5 and 6 on D and E; D reads *-tag₄-tag₄* and E reads *-tag₄-a* for *-tag₄-a-bi* in C.

⁵⁰ D and E read *-na-ka* instead of *-ni-šè*.

⁵¹ D and E read *-ab-* for *-an-*.

⁵² D and E include lines 8 and 9 as one. D reads *lú* (not *bi*) at the end of the line; cf. E where *lú* is clear.

⁵³ Only C has *-ù*.

⁵⁴ D and E include lines 10 and 11 as one.

⁵⁵ Literally, "went up/down into"; D and E omit *ì-*.

⁵⁶ D and E include lines 13 and 14 as one.

⁵⁷ Literally, perhaps, "If a man at his (what is) adjacent to the house, bare ground of a man has been neglected."

⁵⁸ The word *lú-* is probably a scribal error for *lugal-*.

⁵⁹ I.e., the delapidated house standing in the neglected bare ground.

⁶⁰ E reads *-su-su* not *-zu-zu* as copied.

39. aš-itu-àm
 40. ì-tuš-a
 41. ba-an-gi-en
 42. sag sag-gim
 43. ba-ab-sì-mu
 44. tukum-bi
 45. sag nu-tuku
 46. 15-gín-kù-babbar
 47. ì-lá-e
 48. tukum-bi
 49. arad-lú-ke₄
 50. lugal-a-ni-ir
 51. nam-arad-da-ni
 52. ba-an-da-gur⁶²
 53. lugal-a-ni-ir
 54. nam-arad-da-ni

Col. XIV.

1. a-rá-2-àm
 2. un-gi-en
 3. arad-bi
 4. al-búr-e
 5. tukum-bi
 6. mi-ik-tum
 7. ninda-ba-lugal-kám
 8. nu-ub-da-an-kar-ri
 9. tukum-bi mi-ik-tum⁶³
 10. ní-te-a-ni-ta
 11. lú-ù un-ši-DU
 12. lú-bi
 13. nu-un-tag-tag
 14. ki-šà-ga-na-šè
 15. ḥa-ba-DU
 16. tukum-bi
 17. lú lú-ù
 18. á-nu-gar-ra-ta
 19. inim-nu-zu-n[i]
 20. in-d[a]-lál
 21. lú-bi
 22. nu-un-gi-en
 23. inim-in-da-lá-a
 24. nam-i-ni-tag-ba íb⁶⁴-íl-e

13. If he has no slave, he shall pay fifteen⁶¹ shekels of silver.

14. If a man's slave has compensated⁶² his slave-ship to his master and it is confirmed (that he has compensated) his master two-fold, that slave shall be freed.

15. If a *miqtum* is a grant of the king, he shall not be taken away.

16. If a *miqtum* went to a man of his own free will, that man shall not hold him; he (the *miqtum*) may go where he desires.

17. If a man without authorization bound (another) man to a matter of which he (the latter) had no knowledge, that man is not affirmed (i.e. legally obligated); he (the first man) shall bear the penalty in regard to the matter to which he had bound him.

⁶¹ Not 25 as copied from D; cf. E where the sign is clear.

⁶² Literally, "returned."

⁶³ D adds the word *mi-ik-tum* which is not found in C.

⁶⁴ Not *hé-* as copied.

25. tukum-bi
 26. lugal-é-a
 27. ù nin-é-a-ke₄
 28. gu-un-é-a
 29. in-šub-bu-uš⁶⁵
 30. lú-kur-e in-íl
 31. mu-3-kám-ma-ka
 32. nu-ub-ta-è-e
 33. lu-gu-un-é-a
 34. in-íl-la
 35. é-bi ba-an-tumu⁶⁶
 36. lugal-é-a-ke₄
 37. inim nu-um-gá-gá-a
 38. tu[kum]-bi
 39. lugal-é-a-ke₄

42. in-
 43. íb-
 44. in-
 45. nu-
 46. nu-

49. in-da-
 50. tukum-bi
 51. lú-ù
 52. ibila-ta
 53. šu-ba-ra-an-kar
 54. GÌR

Col. XV.

34. ù
 35. é-ad-da . . .
 36. uš

40. . . . in-tuku
 41. ninda-ba-é-ad-da-na-ka
 42. ba-an-na-ba-a
 43. ibila-ni-im
 44. ba-an-tumu⁶⁷
 45. tukum-bi
 46. ad-da-til-la
 47. DUMU . SAL-a-ni-ir⁶⁸
 48. nin-dingir SAL . ME

⁶⁵ The sign -uš is written over an erasure.

⁶⁶ The sign is TUM.

⁶⁷ The sign is RUM; cf. note 66 above.

18. If the master of an estate or the mistress of an estate has defaulted on the tax of the estate and a stranger has borne it, for three years he (the owner) may not be evicted. (Afterwards), the man who bore the tax of the estate shall possess that estate and the (former) owner of the estate shall not raise any claim.

19. I[f] the master of an estate

(two lines missing)

(two lines missing)

20. If a man from the heir(s) seized

(approximately 33 lines missing)

21. the house of the father

(three lines missing)

. . . . he [married] the gift of the house of her father which was presented to her as her heir he shall take.

22. If the father (is) living, his daughter whether she be a high priestess, a priestess, or a hierodule shall dwell in his house like an heir.

⁶⁸ If the translation is correct, the final -ir is a scribal error.

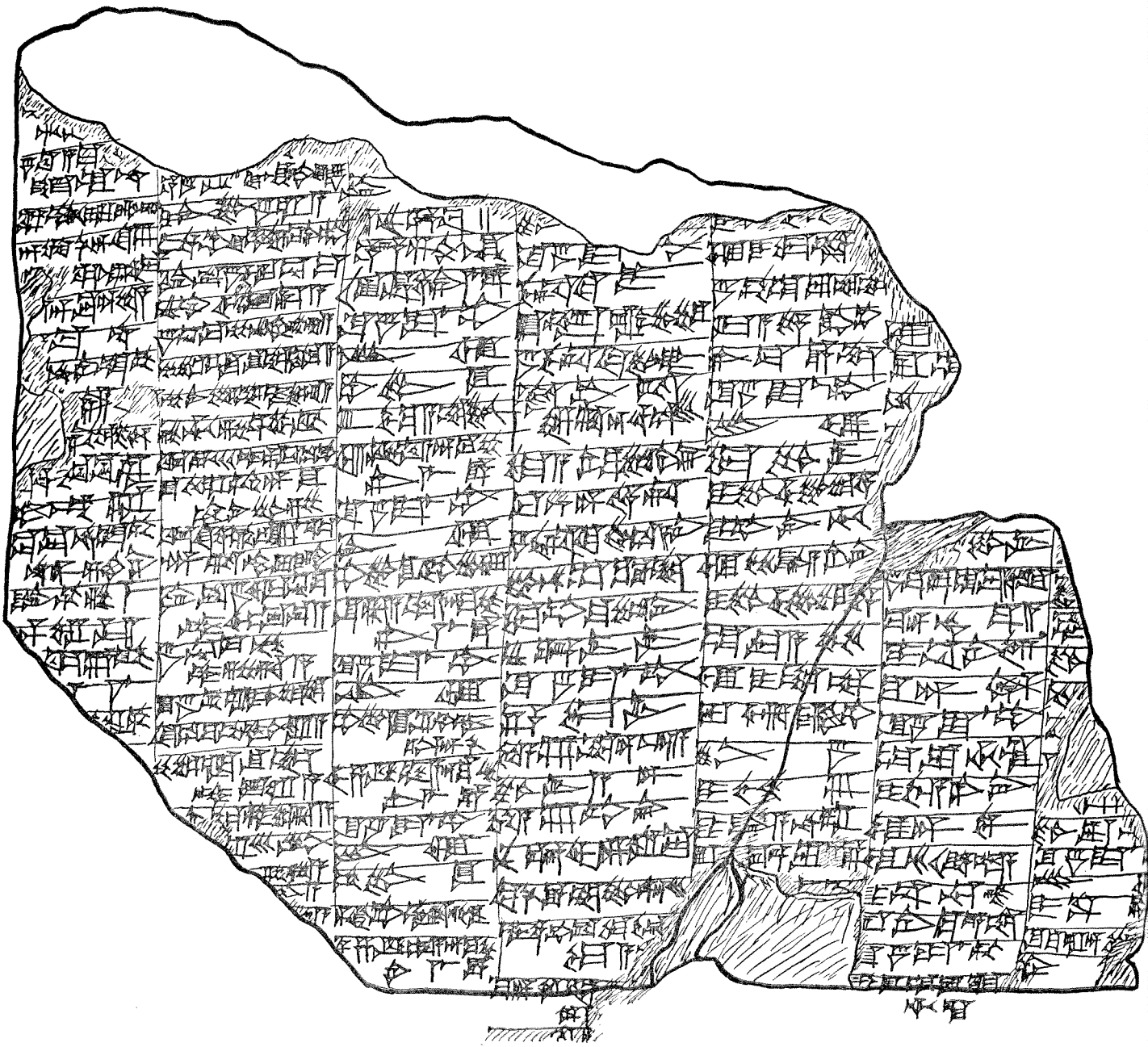


FIG. 5. REVERSE OF FRAGMENT B. UM 29-16-55 + 29-16-249.

49. ù nu-gig hé-a
 50. ibila-gim-nam
 51. é-ni⁶⁹ tuš-e-dè⁷⁰
 52. tukum-bi
 53. DUMU . SAL é-ad-da-ka-ti-la⁷¹

23. If the daughter *in* the house of (her) living father

⁶⁹ One would expect *é-na* for *é-ni*.

⁷⁰ Note the future infinitive used for the future; cf.

GSG, §689.

⁷¹ Probably a scribal error for *é-ad-da-ti-la-ka*.

Col. XVI.

(about 22 lines missing)

23. [tuk]um-bi
 24. [dam-e]gir-ra⁷²
 25. [ba.ʔ]-an-tuku-a
 26. [du]mu in-ši-in-tu-ud
 27. sag-rig₇
 28. é-ad-da-na-ta
 29. mu-un-tùm-ma
 30. dumu-na-ka
 31. dumu-dam-nitalam⁷³
 32. ù dumu-dam-egir-ra
 33. nig-ga-ad-da-ne-ne
 34. ur-a-si-ga-bi
 35. i-ba-e-ne
 36. tukum-bi⁷⁴
 37. lú-ù
 38. dam in-tuku
 39. dumu in-ši-in-tu-ud
 40. dumu-bi ì-ti
 41. ù geme lugal-a-ni-ir
 42. dumu in-ši-in-tu-ud
 43. ad-da-a geme
 44. ù dumu-ne-ne
 45. ama-ar-gi₄-bi⁷⁵
 46. in-gar
 47. dumu-geme-ke₄
 48. dumu-lugal-a-na-ra⁷⁶
 49. é nu-un-da-ba-e
 50. [tu]kum-bi
 51. [dam]-nitalam-a-ni
 52. [ba.ʔ]-ug₆⁷⁸
 53. [eg]ir-dam-a-na-ta
 54. [geme]-ni nam-dam-šè

24. [If the secon[d wife]⁷² whom [he had] married bore him [chil]dren, the dowry which she brought from her father's house belongs to her children (but) the children of (his) first wife⁷³ and the children of (his) second wife shall divide equally the property of their father.

25. If a man married a wife and she bore him children and those children are living, and a slave also bore children for her master (but) the father granted freedom to the slave and her children, the children of the slave shall not divide the estate with the children of their (former) master.

26. [If⁷⁷ his first [wife di]ed and [af]ter her (death) he takes his [slave] as a wife, [the children] of [his first] wife [are his he]irs; the children which [the slave] bore for her master shall be like . . . his house they shall

Col. XVII.

1. [ba]-an-tuku-tuku
 2. [dumu]-dam-[nitalam-a-na]⁷⁹
 3. ibi[la-ni ì-me-eš]⁸⁰

⁷² Apparently *dam-egir-ra* is equivalent to *sin-ništum šanūtum*, "second wife."

⁷³ Perhaps *dam-nitalam* corresponds to *hāvirtum* "(first) chosen wife."

⁷⁴ F includes lines 36 and 37 as one.

⁷⁵ F includes lines 45 and 46 as one.

⁷⁶ Perhaps *-ra* is a scribal error for *-da*.

⁷⁷ Cf. Koschaker, *Sav. Stift.*, p. 284, for the reconstruction that follows. Although merely tentative, as

he states, his suggested reading is quite plausible since it fits the sequence of laws (24-26).

⁷⁸ For the reading of the sign TIL as *ug₆* here and *úš* in col. XVIII, 6, cf. Kramer, *JCS*, vol. i (1947) p. 34 and n. 211.

⁷⁹ The suggested translation requires *-a-na* after *-nitalam-*, cf. Koschaker, *op. cit.*

⁸⁰ For *ì-me-en* of Koschaker (*ibid.*) read *ì-me-eš*.

4. dumu-[geme]
5. lugal-a-ni-ir
6. in-ši-in-tu-ud⁸¹
7. dumu dumu-šĕ⁸² gim-n[am]
8. é-a-ni íb-šár-r[í]⁸³
9. tukum-bi
10. lú-ù dam-a-ni⁸⁴
11. dumu nu⁸⁵-un-ši-in-tu-ud
12. kar-kid-da
13. tillá-a
14. dumu in-ši-in-tu-ud
15. kar-kid-ba
16. še-ba ì-ba
17. túg-ba-ni
18. in-na-ab-sì-mu
19. dumu kar-kid-dè
20. in-ši-in-tu-ud-da
21. ibila-ni ì-me-en⁸⁶
22. ù dam-a-ni
23. a-na-ti-la-aš
24. kar-kid
25. dam-nitalam-ra⁸⁷
26. é-a nu-mu-un-da-an-tuš
27. tukum-bi
28. lú-ù⁸⁸
29. dam-nitalam-a-ni
30. igi-ni ba-ab-gi₄
31. . . ba-an-lá-lá
32. [é?]-ta nu-ub-ta-è
33. dam-a-ni
34. dam-galam⁸⁹-n[a?]
35. ba-an-tuku-a
36. dam-egir-ra
37. dam-nitalam
38. in-íl-íl
39. tukum-bi
40. mussa-dumu⁹⁰

27. If a man's wife has not borne him children but a harlot (from) the public square has borne him children, he shall provide grain, oil and clothing for that harlot; the children which the harlot has borne him shall be his heirs, and as long as his wife lives the harlot shall not live in the house with the wife.

28. If a man has turned his face away from his first wife . . . but she has not gone out of the [house]; his wife which he married as his favorite⁸⁹ is a second wife; he shall continue to support his first wife.

29. If a son-in-law has entered the house of his (prospective) father-in-law and he made his be-

of the paragraph, we amend the code tablet accordingly.

⁸¹ Probably *ì-me-en* is a scribal error for *ì-me-eš*.

⁸² Perhaps *-ra* is an error for *-da*.

⁸³ Only one *lú*, not two as copied.

⁸⁴ Perhaps *dam-galam* means "favorite wife"; cf. *ŠL*, 190^b, 2.

⁸⁵ This rendering of *mussa-dumu* is, of course, a guess, since *mussa* alone means "son-in-law."

⁸¹ If the restoration is correct, one would expect the relative particle *-a* (written *-da*); cf. col. XVII, 20 below.

⁸² The grammatical particle *-šĕ* is inexplicable; perhaps the complex *DUMU.ŠĒ* is a unit in itself.

⁸³ Perhaps to be read *-dùg-g[í]*. In either case the meaning is unclear.

⁸⁴ F writes this line as two.

⁸⁵ G has *ì-in-* in place of *nu-un*, which appears on F. Since the negative particle is required by the sense

41. é-ur₇-ra-na-ka ì-in-tu⁹¹
42. níg-mussa in-ag⁹²
43. egir-bi-ta im-ta-an-è-eš
44. dam-a-ni ku-li-ni-ir
45. ba-na-an-sì-uš⁹³
46. níg-mussa-in-tum-a-ni
47. in-na-ab-ba-e-ne
48. dam-bi ku-li-ni
49. nu-un-tuku-tuku
50. tukum-bi
51. guruš-dam-tuku
52. kar-kid-de(!) tillá-a
53. in-tuku-àm
54. kar-kid-bi-ir
55. nu-un-ši-gur-ru-da⁹⁴
56. di-kud-e-ne in-na-an-eš
57. egir-bi-ta dam-nitalam-a-ni
58. ba-an-tag₄⁹⁵ kùg . . . tag₄ . . .
59. . . . ?-? . . .

trothal and afterwards they made him go out (of the house) and gave his wife to his companion; they shall present to him the betrothal gifts which he brought and that wife may not marry his companion.

30. If a young married man married a harlot (from) the public square and the judges have ordered him not to visit⁹⁴ her, but afterwards he neglected⁹⁵ his wife, the money (for his neglect

Col. XVIII.

(about 4 lines missing)

5. . . . in-na-an-sì
6. egir-ad-da-úš⁹⁶-a-ta
7. ibila-e-ne
8. é-ad-da ì-ba-e-ne
9. ha-la-é-a nu-un-ba-e-ne
10. inim-ad-da-ne-ne
11. a-a nu-un-šeg₆-šeg₆⁹⁷
12. tukum-bi
13. ad-da-ti-la
14. dumu-šĕš-gal⁹⁸-a-ni-ir
15. níg-mussa in-na-a[n-gar]
16. igi-ad-da-ti-l[a-šĕ]
17. dam ba-an-[tuku]
18. egir-ad-da-ta
19. ibila

31. . . . he has given to him, after their father's death the heirs shall divide the estate of their father but the inheritance of the estate they shall not divide; they shall not "cook their father's word in water."

32. If a father while living has [set aside] a betrothal gift for his eldest son and [in] the presence of the father who was still alive he (the son) [married] a wife, after the father's death the heir

(about 17 lines missing)

36. lú

33. If it has been confirmed that the had not

⁹¹ B omits *-na-ka*; F places *ì-in-tu* on a separate line.

⁹² For *níg-mussa-ag* cf. *SAK*, p. 80, col. 5, line 3. It would appear from our text, as well as the Gudea text in *SAK*, that *níg-mussa* (probably from *níg-mu(n)us-a(k)*, "that of the woman") may refer to the betrothal gifts brought by the groom. When used with the verb *ag*, it may refer to the betrothal ceremony in which the gift-bringing of the groom was the major event.

⁹³ F reads *-eš* for *-uš*.

⁹⁴ More literally, perhaps, "that he should not return to her."

⁹⁵ Perhaps *tag₄* means "divorce" in this paragraph.

⁹⁶ For the reading of the sign *TIL* as *úš*, cf. note 78 above.

⁹⁷ To "cook in water" must be an idiomatic expression equivalent to "disregard" or "disobey."

⁹⁸ Literally, "big brother."

37. é-nu-un-ba-a divided the estate, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.
 38. un-gi-en
 39. 10-gín-kù-babbar ì-lá-e
 40. tukum-bi 34. If a man rented an ox and injured the flesh at
 41. lú-ù the nose ring, he shall pay one third of (its) price.
 42. gud in-hun
 43. sa-sal-ku-a bí-in-sír
 44. igi-3-gál-šam-ma-kám ì-lá-e
 45. tukum-bi 35. If a man rented an ox and damaged its eye, he
 46. lú-ù shall pay one half of (its) price.
 47. gud in-hun igi-bi in-hul
 48. šu-ri-a-šam-ma-kám ì-lá-e

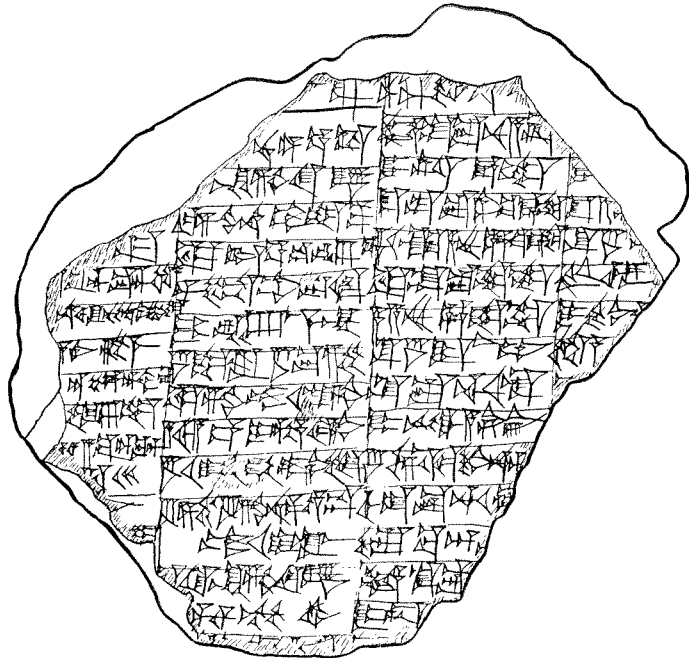


FIG. 6. REVERSE OF FRAGMENT G. UM 29-16-218.

49. tukum-bi 36. If a man rented an ox and broke its horn, he
 50. lú-ù shall pay one fourth of (its) price.
 51. gud in-hun si-bi íb-ta-an-tar
 52. igi-4-gál-šam-ma-kám ì-lá-e
 53. tukum-bi 37. If a man rented an ox and damaged its tail, he
 54. lú-ù shall pay one fourth of (its) price.
 55. gud in-hun
 56. maš-bi íb-ta-an-hul⁹⁹
 57. igi-4-gál-šam-ma-kám ì-lá-e

Col. XIX.

(about 4 lines missing)

5. [ì-lá]-e 38. . . . [he shall p]lay.

⁹⁹ Written over an erasure; the scribe probably wrote TAR first.

EPILOGUE

6. [inim-gi]-na-^dutu-ta
 7. [ki]-en-gi ki-uri
 8. di-gi-na hé-bí-díb
 9. ka-ta-è-^den-líl-ta
 10. ^dli-pí-it-iš₄-tár
 11. dumu-^den-líl-lá-me-en
 12. níg-erím níg-á-zi
 13. KA-gi hé-mí-gí₄
 14. ír a-nír I . AN . UTU DI-bí¹⁰⁰
 15. níg-gig-ga¹⁰¹ hé-ni-tu¹⁰²
 16. níg-zi níg-gi-na pa-è-hé-mi-ag
 17. kuš-ki-en-gi-ki-uri hu-mu-dùg

(about 19 lines missing)

36. u₄ níg-gál-ki-en-gi-ki-uri
 37. i-ni-in-gar-ra-a
 38. na₄-bi ki hé-im-ma-ni-tag₄
 39. lú-á-níg-hul-dím-ma
 40. nu-ub-ši-ág-gá-a
 41. níg-dím-ma-mu nu-ub-zi-ri-a
 42. mu-sar-ra-ba šu bí¹⁰⁴-íb-ur₃-a
 43. mu-ni li-bí-íb-sar-ri-a
 44. nam-ti-zi-ud-sù-gál
 45. sag-e-eš hé-rig₇-ga
 46. é-kur-ra gu-an-šè hé-ni-in-zi¹⁰⁵
 47. sag-ki-zalag-ga ^den-líl-lá-ka
 48. an-ta hé-íb-gí₄¹⁰⁶
 49. lú-á-níg-hul-dím-ma íb-ši-ág-gá-a
 50. níg-dím-ma-mu íb-zi-ri-a
 51. é-níg-gar-ra i-ni-tu-tu
 52. ki-gub-ba-bi íb-kúr-ru-a
 53. mu-sar-ra-ba šu bí-íb-ur₃-ru-a¹⁰⁷
 54. [mu]-ni bí-íb-sar-ri-a
 55. [aš . BAL-ba]-ke₄-eš lú-kúr
 56. [šú-ba-an]-zi-zi-a
 57. [lú-ba] . . [h]é-a
 58. . . . [h]é-a

Verily, when I had established the wealth of Sumer and Akkad, I erected this stele.

May he who will not commit any evil deed *with regard to it*, who will not damage my handiwork, who will [not]¹⁰⁴ erase its inscription, who will not write his own name upon it—be presented with life and breath of long days; may he rise high¹⁰⁵ in the Ekur; may Enlil's bright forehead *look down upon him*.¹⁰⁶

(On the other hand) he who will commit some evil deed *with regard to it*, who will damage my handiwork, who will enter the storeroom and *change* its pedestal, who will erase its inscription, who will write his own [name] upon it, (or) who, because of this [curse], [substi]tutes someone else for himself—[that man, whet]her he be a . . . , [whether he] be a

¹⁰⁰ The *-bi* of DI-*bi* may be the possessive pronoun preceded by the anticipatory genitives *ír, a-nír, I.AN.UTU*.¹⁰¹ The *-ga* is written over an erasure.¹⁰² Literally, "turned to something forbidden."¹⁰³ Literally, "made well the bodies of the Sumerians and Akkadians."¹⁰⁴ Note that the negative particle has been omitted

by the scribe.

¹⁰⁵ More literally, perhaps, "may he raise neck to heaven."¹⁰⁶ More literally, perhaps, "be turned to him from above."¹⁰⁷ From lines 53–56, cf. *YOS*, vol. ix, text 31, lines 46–49.

Col. XX.

(about 7 lines missing)

8. . . . -ka
 9. . . . [ha]-ba-an-da-an-kar¹⁰⁸ may *he* take away from him (and) bring
 10. . . . -na ù-mu-na-ni-in-tu . . . in his . . . his . . . *whoever*; may . . . Ashnan
 11. . . . [-a?]-ni nam-me and Sumugan, the lords of abundance, take away
 12. . . . ^aašnan-^dsumugan-[c?] from him . . .
 13. [en-hé-gá]l-la-ke₄-ne¹⁰⁹
 14. [h]-a¹¹⁰-ba-an-da-an-[kar]-ri-eš
 15. . . . -ni
 16. . . . -[n]e

(about 19 lines missing)

35. ní-g?-a-? . . . íl-la-na His
 36. KA h[é-i]m-mi-íb-gi₄-gi₄ may he *abolish*
 37. ^autu di-kud-an-ki-ke₄ May Utu, the judge of heaven and earth take
 38. . . . -ka-mah-da away
 39. [ha-b]a-an-da-an-kar
 40. . . -ma-na
 41. . . . -na-ni suhuš-bi his . . . its foundation
 42. . . . -ni-a . . .
 43. . . . -?-?-?
 44. . . ki . . DUL . DUL-ra as ,
 45. hé-en-šed may he be counted; let not the foundation of his
 46. ma-da-na suhuš-bi na-an-gi-ni land be firm; its king, whoever he may be, may
 47. lugal-bi nam-me Ninurta, the mighty hero, the son of Enlil,
 48. ^anin-urta
 49. [ur-sa]g-kala-ga
 50. [dumu-^den-lí]l-lá
 51. . . . RU-bi

(the rest destroyed)

COMMENTARY

PROLOGUE. The prologues of the Lipit-Ishtar and Hammurabi law codes bear a strong resemblance to each other. Their structure and general import are similar. The greatest difference arises from the many additional references to cities and deities found in the later code of the Babylonian king. Both codes begin by extolling the power and authority of the gods Anu and Enlil, even employing similar expressions. A significant variation is that, in the opening paragraph, the role of divine intermediary is assigned to Ninisinna in the Sumerian code and to Marduk in the Babylonian code, since they are the tutelary deities of Isin and Babylon respectively. Otherwise the parallel is striking, and suggests either direct borrowing or derivation from a common source.¹¹¹ The section where the duties of the respective sovereigns are outlined exhibits especially close parallelism; for example, the phrase “to

¹⁰⁸ Note the use of the preterite with the particle *hé-*; cf. *GSG*, §642.

¹⁰⁹ For the restoration cf. *SRT*, text 13, line 68.

¹¹⁰ The *-a-* is unexpected; it may be a fuller writing.

Perhaps we should restore *-a-* in similar forms on lines 9 and 39.

¹¹¹ Cf. CH, col. I, lines 1–50 with CL, col. I, lines 1–37.

bring well-being to the people (i.e. the Sumerians and Akkadians)” appears to be a translation from one language to the other.¹¹²

The list of epithets attributed to Hammurabi, however, is far longer than that which refers to Lipit-Ishtar. These additions may have resulted in part from the larger role which Semitic religion and culture play in the Hammurabi code alongside the underlying Sumerian concepts. For the most part, however, there is little doubt that the growth of the Empire under Hammurabi is largely responsible for the increment. The greatly increased political power of the Babylonian king is shown by the fact that he lists many more cities and tutelary deities than does Lipit-Ishtar.

LAWS 4–5. Although these laws are too fragmentary for detailed study, the general situation – the hiring of boats – suggests CH 236–240. It is noteworthy, in this connection, that laws regarding boats are at the end of the Hammurabi code among the *lex talionis* while in the Lipit-Ishtar code they appear much earlier and are apparently included in the *lex proprietatis*.

LAWS 7–10. For seven paragraphs in CH which deal with orchards (59–65), CL preserves only four, but it is likely that it had at least one more. The general legal background appears to be much the same in the two codes, although the arrangement and grouping of the separate laws has been altered. CL 7 appears to parallel CH 64, but its fragmentary condition precludes positive identification. CL 8 is clearly parallel to CH 61, but it is treated as a complete unit rather than as a supplementary paragraph.¹¹³ CL 9 has no counterpart in CH, either in this section or in the section dealing with theft. CL 10 is almost identical with CH 59; the latter, however, contains qualifying clauses which do not appear in the Sumerian Law.

LAW 11. No exact parallel to this law has been noted in CH. There are some elements in it which appear similar to fragments of laws restored to CH from tablets published by Scheil.¹¹⁴ Only a general resemblance, however, can be seen between the two codes as a result of the broken condition of the Babylonian pieces.

LAWS 12–13. The meaning is not clear, but it would appear that the owner of the runaway slave is obligated to reimburse the man who discovered his slave when he recovers it. If so, comparison may be sought with CH 17 and the difference in price becomes noteworthy.¹¹⁵

LAW 14. There is no analogue in CH. If the translation is correct, we have here provision for a slave to purchase his freedom.

LAWS 15–16. The significance of these paragraphs depends upon the meaning of the term *miqtum*.¹¹⁶ From the position of these laws between those regarding slaves (12–14) and one which appears to describe a situation akin to contract labor, one might expect that *miqtum* refers to an intermediate social class, perhaps equivalent to a bond-servant.

LAW 17. If the translation is correct, this law deals with the case of one man unlawfully

¹¹² Cf. CH, col. I, lines 47–48 with CL, col. I, lines 31–32 where the Sumerian phrase *kuš-dùg-gi-dè* is identical with the Babylonian *ana šēr nāši tubbim*.

¹¹³ Cf. Koschaker, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

¹¹⁴ Cf. *Délégation en Perse*, x, pl. 9. They are restored as paragraphs 73–76 in CH.

¹¹⁵ Laws regarding escaped slaves are treated in CH

15–21.

¹¹⁶ The term *miqtum* may be analogous to Akkadian *nipūtum* “distress” and refer to a person temporarily in servitude for default of a debt or some other obligation. Cf. Koschaker *Festschrift*, p. 65, n. 1 and *AJSL*, vol. li (1936), p. 149, n. 39.

binding another to a contract of some sort. Apparently both parties are considered free agents able to lease themselves or their services of their own free will. There is no parallel in CH.

LAWS 18–19. Here begins a series dealing with tax obligations. Unfortunately only the first law is intelligible. These two laws may perhaps be compared with CH 30–31. The persons involved in the two codes appear to belong to different classes, but this may have resulted from a later development which is reflected in the Hammurabi recension. The parallel consists primarily in that a period of three years' grace is extended before the confiscation of the property for a tax debt.

LAWS 20–33. This section treats of family laws generally. More than half are so fragmentary that their meaning remains obscure. Law 21 appears to regulate the disposition of the dowry in the event that the husband dies.¹¹⁷ Law 22 may be intended to cover further contingencies and to supplement 21. With 24 we begin a series relating to the rights of inheritance among children born of mothers of varying social status. The first laws are lost and only four (24–27) remain. The general situation under discussion in 24 is roughly parallel to CH 167. We may perhaps even assume the death of the first wife in CL 24 as in CH 167. Except for a few qualifying phrases found in one law but absent from the other, the legal concepts appear quite similar.

LAW 25. This law appears to parallel CH 171 without the special condition cited in the latter. The Sumerian law states simply that the children of a slave have no right in the division of the father's estate. The Babylonian code treats of the rights of such children in two separate laws. If the father says, "(You are) my children," they divide equally with the free-born children. Should he neglect to do so, however, the slave's children are deprived of any right in his estate but their freedom is nevertheless guaranteed.¹¹⁸

LAW 26. The text of this law is badly broken, but Koschaker has suggested a restoration in view of its place in the sequence of laws dealing with the inheritance rights of children. If his suggestion is correct, it would appear that in the event that the wife dies and a slave is taken as a wife, her children will enjoy the privileges of heirs. The translation problems of lines 7 and 8, however, prevent absolute certainty of meaning.¹¹⁹ CH has no parallel.

LAW 27. The general situation under discussion appears to be similar to that treated in CH 144–147, but there is no correspondence with any particular law in CH. Moreover, CH does not say in so many words that the children of the harlot become heirs of the father as CL does.

LAW 28. The meaning of this fragmentary law is most unclear. Moreover, no parallel in CH exists to assist in its interpretation.

LAW 29. CH 159–161, which treat of regulations regarding betrothal, are similar to CL 29. CH 161, in particular, presents a close parallel in that the betrothal is broken off by the parents of the girl on account of the interference of a companion of the prospective groom. Both codes state that the betrothal gifts must be returned to the young man and that the companion is forbidden to marry the girl. Note, however, that according to CH, twice the betrothal gift must be returned.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Cf. CH 178–184 for laws of a similar nature.

¹¹⁸ For a recent interpretation of this law see van Praag, *Droit matrimonial assyro-babylonien* (Allard

Pierson Stichting, xii, 1945), p. 50, n. 44.

¹¹⁹ Cf. above notes 77–83.

¹²⁰ For the use of the terms "wife" and "son-in-law"

LAW 30. Although too fragmentary for a satisfactory translation, no parallel is known from CH.

LAW 31. Not enough text is left for us to classify this paragraph among the laws of inheritance. We may perhaps assume that it dealt with the division of the estate generally among the sons.¹²¹ The idiom "cook in water" is interesting in connection with legal matters.

LAW 32. CH 166 appears to provide a close parallel. Both laws begin by setting forth the provision made by the father for the marriages of his sons. CH states explicitly that the younger son was overlooked. CL implies the same by mentioning only the older son(s). It is not unlikely that CL 32 concluded in much the same vein as CH 166.

LAW 33. This law must also have contained regulations for inheritance. However, not enough of the text is left for certainty.

LAWS 34–37. These four laws find very close parallels in CH. One in particular (CL 35) is identical with CH 247, except for two minor qualifying clauses. Note also that CL 35 is paraphrased in the legal commentary *ana ittišu*,¹²² but that this text varies more from CH than does CL. CL 34, 36 and 37 are all included in CH 248 under one penalty. CL 36 and 37 have the same penalty as CH 248, but the penalty cited in CL 34 is greater. Apart from this the parallel is equal to that between CL 35 and CH 247.

EPILOGUE. The epilogues of the two codes stand in the same general relationship to each other as their respective prologues. There are the same points of agreement, not only in structure but also in specific statements. Moreover, there are many more historical references to Hammurabi in the Babylonian code than there are to Lipit Ishtar in the Sumerian code, just as in the prologues. Again, we find similar pairs of gods mentioned in connection with the giving of the law in each code: in the Babylonian, Shamash and Marduk, and in the Sumerian their counterparts, Utu and Ninisinna. In both cultures the respective sun-gods—Utu and Shamash—were thought of as the authors of truth and righteousness, and therefore are pictured as the givers of law to mankind. Likewise, the tutelary deities of the respective cities, Ninisinna and Marduk, acted as the mediators between the celestial judges and their protégés.¹²³

The closing paragraphs of the two codes are even more similar. In both codes blessings are invoked upon those who respect the inscription, and curses called down upon him who alters or desecrates it;¹²⁴ moreover, these are expressed in nearly identical phrases as though the one were, in part at least, a translation of the other.¹²⁵ Unfortunately, nearly all of the last column of the Lipit-Ishtar tablet is lost, and the fragmentary portions that remain do not admit of a comparison with the parallel section of the Hammurabi code. In any case, it is more than likely that the Babylonian passage was the longer and more detailed of the two.

for the prospective bride and groom as soon as the *niġ-mussa* has been performed, cf. van Praag, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

¹²¹ Cf. CH 165.

¹²² B. Landsberger, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici)* Rome (1937), vol. i, p. 68.

¹²³ Cf. CH, col. XLI, lines 84–90 and CL, col. XIX, lines 6–10.

¹²⁴ Note the precedent for blessings and curses at the close of an inscription as found on the Stele of the Vultures of Eannatum, king of Lagash (*SAK*, pp. 11 ff.), an inscription of Sargon of Akkad (*PBS*, vol. iv, pp. 173 ff.) and statue B of Gudea of Lagash (*SAK*, pp. 66 ff.).

¹²⁵ Cf. CH, col. XLII, lines 2–10 with CL, col. XIX, lines 39–43 and CH, col. XLII, lines 18–44 with CL, col. XIX, lines 49–58.

THE CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR

TABLE OF COMPARISONS

CONTENT	CL	CH	CONTENT	CL	CH
	(1)			(20)	
?	(2)			21	
	(3)			22	<i>178-184</i>
Boats	{4}	<i>236-240</i>	Inheritance	(23)	
	5}			24	167
?	(6)			25	171
	7	64		(26)	
Real Estate	8	61		27	<i>144-147</i>
	9*			(28)	
	10	59		29	161
	11	<i>73-76</i>	Marriage	30*	
	12			31	<i>165</i>
	13	<i>17</i>		32	166
Servitude	14*			(33)	
	15			34	248
	16	<i>15-21</i>	Rented Oxen	35	247
	17*			36	248
Royal Fief	18}	<i>30-31</i>		37	248
	19}			(38)	

This table is intended to express graphically the relationship between the several laws of the Sumerian and Babylonian codes. The numbers refer to paragraphs in the codes. Bold-face type indicates almost exact correspondence; normal type, close parallel; italics, analogous; asterisk following number, law apparently unique to Sumerian code; and number in parentheses, text broken and unintelligible.