

# THE LAWS OF THE HITTITES

A CRITICAL EDITION

BY

HARRY ANGIER HOFFNER, JR.



*New York University Libraries*

*Faculty Friends  
of  
Bobst Library*

*A gift of*

*Professor Neville R. Kallenbach*



**Elmer Holmes  
Bobst Library  
New York  
University**







THE LAWS OF THE HITTITES



DOCUMENTA ET MONUMENTA  
ORIENTIS ANTIQUI (DMOA)

STUDIES IN NEAR EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY AND CIVILISATION

EDITED BY

P. M. M. G. AKKERMANS, C. H. J. DE GEUS, E. HAERINCK  
TH. P. J. VAN DEN HOUT, M. STOL, D. VAN DER PLAS

VOLUME XXIII

THE LAWS OF THE HITTITES



# THE LAWS OF THE HITTITES

*A Critical Edition*

BY

HARRY ANGIER HOFFNER, JR.



BRILL  
LEIDEN · NEW YORK · KÖLN  
1997



This book is printed on acid-free paper.

KL  
4712  
.H64  
1997

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Hoffner, Harry A.

The law of the Hittites : a critical edition / by Harry Angier Hoffner, Jr.  
p. cm. — (Documenta et monumenta Orientis antiqui, ISSN  
0169-7943 ; v. 23)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 9004108742 (cloth : alk. paper)

I. Law, Hittite—Sources. I. Title. II. Series.

KL4712.H64 1997

340.5'394—dc21

97-21912

CIP

**Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme**

Hoffner, Harry A.:

The laws of the Hittites : a critical edition / by Harry Angier Hoffner. — Leiden ; New  
York ; Köln : Brill, 1997

(Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui ; Vol. 23)

ISBN 90-04-10874-2

NE: GT

ISSN 0169-7943

ISBN 90 04 10874 2

© Copyright 1997 by Koninklijke Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands

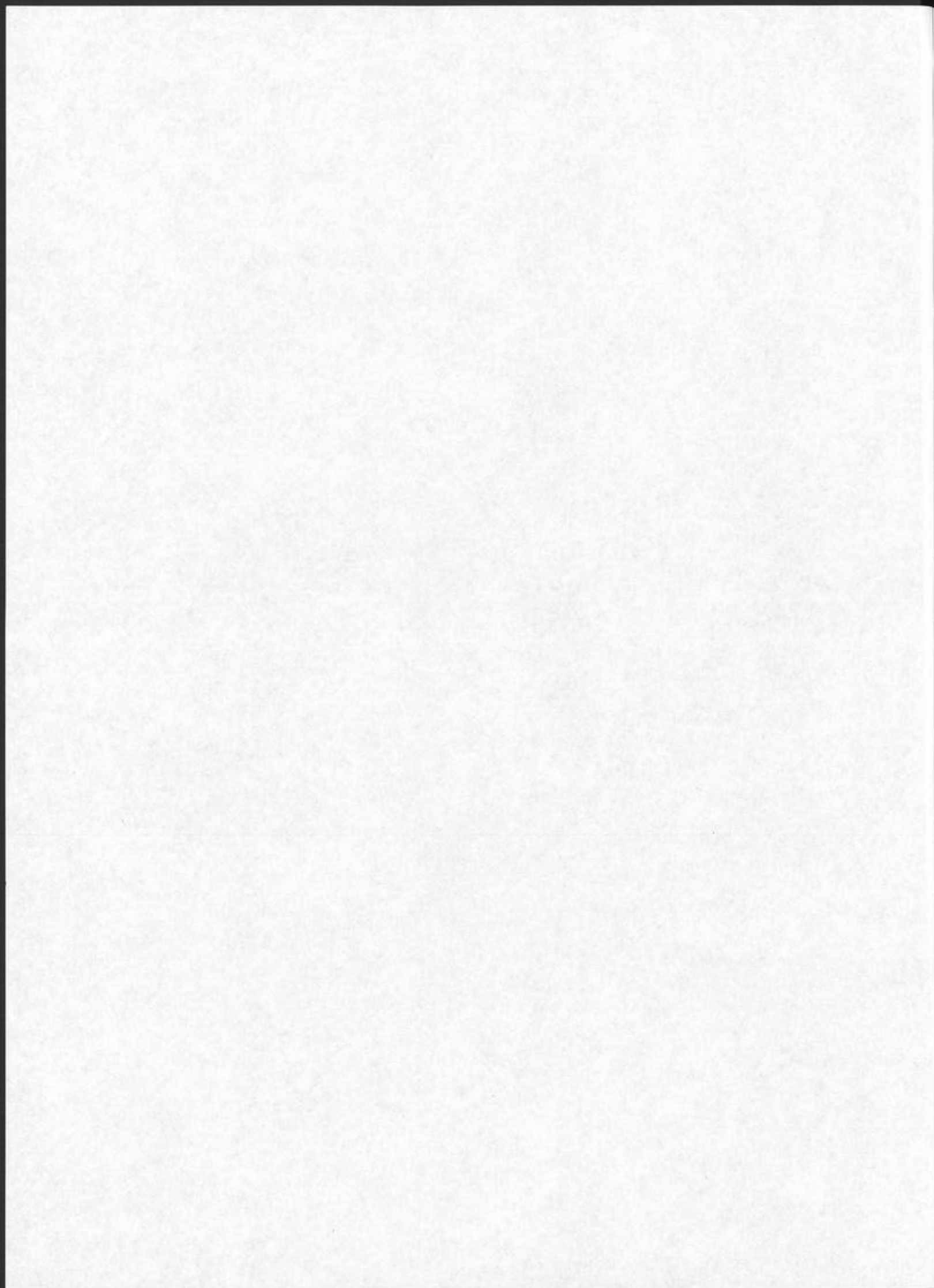
*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in  
a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying,  
recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.*

*Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal  
use is granted by Koninklijke Brill provided that  
the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright  
Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910  
Danvers MA 01923, USA.  
Fees are subject to change.*

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS



*For Wini*



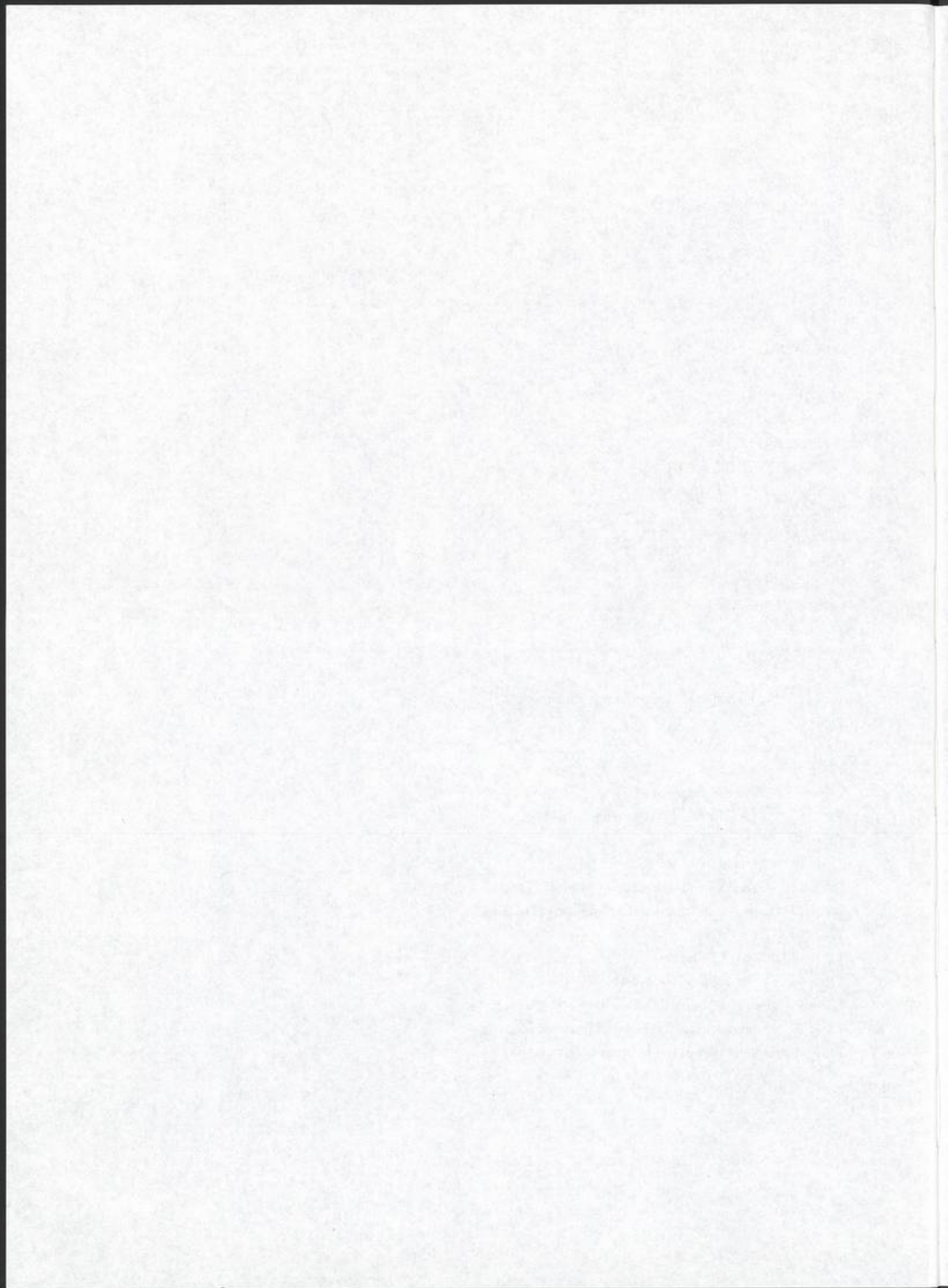
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	IX
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	XI
ABBREVIATIONS	XIII
I INTRODUCTION	1
II TEXT OF THE LAWS	17
SERIES ONE (§§ 1-100)	17
SERIES TWO (§§ 101-200)	99
III COMMENTARY	165
IV MANUSCRIPTS	229
GLOSSARY	267
BIBLIOGRAPHY	337
INDICES	353

## TABLES

Table 1	Reductions of Fines between <i>karū</i> and <i>kinuna</i>	6
Table 2	Prices	7
Table 3	Wages and Hires	10
Table 4	Penalties	10
Table 5	Clause Boundary Markers	12
Table 6	Sequence of Laws According to their Topics	13
Table 7	R. Haase's Outline of Series Two	15
Table 10	Compensations for Various Offenses	169
Table 11	Laws Concerning Abduction (§§ 19-21)	180
Table 12	Laws About Apprehending Fugitives (§§ 22-23)	180
Table 13	Cattle Prices	221
Table 14	Prices of Equides	221
Table 15	Prices of Sheep and Goats (§ 179)	222
Table 16	Prices of Animal Skins	223
Table 17	Palaeographical Overview of Principal Manuscripts	231
Table 18	Orthography of <i>-nu</i> -Causative Verbs in the Laws	252





## FOREWORD

It has been almost forty years since the appearance in 1959 of J. Friedrich's critical edition of the Hittite laws. That book was a milestone in Hittitology, being the only full edition of the text of the laws since F. Hrozný's *editio princeps* (1922). The same reasons motivating Friedrich's edition motivate this one. New fragments of law manuscripts have become available, the understanding of the Hittite lexicon and grammar has deepened appreciably, and the study of the Hittite language in diachronic perspective has become commonplace and is increasingly sophisticated.

Since the appearance of Friedrich's edition many other studies of the laws have appeared, including Imparati's quasi-edition (1964) which appeared a scant five years after Friedrich's, and which consequently was justified in dispensing with a full glossary like Friedrich's. No evaluation will be made here of these studies in the intervening years, since each will be cited and evaluated in the course of the commentary.

The production of a new edition also offers the opportunity to present the data somewhat differently. Friedrich's method of presenting the text was the common one in its day: choosing a base manuscript and indicating textual variants in footnotes. Even today this method offers some advantages in certain situations. In the case of the laws, where there is a fairly large number of text witnesses ranging in age from Old Hittite manuscripts to late (13th century) ones, and where scholars are particularly interested not only in differences of spelling of individual words but in syntactic structures (word order, particle use, etc.), Friedrich's method makes it more difficult to see the differences as well as the similarities between manuscripts. It was therefore decided to present each manuscript's version of each law separately. This type of presentation of the laws was already attempted by Haase 1968, but not as part of a critical edition. Haase's handy little book was unfortunately marred by a quite a large number of mistakes in transliteration and in failure to recognize joins of fragments. But since his concept of presentation was clearly a good one, it has been followed here.

Since interest in the diachronic study of the Hittite language continues unabated, and the Hittite laws with the many text witnesses ranging from Old to Late Hittite offers one of the crucial points of departure, it was also imperative that a complete Glossary be prepared for the new edition which would better serve that enterprise. Friedrich's edition had a very useful glossary, but it only referenced the forms in Topics: (not transliteration). And since the orthographic differences between Old, Middle and New Hittite frequently concern precise spellings, bound transcription gives an inadequate picture. Furthermore, Friedrich's edition referenced the forms only to the law in which each occurred, not the manuscript. If the form was in the base text of that law, only the law number was given. If it was in a variant to the base text, it was referenced by law number and the letter "V", without telling the user which manuscript contained the variant. This procedure cannot adequately serve a new edition. It was decided therefore to give all forms in transliteration and reference each to the law and manuscripts within that law in which it occurs. This was very time-consuming and tedious, but it had to be done. Hopefully it has been accomplished with a minimum of errors.

The author is a Hittitologist with a reasonably good secondary training in Assyriology and West Semitics. He does not claim to be a specialist in law. For this reason, like Friedrich before him, he has not attempted to analyze Hittite law as a specialist in comparative law could. References are made, where possible, to monographs and articles by scholars who have attempted to analyze the laws as law. But no claim is made to completeness of bibliographical coverage.



If this book is half as successful as its predecessor in serving the community of scholars of the Ancient Near East, its author will be very pleased.

Chicago, Easter 1997

HARRY A. HOFFNER, JR.



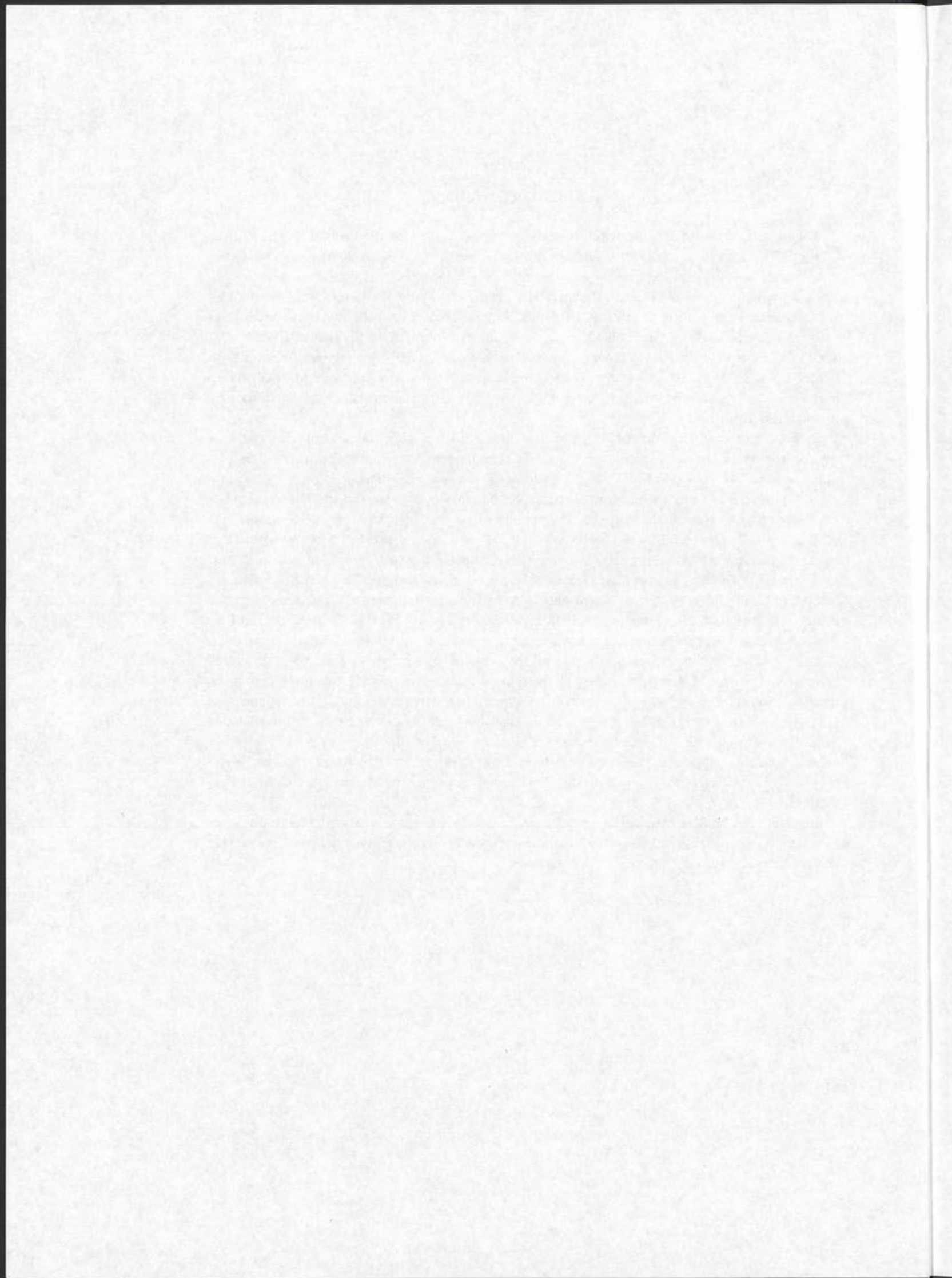
#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The subject of my Brandeis University doctoral dissertation in the year 1963 was "The Laws of the Hittites". That dissertation, published subsequently by University Microfilms in the American dissertation series, was my first engagement with this text. It was not an edition, but consisted of a fresh English translation, a series of lexical studies, and a summary of Hittite law in traditional Western legal categories. In subsequent years I engaged myself with the broader field of Hittitology and only occasionally returned to the subject of the laws: in 1966b for an encyclopedia article about Hittite law, in 1969b on Hittite laws resembling the legislation of ancient Israel, in 1973b on the laws dealing with *hurkel*, in 1982 the verb *šuwaye-* which occurs in the ubiquitous *parnaššea šuwayezzi*, in 1995b giving a survey of the legal institutions, in 1995a giving a new English translation, and in 1997 investigating the subject of homicide.

When a representative of the publishing house of E. J. Brill approached me several years ago, asking if I would be interested in producing a new edition of the laws to replace J. Friedrich's 1959 edition, I was challenged by the project, which I knew would consume much time.

Although responsibility for all views expressed herein remains my own, I should like to acknowledge here the generous assistance offered me from many quarters. Photographic prints of manuscripts A, B and p were sold to me by the Berlin Museum and permission granted to publish them in this book. Professor Horst Klengel made several collations for me from tablets and photos in Berlin. Professor Heinrich Otten and Dr. Silvin Košak of Mainz communicated to me unpublished fragments belonging to the laws. Professors Otten and Neu kindly supplied photos of published joins to manuscript A (KBo 6.2+), reproduced here in Plates 3 a, 3 b and 10. Prof. H. C. Melchert and Drs. Richard Beal and Hripsime Haroutunian kindly read early drafts of the transliteration and translation. Professor Hans G. Güterbock generously gave me the use of his transliterations of the laws. Any ideas about readings which I derived from any of these helps have been explicitly acknowledged in the transliteration and translation. Professor Erich Neu generously shared with me by letter his views on the dating of certain copies of the laws. Dr. Haroutunian and graduate students Simrit Dhesi, Kathleen Mineck and Steven Thurston helped compose the glossary. Some proofreading was done by graduate student Scott Branting. Technical advice in the formatting of the book as camera-ready copy was given by Mr. Thomas Urban of the Oriental Institute Publications Office and by Ms. Patricia Radder of E. J. Brill.

Finishing this book encroached severely on my home life. I am profoundly grateful to my wife, Winifred, for her patience and understanding during the past two years. Without her unselfish support and encouragement I could not have written this book.





## ABBREVIATIONS

### I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

/a, /b, etc.	Excavation numbers of Hittite tablets since 1931 from the Boğazköy excavations directed by K. Bittel and his successors
AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin
AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool
AANL	Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie 8, Rome
AASOR	The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven
ABOT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri, Istanbul 1948
AfO (Bh.)	Archiv für Orientforschung (Beiheft), Berlin, ab Band 15: Graz
AGI	Archivio Glottologico Italiano
AHw	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, Wiesbaden 1959-1981
AION	Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Naples
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
Akkadica	Périodique bimestriel de la Fondation Assyriologique Georges Dossin, Brussels
AlHeth	H. A. Hoffner, Jr., Alimenta Hethaeorum, New Haven 1974
AM	A. Götze, Die Annalen des Muršiliš, Darmstadt, 1967 [unaltered reprint].
AMD	Detailed Annals of Muršiliš cited by page number in AM, sometimes followed by column and line number.
AMT	Ten-Year Annals of Muršiliš cited by page number in AM, sometimes followed by column and line number.
Anadolu	Anadolu, Revue annuelle des études d'archéologie et d'histoire en Turquie, Paris
Anatolia	Anatolia. Revue annuelle de l'Institut d'Archéologie de l'Université d'Ankara, Ankara
Anatolica	Anatolica. Annuaire international pour les civilisations de l'Asie antérieure, Istanbul
AnDergi	Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Ankara
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, ed. by J. B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. with supplement, Princeton 1969
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia, Rome
AnSt	Anatolian Studies, London
Anthropos	Anthropos. Internationale Zeitschrift für Völker- und Sprachkunde, Wien
AO	Der Alte Orient, Leipzig
AOAT(S)	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Sonderreihe). Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des alten Orients, Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn
AÖAW	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin
AOS	American Oriental Series, New Haven
ARM	Archives royales de Mari, publiées sous la direction de André Parrot et Georges Dossin, Paris
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari (transcription et traduction), Paris
ArOr	Archiv Orientalní, Prague, Paris, Band 14 und 15: Stuttgart and Prague
AS	Assyriological Studies, Chicago
AT	D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets, London 1953
Athenaeum	Athenaeum. Studi periodici di Letteratura e storia dell'antichità. Pavia
AuOr	Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente antiguo, Barcelona
BA	The Biblical Archeologist, Montana
BAC	Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, Trier



BagM	Baghdader Mitteilungen, Berlin
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient, Berlin
Belleten	Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten, Ankara
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden
BM	Sigla of Tablets in the British Museum in London
BMECCJ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, Wiesbaden
Bo	Sigla of Boğazköy tablets from the excavations prior to 1931, directed by Winckler and Makridi
Bo 68/(number)	Sigla of Boğazköy tablets from excavations from 1968 and later.
BoSt	Boghazköi-Studien, Leipzig
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, Paris
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago-Glückstadt, 1956 ff.
CHD	The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, ed. by H. G. Güterbock and H. A. Hoffner, Jr. Chicago 1980 ff.
CHM	Cahiers de la Histoire Mondiale (Journal of World History)
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler, ed. by V. Haas, M. Salvini, I. Wegner und G. Wilhelm, Rome 1984 ff.
CLL	H. C. Melchert, Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon, Chapel Hill 1993
CoS	The Context of Scripture, ed. by W. W. Hallo. Leiden 1997 ff.
CRAIBL	Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendues, Paris
CTH	E. Laroche, Catalogue des textes hittites, Paris 1971, with supplements in RHA 30, 1972, 84-133 and RHA 33, 1975, 68-71
Der Kleine Pauly	Der Kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike. Auf der Grundlage von Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter bearbeitet und herausgegeben von K. Ziegler und W. Sontheimer, Munich 1975 ff.
Die Sprache	Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft, Vienna—Wiesbaden
EA	J.A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln, Leipzig 1915
Emar	Recherches au pays d'Astata. Emar. Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Paris - Emar VI.1-4: D. Arnaud, Textes sumériens et Accadiens 1985-1987
Eothen	Eothen. Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico diretta da Fiorella Imparati e Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, Florence
FHG	E. Laroche, Fragments hittites de Genève. RA 45, 1951, 131-138, 184-194 und RA 46, 1952, 42-50 (cited by text number)
FHL	J.-M. Durand und E. Laroche, Fragments hittites du Louvre. Mémorial Atatürk: études d'archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes. Paris 1982, 73-107
Glotta	Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache, Göttingen
Gnomon	Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft, Munich
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden/Cologne
HE	J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementarbuch. 1. Teil: Kurzgefasste Grammatik. Zweite Aufl., Heidelberg 1960
HED	J. Puhvel, Hittite Etymological Dictionary, Berlin-New York 1984 und 1991
HEG	J. Tischler, Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar, Innsbruck 1983 ff.
Hethitica	Hethitica, Louvain
HFAC	G. Beckman and H. A. Hoffner, Jr., Hittite Fragments in American Collections, Philadelphia 1985
HKM	S. Alp, Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük, Ankara 1991
HL	Hittite Laws
HS	Historische Sprachforschung
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series



HT	Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character From Tablets in the British Museum. London 1920
Huqq.	Treaty of Šuppiliuma I with Huqqana of Hayaša, edited in SV 2
HW (Erg.)	J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1952 (Ergänzungsheft)
HW <sup>2</sup>	J. Friedrich, A. Kammenhuber, Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1975 ff
HZL	Chr. Rüster and E. Neu, Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon (StBoT Beih. 2), Wiesbaden 1989. Following number refers to entry number, not page, unless preceded by "p."
IBoT	Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri (Boğazköy-Tafeln im Archäologischen Museum zu Istanbul) I-IV. Istanbul 1944, 1947, 1954, 1988
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen. Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Berlin
IM	Istanbuler Mitteilungen,—Istanbul
IstF	Istanbuler Forschungen, Berlin
Iura	Iura. Rivista Internazionale di Diritto Romano e Antico
Izmir 1 ff.	Museum numbers of tablets from Boğazköy in the Archaeological Museum of Izmir
JAC	Journal of Ancient Civilisations, People's Republic of China
JANES	The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University, New York
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies, New Haven
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap (Gezelschap) "Ex Oriente Lux", Leiden
JIES	The Journal of Indo-European Studies
JKF	Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung, 1-2, Heidelberg 1950-1952
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago
Kadmos	Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik, Berlin
KB	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Berlin 1889-1915
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. Leipzig/Berlin 1916 ff.
KIF	Kleinasiatische Forschungen, hrsg. von F. Sommer und H. Ehelolf, Band 1, Weimar 1930
Klio	Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Berlin
KTU	M. Dietrich-O. Loretz-J. Sanmartín, Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit (AOAT 24/1)
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi. Berlin 1921 ff.
KZ	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, begründet von A. Kuhn, Berlin, Göttingen (new title Historische Sprachforschung)
Language	Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore
LE	Laws of Eshnunna (as cited in Roth 1995)
LH	Laws of Hammurabi (as cited in Roth 1995)
Linguistica	Linguistica, Ljubljana
LL	Laws of Lipit-Ishtar (as cited in Roth 1995)
LNB	Neo-Babylonian Laws (as cited in Roth 1995)
LOx	Laws about Rented Oxen (as cited in Roth 1995)
LTU	H. Otten, Luvische Texte in Umschrift, Berlin 1953
LU	Laws of Ur-Namma (as cited in Roth 1995)
LX	Laws of X (as cited in Roth 1995)
M.A.R.I.	Mari. Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires, Paris
MAL	Middle Assyrian Laws (as cited in Roth 1995)
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig
MAPD	Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees (as cited in Roth 1995)
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin, Leipzig



Mesopotamia	Mesopotamia, Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Berlin
Msk	Tablet signature of the Mission archéologique française de Meskéné-Emar
MSL	B. Landsberger et al., <i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon</i> , Rome 1937 ff.
MSS (Bh.)	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, München (Beiheft)
MVA(e)G	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen/(ab 1922) Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires, Paris
NBC	Signature of tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection housed in the Babylonian Collection of Yale University
OA	Oriens Antiquus, Rome
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis; published by the Biblisches Institut der Universität Freiburg, Switzerland
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
OLZ	Orientalische Literaturzeitung, Berlin, Leipzig
Or NS	Orientalia. Nova Series, Rome
Oriens	Oriens. Journal of the International Society for Oriental Research, Leiden
PRU	J. Nougayrol et al., <i>Le palais royal d'Ugarit</i> , Paris
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale, Paris
RAI	Rencontre assyriologique internationale
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften), Wiesbaden
RHA	Revue hittite et asianique, Paris
RIDA	Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité, 3rd series, Brussels
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und (ab 1957) Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, Berlin/Leipzig
RS	Tablet Signature of Ras Shamra Tablets in the Louvre and Damascus Museums
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali, Rome
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl., Vienna; from 1950: SÖAW
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians, Winowa Lake, Indiana
SCO	Studi Classici e Orientali, Pisa
SEb	Studi eblaiti, Missione archeologica italiana in siria, Università degli studi di Rome
SLEx	Sumerian Laws Exercise Tablet (as cited in Roth 1995)
SLHF	Sumerian Laws Handbook of Forms (as cited in Roth 1995)
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici, Rome
SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; bis 1947: der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Kl., Wien; until 1950: SAWW
StBoT (Bh.)	Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten, Wiesbaden 1965 ff. (Beihefte from 1988)
SCO	Studi classici e orientali, Pisa
StOr	Studia orientalia, Helsinki
StPohl (SM)	Studia Pohl (Series Maior), Rome
StSem	Studi Semitici, Rome
StMed	Studia Mediterranea, Pavia
Sumer	Sumer, Baghdad
SV 1, 2	J. Friedrich, <i>Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache I-II</i> , Leipzig 1926, 1930
Syria	Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie, Paris
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften), Nr. 1, Beihefte, Wiesbaden



TelAviv	Journal of the Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archeology, Tel Aviv
THeth	Texte der Hethiter, edited by A. Kammenhuber. Heidelberg
TM	Signature for the finds from Tell Mardih
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Gütersloh
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen, Kevelaer und Neukirchen-Vluyn
Ugaritica	Ugaritica. Mission de Ras Shamra, Paris
VAT	Sigla of tablets in the State Museum in Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung Tontafeln)
VBoT	Verstreute Boghazköi Texte, edited by A. Götze. Marburg 1930
VO	Vicino Oriente, Rome
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World, Atlanta
WO	Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1949: Stuttgart; from 1954: Göttingen
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, Berlin
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna
Xenia	Xenia. Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen, Konstanz
YBC	Tablet sigla of the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches, New Haven
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, New Haven
YOSR	Yale Oriental Series, Researches, New Haven
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Berlin/(Leipzig)
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, Stuttgart, Wiesbaden
ZVS	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, founded by A. Kuhn., Berlin, Göttingen
2Mast	Second ritual of Maštigga (CTH 404), cited according to the edition of L. Rost, MIO 1 (1953) 348-367

## 2. GENERAL

abbr.	abbreviation
abl.	ablative
acc(us).	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
Akk.	Akkadian
all.	allative
Arn.	Arnuwanda
Asm.	Asmunikal
bil.	bilingual
Bogh.	Boghazköy
c.	common gender
cf.	compare
col.	column
coll.	collated
coll. W.	collation of Arnold Walther entered in his personal copies of KBo, KUB, etc.
com.	common (gender)
Commentary	refers to Chapter Three
compl.	complement(ed)
conj.	conjunction
dat.	dative
det.	determinative

disc.	discussion
diss.	dissertation
dittogr.	dittography
d.-l.	dative-locative
DN	divine name
dupl(s).	duplicate(s)
dur.	durative
ed.	edition, edited (by)
e.g.	for example
ENS	Early New Hittite Script
eras.	erasure
erg.	ergative
Erg.	Ergänzungsheft (supplement)
esp.	especially
etc.	et cetera
ex(x).	example(s)
f(f).	following
fasc.	fascicle
fem.	feminine
fest.	festival
frag.	fragment
Fs	Festschrift
gen.	genitive
GN	geographical name
gram.	grammatical
Gs	Gedenkschrift (memorial vol.)
HAH	Harry A. Hoffner
hapax	hapax legomenon
Hatt.	Hattusili
HGG	Hans G. Güterbock
hierogl.	hieroglyph(ic)
hipp.	hippological
hist.	historical
Hitt.	Hittite
Hurr.	Hurrian
ibid.	in the same place
i.e.	that is
imp.	imperative
impers.	impersonal
incl.	including
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
inst.	instrumental
instr.	instruction(s)
interj.	interjection
interrog.	interrogative
intrans.	intransitive
Introduction	refers to Chapter One
iter.	iterative
Kizz.	Kizzuwatna
l.e.	left edge
lex.	lexical
lit.	literally



LNS	Late New Hittite Script
loc.	locative
log.	logogram, logographic
Luw.	Luwian
Manuscripts	refers to Chapter Four
masc.	masculine
MH	Middle Hittite
mid.	middle (voice)
mng.	meaning
MS	Middle Hittite Script
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
Murs.	Mursili
Muw.	Muwatali
myth.	mythological
n.	(foot)note, noun
neut.	neuter
NH	New Hittite
no.	number
nom.	nominative
NS	New Hittite Script
obj.	object
obv.	obverse
OH	Old Hittite
OS	Old Hittite Script
p(p).	page(s)
Pal.	Palaic
par.	parallel
part.	participle
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural, or plate (number)
pl. tantum	plurale tantum (plural only)
PN	personal name
poss.	possessive
postpos.	postposition
pr.	proclamation
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
prev.	preverb(s)
pron.	pronoun
prot.	protasis
q.v.	which see
rel.	relative
rev.	reverse
rit.	ritual
RN	royal name
rt.	right
sc.	namely
sec.	section
sg.	singular
s.v.	under the word
subst.	substantive, substitution
Sum.	Sumerian



sup.	supine
Supp.	Suppiluliuma
syll.	syllable, syllabic, syllabically
Tel.	Telipinu
tr.	translation, translated (by)
trans.	transitive
translit.	transliteration, transliterated (by)
undecl.	undeclined
unkn.	unknown
unpub.	unpublished
v.	verb
var(s).	variant(s)
vers(s).	version(s)
voc.	vocative
vocab.	vocabulary
vol.	volume
vs	versus
w.	with
wr.	written
×	precedes an inscribed sign
o	space within a lacuna for a sign
x	illegible sign
=	indicates equivalences
§	paragraph or section
[ ]	encloses material lost in a textual lacuna
[( )]	encloses material restored from a duplicate
┌┐	encloses partly broken sign(s)
< >	encloses material omitted by scribal error
« »	encloses material erroneously added by scribe
≪	precedes enclitic elements
...	ellipsis
†	marks a reading based upon Hrozný's "Verbesserungen" in KBo 6, pp. 82-84
◦	marks a reading based upon a photo

For manuscript sigla see Tables 8 and 9 at the end of Chapter Two.

CHAPTER ONE  
INTRODUCTION

*The Terminology of Law in the Hittite Kingdom*

There is no single Hittite word corresponding to the English term "law".<sup>1</sup> "Custom" which often has a force as strong as "law" is *šaklai-*. The following passages illustrate its usage.

ANA KUR URUḪatti = ma = kan *ša-a-ak-la-iš duq[qa]ri ŠEŠ-[ŠU] NIN-SU MUNUS* *āninniyamin UL [(dāi)]* "In the land of Hatti (this) law is observed: a brother doesn't take his sister or female cousin sexually" KBo 5.3 rev. iii 28-29 (cum. count w. join + KBo 19.43 + KUB 26.38 + KBo 5.12 + KBo 19.43a + KUB 40.35 43-44) (treaty w. Hukkana, Šupp. I) w. dupl. KBo 19.44 + KUB 19.24 + KUB 14. 6 rev. 17, ed. Friedrich 1930a 124f. (without most of the joins); cf. HW<sup>2</sup> I sub *āra*.

*kuwapi = wa karuleš LUGAL.MEŠ EGIR-pa uwanzi nu = wa = za KUR-yaš ša-ak-la-a-in* (var. *ša-ak-la-in, ša-ak-li-in-na*) EGIR-an *kappuwanzi* "Until the earlier kings come back and concern themselves with the law of the land" KBo 2.3 iv 10-12 (Maštigga, MH/NS) w. dupl. KUB 32.115 rev. iv 28-30; KBo 9.106 iii 42-44, ed. Rost 1953 364f., in old ed. Hrozný 1919 88f. ("Gesetz?"), HW<sup>2</sup> I sub *apiyaku* ("Brauch").

*utniyandaš ša-ak-la-in išhiul zik = pat ḫanteškiši* "You (Sungod) establish the lands' custom and law" KUB 31.127 i 16-17 (solar hymn, OH/NS) w. dupl. KUB 31.129 obv. 5-6, ed. Güterbock 1958 239; Lebrun 1980 94, 191 ("Les coutumes (et) les lois").

URUḪat <tu> ši = ma = kan *kuedani kuiš ša-ak-la-a-iš šer mān LÚSANGA LÚGUDU<sub>12</sub> LÚ.MEŠ ḫaliyatalleš kui[ški] tarneškizzi n = aš tarniškiddu = pat* "(Concerning) the rule which exists for someone in Ḫattuša: if any priest (or) LÚGUDU<sub>12</sub> is in the habit of releasing watchmen, by all means let him continue to release them" KUB 13.4 iii 21-23 (instructions for temple officials, MH/NS) w. dupl. KUB 26.31:3-5, ed. Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 158f.; Süel 1985 58f.; I translate "(concerning)" rather than "(if)", because there is neither *mān* nor *našma* to indicate that it is a condition.

The abstract concept "law" (as opposed to "a law" or "the laws") is poorly attested in the texts, if it occurs at all. But there is a word which can translate as "justice" or "just behavior", *ḫandantatar*, written logographically as NÍG.SI×SÁ-tar.

The opposite idea—that which must *not* be done—is expressed by *natta āra* "not right" or even "not customary / allowed".<sup>2</sup> Specific wrongs could be expressed by a variety of terms: *idālu* (logographic ḪUL-lu) "evil", *waštai-* or *waštul* "sin",<sup>3</sup> *ḫarātar* "offence", *alwanzatar* "sorcery", and

<sup>1</sup> For general orientation in the subject of Hittite law see Güterbock 1954, Goetze 1957 109-117, Hoffner 1963, Imparati 1964, Hoffner 1966b, Korošec 1969, Gurney 1990 72-81, and Hoffner 1995b.

<sup>2</sup> See the dictionary articles in HW<sup>2</sup> A s.v., and HED A s.v. The Akkadian equivalent in Ḫattušili III's letter is *ú-ul pá-r-šu* KBo 1.10 rev. 23 (Klengel: "ist nicht Brauch").

<sup>3</sup> The noun *waštai-* occurs in law § 197, *waštul* in §§ 146-148, 197.



*hurkel* "abominable act; unpermitted sexual pairing, incest".<sup>4</sup> In the laws the nouns *waštai-* and *waštul* "fault, sin" are confined to sexual misconduct,<sup>5</sup> such as in § 197, where circumstantial evidence in a dispute indicates that a married woman has encouraged a man not her husband to have sexual intercourse with her: *MUNUS-naš waštaiš* "(It is) the fault of the woman".<sup>6</sup> The verb *wašta-*, on the other hand, has a wider use, even within the laws: *keššaršiš waštai* "his hand is at fault". *haratar* is widely used outside the laws, although often in a religious sense similar to "sin".<sup>7</sup>

Binding regulations, especially associated with treaties and royal edicts are called *išhiul* (from the verbal root *išhiya-* ("to bind")).<sup>8</sup> Legal cases<sup>9</sup> and the verdicts rendered by judicial authorities<sup>10</sup> are called *ħanneššar* (Akk. *DĪNU*, Sum. *DI.KUD* or *DI*).<sup>11</sup> A legal case or affair can also be referred to as an *uttar* (Akk. *AWATU*, Sum. *INIM*).<sup>12</sup>

Being "engaged in litigation" is expressed by *ħannešni appanteš* (laws § 38) or with the middle forms of the verb *ħanna-*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The literature on *hurkel* is large. Among the more recent studies see Hoffner 1973b; Haase 1976; 1977; Puhvel 1986; Hoffner 1995b, and HED s.v. The word occurs in laws §§ 187-191, 195-196. See commentary on those passages.

<sup>5</sup> Outside the laws, however, neither *waštai-* nor *waštul* are confined to sexual misconduct. On the concept underlying the *wašta-* word family see Catsanicos 1991.

<sup>6</sup> See Catsanicos 1991 56.

<sup>7</sup> See references now in HED *sub voce*. In a prayer of Muwatalli II it is paired with *waštul* KBo 11.1 obv. 1 <sup>d</sup>U EN AN KI LUGAL DINGIR.MEŠ *ħalziyawen nu=šši haratar waštul=a piran ħarnumeni nu ŠA* <sup>d</sup>U TUKU.TUKU-*an piran laweni*], ed. Houwink ten Cate and Josephson 1967. Cf. also KUB 41.11 rev. 21-22, KUB 41.11 rev. 27 and KBo 5.1 ii 2 (all rituals). In KBo 17.32 + 250/q obv. 15 it is paired with *idālu*.

<sup>8</sup> Korošec 1931 21-35. For the verb *išhiya-* see Friedrich 1952 86 and Puhvel 1984 398ff.

<sup>9</sup> *DI-IN-ŠU-NU QA-TAM-MA-pát* laws § 32, *nu UR.GI-aš ŠAĪ-aš=a ħanneššar / ħannattari* KUB 31.127 + ABoT 44 + i 42-43; *idalawaš=a ħuwappaš=a antuħšaš ħanneššar / zik=pat ħannattari* *ibid.* i 45-46; *DINAMĪLA KUR-TI kue ħanneškatteni n=at SIG<sub>5</sub>-in ħanniškitten* KUB 13.20 i 32; *nu šarazzi DI-šar / le katterraħteni katterra=ma ħanneššar le šarazziyaħteni / kuit=ma DI-šar šumel UL tarħuwaš n=at LUGAL-yaš=a BELI=KUNU menaħħanda / udatten n=at LUGAL-uš apašila punuši* KUB 13.20 i 34-37; *namma auriyaš EN-aš LÚMAŠKIM.URU.KI LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI DĪNĀTIM / SIG<sub>5</sub>-in ħaššikandu nu=ššan katta arnuškandu* KUB 13.2 iii 9-10; *mān=kan DĪNU=ma / šuwattari n=at MAĪAR* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *uppau* KUB 13.2 iii 23-24.

<sup>10</sup> *DI.KUD LUGAL* § 44, *DĪN LUGAL-RI* §§ 103, 111, 173, etc., *DĪN LÚDUGUD* § 173; *ħannan DI-šar* "a settled case" or "a rendered verdict" KUB 13.9 + 40.62 iii 19.

<sup>11</sup> *nu LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM / ħūmanduš parā ħalzi nu kuedani DINAM ešzi / n=at=ši ħanni n=an=kan ašnut ARAD.LÚ GÉME.LÚ wannumiyaš / MUNUS-ni mān DI=ŠUNU ešzi nu=šmaš=a ħanni n=aš=kan ašnut* "Call out all the men of the city, and whoever has a case judge it for him and satisfy him. If a male slave, a female slave, (or) a widow has a case, judge it for them and satisfy them" KUB 13.2 ii 29-33 (*BĒL MADGALTI* instr.).

<sup>12</sup> See *ut-tar-še-da ki-i-pát* "its disposition is exactly the same" § 64 (A), *A-WA-AS-SÚ QA-TAM-MA* "its disposition is the same" § 84 (A), *nu tuliyan ħalzišten mān=apa uttar=šet paizzi / nu SAG.DU-naz šarnikdu* "Summon the (judicial) assembly! When his case proceeds, let him make compensation with his person (lit. head)!" KBo 3.1+ (CTH 19) ii 51-52

<sup>13</sup> For these forms see Neu 1968 38-40, but add also the form *ħaššikkidumat* KBo 39.8 i 35 (= 2Mast i 33 according to the (pre-KBo 39) line count of Rost 1953.



A litigant (usually employed to denote one's opponent in litigation) is *ħannešnaš išħa-* (a calque on Akk. *bēl dīnim*)<sup>14</sup> or *LÚ DI-ŠU*.<sup>15</sup> In the Instructions for the Royal Bodyguard (IBoT 1.36, edited Güterbock and Hout 1991) the term which describes a person brought to court in a criminal case is *šarkanti-*, which Güterbock thinks may be the "defendant(?)" (p. 48, 83).

Investigating a claim is expressed *DĪN=ŠU ... punuš*-<sup>16</sup> (the Akkadian equivalent at Boğazköy is *dīnam amārum*<sup>17</sup>).

A judge or magistrate's action of settling a case and satisfying the litigants can also be expressed with the verb *aš(ša)nu-*.<sup>18</sup> A judge's actions of judging in favor of or against a particular case are expressed with the verbs *šarazziyahh-* "to make / declare superior" and *katterrahh-* "to make / declare inferior" respectively. Compare, for example: KUB 13.20 i 34-35 (CTH 259.2) *nu šarazzi DI-šar / le katterrahheni katterra=ma ħanneššar le šarazziyahheni* "you must not rule a superior case inferior or an inferior case superior". Since the Hittites viewed victories in battle a divine judgment in their favor, it is not surprising that this judicial term appears in descriptions of military victories: *Ĥatt. III 20 n=an=mu DINGIR-LUM GAŠAN=YA katterrahhta* "and the goddess, my Lady (Ishtar), made him (i.e., Urĥi-Teššub) to lose to me". Instead of *šarazziyahh-* the similar verb *šarlai-* can be employed: KUB 31.127 + ABoT 44 + i 7-8 (OH/NS) *ħandanza=kan antuwahh[aš (tuk=pat aššuš)] / n=an zik=pat [(šarliškīši)]* "the just person is dear to you (scil. the sun-god), and you always rule in his favor", and KUB 24.8 + 36.60 i 2-3 (Appu story, OH/NS) *[ħandan]duš LÚ.MEŠ-uš / [(ša)rl]iškizzi* "you always vindicate [ju]st persons".

Contesting a verdict is expressed with *DĪN ... ħullazzi / ħulliyazi* (§ 173). In Hittite land grant texts<sup>19</sup> the Akkadogram *MAMMAN LĀ IRAGGUM* "let no one contest" occurs.

The place of judgment is usually referred to as the "gate".<sup>20</sup> Only in the poetic language of a Babylonian hymn translated into Hittite is it referred to as *ħannešnaš pedan* "the place of judgment".<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> § 38, for which the NH copy gives the synonym *ħannitalwa-*. For other instructive occurrences see HED H 80, where, however, one must be careful to distinguish the true calque of *BEL DĪNI* "legal adversary" from the less specifically juridical term "enemy, adversary" (notably in the *Ĥattušili III* references cited there) and from the flattering divine (and even royal, cf. KUB 40.62 + 13.9 + i 6-8) epithet meaning "lord of judgment", i.e., "judge".

<sup>15</sup> *AWAT TABARNA / LUGAL.GAL ŠA LA NATIAM / ŠA LA ŠEBERI / kuiš=ma=an=kan wahnuzi / n=aš ANA dU NIR.GÁL EN=YA / dUTU URU-TÚL-na GAŠAN=YA / ANA DINGIR.MEŠ=ya ħūmandaš / LÚ DI=ŠU ēšdu* "The decree (lit. word) of the Tabarna, the Great King: irreversible, unbreakable; let whoever alters it become the opponent-in-court to the mighty Stormgod, my lord, to the Sungoddess of Arinna, my lady, and to all the gods" KBo 1.28 rev. 5-12.

<sup>16</sup> KBo 22.1:30 (OS), cf. Archi 1979b; Marazzi 1988.

<sup>17</sup> KBo 1.10 rev. 26 (Klengel 1980 190).

<sup>18</sup> HW<sup>2</sup> I 381, HED A 194. The clearest examples are: KUB 13.2+ iii 22-23 *nu auriyaš EN-aš DINAM / SIG<sub>5</sub> in ħannau n=at=kan aššanuddu* and *ibid. iii 30-31 nu kuedani DINAM ēšzi / n=at=ši ħanni n=an=kan ašnut*.

<sup>19</sup> On these texts see Balkan 1973; Otten 1991; Carruba 1993; Rüster 1993.

<sup>20</sup> *LUGAL-aš/an āški* § 188; *ták-ku-uš A-NA KÁ É.[G]AL ú-wa-te-ez-zi* § 198 (j), cf. § 199;

<sup>21</sup> KUB 31.127+ i 24.



The Sungod as judge is called *handanza hannešhaš išhaš* "just 'lord of judgment'".<sup>22</sup> The Sum. DI.KUD in Hittite is used exclusively for a legal case, not (as in Akkadian) also for a judge (Akk. *dayyānum*).

*Authority and Law in the Hittite Kingdom*

Law cannot exist without authority to impose and execute it. In the judicial sphere the authority of the king expressed itself in his role as supreme judge.<sup>23</sup> Certain offences of an extremely serious nature are marked in the laws by the expression "court of the king" (§§ 44b, 102, 111, 176a), "gate of the king" (§§ 187 and 188), or "gate of the palace" (§§ 198 and 199). These cases were judged before the royal court, and the king was the judge. Types of cases included are: disposing of remnants of a purification rite on someone else's property (§ 44), stealing more than two talents of timber from the shore of a pond (§ 102), molding mud into an image for malicious magical purposes (§ 111), opening the corral of a bull so that it escapes (§ 176a), sexual relations with certain animals (§§ 187, 188, 199), and adultery (§ 198). In addition to these cases which inherently belonged to the king's jurisdiction, the sovereign reserved for himself the right of deciding lawsuits that exceeded the power or competence of his subordinates, such as a vassal ruler<sup>24</sup> or a provincial governor.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, certain cases involving the immediate environs of Hattuša came before the court in "the king's gate", for example, the assignment of temporary custody of stray cattle (§ 71).

Beneath him various officials were charged with administering justice: the provincial governors (Akk. *bēlē madgalti* = Hitt. *auriyaš išheš*)<sup>26</sup> and the dignitaries / magistrates (Sum. LÚ.MEŠ DUGUD).<sup>27</sup> Judges were to carefully investigate (*punušš-*) all cases brought before them, avoid all

<sup>22</sup> KUB 31.127++ i 1; cf. *ibid.* i 24; cf. Güterbock 1958; Marazzi and Nowicki 1978; BELIYA = *ya = an ŠA KUR-TI AWATE* MEŠ *pu-nu-uš-du* "May my lord question him about the affairs of the land" KBo 18.15:17-19 (letter, NH), ed. Ehelolf, MDOG 75:65f.; (As soon as they come before My Majesty) *n = aš dUTU-ŠI ANA DI.ĪJA pu-nu-uš-mi* "I, My Majesty, will question them about the (above mentioned) court cases" KBo 3.3 iv 9-10 (hist., Murš. II), ed. Klengel 1963 38f., 45; DI-*ešni = ma = aš = kan GAM iyattaru nu DI-ašša[r] / araḫza pu-nu-uš-ki-id-du* "Let (the EN KUR-TI) go down (from the city) for judgment, and investigate case(s) outside (the city)" KUB 21.29 ii 15; cf. *kuit = ma DI-šar šumel ŪL tar(a)ḫūwaš ... n = at LUGAL-uš apāšila pu-nu-uš-zi* "the king himself will investigate whatever case you cannot manage" KUB 13.20 i 36-37; *nu = za DINGIR.MEŠ kī DINAM piran katta dāišten n = at pu-nu-uš-tén* "O gods, set this case down before yourselves and investigate it!" KBo 4.8 ii 16-17 (prayer, Murš. II), ed. Hoffner 1983a 188.

<sup>23</sup> See Güterbock 1954 17-18, Goetze 1957 92, 109ff., Klengel 1965, Haase 1967 325, Hoffner 1995b. Laws § 44b "it is sorcery (and) a case for the king."

<sup>24</sup> KBo 3.3 iii 29ff., Güterbock 1954 18.

<sup>25</sup> We are informed in the Instructions Texts that cases which proved too involved (*šuwattari*) for local authorities could be referred to the royal court: *mān = kan DĪNU = ma šuwattari n = at MAḪAR dUTU-ŠI uppau* KUB 13.2 iii 23-24, ed. von Schuler 1957 48; cf. Güterbock 1954 18.

<sup>26</sup> KUB 13.2 iii 29-32 (*BĒL MADGALTI* instr.), ed. von Schuler 1957 48, and HKM 57:1-24, ed. Alp 1991 226-228.

<sup>27</sup> In law § 173 (see further in commentary on § 173) it is stated that whoever resists the decision of a magistrate (LÚ.DUGUD) shall have his head cut off. Since this is stipulated immediately after the penalty for resisting the king's verdict, the magistrate must have been a royal appointee who rendered decisions in important legal matters. The most obvious example of LÚ.MEŠ DUGUD in the juridical role is KBo 22.1, an OH/OS instructions text



forms of partiality, especially bribes (*maškan*), and render fair decisions which satisfied (*ašnu-*) the litigants. Each town had its own court located in the city gate and presided over by the local elders (LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI).<sup>28</sup> We know of these courts both from the laws themselves, where elders are mentioned assigning custody of a stray ox (§ 71) and where the "men of the city" (LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM)<sup>29</sup> assign a feudal tenure abandoned by its former holder to another (§§ 46 and 47), and from the Instructions Texts, where the *BĒL MADGALTI* (Hittite *auriyaš išḫaš*) acts as the representative of the central government sitting with the elders and the LÚMAŠKIM.URUKI (Akk. *rābišu*) in the local courts on occasions when he passes through a given town.

In the latter part of the Old Kingdom, i.e., during the reign of Telipinu and his immediate successors, if a king sought to murder one of his kinsmen, he was to be tried by a body called the *pankuš*.<sup>30</sup> The nature of this body has been much discussed,<sup>31</sup> but it is likely that it was comprised of upper class males, what we might roughly call the "nobles".<sup>32</sup> But in the New Kingdom there is no trace of a judicial body called the *pankuš*.

In the translation of § 200 by Goetze 1969 197 "nor shall he become a case for the priest" there is an implicit claim that priests could perform judicial functions within a religious sphere. But the passage in question is literally "nor shall he become a priest", as translated by all other interpreters. Goetze's interpretation is highly unlikely,<sup>33</sup> as is also now indicated by the Mašat letter HKM 57 in which the *BĒL MADGALTI* is called upon to judge a case in which the litigant is a slave of a member of the priestly class (LÚDUMU.SANGA).

#### *Reforms and Modifications of the Laws*

The following diachronic stages in the formulation of Hittite law can be distinguished. The earliest phase is indicated by the coordinate *karū* "formerly", "long ago" and *kinuna* "but now" clauses in the main recension. These are found in both series, although fewer in Series B (§§ 101-200). Most of these show a simple reduction in the amount of the fine, usually 50%.

---

warning them against favoring rich over poor (on this text see Archi 1979b; Marazzi 1988; Pecchioli Daddi 1994). For a general survey of LÚ.MEŠ DUGUD see Pecchioli Daddi 1982 442-447, and for the military side of the term see Beal 1995.

<sup>28</sup>Güterbock 1954 18, Klengel 1965. See commentary on § 45 below.

<sup>29</sup> For the "men of the city" in their governmental role see §§ 40, 46, 47 and outside the laws also HKM 52, edited in Alp 1990; 1991. An as yet unpublished paper on this subject was delivered by F. Imparati at the 1997 annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Miami, Florida.

<sup>30</sup> KUB 1.16 ii 60, edited in Sommer and Falkenstein 1938 8f. See Güterbock 1954 19.

<sup>31</sup> For bibliography see CHD P 90-92 sub *panku-* B. Most recently see Beckman 1982b; Mora 1983a; Imparati 1991.

<sup>32</sup> So Güterbock 1954 19.

<sup>33</sup>Hoffner 1963 280.



Table 1: Reductions of Fines between *karū* and *kinuna*

% Reduction	Ratio of Reduction of Fines	§ number
70%	40:12	81, 94, 129 (all thefts)
52%	25?:12	119 (theft)
50%	40:20	7 (loss of eye or tooth)
50%	30:15	57, 58, 59 (all thefts)
50%	12:6	19 (abduction), 67, 69
50%	6:3	9 (injury to head), 25 (impurity in vat)
33.3%	15:10	63 (theft)

In a few instances the reform consisted of replacing corporal punishment with a fine. For example, § 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." For the implications of the exposure to bee-sting see commentary on §§ 91-92. As is well-known, multiple bee-stings can cause death from severe allergic reaction. In § 121 what is probably a form of execution by means of oxen and plow is replaced by a fine of 6 shekels of silver. And in § 166 a similar mode of execution is replaced by sacrificing one sheep for the human offender and two sheep for the team of oxen he used in committing the offence. In § 101 a person who steals a vine, a vine branch or garlic paid a one-shekel fine for the stolen object and a spear was struck in some sort of a symbolic gesture. The syntax is difficult to reconcile with the notion that the offender was struck with a spear (see commentary on § 101). But whatever the meaning of the spear manipulation, the revised procedure eliminated it entirely, and a simple fine was imposed.

The second stage is represented by slight changes between the OH and NH manuscripts of the main recension, and the third by differences between the main recension and the late Parallel Text (PT). The last stage is detectable only in laws §§ 1-100, since PT only covers this material.

In § 7 copy B requires 20 shekels, but copy X only 10. As noted already by Archi 1968, 72 ("presenta già le varianti del recentissimo Testo parallelo"), C's readings already reflect the latest phase of development represented also by PT. Thus in § 17 C agrees with PT against B. B reads "If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, [if] it is her tenth month, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver, if it is her fifth month, he shall pay 5 shekels of silver." C and PT: "If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver."

Comparison of § 6 with PT's § IV shows a significant increase in the fine. § 6's 100 *gipeššar* = 3.3 IKU = 3 acres = 1 hectare, worth about 8.25 shekels silver according to § 183. The fine in § IV (all his land plus 60 shekels) is much higher. In § 13 the fine for biting off the nose of a free person is one mina (i.e., 40 shekels), whereas in § XII (the late version of § 13) it is 30 minas, which is suspected of being a scribal error for 30 shekels. This would be a slight reduction. See the commentary on §§ 13-14 for discussion of the proposed emendation.

That there is a general trend of reduction in the size of fines in silver is abundantly clear. But the reasons for the reduction are unknown. One possibility which would naturally suggest itself, that the purchasing power of silver had increased (i.e., deflation), seems unlikely, since there is no *karū* ...



*kinuna* clause affecting the price of a commodity (§§ 176-186). On the other hand, outside the laws we have some evidence for reduction in the value (i.e., prices) of commodities.<sup>34</sup> The *adupli* garment which in § 182 costs 10 shekels of silver is said in CTH 269 KUB 29.39 i 4-5 (with dupl. IBoT 3.75) to have "previously" (*karū*) cost 3 shekels of silver. Because of the broken state of the tablet we do not know what its new price was. The "now" (*kinuna*) price cited four lines later may refer to one of the other commodities in the intervening lines. But at least we see from CTH 269 that the central government intervened to alter the prices of commodities, and that the price of at least one commodity in that text's *karū* category was already lower than in the laws.

Another possible explanation lies in the frequency of the 50% reduction and the explanation offered for just such a reduction in §§ 9 (and § 25): "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." If one could assume in the other cases of a 50% reduction that one half went to the palace, then such a waiver would explain the reduction. Of the other cases of 50% reduction only § 7 is another bodily injury. §§ 57-59 are thefts, and § 19 is abduction, which is theft of human beings. How would the thefts in §§ 57-59 differ from those in §§ 81, 94, 129 and 63?

The replacement of corporal punishment by fines is easy enough to understand: there was a shift from the purely punitive view of law to a compensatory one. Such a shift of emphasis would also help to explain the fine reductions. For such payments were over and above the return of the stolen item and cannot be understood as compensation for loss, unless it is in the sense of the loss of use of the object before it was recovered. But if the latter were the case, one would expect a rating of the payment according to the time in which it was in the hands of the thief. We see such a rating in the case of the harboring of an escaped slave in § 24. If that were the motivation for the payments in addition to the return of stolen merchandise, one would expect ratios based upon time there also. But there are none. These payments must therefore have been punitive in nature. And if so, then their reduction reflects the same shift in emphasis seen in the curtailment of corporal punishment.

The following tables were prepared to show the relative values of commodities and services and the ratio to these of penalties or fines assessed. The approximate absolute values (i.e., the metrical equivalents) are based upon del Monte 1980; Melchert 1980 and Hout 1990.

Table 2: Prices

shekels	item	law §
40	mule	180
40	3600 m <sup>2</sup> (1 IKU) of vineyard	185
30	fine garment	182
25	trained augur	177
20	draft horse	180
20	blue wool garment	182

<sup>34</sup> See Košak 1988 for a study of the so-called "protocole des marchés" (CTH 269).



15	yearling filly	180
14	horse	180
12.5	copper box weighing 1.5 minas	160
12	plow ox	178
12	<i>ħappušanza</i> garment	182
10	trained potter, smith, carpenter, leather worker, fuller, or weaver	176
10	bull	178
10	yearling colt <sup>35</sup>	180
10	<i>adupli</i> garment	182
8	cow pregnant with calf	178
7	fullgrown cow	178
5	yearling plow ox or cow	178
5	large bolt of linen	182
4	weaned calf, price	178
4	weaned colt or filly	181
4	<i>imki</i> [...] garment	182
4	1 hide of (non-fullgrown?) ox	185
3	<i>iškalleššar</i> garment	182
3	sheer / thin tunic <sup>36</sup>	182
3	3600 m <sup>2</sup> (1 IKU) of irrigated land	183
2	(unweaned) calf	178
2	1 bottle of fine oil	181
2	3600 m <sup>2</sup> (1 IKU) of ḪA.LA.NI land	183
2	3 UZ <sub>6</sub> 's (goats?)	179
1	sheep	179

<sup>35</sup> Cf. 1 ANŠE 10 GÍN «ŠAM» in Bo 6606 (Siegelová 1986 26) rev. 10'.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. garment prices in 1 TÚG TUR BABBAR 2 GÍN ŠAM / [... 1 TÚG<sub>BAR</sub>.]DUL<sub>5</sub> 1 GÍN ŠAM 1 TÚG<sub>E</sub>.ĪB MAŠ-LU 3 G[ÍN ŠAM] Bo 6606 (Siegelová 1986 26) rev. 3-4, which to judge from the spellings is a late NH text.

1	1 bottle of lard	181
1	1 bottle of butter / ghee	181
1	1 bottle of honey	181
1	2 cheeses	181
1	3 rennets	181
1	3 <i>PARISU</i> (150 liters) of wheat	183
1	hide of fullgrown ox	185
1	1 shaggy sheepskin	185
1	15 sheared(?) goatskins	185
1	20 lambskins or kidskins	185
1	adjoining(?) field	183
1	4 minas (=160 shekels) of copper	181
0.667	1 <i>UZ<sub>6</sub></i> (goat?)	179
0.5	1 lamb	179
0.5	2 goat kids	179
0.5	4 <i>PARISU</i> (200 liters) of barley	183
0.5	1 <i>PARISU</i> (50 liters) of wine	183
0.5	meat of 1 fullgrown ox [GUD.GAL] (7 shekels alive)	185
0.5	meat of 1 yearling ox	186
0.5	1 cheese	181
0.33	bronze axe weighing 2 minas <sup>37</sup>	160
0.33	1 rennet	181
0.25	1 goatskin	185
0.2	meat of 1 weaned ox / calf	186
0.2	1 hide of weanling calf	185
0.125	copper axe weighing 1 mina <sup>38</sup>	160

<sup>37</sup> Cf. the 1 *URUDU* *HA-ŠÍ-NU* in Bo 6606 (Siegelová 1986 26) rev. 9 with price lost in the following break.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the copper *HABANNATU* vessel of unspecified weight and the *NAMMANDUM* vessel, each priced at 2 shekels in Bo 6606 (Siegelová 1986 26) rev. 5-6.



0.125	1 <i>PARISU</i> (50 liters) of barley	183
0.1	1 <i>gipeššar</i> of irrigated land	

Table 3: Wages and Hires

3	fee of a physician for a free man	10
2	fee of a physician for a slave	10
1.875 <sup>39</sup>	monthly (30-day) hire of team of oxen	159
1.25	monthly wage of a hired man in harvest	158
1	monthly hire of a plow ox	151
1	monthly hire of a horse, mule or ass	152
1	monthly hire a bronze axe weighing 1 mina	157
0.5	monthly wage of a woman at harvest	158

Table 4: Penalties

shekels	offence	law
4000	homicide <sup>40</sup> : merchant in foreign land	5
240	homicide: merchant in quarrel	III
120	homicide: free woman (on campaign or trip?),	IV
80	homicide: free(?) or slave woman accidental	4
80	homicide: merchant accidental	III
60 <sup>41</sup>	homicide: free man found dead on property	IV
40	blinding or knocking out teeth of a free person	7 ( <i>karū</i> )
40	blinding a free person in quarrel	V (late 7)
20	blinding or knocking out teeth of a free person	7 ( <i>kinuna</i> )
20	blinding a free person, accidental	V (late 7)
20	blinding a male slave in a quarrel	VI (late 8)

<sup>39</sup> A day's rent for such a team was  $\frac{1}{2}$  *PARISU* of barley. The silver equivalent is calculated on the basis of the probable rate of exchange of 4 *PARISU* of barley for [ $\frac{1}{2}$  shekel] of silver in § 183 and a 30-day Hittite month.

<sup>40</sup> Other homicides are settled by the giving of SAG.DU's.

<sup>41</sup> Plus house and fields.

20	breaking arm or leg of a free man	11
20	breaking arm / leg of free man, with permanent disability resulting	11
12	knocking out 2 or 3 teeth of free man	VII (late 7-8)
10	blinding or knocking out teeth of slave	8
10	accidental blinding of a male slave	VI (late 8)
10	temporary incapacitation through injury	10
10	breaking arm or leg of free man, no disability	11
10	breaking arm or leg of slave	12
8.25? <sup>42</sup>	dead man found on your property	6
6	knocking out 2 or 3 teeth of slave	VII (late 7-8)
6	injuring free person's SAG.DU	9 ( <i>karū</i> )
6	temporary incapacitation through injury	10
5	breaking arm or leg of slave, no permanent disability resulting	12
1	diverting an irrigation ditch	162

#### *Metals and Metallurgy in the Laws*

Silver, copper, and bronze are the only metals mentioned in the laws. Gold (KÙ.GI), tin (AN.NA), and iron (AN.BAR) are not mentioned. Silver occurs only as the medium of exchange, for paying fines, penalties, wages, hire and prices. No objects of silver are mentioned. Bronze objects mentioned are a bronze spear (ŠUKUR) in § 126, a *katral* in § 129, and an axe (*ateš*) in § 127. Copper items include the copper pin (ZI.KIN.BAR = *šepikkušta-*) in § 126, the shears(?) (<sup>URUDU</sup>*zina*[...]) and nail file(?) (<sup>URUDU</sup>*šankuwalli*) in § 143-144, and the axe (<sup>URUDU</sup>*ateš*) in §§ 157, 161, and the <sup>URUDU</sup>PĪSAN in § 159. The price of copper as a commodity is given in § 181: 4 minas (= 160 shekels) of copper cost one shekel of silver. A coppersmith (<sup>LÚ</sup>URUDU.NAGAR) is mentioned in § 56. Siegelová 1993 114-115 notes that wages and fees were usually paid in silver, but occasionally with finished products made of copper or bronze. Gold, iron and tin were not used for this purpose. When a metal object's specific metal type is not mentioned, it is probably copper. Gold, silver and iron were normally used for statuettes of the gods and cult symbols.

#### *Syntax of the Laws*

The style of the laws is casuistic rather than prescriptive. That is, the typical law consists of one or more protases of the type "If someone does such-and-such a thing", describing an act which either is a

<sup>42</sup> Only a guess. Converted from probable value of 100 *gipeššar* of land according to § 183.



offence or might be considered such, followed by an apodosis of the type “he shall / must pay / do such-and-such”, describing what the ruling of the court is. The tense of the verbs in both protasis and apodosis are present-future.

Most protases are simple units, but some contain both a primary supposition and a secondary, subordinate one, which narrows the circumstances. Often in such cases the principal supposition is introduced by *takku* “if”, and the subordinate one by *mān* “if / when”. Compare, for example: “If (*takku*) anyone knocks out a free man’s tooth—if (*mān*) he knocks out 2 or 3 teeth—he shall pay 12 shekels of silver. If (*takku*) it is a slave, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver” (§ VII). Or: “If (*takku*) anyone breaks a free man’s arm or leg—if (*mān*) (the injured man) becomes disabled(?), he shall pay him 20 shekels of silver; if (*mān*) he does not become disabled(?), he shall pay him 10 shekels of silver” (§ X). In both of these cases the law is a late, NH revision of one or more laws in the OH recension in which the subordinate supposition was not made.

Although there is no uniform method of indicating the boundary between protasis and apodosis in the various manuscripts of the laws, and one detects variations even within a single manuscript, it is true, as Friedrich 1959 88 observed, that the prevailing pattern when the protasis is a single clause—which differentiates Old from New Hittite in general—is asyndetic juxtaposition (§§ 1-9, 13, 14, 46, 57, 72, 74, 83, etc.). In the examples given below to illustrate the uses of asyndesis in the laws the asyndetic juncture is marked with the ampersand (&) sign. Note especially those cases in which the OS manuscript is asyndetic and the NS one employs the conjunction *nu*: for example §§ 20, 94.

Table 5: Clause Boundary Markers

Boundary marker	Laws
Asyndesis	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 5 PT (3x), 6 PT (3x out of 4), 7 PT (2x), 8 PT (VI and VII), etc.
<i>nu</i>	5, 6 PT ( <i>na-aš-kán ša-me-en-zi</i> ),

On the other hand, when the protasis consists of several clauses, it is not uncommon for *nu* to mark the beginning of the apodosis: *nu apūn šaktaizzi* § 10 (A), *nu =šše* 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pāi* § 11 (A), *nu Él-er =šet =pat arnuzzi* § 19a (A).

Within a complex protasis or apodosis *nu* is used in OS copies to connect clauses: for example, *n = aš aki* § 3, *n = an = za dāi* § 6, *n = at āppa i[šhi =šši pāi]* § 45, and *nu šartiyaš kuiški p[aiZZi]* § 38.

When an apodosis begins with a *karū* clause, it is always asyndetic: for example § 7 (A, B), § 9 (A, B), § 19b (A, B), § 25 (A), § 54 (A, B, D, F), § 59 (A, M, B, D), § 63 (A, B), § 69 (A, B, I), § 81 (A, B), § 94 (A, F).

Within a complex apodosis, asyndesis is used to signal that the clauses so joined are semantically equivalent. Stating it differently, the second clause clarifies or elaborates the first. This is conveyed in English translation either by placing a colon at the end of the first clause and no conjunction at the beginning of the second, or by introducing the second clause with “that is”. *ták-ku Ú-UL-ma A.ŠĀ.GĀR & dam-me-el pé-e-da-an* “But if (the place where the dead body was found) is not (private) property, that is, it is uncultivated open country” § IV, *na-aš LÚNÍ.ZU ki-ša-ri & 3-ŠU šar-ni-ik-zi* “he shall be considered a thief, that is, he shall make threefold compensation” § XXXV (see footnote on the translation), *ták-ku-uš-ši A.ŠĀ.ĪI.A-uš hu-u-ma-an-za Ú-UL pí-an-za & te-pu-uš-ši*



*pí-ia-an* "If the land was not given to him in its entirety, that is, only a small portion was given to him" § XXXVIII. Note that the cited examples are all from the PT, which is late NH.

Elaboration translatable as "that is" can also be seen in the main recension, principally in breaking down large categories into their sub-categories: *ki-nu-na* 15 ANŠE.KUR.R[A.ĤI.A] *pa-a-i* 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA *da-a-i-ú-ga-aš* 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA *i-ú-g[a-aš]* 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA *ša-a-ú-i-ti-eš-za pa-a-i* "But now he shall give 15 horses, that is, 5 two-year-olds, 5 yearlings and 5 weanlings" § 58 (D).

#### *Arrangement and Sequence of the Laws*

The following table shows the arrangement of the laws by subject matter.<sup>43</sup>

Homicide laws	1-6
Assault laws (personal injuries)	7-18
Abduction or harboring of runaway slaves	19-24
Defiling a vessel	25
Marriage laws	26-36
<i>šardiyāš</i> laws	37-38
Land tenure laws	39-41
More homicide laws (special cases)	42-44
Finder law	45
More land tenure laws	46-56
Theft of or injury to animals	57-92
Burglary laws	93-97
Arson laws	98-100
Theft of or damage to plants	101-113 (*1-*13)
[Lacuna]	114-118 (*14-*15)
Theft of birds	119-120 (*16-*17)
Theft of or damage to (mostly agricultural) implements and tools	121-144 (*18-*33)
Failure to fulfill terms of contract <sup>44</sup>	145-149 (*34-*38)

<sup>43</sup> It represents an adaptation of a portion of the detailed table of contents of Hoffner 1963 pp. vi-vii.

<sup>44</sup> Korošec 1930 52 "Störungen von Verträgen".



Wages, hire and fees (compensation for use of humans, animals and implements) and abuses of hired animals or property (canals)	150-163 (*39-*48)
Diverting an irrigation canal	162A (*47))
[Injury to or death of] sheep in care of a hired shepherd(?)	162B (*47 bis)
Injury or death of herds caused by improper disposal of contaminated remnants of a ritual	163 (*48)
Certain offences requiring sacred sanctions (sacrifice, etc.)	164-170 (*49-*55))
Repudiating and reinstating heirs	171 (*56)
Supporting a hungry person in famine	172 (*57)
Rejecting the verdict of king or dignitary	173 (*58)
Manslaughter law	174 (*59))
A case of mixed marriage	175 (*60)
Commodity prices	176-186 (*61-*72)
Sexual offences	187-200 (*73-*86)

It is obvious from the table that some subjects occur in more than one place within the same series, e.g., homicide, land tenure, marriage, and that some topics from Series One are taken up again in Series Two. Of course, the categories are my own (or at best those of our modern western culture) and probably do not correspond to categories of the Hittites. They might have seen commonalities in several of my distinct categories and differences within some of my single ones. The above table, therefore, makes no pretense of objectivity: it is merely a useful overview of the contents of the collection.

Is there any rhyme or reason to the arrangement of these laws? Is there a system? What is the logic of the arrangement? Although it has been doubted that any system governs the arrangement (Scharff and Moortgat 1959 353 and W. W. Struwe, cited in Haase 1960 51 n. 1), suggestions have been made by Korošec 1930 for the First Series, and by Haase 1960 for the Second Series. I have had no access to Korošec's article.

In Series One the placement of law § 25 is problematic. It comes between one group of laws obviously related to fugitive or abducted slaves and another related to marriage and divorce. What has a law about defiling a vessel to do with either of these categories? Law § 37 relates to the recovery of a stolen bride and therefore fits well into the marriage and divorce laws (§§ 26-36). Law § 38 has nothing to do with marriage and divorce, but is attracted to this position because it too involves the *šardiyaš*. Laws §§ 42-44 concern homicide, yet they are not grouped together with §§ 1-6. Why is this? Laws §§ 1-6 lay down the general principles for the handling of homicide, whereas §§ 42-44 are special cases, which appear to have been based upon unusual precedent cases. They can be recognized as such by the details they contain that are extraneous to the legal issues.

Haase's outline for Series Two is represented by the following table.

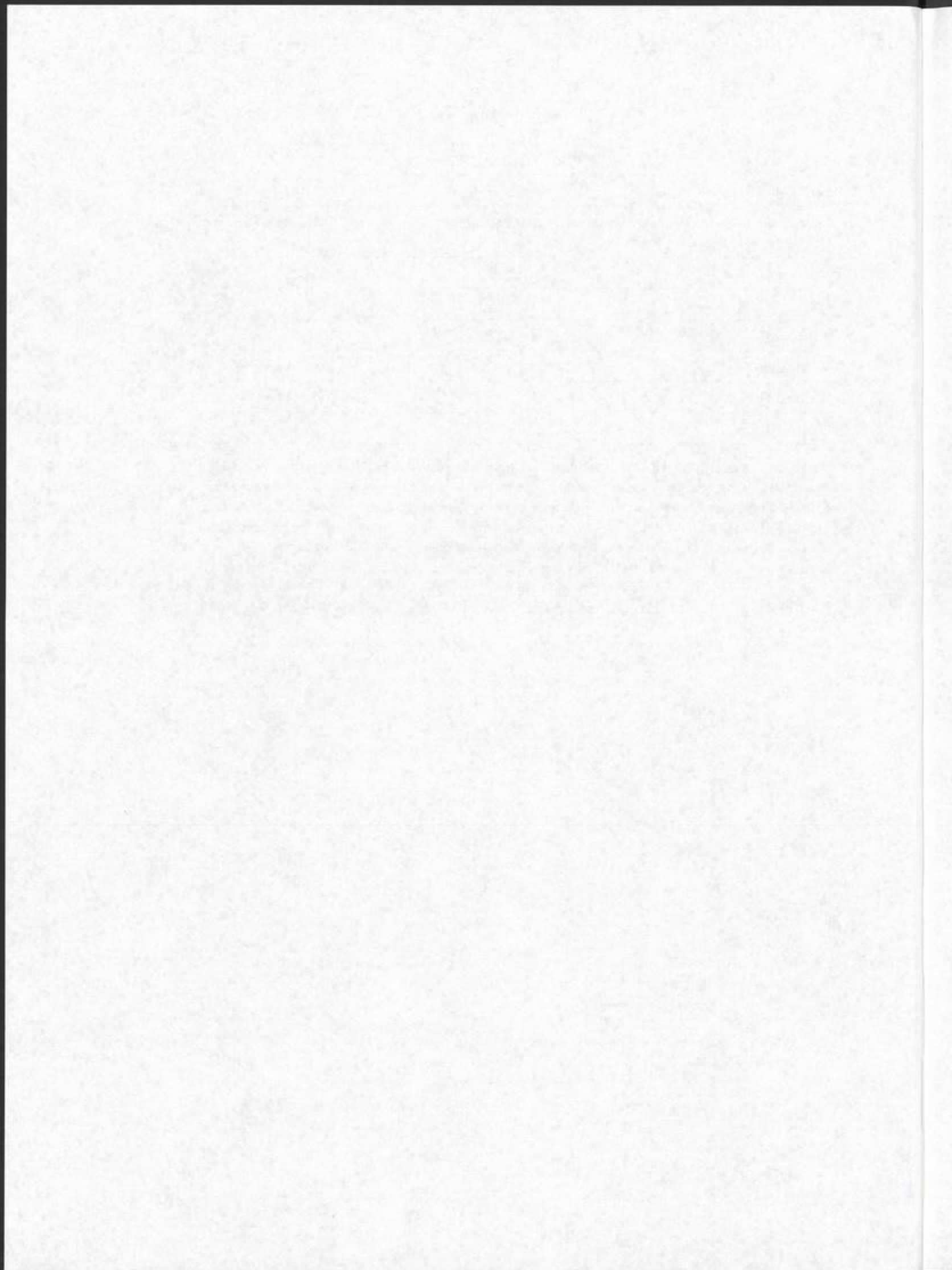
Table 7: R. Haase's Outline of Series Two

Landwirtschaftliche Kulturen	1-13
Zubehör des landwirtschaftlichen Betriebes und des Palastes; Gebrauchsgegenstände	16-33(!) <sup>45</sup>
Vertragstörungen	34-38
Löhne	39-46
Kultisches	48-54
Vermischtes	56-61a
Kaufpreistarife	61b-74
Strafrechtliches	75-86a

Haase has obviously omitted certain problematic single laws such as § 162 dealing with water rights, and § 170 (killing a snake while pronouncing another person's name). As can be seen, I believe that §§ 162-163 can be subsumed under the preceding category, which is slightly broader than "Löhne", and that § 170 fits with the preceding laws, not in the narrow sense of "kultisch" but the broader sense of offences requiring quasi-religious sanctions. Sorcery—which the killing of the snake seems to have been—was such an offence. Not all laws were grouped because of a common legal category. Sometimes the mention of a particular word in one law attracted a law which used the same word. A good example of this procedure is the *šardiyāš* laws §§ 37-38, which share the same key word *šardiyāš*.

<sup>45</sup> In Haase's original article a printing error reads "23".





CHAPTER TWO  
TEXT OF THE LAWS

Series One (§§ 1-100)

§ 1

**B (KBo 6.3) i<sup>1</sup>**

(1) [ták-ku LÚ-an<sup>2</sup> n]a-aš-ma MUNUS-an š[u-ul-la-a]n-na-[a]z ku-iš-ki ku-en-zi

(2) [a-pu-u-un ar-nu-z]i Û 4 SAG.DU pa-a-i LÚ-na-ku MUNUS-na-ku

(3) [pár-na-aš-še-e-a] šu-wa-a-ez-zi

§ 1 [If] anyone kills [a man] or a woman in a [quarr]el, he shall [bring him] (for burial)<sup>3</sup> and shall give 4 persons (lit. heads), male or female respectively,<sup>4</sup> and he shall look [to his house for it.]<sup>5</sup>

§ 2

**A (KBo 22.61) i**

(1) [ták-ku ARAD-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an šu-ul-la-an-na-az ku-iš-ki]i ku-e-e[n-zi]

(2) [a-pu-u-un ar-nu-uz-zi<sup>6</sup> Û 2 SAG.DU pa-a-i LÚ-na-k]u MUNUS-na-[ku]

(3) [... šu-wa-]i<sup>1</sup>-ez-z[i]

**B (KBo 6.3) i**

(4) [ták-ku ARAD-an na-a]š-ma GÉME-an šu-ul-la-an-na-az ku-iš-ki ku-en-zi<sup>1</sup> a-pu-u-un<sup>1</sup> ar-nu-zi

(5) [Û 2 SAG.D]U pa-a-i<sup>1</sup> LÚ-na-ku MUNUS-na-ku pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi

§ 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, and he shall look to his house for it.

§ I (= late version of §§ 1-2)

(Traces preserved of last line of § I do not match known parts of § 1 or § 2. Hrozný, p. 4, n. 2: "No. 1A I 1 avait-il ici un texte différent?" Friedrich 1959 48 n. 17: "Nur mehrdeutige Spuren gegen Ende.")

<sup>1</sup> Restorations from colophon of D and from §2 (B).

<sup>2</sup> Restored on basis of colophon of D (iv 1-2): DUB.2.KAM QA-TI ták-ku LÚ-aš / ŠA A-BI ðUTU-ŠI.

<sup>3</sup> Haase 1971 objects to translating *arnu-* as "beerdigen", but in my opinion does not show evidence that the verb cannot have the meaning "to bring (a corpse for burial)", which was the understanding of both Sturtevant and Güterbock (see Commentary on §§ 1-2).

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "whether a man or a woman" (-aku ... -aku).

<sup>5</sup> The significance of this phrase has been much debated. I favor the view that the claimant is entitled to recover damages from the estate of the perpetrator. See Commentary.

<sup>6</sup> Restored from KBo 22.61 i 5 (A §3); B i 4 *ar-nu-zi*.



## § 3

## A (KBo 22.61) i

- (4) [ *wa-al-aḥ-zi k* ]<sup>1</sup> *u-iš-ki* *na-aš a-[ki]*  
 (5) [ *a-pu-u-un ar-nu-u* ] *z-zi* Û 2 SAG.DU *pa-a-<sup>1</sup>i*  
 (6) [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a* ] *šú-wa-i-ez-zi*

## B (KBo 6.3) i

- (6) [*ták-ku LÚ-a*]<sup>n</sup> *na-aš-ma* MUNUS-*an* EL-LAM *wa-al-aḥ-zi ku-iš-[k]* *na-aš a-ki ke-eš-šar-ši-iš*  
 (7) [*wa-aš-t*]*a-i* *a-pu-u-un ar-nu-zi* Û 2 SAG.DU *pa-a-i* [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a šú-wa-a-ez-zi*  
 § 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 (lit. heads), and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 4

## A (KBo 6.2) i

- (1) [*ták-ku ARAD-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an ku-iš-*]<sup>1</sup> *ki* *wa-al-aḥ-zi na-aš a-ki QA-AS-SÚ wa-aš-ta-i*  
 (2)<sup>7</sup> [*a-pu-*]*u-un ar-<sup>1</sup>nu-uz-zi* Û 1 SAG.DU *pa-a-i* *pár-n[a-aš-š]e-e-a šú-wa-i-ez-zi*

## B (KBo 6.3) i

- (8) [*ták-*]*ku ARAD-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an ku-iš-ki wa-al-aḥ-zi na-aš <sup>1</sup>a-ki QA-AS-SÚ wa-aš-ta-i*  
 (9) [*a-*]*pu-u-un ar-nu-zi* Û 1 SAG.DU *pa-a-i* *pár-na-aš-še-e-[a] šú-wa-a-ez-zi*

§ 4 If anyone strikes a male or female slave so that he dies, but it is an accident,<sup>8</sup> he shall bring him (for burial) and shall give one person (lit. head), and he shall look to his house for it.

## § II (= late version of §§ 3-4)

## PT (KBo 6.4) i

- (2) [*ták-ku MUNUS-an ku-iš-ki ...*]<sup>x-x<sup>9</sup></sup>-*zi na-aš a-ki ŠU-aš-še-et wa-aš-ta-i*  
 (3) [4? MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i* *ták-ku MUNUS-za-ma GÉME* 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*  
 § II (= late version of §§ 3-4) [If anyone ...]<sup>s(?)</sup> [a woman,] so that she dies, but it is an accident, [he shall pay 4? minas of silver.] But if the woman is a slave, he shall pay two minas (=80 shekels) of silver.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> KBo 6.2 i 2, 6, 8, 10, 14-15, 17-19, etc. are not indented.

<sup>8</sup> Literally "his hand sins".

<sup>9</sup> Traces in KBo 6.4 i 2 do not fit *wa-a]l-aḥ-zi*. Photos in Hrozný 1922; Neufeld 1951 are too blurred to check. Traces in the copy would fit [... *wa-al-ḥi-iš-k*]*i-iz-zi* (Beal private communication), but why would a *-ške*-form be used?

<sup>10</sup> Given the price of a slave, this fine of 2 minas (= 80 shekels) seems inordinately high.

## § 5

## A (KBo 6.2) i

- (3) [ták<sup>1</sup>-ku LÚDAM.GÀR ku-iš-ki ku-e-en-zi 1 ME MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi
- (4) *ták-ku I-NA KUR Lu-ú-i-ia na-aš-ma I-NA KUR URUPa-la-a 1 ME MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*
- (5) *a-aš-šu-uš-še-et-ta šar-ni-ik-zi na-aš-ma I-NA KUR URUḪa-at-ti*
- (6) *nu-uz-za ú-na-at-ta-al-la-an-pát ar-nu-uz-zi*

## B (KBo 6.3) i

- (10) [ták]-ku LÚDAM.GÀR URUḪa-at-ti ku-iš-ki ku-en-zi 1 ME MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i
- (11) [pár]-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi *ták-ku I-NA KUR URULu-ú-i-ia na-aš-ma I-NA KUR URUPa-la-a*
- (12) [1 ME M]A.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i a-aš-šu-še-et-ta šar-ni-ik-zi *ma-a-an I-NA KUR URUḪa-at-ti*
- (13) [n]u-za *ú-na-at-tal-la-an-pát ar-nu-uz-zi*

§ 5 If anyone kills a merchant<sup>11</sup>, he shall pay 4,000 shekels (lit. 100 minas)<sup>12</sup> of silver, and he shall look to his house for it. If<sup>13</sup> it is in the lands of Luwiya (= Arzawa) 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 himself (-za) shall (also) bring the aforementioned merchant<sup>14</sup> (for burial).

## § III (= late version of § 5)

## PT (KBo 6.4) i

- (4) [ták-ku-kán<sup>15</sup> LÚDAM.GÀR URUḪa-at-ti a-aš-šu-wa-aš ku-iš-ki an-da ku-en-zi
- (5) [o MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR p]a-a-i a-aš-šu-ia 3-ŠU šar-ni-ik-zi
- (6) [ma-a-an<sup>16</sup>] a-aš-šu-ma Ú-UL pé-e ḫar-zi na-an-kán šu-ul-la-an-na-za
- (7) [k]u-[i]š-ki ku-en-zi 6 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i *ták-ku ke-eš-ši-ra-aš-ma*
- (8) *wa-aš-ta-i 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

<sup>11</sup> So the OH manuscript. NH: "... a Hittite merchant".

<sup>12</sup> So in both OH manuscript A and NH manuscript B. Nevertheless, to be corrected to 1½ MA.NA? See Commentary.

<sup>13</sup> A: "Or (if)" (*na-aš-ma*). On *mān* in his connection see Kammenhuber 1961b, 80a.

<sup>14</sup> Taking *-pat* in its common meaning "aforementioned". Güterbock 1961b, 66 prefers "He delivers the merchant *himself*" (italics mine, taking *-pat* as "himself").

<sup>15</sup> *-kán* not assumed by Friedrich 1959, 50, but supplied here to fill available space and because of *anda*.

<sup>16</sup> So Hrozný, Friedrich, Imparati and Kammenhuber (1961b, 80a). [*ták-ku*] would not fill the space, and does not fit the syntax of PT, which conserves law-initial *ták-ku*, but uses *ma-a-an* to add new contingencies. See PT i 18, 28, 31, ii 30, iii 20, 29, iv 1, 6.



§ III (= late version of § 5) [If] anyone kills a Hittite [merchant] in the midst of his goods, he shall pay [... minas of silver], and he shall replace his goods threefold. But [if] (the merchant) is not in possession of goods, 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

## A (KBo 6.2) i

(7) *ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš LÚ-aš na-aš-ma MUNUS-za ta-ki-i-ia URU-ri a-ki ku-e-la-aš ar-ḫi a-ki*

(8) 1 ME <sup>GI</sup>gi-pé-eš-šar A.ŠÀ kar!<sup>17</sup>-aš-ši-i-ez-zi na-an-za da-a-i

## B (KBo 6.3) i

(14) *ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš LÚ-aš na-aš-ma MUNUS-za ta-ki-ia URU-ri a-ki ku-e-la-aš ar-ḫi*

(15) *a-ki 1 ME gi-pé-eš-šar A.ŠÀ kar-aš-ši-i-ez-zi na-an-za da-a-i*

§ 6 If a person, man or woman, is killed in another(?)<sup>18</sup> city, (the victim's heir) shall deduct 12,000 square meters (= 3 acres)<sup>19</sup> from the land of the person on whose property the person was killed and shall take it for himself.

## § IV

## PT (KBo 6.4) i

(9) *ták-ku LÚ-aš da-me-e-da-ni A.ŠÀA.GÀR an-da a-ki ták-ku LÚ EL-LAM*

(10) A.ŠÀA.GÀR É 1 MA.NA 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR-ia pa-a-i ták-ku MUNUS-za-ma 3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR

(11) *pa-a-i ták-ku Ú-UL-ma A.ŠÀA.GÀR dam-me-el pé-e-da-an*

(12) *du-wa-an 3 DANNA du-wa-an-na 3 DANNA nu-kán ku-iš ku-iš URU-aš an-da*

(13) *SIxSÁ-ri nu a-pu-u-uš-pát da-a-i ták-ku URU-aš NU.GÁL na-aš-kán ša-me-en-zi*

§ IV (= late version of § 6) If a man is found killed on another person's property, if he is a free man, (the property owner) shall give his property, house, and 60 shekels of silver. But if (the dead person) is a woman, (the property owner) shall give (no property, but) 120 shekels of silver. But if (the place where the dead body was found) is not (private) property, but uncultivated open country, they shall measure 3 DANNA's in all directions, and whatever town/village is determined (to lie within that radius), he shall take those very (inhabitants of the town/village).<sup>20</sup> If there is no town/village, (the heir of the deceased) shall forfeit (his claim).

<sup>17</sup> Old Hittite manuscript erroneously reads *la-a-*; our emendation follows the NH manuscript.

<sup>18</sup> Not the usual word for "other" (*dtamedani*) but *takiya*. See Commentary.

<sup>19</sup> Hittite: 100 *gipeššar* = 3.3 IKU = 3 acres = 1 hectare, worth about 8.25 shekels silver according to §183. The fine in the late version (all his land plus 60 shekels) is much higher.

<sup>20</sup> Or less likely: "he shall take those same (payments from the inhabitants of the village)". See Commentary.



## § 7

## A (KBo 6.2) i

(9) *ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-an EL-LAM ku-iš-ki da-šú-wa-aḫ-ḫi na-aš-ma ZU<sub>9</sub>-ŠU la-a-ki*

(10) *ka-ru-ú 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pí-iš-ker ki-nu-na 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-a šú-wa-i-ez-zi*

B (KBo 6.3) i<sup>21</sup>

(16) *ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-an EL-LAM ku-iš-ki da-šú-wa-aḫ-ḫi na-aš-ma ZU<sub>9</sub>-ŠU la-a-ki*

(17) *ka-ru-ú 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-[i]*

(18) *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šú-wa-a-ez-[z]i*

X (KBo 12.48) <sup>22</sup>

(1) *[ki-nu-n]a 10 GÍN K[Ù.BABBAR pa-a-i ...]*

§ 7 If anyone blinds a free person or knocks out his tooth,<sup>23</sup> they used to pay 40 shekels of silver. But now he shall pay 20<sup>24</sup> shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § V

## PT (KBo 6.4) i

(14) *ták-ku LÚ-an EL-LUM šu-ul-la-an-na-za ku-iš-ki da-šú-wa-aḫ-ḫi*

(15) *1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku ŠU-aš wa-aš-ta-i 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

§ 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

## A (KBo 6.2) i

(11) *ṛtákl-ku ṛARAD-na<sup>1</sup>-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an ku-iš-ki da-šú-wa-aḫ-ḫi na-aš-ma ZU<sub>9</sub>-ŠU la-a-ki*

(12) *10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šú-wa-i-ez-zi*

## B (KBo 6.3) i

(19) *ṛtákl-ku ṛARAD-an<sup>1</sup> na-aš-ma GÉME-an ku-iš-ki da-šú-wa-aḫ-ḫi na-aš-ma ZU<sub>9</sub>-ŠU la-a-ki*

(20) *10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šú-wa-a-e[z]-zi*

<sup>21</sup> The join of KBo 22.63 begins at this law (§7) and continues through §10.

<sup>22</sup> See Haase 1962a, 115.

<sup>23</sup> Hrozný 1922 7 "ou ses dents il fait tomber", Walther 1931 248 and Goetze 1969 "or knock(s) out his teeth", Imparati 1964 "o un suo dente butta giù", von Schuler 1982 99 "oder ihm einen Zahn ausschlägt". More literal and conservative: Friedrich 1959 "oder seinen Zahn schief schlägt".

<sup>24</sup> Copy X: "ten shekels".



**X (KBo 12.48)**

(2) [ták-k]u ARAD-na-an na-a[š-ma GÉME-an ku-iš-ki da-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫi]

(3) [n]a-aš-ma ZU<sub>9</sub>-ŠU la-<sup>1</sup>a-ki<sup>1</sup> [ 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(4) [pár-n]a<sup>1</sup>-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-z[i]

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

## § VI (= late version of § 8)

**PT (KBo 6.4) i**

(16) ták-ku ARAD-an šu-ul-la-an-na-za ku-iš-ki da-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫi

(17) 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku ŠU-aš wa-aš-ta-i 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

§ 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)

**PT (KBo 6.4) i**

(18) ták-ku LÚ-an EL-LUM ZU<sub>9</sub>-ŠÚ ku-iš-ki la-a-ki ma-a-an 2 ZU<sub>9</sub>

(19) na-aš-ma 3 ZU<sub>9</sub> la-a-ki 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku ARAD-iš 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

§ 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 it is a slave, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

## § 9

**A (KBo 6.2) i**

(13) [ták-k]u <sup>1</sup>LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU<sup>1</sup>-aš <sup>1</sup>SAG.DU-SÚ<sup>1</sup> ku-iš-ki ḫu-u-ni-ik-zi ka-ru-ú 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pí-iš-ker

(14) <sup>1</sup>ḫu-u-ni-in<sup>1</sup>-kán-za 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR da-a-i A-NA É.GAL 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR da-aš-ke-e-er

(15) ki-nu-na LUGAL-uš ŠA É.GAL-LIM pé-eš-ši-et nu-za ḫu-u-ni-kán-za-pát 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR da-[a-i]

**B (KBo 6.3) i**

(21) <sup>1</sup>ták<sup>1</sup>-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU <sup>1</sup>SAG.DU<sup>1</sup>-SÚ<sup>1</sup> ku-iš-ki ḫu-u-ni-ik-zi ka-ru-ú 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

(22) pé-eš-ker <sup>1</sup>nu<sup>?</sup> <sup>1</sup>ḫu-u-ni-in-kán-za 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR <sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-a-i A-NA É.GAL-LIM 3 GÍN KÙ].BABBAR

<sup>25</sup> So Friedrich, but perhaps rather incompletely erased (Güterbock 1961b, 67). Since this clause is merely an elaboration of the preceding one, it should be asyndetic in both OH and NH.

(23) *da-aš-ke-er ki-nu-na LUGAL-uš ŠA É.GAL-LIM pé-eš-ši-et nu-za hu-u-ni-in-kán-za-pát*

(24) 3 ḠÍN KÙ.BABBAR *da-a-í*<sup>1</sup>

**C (KBo 6.5) i**

(1) 3 ḠÍN KÙ.BABBAR [*da-a-i ...*]

(2) *ki-nu-na LUGA* [*L-uš ...*]

(3) *nu-za hu-u-ni-ká* [*n-za-pát*] 2[+1 ḠÍN ...]

**X (KBo 12.48)**

(5) [*ták-ku LÚ.U*]<sub>19</sub>. [*L*]<sub>U</sub>? 'SAG.DU-SÚ'<sup>1</sup> [ ]

§ 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<sup>26</sup> the palace share, so that only the injured party takes 3 shekels of silver.

§ VIII (= late version of § 9)

**PT (KBo 6.4) i**

(20) *ták-ku LÚ-an SAG.DU-an ku-iš-ki hu-u-ni-ik-zi*

(21) *nu-za hu-u-ni-in-kán-za 3 ḠÍN.ḠÍN KÙ.BABBAR da-a-i*

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

§ 10

**A (KBo 6.2) i**

(16) [*ták-k*]<sub>u</sub> LÚ.<sub>U</sub><sub>19</sub>. LÚ<sup>1</sup>-*an ku-iš-ki hu-ú-ni-ik-zi ta-an iš-tar-ni-ik-zi* 'nu' *a-pu-u-un*

(17) 'ša-a-ak-ta-a-iz-zi' *pé<sup>1</sup>-e-di-iš-ši-ma LÚ.U*<sub>19</sub>. LÚ<sup>1</sup>-*an pa-a-i nu* 'É-ri'<sup>1</sup>-*iš-ši*

(18) 'an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi'<sup>1</sup> *ku-í<sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ma-na-aš la-a-az-zi-at-ta ma-a-na-aš la-az-zi-at-ta-ma*

(19) *nu-uš-še 6 ḠÍN KÙ.BABBAR<sup>1</sup> pa-a-í<sup>1</sup> LÚA.ZU-ia ku-uš-ša-an a-pa-a-aš-pát pa-a-í<sup>1</sup>*

**B (KBo 6.3) i**

(25) 'ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub><sup>1</sup>. LÚ<sup>1</sup>-*an ku-iš-ki hu-u-ni-ik-zi ta-an iš-tar-ni-ik-zi nu a-*[*pu-u-u*]<sub>n</sub>

(26) 'ša-a<sup>1</sup>-ak-ta-a-iz-zi *pé-e-di-iš-ši-ma an-tu-uh-ša-an pa-a-i nu* É-[*ri-iš-ši*]

(27) 'an-né-eš-ki-iz-zi'<sup>1</sup> *ku-it-ma-na-aš SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-ta-ri ma-a-na-aš SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-[ta-ri-ma]*

(28) *nu-uš-ši 6 ḠÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-í<sup>1</sup> LÚA.ZU-ia ku-uš-ša-an a-pa-a-aš-pát [pa-a]-i*

**C (KBo 6.5) i**

(4) *ták-ku UN-an ku-iš-ka*<sup>27</sup> [...]

(5) *ta!* *iš-tar-ni-ik-z*[*i ...*]

<sup>26</sup> See Commentary.

<sup>27</sup> So on the tablet (coll. photo)!



- (6) *pé-di-ši-ma-aš-ši UN-an* [*pa-a-i nu É-ri-iš-ši an-né-eš-ki-iz-zi*]  
 (7) *ku-it-ma-na-aš SIG<sub>5</sub>-ri ma-a* [*na-aš SIG<sub>5</sub>-ri-ma*]  
 (8) *nu-uš-ši 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i A-NA* L[*ÚA.ZU-ia ku-uš-ša-an*]  
 (9) *a-pa-a-aš-pát pa-a-i*

**K (KUB 29.13) obv.**

- (1) x - x - x [ ]  
 (2) *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ta* [ ]  
 (3) *ku-uš-ša-an a-pa-a-aš-pát pa-a-i* [ ]

§ 10 If anyone injures a (free) 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<sup>28</sup> 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)****PT (KBo 6.4) i**

- (22) *ták-ku LÚ EL-LUM SAG.DU-SÚ ku-iš-ki ḥa-pal-la-ša-iz-zi*  
 (23) & *ša-ak-ta-iz-zi-ia-an pé-di-iš-ši-ma UN-an pa-a-i nu É-er-ši*<sup>29</sup>  
 (24) *an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi ku-it-ma-na-aš SIG<sub>5</sub>-ta-ri ma-a-na-aš SIG<sub>5</sub>-ta-ri-ma*  
 (25) *nu-uš-ši 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i LÚA.ZU-ia ku-uš-ša-an 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR*  
 (26) *pa-a-i ták-ku ARAD-iš-ma 2 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

§ IX (= late version of § 10) If anyone injures a free man's head, he shall provide medical care for him. And<sup>30</sup> 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****A (KBo 6.2) i**

- (20) *ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš EL-LAM<sup>1</sup>-aš QA-AS-SÚ<sup>31</sup> na-aš-ma GÌR-ŠU ku-iš-ki tu-wa-a[r-ni-iz-zi]*  
 (21) *nu-uš-še 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-[zi]*

**B (KBo 6.3) i**

- (29) *ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-an EL-LUM QA-AS-SÚ na-aš-ma GÌR-ŠU ku-iš-ki tu-wa-ar-ni<sup>1</sup>-iz-zi*  
 (30) *nu-uš-še 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i<sup>1</sup>-ez-zi*

<sup>28</sup> Temporal *ma-a-an*, Kammenhuber 1961b, 79a; CHD L-N 149a (sub *mān* 5 b 1 a').

<sup>29</sup> So-called "endingless" locative *É-er*. Cf. Neu 1980b, 29f. (§6.2) with anterior literature.

<sup>30</sup> I see no reason to translate *-ma* with an adversative "but" in this context.

<sup>31</sup> B uses *σχημα* instead of the genitive construction: *ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-an EL-LUM QA-AS-SÚ*.

**C (KBo 6.5) i**

(10) *ták-ku UN-an [E]L-LAM ŠU-SÚ na-aš-ma GÌR-ŠÚ [ku-iš-ki]*

(11) *du-wa-ar-[ni-iz-zi]*<sup>32</sup>

**K (KUB 29.13) obv.**

(4) *ták-ku [ ]*

(5) *tu-w[a- ]*

§ 11 If anyone breaks a free person's arm or leg,<sup>33</sup> he shall pay him 20 shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § X

**PT (KBo 6.4) i**

(27) *ták-ku LÚ EL-LUM ŠU-SÚ na-aš-ma GÌR-ŠU ku-iš-ki du-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi*

(28) *na-aš ma-a-an kar-ma-la-aš-ša-i nu-uš-ši 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

(29) *ma-a-na-aš Ú-UL-ma kar-ma-la-aš-ša-i nu-uš-ši 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

§ X (= late version of § 11) If anyone breaks a free man's arm or leg, if (the injured man) becomes<sup>34</sup> disabled(?), he shall pay him 20 shekels of silver. If he does not become disabled(?), he shall pay him 10 shekels of silver.

## § 12

**A (KBo 6.2) i**

(22) *ták-ku ARAD-<sup>1</sup>na-aš na-aš<sup>1</sup>-ma GÉME-aš QA-AS-SÚ na-aš-ma GÌR-ŠU ku-iš-ki [tu-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi]*

(23) <sup>1</sup>10 GÍN KÙ].BABBAR *pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-[ez-zi]*

**B (KBo 6.3) i**

(31) *ták-ku ARAD-na-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an QA-AS-SÚ na-aš-ma GÌR-ŠU ku-iš-ki tu-wa-ar-na-zi*

(32) <sup>1</sup>10 GÍN<sup>1</sup> KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i <sup>1</sup>pár-na<sup>1</sup>-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi*

**C (KBo 6.5) i**

(11)<sup>35</sup> ... 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pá-r-na-še-ī[a šu-wa-a-ez-zi]*

<sup>32</sup> The scribe of C accidentally skipped from here to the end of §12; see Hrozný 1922 10f. n. 10, and Güterbock 1961b, 67. Although Archi 1968, 71 is aware that C regularly preserves the subsidiary laws about slaves, he erroneously concludes that it was omitted here.

<sup>33</sup> Or "hand or foot". See CHD *pada-* for discussion.

<sup>34</sup> Melchert 1993, 101 sub *karmalašša-* and by letter notes the use of the Luwian inchoative or imperfective in *-šša-* to mark entry into a state with stative verbs. Hence, the translation "becomes" rather than "is".

<sup>35</sup> Beginning of §12 skipped. See note above on §11.



**K (KUB 29.13) obv.**(6) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku<sup>1</sup>[ ]

§ 12 If anyone breaks a male or female slave's arm or leg, he shall pay 10 (var. 6) shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § XI (= late version of § 12)

**PT (KBo 6.4) i**(30) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku ARAD-an ŠU-SÚ na-aš-ma GÌR-ŠU ku-iš-ki du-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi

(31) na-aš ma-a-an kar-ma-la-aš-ša-i nu-uš-ši 10 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

(32) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku-aš Ú-UL-ma kar-ma-la-aš-ša-i nu-uš-ši 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

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

## § 13

**A (KBo 6.2) i**(24) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku LÚ.Ú<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš EL<sup>1</sup>-LAM-aš KIR<sub>14</sub><sup>1</sup>-še-et ku-iš-ki wa-a-ki <sup>1</sup>11 [MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i](25) pá<sup>1</sup>r-na<sup>1</sup>-aš-še-e-a š[u-wa-i-ez-zi]**B (KBo 6.3) i**(33) <sup>1</sup>ták<sup>1</sup>-ku LÚ.Ú<sub>19</sub>.LU-an EL-LAM<sup>1</sup>KIR<sub>14</sub><sup>1</sup>-še-et ku-iš-ki wa-a-ki 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i(34) pá<sup>1</sup>r-na<sup>1</sup>-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi**C (KBo 6.5) i**(12) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku <UN-an> IL-LAM<sup>36</sup> [KI]R<sub>14</sub><sup>1</sup>-še-et ku-iš-ki wa-a-ki(13) 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a<sup>1</sup>-[i] pá<sup>1</sup>r-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-iz-zi

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

## § XII (=late version of § 13)

**PT (KBo 6.4) i**(33) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku LÚ-an EL-LUM KIR<sub>14</sub><sup>1</sup>-še-et ku-iš-ki wa-a-ki(34) 30 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pá<sup>1</sup>r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi

<sup>36</sup> See Kammenhuber 1961b, 79a. Since such an Akkadian writing of *ellu(m)* is unattested (see AHw and CAD on *ellu*), and the otherwise unmotivated use of the transcription *él* (HZL, p. 148) is inappropriate, this writing might be explained on Hittite phonological terms. In late NH *i*-writings of *e*-containing words are not uncommon. Melchert 1984, 142 on *ki-i-da-ni* for *ke-e-da-ni* ("Only in texts of Tuthaliya IV/Suppiluliuma II do we also find the unambiguous *i*-spelling *ki-i-da*"). See also Singer 1996, 127 with notes 286-287.

§ XII (=late version of § 13) If anyone bites off the nose of a free man, he shall pay 30 minas (i.e., 1,200 shekels)<sup>37</sup> of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 14

(A not preserved in §§ 14-18)

B (KBo 6.3) i

(35) *ták-ku ARAD-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an KIR<sub>14</sub>-še-et ku-iš-ki wa-a-ki* [3] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

(36) *pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi*

C (KBo 6.5) i

(14) *ták-ku ARAD-an na-aš-m[a] GÉME-an KIR<sub>14</sub>-še-et ku-iš-ki wa-a-ki*

(15) 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i [pár]-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-iz-zi*

§ 14 If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female slave, he shall pay 3<sup>38</sup> shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § XIII (=late version of § 14)

PT (KBo 6.4) i

(35) *ták-ku ARAD-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an KIR<sub>14</sub>-še-et ku-iš-ki wa-a-ki*

(36) 15 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

§ XIII (=late version of § 14) If anyone bites off the nose of a male or female slave, he shall pay 15 minas (i.e., 600 shekels)<sup>39</sup> of silver.

## § 15

(A broken away.)

B (KBo 6.3) i

(37) *ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš EL-LAM<-aš> iš-ta-ma-na-aš-ša-an ku-iš-ki iš-kal-la-a-ri*

(38) 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi*

C (KBo 6.5) i

(16) *†tákl-ku UN-an IL-L[A]M GEŠTU-an ku-iš-ki iš-kal-la-a-ri*

(17) [1]2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i [p]ár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-iz-zi*

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

<sup>37</sup> Perhaps a scribal error for "30 shekels". See also in §XIII.

<sup>38</sup> Perhaps an error for "30 shekels". See commentary on §§13-14.

<sup>39</sup> Perhaps a scribal error for "15 shekels".



## § XIV (=late version of § 15)

## PT (KBo 6.4) i

(37) *ták-ku LÚ EL-LUM GEŠTU-an ku-iš-ki iš-gal-la-i 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

§ XIV If anyone tears off the ear of a free man, he shall pay 12 shekels of silver.

## § 16

(A broken away.)

## B (KBo 6.3) i

(39) *ták-ku ARAD-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an GEŠTU-aš-ša-an ku-iš-ki iš-kal-la<sup>1</sup> a-ri 3 [GÍN]  
KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

## C (KBo 6.5) i

(18) *ták-ku ARAD-an na-aš-m[a] GÉME-an GEŠTU-an ku-iš-ki iš-kal-la-a-ri*

(19) *nu-uš-ši 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

§ 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)

## PT (KBo 6.4) i

(38) *ták-ku ARAD-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an GEŠTU-an ku-iš-ki*

(39) *iš-kal-la-i 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

If anyone tears off the ear of a male or female slave, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

## § 17

(A broken away.)

## B (KBo 6.3) i

(40) *[ták-k]u MUNUS-aš EL-LI šar-ḥu-wa-an-du-uš-šu-uš ku-iš-ki p[é-e]š-š[i-i]a-zi*

(41) *[ták-ku] ITU.10.KAM 10<sup>1</sup> GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku«-uš» ITU.5.KAM 5 GÍN  
K[Ù.BABBAR] pa-a-i<sup>1</sup>*

(42) *[pár-na-aš-še-e<sup>1</sup>-a šu-wa-a-i-[ez-]zi*

## C (KBo 6.5) i

(20) *[t]ák-ku MUNUS-an EL-LAM šar-ḥu-u-wa-an-da ku-iš-ki<sup>1</sup>*

(21) *pé-eš-ši-ia-az-zi 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

(22) *[pár<sup>1</sup>-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi*

§ 17 If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, [if] it is her tenth month,<sup>40</sup> he shall pay 10 shekels of silver, if it is her fifth month, he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.<sup>41</sup> He shall look to his house for it.

§ XVI (=late version of § 17)

PT (KBo 6.4) i

(40) *ták-ku MUNUS-TI EL-LI šar-ḥu-u-wa-an-da-an ku-iš-ki*

(41) *pé-eš-še-ia-az-zi 20 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

If anyone causes a free woman to miscarry, he shall pay 20 shekels of silver.

§ 18

(A broken away.)

B (KBo 6.3) i

(43) *ták-ku GÉME-aš šar-ḥu-wa-an-d[u-u]š-šu-uš ku-iš-ki pé-eš[-ši-i]a-zi*

(44) *ták-ku ITU.10.KAM 5 GÍN<sup>1</sup> KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-[i]*

C (KBo 6.5) i

(23) *[t]ák-ku GÉME-an šar-ḥu-u-wa-an-da ku-iš-ki pé-eš-ši-ia-zi*

(24) *10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

§ 18 If anyone causes a female slave to miscarry,<sup>42</sup> if it is her tenth month, he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.

§ XVII (=late version of § 18)

PT (KBo 6.4) i

(42) *ták-ku GÉME-an šar-ḥu-u-wa-an-da-an ku-iš-ki*

(43) *pé-eš-še-ia-az-zi 10 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

§ XVII If anyone causes a female slave to miscarry, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

§ 19a

A (KBo 6.2) i

(36) *[t]ák-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>].LU-an<sup>1</sup> LÚ-na-ku MU[NUS-na-ku URUḪa-at-tu-ša-az ku-iš-ki LÚ URULu-i-iš<sup>43</sup>]*

<sup>40</sup> Friedrich: "[wenn] (es) der 10. Monat (ist)"; similarly Hrozný, Walther, Goetze in ANET, *Imparati*, von Schuler, and Haase. Although the general sense is the same, Archi 1968, 72 strangely takes the implied subject to be the pre-born child: "se (il feto è) di 10 mesi".

<sup>41</sup> The late copy C and the NH version PT make no distinction in the age of the pre-born child, but read: "he shall pay 20 shekels of silver". This shows how late a copy C is; Archi 1968, 72 ("presenta già le varianti del recentissimo Testa parallelo").

<sup>42</sup> Remainder of the § in C (i 24) reads: "he shall pay 10 shekels of silver".

<sup>43</sup> So on analogy with A i 39.



(37) [ta-a]-[i]l-ez-zi na-an A-NA [KUR Lu-ú-i]l-[ia p]é-[e-]hu-te-ez-zi [iš-]ha-aš-ši-ša-an]

(38) ga-ne-eš-zi nu [É]l-er-še-[et]l-pát ar-nu-uz-zi

**B (KBo 6.3) i**

(45) [ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-an LÚ-an-na-ku] MUNUS-na-ku URUHa-at-tu-ša-az ku-iš[-ki] LÚ URULu-ú-i-ia-aš<sup>44</sup>

(46) [ta-a-i-ez-zi na-an] A-NA KUR URUAr-za-u-wa pé-e-]hu-te-ez-zi [i]š-[]ha-aš-ši-ša-an

(47) [ga-ne-eš-zi nu É-er]l-še-et-pát ar-nu-zi

§ 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 owner<sup>45</sup> recognizes him, (the claimant) shall confiscate(?) (lit. bring) his (i.e., the abductor's) own estate (lit. house).<sup>46</sup>

§ 19b

**A (KBo 6.2) i**

(39) [ták-ku URU]Ha-at-]tu]l-ši-pát LÚ URUHa-at-ti LÚ URULu-i-in ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi

(40) [n]a-an A-NA KUR Lu-ú-i-ia pé-]hu-te-ez-zi ka-ru-ú 12 SAG.DU pí-iš-ker

(41) [ki]l-nu-na 6 SAG.DU pa-a-i pá[r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi

**B (KBo 6.3) i**

(47) ták-ku URUHa-at[-tu-]ši-pát] LÚ URUHa-at-ti

(48) [LÚ URULu-ú-i-ia-an] ku-iš-ki da-a-i-ez-zi na-an A-NA [KUR Lu-ú-i-ia pé]<sup>47</sup>-e-]hu-te-ez-zi

(49) ka-ru-ú 12 SAG.DU pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na 6 SAG.DU pa-a-i pá[r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i]-e-ez-zi

§ 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 (lit. heads), but now he shall give 6 persons, and he shall look to his house for it.

<sup>44</sup> Emendation following Friedrich 1959. Text -az. Goetze 1928b, 52 n. 4: -aš?

<sup>45</sup> Since the victim is a free person, "owner" probably indicates only the head of his household.

<sup>46</sup> So translated because of the apparent parallel: *mamman = za = kan kuiški É-er tamaiš arnut man zik UL aršanieše* "If some else had confiscated/appropriated (your) house, would you not be upset?" ABoT 65 rev. 5-6 (MH/MS), cited CHD L-N 141b. Otherwise, one might take the abductor as the subject and translate: "he shall forfeit (lit. bring) his entire estate" (so Hoffner 1995a). In any event *É-er = šet* is neither endless locative, accusative of direction (*pace* HW<sup>2</sup> I 329a following Friedrich "Er bringt ihn nur in sein Haus" against the objection of Güterbock 1961b 67), or nominative (*pace* Neu 1968, 34 n. 6, 1980b, 30 n. 67), but the direct object of *arnu-*.

<sup>47</sup> According to the photo (and against the copy) there is enough space for this restoration.

## § 20

## A (KBo 6.2) i

(42) [ták-ku AR]AD LÚ URUḪa-at-ti IŠ-TU KUR Lu-ú-ia-az<sup>48</sup> LÚ URUḪa-at-ti ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi

(43) [n]a-an A-NA KUR URUḪa-at-ti ú-wa-te-ez-zi iš-ḫa-aš-ši-ša-an ga-né-eš-zi

(44) [1]2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi

## B (KBo 6.3) i

(50) ták-ku ARAD LÚ URUḪa-at-ti IŠ-TU KUR URULu-ú-i-ia-az LÚ URUḪa-at-ti [i ku-iš-ki] da-a-i-ez-zi

(51) [n]a-an A-NA KUR URUḪa-at-ti ú-wa-te-ez-zi iš-ḫa-aš-ši-ša-an [ga-ne-e]š-zi<sup>49</sup>

(52) nu-uš-ši 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-[i-ez]-zi

§ 20 If a Hittite man abducts a male slave belonging to a(nother) Hittite man from the land of Luwiya, and leads him here to the land of Hatti, and subsequently his (i.e., the abducted person's) owner recognizes him, the abductor shall pay him 12 shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 21

## A (KBo 6.2) i

(45) [ták-k]u ARAD LÚ URULu-ú-i-u-ma-na-aš<sup>50</sup> IŠ-TU KUR Lu-ú-ia-az<sup>1</sup> ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi

(46) na-an A-NA KUR URUḪa-at-ti ú-wa-te-ez-zi iš-ḫa-aš-ši-ša-an ga-né-eš-zi

(47) nu-uz-za ARAD-SÚ-pát da-a-i šar-ni-ik-zi-<sup>1</sup>il<sup>1</sup> NU.GÁL<sup>1</sup>

## B (KBo 6.3) i

(53) [ták<sup>1</sup>-ku ARAD LÚ URULu-i-um-na<sup>1</sup>-aš IŠ-TU [KUR<sup>1</sup> URULu-ú-i-ia-az ku-iš-ki] da-a-i-e]z-zi

(54) na-an A-NA [KUR URUḪa<sup>1</sup>-at-ti ú-wa-te-ez-zi iš-ḫa-aš-ši-ša-an [ga-ne-e]š-zi<sup>51</sup>

(55) nu-za ARAD-SÚ-pát da-a<sup>1</sup>-i šar-ni-ik-zi-<sup>1</sup>il<sup>1</sup> [NU.GÁL]

§ 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 take only his own slave, there shall be no compensation.

## § 22

## A (KBo 6.2) i

(48) [ták-ku ARAD-aš ḫu-wa-a-i na-an a-ap-pa ku-iš-ki ú-wa-te-ez-zi ták-ku ma-an-ni-in-ku-an e-e[p-z]i

<sup>48</sup> IŠTU with a formal Hittite ablative is somewhat unusual. One expects IŠ-TU KUR Lu-ú-ia. In both §§20-21 the NS copy B replaces KUR L. with KUR URUL., although there is no evidence of a city by this name.

<sup>49</sup> Following B i 47 (§19), instead of ka-ni-iš-zi B iii 44 (§62).

<sup>50</sup> For the ethnonim in -um(a)na- see Friedrich 1960a, §50b. The form here is gen. sg.

<sup>51</sup> Following B i 47 (§19), instead of ka-ni-iš-zi B iii 44 (§62).



(49) *nu-uš-še* KUŠE.SIR-uš *pa-a-i ták-ku ke-e-et* ÍD-az 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

(50) *ták-ku e-di* ÍD-az *nu-uš-še* 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

**B (KBo 6.3) i**

(56) *ták-ku* ARAD-aš *hu-u-wa-i*<sup>1</sup> *na-an* EGIR-*pa ku-iš-ki ú-wa-te-ez-zi* *t[ák-ku ma-an-ni-in-ku-an]*.

(57) *e-ep-zi nu-uš-ši* KUŠE.SIR<sup>1</sup>-uš *pa-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-i ták-ku ke-e-<sup>1</sup>ez* ÍD-az 2<sup>1</sup> [GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*]

(58) *ták-ku e-di* ÍD-az *nu-uš-ši* 3 GÍN<sup>1</sup> KÙ.BABBAR [*pa-a-i*]

§ 22a If a male slave runs away, and someone brings him back, if he captures him nearby, he shall give him (i.e., the finder) shoes. § 22b If (he captures 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.

§ 23

**A (KBo 6.2) i**

(51) *[tá]k-ku* ARAD-aš *hu-wa-a-i na-aš A-NA* KUR Lu-*ú-i<sup>1</sup>-ia pa-<sup>1</sup>iz-zi<sup>1</sup> ku-i-ša-an a-ap-pa ú-wa<sup>1</sup>-  
[e-ez-zi]*

(52) *nu-uš-še* 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i ták-ku* ARAD-aš *hu-wa-a-i na-aš A-NA* KUR *ku<sup>1</sup>-u-ru-ri  
an<sup>1</sup>-[da]*

(53) *pa-iz-zi ku-i-ša-an a-ap-pa-ma ú-wa-te-ez-zi na-an-za a-pa-a-aš-pát da-<sup>1</sup>a-<sup>1</sup>*

**B (KBo 6.3) i**

(59) *ták-ku* ARAD-iš *hu-u-wa-i<sup>1</sup> na-[aš A-NA K]UR URUL[u-ú-i-ia pa-iz-zi ku-i-ša-an EGIR-pa]*

(60) *ú-wa-te-ez-zi nu-uš-še<sup>1</sup> 6 GÍ[N K]Ù.<sup>1</sup>BABBAR pa-a-i<sup>1</sup> ták[-ku ARAD-aš hu-u-wa-i]*

(61) *na-aš ku-ru-ri-i KUR-e pa-iz-z[i ku]-<sup>1</sup>i-ša-an EGIR<sup>1</sup>-[pa-ma ú-wa-te-ez-zi]*

(62) *na-an-za-an a-pa-a-aš-pát<sup>1</sup> [da-]a-[i]*

§ 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

**A (KBo 6.2) i**

(54) *[tá]k-<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup> ARAD-aš na-aš-ma GÉME-aš hu-wa-a-i iš-<sup>1</sup>ha-aš-ši-ša-<sup>1</sup>an ku-e<sup>1</sup>-el ha-aš-ši-i ú-e-mi-  
[ez-zi]*

(55) LÚ-na-aš *ku-uš-ša-an* ITU.1.KAM 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i* MUNUS-ša-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>52</sup> *ku-ša-an*  
ITU.1.KAM 6 GÍN K[Ù.BABBAR] *pa-a-i*

<sup>52</sup> MUNUS-š = a = ma is difficult, since it supposes two enclitics which belong in the same slot. Yet the signs are clear in A i 55, and Hrozný claimed to see them also in B i 65. Compare: KUB 55.38 iii 16 *pankuš = a = ma* GAM-an QĀTAMMA SĪR-R[U], which however in view of the parallel in KUB 25.38:5-6 ought to be read *pa-an-ku-ša-aš = ma = aš* GAM-an; cf. CHD P *pa(n)ku-* B 2. A reading MUNUS-ša *ku<sup>1</sup>-uš<sup>1</sup>-ša-an* (Melchert by



## B (KBo 6.3) i

(63) [ták-ku ARAD-iš na-aš-ma GÉME<sup>1</sup>-aš [hu-ú-wa-i] iš-ḫa-aš-ši<sup>1</sup>-š[a-an ku-e-el ḫa-aš-ši-i]

(64) [ú-e-mi-ia<sup>1</sup>-zi LÚ-na-aš [ku-u]š-š[a-a]n ŠA MU.1.[KAM 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(65) MUN[US-š]a-[ma ku-uš-ša-an ŠA<sup>1</sup> [MU.1.KAM] 50!<sup>53</sup> GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

§ 24 If a male or female slave runs away, he/she at whose hearth his/her owner finds him/her shall pay one month's wages: 12 shekels of silver for a man, 6 shekels of silver for a woman.<sup>54</sup>

## § 25

## A (KBo 6.2) i

(56) [ták-ku] LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš DUGÚTUL-i na-aš-ma lu-li-ia pa-[ap<sup>1</sup>-re-ez-zi] ka<sup>1</sup>-ru-ú

(57) [6 GÍ]N<sup>55</sup> KÙ.BABBAR pí-iš-ker pa-ap-re-ez-zi ku-iš 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

(58) [LUGAL<sup>?</sup>56-w]a-an-na pár-na 3 GÍN<sup>1</sup> KÙ.BABBAR da-aš-ke-e-er ki-nu-na LUGAL-uš<sup>1</sup> ŠA É.GAL-LIM

(59) [pé-eš-ši-e]t ku-iš pa-ap-[re-ez-zi] nu a-pa-a-aš-pát [3?] G[ÍN KÙ.BA]BBAR<sup>†</sup> pa-a-i pár-[na-aš-še<sup>1</sup>-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi]

## B (KBo 6.3) i

(66) [ták-ku] [LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš DUGÚTUL<sup>1</sup>-[i na-aš-ma lu-li-ia] pa-ap-[re-ez-zi]

(67) [ka-ru-ú 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pé-eš-ker pa-ap-re-ez-zi] k[u-iš 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(68)<sup>57</sup> [A-NA É.GAL-LIM<sup>58</sup> 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR da-aš-ke-e-er ki-nu-na LUGAL-uš ŠA É.GAL-LIM pé-eš-ši-et ku-iš pa-ap-re-ez-zi]

(69) [nu a-pa-a-aš-pát 3? GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e]-a šu-w[a-i-ez-zi]

letter) would nicely relieve two difficulties, the second being the non-geminate writing of *kuššan*. As we have indicated elsewhere, copy A is no "original", since it shows its own copying errors elsewhere. If we assume an archetype which read *MUNUS-ša ku-uš-ša-an*, Hrozný's KBo copy would require us to assume also that the scribe of A wrongly inserted word space before his *ku-ša-an*, a third error in the same short line. But here the photo seems to go against the copy. Furthermore, in the photo Hrozný's *-ma* looks more like a *-ša* or (even better) an *-uš*. If it were the latter, we could assume metathesis: *uš-ku-ša-an* for *ku-uš-ša-an*.

<sup>53</sup> The number must be 50, since 40 shekels would be written 1 MA.NA (Güterbock 1961b, 67-68).

<sup>54</sup> So the Old Hittite manuscript; NH substitutes: "shall pay one year's wages: 2½ minas (=100 shekels) of silver for a man, 50 shekels of silver for a woman." See Archi 1968, 72.

<sup>55</sup> Restoration from L<sub>2</sub> (KBo 12.49) ii 2.

<sup>56</sup> Since this line is indented, space allows [LUGAL-w]a- but probably not [ḫa-aš-šu-w]a-.

<sup>57</sup> This line is completely obliterated. The wording of the restoration is based on the other copies, but the space required for it seems more than what is available, judging from the lengths of adjacent lines. Perhaps there were actually two closely spaced lines obliterated in B, "68a" and "68b".

<sup>58</sup> The restoration [A-NA É.GAL-LIM] is based upon the similar wording of §9. Note that even A reverts from *ḫaššuwana = a parna* to logographic ŠA É.GAL-LIM in the second half of i 58.



**L<sub>2</sub> (KBo 12.49) ii**

- (1) [ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš DUGÚTUL-i n]a-aš-ma l[u-li-ia]  
 (2) [pa-ap-re-eš-zi ka-ru-]l'ú<sup>1</sup> 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BA[BBAR pé-eš-ker]  
 (3) [ku-iš pár-ku-e-eš-z]i<sup>59</sup> 3 'GÍN KÙ<sup>1</sup>.BABBAR d[a-a-i]  
 (4) [A-NA É.GAL-LIM 3 GÍN.GÍ]N KÙ.BABBAR da-aš-ke-e[r ...]  
 (5) [ki-nu-na? ...] ku-iš pár-ku-e-eš-z[i ...]  
 (6) [... pár-na-aš-š]e-e-a šu-wa-a-[ez-zi]

§ 25a [If] a person is/becomes impure (i.e., brings impurity?) in a vessel or a vat,<sup>60</sup> formerly they used to pay 6 shekels of silver: s/he who is impure pays 3 shekels of silver,<sup>61</sup> and they used to take 3 shekels for the [king]s' house. § 25b But now the king has [waived] the palace's share. S/he who is impure only pays 3 shekels of silver.<sup>62</sup> S/he shall look to his/her house for it.

**§ 26a****A (KBo 6.2) i**

- (60) [ták-ku o o o o -]da-lu?-uš i-e-zi DAM?<sup>1</sup>[o - o] x [ ]zi?<sup>1</sup>  
 (61)[ ]x[ ]-i<sup>1</sup>  
 (62)[ ]-a-mu[- ]x-x  
 (63)[ ]x[ ]x  
 (64)[ ]x[ ]

**J (KUB 26.56) ii 1-3 (=L<sub>2</sub> (KBo 12.49) ii 11-13)**

- (1) ták-ku-za MUNUS-za LÚ-an m[i-im-ma-iš<sup>63</sup> nu-uš-ši LÚ-aš ]  
 (2) pa-a-i Û ŠA NUMUN.ĪI.A-aš k[u-uš-ša-an<sup>64</sup> MUNUS-za da-a-i A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A.]  
 (3) Û DUMU.MEŠ<sup>65</sup> LÚ-pát [da-a-i<sup>66</sup> ]

**B (KBo 6.3) i**

- (70) [...]x A.ŠÀ-i[a Û DUMU.MEŠ LÚ-aš-pát da-a-i]

<sup>59</sup> L<sub>2</sub> shows here the same opposition to the readings of A as below in §25b.

<sup>60</sup> Starke (1977, 56) claims that the Hittite wording cannot support a literal translation "brings impurity into a vessel or vat", since the directional case in -a is not used, yet other examples of the locative occur in OS copy A with precisely this force (*pahhueni peššiezzi* §44a, A.ŠÀ-ni pānzi §79). The act referred to must be urinating or in some other manner defiling the vessel and its contents.

<sup>61</sup> L<sub>2</sub> reads "[s/he who i]s [pure/innocent] ta[kes] 3 shekels of silver".

<sup>62</sup> L<sub>2</sub> reads: "[Now(?) ...] s/he who is pure/innocent(?) [takes ...]".

<sup>63</sup> L<sub>2</sub> ii 11 reads: šu-wa-a[-iz-zi] "[But if a woman] divorces".

<sup>64</sup> L<sub>2</sub> ii 12.

<sup>65</sup> L<sub>2</sub> ii 13: [... DUMU].MEŠ-ia-za.

<sup>66</sup> L<sub>2</sub> ii 13: [... DUMU.]MEŠ-ia-za LÚ-aš d[a-a-i].

(71) [ták-ku LÚ-ša MUNUS-an šu-wa-a-ez-z]i na-an-za[-an ha-ap-ra-iz-zi wa-a-ši-an]

(72) [ku-iš nu-uš-ši 12 GÍN pa-a-i ]-zi[ ]

(73) [... šu-ul-la-an]-na-az-za [ ]

(74) [... i-wa-ru-še-t]a-az LÚ-aš [Ú-UL da-a-i]

#### L<sub>2</sub> (KBo 12.49) ii

(7) [ták-ku o o o o]-ia-zi nu?-uš?<sup>67</sup> A-N[A- ]

(8) [ nu-u]š-ši [L]Ú<sup>68</sup>da-i-i[a-an-da-an ]

(9) [ták-ku-za ] x-x MUNUS-an [šu-wa-a-ez-zi ]

(10) [ ] na-an-za-an ha[-ap-ra-iz-zi wa-a-ši-an ku-iš ]

(11) [ták-ku-za MUNUS-za LÚ]-an šu-wa-a[-iz-zi nu-uš-ši LÚ-aš ... pa-a-i]

(12) [Ú ŠA NUMUN.HI.A-aš k]u-uš-ša-an [MUNUS-za da-a-i]

(13) [A.ŠÀ ... Û DUMU].MEŠ-ia-za LÚ-aš d[a-a-i ...]

§ 26a<sup>69</sup> If a woman re[fuses]<sup>70</sup> a man, [the man] shall give [to her ...], and [the woman shall take] a wage for her seed.<sup>71</sup> But the man [shall take the land] and the children. [...]

#### § 26b

#### J (KUB 26.56) ii 4-5 (=L<sub>2</sub> (KBo 12.49) ii 9-10)

(4) [ták-ku-za LÚ-ša MUNUS-an šu-ú-iz-zi<sup>72</sup> ]

(5) [na-an<sup>73</sup> ha-ap-ra-iz-zi w[a-a-ši-an ku-iš nu-uš-ši 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i].

§ 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.

#### § 26c

#### C (KBo 6.5) ii

(2) [ták-ku[-za LÚ-ša MUNUS-an] šu-wa-a[-iz-zi na-an ha-ap-ra-iz-zi wa-a-ši-an]

(3) [ku-iš [nu-uš-ši] 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa[-a-i ]]

§ 26c If [a man] div[orces] a woman, he shall sell her.] He who [buys her shall] pa[y] him 12 shekels of silver.

<sup>67</sup> So according to photo, rather than Û.

<sup>68</sup> Reading these signs by the photo.

<sup>69</sup> My translation follows J. Copy L<sub>2</sub> appears to have the contents of J 26a and b in reverse order.

<sup>70</sup> L<sub>2</sub> ii 11 reads: "divorces".

<sup>71</sup> I.e., she shall be paid for the number of children she has borne?

<sup>72</sup> C ii 2: šu-wa-a[-iz-zi ...].

<sup>73</sup> L<sub>2</sub> ii 10: na-an-za-an.



## § 27

## J (KUB 26.56) ii

- (6) *ták-ku LÚ-aš DAM-ŠU da-a-i* [*na-an pá-r-na-aš-ša pé-e-ḥu-te-ez-zi*]  
 (7) *i-w[a]-a-ru-še-ta-az*<sup>74</sup> *an-da pé-e-d[a-i ták-ku MUNUS-za a-pí-ia a-ki]*  
 (8) *LÚ-na-aš a-aš-šu-še-et wa-a[r-nu-an-zi]*<sup>75</sup> *i-wa-ru-še-ta-az LÚ-aš*  
 (9) [*da-a-i*] *ma-a-n[a-aš at-ta-aš-ša-ša É-ri a-ki Û DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU? a-ša-an-zi?]*  
 (10) [*i-w*] *a-ru[-uš-še-et LÚ-aš Û-UL da-a-i]*

## B (KBo 6.3) i 75, ii 1-4

- (75) [*ták-ku LÚ-aš DAM-ŠU da-a-i na*<sup>76</sup>*-an pá-r-na-aš-ša*<sup>77</sup>] *pé-e-ḥu-[te-ez-zi]*<sup>78</sup>  
 (1) *i-wa-ru-uš-še-et-az*<sup>79</sup> *an-da [pé-e-da-a*<sup>80</sup>*]-i ták-ku MUNUS-za a-[pí-ia a-ki LÚ-na-aš]*  
 (2) *a-aš-šu-še-et wa-ar-nu-an-zi*<sup>81</sup> *i-wa-ru-še-ta-az LÚ-[aš da-a-i]*  
 (3) *ták-ku-aš at-ta-aš-ša-ša É-ri a-ki Û*<sup>1</sup> *DUMU.MEŠ-Š[U? a-ša-an-zi?]*  
 (4) *i-wa-ru-uš-še-et LÚ-aš na-at-ta* [*da-a-i*]

## C (KBo 6.5) ii

- (4) *ták-ku LÚ-aš* [DAM-ŠU] *da-a-i* [na-an] [*pár-na-aš-ša*]  
 (5) *pé-e-ḥu-te-ez-zi i-wa-ru-uš-ši-[ta-az]*  
 (6) *an-da pé-e-da-a-i ták-ku MUNUS-za* [a<sup>1</sup>]-[*pí-ia a-ki*]  
 (7) *na-aš LÚ-aš*<sup>82</sup> *a-aš-šu-še-et BIL-n[u-an-zi]*<sup>83</sup> *i-wa-ru-še-ta-az*

<sup>74</sup> Or, without emending, perhaps *iwāru = a = z*, for more "correct" *i-wa-a-ru-ia-az*. But see the footnote below on *i-wa-ru-uš-še-et-az* in B ii 2.

<sup>75</sup> Or perhaps *wa-a[r-nu-zi ...]* see Commentary.

<sup>76</sup> Restoration from C ii 4 and J ii 6.

<sup>77</sup> Restored from L<sub>2</sub> ii 14.

<sup>78</sup> Restored from C ii 5.

<sup>79</sup> A spelling reflecting morphological juncture. But perhaps read *-še-ta?-az*, considering C ii 5: *i-wa-ru-uš-ši-[ta-az]*; J ii 7: *i-wa-a-ru-še-ta-az* (cf. J ii 8: *a-aš-šu-še-et*).

<sup>80</sup> Restored from C ii 6.

<sup>81</sup> B ii 2 and L<sub>2</sub> ii 16 have the plural *warnu(w)anzi*, while in C: *na-aš LÚ-aš a-aš-šu-š[e]-et BIL[-nu-zi?]* "he (namely) the man [shall] burn her personal possessions (on the funeral pyre)" (cf. Hoffner 1974 33), may be a permitted exception to Watkins' rule (cf. Garrett 1990a), according to which the *-aš* should not be a subject pronoun in a clause containing a transitive verb. Otherwise, the *-aš* in *na-aš* must be the direct object, although it would be in apposition to *a-aš-šu-še-et* which has the opposite grammatical gender!

<sup>82</sup> *LÚ-aš* C ii 7 and *LÚ-na-aš* J ii 8 without preserved verb ending in their clauses could be either nominative singular or genitive. But since J is older in its ductus than B, and the latter preserves the plural ending of *warnuanzi*, I reconstruct the OH form of the law as asyndetic *LÚ-na-aš* (gen.) *a-aš-šu-še-et wa-ar-nu-an-zi*, and assume that C confused it by first replacing asyndeton with *na-aš*.

<sup>83</sup> Or perhaps *BIL-n[u-an-zi ...]*. See Commentary.

(8) LÚ-aš da-a-i ták-ku-aš [a]d-da-aš-š[a-aš-ša É-ri a-ki]

(9) DUMU.NITA-ši i-wa-ru-ši-it LÚ-aš Ú-U[L da-a-i]

**L<sub>2</sub> (KBo 12.49) ii**

(14) [ták-ku LÚ-aš DAM-SÚ da-a-i na-a]n pá-r-na-aš-š[a ]

(15) [pé-e-ḫu-te-ez-zi i-wa-a-ru-še-ta-a]z an-da [pé-e-da-i]

(16) [ták-ku MUNUS-za a-pí-ia a-ki a-aš-ša-]u-wa<sup>84</sup> [wa-ar-nu-...-zi]<sup>85</sup>

§ 27 If a man takes his wife and leads [her] away to his house, he shall carry her dowry in (to his house).<sup>86</sup> If the woman [dies] th[ere] (in his house), they shall burn the personal possessions of the man,<sup>87</sup> and the man shall take her dowry. If she dies in her father's house, and she [has] children,<sup>88</sup> the man shall not [take] her dowry.

§ 28

**A (KBo 6.2) ii**

(1) x-x[ ]

(2) mi-im-ma-a[n-zi ]

**B (KBo 6.3) ii**

(5) ták-ku [DUMU].MUNUS LÚ-ni ta-ra-an-za ta-ma-i-ša-an pít-te-nu-[u]z-z[i ku-uš-ša-an]

(6) pít-te-nu-uz-zi-ma nu ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-ia-aš LÚ-aš ku-it ku-<sup>l</sup>it<sup>l</sup> p[é-eš-ta]

(7) ta-aš-še šar-ni-ik-zi at-ta-aš-ša an-na-aš Ú-UL šar-ni-in-ká[n-zi]<sup>89</sup>

(8) ták-ku-wa-an at-ta-aš an-na-aš-ša ta-me-e-da-ni LÚ-ni pí-an-z[i]

(9) nu at-ta-aš an-na-aš-ša šar-ni-in-kán-zi ták-ku at-ta-aš-ša an-na-aš

(10) mi-im-ma-i na-an-ši-kán tu-uḫ-ša-an-<sup>l</sup>ta<sup>l</sup>

<sup>84</sup> In the published copy there is no word-space between this *wa* and the preceding sign. An adjectival writing of "goods"? Or should we ignore the apparent lack of word space and read [... a-aš-šu-]u wa[-ar-nu...]?

<sup>85</sup> Or perhaps: (16) [a-pí-ia a-ki o-o a-aš-šu wa-ar-n]u-wa[-an-zi]. There is space for about 12 signs before -n]u- (or -]u. In either case there does not seem to be space for LÚ-aš a-aš-šu-še-et (or na-aš LÚ-aš a-aš-šu) in this line unless *a-pí-ia* is moved up to the end of the preceding line, which with *ták-ku* MUNUS-za already has too much restored at the end.

<sup>86</sup> He has custody and control, but not legal ownership of the dowry.

<sup>87</sup> That this clause is not part of the protasis, as is [Ú] DUMU.MEŠ-š[U? a-ša-an-zi?] of the following line, is clear from the use of *-a* at the beginning of the next clause (*i-<sup>l</sup>wa-ru-še<sup>l</sup>-ta-az*). Clauses introduced by *-a* do not begin apodoses in the laws.

<sup>88</sup> C ii 9 "(and) she has a son".

<sup>89</sup> C ii 13-14: "[But he (the eloper)] shall not make compensation.". This restoration would seem to follow from the preceding clause, although occasionally *attaš annaš* take a singular verb (B ii 10 *mimmai*, C iii 2 *šar-ni-i[k-zi]*).



## C (KBo 6.5) ii 10-14, iii 1-5

(10) *ták-ku* DUMU.MUNUS LÚ-*i da-ra-an-za ta-m*[*a-i-ša-an*](11) *pít-te-nu-zi ku-uš-ša-[a]*<sup>90</sup> *pít-te-n*[*u-zi-ma nu*](12) IGI-*zi-iš* LÚ-*aš k*[*u-i*]*t ku*[-*it pé-eš-ta*](13) *na-at-za šar-ni-en-kán-zi* [*a-pa-a-aš-za*(?)](14) *Ú-UL šar-ni-ik-zi* [*t*]*ák-<sup>l</sup>ku-an<sup>l</sup>* [*at-ta-aš an-na-aš-ša*](1) *da-a-me-e-da-ni* LÚ-*i pí-a*[*n-zi*](2) *nu ad-da-aš an!*<sup>91</sup>*na-aš šar-ni-e*[*n-kán-zi*]<sup>92</sup> §(3) *ták-ku at-ti-ma an-<sup>l</sup>ni Ú-UL a-aš-š*[*u*](4) *na-an-za-an pít-te*[-*nu-z*]*i ku-iš na-an-ši-k*[*án*](5) *túh-ša-an-<sup>l</sup>zi<sup>l</sup>*

§ 28a If a daughter (or: young woman) has been promised to a man, but another (man) runs off with her, as soon as he runs off with her, he shall compensate<sup>93</sup> the first man for whatever he g[ave].<sup>94</sup> The father and mother (of the woman)<sup>95</sup> 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),<sup>96</sup> they shall separate her from him.<sup>97</sup>

## § XX

## PT (KBo 6.4) ii

(8) *ták-ku* LÚ-*i*[ ](9) *ku-i*-[ ](10) *píd-da*[ ]§ XX (=late version of § 28) [*Too broken for connected translation.*]

<sup>90</sup> Emended to *ku-iš<sup>l</sup>-ša-[a<sup>l</sup>n* "he who ... her" by Goetze apud Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935, 226 and CHD -*ma* f 2'a'1", contra the copy's *ku-uš-ša-[a]*<sup>n</sup> "as soon as". A restored *ku-iš-ša-an* might work in B, but such a reading does not fit in C. On this problem see Commentary.

<sup>91</sup> Text: *pár-*.

<sup>92</sup> So the copy, according with ii 13. But the traces after <sup>l</sup>*šar<sup>l</sup>-* in the photo do not resemble *-ni-e*[*n-*.

<sup>93</sup> C ii 13 reads "they (i.e., her parents) shall make compensation".

<sup>94</sup> The correction of C ii 11 *ku-iš*(!, text: *uš*)-*ša-an* we owe to Goetze apud Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 226; cf. CHD -*ma* f 2' a' 1". C reads: "As soon as he runs off with her, (her parents) shall make compensation for whatever the first man gave. [He (i.e., the abductor)] shall not make compensation."

<sup>95</sup> C ii 13-14 reads: "but he (i.e., the abductor) shall not make compensation".

<sup>96</sup> C iii 3 reads: "But if it is not the wish of the father and mother".

<sup>97</sup> C iii 4 adds: "who runs off with her".

## § XXI

## PT (KBo 6.4) ii

- (11) *ták-ku-an* ]  
 (12) *nu at-[ta-aš* ]

§ XXI [*Too broken for connected translation.*]

## § 29

(§§ 29-31 appear to be lacking in A.)

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

- (11) *ták-ku DUMU.MUNUS-aš LÚ-ni ha-me-in-kán-za nu-uš-ši ku-ú-ša-ta píd-da-iz-zi*  
 (12) *ap-pé-ez-zi-na-at at-ta-aš an-na-aš hu-ul-la-an-zi na-an-kán LÚ-ni*  
 (13) *túh-ša-an-zi ku-ú-ša-ta-ma 2-ŠU šar-ni-in<sup>1</sup>-kán-zi*

## C (KBo 6.5) iii

- (6) *ták-ku MUNUS-TUM LÚ-ni ha-am-me-en-kán-za*  
 (7) *nu-uš-ši ku-ša-a-ta píd-da-a-an EGIR-zi-[na-at]*  
 (8) *ad-da-aš an-na-aš hu-u-ul-la-an-zi*  
 (9) *na-an-kán A-NA LÚ-LIM túh-hu-iš-ša-[an-zi]*  
 (10) *ku-ú-ša-a-ta 2-ŠÚ šar-ni-ik-zi*

§ 29 If a daughter has been betrothed (lit. bound) to a man, and he pays a brideprice for her, but afterwards the father and mother contest it (sc. the agreement), they may separate her from the man, but<sup>98</sup> they<sup>99</sup> shall restore the brideprice double.

## PT (KBo 6.4) ii

- (13) *ták-ku DUMU.MU[NUS* ]  
 (14) *EGIR-zi-[na-at* ]  
 (15) *na-an-kán* [ ]  
 (16) *3-ŠU* ]

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

## § 30

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

- (14) *ták-ku LÚ-ša DUMU.MUNUS na-ú-i da-a-i na-an-za mi-im-ma-i ku-ú-ša-ta-ma*  
 (15) *ku-it píd-da-a-it na-aš-kán ša-me-en-zi*

<sup>98</sup> B ii 13's *ku-ú-ša-ta-ma* makes its clause coordinate with the preceding one, forcing us to include the preceding one in the apodosis. By eliminating the *-ma*, C allows the apodosis to begin with *ku-ú-ša-a-ta*.

<sup>99</sup> C iii 10 has a singular verb.



## C (KBo 6.5) iii

- (11) [ták-ku LÚ-ša DUMU.MUN]US na-a-wi<sub>5</sub> d[a-a-i]  
 (12) [na-an-za mi-im-ma]-i ku-ú<sup>1</sup>-[ša-a-ta-ma ku-it píd-da-a-it]  
 (13) [na-aš-kán ša-me-en-zi]

§ 30 But if before the man has taken the daughter (sexually) he refuses her, he shall forfeit the brideprice which he has paid.

## PT (KBo 6.4) ii

- (17) ták-ku LÚ-aš DUMU.MUNUS[ ]  
 (18) ku-ša-ta-ma ku-i[t ]

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

## § 31

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

- (16) ták-ku LÚ-aš EL-LUM GÉME-aš-ša <sup>1</sup>šil-e-l<sup>1</sup>e-eš na-at an-da a-ra-an-zi  
 (17) na-an-za A-NA DAM-ŠU da-a-i nu-za É-er Û DUMU.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-en-zi  
 (18) ap-pé-ez-zi-an-na-at-kán na-aš-šu i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi  
 (19) na-aš-ma-at-kán ḫar-pa-an-ta-ri nu-za É-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>r ták-ša-an šar-ra-an-zi  
 (20) DUMU.MEŠ-az LÚ-aš da-a-i 1 <sup>1</sup>DUMU-AM<sup>1</sup> MUNUS-za da-a-i

§ 31 If a free man and a female slave are lovers(?) and come together (i.e., live together), and he takes her as his wife, and they make a house and children, but (if) 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.

## § XXIVa

## PT (KBo 6.4) ii

- (19) ták-ku LÚ MUNUS-ia DA[M-an-ni an-da a-ra-an-zi]  
 (20) nu-uš-ma-aš É-er <sup>100</sup>Û DUMU.MEŠ i-ia-an-zi]  
 (21) EGIR-an-ma-aš EN-iz-[zi-ia-at-ta-ri ZI-an-za na-aš-ma-at ḫar-pa-an-ta-ri]  
 (22) nu-za É-er LÚ-aš-š[a MUNUS-za-ša ták-ša-an šar-ra-an-zi]  
 (23) a-pé-e-el ŠA L[Ú ...]

<sup>100</sup> Hrozný 1922, 86 read É-ir i[-en-zi]. The photo in Hrozný 1922, plate xiv shows a little piece of the tablet which had fallen off by the time the photo in Neufeld 1951 plate vii was taken. The earlier photo preserves the -er, but nothing of the i- which Hrozný thought he saw.

§ XXIVa (=late version of § 31) If a (free) man and woman [come together in] ma[rriage], and [they make] for themselves a house [and children], but afterwards s/he [becomes] angry, or they each find a new marriage partner, the man [and woman shall divide the house equally], and [...] of that man [...].

## § XXV

## PT (KBo 6.4) ii

(24) *ták-ku LÚ-aš É-er* [...]

(25)<sup>101</sup> *nu-za ŠA É-TIM MUNUS-TUM-m*[a ...]

(26) *LÚ-an na-aš-šu* [...]

(27) *ú-e-mi-ia*-[...]

(28) *MUNUS-TUM-ma-kán* [...]

(29) *e-eš-še-eš-ta* [...]

(30) *ma-a-an LÚ-m*[a ...]

(31) *na-at-kán* [...]

§ XXV (=late version of § 31) [*Too broken for connected translation.*]

## § 32

## A (KBo 6.2) ii

(3)<sup>102</sup> *ták-ku ARAD-aš MUNUS-n*[a-an da-a-i nu-uz-za DUMU.MEŠ i-en-zi ma-a-an É-ŠU-NU šar-ra-an-zi]

(4) *a-aš-šu-uš-še-me*-[et *ha-an-ti ha-an-ti š*]ar-ra-an-zi m[e-e]k-[ku-uš<sup>103</sup> DUMU.MEŠ MUNUS-za da-a-i]

(5)<sup>104</sup> *Ú 1 DUMU-AM* [ARAD-aš] d[a-a-i]

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

(21) *ták-ku-za ARAD-iš MUNUS-an E*[L<-LAM>-i]n<sup>105</sup> [da-a-i] *DI-IN-ŠU-NU QA-TAM-MA-pát*

§ 32 (Translation of A) If a male slave [takes] a (free) woman (in marriage), [and they have children, when they divide their household,] they shall divide their possessions [equally, and the free woman shall take] most of [the children,] with [the male slave taking] one child.

(B:) "If a male slave takes a f[re]e woman (in marriage), their case is the very same."

<sup>101</sup> This line is written over an erasure. And since what has been replaced is longer than the erased material, the signs *nu-za ŠA* are written in the intercolumnium.

<sup>102</sup> Post-paragraph-initial lines are indented.

<sup>103</sup> This portion of A, not copied in KBo 6.2, is preserved on the photo in Hrozný 1922 plate v.

<sup>104</sup> For A ii 6 see §35.

<sup>105</sup> Friedrich: D[AM-i]n. But acc. sg. DAM-an in Huqq. iii 64 shows that the Hittite word for "wife" was an a-stem, not an i-stem, whereas the reading of EL<-LAM>-in would be *arawannin*.



§ 33<sup>106</sup>

## A (KBo 6.2) ii

(7) *ták-ku* ARAD-aš GÉME-an da-a-i nu-uz-za [DUMU.MEŠ i-en-z]i ma-a-an É-ŠU-NU<sup>107</sup> šar[-ra-an-zi]

(8) *a-aš-šu-uš-še-me-et* ḥa-an-ti ḥ[a-an-ti] šar-r[a-a]n-zi me-ek-ku-uš [DUMU.MEŠ GÉME-aš da-a-i]

(9) *Ú 1* DUMU-AM ARAD-aš da-a-i

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

(22) *ták-ku-za* ARAD-iš GÉME-an da-a-i DI-IN-ŠU-NU QA-<sup>1</sup>TAM<sup>1</sup>-MA-pát

§ 33 (A) If a male slave takes a female slave (in marriage), and [they have children], when [they] divide their household, they shall divide their goods equ[al]ly, and [the female slave shall take] most of [the children,] with the male slave taking one child.

(Translation of B) If a male slave takes a female slave (in marriage), their case is just the same.

## § 34

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

(23) *ták-ku* ARAD-iš <sup>1</sup>A-NA<sup>1</sup> MUNUS-TIM ku-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-ša-ta <sup>1</sup>píd-da-a-iz-zi<sup>1</sup> na-an-za

(24) *A-NA* DAM-ŠU <sup>1</sup>da-a-i<sup>1</sup> na-an-kán pa-ra-a Ú-UL ku-<sup>1</sup>iš-ki tar<sup>1</sup>-na-i

§ 34 If a male slave pays a brideprice for a woman and takes her as his wife, no one shall change her social status.<sup>108</sup>

## § XXVI

## PT (KBo 6.4) ii

(32) *ták-ku* ARAD-i[š.....]

(33) *na-an-za* DA[M-an-ni da-a-i.....]

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

<sup>106</sup> Readings of the right ends of lines taken from Hrozný 1922, plate V.

<sup>107</sup> So on the photo, rather than the expected -ŠU-NU. The signs -z]i ma-a-an É-ŠU-NU are written over an erasure.

<sup>108</sup> See Commentary on §34.

## § 35

## A (KBo 6.2) ii

(6) *ták-ku* MUNUS-*na-an* EL-LE-<sup>1</sup>TAM L<sup>1</sup>ÚSIPA<sup>1</sup> [*da-a-i*<sup>109</sup> *n*]*a-aš* I-NA MU.3.KAM GÉME-*re-e*[*z-zi*]<sup>110</sup>

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

(25) *ták-ku* MUNUS-*an* EL-LUM L<sup>1</sup>ÚAGRIG *na-aš-ma*<sup>111</sup> L<sup>1</sup>ÚSIPA *p[<sup>1</sup>t-t]e-[<sup>1</sup>nu-z]*<sup>112</sup>

(26) *ku-ú-ša-ta-aš-ši* Ú-UL *píd-da-a-iz-zi na-aš* I[-N]A [M]U.3?L[KAM GÉM]E?-*aš*<sup>113</sup>-*ša-re-[e]š-zi*

§ 35 (Translation of A:) If a herdsman [takes] a free woman (in marriage), she will become a slave for three years.<sup>114</sup> (Translation of B:) If an overseer or a herdsman elopes with a free woman and does not give a brideprice for her, she will become a slave for three years.

## § 36

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

(27) *ták-ku* ARAD-*iš* A-NA DUMU.NITA EL-LIM *ku-ú-ša-ta píd-d*[*a-a-iz*]-<sup>1</sup>*zi*<sup>1</sup>

(28) *na-an* L<sup>1</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>*an-I*ti-*ia-an-ta*<sup>1</sup>*an e-ep-zi na-an-kán pa-ra-a* [Ú-U]L<sup>1</sup>ku-*iš-ki*<sup>1</sup> *tar-na-i*

§ 36 If a slave pays brideprice for a free young man and acquires him as a live-in son-in-law, no one shall change his social status.

§ XXIX<sup>115</sup>

## PT (KBo 6.4) iii

(8) *ták-k[u*

(9) EGIR[

(10) ŠA L[Ú

<sup>109</sup> Space insufficient for *pít-ti-nu-uz-zi* or *pít-te-nu-zi* (as in B ii 25). Cf. also §175, where *da-a-i* is found in the same law.

<sup>110</sup> On the photo in Hrozný the trace following *-re-* is clearly not *-e[š-]*; it is either *-e[z-]* or *-i[š-]*. See [GÉME-*i*]š-*ša-re-ez-zi* below in §175 (KBo 25.85:5 = q).

<sup>111</sup> Both here and below in §175 the NH version has added the L<sup>1</sup>ÚAGRIG to a law which originally applied only to the L<sup>1</sup>ÚSIPA. Cf. Singer 1983; Singer 1984b.

<sup>112</sup> Collated against photos. Under the hatching of Hrozný's KBo one almost sees after *-[t]e* an *-e-*, but this is not visible in any photo, corresponds to no known spelling of *pittenu(z)zi*, and was not so transliterated by Hrozný 1922, 28 who wrote "b/pe-[t/d]e-n[u-z]i".

<sup>113</sup> Reading so from the photos. On the photo published in Hrozný 1922 I cannot see the *-aš-* claimed by Ehelolf (ZA 43:186 and apud Friedrich 1959), but H. Klengel (letter 10/13/94) kindly collated BoFN 5000 and drew what he saw. The result is still uncertain but seems to favor Ehelolf's reading. In §175 the pre-NH manuscript aa reads [GÉME-*i*]š-*ša-re-ez-zi*. See Commentary on §35.

<sup>114</sup> Less likely: "she will become a slave after 3 years".

<sup>115</sup> It is uncertain if, as Hrozný suggested, this law is parallel to §36. Friedrich doubted it ("kaum").



(11) *pa-ra-a* Ú[-UL ku-iš-ki tar-na-i]<sup>116</sup>

(12) *na-at-kán* [

(13) ŠÀ É pé-<sup>1</sup>e]-

## § 37

A (KBo 6.2) ii <sup>117</sup>

(10) *ták-ku* MUNUS-*na-an* ku-iš-ki pít-ti-nu-uz-zi n[u-kán šar-d]<sup>118</sup>i<sup>118</sup>-i-eš a-ap-pa-an-<sup>119</sup>an-da pa-a-a[n]-z[i]

(11) *ták-ku* 3 LÚ.MEŠ *na-aš-ma* 2 LÚ.MEŠ ak-[kán-zi] šar-ni-ik-zi-il NU.GÁL

(12) *zi-ik-wa* UR.BAR.RA-aš ki-iš-ta-at

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

(29) *ták-ku* MUNUS-*an* ku[-iš-k]i pít-te-nu-uz-zi EGIR-*an-da-m*[a]-a[š-m]a-aš-k[án<sup>120</sup> ša]r-<sup>1</sup>dil-ia-aš pa-iz-zi

(30) <sup>1</sup>ták<sup>1</sup>-ku 2 LÚ.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-a[š-m]a 3 L[Ú.M]EŠ ak-kán-zi šar-ni-ik-zi-<sup>1</sup>il NU.GÁL *zi-ik-wa* UR<sup>1</sup>.BAR.RA ki-ša-at<sup>†</sup>

§ 37 If anyone runs off with a woman, and a group of supporters goes after them, if 3 men or 2 men<sup>121</sup> are killed, there shall be no compensation: "You (singular) have become a wolf."

## § 38

A (KBo 6.2) ii <sup>122</sup>

(13) *ták-ku* LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.<sup>1</sup>LU.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> ha-an-ne-iš-ni ap-pa-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[an-t]e-eš nu šar-ti<sup>123</sup>-ia-aš ku-iš-ki p[a-iz-zi]

(14) *ták-ku* ha-an-ne-eš-na-aš iš-ha-a-aš le-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[a]-ni-at-ta [o]-x šar-ti<sup>124</sup>-an-n[a wa-al-aḫ-zi]<sup>125</sup>

(15) *na-aš a-ki* šar-ni-[ik]-zi-il [N]U.GÁL

<sup>116</sup> So read by Hrozný, Friedrich and Imparati.

<sup>117</sup> Readings of the right ends of lines taken from Hrozný 1922, plate v.

<sup>118</sup> Restoration following Güterbock 1961b, 68.

<sup>119</sup> No word space according to the photo.

<sup>120</sup> So Güterbock 1961b, 68; or: -š[a with Hrozný 1922, 28. Both readings are possible in photo, but -š[a] is grammatically unjustified.

<sup>121</sup> B: "if 2 men or 3 men".

<sup>122</sup> Readings of the right ends of lines taken from Hrozný 1922, plate v.

<sup>123</sup> Hrozný transliterated -d/ti-, Friedrich and Imparati -di-, both here and in line 14 of A. The photo has a clear -ti- both places.

<sup>124</sup> The signs šar-ti- in A are written over an erasure (so photo). The traces preceding it are hardly legible and may have been erased without anything rewritten over them. What has been interpreted as the slanted bottom wedge of a LÚ determinative preceding šar- may be only a cut in the clay. No determinative precedes šar-ti-ia-aš in A ii 13.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. A in §§4, 77, 84 for wa-al-aḫ-zi. In series two q uses wa-la-aḫ-zi.

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

(31) *ták-ku* LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU.MEŠ [*ha-a*]n-ne-eš-ni ap-pa-an-te-eš nu-uš-<sup>1</sup>ma-aš šar-di-ia<sup>126</sup>-aš<sup>1</sup> ku-iš-ki  
pa-iz-zi

(32) *na-aš-ta* [LÚ<sup>7</sup>*ha-an-n*]e??<sup>127</sup>-tal-wa-aš kar-tim-mi-ia-an-ta-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>128</sup> nu šar-di-ia<sup>1</sup>-an

(33) *wa-al-aḥ-z*[i n]a-<sup>1</sup>aš<sup>1</sup> a-ki šar-ni-ik-zi-<sup>1</sup>il NU<sup>1</sup>.GÁL

§ 38 If persons are engaged in a lawsuit, and some supporter goes to th[em] (or: to h[im]), if a litigant becomes furious and strikes the supporter, so that he dies, there shall be no compensation.

## § XXXII

## PT (KBo 6.4) iii

(28) *ták-ku* U[N ]

(29) *ma-a-an* š[ar?-di?-ia?-aš?] ]

(30) *kar-tim-m*[i-ia- ]

(31) *na-aš a-k*[i ]

(32) *ar-ḥa* [ ]

(33) *na-aš a-k*[i ]

§ 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, [...].

<sup>126</sup> Reading of traces with Hrozný 1922 and photos.

<sup>127</sup> My collation of the photo has raised difficulties with all solutions to the problem of reading the trace here. Goetze in Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 read [*ha-an-ni-i*]r-tal-wa-aš, and was followed by Güterbock 1961b, Imparati 1964, 56, and Hoffner 1963, 39. Puhvel 1991, 88f. read [*ha-an-n*]e-tal-wa-aš on the basis of *ha-an-ne-tal-wa-ni-e-eš* in KUB 31.66 iii 6 (late NH). Friedrich 1959 read [<sup>GI</sup>*ha-a*]r-tal-wa-aš, which was objected to by Güterbock 1961b. Güterbock already observed that the photo shows traces of more than a final vertical, but he neither attempted to identify them nor indicated that they posed a problem for his reading -i]r. In fact, the photo shows traces incompatible with the usual shapes of i]r, n]i, <sup>1</sup>e] and n]e. But I can propose nothing in their place. If the sign is n]e, the final vertical is much lower and with a smaller head than in the normal ne immediately to the right of it in the preceding line. Nevertheless, the word must be *hanne(t)talwa-*, as all interpreters after Friedrich 1959 agree. Because there is too much available space for Puhvel's restoration [*ha-an-n*]e-, I have tentatively suggested [LÚ<sup>7</sup>*ha-an-n*]e??-, although none of the attested occurrences of the word have a determinative.

<sup>128</sup> Error: pl. for sg.



## § 39

## A (KBo 6.2 + 19.1) ii

(16) [ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš A.ŠÀ.ĪI].A ŠA ŠA-NI<sup>129</sup>-I-IM-MA<sup>130</sup> ħar-zi nu ša!<sup>131</sup> aĥ-ĥa<sup>1</sup>-aš-še-et i-iš-ša-i

(17) [ták-ku A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-na tar-na]-i A.ŠÀ<sup>132</sup>.ĪI.A-na da-a-la-i na-at-ta-an ĥa-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

(34) ták-ku [LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš da-m]e-e-el A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A ħar-zi ša!<sup>133</sup> aĥ-ĥa<sup>134</sup>-an-[na iš-š]a-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>135</sup>

(35) [ták-ku A]ŠÀ.ĪI.A-m]a<sup>136</sup> ar-ĥa pé-eš-ši-ia-zi A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [a-pa-a-š]a<sup>137</sup> da-a-< la->i

(36) Ú-UL-[an-za] ĥa-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi

## L iii

(1) ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.L[U ..... ħar-zi]

(2) nu ša-aĥ-ĥa-an[-še-et i-iš-ša-i ták-ku A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-na]

(3) tar-na-i<sup>138</sup> A.ŠÀ[.ĪI.A-na da-a-la-i Ú-UL-an ĥa-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi]

§ 39 (Translation of A with footnote variations from B) If a person holds another person's land, he shall perform the *šahhan*-services entailed by it.<sup>139</sup> But if he fails to work(?)<sup>140</sup> the l[and(?),] he shall relinquish the land:<sup>141</sup> he shall not sell it.

<sup>129</sup> Preceding 4 signs from old photo cited by Hrozný 1922, 30 n. 4.

<sup>130</sup> The -MA must be Akkadian, since no "but" (which a Hittite -ma would imply) is appropriate here.

<sup>131</sup> Otten in KBo 19.1 marks this archaic shape of ša with "!" not because it is a mistake, but because it is unusual. Elsewhere this scribe uses the more familiar form.

<sup>132</sup> Preceding 3 signs from old photo cited by Hrozný 1922, 30 n. 4. See L iii 3.

<sup>133</sup> Text has ta.

<sup>134</sup> So in photo. Hrozný misdrew this sign as -ĥu. What he interpreted as the initial horizontal of a ĥu is the final horizontal of -aĥ.

<sup>135</sup> So Hrozný and photo.

<sup>136</sup> "Verbesserungen" p. 83: A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-ia(?); Hrozný 1922, 30: A.Š[À.ĪI.A]. The photos seem to show a trace of a final -ma, not -ia.

<sup>137</sup> The trace on the photo favors Hrozný's "[...]ša" over Friedrich and Imparati's [da?-ma?-i]š? My restoration [a-pa-a-š]a only makes sense if one assumes a scribal omission of the -la- in da-a-la-i (see A ii 17). This interpretation allows the grammatical subject to remain the same in the following clause.

<sup>138</sup> The signs tar-na- are written over an erasure (see photo in Neufeld).

<sup>139</sup> Lit., "its (or his) *šahhan*".

<sup>140</sup> A and L "lets go", B "casts off", "rejects", "causes to fall". Perhaps he fails to work the fields and thus fulfil his *šahhan* obligation.

<sup>141</sup> B: "[he] also shall relinquinsh the land".

## § XXXIII

## PT (KBo 6.4) iii

(34) *ták-ku* *ḫa*[*r-kán-ta-an* A.ŠÀ-*an* *ku-iš-ki* *ḫar-zi na-an*](35) *an-ni-e*[*š-ki-iz-zi* ](36) *Ú-U*[*L* ](37) *n*[*u* ]

(end of col. III broken away)

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

## § 40

## A (KBo 6.2 + 19.1) ii

(18) *ták-ku* LÚ GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>[*TUKUL ḫar-ak-zi*] *Ú*<sup>1</sup> LÚ *IL-KI* *ti-it-ti-an-za* LÚ *IL-KI* *te-ez-zi*(19) *ki-i* GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL*[*L-li-me-et k*]*i-i-ma ša-aḫ-ḫa-me-et* A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A ŠA LÚ GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL an-da ši-it-ta-ri-ez-zi*(20) GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL-li*-*ḫa*<sup>1</sup>[*zi š*]*a-aḫ-ḫa-an-na i-iš-ša-i* *ták-ku* GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL-li-ma mi-im-ma-i*(21) LÚ GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL-ša*<sup>142</sup> A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A<sup>1</sup> *ḫar-kán-ta-aš*<sup>143</sup> *ta-ra-an-zi na-an-za* LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM *an-ni-iš-kán-z*[*i*](22) *ták-ku* LUGAL-*ša* NAM.RA.ḪI.<sup>1</sup>A-*an*<sup>1</sup> *pa-a-i nu-uš-še* A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A-*an* *pi-an-zi ta-aš* GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL-li ki-i-š*[*a*]

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

(37) *ták-ku* [LÚ GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>[*TUKUL ḫa*]*r-ak-zi* LÚ *IL-KI* *ti-it-ti-an-za* *nu* LÚ *IL-KI*<sup>1</sup> *te-ez-zi*(38) *ki-i* GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL*-[*i*]*i-me-et ki-i-ma ša-aḫ-ḫa-mi-it nu-za* ŠA LÚ GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL* A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A<sup>1</sup>(39) *an-da ši-i*[*a-at-t*]*a-ri-ia-zi* GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL-ia ḫar-zi ša-aḫ-ḫa-na iš-š*[*a-i*](40) *ták-ku* GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL*-[*ma*<sup>144</sup> *mi-i*]*m-ma-i nu* A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A ŠA LÚ GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL ḫar-kán-ta-an t*[*a-ra-an-zi*](41) *na-an* LÚ.MEŠ URU-*r*[*i*-*aš*]<sup>145</sup> *a*]*n-né-eš-kán-zi ma-a-an* LUGAL-*uš* NAM.<sup>1</sup>RA.ḪI.A<sup>1</sup> *pa-a-i*

<sup>142</sup> LÚ GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL-ša* with a genitive complement = ŠA LÚ.GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL*. Text of A has *-uš*. See LÚ GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL-aš* in §47b (A ii 45).

<sup>143</sup> L also has a genitive form, *ḫar-ga-an-ta-aš*. B ii 40 reinterpreted the clause: *nu* A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A ŠA LÚ GÍŠ<sup>1</sup>*TUKUL ḫar-kán-ta-an t*[*a-ra-an-zi*] "they shall declare the land of the TUKUL-man vacant", showing *ḫarkantan* in grammatical agreement with A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A. Imperati: A ii 21: 'dell' artigiano i campi [...]', but with no comment on *ḫarkantaš*. Von Schuler's "erklärt man die Felder (für die) eines ausgefallenen Handwerkers" is almost correct: better would be "erklärt man die Felder des Handwerkers (für die) eines ausgefallenen (Handwerkers)".

<sup>144</sup> There isn't enough space to restore *-li-*.

<sup>145</sup> Although the available space is too little to restore the genitive URU-*r*[*i-aš*], it is likely that this was what B intended to write, rather than a locative URU-*ri*. URU-*ri-aš* is a valid genitive of the word for "city, town".



(42) *nu-uš-ši A.ŠÀ.ĤI.A [pí-a]n-zi na-aš GĪŠTUKUL ki-ša-ri*

L<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.14) iii 4-12 (+) L<sub>2</sub> (KBo 12.49) iii 1'-9'

(4/1) *tak-ku LÚ GĪŠT[UKUL ... ti-it-ti-a]n?-īza?*<sup>1</sup>

(5/2) *LÚ ILI-KI [.....]*

(6/3) *ki-i-ma š[a-aḥ-ḥa-mi-it nu-za ŠA LÚ GĪŠTUKUL A.ŠÀ.ĤI.]A<sup>1</sup>*

(7/4) *an-da ši-[ia-at-ta-ri-ia-zi ŠA LÚ GĪŠTUKUL A.ŠÀ.ĤI.]A<sup>1</sup> ḥar-zi*<sup>146</sup>

(8/5) *ša-aḥ-ḥa-[na i-iš-ša-i ták-ku .....] ša-aḥ-ḥa-an*

(9/6) *mi-im-[ma-i nu ŠA LÚ GĪŠTUKUL A.ŠÀ.ĤI.]A ḥar-ga-an-ta-aš*

(10/7) *da-ra-an-[zi na-an LÚ.MEŠ UR]U-LIM an-né-eš-kán-zi*

(11/8) *ták-ku [LUGAL-ša NAM.RA.ĤI.A p]a-a-i nu-uš-ši A.ŠÀ.ĤI.A*

(12/9) *pí-a[n-zi na-aš GĪŠTUKUL-ī]i? -iš<sup>147</sup> ki-i-ša*

§ 40 If a man who has a TUKUL-obligation disappears<sup>148</sup>, and<sup>149</sup> a man owing *ILKU*-services is assigned (in his place), the man owing *ILKU*-services shall say: "This is my TUKUL-obligation, and this other is my obligation for *šahḥan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the land of the man having a TUKUL-obligation, he shall both hold the TUKUL-obligation<sup>150</sup> and perform the *šahḥan*-services. But if he refuses the TUKUL-obligation,<sup>151</sup> they shall declare the land of the man having a TUKUL-obligation to be that of (such a person) who has disappeared/perished, and the men of the village will work it. If the king gives an *arnuwala*-man, they will give him land, and he will become a TUKUL-(man).

<sup>146</sup> Both the length of the break and the clear traces of .ĤI.A at its end render unlikely the otherwise plausible restoration: *ši-[ia-at-ta-ri-ia-zi GĪŠTUKUL-ī]a ḥar-zi*.

<sup>147</sup> As Melchert (by letter) has suggested, GĪŠTUKUL is here a normal animate noun, and the apparent neuters GĪŠTUKUL-*li* are collective plurals. A search of my files yielded evidence in KBo 3.1 ii 29-30 (OH/NS)—*n-uš LUGAL-uš karš[auš] / [LÚ.M]EŠ APIN.LÁ iyanun GĪŠTUKUL.ĤI.A-uš = šuš = šta ZAG.LU-za dahḥun*—and KBo 22.6 i 24-25 (OH/NS)—*GĪŠTUKUL.ĤI.A-iš = wa = ta / šiunit piyanteš* (cf. also *ibid.* iv 14-16 *GĪŠpaini = w[a = t]a kuit ḥilamni = šit arta / n = war = a < t > = šta karšdu n = war = at URUA.GA.DEĪ dĪSTAR-aš / [GĪŠTUKUL].ĤI.A-u[š] iyanu* and KBo 10.7 ii 26-28)—that GĪŠTUKUL is indeed an animate noun, not a neuter. In none of these passages is there any need to assume a personification (animatization) of an originally neuter noun. On the other hand, GĪŠTUKUL as the equivalent of LÚ GĪŠTUKUL is attested in OS in KBo 22.1:21 *zik = a = wa GĪŠTUKUL apāš = a GĪŠTUKUL*.

<sup>148</sup> *ḥark*- "to get lost, disappear", sometimes "be destroyed, perish, die". In B ii 40 it is the field (or perhaps rather the tenancy) which expires, so that a new tenant may assume it. In A ii 18, 21 it is always the man (i.e., the tenant) who "disappears" or "dies, perishes".

<sup>149</sup> Perhaps a mildly contrastive force to Û; see Commentary on §§1-2.

<sup>150</sup> L has instead: "he shall hold [the lan]d/[field]s [of the man of the GĪŠTUKUL]".

<sup>151</sup> L here (iii 8/5) erroneously has: "[if he] refus[es] the *šahḥan* obligation", but correctly uses *šahḥan* in §41 (see Archi 1968, 73).



## § XXX

## PT (KBo 6.4) iii

- (14) *ták-ku LÚ EL-[LUM?<sup>152</sup> har-ak-zi ...]*  
 (15) *nu LÚ IL-KI [I ... ki-i ...-me-et]*  
 (16) *ki-i-ma š[a-ah-ḥa-mi-it A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A ŠA LÚ...]*  
 (17) *an-da ši-e-[et-ta-ri-ia-zi ...]*  
 (18) *e-eš-ša-i [ták-ku ...-ma mi-im-ma-i LÚ ... A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A]*  
 (19) *har-kán-ta-[an ta-ra-an-zi ...]*  
 (20) *ma-a-an LUG[AL-uš NAM.RA.ḪI.A-an pa-a-i nu-uš-ši A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A-an]*  
 (21) *pí-an-z[i ...]*

§ XXX (=late version of § 40) If a free man [defaults], and a man owing *šahhan*-services [is assigned in his place, the man owing *šahhan*-services shall declare: "This is my ...], and this other is [my] obligation for *šahhan*-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 *šahhan*-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 *arnuwalaš*-man,] they will give [him land, and he will become a ...-(man).]

## § 41

## A (KBo 6.2 + 19.1) ii

- (23) *ták-ku LÚ IL-KI har-ak-zi Û LÚ GIŠTUKUL ti-it-ti-an-za LÚ GIŠTUKUL te-ez-zi*  
 (24) *ki-i GIŠTUKUL-li-me-et ki-i-ma ša-ah-ḥa-me-et nu A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A ŠA LÚ IL-KI an-da ši-it-ta-ri-ez-z[i]*  
 (25) *GIŠTUKUL-li har-zi ša-ah-ḥa-an-na i-iš-ša-i ták-ku ša-ah-ḥa-na mi-im-ma-i*  
 (26) *A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A ŠA LÚ IL-KI A-NA É.GAL-LIM da-an-zi ša-ah-ḥa-na har-ak-z[i]*

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

- (43) *ták-ku LÚ IL-<sup>1</sup>KI har<sup>1</sup>-ak-zi nu LÚ IL-KI<sup>153</sup> ti-it-ti-an-za nu <sup>1</sup>LÚ GIŠ<sup>1</sup>TUKUL <sup>1</sup>te-ez-zi<sup>1</sup>*  
 (44) *<sup>1</sup>ki-i GIŠ<sup>1</sup>TUKUL-li-me-et ki-i-ma ša-ah-ḥa-me-et nu-za ŠA LÚ IL-KI A.ŠÀ.<sup>1</sup>ḪI.A<sup>1</sup>*  
 (45) *an-da ši-ia-at-ta-ri-i-e-ez-zi nu GIŠ[TUK]UL har-zi ša-ah-ḥa-an[-na?]<sup>154</sup>*  
 (46) *iš-ša-i ma-a-an ša-ah-ḥa-an mi-im-ma-i nu ŠA LÚ IL-KI <sup>1</sup>A.ŠÀ<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>ḪI.A<sup>1</sup>†*  
 (47) *I-NA É.GAL-LIM <sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-an-zi ša-ah-ḥa-an-na har-ak-zi*

<sup>152</sup> So Sommer and Falkenstein 1938, 130f. Hrozný and Friedrich rather LÚ EL[-KI].

<sup>153</sup> Sic; mistake for LÚ GIŠTUKUL. Perhaps the same mistake is made in §XXXI (PT) iii 23 (Otten and Souček 1966, 3). But Archi thinks he can read LÚ GIŠTUKUL in PT from the photo in Hrozný's edition.

<sup>154</sup> Hrozný 1922, note 19.



**C (KBo 6.5) iv**

- (1) *ták-ku LÚ IL-KI ḫar-ak-zi GIŠTUKUL-ma ti-it-ti-an-za*  
 (2) *nu LÚ GIŠTUKUL te-ez-zi ki-i GIŠTUKUL<-me>-et ʿki-ʿli-ma ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni-mi-it*<sup>155</sup>  
 (3) ʿnu<sup>1</sup>-za <ŠA> LÚ IL-KI A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A an-da ši-ia-at-tal-li-ia-az-zi  
 (4) *nu-za GIŠTUKUL ḫar-zi ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-na e-eš-ša-i*  
 (5) *ma-a-an ša-aḫ-ḫa-an me-<em>-ma-i nu ŠA LÚ IL-KI A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A*  
 (6) *I-NA É.GAL-LIM da!*<sup>156</sup>*-an-zi ša-aḫ-ḫa-an ḫar-ak-zi*

**L<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.14) iii 13 (+) L<sub>2</sub> (KBo 12.49) iii 10-15**

- (13/10) *ták-[ku LÚ IL-KI ḫar-ak-z]*<sup>157</sup> *Ù LÚ GIŠTUKUL (eras.) [ø]*  
 (11) *[ti-it-ti-an-za nu LÚ GIŠTUKUL t]e-ez-zi ki-i GIŠ[TUKUL(-li)-me-et]*  
 (12) *[ki-i-ma ša-aḫ-ḫa-me-e]t Û A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A Š[A LÚ IL-KI]*  
 (13) *[an-da si-ia-at-ta-ri-e-ez-z]i GIŠTUKUL-li ḫar-z[i]*  
 (14) *[ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-na i-iš-ša-i] ták-ku ša-aḫ-ḫ[a-an mi-im-ma-i]*  
 (15) *[nu ŠA LÚ IL-KI A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A I-N]A É.[GAL-LIM da-an-zi]*

§ 41 If a man owing *ILKU*-services disappears/dies, and a man having a TUKUL-obligation is assigned in his place, the man having the TUKUL-obligation shall say: "This is my TUKUL-obligation, and this other is my obligation for *šahḫan*-services." He shall secure for himself a sealed deed concerning the land of the man owing *šahḫan*-services. He shall hold the TUKUL-obligation and perform the *šahḫan*-services. But if he refuses (to do) the *šahḫan*-services, they will take for the palace the land of the man owing *šahḫan*-services. And the obligation for *šahḫan*-services shall cease.

**§ XXXI****PT (KBo 6.4) iii**

- (22) *ták-ku LÚ [IL-KI ]*  
 (23) *nu LÚ [L-KI ]*  
 (24) *ki-i-ma [ša-aḫ-ḫa-mi-it ? ]*  
 (25) *an-da š[i-ia-at-ta-ri-ia-zi? ]*  
 (26) *e-eš-ša-[i ]*  
 (27) *I-NA É.[GAL-LIM ]*

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

<sup>155</sup> Rieken 1994, 51 interprets *ša-aḫ-ḫa-ni-mi-it* (laws §41) and *ku-uš-ša-ni-iš/eš-ši-it* (§§157-161 [she reads mistakenly "§§142-146"]) as NH neuter plurals or collectives of the respective *n*-stem nouns. See also *ku-uš-ša-ni* in §42 (C).

<sup>156</sup> Text: *pí*.

<sup>157</sup> Trace on photo.

## § 42

## A (KBo 6.2) ii

- (27) *ták-ku* LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-an *ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi na-aš la-ah-ḥa pa-iz-zi*<sup>1</sup> *n[a-aš a-ki]*  
 (28) *ták-ku ku-uš-ša-an pí-ia-a-an šar-ni-ik-zi-il* [NU.GÁL]  
 (29) *ták-ku ku-uš-ša-na na-at-ta pí-ia-a-an* 1 SAG.DU [*pa-a-i*]

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

- (48) *ták-ku an-tu-uh-ša-an ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-i-e-ez-zi na-aš la-ah-ḥa* *pa-iz-zi*<sup>1</sup>  
 (49) *na-aš a-ki ták-ku* *ku-uš-ša-an pí-ia-an nu* Ú-UL *šar-ni-ik-zi*  
 (50) *ták-ku*<sup>1</sup> *ku-uš-ša-an-še-et*<sup>1</sup> Ú-UL *pí-ia-a-an* 1 SAG.DU *pa-a-i*  
 (51) *ku-uš-ša-an-na* 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i* Û ŠA MUNUS *ku-uš-ša-an* 6 GÍN  
 [KÙ.BABBAR] *pa-a-i*

## C (KBo 6.5) iv

- (7) *ták-ku UN-an ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-ia-zi na-aš la-ah-ḥi pa-iz-zi*<sup>1</sup>  
 (8) *na-aš a-ki ták-ku ku-uš-ša-an pí-i-ia-an nu* Ú-UL *šar-ni-ik-zi*  
 (9) *ták-ku ku-uš-ša-an* Ú-UL *pí-i-ia-an* 1<sup>1</sup> SAG.DU-SÚ *pa-a-i*  
 (10) *ku-uš-ša-an* 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i* MUNUS-*aš ku-uš-ša-ni*  
 (11) 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

§ 42 If anyone hires a person, and that person goes on a military campaign and he dies, 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.<sup>158</sup>

## § 43

## A (KBo 6.2) ii

- (30) *ták-ku* LÚ-*aš* GU<sub>4</sub>-ŠU<sup>1</sup> *ÍD-an zi-i-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi ta-ma-i-ša-an šu-ú-é-zi*  
 (31) *nu* GU<sub>4</sub>-*aš* KUN-an *e-ep-zi ta* *ÍD-an za-a-i* Û BE-EL G[U<sub>4</sub> *ÍD-aš pé-e-da-i*]  
 (32) *nu-uz*<sup>1</sup>-*za a-pu-ú-un-pát da-an*-[zi]

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

- (52) *ták-ku* LÚ-*aš* GU<sub>4</sub>-ŠU *ÍD-an zi-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi ta-ma-i-ša-an šu-ú-w[a?-i]z?-zi*<sup>159</sup>  
 (53) *nu* KUN GU<sub>4</sub> *e-ep-zi ta* *ÍD-an za-a-i nu* BE-EL GU<sub>4</sub> *ÍD-aš pé-e-da-i* *nu a-pu-un*<sup>1</sup>-*pát da-an-zi*

<sup>158</sup> NH B ii 51 and C iv 10-11 add: "And as hire he shall pay twelve shekels of silver. As the hire of a woman he shall pay six shekels [of silver]." B's use of Ú here may suggest a pre-NH source for the addition. See below in Chapter IV sub "Grammar".

<sup>159</sup> So also Hrozný 1922, 34. -w[a-i]z- is not visible in copy or in photos.



**C (KBo 6.5) iv**(12) *ták-ku LÚ-aš GU<sub>4</sub>HI.A ÍD-an ze-e-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi*(13) *ta-ma-a-i-ša-an šu-wa-[a]-iz-zi nu KUN GU<sub>4</sub>e-ep-zi*(14) *ta ÍD-an za-a-i nu EN GU<sub>4</sub>ÍD-aš pé-e-da-a-i*(15) *šu-wa-ia-zi-ma-an ku-iš nu-za a-pu-un-pát da-a-i*

§ 43 If a man is crossing a river with his ox<sup>160</sup>, and another man pushes him off (the ox's tail), grasps 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 very man (who pushes him off).<sup>161</sup>

**§ 44a****A (KBo 6.2) ii**(33) *ʔták-ku LÚ-anʔ pa-aḥ-ḥu-e-ni ku-iš-ki pé-eš-ši-ez-zi na-aš a-ki ʔaʔ[-ap-pa-aš-še DUMU.NITA-an pa-a-i]***B (KBo 6.3) ii**(54) *ták-ku LÚ-an pa-aḥ-ḥu-e-ʔniʔ ku-iš-ki pé-eš-ši-ez-zi na-aš a-ki nu-uš-ši EG[IR-pa DUMU.NITA-an pa-a-i]***C (KBo 6.5) iv**(16) *ʔtákʔ-[ku] LÚ-an IZI-ni ku-iš-ki pé-eš-ši-ia-iz-zi na-aš a-ki*(17) *nu-uš-š[i E]GIR-ʔpa DUMU.NITA<sup>162</sup>-an pa-a-i*

§ 44a If anyone makes a man fall into a fire, so that he dies, (the guilty party) shall give a son in return.

**§ 44b****A (KBo 6.2) ii**(34) *ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-an ku-iš-ki ʔpárʔ-ku-nu-uz-zi ʔkuʔ-up-ta-ar-ra ʔukʔ-[tu-u-ri-aš pé-eš-ši-ez-zi]*(35) *ták-ku-wa-ta-an pá-r-na-ma ku-e-el-ka pé-eš-ši-ez-zi a-lu-[wa-an-za-tar DI-IN LUGAL]***B (KBo 6.3) ii**(55) *ták-ku an-tu-uḥ-ša-a[n k]u-iš-ki pá-r-ku-nu-uz-zi ku-up-tar-ra uk-tu-u-ri-ʔaš pé<sup>163</sup>-[e-da-i]*(56) *ʔták-ku<sup>164</sup>-at A.ŠÀ-ni na-aš-ma pá-r-ni ku-el-ga pé-e-da-i al-wa-an-za-tar D[I-IN LUGAL-RI]*

<sup>160</sup> So A and B; C "with (his) oxen".

<sup>161</sup> C explicitly adds the "who pushes him off" which is implicit in A and B.

<sup>162</sup> For this reading see Commentary.

<sup>163</sup> So in Hrozný 1922, 36; *pé-* not visible on the copy or photos.

<sup>164</sup> So in Hrozný 1922, 36; copy shows only part of *-ku*.

**C (KBo 6.5) iv**(17) *ták-ku UN-an ku-iš-[ki]*(18) *pár-ku-nu-uz-zi ku-up-tar-ra [uk-t]u-ri-ia-aš pé-e-da-a-[i]*(19) *ták-ku-at A.ŠĀ-ni na-aš-ma pár-n[i ku]-e-il-ka p[é-e-da-a-i]*(20) *al-wa-an-za-tar* DI.KUD LUGAL

§ 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<sup>165</sup>, it is sorcery (and) a case for the king.

**§ XXXIV****PT (KBo 6.4) iv 1-3 [...]**(1) *ta-an EGIR-pa pár-ku-nu-zi ma-a-an É-ri-ia ku-it-ki*(2) *i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-zi na-an EGIR-pa-pát pár-ku-nu-zi ku-it-ta-ia-aš-ši-kán*(3) *ku-it ħar-ak-zi na-at EGIR-pa 1-ŠU šar-ni-ik-zi*

§ XXXIV (=late version of § 44b?)... and he shall make it ritually pure again. And if in the house anything goes wrong, he shall make it ritually pure again as before (-pat). And he shall make compensation for whatever else is lost.

**§ 45****A (KBo 6.2) ii**(36) *[ták-ku] a-[aš]-šu? k[u]-iš-ki ú-<sup>1</sup>e-mi-ez-zi<sup>1</sup> na-at a-ap-pa i[š-ĥi-iš-ši]*(37) *[pa-a-i] <sup>1</sup>a-pu<sup>1</sup>-ú-u[n pí-i]a-[n]a-iz-[zi<sup>1</sup> ...]***B (KBo 6.3) ii**(57) *[ták-ku] <sup>1</sup>Ú<sup>166</sup>.NU-TEMEŠ [ku]-iš-ki ú-e<sup>1</sup>.mi-ia-az-zi na-at EGIR-pa iš-ĥi-i[š-ši pa-a-i<sup>167</sup>]*(58) *[a-pu-u-u]n pí-ia-na-iz-zi<sup>1</sup> ták-ku-at Ú-UL-ma pa-a-i na-aš <sup>1</sup>LÚNÍ.ZU<sup>1</sup> k[i-ša-ri]***C (KBo 6.5) iv**(21) *ták-ku Ú-NU-TEMEŠ ku-iš-ki KAR-zi na-a[t EGIR-pa iš-ĥi-iš-ši pa-a-i]*(22) *a-pu-u-un pí-ia-na-iz-zi ták-ku-at Ú-U[L-ma pa-a-i]*(23) *na-aš LÚNÍ.ZU-aš ki-ša-a-ri*

§ 45 If anyone finds implements [and gives] 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.

<sup>165</sup> So A; B and C: "on someone's land or house".

<sup>166</sup> Hrozný 1922, 36 transliterated as fully preserved, although mostly broken in KBo.

<sup>167</sup> To be restored so, following Güterbock 1961b, 68.



## § XXXV (=late version of §§ 45 and 71)

## PT (KBo 6.4) iv

- (4) *ták-ku Ú-NU-TEMEŠ ku-iš-ki na-aš-ma GU<sub>4</sub> UDU ANŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE*  
 (5) *ú-e-mi-ia-zi na-an EGIR-pa EN-iš-ši pé-en-na-i*  
 (6) *na-an pé-e-ḫu-te-ez-zi ma-a-an EN«-iš»<sup>168</sup>-ši-in-ma Ú-UL*  
 (7) *ú-e-mi-ia-zi nu-za ku-u-ut-ru-wa-a-ez-zi EGIR-zi-an-ma-at*  
 (8) *EN-ŠU ú-e-mi-ia-zi nu-uš-ši-kán ku-it ḫar-kán*  
 (9) *na-at ša-ku-wa-aš-šar ar-ḫa pé-e-da-i ma-a-an-za Ú-UL-ma*  
 (10) *ku-ut-ru-wa-a-ez-zi EGIR-zi-an-ma-at EN-ŠU ú-e-mi-ia-zi*  
 (11) *na-aš LÚNÍ.ZU ki-ša-ri 3-ŠU šar-ni-ik-zi*

§ 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.<sup>169</sup> 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:<sup>170</sup> he shall make threefold compensation.

## § 46

## A (KBo 6.2) ii

- (38) *ták-ku URU-ri A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A-an i-wa-a-ru ku-iš-ki ḫar-zi ták-ku-uš-še [A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A-aš me-ek-ki-iš]*  
 (39) *pí-ia-an-za lu-uz-zi kar-pí-i-ez-zi ták-ku-uš-še A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A-ša<sup>171</sup> te-[e-pu-uš pí-ia-an-za]*  
 (40) *lu-uz-zi na-at-ta kar-pí-i-ez-zi IŠ-TU É A-BI-ŠU-ma k[ar-pí-an-zi]*  
 (41) *ták-ku [i-wa<sup>1</sup>-ru-aš iš-ḫa-a-aš A.ŠÀ<sup>1</sup>ku-le-e-i a-ar-ki na-aš-m[a-aš-še]*  
 (42) *LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A-an pí-an-zi ta [lu-uz<sup>1</sup>-zi kar-pí-ez-z[i]*

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

- (59) *[ták-ku URU-r]i A.Š[À.ḪI.A-an ša-a]ḫ-ḫa-na<sup>1</sup> i-wa-ru ku-iš-ki ḫar-zi [ták<sup>1</sup>-[ku-uš-ši A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A-aš me-ek-ki-iš]*  
 (60) *[pí-ia-an-za [l]u-[u]z-zi kar-ap-zi ták-ku-uš-ši A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A te-e-pu-uš pí-ia-an-za]*  
 (61) *[lu-uz-z]i Ú-UL i-e-ez-zi IŠ-TU É A-BI-ŠU-ma k[ar-pí-an-zi]*

<sup>168</sup> The scribe has been misled by the dative form EN-iš-ši in the previous line. The correct acc. sg. form of EN "lord, owner" is *išhan*.

<sup>169</sup> So Hrozný 1922, 95 "et l'amène", Imparati 111 "e lo porti". See Commentary.

<sup>170</sup> Asyndeton. The force is: "he shall be considered a thief, (which means that) he shall make threefold compensation."

<sup>171</sup> *-ša* transliterated correctly by Hrozný, Friedrich, and Imparati, although the trace is not correctly drawn in KBo. Photo has a clear *-ša*.



(62) [ták-ku i-w]a-ru-wa-aš iš-ḫa-a-aš A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A<sup>172</sup> ku-le-i a-ar<sup>1</sup>-[ki na-aš-ma-aš-ši LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM]

(63) A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A] pī-[a]n-zi [ta<sup>1</sup> lu-uz-zi kar-pī-ez-[zi]

**C (KBo 6.5) iv**

(24) ták-ku URU-ri! ša-aḫ-ḫa-na-aš A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A i-wa-[ru ku-iš-ki ḫar-zi]

(25) ták-ku A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A da-pī-an pī-i-ia-an<sup>173</sup> [lu-uz-zi kar-ap-zi]

(26) ták-ku A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A [te-e-pa-u-i-eš<sup>174</sup> pī<sup>1</sup>-[ia-an-te-eš lu-uz-zi ...]<sup>175</sup>

§ 46 If in a village someone holds land (lit. fields)<sup>176</sup> as an inheritance share,<sup>177</sup> if the [larger part of]<sup>178</sup> the land has been given to him/her, (s)he shall render the *luzzi*-services. But if the sm[aller part] (of) the land [has been given] to him/her, (s)he shall not render the *luzzi*-services: they shall render them from the house of his/her father.<sup>179</sup> If an heir<sup>180</sup> cuts out for himself/herself unused(?)/idle(?) land,<sup>181</sup> or the men of the village give land to him/her (in addition to his/her inherited land), (s)he shall render the *luzzi*-services (on the new land).

§ XXXVIII

**PT (KBo 6.4) iv**

(21) ták-ku URU-ri A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A-an ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-na i-wa-ru ku-iš-ki ḫar-zi

(22) ták-ku-uš-ši A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A-uš<sup>182</sup> ḫu-u-ma-an-za pī-an-za lu-uz-zi kar-ap-zi

(23) ták-ku-uš-ši A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A-uš ḫu-u-ma-an-za Ú-UL pī-an-za te-pu-uš-ši

<sup>172</sup> Although for reasons given elsewhere I believe this ought to be a determinative, the scribe of B has left clear word space (copy confirmed by photos) between it and the following *ku-le-i*. In A ii 41, on the other hand, no word space is present (copy confirmed by photos).

<sup>173</sup> A, B, L, PT, a and c show common gender agreement with A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A, while C, b, d, and i show "neuter" (collective?).

<sup>174</sup> The reading of C iv 26 as *te-e-pa-u-i-eš* (so Hrozný 1922, 38 n. 11 and Friedrich 1959, 30) is the only possible one on the basis of the traces. C operates with both a "neuter" agreement with A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A in C iv 25 (perhaps collective) and a common gender one here. For the unusual spelling *te-e-pa-u-i-eš* for expected *tepawēš*, see *i-da-la-u-i-eš* UN.MEŠ-ši-iš KUB 13.9 i 9.

<sup>175</sup> C breaks off after a few traces at the beginning of line 27.

<sup>176</sup> So A; B has: "If in a village someone holds fields and *šahhan*"; C has: "If in a village someone holds fields of *šahhan*".

<sup>177</sup> If the person is a woman, she may be holding it "as a dowry" (*iwaru* in its usual meaning).

<sup>178</sup> *mekkiš* restored in A and B on the basis of *me-ek-ki* in §47b copy A; C has: *dapiān* "all"; similarly §XXXVIII: *ḫu-u-ma-an-za* "all". On the change in gender of A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A see Commentary on §§46-47 and Glossary, entry A.ŠĀ.

<sup>179</sup> I.e., the principal heir shall inherit the *luzzi*-obligation.

<sup>180</sup> Literally "lord of an inheritance (share)/a dowry".

<sup>181</sup> On Hittite A.ŠĀ *kulei* see Commentary.

<sup>182</sup> A, B, L and PT show common gender agreement with A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A, while C shows neuter.



(24) *pí-ia-an lu-uz-zi Ú-UL kar-ap-zi IŠ-TU É A-BI-ŠU-ma*

(25) *kar-pí-an-zi ták-ku i-wa-ru-wa-aš EN-aš A.ŠÀ A.GÀR ħar-kán-za*

(26) *A.ŠÀ<sup>183</sup>-ši LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM A.ŠÀ A.GÀR-an pí-an-zi*

(27) *ta lu-uz-zi kar-pí-i-e-ez-zi*

§ XXXVIII (=late version of § 46) If in a village someone holds land and obligation to perform *šahhan*-services as an inheritance share, if the land was given to him in its entirety, he shall render the *luzzi*-services. If the land was not given to 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<sup>184</sup> is vacated, (or) the men of the village give him (other public) land as (his) land, he shall render the *luzzi*-services.

#### § 47A

##### A (KBo 6.2) ii

(43) *ták-ku A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A NÍG.BA LUGAL ku-iš-ki ħar-zi ša-aḫ-ḫa-an lu-uz-zi na-a[t-ta kar-pí-i-ez-zi]*

(44) *LUGAL-uš GIŠBANŠUR-az NINDA-an da-a-i ta-aš-še pa-a-i*

##### B (KBo 6.3) ii

(64) *ták-ku<sup>1</sup> [A.ŠÀ.ĪI.]<sup>1</sup> A NÍG<sup>1</sup>.BA<sup>1</sup> LUGAL ku-iš-ki ħar-zi lu-uz-zi<sup>1</sup> [Ú<sup>1</sup>-[UL kar-pí-i-ez-zi LUGAL-uš]*

(65) *GIŠ[BANŠUR-a]z NINDA-an da-a-i na-an-ši pa-a-i*

§ 47a If anyone holds land as a royal grant, [he shall] not [have to render] *šahhan*- and *luzzi*-services.<sup>185</sup> Furthermore, the king shall provide him with food at royal expense.<sup>186</sup>

#### § 47B

##### A (KBo 6.2) ii

(45) *ták-ku LÚ GIŠTUKUL-aš A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-ŠU ħu-u-ma-an-da-an ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši lu-uz-zi [kar-pí-i-ez-zi]<sup>1</sup>*

(46) *ták-ku A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-na me-ek-ki-i wa-a-ši lu-uz-zi na-at-ta kar-pí-i-ez-zi<sup>1</sup>*

(47) *ták-ku A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-ku-le-e-i-ma<sup>187</sup> a-ar-ki na-aš-ma LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM pí-an-zi*

<sup>183</sup> Hrozný 1922, 96 n. 2, Sommer and Falkenstein 1938, 127 n. 5, and Friedrich 1959, 58 n. 3 consider A.ŠÀ to be an error for *na-aš-ma*.

<sup>184</sup> Lit. "of the owner/lord of the *iwaru* (dowry/inheritance share)".

<sup>185</sup> So A; B omits *šahhan*.

<sup>186</sup> Lit. "shall take bread from (his) table and give it to him".

<sup>187</sup> The position of the *-ma* requires that *A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-ku-le-e-i* be a unit, and therefore the *A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A* be a determinative. If *A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A* were accusative and *ku-le-e-i* a dative, the *-ma* would have been attached to the *A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A*. That *A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A* is a determinative is further confirmed by the presence of word space after *ták-ku* and *ku-le-e-i-ma*, but its absence after *A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A* (collated on photo; not as clear as it should be in KBo 6.2).

(48) *†ta lu<sup>1</sup>-uz-zi kar-pí-i-ez-zi*

**B (KBo 6.3) ii**

(65) *ták-ku LÚ G<sup>1</sup>[IŠTUKUL A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-ŠU ...<sup>188</sup>]*

(66) *ku-iš-[ki wa]-†a†-ši lu-uz-zi kar-pí-i-e-ez-zi ták-ku [A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A me-ek-ki wa-a-ši]*

(67) *lu-u[z-zi Ú-U]L kar-ap-zi ták-ku A.†ŠÀ<sup>1</sup>.ĪI.Aku-le<sup>189</sup>[-i a-ar-ki]*

(68) *na-[aš-ma LÚ].MEŠ URU-LIM pí-an-zi lu-uz-z[i] k[ar-ap-zi]*

§ 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/fallow land, or the men of the village give (him land), he shall render the *luzzi*-services.

§ XXXVI

**PT (KBo 6.4) iv**

(12) *ták-ku A.ŠÀ A.GÀR NÍG.BA LUGAL ku-iš-ki ħar-zi lu-uz-zi*

(13) *e-eš-ša-a-i ma-a-na-an-kán LUGAL-uš-ma a-ra-u-wa-aḫ-ḫi*

(14) *nu lu-uz-zi Ú-UL i-ia-az-zi*

§ 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.<sup>190</sup>

§ XXXVII

**PT (KBo 6.4) iv**

(15) *ták-ku A.ŠÀ A.GÀR ku-iš-ki ŠA LÚ GIŠTUKUL ħu-u-ma-an-da-an wa-a-ši*

(16) *EN A.ŠÀ A.GÀR!-ma-kán ħar-ak-zi nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ku-it*

(17) *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an LUGAL-uš da-a-i nu a-pa-a-at e-eš-ša-i*

(18) *ma-a-an EN A.ŠÀ A.GÀR-ma TI-an-za na-aš-ma É EN A.ŠÀ A.GÀR*

(19) *e-eš-zi ma-a-an a-pé-e-da-ni ut-ne-e*

(20) *ma-a-an da-me-e-da-ni KUR-e ša-aḫ-ḫa-an Ú-UL e-eš-ša-i*

§ 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 *šahḫan*-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, (the new owner) shall not perform *šahḫan*-services.

<sup>188</sup> Probably not enough space to restore *ħu-u-ma-an-da-an*. Perhaps *da-pí-an?*

<sup>189</sup> The *.ĪI.A ku-le[-* which both KBo 6.3 ii 67 and Hrozný 1922, 40 claimed to have seen clearly, is unfortunately no longer verifiable on any photo.

<sup>190</sup> See also §XXXIXa below.



## § XXXIX

## PT (KBo 6.4) iv

(28) *ták-ku* A.ŠÀ.A.GÀR-an NÍG.BA LUGAL *ku-iš-ki* *ḥar-zi* A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A-aš-ma *lu-uz-zi*

(29) «*lu-uz-zi*» *i-ia-zi* *ma-a-na-an-kán* IŠ-TU É.GAL-LIM

(30) *a-ra-wa-aḥ-ḫi* *lu-uz-zi* Ú-UL *kar-ap-zi* § XXXIXb *ták-ku* < ŠA > LÚ GIŠTUKUL

(31) A.ŠÀ-ŠU *ḫu-u-ma-an-da-an* *ku-iš-ki* *wa-a-ši* LUGAL-un

(32) *pu-nu-uš-ša-an-zi* *nu* *ku-it* LUGAL-uš *te-ez-zi* *nu* *a-pa-a-at*

(33) *lu-uz-zi* *kar-ap-zi* *ták-ku* A.ŠÀ.ḪI.A *ku-e-el-la* *pa-ra-a* <sup>1</sup>*wa*<sup>1</sup>-*a-ši*

(34) *lu-uz-zi* Ú-UL *kar-pí-i-e-ez-zi* *ták-ku* A.ŠÀ.A.GÀR *ḥar-kán-za*

(35) *na-aš-ma-aš-ši* LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM *pí-an-zi* *lu-uz-zi* *i-ia-zi*

§ 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 (lit. "if one exempts") him from the palace, he shall not render the *luzzi*-services.<sup>191</sup> § 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 (any additional) *luzzi*-services. If the land is vacated, or men of the village give him (other land), he shall perform the *luzzi*-services (on it).

## § 48

## A (KBo 6.2) ii

(49) LÚ<sup>1</sup>*ḫi-ip-pár-aš* *lu-uz-zi* *kar-pí-i-ez-zi* *nu* LÚ<sup>1</sup>*ḫi-ip-pa-ri* *ḫa-a-ap-pár* *le-e*

(50) [*ku*]-*iš-ki* *i-ez-zi* DUMU-ŠU A.ŠÀ-ŠU GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> GEŠTIN-ŠU *le-e* *ku-iš-ki* *wa-a-ši*

(51) [*ku-i*]-*š-za* LÚ<sup>1</sup>*ḫi-ip-pa-ri* *ḫa-a-ap-pár* *i-ez-zi* *na-aš-kán* *ḫa-a-ap-pa-ra-az*

(52) [*še-me-e*]-*n-zi*<sup>192</sup> LÚ<sup>1</sup>*ḫi-ip-pár-aš* *ku-it* *ḫa-ap-pa-ra-a-it* *ta-az* *a-ap-pa* *da*-<sup>1</sup>*a-i*<sup>1</sup>

## B (KBo 6.3) ii

(69) [LÚ<sup>1</sup>*ḫi-ip-pár*]-<sup>1</sup>*aš*<sup>1</sup> [*lu-u*]-*z*-<sup>1</sup>*zi*<sup>1</sup> [*ka*]-*r-pí-ez*-[*zi* *nu* LÚ<sup>1</sup>*ḫi-ip-pa-ri* *ḫa-a-ap-pár* *le-e*]

(70) [*ku-iš-ki*]-<sup>1</sup>*i-ez*-<sup>1</sup>*z*[*i* DUMU-ŠU A.ŠÀ-ŠU] U [GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> GEŠTIN-ŠU *le-e* *ku-iš-ki* *wa-a-ši* *ku-iš-za* LÚ<sup>1</sup>*ḫi-ip-pa-ri*]

(71) [*ḫa-a-ap-pár* *i*]-*ez*-[*zi* *na-a*]-*š-kán* [*ḫa-a-ap-pa-ra-az* *ša-me-en-zi* ...]

§ 48 A *ḫippara*-man renders *luzzi*-services. Let no one make a purchase from a *ḫippara*-man. Let no one buy his child, his land, (or) his vineyard(s). Whoever makes a purchase from a *ḫippara*-man shall forfeit his purchase price, and the *ḫipparaš*-man shall take back whatever he sold.

<sup>191</sup> See also §XXXVI above.

<sup>192</sup> After *še-me-en-zi* §145/34 (aa).



## § XL

## PT (KBo 6.4) iv

(36) *ták-ku-za* LÚ<sup>hi</sup>!-ip-pa-ra-aš lu-uz-zi kar-pí-iz-zi LÚA-SI-RUM-za

(37) *ha-ap-pár le-e ku-iš-ki i-ia-zi* DUMU-ŠU A.ŠÀ-ŠU GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>-GEŠTIN-ŠÚ

(38) [I]e-e ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši ku-iš-za LÚA-SI-RUM-ma ha-ap-pár

(39) [i-i]a-zi na-aš-kan ha-ap-pár-ra-az ša-me-en-zi LÚA-SI-RUM-[m]a

(40) [ku-i]t ha-ap-pí-ra-iz-zi na-at-za EGIR-pa d[a-a-i]

§ XL (= late version of § 48) (Even) if a *hipparaš*-man renders the *luzzi*-services,<sup>193</sup> 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

## A (KBo 6.2) ii

(53) [ták-k]lu LÚ<sup>hi</sup>!-ip-pár-aš ta-a-i-ez-zi šar-ni-ik-zi-il NU.GÁL [ø?]

(54) [o-x-[o-i]n?-kán-za-an]<sup>194</sup> nu tu-ek-kán-za-ši-iš-pát šar-ni-ik-zi ma-a-am[-ma-an]<sup>195</sup>

(55) ta-ia-az-zi-il pí-iš-ker ma-an hu-u-ma-an-te-eš-pát mar-še-e-er

(56) [ma?-n]e?<sup>196</sup> LÚ.MEŠNÍ.ZU ki-i-ša-an-ta-ti ka-a-aš-ma-an ku-u-un e-ep-z[i]

<sup>193</sup> Neu (apud Haase 1982b) has pointed out that the translation of this passage by Friedrich, Imparati, von Schuler and others—"if it is a *hipparaš* man, he shall render ..." is excluded by the presence of *-za*, which would require any nominal sentence containing it to have a first or second person subject (see Hoffner 1969a). Such a translation is impossible here. This means that *ták-ku ... kar-pí-iz-zi* is a single clause. In the same place Neu considers the possibility that the scribe has accidentally and incorrectly added a *ták-ku* here, in which case the phraseology would be the same as in §48. This second possibility seems more likely to me, since *-za* is not called for with *luzzi karp(iye)*. Doubtless the scribe first intended to write *ták-ku-za* LÚ<sup>hi</sup>!-ip-pa-ri ha-ap-pár ku-iš-ki i-ia-zi. But when he discovered that he had omitted the LÚ<sup>hi</sup>!-ip-pa-ra-aš lu-uz-zi kar-pí-iz-zi of his hyparchetype, he stopped after *ták-ku-za* and inserted this material before proceeding with the *ha-ap-pár i-ia-zi* clause, which then became a simple prohibition.

<sup>194</sup> Hrozný: [t]ák(?) -ku(?) t[u(?) -i]n(?) -kán-za-an; Friedrich 1959, 32: [ták-k]u? tu?-in?-kán-za-an. Neu apud Haase 1982a proposed reading [šar-ni-i]n-kán-za-an. Haase (or perhaps Neu via Haase) would analyze this as a one-word nominal sentence, containing a participle *šarninkanza* and the sentence particle *-an*. But what would be the function of the particle *-an* in a simple "to be" sentence without local qualification? Finite forms of *šarnink-* construed with postpositional *šer* phrases take *-šan* (Josephson 1972, 235f.), but here there is no *šer* phrase, and *šarninkanza* is a participle in a "to be" clause. And where would the subject pronoun be? For "He is a compensator" we would expect *šar-ni-in-kán-za-aš* without particle. The assumption that there is a sentence particle on [šarni]nkanza *-an* also excludes restoring *takku*.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. CHD *man* b 2' b'. For a justification of this reading see the Commentary.

<sup>196</sup> Reading following L iv 4. Each of the irrealis clauses in A has *ma-an*, *ma-n<sup>o</sup>*, or *-ma-an*. Hrozný (p. 44) read: "...-aš-ma", and his translation "[o]u" with footnote: "Plus invraisable: et" implied a reading [na-]aš-ma, which was made explicit by Friedrich (p. 32), although the latter in footnote 26 noted that L IV 4 had [...] -ne. The



(57) [ka]-a-ša-ma-an ku-u-un e-ep-zi ma-an LUGAL-wa-aš<sup>GIŠx</sup><sup>197</sup> pé-eš-ši-e[r]

**L<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.14) iv 1-7**

(1) [ták-ku<sup>LÚ</sup>hi-ip-pár-aš ta-a-i-ez-zi šar-ni-ik-zi-il N]U.G[ÁL]

(2) [o-o-o-o-kán-za-an nu tu-ek-kán-za]-ši-iš

(3) [šar-ni-ik-zi ma-a-am-ma-an ta-ia-az-zi-i]l pé-eš-ke-er

(4) [ma-an hu-u-ma-an-te-eš-pát mar-še-e-er ma?-]ne<sup>LÚ.MEŠNÍ.ZU</sup>

(5) [ki-i-ša-an-ta-ti ka-a-aš-ma-an ku-u-un] e-ep-zi

(6) [ka-a-ša-ma-an ku-u-un e-ep-zi m]a-an LUGAL-wa-aš

(7) [GIŠ<sub>o</sub> pé-eš-ši-er]

§ 49 [If] a *hipparaš*-man steals, there will be no compensation, they shall ... him, and only his body shall give compensation.<sup>198</sup> If they (i.e., the *hipparaš*-men) [were] required to give (compensation for) theft, they would all be dishonest, or would become thieves. This one would seize that one, and that one this one. [They] would overturn the king's authority(?).

#### § XLI

**PT (KBo 6.4) iv**

(41) [ták-ku<sup>LÚ</sup>A-[S]I-RUM da-a-i-ia-zi nu-uš-ši-i[š-ša-an]

(42) [šar-ni-ik-ze-e]l? Ú-UL iš-ši-an-z[i na-aš-ma]

(43) [tu-ik-kán-za šar-ni-ik-z]i<sup>ma</sup>-a[m<sup>199</sup>-ma-an ...] [Continuation broken away.]

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

---

reading [na]-aš-ma is very unlikely from the traces in the photo. Other *ma*'s in nearby lines of A are much wider. Furthermore, each clause in the entire sequence needs the potential particle *man*. L's reading is obviously the clue to the correct reading of A here: [ma-n]e (i.e., *man* + *-e*).

<sup>197</sup> Not "GIŠDUBBIN" with Friedrich 1959, 32. Reading of the logogram unclear. Cf. Hoffner 1973b, 84 note 17, who suggests "an agricultural implement of some type", perhaps as a symbol of royal authority.

<sup>198</sup> That is, according to Güterbock apud Korošec, *RAI* 18 (1972) 107 followed by Haase 1982a, 34, he cannot use his property or child as compensation, but must compensate by the labor of his own body.

<sup>199</sup> Hrozný, influenced by his incorrect understanding of A ii 54, read *ma-n[e]* here. Traces in the Neufeld photo favor *-a[m-* over Friedrich's *-n[a-*. For the writing *ma-am-ma-an* in MH/MS and later, alongside *ma-a-am-ma-an* in OH/MS, see CHD L-N 141.



## § 50

## A (KBo 6.2) ii

- (58) [LÚ]UK?KI.E<sup>200</sup> *ku-iš URUNe-e-ri-ik-ki ta-ru-uh-zi ku-iš URUA-[ri-in-ni]*  
 (59) [ku<sup>1</sup>-iš URUZi-ip-la-an-ti LÚSANGA-eš I-NA URU.DIDLI hu-u-ma-an-t[i]  
 (60) [É].H.A.ŠU-NU EL-LU Û LÚ.MEŠH.A.LA-ŠU-NU lu-uz-zi ka[r-pí-an-zi]  
 (61) [ma-a-an<sup>1</sup> URUA-ri-in-na 11 ITU-aš ti-ez-zi nu a-pé-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>.[el É-SÚ]  
 (62) [ku-e-la<sup>1</sup> GIŠe-ia-an a-aš-ki-iš-ši ša-<sup>1</sup>ku-wa<sup>1</sup>-a-an [a<sup>1</sup>.[pé-ni-iš-ša-an]<sup>201</sup>

## B (KBo 6.3) iii

- (1)<sup>202</sup> [ma-a-an URUA-ri-in-na 11 ITU-aš ti-ez-zi nu a-pé-e-el É-SÚ]  
 (2) *ku-e-la GIŠe-ia<sup>1</sup> a-aš-ki-iš-ši š[a-ku-wa-a-an a-pé-ni-iš-ša-an]*

L<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.14) iv

- (8) [LÚUK?KI.E *ku-iš URUNe-e-ri-ik-ki ta-ru-uh-zi*]  
 (9) [ku-iš URUA-ri-in-ni ku-iš URUZi-ip-pa]-la-an-ta  
 (10) [LÚSANGA-eš ...]x  
 (11) [...-z]i

§ 50 The ... [man] who ...-s<sup>203</sup> in Nerik, he who is a priest in Arinna (or) in Ziplanta— in every town their houses are exempt, whereas their associates render the *luzzi*-services. In Arinna, when the

<sup>200</sup> Hrozný (p. 44): LÚtak-ki-e, or less likely LÚub-ki-e. In the photos the sign after LÚ resembles ŠUM (= TAG) more closely than it does UK.

<sup>201</sup> Conjectural restoration on the basis of QA-TAM-MA in similar contexts. Friedrich 1959 reads a-[ra-u-wa-an] "(is) exempt".

<sup>202</sup> First part of the law in B is either lost in the lacuna at the end of col. II or in the barely legible signs written above line "2" in col. III.

<sup>203</sup> The verb *ta-ru-uh-zi* is undoubtedly the same as *tarhu(z)i*, as OH *e-uk-zi* "s/he drinks" is the same as *e-ku-uz-zi*. It has long been recognized that this is the same root as is present in the derived adjective *tarhuili*- "able, mighty". Attested forms of the verb suggest a meaning akin to that of *tarh*- "to be able, overcome": KBo 32.14 iii 17-19 *n=an=za PANI BELI=ŠU išiyahhuanzi tarhuer / nu IGI.DUG.H.A kue pašiškit n=at PANI BELI=ŠU / lilhuwan daiš* "(the people of his city) were able to inform on him before his lord, so that he had to spit out (lit. 'pour out') before his lord the valuable items of tribute which he had been swallowing"; KUB 17.10 i 32-33 *INA URU-ŠU KÁ.GAL / [uiz]zi nu UL tarhuzzi hāši* "he comes to the gate in his city, and cannot open (it)"; KUB 13.4 ii 76-77 *mān=za MUNUS-aš uttar kuedanik[ki] / t[arh]u[zz]i n=aš=za MUNUS-ni GAM-an šešdu* "and if desire for a woman (lit. 'the matter of a woman') overcomes someone, then let him sleep with a woman"; KBo 16.47:4 [nu=ššan] "Huḫazalman=za ḫannetnit ta-ru-uh-ḫu-un "I overcame PN too in court (lit. 'by means of a trial')". On *tarhu*- see Oettinger 1979, 220-223, Weitenberg 1984, §§320-321. It is possible to translate *ta-ru-uh-zi* here as "the ... man who is in charge(?) in Nerik", but no other passage yet attests this exact meaning, and we have no clue yet as to the meaning (or even the correct reading!) of the word "LÚ UK?KI?E". For this reason I hesitate to give such a translation in the main text.



eleventh month arrives, [the house of him] at whose gate an *eyan* (tree or pole) is ...<sup>204</sup> is likewise (exempt).

## § 51

## A (KBo 6.2) iii

- (1) [k]a-r[u]-iú ku<sup>1</sup>-[iš URUA-ri-in-na] lÚUŠ.BAR<sup>1</sup> ki-i[-ša-at .....]  
 (2) [LÚ.MEŠ]JA.LA-ŠU Û LÚ.MEŠNI-ŠU-Ú-ŠU a-r[a-u-.....]  
 (3) [LÚ.MEŠ]JA.LA-ŠU Û LÚ.MEŠNI-ŠU-Ú-ŠU ša-ah-ḫa-a[n lu-uz-zi .....]  
 (4) [URU]Zi<sup>1</sup>-ip-la-an-ti-ia QA-TAM-[MA-pát]

## B (KBo 6.3) iii

- (3) ka-ru-ú ku-iš URUA-ri-in-na LÚUŠ<sup>1</sup>.BAR<sup>205</sup> ki-i[-ša-at .....]  
 (4) Û LÚ.MEŠNI-ŠU-Ú-ŠU a-ra-u-e-eš ki-n[u-na ... .....]  
 (5) Û LÚ.MEŠNI-ŠU-Ú-ŠU ša-ah-ḫa-an lu-uz-z[i] .....  
 (6) URUZi<sup>1</sup>-ip-pa-la-an-ti-ia QA-TAM-M[A-pát]

## D (KBo 6.6) i

- (6) [k]a-ru-ú ku[-iš .....]  
 (7) LÚ.MEŠJA.LA-ŠU [Û LÚ.MEŠNI-ŠU-Ú-ŠU a-ra-u]-e<sup>1</sup>-eš k[i-nu-na É-SÚ-pát]  
 (8) EL-LUM LÚ.MEŠJA[LA-ŠU Û LÚ.MEŠNI-ŠU-Ú-ŠU lu-uz-z[i]<sup>206</sup>  
 (9) kar-pí-an-zi [URUZi<sup>1</sup>-ip-pa-la-an-ti-i]a QA-TAM-MA-pát<sup>207</sup>

## G (KBo 6.9) i

- (1) ka-ru-ú ku-iš URUA-ri-in-na lÚUŠ.BAR ki-ša-at]  
 (2) Û É-SÚ a-ra-a<sup>208</sup>-u-wa-an LÚ.MEŠJA.LA-[ŠU Û LÚ.MEŠNI-ŠU-Ú-ŠU]  
 (3) a-ra-a-u-e-eš ki-nu-na É-SÚ-pát [EL-LUM LÚ.MEŠJA.LA-ŠU]  
 (4) Û LÚ.MEŠNI-ŠU-Ú-ŠU ša-ah-ḫa-an [lu-uz-zi]  
 (5) kar-pí-i-ez-zi URUZi<sup>1</sup>-ip-pa-la-a[n-ti-ia QA-TAM-MA-pát]

<sup>204</sup> The plene writing of the final syllable of *ša-ku-wa-a-an* favors its interpretation as a participle of a verb *šakuwā(i)-*, rather than as the *-want-* derivative *šakuwant-* "oily". Compare *píd-da-a-an* and *pí-ia-a-an*.

<sup>205</sup> The BAR sign in both A and B is HZL 20/1 (which shares the shape of HZL 251/3). I would like to see the evidence for the claim in HZL p. 100 that Hittite scribes did not distinguish BAR and MAŠ. It seems to me that in OH manuscripts the distinct shape 20/1 was reserved for BAR, while MAŠ used the other attested forms. This is a survival, of course, of the formal distinction in Old Babylonian.

<sup>206</sup> Perhaps: *lu-uz-z[i] ša-ah-ḫa-an* with unusual word order? Hrozný 46 n. 6: "KBo. VI. no. 6 ... a seusement *lu-uz-z[i]* «le servic[e]». On peut à peine supposer que *šahḫan* suivant *luzz[i]* et manque maintenant."

<sup>207</sup> Over erasure. Line 9 continues with the text of §52.

<sup>208</sup> Over erased *-u-*. The scribe started to write *a-ra-u-* as in §51 (B), 56 (A, B, D), 101 (c, o<sub>1</sub>), 191 (w), 194 (j), then realized the *a* should be plene, as he wrote again in line 3.

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

## § 52

## A (KBo 6.2) iii

(5) [AR]AD É NA<sub>4</sub> ARAD DUMU.LUGAL BE-EL ŠU-UP-PA-TI ku-i-eš LÚ.MEŠ GIŠTUKUL [iš-tar-na<sup>209</sup>]

(6) A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-an ħar-kán-zi lu-uz-zi kar-pí-an-z[i]

## B (KBo 6.3) iii

(7) ARAD É NA<sub>4</sub> ARAD DUMU.LUGAL BE-EL ŠU-UP-PA-TI ku-i-<sup>1</sup>eš LÚ.MEŠ GIŠTUKUL iš-tar-na]

(8) A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-an ħar-kán-zi lu-uz-zi ka[r-pí-an-zi]

## D (KBo 6.6) i

(9)<sup>210</sup>

ARAD É N[A<sub>4</sub>]

(10) ARAD DUMU.LUGAL BE-[EL ŠU-UP-PA-TI ku-i]-e-eš LÚ.MEŠ GIŠTUKUL

(11) iš-tar-na É [A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A<sup>211</sup> ħar-kán-zi ]lu-uz-zi kar-pí-an-zi

## G (KBo 6.9) obv.

(6) [AR]AD É.NA<sub>4</sub> ARAD DUMU.LUGAL EN ŠU-UP-PA-TI k[u-i-e-eš]

(7) [LÚ.ME]Š GIŠTUKUL iš-tar-na A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-an ħar-kán-[zi]

(8) [lu-u]z-zi kar-pí-an-zi

§ 52 A slave of a Stone House,<sup>212</sup> a slave of a prince (or) a person entitled to wear a reed-shaped emblem(?)<sup>213</sup>—any of such people who hold land<sup>214</sup> among<sup>215</sup> TUKUL-men, shall render the *luzzi*-services.

<sup>209</sup> Add É, with D i 11?

<sup>210</sup> Continuation without a break from §51.

<sup>211</sup> In sufficient space in copy and photo to restore [A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-an ħar-kán-zi ]lu-.

<sup>212</sup> A serf attached to the estate of a (royal) mausoleum; see Güterbock 1961b, 69, referring to Otten 1958.

<sup>213</sup> For Akkadian *bēl šuppati* see Commentary.

<sup>214</sup> So G; D “[hold] house (and) [land]”. A and B might also have had “[house] (and) land”.

<sup>215</sup> With the plural of persons or gods Hittite *ištarna* has less of a purely locating and more of a class- or category-indicating function. These persons belong to the category of TUKUL-men. See ANA DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL *ištarna* “among princes” (i.e., in the category of princes) KUB 36.109:5; *takku* ARAD.MEŠ-a<n>=man *ištarna* ŠUM=Š[UNU] / *kuiški tezzi* ARAD=miš le “if anyone belonging to the category of my servants speaks their name, let him not be my servant” KBo 3.27 obv. 10-11; *kuiš* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-n=a NIN.MEŠ-n=a *ištarna idalu iyazi* “whoever belonging to the category of brothers and sisters does harm” KBo 3.1+ ii 50; <sup>d</sup>UTU-i / *šarku<i>* LUGAL-ue DINGIR.MEŠ-naš=kan iš<(tar)>na *zik=pat / ašnuanza* “O Sungod, outstanding king, among gods



## § 53

## A (KBo 6.2) iii

- (7) [t]ák-ku LÚ GIŠTUKUL Û LÚ.ĤA.LA-ŠU ták-ša-an a-ša-an-zi ma-a-né-za i-t[a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi]
- (8) [t]a-az É-SÚ-NU šar-ra-an-zi ták-ku gi-im-ra-aš-ša-aš 10 SAG.DU 7 SA[G.DU LÚ GIŠTUKUL da-a-i]
- (9) [t] 3 SAG.DU LÚ.ĤA.LA-ŠU da-a-i GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A UDU.ĤI.A gi-im-ra-aš-ša-aš Q[A-TAM-MA]
- (10) šar-ra-an-zi ták-ku NÍG.BA LUGAL ṬUP-PÍ ku-iš-ki <ḫar-zi><sup>216</sup> ma-a-an-za A.ŠÀ.ĤI.A-na k[a-ru-ú-i-li-in]
- (11) šar-ra-an-zi Û NÍG.BA 2 QA-TAM LÚ GIŠTUKUL da-a-ú Û 1 QA-TAM LÚ.ĤA.LA-[ŠU da-a-ú]

## B (KBo 6.3) iii

- (9) ták-ku LÚ GIŠTUKUL Û LÚ.ĤA.LA-ŠU ták-ša-an a-ša-an-zi [i ma-a-né-za i-ta-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi]
- (10) ta-az É-SÚ-NU šar-ra-an-zi ták-ku gi-im-ma-r[a-aš-š]a-[aš 10 SAG.DU 7 SAG.DU]
- (11) LÚ GIŠTUKUL da-a-i Û 3 SAG.DU LÚ.ĤA.LA-ŠU da-a-[i] GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A U[DU.ĤI.A gi-im-ma-ra-aš-ša-aš]
- (12) QA-TAM-MA šar-ra-an-zi ták-ku NÍG.ĪBA<sup>1</sup> LUGAL ṬUP-PÍ ku-iš-ki!<sup>217</sup> ḫar-zi [ma-a-an-za]
- (13) A.ŠÀ.ĤI.A-na ka-ru-ú-i-li-in šar-ra-an-zi Û NÍG.BA 2 QA-TAM [LÚ GIŠTUKUL da-a-i]
- (14) Û 1 QA-TAM LÚ.ĤA.LA-ŠU da-a-i

## D (KBo 6.6) i

- (12) ták-ku LÚ GIŠTUKUL Û LU.MEŠ<sup>o</sup>ĤA.LA-ŠU ták-ša-an a-ša-an-zi
- (13) ma-a-né-za i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi ta-za É-SÚ-NU šar-ra-an-zi
- (14) ták-ku gi-im-ra-aš-ša-aš 10 SAG.DU.MEŠ 7 SAG.DU LÚ GIŠTUKUL da-a-i
- (15) Û 3 SAG.DU LÚ.ĤA.LA-ŠU da-a-i GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A UDU.ĤI.A LÍL-aš-ša-aš
- (16) QA-TAM-MA šar-ra-an-zi ták-ku NÍG.BA LUGAL ṬUP-PU ku-iš-ki ḫar-zi

(i.e., in the class of gods) you alone are well-established" KUB 31.127 + ABoT 44 + i 17-19; *karuiliyaš = a = kan* / DINGIR.MEŠ-naš *ištarna* <sup>d</sup>UTU-u[š ša]rkuš "and among the primeval deities the Sungod is supreme" *ibid.* i 25-26; DINGIR.MEŠ-aš = *kan ištarna* / ANA <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR *nahhan ešdu* "(and in the future let the children and grandchildren of My Majesty, the posterity of My Majesty,) have (special) reverence to IŠTAR among the gods" Hatt. i 6-8. But there are borderline examples where *ištarna* may have a simply locating function, even with the plural of persons or gods: *nu = za = kan mān nakkiš* <sup>d</sup>Telipinuš *šer nepiši* / DINGIR.MEŠ-aš *ištarna* "If you, noble Telipinu, are above in heaven, among the gods" KUB 24.1 i 8-9; *nu = tta = kan* URU<sup>U</sup>ḫattuši ANA LÚ.MEŠ URU<sup>U</sup>ḫayaša = *ya aššuli ištarna* / *tekkuššanunun* "In ḫattuša (or 'in ḫatti') I have distinguished you among the men of ḫayaša" KBo 5.3 i 4-5.

<sup>216</sup> So B iii 12; accidentally omitted in A.

<sup>217</sup> Text -ku.



(17) *ma-a-an-za-an* A.ŠÀ.ĤI.A-*an ka-ru-ú-i-li-in šar-ra-an-zi*

(18) Û NÍG.BA 2 QA-TAM LÚ GIŠTUKUL *da-a-i* Û 1-EN QA-TAM LÚ.ĤA.LA-ŠU *da-a-i*

**F<sub>2</sub>(KUB 13.11)+F<sub>3</sub>(KUB 29.15) + F<sub>1</sub>(KBo 6.8) obv.**

(1) [*t*]ák-ku LÚ GIŠTUKUL Û LÚ.ĤA.LA-ŠU [*ták-ša-an a-ša-an-z*]i

(2) [*m*]a-a-né-za *i-da-a-la-u-iš-š[a-an-zi ta-az*<sup>218</sup> É]-SÚ-NU

(3) *šar-ra-an-zi ták-ku gi-i[m-ra-aš-ša-aš* 10 SAG.D]U

(4) 7 SAG.DU LÚ GIŠTUKUL *da-a-[i Û 3 SAG.DU]* LÚ.ĤA.LA-ŠU *da-a-i*

(5) GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A UDU.ĤI.A *gi-im-r[a-aš-ša-aš QA-TAM-MA š]ar-ra-an-z[i]*

(6) *ták-ku NÍG.BA LUGAL ṬUP-P[U ku-iš-ki ḥar-z]i ma-a-an-za* A.ŠÀ.ĤI.A-*na/ŠU*

(7) *ka-ru-ú-li-in*<sup>219</sup> [*šar-ra-an-zi*] Û NÍG.BA 2 QA-TAM

(8) LÚ GIŠTUKUL *da-a-i* [1-EN QA-TAM LÚ.]ĤA.LA-ŠU *da-a-i*

**G (KBo 6.9)**

(9) [*ták-ku* L]Ú GIŠTUKUL Û LÚ.MEŠĤA.LA-ŠU *ták-š[a-an a-ša-an-zi]*

(10) [*ma-a-né*]-za *i-da-la-u-e-ša-an-z[i ta-za* É-SÚ-NU]

(11) [*šar-ra-a*]n-zi [...]

§ 53 If a man having a TUKUL-obligation and his partner live together, if they have a falling out and divide their household, if there are belonging to his (i.e., the LÚ GIŠTUKUL's) land ten persons (lit. heads),<sup>220</sup> the man having a TUKUL-obligation shall receive seven and his partner three. 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 two parts, and his partner shall take one part.

#### § 54

**A (KBo 6.2) iii**

(12) *ka-ru-ú* ÉRIN.IMEŠ<sup>1</sup> MA-AN-DA ÉRIN.MEŠ ŠA-A-LA ÉRIN.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Ta-ma-al-ki-ia  
ÉRIN.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Ĥa-[at-ra-a]

(13) ÉRIN.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Za-al-pa ÉRIN.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Ta-aš-ḥi-ni-ia ÉRIN.MEŠ <sup>URU</sup>Ĥé-<sup>1</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-wa LÚ.MEŠ  
GIŠ[BAN<sup>1</sup> L]Ú.MEŠNAGAR GIŠ-ŠÍ

(14) LÚ.MEŠKUS<sup>7</sup> Û LÚ.MEŠ*ka-ru-ḥa-le-eš-me-eš-ša lu-uz-zi na-at-ta kar-p[í-er]*

(15) [*ša*<sup>1</sup>-aḥ-ḥa-an na-at-ta i-iš-še-er

<sup>218</sup> Or: *ta-za* with D.

<sup>219</sup> Sic! Not *ka-ru-ú-i-li-in*.

<sup>220</sup> Clearly a "to be" sentence, as recognized by Cotticelli-Kurras 1992a, 61, but *gi-im-ra-aš-ša-aš* is not possessive dative (plural) as she thinks, but genitive singular.



**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

- (15) *ka-ru-ú* ÉRIN.MEŠ *MA-AN-DA* ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠA-A-LA* ÉRIN.MEŠ URUTa-ma-al-ki É[RIN.MEŠ URUḪa-at-ra-a]
- (16) ÉRIN.MEŠ URUZa-al-pa ÉRIN.MEŠ URUTa-aš-ḫi-ni-ia ÉRIN.MEŠ URUḪé-mu-wa LÚ.MEŠ GIŠB[AN LÚ.MEŠNAGAR GIŠ-ŠÍ]
- (17) LÚ.MEŠKUŠ<sub>7</sub> Û LÚ.MEŠka-ru-ḫa-li-iš-me-eš-ša ʿlu<sup>1</sup>-uz-zi Ú-UL [*kar-pí-er*]
- (18) *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an* Ú-UL e-eš-še-er

**D (KBo 6.6) i**

- (19) *ka-ru-ú* ÉRIN.MEŠ ʿMA<sup>1</sup>-AN-DA ÉRIN.MEŠ *ŠA-A-LA* ÉRIN.MEŠ URUTa-ma-al-ki
- (20) ÉRIN.MEŠ URUḪa-at-ʿra-a<sup>1</sup> ÉRIN.MEŠ URUZa-al-pa ÉRIN.MEŠ URUTa-aš-ḫé-ni-ia
- (21) ÉRIN.MEŠ URUḪi-im-mu-[w]a LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBAN LÚ.MEŠNAGAR GIŠ-ŠÍ LÚ.MEŠKU[Š<sub>7</sub>]
- (22) Û LÚ.MEŠka-[ru-ḫ]a-li-iš-me-eš lu-uz-zi Ú-U[L]
- (23) *kar-pí-i-e-e[r ša-aḫ-ḫ]a-an* Ú-UL e-eš-še-er<sup>1</sup>

**F<sub>2</sub> (KUB 13.11) + F<sub>3</sub> (KUB 29.15) + F<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.8) + F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.4) obv.**

- (8) *ka-ru-ú* ÉRI[N.MEŠ ..... ŠA-A-L]A<sup>221</sup> ÉRIN.MEŠ URUTa-ma-al-[k]i<sup>222</sup>
- (9) [.....ÉRIN.M]EŠ URUTa-aš-ḫi-ni-i[a]
- (10) [.....LÚ.MEŠNAGAR GIŠ-ŠÍ]
- (11) [.....-]ʿme?-eš lu<sup>1</sup>-u[z-zi]<sup>223</sup> ...]
- (12)<sup>224</sup> [Ú-UL *kar-pí-i-e-er ša-aḫ-ḫa-a*]n Ú[UL e-eš-še-er]

§ 54 Formerly, the *MANDA* troops, the troops of Sala, Tamalki, Ḫatra, Zalpa, Tašḫiniya and Ḫemuwa, the bowmen, the carpenters, the chariot warriors and their *karuḫaleš*-men did not render the *luzzi*-services, nor did they perform *šaḫḫan*-services.

## § 55

**A (KBo 6.2) iii**

- (16) [*ma*]-a-an DUMU.MEŠ URUḪA-AT-TI LÚ.MEŠ IL-KI *ú-e-er* A-NA A-BI LUGAL a-ru-wa[-a-an-zi]

<sup>221</sup> Space available in the break is insufficient for the full restoration of the other texts. Perhaps *ka-ru-ú* ÉRI[N.MEŠ URUŠa-a-l]a with accidental(?) omission of ÉRIN.MEŠ *MA-AN-DA* in F.

<sup>222</sup> -[k]i preserved in F<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>223</sup> Traces from F<sub>3</sub> obv. 11.

<sup>224</sup> = F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.4 i) 1'.

- (17)<sup>225</sup> ʾnu tar<sup>1</sup>-ši-kán-zi ku-ú-ša-an-na-aš-za<sup>226</sup> (eras.) na-at-ta ku-iš-ki i-e-e[z-zi]  
 (18) nu-wa-an-na-aš-za mi-im-ma-an-zi LÚ.MEŠ IL-KI-wa šu-me-eš nu A-BI LUGAL [tu-li-ia ...]  
 (19) nu-uš an-da ši-it-ta-ri-et i-it-te-en ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an-da a-ʾre<sup>1</sup>-e[š-me-eš]  
 (20) šu-me-eš-ša a-pé-ni-iš-ša-an i-iš-te-e[n]

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

- (19) ma-a-an DUMU.MEŠ URUḤA-AT-TI LÚ.MEŠ ʾIL-KI ú-e-er nu A-BI LUGAL a-ʾru-wa-a-a[n-zi]  
 (20) nu tar-aš-kán-zi ku-ú-ša-an-na Ú-UL ku-iš-ki i-e-ez-zi ʾnu-wa-an-n[a-aš-za]  
 (21) me-em-ma-an-zi LÚ.MEŠ IL-KI-wa šu-me-eš nu A-BI LUGAL tu-li-ia ʾan-d[ʾa ti-ia-at]<sup>227</sup>  
 (22) nu an-da [š]i-it-ta-ri-et i-it-te-en ma-aḥ-ḥa-an a-re-eš-me-eš šu-[me-eš-ša]  
 (23) a-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an e-eš-te-en

**D (KBo 6.6) i**

- (24) ma-a-an DUMU.MEŠ URU[ḤA-AT-TI LÚ].ʾMEŠ? ʾIL-KÍ [.....]  
 (25) nu A-BI LUGAL a-r[u-wa-a-an-zi ..... ku-ú-ša-an-na]  
 (26) Ú-UL ku-iš-k[i i-ia-zi .....]  
 (27) LÚ.MEŠ IL-K[í-wa šu-me-eš nu A-BI LUGAL tu-li-ia .....]  
 (28) nu an-da ši-e[-e]t-t[ʾa-ri-et i-it-tén ma-aḥ-ḥa-an a-re-eš-me-eš]  
 (29) šu-me-eš a-pé-e-ʾni-iš-ša-an e-eš<sup>1</sup>-[te]-ʾen<sup>1</sup>

**F<sub>5</sub> (KBo 19.4) i**

- (2) [ma-a-an DUMU.MEŠ URUḤA-AT-TI LÚ<sup>o</sup>.MEŠ ʾIL-KI ú-e-er [t]  
 (3) [..... tar-ši-k]án?-zi ku-ú-ša-an[-na-aš ...]  
 (4) [..... nu-wa-an-n]a-aš-za me-em-ma-an[-zi ...]  
 (5) [..... t]u-li-ia [.....]  
 (6) [.....] ma-ʾaḥ<sup>1</sup>-ḥa-an[...]

§ 55 When (a delegation of) Hittites, men owing *šaḥḥan*-services, came, they did reverence to the father of the king, and said: "No one pays us a wage. They refuse us (saying): 'You are men required to perform your jobs as a *šaḥḥan*-service!'" The father of the king [stepped] into<sup>228</sup> the assembly and

<sup>225</sup> From iii 17 through 24 the join piece KBo 22.62 (the line numbers of which are 3 too high) supplies the left edge of the column.

<sup>226</sup> *ku-ú-ša-an-na-aš-za* written over erasure. The last two erased signs, which were not overwritten, are *-aš-za* (photo).

<sup>227</sup> Mora 1983b reads: *ḥal-[za-]i[š]*.

<sup>228</sup> Or: "su[mmon]e[d] to" (with Mora's reading of the signs).



instructed(?) them<sup>229</sup> under his seal: "You too<sup>230</sup> must perform (*šahhan*-services)<sup>231</sup> just like your colleagues."<sup>232</sup>

## § 56

## A (KBo 22.62 + KBo 6.2) iii

(21) *e-ki*<sup>233</sup> BÀD-ni LUGAL-aš KASKAL-ša *ták-šu-an-zi* GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN-aš *túh-ḫu-šu-an-zi* [ŠA LÚURUDU.NAG]AR

(22) *na-at-ta ku-iš-ki a-ra-u-aš* LÚ.MEŠ<sup>234</sup>NU.GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-ia-pát lu-uz-zi* [kar-p]f-an-zi

## B (KBo 6.3) iii

(24) A-NA<sup>234</sup> BÀD-ni KASKAL LUGAL [ták-šu<sup>1</sup>-wa-an-zi] GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN *túh-šu-u-wa-an-zi* [ŠA LÚURUDU.NAGAR]

(25) Ú-UL *ku-iš-ki a-ra-u-wa-aš* [LÚ.MEŠ<sup>235</sup>G[IS.NU?].GI]ŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-ia-pát lu-uz-zi* [kar-pf-an-zi]

## D (KBo 6.6) i

(30) BÀD-ni KASKAL LUGAL *pa-a-u-wa-an-zi* GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN *túh-šu-wa-a[n-zi]*

(31) ŠA LÚURUDU.NAGAR Ú-UL *ku-iš-ki a-ra-u-wa-aš* LÚ.MEŠ<sup>235</sup>GIŠ.NU.KI[RI<sub>6</sub>]

(32) *ḫu-u-ma-an-ti-ia-pát lu-uz-zi kar-pf-ia-an-zi*

§ 56 None of the coppersmiths is exempt from 'making' ice, a fortification, and royal roads,<sup>235</sup> or from harvesting vineyards. The gardeners render the *luzzi*-services in all (*ḫuūmanti*) the same (*-pat*) (kind of work).

## § 57

## A (KBo 6.2) iii

(23) *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḪ-an *ku-iš-ki da-a-i-ez-zi* *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub> *ša-ú-dí-iš-za na-at-ta* G[U<sub>4</sub>.MAḪ]-aš

(24) [ták-k]u GU<sub>4</sub> *i-ú-ga<sup>1</sup>-aš na-at-ta* GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḪ-aš *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub> *ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš a-pa-aš* GU<sub>4</sub>.[MAḪ]-aš

<sup>229</sup> I.e., the petitioners. The OH copy A has the accusative plural *-uš*, which was omitted in the NH copies.

<sup>230</sup> Note the *-a* in *šumešša*.

<sup>231</sup> Since in NH this verb is always thematized as *ēšša-*, I assume that B and D did not understand the OH and substituted *ēšten* "you must be".

<sup>232</sup> The "colleagues" were not part of the delegation of the men subject to the *ILKU*-obligation who appeared before the king. Starke 1979, 83 with n. 70a analyzes *arešmeš* "my colleagues".

<sup>233</sup> Biii mistakenly reads A-NA for *e-ki*. For von Schuler's assumption (followed by Soysal) of a scribal error here for *e-dí* see Commentary.

<sup>234</sup> B's scribe misread his OS archetype's *e-ki* as A-NA.

<sup>235</sup> So copy A. Post-OH copies B and D omit "ice". D substitutes for this clause: "None [of the coppersmiths] is exempt from going to (i.e., against?) a fortification, (or) on a royal campaign, (or) from harvesting vineyards".

(25) [ka-ru-ú 30 GU<sub>4</sub>].ĤI.A pí-iš-ker ki-nu-na 15 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A pa-a-i 5 GU<sub>4</sub> ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš

(26) [5 GU<sub>4</sub> i-ú-ga-aš 5 GU<sub>4</sub>] ša-ú-di-iš-za <pa-a-i> pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

(26) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ-an ku-iš-ki ta-ia-az-zi ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> ša-ú-i-ti-iš-za Ú-UL GU<sub>4</sub>.M[AĤ-aš]

(27) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> i-ú-ga-aš Ú-UL GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ-aš ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš a-pa-a-aš GU<sub>4</sub>.M[AĤ-aš]

(28) ka-ru-ú 30 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na 15 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A pa-a-i 5 <GU<sub>4</sub>> ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš

(29) 151 GU<sub>4</sub> i-ú-ga-aš 5 GU<sub>4</sub> ša-a-ú-i-ti-iš-za pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi

**D (KBo 6.6) i**

(33) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ ku-iš-ki da-a-i-ia-zi ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> ša-a-ú-i-te-e[š-za]

(34) Ú-UL GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> i-ú-ga-aš Ú-UL GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ-aš

(35) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> da-a-i-ú-ga-aš a-pa-a-aš GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ-aš ka-ru-ú 30 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A

(36) pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na 15 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A pa-a-i 5 GU<sub>4</sub> da-a-i-ú-ga-[aš]

(37) 5 GU<sub>4</sub> i-ú-ga-aš 5 GU<sub>4</sub> ša-a-ú-i-te-eš-za pa-a-i

(38) pá-r-na-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi

§ 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, and he shall look to his house for it.

§ 58

**A (KBo 6.2) iii**

(27) [ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĤ ku-iš-ki da]-[a-i]-e[z]-[zi] ták-ku ša-ú-di-iš-za na-at-ta ANŠE.KUR.RA.†MAĤ-aš<sup>1</sup>

(28) [ták-ku i-ú-ga-aš Ú-UL ANŠE.KUR.RA.MA]Ĥ-aš ták-ku ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš a-pa-aš ANŠE.KUR.RA.†MAĤ-aš<sup>1</sup>

(29) [ka-ru-ú 30 ANŠE.KUR.RA pí-iš-ker ki-nu-na 1]5 ANŠE.KUR.RA pa-a-i 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA ta-a-[i]-[ú-ga-aš]

(30) [5 ANŠE.KUR.RA i-ú-ga-aš 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA ša-ú-di]-iš-za pa-a-i [pár]-na-še-e-a šu-wa-[i]-[ez-zi]

**M (KUB 29.16) iii**

(1) [ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĤ ku-iš-ki ... tá]k-ku ša!-[ú]-d[<sup>236</sup>iš-za na-at-ta ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĤ-aš]

(2) [ták-ku i-ú-ga-aš na-at-ta ANŠE.KUR.RA.MA]Ĥ<sup>237</sup> ták-ku ta-a-i-ú-[ga-aš ...]

<sup>236</sup> So photo against copy.

<sup>237</sup> Collation from photo.



- (3) [ka-ru-ú .....] ki-nu-na 15 ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĪIA pa-[a-i ...]  
 (4) [..... 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA š]a-ú-di-iš-za pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a š[u-wa-i-ez-zi]

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

- (30) ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĪ ku-iš-ki da-i-e-ez-zi ták-ku ša-ú-i-ti-iš-za Ú-UL  
 (31) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĪ ták-ku i-ú-ga-aš Ú-UL ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĪ [ták-k]u ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš a-pa-a-aš ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĪ-a[š]  
 (32) ka-ru-ú 30 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na 15 ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĪIA pa-a-i 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĪIA  
 (33) ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA i-ú-ga-aš 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA ša-a-ú-i-ti-iš!<sup>238</sup>za pa-a-i  
 (34) pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi

**D (KBo 6.6) i**

- (39) ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĪ ku-iš-ki da-a-i-ia-zi  
 (40) ták-ku ša-a-ú-i-te-eš-za Ú-UL ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĪ-aš  
 (41) ták-ku i-ú-ga-aš Ú-UL ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĪ-aš  
 (42) ták-ku da-a-i-ú-ga-aš a-pa-a-aš ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĪ-aš  
 (43) ka-ru-ú 30 ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĪIA pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na 15 ANŠE.KUR.R[A.ĪIA]  
 (44) pa-a-i 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA da-a-i-ú-ga-aš 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA i-ú-g[a-aš]  
 (45) 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA ša-a-ú-i-ti-eš-za pa-a-i  
 (46) pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez[-zi]

**F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.3) i**

- (2) [ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĪ ku-iš-ki d]a-a-i-ia-[zi ..... ]  
 (3) [.....ANŠ]E.KUR.RA.M[AĪ-aš ták-ku i-ú-ga-aš]  
 (4) [..... ták-ku da]-a-i-ú-ga-aš [a-pa-a-aš ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĪ-aš]  
 (5) [ka-ru-ú ..... pé-eš-ke]r ki-nu-na 15 A[NŠE.KUR.RA.ĪIA pa-a-i]  
 (6) [5 ANŠE.KUR.RA da-a-i-ú-ga-a]š 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA i-ú-[ga-aš]  
 (7) [5 ANŠE.KUR.RA ša-a-ú-i-te-e]š-za pa-a-i  
 (8) [ ..... šu]-wa-a-ez-zi

§ 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, and he shall look to his house for it.

<sup>238</sup> Text: -uš.

§ 59<sup>239</sup>

## A (KBo 6.2) iii

(31) [ták-ku UDU.A.LUM ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-z]i ka-ru-ú 30 UDU.ĤI.A pí-iš-ker k[i-nu-na 15  
UDU.ĤI.A pa-a-i]

(32) [5 UDU.U<sub>8</sub> 5 UDU.NÍTA 5 UDU.MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀR] pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi

## M (KBo 19.2 + KUB 29.16) iii

(5) [ták-ku UDU.A.LUM ku-iš-ki]i ta-a-i-e[z-z]i ka-ru-ú 30 UDU.ĤI.A pí-iš-ker ki-nu-[na 15  
UDU.ĤI.A pa-a-i]

(6) [5 UDU.U<sub>8</sub> 5 UDU.NÍTA]A 5 UDU.MUNUS.Á[Š.G]ÀR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-[zi]

## B (KBo 6.3) iii

(35) [ták-ku UDU.A<sup>1</sup>.LUM ku-iš-ki [ta<sup>1</sup>-a-i-ez-zi ka-ru-ú [30<sup>1</sup> UDU.ĤI.A pé-eš-ker ki-[nu-n]a [15]  
UDU.ĤI.A pa-a-i]

(36) [5 UDU.U<sub>8</sub><sup>1240</sup> 5 UDU.NÍTA 5 UDU.ÁŠ.MUNUS.GÀR] pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi

## D (KBo 6.6) i

(47) [ták-ku UDU.A.LUM ku[-iš-ki ..... ]

(48) [ka-ru-ú 30 UDU.[ĤI.A pé-eš-ker ..... ]

(49) [5 UDU.[U<sub>8</sub>][ ..... ]

(50) [x[ ..... ]

## N (KUB 29.17)

(1) [ ..... ]x

(2) [ ..... ] [pa<sup>1</sup>-a-i

(3) [ ..... ] [š<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-wa-a-ez-zi

§ 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

## A (KBo 6.2) iii

(33) [ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-e-ez-z]i ta-an pár-ku-nu-uz-zi iš-ħa-a-aš-ši-ša-an ga-n[e-eš-zi]

<sup>239</sup> F<sub>4</sub> omits §59.

<sup>240</sup> In spite of the uncertainty of the proper Sumerian transcription of the 'UDU.SÍG+SAL' sign group at Boğazköy (cf. Rüster and Neu 1989, p. 197, referring to Neu 1980a, 73 note 270), it is certain that this denotes what Akkadian *lahru* means, an adult female sheep, and therefore we assume that the Boğazköy sign group is intended as a variant of UDU.U<sub>8</sub>.



(34) [7 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A *pa-a-i* 2 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.2 2+]1 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.1 2 GU<sub>4</sub> *ša-ú-di-iš-za pa-a-i pá-r-na-še-a šu-w[a-a-ez-zi]*

**M (KUB 29.16 + KBo 19.2)**

(7) [*ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ *ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ez-[z]i ta-an pá-r-ku-nu-uz-zi iš-ĥa-a-aš-ši-š[a-an ga-ne-eš-zi]*

(8) [7 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A *pa-a-i* 2] GU<sub>4</sub> MU.2 3 [GU<sub>4</sub>] MU.1 2 GU<sub>4</sub> *ša-ú-di-iš-za pa-a-i pá-r-na-[aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi]*

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

(37) *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ *ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-e-ez-zi ta<sup>1</sup>-an pá-r-ku-nu-zi iš-ĥa-aš-š[i-ša-an ga-ne-eš-zi]*

(38) 7 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A *pa-a-i* 2 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.2 3 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.1 2 GU<sub>4</sub> *ša<sup>241</sup>-ú-i-ti-iš-za pa-a-i*

(39) *pár-na-aš-še-e-a* *šu-wa-a-ez-zi*

**F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.3) i**

(9) [*ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ *ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ia?-zi ta-an pá-r-ku-[nu-zi EN?-ši-ša-an]*

(10) [*ga-ne-eš-zi* 7 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A *pa-a-i* 2] GU<sub>4</sub> MU.2 3 G[U<sub>4</sub> MU.1 2 GU<sub>4</sub> ]

(11) [*ša-ú-i-te-eš-za pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš]-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-[zi]*

**N (KUB 29.17)**

(4) [*ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>.MAĤ *ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ia?-zi ta-an pá-r-ku-nu-zi*

(5) [*iš-ĥa-aš-ši-ša-an ka?-ni?-iš?-zi* 7 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A *pa-a-i* 2] GU<sub>4</sub> MU.2

(6) [3 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.1 2 GU<sub>4</sub> *ša-ú-i-ti-iš-za pa]-a-i*

(7) [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez]-zi*

**U (KUB 40.32)**

(1) [.....]x-x-x[...]

(2) [... 2 GU<sub>4</sub> MU].2 3 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.1 [...]

(3) [.....] *šu-wa-a-ez-zi*<sup>242</sup>

§ 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, and he shall look to his house for it.

§ 61

**A (KBo 6.2) iii**

(35) [*ták-ku* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĤ *ku-iš-ki ú*]-<sup>1</sup>*e*<sup>1</sup>-*mi-ez-zi ta-an pá-r-ku-nu-uz-zi iš-ĥa-ši-ša-an ga-n[e-eš-zi]*

(36) [7 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *pa-a-i* 1+]<sup>1</sup>1 ANŠE.KUR<sup>1</sup>.RA MU.2 3 MU.1 2 *ša-ú-di-iš-za pa-a-i*

(37) [*pár-na-aš*]-<sup>1</sup>*še-e-a*<sup>1</sup> *šu-wa-i-ez -zi*

<sup>241</sup> Same mistaken shape as in §58 M iii 1.

<sup>242</sup> Bottom of column.

**M (KUB 29.16 + KBo 19.2)<sup>243</sup>**

- (9) [ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAḪ ku-iš-ki [ú-e-mi-e]z-zi ta-an pá-r-ku-nu-uz-zi iš-ḫa-a-aš-[ši-ša-an ga-ne-eš-zi]
- (10) [7 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ pa-a-i 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA M]U.2 3 MU.1!<sup>244</sup> 2 ša-ú-di-iš-za [pa-a-i]
- (11) [pár-na-aš]-[še-e-a]<sup>1</sup> šu-wa-i-ez-[zi]

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

- (40) ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAḪ ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ia-az-zi ta-an pá-r-ku-nu-zi iš-ḫ[a-aš-ši-ša-an]<sup>245</sup>
- (41) [ka<sup>1</sup>-ni-iš-zi 7 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ pa-a-i 2 ANŠE.KUR.RA MU.2 [3] ANŠE.KUR.RA MU.[1]
- (42) 2 ša-ú-i-ti-iš-za pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi

**F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.3) i**

- (12) [ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAḪ ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-i]a-zi ta!<sup>246</sup>-an pá-r-ku-nu-[zi]
- (13) [iš-ḫa-aš-ši-ša-an ka-ni-iš-zi 7 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ] pa-a-i
- (14) [2 ANŠE.KUR.RA MU.2 1+]2 AN[ŠE.KUR.RA MU.1 2 ANŠ]E.KUR.RA ša-a-ú-i-te-eš-za
- (15) [pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še]-e-a š[u-wa-a-ez-zi]

§ 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, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 62

**A (KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1) iii**

- (38) ták-ku UDU.A.LUM ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ez-zi ta-an pá-r-ku<sup>247</sup>-nu-zi iš-ḫa-ši-ša-[a]n ga-ne-[eš-zi]
- (39) 7 UDU.ḪI.A pa-a-i 2 UDU.U<sub>8</sub> 3 UDU.NÍTA 2 UDU.MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀR pa-a-i pá-r-na-še-e-[a šu-wa-i-ez-zi]

**M (KUB 29.16)**

- (12) [ták-ku UDU.A.LUM ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ez-zi ta]-an pá-r-ku-nu-uz-zi iš-ḫa-[a-aš-ši-ša-an ga-ne-eš-zi  
.....]
- (13) [..... 2 UDU.MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀR]R pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a š[u-wa-i-ez-zi]

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

- (43) [ták-ku UDU<sup>1</sup>.A.LUM ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ia-az-zi ta-an pá-r-ku-nu-zi iš-ḫa-aš-ši-ša-an]
- (44) ka-ni-iš-zi 7 [UDU<sup>1</sup>.ḪI.A pa-a-i 2 UDU.U<sub>8</sub> 3 UDU.NÍTA 2 ÁŠ.MUNUS.GÀR pa-a-i]

<sup>243</sup> M<sub>2</sub> (KBo 19.2) breaks off after line 9.

<sup>244</sup> Text reads 2(sic).

<sup>245</sup> Restored after B iii 43.

<sup>246</sup> KBo 19.1 ša-. Güterbock field transliteration: ta-, photo ambiguous. Cf. F<sub>4</sub> i 9 clear ta-an.

<sup>247</sup> The join piece KBo 19.1 iii begins here.



(45) *pár-na-aš-še-e-a*                      *šu-wa-a-ez*                      *-zi*

**F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.3) i**

(16) [*ták-ku* UDU.A.L]UM *ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ia-z[i ta-an p]ár-ku-nu-zi*

(17) [EN-ŠU-š]a-an *ga-né-eš-zi* 7 UDU.ĪI.A *pa-a-i* 2 UDU.[U<sub>8</sub> 3 UD]U.NÍTA

(18) [2 UDU].ÁŠ.MUNUS.GÀR *pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-ia šu-ú-wa-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[iz-zi]*

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

§ 63

**A (KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1) iii**

(40) *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi ka-ru-ú* 15 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A *pí-iš-ker ki-nu-n[a]*

(41) 10 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A *pa-a-i* 3 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.2 3 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.1 4 GU<sub>4</sub> *ša-ú-dí-iš-za pa-a-i*

(42)            *pár-na-še-e-a*                      *šu-wa-i-ez*                      *-zi*

**M (KUB 29.16 + KBo 19.2)**

(14) [..... *ka-r*]u-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> 15 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A *pí-iš-ker* [...]

(15) [..... *ša-ú-dí-i*]š-za p[*a-a-i*]

(16) [ *pár-na*-.....                      *šu-w*]a<sup>248</sup>-i-e[*z-zi*]

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

(46) [*ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN<sup>1</sup>.LÁ *ku-iš-ki da-a-i-ez-zi ka-ru-ú* 15 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A *pé-eš-ker* [*ki-nu-na* 10 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A<sup>1</sup>

(47) [*pa-a-i*<sup>1</sup> 3 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.2 3 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.1 4 <GU<sub>4</sub>> *ša-ú-i-ti-iš-za pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi*

**F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.3) i**

(19) [*ták-k*]u GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ *ku-iš-ki da-a-i-ez-zi ka-ru-ú* 15 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A]

(20) [*pé-eš-k*]er *ki-nu-na* 10 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A *pa-a-i* 3 GU<sub>4</sub> M[U.2 3 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.1]

(21) [4? GU<sub>4</sub> *ša-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1249</sup>-ú-te-eš-za pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a [šu-wa-a-ez-zi]*<sup>250</sup>

**H (KUB 13.12) obv.**

(1) *ták-ku* G[U<sub>4</sub>.API]N.L[A]<sup>o</sup> *ku-i[š-ki ... ka-ru-ú]*

(2) 15 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A *pé-eš-ker* [*ki-nu-na* 10 GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A *pa-a-i*]

<sup>248</sup> Trace of *-wa* visible in photo.

<sup>249</sup> Both space and the traces argue for a reading *ša-<sup>f</sup>a<sup>1</sup>*- and against *š<sup>1</sup>a-*.

<sup>250</sup> End of column i in F.

(3) [31] GU<sub>4</sub><sup>251</sup> MU.2 3 MU.1 4 ša<sup>252</sup>-[ú-i-ti?-iš?-za pa-a-i ...]

(4) [pár-n]a-aš-še-e-a šu-wa[-a-iz-zi]

§ 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, and he shall look to his house for it.

§ 64

A (KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1) iii

(43) *ták-ku* ANŠE.KUR.RA *tu-u-ri-ia-w[a]-aš ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi ut-tar-še-da ki-i -pát*

B (KBo 6.3) iii

(48) [ták-ku] ANŠE.KUR<sup>1</sup>.RA *tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-aš ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi [ut-tar<sup>1</sup>-še-et QA-TAM-MA-pát*

F<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.8) ii

(1) *ma-a-an* ANŠE.KUR.RA *tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-aš ku-iš-ki [t]*

(2) *ta-a-i-ia-zi ut-tar-še-et QA-TAM-MA-[pát]*

H (KUB 13.12) obv.

(5) [ták-ku?] ANŠE.KUR.RA *tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-[aš ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ia?-zi]*

(6) [ut-tar]-še-et ki-i-pát

§ 64 If anyone steals a draft horse, its disposition is the same.<sup>253</sup>

§ 65

A (KBo 6.2 + 19.1) iii

(44) *ták-ku* MÁŠ.GAL *e-na-an-da-an ták-ku* DÀRA.MAŠ *an-na-nu-uh-ḫa-an ták-ku* UDU.KUR.RA *e-na-[an-da-an]*

(45) [ku-iš<sup>1</sup>-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi ma-a-ah-ḫa-an-da ŠA] GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ<sup>254</sup> *ta-ia-zi-la-aš*

(46) [ki-in-za-an<sup>1</sup>-[na u]t<sup>?</sup>-[tar<sup>?</sup>]]<sup>255</sup> QA-TAM-MA

B (KBo 6.3) iii

(49) *ták-ku* MÁŠ.GAL *e-na-an-da-an ták-ku* DÀRA.MAŠ [an-na<sup>1</sup>-nu-uh-ḫa-an ták-ku] UDU.KUR.RA *e-na-an-da-an*

<sup>251</sup> Photo shows AMAR.

<sup>252</sup> Or perhaps GU<sub>4</sub> [ša-...]. In the photo there is enough uninscribed space to the right that it cannot be read š[a-...].

<sup>253</sup> Literally, "is this same".

<sup>254</sup> B iii 50 and F<sub>1</sub> 5 ŠA MÁŠ.GAL(sic).

<sup>255</sup> Traces already read so by Hrozný 1922, 57 n. 17. Otten and Souček 1966, 5 (with n. e) adopt Hrozný's reading and suggest the restoration [-na ut-tar]. In the KBo 6.2 copy there seems to be more space (and perhaps traces) than can be accounted for with a shorter reading *ki-in-za-an QA-TAM-MA*, although that shorter reading would more closely match *a-pé-e-el-la QA-TAM-MA-pát* of B.



(50) *ku-iš-ki da-a-i-ez-zi ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ŠA MÁŠ.GAL(sic) šar-ni-ik-zi-i-il a-pé-e-el-la QA-ṬAM-MA<sup>1</sup>-pát*

**F<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.8) ii**

(3) *ták-ku MÁŠ.GAL e-na-an-da-an ták-ku DÀRA.[MÁŠ an-na-nu-uḥ-ḥa-an]*

(4) *ták-ku UDU.KUR.RA e-na-an-da-an ku-iš-ki da-Ṭa<sup>1</sup>.[i-ia-zi]*

(5) *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ŠA MÁŠ.GAL(sic) šar-ni-ik-ze-el < a-pé-e-el-la > Q[A-TAM-MA-pát]*

**H (KUB 13.12) obv.**

(7) *[ták-ku M]ÁŠ.GAL e-na-an-da-an [ták-ku DÀRA.MÁŠ]*

(8) *[an-na-nu-uḥ-ḥ]a-an ták-ku UDU.KUR.RA [e-na-an-da-an ku-iš-ki]*

(9) *[da-a-i-ez-zi]i ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an Š[A ... šar-ni-ik-ze-el a-pé-e-el-la QA-TAM-MA-pát]<sup>256</sup>*

§ 65 If anyone steals a trained he-goat or a trained deer or a trained mountain goat,<sup>257</sup> their disposition is the same as of the theft of a plow ox (§ 63).<sup>258</sup>

§ 66

**A (KBo 6.2 + 19.1) iii**

(47) *ták-ku ṬGU<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>.APIN.LÁ ták-ku A[NŠE.KUR.R]A tu-u-ri-ia-u-aš ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL-aš*

(48) *ḥa-Ṭa-le!<sup>259</sup>1-e-aš ḥar-ap-ta ṭ[ák-k]u MÁŠ.GAL e-na-an-za ták-ku UDU.U<sub>8</sub> ták-ku UDU.NÍTA*

(49) *a-ša-ú-ni ḥar-ap-ta iš-ḥa-ši-ša-an ú-e-mi-ez-zi na-an-za ša-ku-aš-ša-ra-[an-pát d]a-a-i*

(50) *LÚNÍ.ZU-an na-at-ta e-ep-zi*

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

(51) *ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ Ṭták-ku<sup>1</sup> ANŠE.KUR.RA tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-aš ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL.ṬLÁ<sup>1</sup>*

(52) *Ṭḥa-a<sup>1</sup>-l[i-i]a-aš ḥar-ap-ta ták-ku [M]ÁŠ.GA[L] Ṭe<sup>1</sup>-na-an-za ták-ku UDU.ṬU<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup> ták-ku UDU.NÍTA*

(53) *a-ša-ú-[n]i ḥar-ap-ta iš-ḥa-aš-ši-š[a-an ú-]Ṭe<sup>1</sup>-mi-ia-az-zi*

(54) *na-an-za ša-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-an-pát Ṭda-a-i LÚN[Í.Z]U-a[n Ú-U]L e-ep-zi*

**F<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.8) ii**

(6) *ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-aš [ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB]*

(7) *ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL.LÁ ḥa-a-li-aš ḥar-ap-ta [ták-ku MÁŠ.GAL]*

<sup>256</sup> H ends here. After a break of 3 lines the tablet is resumed in §66 by I obv. 1.

<sup>257</sup> I.e., decoys used by hunters.

<sup>258</sup> B iii 50 and F<sub>1</sub> 5: "its compensation is the same as that for a he-goat".

<sup>259</sup>Hrozný 1922, 58 n. 1 "[r]u erreur pour li?"

(8) *e-na-an-za ták-ku* UDU.U<sub>8</sub> *ták-ku* UDU.NÍTA [*a-ša-ú-ni har-ap-ta*]

(9) EN-ša-an *ú-e-mi-ia-zi na-an-za* š[*a-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-an-pát*]

(10) *da-a-i* LÚNÍ.<sup>1</sup>[*ZU-a*]n *Ú-UL*<sup>1</sup> [*e-ep-zi*]

**I (KUB 13.13) obv.**

(1) [*har-ap-ta* EN-ša-a]n *ú*<sup>1</sup>-[*e-mi-ia-zi*]

(2) [*na-an-za ša-ku-wa-*]aš-ša-ra-an-pát

(3) [*da-a-i* LÚ]NÍ.ZU-an *Ú-UL* *e-ep*<sup>1</sup>-[*zi*]

§ 66 If a plow ox, a draft horse<sup>260</sup>, a cow, or a mare<sup>261</sup> 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 value. He shall not have (the pen's owner) arrested as a thief.

§ 67

**A (KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1) iii**

(51) *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-z[i k]a-ru-ú* <sup>12</sup>[GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A *pí-iš-ke[r k]i-nu-na* 4[+2 GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A] *pa-a-i*

(52) 2 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.2 2 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.1 2 GU<sub>4</sub> *ša-ú-d*<sup>1</sup>*i-iš-za* *pa-a-i pár-na-še-a šu-wa-i-i*<sup>1</sup>*ez-zi*<sup>262</sup>

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

(55) *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-z[i k]a-ru-ú* 12 [GU<sub>4</sub>.HI].A *pé-eš-ker k[i-nu-n]a* 6 G[U<sub>4</sub>.HI].A *pa-a-i*

(56) 2 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.2 2 MU.1 2 GU<sub>4</sub> š[*a*]-<sup>1</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-*ú-i-ti-iš-za p[a-a]-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a š[u-wa-a-i]z-zi*

**I (KUB 13.13) obv.**

(4) [*ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>Á]B *ku-iš-ki da-a-i-e-ez* -z[*i*]

(5) [*ka-ru-ú*] 12 GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A *pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na* 6<sup>263</sup> GU<sub>4</sub>.H[I.A]

(6) [*pa-a-i* 2 G]U<sub>4</sub> MU.2 2 GU<sub>4</sub> MU.1 2 GU<sub>4</sub> *ša-a-ú-ti-eš-za*

(7) [*pa-a-i pár-n]a-š[e-e-a šu-ú-wa-a-ez* -z[*i*]

§ 67 If anyone steals a cow, they used to give 12 oxen. Now he shall give 6 oxen: he shall give 2 two-year-old oxen, 2 yearling oxen, and 2 weanlings, and he shall look to his house for it.

<sup>260</sup> F: "draft donkey" or "draft horse".

<sup>261</sup> The NH copies B and F "jenny" are to be emended to "mare", following OH copy A.

<sup>262</sup> Join piece KBo 19.1 iii breaks off at this point.

<sup>263</sup> Haase (p. 39) reads "5".



## § 68

## A (KBo 6.2) iii

(53) *ták-ku* ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL<sup>264</sup> *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi A-WA-AS-SÚ QA-TAM-MA-[pát]*

## B (KBo 6.3) iii

(57) *ták-ku* ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL.LÁ *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi A-WA-SÚ QA-TAM-MA-pát*

## I (KUB 13.13) obv.

(8) [*ták-ku* ANŠE].KUR.RA MUNUS.AL.LÁ *ku-iš -k[i]*

(9) [*ta-a-i-i*]a-zi A-WA-SÚ QA-TAM-MA -pát[r]

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

## § 69

## A (KBo 6.2) iii

(54) *ták-ku* UDU.U<sub>8</sub> *na-aš-ma* UDU.NÍTA-an *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi ka-ru-ú* 12 UDU.ĪIA *p[í-iš-ker]*

(55) *ki-nu-na* 6 UDU.ĪIA *pa-a-i* 2 UDU.U<sub>8</sub> 2 UDU.NÍTA 2 UDU.MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀR *pa-a-i pár-na-še-a š[u-wa-i-ez-zi]*

## B (KBo 6.3) iii

(58) *ták-ku* UDU.U<sub>8</sub> *na-aš-ma* UDU.NÍTA *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi ka-ru-ú* 12 UDU.ĪIA *pé-eš-ker*

(59) *ki-nu-na* 6 UDU.ĪIA *pa-a-i* 2 UDU.U<sub>8</sub> 2 UDU.NÍTA 2 UDU.ÁŠ.MUNUS.GÀR *pa-a-i pár-na-aš-ši-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi*

## I (KUB 13.13) obv.

(10) [*ták-ku* UDU].<sup>1</sup>U<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup> *na-aš-ma* UDU.NÍTA *ku-iš-[ki]*

(11) [.....-z]i *ka-ru-ú* 12 UDU.ĪIA *pé-e[š-ker]*

(12) [*ki-nu-na* 6 UDU].<sup>1</sup>ĪIA<sup>1</sup> *pa-a-i* 2 UDU.<sup>1</sup>U<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup> [2 UDU.NÍTA]

§ 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, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 70

## A (KBo 6.2) iii

(56) *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub> *ták-ku* ANŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.<sup>1</sup>NUN.NA<sup>1</sup> ANŠE *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi iš-ħa-ši-ša-an* [*ga-né-eš-zi*]

<sup>264</sup> B throughout tends to use MUNUS.AL.LÁ for A's MUNUS.AL(-aš).

(57) *na-an-za ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an<sup>1</sup> [da-a-i a]n-da-aš-še 2-ki<sup>265</sup> pa-a-i pár-na-še-a šu-wa-i-e[z-zi]*

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

(60) *ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA ták-ku ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA-an ták-ku ANŠE-in ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi*

(61) *iš-ša-aš-ši-ša-an ga-né-eš-zi na-an-za ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an-pát da-a-i<sup>1</sup> an-da-ia-aš-ši-š<sup>1</sup>kán 2-ki pa-a-i<sup>1</sup>*

(62) *pár-na-aš-še-e-a                      šu-wa-a-i-ez                      -zi*

**V (KBo 14.64)**

(1) [...] x [...]

(2) [pár-n]a-aš-še-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>[-a i ...]

§ 70 If anyone steals an ox, a horse, a mule, or an ass, (when) its owner identifies it, he shall take it (back) in full value.<sup>266</sup> In addition (the thief) shall give two him twice/double, and he shall look to his house for it.

§ 71

**A (KBo 6.2) iii**

(58) *ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-un ANŠE.[KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.N]A ANŠE-in ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ez-zi*

(59) *[na-an L]UGA[L-an a-aš-ka u-un-na-i ták]-ku ut-ni-ia-ma ú-e-mi-ez-z[i]*

(60) *[na-an LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI-aš hi-in-kán-zi na-an-za] tu-u-ri-ez-zi ma-a<sup>1</sup>-n[a]-a[n]<sup>†</sup>*

(61) *[iš-ša-aš-ši-ša ú-e-mi-ez-zi na-an-za ša]-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an [da-a-i]*

(62) *[LÚNÍ.ZU-an na-at-ta e-ep-zi ták-ku-wa-an LÚ].MEŠ ŠU.GI-aš n[a-at-ta hi-ik-zi<sup>267</sup>]*

(63) *[na-aš LÚNÍ.ZU] k[i-ša-ri]*

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

(63) *ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-un ANŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA-an ku-iš-ki ú-e-mi-ia-zi na-an LUGAL<sup>1</sup>-an a-aš-ka*

(64) *u-un-na-i ták-ku ut-ni-ia-ma ú-e-mi-ia-zi na-an LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI-aš hi-in-kán-zi*

(65) *na-an-za tu-u-ri-iš-ki-iz-zi ma-a-na-an iš-ša-aš-ši-ša ú-e-mi-ia-zi*

(66) *na-an-za ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an da-a-i LÚNÍ.ZU-an na-at-ta e-ep-zi*

(67) *ták-ku-wa-an LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI-aš Ú-UL hi-in-ga-zi na-aš LÚNÍ.ZU ki-ša-ri*

**V (KBo 14.64)**

(3) [tá]k-ku GU<sub>4</sub> A[NŠE.KUR.RA ...]

<sup>265</sup> Or: 2-TAM.

<sup>266</sup> I.e., here perhaps "in good condition", not damaged or with diminished value.

<sup>267</sup> Expected OS form based upon *li-ik-zi*. B iii 67: Ú-UL hi-in-ga-zi.



(4) 𐎒𐎛𐎍-e-mi-ia[-zi ...]<sup>268</sup>

§ 71 If anyone finds a (stray) ox, a horse, a mule (or) a donkey,<sup>269</sup> he shall drive it to the king's gate. If he finds it in the country, they shall present it to the elders.<sup>270</sup> (The finder) shall harness it (i.e., use it while it is in his custody).<sup>271</sup> When its owner finds it, he shall take it in full value, but he shall not have him (sc. the finder) arrested as a thief. But if (the finder) does not present it to the elders, he shall be considered a thief.

(See § XXXV above following § 45.)

### § 72

A (KBo 19.1a) iii

(64) [ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-aš A.ŠÀ.HI.A-ni k]u?-<sup>1</sup>e?-<sup>1</sup>el?-ka?<sup>272</sup> a<sup>1</sup>-[k]<sup>273</sup> BE-E[L A.ŠÀ 2 GU<sub>4</sub> pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi]

B (KBo 6.3) iii

(68) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-aš A.ŠÀ.HI.A-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> ku-el-qa a-ki BE-EL A.<sup>1</sup>ŠÀ<sup>1</sup> 2 GU<sub>4</sub> pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-<sup>1</sup>iz-zi<sup>1</sup>

S (KBo 6.22) ii!

(1) ták-k[u ...]

(2) pa-a[-...]

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

### § 73

A (KBo 19.1a) iii

(65) [ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> hu-šu-wa-an-d]a-an ku-iš-ki a-a[r-ki ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-da<sup>274</sup> da-ia-zi-la-aš a-pa-a-aš-ša QA-TAM-MA]

B (KBo 6.3) iii

(69) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> hu-iš-wa-an-da-an ku-iš-ki a-ar-ki ma-aḫ-ḫa-an da-ia-zi-la-aš a-pa-a-aš-ša QA-TAM-<sup>1</sup>MA<sup>1</sup>

<sup>268</sup> Bottom of column ii.

<sup>269</sup> B omits "a donkey".

<sup>270</sup> Not "and the elders assign it (to him)" (so Friedrich 1959 41 and Goetze 1969 192). B has a correct writing of the dative pl. (see Walther 1931 259, Otten 1973 34, von Schuler 1982 109, Haase 1984 31 and Hoffner 1995a 227).

<sup>271</sup> B uses the -ške-form, suggesting prolonged use.

<sup>272</sup> For this spelling see §44b (A ii 35).

<sup>273</sup> a-ki seem widely spaced, judging from Otten's copy in KBo 19.1a.

<sup>274</sup> Cf. §§55 and 65.

**S (KBo 6.22) ii!**(3) *ták-ku* [...](4) *ma-aḥ-ḥa*-[an ...]§ 73 If anyone ...s a living ox, he too is the same as a thief.<sup>275</sup>

## § 74

**A (KBo 19.1a) iii**(66) [*ták-ku* SI GU<sub>4</sub> *na-aš-m*]a GÌR GU<sub>4</sub> *ku-iš-ki* <sup>1</sup>*tu<sup>1</sup>-wa-a*[*r-ni-iz-zi a-pu-u-un-za a-pa-a-aš da-a-i*](67) [*Ù* GU<sub>4</sub> SIG<sub>5</sub> A-NA<sup>276</sup> B]E-EL GU<sub>4</sub> *pa-a-i* *ták-ku* BE<sup>1</sup>-E[L GU<sub>4</sub> *te-ez-zi am-me-el-pát-wa-za*](68) [GU<sub>4</sub>-*un da-aḥ-ḥi*] GU<sub>4</sub>-ŠU *da-a-i Ù 2 GÍ*[N KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*]<sup>277</sup>**B (KBo 6.3) iii**(70) *ták-ku* SI GU<sub>4</sub> *na-aš-ma* GÌR GU<sub>4</sub> *ku-iš-ki du-wa-ar-ni-zi a-pu-u-un-za a<sup>1</sup>-pa-a-aš da-a-i*(71) Ù GU<sub>4</sub> SIG<sub>5</sub> < A-NA > BE-EL GU<sub>4</sub> *pa-a-i* *ták-ku* BE-EL GU<sub>4</sub> *te-ez-zi am-me-<sup>1</sup>el<sup>1</sup>-pát-wa-za* GU<sub>4</sub>-*un<sup>1</sup> da-aḥ-<sup>1</sup>ḥi<sup>1</sup>*(72) GU<sub>4</sub>-ŠU *da-a-i Ù 2 GÍN* KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i***S (KBo 6.22) ii!**(5) *ták-ku* S[I ...](6) *a-<sup>1</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-u[n?-...]*

§ 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

**A (KBo 6.2) iv**(1) [*ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>-*un AN*]ŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA<sup>1</sup> ANŠE-*in ku-iš-ki* <sup>1</sup>*tu-u-ri-ez-zi na-aš a-ki<sup>1</sup>*(2) [*na-aš-ma-an U*]R.BAR.RA-*aš<sup>1</sup> ka-ra-a-pí na-aš-ma-aš ḥar-ak-zi* <sup>1</sup>*na-an ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an-pát pa-a-i<sup>1</sup>*(3) [*ták-ku te*]-<sup>1</sup>*ez-zi<sup>1</sup> I-NA QA-TI DINGIR-LIM a-ak-ki-iš nu* <sup>1</sup>*li<sup>1</sup>-ik-zi***B (KBo 6.3) iii**(73) *ták-ku* <sup>1</sup>*GU<sub>4</sub>-un ANŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA ANŠE-<sup>1</sup>in ku-<sup>1</sup>iš-ki tu<sup>1</sup>-u-ri-<sup>1</sup>ez-zi* <sup>1</sup>*na<sup>1</sup>-aš a-ki*<sup>275</sup> Lit. "as (a person) of theft".<sup>276</sup> Available space suggests that A (unlike B) did not omit A-NA.<sup>277</sup> End of column iii in A.



(74) *na-aš-ma-an UR.BAR.RA-aš ka-ra-a-pí na-aš-ma-aš<sup>1</sup> ħar-ak<sup>1</sup>-zi na-an ša-<sup>1</sup>ku-wa-aš<sup>1</sup>-ša-<sup>1</sup>ra-an<sup>1</sup>-pát pa-a-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>*

(75) *ták-ku te-ez-zi-ma IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM-wa-ra-aš BA.ÚŠ nu li-in-<sup>1</sup>ga<sup>278</sup>-zi*

**I (KUB 13.13) rev.**

(1) [*ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> AN]ŠE.ĪKUR!?![RA .....*]

(2) [*tu-u-ri-ya-az*]-*zi na-aš a-ki [na-aš-ma-an UR.BAR.RA-aš]*

(3) [*ka-ra-a-pí n*]-*a-aš-ma-aš ħar-ak-zi [na-an ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an-pát]*

(4) [*pa-a-i ták-ku*] *te-ez-zi-ma IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM*

(5) [BA.ÚŠ *nu*] *li-in-kán-[zi]*

§ 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 replace it at fair value. But if he says: "It died by the hand of a god," he shall take an oath (to that effect).

§ 76

**A (KBo 6.2) iv**

(4) [*ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-u*]*n ANŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA ANŠE-in ku-iš-ki ap-pa-ta-ri-ez-zi*

(5) [*na-aš pé-d*]*i-iš-ši a-ki a-pu-u-un ar-nu-zi<sup>1</sup> ku-uš<sup>1</sup>-ša-aš-še-et-ta pa-a-i*

**B (KBo 6.3) iii**

(76) *ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> ANŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA ANŠE ku-iš-ki ap-pa-at-ri-ez-zi*

(77) *na-aš pé-e-di-iš-ši a-ki a-pu-u-un ar-nu-uz-zi ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et-t[pa-a-i]*

**I (KUB 13.13) rev.**

(6) [*ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub> ANŠE.KUR.R*]*A ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA ANŠE k[u-iš-ki]*

(7) [*ap-pa-at-ri-ez-z*]*i na-aš pé-di-iš-ši [a-ki]*

(8) [*a-pu-u-un ar-nu-uz-z*]*i ku-uš-ša-an-še-et-[ta pa-a-i]*

§ 76 If anyone seizes an ox, a horse, a mule or an ass for public use, and it dies at his place, he shall bring it and shall pay its rent also.

**F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.3) ii 1'<sup>279</sup>**

(1) *a-k[i a-pu-u-un .....*]

<sup>278</sup> So KBo traces and Hrozný 1922, 62; cf. *ĥi-in-ga-zi* in §71 B iii 67. Cf., however, CHD L-N 62 *link-morphological* section for suggested reading *li-in-<sup>1</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-zi*.

<sup>279</sup> The 6th line from the bottom of column II.

## § 77

## A (KBo 6.2) iv

- (6) [t]ák-ku GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB ar-nu-an-da-an ku-iš-ki wa-al-aḫ-zi ŠA ŠÀ-BI-ŠA pé-eš-ši-ez-zi 2 GÍN  
KÙ.BABBAR<sup>1</sup> pa-a-i<sup>1</sup>
- (7) ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA ar-nu-an-da-an ku-iš-ki wa-al-aḫ-zi (B + nu) ŠA ŠÀ-BI-ŠA pé-eš-ši-ez-zi  
3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i
- (8) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-aš na-aš-ma ANŠE.KUR.RA-aš IGI-ŠU ku-iš-ki ta-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫi 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
pa-a-i
- (9) pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi

## B (KBo 6.3) iii 78-80, iv 1-2

- (78) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB ar-ma-u-an-da-an ku-iš-ki wa-al-aḫ-zi nu šar-ḫu-wa-an-da
- (79) pé-eš-ši-ia-zi 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA ar-ma-u-an-da-an ku-[iš-ki]
- (80) wa-al-aḫ-zi nu šar<sup>1</sup>-ḫu-wa-an-da pé-eš-ši-ia<sup>1</sup>-zi 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR<sup>1</sup> [pa-a-i]
- (1) [ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-aš na-aš-ma ANŠE.KUR.RA-aš IGI-ŠU ku-iš-ki ta]-šu-wa-aḫ-zi 6 GÍN  
KÙ.BABBAR [pa-a-i]
- (2) [pár-na-aš-še-]e<sup>1</sup>-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi

F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.3) ii 2'-3'<sup>280</sup>

- (2') ták-ku [GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB ]
- (3') nu [šar-ḫu- ]

## K (KBo 22.64)

- (1) [.....]x[.....]
- (2) [..... ar-m]a<sup>281</sup>-aḫ-ḫa-an[-da-an
- (3) [..... šar-ḫu-wa-an-]da pé-eš-ši-i[a-.....]
- (4) [ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-aš na-aš-ma ANŠE.KUR.RA-aš IGI-ŠU ku-iš-ki]
- (5) [ta?-šu-wa-aḫ-ḫi 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pá-r-n]a-se-e-a [.....]

§ 77a If anyone strikes a pregnant cow, thus causing it to miscarry, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver. If anyone strikes a pregnant mare and causes it to miscarry, he shall pay 3<sup>282</sup> shekels of silver. § 77b If anyone blinds the eye of an ox or an ass, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

<sup>280</sup> The 5th and 4th lines from the bottom of column II.

<sup>281</sup> Traces in KBo 22.64:2 need correction. From the photo there is only one, the last vertical of -ma-. The seeming other is the top of a wedge in the line below.

<sup>282</sup> NH copy: 2.



## § 78

## A (KBo 6.2) iv

(10) *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>-un ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi nu-uš-še-an KUŠ<sub>2</sub>hu-ša-an na-aš-ma KUŠ<sub>2</sub>ta-ru-uš-ḫa

(11) *an-da da-a-i iš-ḫa-ši-ša-an ú-e-mi-ez-zi* 1 PA-RI-*ISI*?<sup>1283</sup> ŠE pa-a-i

## B (KBo 6.3) iv

(3) [*ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>-un ku-iš-ki]i ku-ša-ni-ez-zi nu-uš-ši-kán KUŠ<sub>2</sub>hu-u-ša!<sup>284</sup>-an

(4) [*na-aš-ma* KUŠ<sub>2</sub>ta-ru-u]š-ḫa an-da da-a-i iš-ḫa-aš-ši-ša-an ú-e-mi-ia-zi

(5) [1 PA-RI]-*ISI*?<sup>1285</sup> ŠE pa-a-i

## K (KUB 29.13 (+) KBo 22.64) rev.

(1/6) *ták-[ku* GU<sub>4</sub>-un ku-iš-ki ku-uš-š]a-ni<sup>286</sup>.*ia*[-...]<sup>287</sup>

(2) *ú-e*[-mi-...]

§ 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 liters<sup>288</sup> of barley.

## § 79

## A (KBo 6.2) iv

(12) *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>.ḫI.A A.ŠÀ-ni pa-a-an-zi Û BE-EL A.ŠÀ ú-e-mi-ez-zi U<sub>4</sub>.1.KAM tu-u-ri-ez-zi

(13) *ma-a-na-aš-ta* MUL.ḫI.A-eš ú-en-zi nu-uš a-ap-pa iš-ḫi-iš-ši pé-en-na-i

## B (KBo 6.3) iv

(6) [*ták-ku*] GU<sub>4</sub>.ḫI.A A.ŠÀ-ni pa-a-an-zi BE-EL A.ŠÀ [*ú*]-e-mi-ia-zi

(7) [U<sub>4</sub>].<sup>11</sup>[KA]M tu-u-ri-ia-zi ku-it-ma-na-aš-ta MUL.MEŠ ú-wa-an-zi

(8) [*n*]a-aš EGIR-pa iš-ḫi-iš-ši pé-en-na-i

## K (KUB 29.13) rev.

(3) *ták-ku* [GU<sub>4</sub> ...]

(4) *ú-e*[-mi- ...]

(5) MUL.ḫI.[A ...]

§ 79 If oxen enter (another man's) field, and the field's owner finds (them), he may hitch them up for one day. But when the stars come out, he shall drive them back to their owner. (NH copy B rather "...

<sup>283</sup> The photo shows a clear SI: the second horizontal is very low and indented with a small vertical crossing it.

<sup>284</sup> So from photo against copy's KUŠ<sub>2</sub>hu-u-ta-an.

<sup>285</sup> KBo 6.3's trace and Hrozný 1922's transliteration is RA. This might be emended to -SU (HZL 213)

<sup>286</sup> In the photo the top of the final vertical of *ša* is visible and all of the *ni*.

<sup>287</sup> KBo 22.64 breaks off with this line.

<sup>288</sup> Hittite: 1 PARISU.

**K (KUB 29.13) rev.**(3) *ták-ku* [GU<sub>4</sub> ...](4) *ú-e[-mi- ...]*

(5) MUL.ĪI.[A ...]

§ 79 If oxen enter (another man's) field, and the field's owner finds (them), he may hitch them up for one day. But when the stars come out, he shall drive them back to their owner. (NH copy B rather "... he may hitch them up for one day, (that is,) until the stars come out. Then he shall drive them back to their owner.")

## § 80

**A (KBo 6.2) iv**(14) *ták-ku* UDU-un UR.BAR.RA-ni *ku-iš-ki pé-eš-ši-ez-zi iš-ḫa-aš-ši-iš* UZU.Ī *da-a-i*(15) *a-pa-a-ša* KUŠ UDU *da-a-i***B (KBo 6.3) iv**(9) [*ták*]-*ku* UDU-un A-NA UR.BAR.RA *ku-iš-ki pé-eš-ši-ez-zi iš-ḫa-aš-ši-iš*(10) [UZ]U.Ī<sup>1</sup> *da-a-i a-pa-a-ša-az* KUŠ UDU *da-a-i***K (KUB 29.13) rev.**(6) *ták-ku* UDU[-un ...]

(7) KUŠ UDU [...]

§ 80 If any (shepherd) abandons (a sheep) to a wolf,<sup>289</sup> its owner shall take the meat, but he (the shepherd) shall take the sheepskin.

## § 81

**A (KBo 6.2) iv**(16) *ták-ku* ŠAH ŠE *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi ka-ru-ú* 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pí-iš-ke-er*(17) *ki-nu-na* 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi***B (KBo 6.3) iv**(11) *ták-ku* ŠAH ŠE *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi ka-ru-ú* 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pé-eš-ker*(12) *ki-nu-na* 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi***K (KUB 29.13) rev.**(8) *ták-ku* Š[AH ...](9) *pí-i[š- ...]*

<sup>289</sup> Differently Hrozný 1922, 67 "Si un mouton à un loup quelqu'un arrache", followed by Imparati 1964, 86f., 262f., and Starke 1977, 100 #138: "Wenn jemand dem Wolf ein Schaf entreißt".



## § 82

**A (KBo 6.2) iv**

(18) *ták-ku ŠAḪ ḫi-la-an-na-aš ku-iš-ki ta-i-ez-zi 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pá-r-na-še-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi*

**B (KBo 6.3) iv**

(13) *ták-ku ŠAḪ ḫi-la-an-na-aš ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi 6 GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR]*

(14) *pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi*<sup>1</sup>

**R (KBo 6.21) iii**

(1) 6 GÍN.GÍN [...]

**BB (KBo 22.65)**

(1) [6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR] *pa-a-i*[.....]

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

## § 83

**A (KBo 6.2) iv**

(19) [*t*] *ták-ku ŠAḪ ar-nu-an-da-an ku-iš-ki ta-i-ez-zi 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

(20) *Ù ŠAḪ.TUR.ḪI.A kap-pu-u-en-zi A-NA 2 ŠAḪ.TUR 1 PA. ŠE pa-a-i pá-r-na-še-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi*

**B (KBo 6.3) iv**

(15) *ták-ku ŠAḪ ar-ma-u-an-da-an ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi 6 GÍN KÙ.[BABBAR pa-a-i]*

(16) *Ù ŠAḪ.TUR kap-pu-u-an-zi A-NA 2 ŠAḪ.TUR <1> PA. ŠE pa-a-i pá-r-[na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-e]z-zi*

**R (KBo 6.21) iii**

(2) *ták-ku ŠA[Ḫ ...]*

(3) 6 GÍN.GÍN [...]

(4) *A-NA [...]*

(5) *pá-r-na-aš-š[e-...]*

**BB (KBo 22.65)**

(2) [*ták-ku ŠAḪ a*] *r-ma-u-an-[da-an ku-iš-ki .....]*

(3) [*ta - i - ez - zi*] 6 GÍN.GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i* .....]

(4) [*Ù ŠAḪ.TUR.ḪI.A*<sup>290</sup> *ka*] *p-pu-w[a-an-zi]*

(5) [*A-NA 2 ŠAḪ.TUR 1 PA. ŠE*] *pa-a-i*[*-i* ...]

<sup>290</sup> Or perhaps omitting .ḪI.A.

(6) [pár-na-aš-še-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi] (blank)<sup>291</sup>

§ 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, and he shall look to his house for it.

§ 84

A (KBo 6.2) iv

(21) [ták]-ku ŠAH ar-nu-an-da-an ku-iš-ki wa-al-aḫ-zi na-aš a-ki A-WA-AS-SÚ QA-TAM-MA

B (KBo 6.3) iv

(17) ták-ku ŠAH ar-ma<-u>-an-da-an ku-iš-ki wa-al-aḫ-zi na-aš a-ki <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-[WA-SÚ QA-TAM-M]A-pát

R (KBo 6.21) iii

(6) ták-ku Š[AH ...]

(7) na-a[š ...]

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

§ 85

A (KBo 6.2) iv

(22) [ták-k]u ŠAH.TUR kap-pí kar-aš-zi [ku-iš-ki ta-i-ez-zi 2 P]A-<sup>1</sup>RI-SI ŠE<sup>1</sup>pa-a-i

B (KBo 6.3) iv

(18) ták-ku ŠAH.TUR kap-pí kar-aš-zi ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi 2!<sup>292</sup> [PA-RI-SI ŠE p]a-a-i

S (KBo 6.22) iii!<sup>293</sup>

(1) t[ák-ku ...]

(2) ka[r!<sup>294</sup>-aš-zi ku-iš-ki ...]

(3) 2 P[<sup>1</sup>A-RI-SI ŠE ...]

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

§ 86

A (KBo 6.2) iv

(23) [ták-ku] <sup>1</sup>ŠAH še-e<sup>1</sup>-[li-ia ...]

B (KBo 6.3) iv

(19) ták-ku ŠAH še-e-li-ia na-aš-ma A.ŠÀ-ni GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>-ni pa-i[z-zi ta še]-<sup>1</sup>e-li<sup>1</sup>-ia-aš

<sup>291</sup> Fragment breaks off at this point.

<sup>292</sup> Text reads a-[...], to be emended to "2".

<sup>293</sup> Friedrich 1959, 2 was uncertain if KBo 6.22's "Vs. II(?)" belonged to §77 or §78 and added "in der vorliegenden Bearbeitung vorsichtshalber nicht berücksichtigt".

<sup>294</sup> Copy: ki[-...].



- (20) *iš-ḥa-a-aš A.ŠĀ-na-aš GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>-aš wa-al-aḥ-zi na-aš a-ki na-an iš-ḥi-iš-ši*  
 (21) *†EGIR<sup>1</sup>-pa pa-a-i ták-ku-an Ú-UL-ma pa-a-i na-aš LÚNÍ.ZU-aš ki-i-ša*

**E (KBo 6.7)**

- 1) *[tá]k-ku ŠAH še-e-[l]i na-aš-ma A.Š[Ā-ni GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>-ni pa-iz-zi]*  
 (2) *ta †še-e-lí-ia-aš EN-aš A.ŠĀ-aš GIŠ[KIRI<sub>6</sub>-aš wa-al-aḥ-zi]*  
 (3) *na-aš a-ki na-an EN-ši EGIR-pa pa-a-†i<sup>1</sup>*  
 (4) *ták-ku-wa-an Ú-UL-ma pa-a-i na-aš L[ÚNÍ.ZU-aš ki-i-ša]*

**H (KUB 13.12) rev.**

- (1) *[ták-ku ŠAH še-lí]-ia na-[aš-ma ...]*  
 (2) *[pa-iz-zi ta] še-li-ia-aš [...]*  
 (3) *[...-aḥ-zi na-aš] a-ki [...]*  
 (4) *[... p]a-a-[i ...]*

**S (KBo 6.22) iii!**

- (4) *ták-k[u ŠAH še-e-li-ia na-aš-ma ...]*<sup>295</sup>  
 (5) *na-aš-m[a A.ŠĀ-ni GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>-ni pa-iz-zi ta še-e-li-ia-aš]*  
 (6) *iš-ḥa-[a-aš A.ŠĀ-na-aš GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>-aš wa-al-aḥ-zi]*  
 (7) *na-a[š a-ki na-an iš-ḥi-iš-ši EGIR-pa pa-a-i]*  
 (8) *ták?-k[u?<sup>296</sup>-an Ú-UL ...]*

**W<sub>2</sub> Bo 88/5 iii**

- (1) *[pa-iz-zi ta še-e-li-ia-aš iš-ḥ]a-†a<sup>1</sup>-[aš]*  
 (2) *[A.ŠĀ-na-aš GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>-aš wa-al-aḥ-zi n]a-aš a-ki*  
 (3) *[na-an iš-ḥi-iš-ši EGIR-pa pa-a]-i*  
 (4) *[ták-ku-an Ú-UL-ma pa-a-i na-aš LÚN]Í.ZU-aš ki-i-ša*

§ 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****B (KBo 6.3) iv**

- (22) *ták-ku UR.GI<sub>7</sub> LÚSIPA-aš ku-iš-ki wa-al-aḥ-zi na-aš a-ki 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

<sup>295</sup> There is more space here which needs to be filled, but the duplicates offer no additional text.

<sup>296</sup> Traces in copy look like *da-x[...]*, perhaps *da-a[k-]*, but a resolved writing of *ták-ku* is elsewhere unknown, and that is the word one expects here on the basis of the duplicates. In the photo the first sign in line 8 is not drawn the same as the *ták-* in line 4.

(23) *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi*

**E (KBo 6.7)**

5) [ták-ku] UR.GI<sub>7</sub> LÚSIPA *ku-iš-ki GUL-a[h-zi na-aš a-ki]*

(6) [20 GÍ]N.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a š[u-wa-a-ez-zi]*

**W<sub>1</sub> KBo 14.65 (+) W<sub>2</sub> Bo 88/5 iii**

(5) [ták-ku UR.GI<sub>7</sub> LÚSIPA-aš *ku-iš-ki wa-al-a*]h-zi *na-aš a-ki*

(1+6) 20 [GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi*

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

§ 88

**B (KBo 6.3) iv**

(24) *ták-ku LÚ.UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-an ku-iš-ki wa-al-a[h-zi na-aš a-ki* 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

(25) *pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi*

**E (KBo 6.7)**

(7) [ták-ku LÚ.]UR.GI<sub>7</sub> UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-an *ku-iš-ki G[UL-a[h-zi]*

(8) [na-aš a-k]i 12 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pár-na-[aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi*

**W<sub>1</sub> (KBo 14.65) (+) W<sub>2</sub> (Bo 88/5) iii**

(2+7) *ták-ku LÚ.UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-[aš UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-an ku-iš-ki wa-al-a[h-zi*

(3+8) *na-aš a-ki* [12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa]-a-i*

(4+9) *pár-na-aš-še-e-[a šu-wa-a-ez-z]i*

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

§ 89

**B (KBo 6.3) iv**

(26) *ták-ku [UR].GI<sub>7</sub> hi-la-an-na-aš ku-iš-ki wa-a[l-a]h-zi na-aš a-ki* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

**E (KBo 6.7)**

(9) [ták-ku UR.]GI<sub>7</sub> *hi-la-an-na-aš ku-iš-ki G[UL-a[h-zi]*

(10) [na-aš a-k]i 1 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

**W<sub>1</sub> (KBo 14.65) (+) W<sub>2</sub> (Bo 88/5) iii**

(5+10) [tá]k-ku UR.G[*I*] *hi-la-an-na-aš ku-iš-ki wa-al-a]h-z[i]*<sup>297</sup>

<sup>297</sup> W<sub>2</sub> breaks off at this point.



(6) [n]a-<sup>l</sup>aš a<sup>l</sup>-[ki 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

§ 89 If anyone strikes a dog of the enclosure(?)<sup>298</sup> a lethal blow, he shall pay one shekel of silver.

§ 90

**B (KBo 6.3) iv**

(27) *ták-ku* UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš Ì ŠAH *ka-ra-a-pí* B[E-E]L Ì *ú-i-mi-ia<-zi > na-an-kán ku-en-zi*

(28) <sup>l</sup>*na-aš-ta Ì-an šar<-hu>-wa-an-ta-az-še-et* K[A]R-iz-zi *šar-ni-ik-zi-il* NU.GÁL

**E (KBo 6.7)**

(11) [*ták-ku* UR.G]I<sub>7</sub>-aš<sup>299</sup> Ì ŠAH *ka-ra-a-pí* BE-E[L Ì]

(12) [*ú-e-mi-i*]a-zi *na-an-kán ku-en-zi*

(13) [*nu Ì*]-an *šar<-hu>-wa-an-ta-za-ši-it da-a-i*

(14) [*šar-ni-i*]k-ze-el NU.GÁL

§ 90 If a dog devours lard, and the owner of the lard finds (the dog), kills it and retrieves the lard from its stomach, there will be no compensation (for the dog).

§ 91

**A (KBo 6.2) iv**

(32) [*ták-ku* NIM.LÁL.ĪI.A-an] *kam-ma-ri k[u-iš-ki ta-i-ez-zi ka-ru-ú* o GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pí-iš-ker*]

(33) [*ki-nu-na* 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-[i pár-na-še-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi]*

**B (KBo 6.3) iv**

(29) [*ták-ku* NI]M.ĪLÁL.ĪI.A<sup>l</sup>-an *kam-ma-ri ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-zi ka-ru-ú*

(30) [1+? MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR]R <sup>l</sup>*pé-eš<sup>l</sup>-ker ki-nu-na* 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi*

**E (KBo 6.7) iii?**

(15) [*ták-ku* NIM.L]ĀL-an *kam-ma-ri ku-iš-ki d[a-ia-zi ...]*

(16)<sup>300</sup> *ka-ru-ú* 1[+? MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pé-eš-ker*]<sup>301</sup>

§ 91 [If] anyone [steals bees] in a swarm, [formerly] they paid [... mina(s) of silver], but now he shall pay 5 shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

<sup>298</sup> For translation of *hīlannaš* here and in §82 see Commentary on §82.

<sup>299</sup> So photo; copy: [*ták-ku* U]R.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš.

<sup>300</sup> This line is indented.

<sup>301</sup> End of the column; continuation at beginning of next column lost.

## § 92

## A (KBo 6.2) iv

(34) [ták-ku 2 É.NIM.LÀ]L ták-ku 3 É.NIM.LÀL ku-iš-ki [ta-i-ez-zi ka-ru-ú BU-BU-Ú-TA-NU-UM ŠA NIM.LÀL]

(35) [ki-nu-na 6 GÍN KÛ] ÆBABBAR<sup>1</sup> pa-a-i ták-ku É.NIM.LÀL k[u-iš-ki ta-i-ez-zi]

(36) [ták-ku] I-NA ŠÀ-BI<sup>†</sup> NIM.LÀL NU.GÁL 3 GÍN KÛ.B[ABBAR pa-a-i]

## B (KBo 6.3) iv

(31) [ták-ku] [2 É.NIM.LÀL ták-k]u 3 É.NIM.†LÀL<sup>1</sup> ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi

(32) [ka<sup>1</sup>-ru-ú] BU-BU-Ú-TA-NU-UM ŠA<sup>1</sup> NI[M.LÀL k]i-†nu-na 6<sup>1</sup> GÍN KÛ.BABBAR pa-a-i

(33) [ták-ku] É.NIM.LÀL ku-iš-ki ta-a-[i-ez-zi ták-k]u I-NA ŠÀ-BI NIM.†LÀL<sup>1</sup>

(34) [NU.GÁL<sup>1</sup>] 3 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR pa-a-i

§ 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

## A (KBo 6.2) iv

(37) [ták-ku LÚ<sup>1</sup>]-an [EL-LAM ta-p]é-eš-ni ap-pa-an-zi an-da-š[a-an pá-r-na na-a-ú-i pa-iz-zi]

(38) [12 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR [pa-a-i ták-ku] ARAD<sup>1</sup>-an ta-pé-eš-ni ap-pa-an-zi a[an-da-aš-ša-an pá-r-na na-a-ú-i]

(39) [pa-iz-zi] 6 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR [pa-a-i]

## B (KBo 6.3) iv

(35) [ták-ku LÚ<sup>1</sup>]-an EL-LAM ta-pé-eš-ni ap-pa-an-[zi an-da-aš-š]a-an pá-r-na [na-a-ú-i]

(36) [pa-iz-zi] 12 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku ARAD-[an ta-pé-eš-n]i ap-pa-an-zi

(37) [an-da<sup>1</sup>-aš-ša-an pá-r-na na-a-ú-i pa-iz-zi] 6<sup>1</sup> [GÍN KÛ.BABBAR] pa-a-i

F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.3) iv

(1) [ták-ku] LÚ<sup>1</sup>-an EL-LAM ta-pé-eš-ni an-d[a ap-pa-an-zi]

(2) [an]-da-aš-ša-an pá-r-na na-a-ú-i p[a-iz-zi]

(3) 12 GÍN.GÍN KÛ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku ARAD-[an ta-pé-eš-ni]

(4) an-da ap-pa-an-zi an-da-aš-ša-[an pá-r-na]

(5) na-a-ú-i pa-iz-zi 6 GÍN.GÍN K[Û].BABBAR pa-a-i

§ 93 If they seize a free man at the outset, (that is,) 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

## A (KBo 6.2) iv

- (40) ʽtá-k-kuʽ LÚ-LUM ʽELʽ-[LUM] ʽÉ-er ta-i-ez-ziʽ ša-ku-wa-aš-šar-pát pa-a-[i]  
 (41) ka-ru-ú d[a-ia-zi-la-aš 1] MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pí-iš-ker ki-nu-na 12 GÍN KÙ.[BABBAR pa-a-i]  
 (42) ták-ku me-ek-ki t[a-i-e-ez-zi me-e]k-ki-še iš-ḫi-an-zi ták-ku te-e-pu ta-i-e[z-zi]  
 (43) te-e-pu-še iš-ḫi-an-ziʽ ʽpár-na-aš-šeʽ-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi

## B (KBo 6.3) iv

- (38) [tá]k-kuʽ LÚ-LUM EL-LUM É-er ta-a-i-ez-zi nu [ša-a-ku-wa-aš-ša]r-ʽpát pa-a-iʽ  
 (39) [k]a-ʽruʽ-ú ta-ia-zi-la-aš 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR p[é-eš-ker ki-nu-na 12] ʽGÍN KÙ.BABBARʽ  
 (40) [pa]-ʽa-iʽ ʽtá-k-ku me-ek-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi me-ek-kiʽ[ī-še iš-ḫi-an-zi]  
 (41) [tá]k-ku te-pu ta-a-i-ez-zi te-pu-uš-ši iš-ḫi-ia-a[n-zi pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i]-ez-zi

F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.3) iv

- (6) ták-ku LÚ EL-LAM É-er ta-a-i-ez-zi  
 (7) ša-a-ku-wa-aš-šar pa-a-i ka-ru-ú ta-[ia-zi-la-aš]  
 (8) 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na 12 G[ÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]  
 (9) [tá]k-ku me-ek-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi me-ʽek-ke-ešʽ-š[e iš-ḫi-an-zi]  
 (10) [tá]k-ku te-pu ʽtaʽ-a-i-ez-zi te-pu-uš-še iš-ḫi-ia-an-zi  
 (11) [pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu]-ú-wa-a-ez-[zi]

## O (KUB 29.18)

- (1) [tá]k-ku LÚ-LUM ʽELʽ-[LUM É-er ta-a-i-ez-zi nu]  
 (2) [š]a-ku-wa-aš-šar-pát [pa-a-i ka-ru-ú ta-ia-zi-la-aš]  
 (3) 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pí-iš-[ker ki-nu-na 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]  
 (4) [tá]k-ku me-ek-ki ta-a-[i-e-ez-zi me-ek-ki-še]  
 (5) [i]š-ḫi-an-zi ták-ku te-[pu ta-a-i-ez-zi]  
 (6) [t]e-pu-uš-še iš-ḫi-ia-an-zi pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi

## T (KBo 9.70)

- (2) [tá]k-ku LÚ EL-LUM É-er [da-a-i-ia-zi nu]  
 (3) ša-ku-wa-aš-šar pa-a-i [ka-ru-ú ta-ia-zi-la-aš 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR]  
 (4) pé-eš-ker ki-nu-n[a 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku me-ek-ki]  
 (5) da-ʽa-i-ia-ziʽ [me-ek-ki-še iš-ḫi-an-zi ...]

§ 94 If a free man burglarizes a house, he shall give (back the stolen items) precisely 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, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 95

## A (KBo 6.2) iv

(44) *ták-ku* ARAD-aš É-er *ta-i-ez*-zi ša-ku<sup>1</sup>-w[a<sup>†</sup>-aš-šar]-pát *pa-a-i ta-ia-zi-la-aš* 6 GÍN  
KÛ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

(45) ARAD-ša KIR<sub>14</sub>-ŠU [iš-ta<sup>1</sup>-[a-ma-nu-uš-šu-uš ku-uk-ku-ri]-iš-ki-iz-zi na-an a-ap-pa iš-ši-iš-ši

(46) *pí-an-zi* *ták-ku* me-ek-ki *ta-i*<sup>†</sup>-e[z-zi me-ek-ki-še] iš-ši-an-zi *ták-ku te-e-pu*

(47) [ta-i-ez-zi<sup>1</sup> te-e-pu-uš-še iš-ši-an-zi *ták-ku* BE-EL-ŠU [te<sup>1</sup>-ez-zi še-e-er-ši-it-wa

(48) [šar-ni-ik<sup>1</sup>-mi nu šar-ni-ik-z[i *ták-ku* mi-im-ma-i-ma nu] ARAD-an-pát<sup>†</sup> šu-ú-iz-zi

## B (KBo 6.3) iv

(42) [t]ák-[k]u<sup>†</sup> ARAD-iš É-er *ta-a-i-ez-zi* ša-a-ku-wa-aš-šar-pát [*pa-a-i ta-ia-zi-la-aš*]

(43) [6 GÍN KÛ.BAB]BAR *pa-a-i* ARAD-ša KIR<sub>14</sub>-ŠU iš-ta-a-ma-nu-uš-[šu-uš ku-uk-kur-iš-ki-iz-zi]

(44) [na-a]n a-ap-pa iš-ši-iš-ši *pí-an-zi* *ták-ku* me-ek-ki [ta-a-i-ez-zi]

(45) [me-ek-k]i-še iš-ši-ia-an-zi *ták-ku te-pu ta-a-i-ez-z[i te-pu-uš-ši iš-ši-ia-an-zi]*

(46) [ták-k]u [BE-EL]<sup>†</sup>-ŠU te-ez-zi še-er-wa-aš-ši šar-ni-ik-m[i nu šar-ni-ik-zi]

(47) [ták-ku m]i<sup>†</sup>-[im<sup>1</sup>-ma-i-ma nu ARAD-an-pát [šu-ú-iz-zi]

F<sub>4</sub> (KBo 19.3) iv

(12) [ták-ku ARAD-iš É-er *ta-a-i*]-ez-zi ša-ku-wa-aš-ša[r]

(13) [*pa-a-i ta-ia-zi-la-a*]š 6 GÍN.GÍN KÛ.BABBAR *pa*-[a-i]

(14) [ARAD-ša KIR<sub>14</sub>-ŠU iš-ta-a]-ma-nu-uš ku-uk-kur-aš-ká[n-zi]

(15) [na-an EGIR-pa iš-ši-iš-ši p]í-an-zi *ták-ku* me-e[k-ki]

(16) [ta-a-iz-zi me-ek-k]e-eš-še iš-ši-ia-a[n-zi]

(17) [ták-ku te-pu *ta-a-i-ez-z*]i te-pu-uš-š[e iš-ši-ia-an-zi]

## O (KUB 29.18)

(7) [tá]k-ku ARAD-aš É-er [...]

(8) [*pa*]-a-i *ta-ia-zi*-[la-aš 6 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*]

(9) [ARAD-ša] KIR<sub>14</sub><sup>1</sup>-ŠU [...]

## P (KUB 29.19)

(2) [... ku-ug-gu]r-aš-kán-zi [na-an] [a-ap-pa]

(3) [iš-ši-iš-ši *pí-an-zi* *ták-ku*] me-ek-ki *ta-a-i-e-e*[z-zi]

(4) [me-ek-ki-še iš-ši-ia-a]n-zi *ták-ku te-pu*

(5) [*ta-a-i-ez-zi te-pu-uš*]-ši iš-ši-ia-an-zi [ták-ku]



(6) [BE-EL-ŠU te-ez-zi še]-er-še<-et>-wa šar-ni-ik-mi [nu šar-ni-ik-zi]

(7) [ták-ku mi-im-ma]-i nu ARAD-an-pát šu-wa-a-ez-zi

**Y (KBo 9.69)**

(1) <sup>1</sup>6 GÍN<sup>1</sup> [KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ARAD-ša KIR<sub>14</sub>-ŠU iš-ta-ma-nu-uš-šu-uš]

(2) kur<-aš>-kán?[-zi<sup>302</sup> na-an EGIR-pa iš-ḫi-iš-ši pī-an-zi ták-ku me-ek-ki]

(3) da-a-i[-ez-zi me-ek-ki-še iš-ḫi-an-zi ták-ku te-pu ta-i-ez-zi]

(4) te!<sup>303</sup>-pu-[uš-ši iš-ḫi-an-zi ták-ku BE-EL-ŠU te-ez-zi še-er-wa-aš-ši]

(5) šar-ni-i[k-mi nu šar-ni-ik-zi ták-ku mi-im-ma-i-ma nu ARAD-an-pát]

(6) šu-ú-w[a-iz-zi]

§ 95 If a slave burglarizes a house, he shall give (back the stolen items) precisely in full value.<sup>304</sup> He shall pay six shekels of silver for the theft. He<sup>305</sup> shall cut/cut off 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

**A (KBo 6.2) iv**

(49) [t]ák†-ku LÚ-aš EL-LUM ḫal-ki-aš ÉSAG-an t[a-a-i-ez-zi ÉSAG-ša ḫal-ki-i]n ú-e-mi-ez-zi

(50) ÉSAG-an ḫal-ki-it šu-un-na-i Û <sup>1</sup>12<sup>1</sup> [GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-še-e-a] šu-wa-i-ez-zi

**B (KBo 6.3) iv**

(48) [ták-ku]u <sup>1</sup>LÚ-aš<sup>1</sup> ḫal-ki-ia-aš ÉSAG-an ta-a-i-ez-zi ÉSAG-š[a ḫal-ki-in ú-e-mi-ia-zi]

(49) [ÉSAG-a]n ḫal-ki-it šu-un-na-i Û 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i p[ár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi]

**P (KUB 29.19)**

(8) [ták-ku LÚ-aš ḫal-ki-ia-aš ÉSA]G-an ta-i-e-[ez-zi]

(9) [ÉSAG-ša ḫal-ki-in ú-e-mi-ia-zi ÉSA]G-an [ḫal-ki-it šu-un-na-i ...]

**Y (KBo 9.69)**

(7) ták-ku LÚ [...]

<sup>302</sup> For kukkur(a)škanzi?

<sup>303</sup> Copy: ap-.

<sup>304</sup> Von Schuler renders šakuwaššar "ganz korrekt".

<sup>305</sup> So copy A. Perhaps the man whose house was burglarized. F<sub>4</sub> iv 14, P 2 and Z 2 read: "They".

§ 96 If a free man<sup>306</sup> burglarizes 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] ho[use for it].

## § 97

## A (KBo 6.2) iv

(51) [tá]k-ku ARAD-aš ḫal-ki-aš ÉSAG-an ta-i-ez-zi ÉS[AG-aš-ša ḫal-ki-in ú-e-mi-ez-zi] ÉSAG-an ḫal-ki-it

(52) [šu]-un-na-i Û 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i [pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez]-zi

## B (KBo 6.3) iv

(50) [ták-ku] ARAD-aš ḫal-ki-ia-aš ÉSAG-an ta-a-i-ez-zi ÉSAG-aš-ša [ḫal-ki-in ú-e-mi-ia]-zi

(51) [ÉSAG]-an ḫal-ki-it šu-un-na-i Û 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-[na]-[aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez]-zi

## Q (KUB 29.20)

(1) [ÉSAG-a]n ḫal-ki-i[t ...]

(2) [pa]-[a]-i pár-na-aš-še-e-a [...]

§ 97 If a slave burglarizes 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, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 98

## A (KBo 6.2) iv

(53) [tá]k-ku LÚ EL-LUM É-er lu-uk-ke-ez-zi [i É-er a-ap-pa ú-e]-te-ez-zi

(54) an-da-na É-ri ku-it ḫar-ak-zi [LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-ku UDU-ku] [e-eš]-za na-ak-ku-uš

(55) na-at [šar-ni-ik]-za

## B (KBo 6.3) iv

(52) [ták-k]u LU-aš [EL-LUM É-er lu-uk-ke-ez-zi É-er [EG]IR-pa ú-e-te-ez-zi

(53) [an-da]<sup>10</sup>-na É-ri ku-it [ḫar-ak-zi LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-ku [UD]U-ku e-eš-zi

(54) [na-ak-ku-uš] Ú-UL šar-ni-[i]k-zi

F<sub>5</sub> (KBo 19.4) iv

(1) [... šar-ni-ik]-zi §

## Q (KUB 29.20)

(3) [ták-k]u LÚ-aš EL-LUM É-e[r ...]

(4) [ú]-[e]-te-ez-zi an-da-na [É]-[ri ku-it ...]

(5) [LÚ.]U<sub>8</sub>.LU-ku GUD-ku UDU-ku!<sup>307</sup> [e]-[eš-zi ...]

<sup>306</sup> So A. B omits "free".

<sup>307</sup> Copy reads *-ma*.



(6) [na-a]t<sup>308</sup> šar-ni-ik-[zi]

§ 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 (i.e., the “whatever perished”).<sup>309</sup>

§ 99

A (KBo 6.2) iv

(56) [ták-ku] ARAD-aš É-er lu-uk-ke-ez-zi iš-ḥa-a-aš-ši-š[a še-e-er-ši-i]t<sup>310</sup> šar<sup>1</sup>-ni-ik-zi

(57) [ARAD-n]a<sup>311</sup> KIR<sub>14</sub>-ŠU UZ-NA-A-ŠU ku-uk-ku-úr-[aš-kán-zi na-an EG]IR-<sup>1</sup>pa<sup>1</sup> iš-ḥi-iš-ši

(58) [pí-an]-zi ták-ku na-at-ta-ma šar-ni-ik-[zi nu a-pu-ú-un-pát šu-ú-i]z-zi

B (KBo 6.3) iv

(55) ták-ku ARAD-iš É-er lu-uk-ke-ez-zi iš-ḥa-aš-še-ša še-e[r] šar-ni-ik-zi

(56) <sup>1</sup>ARAD?-na? KIR<sub>14</sub><sup>1</sup>-ŠU UZ-NA-A-ŠU ku-ug-gur-aš-kán-zi

(57) [n]a-an EGIR-pa iš-ḥi-iš-ši pí-[an]-zi ták-ku Ú-UL-ma šar-ni-ik-zi

(58) <sup>1</sup>nu a-pu<sup>1</sup>-u-un-pát <sup>1</sup>šu-ú-iz<sup>1</sup>-zi<sup>2</sup>

F<sub>5</sub> (KBo 19.4) iv

(2) [ták-ku ARAD-iš É-er lu-u]k-ke-ez-zi EN-š[e-ša]

(3) [še-er šar-ni-ik-z]i ARAD-na KIR<sub>14</sub>-ŠU U[Z-NA-A-ŠU]

(4) [ku-ug-gur-aš-kán-zi n]a-an EGIR-an EN-iš-ši [pí-an-zi]

(5) [ták-ku Ú-UL-ma] šar-ni-ik-[zi]

(6) [nu a-pu-u-un-pát]t šu-ú-e-ez-[zi]

R (KBo 6.21) iv

(1)<sup>312</sup> [...] pí-an-z[i]<sup>313</sup>

Z (KBo 19.5)

(1) [ták-ku ARAD ..... E]N-aš-ša še-er š[ar-ni-ik-zi ...]

(2) [..... ku-uk-kur-š]a-an-zi na-an [EGIR ...]

<sup>308</sup> Or [UL-m]a. CHD (sub *nakkuš*) mistakenly calls this fragment OS. In fact it is NH, which permits the writing UL for “not”.

<sup>309</sup> So A and Q. B: “It is *nakkuš*; he shall not make compensation”.

<sup>310</sup> Friedrich fn. 8 reads [še-ir-ši-i]t? There is no trace in the hand copy in KBo 6.2, the “Verbesserungen”, or in the two published photos. But Hrozný 1922, 77 n. 9 reads [še-e-er-ši-i]t without a question mark. For OH *šeršit* see KBo 7.28 obv. 4 and KUB 37.223:C4. The plene writing *še-e-er-ši-it* is found in A iv 47.

<sup>311</sup> Or perhaps: [ARAD-š]a.

<sup>312</sup> Only the intercolumnium with the ends of lines 1, 4 and 5 is preserved for this column.

<sup>313</sup> Written into the intercolumnium.

(3) [ták-ku Ū-UL-ma šar-ni-ik-z]i nu a-pu-un-pát š[u-ú-e-ez-zi]

§ 99 If a slave sets fire to a house, his owner shall make compensation for him, and they shall cut/cut off the slave's nose and ears and return him to his owner. But if (the owner) does not make compensation, he shall forfeit that very slave.

## § 100

## A (KBo 6.2) iv

(59) [ták-ku t]a-iš-zi-in ku-iš-ki lu-uk-ke-ez-zi [GU<sub>4</sub>?].ĤI.A-ŠU e-et-r]i-<sup>l</sup>iš-ki-iz<sup>l</sup>-zi

(60) [nu-uš-ša-a]n pa-ra-a ĥa-me-eš-ĥa-an-da ar-[nu-zi ta-iš-zi-na-aš-ši]

(61) [a-ap-pa p]a-a-i ták-ku IN.NU.DA an-da-an <sup>l</sup>NU<sup>l</sup>, [GÁL nu ta-iš-zi-in] <sup>l</sup>ú-e<sup>o</sup>-te-ez-zi<sup>l</sup>

## B (KBo 6.3) iv

(59) [ták]-ku ta-iš-zi-in ku-iš-ki lu-uk-ke-ez-zi

(60) [G]U<sub>4</sub>? .ĤI.A-ŠU e-et-re-eš-ki-iz-zi nu-uš-ša-an pa-ra-a ĥa-me-eš-ĥa-an-da

(61) ar-nu-zi ta-iš-zi-<sup>l</sup>in<sup>l</sup> EGIR-pa pa-a-i ták-ku IN.NU.DA

(62) [a]n-da NU.GÁL nu ta-<sup>l</sup>iš-zi-in<sup>l</sup> ú-e-te-ez-zi

F<sub>5</sub> (KBo 19.4) iv 7-11 + F<sub>2</sub> (KUB 13.11) rev. 1

(7) [ták-ku ta-iš-z]i-in ku-iš-ki lu-uk-k[e-ez-zi]

(8) [GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A-ŠU e-e]t-ri-iš-ki-iz-zi nu-uš-ša-a[n]

(9) [ĥa-me-eš-ĥa-an-da] ar-nu-zi ta-iš-zi-in

(10) [EGIR-pa pa-a-i ták-k]u IN.NU.DA an-da NU.GÁL

(F<sub>2</sub> rev 1 + F<sub>5</sub> iv 11) nu ta[-iš-zi-in ú-e-te-]ez-zi

## R (KBo 6.21) iv

(4) [... e-et-ri-]iš-ki-iz-zi<sup>314</sup>

(5) [... ar-nu-z]i

## W (KBo 14.65) iv

(1) [...-z]i

(2) [... p]a-ra-a

(3) [... ta-i]š-zi-na-aš-ši<sup>315</sup>

(4) [EGIR-pa pa-a-i ták-ku IN.NU.DA] an-da [NU.G]ÁL

(5) [nu ta-iš-zi-in ú]-<sup>l</sup>e<sup>l</sup>-te-ez-zi

## Z

<sup>314</sup> Written into the intercolumnium.

<sup>315</sup> Not [... ar-nu-u]z?-zi na-aš-ši with Friedrich 1959, 48 n. 13a and Imparati 1964, 96.





## Series Two (§§ 101-200)

## § 101/\*1

## a (KBo 6.12) i

- (1) [ták-ku GIŠGEŠTIN-an na-aš-ma] GIŠma-aḥ-la-an na-aš-ma GIŠkar-pí-na-an  
 (2) [na-aš-ma SUM.SIKIL.SAR ku-i]š-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi ka-ru-ú  
 (3) [A-NA 1 GIŠGEŠTIN 1 G]ÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR A-NA 1 GIŠma-aḥ-li 1 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 (4) [1 GIŠkar-pí-ni 1 GÍN.G]ÍN KÙ.BABBAR A-NA 1 ZU, SUM.SIKIL.SAR 1 GÍN.GÍN  
 KÙ.BABBAR  
 (5) [pé-eš-ker ... ]-ši-ia GIŠŠUKUR-an wa-al-ḥa-an-zi  
 (6) [ka-ru-ú ki-iš]-ša-an e-eš-šer ki-nu-na ták-ku a-ra-u-wa-an-ni-iš  
 (7) [6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa]-a-i ták-ku ARAD-ša 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

b<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.21)

- (1) [ki-nu-na ták-ku a-r]a-u-wa-né-eš 6 GÍN.K[Ù.B]A[BBAR° ...]  
 (2) [ták-ku ARAD-ša 3 G]ÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [pa-a-i]

§ 101 If anyone steals a vine, a vine branch, a ...,<sup>316</sup> or garlic, formerly [they paid] one shekel of silver for one vine, one shekel of silver for one vine branch, one shekel of silver [for one *karpina*-, one] shekel of silver for one clove of garlic. And they shall strike a spear<sup>317</sup> [...].... [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/\*2

## a (KBo 6.12) i

- (8) [ták-ku lu-ú-li-i]a-az GIŠ-ru ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi  
 (9) [ták-ku 1 GUN GI]Š 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ták-ku 2 GUN GIŠ 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 (10) [pa-a-i ták-ku 3] GUN GIŠ DI-IN LUGAL-RI

b<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.21) i

- (3) [ták-ku ...<sup>318</sup>] lu-ú-li-ia-az GIŠ-ru ku-i[š-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi]  
 (4) [ták-ku 1 GUN GI]Š 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ták-ku 2 GUN [GIŠ 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

<sup>316</sup> GIŠ*karpina*- is a fruit tree, Hrozný thought of a pear tree. Again next to GIŠ*maḥla*- in the ritual text KUB 43.23 rev. 4-5.

<sup>317</sup> Or "his"; see Commentary.

<sup>318</sup> Judging from the estimated leftward extension necessary in copy b<sub>1</sub>, lines 6, 12 and 17, there may have been another word between *ták-ku* and *lu-ú-li-ia-az* here (Güterbock 1961b). The same adjustment requires the addition of GIŠGEŠTIN GIŠḤAŠḤUR in the first line of §104. Imparati 1964 adjusts the initial line of §104 without consistently adjusting those of §§102 and 103. On the basis of available space in b<sub>1</sub> i 5 Güterbock wonders if the number of GUN there was higher than 3.



(5) [ták-ku 3 GUN GI]Š DI-IN [LUGAL-RI]

§ 102/2 [If] anyone steals timber from a [...] <sup>319</sup>pond, [if] (he steals) [one talent (= 30.78 kg) <sup>320</sup>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/\*3

a (KBo 6.12) i

(11) [ták-ku ar-ši-i]n ku-iš-ki ta-i-ia-zi ták-ku 1 gi-pé-eš-šar

(12) [ar-ši-iš t]a-an EGIR-pa ar-še-ez-zi Û 1 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

(13) [pa-a-i ták-ku] 2 gi-pé-eš-šar ar-ši-iš ta-an EGIR-pa

(14) [ar-še-ez-z]i Û 2 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

b<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.21) i

(6) [ták-ku ar-ši-in k]u-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi ták-ku <sup>11</sup> [gi-pé-eš-šar ar-ši-iš]

(7) [ta-an a-ap-pa a]r-še-ez-zi Û 1 GÍN K[Ù.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(8) [ták-ku 2 gi-pé-eš-šar a]r-ši-iš ta-an a-ap-pa [ar-še-ez-zi]

(9) [Û 2 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR] pa-a-i

§ 103 [If] anyone steals plants, if it is one *gipeššar* (0.25 square meters) [of planting], he shall re-plant it and [pay] one shekel of silver. [If it is 2] *gipeššar* (0.5 square meters) of planting, he shall re-[plant] it and pay 2 shekels of silver.

§ 104/\*4

a (KBo 6.12) i

(15) [ták-ku GIŠHAŠHUR? GIŠHAŠHUR.KU]R.RA na-aš-ma GIŠŠENNUR ku-iš-ki kar-aš-zi

(16) [o o o o o o GÍN.GÍN] KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi

b<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.21) + b<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.22)

(10+1) [ták-ku ... GIŠHAŠHUR.KUR.RA na-aš-ma GIŠŠENNUR ku-iš-ki kar-aš-[zi]

(11+2) [o GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR p]a-a-i pár-n[a-aš-š]e-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) i

(1) [ ]-zi

(2) [ ]

<sup>319</sup> Extra word necessary only in b<sub>1</sub>, not in a.

<sup>320</sup> Friedrich and von Schuler translate "Traglast" (one load). Güterbock 1961b, 69 ("loads of wood") does not seem to disagree, and Haase follows them. AHW *biltu(m)* 1d gives "Traglast als Mass". But other occurrences of GUN in Hittite texts seem to require the more technical translation "talent" (so Walther 1931, Goetze 1969, Hoffner 1963). Imparati quotes both views and takes no position.

## g (KBo 19.6)

(2) [... pá-r-na-še-]e-a šu-wa-a-i[z-zi]

§ 104 [If] anyone cuts down [an apple tree,] a pear(?) tree or plum(?) tree,<sup>321</sup> he shall pay [... shekels] of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 105/\*5

## a (KBo 6.12) i

(17) [ták-ku A.ŠÀ-an? ku-iš-k]i lu-uk-ke-ez-zi nu-za-an an-da

(18) [mi-ia-an-ta-an GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠT]IN e-ep-zi ták-ku GEŠTIN-iš GIŠHAŠHUR

(19) [GIŠHAŠHUR.KUR.RA na-aš-ma GIŠŠ]ENNUR wa-ra-a-ni A-NA 1 GIŠ-ŠÍ

(20) [6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i nu a]r-ši-in EGIR-pa ar-ša-a-iz-zi

(21) [pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez]-zi ták-ku ARAD-ša 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

b<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.21) + b<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.22)

(12+3) [ták-ku A.ŠÀ-an? ku-i]š-ki lu-uk-[ke-ez-zi nu]-za an-da mi-ia-an-ta-[an]

(13+4) [GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN e-ep-zi tá]k-ku GEŠTIN-iš [GIŠHAŠHUR]R na-aš-ma  
GIŠHAŠHUR.KUR.RA [na-aš-ma]

(14+5) [GIŠŠENNUR wa-ra-a-n]i A-NA 1 GIŠ 6 GÍN.[GÍN KÙ.BABBAR] pa-a-i

(15+6) [nu<sup>322</sup> ar-ši-in EGIR-p]a ar-ša-a-iz-zi p[ár-na-aš-še-e-a š]u-wa-a-ez-zi

(16+7) [ták-ku ARAD-ša 3 GÍN.G]ÍN KÙ.BABBAR [pa-a-i]

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) i

(3) [ ]  
 (4) [ GIŠHAŠHUR? ]  
 (5) [ A-NA 1 GIŠ-ŠÍ ]  
 (6) [ ar-ša-a-iz-zi ]  
 (7) [ KÙ.BABBA]R pa-a-i ]

## d (KBo 6.11) i

(2) [6?] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-<sup>i</sup>1 [ ]  
 (3) pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-z[i ]

## g (KBo 19.6)

(3) [... lu-uk-ke-ez-z]i nu-za-kán [an-da ]  
 (4) [...] ták-ku GIŠGEŠTIN[-iš GIŠHAŠHUR ]  
 (5) [...] A-NA 1 GIŠ[-ŠÍ 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ]  
 (6) [ šu-wa]-i-ez-[zi ]

<sup>321</sup> Von Schuler "einen Aprikosenbaum oder einen Mispelstrauch".

<sup>322</sup> Sufficient space for the *nu*. An asyndetic construction is inappropriate here.



§ 105/5 [If] anyone sets fire to [a field],<sup>323</sup> and (the fire) catches<sup>324</sup> a fruit-bearing vineyard,<sup>325</sup> 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 re-plant [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/\*6

aa<sub>8</sub> (KUB 29.38) i

- (1) [ ku-i-ša-at] lu-uk-ke-ez-zi  
 (2) [ a-pa-a-aš da-a-i SI]G<sub>5</sub>-ia-an-na<sup>326</sup>  
 (3) [A.ŠÀ wa -ar ]-ši

## a (KBo 6.12) i

- (22) [ták-ku pa-aḥ-hur A-NA A.ŠÀ-ŠU k]u-iš-ki pé-e-da-i nu mi-ia-an-da-an  
 (23) [A.ŠÀ lu-uk-ke-ez-z]i ku-i-ša-at<sup>327</sup> lu-uk-ke-ez-zi  
 (24) [nu-za lu-uk-kán-da-an A.ŠÀ-a]n a-pa-a-aš da-a-i SIG<sub>5</sub>-an-da-an-ma A.ŠÀ-LUM  
 (25) [A-NA EN A.ŠÀ pa-a-i t]a-az wa-ar-še-e-ez-zi

b<sub>3</sub> (KUB 29.23) (+) b<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.21) + b<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.22)

- (17) [ták-ku p]a-aḥ-hur A-N[A A.ŠÀ-]ŠU ku-iš-ki pé-e-da-i [ta ta-me-e]l-la  
 (18) [A.ŠÀ]-ŠU lu-uk-ke-e[z-zi] ku-i-ša-at lu-u[k-ke-ez-zi nu-za lu-u]k-kán  
 (19) [A.ŠÀ-L]AM a-pa-a-aš da-a-[i SI]G<sub>5</sub>-an-da-an-na [A.ŠA A-NA EN] A.ŠÀ  
 (20) [pa-a]-[i] ta-az [wa-ar-]ši-a[-az-zi]

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) i

- (8) [ nu mi]-ia-an-da-an<sup>328</sup>  
 (9) [ ]x  
 (10) [ ]x A.ŠÀ-LUM  
 (11) [ ]

<sup>323</sup> In order to burn it over, as some Turkish farmers still do today.

<sup>324</sup> Hittite *anda epzi* "takes in", "embraces", which for a fire means "spreads to", "catches".

<sup>325</sup> As Güterbock has pointed out (1943 70), the Hittite G<sup>i</sup>ŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN, like the Turkish *bağ*, included not just vine stocks but fruit trees bordering them. Therefore a fire which catches a G<sup>i</sup>ŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN will also burn fruit trees.

<sup>326</sup> Or less likely: [la-az-z]i-ia-an-na.

<sup>327</sup> Error for -an.

<sup>328</sup> A.ŠÀ takes neuter agreement in aa (MS?) and in NH copies C, b, d and i, but common in copies A, B, L, PT, a and c. It is possible, but not (yet) provable, that the "neuter" agreement reflects the collective in -i, rather than a true heterogeneity. Note the similar vacillation in gender agreement for G<sup>i</sup>ŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN in §107, even within the same manuscript (see d).





**b<sub>3</sub> (KUB 29.23 (+) KUB 29.22) i**(5+11) [ták-k]u LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš i-ia-at-n[i-ia-an-da-aš<sup>GIŠ</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN UDU.ĪI.A tar-n]a-i<sup>332</sup>

(6) [t]a ħar-ni-ik-zi ták-ku m[i-an-da ]

(7) [tá]k-ku ta-an-na-ta-ma 5 GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

**c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) i**

(12) [ UDU.ĪI.A tar-na-i

(13) [ A-NA 1 IKU] 10 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

(14) [pa-a-i GÍN KÙ.BABBAR] pa-a-i

**d (KBo 6.11) i**(8) ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš i-ia-at-ni-ia-an-da-aš<sup>GIŠ</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN UDU.ĪI.A tar-na-a-i

(9) ta-a ħar-ni-ik-zi ták-ku mi-an-da A-NA 1 IKU 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

(10) pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi ták-ku dan-na-at-ta-an-ma 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

(11) pa-a-i

**h (KBo 19.9)**(5') [ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš i-ia-a]t-ni-ia-an-da-aš<sup>GIŠ</sup>[KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN]

(6') [UDU.ĪI.A tar-na-i ta-za ħar]-ni-ik-zi ták-ku mi-an-t[a- ]

(7') [ ták-k]u [ta<sup>1333</sup>-an-na-an-da-ma 6 [ ](8') [ š]u!<sup>334</sup>-wa-a-ez [zi]**i (KBo 6.17) i**(6) ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-aš [...<sup>GIŠ</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN]

(7) UDU.ĪI.A-ŠU tar-na-[a-i ta ħar-ni-ik-zi ták-ku ...]

(8) A-NA 1 IKU 10 [GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ...]

(9) 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [pa-a-i]

§ 107/7 If a person lets (his) sheep into a productive vineyard, and ruins it, if it is in fruit, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver for each 3,600 square meters.<sup>335 336</sup> But if it is bare,<sup>337</sup> he shall pay 3<sup>338</sup> shekels of silver.

<sup>332</sup> Followed by an erased -zi in the intercolumnium.

<sup>333</sup> Or perhaps 'da]-.

<sup>334</sup> The trace in the copy resembles the right side of ú, but a spelling šu-ú-wa-a-iz-zi for this verb is otherwise unknown.

<sup>335</sup> Hittite: 1 IKU, which equals 30 gipeššar.

<sup>336</sup> Two late manuscripts add: "He shall look to his house for it."

<sup>337</sup> I.e., already harvested. See Güterbock 1961b 70.

<sup>338</sup> Copies i and b have "5 shekels".

## § 108/\*8

aa<sub>8</sub> i(7) [ *da-a-i-ez*]-zi<sup>339</sup>

## a (KBo 6.12) i

(29) [ *GIŠma-ah-l*]*a-an*

(30) [ ]x-x

b<sub>3</sub> (KUB 29.23 (+) KUB 29.22) i(8+15) [*ták-ku ták-ka-li-an-da-az* GIŠK[IRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN *GIŠma-ah-la-an ku-iš-ki ta-a*]-*i<sup>1</sup>-e-ez-zi*(9+16) [*ták-ku* 1 ME GIŠ.ĤLA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a*-[*i pá-r-na-aš-še-e-a*] *š[u-wa]-a-iz*<sup>340</sup>-*zi*](10) [*ták-ku* *Ú-UL-ma ták-ka-li-an-d*[*a nu* *GIŠma-ah-la-an*](11) [*d*]*a-a-i-e-ez-zi* 3 GÍN KÙ.B[ABBAR *pa-a-i*]c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) i(15) [ *GIŠma-a*]*h-la-an*(16) [ G]GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*(17) [ *tág-ga-li-ia-an-da*(18) [ K]Ù.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

## d (KBo 6.11) i

(12) *ták-ku tág-ga-li-ia-an-da-za* GIŠI[KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN *GIŠma-ah-la-an ku-iš-ki*(13) *ta-a-i-ia-zi* *ták-ku* 1 ME GIŠ!-ŠÚ [6] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*(14) *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi* [*ták-k*]*u* *Ú-UL-ma tág-ga-li-ia-an-da*(15) *nu* *GIŠma*<sup>341</sup>-*ah-la-an ta-a-i*-[*ia-zi*] 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

## h (KBo 19.9)

(9') [*ták-ku* -*a*]*z* GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN *GIŠ*[*ma-ah-la-an*](10') [*ku-iš-ki* .....-*zi* *ták-ku* 1] ME GIŠ.ĤLA 6 GÍN [N ](11') [*pár-na-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi*] *ták-ku* *Ú-UL-ma* [*ták-ka-li* ](12') [ ]-*iz-zi* 3 GÍN KÙ.BABB[AR *pa-a-i*]

## i (KBo 6.17) i

(10) *ták-ku* *ták-k*[*a-li*....-*az* GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN *GIŠma-ah-la-an*](11) *ku-iš-ki* *d*[*a*....-*zi* *ták-ku* 1 ME GIŠ.ĤLA 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*]<sup>339</sup> Spelling taken from §120 aa. §125 aa has *ta-a-i-ez-zi*.<sup>340</sup> Hand copy unclear. See *šu-wa-a-iz-zi* above in §104 b<sub>2</sub>.<sup>341</sup> *ma* written over erased *ah*.



(12) *pár-na-aš-ši-[ia? šu- -zi ták-ku Ú-UL-ma]*

(13) *ták-ka-l[i-an-ta/da nu GIŠma-ah-la-an ...-zi]*

(14) 3 GÍN K[Û.BABBAR *pa-a-i*]

§ 108 If anyone steals vine branch(es) from a fenced-in vineyard, if (he steals) 100<sup>342</sup> vines/(fruit) trees, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it. But if (the vineyard) is not fenced in, and he steals vine branch(es), he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

§ 109/\*9

**b<sub>3</sub> (KUB 29.23)**

(12) [*ták-k*]u PA<sub>5</sub>-az GIŠIN-BA-AM ku-i[š-ki a-ar-gi ták-ku 1 ME GIŠ-ŠÚ 6 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*]

**c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) i**

(19) [ ] *a-ar-ki*

(20) [ ] *pa-a-i*

**d (KBo 6.11) i**

(16) *ták-ku a-mi-ia-ra-za GIŠIN-B[A-A]M ku-iš-ki a-ar-gi*

(17) *ták-ku 1 ME GIŠ-ŠÚ 6 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

**j (KBo 6.16)**

(1) [... GIŠIN-BA-AM ku-iš-ki a-a[r-...]]

(2) [... GÍN KÛ.BABBAR pa-[...]]

**i (KBo 6.17) i**

(15) [*tá*]k-k[u ... ]

§ 109/9 If anyone cuts off fruit trees from (their) irrigation ditch,<sup>343</sup> if (he cuts off) 100 trees, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver.

§ 110/\*10

**b<sub>3</sub> (KUB 29.23)**

(13) [*ták-ku*] hu-uš-ši-li-az pu-ru-ut ku-i[š-ki da-a-i-e-ez-zi ma-ši-ia-an]

(14) [*da-a-i*]-e-ez-zi an-da-na-pa a-pé-<sup>f</sup>e]-[ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an pa-a-i]

**c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) i**

(21) [*ták-ku* ] *pu-ru-ut ku]-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi*

(22) [ ] *a]-pé-e-ni-šu-wa-an pa-a-i*

<sup>342</sup> Emend both d and b<sub>3</sub> to "1"? See Commentary.

<sup>343</sup> Or: "divides ... with an irrigation ditch/canal". See Commentary.

**d (KBo 6.11) i**

(18) [ták-ku] hu-u-uš-ši-el-li-ia-az pu-[ru]-ut ku-iš-ki da-a-i-ia-zi

(19) [ma-ši-ia-an da<sup>344</sup>]-a-i-ia-az-zi an-da-še-ia a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an pa-a-i**j (KBo 6.16)**

(3) [ták-ku hu-u-uš-ši-li-i]a-az pu-u-ut ku-iš-[ki ...]

(4) [ ] da-a-i-e-ez-[zi ...]

(5) [ ] -n]i-iš-šu-wa-an pa-a-<sup>i</sup>l

§ 110/10 If anyone steals clay<sup>345</sup> from a pit, [however much] he steals, he shall give the same amount in addition (to it).<sup>346</sup>

## § 111/\*11

**b<sub>3</sub> (KUB 29.23)**

(15) [ták-ku še-e]-ni pu-ru-ut k[u-iš-ki e-pa-a-ri al-wa-an-za-tar DI-IN LUGAL]

**c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) i**

(23) [ták-ku pu-ru-ut ku-iš-ki ap-pa-at-t]a-ri al-wa-an-za-tar DI-IN LUGAL

**d (KBo 6.11) i**

(20) [ták-ku še-e-ni pu-r]u-ut ku-iš-ki e-pa-a-ri al-wa-an-za-tar DI-IN LUGAL

**j (KBo 6.16)**

(6) [ták-ku še-e-ni pu-ru-ut ku-i]š-[ki ]

(7) [ ] [ ]

§ 111/11 [If] anyone forms(?) clay for [an ima]ge(?) (for magical purposes), it is sorcery (and) a case for the king's court.

## § 112/\*12

**c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) i**(24) [ták-ku A-NA NAM.RA.ĪLA A.ŠĀ-LAM Š]A LÚ GIŠTUKUL ĤAL-QÍ-IM<sup>347</sup> pí-an-zi

(25) [MU.3.KAM ša-aĥ-ĥa-an Ú-UL i-i]a-zi I-NA MU.4.KAM-ma

(26) [ša-aĥ-ĥa-an e-eš-šu-u-wa-an da-a-i IT]-TI LÚ.MEŠ GIŠTUKUL ĥar-ap-zi

<sup>344</sup> Or: [... ta]. See §108 d i 13, 15.

<sup>345</sup> That is, clay specially prepared for use (Güterbock 1961b).

<sup>346</sup> The parenthesized words translate the -še in d. Copy b has the OH -apa but no -še. Both -apa and the anda=še=yā (with the same order of clitics as parna=še=(y)a!) look archaic. My provisional interpretation is that the -apa is original and implies (relationally) what the scribe of d tried to make more explicit with his -še. See §§128 and 149.

<sup>347</sup> Copy d i 21 erroneously corrects this to Hittite ĥal-ki-in "grain"; the suggestion of reading this word as Akkadian is from Otten 1990.



**d (KBo 6.11) i**

- (21) [ták-ku A-NA NAM.RA.ĤI.]A<sup>1</sup> A.ŠÀ-LAM ŠA LÚ GIŠTUKUL ĥal-ki-in pí-an-[zi]  
 (22) [MU.3.KAM ša-aĥ-ĥa-a]n Ú-UL i-ia-«an-»zi I-NA MU.4.KAM-ma ša-a[ĥ-ĥa-an]  
 (23) [e-eš-šu-u-wa-an?? IT-T]I LÚ.MEŠ GIŠTUKUL da-a[-i]

**k (KUB 29.24) i**

- (1) [ ] Ú-UL i-ia-z[i ]  
 (2) [ ] e-eš-šu-u-wa-an da-a-i IT-TI [LÚ.MEŠ GIŠTUKUL<sup>348</sup> ĥar-ap-zi]

§ 112/12 [If] they give [to an *arnuwala*-man] the land of a man having a TUKUL-obligation who has disappeared, [for 3 years] he performs<sup>349</sup> no [šahĥan-services], but in the fourth year he begins to perform šahĥan-services and joins (or: ranks with) the men having TUKUL-obligations.

## § 113/\*13

**c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) i**

- (27) [ták-ku ku-iš-ki ka]r-aš-zi kar-ša-an-da-an  
 (28) [GIŠGEŠTIN-an a-pa-a-aš da-a-i SIG<sub>5</sub>-an-m]a? GEŠTIN-an A-NA EN GEŠTIN  
 (29) [pa-a-i ta-an-za túĥ-ša-an-na-i ku?-i]f?-[m]a?-an a-pé-e-el  
 (30) [GIŠGEŠTIN SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-ta ]x da-a-i  
 (31) [ ]

**d (KBo 6.11) i**

- (24) [ták-ku GIŠGEŠTIN-an ku]-iš-ki kar-aš-zi kar-aš-ša-an-da-[an GIŠGEŠTIN-an]  
 (25) [a-pa-a-aš da-a-i SIG<sub>5</sub>-an-ma? GIŠ]G[EŠTIN-an A-NA EN GIŠGEŠTIN pa-a-[i]  
 (26) [ta-an-za o o<sup>350</sup> túĥ-ša-an-na-i ku?-i]f?-[m]a?-an a-pé-e-[el GIŠGEŠTIN]  
 (27) [SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-ta ]x[ ] da-[a -i]

**k (KUB 29.24) i**

- (3) [ták-ku mi?-an?-da?-a]n?<sup>351</sup> GIŠGEŠTIN-an ku-iš-ki kar-aš-zi kar-š[a-an-da-an]  
 (4) [GIŠGEŠTIN-an] a-pa-a-aš da-a-i SIG<sub>5</sub>-an-na GIŠGEŠTIN  
 (5) [A-NA BE-E]L GIŠGEŠTIN pa-a-i ta-an-za túĥ-ša-an-na-i

<sup>348</sup> Either the last 3 signs were written in the intercolumnium, or there was a line 2a before the § line.

<sup>349</sup> Copy d i 22 mistakenly reads "they perform".

<sup>350</sup> Space for about 3 more signs unaccounted for in the duplicates.

<sup>351</sup> Space here noted by Güterbock 1961b. Space in d i 24 for a word with 3 or 4 signs. Trace in k could be -a]n. The restoration [... mi?-an?-da?-a]n? is my own guess. Another possibility would be [ták-ku dam-me-e]f?, but one would already assume without *dammel* that the damaged vine was not his own, and the criterion of whether or not the vine in question was fruitful is surely more to the point in determining the nature and severity of the offence.

(6) [ku?-i? -ma?-an a-pé-e-e]l GIŠGEŠTIN SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-ta

(7) [ EGIR-pa? da]-a-i

(8) [ EG]IR-pa<sup>1</sup> da-a-i

§ 113/13 [If] anyone cuts down a [fruit-beari]ng(?) vine, he shall take the cut-down [vine] for himself and give to the owner of the (damaged) vine (the use of) a good vine. (The original owner of the cut-down vine) shall gather fruit from it (i.e., the good vine) [until] his own vine recovers. ...

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

§ 118/\*15†

aa<sub>7</sub> (KUB 29.36 obv. 1-6) + aa<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.25:1-2) i

(1) [ ]x[ ]  
 (2) [ ku-i]š-ki t[a- ]  
 (3) [ ]x pa-iz-z[i ]  
 (4) [ ] na-at-t[a ]  
 (5+1) [ ]x e-e[p-zi -g]a-ri[ .....]  
 (6+2) [ pa-]iz-zi [ o o o o ]-x-i ta-x[ ]

f<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.14) i

(2) [E]N GIŠ.HI.A[ ]  
 (3) ta-an x[ ]  
 (4) e-ep-zi [ ]  
 (5) ta-aš pa-iz-zi [ ]

I (Bo 92/113)

(1') [ ] p]a?-iz-z[i?]  
 (2') [ ]-z[i]

§ 119/\*16†

aa<sub>7</sub> (KUB 29.36 obv. 7-8) + aa<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.25:3-5) i

(7+3) [ták-ku lu-li-ia-aš MUŠEN-in o-o-o an-na-nu-u]h-ḫa-an [na-aš-ma] ka - ak - ka - pa - an  
 [Ø?]

(8+4) [ ka-ru-ú 1 M]A.NA K[Û.BABBAR p]t-iš-<sup>ki</sup>ker ki-nu-na<sup>12</sup>

(5) [GÍN.GÍN KÛ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-ia<sup>352</sup> šu-w]a-i-ez -zi

f<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.14) i

(6) ták-ku lu-li-ia-aš MUŠEN-i[n o-o-o an-na-nu-u]h-ḫa-an na-aš-ma ka-ak-ka-pa-an

<sup>352</sup> Or -a. See §§127 and 149.



(7) *an-na-nu-uh-ḥa-an ku-iš-k[i ta-a-i-e-ez-zi ka-ru-ú 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR]*

(8) *pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na 12 GÍN.GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-i-ez-zi]*

**I (Bo 92/113)**

(3) [*ták-ku lu-li-ia-aš MUŠEN-in o-o-o an-na-nu-uh-ḥa-an na-aš-ma ka-ag]-ga-pa-an an-na-nu-uh-ḥa-[a]n!*

(4) [*ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi ka-ru-ú 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pé-eš-ker k]i-nu-na*

(5) [*12 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-i-ez-zi*

§ 119/16† If anyone [steals] a duck(?)/swan(?) (lit. a pond-bird) ... trained (as a decoy) [or] a partridge(?) trained (as a decoy), [formerly] they paid [1] mina (= 40 shekels) of silver, but now [he shall pay] 12 shekels [of silver], and he shall look [to his house for it].

§ 120/\*17†

**aa<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.25) i**

(6) [*ták-ku* *k]u-iš-ki da-a-i-ez-zi*

(7) [*ták-ku 10 MUŠEN.ḪI.A ... .. KÙ.BABBAR]* *pa-a-[i]*

**f<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.14) i**

(9) *ták-ku um-mi-ia-an-du-uš MUŠEN.ḪI.A-uš a[n?-.....<sup>353</sup> ku-iš-ki]*

(10) *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi ták-ku 10 MUŠEN.ḪI.A 1 GÍN.GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]*

**I (Bo 92/113)**

(6) [*ták-ku um-mi-ia-an-du-uš MUŠEN.ḪI.A-uš an?-..... ku-iš-ki ta]-a-i-ez-zi*

(7) [*ták-ku 10 MUŠEN.ḪI.A 1 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]*

§ 120/17† If anyone steals t[rained(?)] *ummiyant*-birds [...], if there are 10 birds, he shall pay one shekel [of silver].

§ 121/\*18†

**aa<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.25) i**

(8) [*ták-ku* <sup>GIŠ</sup>APIN-an LÚ EL-LUM *ku-iš-ki da-a-i-e-ez-zi iš-ḥa-a-aš-ši-š[a-a]n ú-e-m[i-ez-]fzi?!*

(9) [*GÚ-SÚ* <sup>GIŠ</sup>ap-pa-la-aš-ša-aš *ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-u]z-zi ta G[U<sub>4</sub>.ḪI].A-it x[...]<sup>354</sup>*

(10) [ o o o o o *ka-ru-ú kiš-ša-an i-iš-šer ki-nu-n]a 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [pa-a-i*

(11) [ *ták-ku ARA]D-ša 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.[BABBAR pa-a-i]*

**a (KBo 6.12) ii**

(1) *ták-ku* <sup>G[IS]</sup> ]

<sup>353</sup> Walther restored *a[n-na-nu-uh-ḥa-an-du-uš]*, and Friedrich *a[n-na-nu-uh-ḥu-uš]* (HG, 64 n. 25).

<sup>354</sup> According to the copy in Güterbock 1962a 18 the trace does not favor *[a]l[-ki]*, although some form of execution seems to be in view.

- (2) EN-ša-an [ ]  
 (3) ti-it-ta-n[u- ]  
 (4) ka-ru-ú ki[-iš-ša-an ]  
 (5) pa-a-i pá-r-na-a[š- ]  
 (6) ták-ku ARAD-ša [ ]

f<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.14) i

- (11) ták-ku <sup>GIŠ</sup>APIN-an LÚ EL-LUM ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-[e-ez-zi EN-ša-an KAR-zi GÚ-SÚ]  
 (12) <sup>GIŠ</sup>ap-pa-la-aš-ša-a[š š]a-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-uz-zi t[a GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪLA-it ...]<sup>355</sup>  
 (13) ka-ru-ú kiš-an e-eš-šer ki-nu-na 6 GÍN.GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]  
 (14) pá-r-na-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi ták-ku ARAD-ša 3 GÍN.GÍN [Ù.BABBAR pa-a-i]

## I (Bo 92/113)

- (8) [ták-ku <sup>GIŠ</sup>APIN-an LÚ EL-LUM ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi EN-š]a-an  
 (9) [KAR-zi GÚ-SÚ <sup>GIŠ</sup>ap-pa-la-aš-ša-aš ša-ra-a ti-it-ta-nu-uz-z]i

§ 121/18† If some free man steals a plow, and its owner finds it, (the owner) shall put [(the offender's) neck] upon the ... (a part of the plow?), and [he shall be put to death(?)] by the oxen. This is how they proceeded formerly. But now he shall pay 6 shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it. If it is a slave, [he shall pay] 3 shekels of silver.

## § 122/\*19†

aa<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.25:12)

- (12) [ták-ku an-da ap-pa-an-da <sup>GIŠ</sup>MAR.GÍD.DA ku-iš-ki ta-a]-[i-ez-zi] [ ]

## a (KBo 6.12) ii

- (7) ták-ku an-da a[p-pa-an-da <sup>GIŠ</sup>MAR.GÍD.DA ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi ...]  
 (8) ta-pé-eš-ni [1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pé-eš-ker ki-nu-na o GÍN KÙ.BABBAR]  
 (9) pa-a-i pá-r-n[a-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi]

f<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.14) i

- (15) ták-ku an-da ap-pa-an-da <sup>GIŠ</sup>MAR.GÍD.DA ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-[zi ...]  
 (16) ta-pé-eš-ni 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pé-eš-ker

## q (KBo 14.66) i (unnumbered lines)

- [ ]-eš-ni tap-pé-eš-ni  
 [ šu-wa-a-i]z-zi

<sup>355</sup> So rather than G[U<sub>4</sub>.ĪLA-it a-ki]; the *ta* is necessary for the syntax, is present in aa, and is consonant with the traces in the photo in Neufeld.



§ 122/19† If anyone steals a wagon with all its accessories, initially they paid one shekel of silver, [but now] he shall pay [... shekels of silver], and he shall look [to his] house [for it].

## § 123/\*20

## a (KBo 6.12) ii

- (10) *ták-ku* GIŠx[ ]  
 (11) *hur-ki-*[ -zi]  
 (12) 3 G[ÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi*]

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10)

- (1) *hur-k[i* ]  
 (2) 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.B[ABBAR ]

## n (KUB 13.15) obv.

- (1) [ ] x x [ ]  
 (2) [ ] *pár-na-aš-še-i[a* ]

o<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.26)

- (1) [ ]x  
 (2) [ ] *šu-wa-a-ez-zi*

§ 123/20 If [anyone steals a ..., .... Now he shall pay] 3 shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 124/\*21

aa<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.28) i

- (1) [ KÙ.BABBAR *pa]-a-i!* [*pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-ia-az-zi*]

## a (KBo 6.12) ii

- (13) *ták-[ku*  
 (14) [  
 (15) [  
 (16) [  
 (17) [  
 (18) *k[u-iš-ki*

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) ii

- (3) *ták-ku* GIŠš<sub>i</sub>-š<sub>i</sub>-a-ma *k[u-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi* 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR]  
 (4) *pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-ia š[u-wa-a-ez-zi* *ták-ku* GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA.ĪI.A]  
 (5) *ku-iš-ki ta-a-iš-ta-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>* [ta A.ŠĀ-iš?-š<sub>i</sub>? da-la-i]

(6) *ta ta-a-i-e-ez-zi ku-i[š-ki 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR]*

(7) *pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-i[z-zi]*

**f<sub>3</sub> (KBo 6.19) ii?**

(1) [*ták-ku GIŠši-ši-i*]<sup>356</sup> *m[a ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi ]*

(2) [*pár-na-še-i*]<sup>357</sup> *šu-wa-a-[iz-zi ]*

(3) [*ta-a-iš-t*]*a-i ta A.ŠÀ-i[š?-ši? ]*

(4) [*3 GÍN*].GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pá[r-na-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi]*

**n (KBo 19.7 + KUB 13.15) obv.**

(3) [*ták-ku GIŠši-ši-ia-ma ku-i[š-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]*

(4) [*pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi ták-ku GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA.ĪLA ku-iš [-ki]*

(5) [*ta-a-iš-ta-i ta A.ŠÀ-iš-ši ]* [*ta-li-ia-iz*]<sup>1</sup> *-zi*

(6) [*ta ta-a-i-e-ez-zi ku-iš-k*]*i 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa -a -i!*

(7) [*pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez ]* *-z[i]*

**o (KUB 29.27 + 29.26)**

(3) [*ták-ku GIŠši-ši-ia-ma ku-iš-ki da-ia-az-z*]*i 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

(4) [*pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi*]<sup>358</sup> *ták-ku ta-i[š-ti-an-da GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA.[ĪLA]*

(2+5) [*I-N*]*A A.ŠÀ da-l[i?-ia-zi ta ta-i-ez-zi ku-i[š-ki 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-[i]*

(3+6) [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a [šu-wa-a-i]z-zi*

§ 124/21 If anyone steals a *šišiyama* (tree or implement), 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,<sup>359</sup> and someone steals (it), he shall pay 3 shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

§ 125/\*22

**aa<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.28) i**

(2) [*ták-ku GIŠŠEN-an ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi o o o o*]<sup>360</sup> *x+ ] I GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR p[a-a-i]*

(3) [*ták-ku KUSĥu-u-ša-an na-aš-ma KUSĥa-ru-uš-ĥa ku-iš-ki ]* *ta-a-i-ez-zi 1 GÍN KÙ.BAB[BAR pa-a-i]*

**a (KBo 6.12) ii**

(19) *ták-[ku*

<sup>356</sup> Or: [*GIŠši-ši-ia-ma*, as in c<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>357</sup> Restored according to *pár-na-še-ia* in §121 f<sub>1</sub> i 14.

<sup>358</sup> For the restoration see §122 o<sub>1</sub> 2.

<sup>359</sup> Copy o: "If [anyone] st[eals lo]aded wagons [i]n a field."

<sup>360</sup> Available space suggests that there were additional words in copy aa not found in the NH copies c, f and o.



(20) *k[u-iš-ki*

**c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) ii**

(8) *ták-ku GIŠŠEN-an ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-e[z-zi x+1 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]*

(9) *ták-ku KUŠ<sub>h</sub>u-u-ša-an na-aš-ma KUŠ<sub>t</sub>a-ru-uš-<sub>h</sub>[a]*

(10) *ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

**f<sub>3</sub> (KBo 6.19) ii?**

(5) [*ták-ku GIŠŠEN-a*]n *ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi [x+1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]*

(6) [*ták-ku KUŠ<sub>h</sub>u-u-š*]a-an *na-aš-ma KUŠ<sub>t</sub>a-r[u-uš-<sub>h</sub>a]*

(7) [*ku-iš-ki ta-i*]-e-ez-zi 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [*pa-a-i*]

**m (Bo 8202)**

(1) [ 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR] *p[a-a-i]*

**n (KBo 19.7 + KUB 13.15) obv.**

(7) [*ták-ku GIŠŠEN-an ku-iš-ki ta-i*]-e-ez-zi <sup>1</sup>[GÍN KÙ.BABBAR] *pa-a-i*

(8) [ KUŠ<sub>t</sub>a-[r]u-uš-<sub>h</sub>[a ku-iš-<sub>k</sub>i

**o (KUB 29.27 + 26)**

(4+7) [*ták*]-*ku GIŠŠEN-an ku-i[š-ki da-ia-az-zi x+1 GÍN K]Ù.BABBAR pa-a-i* < *ták-ku KUŠ<sub>h</sub>[u-u-ša-an]*

(5+8) [*n*]-*aš-ma KUŠ<sub>t</sub>a-ru-u[š-<sub>h</sub>a ku-iš-ki da-ia-az-zi 1 GÍN K]Ù.BABBAR pa-a-i*

§ 125/22 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/\*23

**aa<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.28) i**

(4) [*ták-ku I-NA KÁ É.GAL GIŠ<sub>za</sub>-a<sub>h</sub>-ra-in*<sup>361</sup> *ku-iš-ki ta-a-ia-az-zi 6] GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

(5) [*ták-ku I-NA KÁ É.GAL GIŠŠUKUR ZABAR ku-iš-ki ta-a-i]a-az-zi a-ki-aš*

(6) [*ták-ku ZI.KIN.BAR URUDU ku-iš-ki ta-a-ia-az-zi*<sup>362</sup> *1/2 PA-RI-SI ŠE pa-a-i*<sup>363</sup>

(7) [*ták-ku ga-pf-nu-uš ŠA 1 TÚG ku-iš-ki ta-a-ia-az-zi 1 TÚG].SÍG pa-a-i*<sup>364</sup>

**a (KBo 6.12) ii**

(21) *ták-[ku*

<sup>361</sup> m 2' GIŠ<sub>za</sub>-*hur-ti*.

<sup>362</sup> So probably in aa, cf. line 5.

<sup>363</sup> § line here in aa<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>364</sup> No § line here in aa<sub>2</sub>.

(22) 6-[GÍN

(23) k[u-iš-ki

**c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) ii**

(11) *ták-ku I-NA KÁ É.GAL* <sup>GIŠ</sup>za-aḥ-ra-in ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi

(12) 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i *ták-ku I-NA KÁ É.GAL* <sup>GIŠŠUKUR</sup> ZABAR

(13) ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi a-ki-aš *ták-ku* ZI.KIN.BAR URUDU

(14) ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi ½ PA. ŠE pa-a-i

(15) *ták-ku ga-pí-nu-uš ŠA* 1 TÚG ku-iš-k[i]

(16) ta-a-i-e-ez-zi 1 TÚG.SÍG pa-a-[i]

**f<sub>3</sub> (KBo 6.19) ii?**

(8) [*ták-ku I-NA KÁ É.G*]AL <sup>GIŠ</sup>za-aḥ-ra-in ku-iš-ki t[a(-a)-i-e-ez-zi]

(9) [6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR p]a-a-i *ták-ku I-NA KÁ É.GAL* [<sup>GIŠŠUKUR</sup> ZABAR]

(10) [ku-iš-ki ta(-a)-i-e-e]z-zi a-ki-aš *ták-ku* Z[I.KIN.BAR URUDU]

(11) [ku-iš-ki ta(-a)-i-e-e]z-zi ½ PA. ŠE [pa-a-i]

(12) [*ták-ku ga-pí-nu-uš ŠA*] 1 TÚG ku-i[š-ki ta(-a)-i-e-ez-zi]

(13) [1 TÚG]G.SÍG [pa-a-i]

**m (Bo 8202)**

(2) [*ták-ku I-NA KÁ É.GAL*] <sup>GIŠ</sup>za-aḥ-hur-ti<sup>365</sup> ku[-iš-ki ta-a-i-ez-zi]

(3) [6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa]-a-i *ták-ku I-NA* [KÁ É.GAL]

(4) [<sup>GIŠŠUKUR</sup> ZABAR ku]-iš-ki ta-a-i-[ez-zi]

(5) [a-ki-aš *ták-ku* ZI.KI]N.BAR URUDU ku-iš-ki t[a-a-i-ez-zi ½ PA. ŠE]

(6) [pa-a-i *ták-ku ga*]-pí-nu<sup>366</sup>-uš Š[A 1 TÚG ku-iš-ki]

(7) [ta-a-i-ez-zi 1 TÚG] IŠ-TU SÍ[G pa-a-i]

**o<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.27:6-9 + 29.26:9-12)**

(6+9) [*ták-ku I-NA KÁ É.GAL* za-a[ḥ-ra-in ku-iš-ki da-ia-az]-zi 6 GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(7+10) [tá]k-ku I-NA KÁ É.G[AL <sup>GIŠŠUKUR</sup> ZABAR ku-i]š-ki da-a-[i]-[e-ez-zi a-ki-aš]

(8+11) [*ták-ku* še-pí-ku-uš-ta-a[n URUDU ku-iš-ki da-ia-az-zi] ½ PA. ŠE [pa-a-i]<sup>367</sup>

(9+12) [*ták-k*]u ka-pí-nu-uš Š[A 1 TÚG ku-iš-ki da-i-e-e]z-zi [1 TÚG.SÍG pa-a-i]<sup>368</sup>

<sup>365</sup> Over erased -ri. All signs in line 2' collated (Klengel).

<sup>366</sup> The signs -pí-nu- are written over erased -nu-uš.

<sup>367</sup> Paragraph line here in o.

<sup>368</sup> No § line here in o.



§ 126/23 If anyone steals a wooden chair(?) 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,<sup>369</sup> he shall give 25 liters of barley (= 1/16 shekel). If anyone steals the threads (or strands of wool) of one bolt of cloth, he shall give one bolt of woolen cloth.

## § 127/\*24

aa<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.28) i

(8) [ták-ku GIŠIG šu-ul-la-an-na-az ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi ku]-it ku-it É-ri an-da-an

(9) [ḥar-ak-zi ta-at šar-ni-ik-zi Û 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a]-i pár-na-aš-še-ia<sup>370</sup> šu-wa-ia-az-zi

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) ii

(17) ták-ku GIŠIG šu-ul-la-an-na-az<sup>371</sup> ku-i[š-ki] ta-i-e-ez-zi<sup>372</sup>

(18) ku-it ku-it ḥar-ak-zi ta-at šar-<sup>l</sup>ni<sup>l</sup>-ik-zi

(19) Û 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi

m (Bo 8202)

(8) [ták-ku GIŠIG šu-ul-la]-an-na-[az ...]

o<sub>2</sub> (=KUB 29.27:10)

(13) [ták-ku GIŠIG š]u-ul-la-a[n-na-az ...]

§ 127/24 If anyone steals<sup>373</sup> a door as a result of a quarrel, he shall replace everything that may get lost in the house, and he shall pay one mina (i.e., 40 shekels) of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 128/\*25

aa<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.28) i

(10) [ták-ku SIG<sub>4</sub> ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi ma-ši-ia-an ta-i-e-ez-zi] an-ta-ia-aš-še a-pé-ni-iš-ša-[an]

(11) [pa-a-i ták-ku ša-ma-na-az NA<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi A-NA 2 N]A<sub>4</sub> 10 NA<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A pa-a-i

(12) [ták-ku ...<sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup> ḥu-u-wa-a-ši na-aš-ma<sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup> ḥar-mi-ia-al-li ku-iš-ki] i<sup>l</sup> ta<sup>l</sup>-a-ia-az-zi

(13) [2 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR p]a-a-i

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) ii 20-25 + c<sub>2</sub> (KBo 6.20) 1-4

(20) ták-ku SIG<sub>4</sub> ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi ma-ši-ia-an

(21) ta-i-e-ez-zi an-da-aš-še«-aš-še»<sup>374</sup> a-pé-e-ni-šu-u-wa-an pa-a-i

<sup>369</sup> Or "(scribe's) stylus". See Commentary.

<sup>370</sup> But see pár-na-aš-še-a in §149, line 21.

<sup>371</sup> cc ii 5 [šu-ul-la-a]n-na-za.

<sup>372</sup> cc ii 5 kar-ap[-zi].

<sup>373</sup> Copy cc: "lift[s]".

<sup>374</sup> cc ii 9 [an-da-]ia-aš-ši.

- (22+1) *ták-ku ša-ma-na-az*<sup>375</sup> NA<sub>4</sub>[H].A *ku-iš-ki* [ta<sup>1</sup>-i-e-[ez-zi]  
 (23+2) A-NA 2 NA<sub>4</sub> 10 NA<sub>4</sub>.H].A *pa-[a-]i ták-k[u o o o o.N]<sup>A</sup> hu-u-[wa-a-ši]*  
 (24+3) *na-aš-ma* NA<sub>4</sub>*har-mi-ia-al-li ku-iš-ki*  
 (25+4) *ta-i-e-ez-zi* 2 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*

§ 128/25 If anyone steals bricks, however many he steals, he shall give the same amount in addition to it. If [anyone] steals stones from a foundation, for 2 (such) stones he shall give 10 stones. If anyone steals a stela or a *har-miyalli* stone, he shall pay 2 shekels of silver.

## § 129/\*26

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) ii + c<sub>2</sub> (KBo 6.20)

- (26+5) *ták-ku* <ŠA>ANŠE.KUR.RA *na-aš-ma* [ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA] KUS<sup>AN</sup>*na-nu-uz-[zi]*  
 (27+6) KUS<sup>GA</sup>*ga-az-zi-mu-el* [o-o-o-a][?]-li *kat-ra-al* ZA[BAR?]  
 (28+7) *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-e*[z-zi *ka-r*]u-ú 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *p[é-eš-ker]*  
 (29+8) *ki-nu-na* 12 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABB[AR *pa-a-i*] *pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-z[i]*

§ 129/26 If anyone steals a leather bridle(?)/halter(?), a leather *gazzimuel*, a [...], or a bronze bell(?) <of> a horse or a mule, formerly they paid one mina (= 40 shekels) of silver, but now [he shall pay] 12 shekels of silver, and he shall look to his house for it.

## § 130/\*27

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) ii + c<sub>2</sub> (KBo 6.20)

- (30+9) *ták-ku* GU<sub>4</sub>-*aš na-aš-ma* ANŠE.K[UR.RA-*aš ... -i*]a-a[t-t]a-lu-uš  
 (31) *ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-z[i ...* GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*  
 (32) *pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-[iz-zi]*

§ 130/27 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/\*28

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) ii

- (33) *ták-ku* KUS<sup>HA</sup>*ha-ap-pu-ut-[ri ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi]*  
 (34) 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-[i pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi]*

§ 131/28 If [anyone steals] a leather harness(?), he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to his house for it.]

## § 132/\*29

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) ii

- (35) *ták-ku* LÚ EL-LAM [... .. *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi*]

<sup>375</sup> cc ii 10 [*ša-ma-a*]n-na-za.



(36) 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [*pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi*]

(37) *ták-ku* ARAD-ša [3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*]

§ 132/29 If a free man [steals ..., he shall pay] 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to his house for it.]  
But if he is a slave, [he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.]

§ 133/\*30†

aa<sub>8</sub> (KUB 29.38) ii

- |                             |                  |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| (1) <i>ták-ku</i> [LÚ       | <i>pa-a -i</i> ] |
| (2) <i>pár-na[-aš-še-ia</i> | ]                |
| (3) <i>ták-ku-a</i> [n?     | ]                |
| (4) <i>ták-ku</i> L[Ú?376   | ]                |
| (5) <i>ke-el-l</i> [a(-)    | ]                |
| (6) x - x[                  | ]                |

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) ii

(38) [*ták-k*]u LÚ EL-[LAM *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi*]

(39) [... GÍN.G]ÍN [KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi*]

(40) [*ták-ku* ARAD-ša ..... GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a -i*]

§ 133/30† If a free man [steals ...,] he shall pay [...] shekels [of silver, and he shall look to his house for it. If he is a slave, he shall pay ... shekels of silver.]

§ 142/\*31

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iii

- (1) [.....] [*ku-iš-k*]i p[*é-e*]n-n[*a-i* ...]
- (2) [*a-pé*]-[*e*]-*el-la* GIŠUMB[IN *ku-iš-ki ta-i-e-ez-zi A-NA*]
- (3) [1 GIŠ]UMBIN-*aš* ½(!) PA. ŠE p[*a-a-i ták-ku* ARAD-ša]
- (4) A-NA 1 GIŠUMBIN-*aš* [... PA. ŠE *pa-a-i*]

r (11/p)<sup>377</sup>

(1) [A-NA 1 GIŠUMBIN-*aš* ... PA. ŠE] [*pa-a-i*]

§ 142/31\* [If] anyone drives [a wagon(?) ..., ... 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.

<sup>376</sup> Or ŠE[Š].

<sup>377</sup> Unpublished fragment identified by S. Košak and communicated to me by letter in the form of an unpublished hand copy by H. Otten with a collation by E. Neu.

## § 143/\*32

aa (KUB 29.29) ii

(1) [ ] *pa-a-[i]*c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iii(5) *ták-ku LÚ EL-LAM URUDU<sub>zi-na-a</sub>[l-li URUDU.....]*(6) *URUDUša-an-ku-wa-al-li ku-iš-k[i ta-i-e-ez-zi]*(7) 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-š[e-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi]*(8) *ták-ku LÚARAD-ša 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.[BABBAR pa-a-i]*

r (11/p)

(2) [*ták-ku LÚ EL-LAM URUDU<sub>zi-n</sub>a-al-li URUDU<sub>x</sub><sup>378</sup>.....*](3) [*URUDUša-an-ku-wa-al-li ku-i*]š-ki *ta-a-i-ia-z[i 6 GÍN.GÍN]*(4) [KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-i*]a *šu-wa-iz-zi*(5) [*ták-ku LÚARAD-ša 3 GÍN.GÍN*] [KÙ.BABBAR] *p[a-a-i]*

§ 143/32\* If a free man [steals] copper shears(?), a copper [...], (or) a copper nail file(?), he shall pay 6 shekels of silver. [He shall look to] his house [for it]. But if it is a slave, he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.

## § 144/\*33

aa (KUB 29.29) ii

(2) [*ták-ku LÚŠU.I URUDU<sub>zi-na-al-li a-ri</sub>]-iš-ši *pa-a-[i]**(3) [*tu-uš ḥar-ni-ik-zi o - o - o - o*] [ša-a<sup>1</sup>-k[u-wa]-aš-ša-ru-uš *pa-a-<sup>1</sup>i*](4) [*ták-ku TÚG.SIG o - o - o ku*]-iš-ki *tu-uḥ-<sup>1</sup>[š]a-ri 10 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-<sup>1</sup>i*(5) [*ták-ku ..... k*]u-iš-ki *tu-uḥ-<sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>-ri 5 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i*c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iii(9) *ták-ku LÚŠU.I URUDU<sub>zi-na</sub>-[al-li<sup>379</sup> a-ri-iš-ši *pa-a-i*]*(10) *tu-uš ḥar-ni-ik-zi [... ša-a-ku-wa-aš-ša-ru-uš *pa-a-i*]*(11) *ták-ku TÚG.SIG GIŠḥa-an-za-n[i-it? ku-iš-ki túḥ-ša-ri]*(12) 10 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i* [*ták-ku ...*](13) *ku-iš-ki túḥ-ša-ri* [5 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i*]

<sup>378</sup> Traces on an old copy by Otten resemble š[a, but not to be restored as URUDUš[a-an-ku-wa-al-li]. Since the preserved paragraph line between lines r 1 and 2 proves this line was the first, and c iii 5 requires restoring 8 signs inclusive of the -na-, the same number of signs are required for the beginning of line 3 before the preserved -i]š-ki. Copy c iii 5 must therefore have had another noun following URUDU<sub>zinalli</sub> at the end of the line.

<sup>379</sup> Restored from §143.



§ 144/33 If a barber gives copper she[ars](?) to his associate, and (the latter) ruins them,<sup>380</sup> he shall give [them] in full value. If anyone cuts fine cloth with a *hanzan-*, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. If anyone cuts [...], he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.

## § 145/\*34

aa (KUB 29.29) ii

(6) [ták-ku É GU<sub>4</sub> ku-iš-k]i ú-e-te-ez-zi 6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

(7) [ták-ku o - o - o - u]š ta-a-la-i na-aš-kán ku-uš-ša-na-az še-me-en-zi

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iii

(14) ták-ku É GU<sub>4</sub> ku-iš-ki [ú-e-te-ez-zi]

(15) 6 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i i[ták-ku ...-uš ta-a-la-i]

(16) na-aš-kán ku-uš-na-az [ša-me-en-zi]

s HFAC 5<sup>381</sup>

(1) [o - o - o - ]x x[.....]

(2) [o - o - o - ]x GIŠ-r[u?.....]

(3) [o - o - o - ]x-an GU<sub>4</sub>.Ī.A[-uš ...]

(4) [ku?-uš?-na-a]z? ša-me-e[n-zi]

§ 145/34 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/\*35a

aa (KUB 29.29) ii

(8) [ták-ku É-er URU-i]a?-an<sup>382</sup> GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> na-aš-ma ú-e-ši-in ku-iš-ki uš-ne-eš-[kat-ta]

(9) [ta-ma-i-ša pa-i]z-zi ták-kán pé-e-ra-an wa-la-aḥ-zi ta-aš-ša-an

(10) [ḥa-ap-pa-ri še]-e-er ḥa-ap-pár i-e-ez-zi uš-tu-la-aš 1 MA.NA KÙ.BA[BBAR pa-a-i]

(11) [... ḥa-an-t]e-ez-zi-ia-aš-pát ḥa-ap-pa-ri-uš wa-a-ši<sup>383</sup>

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iii

(17) ták-ku É-er na-aš-ma URU-an n[a-aš-ma GIŠKIR]I<sub>6</sub> na-aš-m[a ú]-e-[ši-in]

(18) [ku-iš-ki] uš-ne-eš-kat-ta ta-m[a-i-š]a pa-iz-zi

(19) [ták-kán pé-ra-an wa-aḥ]-aḥ-zi ta-aš-ša-an ḥa-ap-pa-ri

<sup>380</sup> Melchert (personal communication) notes the use of common gender *-uš* to resume URUDU<sub>2</sub>*zinalli*: "it reflects that *zinalli* was animate and *zinalli* a collective plural. Thus one could switch to an animate/count plural in *t = uš*, even if the motivation remains unclear".

<sup>381</sup> Uncertain if this is a fragment of the laws and belongs here. See HFAC p. 2 sub #5.

<sup>382</sup> For *ḥappiriya*- "city" see HED 3:127f.

<sup>383</sup> § line here in aa.

(20) [še-er ḥa-ap-pár i-i]a-zi wa-aš-túl-aš 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

(21) [LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-na-az ḥa-an-t]e-ez-zi-uš-pát ḥa-ap-pa-ri-uš wa-a-ši

**t (KBo 14.67) ii**

(1) [            -z]i [            ]

(2) [... -pát]t ḥa-ap-p[a-ri-uš wa-a-ši]

§ 146a/35 If someone is in the process of<sup>384</sup> selling a house, a village, a garden or a pasture, but another (seller) goes and strikes first(?), and makes a sale of his own instead,<sup>385</sup> as a fine for his offence<sup>386</sup> he shall pay 40 shekels of silver, and buy [the ...] at the original prices.

§ 146b/\*35b<sup>387</sup>

**aa (KUB 29.29) ii**

(12) [ták-ku o o-i]a-an ku-iš-ki uš-ne-eš-kat-ta ta-ma-i-ša-kán pé-e-[ra-an wa-la-aḥ-zi]

(13) [uš-tu-la-aš] 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-na-az ḥ[a-a]n-te-ez-zi-ia-aš-pát[t]

(14) [ḥa-ap-pa-ri-u]š da-a-i

§ 146b/35 [If] anyone offers a [...] for sale, but another strikes first(?), for his offence he shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He shall take<sup>388</sup> the person at the [pric]es of the original (seller).<sup>389</sup>

§ 147/\*36

**aa (KUB 29.30 + 29.29) ii**

(15) [ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-an] <sup>1</sup>da?-am?<sup>1</sup>-pu-pf-in ku-iš-ki uš-ne-eš-k[at-t]a [t]a-ma-i-š[a-kán]

(1+16) [pé-e-ra-a]n wa-<sup>1</sup>la-aḥ-zi<sup>1</sup> [u]š-<sup>1</sup>tu-la<sup>1</sup>-aš 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [pa-a-i]

**c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iii**

(22) [ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU]-an dam-pu-pf-in<sub>4</sub> ku-iš-ki uš-ne-eš-kat-ta

(23) [ta-ma-i-ša-k]án pé-ra-an GUL-aḥ-zi

(24) [wa-aš-túl-aš 5 G]ÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

**t (KBo 14.67) ii**

(3) [ták-ku ...]-an dam-pu-pf[-...]

(4) [... G]UL-aḥ-zi wa-a[š-túl-aš ...] ...]

<sup>384</sup> See Commentary.

<sup>385</sup> Literally, "makes a ḥappar on top of a ḥappar".

<sup>386</sup> uš-tu-la-aš literally "(that) of (his) sin" (waštul). See Commentary.

<sup>387</sup> §146b is omitted in the post-Old Hittite copies.

<sup>388</sup> So in OH copy aa; NH copy c reads "he shall buy".

<sup>389</sup> So copy aa; c by substituting the accus. pl. ḥantezziuš makes the "original" refer to the prices.



§ 147/36 [If] someone is in the process of selling an unskilled person, and another (seller) strikes first(?), as the fine for his offence he shall pay 5 shekels of silver.

§ 148/\*37

aa (KUB 29.30 + 29.29) ii

(2+17) [ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-u]n ANŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.N[A AN]ŠE-in ku-iš-ki<sup>1</sup> [uš-ne-eš-kat-ta]

(3+18) [ta-ma-i]-ša-kán pé-e-ra-an wa-l[a?-ah-z]i †uš<sup>1</sup>-[tu-la-aš ... GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iii

(25) [ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-un A]NŠE.KUR.RA ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA ANŠE-in ku-iš-ki

(26) [uš-ne-eš-kat-ta]a ta-ma-a-i-ša-kán pé-ra-an GUL-ah-zi

(27) [wa-aš-túl-aš ... G]ÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

t (KBo 14.67) ii

(5) [ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>390</sup> GU<sub>4</sub>-u]n? A[NŠE.GÌR.N]UN.N[A ANŠE-in ku-iš-ki]

(6) [uš-ne-eš-kat-ta ta-ma-a-i-ša-kán pé-ra-an wa-a]l-ah-z[i ...]

§ 148/37 [If] someone [is in the process of selling] an ox, a horse, a mule or an ass, and another person strikes first(?), as the fine for his offence he shall pay ... shekels of silver.

§ 149/\*38

aa (KUB 29.30:4-6) ii<sup>391</sup>

(19) [ták-ku LÚ?]<sup>392</sup>-an an-na-nu-uh-ḫa-an ku-iš-ki ḫ[a-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi nu te-ez-zi ak-ki-iš-wa-ra-aš]

(20) [iš-ḫa]-a-aš-ši-ša-an ur-ki-ia-iz-zi n[a-an-za da-a-i an-ta-ia?-aš?-še?]

(21) [2 SAG.D]U pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-a<sup>393</sup> šu-wa-i[a-az-zi]

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iii

(28) [tá]k-ku U[N?-an]<sup>394</sup> an-na-nu-uh-ḫa-an ku-iš-ki ḫa-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi

(29) [n]u te-ez-zi BA.Úš-wa-ra-aš iš-ḫa-aš-ši-ša-an

(30) ur-ki-ia-iz-zi na-an-za da-a-i an-da-e-še

(31) 2 SAG.DU pa-a-i pá-r-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez<sup>1</sup>-z[i]

<sup>390</sup> Space for 5 to 6 signs before -u]n.

<sup>391</sup> Cumulative line numbering is used for aa in the remainder of this column, to facilitate use of Güterbock's newer copy in JCS 16:19.

<sup>392</sup> Since aa does not use UN for *antuḫša-*, another single-sign Sumerogram for a human being should occur here: perhaps [LÚ]-an "man" or [MUNUS]-an "woman".

<sup>393</sup> But see *pár-na-aš-še-ia* in §127 line 9.

<sup>394</sup> So with Goetze 1969 ("a trained man"), Souček, Imparati, Haase 1984, von Schuler, Puhvel in HED s.v., HW<sup>2</sup> s.v.: U[K]Ú, i.e. †UN<sup>1</sup> "person". Differently: Hrozný, Neufeld, Friedrich, Haase 1963: G[UD-un] "ox".



## q (KBo 14.66 + KUB 48.78) ii

(1) [ ] i[š? - h]a?-aš u-u[r -ki -ia -iz] -Izi<sup>1</sup>(2) [2] SAG.DU.MEŠ<sup>395</sup> [p]ár-[n]a-aš-še-e-a [šu-wa]-a-iz -z[i]

## t (KBo 14.67) ii

(7) [ták-ku UN-an an-na-nu-uh-ḥa-an ku-iš-k]i ḥa-a[p-pa-ra-iz-zi nu te-ez-zi BA.ÚŠ?-wa-ra-aš]

(8) [iš-ḥa-aš-ši-ša-an ur-k]i-i-e-ez-[zi na-an-za da-a-i]

(9) [an-da-ia-aš-še 2 SAG.DU pa-a-i pá]r-na-[aš-še-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi]

§ 149/38 If anyone sells<sup>396</sup> a trained pe[rson], and (afterwards, before delivery) says: "He has died," but his (new) owner tracks him down, he shall take him for himself, and in addition to him (i.e., to the trained person) he (the seller) shall give 2 persons (lit. heads).<sup>397</sup> He shall look to his house for it.

## § 150/\*39

## aa (KUB 29.30:7-8) ii

(22) [ták-ku LÚ-e]š<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-uš-ša-ni ti-i-e-ez-zi A-NA I[TU.1.KAM ... GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(23) [ták-ku MUNUS-za k]u-uš-ša-ni ti-i-e-ez-zi A-NA ITU.1.KA[M ... GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iii

(32) ták-ku LÚ ku-uš-ni ti-ia-zi A-N[A ITU.1.KAM ... GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(33) ták-ku MUNUS-za ku-uš-ni ti-ia-z[i A-NA ITU.1.KAM ... GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

## q (KBo 14.66 + KUB 48.78) ii

(3) ták-ku LÚ-eš ku-uš-ša-ni ti-i-e[-ez-zi A-NA I]TU.1.KAM 1 GÍN.GÍN K[Ù.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(4) ták-ku MUNUS-za ku-uš-ša-ni ti-i-e-ez-z[i A-NA I]TU.1.KAM ½ GÍN.GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

## t (KBo 14.67) ii

(10) [ ]

(11) [ ]x[ ]

§ 150/39 If a man hires himself out for wages, (his employer) shall pay one shekel of silver for one month. If a woman hires herself out for wages, (her employer) [shall pay] ½ shekel for one month.

<sup>395</sup> The scribe has omitted *pa-a-i*.

<sup>396</sup> Although *ḥapparai-* is a different verb from *ušniya-/ušneške-* in the preceding laws, the translation "sells" is appropriate for both. Perhaps the difference is that in §§146-148 the seller has not yet received payment, while in this law (§149) he has received payment and refuses to deliver the merchandise as previously agreed.

<sup>397</sup> All translators since Hrozný 1922 have recognized the force of *anda=še* as "in addition", but most have supplied an indirect object for the main verb ("to him") in their translations and have left unstated the full force of *anda=še* "in addition to it". *Imparati* 1964 145, 275 ("oltre a ciò") seems to be the first to make the matter explicit. See also CHD P 50 (*pai-* B k 1' a').



## § 151/\*40

## aa (KUB 29.30:9-10) ii

(24) [ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.L]Á ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi A-NA ITU.1.KAM 1 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(25) [ták-ku ... k]u-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi A-NA ITU.1.KAM ½ GÍN K[Ù.BABBAR pa-a-i]

## c (KBo 6.10 + 6.20) iii

(34) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ ku-iš-ki k[u-uš-ne-ez-zi]

(35) A-NA ITU.1.KAM 1 GÍN.GÍ[N KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB ku-iš-ki]

(36) ku-uš-ne-ez-zi A-N[A ITU.1.KAM ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

## q (KBo 14.66 + KUB 48.78) ii

(5) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša[-ni-ez-zi A-NA I]TU.1.KAM [½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(6) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-[ez-zi ...]

## t (KBo 14.67) ii

(12) [ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ne-ez-zi A-NA ITU.1.KAM 1 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR] pa-[a-i]

(13) [ták-ku ..... ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ne-ez-zi A-NA ITU.1.KAM ½ GÍN K]Ù.BABBAR pa-[a-i]<sup>398</sup>

§ 151/40 If anyone rents a plow ox, [he shall pay] one shekel [of silver] for one month. [If] anyone rents a [cow, he shall pay] a half shekel of silver for one month.

## § 152/\*41†

aa<sub>4</sub> ii (=KUB 29.30:11-12)

(26) [ták-ku ANŠE.K]JUR.[R]A ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA ANŠE-in ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi

(27) [A-NA ITU.]I<sup>1</sup>.KAM 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

## c (KBo 6.10 + 6.20) iii

(37) ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.R[A ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA ANŠE-in ku-iš-ki]

(38) ku-uš-n[e-ez-zi A-NA ITU.1.KAM 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

## q (KBo 14.66) ii

(7) ták-ku ANŠE.KUR.ÍRA ANŠE.GÌR<sup>1</sup>.NUN.NA ANŠE-in [ku-iš-ki ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi]

(8) A-NA ITU.1.K[AM 1 GÍN]N KÙ.BABBAR [pa-a-i]

## t (KBo 14.67) ii

(14) [ 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR] pa-[a-i]

§ 152/41 If anyone rents a horse, a mule or an ass, he shall pay one shekel of silver for one month.

<sup>398</sup> No § line between lines 13 and 14.

## § 157/\*42

aa<sub>4</sub> (=KUB 29.30:13-15) ii

(28) [ták-ku a-t]e-eš ZABAR ŠA 3 MA.NA KILÁ A-[NA IT]U.1.KAM 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et

(29) [ták-ku a-t]e-eš ZABAR ŠA 1 MA.NA 20 KIL[Á A-N]A ITU.1.KAM ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et

(30) [ták-ku t]a<sup>o</sup>-pu-ul-li ZABAR ŠA 1<sup>1</sup> [MA.NA K]ILÁ A-NA ITU.1.KAM ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et

i (KBo 6.17) iv

(2) ták-ku a-te-eš [ZABAR ŠA 1 MA.NA KILÁ.BI A-NA ITU.1.KAM]

(3) 1 GÍN KÙ.BAB[BAR ku-uš-ša-ni-iš-ši-it ták-ku URUDUa-te-eš<sup>399</sup>]

(4) [Š]A ½ MA.[NA KILÁ.BI A-NA ITU.1.KAM ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR]

(5) [ku-u]š-š[a- .....-it ták-ku ta-pu-ul-li ŠA 1 MA.NA KILÁ.BI]

n (KUB 13.15) rev.

(1) [ ]x[ ]

(2) [A-NA ITU.1.KAM ½] 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ku-uš-ša-an-še-et ták-ku ta-pu-ul-li<sup>1</sup>(3) [o-o<sup>400</sup> ŠA 1 MA.NA KI.]LÁ A-NA ITU.1.KAM ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ku-uš-ša-an-še-et

p (KBo 6.26) i

(1) ták-[ku a]-[te<sup>1</sup>]-eš ZABAR ŠA 1 MA.NA KILÁ.BI A-NA ITU.1.KAM

(2) 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ku-uš-ša-né-eš-ši-it ták-ku URUDUa-te-eš

(3) ŠA ½ MA.NA KILÁ.BI A-NA ITU.1.KAM ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

(4) ku-uš-ša-ni-iš-ši-it ták-ku ta-pu-ul-li ŠA 1 MA.NA

(5) KILÁ.BI A-NA ITU.1.KAM ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ku-uš-ša-ni-iš-ši-it

q (KBo 14.66) ii

(9) [ták-ku a]-[te-eš<sup>1</sup>] [ZABAR ŠA 1 M]A?.NA [ ]

§ 157/42<sup>401</sup> If a bronze axe weighs 1.54 kg (variant: 0.513 kg), its rent shall be one shekel of silver for one month. If a copper axe weighs 0.77 kg (variant: 0.25 kg), its rent shall be ½ shekel of silver for one month. If a bronze *tapulli*-tool weighs 0.54 kg, its rent shall be ½ shekel of silver for one month.

<sup>399</sup> So, if following p. But perhaps: [ták-ku a-te-eš ZABAR] with copy aa.

<sup>400</sup> Judging from the required restorations in the following two lines, there is space in this line unaccounted for by readings from the duplicates.

<sup>401</sup> Copy aa 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.



## § 158/\*43

## aa ii (=KUB 29.30 ii 16-19)

(31) [ták-ku LÚ?-e]š?-pát<sup>402</sup> BURU<sub>14</sub>-i ku-uš-ša-ni [ti-i-]e<sup>1</sup>-ez-zi še-ba-an iš-ḫa-a-i

(32) [GÍŠMAR.GÍD.DA e-ep-zi É IN.N[U.DA i]š-ta-a-pí KISLAḪ-an

(33) [wa-ar-š]i-an-zi ITU.3.KAM 30 PA-RI-S[I ŠE ku-u]š-ša-aš-še-et

(34) [ták-ku MUNUS-TU]M?<sup>403</sup> BURU<sub>14</sub>-i ku-uš-ša-ni ti-i-e-ez-zi ŠA ITU.3.KAM 12 PA. ŠE ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et<sup>404</sup>

## n (KUB 13.15) rev.

(4) [ták-ku LÚ-aš BURU<sub>14</sub>-i ku-u]š-ša-ni ti-ia-zi še-e-pa-an iš-ḫa-a-i

(5) [GÍŠMAR.GÍD.DA.ḪIA e-ep-zi]i É IN.NU.DA iš-tap!-pí KISLAḪ-an

(6) [wa-ar-ši-ia-an-zi ITU].3.KAM 30 PA. ŠE ku-uš-ša-an-še-et<sup>405</sup>

## p (KBo 6.26) i

(6) ták-ku LÚ-aš<sup>406</sup> <BURU<sub>14</sub>-i> ku-uš-ša-ni-i ti-ia-zi<sup>407</sup> še-e-pa-a[n]

(7) iš-ḫi-an-za GÍŠMAR.GÍD.DA.ḪIA e-ep-zi É IN.N[U.DA]

(8) iš-tap-pí KISLAḪ-an wa-ar-ši-ia-an-zi ITU.[3.KAM]

(9) 30 PA. ŠE ku-uš-ša-ni-iš-ši-it ták-ku MUNUS-za B[URU<sub>14</sub>-i]

(10) ku-uš-ša-ni ti-ia-zi ŠA ITU.2.KAM [12] PA. ŠE pa-a-i

## u (KUB 29.31)

(1) [ ŠA] ITU.3.KAM 12 PA. ŠE<sup>1</sup> [...] <sup>408</sup>

<sup>402</sup> Starke 1977 60 n. 47 correctly points out that the traces before BE in the photo do not resemble [L]Ú, although Friedrich 1959 72 n. 19 (followed by Imparati 1964) read [L]Ú-aš? here on the basis of the copy j's LÚ-aš. The trace in the photo could be -e]š. Is there space for [ták-ku LÚ-e]š-pát? Cf. the following evidence for LÚ-*i*e-: LÚ-iš KUB 36.75 ii 18 (OH/MS), KUB 30.10 rev. 13, KUB 30.11 rev. 9, 22 (both OH/NS), KUB 23.72 obv. 40 (MH/MS), KBo 6.26 iii 20, (26), (27), (28), 40, iv 8 (but LÚ-aš e.g. iii (37), 49, 50), VBoT 58 i 5 (all OH/NS), KBo 12.126 i 13 (MH/NS), KUB 36.83 i 21, KUB 43.22 obv. 10 (both NS), KBo 27.134 i 7, KUB 24.7 i 38, LÚ-eš KBo 14.66 ii 3, KUB 29.34:5, 19 (both OH/NS), KUB 7.53 i 17 (NH), LÚ-eš<sub>17</sub> KBo 3.34 ii 9, 11 (OH/NS). Admittedly none of this is OS, but then neither is aa!

<sup>403</sup> Or perhaps just [ták-ku MUNU]S?

<sup>404</sup> No § line here in aa.

<sup>405</sup> Paragraph line here in copy n. End of fragment n.

<sup>406</sup> Long -aš written over an erased BURU<sub>14</sub>.

<sup>407</sup> -ia-zi written over erasure (photo).

<sup>408</sup> No § line is visible after this line.

§ 158a/43 If a (free) man<sup>409</sup> in the harvest season<sup>410</sup> hires himself out for wages, to<sup>411</sup> 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 (= 3.75 shekels of silver). § 158b If a woman hires herself out for wages in the harvest season, her wages for 3 months<sup>412</sup> shall be 600 liters of barley (= 1 shekel of silver).<sup>413</sup>

## § 159/\*44

aa ii (=KUB 29.30 ii 20)

(35) [ták-ku ŠÍ-I]M-DĪ GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A U<sub>4</sub>.1.KAM ku-iš-ki tu-u-ri-ez-zi ½ PA. ŠE ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et

p (KBo 6.26) i

(11) ták-ku ŠÍ-IM-DUM G[U<sub>4</sub>.Ī]I.A [k]u-iš-ki tu-ri-ia-zi

(12) ½ PA. ŠE ku-uš-ša-[ni-i]š-ši -it

u (KUB 29.31)

(2) [ták-ku ŠÍ-IM-DUM? G]U<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A ku-iš-ki

(3) [tu-u-ri-ia-zi ½ PA. ŠE k]u-uš-ša-an-še-et

§ 159/44 If anyone hitches up a team of oxen for one day,<sup>414</sup> its rent shall be 25 liters of barley.

## § 160/\*45

aa (KUB 29.30:21-22) ii

(36) [ták-ku LÚSIMU]G ŠA 1 ME° MA.NA ŠEN.URUDU a-ni-e-ez-zi 1 ME PA. ŠE ku-uš-ša-aš-š[e-et]

(37) [ták-ku a-te-eš Z]ABAR ŠA 2 MA.NA KILÁ a-ni-e-ez-zi 1 PA. ZÍZ ku-uš-ša-[aš-še-et]

p (KBo 6.26) i

(13) ták-ku LÚSIMUG.A Š[A 1 ME] MA.NA URUDUŠEN a-ni-ia-zi

(14) 1 ME PA. ŠE ku-uš-š[a-n]i-iš-ši-it (š) ŠA URUDUa-te-eš

(15) ŠA 2 MA.NA [KI].LÁ.BI a-ni-ia-zi 1 PA. ZÍZ ku-uš-ša-ni-iš-ši-it

<sup>409</sup> So in p; reading in aa uncertain.

<sup>410</sup> So aa; p accidentally erased BURU<sub>14</sub> "(in) the harvest season" at this point and wrote a long -aš over it, but correctly included BURU<sub>14</sub>-i in line 9. There is space for [ták-ku LÚ-aš BURU<sub>14</sub>-i ku-u]š- in copy n also.

<sup>411</sup> In order to produce a smooth English translation I have used an infinitival construction and made the subjects of all verbs singular. The Hittite actually reads: "he will bind the sheaf, seize wagons, stop up the straw house, (and) they will sweep the threshing floor".

<sup>412</sup> NH p i 10: "for two months".

<sup>413</sup> So aa; copy p: "he (the employer) shall give 12 PARISI (= 600 liters) of barley (as her wage) of two months".

<sup>414</sup> NH p and u omit "for one day".



**u (KUB 29.31)**

(4) [ták-ku LÚSIMUG.A ŠA 1 ME MA.NA U]RUDUŠEN a-ni-ia-an-zi

(5) [1 ME PA. ŠE ku-uš-ša-.....-ši-it] ták-ku URUDUa-te-eš

(6) [ŠA 2 MA.NA KIL.LÁ.BI a-ni-i]a-an-zi (erasure)

(7) [1 PA. ZÍZ ku-uš-ša-....-še-et]

**v (KBo 6.15) iv?**

(1) [ták-ku LÚSIMUG.A ŠA 1 ME MA.NA URUDUŠEN a-ni-ia]-z[i]

(2) [1 ME PA. ŠE ku-uš-ša-....-ši-it ŠA URUDUa-te-e]š ŠA 2 MA.NA KI.[LÁ.BI]

(3) [a-ni-ia-zi 1 PA. ZÍZ ku-uš-ša-....-ši]-it

§ 160a/45 If a smith makes a copper box weighing 100 minas, his wages shall be 5,000 liters of barley (=12.5 shekels of silver). § 160b If he makes a bronze axe weighing 2 minas, his wages shall be 50 liters of wheat (=0.33 shekel of silver).

## § 161/\*46

**aa (KUB 29.30:23) ii**(38) [ták-ku URUDUa-te-eš] ŠA 1 MA.NA KIL.LÁ<sup>1</sup> a-ni-e-ez-zi 1 PA. ŠE ku<sup>1</sup>-u[š-ša-aš-še-et]**p (KBo 6.26) i**

(16) ták-ku URUDUa-[t]e-eš ŠA 1 MA.NA KIL.LÁ.BI a-ni-ia-zi

(17) 1 PA. ŠE ku-uš-ša-ni-iš-ši -it

**u (KUB 29.31)**

(8) [ták-ku URUDUa-te-eš ŠA 1 MA.NA K]IL.LÁ.BI a-ni-ia-an-zi

(9) [1 PA. ŠE ku-uš-ša-....-še-et]

**v (KBo 6.15) iv?**

(4) [ták-ku URUDUa-te-eš ŠA 1 MA.NA KIL.LÁ.B]I a-ni-ia-zi 1 PA. ŠE

(5) [ku-uš-ša-....]-it

§ 161/46 If he makes a copper axe weighing one mina, his wages shall be 50 liters of barley (=0.125 shekels of silver).

## § 162a/\*47

**f<sub>3</sub> (KBo 6.19) iii**

(1) EGIR-ez-z]i?-i[n? ...]

(2) ta [a-a]r-pu-ut-ta t[ák-ku ...]

(3) na-aš] [a<sup>1</sup>-pé-<sup>1</sup>e][<sup>1</sup>-e]

**p (KBo 6.26) i**(18) *ták-ku PA<sub>5</sub>-an EGIR-an ar-ḥa ku-iš-ki na-a-i 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR*(19) *pa-a-i ták-ku PA<sub>5</sub>-an EGIR-ez-zi-az ku-iš-ki*(20) *ša-ra-a n[a]-a-i ta la-ar-pu-ut-ta<sup>415</sup> ták-ku kat-ta-an-na*(21) *da-a-i na-aš a-pé-e -el***u (KUB 29.31)**(10) [*ták-ku PA<sub>5</sub>-an EGIR-an ar-ḥa ku-iš-k*]i na-a-i(11) [1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *pa-a-i ták-ku PA<sub>5</sub>-an ap?-p*]é?<sup>416</sup>-zi-ia-an(12) [*ku-iš-ki ša-ra-a na-a-i ta la-ar-pu-ut-t*]a**v (KBo 6.15) iv?**(6) [*ták-ku PA<sub>5</sub>-an EGIR-an ar-ḥa k*]u-iš-ki na-a-i 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR(7) [*pa-a-i ták-ku PA<sub>5</sub>-an ...-m*]a? ku-iš-ki še-er da-a-i(8) [*ta la-ar-pu-ut-ta ták-ku kat-t*]a-an-na da-a-i na-aš a-pé-el-pát**w (684/c) ii**(1') *ták-ku x* [ ](2') *ta la-[ar-pu-ut-ta* [ ]

§ 162a/47 If anyone (totally?) diverts an irrigation ditch, he shall pay one shekel of silver. If anyone upstream(?) partially(?) diverts<sup>417</sup> an irrigation ditch, he/it is ...ed. If he takes (the ditch at a point) below (the other's branch), it<sup>418</sup> is his (to use).

**§ 162b/\*47<sup>419</sup>****c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iv**

(6) [ ] -z]i

(7) [*ták-ku ... UDU.ḪI.A*] 'ú<sup>1</sup>-e-ši-ia-az(8) [*ku-iš-ki pé-en-na-i na-aš a-ki šar-n*]i-ik-ze-el(9) [Û KUŠ-ŠÚ UZU-ŠU *pa-*] 'a<sup>1</sup>-i**v (KBo 6.15) iv?**(9) [*ták-ku PA<sub>5</sub>?-an? o o o ku*]-iš-ki da-a-i ku-i-e-la-aš

(10) [A.ŠÀ-iš-ši? o o o o ]x ḥa-an-da-a-iz-zi na-at-ša-an x[... ]

<sup>415</sup> So with Hrozný 1922 126, contra Friedrich 1959 74, 109, who read *ta-at ar-pu-ut-ta*. See Güterbock 1980 and collation in CHD L-N sub *larpu-*.

<sup>416</sup> Photo confirms the final trace as a winkelhaken.

<sup>417</sup> So copy p; v has "takes [the ditch (i.e., its water)] upstream(?)".

<sup>418</sup> Common gender *-aš* shows that the subject is the ditch, not the water, since *watar* is neuter.

<sup>419</sup> Copy p omits this §.



- (11) [ *ták-ku ...*] UDU.ĤLA *ú-e-ši-ia-az ku-iš-k[i]*  
 (12) [*pé-en-na-i(?) na-aš a-ki(?) šar-ni-i*]k-ze-el Û KUŠ-ŠÚ UZU-ŠU [*da*]-a-i<sup>420</sup>

w (684/c) iii

- (1) *ták-ku* PA<sub>5</sub>-a[n ]  
 (2) A.ŠÀ-iš-ši p[a- ]  
 (3) [ o -]x-I na<sup>1</sup>-aš[(-?) ]

§ 162b/47 [If] anyone takes a canal(?) [...], on whosever field he prepares(?) [...], [...] it/them [...].  
 [If] anyone [drives(?)] sheep from a pasture [and it dies(?)], [... will be] the compensation, but he shall [t]ake its hide and meat.

§ 163/\*48

aa<sub>9</sub> (KBo 25.5) ii<sup>421</sup>

[ ] x x x<sup>422</sup> [ ]

c<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.10) iv

- (10) [ ] *ši-ú-ni-aḥ-ta*  
 (11) [ *na-at ar-ḥa p*]é-en-na-i  
 (12) [ *da*]-[a<sup>1</sup>-i

f<sub>2</sub> (KBo 6.18) iv

- (1) *ták-ku šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-et ku[-e-el-qa* ]  
 (2) *na*<sup>423</sup>-at *pár-ku-nu-uz-zi n[a-at ar-ḥa* ]  
 (3) *šu-wa-na-al-li-ma-kán* <sup>1</sup>i[-*šu-wa-an* ]  
 (4) *a-ri-iš-ši-ma-at* [ ]  
 (5) *ša-ak-ki* [ ]  
 (6) *na-at* [ ]

p (KBo 6.26) i

- (22)<sup>424</sup> *ták-ku šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-et ku-e-el-qa ši-e-ú-ni-aḥ-ta*  
 (23) *ta-at pár-ku-nu-zi na-at ar-ḥa pé-en-na-a-i*  
 (24) *i-šu-wa-na-al-li-ma-kán i-šu-wa-an da-a-i*  
 (25) *a-ri-iš-ši-ma-at* Ú-UL *te-ez-zi* LÚa-ra-aš-ša

<sup>420</sup> See Hrozný 1922 126 n. 4, who read [... *da*]-a-i.

<sup>421</sup> Traces of line not given in KBo 25.5 copy, seen on my photo.

<sup>422</sup> The traces on my photo are susceptible of various readings. Perhaps in view of the expected alignment a reading [...] <sup>1</sup>šar-ni-ik[-zi-il ...] is most likely.

<sup>423</sup> Over erased *ta*-.

<sup>424</sup> Double rule follows line 27.

(26) *Ú-UL ša-ak-ki šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-et<sup>1</sup> pé-en-na-a-i*

(27) *na-at a-ki šar-ni-ik-zi-il<sup>425</sup>*

v (KBo 6.15) iv?

(13) [*ták-ku šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-et ku-e-el-qa*] *ši-ú-ni-ia-aḫ-ta t[a-at<sup>426</sup> pár-ku-nu-zi]*

(14) [*na-at ar-ḫa pé-en-na-a-i i-šu-wa-na*]-*al-li-ma-kán* <sup>1</sup>*i*[-*šu-wa-an*]

(15)<sup>427</sup> [*da-a-i a-ri-iš-ši - ma - at Ú-UL*] *te-ez-zi a-[ra-aš-ša]*

(16) [*Ú-UL ša-ak-ki šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-et*] *pé-en-n[a-a-i na-at a-ki šar-ni-ik-zi-il]*

bb (HFAC 4)

(1) [*ták-ku šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-et ku-e-el-qa ši-ú-n*]-*i-aḫ-t[a]*

(2) [*ta-at pár-ku-nu-zi ar-ḫa pé-en-na*]-<sup>1</sup>*i* *i-šu-wa-[na-al-li-ma-kán]*

(3) [*i-šu-wa-an da-a-i a-ri-iš-ši-ma-at Ú-U*] *L te-ez-z[i LÚa-ra-aš-ša]*

(4) [*Ú-UL ša-ak-ki šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-et pé-e*]-*n-na-i*

(5) [*na-at a-ki šar-ni-ik-zi-il*]<sup>428</sup>

§ 163/48 If anyone's animals are smitten (with disease) by a god,<sup>429</sup> and (the owner) 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—not knowing—drives<sup>430</sup> his own animals there, and they die, there will be compensation.

§ 164-165/\*49-50

aa<sub>9</sub> (KBo 25.5) ii

(1) [*ták-ku a-ap-pa-at-ri-wa-a*]-*n-zi* <sup>1</sup>*ku-iš-ki* <sup>1</sup>*p[a-iz-zi ta šu-ul-la-tar i-e-ez-zi]*

<sup>425</sup> This line is followed by a double rule.

<sup>426</sup> Rest of the line probably written in the intercolumnium.

<sup>427</sup> Either the signs and words are more spaced out in this line than the preceding and following ones, or there is some short word to be added.

<sup>428</sup> According to Paul-Alain Beaulieu, who collated NBC 11803 at my request, and a photo in my possession, the copy in HFAC 4 slightly underestimates the vertical space available for this line.

<sup>429</sup> The translation "are branded" (Goetze 1969) is impossible. The translation "are smitten by a god" was proposed by Friedrich 1959 75 and others. Although as the middle of an *-aḫ-* factitive verb the word ought to mean literally "to make oneself divine" or "to be made divine"—compare ŠR-*naḫtat* "made himself a servant"—a second occurrence of the verb suggests that "to be smitten by a god" is indeed meant: [x-]ni? ša[(rr)iy]awan dāir n=e āi pappi UL n[aḫhanteš ešer] / [(n)]=e apadd[(a)] šiuniyahḫati "(evil men) began to divide ..., and—heaven forbid!(?)—they [were] not r[espectful], and for that reason they were smitten by the gods" KBo 3.1 iv 21/13-23/15, ed. StBoT 5:156 and THeth 11.

<sup>430</sup> The close connection between "doesn't know" and "drives there" is expressed in Hittite by an asyndetic construction.



(2) [na-aš-šu NINDA ḥar-ši-i]n na-aš-ma GEŠTINiš-pa-an-t[u-zi ki-nu-zi<sup>431</sup> 1 UDU]

(3) [10 NINDA.ḪI.A 1 DUG KA.D]Ū pa-a-i ta É-SÚ a-ap-pa šu-up-p[ī-ia-aḥ-ḥi]

(4) [ku-it-ma-an ú-i-it-ti] me-e-a-ni a-ri ta É-iš-šī [ ] §

**f<sub>2</sub> (KBo 6.18) iv**

(7) ták-ku ap[-pa-at-ri-wa-an-zi ku-iš-ki pa-iz-zi

(8) ta š[u!-ul-la-tar i-ia-zi na-aš-šu NINDA ḥar-ši-in]

(9) na-aš-ma [ ]

(10) 10 NINDA.ḪI.A [1 DUG KA.DŪ pa-a-i ]

(11) [k]u-it-ma[-an ]

(12) [ta<sup>1</sup> [É-iš-šī ]

**p (KBo 6.26) i**

(28) ták-ku a-ap-pa-at-ri-wa-an-zi<sup>432</sup> ku-iš-k[ī p]a-iz-zi

(29) ta šu-ul-la-tar<sup>433</sup> i-e-ez-zi [n]a-aš-šu NINDA ḥar-ši-in

(30) na-aš-ma GIŠ.GEŠTINiš-pa-an-du-zi k[i-n]u -zi

(31) ta 1 UDU 10 NINDA.ḪI.A 1 DUG KA.DŪ pa-a-i t[a] [É<sup>1</sup>-SÚ EGIR-pa

(32) šu-up-pī-ia-aḥ-ḥi ku-it-ma-an MU.KAM-za me-e-ḥu-ni a-ri

(33) ta É-iš-šī SAG.KI-za ḥar -zi

**bb (HFAC 4)**

(6) [ták-ku a-ap-pa-at-ri-wa-an-zi ku-iš-ki pa-iz-zi t]a š[u<sup>434</sup>-ul-la-tar i-ia-zi]

(7) [na-aš-šu NINDA ḥar-ši-in na-aš-ma GEŠTINiš-pa-an-du-zi k]i<sup>o</sup>-n[u<sup>o</sup>-zi]

§ 164-165/49-50 If anyone goes (to someone's house) to impress (something), starts a quarrel, and opens<sup>435</sup> either the (home owner's) sacrificial bread or libation wine, 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 preserve inviolate (what is) in his house.

<sup>431</sup> Although the NH copy p has a § line and (therefore has inserted?) a *ta*, since strictly speaking an asyndetic construction is appropriate here, I have left it so in this restoration of aa.

<sup>432</sup> *a-ap-pa-at-ri-wa-an-* written over erasure (photo).

<sup>433</sup> *-tar* is written over erased *-an-na-az*. See §§1, 2, 127 for *šullannaz*.

<sup>434</sup> If the restorations suggested for lines 1-5 above are correct, the first sign visible in line 6 ought to be the 17th or 18th, which would be *ta*, *šu-* or *-ul-*. In the HFAC copy the first sign *might* be a *t]a*, but certainly not a *š]u-*. HFAC copy looks most like [... *ku-iš-k] p[a-iz-zi]*, but neither my photo nor the lateral alignment favors this.

<sup>435</sup> So correctly Friedrich 1959. Neufeld 1951; Goetze 1969 render "spoils(?)". Hoffner 1963 104, 164, 1995a also incorrectly implied the notion of damage in *kinu-*. The idea rather is that the trespasser tries to appropriate the materials for the cult. *kinu-* takes *išpantuzi* as its direct object also in KBo 11.35 obv. 2-8 (with dupl. KUB1 20.39 ii 1-5).



## § 166/\*51

aa<sub>9</sub> 5' (=KBo 25.5:5'), aa<sub>4</sub> iii (KUB 29.30 iii 1'-5')

(5) [tá-k-ku o o o o o o o o<sup>436</sup> NUMUN-ni] [NUMUN-an še-e-er ku-iš-ki]<sup>437</sup>

(1) [šu-ú-ni-ez-zi o o o o<sup>438</sup> GÚ-SÚ GIŠAPIN-i? še-e-er t]i-an-z[i]

(2) [2? Šf-IM-D] GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A tu-u-ri-ia-an-zi ke-e-el me-e-ni-iš-ši-it]<sup>439</sup> tu-wa-a-an ke-e-el-l[a]

(3) [me-e-ni-iš-ši-it tu-wa-a-an ne-e-ia-an-zi LÚ-aš a-ki GU<sub>4</sub>.ME]Š-ša ak-kán-zi

(4) [Û A.ŠÀ-LAM ka-ru-ú-pát ku-iš šu-ú-ni-et ta-az a]-pa-a-aš wa-ar-aš-še

(5) [ka-ru-ú ki-iš-ša-an i-iš-šer]<sup>440</sup><sup>441</sup>

p (KBo 6.26) i

(34) tá-k-ku NUMUN-ni še-er NUMUN-an ku-iš-ki šu-ú-ni-ez-zi

(35) GÚ-SÚ GIŠAPIN-an<sup>442</sup> še<sup>443</sup>-er ti-ez-zi [1+]1?<sup>444</sup> Šf-IM-D] GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A

(36) tu-ri-ia-an-zi ke-e-el<sup>445</sup> me-n[e]<sup>446</sup>-iš-ši-it du-wa-a-an

(37) ke-e-el-la me-ne-iš-ši-it du-wa-a-an

(38) ne-e-ia-an-zi LÚ-eš<sub>17</sub> a-ki GU<sub>4</sub>.HI.A-ia ak-kán-zi

(39) Û A.ŠÀ-LAM ka-ru-ú-pát ku-iš šu-ú-ni-et

(40) ta-az a-pa-a-aš da-a-i ka-ru-ú ki-iš-ša-an e-eš-šer

§ 166/51 If anyone sows (his own) seed on top of (another man's) seed, they shall place his neck on a plow. They shall hitch up [tw]o teams of oxen: they shall turn the face of one in one direction and of the other in the other direction. The man will be put to death, and the oxen will be put to death. The party who first sowed the field shall reap<sup>447</sup> it for himself. This is the way they used to proceed.

<sup>436</sup> From available space it appears that aa had more material here than the NH duplicates.

<sup>437</sup> ku-iš-ki is written above normal line level.

<sup>438</sup> From available space it appears that aa had more material here than the NH duplicates.

<sup>439</sup> There is no evidence how aa spelled *meni-*. I have restored using the spelling of KBo 3.22 (OS).

<sup>440</sup> Restored conjecturally in the OH spelling *i-iš-š...* also in §121.

<sup>441</sup> No § line here in aa.

<sup>442</sup> One expects a locative case form here.

<sup>443</sup> *še-* written over erased *ti-* (photo).

<sup>444</sup> Friedrich reads [t]a? on the strength of the copy. The photo can be read [1+]1<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>445</sup> *-el* written over erasure.

<sup>446</sup> In the photo there is a small superfluous horizontal on the left edge of the *ne* sign unnoted in KBo 6.26. Perhaps the *-ne* is written over an erasure.

<sup>447</sup> NH p i 40: "take".



## § 167/\*52

aa<sub>4</sub> (KUB 29.30 iii 5-8 + 29.35 iii 1') iii

- (5) [ki-nu-na 1 UDU LÚ-na-]aš ka-aš-ša-aš-ša-aš (23)  
 (6) [hu-e-et-ti-an-ta 2 UDU.ĤI.A GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A-aš ka-aš-ša-aš-ša]-aš hu-e-et-ti-an-ta (24)  
 (7) [30 NINDA.ĤI.A 3 DUG KA.DÙ pa-a-i ta a-ap-pa šu-up-p]f-ia-aḫ-ḫi Û A.ŠÀ-LAM  
 (1+8) [ka-ru-ú-pát ku-iš šu-ú-ni-e-et ta-az a-p]a-a-aš wa-ar -ši

p (KBo 6.26) i

- (41) ki-nu-na 1 UDU LÚ-na-aš ka-aš-ša!-aš<sup>448</sup>-ša-aš hu-it-ti-an-ta  
 (42) 2 UDU.ĤI.A GU<sub>4</sub>.ĤI.A ka-aš-ša-aš-ša-aš hu-u-it-ti-an-ta 30 NINDA.ĤI.A  
 (43) 3 DUG KA.D[Ù] pa-a-i ta a-ap<sup>449</sup>pa šu-up-pf-ia-aḫ-ḫi  
 (44) Û A.ŠÀ-LAM ka-ru-ú-pát ku-iš šu-ú-ni-e-et<sup>450</sup>  
 (45) ta-az a-pa-a-aš wa-ar-aš -zi

§ 167/52 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 re-consecrate (the land?). And he who sowed the field first shall reap it.

## § 168/\*53

aa<sub>6</sub> (+) aa<sub>4</sub> iii

- (2+9) ták-[ku A.ŠÀ-aš ar-ḫa-an ku-iš-ki pár-ši-i]a 1 ak-ka-a-la-an pé-e-da-i BE-LÍ A.ŠÀ  
 (3+10) A.Š[À-LAM 1 gi-pé-eš-šar kar-aš-še-ez-z<sup>451</sup> t]a-az da-a-i ar-ḫa-an-na ku-iš pár-ši-ia  
 (4+11) 1 UD[U 10 NINDA.ĤI.A 1 DUG KA.GAG pa-a-i ta A.ŠÀ-LA]M a-ap-pa šu-up-pf-ia-aḫ-ḫi

d (KBo 6.11) iv

- (1) [tá]k-ku A.ŠÀ-aš ZA[G-an ku-iš-ki pár-ši-ia ...]  
 (2) pé-en-na-a-i [...]  
 (3) ta-za! da-a-i [...]  
 (4) 1 DUG KA.GAG pa-a-[i ...]<sup>452</sup>

e<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) i

- (1) [tá]k-ku A.ŠÀ-aš ZAG-an ku-iš-ki pár-ši-ia 1 ag-ga-la-an

<sup>448</sup> The signs -ša-aš are written over an erasure.

<sup>449</sup> From here to end of line over erasure.

<sup>450</sup> ku-iš šu-ú-ni-e-et in p i 44 is written over erased ki-iš-ša-an e-eš-šir.

<sup>451</sup> Restored following the more conservative copy e of this law, versus innovating p's kar-aš-zi. See also kar-aš-ši-i-ez-zi in laws §6 OH copy A and kar-aš-ši-e-ez-zi in §6 NH copy B.

<sup>452</sup> Followed by a double rule.

- (2) [pé]-en-na-a-i EN A.ŠÀ A.ŠÀ-LAM 1 gi-pé-eš -šar<sup>453</sup>  
 (3) <sup>1</sup>kar<sup>1</sup>-aš-še-ez-zi ta-az da-a-i A.ŠÀ-an-na ku -iš  
 (4) pár-ši-ia 1 UDU 10 NINDA.ĪIA 1 DUG KA.GAG-ia pa-a -i  
 (5) <sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> A.ŠÀ-LAM EGIR-pa šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ -ḫi

## p (KBo 6.26) i

- (46) ták-ku A.ŠÀ-an ZAG-an ku-iš-ki pár-ši-ia 1 ag-ga-la-an  
 (47) pé-en-na-a-i EN A.ŠÀ A.ŠÀ 1 gi-pé-eš-šar kar-aš-zi  
 (48) ta-az da-a-i ZAG-an-na ku-iš pár-ši-ia 1 UDU 10 NINDA.ĪIA  
 (49) 1 DUG KA.GAG pa-a-i ta A.ŠÀ-LAM EGIR-pa šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫi

§ 168/53 If anyone violates the boundary of a field and<sup>454</sup> removes<sup>455</sup> one *akkala*-,<sup>456</sup> the owner of the field shall cut one *gipeššar* (0.25 square meters) of field (from the other's field) and take it for himself. He who violated the boundary<sup>457</sup> shall give one sheep, 10 loaves, and one jug of KA.GAG-beer and re-consecrate the field.

## § 169/\*54

aa<sub>6</sub> (+) aa<sub>4</sub> iii (KUB 29.35 (+) 29.30 [JCS 16:20])

- (5+12) ták-ku [ ar-ḫa-a]n pár-ši-ia NINDA ḫar-ši-<sup>1</sup>in da-a<sup>1</sup>-i  
 (6+13) ta-an [ ]-wa ta-a-ag-na-a [ar-š]a?<sup>458</sup>-ke-e-et  
 (7+14) ta ki-[iš-ša-an te-ez-zi <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš <sup>d</sup>U-a]š na-[at-ta šu-ul-la-]<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-tar

e<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) i

- (6) ták-ku A.ŠÀ-LAM ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši ta ZAG-an pár-ši-ia  
 (7) <sup>1</sup>NINDA<sup>1</sup> ḫar-ši-in da-a-i ta-an <sup>d</sup>UTU-i pár-ši -ia  
 (8) <sup>1</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup>el-zi-mi-it-wa tág-na-a ar-ši-ik-ke- et  
 (9) nu te-ez-zi <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš <sup>d</sup>U-aš Ú-UL šu-ul-la -tar

<sup>453</sup> The scribe of e consistently moves the last sign to the end of the line, leaving a space. In §170/55 i 12, since the last word *a-ki* consists of only two small signs, he moves both to the end.

<sup>454</sup> The construction is asyndetic, which ordinarily would imply a translation: "violates the boundary, thus removing one *akkalan*". This consideration militates against the view that *akkala*- is a kind of plow.

<sup>455</sup> Old Hittite "carries off"; NH p i 47 "drives". The verb *pennai* "drives" takes *aggalan* as its object again in *nu aggalan naš[ma ...] / pennai* KUB 39.14 i 5-6, ed. Otten 1958 78.

<sup>456</sup> An interpretation of *akkala*- as a type of plow is proposed by Oettinger 1976 14, 50, and supported by Melchert 1994 33. Even if *akkala*- means "furrow", the verb *pé-e-da-i* would not mean "digs", as per Puhvel, for reasons adduced by Melchert.

<sup>457</sup> So aa and p; e has: "he who violated the field".

<sup>458</sup> The photo shows that the copy in JCS 16:20, line 13, intended to represent the right side of the sign before *-ki*- as an unbroken vertical. The reading as *-š]a-* is only one possibility, but the sign is definitely not *-i]k-*.



**p (KBo 6.26) i**(50) *ták-ku A.ŠÀ-L[AM ku-i]š-ki wa-a-ši ta 'ZAG-an párl-ši-ia*(51) NINDA *har-ši-i[n da-a-i ta-an dUTU-i párl-ši-ia nu t]e-ez-zi*(52) *GIŠe-el-[zi-mi-it-wa ..... ar-ši-ik-ke-et<sup>459</sup>]*(53) *ki-iš-š[a-an-na? te-ez-zi dUTU-uš dU-aš Ú-UL šu-ul-la-tar]*

§ 169/54 If anyone buys a field and violates the boundary, he shall take a thick loaf and break it to the Sungod [and] say<sup>460</sup>: "You ...ed my scales into the ground." And he shall speak thus<sup>461</sup>: "Sungod, Stormgod.<sup>462</sup> No quarrel (was intended)."<sup>463</sup>

**§ 170/\*55****aa<sub>6</sub> + aa<sub>4</sub> iii (KUB 29.35 (+) 29.30 [JCS 16:20])**(8+15) [*ták-ku*] L[Ú *te-e*]z-zi

(16) [ ]x

**e<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) i**(10) *ták-ku LÚ EL-LAM MUŠ-an ku-en-zi ta-me-el-la ŠUM-an*(11) *te-ez-zi 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a -i*(12) *ták-ku ARAD-ma a-pa-a-aš-pát a-ki***p (KBo 6.26) ii**(1) [*ták-k*]u 'LÚ EL-LAM' MUŠ-an ku-en-zi da-me-e-el-la ŠU[M-an](2) *te-ez-zi 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku ARAD-ša a-pa-a-aš-pát a-ki*

§ 170/55 If a free man kills a snake, and speaks another's name, he shall pay one mina (i.e., 40 shekels) of silver. If it is a slave, he himself shall be put to death.

**§ 171/\*56****aa iii (KUB 29.32:1')**

(21) [... DUM]U.'NITA'-Š[A? a-ap-pa DUMU.NITA-ŠA? i-e-ez-zi]

<sup>459</sup> Since neither *ta* nor *nu* without enclitics is normally written at the end of a line, perhaps the following *kiššan* had enclitic clause-connecting *-a*.

<sup>460</sup> So in copy p; unexpressed but implied in aa and e.

<sup>461</sup> So aa and p; e omits "thus".

<sup>462</sup> The forms <sup>d</sup>UTU-uš and <sup>d</sup>U-aš, though employed here for direct address, are not vocatives, but nominatives.

<sup>463</sup> Similarly Imparati 1964 "non v'è motivo di contrasto" and von Schuler 1982 "(es ist) kein Streit (fall beabsichtigt gewesen)". Differently Walther 1931 "Whether) sun-god (or) weather-god, there is no quarrel (i.e., no difference)", followed by Goetze 1969 and Friedrich 1959 77. But for such a meaning one would certainly expect not *UL šullatar*, but *UL duqqari*.



**e<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) i**

- (13) *ták-ku an-na-aš*<sup>464</sup> DUMU.NITA-iš-ši TÚG-SÚ e-di na-a -i  
 (14) *nu-za-kán* DUMU-ŠU pa-ra-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi ma-a-an DUMU-aš  
 (15) EGIR-pa an-da ú-iz-zi ta GIŠIG da-a -i  
 (16) *ta e-di na-a-i* GIŠiš-ki-iš-ša!<sup>465</sup>ni-še -et  
 (17) GIŠhu-u-up-pu-li da-a-i ta e-di na-a -i  
 (18) *tu-uš* EGIR-pa da-a-i nu-za DUMU-ŠU EGIR-pa DUMU-ŠU i-ia-zi

**p (KBo 6.26) ii**

- (3) *ták-ku an-na-aš*<sup>466</sup> TÚG-SÚ! DUMU.NITA-ši e-di! na-a-i nu-za-kán DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU pa-ra-a  
 (4) *šu-ú-i-ez-zi ma-a-an* DUMU-ŠU EGIR-pa<sup>467</sup> an-da ú-iz-zi  
 (5) *ta* GIŠIG-ŠU da-a-i ta i-di na-a-i GIŠiš-ki-iš-ša-na-aš-ši-it  
 (6) GIŠhu-u-up-pu-ul-li-iš-ši-it da-a-i  
 (7) *ta e-di na-a-i tu-uš* EGIR-pa da-a-i  
 (8) *nu-za* DUMU.NITA-ŠU<sup>468</sup> EGIR-pa DUMU.NITA-ŠU i-e-ez-zi

§ 171/56 If a mother removes her son's garment, she is disinherits her sons.<sup>469</sup> If her son comes back into (her house, i.e., is reinstated), (s)he takes her door leaf and removes it, (s)he takes her ... and ... and removes them,<sup>470</sup> and takes them (i.e., the items)<sup>471</sup> back, she makes her son her son again.

## § 172/\*57

**aa [JCS 16:20] iii (KUB 29.32:2'-3')**

- (22) [*ták-ku LÚ EL-LAM ki-iš-du-wa-an*]-ti ú-i-it-ti k[u-iš-ki hu-iš-nu-zi]  
 (23) [*ta PU-UḪ-ŠU pa-a-i ták-ku ARAD-š*]a 10 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [*pa-a-i*]

**e<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) i**

- (19) [*ták-ku LÚ*] <sup>1</sup>EL<sup>1</sup>-LAM ki-iš-du-wa-an-da MU-ti ku-iš-ki

<sup>464</sup> -aš over erasure.

<sup>465</sup> Text: -ta.

<sup>466</sup> The scribe has added the -aš above the line after having written the following TÚG-SÚ (photo).

<sup>467</sup> Clear word space in photo.

<sup>468</sup> DUMU.NITA-ŠU both times in this line is written over an erased DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU (photo).

<sup>469</sup> Copy e: "her son/child".

<sup>470</sup> If *hūppulli* and *iškiššani* (following the *i* termination in e i 16 rather than the *a* termination in p ii 5), instead of being neuters, can be regarded as collectives, their resumption by a common gender plural enclitic pronoun (*tu-uš*) is more understandable. Context seems to require that the -uš refer to them and the door leaf (GIŠIG) (CHD *nai-9 c*).

<sup>471</sup> The parallel position of *nu-za-kán* DUMU-ŠU pa-ra-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi and *nu-za* DUMU-ŠU EGIR-pa DUMU-ŠU i-ia-zi argues that they constitute the apodoses. *tu-uš* EGIR-pa da-a-i, as indicated by the conjunction *ta*, is a continuation of the protasis.



(20) [ḥu-iš-nu-zi ta P]U-UḤ-ŠU < pa-a-i > ták-ku ARAD -ša

(21) [10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a -i]

**p (KBo 6.26) ii**

(9) ták-ku LÚ EL-LAM ki-iš-du-wa-an-ti MU.KAM-ti ku-iš-ki

(10) ḥu-iš-nu-zi ta PU-UḤ-ŠU<sup>472</sup> pa-a-i ták-ku ARAD-ša 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

§ 172/57 If anyone preserves a free man's life in a famine year, (the saved man) shall give a substitute for himself. If he is a slave, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

§ 173a/\*58a

aa<sub>5</sub> + aa<sub>10</sub> iii (KUB 29.32:4-5 [JCS 16:20] + KBo 25.85:1')

(24) [ták-ku DI-IN LUGAL ku-iš-ki] ḥu-ul-li-iz-zi<sup>473</sup> [É-SÚ pu-pu-ul-li ki-i-ša]

(25) [ták-ku DI-IN LÚDUGUD ku-iš-ki] ḥu-ul-li-i[z-zi SAG.DU-SÚ] I-[NA-AK-KI-SÚ] §

**p (KBo 6.26) ii**

(11) ták-ku DI-IN LU[GA]L ku-iš-ki ḥu-u-ul-la-az-zi

(12) É-SÚ pu-p[u-u]l-li ki-i-ša [t]ák-ku DI-IN LÚDUGUD

(13) ku-iš-ki ḥu-u-ul-li-ia-az-zi SAG.DU-SÚ

(14) I-NA-AK-KI-SÚ<sup>474</sup>

§ 173a/58a 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/\*58b

aa<sub>5</sub> + aa<sub>10</sub> iii (KUB 29.32:6 [JCS 16:20] + KBo 25.85:2)

(26) [ták-ku ARAD-aš iš-ḥi-iš-ši a-ra-]a<sup>1</sup>-u-ez-zi<sup>475</sup> [A-NA DUGÚTUL] pa-i[z-zi]

**p (KBo 6.26) ii**

(14) ták-ku ARAD-aš iš-ḥi-iš-ši a-ra-u-ez-zi

(15) A-NA DUGÚTUL pa-iz -zi

<sup>472</sup> PU-UḤ-ŠU written over erasure.

<sup>473</sup> On the vocalization of -LI-IZ- as -li-iz- see Melchert 1984 115. p's treatment of the verb is inconsistent: once as a-stem ḥulla-, then as ḥully<sup>a</sup>/a-.

<sup>474</sup> Although there is a § line in pre-NH aa, there is none in NH p.

<sup>475</sup> NH copy p 14 has a-ra-ez-zi, due to a careless copying of the OH a-ra-a-u-ez-zi. For the plene writing of the second syllable compare a-ra-a-u-e-eš-še-er KUB 24.4 obv. 28. An acceptable sense was achieved by associating the form with the ḥi-verb arai- "to arise (against)", and conveniently overlooking the fact that such a form should appear as a-ra-a-i. If the -mi verb arai- were intended, it would have to mean "s/he halts (something)" with an object in the accusative.



§ 173b/58b If a slave declares himself free<sup>476</sup> from his owner, he shall go into a clay jar.

§ 174/\*59

aa<sub>5</sub> + aa<sub>10</sub> + aa<sub>3</sub> iii (KUB 29.32:7 + KBo 25.85:3' + KUB 29.29:1')

(27) [ták-ku LÚ.MEŠ za-aḥ-ḥa-an-d]a t[a 1?-aš a-ki] 1 SAG.DU pa-[a-]i

p (KBo 6.26) ii

(16) ták-ku LÚ.MEŠ za-aḥ-ḥa-an-da ta 1?-aš<sup>477</sup> a-ki 1 SAG.DU pa-a-i

§ 174/59 If (when) men are hitting each other, one of them dies, (the other) shall give one slave (lit. head).

§ 175/\*60

aa<sub>10</sub> + aa<sub>3</sub> iii (KBo 25.85:4-6 + KUB 29.29:2-4)<sup>478</sup>

(28) [ták-ku LÚSIPA.UDU<sup>479</sup> MUNUS-na-an E]L-LE-TAM da-a-i! na-aš-šu I-NA M[U.2.KAM]

(29) [na-aš-ma I-NA MU.4.KAM GÉME-i]<sup>480</sup>-ša-re-ez-zi<sup>481</sup> Û DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU uš-ḥu-na-an-[zi]

(30) [iš-ḥu-uz-zi-uš-ša<sup>482</sup> Ú-UL k]u-iš-ki e-ep -zi

p (KBo 6.26) ii

(17) ták-ku LÚSIPA.UDU na-aš-ma LÚAGRIG MUNUS-an EL-LE-TAM da-a-i

(18) na-aš na-aš-šu <I-NA> MU.2.KAM na-aš-ma I-NA MU.4.KAM GÉME-e-eš-zi<sup>483</sup>

<sup>476</sup> Literally "exempts/frees himself from". The verb is an *-e-* verb, of the type discussed by Watkins 1973. The meaning is the same as *arawešš-*, discussed in Sommer, AU (1932) 344, Gurney, AAA 27 (1940) 30f., HW<sup>2</sup> I 258, which construes with a dative of the person from whom the subject frees himself. Both here and in the occurrence of *arawešš-* in the Muršili prayer KUB 24.3+ and its duplicate it is not a legal and proper freeing of oneself, such as one might do by paying a ransom, but an illegal renouncing of obligations to service, hence, a rebellion. The adjective *arawa-* and the derivative verbs *arawe-*, *arawešš-*, *arawahḥ-* take things or objects from which one is free/exempt in the ablative case, but also in the dative, just as is the case with verbs like *da-* "to take" (from a thing or place in the ablative, from a person in the dative). An OH example from the laws of *arawa-* "exempt" from something in the dative is: Law §56 (KBo 22.62 + A iii 21-22) *eki BĀD-ni LUGAL-aš KASKAL-š = a takšwanzi* <sup>GIŠ</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GĒŠTIN-aš *tuhḥušwanzi* (B iii 24 *tuhḥušwanzi*) ŠA [(LÚURUDU.NAG)]AR / *natta kuiški arawaš*

<sup>477</sup> Copy has *ta-ma-aš* with the *-ma* hatched. In the photo the signs *ta 1-aš* are deeply incised, but the horizontals between *ta* and *1* are very light, probably erased.

<sup>478</sup> aa iii 28-30 shows that this seeming repetition of §35 existed already in the pre-NH version and was not just an accidental insertion in NH manuscripts.

<sup>479</sup> Both space considerations in aa iii 28 and the version of this law in §35 suggest that here, as in §35, the pre-NH copy had only the shepherd, and the LÚAGRIG was added in the NH copies.

<sup>480</sup> Copy confirmed by collation, courtesy of H. Klengel (letter).

<sup>481</sup> See above §35.

<sup>482</sup> Or: *iš-ḥu-uz-zi-ia-aš-ša* with *p*. The space required is roughly the same.

<sup>483</sup> No word space between GÉME and *-e-eš-zi* (photo).



(19) Û DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU iš-ḫu-na-a-an-zi iš-ḫu-uz-zi-ia-aš-ša

(20) Ú-UL ku-iš-ki e-ep -zi

§ 175/60 If a shepherd (NH j adds: or an 'administrator') takes a free woman in marriage, she will become a slave after<sup>484</sup> either two or four years, (whereas) they shall ... her children, but no one shall seize (their?) belts.

§ 176a/\*61

aa<sub>10</sub> + aa<sub>3</sub> iii (KBo 25.85:7-10 + KUB 29.29:5-8)

(31) [ ša-me]-nu-uz-zi DI-IN LUGAL

(32) [ U]DU.NÍTA MÁŠ.GAL-aš I-NA MU.3.KAM ḫa-a-š[i]

(33) [ták-ku DUMU UM-MI-A-AN ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši na-aš-šu] LÚBÁḪAR LÚSIMUG LÚNAGAR

(34) [ LÚE-PIŠ]-IŠ KA-BAL-LI ku-iš-ki w[a-a-ši<sup>485</sup> ]

b<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.22) iii

(1) [ták-ku] [ ]

(2) I-NA MU.3 [ ]

(3) na-aš-šu L[ÚBÁḪAR ]

(4) na-aš-ma E-PIŠ [ ]

p (KBo 6.26) ii

(21) ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḪ-aš ḫa-a-li ku-iš-ki ša-me-nu-uz-zi DI-IN LUGAL

(22) ḫa-ap<sup>486</sup>-pár-ra-an-zi I-NA MU.3.KAM ḫa-a-ši GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ

(23) UDU.NÍTA MÁŠ.GAL I-NA MU.3.KAM ḫa-a-ši ták-ku DUMU UM-MI-A-AN

(24) ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši na-aš-šu LÚBÁḪAR LÚSIMUG.A LÚNAGAR

(25) LÚAŠGAB LÚAZLAG LÚUŠ.BAR na-aš-šu? LÚE-PIŠ TÚGKA-BAL-LI

(26) ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a -i

§ 176a/61 If anyone keeps a bull outside a corral,<sup>487</sup> it shall be a case for the king's court. They shall sell (the bull). (A bull is an animal which) is capable of breeding in (its) third year. A plow ox, a ram, (and) a he-goat (are animals which) are capable of breeding in (their) third year. § 176b If anyone

<sup>484</sup> Or: for a period of.

<sup>485</sup> The rest of this line must have been written on the edge, or else there was enough vertical space before the § line on the left side of the column to accommodate an additional line. Güterbock 1962a 22 shows more space than Otten's copy in KBo 25.85.

<sup>486</sup> -ap- over erasure.

<sup>487</sup> Lit., "dispenses with a bull's corral"; GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḪ-aš is genitive.

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<sup>488</sup> shekels of silver.

## § 177/\*62

aa<sub>10</sub> + aa<sub>3</sub> iii (KBo 25.85:11 + KUB 29.29:9-10)

(35) [ták-ku LÚMUŠEN.DÛ-an an-na-nu-wa-an-ta-an ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši] 25 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

(36) [ ku-iš-ki] wa-a-ši 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-  
[i] §

b<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.22) iii

(5) ták-ku LÚMUŠEN.DÛ(-?)an<sup>489</sup> ]

(6) ták-ku LÚ-an na-aš-m[a MUNUS-an ]

p (KBo 6.26) ii

(27) ták-ku LÚMUŠEN.DÛ-a[n a]n-na-nu-wa-an-ta-an ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši

(28) 25 GÍN KÙ.BA[BBAR] pa-a-i ták-ku LÚ-an na-aš-ma MUNUS-an

(29) dam-pu-u-pl-in ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i

§ 177/62 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/\*63

aa (KUB 29.29:11-14 [JCS 16:20])<sup>1</sup> iii

(37) [ KÙ.BABB]AR ŠI-IM-ŠU

(38) [ 1 GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB] i-ú-ga-aš<sup>1</sup>-ša-a[n]

(39) [ ]<sup>141</sup> [GÍN KÙ.BABB]AR

(40) [ Š][IM-ŠU?]

b<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.22) iii

(7) ŠA<sup>1</sup> GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ 12 GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU ŠA 1 GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḪ 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-  
IM-ŠU]

(8) ŠA 1 GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB.GAL 2+[5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU 1 GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ 1 GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB i-ú-ga-aš-ša-an]

(9) 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-[ŠU nu ŠA 1 GU<sub>4</sub> ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-aš 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i]

(10) ŠA 1 GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB ar-[ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ta-aš 8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR]

<sup>488</sup> Figure preserved only in p; perhaps to be emended to 30? See Goetze 1957 105 n. 8.

<sup>489</sup> DÛ and an are much closer together in the photo than in the copy in KUB 29.22, which may mean the an is the phonetic complement instead of the first syllable of the following participle. These two witnesses for law § 177 are the only evidence for the a-stem of the Hittite word underlying LÚMUŠEN.DÛ, see Pecchioli Daddi 1982 324.



(11) ŠA 1 AMAR 3 GÍN KÙ.B[ABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA  
MUNUS.AL.LÁ]

(12) ŠA 1 ANŠE.NÍTA 1 AN[ŠE MUNUS.AL.LÁ ŠI-IM-ŠU QA-TAM-MA-pát]

**p (KBo 6.26) ii**

(30) ŠA GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ 110[+2]° GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU ŠA 1 GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḪ 10 GÍN  
KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU

(31) ŠA 1 GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB.GAL 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU 1 GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ 1 GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB

(32) i-ú-ga-aš-š[<sup>a</sup>490] 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU nu ŠA 1 GU<sub>4</sub> ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-aš

(33) 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-l<sup>a</sup>1-i ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB ar-ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ti

(34) 8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š[A] 1 AMAR 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA

(35) 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL.[L]Á ŠA 1 ANŠE.NÍTA 1 ANŠE MUNUS.AL.LÁ ŠI-IM-ŠU  
QA-TAM-MA-pát

**x (KBo 9.71 + KUB 29.33) i**

(1) [ KÙ.B]ABBAR

(2) [ ] ŠI-IM-ŠU

(2a) QA-TAM-MA[-pát]

§ 178/63 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 fullgrown 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. The price of a cow pregnant (with a calf) is 8 shekels of silver.<sup>491</sup> 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.<sup>492</sup>

§ 179/\*64

**p (KBo 6.26) ii**

(36) ták-ku 1 UDU 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [Š]I-IM-ŠU ŠA 3<sup>493</sup> UZ<sub>6</sub> 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU

(37) ŠA 2 SILA<sub>4</sub> 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š[I-I]M-ŠU-NU ŠA 2 MÁŠ.TUR ½ GÍN <KÙ. BABBAR> ŠI-  
IM-ŠU<-NU>

**b<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.22) iii**

(13) ták-ku 1 UDU 1 GÍN KÙ.B[ABBAR ]

<sup>490</sup> Perhaps space for another sign: -an as in aa?

<sup>491</sup> So b; p reads: "If (someone pays) for a cow pregnant (with a calf)".

<sup>492</sup> The same as what? Güterbock 1961b 77-78, observing that the prices for equides in §180 are much higher than for the corresponding bovines, doubts that QA-TAM-MA can be correct here. But how it should be corrected is still unclear.

<sup>493</sup> Over erasure.

(14) ŠA 2 SILA<sub>4</sub> 1 GÍN KÙ.BA[BBAR ... ]

x<sub>1</sub> + x<sub>2</sub> (KBo 9.71 + KUB 29.33) i

(3) ŠA 1 UDU 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š[*I-IM-ŠU ŠA*] '3' UZ<sub>6</sub> 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š*I-IM-ŠU*

(4) ŠA 2 SILA<sub>4</sub><sup>494</sup> 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š*I-I[M-ŠU-NU]*<sup>495</sup>

§ 179/64 If it is a sheep, its price is one shekel of silver. The price of 3 nanny-goats is 2 shekels of silver. The price of 2 lambs is one shekel of silver.<sup>496</sup> The price of 2 goat kids is ½ shekel of silver.

§ 180/\*65

p (KBo 6.26) ii

(38) *ták-ku* 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA *tu-ri-ia-u-aš* '20' GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š*I-IM-ŠU*

(39) ŠA 1 ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR Š*I-IM-ŠU* ŠA 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA

(40) 14 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š*I-IM-ŠU* ŠA 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA *i-ú-ga-aš* 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š*I-IM-ŠU*

(41) ŠA 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ *i-ú-ga-aš* 15 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š*I-IM-ŠU*

b<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.22) iii

(15) *ták-ku* ANŠE.KUR.RA *tu-u-ri[-* ]

(16) ŠA 1 ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.N[A ANŠE.KUR.RA]

(17) *ú-e-ši-ia-!u!*<sup>497</sup>-*wa-aš* ]

(18) ŠA 1 [ ]

x (KBo 9.71 + KUB 29.33) i

(4) [Š]A ANŠE.KUR.RA *tu-u-ri-ia-wa-aš*

(5) 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š*I-IM-ŠU* ŠA ANŠE.GÌR.N[U]N.NA 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR

(6) [Š]*I-IM-ŠU* ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA *ú-e-ši-!ia-u!*-*wa-aš* 15 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š*I-IM-ŠU*

(7) [Š]A ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ *i-ú-ga-aš* '15' GÍN.GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š*I-IM-ŠU*

<sup>494</sup> Sign: AMA.

<sup>495</sup> [Š]A ANŠE.KUR.RA of §180/65 follows immediately on the same line without § line. The MÁŠ.TUR entry is lacking in copy x.

<sup>496</sup> Copy x lacks the following clause.

<sup>497</sup> Or: -*ia-w*{*a-*.



§ 180/65 If it is a draft horse, its price is 20<sup>498</sup> shekels of silver. The price of a<sup>499</sup> mule is 40 shekels of silver. The price of a horse<sup>500</sup> is 14<sup>501</sup> shekels of silver. The price of a yearling colt is 10 shekels of silver.<sup>502</sup> The price of a yearling filly is 15 shekels of silver.

## § 181/\*66

p (KBo 6.26) ii

- (42) ŠA 1 ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA Û ŠA 1 ANŠE KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-aš  
 (43) 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU <ŠA> 4 MA.NA URUDU 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU  
 (44) ŠA 1 zi-pát-ta-ni Ì.DÙG.GA 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 1 zi-pát-ta-[ni]  
 (45) Ì.ŠAḤ 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 1 zi-pát-ta-ni Ì.NUN 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 (46) ŠA 1 zi-pád-da-ni LÁL<sup>503</sup> 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 2 GA.KIN.AG [1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR]  
 (47) ŠA 3 EM-ŠÚ 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM -ŠU

x<sub>1</sub> (KBo 9.71 8-10) + x<sub>3</sub> (KUB 13.14 i 1'-6') i

- (8) [Š]A ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ [4] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR  
 (9) [Š]I-IM-ŠU ŠA 4 MA.NA URUDU 1 GÍN[GÍ]N KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU

- (10) [ŠA 1] [zi]-[pád-da]-ni Ì.GA.DÙG (for Ì.DÙG.GA) [2] [GÍN K]Ù.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>  
 (11) [ŠA] 1 zi-pád-da-ni Ì.ŠAḤ 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>  
 (12) [ŠA] 1 zi-pád-da-ni Ì.NUN 1 GÍN [K]Ù.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>  
 (13) [ŠA] 1 zi-pád-da-ni LÁL 1 GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>]  
 (14) [ŠA 2 GA].KIN.AG 1 GÍN [KÙ.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>]  
 (15) [ŠA 3 E]M-ŠÚ 1 GÍN [K]Ù.BABBAR <ŠI-IM-ŠU>

§ 181/66 The price of a weaned colt (or) a weaned<sup>504</sup> filly is 4 shekels of silver. The price of 4 minas of copper is one shekel of silver,<sup>505</sup> of one bottle<sup>506</sup> of fine oil is 2 shekels of silver, of one bottle of

<sup>498</sup> So copy p. Copy x reads "10".

<sup>499</sup> p and b specify "of one" (ŠA 1) regularly. Copy x omits the numeral "1" in the ŠA + animal name formula most of the time.

<sup>500</sup> So copy p. Copies x and b<sub>2</sub> read: "of a pastured horse".

<sup>501</sup> Copy x reads "15".

<sup>502</sup> So p. This sentence is missing in x.

<sup>503</sup> Over erasure.

<sup>504</sup> So p; copy x lacks "weaned".

<sup>505</sup> § line here in x.

<sup>506</sup> Goetze (ANET) rendered *zipattani* as "tub", which seems too large. OED 441 lists "tub" as a measure of capacity, adding "the tub of butter must contain at least 84 lbs". This is surely too large a container for the *zipattani*. The commodities are all oils and valuable in smaller quantities. In the KBo 22.1:11 (OH/OS) 1 *zi-pát-ta-an-ni* contains high-grade lard (Ì.ŠAḤ DÙG.GA). Haase and von Schuler leave the word untranslated. See

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/\*67-68

e<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) ii

(8) Š[A	]
(9) Š[A	]
(10) Š[A	]
(11) Š[A	]
(12) ŠA [	]
<hr/>	
(13) ŠA [	]
(14) ŠA [	]
(15) ŠA [	]
<hr/>	
(16) Š[A	]
(17) Š[A	]
(18) ŠA [	]
<hr/>	
(19) ŠI-I[M	]
(20) Š[I-IM	]

## p (KBo 6.26) ii 48-52, iii 1-2

- (48) ŠA TÚG<sup>h</sup>ha-ap-pu-ša-an-da-aš 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 1 TÚG.SIG 30 GÍ[N KÙ.BABBAR]  
 (49) ŠA 1 TÚG.SÍG ZA.GÌN 20 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA TÚG<sup>a</sup>a-du-up-li 10 GÍN K[Ù.BABBAR]  
 (50) 1 TÚG<sup>i</sup>iš-kal-li-iš-šar 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 1 TÚG<sup>im</sup>im-m[<sup>i</sup>?-...]  
 (51) 4 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 1 TÚG.BÁR 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU  
 (52) Š[A] 1 TÚ[G].G[Ú].È.A SIG 3 GÍ[N K]Ù.BA[BBAR] Š[A] 1 TÚG.GÚ[ ]  
 (53) [ ]<sup>507</sup>  
 (1) [ŠA] 1<sup>10</sup> TÚG 7 MA.NA KILÁ.BI [... GÍN KÙ.BABBAR]  
 (2) ŠA 1 GAD GAL 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Š[I-IM-ŠU]

## w (684/c) iv

- (1) [ ŠA 1 TÚG.GÚ].È.A SIG

Hout 1990 525 (RLA Masse u. Gewichte), who is also unable to determine a size, although equivalence with BÁN is hinted.

<sup>507</sup> End of the column. Perhaps one further line is missing.



x<sub>3</sub> (KUB 13.14) i

- (7) ŠA TÚG<sup>508</sup>ha-pu-ša-an-da-aš 10[+2 GÍN] KÙ.BA[BBAR]  
 (8) ŠA TÚG.SIG 30 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [ŠA TÚG.SÍG] ZA.GÌN 20 GÍN KÙ.B[ABBAR]  
 (9) ŠA TÚG<sup>508</sup>a-tu-up-li 10 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.[BABBAR]  
 (10) ŠA TÚG<sup>508</sup>iš-kal-le-eš-šar 3 GÍN.GÍN KÙ.[BABBAR]

§ 182/67-68 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 an *ADUPLI* 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. [...] <sup>508</sup>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/\*69

## p (KBo 6.26) iii

- (3) ŠA 3 PA. ZÍZ 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 4 P[A. ŠE? ½? GÍN KÙ.BABBAR]  
 (4) ŠA 1 PA. GEŠTIN ½ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA PA.[... GÍN KÙ.BABBAR]  
 (5) ŠA 1 IKU A.ŠÀ ši-iš-šu-ú-ra-aš 3 [GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU?]  
 (6) ŠA 1 IKU A.ŠÀ ḪA.LA.NI 2 GÍN KÙ.BAB[BAR ŠI-IM-ŠU<sup>509</sup>]  
 (7) a-ra-aḫ-zi-na-an-ši 1 GÍN KÙ.BAB[BAR ŠI-IM-ŠU]

§ 183/69 The price of 150 liters of wheat is one shekel of silver. The price of 200 liters [of barley is ½ shekel of silver.] The price of 50 liters of wine is ½ 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/\*70

## p (KBo 6.26) iii

- (8) ki-i ták-še-eš-šar URU-ri-ma-at-ša-at ma-aḫ-ḫa-an [i?][ia-an?]<sup>510</sup>

<sup>508</sup> Break of one or two lines.

<sup>509</sup> Hrozný 1922 and Friedrich 1959 restore *ták-ku A.ŠÀ* after *ŠI-IM-ŠU*. But since the immediately following *araḫzinan=ši* begins a new clause, this restoration is impossible.

<sup>510</sup> If we accept the traces as drawn by Hrozný in KBo, the readings [i?][ia-an] and [u-qa-ri] are quite possible. The former reading fits the frequent use of the verb *iya-* with the related word *takšul* as its object. From the photo, however, the trace looks more like the bottom of a BI sign (i.e., horizontal + winkelhaken), in which case the less semantically appealing restoration [p?][ia-an] ("is given") may be proposed.



§ 184/70 This is the tariff, how it [has been] m[ade(?)]<sup>511</sup> in/for it(?), (namely) in/for the city.<sup>512</sup>

§ 185/\*71

p (KBo 6.26) iii

(9) ŠA 1 IKU GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> GIŠGEŠTIN 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ŠI-IM-ŠU

(10) ŠA KUŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.GAL 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 5 KUŠ GU<sub>4</sub> ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-aš

(11) 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 10 KUŠ AMAR?<sup>513</sup> 1 MA.NA<sup>514</sup> KÙ.BABBAR ŠA KUŠ UDU

(12) wa-ar-ḥu-iš 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 10 KUŠ UDU ḤA-RU-UP-TI 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR

(13) ŠA 4 KUŠ ÛZ 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 15 KUŠ ÛZ!<sup>515</sup> wa-al-li

(14) 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 20 KUŠ SILA<sub>4</sub> 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ŠA 20 KUŠ MÁŠ.TUR

(15) 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 2 GU<sub>4</sub>.GAL UZU-ŠU-NU ku-iš wa-a-ši 1 UDU pa-a-i

§ 185/71 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 cattle is one shekel of silver, of 10 calfskins is one shekel (text: one mina) 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, 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/\*72

p (KBo 6.26) iii

(16) ŠA 2 GU<sub>4</sub> i-ú-ga-aš-ša-aš UZU-ŠU-NU [k]u-iš wa-a-ši 1 UDU pa-a-i

(17) 5 GU<sub>4</sub> ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-aš UZU-[ŠU-N]U ku-iš wa-a-ši 1 UDU pa-a-i

(18) ŠA 10 UZU AMAR 1 UDU pa-a-i ŠA 10 [UZU] UDU 1 UDU pa-a-i

(19) ŠA 20 UZU SILA<sub>4</sub> 1 UDU pa-a-i t[ák-ku<sup>516</sup> 20 U]ZU MÁŠ.TUR ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši 1 UDU pa-a-i

y<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34) iv

(1) [k]u-iš[-ki wa-a-ši ...] §

§ 186/72 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

<sup>511</sup> Or: "how it [is] v[alid]" or "how it [has been] g[iven]".

<sup>512</sup> See Commentary.

<sup>513</sup> The photo shows the third *Winkelhaken* which characterizes the AMAR sign. What the copyist saw as the head of the small central vertical of GU<sub>4</sub> may actually be the slightly indented head of the top horizontal. See Commentary.

<sup>514</sup> Mistake for GÍN? See Commentary.

<sup>515</sup> Tablet has GI (with two verticals).

<sup>516</sup> So Friedrich 1959. Hrozný 1922 142 reads Š[A 20 U]ZU. The traces could be either, but the grammar favors Friedrich.



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/\*73

## p (KBo 6.26) iii

(20) *ták-ku LÚ-iš GU<sub>4</sub>-aš kat-ta [wa-aš-t]a-i hu-u-ur-ki-il a-ki-aš*

(21) *LUGAL-an<sup>517</sup> a-aš-ki ú-wa-t[e°-ez-z]i ku-en-zi-ma-an LUGAL-uš*

(22) *hu-iš-n[u]-zi-i[a-an LUGAL-u]š LUGAL-i-ma-aš Ú-UL ti-ia-iz-zi<sup>518</sup>*

x<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.33) ii

(2) *LUGAL-i-ma-aš [Ú-UL ...]*

y<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34) iv

(2) *ták-ku LÚ-aš [* \_\_\_\_\_ *]*

(3) *ú-wa-da-an-z[i* \_\_\_\_\_ *]*

(4) *LUGAL-i-ma-aš Ú-[UL ti-ia-zi]*

§ 187/73 If a man sins (sexually)<sup>519</sup> with a cow, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing: he will be put to death. They<sup>520</sup> shall conduct him to the king's court (lit. gate). Whether the king orders him killed or spares his life, he shall not appear (personally) before the king (lest he defile the royal person).

## § 188/\*74

## p (KBo 6.26) iii

(23) *tá[k-k]u L[Ú-iš UDU-aš kat-ta wa-aš-t]a-i hu-u-ur-ke-el a-ki-aš*

(24) *[LUGAL-aš a-aš-ki ú-wa-da-an-z]i ku-en-zi-ma-an LUGAL-uš*

(25) *[hu-iš-nu-zi-i]a-a[n LUGAL-u]š LUGAL-i-ma-aš Ú-UL ti-i-ez-zi*

x<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.33) ii

(3) *[t]ák-ku LÚ-aš U[DU-aš kat-ta-an wa-aš-ta-a-i]<sup>521</sup>*

(4) *hu-ur-k[e-el* \_\_\_\_\_ *]*

(5) *LUGAL-an [a-aš-ki* \_\_\_\_\_ *]*

<sup>517</sup> The KBo copy's "LUGAL-uš" was corrected to LUGAL-an by Hrozný 1922 142 n. 3. Friedrich 1959 82 n. 5 accepted LUGAL-an as an emendation(!), but commented "Text eher LUGAL-uš?" Imparati 1964 170 repeated Friedrich's verdict: "Nel testo si legge invece LUGAL-uš?, che però non ha senso." The photo, however, supports Hrozný. It shows not -uš, but rather a distinct (if incompletely drawn) -an.

<sup>518</sup> Scribal error for ti-i-ez-zi? See p iii 25.

<sup>519</sup> Literally, "sins". So also in §§188-190, 199-200.

<sup>520</sup> So y. Copy p: "He".

<sup>521</sup> For the restorations see x ii 10 and 12 in §189.

- (6) *hu-u-i[š-nu-zi-ia<sup>522</sup>-an* ]  
 (7) *ku-en-z[i-ma<sup>523</sup>-an* ]  
 (8) LUGAL-*i-m[a-aš Ú-UL ti-i-ez-zi]*

**y<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34) iv**

- (5) *ták-ku LÚ-eš UDU-aš kat-ta w[a-aš-ta-i* ]  
 (6) *ú-wa-da-an-zi ku-en-z[i-* ]  
 (7) LUGAL-*i-ma-aš Ú-UL [* ]

§ 188/74 If a man sins (sexually) with a sheep, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing: he will be put to death. They will conduct him [to the] king's [gate]. The king can have him executed or spare his life.<sup>524</sup> But he shall not appear before the king.

**§ 189/\*75****p (KBo 6.26) iii**

- (26) [*ták-ku LÚ-i[š a-pé-e-e[l-pá]t an-na-ša-aš kat-ta wa-aš-ta-i*  
 (27) *hu-u-u[r-k]i-il ták-ku L[Ú-iš] DUMU.MUNUS-aš kat-ta wa-aš-ta-i*  
 (28) [*hu-[u]-ur-ki<sup>1</sup>-il ták-ku LÚ-[iš] DUMU.NITA-aš kat-ta wa-aš-ta-i hu-u-ur-ki-il*

**x<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.33) ii**

- (9) *ták-ku LÚ-a[š a-pé-e-el-pát an-na-ša-aš]*  
 (10) *kat-ta-an [wa-aš-ta-a-i hu-ur-ki-il]*

- (11) *ták-ku LÚ-[aš DUMU.MUNUS-aš kat-ta-an]*  
 (12) *wa-aš-ta-a-[i hu-ur-ki-il]*

- (13) *ták-ku DU[MU.NITA-aš kat-ta-an wa-aš-ta-a-i hu-ur-ki-il] §*

**y<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34) iv**

- (8) *ták-ku LÚ-aš a-pé-e-el-pát an-na-a[š?-ša-aš kat-ta wa-aš-ta-i hu-ur-ki-il]*  
 (9) *ták-ku LÚ-aš DUMU.MUNUS-aš-ša kat-ta wa-a[š-ta-i hu-ur-ki-il]*  
 (10) *ták-ku <LÚ-aš> DUMU.NITA-aš kat-ta wa-aš-ta-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> [hu-ur-ki-il]*

§ 189/75 If a man sins (sexually) with his own mother, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing. If a man sins (sexually) with (his) daughter, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing. If a man sins (sexually) with (his) son, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.

<sup>522</sup> Or: *-ma*.

<sup>523</sup> Or: *-ia*.

<sup>524</sup> So p and y<sub>1</sub>; x has the reverse sequence: "can spare his life or have him executed".



## § 190/\*76

## p (KBo 6.26) iii

(29) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku-uš<sup>1</sup>-ša-an GIDIM-it!<sup>525</sup> ti-e<sup>526</sup>-zi LÚ-MA<sup>527</sup> MUNUS-TUM Ú-UL ḥa-ra-a-tar

(30) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku LÚ-aš MUNUSan-na-wa-an-na<sup>528</sup>-aš-ša<-aš> kat-ta wa<sup>529</sup>-aš-ta-i

(31) Ú-UL ḥa-ra-tar <sup>1</sup>ták-ku ad-d[a]-aš-ši-iš-ša TI-an-za ḥu-u-ur-ki-il

x<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.33) ii

(14) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku-uš[-ša-an ]

(15) wa-aš-t[a-a-i ]

(16) <sup>1</sup>ták[-ku ]

y<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34) iv

(11) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku-uš-ša-an ak-kán-ti-it ti-an-zi LÚ-M[A? MUNUS-TUM Ú-UL ḥa-ra-a-tar]

(12) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku LÚ-aš an-na-wa-an-na-aš-ša-aš kat-ta [wa-aš-ta-i Ú-UL ḥa-ra-tar]

(13) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku ad-da-aš-še-ša ḥu-iš-wa-an-za [ḥu-u-ur-ki-il]

§ 190/76 If he has<sup>530</sup> sex<sup>531</sup> with a deceased person—be it a man or a woman—it is not an offence. If a man sins (sexually) with his step-mother, it is not an offence. But if his father is (still) living, it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.

## § 191/\*77

## p (KBo 6.26) iii

(32) <sup>1</sup>ták-ku <sup>532</sup>LÚ EL-LUM a-<sup>1</sup>ra-u-wa?-an?-ni?-uš?<sup>1</sup> an-na-ne-ku-uš

(33) an-na-aš-ma-an-na ú-en-zi ka-a-aš<sup>533</sup> ta-ki-ia ut-ne-e

(34) ka-a-aš-ša ta-ki-ia ut-ne-e-ia Ú-UL ḥa-ra-[tar]

<sup>525</sup> Cf. Ehelolf in KUB XXIX page VI on "Nr. 34" ("ein Mischgebilde von 'ti' und 'it'"). Traces to the left of GIDIM and to the right of -ti are part of the underlying, erased sign.

<sup>526</sup> Unlike KBo, the photo shows ti-e-zi.

<sup>527</sup> Use of Akk. -MA here is unexplained by Friedrich 1959; Imparati 1964. Perhaps as copula in nominal sentence: see AHW sub -ma A 1, and Ungnad 1992 109 (§100b).

<sup>528</sup> -an-na- written over erased kat?-ta (photo).

<sup>529</sup> Over erasure.

<sup>530</sup> So copy p; copy yhas "If they have".

<sup>531</sup> For this idiom outside of this passage see Commentary.

<sup>532</sup> After EL-LUM (itself written over an erasure) the scribe has drawn a line through everything up to the beginning of an-na-ne-ku-uš.

<sup>533</sup> What resembles a small and damaged -ma to the right of -aš is part of the underlying erased word (Güterbock 1961b 72).

(35)<sup>534</sup> *ták-ku 2-el pé-di nu ša?-ak-ki ħur-ki-il*

(36) (erased *Ú-UL ħa-ra-tar*)

**y<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34) iv**

(14) *ták-ku LÚ EL-LUM a-ra-u-wa-an-ni-uš an-na-ne-[ku-uš an-na-aš-ma-an-na]*

(15) *ú-en-zi ka-a-aš ta-ki-ia ut-ne-e k[a-a-aš-ša ta-ki-ia]*

(16) *ut-ne-e Ú-UL ħa-ra-a-tar ták-ku ša-ni-ia [pé-di nu ša-ak-ki]*

(17) *ħu-ur-ki-i*<sup>535</sup>

§ 191/77 If a free man has intercourse with free sisters who have the same mother and also with their mother—one in one country and the other in another, it is not an offence. But if it happens in the same<sup>536</sup> location, and he knows (the women are related), it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.<sup>537</sup>

§ 192/\*78

**aa (KUB 29.35 [JCS 16:21]) iv**

(1) [ *na-at-ta ħ]a-ra-a-tar*

**p<sup>538</sup> (KBo 6.26) iii**

(37) *ták-ku LÚ-aš MUNUS-ni a-ki [L]ÚĤA.LA-ŠU<sup>539</sup> DAM-SÚ da-a-i*

(38) (erased)

(39) (erased except for traces of *[ħa-ra]-t[ar]*)

**y<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34) iv**

(17b) *ták-ku LÚ-aš DAM-SÚ a-ki A-ĤA-[ŠÁ DAM-an-ni da-a-i]*

(18) *Ú-UL ħa-ra-a-[tar]*

§ 192/78 **w<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34)** If a man's wife dies, [he may take her] sister [as his wife.] It is not an offence.

<sup>534</sup> This entire line is written over erased signs.

<sup>535</sup> § 192 begins on this same line without § line.

<sup>536</sup> So y<sub>1</sub>; p reads: "But if it happens in the place of the two (women)", which means the same thing. Copy p seems to have been dissatisfied with the archaic word *šaniya*, although he understood its import.

<sup>537</sup> p (iii 36) adds mistakenly: "It is not an offence".

<sup>538</sup> The scribe of KBo 6.26 (p) has erased a longer, three-line law, probably identical to that found in § 192 aa and y<sub>1</sub>, and replaced it with a shorter law.

<sup>539</sup> The published photos of Bo 2015 (KBo 6.26) in Neufeld's and Hrozný's books seem to show LÚĤA.LA-ŠU instead of the hand copy's LÚ-aš ĤA.LA-ŠU, although the LÚ is impressed more faintly than ĤA.LA-ŠU. There is also no word space between LÚ (or possibly LÚ-aš) and ĤA.LA-ŠU. But from the published photos the hand copy's reading LÚ-aš ĤA.LA-ŠU is also possible. H. Klengel in a letter dated 27.2.1995 writes: "Was Bo 2015 III 36 betrifft, so dürfte LÚĤA.LA-ŠU zu lesen sein; weder auf dem Foto noch dem Negativ kann ich ein -aš erkennen, auch keinen *word space*." If LÚĤA.LA-ŠU is to be read, the meaning would be "his (i.e., the deceased man's) partner shall take his wife".



j (KBo 6.26) If a man dies to a woman,<sup>540</sup> his partner shall take his wife.

§ 193/\*79

aa (KUB 29.36 + 29.35 [JCS 16:21]) iv

(2) [ták-ku LÚ-aš MUNUS-na-an ḥar-zi ta LÚ-aš a-k]i DAM-S[Ú ŠEŠ-ŠU da]-a-i (erasure)

(3) [ta-an at-ta-aš-ši-iš da-a-i ma-a-an ta-a-a]n-na at-ta-aš-ši-š[a a-ki MUNUS]-na-an-na

(4) [ku-in ḥar-ta DUMU ŠEŠ-ŠU ] (blank) [da]-a -i

p (KBo 6.26) iii

(40) ták-ku LÚ-iš MUNUS-an ḥar-zi ta LÚ-iš a-ki DAM-SÚ

(41) ŠE[Š-Š]U da-a-i ta-an A-BU-ŠU da-a-i

(42) ṽma-a-an ta-a-an A<sup>1</sup>-BU-ŠU-ia a-ki MUNUS-na-an-na ku-in ḥar-ta

(43) ṽA?<sup>541</sup> ŠEŠ-ŠU da-a-i Ú-UL ḥa-ra-tar

y<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34) iv

(19) ták-ku LÚ-aš MUNUS-an ḥar-zi ta LÚ-eš a-ki DAM-SÚ [ŠEŠ-ŠU da-a-i ta-an A-BU-ŠU]

(20) da-a-i ma-a-an da-a-an A-BU-ŠU-ia a-ki MUNUS-na-[an-na ku-in ḥar-ta]

(21) <sup>542</sup>DUMU ŠEŠ-ŠU [da-a-i]

§ 193/79 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.<sup>543</sup>

§ 194/\*80

aa (KUB 29.36 + 29.35 [JCS 16:21]) iv

(5) [ták-ku LÚ EL-LAM GÉME.ḪI.A-uš an-n]a-ne-ku-uš an-na-aš-ma-an-ṽna<sup>1</sup> ú-en-zi

(6) [na-at-ta ḥa-ra-a-tar ták-ku a-ra-u-w]a-ni-ia-aš kat-ta AT-ḪU-Ú še-eš-kán-zi na-at-ta ḥa-ra-tar

(7) [ták-ku GÉME-aš na-aš-ma<sup>MUNUS</sup>KAR.KID-aš k]at-ta at-ta-aš Ú DUMU-ṽŠU<sup>1</sup> še-eš-kán-zi

(8) [na-at-ta ḥ]a-ra-a -tar

<sup>540</sup> That is, if a husband pre-deceases his wife.

<sup>541</sup> Such a scribal omission is assumed by many commentators. KBo 6.26 shows the bottom of a single vertical before ŠEŠ. Space wide enough only for a narrow sign like A or ZA. In Akkadian texts A = māru (like DUMU), but this usage is not attested elsewhere in Boğazköy. What is, however, certain is that the scribe wrote ŠEŠ about one sign's width from the left margin. The photo shows that the first 8 signs of line 42 (concluding with A-BU) were written lower than the rest of the line, so that the scribe had little space in which to operate and drew -ŠU da-a-i on a lower level than ŠEŠ, crowded against the paragraph dividing line.

<sup>542</sup> A single winkelhaken indicates the scribe intentionally indented this line.

<sup>543</sup> NH p iii 43 adds: There is no offence.



e<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) (+?) e<sub>2</sub> (KUB 13.30) iii

(1) *ták-ku*[...]

(2) *at-t[a-aš* ] <sup>1</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>-UL *ħa-r[a-tar]* §

p (KBo 6.26) iii

(44) *ták-ku* LÚ EL-LAM GÉME.ĤI.A-uš *an-na-né-ku-uš an-na-aš-ma-an-na*

(45) *ú-en-zi* Ú-UL *ħa-ra-tar* *ták-ku a-ra-u-wa-an-ni-in*<sup>544</sup>

(46) AT-ĤU-U-TIM *še-eš-kán-zi*<sup>545</sup> Ú-UL *ħa-ra-tar*

(47) *ták-ku* GÉME-aš *na-aš-ma* MUNUSKAR.KID-aš *kat-ta ad-da-aš*

(48) Û DUMU-ŠU *še-eš-kán-zi* Ú-UL *ħa-ra-tar*<sup>546</sup>

y<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34) iv

(22) *ták-ku* LÚ EL-LUM GÉME.MEŠ-uš *an-na-né-ku-uš an-na-aš-m[a-an-na ú-en-zi]*

(23) Ú-UL *ħa-ra-a-tar* *ták-ku a-ra-wa-an-ni-ia-aš* *k[at-ta AT-ĤU-... še-eš-kán-zi]*

(24) Ú-UL *ħa-ra-a-tar* *ták-ku* GÉME-aš *na-aš-ma* MUNUSKAR.[KID-aš *kat-ta ad-da-aš*]

(25) Û DUMU-ŠU *še-eš-kán-zi* Ú-U[L *ħa-ra-a-tar*]

§ 194/80 If a free man has intercourse with slave women, sisters who have the same mother, and also with their mother, it is not an offence. If brothers sleep<sup>547</sup> with (the same) free (woman), it is not an offence. If father and son sleep with the same female slave or prostitute, it is not an offence.

§ 195a/\*81

aa iv

(9) [*ták-ku* LÚ-aš MA-ĤAR DAM ŠEŠ-ŠU *še-eš-ki-iz-zi*]i Û ŠEŠ-ŠU *ħu-iš-wa-an-za* *ħu-ur-[ki-il]*

(10) [*ták-ku* LÚ-aš MUNUS-a-ra-u-wa-an-ni-in *ħar-zi ta*] DUMU.MUNUS-ši-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> *ša-li-g[a]* <sup>1</sup>*ħu-ur-ki-il*<sup>1</sup>

(11) [*ták-ku* DUMU.MUNUS-SÁ *ħar-zi ta an-ni-iš-ši n*]a-aš-ma [NI]N-iš-ši-i[a] *š[a-l]i-i-g[a]*

(12) [ *ħu - ur - ki - i* ]

e<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) iii 3-8 (+?) e<sub>2</sub> (KUB 13.30) 2-7

(3+2) *ták-ku* L[U-aš *še-eš-ki-iz-zi*

(4+3) ŠEŠ-aš-m[a?-aš-ši ] *ħur-ke-el*

(5+4) *ták-ku* [ *-i*]n *ħar-zi*

(6+5) *ta* [ *ħur-k*]e-el

<sup>544</sup> -in over erased -iš.

<sup>545</sup> -ĤU-U-TIM *še-eš-kán-zi* over erasure (photo).

<sup>546</sup> Contra KBo, in the photo the -tar is defective.

<sup>547</sup> The -ške- form perhaps indicates they "carry on an affair" the woman.



(7+6) *ták-ku* [ *a*] *n-na-še-ia*  
 (8+7) *na[-aš-ma* ] *hur-ke-el* §

**p (KBo 6.26) iii**

(49) *ták-ku LÚ-aš MA-ĤAR DAM ŠEŠ-ŠU še-eš-ki-iz-zi ŠEŠ-ŠU-ma*  
 (50) *hu-u-iš-wa-an-za hu-u-ur-ki-il ták-ku LÚ-aš*  
 (51) <sup>MUNUS</sup>*a-ra-u-wa-an-ni-in ĥar-zi ta DUMU.MUNUS-ši-ia ša-li-ga*  
 (52) *hu-u-ur-ki-il ták-ku DUMU.MUNUS-SÁ ĥar-zi ta an-ni-iš-ši*<sup>548</sup>  
 (53) *na-aš-ma NIN-iš-ši*<sup>549</sup> *ša-li-i-ga hu-u-ur-ke-el*

**x<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.33) iii**

(1) *ták-ku LÚ-aš [MA-ĤAR* ]  
 (2) *ŠEŠ-aš-ma-aš-ši* *hu-u-iš-wa-an-za* ]  
 (3) *ták-ku-aš LÚ[-aš* ]  
 (4) *ta DUMU.MUNUS-T[?]*<sup>550</sup> ]  
 (5) *ták-ku DUMU.MUN[US-SÁ ĥar-zi* ]  
 (6) *[n]a-a[š-ma* ]<sup>551</sup>

**y<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.37) + y<sub>1</sub> (KUB 29.34) iv**

(1+26) *ták-ku LÚ-aš-ma MA-ĤAR DAM ŠEŠ-ŠU še-eš-kán(sic)-zi ŠE[Š-ŠU-ma hu-u-iš-wa-an-za]*  
 (2+27) *hu-ur-ki-il ták-ku LÚ-a[š] x-x* <sup>MUNUS</sup>*a-ra-u-wa-a[n-ni-in ĥar-zi ta DUMU.MUNUS-ši-ia]*  
 (3+28) *ša-li-i-ga hu-ur-ki-il [ták-ku DUMU.MUNU]S-SÁ [ĥar-zi ta an-ni-iš-ši]*  
 (4) *na-~~aš~~-ma NIN-iš-ši ša-li-i-ga [hu-ur-ki-il]*

§ 195a/81 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<sup>552</sup> daughter (in marriage) and approaches her mother or her sister (sexually), it is an unpermitted sexual pairing.

<sup>548</sup> *an-ni-iš-ši* over erasure. What appears to have been erased are the signs *an-ni-iš-ši-ia* written a few millimeters to the left, leaving no word space after *ta*. The scribe suppressed them and re-wrote them to the right, leaving word space.

<sup>549</sup> *NIN-iš-ši* over erasure.

<sup>550</sup> Or: *DUMU.MUNUS-aš[...]*. A dative object is needed for the verb *šaliga*.

<sup>551</sup> *x* iii breaks off here. The preserved part of *x* iv is unscrubed.

<sup>552</sup> Literally, "her daughter".

## § 196/\*82

aa<sub>6</sub> (KUB 29.35) iv

(13) [ták-ku ARAD.MEŠ-ŠU GÉME.MEŠ-ŠU hu-ur-ki-il i-ia-an-zi tu-uš] ar-n[u-an-z]i

(14) [ o o o o o ku-u-un-na ta-ki-ia URU-ri ku-u-un-na] ta-ki-ia [UR]U-ri

(15) [a-še-ša-an-zi ke-e-el 1 UDU ke-e-el-la 1 UDU ka-aš-ša-aš] hu-it-<sup>1</sup>ti-ia<sup>1</sup>-an-tae<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) iii 5-6 (+?) e<sub>2</sub> (KUB 13.30) 8-9(5+8) ták-ku [ARAD.MEŠ hur-ke-e]l i-ia-an-z[i ...<sup>553</sup>]

(6+9) ta[-ki?-ia? URU?-ri? ]x

p (KBo 6.26) iv

(1) ták-ku ARAD.MEŠ-ŠU GÉME.MEŠ-ŠU [hu-u-ur-ki-il i-e]n?-z[i?]

(2) tu-uš a-ar-nu-wa-an-z[i] <sup>1</sup>ku-u-un-na ta<sup>1</sup>-ki-ia URU-ri

(3) ku-u-un-na ta-ki-ia [U]RU-ri a-še-ša-an-zi

(4) ke-e-el 1 UDU ke-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[e]l-la 1 UDU ka-aš-ša-aš<sup>554</sup>

(5) hu-u-it-ti-ia-an -ta

y<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.37) iv

(5) ták-ku ARAD.MEŠ-ŠU GÉME.MEŠ-ŠU hu-u-[ur-ke-el i-ia-an-zi]

(6) ku-u-un-na ta-a-ki-ia URU-ri [ku-u-un-na ta-a-ki-ia URU-ri]

(7) a-še-ša-an-zi ke-e-el-la [1 UDU ke-e-el-la 1 UDU ]

(8) hu-it-ti-ia-an [-ta/-zi]

§ 196/82 If anyone's male and female slaves enter into unpermitted sexual pairings, and they (the townsfolk?) (decide to) move them elsewhere,<sup>555</sup> they shall settle one in one city and one in another, and they shall substitute a sheep for one and a(nother) sheep for the other.

## § 197/\*83

e<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) iii

(7) ták-ku [ ]

(8) na-[aš a-ki ]

<sup>553</sup> Since -zi is written right at the edge, if the indirect join is valid, KBo 6.13's next line is the last in the paragraph, indicating that its wording of this law was more concise.

<sup>554</sup> ka-aš-ša-aš over erased pé-e-dī-iš-ši. See §§10 and 76.

<sup>555</sup> This clause is construed as part of the protasis because of its use of ta instead of the expected asyndeton. The scribe of y, confused by it, decided to omit it entirely.



**p (KBo 6.26) iv**(6) *ták-ku LÚ-aš<sup>556</sup> MUNUS-an ḪUR.SAG-i e-ep-zi LÚ-na-aš wa-aš-túl na-aš a-ki*(7) *ták-ku É-ri-ma e-ep-zi MUNUS-na-aš wa-aš-ta-iš MUNUS-za*(8) *a-ki ták-ku-uš LÚ-iš ú-e-mi-ia-zi*(9) *tu-uš ku-en-zi ḫa-ra-a-tar<sup>557</sup>-še-et NU.GÁL***y<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.37) iv**(9) *ták-ku LÚ-aš MUNUS-an ḪUR.SAG-i [e]-ep-zi ]*(10) *e-ep-zi MUNUS-na-aš wa-a[š-ta-iš ]*(11) *tu-uš ku-en-zi [ ]*

§ 197/83 If a man seizes a woman in the mountain(s) (and rapes her), it is the man's offence, and he shall be put to death, but if he seizes her in (her) house, it is the woman's offence: the woman shall be put to death.<sup>558</sup> If the (woman's) husband (lit. the man) finds them (in the act) and kills them, he has committed no offence.<sup>559</sup>

## § 198/\*84

**p (KBo 6.26) iv**(10) *ták-ku-uš A-NA KÁ É.[G]AL ú-wa-te-ez-zi nu te-ez-zi*(11) *[DAM<sup>1</sup>-TI le-e a-ki n[u] DAM-SÚ ḫu-iš-nu-zi*(12) *LÚpu-pu-un-na ḫu-iš-n[u]-zi ta SAG.DU-SÚ*(13) *wa-aš-ši-e-ez-zi ták-ku [t]e-ez-zi 2-pát ak-kán-du*(14) *ta ḫu-ur-ki-in<sup>560</sup> ḫa-l[i]-en-zi ku-en-zi-uš<sup>561</sup>*(15) *LUGAL-uš ḫu-u-iš-nu-zi-ia-aš LUGAL -uš***y<sub>2</sub> (KUB 29.37) iv**(12) *ták-ku-uš A-NA [ ]*(13) *nu DAM-SÚ [ḫu-iš-nu-zi ]*(14) *ták-ku [t]e-ez-zi 2-pát ak-kán-du ]*(15) *ḫu-u[r-ki-in<sup>562</sup> ]*

<sup>556</sup> The scribe originally wrote *ták-ku MUNUS-an*, then realized his omission, erased *ták-ku*, and rewrote *ták-ku LÚ-aš* starting in the left margin.

<sup>557</sup> *ḫa-ra-a-tar* is possibly written over an erasure (photo).

<sup>558</sup> Cf. *Deuteronomy* 22:25f.

<sup>559</sup> Lit., "his offence does not exist".

<sup>560</sup> *-in* is written over erased *-il*.

<sup>561</sup> *ku-en-zi-uš* is written over an erasure.

<sup>562</sup> Or *[ku-e][n-zi-...]*.

§ 198/84 If he brings them to the palace gate (i.e., the royal court) and says: "Let my wife not be put to death," and spares his wife, he must also spare the lover. Then he may veil her (i.e., his wife).<sup>563</sup> But if he says, "Let both of them be put to death", and they 'roll the wheel',<sup>564</sup> the king may have them killed or spare them.

## § 199/\*85

p (KBo 6.26) iv

- (16) *ták-ku ŠAH-aš UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš kat-ta ku-iš-ki wa-aš-ta-i a-ki-aš*  
 (17) *A-NA KÁ É.GAL-LIM ú-wa-te-ez-zi ku-en-zi-uš*  
 (18) *LUGAL-uš hu-iš-nu-zi-ia-aš L[UG]AL-uš LUGAL-i-ma-aš Ú-UL*  
 (19) *ti-i-ez-zi ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-uš LÚ-[ni] wa-at-ku-zi*  
 (20) *GU<sub>4</sub>-uš a-ki LÚ-aš-ša Ú-UL [a]-ki 1 UDU LÚ-na-aš*  
 (21) *ka-a-aš-ša-aš hu-u-it-ti-ia-a[n-ta] na-an-kán ku-na-an-zi*  
 (22) *ták-ku ŠAH-aš LÚ-ni wa-at-ku-z[i] Ú-UL ha-ra-a-tar*

z (KBo 22.66) iv

- (1') *[wa-a]š-ta-i* ..... ]  
 (2') *ú-wa[-te-ez-zi* ..... ]  
 (3') *TI-nu-z[i]* ..... ]  


---

 (4') *ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-u[š* ..... ]  
 (5') *LÚ-ša [Ú]-UL* ..... ]  
 (6') *hu-u-it-ti[-* ..... ]  


---

 (7') *ták-ku ŠAH-aš [* ..... ]

§ 199/85 If anyone sins (sexually) 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 he (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 in the place of the man and put it to death. If a pig leaps on a man (in sexual excitement), it is not an offence.

## § 200a/\*86a\*

p (KBo 6.26) iv

- (23) *ták-ku LÚ-aš ANŠE.KUR.RA-i na-aš-ma ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA kat-ta*

<sup>563</sup> So after Tsevat 1975, see Commentary.

<sup>564</sup> An expression of uncertain significance. See Commentary.



- (24) *wa-aš-ta-i Ú-UL ḥa-ra-tar LUGAL-uš-aš<sup>565</sup> Ú-UL ti-ez-zi*  
 (25) *LÚSANGA-ša Ú-UL ki-i-ša ták-ku ar-nu-wa-la-an [ku-iš-ki]*  
 (26) *kat-ta še-eš-ki-iz-zi an-na-aš-ša-an n[e-]k[a<sup>566</sup>-aš-ša-an-na ú-en-zi]*  
 (27) *Ú-UL ḥa-ra-tar<sup>567</sup>*

**x<sub>3</sub> (KUB 13.14) rev.**

- (1) *ták-ku ar-nu-wa-la-an kat-ta-an ku-iš-ki še-eš-k[i-iz-zi]*  
 (2) *[AMA-ša-a]n? n[e?-ka-aš]-š[a-an-n]a? ú-en-zi*  
 (3) *[Ú-UL ḥa-ra-]tar<sup>568</sup>*

**z (KBo 22.66) iv**

- (8') *ták-ku LÚ-aš A[NŠE ..... ]*  
 (9') (erasure) [ ..... ]  
 (10') *Ú-UL ḥa-r[a- ..... ]*  
 (11') *LÚSANGA-aš Ú[-UL ..... ]*  


---

 (12') *ták-ku ar-nu-w[a- ..... ]*  
 (13') *še-eš-ki-iz-zi [i ..... ]*  
 (14') *DUMU.MUNUS-SÚ [ ..... ]*

§ 200a/86a If a man sins (sexually) with either a horse or a mule, it is not an offence, but he shall not approach the king, nor shall he become a priest.<sup>569</sup> If anyone is regularly cohabiting with an *arnuwalaš*-woman, and<sup>570</sup> has intercourse with her mother and her sister, it is not an offence.

§ 200b/\*86b

**p (KBo 6.26) iv**

- (27) *ták-ku DUMU-an an-[na-nu-ma-]an-zi<sup>1</sup>*  
 (28) *ku-iš-ki pa-a-i na-aš-šu LÚNAGAR n[a-aš-ma LÚSIMUG.A L]ÚUŠ.BAR<sup>1</sup>*  
 (29) *na-aš-ma LÚAŠGAB na-aš-ma LÚAZLAG n[u an-na-nu-um-m]a-aš*  
 (30) *6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR pa-a-i ták-ku-an L[ÚU]M?.[M]E?.IA?[-a]š? wa-al-ki-iš-ša-<sup>1</sup>ra[-aḥ-ḥi]*

<sup>565</sup> *-uš-aš* over erasure. To be emended to *LUGAL-i-ma-aš*.

<sup>566</sup> On the basis of a collation CHD L-N *nega-* a 1' read the questionable trace as *-k[a-*.

<sup>567</sup> §200b begins immediately on the same line. *ḥa-ra-tar* is written over a longer erased word which ended in *-zi*, probably *Ú-UL ḥu-e?-iš?/ša?-zi* "he/they shall not remain alive(?)".

<sup>568</sup> Or *ḥa-ra-a-]tar*.

<sup>569</sup> 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. See above in Chapter One under "Authority and Law ...".

<sup>570</sup> Asyndesis.

(31) *nu-uš-ši* 1 SAG.DU *pa-a-i*

**x<sub>3</sub> (KUB 13.14) + x<sub>4</sub> (KUB 13.16) rev.**

- (4) [*ták-ku* DUMU-] *an an-na-nu-ma-an-zi ku-iš-ki pa[-a-i]*  
 (5) [*na-aš-š*] *u* LÚNAGAR *na-aš-ma* LÚSIMUG.A *n[na-aš-ma* LÚUŠ.BAR]  
 (6) [*na-aš-m*] *a* LÚAZLAG *nu an-na-nu-u[m-m]a-aš* 6 'GÍN' [KÙ.BABBAR]  
 (7) [*pa*]-*a-i* *ták-ku-an wa-al-ki-[iš-ša-r]a-aḥ-ḥi [nu-uš-ši]*  
 (8) [1 S]AG.DU *pa-a-[i]*

§ 200b/86b If anyone gives (his) son for training either (as) a carpenter or a smith, a weaver or a leather worker<sup>571</sup> or a fuller, he shall pay 6 shekels of silver as (the fee) for the training. If the teacher makes<sup>572</sup> him an expert, (the student's parent) shall give to him (i.e., to his teacher) one person.<sup>573</sup>

#### Unplaced Fragments

**bb (KBo 19.8) ii?/iii?<sup>574</sup>**

- (1) [ *ku-i*] *š-ki da-a-i[-ez-zi ...]*  
 (2) [ *pár-na-aš-še-*] *e-a šu-wa-a[-ez-zi]*

(3) [*ták-ku* 2 É NIM.LÀL *ták-ku* 3] É? NIM? <.LÀL> *ku-iš[-ki da-a-i-ez-z]i*

(4) [ *pár-na-aš-še-*] *e-a šu-wa-a[-ez-zi]*

(5) (blank line)

(6) [ *ku-iš-ki d*] *a-a-i[-ez-zi]*

(7) [ *ták-ku I-N*] A [ŠÀ-BI NIM.L] ÀL?

(8) [NU.GÁL ...-] *a-iz-zi*

(9) [ *pa-a-*] *i*

**KBo 12.50<sup>575</sup>**

(1') [ ...] *x-in-k[án(-)]* ]

(2') [ *-a*] *n? 30 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR* [ ]

<sup>571</sup> x omits "or a leather worker".

<sup>572</sup> x "If he makes".

<sup>573</sup> Or perhaps: "If (the teacher) makes him (i.e., the son) an expert (and retains him in his own employ), he (the teacher) shall give to him (i.e., the parent) one person." See Commentary.

<sup>574</sup> The other side of this fragment, has only traces of single signs at the ends of the lines. Otten provisionally identified this side as duplicate to §§130-132 and the other side to §§149ff. or 164ff. This does not seem likely. But I have been unable to propose anything which will be widely convincing. It seems possible that "Vs. II 3'-9'" contain material very similar to §§91ff. This assumption underlies my restorations.

<sup>575</sup> Otten in KBo XII: "Vielleicht Gesetze".



(3') [ ...] *da-aš-wa-aḫ-ḫa-a[n-* ]

(4') [ LÚSI]PA.GUD LÚSIPA<.UDU> x[

(5') [ ]x *ku-na-an[-*

(6') [ ]x [

**z (KBo 22.66) iv**

(15') *ták-ku* TUR-*an* [ ]

(16') *pa-a-i* n[*a-* ]

(17') *na-aš-ma* [ ]

(18') 6 GÍN K[Û.BABBAR ]

(19') *nu-uš-ši* [ ]

**Colophons**

**e<sub>1</sub> (KBo 6.13) iv**

DUB.2.KAM *ták-ku* GIŠGESTIN-*aš QA-TI*

**CONCORDANCE**

**Selected treatments:**

Editions are Hrozný 1922; Friedrich 1959; Imparati 1964. Translations without accompanying critical transliteration and variants are Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935; Neufeld 1951; Haase 1963; Hoffner 1963; Goetze 1969; von Schuler 1982; Haase 1984; Hoffner 1995a. Full treatment of copy A of Series One by Peckeruhn 1988. Systematic commentary on the laws may be found in Hoffner 1963, and detailed and valuable commentary on individual laws in Güterbock 1961b.

**Selected copies and photographs:**

Publication details of copies and photographs of texts published through 1959 are found in Friedrich 1959:1-4. Good published photos are to be found in Hrozný 1922 and Neufeld 1951. I employ a modified form of the sigla introduced by Friedrich 1959 2-4 and revised by Güterbock 1961b; 1962a. Laroche 1971 43f. identified manuscripts A, K and M in the first series (laws §§ 1-100) as Old Hittite redactions in Old Hittite ductus. In series two (laws §§ 101-200) he identified only manuscript "q" (aa). For the find spots of the various tablets containing parts of the laws see Güterbock 1954 and Cornil 1987. In my opinion manuscript K in the first series does not show the Old Hittite ductus.

Table 8: Manuscripts of Series One (§§ 1-100)

Siglum	Publication	Coverage	Script	Find Spot
A	KBo 6.2 + KBo 19.1 (Otten and Souček 1966 + KBo 22.62 (SMEA 22:65f.) + KBo 22.61 (Marazzi 1982) + KBo 19.1a	Col. I §§ 4-26b, Col. II §§ 28c(?) -50, Col. III §§ 51-71, Col. IV §§ 75-100	OS	Temple I



B	KBo 6.3 + KBo 22.63 (§§ 7-10)	Col. I §§ 1-27, Col. II §§ 27-48, Col. III §§ 50-77a, Col. IV §§ 77b-100	NS <sup>576</sup>	Temple I
C <sup>577</sup>	KBo 6.5	Col. I §§ 9-18, Col. II §§ 26b-28b, Col. III §§ 28b-30, Col. IV §§ 41-46	NS <sup>578</sup>	Unknown
D + E	KBo 6.6 + KBo 6.7	Obv. §§ 51-59 (D), Rev.(?) §§ 86-91 (E), Colophon (D)	NS	Unknown
E	See D		NS	
F	KBo 6.8 (F <sub>1</sub> ) (+) KUB 13.11 (F <sub>2</sub> ) + KUB 29.15 (F <sub>3</sub> ) (+) KBo 19.3 (F <sub>4</sub> ) (+) KBo 19.4 (F <sub>5</sub> )	§§ 53-54 (F <sub>2</sub> and F <sub>3</sub> ), 64-66 (F <sub>1</sub> ), §§ 58 (F <sub>4</sub> ), 60-63 (F <sub>4</sub> ), §§ 76-77a (F <sub>4</sub> ), §§ 93-95 (F <sub>4</sub> ), §§ 55, 98-100 (F <sub>5</sub> )	Late NS (13th Century)	Temple I
G	KBo 6.9	§§ 51-53	NS	Unknown
H (+) I	KUB 13.12 (H) (+) KUB 13.13 (I)	§§ 63-65 (H), §§ 66-69 (I)	NS	Unknown
I	See H		NS	
J	KUB 26.56	§§ 26a-27	MS? <sup>579</sup>	Unknown
K	KUB 29.13	Obv. §§ 10-12, Rev. §§ 78-81	Uncertain <sup>580</sup>	Unknown
L <sup>581</sup>	KUB 29.14 (L <sub>1</sub> ) (+) KBo 12.49 (L <sub>2</sub> ) <sup>582</sup>	Col. II §§ 25-27 (L <sub>2</sub> ), Col. III §§ 39-41 (L <sub>1</sub> +L <sub>2</sub> ), Col. IV §§ 49-50 (L <sub>1</sub> )	NS <sup>583</sup>	SE of Temple I

<sup>576</sup> See discussion under "Palaeography".

<sup>577</sup> C contained the first tablet of a two-tablet exemplar of Series One.

<sup>578</sup> C exhibits the latest orthography and writing of all exemplars of the laws.

<sup>579</sup> The poorly reproduced photo in Neufeld shows a MH script NUMUN in J ii 2 is HZL 12/A, not 12/B as in the published copy. Û in ii 2 and 3 is HZL 265/A with a left-to-right upward slant of the bottom horizontal. I (HZL 217) and DUMU (HZL 237) appear in their oldest forms, with the bottom horizontal either flush with the horizontals above it or slightly to the left ("out-dented"). DA in ii 6 and 7 is as drawn in the copy; there is no HZL form drawn exactly like it. The AZ in ii 7 is not as drawn, but more like HZL 92/1 and almost identical with the AZ in manuscript A. The E in ii 7 is not as drawn in the copy, but HZL 187/A. ID is HZL 215/3. The spelling mistakes which show the scribe was clumsy should not mislead us into thinking it is not MS. Scribes in the OH and MH periods also made mistakes! E. Neu (by e-mail 5/26/97) agrees with this assessment.

<sup>580</sup> Claimed as OH manuscript by Güterbock 1962a 21. and Laroche, CTH, p. 43. But the photo shows a surface too small and badly damaged to determine the age of the script.

<sup>581</sup> Manuscript P is the second tablet of L.

<sup>582</sup> That KBo 12.49 belongs to L see Kammenhuber, Or NS 43 (1974) 117, Goetze, JCS 18 (1964) 90, and Archi 1968 76 n. 64.

<sup>583</sup> Although L has been called "un ... manuscritto che conserva una redazione antica" (Archi 1968 76, Kammenhuber 1961b 81), the photos show that it is definitely not OS, nor even MS.



M	KUB 29.16 (M <sub>1</sub> ) + KBo 19.2 (M <sub>2</sub> ) (ed. Otten and Souček 1966)	Col. I §§ 58-63	OS	Temple I
N + V	KUB 29.17 (N) + KBo 14.64 (V)	Col. I §§ 59-60 (N), Col. II §§ 70-71 (V)	NS	Büyükkale
O (+) Q	KUB 29.18 (+) KUB 29.20 (Peckeruhn 1988 joins to F)	§§ 94-95 (O), 97-98 (Q)	NS	Unknown
p <sup>584</sup>	KUB 29.19 <sup>585</sup>	Col. IV §§ 95-96	NS	Unknown
Q	See O	§§ 97-98	NS	
R	KBo 6.21	Col. III §§ 82-84, Col. IV §§ 99-100	NS	Unknown
S	KBo 6.22	Obv.! ("Rev.") §§ 72-74, Rev.! §§ 77(?) - 78(?) or §§ 85-86(?)	NS	Unknown
T	KBo 9.70	§ 94	NS	Lower City (K/20)
U	KUB 40.32	§ 60	NS	Unknown
V	See N	§§ 59-60	NS	
W	KBo 14.65 (+) <sup>586</sup> Bo 88/5	Col. III §§ 86-89, Col. IV § 100	NS	Büyükkale (A)
X	KBo 12.48	§ 7-9	NS	SE of Temple I
Y	KBo 19.7	§§ 77-78?	NS	Temple I
Z	KBo 9.69 (Peckeruhn's "X")	§§ 95-96	NS	Temple I?
AA	KBo 19.5	§ 99-100	NS	Temple I
BB	KBo 22.65	§§ 82-83	NS	Temple I

Table 9: Manuscripts of Series Two (§§ 101-200)

New siglum	Old siglum	Publication	Coverage	Script	Find Spot
a	e	KBo 6.12	Col. I §§ 101-108, II §§ 121-126	NS	Unknown

<sup>584</sup> Manuscript P is the second tablet of L.

<sup>585</sup> According to Güterbock 1962a 17 P has the same clay and handwriting as L and is therefore the second tablet of a single two-tablet edition of Series One (§§1-100).

<sup>586</sup> 96/q (KBo 14.65; findspot v/11) is described as "Gebr. Ton. Oberfl. rotbraun, Bruch z. T. grau", while Bo 88/5 (findspot Gebäude K, Südwest; Grabungsschutt) is "Hellroter, fein gemagerter Ton". As Košak (by letter 9/15/95) notes: "The descriptions don't match too well, but they also don't clash too badly, so in my Concordances I tentatively list them as an indirect join."

b	$o_1 (+) o_2 (+) o_3$	KUB 29.21 ( $b_1$ ) (+) 29.22 ( $b_2$ ) (+) 29.23 ( $b_3$ )	$o_1$ §§ 101-106, $o_2$ I §§ 104-108, III §§ 176-180, IV § 200a, $o_3$ §§ 106-111	NS	Büyükkale (A)
c	a	KBo 6.10 ( $c_1$ ) + 6.20 ( $c_2$ )	Col. I §§ 104-113, Col. II §§ 123-133, Col. III §§ 142-156, Col. IV §§ 162-163	NS	Unknown
d	b	KBo 6.11	Col. I §§ 105-113, IV § 168	NS	Unknown
e	d	KBo 6.13 ( $e_1$ ) (+) KUB 13.30 ( $e_2$ )	Col. I §§ 168-172, II §§ 182?-183?, III §§ 194-197 ( $e_1 + e_2$ ), IV colophon	NS <sup>587</sup>	Unknown
$f_1 + f_2 (+) f_3$	$e_1 + e_2 (+) i$	KBo 6.14 + 6.18 (+) 6.19	$f_1$ §§ 118-122, $f_3$ §§ 124-126, $f_2$ IV §§ 163-165	NS	Unknown
g	y	KBo 19.6	§§ 104-105	NS	Temple I
h	z	KBo 19.9	§§ 106-108	NS	Temple I
i	h	KBo 6.17	§§ 106-109	NS	Unknown
j	g	KBo 6.16	§§ 109-111	NS	Unknown
k	p	KUB 29.24	§§ 112-113	NS	Unknown
l	cc	Bo 92/113 <sup>588</sup>	§§ 119-121	NS	Büyükkale
m	dd	Bo 8202	§§ 125-127	NS	Unknown
n	l	KUB 13.15 + KBo 19.7	§§ 123-125, 157-158	NS	Temple I
o	$v_1 (+) v_2$	KUB 29.26 (+) 29.27	§§ 123-126	NS	Büyükkale (A)
p	j	KBo 6.26	Col. I §§ 157-169, II §§ 170-182, III §§ 182 bis-195, IV §§ 196-200	NS	Unknown
q	t	KBo 14.66 + KUB 48.78 (ZA 62:105)	§§ 122, 149-152, 157	NS	Büyükkale
r	bb	11/p (courtesy of S. Košak) <sup>589</sup>	§§ 142-143	NS	Temple I?
s	ee	HFAC 5	§ 145	NS	Unknown
t	x	KBo 14.67	§ 146-150	NS	Büyükkale
u	r	KUB 29.31	§§ 159-162a	NS	Unknown
v	f	KBo 6.15	§§ 160-163	NS	Unknown

<sup>587</sup> But right-justifications and archaic spellings suggest age or conservatism.

<sup>588</sup> Košak (by letter 9/15/95) gives the following information: Findspot: "Bk. Geb.-K, alter Mauerschutt".

<sup>589</sup> Košak (by letter 9/15/95) gives the following information: Findspot: "Von Bauern gebracht, angeblich aus d. Winckler'schen Schutt b. Gr. Tempel", description: "Grauer gebr. Ton".



w	ff	684/c	§§ 162, 182 (edited Güterbock 1980)	NS	Büyükkale
bb		HFAC 4	§§ 163-165	NS	Unknown
	i	See e		NS	
x	s	$x_1$ KBo 9.71 (in col. i) + $x_2$ KUB 29.33	§§ 178-181, 187-190, 195	NS	Büyükkale
x	k + m <sup>590</sup>	$x_3$ KUB 13.14 (obv. and rev.) + $x_4$ KUB 13.16 (only rev.) $x_3$ (old k) joins $x_1$ (+) $x_2$ in § 181	Obv. §§ 181-182, Rev. § 200	NS	Büyükkale
y	$w_1$ (+) $w_2$	KUB 29.34 (+) 29.37	§§ 186-198	NS	Büyükkale (A)
$e_2$	n	KUB 13.30	§§ 194-196	NS	Unknown
z		KBo 22.66 (iv)	§§ 199-200	NS	
	m	See k	§ 200	NS	
aa	q	KUB 29.25 + KUB 29.28 + KUB 29.29 + 29.30 + 29.32 + 29.35 + 29.36 + 29.38 (new copy in Güterbock 1962a) + $q_9$ =KBo 25.5 (joins KUB 29.30, cf. Hoffner 1981b) + $q_{10}$ =KBo 25.85 (joins KUB 29.32 on left and KUB 29.29 on the right, join made by Hoffner) <sup>591</sup>	Col. I §§ 106-107, 118-122, 125-128, Col. II §§ 133, 144-161, Col. III §§ 166-170, 172-178, Col. IV §§ 192-196.	OS	Büyükkale, Building A
bb	aa	KBo 19.8	Col. II §§ 130-132 (according to Otten in KBo XIX Inhaltsübersicht), III §§ 149ff. or §§ 164ff.?		Temple I
cc	Bo "2111"		§§ 126-128, 144 (known only from citations of individual variant readings in Hrozný (cf. Hrozný 1922 114 n. 4 and Friedrich 1959 66 n. 36), not as connected text).		Unknown

<sup>590</sup> The old "k" and "m" (my new "x") were joined in Istanbul by Otten (Güterbock 1962a 17).

<sup>591</sup> As is shown in Güterbock's copy in JCS 16 (1962) 20, the join is direct on the subsurface, although the intervening surface is missing. KBo 25.85 (845/c) joins KUB 29.29 (863/c) directly even at the level of the surface.



## CHAPTER THREE

## COMMENTARY

## § 1-2

The first subject we encounter in the Hittite laws is homicide. Although this subject is specifically addressed only in laws §§ 1-7, there are other cases scattered throughout the collection in which the offence involves causing the death of another person. In the laws concerning the *šardiyāš* (§§ 38-39) persons are killed. In §43 a man drowns while fording a river, because another person shoves him away from the ox which he was holding onto. In §44a someone causes another person to fall into a fire, so that he dies. The Tübingen dissertation by Sick 1984 is entirely devoted to the subject of homicide as treated in the cuneiform law collections. Other important treatments of the theme in Hittite law include Haase 1961, Hoffner 1963, 228-235, Haase 1978; Klengel 1980 and Hoffner 1997. On procedures for handling homicide see also Hattušili III's letter to Kadašman-Enlil KBo 1.10 rev. 15-26 (German translation and interpretation by Klengel 1980; English translation in Beckman 1996, no. 23 §10). Hattušili's letter shows that among the Hittites homicide was not usually punishable by death, but by compensation. What the brothers of the slain person do is expressed by the Akkadian phrase *kasap mullê leqûlmaḥāru* "to accept silver as (literally 'of') compensation". The noun *mullû* "compensation" must be the Akkadian equivalent of Hittite *šarnikzel*, which occurs frequently in the laws. This accords with the ruling at the end of the OH Telipinu Proclamation (§49), which reads: *išḫanašš = a uttar kiššan kuiš ēšḫar iezzi nu kuit ēšḫanaš = pat išḫāš tezzi takku tezzi aku = war = aš n = aš aku takku tezzi = ma šarnikdu = wa nu šarnikdu* "This is the procedure for homicide (lit. blood): (as for) him who commits homicide, (it is) what only the 'lord of the blood' (i.e., representative of the victim) says. If he says 'Let (the accused) die!', then let him die. But if he says: 'Let (the accused) make compensation!', then let him make compensation."

In Hattušili's Akkadian letter the verb "to kill" is *dāku*, and the killer *dā'ikānu*. In the laws the Hittite verb describing the offence, *kuen-* "to kill", outside of §§ 1-6, occurs in § 19 (with a dog as its object), not as an offence, but as part of the description of the actions of a person entitled to recover his lost lard from the dog's stomach. In § 170 someone kills a snake while pronouncing another person's (i.e., an enemy's) name. In §§ 187-188 and 198-199 the king is entitled to order the execution (*kuenzi*) of an offender. In § 197 a man who catches his wife and her lover in the act of adultery may kill (*kuenzi*) them both with impunity. In § 199 a sheep is killed (*kunanzi*) in place of a human offender. The laws also express killing another human being by the expression *walḫzi ... n = aš aki* "strikes ... (so that) he dies" (§§ 3-4) and the passive "is killed" by simple *aki* "dies" (§§ 6, 38, 44a, 121, 126) or *akkanzi* "they die" (§37). In some cases, such as §42, it is unclear if *ak-* means "to be killed" or just "to die" (from an accident or disease). The same is true when an animal's death is in view (§§ 84, 86-89), especially since in some of these cases the liability is the same whether the death was intended or not (§§ 72, 75, etc.).



Outside the laws homicide is mentioned many times, almost invariably with the verb *kuen-* "to kill" or its Akkadogram *UŠMIT*: in the Political Testament of Hattušili I,<sup>1</sup> the "Palace Chronicle",<sup>2</sup> the Telipinu Proclamation,<sup>3</sup> the Cannibal text,<sup>4</sup> the Mašat letters,<sup>5</sup> the Madduwatta letter,<sup>6</sup> and elsewhere. In a few passages the action of "killing" (*kuen-*) human beings represents an act of punishment for the "sin" of treason.<sup>7</sup> The verb is often used to describe killing in battle, which is justifiable homicide, killing in the discharge of a legal duty in wartime.<sup>8</sup>

*šullatar* denotes a quarrel. The distinction made in § III (late version of § 5): [*ma-a-an*] *a-aš-šu-ma Ú-UL pé-e ḥar-zi na-an-kán šu-ul-la-an-na-za* (7) [*k]u-[i]š-ki ku-en-zi* between an act motivated by theft and one springing from *šullatar* is important to understanding the legal force of the latter. *šullatar* denotes an intentional, but unpremeditated and impulsive action (see a summary of views in Imparati 1964, 184-185). See further comments below on §§ 3-4. *šu-ul-la-an-na-az* is an ablative of cause (Melchert 1977, 192) cf. also §§ 2, 127, III, V, VI (Imparati 1964, 184 n. 2), and outside the laws: *maḥḥan=ma ŠEŠ-YA mMuwatalliš IŠTU AMAT* (for *AWAT*) *DINGIR-LIM-ŠU katteri utne katta pait* "but when my brother Muwatalli because of a word (Akk. *IŠTU* covers the Hitt. abl.) from his god went down (from Hattuša) to the Lower Land" (Hatt. i 75-76). In § V (the PT version of § 7) the law-giver found it necessary to distinguish the culpable act of blinding another person "in a quarrel" (*šullannaz*) from the less serious "accidentally" (*ŠU-aš waštai*). In § 127 someone "steals" (*tayezzi*) (var. cc ii 5 "lifts" *karp[zi]*) another's door *šullannaz*. Other ablatives in the laws usually denote spatial separation or origin: *URUHattušaz* (§ 19), *KUR URULuwiyaz* (§ 20, 21), *ÍD-az* (§ 22), *GIŠBANŠUR-az* (§ 47), *šarḥuwantaz* (§ 90), *luliyaz* (§ 102), *ḥuššelliyaz* (§ 110), *šamanaz* (§ 128), *wešiyaz* (§ 162). There is also the use with *šamen-* "to withdraw (from)" in the sense of "forfeit": *ḥapparaz* (§ 48), *kuš(ša)naz* (§ 145).

*arnu-* is a derived (causative) stem in *-nu-* from the verb *ar-* "to arrive".<sup>9</sup> Unlike the verbs *uda-* "(her)bringen" and *peda-* "(hin)bringen", it frequently takes living<sup>10</sup> human beings as its object. If *arnu-* means "bring (for burial)" in these laws, it takes as its direct object a dead body—see Hrozný 1922, Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935, 224 ("he buries him"; "no doubt the courts compelled the murderer

<sup>1</sup> KUB 1.16 ii 75, iii 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> KBo 3.35 i 11-13, KBo 3.34 ii 17; new edition Dardano 1997.

<sup>3</sup> KBo 3.1+ i 32, 64-65, 68. In this text homicide is also referred to as *ēšḥar* "bloodshed" and is seen as the cause of the gods' anger against Hatti (ii 32-33).

<sup>4</sup> KBo 3.60 (CTH 17.1) ii 3-5 *mān warka[ntan] / antuḥšan uwanzi n=an=kan kunanzi / š=an=ap atanzi*; KBo 3.60 iii 7-9 *AMA=ŠU ŠA mZuppa / INA URUTinišipa eppir / š=an=kan kuenir š=an=ap eter*.

<sup>5</sup> HKM 10:40; 21:4-5; 26:9.

<sup>6</sup> KUB 14.1 (CTH 147) obv. 3-4 (see also obv. 5, 60) [*man=ti*] *a=kan kuenta* "(Attariššiya) would have killed you (Madduwatta)". This could have been conceived as a military action rather than an assassination, but the latter possibility cannot be excluded.

<sup>7</sup> CTH 133 KUB 26.41 (+) 23.68 + ABoT 58 obv. 25'-26'.

<sup>8</sup> KUB 23.11 (CTH 142.2A) ii 26 [*n=ašti*] *a ŠA ÉRIN.MEŠ LÚ.KÚR tuzzi[n k(u)]enun*, *ibid.* iii 8 *n=uš=kan ḥašpir mKukkulin kuinnir*, *ibid.* iii 20-21, KUB 23.72+ (CTH 146) obv. 31 *nu=kan paer ŠA KUR URUKummaḥa URU.DIDLI.ḪI.A kuenir*, KUB 14.1 (CTH 147) obv. 64, and in many other military contexts.

<sup>9</sup> See HW<sup>2</sup> and HED A s.v. On *arnu-* in the law collection see Imparati 1964, 186 and Haase 1971.

<sup>10</sup> The dead body of a human being (or the helpless body of a drowning human being) carried off by a river's current (see law § 43) can be the direct object of *uda-/peda-*.



to pay the costs of the funeral”), Neufeld 1951, 129, supported by Alp 1952, 95 n. 15 (who compares *arnuzi* in § 76 with *n=an išhi=šši EGIR-pa pai* in § 86), Güterbock 1961b, 66b, Imparati (“conegni”) and HW<sup>2</sup> I 329. Such an action was only possible if the death occurred near the victim’s home, i.e., at least within the land of Hatti (see comments below on § 5). Another possible OH example is: *nu=mu annaš=maš katta arnut ... nu=mu uwaš=maš katta arnut tiya=mu tiya* “Bring me (for burial) alongside my mother ... bring me (accus.) (for burial) alongside my *uwa-* (gen. plus *katta*)” KBo 3.40 14-15, versus the previous translation “bring me (dat.) down my mother’s (clothes)”.<sup>11</sup> In § 19a we find *-pat* (*É-er=šet=pat* “his own house”) with *arnuzi*, but without *-za*. Haase 1971 objects to the translation of *arnu-* in these laws as “beerdigen”, but in my opinion there are insufficient grounds to question the translation “bring (the dead body for the purpose of burial)”. None of the scholars cited above in favor of this interpretation has actually proposed that *arnu-* means literally “to bury”, for which there are other verbs available in Hittite (*hariya-*, perhaps even *padda-* in certain contexts<sup>12</sup>). Nor is it claimed that in all cases where the verb’s object is a dead body that the bringing is exclusively for the purpose of burial. See § 76, where the body of a dead horse, mule or ass is brought (*arnuzi*) to its owner, not for burial, but in order that he may verify its death (i.e., to legally establish that the animal was not simply stolen) and perhaps that he may use the meat, hide and bones in other ways. The reason for *-za* (... *arnuzzi*) in § 5 is unclear. Boley 1993, 123 (who still translates *arnuzzi* as Friedrich 1959 “büsst er den betreffende”) incorrectly claims that *-za arnu-* in § 5 means “give restitution (for someone/thing)” and that this use is “strongly akin to the meaning ‘substitute’”! Among other objections to Friedrich’s translation is the fact that according to his interpretation *arnu-* would sometimes mean “atone/compensate for” someone/-thing (accus.), and at other times “compensate with” something (accus.) (see *nu É-er=šet=pat arnuzi* § 19a).

In Hittite texts the Akkadian conjunction *U*, while fairly commonly used to join elements within the same clause (Goetze 1925; 1928b; Friedrich 1930a; Goetze 1933a; Sommer and Falkenstein 1938), is sparingly employed to join adjacent clauses. In word-connecting function it is associative rather than contrasting. In clause-connecting function it can be mildly contrastive (“but”, so Melchert 1978 8, and see laws § 26 and perhaps § 40), but need not be: *apūn arnuzi U ... pai* “he shall bring (the body for burial) and pay ...” (§§ 1-4), ... *aki U DUMU.MEŠ=š[U ašanzi]* “(if) she dies (in her father’s house), and she has children” (§ 27). But as aptly stressed by Imparati 1964, 186f. (contra Koschaker and Friedrich), in no case may it be interpreted as “und (zwar)”, implying that the two clauses refer to one and the same action. For “und zwar” (English “that is”) introducing a rephrasing of the same idea Hittite employs asyndesis. In the following examples in the laws asyndesis is marked by “&”: (1) §IV *ták-ku Ú-UL-ma A.ŠÀ.A.GÀR & dam-me-el pé-e-da-an* “but if it is not cultivated land, (that is, if it is) a virgin place”; (2) §XXXVIII *ták-ku-uš-ši A.ŠÀ.HI.A-uš hu-u-ma-an-za Ú-UL pí-an-za & te-pu-uš-ši pí-ia-an* “If the land was not given to him in its entirety, (that is,) only a small portion was given to him”; (3) §XL *L ÚA-SI-RUM-za ha-ap-pár le-e ku-iš-ki i-ia-zi & DUMU-ŠU A.ŠÀ-ŠU GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN-ŠÚ [I]e-e ku-iš-ki wa-a-ši* “Let no one transact business with a *hipparaš*-man, (that is,) let no one buy his son, his field, (or) his vineyard”; (4) §93 A *ták-ku LÚ-an EL-LAM ta-pé-eš-ni*

<sup>11</sup> HED A 165, following Watkins.

<sup>12</sup> But *padda-* never takes a human object, and *hariya-* only does so once, in a hostile action that is not to be taken in its literal sense of physically burying the person: KBo 2.9 (CTH 716) iv 13-15 *nu memai mān LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL=ya kuiški kuitki / iyan harzi n=aš hariyan harzi n=aš=kan ka:ša / taknaz SUD-naḥhi*.



*ap-pa-an-zi & an-da-ša-an pâr-na na-a-ú-i pa-iz-zi* "If they seize a free man at the outset, (that is,) before he enters the house"; (5) § 79 A "If oxen enter (another man's) field, and the field's owner finds (them)," U<sub>4</sub>.1.KAM *tu-u-ri-ez-zi & ma-a-na-aš-ta MUL.ĪI.A-eš ú-en-zi* "he may hitch them up for one day, (that is,) until the stars come out." For a sample of this use of asyndesis outside the laws see: Hatt. i 14-15 ANA *ḥattušili = wa MU.KAM.ĪI.A maninkuwanteš / UL = war = aš TI-ann[(aš)]* "Hattušili's years are short: he is not (destined) to live (long)"; Hatt. ii 49-50 *n = aš arḥa = pat pait / maninkuwan = aš = mu UL = pat uit* "(Muwatalli II) went right away: he did not come near me at all".

SAG.DU denotes persons, probably slaves. See §§ 2-4, 15, 19, 42, 53, 149, 174, 200. Imparati (p. 187) thinks they are of the same sex as the victim. I agree with Imparati (p. 187 n. 4) who saw no reason to assume such slaves were killed in the tomb of the victim. In law § 44a it is better to read DUMU.NITA-*an* than SAG.DU-*an* without numeral "1". See commentary on § 44a for further discussion.

*parnašše* *šuwayezzi*<sup>13</sup> occurs in many different spellings. In general the OS manuscripts prefer *pâr-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi* (see Glossary). In a minority of cases in OS the noun is written *pâr-na-aš-še-a* § 7 A i 10, § 149 aa ii 21, *pâr-na-še-e-a* A iii 30 (§ 58), 39, 42 (§ 63), *pâr-na-še-a* A iii 34, 52, 55, 57, iv 18, 20, *pâr-na-aš-še-ia* aa<sub>2</sub> i 9 (§ 127). For the evidence see the Glossary. The spelling of the verb is much more consistent in OS: overwhelmingly *šu-wa-i-ez-zi* passim; the sole exception is *šu-wa-ia-az-zi* aa<sub>2</sub> i 9 (§ 127). The latter variant together with the total absence in OS manuscripts of a spelling *šu-wa-a-iz-zi* strongly supports the interpretation of the *-i-* as a glide /*šuwayezzi*/. Since the NS manuscripts often reproduce the OS spellings, both *pâr-na-aš-še-e-a* and *šu-wa-i-ez-zi* frequently occur. But the following NH variants are found: *pâr-na-aš-ši-ia* B iii 59 (§ 69), *pâr-na-še-e-a* D i 38 (§ 57), I obv. 7 (§ 67), *pâr-na-aš-še-a* D i 46 (§ 58), *pâr-na-še-ia* a i 14 (§ 121), f<sub>1</sub> i 14 (§ 119), *pâr-na-aš-še-ia* C i 13, 15, 17, 22 (§ 13, 14, 15, 17), a i 16 (§ 104), f<sub>1</sub> i 8 (§ 119), c<sub>1</sub> ii 4, 7 (§ 124), c<sub>1</sub> + c<sub>2</sub> ii 19 (§ 127), c ii 29, 32, 39 (§ 129, 130, 133), c iii (7) (§ 143). In NS manuscripts the verb has the following spellings: *šu-wa-iz-zi*, *šu-wa-a-iz-zi*, *šu-ú-w[a?-i]z?-zi*, *šu-ú-w[a-iz-zi]*, *šu-ú-wa-a-ez-zi*, *šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi*, *šu-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi*, and *šu-wa-ia-zi*. For the references see the Glossary. It appears that although manuscript B is not MS (that is, a MH copy, as occasionally claimed), it may preserve traces of a MH copy which preceded it.

*parnašše* is to be analysed (following Güterbock and Hamp 1956) as allative *parna* "to the house" + *-še* "for it" (i.e., the compensation required for the victim) + *-a* "and". One might expect *-a* "and" to precede *-še* according to the rules of particle sequence (HE<sup>2</sup> § 288). Its position here might appear to argue for its being the 3. sg. possessive enclitic. But if *-še* were to represent the possessive pronoun "to his/her (house)", it should be vocalized *-šša*. Compare *parna = šša* law § 27, KUB 17.10 iv 20, *išša = šša* KBo 3.38 obv. 4, *Éhumma = šša* KBo 25.151 + 26.136 obv. 18. In *nu = kan* SAG.GÉME.ARAD *annitti = še = ya pa[ir]* KUB 33.121 iii 6 (Kešši story) the *-še* seems to be the possessive pronoun despite its e-vocalism. The subject of the verb in *parnašše šuwayezzi* is the injured party or (in the case of homicide) the person acting on behalf of the deceased victim. The *-še* "for it" represents the compensation or fine for the offence.

<sup>13</sup> On this expression see (aside from the discussions in the editions of the laws) Haase 1956; Haase 1962b; Hoffner 1982; Güterbock 1983b.



Table 10. Compensations for Various Offenses

§	Offense	Compensation
1	homicide	4 SAG.DU
2	homicide	2 SAG.DU
3	homicide	2 SAG.DU
5	homicide	100 minas of silver
7-8	blinding an eye or knocking out a tooth	20 shekels of silver (free man), 10 shekels (slave)
11-12	breaking an arm or leg	20 shekels of silver (free man), 10 shekels (slave)
13-14	biting off a nose	1 mina (= 40 shekels) of silver (free), 3 shekels (slave)
15	tearing off an ear	12 shekels of silver (free),
17	causing a miscarriage	10 shekels (free)
19	abduction of a free Hittite	6 persons (SAG.DU)
20	abduction of a slave (ARAD)	12 shekels of silver
25	defiling a pond or cistern	3 shekels of silver
57	theft of a bull	15 oxen
58	theft of a stud horse (stallion)	15 horses

The two options regarding the verb *šuwayezzi* are *šuwe-* "to push, shove" (HW<sup>1</sup> *šuwāi-*) and *šuwaye-* "to look". Note the following translations. Sturtevant: "gives his farm buildings as security", Goetze: "shall pledge his estate as security", Friedrich: "stößt er (ihn) zu seinem Hause". Haase 1963 and Imparati "e <così> allontana <la colpa> nell'ambito della sua casa" seem to build on the first option. Güterbock 1983b proposed the second option, which has been followed by Hoffner 1963, von Schuler 1982, and Haase 1984.

Sick 1984, 100f, 103f., 107, 169, 171f., and passim.

#### § 3-4

Although §§ 1-2 did not specify the victims as "free" (Hittite *arawanni-*, Akkadogram *ELLUM/ELLETTUM*), the Sumerograms *LÚ* and *MUNUS* (in implied opposition to *ARAD* and *GÉME*) always denote free persons. In § 3, however, the status is made explicit. On the general concept of free and slave in Hatti see Güterbock 1954; Souček 1956; Laroche 1960; Güterbock 1972; Giorgadze 1974; Souček 1988 and the *arawanni-* entries in HW<sup>2</sup> and HED. Note also Klinger 1992, 205 n. 2. *EL-LAM* (B i 6) in Akkadian is masculine. The correct feminine form (for a "free" woman) would be *EL-LE-TAM* (for rare Hittite examples of the feminine form see § 35 A ii 6, § 175 bb iii 28). Hittite scribes, influenced by their own language in which no masculine-feminine distinction existed, usually employed the Akkadian masculine forms indiscriminately.<sup>14</sup> Note in § 35 that the OH copy has *EL-LE-TAM*, but the NH copy has changed it to the masculine. However, in § 175 the OH aa has *EL-LE-TAM*, which is retained in NH p. The Hittite equivalent of the Akkadogram *ELLU(M)* "free (person)" is *arawanni-*, while the related adjective *arawa-* means only "exempt" (see Hoffner 1983b, 409-411).

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter IV, section "Orthography".



The change from *kuenzi* "kills" to *walḫzi n=aš ... aki* "strikes so that he dies ..." (see Commentary on §§ 1-2) marks the transition from intentional (although unpremeditated) to unintentional homicide. The result clause "so that he dies" is introduced by *nu* (not *ta*) even in the OH copy; cf. OH copy in §§ 9, 38, 44a, but asyndetic in § 77a versus NS B with *nu*. See, however, *t=an išarnikzi* in OH § 10, and possibly *t=aš ... kiša* in OH § 40. For further exx. of *walḫ-* resulting in death see § 38 (*šardiya-*) and §§ 84, 86 (pig), §§ 87-89 (dog). For *walḫ-* resulting in miscarriage see § 77. See also: KUB 14.29 i 27 followed by KBo 4.4 i 6 (AM 108) *nu mšarrikušuhun / [ŠEŠ=Y]A [... ištar]kiyattat n=aš BA.ÚŠ*, expressing death as a consequence of illness; and KBo 17.78 i 1-5 [*mān*] *U-aš ḫatuga tetḫai nu antuḫšan / [na..... n=aš aki naššu=kan] āški anda našma dammeli pedi našma=kan É-ri / [anda ...] GUL-aḫzi n=aš aki* (restorations from *ibid.* ii 5-9).

The syllabic writing *keššaršiš waštai* is not preserved in § 3 of the OH A, which gives in § 4 *QA-AS-SÚ wa-aš-ta-i*. It is possible that we see gender inversion (Friedrich 1960a, 116 § 191 compares ŠU-aš-še-et in law § 4) in *keššar=šiš*. For although r-stem common gender nouns exist, like *ḫašterza* and *ḫikkarza* (see Oettinger 1994), if *keššar-* were such, we might expect a nom. sg. com. \**keššarza*. In all manuscripts of §§ 3-4 this clause is asyndetic, perhaps suggesting a tight nexus between *n=aš aki* and *QA-AS-SÚ waštai* "so that he dies with his (sc. the assailant's) hand at fault".

*keššaršiš waštai* indicates an unintentional, i.e., accidental action, as understood already by Hrozný 1922, 5 n. 24: "C'est-à-dire: s'il le blesse et tue sans intention, par hasard." Friedrich 1959, 90 cites examples of ŠU-aš *waštul* from divination texts (KUB 5.3 i 3, 8, KUB 5.4 ii 27) and contrasts the sin of the hand with the sin of the head, citing SAG.DU-SÚ *wašta<š>* "(if ...-s, and) his head 'sin<ned>'" KUB 13.9 ii 4 in support.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, *n=at=ši* SAG.DU-aš *waštul* (KUB 13.4 iii 16) means rather "for him it is a capital crime (lit. 'sin of the head')" and has nothing to do with intentionality.

Sick 1984, 62, 94-97, 99f., 200ff., 204ff.

## § II

The distinction in the sex of victims is carried out in PT only in the case of homicide, not in bodily injury (see Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965, 2). Replacing a compensation in the form of "persons" with one in the form of silver is also characteristic of PT (*ibid.*), although note that in § 5, even in the OH copy A, the killing of a merchant requires a high monetary payment, not the giving of "persons". My translation "But if it is a woman, (that is,) a female slave" follows Hrozný 1922, 79; Güterbock 1961b, Goetze 1969, Imparati 1964, von Schuler 1982, 98, and Peckeruhn 1988, 17 and differs from Walther and Friedrich, who understood "a (free) woman (or) a female slave". Admittedly, one wonders why the scribe didn't write the less awkward *ták-ku-aš GÉME-aš-ma*.

## § 5

Here *kuēnzi* is not qualified by either *šullannaz* or *keššar=šiš waštai*. The victim's status implies the act is intentional and for the purpose of robbery. The silver payment for killing a Hittite merchant is extremely high (100 minas = 4,000 shekels)<sup>16</sup> and is attested in both the OS and NS copies. Friedrich

<sup>15</sup> Followed by Imparati 185, who incorrectly writes SAG.DU-ZU *waštai* for the text's SAG.DU-ZU *wa-aš-ta[-aš]*.

<sup>16</sup> During the Hittite New Kingdom, specifically during the reign of Initešub of Kargamiš, the amount of compensation for the murder of a merchant in North Syria was 180 shekels, i.e., 3 minas of 60 shekels each (Klengel 1980, 193).



1959, 17 n. 7 even proposed to emend the text to 1½ MA.NA. A confusion of *ME* and ½ in an OH manuscript would be easier than in a NH one, since the distinctive OS form of *ME* shows the head of the horizontal wedge on or slightly overlapping the underlying vertical. Nevertheless the theory is improbable, since the scribes of A and B would have had to make the same mistake repeatedly. And since they too must have been aware how high the figure 100 minas was, this would have been the *lectio difficilior* for them. The silver payment applies to all three geographical settings. In addition, in Luwiya and Palā (where he was conducting business) the merchant's goods must be replaced, and in Ḫatti (where alone it would be practicable) the delivery of the merchant's body (for *arnuzi* see comments above on §§ 1-2). Friedrich 1959, 91 attributes the different disposition of the case in Luwiya and Palā to the honoring of local legal traditions, citing KUB 13.2 iii 9-16 (ed. von Schuler 1957). The laws elsewhere (§§ 19-21, 23) mention Luwiya (Arzawa) in such a way as to suggest that it had political connections with Ḫatti and that therefore Hittite legal claims were enforceable on its citizens (see Friedrich 1959, 91). For the history of Arzawa see Heinhold-Krahmer 1977. For more comments on law § 5 see Goetze 1964, 28 and Haase 1978.

Only here do we find the Hittite syllabic writing of the word for "merchant", *unattalla-*, elsewhere written with the Sumerogram LÚDAM.GÀR. Strangely, the word bears no determinative LÚ.

Sick 1984, 181-183, 200ff., 204ff.

### § III

PT distinguishes cases of homicide motivated by theft (*āššuwāš ... anda*, "in the midst of his goods"), personal quarrel (*šullannaza*), and accident (*kešširaš ... waštai*). Since the silver payment in case of theft is lost in the lacuna, we do not know if it approximated the 100 minas of the OH recension. But the compensation for the merchant's wares, which in the OH recensions applied only to a crime which took place in Luwiya or Pala, is now tripled and applies to all locales where a legal claim is feasible. Killing a merchant in a quarrel draws a 240 shekel (i.e., 6 mina) payment, compared to 4 persons for a free victim and 2 persons for a slave in §§ 1-2.

### § 6

B retains much from its OH (hyp)archetype: the archaic *takiya* not attested outside the laws, *arhi* instead of NH *irhi*, the longer verbal stem *karšiyē-* instead of NH *karš-*. Modifications are few: *ta-ki-i-ia* > *ta-ki-ia*, <sup>GIŠ</sup>*gi-pé-eš-šar* > *gi-pé-eš-šar*, *kar!-aš-ši-i-ez-zi* > *kar-aš-ši-i-e-ez-zi*. The last-mentioned follows the trend of B to render explicit the e-vocalization for *šu-wa-i-ez-zi* as *šu-wa-i-e-ez-zi*. In this respect B is simply reflecting the OH > NH shift in treating verbs of this class (see Chapter IV sub "Orthography").

On this law see Hoffner 1969b, 39-40, 1973a and Haase 1994a, 75f. The victim here is not said to be a merchant, but someone who like the merchant is away from home. The law allows that the victim be male or female. The use of *takiya URU-ri* "in another (a foreign?) city" instead of *da-me-da-ni A.ŠĀA.GÀR an-da* "on another man's property" in PT §IV, suggests that the victim has been on a trip. The city or town in which he is found dead is not his own. As mentioned above, *taki(ya)* is found only in the laws. In §§ 191 and 196 the correlative *takiya utne ... takiya utne=ya* and *takiya URU-ri ... takiya URU-ri* suggest a complete separation of persons. The lands or towns mentioned cannot be close enough to permit easy intermingling of the populations. It is easy to see how Goetze could have suggested to Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935, 224f. a translation "distant", although the usual word for this is *tuwala-*. The later PT has generalized the situation to include persons found dead on others' property



even within the same city. The fine imposed in § 6 (equivalent to 8.25 shekels; for the price of land see § 183 and Chapter I "Table of Prices") is greatly increased in § IV (all his land plus 60 shekels). Although both A and B agree in reading 1 ME GIŠgipeššar,<sup>17</sup> Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 object that this is too high and "would amount to a whole field". But that is just the point. The land is not, as Sturtevant thought, as a "burial plot", but is compensation to the heirs. In the Old Babylonian laws of Hammurapi § 23-24 the town in which a robbery or a homicide was committed was responsible to compensate the victim or his heirs, and in the case of a homicide the payment was one mina (60 shekels) of silver. Still, this amounts to much less than the sums for killing a merchant. Everything points to a very high status of the merchant in early Hittite society (Hoffner 1968b; Haase 1978; Klengel 1979).

§IV (late version of § 6)

ANET "But if there is no other man's field (and) fallow" mistakenly combines two adjacent, asyndetic clauses and fails to translate *pedan*. Friedrich ("Wenn aber der Ort nicht Feldflur eines anderen (ist)") also mistakenly combines the two clauses, although at least he tries to translate *pedan*, making it the subject of the sentence. His interpretation—which is followed also by Imparati ("Ma se il luogo non è il campo di un altro") and Haase 1963; 1984 ("Wenn aber Feld (und) Flur eines anderen nicht der (Tat)ort (sind)")—would require: *ták-ku pé-e-da-an-ma Ú-UL dam-me-el A.ŠÀ A.GÀR*. Von Schuler also combines, but takes A.ŠÀ A.GÀR as the subject and *dam-me-el pé-e-da-an* as the negated predicate: "Wenn aber die Gemarkung keines anderen (Eigentümers) Ort (ist)". This interpretation would require: *ták-ku A.ŠÀ A.GÀR-ma Ú-UL dam-me-el pé-e-da-an*. Both of these false interpretations founder on the position of *Ú-UL* and fail to understand what is most crucial here: that we are dealing with two clauses, not one.

I understand *dam-me-el* in line 11 not as "of another" (genitive of *tamai-*), but as an adjective of Luvian origin<sup>18</sup> of the type *adduwal(i)-*, *hantil(i)-*, *wantil(i)-*, i.e., *l*-stem in the neuter, but with *i*-motion in the common gender nom. and accus.

The attested forms of *dammel(i)-* are the following:

sg. nom. com. *ta-me-li-iš* KUB 16.66 obv. 8, *dam-me-liš-ša* KUB 56.24 obv. 12, sg. acc. com. *dam-me-li-in* KUB 45.28 + KUB 39.97 obv. 1, KBo 16.41 i 23 (w. dupl. KUB 60.61 9), *dam-mi-li-in* KUB 43.58 ii 28, KBo 8.107 + 101 24?, *dam-mi-i-li-in* KUB 32.123 iii 43, *dam-mi-li-en* KBo 22.116 obv. 13, *da-me-li-in* KUB 15.42 ii 17, sg. nom.-acc. neut. *dam-me-el* KBo 6.4 obv. 11, KUB 45.28 + KUB 39.97 obv. 1, IBoT 2.119 (+) KUB 39.97 rev. 10, *dam-mi-il* KBo 13.101 i 15, sg. dat.-loc. *dam-me-li* KBo 2.6 + KUB 18.51 i 35, KBo 4.1 i 1, KBo 9.116 rev. (6), KBo 12.104 i 2, KBo 12.111:4, KBo 13.101 rev. 5, KBo 13.130 iv 7, KBo 13.168 i 5, KBo 17.78 i 2, KBo 21.20 i 23, KBo 27.67 obv. 8(!), IBoT 1.38 69, KUB 7.54 ii 21, KUB 9.27 + 7.8 i 16, KUB 27.37:16, KUB 58.83 ii 7, 15, iii 3, KUB 58.85 iv (18), KUB 58.95 rev.? 15', KUB 59.61 iii 14, VBoT 24 i 31, Bo 4951 (StBoT 29:124-127) rev.? 7', FHL 37 right col. 9, *dam-mi-li* KBo 3.21 iv 11, KBo 5.1 i 13, KBo 5.2 ii 30, 32, KBo 17.60 rev. 7, KBo 17.78 i 6, KUB 7.53 + 12.58 iii 17, KUB 12.57 + 55 i 15, KUB 17.28 iii 37, KUB 45.12 ii 15, 16, KUB 58.82 ii 23, Bo 1676 + 4809 + 6463 (ZA 72:140f.) ii 17, *ta-me-li* KUB 7.13 obv. 26,

<sup>17</sup> The reading 1 ME (100) is also accepted by Hout 1990, 521f.

<sup>18</sup> Aside from the well-known occurrences of *dammel(i)-* in Hittite contexts, see also the possible example in Hieroglyphic Luvian of Emirgazi: \*502-*mili* LOCUS-*ti* (Meriggi apud Poetto and Salvatori 1981 51 n. 100), quoted by Hout 1995, 562 n. 84.



*dam-mi-li-ia* KBo 15.34 ii 11, sg. abl. *dam-m[i-e-la-(za)]* KUB 33.45 + 53 + FHG 2 iii 19 w. dupl. KUB 57.38 (+) 51.30 8', *dam-me-la-za* KUB 46.42 iii 3, 12, KUB 55.57 i 8, uncertain forms: *dam-me-lu-uš* KUB 42.16 iv 3;<sup>19</sup> *dam-me-la* KUB 51.18 obv. 20, *dam-mi-la* Tel Aviv 2:91f., line 12.

Since the neuter forms are only attested to date in Hittite context, they do not bear the Luwian "case in -ša", i.e., \**dammelza*. But the expected neut. sg. form *dammel* is attested both here in *dammel pedan*, in *dam-mi-il-ma paššūil* "fresh p." KBo 13.101 i 15, and in *mān=za UN-aš dam-me-el AŠ-RU dam-me-li-in URU-an ešari* "whenever a person settles in a previously unoccupied place (or) an uninhabited town" KUB 45.28 + KUB 39.97 obv. 1. The ablatives show the Hittite ending -az (as opposed to Luwian -ati), but these forms do not behave like Hittite *i*-stems, showing *dammelaz(a)*, not \**dammeliyaz(a)*. The acc. pl. com. form: *dam-me-lu-uš*, if this indeed is the same word, shows the Hittite ending -uš rather than Luwian \**dammelinzi*, but again not the expected Hittite *i*-stem form *dammeliuš*. The loc. sg. ending *dam-mi-li-ia* (in -iya) looks more like an *i*-stem. The correct Luwian locative of *dammel(i)*- is *dam-meli-li*.

The meaning of *dammel(i)*- has already been established by Güterbock 1964, 103-104.<sup>20</sup> The immediate context of law §IV makes the meaning of *dammel pēdan* clear. After describing the the location negatively as *Ú-UL-ma A.Š.Ā.A.G.ĀR* "not cultivated land", the scribe expresses positively what he means: it is *dam-me-el pé-e-da-an* "uncultivated, open country". One of the principal uses of asyndesis in Hittite is in joining semantically equivalent adjacent clauses.<sup>21</sup>

The failure to express the subject of a "to be" clause ("if it is ...") with an enclitic pronoun is common enough in the laws:<sup>22</sup> *takku ARAD-iš* "if (it is) a slave" laws §7-8, *šarnikzel* "(there will be) compensation" Laws §21, *takku ket* (B kez) *ÍD-az* "if (it is) on this side of the river" laws §22, *takku atti=ma anni UL āššū* "but if (it is) not the parents' wish" laws §28b (C), *alwanzatar DI.KUD LUGAL* "(it is) sorcery (and) a case for the king" laws §44b, *takku GUD šawitišza UL GU<sub>4</sub>[(MAH-aš)]* "if (it is) a weanling, (it is) not a bull" laws §57b. The only example in the laws of the subject enclitic =aš in a "to be" clause is *n=aš apel (=pat)* "it is his (alone)" in §162A in the NH copies p and v. OH manuscript aa is not preserved for this law. Since only some of the previous examples are in the conditional clause, we cannot explain the suppression of -aš on the basis of *takku*.

The Hittite text of the law reads: *nu apūš=pat dai*. All interpreters agree that the subject of the verb is the victim's heir. "He shall take those same ones". The point at issue is: what are "those same ones?"<sup>23</sup> *a-pu-u-uš-pāt* is understood by Friedrich as "gerade die" referring back to "welche Ortschaft ... festgestellt wird". Von Schuler also writes "eben die Stadt, die ... festgestellt wird". Imparati too writes "e qualunque città entro (tale raggio) sia situata, allora quelle appunto prenda". Haase 1994a, 75-76 "so nimmt der Erbe des Toten diese [Siedlung] in Anspruch." That *apūš=pat* is plural common gender was noted by Imparati's "quelle", Haase's "gerade sie" and ANET's "he shall take those". But Friedrich's "gerade die" could be construed as feminine singular, and von Schuler's "eben die Stadt, die ..." is definitely singular. What is the significance of -pat here? Souček took the -pat as "nur",

<sup>19</sup> Košak 1982, 43 correctly observes that we expect a nominative here. He renders it "not yet treated (i.e., tailored, or dyed)": "Virgin" cloth would be raw, unprocessed cloth.

<sup>20</sup> See also Hoffner 1974, 47-48, Oettinger 1982, 336.

<sup>21</sup> See above in commentary on §§1-2.

<sup>22</sup> The conditions under which enclitic subject pronouns were employed in "to be" clauses was not discussed by Cotticelli-Kurras 1992a; 1992b, although she many varieties of predicates.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of this issue see also Hoffner 1997.



Friedrich and Haase "gerade", *Imparati* "appunto", von Schuler "eben". ANET fails to translate it at all. The *-pat* could be translated as "only" (limiting the liability to the residents of that settlement) or "same", indicating that the *apūš* were just mentioned. The residents of the town themselves were not just mentioned, but the settlement was. If the claimant takes the entire city or town, or all its inhabitants, this would amount to a penalty much higher than prescribed if the body was found on privately owned land. I would assume that the heir's "taking" of the entire citizenry of the settlement would include all which they possess, animate and inanimate, and would therefore represent the practice of referring to animate and inanimate objects such as persons, land and buildings with the common gender pronoun *apūš*. It could be argued that, if the meaning had been that the heir or representative of the decedent received the same payments in either case,<sup>24</sup> the wording should have been: *nu = šši apūš = pat pianzi* "they will give him those same (payments)". The switch to *nu apūš = pat dāi* "he shall take those very (people who inhabit the village)" reminds us rather of *nu-uz<sup>1</sup>-za a-pu-ú-un-pát da-an-[zi]* in law § 43, to be discussed below. There the heirs or legal representatives of the decedent "take" the perpetrator in the sense that he becomes their property. This would argue in favor of the interpretation that the heir/representative may confiscate the estates of all inhabitants of the town. Perhaps such a high penalty was intended to keep the inhabitants of the town from shielding one of their citizens. On the solidarity and corporate responsibility of a city or village see also: KUB 26.41 (+) 23.68 + ABoT 58 (CTH 133) obv. 25'-26' *mān = kan KUR-ya = ma ištar<sup>na</sup> 1 URU-LUM wašd[ai LÚ.M]EŠ KUR URU Išmirika anda arteni n[u apun URU-LAM] / IŠTU LÚ.MEŠ kuenten NAM.RA = ma MAḪAR dU[TU-ŠI uwa]tetten GU<sub>4</sub>.ḪI.A = ma = za UDU.ḪI.A šummeš [... datten].<sup>25</sup>*

Deuteronomy 21.1-9 contains a similar Israelite law (see Hoffner 1963 232f.; Hoffner 1969b 226; Haase 1994a).<sup>26</sup> The same procedure of measuring to the nearest town is employed, but there is no limit to the distance to be measured, and there is no mention of blood money, only the right of the town's elders to take an exculpatory oath. On the importance of venue for liability see also LH § 23-24 (Roth 1995 85). On the liability of the community for such a crime committed in their territory see Klengel 1980, 193 and 196 n. 23 (with lit.). Texts from Ugarit contemporary with the Hittite New Kingdom reveal that in cases in which the murderer was apprehended he had to make compensation for the murdered man and restore the stolen goods. When the murderer was not apprehended, the community took an oath to the effect that both the identity of the murderer and the location of any stolen goods were unknown. After this the community had to make compensation for the murdered man, but was not required to restore stolen goods.

In describing Hittite legal procedure in the case of merchants killed abroad in the time of Hattušili III KBo 1.10 rev. 20 reads: [... *aš-ya ša na-pu-ul-tu<sub>4</sub> i-na ŠĀ-šu di-ku ul-la-lu* "They shall purify the place in which someone was killed".<sup>27</sup>

On the required meaning "forfeits" for *šamenzi* here and in § 145 see comments on §§ 1-2 and § 9.

<sup>24</sup> This interpretation appealed to me earlier and was incorporated in my translation of this law in Hoffner 1995a 218. I would now prefer the alternate translation given *ibid.* 238 note 8.

<sup>25</sup> Text edition by Kempinski and Kořak 1970.

<sup>26</sup> From the Old Testament side see Thompson 1974 224-227.

<sup>27</sup> On this text see also Souček 1960.



## §§ 7-8

On the *karū* ... *kinuna* passages in the laws see Mascheroni 1979. On the "reforms" and the ratios of fine reductions see the introductory essay here and the fuller discussion in Hoffner 1963. In the *karū* clauses the verb is both iterative and plural, reflecting the many cases in the past, while in the *kinuna* clause it is non-iterative and singular, reflecting the single case under consideration.

For a law concerning blinding an animal see § 77. The fact that injuries to eye and tooth head the list of personal injuries is of interest when noting the similar Israelite law (Exodus 21.24-25). Eye and tooth (§§ 1-8), head (§ 9), arm and leg (§ 11-12) are in the same sequence in the Hittite and Israelite laws. The sequence in general seems to be from the more serious injuries to the less serious. Injuries to eye and tooth are covered in other ancient Near Eastern law collections: in LU § 22 and LE § 42 compensated by payments, in LH §§ 196-201 by the principle of *lex talionis*. Loss of sight rendered a person almost completely dependent and incapable of pursuing most occupations. Blinding was a penalty imposed for certain crimes against the monarch (see HKM 14 10-14; 16 11-15; 84 obv. 19; KBo 6.34 i 19-20, iii 7-8; etc.). Blind men—perhaps in this case blinded prisoners of war—were employed in grinding grain (HKM 58 and 59). Compare the fate of the biblical Samson: captured, blinded and put to work grinding by the Philistines (*Judges* 16.21). In KUB 13.9+ ii 11-19 (also iv 6-8) there seems to be an option of blinding a slave apprehended as a thief.<sup>28</sup>

Even Friedrich 1959 "schief schlägt" implies the loss of the tooth, since once a tooth has been bent, it is useless and will soon fall out. For this injury in the Mesopotamian laws see LU § 22, LE § 42, LH §§ 196, 198, 200, 201, cited already in Hoffner 1995a 238 n. 9. The ratio of penalties for injuring eye and tooth is about the same (2:1) in LE § 42 as in Hittite law.

Passages such as KBo 10.37 (CTH 429.1) iv 31 [NINDA.GU]R<sub>4</sub>.RA.ĪI.A KA×[U] EME 12 ZU<sub>9</sub>.MEŠ ANA hu]rli paršiya<sup>29</sup> suggest that stereotypically the Hittites numbered the full complement of teeth in the human mouth at 12, just as their full complement of body parts was 12.<sup>30</sup> Adult humans have a full complement of 32 permanent teeth, but before the days of dental hygiene and professional dental care the average adult's mouth probably had substantially fewer.

Loss of several teeth made it impossible to eat many foods. Elsewhere also the importance of eye and tooth is stressed. Prayers and rituals for the king either claim that the gods have given him the keen vision of an eagle and teeth as strong as a lion's—for example, šakuwa=ši Á.MUŠEN-aš ier / ZU<sub>9</sub>.ĪI.A=ma=ši UR.MAĪ-aš ier KUB 29.1 ii 53-54—or beseech the gods to do so—for example, [Z]U<sub>9</sub>.ĪI.A=ŠU=wa ŠA UR.MAĪ I[GI.ĪI.A-wa=šet=wa ħ]arana[š] / [nu=wa ħ]aranili ša<ku>iš[kizz]i KBo 21.22:27-28, and KUB 20.54 + KBo 13.122 rev. 6-11.

§ VII (= late version of §§ 7-8) suggests that the apparent singular form ZU<sub>9</sub>.ŠU in §§ 7-8 covers multiple tooth loss as well. PT has introduced a distinction in payment for injuries to eye versus tooth as well as the familiar distinction of motive (quarrel versus accident). No distinction is made between male and female victims suffering the same injury. The male-female distinctions in the laws apply to homicide and wages.

<sup>28</sup> An early summary treatment of blinding as a punishment is in Güterbock 1942 37 and Otten 1979 276. The Mašat evidence is discussed by Alp 1991 310, 336. The Mašat material is discussed in great detail in my forthcoming article "The Treatment and Long-term Use of Persons Captured in Battle According to the Mašat Texts".

<sup>29</sup> See Hoffner 1974 208.

<sup>30</sup> See Goetze 1938 42 with notes 125a and 126.



It is because of deliberate scribal adherence to the OH (hyp)archetype that the factitive verbs in *-aḫ-* retain the OH pres. sg. 3 form *-aḫ-ḫi* as opposed to *-aḫ-zi* not only in the NS copies like B, but even in the NH revision (PT). Examples in the laws are *t'dašuwahḫi*, *arawahḫi* (§§ 47-48 in PT), *šuppiyahḫi* (§§ 165 and 167 in A), *walkiššarahḫi* (§ 200). But see *[ta]šuwahzi* in NS copy of § 77 (B iv 1).

PT i 14 *EL-LUM* is accusative by context and illustrates the tendency in post-OH Hittite texts to use the Akkadian nominative forms for the accusative as well. Contrast "correct" *EL-LAM* in § 7 A and B. Interestingly, even in OH manuscript A the genitive of *ELLU(M)* can be written *EL-LAM-aš*, not *\*EL-LIM-aš*; see §§ 11, 13, 15.

The post-OH writing (it occurs already in MH/MS Mašat) of the ablative ending as *...a-za*, instead of *-az* is characteristic of PT, but also in d (*tág-ga-li-ia-an-da-za* § 108, *a-mi-ia-ra-za* 109). See below in Chapter IV sub "Orthography".

## § 9

Note how the OH genitive construction  $[LÚ.U_{19}.LU^1-aš [SAG.DU-SÚ^1]$  is replaced in the NS copy by *skhêma* (Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 14):  $LÚ.U_{19}.LU [SAG.DU^1-SÚ^1]$ . Note also in the late parallel § VIII *LÚ-an SAG.DU-an*. See also in §§ 11 and 12.<sup>31</sup> The error *da-~~caš~~-ke-e-er* A i 14 is further evidence that manuscript A is not an "original", but an OS copy. For other omissions and mistakes in OS copy A see §§ 53, 54, 57, 62, 63 and 79. *ŠA É.GAL-LIM* is a free-standing genitive—"that of the palace" = "the share for the palace"—which fills the role of an accusative, the direct object of *peššiya-*.

On this law see Riemschneider 1961 and Souček 1961, 460. Against Riemschneider see Haase 1962a.

The nature of the head injury is unclear. ANET renders *ḫunikzi* as "batters", but *ḫapallašai* in § 10 PT as "injures". Friedrich renders the former "verletzt" and the latter "schwer(?) verwundet(?)". Von Schuler renders the former "beschädigt" and the latter "verletzt". Haase 1984 translates the former "verletzt" and the latter "schwer(?) verletzt(?)". Hoffner 1963 suspected a relationship between the verb *ḫapallašai-* and the noun *ḫupala-* "scalp(?), skull(?)". Most commentators understand SAG.DU as referring to the head. Only Riemschneider 1961 179-180 prefers to understand it as a reference to the entire "person".

A three-shekel fine on the scale of penalties for bodily injuries is relatively low. On the role of the palace as fiscus here see Güterbock 1971, 306. *peššiya-* denotes a voluntary "waiving" of a right, as opposed to *šamen-* which denotes an involuntary "forfeiting" of a claim. Hrozný 1922 9 "a remis", Walther 1931 "has remitted", Goetze, ANET "has abolished"; Friedrich 1959, Haase 1984, and von Schuler 1982 "hat abgeschafft", Imparati "ha abolito", Hoffner 1995a 218 "has waived". See Güterbock 1966, 120, who properly criticizes the use of German "verzichten" to translate *šamen-*.

## § 10

The OH logogram  $LÚ.U_{19}.LU-an$  is once retained by NS B (i 25) and once replaced by a syllabic writing *an-tu-uḫ-ša-an* (i 26). Manuscripts even later than B (e.g., § 10 C i 4) employ the logogram UN (on this point see Kammenhuber 1961a). OH A i 18 *la-a-az-zi-at-ta* is replaced by logographic writings, *SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-ta-ri* in B, *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ri* in C, *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ta-ri* in (OH) K obv. 2 and in NH PT. Locative *É-ri-iš-ši* of A, C and probably B, is replaced in PT by an endingless locative *É-er-ši* (i 23). For these

<sup>31</sup> See Yoshida 1987 23f., 34f.



“endingless locatives” see Neu 1980b. The dative  $L\dot{U}A.ZU-ia$  of A, B and PT is replaced in C by  $A-NA L[\dot{U}A.ZU]$ . The iterative  $\lceil an-ni-i\check{s}-ki-iz-zi \rceil$  shows the duration of the action, while the non-iterative  $la-a-az-zi-at-ta$  marks the point of its termination.

The physician's fee—unspecified in A, B and C—is set at 3 shekels in PT. The compensation for injury rises from 6 shekels in A, B and C to 10 shekels in PT. In the Sumerian law text LX §§ f-i the physician's fee is 5, 4 and 1 shekel for healing persons of various ailments. In LH § 215: “If a physician performs major surgery with a bronze lancet upon an *awīlu* and thus heals the *awīlu*, or opens an *awīlu*'s temple with a bronze lancet and thus heals the *awīlu*'s eye, he shall take 10 shekels of silver (as his fee)” (Roth 1995 123). The fee for this successful operation on a member of the “commoner-class” (Akk. *muškēnum*) was 5 shekels, for a slave 2 shekels (LH §§ 216-217).<sup>32</sup>

§ 10 apparently covers only injuries to free persons, while PT extends the coverage to slaves. The ratio of 10:2 (i.e., 5:1) for compensation for free or slave is not the usual one, which is 2:1.

§ IX localizes the injury on the head, although § 10 does not. *ištarnink-* denotes here a (temporary) incapacitation, which calls for medical care, substitute labor, and compensation for the injury.

This law is parallel to the Israelite law Exodus 21.18-19, on which see F. C. Fensham, VT 10 (1960) 333-335 and Hoffner 1969b, 38, 1973a, 219. On the Indo-European backgrounds to sick maintenance see Watkins 1976. For physicians and medicine in Hittite texts see Güterbock 1962b; Burde 1974; Edel 1976; Beckman 1990b and Avalos 1997 451.

#### §§ 11-12

On the OH genitive becoming NH schma, see above on § 9. On *EL-LAM-aš* see above on §§ 7-8. The OH spelling *tuwarnai-* in A is retained by B but replaced by *duwarnai-* in C and PT. The pre-NH recension ignores the distinction between cases in which the bone fracture heals properly (after setting) and those in which it does not, leaving the patient crippled. The rare term *karmalaššai*, which—like *hapallašai*—may be Luwian in origin, apparently denotes such a permanent disability. Starke 1990, 340f. (“etwa ‘verkrüppeln’ (Intransitiv!)”) connects this verb with a Luwian noun *\*karmal*, which he interprets as “axe”. In PT i 32 (late version of § 12) it is surprising to see OH *ták-ku-aš*, where in the identical context in PT i 29 the more usual NH *ma-a-na-aš* occurs. The translation of *karmalaššai* as “becomes disabled” assumes that the clitic pronoun *-aš* refers to the injured party rather than the latter's injured limb (both *keššara-* and *pata-* are common gender). The other interpretation is also possible.

Most translations of these laws render *QASSU / ŠU-SU* and *GİR-ŠU* as his/her “hand” and “foot”. But in Hittite, as in many other languages, the word for hand can also mean “arm”, and that for “foot” “leg”. See on this Hoffner 1996 and CHD *pata-* “foot, leg”. For this reason Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 translates “breaks a free man's arm or leg”. We cannot exclude the possibility that this law refers to broken arms and legs.

Injury to or loss of a free person's hand or foot is covered in Mesopotamian law: in LU § 18 by a payment of 10 shekels, in LE §§ 44-45 by 30 shekels.

<sup>32</sup> Compare the penalties for blinding a free person (20 shekels in *kinuna* clause of main recension, 40 in PT) and a slave (10 shekels in § 8 and 20 shekels in PT), see “Table of Penalties” in Chapter I.



## § 13-14

On C's *IL-LAM* see textual footnote. It is possible that the numbers and the units of weight for silver are confused in §§ 13-14 and their late parallels. Goetze 1969 emends "3 shekels" to "30 shekels" in § 14 and "minas" to "shekels" in §§ XII-XIII in order to achieve a uniform 2:1 ration of free person to slave in each version and a 2:1 reduction in fine from the OH to the PT. As compared to the loss of eyes or teeth, which are vital for seeing and eating, damage to the external part of the nose has relatively little practical consequence. It is cosmetic, which might mean more to a free person than to a slave. Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935, taking the text as it stands without emendation, explained the low compensation for the slave (3 shekels) in the OH version by claiming that the offence of biting another's nose was an act of humiliation, which would not affect a slave as much as a free person. But this leaves the unusually high payments in PT (30 and 15 minas respectively) unexplained. Why was this crime so much more serious in the late period?

Goetze, Friedrich, von Schuler and Haase translate *wāki* as "bites off" (German "abbeisst"). Such an act can only be accomplished in the course of struggling or wrestling face to face. This would imply more than mere disfigurement of the face. *Imparati* renders the verb "morde violemente" ("bites violently"), which seems to avoid the issue of whether the entire nose was severed. In the only other passage known to me in which a part of the body is bitten off (i.e., severed) — KUB 33.120 i 25-26 *paršinuš = šuš wakkiš LÚ-natar = šet = kan ANA dKumarbi ŠÀ = ŠU anda ZABAR / mān ulišta* — the particle *-kan* is absent, as it is here. In all occurrences of *wak-* where bread is bitten or chewed, *-kan* occurs. Culpable injuries to the nose are covered in Mesopotamian law: in LU § 20 (40 shekel fine) and LE § 42 (60 shekel fine). In LE § 42 the injury is specifically said to have resulted from a bite (Akkadian *appi awīlim iššuk* "bit off a man's nose" from *našāku*).

## §§ 15-16

*iš-ta-ma-na-aš-ša-an* B i 37 shows the assimilation of *nš* > *šš* typical of OH, as well as the typical OH vocalization of the possessive enclitic (see Chapter IV sub "Pronouns"). For *iškallai-* Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 and Goetze gave "mutilates", Neufeld 1951 "pulls (off)", Fr "zerschlitzt" in the main version but curiously "verstümmelt" in PT, Güterbock 1961b, 67 "tear(s) off", Haase "zerschlitzt", and von Schuler "abreißt". In KUB 30.36 ii 9-10 *GIŠ-ru apel GIŠkaparu arḥa / iškallau* ("let the tree tear off its own *kaparu*") the verb must mean something like "detach" or "rip off", but in Tunn. ii 41-42 *namma TÚG.GÚ.È.A GE<sub>6</sub>-TIM kue waššan ḥarzi / n = at = ši = šan MUNUS.ŠU.GI šer katta iškallaizzi* it must mean "tear up, tear to shreds". In the only ancient Mesopotamian law treating injury to someone's ear (LE § 42, fine 30 shekels), there is no verb to indicate the manner of injury. In the Instructions for Priests a punishment involving eyes and eyes is mentioned: KUB 13.4 (CTH 264) i 29-30 *n = an = kan naššu kunanzi našma = ka[n] KA×KAK = ŠU IGI.ḪI.A = Š[U] / GEŠTU.HI.A = ŠU idālawahḥanzi* (editions by Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935; Süel 1985; translation by McMahon in Hallo and Younger 1997 217ff.).

## §§ 17-18

In B i 40 *MUNUS-aš EL-LI* the scribe has chosen the correct Akkadian genitive form instead of the usual OH *EL-LAM-aš*. A comparison of the variants in B, C and PT reveals that B writes the accusative as a common gender ("count") plural *šarḥuwanduš* (§§ 17-18), C as a neuter plural (or perhaps collective) *šarḥuwanda* (§§ 17-18), and PT as a common gender singular *šarḥuwantan* (§§ XVI-XVII). NH manuscript C (§ 18) and PT (§§ XVI-XVII) write the second syllable plene: *šar-ḥu-u...* From § 77



we may assume that in the missing §§ 17-18 of A the corresponding term was ŠA ŠÀ-BI-ŠA (= Akk. *ša libbiša*) "that of her interior" = "her insides". Note the OH correct use of the 3 sg. feminine pronoun -ŠA "her" versus the masculine -ŠU "his". Compare LH § 209: *šumma awīlum mārāt awīlim imḥašma ša libbiša uštaddīši 10 šiql kaspam ana ša libbiša išaqqal* "If an upper-class free man strikes a free woman of the upper class and thereby causes her to miscarry, he shall weigh and deliver 10 shekels of silver for her child". Compare also in MAL A § 21: *šumma a'īlu mārāt a'īle imḥašma ša libbiša ultašlēš ubta'erus ukta'īnuš 2 bilat 30 mana annaka iddan 50 ina ḥatāi'āte imahḥušuš iltēn uraḥ ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš* "If a man strikes a woman of the upper class thereby causing her to miscarry, and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty—he shall pay 9,000 shekels of lead; they shall strike him 50 blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for one full month." Translation with only minor change from Roth 1995 122, 160. Note that the OH ŠA ŠÀ-BI-ŠA matches precisely the Old Babylonian and the Assyrian expressions."

For *šarḥuwanduš = šuš peššiya-* in this law and § 77 Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 and ANET render "causes ... to miscarry". Friedrich 1959, von Schuler 1982 and Haase 1984 "die Leibesfrucht ... abstösst", and Imparati 1964 "il frutto del suo ventre ... fa espellere". The choice of German "abstösst" to render this technical term more literally is doubtlessly influenced by the common meaning of *peššiya-* "to throw, hurl". But there is a close parallel to this present usage in the (likewise specialized) expression *aliyanan peššiya-* "to fell a deer", "to bring down a deer": *peššiandu = ya = an / aliyanan LÚ.MEŠŠĀ 'IDŪTIM* "and let the hunters bring it down, (namely) the deer" KBo 32.14 ii 13-14 (Hurrian-Hittite bilingual). *peššiya-* in this idiom must mean something like "cause to fall" (Neu 1995a, 113, 431f.). In KUB 7.53 i 4-5 (CHD *maušš-* a 1 d') the passage is cited: (If a woman's children keep dying) *našma = šši = kan UZUšarḥuwanda maušškizzi* "or if her unborn children keep falling (i.e., she keeps miscarrying)". On ten lunar months (40 weeks) as the extent of a human pregnancy see Hoffner 1968a, 199, Siegelová 1971, 32 with n. 21, Imparati 1964, 203, Hoffner 1981a. For a similar law about causing a cow or a mare to miscarry see § 77. For *peššiya-* meaning "to make (someone) fall (into a fire)" see § 44a. Note that in LH § 209 the Akkadian expression *uštaddīši* (Št of *nadû*) matches Hittite *peššiya-* in the meaning "causes to fall".

Note that the compensation for a human miscarriage doubles from 10 shekels in § 17 to 20 in PT §XVI, and from 5 in § 18 to 10 in PT §XVII.

For similar laws elsewhere in the ancient Near East see LH § 209-214 and MAL § 21, 50-52.

#### § 19-21

On the role of Luwiya (Arzawa) in the laws see above in comments on § 5. Friedrich 1930a, 40 n. 1 translated "er darf (ihn) in sein Haus schaffen", taking the *É-er-še-et-pát* as "Akkusativ des Zieles". Neu 1968, 34 n. 6 took *É-er-še-et-pát* as nominative and translated "sein Haus leistet Busse", but *arnu-* does not mean "büßen", and neuter nouns do not function as subjects of transitive verbs in Hittite. Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935 thought the Luwian abductor's entire "household" was to be brought to Hattuša. But *arnu-* may simply denote the transfer of ownership without a physical transfer of location. ANET: "shall forfeit his estate", Imparati 1964: "allora «il colpevole» la sua casa consegna", vSch: "so bringt er eben sein Haus hin". But von Schuler's alternate interpretation in note b, "(der Herr) bringt (den gestohlenen Menschen) lediglich in sein Haus" founders on the important evidence of the order and gradation of offences. On the gradation of penalties in §§ 19-21 see Güterbock 1943, 67 and the table below. According to the grading, the most severe penalty was in § 19a *nu 'Él-er-še-et-pát arnu-uz-zi*. The lightest offence in § 21 requires only the return of the abducted person.



Table 11. Laws Concerning Abduction (§§ 19-21)

Law	Abductor	Abducted	Place from which abducted	Place to which abducted	Penalty
19a	Luwian	Hittite	Hatti	Luwiya/Arzawa	Forfeiture of estate
19b	Hittite	Luwian	Hatti	Luwiya/Arzawa	6 SAG.DU
20	Hittite	Hittite's slave	Luwiya/Arzawa	Hatti	12 GÍN
21	<i>kuiški</i>	Luwian's slave	Luwiya/Arzawa	Hatti	Return of abducted slave

Of course, this very grading suggests unequal treatment before the law of Hittite and Luwian slave owners, a situation which reflects a non-parity treaty between the two countries. See Korošec 1931; Kestemont 1974; Sürenhagen 1985.

The Hittite verb translated "abduct" is *taye-/taya-*, literally "steal", which matches exactly the terminology of LH § 14: *šumma awilum mār awilim šiḫram ištariq iddāk* "If a man should kidnap (literally 'steal' < *šarāqu*) the young child of another man, he shall be killed." One would expect the stem form LÚ URULuwiya without the final *š*. The corresponding word(s) in A are in the lacuna. The second occurrence of KUR Luwiya in A (i 37) is modernized by B (i 46) to KUR URUArzawa. Since the vantage point of the writer is Hatti, the verb denoting transfer in § 19a-b is *peḫutezzi*, but in §§ 20-21 *uwatezzi*. On the use of *išḫaš=šiš* in § 19a of a free person see the footnote to the translation. Although there is no *EL-LAM* to describe the abducted person in § 19a, the use of LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-an LÚ-an-na-ku MUNUS-na-ku would not have been used for a slave, and the gradation and sequence of cases suggests that the abducted person must be more valuable than a slave.

In § 19b the use of URUHattuši=*pat* contrasts deliberately with URUHattušaz in § 19a. In § 19a case, since the abductor was not a Hittite, the abduction is described as "from Hatti"; whereas in § 19b, since the abductor is a Hittite, the abduction is described as taking place "in Hatti itself", i.e., in the abductor's homeland. The *-pat*, which I have translated "itself", is untranslated by Sturtevant and Goetze. Friedrich (followed by von Schuler) rendered it "hier in Hattuša". *Imparati* translates "nella stessa Hattuša" ("in Hattusa itself"). None of the translations make it clear that URUHattuša, despite the city determinative, can mean the same thing as KUR URUHatti "Hatti(-land)", as was already translated by Güterbock 1961b.

The forms URULu-i-in A i 39 and URULu-ú-i-ia-an, being accusative rather than genitive, seem to be ethnic adjectives meaning "Luwian".

## §§ 22-23

On *kurur-* here as an adjective see Friedrich 1926, 88.

On this law see Güterbock 1972, 93. The four cases of returning a runaway slave described in §§ 22-23 are also arranged in a sequence, this time the gradation is from the easiest to the most difficult.

Table 12. Laws About Apprehending Fugitives (§§ 22-23)

Law	Location apprehended	Reward
22a	<i>manninkuan</i> "nearby"	shoes
22b	<i>ket</i> ÍD-az "on the near side of the River"	2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
22b	<i>edi</i> ÍD-az "on the far side of the River"	3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR



23a	The land of Luwiya	6 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
23b	Enemy land	keeps the slave

The largest river which encircles the Hittite heartland around Ḫattuša would be the modern Kızıl Irmak, the classical Halys. An "enemy land" is one with whom the Hittites had no treaty which could guarantee extradition of fugitives. Therefore, even if the finder brings the recaptured fugitive slave back into Hatti, he may keep him as his own. We do not know why the reward for recapturing a runaway slave "nearby" is a pair of shoes, nor do we know what their equivalent in silver would be, since shoes are not included in the priced items in the laws, or for that matter elsewhere in Hittite texts. But from the gradation of rewards in these paragraphs it is evident that a pair of shoes was worth less than 2 shekels of silver. LH § 17 regulates the capture of a fugitive slave in the open country (Akk. *ina ṣērim*). His reward is 2 shekels of silver.

## § 24

For legislation about persons who knowingly harbor fugitive slaves see LL § 12, LE § 50. In LL § 12 the slave is harbored for at least a month, and the penalty is the full value of the slave ("slave for slave"). In LH § 50 the offender harbors the slave for more than one month, and the penalty is that the palace brings a charge of theft against him. In LH § 16 no minimum period of harboring is specified. Rather if the harborer does not produce the fugitive after his flight has been publically announced by the herald, he is liable for the death penalty. In the Hittite laws there is also no minimum period of harboring, and the penalty is intended to be calculated on the basis of a monthly wage rate.

## § 25

On this law see Güterbock 1971, 307 n. 6, Watkins 1973, 80 ("a euphemism for 'urinates'"), Starke 1977, 56 ("Wenn sich ein Mensch in einem Bottich oder in einem Bassin als unrein erweist"), CHD sub *luli(ya)-* and *papre-* mng. 2 (with literature). While *luliya* could be allative or locative, DUGÚTUL-*i* is clearly locative. The verbs formed with the derivational suffix *-e-*, which denote "to be/become ..." what the underlying adjective denotes, do not generally take directional cases (allative or ablative).

## § 26

The law fragments assembled under § 26 are in very poor state of preservation and are difficult to restore and interpret. They all deal with the dissolution of marriage. If we confine ourselves to contexts here which are secure, the actions undertaken by the wife are called *mimma-* "to refuse (the husband)" (*m[i-im-ma-i]* J ii 1), and possibly *ṣuwe-* "to divorce" (*ṣu-wa-a[-iz-zi]* Y ii 11), since MUNU-*za-ša* is to be restored as the subject of a clause where LÚ-*an* is the preserved object. My restorations are based on the unproved assumption that J and Y can be used to restore each other. On the mildly contrastive force of *Ú* see commentary on §§ 1-2.

## § 27

The first part of this law is fairly straightforward and clear. The subject of the law is the question of who receives the dowry. In the first situation the husband conducts (*peḫutezzi*) his wife to "his house", which could be independent of his father's house, or could be another designation of his father's house. If he is his father's heir, his house could be all or a part of the father's. In the second situation the new



husband comes to live in the bride's father's house. In LH § 148-149 the "house of her husband" (*bīt mutiša*) can even refer to separate quarters that he constructs for his seriously ill wife and in which he supports her.

Two verbs take the dowry (*iwaru*) as direct object in this law: *anda pedai-* and *da-*. The first describes taking custody of the dowry during the wife's lifetime. The second describes assuming ownership of the dowry. While the wife lives, even if the couple lives in the husband's house, she continues to own the dowry, but her husband enjoys custody. Once she dies he gains ownership (*dai* "he shall take") after something of uncertain identity is burned. If the couple lives in her father's house, and they have children, when she dies, the husband does not gain ownership. Although this latter is stated negatively, and there is no corresponding positive statement of ownership, we are to understand that the bride's father recovers the dowry. In the second situation too, there is no statement regarding the husband gaining custody (no *anda pedai*).

The difficulties of the second part of this law are manifold and, despite the helpful remarks of Haase 1994b, have not been completely cleared up. Haase 1994b proposes three situations in which the wife might "die in her father's house": (1) if she was living separately from her husband, (2) if her husband was away on a trip and she went to live temporarily with her father, and (3) if the husband agreed to become an *antiyant-* living in his father-in-law's household. Most probably the situation is the third mentioned.

The greatest problem is the understanding of the burning of the *āššu=šet*. Goetze 1969 understood *warnu-* to occasionally interchange in meaning with *wahnu-* and translated "they turn her property into (property) of the man". Hoffner 1974, 33 saw a contrast between the *āššu* and the *iwaru* and believed them both to belong to the deceased wife: the one—her personal possessions—had to accompany her into the next world by being placed on her body in cremation rites,<sup>33</sup> and the other passed legally to her surviving spouse. He proposed to take *n=aš LÚ-aš* in C ii 7 as nominative and to restore the verb as singular: "He (-aš), (that is,) the man [shall] bur[n] her personal possessions". Beckman 1986, 16 followed this interpretation. This seemed grammatically permissible until Watkins (apud Garrett 1990a) pointed out that 3 sg. clitic subject pronouns like *-aš* are suppressed in clauses with transitive verb and direct object, which would have been the case here. Since Garrett himself admitted the existence of a handful of exceptions, the interpretation offered in Hoffner 1974, 33 could be correct. But if it is not an exception, we are forced by the grammar to restore the verb "burn" in the plural in copy C and to take *-aš* as a direct object further defined by *LÚ-aš āššu=šet*, in spite of the fact that the gender conflicts with the neuter of *āššu=šet*. Haase 1994b, apparently unaware of the discussion in Hoffner 1974, independently thinks the burned goods must have belonged to the wife but not as a part of her dowry, and that they were burned in the funerary rite. They are only "the man's possessions" in that he has temporarily gained control of them after the wife's death. This is an awkward solution, but probably the best we can suggest at present. See also Beckman 1986, 16 with n. 14.

Friedrich, Imparati, von Schuler and Haase 1984; 1994b, 67 incorrectly reconstruct the text of C ii 8-9, assuming that C ii 9's *DUMU.NITA-ši* belongs to the same sentence as what immediately follows it. Rather *DUMU.NITA-ši* "(and) she has a son" is merely C's equivalent of B iii 3's *Û DUMU.MEŠ-*

<sup>33</sup> Support for this (in all respects quite plausible) supposition must not be sought in the claim that on the seventh day of the royal funerary ritual "the dead man's personal property was burnt before his statue" (Popko 1995 155), since what is burned is *ezzan* "chaff" (Otten 1958 24-31, 48; Christmann-Franck 1971 68ff. ["on brûle la balle"]; Haas 1995 2025 ["Straw is burned"]).



Š[U ašanzi(?)] "and she has children". It is a sentence in itself and does not form a part of what follows. This is also the understanding of Beckman 1986, 16. Goetze 1969 was right to translate the final clause as "the man will not receive her dowry".

Unlike in Mesopotamian law collections, the Hittite laws do not regulate the disposition of dowries in a case of multiple wives and their children (see LL §24), or in cases of divorce (LH §137-138, 142) and subsequent marriage and additional childbearing by the woman (see LNB §13A). LH §162 makes it clear that the dowry of a woman who goes to live with her husband and has children for him cannot be claimed by her father. LH §163 provides that the dowry of a woman who dies childless may be reclaimed by her father, if he returns the bridewealth/bride price (*terhātum*) that her husband paid (similarly LNB §10). LH §164 suggests that in Hammurapi's Babylonia the dowry was frequently larger than the bridewealth/-price. See LH §§165-184 for further regulations concerning the dowry.

### § 28

Unless we are to restore *p[-id-da-it]* in B ii 6, which would be unusual in view of the regular spelling with *píd-da-* in the laws, we must assume that this unspecified transfer was represented by the verb *pai-* "to give" instead of *piddai-* which always expresses the payment of the *kušata* (§§ 29-30, 34-36). Although Goetze's change of *ku-uš-ša-an* to *ku-iš-ša-an* (see the notes on the transliteration and translation) works nicely in B, and may have been the original reading in A and B, it appears from the plural verb *šarninkanzi* in C that this scribe changed the scenario, making the parents rather than the eloper responsible for compensating the first suitor. In this case, if *ku-iš-ša-an* was the original reading, it would have been no longer appropriate, and C would have changed it to *ku-uš-ša-an*.

The usual explanation of the verb *pittenu-* / *pittinu-* based upon its derivation as a *nu*-causative of the verb *piddai-* "to run" is that the man causes the woman to run away with him, implying perhaps that she does this of her own volition (see Imparati 1964, 210f.). Such an understanding is reflected in the popular English translation of the verb as "elopes with" (Sturtevant, Goetze, Neufeld). But such a quasi-etymological translation of *pittenu-* as "causes her to run" cannot be sustained. Three passages show this verb used with inanimate objects that cannot be persuaded or caused to "run": *nu=za UN-an=a au ZI-aš=ta=kan kuiš :zuwan IGI.HI.A-waz / parā pittenuzi* "Behold the person who runs off with your favorite food (lit. bread) from before (your) eyes" KUB 13.4 ii 20-21; *ezzan GIM-an IM-anza / pittenuzzi n=at=kan aruni parranta / pedai* "Just as wind puts chaff to flight and carries it out to sea" KBo 10.45 ii 50-52 (Otten 1961 124ff. ii 52-54); *NINDA kugullan UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš UDUN-niya piran arha pittenu* "A dog ran off with a *kugulla*-loaf from in front of the oven" KBo 32.14 iii 9-10, ed. Neu 1995a, 166, 168, 427. The woman may have been persuaded; or she may not. The meaning of *pittenu-* cannot decide this.

The second half of this law, describing a case in which parental consent was not given to the second man, is similar to LE §26 (A ii 29-31) *šumma awilum ana mārāt awilim terhātam ubilma šanū balum šāl abiša u ummiša imšu'šima ittaqabši dīn napištamma imāt* "If a man brings the bridewealth (*terhātam*) for the daughter of a man, but another, without the consent of her father and mother, abducts her and then deflowers (*ittaaqabši*) her, it is indeed a capital offense—he shall die" (Roth 1995 63).

Further see Beckman 1988.



## § 29

LÚ-*ni hamenkanza* represents a step more advanced in the marriage proceedings than LÚ-*ni taranza* (§ 28), although this does not mean that duly attested oral agreements were less valid than written ones. For this reason the penalties for abrogating the agreement become heavier.

On the verb *hulli-* see commentary on § 173.

## § 30

The conjunction *-a* "but" in *ták-ku LÚ-ša* (B ii 14) shows that this law continues the preceding one. Hence, my translation "the man" instead of "a man". *na-ú-i* in B is an older spelling than *na-a-wi<sub>5</sub>* in C; cf. CHD *nawi*. One assumes both from the sequence of laws and from the mention that he has paid the *kušata* "brideprice" that the woman is *hamenkanza*, as in § 29, at the time the man "refuses" her. Because, however, he has not yet "taken" her sexually, the marriage is not consummated, and no divorce proceedings are necessary. Yet because he has entered the contract of marriage through the payment of the *kušata*, he may not recover that payment. The verb *mimmai* may also have been employed in § 26 J ii 1, where it is the woman who "rejects" the man. In the interpretation of J ii 2-3 much depends upon whether or not the wording of Y ii 11-13 was the same as J and may be used to restore it. If so, then the mention of her being granted a "wage for her seed(s)" implies that this "rejecting" or "refusing" takes place after the couple had consummated their marriage. On *šamen-* see above in comments on § 9.

## § 31

§§ 31-32 concern marriages between slaves and free persons. The meaning of the wording of § 32 B ii 21 *DI-IN-ŠU-NU QA-TAM-MA-pát* is made clear by manuscript A: the free partner—whether husband or wife—receives the majority of the children. In § 33, where both partners are slaves, the wife receives the majority.

The hapax *ši-e-l'i-e-eš* is of unclear meaning. It represents the status of a couple living together prior to marriage. But beyond saying that, it is difficult to be more precise. The proposed translation "lovers(?)" fits the context reasonably well, but another word for "lover" (*pupu-*) is already known.<sup>34</sup> All translations are ad hoc. Cf. Hrozný 1922 24f. ("sont épris (l'un de l'autre) et ils viennent (vont) ensemble"); Zimmern and Friedrich 1922 10 ("sich zugetan sind, diese dann sich zueinander gesellen(?)"); Walther 1931 252 ("are fond of each other(?) and come together"); Neufeld 1951 ("are in love and live together"); Goetze 1969, 190 ("are lovers(?) and they cohabit"); Friedrich 1959, 26f. ("in einander) verliebt(?) (sind) und sie übereinkommen"), 95 ("einig werden", or apud von Schuler "(in das gemeinsame Haus) hineingehen"); Kammenhuber, HW<sup>2</sup> (1978) 1:213b ("verliebt(?) (sind) und sie übereinkommen/hineingelangen"); von Schuler 1982 102 ("(einander) zugetan(?) sind, und sie (dann) zusammenkommen"); Haase 1984 26 ("(einander) zugetan(?) (sind) einiger werden"). Taking exception: Imparati 1964, 52f. ("«sono» ... ed essi coabitano"), 214 (the usual tr. of *ši-e-li-eš*, "innamorati, amanti" is "senza però alcuna giustificazione").

The verbs *idalaweššanzi* and *harpantari* represent alternative conditions which lead to the dissolution. The former would seem to denote estrangement, each being *idalu-* toward the other. The latter verb seems also to involve reciprocal action (perhaps this is why the middle voice is used). In law § 66

<sup>34</sup> On the derivatives of *pupu-*, namely *pupuwatar* and *pupuwalai-*, see Güterbock 1983a.



the form *har-ap-ta* denotes an animal's reassociation—moving from one herd or flock to another. See also § 112, where a NAM.RA person enters into a new association as a LÚ GIŠTUKUL. For this reason, and in order to distinguish *harpantari* from *idalaweššanzi*, we assume that each finds a new partner.

## § 32

With § 32 the OH manuscript A begins to be preserved. Restorations in A suggested by available space and §§ 31 and "33".

## § 34

Hrozný: "alors aucun ne la fait sortir" with note "c'est-à-dire: de son nouveau milieu social?" That is, no one can set her free again. Neufeld 10: "no one shall surrender her", meaning that she may not be freed from her new status (Neufeld 1951 148). The opposite view by Walther: "nobody dare surrender her (to slavery)" and Witzel "so darf sie dann niemand (als Sklavin) einstellen". Sturtevant's "no one surrenders(?) her" is ambiguous until it is specified to what she is surrendered. Goetze's (ANET) "no one shall change her social status" without further explanation could refer to her former free status or her new slave status. If it is the former, then the payment of the *kušata* by the slave husband protects the free status of their offspring. Bechtel: "no one releases her (from the marriage)" (apud Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935, 226). Friedrich's "so kann sie ihm niemand entziehen(?)" assumes a dative *-ši* which doesn't exist. On analogy with § 28 one would expect *n=an=ši=kan UL kuiški tuḫša(ri)* for Friedrich's translation. Although Güterbock 1961b thought the *-an* referred to the slave husband ("no one shall sell him"), I agree with all other interpreters, who assume it is the woman. Walther: "nobody dare surrender her (to slavery)", Goetze: "no one shall change her social status", Imparati: "allora lei nessuno fa uscire", von Schuler: "wird sie niemand herauslassen" (with note: "D.h. vielleicht, der Frau ihren nunmehrigen sozialen Status entziehen"), Haase: "so wird sie (ihm) niemand wegholen(?)". Beckman 1986, 17 renders *parā UL kuiški tarnai* in § 36 as "no one shall alienate him (i.e., the young man) (from the household of the slave)".

Our understanding of *parā tarnā* changed with the publication of the Hurro-Hittite bilingual text ŠIR *parā tarnumaš* "Song of Manumission" (Otten 1984; 1985; 1988b; Neu 1988a; 1989a; 1993; edition: Neu 1995a). Earlier evidence had all been understood to mean "to deliver, hand over (into slavery)" (see the earlier translations of the laws). In the bilingual *parā tarnumar* translates Hurrian *kirezi* and denotes the freeing of slaves. But since in other contexts the exact opposite (i.e., the reducing of someone to slavery) seems to be indicated, one wonders if Hrozný 1922's "fait sortir (de son milieu social?)" and Goetze 1969's "to change someone's social status" aren't after all correct. When the object is a slave, it means "to manumit"; when the object is a free person, "to enslave" (suggestion of my student, Mr. Steven Thurston).

## § 35

A comparison of the readings of A and B indicates that the LÚAGRIG "foreman, overseer" was assigned a low level on the social scale only in the NH period. In the pre-NH period this was not yet so. For the LÚAGRIG see the discussion in Singer 1984a. Comparison of the most likely reading GÉME-re-e[z-zi] in A with [GÉM]E-aš-ša-re-eš-zi in B shows both the archaism of the e-"stative" verbs and their semantic merger with the eš-inchoative verbs. See § 173b, where the e-verb of A ([a-ra-]a-u-ez-zi) was retained in B, but obscured by a scribal slip (*a-ra<-u>-ez-zi*).



The verb GÉME-(*ai*)ššare(šš)- is based on a noun GÉME-(*ai*)ššara- "female slave". This noun in turn is a derivative in -šara- of an underlying noun meaning "(male) slave", in the same way that išhaššara- "mistress" and haššuššara- "queen" are derived from išha- "master" and haššu- "king" respectively (Friedrich 1960a, 41, §50a). Copy B's reading [GÉ]ME-aš-ša-re-eš-zi in this law (§ 35), when compared with [GÉME-i]š-ša-re-ez-zi (§ 175 aa), reflects the same alternation of *a-* and *i-*stem for "(male) slave" as is seen in the older ARAD-(*n*)a- and their NH replacement ARAD-*i-*. If Ehelolf did see [GÉ]ME-aš-ša-re-eš-zi in B, it would be a survival of an OS archetype (different from A, which wrote GÉME-re-[ez-zi]). And this might then indicate that aa represents a later (pre-NH) stage of Hittite than the OS manuscript from which B derived its reading in § 35.

*I-NA* MU.3.KAM has been translated in two ways: (1) "after three years" that is "in the third year", and (2) "for a period of three years". Following (1) are Friedrich 1959, 27, Imparati 1964, 55, and von Schuler 1982; following (2) are Hrozný 1922 28f., Walther 1931 252, Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935, Goetze 1969, and Hoffner 1995a. The latter would represent a term slavery, a kind of indentured servitude. Compare the *'ebed 'ibri* "Hebrew slave" in *Exodus* 21.2. There is a parallel construction in KUB 39.6 iii 18-19 *nu kuitman ALAM āššan INA UD.4.KAM / ēšzi nu šipantūwanzi / UD-at UD-at kiššan daškanzi* which Otten correctly renders "Und solange das Sitzbild für 4 Tage bleibt, nehmen sie um zu opfern Tag für Tag wie folgt" (Otten 1958 50f.). A second parallel is KBo 8.35 obv. 12 (apodosis of a Babylonian omen in Hittite translation) *INA MU.10.KAM kašza kišari*, which Riemschneider 1970, I/II 166, 170 translates: "zehn Jahre lang wird Hunger herrschen".

## § 36

The *LÚantiyant-* is a son-in-law who (in return for the payment to him of a *kušata*) comes to live in his father-in-law's house. Upon the death of his wife her dowry remains the property of her father's family; the husband has no claim upon it (see end of law § 27). The slave who pays a free young man to become his *antiyant-* does so in order to secure grandchildren that are non-slave. See the dictionary entries on the word in Friedrich 1952; Friedrich and Kammenhuber 1975-1984; Puhvel 1984, the published translations of the Illuyanka Myth (Güterbock 1961a; Hoffner 1975a; Beckman 1982a; Hoffner 1990; Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1990), and the article Imparati 1984.

## §§ 37-38

The word *šardiya-* denotes a person or a group of persons who provide assistance or support for another. Sometimes in military contexts the translation "ally" is appropriate. In § 38 apparently only one person is in view, while in § 37 it consists of at least two or three men. There is one occurrence of the word in a Sumero-Akkadian-Hittite lexical text: (Sum.) [É]RIN.KASKAL.KUR.LÁ = (Akk.) *ti-el-latù* = (Hitt.) [*šar*]-*ti-ia-aš* KBo 26.20 iii 21, ed. MSL 17:111, cf. del Monte 1981, 210 n. 16 and Beal 1986, 117. *ki-iš-ta-at* A ii 12 is an OH middle pret. sg. 2, of which *ki-ša-at* B ii 30 is a NH modernization.

In both of these laws the *šardiya-* operates more or less outside the law, so that loss of life within the *šardiya-* receives no compensation.<sup>35</sup> The remarkable quote at the end of § 37 seems to be addressed to the abductor, who has stolen the bride-to-be like a wolf steals a sheep from the flock. Although the pursuit by the *šardiya-* represents a kind of private justice and cannot therefore claim le-

<sup>35</sup> On the question of homicide see commentary on §§ 1-2 and Hoffner 1997.



gal redress for the loss of life, it is unlikely that the *šardiya-* is addressed as a "wolf", since that group has not acted as a predator.

On this law, its readings and interpretation see Haase 1965 and Güterbock 1961b.

The abduction of a woman, perhaps to become the wife of one of the two abductors, is recorded in HKM 57 10-17 *kāš kuiš mKaštanda<š> / ARAD LÚDUMU.SANGA URUUrišta / ešzi nu=za=kan MUNUS URUGašša! / wašta<sup>36</sup> n=an=ši=kan / mHimmuiliš / mTarḥumuwaš=a / 2 LÚ.MEŠ URUHaššarpanda / arḥa dayer* "This *mKaštanda*, who is slave of a member of the priesthood of URUUrišta, bought (i.e., paid the *kušata* for?) a woman from URUGašša, and *mHimmuiliš* and *mTarḥumuwa*, two men of URUHaššarpanda, stole her away from him". Of course, we do not know if either *Kaštanda* or the two abductors intended the woman to be a wife or simply a servant. The verb used in HKM 57 is not *pittenu-*, but *arḥa dayer-*.

#### § 39

"Holding" (*harzi*) land which belongs to another (*[dam]ēl*)<sup>37</sup> person must mean having the use of it to cultivate and realize a profit. He who does this is obligated to perform whatever services are incumbent upon it, which in this case are called its *šahḥan*. If he refuses, he must relinquish the use of the land to another person who is willing to assume the obligation to perform the *šahḥan*. The first man, being only a tenant and not an owner, has no right to sell the land.

#### § 40

A man who holds (probably not "owns") land by virtue of his being a TUKUL-man disappears. The verb *ḥar-ak-zi* can mean "disappears", "gets lost", or even "dies". Although we cannot be sure which nuance is meant, what is certain is that he no longer has the use of the land; he has "defaulted". The man who replaces him already occupies the status of a LÚ *ILKI* "a man of the *ILKU*-obligation" which may be the same as Hittite *šahḥan*. So long as the new man can fulfill both obligations he can enjoy the benefits of both statuses. If he—like his predecessor—defaults on the TUKUL-land, the "men of the town" will work it. These LÚ.MEŠ URU-*LIM* appear also in laws §§ 46-47, where they assign land for tenancy, and in the Mašat letter HKM 52 34-39, where a man complains that they have imposed (*tittanuer*) *šahḥan* and *luzzi* obligations on his land, land which had never before been liable for this (Alp 1991, 216-217). A NAM.RA or *arnuwala*-man is someone who is at the disposal of the king and may be settled in any area which needs labor to farm it. Their very designation, *arnuwala-*, comes from the fact that the central government can move them about (*arnu-*), transferring them and settling them wherever they are needed. In military narratives such as the Annals of Muršili II they are captured or transferred back and forth between rival neighboring kingdoms. In the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma Güterbock 1956 translated the term "civilian captives". The definitive study of them is Alp 1950-1951. In law § 112 the procedure is described by which an *arnuwala*-man assumes the responsibilities of a TUKUL-man and gains the use of a field thereby. In law § 200 a case is described in which a man has sexual intercourse with a female *arnuwala-* and with her mother. In the *BEL MADGALTI* instructions,

<sup>36</sup>Alp 1991, 228f. reads *wa-aš-ta<-aš?* and translates "er hat gegen die Frau der Stadt Gašša gesündigt". But *waš-* regularly takes *-za*, while *wašta-* does not.

<sup>37</sup>Copy A's reading *ŠA ŠA-NI-I-IM-MA* makes it clear that this *[da-m]e-e-el* is indeed the genitive of *damai-* and not the adj. *da(m)mel(i)-*. A.Š.Ā.HI.A is by definition land which has once been cultivated, and therefore not *dammel(i)-* "virgin, never used".



KUB 13.2 ii 36-41 (edited von Schuler 1957), we read: *arnuwalaš=a=kan kuiš KUR-ya anda arzananza nu=ši=šan / išhūēšnit NUMUN.ĤI.A-it GUD UDU IGI.ĤI.A-wa ĥark arnuwalaš=a=ta=kan / kuiš KUR-az arĥa uizzi pedi=ma=ši=šan kuiš āšzi / nu=ši NUMUN.ĤI.A aniya=pat namma=aš=kan A.ŠĀ.ĤI.A-it šuwanza ēštu / nu=ši pitta ĥudak ĥinkandu* "The *arnuwala-* who is provisioned in the land you must supply with seed grain, grain (for food), cattle and sheep. The *arnuwala-* who goes out of (your) land, (and) the one who remains in place for him, you must sow seeds for him, and further he must be fully supplied (lit. filled) with fields. Let them promptly allocate *pitta* (lands) to him".

## § 42

It is not clear if the trip (*lahĥa-*) here is a military campaign or a business trip. And if the former, it is unclear if the man was hired to serve in the military campaign instead of his employer or if he was hired for another job which he completed before going on the campaign (or trip). The former scenario is more likely, since it is not said that he finished the job for which he was hired. This law has to do with contractual obligations. If a person is paid in advance, his heirs cannot require further compensation in the event of his death incurred in the course of his employment. If a person is not paid in advance, the heirs can make claims. It is also unclear whether the man was a casualty of combat, or he merely died as a result of accident or disease (see commentary on §§ 1-2). Restrictions were sometimes imposed on men called up for military duties, that they could not send a slave in their place: *anda=ma<sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI ÉRIN.MEŠ kuwapi ĥalziĥi nu LÚ[-aš UL uiz]zi nu ĪR LÚ le uizzi nu LÚ[-aš=pat] / uiddu* KUB 23.77+ rev. 90-91 (Kaška treaty, MH/MS), translation in von Schuler 1965 122.

## § 43

Since *zai-* is a transitive verb which takes the noun *ÍD-an* as its object, the causative verb *zinu-* must take a double object: *GU<sub>4</sub>* and *ÍD-an*. The *-ške-* form could be merely a vivid descriptive device to portray the action in its course. Bechtel 1936, 54, followed by Sommer and Falkenstein 1938, 70, sees in this *-ške-* form a *praesens de conatu*. But I concur with Imparati 1964, 230 and virtually all of the translations that the verb describes an action which the man did regularly, perhaps on his way to his fields on the other side of the river. But on one occasion, while he was doing this, he was knocked off and drowned. *šuwaiZZi* "pushes away/off" is the verb which means "divorces" in law § 26, etc. The original force of the *pe* element in *pedai* is prominent here: the river "carries him away (to death)".

The vivid details of this paragraph betray its origin as a precedent case. We are not told how the offender happened to be in the river near the man who forded it with his ox. But since he must have himself been in a life-threatening situation, it is understandable how he might have fought with the ox's owner for the only position on the tail of the ox which could pull him to safety through the current. Nevertheless, despite the extenuating circumstances, the act was homicide, and the dead man's heirs are entitled to take that man as a servant (see above in Commentary on § IV). Boley 1993, 56 is unable to explain why *-za* sometimes occurs and sometimes fails to occur with *da-* in this law. Copies A and C employ it here, while B does not.

See the Assyrian proverb ABL 555 rev. 3-6 cited by Oppenheim 1943 38 and treated by Lambert 1960 281. Cf. also Oppenheim 1956, 281 and 326 (iii 9). For a Mesopotamian law dealing with an ox which drowns while fording a river see: "If an ox dies while crossing a river, he (the renter) shall replace the ox; he shall return a healthy ox together with its compensatory hire" (SLHF vi 23-31, translation Roth 1995 52).



## § 44a

For *peššiya-* meaning "to cause (someone or something) to fall" see above on §§ 17-18 (miscarriages). For the reading DUMU.NITA-*an* see Hrozný, Walther, Neufeld, Goetze, Friedrich and Imparati. See also the remarks of Hoffner 1975b, 56f. SAG.DU-*an*, given by Friedrich 1959 as an alternative reading to DUMU.NITA-*an* in C iv 17, and initially preferred by Güterbock 1961b 68, was subsequently withdrawn by Güterbock 1962a, 23 (see also Imparati 1964, 60-62). It would be the only example of SAG.DU "person" with a Hittite complement and without a preceding numeral. The Hittite reading of SAG.DU in the meaning "person" is unclear. SAG.DU "head" can be *haršar* (neut.) or *haršana-* (com.). One would expect that the personified "head" (i.e., "person") would be the com. gender variant. DUMU.NITA-*an* (without preceding numeral) as an acc. sg. is attested in Ullik. I A iii 12 and as 1-*an* DUMU.NITA-*an*, object of *pianzi* "they shall give" in a non-legal context of the Appu myth (KUB 24.8 ii 9, ed. Siegelová 1971). There is no reason to prefer the translation "boy" rather than "son" for DUMU.NITA, as do Friedrich, von Schuler and Haase. The penalty is supposed to be high.

## § 44b

This law introduces us to the concept of *alwanzatar* "sorcery". *alwanzatar* is a grave offence, sufficiently so to merit trial before the king (C iv 20: DI.KUD LUGAL, restored as *DI-INLUGAL* in A and B). Trial before the king was reserved for offences serious enough to require the death penalty, although not all cases for which the death penalty is prescribed are explicitly assigned to the king's law court. The offence consists of endangering another party by leaving on his property the materials used to absorb the impurities removed from a client by a purification ritual. Those materials with their impurities must be disposed of in the incineration dumps (*ukturiyaš*), where no one will unwittingly be exposed to them. "Der wichtigste Aufgabe am Ende eines Rituals besteht in der Deponierung der entfernten Lymata, da sie sonst erneut Schaden verursachen würden" (Haas 1994, 908). It is assumed that the person who leaves such *kuptar* (λύματα) on another person's property does so deliberately in order to endanger him or her. This is sorcery (*alwanzatar*). The OH manuscript uses *peššiezzi* "he causes to fall (i.e., drops) (the materials on the property)", while the NH manuscripts use *pedai* "he transports them". A normal (i.e., non-sorcerous) discarding of materials used in a ritual, described by *arha peššiyela-*, is: VBoT 24 ii 9-14 *n=ašta hūmanza KÁ.GAL-TIM kattan / arha uizzi appezziyaz=ma / kuiš huyanza nu KÁ.GAL-TIM arha / duwarnizzi n=at arha / peššiyai nu taškupaizzi / n=at=kan arha pittianzi*. A deliberate discarding of materials contaminated with evil upon the person who was trying to inflict sorcery upon the patient is: KUB 24.14 i 25-28 *n=uš=du=šan idaluwatar kuiš šarā pippaš / kinuna=ta=kan arha hūittiyanniškimi / n=at arha peššišškimi n=at=šan šara / alwanzeni UN-ši peššišškimi*. This too uses *peššiyela-*.

The subject of *alwanzatar* "sorcery" in the Hittite laws is discussed in Hoffner 1973b, 282-286 and in general in Goetze 1957, 153, 160, Haas 1994, 884ff. Instances in the laws are: molding clay into a *šena*-image to use like a voodoo doll in order to harm the person portrayed by the *šena*- (§ 111), and the present passage (§ 44b). Although the term *alwanzatar* is not used there, another probable case is killing a snake while pronouncing another person's name (§ 170). The death penalty is not prescribed, but the monetary fine (one mina = 40 shekels) is fairly high.

A somewhat similar case is found in MAL A § 47 (vii 1-31): *šumma lu a ʾilu lu sinniltu kišpi uppišuma ina qātēšunu iššabtu ubta ʾerušunu ukta ʾinušunu muppišāna ša kišpē idukku* "If either a man or a woman should be discovered practicing witchcraft, and should they prove the charges against them and find them guilty, they shall kill the practitioner of witchcraft." (text and translation according to



Roth 1995 172). According to ANET the opening lines are to be translated "If either a man or a woman made up magical preparations and they were found in their possession ... they shall put the maker of magical preparations to death".

On the use of *idalawešš-* in § XXXIV without *-za* see Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 12.

#### § 45 and §XXXV

He who finds implements must attempt to find the owner. To protect himself against a charge of theft he must secure witnesses to the fact that he is only keeping them until he can locate the owner. In the capital the attestation takes place at the king's gate; in the countryside with the town elders. If he does not secure such witnesses, and the original owner finds him with the missing items, he may be prosecuted for theft. See also laws §79 and §86. If he is charged with theft, he must return the items and give in compensation three times their value. In HKM 30 it appears that a female slave has stolen from <sup>m</sup>Ḫašammili (or his household), so that threefold compensation is due to him. The NH revision (PT) fails to mention the obligation of the owner to reward (*piyanaizzi*) the finder who returns them, but adds a statement *n=an peḫutezzi*, which states how the owner "leads (the returned animal) away" (so correctly Hrozný 95 "et l'amène", *Imparati* 111 "e lo porti"), but which could be a scribal misunderstanding or corruption of *n=an piyanaizzi* (so Goetze 1969 "and he shall reward him"). Friedrich, followed by von Schuler and Haase 1963; 1984, understands this clause to be an elaboration of the preceding one ("beziehungsweise"). On these laws and the similar §71 see Haase 1994a, 76-77. On the complications which can arise from goods lost and then illegally sold to an innocent third party, even when there are witnesses for both sides, see LH §9-11.

#### §§ 46-47

On the LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM "men of the town" see comments on § 40.

*iwaru*, elsewhere denoting a woman's dowry, which is what her father gives her in lieu of an inheritance share, may be used here as "inheritance share" (so Walther 1931 "as heritage (i.e., as a kind of entail)", Goetze 1969, Neufeld, Hoffner 1963, 301f., and Beckman 1986, 16), since we do not know if the person holding the land does so because it was part of a dowry or not. As the translation shows, we do not even know if the person who holds the land is a man or a woman. Friedrich, followed by von Schuler, translates *iwaru* here as "Schenkung", and von Schuler adds in a note "Feldanteil, den der Vater bei Lebzeiten dem Sohn zur Bewirtschaftung überlässt." *Imparati* translates *iwaru* here as "gift" ("dono") or "endowment" ("dotazione").

The criterion used to determine if the landholder is liable for *luzzi* services seems to imply that *luzzi* could not be shared or subdivided, but was a fixed service which attached to the undivided land or to the larger portion if it was subdivided.

A.ŠĀ(ḪI.A)*kulēi*, which in A always is without intervening word space, and is shown by the placement of *-ma* in *takku* A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A*kulei=ma* § 47b A ii 47 to be a unit of determinative plus noun (see now Oettinger 1995, 211 n. 1 concurring), is an old crux, on which see recently Beal 1988, 165-180. Whatever its precise meaning, in the context of this law it is land over and above that which was received as a dowry or inheritance share, hence our translation "new(?) land". Goetze's "usurps" was an attempt to render *kulēi* *ārki*, since he did not realize that A.ŠĀ*kulēi* was an indissoluble unit. Friedrich tried to make *kulēi* the subject of the clause: "Wenn die Kleinbürgerschaft(?) die Felder ... aufteilt" (included as an alternative translation by von Schuler in a footnote), now known to be syntactically impossible because a neuter noun cannot be the subject of a transitive verb. Von Schuler and *Imparati*



advocate the translation “divides up fields as artisan land” (von Schuler “Handwerk(sland)”, Imparati “spettanza artigianale”). Whatever the merits of this interpretation, it should not be based upon a misguided attempt to associate *ku-li-i* and *ku-le-e-i* with <sup>GI</sup>TUKUL-*li*, the latter never written \*TUKUL-*li-i* or \*TUKUL-*le-e-i*. New light on the case ending of *kulēi* comes from recent research on the PIE number system. Neu 1989b, 12ff. proposed a PIE four-member system of number (singular, dual, plural and comprehensive/collective). This thesis received support from Eichner 1985, was contested by J. A. Hardarson (MSS 48, 1987, 71ff.), and further elaborated by Neu 1992, citing many Hittite examples. The existence of a collective in Hittite was established so recently that we were unfortunately unable to integrate it in the first two fascicles of the CHD (*pa* to *patta*). Oettinger 1995 has plausibly claimed that Hittite *kulēi* is a collective plural in *-ei* (full grade ending) of an adjective “fallow”. Oettinger’s interpretation fits in general with my surmised meaning “new land” (i.e., not currently planted/utilized). And his analysis of *kulēi* as a collective plural eliminates the difficulty that A.ŠÀ in OS copy A is regularly common gender rather than neuter.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, a collective (rather than a “count” or “distributive plural”) is particularly appropriate for something which is to be subdivided (*ark-*). It now seems likely to me that A.ŠÀ(.HIA)*kulēi* is the semantic equivalent of PT’s A.ŠÀA.GÀR. M. Civil informs me that in Sumerian the A.ŠÀ serves as a determinative for A.GÀR, which according to the CHD files fits the Hittite examples. Note especially that the scribes write A.ŠÀA.GÀR-ŠU, not \*A.ŠÀ-ŠU A.GÀR-ŠU, indicating by the suppression of a possessive on the first element that it is an integral part of the second. It is therefore not “field and fallow” or “Feld und Flur”, but “Feldflur” or “fallow”. To be precise, it is land which—as opposed to *dammel(i) pedan* “virgin land”—has been cleared and (at least in Mesopotamia) irrigated, but has not yet been sown with a crop. It is “idle” land. Oettinger has argued that this is the meaning of A.ŠÀ*kulēi*. Beal cites *kūliešdu* with variant [ku]waliešdu in the phrase “I have extinguished [the ...], so let the ZI of the Stormgod in the same way become calm/Idle” to show that the root \*kūl-/kuwal- was associated with the meaning “idle” or “at rest” elsewhere in Hittite. If A.ŠÀA.GÀR also means this, it is either the logographic writing of the A.ŠÀ*kulēi* or a synonym. Oettinger relates *kulēi* to PIE \*k<sup>w</sup>el- “sich fürsorglich um etwas herum bewegen” which > Anatolian “Ackerbau treiben” and formed a noun \*k<sup>w</sup>el-o- “bebautes Stück Land” which took a collective formation \*k<sup>w</sup>l-ēi (> Hitt. *kulēi*). The phonetic complement of A.ŠÀA.GÀR-*an* (acc. sg.) and the nom. sg. agreement of *ḫarkanza* (both in §XXXVIII) show that in NH this word was an a-stem common gender. If we could assume that in OH this word formed a collective in *-ēi*, but retained its identity as an a-stem common gender for purposes of grammatical agreement, one could go beyond Oettinger’s suppositions to posit the reading \*k<sup>w</sup>ula- or \*kuēla- for the non-collective form A.ŠÀA.GÀR-*a-*. But this might be too daring. At the very least we need to recognize that the two words are (near?) synonyms.

## § 49

Hrozný 44, followed by all other editors, read A ii 54-55 as *ma-a-n[e ...] / [t]a-ia-az-zi-il pī-iš-kir*. Later editors modified Hrozný’s translation, but kept his transliteration (Friedrich 32 and Imparati 66 transliterated: *ma-a-n[e?-...]*). No one to my knowledge has considered reading *ma-a-am[-ma-an ...]*, although it is equally possible palaeographically. Several considerations argue strongly for the second alternative: (1) The writing *ma-a-ne* (in this context) would have to be interpreted as potential *man*

<sup>38</sup> But in OS aa in § 106 A.ŠÀ(.HIA) is neuter. See Glossary sub A.ŠÀ.



(written plene, as it can be, although only rarely and nowhere in Old Script<sup>39</sup>) + *-e* “they” (common gender nominative plural enclitic pronoun. But Watkins (apud Garrett 1990b; 1990a) has shown that in Hittite these enclitic subject pronouns are regularly absent in clauses with transitive verbs and direct objects (Note: *tayazzil pišker!*). (2) *māmmān* (= *mān* + *-man*) gives both the conditional and potential particles required in this clause (“If they were to give ...”).

#### § 50-51

For the interpretation of the neut. sg. part. *šakuwān* in this law see Hrozný 1922, 44f. (“est enfermé”), Walther 1931, 256 (“be shown”), Goetze 1933a, 203 (“zur Ruhe gebracht” d.h. “aufgehoben ist”), Hoffner 1963, 52f. (if *eyan* is a “pole” then *šakuwān* probably means “is erected”, if *eyan* is a type of tree then *šakuwān* probably means “seen, visible”), Stefanini 1964, 53 n. 2 (“custodito”), Friedrich 1959, 33 (“sichtbar(?)”), Josephson 1979, 95 (“hanging”), von Schuler 1982, 106 (“sichtbar”), Haase 1984 (“sichtbar”), Woodard in Westbrook and Woodard 1990. I connect this participle with the verb *šakuwai(ya)*- “to look, see”. Other examples of *šakuwant-*, with non-plene writing of the last syllable, are probably *šakuwant-* A “oily”. See Hoffner 1994.

On the *GIŠ<sub>e</sub>ya(n)-*, aside from the dictionaries, see Haas 1977a; Klengel 1988.

The subject of the law is exemptions from *luzzi* obligations. The conditions of exemption are drawn more narrowly in the reform represented by § 51. Those exempted are priests and their immediate families (“houses”) in the three cult centers Nerik, Arinna and Zippalanda. “So heisst es in der revidierten Fassung des Königs Telipinu: Der ..., der in Nerik mächtig ist, wer in A[rinna], wer in Zippalanda Priester (ist), deren Häuser in jeder der Städte (sind) frei, (nur) ihre Teilhaber leisten Frondienst. Wenn in Arinna der elfte Monat eintritt, so (ist) dessen [Haus], an dessen Tor eine Eiche sichtbar ist, (von Abgaben) [frei].“ (HG § 50). Früher (d.h. zur Zeit Hattušilis I.) (war der), der in Arinna Weber wa[r], und sein Hauswesen frei, und seine Teilhaber und seine Verwandten (waren auch) frei. Und jetzt ist nur (noch) sein Hauswesen frei; seine Teilhaber und seine Verwandten leisten Lehensdienst (und) Frondienst. Auch in Zippalanda (ist es) ebenso“, (HG § 51)” (Haas 1994, 583 n. 283). But if the objects of the exemption are cult personnel, why are weavers included (§51)? Perhaps because weavers were employed in the cult, like all the artisans mentioned as working in the É GIŠ.KIN.TI (Akkadian *bīt kiškatti*) of the Great Temple in the Lower City at Hattuša.

#### § 52

The expression *BE-EL* (or *EN*) *ŠU-UP-PA-TI* has usually been left untranslated (i.e., rendered merely “lord of ...”). Hrozný 1922, 46f. wrote *šu-up-pa-ti* in lower case, as though it were Hittite. Subsequent editions/translations have considered it Akkadian, usually without translation (Friedrich 1959, 34; Imparati 1964), but by Walther 1931 as “habitations(?)” (= Akk. *šubāti*), followed by Hoffner 1963, 53f. (“lord (superintendent) of the (royal?) residences”). Imparati 1964, 69 leaves it untranslated by comments “un funzionario, probabilmente legato al culto”. Friedrich 1959, 100 with n. 6 was on the right track when he queried “Zu akkad. *šuppatu* ‘Binse’?” This identification was recorded by von Soden in AHW 1280 as “unkl(ar)”, but followed by von Schuler 1982, 106 § 52 note *a*. The translation

<sup>39</sup> The evidence in CHD L-N 139b shows only *ma-an* in OS (in this very paragraph KBo 6.2 ii 55, 57). Examples of *ma-a-an* or *ma-a-n...* are at best OH/NS (KBo 3.1 ii 3) or MH/MS (KUB 14.1 rev. 27). [*ma?-n*]e? in A ii 56, if correctly read, would indicate by the available space in the break that A would write *man* + *-e* non-plene.



"a person entitled to wear a reed-shaped emblem(?)" was used in Hoffner 1995a 225. Since that book was intended for a general audience, I gave no justification for the translation. See CAD sub *šuppātu*.

§§ 54-55

On these two laws see Freydank 1971. For some reason Haase 1993, 97 understands the complaint of the petitioners "dass man nicht sie als Verwandte oder dgl. behandle". Rather the complaint is that they are regarded as "men owing *ILKU* duty".

§ 56

This law affords us a rare glimpse of just what services consisted *luzzi*. For the other evidence see CHD *luzzi*-. It is not to be assumed that the same principle did not apply to professions other than cop-smiths and gardeners. They are representative types. Starke 1977, 58f. hesitates to identify *e-ki* in A with the word for "ice", and leaves it untranslated: "... in der Festung (ist) niemand von den Metallarbeitern frei, um dem Feldzug des Königs zugewiesen werden (oder) um den Weingarten abzuernten". Melchert 1979, 57-64 interprets the passage as referring to the obligation of some to procure ice. This would presumably be related to the responsibility of the *BEL MADGALTI* to build ice-storage houses (É *ŠURĪPI*) on which see Hoffner 1971. It is also a possible reason for the unnamed person's obligation ("yoke") in KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 obv. 7-8 to bring ice in a basket (see Hoffner 1971). Soysal (232 n. 127) objects to my interpretation on the basis of his assumption that the unnamed person is the Hittite king. But he does not prove his assumption. von Schuler 1982 translated "In einer jenseits (gelegenen) Festung (ist) keiner ... (davon) frei, einen Weg für den König zu unternehmen". Soysal 1987, claims that the Old Hittite copyist has miscopied *e-di* (von Schuler's "jenseits") as *e-ki*. But although he points to the miswritten *e-ki* for *e-di* in the New Hittite copy (p) of law § 171, this has no more force than the existence of a miscopy of *edi* outside the laws, since the copyist of p was not the Old Hittite copyist of A. It is always possible that a reading is due to a scribal error. But before emending this passage one must first build a case that the allegedly intended *e-di* makes better sense in the context than the existing *e-ki*. Neither von Schuler nor Soysal have done this. Aside from its use in the phrase *edi nai*-, *edi* occurs together with an ablative to indicate the point of reference "beyond" which something is: *edi ÍD-az* law § 171, and *edi taršanzipaz* KUB 43.30 ii 6, but never followed by a noun which is described as "(lying) over there". That the New Hittite copyists of B and D did not preserve the older reading is clear to everyone. B misread the Old Script *e-ki* as *A-NA*, and D paraphrased the difficulty away. But this does not make their readings superior to A's. Coppersmiths (*LÚURUDU.NAGAR*) could use their metal saws for cutting the ice into blocks of suitable size for transportation to the ice houses (É *ŠURĪPI*) maintained by the *BĒLE MADGALTI*. On this law see also Starke 1977, 58 #88 and Josephson, *Kratylos* 26 (1981) 98f.

§ 65

Although I have translated *enant*- and *annanuḫḫa*- alike as "trained", it is obvious that there must have been some difference in meaning. Since the *annanuḫḫa*- animals are wild, while the *enant*- one (the *MÁŠ.GAL*) is domesticated, perhaps *annanuḫḫa*- means "tame(d)". Literature and discussion is found in Friedrich and Kammenhuber 1975-1984 sub *annanuḫḫa*-, Friedrich and Kammenhuber 1988 sub *enant*-. In law § 119 *annanuḫḫa*- modifies a *luliyas* MUŠEN "pond bird" and a *kakkapa*- (a kind of mountain goat?), both wild creatures. Possibly such wild creatures were tamed and used as lures by Hittite hunters (Güterbock 1980).



## § 71

The first clauses of this law assume that the stray animal is found in the environs of Hattuša, where the court is the "king's gate". The contrasting location *utniya* "in the country" refers to a place remote from Hattuša, where the court is the town elders (on which see Güterbock 1954 18 and Klengel 1965).

## § 73

For the interpretation of the verb *ārki* here see commentary on § 109.

## § 74

Boley 1993, 56 is unable to explain the variation in the use and non-use of *-za* with *da-* in this law.

## § 76

On *arnu-* here see above in comments on § 1. On *appat(a)riya-* see not only HW<sup>2</sup> I s.v. and HED 1 s.v., but <sup>m</sup>ZAG.A.A *ma=wa=kan kāša / [...-n]iya ēšzi nu=wa IŠTU É.GAL-LIM / [...-]yandu nu=[war]=an a-ap!-pāt-ri-ia[...]* "Now <sup>m</sup>ZAG-muwa is sitting/dwelling in [...]. So let them [...] from the palace and commandeering him!" KUB 23.108 rev. 11-13 (deposition, NH). HW<sup>2</sup>'s division of meanings between OH and NH is artificial and unconvincing. "To commandeering, requisition" fits all the occurrences, as Goetze showed.

## § 77

The context and the readings *ar-ma-u-wa-an-da-an* in B and [*ar-m*]a-ah-ḫa-an[-da-an] in K make it clear what meaning should be attached to *ar-nu-an-da-an* in copy A. But the way in which that form should be analyzed is not so clear. Hrozný, ... translate it as "...". HW<sup>1</sup> 32 judged it a participle of the verb *arnu-* and translated it "(zur Begattung) geführt; geschwängert". In this he was followed by other translators of the law<sup>40</sup> and by the dictionaries HW<sup>2</sup> and HED 1:167 ("presumably euphemistic"). But there is no evidence of any finite form of the verb *arnu-* with the required meaning "bring to mating". Furthermore, it is impossible to disassociate this adjective from the mountain name ḪUR.SAG Arnuwanda from which the well-known Hittite royal name was derived. The mountain was surely not "brought to mating", especially since Hittite mountain(-deities) were always masculine! A possible solution was suggested to me by my colleague, Professor William Darden of the Linguistics Department at the University of Chicago. He asked if there was a Hittite adjective *aru-* meaning something like "high" from which a causative verb *arnu-* "to make high, swell up" might be derived (cf. *tepu-* and *tepnu-*). In fact Carruba 1966, 14 n. 13, read *a-ra-m[u-uš] ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ?* (KUB 33.5 ii 17) "hig[h mountains]" in order to explain *aru šuwaru*, an explanation which Goetze 1968 18) viewed with skepticism. See also Poetto 1977 317, and Puhvel 1979 57. If Carruba is right, then since mountains are *aru-*, one mountain might be named *Arnuwanda* "exalted, made high(?)", a Hittite king might bear the name *Arnuwanda* "exalted" (cf. "your highness"), and a pregnant animal might be *arnuwant-* "made high" > "swelled up".

<sup>40</sup> Haase 1963, 74 ("(zur Begattung) geführte"); Imparati 1964, 85 ("condotta al maschio"; von Schuler 1982, 109 ("(zur Deckung) geführte").



## § 80

The law was already correctly understood by Hrozný 1922, 67 "Si un mouton à un loup quelqu'un arrache" and Imparati 1964, 86f., 262f. Starke 1977 100 also argued for Hrozný's translation, noting that in nouns of the "Personklasse" (to which in Hittite also animals belong) the case denoting "from" is not the ablative, but the dative. One problem with the Hrozný, Imparati, and Starke translation has always been the assumed meaning of *peššiye* "to throw" (German "(hin)werfen"). This translation needs to be modified (see Commentary on §§ 17-18, 44a, 44b). There is no doubt that in most instances one can properly translate *peššiye* as "shove, throw". But the basic nuance of the verb is to cause something to fall. This can be seen from its use for causing a foetus to abort (laws §§ 17-18, 77),<sup>41</sup> or causing another man to fall into a fire (§ 44a, perhaps "pushing", but hardly "throwing"! ). When the direct object of *peššiye* has a genitive indicating the possessor, the verb often implies causing the possessor to lose that object: §§ 9, 17, 18, 25, 49, 77. *peššiye* also describes causing the *paršteḫhuš* to fall out of the *šamama*-nut when it is broken open (KUB 33.68 ii 8-10, OH/MS). Of particular interest, because there is the division between two parties of the remains of a dead animal, is *peššiandu=ya=an / aliyanan* LÚ.MEŠŠĀ 'IDUTIM *dāndu=ma=an* / LÚ.MEŠMUŠEN.DÙ-TIM UZU.Ì LÚ.MEŠŠĀ 'IDUTIM *dandu / KUŠ=ma* LÚ.MEŠMUŠEN.DÙ-TIM *dandu* KBo 32.14 ii 13-16 (Neu 1995a, 75-77, 113-155) "Let hunters fell the deer. Let fowlers take it. Let hunters take its meat, and let fowlers take its hide". Here *peššiye* means "to fell (an animal in a hunt)", as correctly recognized by Neu.<sup>42</sup> This is not a new meaning in MH borrowed from the Hurrian use of the verb *kud-*. It is the basic meaning "cause to fall" attested already in Old Hittite. Neu 1995a, 113 correctly observes that felling an animal in a hunt corresponds to the Akkadian use of the causative of *maqātu* "to fall" (CAD *maqātu* 8). The use of *peššiya-* for causing a miscarriage (see Commentary on §§ 17-18) corresponds in LH § 209 to the similar Akkadian expression *uštaddiši* "causes her to drop (her unborn child)" (CAD *nadû* 7 h). The intransitive use of *peššiya-* as a technical term for the behavior of internal organs (CHD *peššiya-* 9) also probably means "falls" (CAD *maqātu* 1 g, 2, 6). If then transitive *peššiye-* means "to cause to fall", the action of the herdsman in § 80 could be to cause the sheep carcass to fall from (the mouth or paw of) the wolf. If the mouth were expressed, it would have to stand in the ablative (*iššaz*), but since it is not, the word for the wolf is properly in the dative. But a second, more serious objection is posed by the existence of at least one case KUB 24.14 i 27-28 *n=at arḫa peššiškimi n=at=šan šarā / alwanzeni* UN-ši *peššiškimi* (see Commentary § 44b) of *peššiya-* with dative of the person-class in which the translation "to", not "from" is contextually required.

## § 82

The form *ḫi-la-an-na-aš*, attested here in both A and B, and also in § 89, cannot without some difficulty be related to the noun *ḫilammar* "gate complex", as is often done. See the literature cited in the Glossary sub *\*ḫilatar*.

<sup>41</sup> When the foetus is the subject, the appropriate verb is *maušš-* "to fall, abort" (cf. CHD sub *maušš-*).

<sup>42</sup> Neu 1995a, 113 "fachsprachlich im waidmännischen Sinne 'niederwerfen, zur Strecke bringen'". Cf. *ibid.* 158.



## § 90

Carruba 1964, 409 discusses the use of *-ašta* in this sentence. As observed in the text note, the space in E seems (barely) adequate to accommodate [*na-aš-ta*] 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢, but [*nu-kán*] is also possible. It is hard to see how the clause could stand without a local particle.

For the food-stealing dog compare the story in the Hurro-Hittite bilingual (Neu 1996a 84f.) about the dog that who steals a freshly baked loaf from the oven.

## § 91-92

On bee-keeping, as referred to in these laws see Otten 1942, 41f. n. 3, Hoffner 1974, 123. Law §92 is also discussed by Hoffner 1986, 85.

In E 16 the first stroke of the numeral is an unbroken vertical, which eliminates all numbers but 1, 2 or 3. Since the fine was reduced to 5 shekels, it is clear that the former payment was not in shekels. And in view of the severe penalty in the *karu* clause of §92 (exposure to multiple bee-stings, perhaps causing death), a fine of 1 to 3 minas would not be out of the question. The severe reduction (from 1 mina = 40 shekels to 5 shekels) is not out of line with that in § 92 (from painful corporal punishment, perhaps even death, to 6 shekels).

In §92 the offence concerns stealing the hives themselves (É NIM.LÁL, German "Bienenstock"). For the "two or three bee hives", compare knocking out "two or three teeth" §VII and killing "two or three men" §37. In § 37 A it is "three or two", while in B it is "two or three". No ruling is given on stealing a single hive. Could this be because the law is based upon a single precedent case, in which the thief stole more than one? Or does it have something to do with the fact that a thief would never take only one?

For the Akkadogram *bubu ʾtānu(m)* see Friedrich 1930b, 376f. and the Akkadian dictionaries. *bubu ʾtu* denotes a boil or welt, and *bubu ʾtānu* one covered with such boils or welts. Bee-sting is described in the OH myth of the Absconding Deity: *mān[=an wemi]yaši / n=an QAT/ḪA-ŠU GĪR.ḪI.A-ŠU šiya n=aš ša[rā] / tittanut* (Speaking to a bee:) "When you find [him,] sting his hands/arms and feet/legs and make him stand up" KUB 32.5 ii 5-7.

## § 93

Starke 1977, 152 has translated *tapešni* "beim Einbruch(?)", thus formally putting into print an idea which I have toyed with for years in classroom teaching: namely, that *tapešni* is the semantic equivalent of Akkadian *pilšu(m)* "breach" which occurs in the LE § 60 and the LH §§ 20, 125. This would make excellent sense here in § 93, but the problem has always been the word's appearance in § 122, where it looks like it alternates *tapešni* ... *kinuna* like *karū* ... *kinuna* elsewhere. This would make it roughly synonymous with *karū*. the meaning "initially" or "at the outset" would fit.

## § 95

On cutting off or mutilating (*kukkurške-*) the nose and ears as a punishment see commentary on § 99.

## § 96

Further laws regarding breaking open grain-storage pits (with ÉSAG-*an kinu-* instead of *taye-*) can be found in CTH 258.1 (KUB 40.62 + 13.9) edited by von Schuler 1959; Otten 1979; Westbrook and Woodard 1990 Discussion also in Hoffner 1974. Law § 94 attests the use of *taye-* with the object not the item(s) stolen but the place where they are found ("to burglarize"): A iv 40-43 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎢 LÚ-LUM



[*EL-LUM É-er ta-i-ez-zi*]. Similarly, the passage *našma=kan ÉSAG.ĪI.A kuiški šarā / adan ħarzi* KUB 13.2+ iv 18-19 from the *BEL MADGALTI* instructions means not to eat up the storage pit, but its contents. The MH letter passage *nu uwat duwaddu / ħalkiš=šmaš apiya aniyanza / kuit nu EGIR-an tiyatten / n=an anda ēpten n=an=kan ÉSAG-ĪI / anda išĥuitten* "Hurry up! Because grain has been sown there for you, get behind (the matter), gather it in, and pour it into the grain storage pit!" HKM 18 left edge 1-5 seems to indicate that the last consonant of the Hittite word underlying *ÉSAG* was *ħ*. But see: *ÉSAG-ni=kan šer šipanti* KBo 21.1 iii 9. The Akkadian compliment is seen in *ITTI ÉSAG-TI* KUB 20.1 iii 16.

## § 98

The OH version does not seem to be in order. This is another evidence that the OS manuscripts are not necessarily "originals"! There is no need to emend *na-at* in line 55 to *na-at-<ta>*, following Laroche. And the two verb forms in lines 54 and 55 show final *-za* instead of expected *-zi*. Like other laws this one ends with two short clauses joined asyndetically, which have been mistakenly taken as a single clause. Walther translated: "Nothing of these he need compensate." Haase 1963 "auch das fürwahr ersetzt er" (substantially the same translation in 1984). Friedrich was right to reject the Neufeld/Goetze interpretation of *nakkuš natta* as a double negative with a positive sense ("he shall replace as a matter of course"), but Friedrich's own translation "ersetzt er nicht im(?) vollen(?) Werte(?)" (followed by Imparati 1964, 95, 270f.: "egli però non ha l'obbligo di risarcirli come preziosi, ma soltanto nel loro normale, effettivo valore") is also unsatisfactory. Compare § 176 *DI-IN LUGAL ħa-ap-pár-ra-an-zi*, which Friedrich 79 also mistook for a single clause. Imparati appealed to a form *me-ek-ku-uš*, acc. pl. of *mekki-*, which she thought was parallel to *na-ak-ku-uš* as an acc. pl. of *nakki-*. But *mekki-* in OH also had a k-stem variant (see CHD *mekki-*). *nakki-* A adj. has no example (other than this alleged one) of an acc. pl. *na-ak-ku-uš*. For the word *nakkuš* see Laroche 1986 and now CHD s.v. ("loss(?), damage(?), fault(?)). Von Schuler ("B dafür irrtümlich: wichtige (Gegenstände) ersetzt er nicht") correctly recognized that B has misunderstood A, and that A's *na-at* should not be "corrected" to *na-at-ta*. But he did not try to render the one-word clause *nakkuš*.

## § 99

The OH Akkadogram *UZ-NA-A-ŠU* preserved in the NH copies is a faithful writing of the Akkadian dual form *uznāšu* "his two ears". Von Schuler interprets *ku-ug-gur-aš-kán-zi* as cutting off the nose and ears ("schneidet man ... ab"), not merely disfiguring them. This might be supported by comparison of MAL A §4 ("If either a slave or a slave woman should receive something from a man's wife, they shall cut off the slave's or slave woman's nose and ears"). If, however, a disfigurement is in view here, and it is in addition to the compensation for losses, it may not be intended as a punishment so much as an outward warning to others that this slave once committed arson. On the disfiguring of insubordinate or rebellious slaves see *nu=kan mān ARAD=Š[U] kuwapi EN=Š[U] / TUKU.TUKU-nuzi n=an=kan naššu kunanzi našma=kan KIR<sub>14</sub>=ŠU IGI.ĪI.A=ŠU / GEŠTU.ĪI.A=ŠU idalawaḥhanzi* "If ever a slave angers his master, they either put him to death, or disfigure his nose, eyes (or) ears" KUB 13.4 i 28-30, ed. Süel 1985, 24f. A similar "marking" of an adulterer has been assumed by some for § 198 p iv 12-13 with the words: *ta SAG.DU-SÚ wa-aš-ši-e-ez-zi* "he shall 'clothe his head'". But see the different interpretation in the commentary on § 198.



## § 100

The *-ške-* form *etreškizzi* is appropriate for long-term support of the animals. *parā* indicates the “following” spring. *hamešhanda* is an allative. As an ÉSAG is where one finds grain (*halki-*), so a *taišzi-* “shed” is where straw (IN.NU.DA) was kept to feed livestock. BB 4 has the variant *lu-uk-ki-iš-zi* for *lukkezzi*. This form, not registered in CHD L-N 78 is synonymous with *lukkizzi* “set fire to”, and is not another form of *lukkešš-*, *lukiš-* “become bright, dawn”. BB 4’s *lukkišzi* owes its (secondary) origin to a misunderstanding of the thematic verb *lukki/a-* as an *e-*stative, which often in Hittite alternated with a synonymous *eš-*verb (cf. *arawe-/arawešš-*, cf. commentary on § 173).

## § 101

On the vexed question of whether *šuppiwašhar* (SUM.SIKILSAR) is “onion” or “garlic” see Hoffner 1974. The unit is ZU<sub>9</sub> “tooth”, which seems more appropriate for a clove of garlic, which looks like a canine tooth, than “ein Gebinde Zwiebeln” (Friedrich, von Schuler). Imparati (translating “una matassa di cipolle”) cites a mode of assembling either garlic or onions (“gli agli e le cipolle”) in two strands which resemble a denture (Imparati 117 note 3). But would such an entire denture be called “1 ZU<sub>9</sub>”?

[...]-š*i-ia* GIŠSUKUR-*an wa-al-ḥa-an-zi* is a difficult clause. Friedrich’s transliteration [...]-š*i-ia* replaced Hrozný’s [I-NA É.GAL]-LIM-*ya*. Since this is part of a *karū* clause where elsewhere we find corporal punishments replaced by simple fines, it is possible that it refers to some sort of a blow delivered to the offender. This is the line of reasoning reflected in earlier translations. Friedrich even thought that the lacuna held a locative noun denoting a part of the body. On the other hand, the syntax is unusual. Normally the accusative object of *walḥ-* denotes the person or the part of his body which is struck, and the implement (GIŠSUKUR-*an*) stands in the instrumental. [...] IŠTU GIŠKAK.Ú.TAG.GA[.ḪI.A] *walḥir* KBo 14.3 iv 38 (DS fragm. 15); *n=an[=kan Í]D-i / anda IŠTU GIŠB[AN GIŠK]AK.Ú.TAG.GA IŠTU NA<sub>4</sub> / walḥiškir* KUB 31.20 + KBo 16.36 iii 7-9. Furthermore, other passages occasionally mention striking a wooden object: GIŠ*pahḥiša dān wal[(ḥan)zi* “for the second time they strike the stick” edited in StBoT 29 124f. For this reason it is at least worth considering if the blow was not part of corporal punishment, but a gesture with some legal significance: striking the spear on its hand-guard or something similar. This archaic gesture was then subsequently eliminated, perhaps because its significance was no longer understood. But consider two rather exceptional cases in which the syntax (in one case via a passive active transformation) permits the accusative of the implement and the locative of the part of the body that is struck: [(SAG.DU-*i=ma=wa=ši=kan k*)]*uiš* NA<sub>4</sub>-*aš / walḥanniškattari / nu=war=aš* IGI.ḪI.A-*i waššiyattaru* “the stone which is struck on his head, let it (rather) be soothing (or pleasant) to his eyes” Ullik. I C iii 27, B iii 18-19, cf. also KUB 33.95 + 33.93 iv 24-26. Proceeding on the assumption (which could be correct) that a blow was delivered to the perpetrator, Haase considers the theft of growing things “Frevel an der Gottheit” of plant growth and classifies it with §§ 126, 166, and 199b under “Vorschriften mit sakraler Betonung”.<sup>43</sup>

## § 102

Contra CHD *luli-* 2 b, it is not uncertain whether the *luli-* in this law is a pond, spring, well, or basin. Rather it is clearly a lake, pond or spring. Timber would not be growing next to a well, basin or vat. A

<sup>43</sup> Haase 1996, 36f.



natural setting in a grove or wood is implied. For discussion of *DIN LUGAL* see under "Authority and Law ..." in Chapter One.

## § 103

The term *arši-* denotes small plants (Goetze "freshly planted things", Friedrich "Pflanzung", von Schuler "eine Anpflanzung", Imparati "una piantagione"), not an orchard (*GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> GEŠTIN*) containing trees and vines. Neufeld's "plantation" has entirely misleading connotations in modern English. Although at least two other words with the stem *arši-* are attested (HW<sup>2</sup>), this word denoting plants is not found outside the laws. For discussion of the force of Akkadogram *Ù* see above in commentary on §§ 1-2.

## § 104

On these fruit trees see discussions in Hoffner 1974, especially p. 114. Walther's translation "If anyone cut off [pomegr]anates ..." envisages plucking fruit from a tree, which is clearly not the case here. Friedrich's "abhackt" (followed by Haase) also could suggest lopping off branches and thus damaging a tree. Much preferable is Goetze's "cuts down" (also Neufeld, von Schuler [fällt]). The translation "damage by lopping off branches" might fit law § 113, where a *karšant-* vine is given to the perpetrator of the damage, while he must provide a "good" (*SIG<sub>5</sub>*) vine to replace the original. One passage in which the meaning "cut down (a tree)" is particularly clear is: KBo 22.6 iv 14-16 *GIŠpaini = w[a = t]a kuit Éhilamni = šit ārta / nu = war = a < t > = (a)šta karšdu n = war = at URUAgade IŠSTAR - aš / [GIŠTUKUL].HIA - eš iyandu* "Let him cut down the tamarisk which stands in the portico and let them make it into [weapon]s for *IŠSTAR* of Agade".

## § 105/5

The "vineyard/orchard" (*GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> GEŠTIN*) here, like the Turkish *bağ*, contains not only grape vines (*GIŠGEŠTIN*, Weinstöcke) but other fruit trees as well (see Güterbock 1961b, 70). The crime is not arson: the field he sets fire to is his own, and the damage to his neighbor's vineyard is not intentional. The one who sets the fire is negligent and is responsible for the damage done by his fire. The fire "catches" (*= za anda epp-*) the neighbor's grapevines and fruit trees. Both the vineyard/orchard and the field that are damaged in this and the following law are called *miyant-* "in fruit, crop-bearing", on which see § 107 and CHD *miyant-*. Vineyards/orchards are also described as *iyatmiyant-* "productive" (§ 107), *dannatta-* "bare, not in fruit" (§ 107), and *taggaliyant-* "fenced-in" (§ 108). According to law § 48, the three most valuable possessions that a man might have to sell are his child, his field(s), and his vineyard/orchard. In the Telipinu Proclamation (KBo 3.1 ii 56-58) the possessions of members of the nobility ("princes") are their houses, fields, vineyards/orchards, threshing floors, slaves, cattle and sheep (É.MEŠ = ŠUNU A.ŠÀ.HIA = ŠUNU *GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> GEŠTIN*.HIA = ŠUNU / [KISL]AḤ.HIA = ŠUNU SAG.GÉME.ARAD.MEŠ = ŠUNU GUD.HIA = ŠUNU UDU.HIA = ŠUNU). The possessions of a royal mausoleum (a "Stone House") had the following components: A.ŠÀ *GIŠTIR* *GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> SAR* *GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> GEŠTIN* / *NAPŠATU = ya* "field(s), forest(s), garden(s), vineyard/orchard(s) and persons" KUB 13.8 15-17. See also in the non-narrative ending to the Illuyanka tale: 6 *kapunu* A.ŠÀ 1 *kapunu* *GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> GEŠTI[N]* / É-TIM U KISLAḤ 3 É.HIA SAG.GÉME.ARAD[.MEŠ] / [É] *tuppi = ma ešzi* KBo 3.7 iv 24-28. Note also: "If he (the adopted son) declares to his father and mother, 'You are not my father,' or 'You are not my mother,'" é a-šà *kiri<sub>6</sub> arad-arad níg-gur<sub>11</sub>-ra íb-ta-è-a* "he shall forfeit house, field, orchard, slaves, and possessions" (SLEx § 4 in Roth 1995, 44). And:



"If there is either a soldier or a fisherman who is taken captive while serving in a royal fortress, and they give his field and his orchard to another to succeed to his holdings, and he then performs his service obligation" *šumma ittūramma ālšu iktašdam eqelšu u kirāšu utarrušumma šūma ilikšu illak* "if (the soldier or fisherman) should return and get back to his city, they shall return to him his field and orchard (*eqelšu u kirāšu*) and he himself shall perform his service obligation." (LH § 27 in Roth 1995, 86), and *eqlum u kirām* in LH § 28 (ibid.). *eqelšu kirāšu u bīssu* "his field, orchard and house" LH § 31, cf. § 32, 36, 37. According to Hittite law § 56, harvesting fruit from a vineyard/orchard was one of the tasks one might be required to do as public labor. The instructions in KUB 13.2 ii 18-20 to the effect that threshing floors, straw-barns, groves, gardens and vineyard-orchards should be well "built" (*namma KISLAḪ É IN.NU.DA Ékarimmi / Étarnueš ŠA GIŠTIR.ḪI.A GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.SAR GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN / SIG<sub>5</sub>-in wedanteš ašandu*) reflects the need to protect such plantings from wandering animals, as the reference to a "fenced-in" (*taggaliyant-*) vineyard-orchard already shows. See *Isaiah* 5.5 "And now I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard. I will remove its hedge (*m<sup>e</sup>sūkkatō*), and it shall be devoured; I will break down its wall (*g<sup>e</sup>dērō*), and it shall be trampled down." According to KUB 12.44 iii 2-3 (CTH 392)—*nu ŠA GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN kuwapi KÁ.ḪI.A-eš nu KÁ-aš / EGIR-an kez kezzizya tekan paddaḫḫi*—Hittite vineyard-orchards had gates/doors (*KÁ.ḪI.A-eš*). For laws regarding orchards in Mesopotamian law collections see Roth 1995, 280 sub "orchards".

## § 106/6

The reconstruction of the text represented in Friedrich and Imparati, namely *nu mi-ia-an-da-an / [(tar-na-a-i A.ŠÀ lu-uk-ke-ez-z)]i* neither makes sense, nor can it be translated as these scholars have attempted to do (Friedrich: "und (es) auf ein in Frucht stehendes lässt", Imparati: "e <dentro un campo> che è in frutto <lo> lascia", von Schuler: "(das Feuer auf) ein fruchttragendes (Feld) (übergreifen) lässt"). The many parenthetical amplifications betray the awkwardness and artificiality of the interpretation. It is clear rather that d i 4-5 preserves a short clause—probably [... *na-at-kán an-da?*] (5) *tar-na-a-i*—which was not present in the other copies. See the transliteration and translation. Law § 107 also employs *tar-na-a-i* for letting one's sheep into a neighbor's cultivation and causing damage. The fire and the sheep are both "released" or "let into" the neighbor's property. Exodus 22.5-6 likewise groups liability for damage by livestock and fire.

The textual history of this law is complex. Copies i and b are quite similar. Copy a differs from the others in showing a common gender participle/adjective, *miyandan*, modifying A.ŠÀ, although that noun is resumed by the neuter pronoun *-at* "it". Copy b vacillates on the gender of A.ŠÀ, using neuter [*l*]ukkan and common [S]IG<sub>5</sub>-andan to modify it.

## § 107

GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN is construed as neuter plural in this passage. *i-ia-at-ni-ia-an-da-aš* (d i 8, a i 26) is locative plural, and *mi-an-da* is neuter plural nom.-acc. (predicate nominative by function), as is *ta-an-na-ta* (b<sub>3</sub> 7). The problematic forms in this connection are [*ták-ku m*]*i-ia-an-da-an* "If it is fruit-bearing" in a i 27, and *ták-ku dan-na-at-ta-an-ma* (d i 10) which can only be common gender singular accusatives! It might be that the verb *ḫarnikzi* is implied which could take them as direct objects. But even then we have the problem of the different gender: common instead of neuter.



## § 108

In this law, as opposed to § 101, GIŠ(.H).A seems to be interchangeable with GIŠ<sup>maḥla-</sup>. The payment of only 6 shekels for 100 stolen seems too small. On the basis of § 101 one expects 6 shekels for one vine (GIŠGĒŠTIN "Reifling", cf. CHD sub *maḥla-* e) or vine branch, not for 100. See "Table of Prices and Fines" at the end of Chapter 3. Yet both d and b<sub>3</sub> have "1 ME" preserved, and a reading "1½" makes no sense, since one doesn't subdivide a vine or vine branch. The same ratio (1 ME GIŠ for 6 shekels) is found in § 109. All translators agree that *takkaliyant-* means "fenced (in)", although its limited use elsewhere, all in OH texts, is somewhat unclear. See Hoffner 1970. In both KBo 3.27 obv. 8-10 (edict of Hatt. I) and KUB 36.100 rev. 6 (Zukraši) it describes a military maneuver, perhaps the setting up of a fenced in military camp. For enclosing vineyards see above in commentary on § 105.

## § 109

In previous laws in this section of the collection we have seen nouns in the ablative (on the ablative see commentary on §§ 1-2) which designate the source from which trees or plants are illegally obtained. In § 102 a i 8-10 [*ták-ku ... (lu-ú-li-i) a-az GIŠ-ru ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-ez-zi*] "If anyone steals timber from a pond" means trees growing around a pond. In § 108 d i 12-15 *ták-ku tág-ga-li-ia-an-da-za GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GĒŠTIN GIŠ<sup>ma-ah-la-an</sup> ku-iš-ki / ta-a-i-ia-zi* "If anyone steals vine branch(es) from a fenced-in vineyard-orchard" means trees growing in a vineyard-orchard (Turkish *bağ*). § 110 d i 18-19 [*ták-ku hu-u-uš-ši-el-li-ia-az pu-[ru]-ut ku-iš-ki da-a-i-ia-zi*; § 128 a<sub>1</sub> + a<sub>2</sub> ii 22 *ták-ku ša-ma-na-az NA<sub>4</sub>.[H].A ku-iš-ki t]a-i-e-[ez-zi]*]. From this perspective the verb *ārgi* in d i 16-17 *ták-ku a-mi-ia-ra-za GIŠIN-B[A-A]M ku-iš-ki a-ar-gi* might not mean "to cut off from (the irrigation ditch as a source of water)" but rather to remove them as a form of theft from the place where they were growing, completely analogous to § 102 cited above. This was the view of Walther, who, however, did not know the meaning of *amiyar(a)-* "irrigation ditch", and was followed by Goetze and Friedrich. Imparati 1964 also held this point of view and even applied the meaning "si appropriata" to the verb *ark-* in § 73, where there is no ablative and the object is GU<sub>4</sub> *hu-iš-wa-an-da-an* "a living ox" B iii 69. The translation "cuts off from" was advocated by Neufeld 1951, Güterbock 1961b, Souček 1961, Hoffner 1963, Melchert 1977, 181, 278, von Schuler 1982, Puhvel 1984, 48, and Haase 1984. A third view, represented by Kammenhuber, HW<sup>2</sup> I 300 (sub *ark-1*), takes *amiyaraz* as instrumental ablative: "bisects/divides with a canal". But how are fruit trees damaged by running a canal through their midst? And why would the number of affected trees be significant? Since all text witnesses for this law are NH, one cannot eliminate the third view by pointing out that there is no instrumental use of the ablative as early as OH. See also commentary on § 56 with literature cited there.

## § 110

*an-da-še-ia* which by the rules of grammar ought to be \**an-da-ia-aš-še*, shows the same irregularity as *parna = šše = ya* (*šuwayezzi*). Perhaps *an-da-še-ia* is influenced by the analogy to *katti = šši = ya* which is synonymous with *katta(n) = a = šši*.

The role of a *huššelili* as a place for preparing clay for plastering is clarified by: KBo 32.19 ii 27-31 URU<sup>E</sup>*Eblaš URU-r[i ... w]ah<sup>nueššar</sup> / arḥa<sup>DU</sup>Gteš[šummiyaš iwar] duwarniḥhi / šarazzi[yaš = a... wah<sup>nueššar</sup> / arḥa hu[ššiliyaš iwar] / šakkuri[emi ...]* "I will break apart the wall in the city of Ebla like an earthen cup; the wall of the upper [...] I will flatten like a clay pit", where *šakkurye-* must mean "flatten". See: KBo 10.2 ii 18-19 *nu KUR URU<sup>H</sup>Haššuwa UR.MAH GIM-an / ĠR.H].A-i[t a]rḥa šakkuriyanun* "I knocked flat ... like a lion with its paws". Further passages on *huššelli-*: KBo 32.24 ii



14-18 (14) [... w]ahñueššar (15) [... teššum]miyaš iwar (16) [ du]warnahhi šarazziyaš = a (17) [...] waññueššar arha huššiliyaš / [i]war šakkuriemi; KUB 31.100 rev. 8-10 (CTH 275) [nu = za k]amaršuwāš uddani mekki nahhan[teš ešten] (9) [nam]ma = kan<sup>URU</sup>Hattuši šer haššuš le [...] / [n] = ašta [haš]šuš katta šallai huššili = pat [išhuwandu]; KBo 25.151 + 26.136 obv. 17-19 (CTH 370): UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-aš = a huššili[li = ša paitta] / [ŠAH-aš ..] Éhumma = ša [pai]tta ANŠE.KUR.RA[-uš haliya = ša] / [paitta UDU-uš ašauni =]šā pai[ttā GUD-uš Ékizzum]i = ši [paitta] "The dog [went] to [its] huššili, [the pig ...] went to its sty, the horse [went to its corral,] [the sheep] went to its [fold, the ox went] to its [stall]"

## § 111

The transition from § 110 to § 111 is the mention of *purut* "clay". The interpretation of this law must begin with the verdict: *alwanzatar DIN LUGAL* (cf. "Authority and Law ..." in Chapter One). This tells us we are dealing with black magic (sorcery). Since the verb *epāri* is an obscure hapax, and the opening words are broken away, we ask: what does one do with *purut* "mud", "clay" to create black magic? It has been suggested by von Schuler (apud Friedrich 1959) and supported by Güterbock 1943 that this describes moulding mud clay into an image for purposes of black magic. The specific restoration [še-e-]ni was Güterbock's suggestion.

General summation in Sick 1984, 87-89, concentrating on aspects of sorcery.

## § 112

The old interpretation of the variant *hal-ki-im pī-an-zi* was that it was a sandhi writing of *hal-ki-in pī-an-zi* (Friedrich 1960a § 35). Otten's solution (1990) is better: that one should read the former as Akkadian *HAL-QĪ-IM*, and view the latter as a hypercorrection. Copy d preserves a syntactically awkward wording of the second half of the law: *I-NA MU.4.KAM-ma ša-a[h-ḥa-an e-eš-šu-wa-an IT-T] LÚ.MEŠ GIŠTUKUL da-a-[i]. ḥar-ap-zi* "he joins" is not a mistake for *kar-ap-zi*, as Friedrich 1959, 106 thought. See Güterbock 1961b, 70.

## § 113

The durative form *tūh-ša-an-na-i* is appropriate here. Such *-annai-* verb forms are relatively rare in OH texts. *tūh-ša-an-na-i* is the only durative form in the laws.

## § 119/16†

On *annanuhha-* see above in comments on § 65. For discussion of *kakkapa-* see Ertem 1965, 190-193 (partridge [Turkish keklik]), Güterbock 1980, 90 (German Steinhuhn, Turkish keklik). The claim of Haas 1992, 104f. that a second *kakkapa-* occupies the same general semantic range as the Akkadogram *INBU* "fruit" is unlikely. The claim depends entirely on an "equivalence" of the words in passages that are only remotely parallel, not duplicates.

## § 120/17†

The term *ummiyanduš* describing a variety of birds or an acquired attribute of birds (similar to *annanuhha-*?) is still obscure. Puhvel 1984, 48 translates "young (lit. 'grown up, adult')" and is followed by Melchert 1994, 160 "\**ud-miyant-* 'grown up' > *ummiyant-* 'young adult'". *GI<sub>1</sub>um-mi-ia-* (noun com.) is known from KBo 13.64 obv. 12, 13. The *LÚ.MEŠ<sub>1</sub>ummiyannieš* are known from the KILLAM festival, KUB 10.1 i 5. But these terms cast no significant light on our passage. Their price (10 birds



for a shekel) is considerably lower than that of the trained bird in § 119. If the restoration *a[n-na-nu-uh-hu-uš]* is not correct, perhaps these are "ordinary" birds simply sold as meat.

## § 121/18†

For textual remarks see Güterbock 1961b, 70. As he noted, the old punishment described here would be similar to that of § 166. On plowing and its tools see Hoffner 1974, 42-48. For the plow itself as a cult object see Popko 1978, 129. The sacred character of the plow as an implement allowing food production is underlined by the fact that *GIŠAPIN* is listed among deities in KUB 10.92 v 13 (a festival for *Teššub*). On *GIŠappalašša-*, which occurs only here in published texts, see Rosenkranz, JEOL 19 (1965-66) 505 (plow?), Hoffner 1974, 45 w. note 215, Friedrich and Kammenhuber 1975-1984, 163 ("Pflug" oder "Pranger" sehr fraglich!), Puhvel 1984, 96 (*appala-* + pron. *-šša-*; "stocks, pillory, gibbet"). As Kammenhuber points out, there is no reason to expect an enclitic possessive here, so that the stem is probably *appalašša-*.

## § 122/19†

For the cost of hiring of a wagon in Mesopotamia see LE § 3 "A wagon together with its oxen and its driver — 100 silas of barley is its hire; if (paid in) silver, 1/3 shekel (i.e., 60 barleycorns) is its hire; he shall drive it for the entire day" (Roth 1995, 59.), LH § 271 "If a man rents cattle, a wagon, and its driver, he shall give 180 silas of grain per day" (Roth 1995, 131).

## § 124/21

Although in some passages the *šiši(y)ama* is made of copper and is therefore probably an implement (KUB 12.51 i? 11-12, 14, with dupl. KUB 42.99:3-4, 6, KBo 27.147:15, translit. StBoT 15:46 as 1926/u), in the following passage it is clearly a tree: Ú.SAL-i *GIŠšišiyamma ārtā kattan=ma dašwanza dudumiyanza ašanzi* "In a meadow stands a š.-tree. Beneath it sit a blind man and a deaf man" KUB 12.62 rev. 7-8 (rit., pre-NH), continuation in CHD L-N s.v. *lē e* ("š-tree"). In law § 124 it could be either an implement or a valuable tree small enough to be dug up and stolen.

## § 126

Bo 8282 was communicated to me by H. Otten (letter dated 12/13/94) with the note "in einer Umschrift von mir vor 50 Jahren". The photocopy of the field transcription which he enclosed has signs drawn for line 6: [...]-*pí-nu-uš Š[A ...]*, which show that the first three signs were written over erased signs. The photo (coll. Klengel) also shows that *-ti* in line 2 was written over an erased *-ri*. The erasures indicate a scribe who was somewhat inept. This may have a bearing on how seriously we should take the reading *GIŠza-hur-ti* in line 2. Was this simply his mistake in copying *GIŠza-ah-ra-in* or *GIŠza-ah-ri*, or is this a true variant with perhaps some claim to originality? Preliminary indications indicate this fragment was part of a NH copy of the laws. The part of the OH or MH manuscript aa which had this word is broken away. The translation "wooden chair(?)" is based on the assumption that the variant *GIŠza-hur-ti* can be taken as a semantic clue, for *GIŠza-hur-ti* is a kind of seat or chair. In KUB 11.25 iii 17-18 DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL *GIŠŠÚ.A BABBAR GIŠzahurtin BABBAR=y[a] / danzi t=ašta pedanzi* it occurs alongside *GIŠŠÚ.A* "chair, throne". And in KUB 20.11 ii 8-10 UGULA *GIŠALAN.ZU<sub>9</sub> / GIŠzahurtiya eša* one can sit on it. The *GIŠzahrai-*, on the other hand, occurs nowhere else in published texts outside this law. That it is stolen "in the palace gate" and the 6 shekel fine may indicate its relative value and importance. A bull cost 10 shekels, and a fullgrown cow 7 shekels. A



copper or bronze axe cost only a fraction of a shekel. See "Table of Prices" at the end of Chapter 3. It is somewhat unusual for three thefts to be listed in which the gradation of the penalties neither ascend nor descend. The middle case, the theft of a bronze spear, demands the death penalty! The ZI.KIN.BAR = *šepikkušta-* is a pin or needle (Güterbock 1957, 357, Beckman 1983, 63-65), but also a scribe's stylus: [...] *LE'E KÙ.BABBAR ZI.KIN.BAR [KÙ.BABBAR ...]* "a silver writing board and a [silver] stylus" KUB 17.20 ii 22; cf. Gurney, AAA 27:90;<sup>44</sup> 1 ZI.KIN.BAR LÚDUB.[SAR ...] "One scribe's stylus" KBo 18.172 rev. 13 (cult inv.). Perhaps since § 126 deals with items found in the palace gate, the meaning "(scribe's) stylus" is more appropriate here than "pin". On the other hand, what follows is theft of threads (*gapinuš*), which might provide a context for a needle!

Because the death penalty is prescribed for the theft of the bronze spear (*GIŠŠUKUR*), Haase thinks it was a sacred implement and appeals to an occurrence of a bronze spear in the royal funerary ritual.<sup>45</sup> But Otten does not claim this in his translation or comments, and the fragmentary context makes it difficult to determine to what use the spear is put. Not every implement used in a ritual is necessarily "sacred".

#### § 127/24

The important word *šullannaz* (see commentary on §§ 1-2) shows that the door was not stolen for the sake of its value to the thief, but out of anger at the householder in order to remove his security and defense against further thefts. It is for this reason that the penalty includes responsibility for anything which might be lost through the building's vulnerability. The monetary fine, one mina = 40 shekels of silver, is also very high. It is the price of either a mule or of one IKU (3600 m<sup>2</sup>) of vineyard, and is the penalty for blinding a free person (see § 7).

#### § 128/25

The first half of this law deals with stealing bricks and stones, i.e. building materials. MAL B § 14-15 are laws concerning stealing bricks, which read: *šumma a'īlu ina lā qaqqirišu iglušuma libitta ilbin ubta' erūš ukta' inūš qaqqara šalšāte iddan libnātišu ilaqqe' ū [50?] ina haṭṭāte imahḥušūš x ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš* "If a man digs(?) a pit) and makes bricks in a plot not his own and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, he shall give 'triple' the plot; they shall take his bricks; they shall strike him 50(?) blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for x days"; *šumma a'īlu ina lā qaqqirišu ... libitta ilbin libnātišu ilaqqe' ū x ina haṭṭāte imahḥušūš x ūmāte šipar šarre eppaš* "If a man ... and makes bricks in a plot not his own, they shall take his bricks; they shall strike him x blows with rods; he shall perform the king's service for x days." (Roth 1995 180). Brickwork and foundation stones are also the subject of the following curse in a Hurro-Hittite literary text: *walḥdu = ya = an ḫIM-aš AN.ZA.GÀR nu = šši šamanuš šer ḫuinuddu / [......] ar = ši = kan kattanta amiyari maušdu SIG<sub>4</sub> = ma = kan kattanta ÍD-i maušdu* "Let the Stormgod strike the tower; let him pull up its foundation stones; [...] let its [...] ar fall down into the ditch; let (its) brickwork fall down into the river" KBo 32.14 rev. 46-47.<sup>46</sup> Most likely the foundation stone (*šamana-*) referred to in § 128 is an ordinary one. But there is a possibility that what is meant is the foundation deposit, which consisted of

<sup>44</sup> See also discussion in Haas 1994, 258, where, however, the translation "Nadel oder Spange" should be corrected to "Griffel oder Stilus".

<sup>45</sup> Haase 1996 37. The passage is KUB 39.33 ii 2-5 edited in Otten 1958 114.

<sup>46</sup> Edition by Neu 1996a, 1996b. Provisional studies in Otten 1984; Neu 1985; Neu 1988a; Otten 1988.



*šamana*-stones made of gold, silver and precious stones.<sup>47</sup> Such stones were obviously extremely valuable. Since the *NA<sub>4</sub>armiyalli* and the *NA<sub>4</sub>juwaši* are not terms for stones or minerals, but for objects made of stone, these words were not treated in Polvani 1988. Discussion of foundations as part of the structure of Hittite buildings can be found in Darga 1985; Boysan-Dietrich 1987.

## § 129/26

The objects mentioned in this law pertain to the harness of equids. Friedrich and Kammenhuber 1975-1984, 78 translates *annanuzzi* as "bridle, halter", and the adjective (understood by HW as a participle) *annanuzziyant-* as "bridled, haltered".<sup>48</sup> A translation "tether(ing line)" would also be possible. Theft of any of these items of harness originally demanded an extremely high fine (one mina of silver), and even the reduced fine of 12 shekels, which is elsewhere the price of a plow ox (§ 178) and two shekels less than the price of a horse (§ 180), is considerable. The leatherworker or tanner (*LÚAŠGAB*) was one of the craftsmen who required special professional training (see §§ 176 and 200). Such skilled personnel were valuable to the state, and fugitive craftsmen (including leatherworkers/tanners) were required to be returned to Hatti according to CTH 67 (Targ.) = KBo 5.4 obv. 39-40 [*mān*] = *aš LÚAPIN.LAL=ma našma=aš LÚUŠ.BAR LÚNAGAR LÚAŠGAB kuiš=aš imma kuiš EN QATI nu=za=kan KIN UL [udai] / [n=aš] huwai n=aš INA KUR URUHatti uizzi n=an šara dahhi n=an=ta EGIR-pa peh[hi]*. A desideratum for Hittitology would be a thorough monograph on the leather-working industry. Numerous terms with the *KUŠ* determinative occur, which should be studied as a group. A partial listing can be found in Reichert 1963 under the *KUŠ* determinative. An outline of the evidence for the *LÚAŠGAB*, *LÚEPIŠ* *KUŠE.SIR*, and *LÚEPIŠ* (*KUŠ*)*TAHAPŠI* can be found in Pecchioli Daddi 1982, 45-46.

## § 131/28

The word *KUŠhapputri* denotes a leather harness. A form without the determinative occurs in a MH Mašat letter: *uddar=mu kue hatraeš / LÚ.KÚR mah[h]an halkiuš / dammeš[h]iškizzi / URUKapp[u]šiya mahhan / ŠA É MUNUS.LUGAL walhta / nu ŠA É MUNUS.LUGAL 1 GUD happutri [dair] / ŠA LÚ.MEŠMAŠ.EN.KAK=ya / 30 GUD.ĪIA 10 LÚ.MEŠ=ya pehuter / n=at AŠME* "I have heard from the letter you sent me how the enemy is oppressing the crops, and how he has attacked Kappušiya, (town) of the queen's household, and (how) [they took] one team/yoke of oxen belonging to the queen's house and carried off 30 oxen belonging to poor men and 10 men" HKM 8 3-11. Here, without the leather determinative, the word denotes a team or yoke of oxen.

## § 142/31

Misappropriation (i.e., theft) of various old parts of chariots, including wheels (*GIŠUMBIN.MEŠ TAHAPŠI ... LIBIR.RA.MEŠ dašganun*), is mentioned in KUB 13.35+ i 39-40, 44-48 (edition by Werner 1967). See *ibid.* iv 8-13, 17. The observation that the rear wheel of a vehicle never overtakes the front one is mentioned in an "Analogiespruch" employed in an incantation KBo 11.14 ii 22-24 *IGI-zian GIM-an GIŠhurkin EGIR-ziš anda UL / wemiyazi idaluš=a UD.KAM-az / EN SISKUR lē KAR-zi*. The same figure of speech also occurs in KUB 36.91 (+) KUB43.68 rev.? 10-12 with dupl. KUB

<sup>47</sup> For these see KBo 4.1 i 20-23, ed. Kellerman, Diss. 125-157; tr. ANET 356f. For foundation deposit rituals see also Haas and Wegner 1994 and 1994, 252-256 (especially 255) and 727.

<sup>48</sup> Haas 1994, 720 translates "sind (einander) geschirrt(?)"; cf. also Haas and Wäfler 1976, 82-89.



60.156 rev. 12-14. A wheel weighing 12 shekels is employed in a ritual described in: KUB 9.1 ii 24-31 *n=ašta nu 1 GIŠUMBIN GIŠšui[nilaš] / ŠA 12 tawilaš K1.LAL.BI 12 GÍN // n=an ŠA KUR URUZidapara ħalzian[zi] / nu GIŠUMBIN LUGAL-uš kiššarta [epzi] / nu kiššan memai / DINGIR.MEŠ=wa=za=kan GIŠUMBIN parā [...] / nu=war=an ħurlaš KUR-e ħa[laitten] / DINGIR.MEŠ-š=a EGIR-anda it[ten].*

## § 143/32

*šankuwalli* only occurs here in published texts. It is a derivative in *-alli-* from *šankui-* / *šankuwai-* "finger- or toe-nail" (Sumerogram UMBIN). For lexical discussions of *šankui-* see Goetze, Tunn. (1938) 42 n. 126 (*šankuwaya-* "fingernail"; HW (1952) 183; Beckman 1990a, 52, and Hoffner 1996. For discussions of *šankuwalli* see Hrozný 1922 §143, Alp 1957, 4 n. 3 (Schneidewerkzeug für Fingernagel); Friedrich, HW (1952) 183, Friedrich 1959, 107 (Fingerhut?); Hoffner 1963, 90 (a nail file, nail clipper, or thimble).

## § 144/33

*GIŠhanzan-* is an obscure implement with which one can cut cloth.

## § 146/35-148/37

The first matter to be resolved is the determination of the meaning of *ušneškatta* in §§ 146-148. *uššaniya-/ušniya-* according to HW 235f. and Neu 1968 s.v. is "feilbieten, verkaufen", to which HW adds "einsetzen, aufs Spiel setzen" for KUB 21.27 iv 40. Walther 1931 renders it "be going to sell(?)", Friedrich 1959 "feilbietet", Imparati "ha messo in vendita", Goetze 1969 "buys", von Schuler 1982 "verkauft", Haase 1963 "immer wieder verkauft", Haase 1984 "zum Verkauf anbietet", Hoffner 1995a "offers ... for sale",

Goetze 1928b, 99, originally suggested a hypothetical noun *\*uššan* "Kaufpreis" on analogy with *kuš(ša)niya-* "um Lohn mieten" and *kuššan* "Lohn". Oettinger 1979, 355 instead proposed Hittite *\*ušna-* from PIE *\*us-no-*. Goetze (1928b) did not translate *uš(ša)niya-* as "feilbieten", but only "verhandeln, verkaufen", nor did Oettinger, although the latter did not explicitly deny "feilbieten".

None of the attested examples seems to me to require "offer for sale", as opposed to "sell", and several militate against such a translation. But although the verb *uš(ša)niya-* itself cannot be shown to mean "to offer for sale", it is possible that in this law the incomplete nature of the transaction (i.e., "offer ...") which allows the offender to intervene is communicated by the *-ške-* formation, which often portrays an action in progress.<sup>49</sup> Passages from two other texts show the use of *uš(ša)ni(e)ške-*, and in each one can recognize the "action in progress" aspect: [ANA] KUR URUN[er]ik U ANA [KUR] URU[Ĥakpiš] / [ape]l SAG.DU-an apell=a [ZI-an] / [ušš]aniškit kuitman ANA LU[GAL KUR URUMizri] / [mena]ħħanda KASKAL-an iyat "he kept placing his person and his life at risk (lit. kept selling his person and his life) for the sake of Nerik and Ĥakpiš, until he made the campaign against the king of Egypt" KUB 21.27 + 676/v i 33-36 (prayer of Pud.). Later in the same prayer text: *nu=za ape[l SA]G.DU-an ZI=šU=ya / uššaniškit kuitman [ŠA] DINGIR-LIM EN=YA / UR UNerikkan aššiyant[an UR]U-an EGIR-pa / wetet* "he kept placing his person and his life at risk (lit. kept selling his person and his life) until he had rebuilt Nerik, the city beloved of the god, my lord" KUB 21.27 iv 39-41. In a second text it is even possible that the portrayal of the sale in progress could be translated

<sup>49</sup> Making unnecessary Haase 1963's "immer wieder ...".



as "offer for sale": *kāša GIŠ.RÍN karpiemi nu labarnaš taluqauš MU.ĜI.A-uš / ušneškimi kāša GIŠ.RÍN karpiemi n=ašta / MUNUS tawanannaš taluqauš MU.ĜI.A-uš ušneškimi* "I am lifting the scales and offering Labarna's long years for sale; I am lifting the scales and offering Tawananna's long years for sale" KBo 21.22 18-20, ed. Archi 1979a 245ff.; obv. in Collins 1989, 55f.

The verbal expression *peran walḫ-* is central in the interpretation of this and the following paragraphs. Neufeld assumes that the offender offers the same merchandise as his competitor but at a lower price; i.e., he undercuts the other man's sale. Goetze translates *ušneške-* as "buys" and thinks that the subject of *peran walḫ-* is the seller, who "demands [from the buyer] a purchase price over and above the (first) price". At issue is whether *tamāiš* refers to "the other person" in the transaction (so Goetze) or "an other person" in addition to the two primary parties involved in the transaction. Comparison with law § 28, where *tamāiš* refers to a second suitor, suggests that here too *tamāiš* denotes a third party, someone outside of the original transaction. In § 146ff. the *tamāiš* person stands in contrast to the *ḫantezziyaš* (aa ii 13). Friedrich 1959, 107 observes that *peran walḫ-* is used "in einer uns unbekanntem und anscheinend sehr prägnanten handelstechnischen Bedeutung".

The two passages in the laws are the only examples of this idiom. The *peran walḫ-* in KUB 53.14 ii 9 is an adv. "in front". The *peran walḫ-* in KUB 31.69 obv. 7 is a postposition governing ANA dUTU-ŠI; von Schuler's restoration [*wa-al?*]-*aḫ-mi* in KUB 26.1 i 58 (von Schuler 1957, 11) is unlikely; cf. Otten, AfO 18:388.

Ordinary competition by offering to sell the same merchandise for less would not seem to be illegal. The offender has in some illegal way manipulated the sale value of his competitor's offered merchandise, and as a punishment he must buy the merchandise himself at the price originally set by the seller. My translation of *pēran walḫzi* as "strikes first(?)" merely reflects its literal meaning. Whatever the mechanics, the offender "obstructs" the sale by his competitor. See Hoffner 1995a, 232. The offence is called a *waštul* (OH *uštul*) "sin",<sup>50</sup> which other than in these three related cases (§§ 146-148) occurs in the laws only in § 197, there describing the offence of adultery.<sup>51</sup>

On the difficult *peran walḫ-* in this context Klaas Veenhof (by e-mail 6/17/97) called my attention to his conclusion in Veenhof 1972]160 with footnote 274 that in Old Assyrian commerce the expression *qaqqadam maḫāṣum* seems to mean "to establish a claim, to reserve for oneself". In the same communication Veenhof added: "If the action means establishing a prior claim, that would indeed impede a free sale and make the stipulation somewhat understandable. A more or less forced sale, to one particular person only, who has a first claim, tends to reduce the price. Cf. in Laws of Eshnunna, par. 38, whether it concerns the sale of a share between 'undivided brothers' or between commercial partners. The price an outsider might pay in a free sale is expected to be higher, hence should apply also to the *athū*, in order to prevent the owner from suffering a loss."

Friedrich (71: "von dem Menschen"), followed by Imparati (143: "dalla persona") and Haase 1984, incorrectly analyzed LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-na-az as an ablative designating the seller. But in Hittite taking, stealing, buying something "from" a person is always expressed with the dative, not the ablative, as clearly demonstrated by Starke 1977 91-101. Instead, the direct object is *antuḫšan* followed by enclitic "and"

<sup>50</sup> For the word-family of *wašta-* see Catsanicos 1991, and for OH *uštul* see ibid. 6, note 3. The Akkadian equivalent in Hattušili's letter is *ḫīqu* (Klengel 1980, 190). Goetze 1969 interpreted the genitive *waštulaš* as an independent clause ("He is a felon"), for which one would expect *waštulaš=aš*.

<sup>51</sup> Catsanicos 1991, 56f. In KBo 1.10 rev. 22 *ša ḫīta ana šarri iḫattū* "he who 'sins a sin' against the king" describes treasonous behavior.



(-a-) and the particle -z. Overlooking the presence of the correct direct object, Puhvel 1991, 125 ungrammatically segments the accusative plural *ḥappariuš* ("at the prices"), which is not the first word of its clause, into a locative sg. *ḥappari* + acc. pl. pron. -uš ("he buys them at the first one's price"). The grammar of the passage is correctly perceived by von Schuler ("Den Menschen nimmt er ... an sich") and Hoffner 1995a, 232. If the preceding analysis is correct, the LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-(a)n is referring to the person originally offered for sale in line ii 12. But what could that be? In spite of the trace preceding -an one is sorely tempted to read [ták-ku LÚ.U]<sub>19</sub>.LU>-an or perhaps [ták-ku LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.L]U!-an, for which the space is just right. An alternative would be to read [ták-ku URU-i]a-an for which spacing, trace, and previous mention in § 146a aa ii 8 argue. But then the LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-na-az, if understood as \**antuḥšan=a=z*, would have to be translated as a collective "people", for which there is no precedent. *antuḥsatar*, not *antuḥša-*c** is "people". And if LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-na-az is understood as *antuḥšannaz* (from *antuḥsatar*), we are back to the previously mentioned problem of the ablative with *da-*.

#### § 147/36

The person being sold in § 146 was presumably skilled in a craft; in this law he/she is not. The penalties reflect this: 10 shekels in § 147, 5 shekels here. A *dampūpi-* person is someone without a skill, and "unskilled" or "not fully trained (in a skill)" is the correct rendering here, as already grasped by Walther 1931, Goetze 1969, and Friedrich 1959 ("ungelernten"), and followed by Imparati. Haase's "minderwertig", while not strictly incorrect, is a step backward in clarity, since it is the lack of training which makes this person of less value. The translation "einen barbarischen Menschen" in von Schuler 1982 is even worse, for it implies that were the unskilled person a Hittite, he/she would draw a higher price. In Hatti, as in most lands in antiquity, a skilled person was highly valued regardless of his race or nationality. The discussion of *dampūpi-* intended by Pecchioli Daddi 1982 for p. 261 (see index entry on p. 614), seems to have been accidentally omitted there. Friedrich 1930a, 153, 1952, 208f. gives the translations "minderwertig, gemein, barbarisch" and notes that it translates Akkadian *nu ʾū* in the lexical entry KBo 1.30 i 8f. A rather full discussion of the word's usages is given in Hoffner 1963, 200f., where in addition to Friedrich's discussions the oppositions are stressed "unskilled, untrained" (*NU ʾŪ* in contrast to the *UMME ʾĀNU*, *dampūpi-* in contrast to *annanuwant-*, cf. § 177) and "lay" (as opposed to the priestly "clergy"). Goetze (ANET) in § 177 had it right: "a man or woman ... not fully trained (therein)". The most recent discussion of the word known to me is Klinger 1992. The price of the *annanuwant-* in § 177 is 25 shekels, that of the *dampūpi-* is 20.

#### § 148/37

The third instance of interfering with a sale concerns domestic animals. This follows similar regulations for sales of skilled and unskilled humans, although in monetary terms a mule (40 shekels in § 180) was more valuable than a skilled slave (25 shekels in § 177) and a draft horse (ANŠE.KUR.RA *turiyawaš*) the same as an unskilled slave (both 20 shekels). The figure for the fine, broken away in all copies, could have been anything between 1 and 5 shekels.

#### § 149/38

Another kind of fraudulent behavior in sales is treated here. After a deal has been struck, the seller fails to deliver the agreed-upon merchandise. The adjective denoting the trained slave has changed from *annanuwant-* to *annanuḥḥa-*. This word usually modifies animals which are "trained". It shares some of the same semantic range as *enant-* "tame(d)". HW<sup>2</sup> 1:77f. considers *annanu-* and *annanuḥḥa-* ety-



mologically unrelated, while Puhvel, HED relates them. See also the false claim: *maklannaz = war = aš* BA.ÚŠ *naššu = wa = za duwarneškit* KUB 13.4 iv 28, in this case in order to steal an animal rather than a trained person.

## § 150/39

§§ 150-161 in Sick 1984, 228 with n. 1057. On the question of the wages of men and women for agricultural labor see § 158, Hoffner 1974, 29, 1995b, 560, and Imparati 1995, 580. For Mesopotamian laws regarding hiring persons see LX § g-k; LE § 4, 7-11, 14, 32; LH § 215-217, 221-224, 228, 234, 239, 257-258, 261, 264, 271, 273-274 in Roth 1995. In these Mesopotamian examples the wage is paid either in silver or barley (Sum. š e). From Mesopotamia we know that workers were given both wages and rations. Although a Hittite word for "ration" (*tarnatt*- "allowance") is known, nothing is mentioned in the laws about rations for Hittite workers, only their wages.

For the problem of which Hittite noun case underlies A-NA ITU both here and in § 157 see Starke 1977, 119 #177.

## § 151/40

For Mesopotamian laws regarding hiring animals see LL § a; LE § 3, 10; LH § 242/243, 268-271 in Roth 1995. The difference in rate of hire is determined by the kind of work done.

## § 152/41†

Although the prices of mules, horses and asses were quite different, their rate of hire was the same (one shekel silver per month), presumably because they were used for approximately the same kind of work, drawing vehicles and carrying loads.

## § 157/42

For Mesopotamian laws regarding renting equipment see LL § 5 (a boat); SLHF iv 42-v 11 (a boat), v 21-26; LE § 3-4 (wagon, oxen and driver), 9A (a sickle); LH § 275-277 (a boat) in Roth 1995.

For the problem of which Hittite noun case underlies A-NA ITU both here and in § 150 see Starke 1977, 119 #177.

Since the two axes have both a weight and rent ratio of 2:1, it is unlikely that the distinction between "bronze" and "copper" is significant here (see Commentary on § 160). And since the same is true of the *tapulli*, it appears that the weight of the copper/bronze is the most important criterion in setting the rent.

## § 158/43

See also § 150 for the wages of men and women, where copy q supplies both the time period and the wages. Here in § 158 the verb forms are not in order. Even in aa, which has the fewest irregularities, *iš-ḫa-a-i*, *e-ep-zi*, and *iš-ta-a-pí* should have been followed by *wa-ar-ši-ez-zi*, not *wa-ar-ši-an-zi*, since the wages given apply to only one individual. Copy p has introduced a further problem with his participle *iš-ḫi-an-za*, which may have originated as a corruption of a plural *iš-ḫi-an-zi* (like *wa-ar-ši-an-zi* in aa). The three text witnesses are also not agreed on the women's period of labor (and therefore wage rate), since aa's and u's 12 PA. of barley for three months = 4 PA./month, while p's 12 PA. for two



months = 6 PA./month.<sup>52</sup> It is, of course, possible that one of the two month counts is a scribal error. If the three-month interval is correct, one would expect 15 PA. as the wage, since it appears that women's wages were half of men's. If, on the other hand, the two-month interval is correct, one would expect 10 PA. Apparently then the women's wage in this case was not calculated as 50% of the men's, regardless of which time period is chosen. That the period of time used for both men and women is more than a single month reflects the situation that this is a seasonal labor force, the hiring of crews of men and women for a limited harvest period. Manuscript aa reckons on three months' labor for both men and women. But if p's "two months" is correct, women were sometimes used for a shorter period than men during the harvest season.

The tasks governed by the employment agreement are fairly clear from the general context of agricultural work (see Hoffner 1974). But the exact phraseology is sometimes ambiguous, and this ambiguity is reflected by the various translations offered. All translators agree on "binding sheaves". G<sup>1</sup>ŠMAR.G<sup>1</sup>ĪD.DA(.ĪI.A) *e-ep-zi* (lit. "he seizes wagon(s)") is less transparent. Von Schuler: "(sie [d.h. die Garben] auf) Lastwagen packt"; Haase "er (sie auf) den Lastwagen nimmt". It is unclear if these translations accurately reflect the meaning of the Hittite. G<sup>1</sup>ŠMAR.G<sup>1</sup>ĪD.DA.ĪI.A *ya[=za]* / *anda ēpta* KUB 33.113 + 36.14 iv 10-11 (Ullik. 2nd Tabl.) offers a -za-transformed counterpart and means "and he got [himself] (onto) the wagon".<sup>53</sup> É IN.N[U.DA] *i]š-ta-a-pí* ought to represent the next stage: bringing the bound sheaves on the wagons to the barn and storing them prior to threshing. Goetze is very free: "bring it into the barn". Von Schuler: "(sie in) den Speicher schliesst"; Haase: "(sie in) das Strohhaus verschliesst". Puhvel 1984, 471 takes the É IN.NU.DA as the primary object: "he shuts the straw-house". Usually *ištap-* means "to close up (an opening)". Objects include the neck of a bottle, the windows of a house, etc. But the verb can mean "to obstruct or block access to", as in blockading cities, closing off roads, or barring the way to a ladder/staircase. References have been collected in Puhvel 1984, 471ff. The final activity is the clearing/sweeping of the threshing floor (KISLAĪ-an *wa-ar-ši-ia-an-zi p i 8*). A Mašat letter gives the following instructions: *nu=ššan mān / ħalkieš aranteš / n=aš=kan arĥa waršten / n=aš=kan ANA KISLAĪ parā / arnutten / n=aš LÚ.KÚR le / dammešĥaizzi* "When the crops are ripe, reap them, and bring them to the threshing floor! Let the enemy not harm them!" HKM 25 15-21.

Cf. Ertem, VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, p. 86, 88f.

NH scribes sometimes write *ku-uš-ša-ni-iš-ši-it* (see § 158 p), as though *kuššan* were an i-stem neuter noun. There can be no question of a locative in such cases. It is possible that this is an example of the collective plural ending, on which see Eichner 1985; Neu 1992; Oettinger 1995 and commentary on §§ 46-47.

#### § 159/44

According to the price in § 183 (see table of prices) 1/2 PA. of barley would be worth 1/16 of a shekel of silver. According to § 151 one could rent a plow ox (but not a team, ŠĪ-IM-DUM) for one shekel of silver per month, which amounts to 1/30 shekel per day, slightly more than half (1/32 shekel) the 1/16 shekel daily rent of a team, as described in this law. The figures check out.

<sup>52</sup> The readings of all three copies have been confirmed from photos.

<sup>53</sup> The restoration of -za is from Güterbock 1952, 34. But Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1990, 158 translates "e prese il carro".



The older manuscript aa uses what apparently the scribe considered the singular construct form [*Šf-IM-DI*] GU<sub>4</sub>.ĜI.A "a team of oxen" (accus. obj. of *turiya-*), while the later scribe of copy p writes *Šf-IM-DUM* G[U<sub>4</sub>.Ĝ]I.A. The restoration in u is uncertain. *Šf-IM-DI* occurs as a plural in the following constructions followed by the animal name: 40 *Šf-IM-DI* ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĜI.A (accus. obj. of *huttiya-* KBo 3.22 71, OS Anitta), 10 *Šf-IM-DI* ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĜI.A as accus. obj. in KUB 14.1 rev. 51 (MH/MS), 30 *Šf-IM-DI* ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĜI.A probably accus., obj. of *šinahh[a daiš]*, HKM 25 5 (MH/MS), 1000 *Šf-IM-DI* ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĜI.A BoSt 8 106:21 (cited AHw 1102b). In the later MH (HKM 19 21 20 *Šf-IM-DU* ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĜI.A = *wa = kan* accus. obj. of *parā nai-*) and early NH period scribes begin to write the Akkadian nominative form in this construction: 6 *Šf-IM-DUM* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ accus. obj. of *har-* KBo 14.3 iv 28 (Deeds of Šupp.), cf. ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ = *ma* 800 [(*Šf-IM-DUM ēšta*)] nom. in Hatt. ii 36. Note also: one "rents" or "hires" (*kuššaniye-*) a single ox, but "hitches up" (*tūriye-*) a team.

## § 160/45

The smith's wages (100 PA. of barley) for making a 100-mina copper box translates to 12.5 shekels silver according to § 183, roughly the price of a plow ox (§ 178). In contrast a bronze axe weighing 2 minas sold for only 1/3 shekel silver (§ 160). Since 100 minas of copper cost 25 shekels silver (§ 181) on the market, the smith would have to have procured it more cheaply or he could not have afforded to sell the finished product at 12.5 shekels. Since both copies aa and p have 1 ME, and if one were to emend to 1½ MA.NA, the heavier bronze axe of § 160b would cost less than the copper box, it is unwise to try to emend the 1 ME MA.NA. Walther overlooked the 100 mina weight of the box and wished "against the text" to emend the 100 PA. of barley to 1½. Goetze emended the barley to 1½ PA., and for some strange reason described the box as weighing only ½ mina without specifying its material as copper. Although Walther and Goetze correctly identified the ŠEN as a "box", Friedrich called it a pipe ("eine Röhre"),<sup>54</sup> emending the first 1 ME to 1½, but retaining the second as 1 ME for the wages in barley, in this he was followed by Haase 1984. Von Schuler incorrectly described it as "aus Bronze", but correctly retained both examples of 1 ME. The axe would clearly have to be solid bronze. But perhaps the box was only partly of copper, for example mostly wood but with copper corners and fittings. In that case the total amount of copper necessary for the box might have been considerably less than 100 minas. Since from § 183 we can calculate the price ratio of barley to wheat as 3 to 8 (or 1:2.67), a comparison of § 160b (2 mina bronze axe) with § 161 (1 mina copper axe) which would indicate that the price ratio of barley (*halki-*, ŠE) to wheat (*ZÍZ-tar*) was 1:2 if bronze and copper were the same price, suggests that in this case at least there was no significant cost difference between copper and bronze (see commentary on § 157). If bronze was (for example) twice as valuable as copper, the price ratio of barley to wheat would be 1:4. But § 183 reveals a 3:8 ratio instead. Goetze, Friedrich and Haase obscure the evidence for the relative prices of barley and wheat by translating ŠE as "grain", "Korn" or "Getreide", whereas a contrast to the specific variety ZÍZ is clearly called for. Since there was a clear difference in price of wheat and barley, it would be senseless to require payments of set amounts of (undifferentiated) "grain", since the payer would always prefer to pay in barley and the payee to receive it in wheat! Von Schuler corrected this error, but renders ZÍZ rather implausibly as "Spelt". On the identification of the cereal terms see Hoffner 1974, 60-82. Since 1974 an important and unnoticed new bit of evidence has emerged which confirms the argument of Hoffner and Güterbock in Hoffner

<sup>54</sup> Von Schuler also called it "ein Abflussrohr".



1974 that ZÍZ was not “emmer” or “spelt” but bread wheat. A list of cereals in HKM 109 contains separate entries for 4 ME PA. ZÍZ “400 PARISU of (bread) wheat” (line 12) and 1 ŠUŠI PA.𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎠 KU-NA-ŠU “60 PARISU of emmer wheat” (line 13). Apparently ZÍZ was not considered the reading of Akkadian *kunāšu* in Hittite texts!

§ 162/47

This part of aa is not preserved, leaving us uncertain if it had this law. On the law see Melchert 1979. The scaling of the three situations is from the most serious offence to no offence at all. Common sense suggests that the most serious would be robbing a downstream neighbor entirely of the canal's water, and the least serious would be merely taking some of the water downstream without affecting the upstream neighbor in the least. The middle situation is not obvious from simple *a priori* reasoning. But it might well be taking some of the water upstream, thus reducing only slightly the flow to the downstream neighbor.

The most serious offence is described by the verbal construction EGIR-*an ar-ḫa na-a-i*. Both Walther and Goetze used the English term “diverts”. Friedrich resigned himself to a literal translation of the Hittite components: “hinten weggeführt”. Imparati wrote “indietro ... devia”. Von Schuler rendered it “nach hinten ableitet”. Haase 1984 following Melchert 1979: “oberhalb(?) (ab)leitet”. The EGIR-*an* must mean “upstream (from the claimant/plaintiff in the case)”.

The least serious case (which appears to allow no claim against the “perpetrator”) is described as *ták-ku kat-ta-an-na da-a-i* “if he takes (the water) down(stream)”.

The middle case is described as *ták-ku PA<sub>5</sub>-an EGIR-ez-zi-az ku-iš-ki ša-ra-a n[a]-a-i* in p, [*ták-ku PA<sub>5</sub>-an EGIR-ez-zi-az/an-m*]a? *ku-iš-ki še-er da-a-i* in v, [*ták-ku PA<sub>5</sub>-an EGIR-e*]z!-zi-ia-an [*ku-iš-ki ...*] in u. The verb *na-a-i* in p relates the action more to the first case (EGIR-*an ar-ḫa na-a-i*) than to the third (*kat-ta-an-na da-a-i*), while v's version with *da-a-i* is closer to the third than the first. In spite of the difference in the verbs, one cannot assume that *nai* takes PA<sub>5</sub>-*an* as its object but *dai* takes *watar*. For in case three where the verb is *kattan dai*, the resumptive pronoun -*aš* preserved in v and p shows that the antecedent is the common gender noun *amiyar(a)*-, not the neuter *watar*. p's EGIR-*ez-zi-az* recalls EGIR-*an* “upstream(?)” in the first case, while p's *ša-ra-a* and v's *še-er* set up an opposition to *kat-ta-an-na* “downstream(?)” in the third case. So that, without claiming to solve all parts of the middle case,<sup>55</sup> its elements can be fairly said to support the middle scenario proposed *a priori*, namely taking some of the water upstream.<sup>56</sup> The fines are: one shekel silver in case one, an unclear verb in case two,<sup>57</sup> and no penalty at all in case three. See also HW<sup>2</sup> I 188a.

§ 163/48

On this law see Güterbock 1961b and Goetze 1966. The three lexical cruxes of this law are the verbs *parkunuzi* and *šieuniaḫta* and the noun *išuwān* with its derivative *išuwānalli*. It is well known that *parkunu-* is a causative-factitive verb, meaning “to render *parkui-*”. *parkui-* in turn can mean “pure”, “clean”, “innocent (of a specific charge)” or “free (of debts)”. Walther thought *parkunuzi* meant that

<sup>55</sup> Von Schuler, who takes j's EGIR-*ez-zi-az* in the middle case as “später”, translates only j and gives none of f's variants in footnotes.

<sup>56</sup> In my translation in Roth 1995, 233, I rendered EGIR-*ezzi-az* as “stealthily”, a translation I am no longer happy with.

<sup>57</sup> For the verb see CHD *larpu-*.



the owner of a fold into which the animal had strayed "releases" it. Goetze 1969 thought the animals were "branded" (*šieuniahta*), and that *parkunuzi* meant that someone other than the owner "removes the brand" (i.e., "cleans/purifies" them). Friedrich 1959, 75 thought that the owner of animals that have been struck by a divinely sent disease (*šieuniahta*)<sup>58</sup> lets them run free (*parkunuzi*). Güterbock 1961b thought this owner has a purification ritual performed upon them (*parkunuzi*) to heal them of the disease. In this he was followed by Imparati, von Schuler and Haase.

Given the many possible translations of *parkunu-*, Hittitologists had no sound basis for interpreting the verb *šieuniahta* until Ehelolf 1936 discovered that *šiu-/šiu-* was the Hittite word for "god(ess)". Goetze 1969's translation "branded" was based upon an incorrect attempt to relate the verb to the word-family of *šiya-* "to seal, mark with a seal". Friedrich 1959's "von der Gottheit geschlagen werden" represented a significant advance, with which no one but the present writer even slightly demurred. Nor did I in Hoffner 1963, 99-103. But in the following years I began to question the morphological basis of this translation. An active verb in *-aḫḫ-* means to make something what the basic noun or adjective means (e.g., *šuppiyaḫḫ-* "to make *šuppi-*"). The middle of such a verb ought to mean to make oneself or to be made what the basic noun or adjective means. If *šieuni-* means "divine (being)", then *šieuniahta* should literally mean "be made (> become) divine". How then would this denote an illness in livestock? It is well known that grazing animals can eat a plant which produces in them erratic and incomprehensible behavior. This could have been described by the Hittites as livestock "becoming divine". This tentative understanding was expressed in my translation of this law in Roth 1995, 233 ("go crazy(?)"), 239 n. 50. The only other occurrence of the verb is in a somewhat broken and unclear passage from the Telepinu Proclamation (KUB 11.1 iv 15, ed. Hoffmann 1984 52f. "Deswegen wurden sie (3. sg.) von der Gottheit (mit Krankheit) geschlagen"), where evildoers are punished by undergoing this action ([*ne*] *a-pád-d[a] šī-ú-ni-ia-aḫ-ḫa-ti* "and therefore they were driven mad(?)"). A translation "they were smitten by a god" is also possible. Insanity was often regarded as a punishment from the gods.

Friedrich 1959 and von Schuler 1982 understood *išuwān* as a supine with *dai* "begins to ...". Friedrich thought the infection began to spread to the plaintiff-colleague's animals. Since Güterbock objected that the spreading of infection is an entirely modern conception unknown to the Hittites, von Schuler only translated the clause as "Beginnt er aber das ... zu ...". Imparati 1964 also was noncommittal in her translation of this clause. Güterbock 1961b, followed by Hoffner 1963, 1995a and Haase 1984, took *išuwān* as a concrete substance (ordinarily harmless, but in this case used in the purification ritual and consequently bearing the residual impurities) placed upon an *išuwānalli* (a place where uncontaminated *išuwān* was normally found). See also Haase 1983, 1993, 98f., and Watkins 1972, 21-22 (animals smitten by gods) who comment on this law.

#### §§ 164-165

The concatenation of laws §§ 164-169 is significant: they all describe sacril offences. The significant verb *āppa šuppiyaḫḫ-* is found in §§ 165, 167, and 168, and § 169 requires an exculpatory prayer. These are not mere civil offences, but religious ones against the deities who guard the field, the seed, the boundaries and the growth of crops, in both §§ 165 and 167 that the offender must reconsecrate (*āppa šuppiyaḫḫ-*) the plaintiff's house or his land. The force of *šuppiyaḫḫ-* should not be weakened here nor its distinction in meaning from *parkunu-*, not only because of the above-mentioned context of

<sup>58</sup> In this he followed Ehelolf 1936, 179f. On *šiu-/šiu-* see also HW (1952) 195, Neu 1968, 156.



laws, but because in § 164 the offence is one of sacrilege: seeking to seize (*appatriya-* “to impress, commandeer”) the offering materials of another person’s domestic cult.

On § 164 see Goetze 1966. More recently see Haase 1993, 98 and 1994a, 73, who mistakenly compares Deuteronomy 24 6, 10-13 and seeks to interpret the offence in the Hittite law as depriving the debtor of necessary food and drink. *NINDA*harši- and *GESTIN*išpantuzzi hardly can bear this meaning, but are clearly cultic trappings. Furthermore, *appat(a)riya-* is more likely to refer to the right of legally constituted parties to “impress” or “commandeer” items for temporary use, than to the taking of a pledge from a debtor. It is true that the “pawn” interpretation was once popular (see Goetze 1969, 195, Friedrich 1959), but there are good lexical reasons for no longer retaining this view (see Goetze 1966, 130f., Goetze 1968, 17. In fact, Haase seems to have been unaware of Goetze 1966, which deals with the interpretation of this very law. For the understanding of *appat(a)riya-* the passage KUB 13.8/1-18 is particularly important, on which see Otten 1958, 106-107, who translates *appatriyazi* “soll ... niemand requirieren”. On this verb see comments above on § 76. As indicated by the prominent role of reconsecrating the victim’s house (*É-SU āppa šuppiyahhi*), the offence is not depriving a poor debtor of his necessary food, but the desecration of someone’s domestic cult. This aspect of reconsecrating a cult place is reinforced by two other points. The term *witti meyani* which occurs in copy aa and is therefore more likely to have stood in the original than copy p’s *MU.KAM-za me-e-ḫu-ni*, is often employed to express a year’s cycle of cultic activity. Furthermore, the offender is required to supply the home owner with what looks like a year’s supply of offering materials. In the cult inventories of the late NH period, for example KBo 2.1, small temples often celebrated only two festivals in the course of a year (one in fall and one in spring), sacrificed only two sheep (e.g., <sup>d</sup>U URUḪarruwaša), and offered only one DUG KA.GAG (the towns of Ḫuršalašši, Aššaradda, Šarpaenta). KBo 2.1 doesn’t number the sacrificial loaves, but gives expenditures of flour and wheat instead. Viewed against the relatively modest expenditures of sheep, KA.GAG beer and bread in a small temple of the late Hittite period, the three amounts given here seem plausible as the offerings for a single year in a domestic cult.

Then one must consider the meaning of *SAG.KI-za* (= *ḫanza* *ḫar-*, preserved only in copy p. In the MH prayer KUB 17.21+ iv 13-14 *nu=wa=z ḫanzan šumeš ḫarten / nu=war=at KASKAL-ši le kuiški walḫzi* the objects of *ḫanzan ḫar-* are the sacrifices (*SISKUR*) which are sent to Nerik, which are to be protected and kept inviolate. In the Tawagalawa letter (KUB 14.3 iii 1-2 *ŠEŠ=YA=ya=an=za=an ḫanza ep n=an tuel [UN-aš] / uwateddu*) the object of the related *ḫanza ep-* is a person whose safety is guaranteed by the king while he travels to Hattuša and returns to his own land. Like the sacrifices sent to Nerik, this man too must be kept safe and inviolate. In the series of oracle questions KUB 5.1 iii 53-55 *BE-an=ma=mu=za* <sup>d</sup>U URUNerik *SAG.DU DINGIR-LIM-iš / duwan para GIM-an SAG.KI-za ḫarta kinuna=ya QĀTAMMA kedani=za=kan LĪL-ri / kuwatan imma kuwatan neyahhari nu=mu pian ḫuyaši* “If you, O Stormgod of Nerik, the deity (of my) person, have protected(?) me as heretofore, now too (it is) the same. On this campaign, wherever I turn, you will go before me”, the meaning is to keep the king safe and (perhaps) his sacred person inviolate. See also KUB 5.4 + 18.53 i 11-15 [...]*anda SAG.KI-anza appannaš KIN tiyawen nu KIN SIG<sub>5</sub>-ru* and KUB 5.6 + 18.54 i 27-28 *nu menahḫanda ANA 2 EZEN.MEŠ ŠA* <sup>URU</sup>Aštata *U ANA EZEN AYARI / ŠA* <sup>URU</sup>Mizzulla *iwar ḫanza appannaš TE.MEŠ IR-ker.*

KUB 32.130 27-34 *ANA* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI=kan *anda aššuli naištari katti=mi aššuli artari / INA KUR LÚ.KÚR=ya kuwapi paimi / nu=mu katti=mi aššuli artari / ammel=za ANA SAG.DU=YA aššuli TI-anni / ḫanza ḫarši LÚ.KÚR.MEŠ-YA=mu / para piškiši n=uš / ḫarninkiškimi* “You turn in favor to My Majesty, you stand by me in favor, and when I go against an enemy country, you stand by me in favor,



you keep my (sacred) person, wellbeing (and) life safe; you hand over to me my enemies, so that I destroy them". This too shows the force of *hanza har-* as to keep someone or something safe and inviolate. Furthermore, here, as in law § 164, the object is in the dative-locative case: *ammel ANA SAG.DU=YA aššuli TI-anni*. Compare *É-ri=šši* in law 164, which may therefore be the logical direct object: "he shall keep his house inviolate until a (cultic) year has passed".

The equivalent of Hittite *appatriya-* in Sumerian legal terminology is the *gu<sub>4</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>* and *udu-dab<sub>5</sub>* of LU A iii 114-124: "I established freedom for the Akkadians and foreigners(?) in the lands of Sumer and Akkad, ... for the herdsmen (free from) those who appropriate(?) oxen, sheep, and donkeys." (Roth 1995, italics in the translation mine.)

On the identification of KBo 25.5 as part of manuscript "aa" and the lexical implications of the variants [*ú-i-it-ti*] *me-e-a-ni* (aa) and MU.KAM-za *me-e-ḥu-ni* (p) see Hoffner 1981b.

#### § 166-167

As in §§ 164-165, so here too there is a "sacral" aspect to the offence which is betrayed by the substitution of sacrificial animals for the execution of the man and the oxen, and by the stipulation *ta a-appa šu-up-pl-ia-ah-ḥi* that something (perhaps the land) be reconsecrated. There is a parallel in Deuteronomy 22 9 and Leviticus 19.19 (Haase 1994a, 74). In the older version the man who sowed the land second is killed, because he has sought to use land which belonged to another, and because by double sowing he has broken an ancient tabu. The oxen are killed because they have been used to execute a human being, or perhaps because they were used in the original crime of sowing the field, if the seed was sown not by hand but with a seeder plow. The significance of the double sowing as competing claims for the same piece of ground is perhaps symbolized by the mode of execution: the oxen pull the man apart! The description of the mode of execution was elucidated by Güterbock 1961b, 71. On capital crimes in Hittite law see Korošec 1980, Haase 1987. It might not be correct, as Haase claims, that there is no comparable law in the cuneiform collections. One could compare MAL B § 4 (ii 27-38): [*šumma*] *aḥḥū ina eqle la zēze [iltēn] aḥu ina libbišunu [...] zēra izru [...] eqle ēruš [aḥu šaniu]mma ittalka [zēr mēr]eše ša aḥišu [... ina] šanūtešu [ilqe ub]ta'erus [ukta]'inuš [ina ūme šūt ill]akanni [aḥu ša eqle] ērušuni [zittašu] ilaqqe* "If there are brothers in possession of an undivided field, and one brother among them ... sows seed ... cultivates the field, and a second brother then comes and for a second time [takes the seed] of his brother's cultivation ..., and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty—on the day that he himself comes forward, the brother who cultivated the field shall take his inheritance share." (Roth 1995 176f.).

#### § 168/53-169/54

On § 169 see Ardzinba 1988. For *paršiya-* with a boundary as object see CHD *parš-* B mng. 3. *ar-ḥa-an* in aa is the older writing of ZAG-an "boundary" (see HED 1 129). See also law § 6, and KBo 22.1 31 (OS). *akkala-* (Sum. AB.SÍN) is thought to mean "furrow" (HED 1:23, HW<sup>2</sup> 1:52), although CHD P, page 237 implies its meaning is still uncertain. The older version aa's *pé-e-da-i* has been changed to *pé-en-na-a-i* in the later copies d and e<sub>1</sub>. Puhvel's (HED 1:23) suggestion that *pé-e-da-i* is an OH writing of "*pè-da-i*" (i.e., *pád-da-i*) "digs" (Neu 1980a, 18 n. 48) is unacceptable for the reasons given in CHD P, p. 237. The use of the value *pè* for the BE sign is extremely rare and therefore unsuitable as the reading of choice for the very common verb BE-*da-* "to dig". If BE-*da-* "to dig" was really being read as /*peda-*/ in NH, there would have been no reason for the NH scribes to change *pé-e-da-i* in this law to *pé-en-na-a-i*. Whereas *pédai* "carries off" and *pennāi* "drives" are closer to each



other in meaning. The former would emphasize that he deducts a furrow from his neighbor's field by cultivating that portion himself. The latter would mean that in plowing he "drives"<sup>59</sup> the plow one furrow beyond where he is entitled to and thus encroaches upon his neighbor's field. Another solution is to take *akkala-* as a type of plow (Oettinger 1976; Melchert 1994, 33).

For another example of *aggalan penna-* in a context mentioning a plow (GĪŠAPIN) see: *namma = šan* GĪŠA[PIN ...] / *antuḫšaš* [...] / *nu aggalan naš[ma ...]* / *pennai nu 1 DUG[...]* / *nu aggali EGIR-an* [...] / *nu kiššan* [...] / GĪŠAPIN = *ya = war = an d[(aga)]n UL na[...]* KUB 39.14 i 3-9 (royal funerary ritual) w. dupl. KBo 3.49, ed. Otten 1958, 78. for *IŠTU A.ŠĀ = ŠU = ma = ši = kan aggalit / welkuwan le uizzi* KBo 6.34 iv 16-17, cf. Friedrich 1924; Oettinger 1976; Cornil 1994.

The settlement shows the same features of atoning for sacrilege as are found in §§ 164-167: giving offering materials and reconsecrating (*āppa šuppiyahh-*) the profaned property. The violating of boundaries was an offence against the gods who were believed to have set them. The passage KUB 17.29 ii 10-12 cited in CHD sub *parš-* B mng. 3 makes the point vividly: violating boundaries or roads constituted an attack upon the person of the Stormgod himself. In § 169 it is the owner of the field who perhaps unintentionally (so Friedrich 111) violates a boundary. It is unclear why *wāši* "buys" rather than *harzi* "holds > owns" is used. Perhaps, if this law is based upon a real incident, a man who had only recently acquired land and was still unsure of the location of its boundaries, accidentally transgressed one, and this became the precedant case. Even though the offence may have been unintentional, an exculpatory prayer is required.<sup>60</sup>

For *tāg-na-a ar-ši-ik-ke-et* (e i 8), *ta-a-ag-na-a [ar-ši?]-ke-e-et* (aa iii 6+13), Friedrich<sup>61</sup> translated "Du hast ... in die Erde gepflanzt" and derived the form from *aršāi-* "pflanzen (HG 119). In §§ 103/3 copies a and b this verb shows a 3 pres. sg. *ar-še-ēz-zi*, which suggests an OH stem *arše-*. Oettinger 1979, 186 registers *ar-ša-a-iz-zi* from § 105/5, but not *ar-še-ēz-zi* from § 103/3. He follows Starke 1977, 30 in taking *[arši]kēt/aršikkēt* in § 169 as a form of *arš-* "to flow": "Meine Waage (= was immer ich mir abgewogen habe) ist ständig in die Erde zerronnen". Although he objects to Friedrich's translation as yielding no satisfactory sense, his own is equally open to fault: why should a balance (or whatever the person has weighed out for himself) "flow" like a liquid into the earth? Neither he nor Starke offers an explanation.

If my reading of aa as *[ar-š]a?-ke-e-et* is correct, it offers one more clue, since HW<sup>2</sup> 1:217, 344a offers a form *a-ar-ša-ki-iz-zi* KUB 13.2 i 23ff. from *ar-ler-* "to arrive". If the form in law § 169 must be intransitive, it would create less difficulty if it were taken from *ar-* and not necessitate a conception of liquid flowing into the earth.

If the form is from *ar-*, we may find another passage which will shed light upon it. *nu ḪUR.SAG-i dammeli pedi / [paiwani nu k]uwapi* GĪŠAPIN-*aš UL aršikizzi / [nu apiya] paiwani* "[We go] to the mountain, to an uncultivated place. Where the plow never reaches, [there] we go." VBoT 24 i 31-33 (rit. of Anniwiyani), ed. Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935. Here the iterative-durative of *ar-* describes the movement of a plow. If the speaker is the accused who makes an exculpatory prayer, is it possible that

<sup>59</sup> See Greek *o[gm]on a[gein]* "draw a furrow" cited by HED A 23 as similar to Hitt. *pēda-* and *penna-*, but Latin (*sulcum/sulcos*) *patefacere* "lay open" or *infindere*. For the ancient Near East compare Akk. (*šer'am*) *šakānum* "lay" or *maḫāšum* "strike".

<sup>60</sup> Puhvel (HED 2:269), on the other hand, assumes that the speaker is the wronged party, who says of his opponent: "He has planted my scale in the earth." Puhvel does not explain what the wronged party means by this.

<sup>61</sup> Followed by HED A (1984) 74 and HW<sup>2</sup> 1:343b.



he regards his plowing of the field which he has legally purchased as the frequent or regular (iterative) coming of his *elzi* "balance" (that which authenticates his legal claim and protects him against a charge of fraud) into the ground?

## § 170

On the aspects of homicide here see Sick 1984, 87-89. Friedrich, 111 is doubtless right in seeing analogic magic at work here. He who kills the snake probably said something like: "As this snake dies, so may so-and-so (i.e., his enemy) also die". For a discussion of such analogic magic in Hatti see Goetze 1957, 156ff. and more recently Hoffner 1966c; Haas 1977b; del Monte 1985; Giorgieri 1990/publ 1991; Frantz-Szabó 1995. According to KUB 53.50 i 4 it was a bad omen if a snake was found dead on the altar (*ištanani*), in a storage vessel (*DUGharšiyalli*), or in a bed. In a more positive sense, for purposes of divination a snake might bear the king's name or the name "king" (*MUŠ ŠUM LUGAL*).<sup>62</sup>

## § 171

On this law see Melchert 1979. More than just vocabulary is unclear in this law. There are two clauses in the first half of this law and seven in the second half. In the second half the son is the actor in the first clause (*mān ... uizzi*), and the mother in the last one (*nu=za ... iezzi*). But one would like to know who is the actor in the middle clauses. If one is to be guided by symmetry, one would assume that, since in the first half the mother performs the action *edi nai*, she also performs it in the second half. Melchert assumes that in the second half it is the son who does the *edi nai*. It seems to me that the correct interpretation of this law depends upon gestures attested in Ancient Near Eastern law associated with disinheriting and reinstatement. In CHD *nai*- mng. 9c and 9g I cited several which derived from Ugarit during the Hittite period. These reasons remain decisive to me. The particular case which formed the precedent was one in which a widow disinherited her son. LH § 172 is also concerned with ensuring the protection of a widow against injustices from her or her husband's adult children. Hittite *tawanna*'s, however, did not have the legal right to "disinherit" a son who had succeeded his father to kingship.

## § 172

On this law see Yaron 1963. The ten shekel payment for saving the life of a slave can be compared to the same figure in law § 8 (blinding a slave's eye, or knocking out his tooth) and § 12 (breaking the hand or foot of a slave). These latter are serious injuries which considerably reduce the value of a slave. Ten shekels is the fine for accidentally causing the death of an unborn child at pregnancy term: ten months (law § 17). Ten shekels is also the purchase price of someone (i.e., a slave) trained in a craft (*DUMU UMMIĀN*). From this evidence one can see how for a slave ten shekels is indeed equivalent to Akk. *pūḫšu* ("a replacement for him") for a free man.

## § 173

On this law see recently Haase 1994c. The offence in case one is refusing to comply with a royal verdict in a legal case. Although the verb *ḫull<sup>e</sup>/a- / ḫulliyē-* in military contexts means "to strike > to de-

<sup>62</sup> See CHD *laman* a (CHD L-N, p. 31) and Laroche 1958.



feat, overcome",<sup>63</sup> it is its legal usage alone which concerns us here. The legal nuance of *hull<sup>e</sup>/a-* is attested in Law § 29 (B ii 11-13): *takku DUMU.MUNUS-aš LÚ-ni hamenkanza nu=šši kušata piddaizzi / appezzin=at* (C iii 7 EGIR-zi[-an-na-at]) *attaš annaš hullanzi n=an=kan LÚ-ni / tuḫšanzi*, where a young betrothed woman's parents refuse to comply with their contractual obligation. The common notion is a refusal to respect or comply with authority.

The highest court was the king's. The *BEL MADGALTI* also administered justice in conjunction with local authorities (von Schuler 1957), 47f. Law § 173 informs us that there was also a sphere of jurisdiction which belonged to the *LÚDUGUD* "dignitary; magistrate". Haase 1994c, 223 quotes Beal 1986, 504 for the opinion that this was a relatively low military rank ("from captain down to sergeant or even corporal"), but—because of the severity of the punishment described in this law—prefers to see it as a higher rank. Whatever his precise military rank, the *LÚDUGUD* here is a judicial official whose verdict must not be questioned. The judicial duties of the *LÚ.MEŠDUGUD* are most clearly brought out in the OH instructions tablet KBo 22.1, edited by Archi 1979b; Marazzi 1988. That text describes corrupt magistrates who have been accepting bribes from rich citizens to pervert justice. Their duties include investigating (*punuške-*) the complaints of the poor. Corrupt, unjust behaviour on their part is called *gullakkuwan* ("corruption, filth"), a word which in another text describes a hair found in the king's drinking water (KUB 13.3 iii 27, edited Friedrich 1928).

In § 173, as we have seen in earlier sequences of laws, we have a gradation of offences from the most to the least serious. On this principle in cuneiform legislation see V. Korošec cited in Haase 1994c, 223 note 11. Refusing to comply with a royal verdict is the most serious, and the punishment for this must be interpreted so as to reflect the most severe sanction. The text reads *É-SU pupulli kiša* "his house will become a heap of ruins". This must mean more than the physical wrecking of his house, although that may have formed a small part of the entire punishment. Very likely it means that he and his whole family must be killed, so that there will be no continuance of his line.<sup>64</sup> Haase 1994c, 222 n. 6 concurs with this assessment of the punishment. On *pupulli* see: (Sum.) *gú-bal* = (Akk.) *te-lu* (understood by the Hittite scribe as) "tell" = (Hitt.) *URU-aš p[u-pu-ul-li]* "the r[ui]ns of a city" KBo 1.42 iii 6 (Izi Bogh, NH), ed. Hoffner 1967c, 303 w. n. 23, MSL 13:137, cf. AHw 1359b, s.v. *tilu* "(Schutt-)Hügel".

On this phrase in law § 173 see Friedrich 1959, 76f., cf. Güterbock 1954, 17; Hrozný 1922, 133 ("amas de m[or]ts"); Walther 1931, 269 ("ruin(?)"); Friedrich 1959, 111 ("ein Substantiv, etwa 'Ruine(?)', oder ein Adjektiv, vielleicht 'wüst, zerstört(?)' oder auch 'friedlos(?)')"; van Brock 1962 120; Kronasser 1966, 120; Hoffner 1967c, 303 w. n. 23; Neumann 1971 266.

The punishment for refusing to comply with the verdict of a *LÚDUGUD* is less severe in that the offender himself is executed, but not his entire family and lineage. As Haase puts it: "Da im zweiten Falle nicht der König entscheidet, fehlt der sakrale Einschlag." The form of execution, beheading, is attested in the OH land grant texts edited by Riemschneider 1958, 335f. On the death penalty in Hittite law see Korošec 1980.

<sup>63</sup> A common PIE root was seen for *walh-* and *hull-* by Oettinger 1979, 264 and Melchert 1984 115, but this is now rejected by Lehrman, Puhvel and Melchert (cited in Melchert 1994 82, 169).

<sup>64</sup> *Imparati* 1964, 305 ("la pena ricadrà ... su tutta la sua casa"). Deliberate refusal to comply with the <sup>m</sup>rj decree of Yahweh, Israel's king, resulted in the identical punishment inflicted upon Achan and his family (*Joshua*, chapter 7). See Gurney 1990, 93 n.1 and Hoffner 1963, 109f., 335.



In the oldest witness, aa, there is a paragraph division between the first two cases and the third case, hence, the division in the numbering between § 173a and § 173b. The NH witness p has no division. Since, contra Haase, one cannot regard manuscript p as earlier than aa, we must conclude that § 173b was eventually united with § 173a because a similarity was felt to exist between the two, perhaps the idea of challenging legally constituted authority. In the footnotes to the transliteration and translation it has been shown that an earlier reading *a-ra-a-u-ez-zi* preserved (as [*a-ra-*]a-u-ez-zi) in aa became *a-ra-iz-zi* in p. It is possible that this was due to an accidental omission of *-u-* (the smallest Hittite sign and the easiest to overlook) between *-ra* and *-iz*. *arawezzi* would have meant that the slave "is/becomes free" > "declares himself free" from his master, but not that he necessarily physically assaulted him. This might take the form of refusal to perform duties (Haase: "Man kann sich mit Worten widersetzen"). This is what we would call insubordination (Haase: "Unbotmässigkeit"). Such behaviour is punished in the LH § 205 and 282 with mutilation of the slave's ears (noted by Haase, 225 note 22). This procedure is also mentioned in the Hittite instructions for priests: "If a slave angers his master, he either kills him, or he mutilates his nose, eyes, or ears" (KUB 13.4 i 28-30, edited Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935; Süel 1985). But once the scribal error yielded *a-ra-iz-zi*, an association of the verb with *a-ra-a-i* "rises (against his master)" would have suggested itself to the scribe. To be sure, the *mi*-conjugation form looks like the verb *arai-* "to halt, stop (something)", but the lack of an accusative object and the employment of a dative would deter him from interpreting *a-ra-iz-zi* as "halts". "Rises against his master" might well have involved a physical assault (Haase: "man kann auch handgreiflich werden"), which would be not just insubordination, but rebellion. Therefore the NH scribe removed the paragraph line and included this case with the preceding two. Somewhat ironically, because Hittitologists have read aa's form as [...-]ha-iz-zi, no one has realized that *a-ra-iz-zi* in p is secondary and faulty, and have in fact followed p's interpretation ("rises against his master") rather than aa's.

The complex and still somewhat unclear history of the interpretation of the verb *arawezzi* > *arazzi* most probably affected the understanding of the punishment clause. If *arawezzi* in the OH recension was regarded as refusal to obey, but not outright assault, and was therefore separated from the preceding clauses by a paragraph stroke, it is conceivable that the punishment clause "he shall go into a clay jar" originally was not a circumlocution for the death penalty, but was a kind of humiliation and discipline to cure the slave of insubordination. Haase (225) envisages the slave sitting in an empty cistern or wine barrel, thinking long and soberly about the consequences of his insubordination. That such large vessels existed in which an adult man could sit or crawl is clear from passages in cultic texts. In one such text a man is described as crawling into one open end of a *DUGpalhi* and out the other (see CHD *palhi-* B d). Passing through such a vessel (like a culvert) was probably part of an acted-out spell, which removed evil and allowed the patient to emerge as a "clean" and cured man, much as the chastened slave might emerge from the *DUGÚTUL*. In another text two *LÚ.MEŠALAN.ZU*<sub>9</sub> are squatting naked inside a vat (*luli-*) and a priest pours beer over their backs (see CHD *luli-* 3 a). Otten (cited in Haase, 224) conceives of "going into a clay jar" as an unclear form of determining guilt or innocence ("ein Gerichtsverfahren gegen den Unfreien"). Either of these interpretations would be possible in the earlier, OH period. But in the NH period, when the offence was described as *a-ra-iz-zi* with its overtones of physical assault and perhaps attempted murder, the going into a clay jar might have been reinterpreted as a form of the death penalty. Almost all interpreters regard it as a form of capital punishment, whether by being cooked in a cauldron or buried alive. My reconstruction of the history of this law is based upon the NH merging of § 173a and b into a single paragraph, and a possibly more



severe understanding of *araizzi* versus *arawezzi*, neither of which may be able to bear the weight of my reconstruction. If it cannot do so, then the going into the clay jar was probably always understood in the same way. Haase hesitates to state that it was the death penalty, since the loss of a slave was a serious financial penalty on the master. Yet consider the procedure for execution of a rebellious (incorrigible) son in *Deut.* 21.18-21. Haase rejects Diakonov's suggestion that the slave's action represented a class protest, i.e., a threat of all slaves to revolt, since Haase thinks such a rarity would not be incorporated into law.

§ 174/59

On *zahhiya*- here in a reciprocal sense see (among others) Boley 1993, 144. Compare law § 4 where even the accidental ("hand sins") killing of a male or female slave requires that the homicide give "one person", and law § 42, where, someone who has hired another to go on a trip or campaign, but not yet paid him, and the hired person dies, must give "one person".

§ 175/60

This law is a repetition of § 35 in the first series. See discussion there.

§ 176a/61a

On this law see Goetze 1966, who plausibly suggested that *DI-IN LUGAL* and *ha-ap-pár-ra-an-zi* are two clauses: "(It is a case for) the king's court. They shall sell (the bull)" (see above in commentary on § 98). As my translation indicates, the rest of § 176a merely elucidates what constitutes a "bull" (*GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḪ*) (see laws § 57 and 60). A *tāyugaš* animal ('two-year-old', i.e., one in its third year) is a bull.

§ 176b/61b

The laws §§ 176-186 concern standard prices for commodities (Goetze 1957, 121f., Gurney 1990, 68-71, Hoffner 1995b, 560, Imparati 1995, 580). Law collections (such as the Laws of Eshnunna) and royal edicts from ancient Mesopotamia frequently contained such lists (Grayson 1972, 20-21 n. 64, Greengus 1995, 481, Postgate 1994, 194). Some of the Old Babylonian ones could be realistic, and I would be inclined to so regard the prices in the Hittite laws. But other listings, particularly those from first millennium Assyria and Babylonia are clearly "ideal" prices. Such "ideal" prices are also found in hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions (Hawkins 1986).

Hittite law § 176 sets the purchase price for a person (i.e., slave) trained in a craft. See above in commentary on § 129. Seven trades are named: potter,<sup>65</sup> smith, carpenter, tanner (or leather worker), fuller, weaver, and maker of *KABALLU*-leggings. The professions / occupations mentioned in the following paragraph (§ 177) were even more valuable, unless (with Goetze 1957, 105 n. 8) we emend the "10" of copy p to "30". No figure is preserved in the other copies. This paragraph is cited in transliteration and German translation, but without commentary, in Müller-Karpe 1988 151.

<sup>65</sup> On *LÚBÁḪAR* (and *LÚBAḪAR<sub>5</sub>*) in addition to Rüster and Neu 1989 sign number 162 see Müller-Karpe 1988 150. In both discussions, however, the explanation of *DUG.QA.BUR.NA* omits the evidence of Berman and Hoffner 1980 that this complex also occurs in Boghazköy denoting a hare: *KBo 10.28 + 10.33 v 1-2 UZU GU[D] UZU UDU UZU EDIN.NA MUŠE[N.ḪI.A] / UZU [ḪÁD].DU.A parḫūwayaš*, and parallel *KBo 10.36 iii 3 [U]ZU ARNABI MUŠEN.ḪI.A parḫu[...]*. Cf. discussion in CHD P 148 sub *parḫūwayaš*.



## § 177

The Sumerograms LÚMUŠEN.DÛ and LÚIGI.MUŠEN are synonymous in Hittite texts, just like LÚHAL and LÚAZU. A very nice example of training someone for this occupation is given in KUB 23.108 rev. 7-13: [m...] AŠŠUM LÚKAB.ZU.ZU-UTTİM ADDİN / [...] LÚIGI.MUŠEN-UTTİM annanut / [...] -za nūwa ḥarzi INA É.GAL-LIM = ma = wa / [...] aruw]anun IŠTU É.GAL-LIM = ma = wa = mu / [...] x-mi mZAG.A.A = ma = wa = kan kāša / [...] -n]iya ēšzi nu = wa IŠTU É.GAL-LIM / [...] -yandu nu = [war] = an a-ap! -pāt-ri-ia[-an-du?] "I gave [m...] for apprenticeship/training, and [...] trained [him in] the craft of augury. [But ...] he still holds [...]! I [appe]aled to the palace [...], but I [...] for myself from the palace. Look! mZAG-muwa is sitting in [...]. Let them [...] from the palace and arrest/commandeer him!" This "giving" someone for apprenticeship/training also elucidates §200.

The purchase price (25 shekels) is higher than that for the trained persons in § 176b (10 shekels). With the augur this might be because his services were of particular value, even to the king in battle. By his craft he was able to foresee and help to avoid difficulties. But this fails to explain the 20 shekels price for a *dampūpi*-person. See *Imparati* 1964, 255 ("inesperto, non addestrato"), 284. In § 147 the fine for interfering with the sale of a *dampūpi*-person is 5 shekels, one quarter of the price given here.

## § 178/63

The tables of prices for domestic animals given by Güterbock 1961b, 75 are worth reproducing here.

Table 13. Cattle Prices

Price (in shekels) of live animal § 178		Price of hide § 185		Price of meat §§ 185-186	
GU <sub>4</sub> .APIN.LÁ	12				
GU <sub>4</sub> .MAḤ	10	GU <sub>4</sub> .GAL	1	GU <sub>4</sub> .GAL	0.5
GU <sub>4</sub> .ÁB.GAL	7				
GU <sub>4</sub> .APIN.LÁ <i>yugaš</i>	5	—		GU <sub>4</sub> <i>yugaš</i>	0.5
GU <sub>4</sub> .ÁB <i>yugaš</i>	5				
GU <sub>4</sub> <i>šawitišt-</i>	4	GU <sub>4</sub> <i>šawitišt-</i>	0.2	GU <sub>4</sub> <i>šawitišt-</i>	0.2
pregnant GU <sub>4</sub> .ÁB	8	—			
AMAR	2 (var. 3)	AMAR(!)	0.1	AMAR	0.1

Table 14. Prices of Equides (§§ 178, 180-181)

animal	shekels
ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA	QATAMMA <sup>66</sup>

<sup>66</sup> The text says that the prices of the ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA, ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ, ANŠE.NÍTA and ANŠE.MUNUS.AL.LÁ are analogous (QATAMMA) to those of the bovines. And since MUNUS.AL.LÁ (contra Friedrich 1959 140 "Zugstute", "Zugeselin") has nothing to do with "draft animals", but merely denotes the female (see Glossary sub MUNUS.AL(.LÁ)), I assume that the two comparable prices among the bovines were for the adult male and female, i.e., the GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḤ and GU<sub>4</sub>.ÁB.GAL. But 10 shekels for the male and 7 for the female do not seem high enough to fit with the 14 shekel price of one ANŠE.KUR.RA in § 180 or 15 shekels for a "yearling filly" (ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ *i-ú-ga-aš*, § 180).



ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ	QATAMMA
ANŠE.NÍTA	QATAMMA
ANŠE.MUNUS.AL.LÁ	QATAMMA
ANŠE.KUR.RA <i>turiyawaš</i>	20
ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA	40
ANŠE.KUR.RA ( <i>wešiyawaš</i> )	14 (var. 15)
ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA <i>yugaš</i>	10
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ <i>yugaš</i>	15
ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA ( <i>šawitišt-</i> )	4
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ ( <i>šawitišt-</i> )	4

Table 15. Prices of Sheep and Goats (§ 179)

Live animal	Shekels	Hide	Shekels	Meat	Shekels <sup>67</sup>
UDU	1	UDU <i>warhuiš</i> UDU <i>ĤARUPTI</i>	1 0.1	UDU	0.1
SILA <sub>4</sub>	0.5	SILA <sub>4</sub>	0.05	SILA <sub>4</sub>	0.05
MÁŠ/UZ <sub>6</sub>	0.67	MÁŠ/UZ <sub>6</sub> MÁŠ/UZ <sub>6</sub> <i>walli</i>	0.25 0.067	no meat	
MÁŠ.TUR	0.25	MÁŠ.TUR	0.05	MÁŠ.TUR	[0.05]

## § 179-180/64-65

The use of *takku* in  $b_2$  and  $p$  is awkward.  $x$  uses the normal formulation with ŠA found in all manuscripts of the adjacent laws.

## § 184

This paragraph has always been a riddle. What is meant by the five signs following URU-ri? Walther 1931, 271 n. 1 correctly observed that the scribe "has corrected this line probably several times and incompletely". Neufeld 1951, 52 n. 173 noted the same thing from his photo. Walther's translation "This (is the?) tariff; but as it is in the town(?) (village?), [in the country (?at Hattusas?) it is just the same(?)]" supposes that the five signs in question are enclitic to URU-ri, and that much is to be restored in the break at the end of the line. Neufeld's translation "This (is) the tariff, in the town (and in) the country (it shall be the same)" seems to regard the five signs as a separate word "the country", perhaps interpreted as a form of Akkadian *mātu*. Goetze 1969 renders "As it is (valid) in a town, [it is also valid in the capital]", similar to Walther. Friedrich 1959, 80, 112, like Neufeld, regarded the five signs as a separate word and interpreted it as Akkadian *ma-ad-dá!-at* "zugeteilt(?)", 3rd person sing. feminine of the Stative of *madādu* "messen, zumessen". He recognized the problem that the Hittites would have used an Akkadian feminine verb as predicate to a Hittite neuter noun *takšeššar* "tariff".

<sup>67</sup> Meat prices are actually expressed in the text as ratios of the value of a live sheep. But since the value of a live sheep was one shekel (§ 179), there is no practical difference. See Gurney 1990, 95, and Hawkins 1986, 95.



Friedrich's view was followed by Haase 1984, 91, 1963, 45 and CHD L-N 211 under the lemma [*ma-at-ša-at*]. Von Schuler (1982, 121) was less certain, translating "Dies (*ist*) *der Tarif, wie er* in der Stadt ... [...]"'. Imparati 1964 followed Friedrich in her transliteration (p. 168), but used "... in the translation (p. 169) and resigns herself in the commentary (p. 309f.) to summarizing the views of her predecessors. Although I admit that this line has been much corrected and is suspect of several mistakes, it should be noted that there is no word space between URU-ri and the following five signs, which favors Walther's view that they belong to this word and militates against Friedrich. Also against Friedrich's view is the unusual position of *mahhan* following the five signs, which he takes as the predicate. If the true predicate were in the break at the end of the line, it would leave little space, even including writing out on the edge, for yet another clause containing *QATAMMA* or *apeniššan*. Perhaps there was no following *QATAMMA*-clause, but the *mahhan* clause simply meant "(this is the tariff,) just as it [was established] in/for the city (Hattusa)". § 184 has no OH witness; the only text witness is NH p. It is well-known that there exist in NH enclitic chains of the type *z-at=ši=at* in which the nom. or acc. pronoun occurs twice, flanking another enclitic element. See KUB 1.1 iii 18, KBo 4.10 obv. 43, and construed with *kittaru* as the main verb KUB 26.1 i 61-62 and KUB 21.42+ ii 36. Two possibilities exist for using this NH pattern to explain § 184: (1) the sequence *-ma-at-ša-at < -ma-at-ši-at*, in which *-at* refers back to *takšeššar* and *-ši* to the URU-ri, and (2) *-ma-at-ša-at* is a unique "resolved" writing of the graph *z*, making the sequence equivalent to *-ma-za-at* attested in KUB 6.45+ i 29. In neither case is there a need to assume a following *QATAMMA*-clause, and the sense of the clause would be "This is the tariff, as it [has been established(?)] in/for it, namely the city".

## § 185

Goetze 1933b, 113, 1957, 121 saw correctly that p iii 11 was to be read: ŠA 10 KUŠ AMAR 1 GÍN KÜ.BABBAR, which he achieved by a double emendation. In this he was followed by Güterbock 1961b, 77 n. 45. Collation by photo suggests that no emendation is needed in KBo 6.26 (p) iii 11 for 10 KUŠ AMAR. The correction of 1 MA.NA in the same line to 1 GÍN requires a true emendation. The reason for the mistake is unclear. Güterbock's suggestion that the scribe was misled by his own mistaken reading KUŠ GU<sub>4</sub> into substituting a higher price collapses with the discovery that he actually wrote AMAR. The following table shows the pattern. Immature, unweaned animals' hides are in the range of 10 to 20 per shekel.

Table 16. Prices of Animal Skins

Animal	Most valuable	Intermediate	Immature
GU <sub>4</sub>	GU <sub>4</sub> GAL 1 GÍN	GU <sub>4</sub> <i>šawitištaš</i> 1/5 GÍN	AMAR? 1/10 GÍN! (text MA.NA)
UDU	UDU <i>warhūiš</i> 1 GÍN UDU <i>ḤARUPTI</i> 1 GÍN		SILA <sub>4</sub> 1/20 GÍN
UZ <sub>6</sub> /MÁŠ	UZ <sub>6</sub> 1/4 GÍN	UZ <sub>6</sub> <i>walli</i> 1/15 GÍN	MÁŠ.TUR 1/20 GÍN



## § 187

This law introduces *hurkel*, the concept of which is difficult to grasp. It has been translated in a variety of ways: Hrozný "punition", Walther "capital crime", Goetze "capital crime", Friedrich "Greuel", von Schuler "eine Missetat", Haase "(etwas) Ungeheueres", Hoffner 1963, 187 "abomination; depravity", Puhvel 1986; 1991, 401 "strangulation; hanging matter", Hoffner 1973b; 1995a "unpermitted sexual pairing". It occurs very rarely outside the laws themselves. Inside the laws it denotes instances of sexual pairing which for some reason were considered *inherently* inappropriate. It does not pertain to instances of extra-marital sexual misconduct like fornication and adultery. It seems rather to be primarily concerned with the *intrinsic* unsuitableness of certain pairings. A strong resemblance can be seen between Hittite *hurkel* and the ancient Israelite laws of *Leviticus* 18-20 and *Deuteronomy* 22.9-11 regarding unsuitable sexual pairings (called *tebel* and *tô'ebah* in biblical Hebrew and *μισερόν* and *βδέλυγμα* in biblical Greek). But although all sexual concourse of humans with animals is forbidden in the Hebrew Bible, Hittite law makes further distinctions between animals which do or do not qualify as permitted sexual partners: the horse and mule are permitted (§ 200a). The criterion or criteria used to draw this distinction are not stated, and it is probably futile for a modern to attempt to recover the ancient Hittite presuppositions which informed this decision. Probably the same kind of thinking lies behind the distinctions between "clean" and "unclean" animals in ancient Israelite law. But there the criteria themselves, or at least the working rules, are explicitly stated, even if the reasons behind them are not. The secondary literature on the subject of Israelite "clean/unclean" distinctions is too vast to even begin to cover here. The corresponding Hittite concepts have to my knowledge only been studied in any depth by Moyer 1983 in a dissertation guided by me. In ancient Israelite law the "clean" land animals which were permitted for eating and for sacrifice were the ox, the sheep and the goat, animals which had the longest history of domestic association with the early Israelites going back to their semi-nomadic period. The pig, being an animal normally kept by settled (non-nomadic peoples) appeared relatively late in Israelite domestic experience and was therefore never included among the "clean" animals. The horse and the camel also were relatively late entrants in the Israelite domesticated animal scene. We may apply somewhat the same logic to the Hittite animal world. Animals such as the ox, sheep and pig were kept by the Hittites and their ancestors long before the horse and mule were introduced. *Perhaps* the late comers were not introduced into the field of domesticated animals proscribed to humans for sexual pairing. But this is only a guess.

One should not translate *hurkel* as "capital crime", since there were many offences requiring the death penalty which are not labelled *hurkel* (§§ 121, 126, 166, 170, 173, 197 and 199; see Hoffner 1963, 336f.). Furthermore, we know from texts later than the laws that *hurkel* was punishable in some localities by death and others by banishment, and ritual fragments show that an offender could be purified by ritual from the effects of *hurkel* so as to go on living in his original community, thus avoiding even the necessity of banishment (Hoffner 1973b). In the laws themselves it is indicated that a man who has sexual relations with two prohibitively closely related women (e.g., mother and daughter) was not restrained or punished so long as they lived in separate cities and the relationship was not known. Since we do not know the linguistic origin of *hurkel*, it is premature to speculate on an Indo-European root or etymology. Such premature speculations and the application of the alleged root meaning to the Hittite occurrences can only distort and prejudice the evidence. *hurkel*

On the use of *wašta*- here see the discussion in Chapter I sub "The Terminology of Law". The *katta* in *katta ... waštai* is not a preverb, but governs the noun indicating the sexual partner, which (in OH) is in the genitive case. The similar GAM-*an wa-aš-ta-i* occurs in KUB 41.11 rev. 2, 32 (colophon) where



it describes the offense of a man having sexual relations "with a sheep or goat", see Hoffner 1973b, 86f.

## § 190

For this idiom elsewhere see: [*maḥḥan* ITU.7?.KAM *tiya*]z<sub>zi</sub> nu *namma* LÚMUZA =ŠU ITTI DAM =ŠU UL *tiy*[*azzi*] "[When the seventh(?) month (of pregnancy) ar]rives, then the husband does no any longer 'en[ter]' with his wife" KBo 17.65 obv. 5 (birth ritual).<sup>68</sup> Beckman, who correctly interprets KBo 17.65 obv. 5, does not cite law § 190, but the similarity is very close, including the use of ITTI and its equivalent, the Hittite instrumental (*akkantit*). The only minor difference is the absence of -*šan* in KBo 17.65 obv. 5. -*šan* is especially appropriate when the implication is sexual intercourse, where one party is superimposed on the other. The OH spelling *ti-e-zi* in p, together with a better sense in the singular, makes that reading more likely the original, instead of the plural *ti-an-zi* in copy y.

## § 191

Although it is difficult to say positively what the precise force of the verb *wen-* is, one can at least eliminate one possibility. In several Mesopotamian law codes the offence of "deflowering" a woman is treated (LU § 5, SLEx §§ 7-8, SLHF iv 10-11, LE §§ 26, 31). The Sumerian verbal construct is a-gi or é-gi, to which the Sumerogram MUNUSÉ.GI<sub>4</sub>.A in Hittite ("bride, daughter-in-law", literally "deflowered woman") is related. The Akkadian verb in these cases is *naqābu*. Since the direct object of the verb *wen-* is "women and their mother", it is clear that *wen-* does not have the precise meaning "to deflower". Its syntax differs from *katta(n) wašta-* which associates with a noun in the genitive. Since the -*ške*-form *uwanšikke-* takes people (*antuḥšuš*) as its direct object in a context of abusing or humiliating a defeated enemy (KBo 3.60 iii 10-13), it is possible that both "beat up" and "knock up (sexually)" in their colloquial American senses could be covered by the verb. It is likely that the verbal root is found in the deverbal nomen instrumenti *wenal* "stick, club, pole", i.e., the implement with which one strikes or beats.

## § 192

On this law see Haase 1994b.

As is explained in a footnote to the transliteration of § 192, it seems necessary to read [L]ÚḪA.LA.ŠU "his partner" in p iii 37 instead of [L]Ú-aš ḪA.LA.ŠU "the share of (her) man" in copy p, which results in a completely different meaning. Instead of the wife taking the share of her husband, the clause means "his partner shall take his (i.e., the deceased man's) wife".

The tablet shows that p has erased a longer law originally written in this position, probably identical to what is preserved at this point in aa and y<sub>1</sub>. This law ("If a man's wife dies, [he may take her] sister [as his wife.]") ended with the words UL *ḫaratar* "(there is) no offense", a phrase occurring essentially only in the cases where *ḫurkel* might otherwise be suspected. In practice UL *ḫaratar* seems almost to mean "there is no *ḫurkel*". p did not conclude the shorter law with the words UL *ḫaratar*, because the LÚḪA.LA would not necessarily be a blood relation of the deceased husband, and consequently there would be no question in anyone's mind about the possibility of *ḫurkel*.

But if we are intended to read j's law this way, how does it agree with the immediately following law, which prescribes levirate marriage when a husband predeceased his wife? It would appear that,

<sup>68</sup> Edited Beckman 1983, 132f., and comments on page 152f., quoting Hoffner 1967a, 79.



since in copy p § 192 precedes § 193, if a man predeceased his wife and he had a partner (LÚJA.LA), that partner had first claim on the widow (and presumably her inherited share in the partnership). If no business partner existed, the provisions of § 193 became effective: a near kinsman of the husband married her. In other words, among the Hittites the economic motive of preserving the wife's dowry in the family of her husband (which motive probably lies behind all the levirate laws known in the ancient Near East) was restricted by the prior right of his business partner. This protection of the interests of a business partner is also reflected in other laws, where the exemptions from *luzzi*, etc., once covered not only a man but also his business partner(s) (laws §§ 50-53).

#### § 193

This law treats what is called "levirate marriage" (from Latin *levir* "brother-in-law"). On this law see Beckman 1986, 16f. A possible example of this law in practice can be found in the treaty of Šuppiluliuma I with Ḫuqqana of Ḫayaša (Ḫuqq. iii 55-56), where the Hittite king orders Ḫuqqana to "take your daughter away from (the deceased?) Mariya and give her to (his) brother" (Friedrich 1930a, 128f.). In his footnote 9 Friedrich suggested that this was the brother (or stepbrother) of Mariya, the original husband. See also Klinger 1992 on the Ḫuqqana incident. There may also be an example in the Inandik landgrant (Balkan 1973.). See also § 192 with its Commentary.

#### § 198

Earlier translators and commentators treated the phrase *ta SAG.DU-SÚ* (13) *wa-aš-ši-e-ez-zi* as follows: Hrozný 1922 149 ('sa tête il marque'), Walther 1931 273 ("then mark his head"), Friedrich 1959 115 ("Der Satz 'er kann seinen Kopf bekleiden' ist von allen Übersetzern wohl mit Recht auf eine äusserlich sichtbare Kennzeichnung des Ehebrechers, etwa durch eine besondere Kappe, gedeutet worden"), Imparati 1964 179 ("e la sua = dell'adultero testa copre"), 321 ("può ottenerla: in tal modo però fa restare in vita anche l'adultero, la cui testa viene coperta, probabilmente con un segno d'infamia visibile a tutti"), and even as recently as Hoffner 1995a 237 ("and 'clothe his head'"). This would constitute something like the mark placed upon the adulteress in Nathaniel Hawthorne's novel *The Scarlet Letter*. But Tsevat 1975 correctly considered the wife the object of the verb in the Hittite law and translated: "Then he may veil her". According to him, the veiling is not part of the punishment, but constitutes a reaffirmation of the couple's marriage (which has been called into question by her adultery) by symbolically re-enacting her bridal status. Tsevat has correctly observed that the symmetrical treatment of wife and paramour would require that if the paramour were being somehow marked here in a humiliating manner, the wife should also receive this treatment, which she apparently doesn't. The symmetrical treatment of wife and paramour is also illustrated in MAL A § 15: "If a man should seize another man upon his wife and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty, they shall kill both of them; there is no liability for him (i.e., the husband). If he should seize him and bring him either before the king or the judges, and they prove the charges against him and find him guilty—if the woman's husband kills his wife, then he shall also kill the man; if he cuts off his wife's nose, he shall turn the man into a eunuch and they shall lacerate his entire face; but if [he wishes to release] his wife, he shall [release] the man" (Roth 1995 158). Tsevat 1975 also notes this Assyrian law, citing the earlier edition and discussion by Driver and Miles.



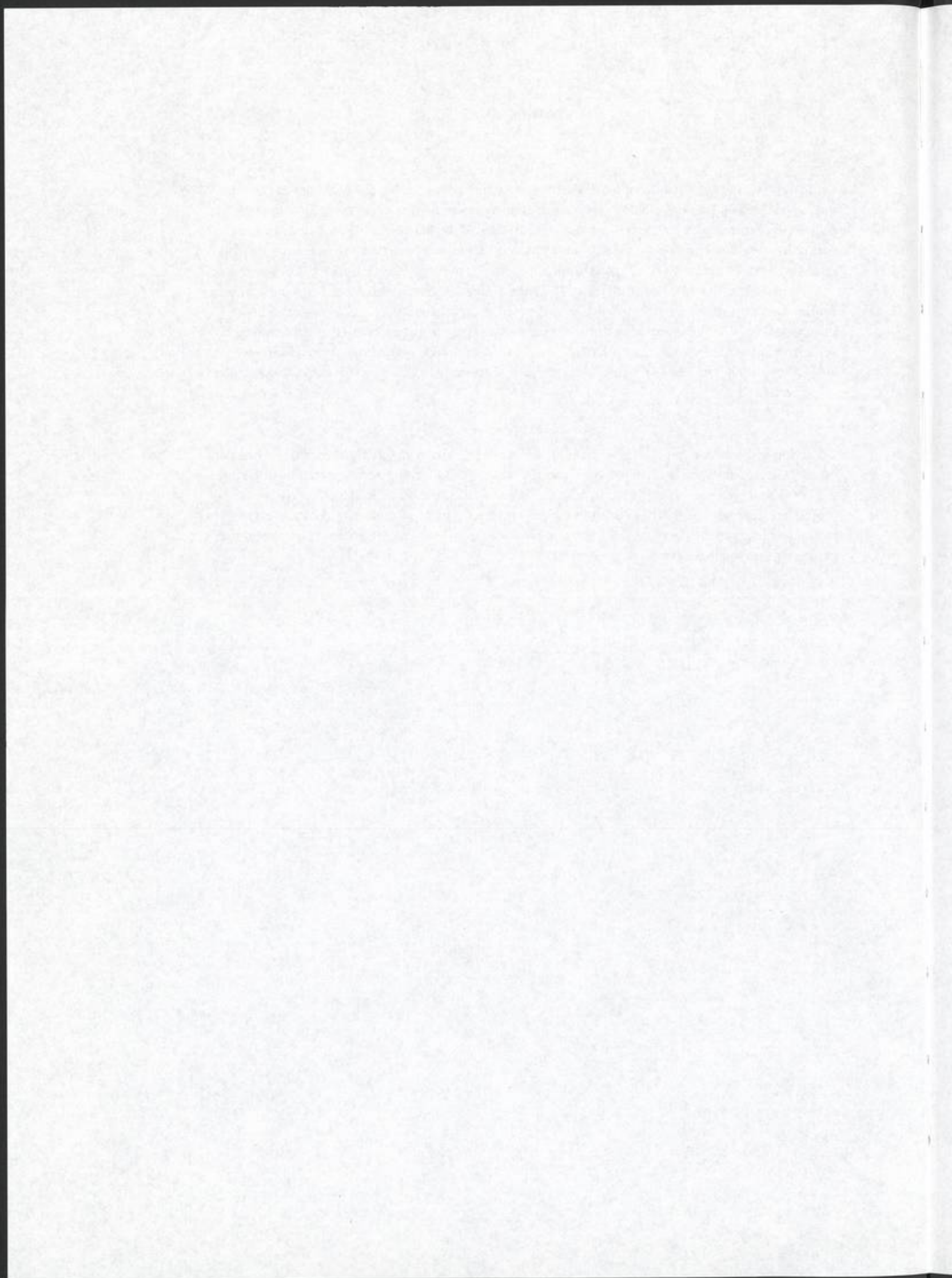
## §§ 199-200

On these two laws see Friedrich 1960b. There is a certain naively analogical thinking here about human-animal sexual couplings that understands them in a manner similar to inter-human couplings. Just as between humans who couple one can distinguish cases of mutual consent from those in which one partner is unwilling (rape, see § 197), so also in some human-animal sexual encounters the human is unwilling, but the sexually excited animal initiates sexual activity (*ták-ku GU<sub>4</sub>-uš LÚ-[ni] wa-at-ku-zi ... ták-ku ŠAH-aš LÚ-ni wa-at-ku-zi*, § 199). When the human partner initiates the encounter, it is assumed that the animal consents. And just as in the rulings on inter-human couplings, so also in the human-animal ones, in the former case the unwilling partner is not punished, but in the latter both receive symmetrical punishment: *ku-en-zi-uš LUGAL-uš hu-iš-nu-zi-ia-aš L[UG]AL-uš*. A broad survey of the subject is found in Hoffner 1973b, while a later study focussing more narrowly on the laws themselves is Haase 1976.

## § 200

On giving someone for apprenticeship/training see comments above on § 177 and the brief remarks of Neu 1995b regarding the Hurrian parable about the master (*UMMI'AN*) and his ungrateful apprentice. On law §200B see also Haase 1959. In KBo 3.34 ii 30-32 it is the heads (*GAL*) of various crafts or professions (cupbearers, heralds, guards) who perform the action of *ulkiššarahh-*. And since they then retain the person in their service, does this perhaps mean that the <sup>LÚ</sup>*UMMEĀN* pays the young man's parents one person in order to keep the trainee?







CHAPTER FOUR  
MANUSCRIPTS

The various manuscripts of the Hittite laws show by their spellings both the habits of scribes as a group in each of the major chronological periods and the peculiar habits of the individual scribes. It is doubtful—and certainly unprovable at present—that any of the preserved copies of the laws is an “original”. Even the Old Hittite manuscripts show that they are “copies” by the presence of scribal errors.

Although Korošec compared the manuscripts of the first series (A, B, C and PT) in 1959 and already earlier in 1932<sup>1</sup>, the relative dating of the copies of the laws began in earnest with the reviews of Friedrich's 1959 edition by Kammenhuber 1961b and Güterbock 1961b; 1962a. A comparison of the readings of the late parallel text (PT) with the versions of the main series was made by Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965.

Goetze, Güterbock and Korošec suggested dating the redaction of the laws to the reign of Telipinu,<sup>1</sup> while Kammenhuber more generally dated them to the Old Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Carruba argued on the basis of the *-yezzi* forms of the verbs which in NH show *-ya(z)zi* that manuscript A of the first series should be dated in the reign of Hattušili I or Muršili I.<sup>3</sup> Archi cited a few forms which appear to be exceptional in that they do not show the *-iya-* writing in NH: *mar-ki-ši* KUB 21.38 ii 4 (Hattušili III)<sup>4</sup> and *wa-ag-ga-ri-ez-zi* in Alaks. iii 41 (Muw. II, SV 2 215) with the variant *wa-aq-qa-ri-ia-zi*.<sup>5</sup> But surely so few exceptions do not affect Carruba's point, nor did Archi seem to claim that they do. Archi claimed that the *-ye(z)zil-ya(z)zi* alternation was not a morphological problem, since it occurs in diverse types of verbs, some primary thematic (six examples: *aniya-*, *hulle/a-*, *peššiya-*, *tāya-*, *tiya-*, and *wemiya-*), others denominatives (*appat(a)riya-*, *kuššaniya-*, *šiyattaliya-*, *tūriya-*, and *urkiya-*).

Aside from the limitation of Archi's bound transcription (far inferior to transliteration in the discussion of spellings), there are a few mistakes which he should have corrected in Friedrich's variants. “[*t/dāi*]jaizzi o i v.” is clearly [*d*]a-a-i-e-ez-zi in KUB 29.23 11, and therefore to be read [... *t/da-a-]*[*i*]-e-ez-zi three lines earlier in KUB 29.22 15. All the variants in *-iyaizzi* (*peššiyaizzi*, *tiyaizzi*, and *urkiyaizzi*) are in the latest manuscripts, except for *ur-ki-ia-iz-zi* § 149/38 in Friedrich and Archi's “q”. It is also not correct that “Si ha dunque una vocale di legamento anticamente scritta con *-i-*, che tende ad essere espressa con *-e-*”, since the vowel before *-zzi* represented by the IZ sign is always readable as *-ez-*,<sup>6</sup> and the form *ú-e-mi<-ez>-zi* in manuscript A of §79 is obviously to be emended as shown.

<sup>1</sup> Goetze 1928a, 21, Güterbock 1954, 21, Korošec 1969, 291.

<sup>2</sup> “Von Telepinu, seinem Sohn oder einem früheren König!” (Kammenhuber 1961b, 80 note 3).

<sup>3</sup> Carruba 1962, 157ff. and Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 13-15.

<sup>4</sup> See now CHD L-N 189.

<sup>5</sup> Archi 1968 55 with n. 8. The form *i-e-ši* in Huqq. II 3, 49 cited by Archi poses no problem, since it is now well known that the Hukkana treaty is linguistically archaic, showing MH language (Neu 1979; Carruba 1988).

<sup>6</sup> See Oettinger 1979, 343-356, Melchert 1984, 89-90, 161, Melchert 1994, 24, 66, 73. See Kronasser 1966 37, 490 for an earlier analysis of the *wem(i)yezzi* forms.



Archi thinks that the use of *A-BI LUGAL* in law §55 indicates Hattušili I and that he was responsible for the reforms in the laws represented by the *karū ... kinuna* clauses.<sup>7</sup> This is, of course, quite possible, but — alas — not yet proven.

I have followed the consensus of recent Hittitological research in classifying manuscripts A and M as Old Hittite copies, but I am unable to follow Güterbock 1962a 21 and Laroche 1971 43 in assigning manuscript K to the Old Hittite period. Nor can I follow Neu, Oettinger (1979) and others in their claim that manuscript B is a Middle Hittite copy. Hart 1983 103 already expressed doubts based entirely upon the orthography of B. My own doubts arise from palaeography: I see no evidence of a consistent Middle Hittite ductus or sign shapes. Occasional preserving of older sign forms from the hyparchetype (either an OS or MS copy) can easily explain the few older sign forms. Carruba 1962 158 speculated that copy B was made no later than the reign of Šuppiluliuma I and was based on a hyparchetype ("Vorlage") "\*B" that could have been made during the reign of Telipinu. By contrast, he dated the hyparchetype of A ("\*A") somewhat earlier, to the reign of Muršili I. Carruba, like most others, has been influenced in his relatively early dating of B by its greater retention of OS spellings, particularly in comparison with manuscript C and PT. But this does not necessarily mean the actual copy is MH. Only palaeography can demonstrate the age of the copy. Some post-OS manuscripts appear to have closely emulated the spelling habits of their (hyp)archetypes, while others seem to have been more ready to replace older spellings with those current in their time. It is very likely that scribes working contemporary with each other could differ in the degree to which they modernized their traditional texts. Orthographically, all that we can claim about B is that it is conservative. On the basis of published photos I am inclined to identify J as a MH copy.<sup>8</sup> Among the post-OS manuscripts it is currently impossible to demonstrate that any has used as its model an OS manuscript which we have today. For example, copy A is OS, but we cannot prove that any of the post-OS copies (B, C, D, etc.) used A specifically as its model.

### *Palaeography*

The table on the following eight pages shows the characteristic forms of the more common signs occurring in two OS manuscripts (A in Series One and aa in Series Two), and two NH manuscripts (B in Series One and the late parallel text PT which parallels part of Series One). Other manuscripts could have been chosen. I did not devote an entire column to the sign forms of the OS manuscript M, because so little of it is preserved that it is impossible to give representative shapes for most of the signs. B was chosen to represent a typical NS manuscript, although the even later copy C in Series One or p in Series Two could also have served this purpose.

The sign value listed in the left-most column, though set in upper case letters, is not necessarily a Sumerographic value in Hittite texts. On the contrary, it is often the most common syllabic value of the sign.

<sup>7</sup> Archi 1968, 58-59. On the *A-BI LUGAL* in CTH 8 as Hattušili I see Pecchioli Daddi 1995 322 with literature.

<sup>8</sup> See the long footnote on the entry for manuscript J in Table 8: Manuscripts of Series One, at the end of Chapter II.



Table 17. Palaeographical Overview of Principal Manuscripts

Value	A	aa	B	PT
ÁB				
AG				
AH				
AL				
ANŠE				
APIN				
ARAD				
ÁŠ (zíz)				



Table 17. Palaeographical Overview of Principal Manuscripts (*Continued*)

Value	A	aa	B	PT
AZ				
BA				
BÀD				
DA				
DAM				
DU				
DUMU				
E				



Table 17. Palaeographical Overview of Principal Manuscripts (*Continued*)

Value	A	aa	B	PT
EL				
EN				
GA				
GI				
G <sub>1</sub> N				
G <sub>1</sub> R				
GU <sub>4</sub>				
HA				



Table 17. Palaeographical Overview of Principal Manuscripts (*Continued*)

Value	A	aa	B	PT
ĤAR				
ĤÉ				
I				
IG				
IL				
KA				
KAB				
KAM				



Table 17: Palaeographical Overview of Principal Manuscripts (*Continued*)

Value	A	aa	B	PT
KI				
KÙ				
KUN				
KUŠ				
LA				
LAM				
LI				
LUM				



Table 17: Palaeographical Overview of Principal Manuscripts (*Continued*)











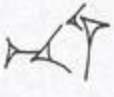














Value	A	aa	B	PT
MAH				
ME				
MEŠ				
NA				
NA <sub>4</sub>				
NÍG				
NIM				
NUN				



Table 17: Palaeographical Overview of Principal Manuscripts (*Continued*)




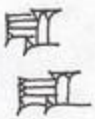
















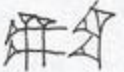

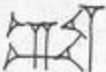


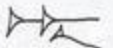
Value	A	aa	B	PT
RA				
RU				
SAG				
šA				
šAR				
TA				
TAR				
TI				



Table 17: Palaeographical Overview of Principal Manuscripts (*Continued*)

Value	A	aa	B	PT
ú				
û				
UD				
UG				
UL				
URU				
ZU				



## Orthography in OS versus Post-OS Manuscripts

## Series One

The following table shows spellings characteristic of the OS manuscripts contrasted with different spellings of the same words found in post-OS (almost all NS) manuscripts. The sequence is that of the laws. If a characteristic is noted in an earlier law, it is not necessarily repeated at subsequent occurrences. This table only intends to show the principal examples of variants that illustrate the developments over time of Hittite orthography. It does not list all variants, since these can be easily seen in the transliterated score. Nor does it list all variant writings in the laws of the chosen examples. For this one needs to see the relevant entries in the Glossary.

§	A, M	B, K and other NS
1	š <u>u</u> -wa-i-ez-zi passim	š <u>u</u> -wa-a-ez-[z]i, etc.
2	ku-e-e[n-zi] §2, 5	ku-en-zi §2 B, 5 B,
3-5	ar-nu-uz-zi A §§3, 4, 5, 19a; but ar-nu-zi §76 (A)	ar-nu-zi §§2 (B), 3 (B), 4 (B), 19a (B), 100 (B).
6	kar!-aš-ši-i-ez-zi A §6	kar-aš-ši-i-e-ez-zi B §6
6	GIŠgi-pé-eš-šar §6	gi-pé-eš-šar §6 B,
7	pí-iš-ker §7, 9, 19b, 25, 49, 57, 59 (A, M), 63 (A, M), 67 (A), 81 (A), 94 (A)	pé-eš-ker §7 B, §9 B, §19b (B), 49 (L), 57 (B, D), 58 (B, D), 59 (B), 63 (B, H), 67 (B, I), 69 (B, I), 81 (B, K), 91 (B), 94 (F, T); pí-iš-ker §94 (O)
9	A-NA É.GAL (A)	A-NA É.GAL-LIM (B)
9	da-aš-ke-e-er §9,	da-aš-ke-er §9 B,
10	LÚ.U <sub>19</sub> .LU-an §10 A	an-tu-uḫ-ša-an §10 B, UN-an §10 C
10	ʽan-ni-iš-ki-iz-ziʽ §10 A, an-ni-iš-kán-z[i] §40 (A)	ʽan-né-eš-ki-iz-ziʽ §10 B, [a]n-né-eš-kán-zi §40 (B) <sup>9</sup>
10	ku-ʽitʽ-ma-a-na-aš §10 A	ku-it-ma-na-aš §10 BC,
10	la-a-az-zi-at-ta §10 A, la-az-zi-at-ta §10 (A)	SIG <sub>5</sub> -at-ta-ri §10 B, SIG <sub>5</sub> -ʽriʽ §10 C, , SIG <sub>5</sub> -ta[...] §10 K
10	nu-uš-še §10 A,	nu-uš-ši §10 B,
10	ʽpéʽ-e-di-iš-ši-ma §10 A,	pé-e-di-iš-ši-ma §10 B, pé-di-ši-ma §10 C, PT,

<sup>9</sup> Not to be read as ʽan-ni-eš-ki-iz-ziʽ §10 B, [a]n-ni-eš-kán-zi §40 (B) with -Ci-eC- for \*-ye-, since the OS forms in -ni-iš- already show the syncope as having occurred (Melchert 1984, 102).



11	Genitive construction LÚ.U <sub>19</sub> .LU-aš EL-LAM <sup>1</sup> -aš QA-AS-SÚ §11 (A), ARAD- <sup>1</sup> na-aš na-aš <sup>1</sup> -ma GÉME-aš QA-AS-SÚ §12 (A), LÚ.U <sub>19</sub> .LU-aš EL <sup>1</sup> -LAM-aš KIR <sub>14</sub> -še-et §13 (A),	schma LÚ.U <sub>19</sub> .LU-an EL-LUM QA-AS-SÚ §11 (B, cf. C, PT), ARAD-na-an na-aš-ma GÉME-an QA-AS-SÚ §12 (B), LÚ.U <sub>19</sub> .LU-an EL-LAM <sup>1</sup> KIR <sub>14</sub> -še-et §13 (B), but see genitive construction in LÚ.U <sub>19</sub> .LU-aš EL-LAM<-aš> iš-ta-ma-na-aš-ša-an §15 (B) and MUNUS-aš EL-LI šar-ḥu-wa-an-du-uš-šu-uš §17 (B), while in both §§15 and 17 the text of A is broken away.
11	QA-AS-SÚ §11 (A)	QA-AS-SÚ §11 (B), ŠU-SÚ §11 (C, PT)
11	20 GÍN §11 (A, B)	10 GÍN §11 (X)
11	tu-wa-a[r-ni-iz-zi] §11 (A)	tu-wa- <sup>1</sup> ar-ni <sup>1</sup> -iz-zi §11 (B), du-wa-ar-[ni-iz-zi] §11 (C), du-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi §§X-XI (PT) <sup>10</sup>
16	Asyndeton in §16 (B), probably following A (which is broken away here)	nu-uš-ši §16 (C) replaces earlier asyndeton.
19a	<sup>1</sup> KUR Lu-ú-i <sup>1</sup> -[ia] §19a (A)	KUR URUAr-za-u-wa §19a (B)
19a	ga-ne-eš-zi §19a (A), ga-n[e-eš-zi] §60-61 (A), ga-ne-[eš-zi] §62 (A), ga-né-eš-zi §20-21 (A)	ga-ne-eš-zi §19a (B), [ga-ne-e]š-zi §20-21 (B), ka-ni-iš-zi §61-62 (B), ga-né-eš-zi §62 (F), §70 (B)
19b	pé-ḥu-te-ez-zi §19b (A)	[pé]-e-ḥu-te-ez-zi §19b (B), pé-e-ḥu-te-ez-zi §27 (B, C), §XXXV (PT)
19b	LÚ URULu-i-in §19b (A) is apparently an i-stem adjective (ethnic)	<sup>1</sup> LÚ URULu-ú-i-ia-an <sup>1</sup> (B) is an ethnic adj. in -ya-.
20	ta-a-i-ez-zi §20 (A)	da-a-i-ez-zi (B)
21	LÚ URULu-ú-i-u-ma-na-aš (A)	LÚ URULu-i-um-na <sup>1</sup> -aš (B)
21	nu-uz-za (A)	nu-za (B)
22	ḥu-wa-a-i (A)	ḥu-u-wa-i (B)
22	ke-e-et (A)	ke-e-ez (B)
23	A-NA KUR <sup>1</sup> ku <sup>1</sup> -u-ru-ri <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> -[da] (A)	ku-ru-ri-i KUR-e (B)
23	na-an-za (A)	<sup>1</sup> na-an-za-an <sup>1</sup> (B), cf. §53
24	ARAD-aš (A)	ARAD-iš (B)
24	MUNUS-ša <sup>1</sup> uš <sup>1</sup> (-!)ku-ša-an metathesis for MUNUS-ša ku-uš-ša-an (A) <sup>11</sup>	MUN[US-š]a- <sup>1</sup> ma ku-uš-ša-an <sup>1</sup> (B)

<sup>10</sup> Even PT does not use the *hi*-conjugation sg. 3 form *duwarnai* which replaced *t/duwarnizzū* in the 13th century.

<sup>11</sup> See the footnote on the transliteration of §24.



25	[LUGAL?-w]a-an-na pár-na <sup>12</sup>	[A-NA É.GAL-LIM] (B) restored from § 9
32 <sup>13</sup>	ták-ku ... [da-a-i] (A)	ták-ku-za ... da-a-i (B)
35	MUNUS-na-an (A), see § 37	MUNUS-an (B)
35	EL-LE-ITAM <sup>1</sup> (A)	EL-LUM (B)
35	LÚ AGRIG (A)	LÚ AGRIG na-aš-ma LÚSIPA (B)
35	GÉME-re-e[z-zi] (A)	[GÉM]E?-aš-ša-re-[e]š-zi (B)
37	pít-ti-nu-uz-zi (A)	pít-te-nu-uz-zi (B)
37	n[u-kán šar-d]i-i-eš a-ap-pa-an-an-da pa-a-a[n]-z[i] (A)	EGIR-an-da-m[a]-a[š-m]a-aš-k[án ša]r- <sup>1</sup> di <sup>1</sup> -ia-aš pa-iz-zi (B)
37	ki-iš-ta-at (A)	ki-ša-at (B)
38	ap-pa- <sup>1</sup> a <sup>1</sup> -[an-t]e-eš (A)	ap-pa-an-te-eš (B)
38	ha-an-ne-eš-na-aš iš-ha-a-aš (A)	[LÚ?ha-an-n]e??-tal-wa-aš (B)
38	le- <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup> -[la]-ni-at-ta (A)	kar-tim-mi-ia-an-ta- <sup>1</sup> ri (B)
38	šar-ti-an-n[a] (A)	<sup>1</sup> nu šar-di-ia <sup>1</sup> -an (B)
39	ŠA ŠA-NI-I-IM-MA (A)	[da-m]e-e-el (B)
39	da-a-la-i (A)	da-a- <sup>1</sup> la- <sup>1</sup> i (B)
39	na-at-ta-an ha-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi (A)	Ú-UL-[an-za] ha-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi (B)
40	LÚ GIŠTUKUL-ša! §40 (w. Hitt. gen. ending + -a)	ŠA LÚ GIŠTUKUL §40 (B),
40	LOGOGRAM-C(onsonant)+=a (versus LOGOGRAM+=ya: LÚ GIŠTUKUL-ša! <sup>14</sup> §40 (A), A.ŠÀ.HI.A-ša § 46 (A), KASKAL-ša §56 (A), ARAD-ša <sup>15</sup> §95 (A, B)	LÚ-ša <sup>16</sup> §26b (J), §30 (B).
40	ta-ra-an-zi §40 (A)	t[ra-an-zi] §40 (B), da-ra-an-[zi] §40 (L)
41	da-an-zi §41 (A, B)	pí-an-zi §41 (C)
42	pí-ia-a-an §42 (A, B)	pí-ia-an (B), pí-i-ia-an (C)
42	šar-ni-ik-zi-il [NU.GÁL] §42 (A), cf. § 21	Ú-UL šar-ni-ik-zi (B <sup>17</sup> , C)
42	ták-ku ku-uš-ša-na §42 with adversative -a (A)	no -a (B, C)

<sup>12</sup> The allative pár-na in a clause whose main verb is da- "to take" is quite unusual and difficult to understand.

<sup>13</sup> In §§ 26-31 there is little if any OH text witness.

<sup>14</sup> The š here is the genitive sg. ending.

<sup>15</sup> The š here is the gen. sg. ending.

<sup>16</sup> The š here is the nom. sg. com. ending.

<sup>17</sup> But in § 21 B preserves A's šar-ni-ik-zi-il NU.GÁL.



43	<i>zi-i-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi</i> § 43 (A)	<i>zi-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi</i> (B), <i>ze-e-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi</i> (C)
43	<i>ta-ma-i-ša-an</i> § 43 (A, B)	<i>ta-ma-a-i-ša-an</i> (C)
43	Clause-connecting <i>Ù</i> § 43 (A), cf. § 195 (aa)	<i>nu</i> (B, C)
43	<i>nu-uz<sup>1</sup>-za</i> § 43 (A)	<i>nu</i> (B), <i>nu-za</i> (C)
43	<i>a-pu-ú-un-pát</i> § 43 (A)	<i>a-pu-un-pát</i> (B, C)
44	<i>a<sup>1</sup>[-ap-pa-aš-še]</i> § 44 (A)	<i>nu-uš-ši</i> EGIR- <i>pa</i> (B, C)
44	LÚ.U <sub>19</sub> .LU- <i>an</i> § 44 (A)	<i>an-tu-uḫ-ša-a[n]</i> (B), UN- <i>an</i> (C)
44	<i>ku<sup>1</sup>-up-ta-ar-ra</i> § 44 (A)	<i>ku-up-tar-ra</i> (B, C)
44	<i>ták-ku-wa-ta-an</i> § 44 (A) for <i>takku = at = an</i> with the OH local particle <i>-an</i>	<i>ták-ku-at</i> omitting both the glide and the local particle (B, C)
44	<i>pár-na-ma</i> § 44 (A)	<i>pár-ni</i> (B, C)
44	<i>pé-eš-ši-ez-zi</i> § 44 (A)	<i>pé-e-da-i</i> (B, and probably C)
45	<i>a-pu-ú-un</i> § 45 (A)	<i>a-pu-u-un</i> (C)
46	<i>pí-ia-an-za</i> § 46 (A) modifying common gender A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A	<i>pí-ia-an</i> (C) modifying neuter A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A
46	A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A- <i>ša</i> § 46 (A) nom. sg. common gender word for "fields" + adversative <i>-a</i> "but"	A.ŠĀ.ḪI.A <i>te-e-pa-u-i-eš<sup>1</sup></i> (C) is nom. pl. common gender and lacks the adversative particle
46	<i>i-wa-a-ru</i> (A)	<i>i-wa-ru</i> (B)
46	<i>kar-pí-i-ez-zi</i> (A)	<i>kar-ap-zi</i> (B)
46	<i>i-wa<sup>1</sup>-ru-aš</i> (A) <sup>18</sup>	<i>[i-w]a-ru-wa-aš</i> (B)
47	<i>ša-aḫ-ḫa-an lu-uz-zi</i> (A)	<i>lu-uz-zi</i> (B)
47	<i>na-a[t-ta]</i> (A)	<i>Ú<sup>1</sup>.[UL]</i> (B)
47	<i>ta-aš-še</i> (A)	<i>na-an-ši</i> (B)
51	[URU]Zi <sup>1</sup> - <i>ip-la-an-ti-ia</i> (A)	URUZi- <i>ip-pa-la-an-ti-ia</i> (B, G)
53	<i>gi-im-ra-aš-ša-aš</i> (A)	<i>gi-im-ra-r[a-aš-š]a-[aš]</i> (B), <i>gi-im-ra-aš-ša-aš</i> (D)
53	<i>ma-a-an-za</i> (A)	<i>ma-a-an-za</i> (B, F), <i>ma-a-an-za-an</i> (D, cf. § 23)
53	Redundant <i>Ù ... = a</i> in <i>Ù</i> LÚ.MEŠka- <i>ru-ḫa-le-eš-me-eš-ša</i> (A)	Retained in B, but eliminated in <i>Ù</i> LÚ.MEŠka- <i>[ru-ḫ]a-li-iš-me-eš</i> (D, see also F)
53	Nom. pl. ending <i>-eš</i> in LÚ.MEŠka- <i>ru-ḫa-le-eš-me-eš-ša</i> (A)	Nom. pl. ending <i>-iš</i> in LÚ.MEŠka- <i>ru-ḫa-li-iš-me-eš-ša</i> (B, see also D).

<sup>18</sup> For the omission of the glide in OS see below in discussion of Orthography.



55	A-NA A-BI LUGAL with asyndeton (A)	nu A-BI LUGAL with nu and with omitted or implied A-NA (B, D) <sup>19</sup>
55	<sup>l</sup> tar <sup>l</sup> -ši-kán-zi (A)	tar-aš-kán-zi (B) <sup>20</sup>
55	mi-im-ma-an-zi (A)	me-em-ma-an-zi (B, F)
55	nu-uš an-da ši-it-ta-ri-et (A)	nu an-da [š]i-it-ta-ri-et (B, D)
55	ma-a-aḫ-ḫa-an-da (A)	ma-aḫ-ḫa-an (B, F)
55	i-iš-te-e[n] (A)	e-eš-te-en (B, D)
56	e-ki BĀD-ni (A)	A-NA BĀD-ni(B), BĀD-ni (D)
56	LUGAL-aš KASKAL-ša (A)	KASKAL LUGAL (B, D)
56	ták-šu-an-zi (A)	ták-šu-an-zi (B), pa-a-u-wa-an-zi (D)
56	a-ra-u-aš (A)	a-ra-u-wa-aš (B, D) <sup>21</sup>
57	da-a-i-ez-zi (A)	ta-ia-az-zi (B), da-a-i-ia-zi (D)
57	ša-ú-di-iš-za (A), see § 58 M <sup>22</sup>	ša-ú-i-ti-iš-za (B), ša-a-ú-i-ti-iš-za (B), ša-a-ú-i-te-eš-za (D), ša-a-ú-i-ti-eš-za § 58 D
57	na-at-ta GU <sub>4</sub> .MAḪ-aš (A)	Ú-UL GU <sub>4</sub> .MAḪ-aš (B, D), Ú-UL GU <sub>4</sub> .MAḪ (D)
57	a-pa-aš (A)	a-pa-a-aš (B, D)
57	ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš (A), see § 58 M	ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš (B), da-a-i-ú-ga-[aš] (D)
59	UDU.MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀR § 62 (A), § 69 (A), UDU.MUNUS.Á[Š.G]ÀR § 59 (M), [UDU.MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀ]R § 62 (M) <sup>23</sup>	UDU].ÁŠ.MUNUS.GÀR § 62 (F); ÁŠ.MUNUS.GÀR § 62 (B)
64	ut-tar-še-da ki-i-pát (A)	<sup>l</sup> ut-tar <sup>l</sup> -še-et QA-TAM-MA-pát (B, F), [ut-tar]-še-et ki-i-pát (H)

<sup>19</sup> Since also in § 74 B uses a logogram unmarked for case as a dative, this may be not an isolated error but a feature of B's orthography.

<sup>20</sup> On the two spellings of the iterative of *tar-* as a dating criterion see Otten 1973 27. Perhaps relevant to the post-MH dating of manuscript B is the observation that MH/MS texts use the older form *tar-ši(-ik)-k...* exclusively (*tar-ši-ik-ki-mi* HKM 46 left edge 1, *tar-ši-ki[-it-te-ni]* KUB 23.72+ rev. 41, *tar-ši-ik-ki-ši* KUB 14.1+ obv. 34), although in these three cases *taršikki-* is the iter. of *tarn(a)-*, not *tar-*.

<sup>21</sup> *a-ra-u-wa-aš* <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR with glide does occur in KUB 8.41 iii 12 (OS), but from context it is not a form of *arawa-*, but the gen. verbal substantive of *arai-*, as in *a-ra-u-wa-aš* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA-i KUB 2.1 ii 42. Cf. HW<sup>2</sup> A 258a (undecided between adj. *arawa-* and verbal subst. of *arai-*).

<sup>22</sup> On the *u* (OS) > *ui* (NS) phenomenon see Otten 1973 21, 39.

<sup>23</sup> See Friedrich 1959 149, HZL 210 note. For vacillation in the sequence of components in complex Sumerograms in Hittite texts see also "SAL.DUMU" in Otten 1973 24.



65	<i>ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an-da</i> ŠA GU <sub>4</sub> .APIN.LÁ <sup>24</sup> <i>ta-ia-zi-la-aš</i> [ki-in-za-an <sup>1</sup> -[na u]ʔ-[tar?]] QA-TAM-MA (A)	<i>ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an</i> (H), <i>ma-aḥ-ḥa-an</i> ŠA MÁŠ.GAL(sic) <i>šar-ni-ik-zi-i-il a-pé-e-el-la</i> QA- <sup>1</sup> TAM-MA <sup>1</sup> -pát (B, F)
66	ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL- <i>aš</i> (A), ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL § 68 A	ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL.LÁ (B, F), ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL.LÁ § 68 B
66	<i>iš-ḥa-ši-ša-an</i> (A), see also § 70	<i>iš-ḥa-aš-ši-š[a-an]</i> (B), EN- <i>ša-an</i> (F)
68	A-WA-AS-SÚ (A)	A-WA-SÚ (B, I)
70	<i>a]n-da-aš-še</i> (A)	<i>an-da-ia-aš-ši-<sup>1</sup>kán<sup>1</sup></i>
75	I-NA QA-TI DINGIR-LIM (A)	IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM- <i>wa-ra-aš</i> (B), IŠ-TU DINGIR-LIM (I)
75	<i>a-ak-ki-iš</i> (A)	BA.ÚŠ (B, I)
75	[li <sup>1</sup> -ik-zi	<i>li-in-<sup>1</sup>ga<sup>1</sup>-zi</i> (B), <i>li-in-kán-[zi]</i> (I)
76	<i>ap-pa-ta-ri-ez-zi</i> (A)	<i>ap-pa-at-ri-ez-zi</i> (B)
76	[ku-uš <sup>1</sup> -ša-aš-še-et-ta(A)	<i>ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et-[a<sup>1</sup></i> (B), <i>ku-uš-ša-an-še-et-[ta]</i> (I)
77	<i>ar-nu-an-da-an</i> (A), see also § 83	<i>ar-ma-u-an-da-an</i> (B), [ar-m]a-aḥ-ḥa-an[-da-an] (K)
78	<i>ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi</i> (A)	<i>ku-ša-ni-ez-zi</i> (B)
78	<i>nu-uš-še-an</i> (A) with OH local particle -an <sup>25</sup>	<i>nu-uš-ši-kán</i> (B)
79	Ū (A)	Asyndeton in B
79	<i>ma-a-na-aš-ta</i> (A)	<i>ku-it-ma-na-aš-ta</i> (B)
79	MUL.ĤI.A- <i>eš ú-en-zi</i> (A)	MUL.MEŠ <i>ú-wa-an-zi</i> (B)
79	<i>nu-uš</i> (A)	<i>na-aš</i> (B)
80	UR.BAR.RA- <i>ni</i> (A)	A-NA UR.BAR.RA (B)
80	<i>da-a-i</i> (A)	-z ... <i>da-a-i</i> (B)
83	<i>kap-pu-u-en-zi</i> (A)	<i>kap-pu-u-an-zi</i> (B)
94	<i>te-e-pu ... te-e-pu-še</i> (A), see also § 95	<i>te-pu ... te-pu-uš-ši</i> (B, F)
95	<i>še-e-er-ši-it-wa</i> (A), see also § 99	<i>še-er-wa-aš-ši</i> (B)
95	<i>šu-ú-iz-zi</i> (A)	<i>šu-wa-a-ez-zi</i> (P), <i>šu-ú-w[a-iz-zi]</i> (Y)
96	<i>ḥal-ki-aš</i> (A), see also § 97	<i>ḥal-ki-ia-aš</i> (B)
98	<i>na-at</i> [šar-ni-ik]-za (A)	Ú-UL <i>šar-ni-[i]k-zi</i> (B)
100	<i>an-da-an</i> (A)	<i>an-da</i> (B)

<sup>24</sup> B iii 50 and F<sub>1</sub> 5 ŠA MÁŠ.GAL(sic).

<sup>25</sup> See Otten 1973 81-82.



The OS manuscripts (especially A) show the Old Hittite ductus, OH forms of the verbal stems (especially thematic *-ye/-ya-* for later athematic *-ya-*), the OH forms of the enclitic pronouns such as *-(š)še* for NH *-(š)ši*, the spelling *nu-uz-za* for later *nu-za*, the allative ending *pár-na* for later *pár-ni*, the older form *išš(a)-* for NH *ēšša-* "to perform", the OH practice of showing the final consonant of the noun connected to the enclitic "and" after Sumerograms (nominative "and the king" LUGAL-ša instead of LUGAL-ia), and the tendency to write syllabically rather than logographically.

The syncopated writing of *kuššan* as *kušn...* and the denominative verb *kuššaniye-* as *kušniye-* are not found in OS manuscripts, but are clustered in NS manuscripts c and t. Similarly, *ḫa-ap-ra-iz-zi* § 26b (J) is NS and not found in OS A, which has *ḫa-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi* § 39.

OS manuscripts such as A can be copies and are subject to mistakes just like later copies.<sup>26</sup> Additional examples of A's errors are: *da<-aš-ke-e-er* §9, *ḫar-zi* §53, *URU-Ta-ma-al-ki-ia* §54, *pa-a-i* §57, *pa-a-i* §62; *[ša-ú-di-i]š<-za>* §63, *ú-e-mi<-ez>-zi* §79, *kar!*(text: *la-a*)-*aš-ši-i-ez-zi* §6, LÚ GIŠTUKUL-*ša!*(text: *uš*) §40, *k[u!-iš-ki ...]* §45, *ḫa-l-a-le!*!(text: *tu*)-*e-aš* §66, *BE!-E[L GU<sub>4</sub>]* §74. Much less text is preserved of OS copy aa, but there too we find an error *da-a-i!* § 175 (KBo 25.85 = 845/c), where the *i* sign is drawn defectively like TAB+TAB. The errors of OH scribes seem to be either purely graphic (i.e., using a non-standard or defective shape of signs) or cases of accidental omission of a sign.

## Series Two

§	aa	Later manuscripts	OS copy A and other OS evidence
105		<i>nu-za-an</i> (a), <i>nu-za</i> (b), <i>nu-za-kán</i> (g)	
106	<i>lu-uk-ke-ez-zi</i> §106 (aa)	Also §106 (b),	<i>lu-uk-ke-ez-zi</i> §98-100 (A), <i>lu-uk-ke-et</i> KBo 3.22 69
106	[SI]G <sub>5</sub> - <i>ia-an-na</i> (neut. w A.ŠÀ) §106 <sup>27</sup> (aa)	SIG <sub>5</sub> - <i>an-da-an</i> §106 (a, b), <i>mi-ia-an-da-an</i> §106 (a, c), <i>lu-uk-kán</i> (b, d), SIG <sub>5</sub> - <i>an</i> (d)	
107		[ <i>m</i> ] <i>i-ia-an-da-an</i> (a) has to be a predicate (nom.?), but why this form? <i>mi-an-da</i> (d) and <i>mi-an-t[a]</i> (h) are easier readings.	
118	<i>na-at-t[a]</i> §118 (aa)	<i>na-at-ta</i> §27 (B) 71 (B), (Correspondence in lacuna in other mss.)	<i>na-at-ta</i> §39 (A), §42 (A), §46 (A), 47 (A),

<sup>26</sup> Of course, OH scribes had the advantage of speaking and writing in the OH manner and were not faced with as many words and forms which were unfamiliar to him as the NH scribe copying an OH text. They were therefore not as susceptible to certain kinds of errors as NH scribes were.

<sup>27</sup> See discussion in commentary on §106.



119	[p]i-iš-ki-ker §119 (aa)	pé-eš-ker §119 (f),	
120	da-a-i-ez-zi §120, ta-a-i-ez-zi §125, [ta-a-i]a-az-zi §126, ʽtaʽ-a-ia-az-zi §128 (aa)	ta-a-i-e-ez-zi §120 (f), §125 (c), §126 (c), [ta]-a-i-ez-zi §120 (l), ta-i-e-ez-zi §125 (c, f, n?), §126 (c), §128 (c)	
121	GÍN.GÍN with numbers higher than 1, §121, §126; "1 GÍN" §125, but 6 GÍN §145 (aa)		
121	iš-ḥa-a-aš-ši-š[a-a]n §121, [iš-ḥa]-a-aš-ši-ša-an §149 (aa)	EN-ša-an §121 (a), iš-ḥa-aš-ši-ša-an §149 (c)	
127	É-ri an-da-an §127 (aa)	Omitted in §127 (c)	
128	an-ta-ia-aš-še §128 (aa) (restored in §149 aa)	an-da-aš-še«-aš-še» §128 (c), an-da-e-še §149 (c),	
144	tu-uh-[š]a-ri §144 (aa)	túh-ša-ri §144 (c),	
144	ʽša-aʽ-k[u-wa]-aš-ša-ru-uš §144 (aa)	[...] §144 (c)	
145	ku-uš-ša-na-az §145 (aa)	ku-uš-na-az §145 (c)	
145	še-me-en-zi §145 (aa)	ša-me-e[n-zi] §145 (s)	
145	ta-a-la-i §145 (aa)		
146	i-e-ez-zi §146a (aa)	i-e-ez-zi §164-165 (p), §46 (B), 55 (B), [i-i]a-zi §146a (c), i-ia-az-zi §XXXVI, i-ia-zi §XXXIXa, XXXIXb, XL, i-ia-zi §112 (k), 171 (e)	i-e-zi §26a (A), i-ez-zi §48a (A) (2x), i-e-e[z-zi] §55 (A),
146	pé-e-ra-an §146a, §148 (aa)	pé-ra-an §147 (c), §148 (c, t)	
146	še-e-er §146a, 166 (aa)	še-er §95 (B), 99 (Z), 162a (V), 166 (p)	še-e-er §95 (A)
146	uš-tu-la-aš §146a, 147 (aa)	wa-aš-túl-aš §146a (c), 147 (t)	
146	wa-la-aḥ-zi §§146, 147 (aa)	GUL-aḥ-zi §147 (c), wa-al-aḥ-zi §§3 (B), 38 (B)	wa-al-aḥ-zi §4 (A), §77 (A)
146	[URU-i]a?-an §146a (aa)	URU-an §146a (c)	
149	ur-ki-ia-iz-zi §149 (aa)	ur-ki-ia-iz-zi §149 (c), [ur-k]i-i-e-ez-[zi] §149 (t),	
150	ti-i-e-ez-zi §150, 158? (aa)	ti-i-e-ez-z[i] §150 (q), ti-ia-zi §150 (c), 158 (n, p)	



150	[LÚ-e]š §150, 158 (aa)	LÚ-eš §150 (q), LÚ §150 (c), LÚ-aš §158 (p)	
151	ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi §151, 152 (aa)	ku-uš-ša-ni-[ez-zi] §151 (q), ku-uš-ne-ez-zi §151 (c, t), 152 (c)	
157	KILÁ §157, 160 (aa)	KILÁ §157 (n), KILÁ.BI §157 (p), 160 (p)	
157	ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et §157 (aa)	ku-uš-ša-an-še-et §157 (n), ku-uš-ša-né-eš-ši-it §157 (p), ku-uš-ša-ni-iš-ši-it §157 (p), §160 (p), §161 (p)	
158	ku-uš-ša-ni §158 (aa)	ku-uš-ša-ni-i §158 (p),	
158	PA-RI-S[I] §158, PA. §158, 160 (aa)	PA. §158 (n, p), 160 (p)	
158	še-ba-an §158 (aa)	še-e-pa-an §158 (n, p)	
158	[i]š-ta-a-pí §158 (aa)	iš-tap-pí §158 (n, p)	
158	[MUNUS-TU]M? §158 (aa)	MUNUS-za §158 (p)	
158	[wa-ar-š]i-an-zi §158 (aa)	wa-ar-ši-ia-an-zi §158 (p),	
159	tu-u-ri-ez-zi §159, tu-ri-ia- an-zi §166 (aa)	tu-ri-ia-zi §159 (p), tu-u-ri- ia-zi §79 (B), tu-ri-ia-an-zi §166 (p), tu-ri-ia-u-aš §180 (p)	tu-u-ri-ez-zi §71 (A), 75 (A), 79 (A), tu-u-ri-ia-w[a]-aš §64 (A), tu-u-ri-ia-u-aš §66 (A)
159	[ŠÍ-I]M-DÍ §159 (aa)	ŠÍ-IM-DUM §159 (p)	
160	ŠEN.URUDU §160 (aa)	URUDUŠEN §160 (p, u, v)	
160	a-ni-e-ez-zi §160, 161 (aa)	a-ni-ia-zi §160 (p), 161 (p, v), (dupl.) a-ni-ia-an-zi 161 (u)	
160	LÚSIMUG §176, [LÚSIMU]G §160 (aa)	LÚSIMUG.A <sup>28</sup> §176 (p), §160 (p), §200b (x)	
164	a-ap-pa §164-165, §168 (aa)	EGIR-pa §164-165 (p), §168 (e, p)	a-ap-pa §22 (A), 23 (A), [EG]IR- <sup>f</sup> pa <sup>1</sup> §99 (A)
164	GEŠTIN <sub>i</sub> š-pa-an-t[u-zi] §164-165 (aa)	GIŠ.GEŠTIN <sub>i</sub> š-pa-an-du-zi §164-165 (p)	
164	me-e-a-ni §164-165 (aa)	me-e-ḥu-ni §164-165(p)	

<sup>28</sup> On the transliteration "LÚSIMUG.A" see HZL 187 note. The shorter writing without final ".A" is found in the Song of Release (e.g., KBo 32.14, cf. StBoT 32). All NH manuscripts preserving the word have the longer form with ".A". On this basis it is the restoration of choice in all other NH manuscripts.



166	<i>tu-wa-a-an</i> §166 (aa)	<i>du-wa-a-an</i> §166 (p)	
166	<i>wa-ar-aš-še</i> <sup>29</sup> §166, <i>wa-ar-ši</i> §167 (aa)	<i>wa-ar-aš-zi</i> §167 (p), in §166 p substitutes <i>da-a-i</i>	<i>wa-ar-ši</i> IBoT 1.136 i 69 (MH/MS), <sup>30</sup> KBo 39.8 iv 18 (2Mašt.), <i>wa-ar-aš-zi</i> in HKM 47 19 (MH/MS), KBo 34.88 ii 2
167	<i>hu-e-et-ti-an-ta</i> §167, <i>hu-et-ti-ia-an-ta</i> §196 (aa)	<i>hu-it-ti-an-ta</i> §167 (p), <i>hu-u-it-ti-an-ta</i> §167 (p), <i>hu-u-it-ti-ia-an-ta</i> §196 (p), <i>hu-it-ti-ia-an[-tal-zi]</i> §196 (y)	
167	<i>šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫi</i> §§167-168 (aa)	<i>šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫi</i> §§167ff. in e, p	<i>-aḫ-ḫi</i> spelling of pres. sg. 3 of <i>-aḫḫ-</i> factitives dominates in even the NS copies of the laws. An exception is [ta]- <i>šu-wa-aḫ-zi</i> §77 (B)
168	<i>ak-ka-a-la-an</i> §168 (aa)	<i>ag-ga-la-an</i> §168 (e, p)	
168	<i>ar-ḫa-an-na</i> <sup>31</sup> §168 (aa)	ZAG- <i>an</i> §168 (e i 1, p), erroneously A.ŠÀ- <i>an-na</i> §168 (e i 3)	See <i>arḫa-</i> in StBoT 26:27 (OS), and <i>ar-ḫa-an</i> KBo 22.1 31 (OS). Further examples (all OH) in HED A 129
168	BE-LÍ A.ŠÀ §168 (aa) <sup>32</sup>	EN A.ŠÀ §168 (e, p)	BE-EL A.ŠÀ §72 (A), 79 (A); BE-EL G[U <sub>4</sub> ] §43 (A, B versus EN GU <sub>4</sub> C); BE-EL ŠU-UP-PA-TI §52 (A, B, D versus EN ŠU-UP-PA-TI G)
168	<i>pé-e-da-i</i> §168 (aa)	(replaced by <i>pé-en-na-a-i</i> in §168 d, e, p)	

<sup>29</sup> See Melchert 1984 11 (n. 7), 68 (n. 127), 94 (n. 37), 98 who however misread *wa-ar-ši* in KUB 29.30 iii 8 (§168 aa) as *wa-ar-aš-ši*.

<sup>30</sup> Güterbock and Hout 1991, 12f., without comment on the archaic form. *wa-ar-ši* from IBoT 1.35 i 69 is noted by Oettinger 1979 428 as characteristic of the verb's inflection, but no mention is made there of the mi-conjugation form *wa-ar-aš-zi* as a NH innovation, nor of the more archaic *wa-ar-aš-še* in KUB 29.30 iii 4 (aa).

<sup>31</sup> See KBo 22.1:30-31 (OS) *nu kiššan / AWAT ABI = YA ar-ḫa-a-an ḫartenī* "Is this the way you hold my father's word as a boundary?"

<sup>32</sup> The sign value LÍ is not attested elsewhere in the laws. In the nominative one expects here BE-EL A.ŠÀ, as in §§72 and 79 (A).



168	Probably [A.ŠÀ-aš] §168 (aa)	A.ŠÀ-aš §168 (d, e) is older than A.ŠÀ-an §168 p, since in other laws the sch'ma construction in NS copies replaces the genitive in OS. <sup>33</sup> This confirms other evidence which shows that copy p tends to have the most NH innovations
169	na-[at-ta šu-ul-la-]l <sup>a</sup> -tar §169 (aa)	Ú-UL šu-ul-la-tar §169 (e)
169	ta-a-ag-na-a §169 (aa)	tág-na-a §169 (e)
169	[ar-š]a? <sup>34</sup> -ke-e-et §169 (aa)	ar-ši-ik-ke-et §169 (e)
171	[DUM]U.ŠITA <sup>1</sup> -Š[A?] "her <sup>35</sup> son" §171 (aa)	DUMU.NITA-ŠU §171 (p), DUMU-ŠU §171 (e)
172	ú-i-it-ti §172, (restored in §164) (aa)	MU-ti §172 (e), MU.KAM-ti §172 (p), MU.KAM-za §164 (p)
172	[ki-iš-du-wa-an]-ti §172 (aa)	ki-iš-du-wa-an-ti §172 (p), ki-iš-du-wa-an-da §172 (e)
173	hu-ul-li-iz-zi §173 (aa)	hu-u-ul-la-az-zi and hu-u-ul-li-ia-az-zi §173 (p)
173	[a-ra-]l <sup>a</sup> -u-ez-zi §173 (aa)	a-ra-u-ez-zi §173 (p)
175	uš-hu-na-an-[zi] §175 (aa)	iš-hu-na-a-an-zi §175 (p)
175	[GÉME-i]š-ša-re-ez-zi §175 (see commentary on §35) (aa)	GÉME-e-eš-zi §175 (p)
176	KA-BAL-LI §176 (aa)	TÚGKA-BAL-LI §176 (p)
176	MÁŠ.GAL-aš (nom.) §176 (aa)	MÁŠ.GAL §176 (p)
176	[LÚE-PIŠ]-IŠ §176 (aa)	(LÚ)E-PIŠ §176 (b, p)

<sup>33</sup> See §11, where A uses the genitive, while B and C replace it with σχῆμα.

<sup>34</sup> See footnote to the transliteration.

<sup>35</sup> Archaically, preserving the proper Akkadian distinction between -ŠA "her" and -ŠU "his". See (in an unlikely NH copy) the proper feminine possessive pronoun: DUMU.MUNUS-ŠÁ (§195 p, y).



192	[ <i>h</i> ]a-ra-a-tar §192, 194 (aa)	<i>ha-ra-a-[tar]</i> §192 (y), <i>ha-ra-a-tar</i> 194 (y), <i>ha-ra-tar</i> §194 (p)	
193	at-ta-aš-ši-š[a] §193 (aa)	A-BU-ŠU-ia §193 (p, y)	
194	AT-ĤU-Ú §194 (aa)	AT-ĤU-U-TIM §194 (p)	AT-ĤU-U in KUB 11.1 iv 9' (=BoTU II 23) (OH/NS). See other examples cited in CHD L-N 429a
194	at-ta-aš §194 (aa)	ad-da-aš §194 (p)	ad-da-aš KBo 3.28 22 (OH/NS), at-ta-ma-an StBoT 25 #1 i 6 (OS), ad-da-aš-ša-an THeth 11 i 68 (OH/NS)
194	[a-ra-u-w]a-ni-ia-aš <sup>36</sup> §194 (aa)	a-ra-wa-an-ni-ia-aš §194 (y), a-ra-u-wa-an-ni-in <sup>37</sup> §194 (p)	
194	[an-n]a-ne-ku-uš §194 (aa)	an-na-né-ku-uš §194 (p, y)	
195	hu-iš-wa-an-za §195 (aa)	hu-u-iš-wa-an-za §195 (p)	
195	hu-ur-ki-il §195 (aa)	hu-ur-ki-il §195 (y), hur-ke-el §195 (e), hu-u-ur-ki-il §195 (p), hu-u-ur-ke-el §195 (p)	
195	ša-li-g[a] and š[a-l]i-i-g[a] §195 (aa)	ša-li-ga and ša-li-i-ga (p), only ša-li-i-ga (y)	
195	Ū ŠEŠ-ŠU §195 (aa), cf. § 43 (A)	ŠEŠ-ŠU-ma §195 (p) against ŠEŠ-aš-ma-aš-š[i] §195 (x, e)	
196	ta-ki-ia §196, ; cf. OS ta-ki-i-ia §6 (A) (aa)	ta-ki-ia §196 (p), ta-a-ki-ia (y)	

*Orthography and Grammar arranged by Lexemes*

In the remarks that follow I have concentrated on showing how OS manuscripts differed from post-OS ones in the writing of certain Hittite words and in the choice of grammatical forms. Further documentation in each case can be found in the word's entry in the Glossary (Chapter V). Diachronic developments of a more generalize nature that affect more than a single lexeme are discussed further below in this chapter under "Grammar".

-a- (clitic pron.). As might have been expected, the -at form of the nom. com. pl. and the nom.-acc. neut. pl. of -a- is attested only in post-OS manuscripts. Possible exceptions: *na-at a-ap-pa i[š-ḫi-iš-ši pa-a-i]* § 45 A ii 35-36, where the -at refers back to a-[aš]-šu?, which could be neut. pl. or a collective

<sup>36</sup> OH genitive sg. governed by following *katta*.

<sup>37</sup> Transformed into accus. sg., obj. of *šeš-* conceived of as transitive here.



neut. sg. Since Watkins has shown that the true plural form of this word is written *a-aš-šu-u* with plene final syllable, and A ought to have used OH *ne* (= *n=ē*), I would opt for the collective sg. interpretation. But in any case, since the collective takes neut. sg. agreement in Hittite, *-at* here would not be a NH replacement for *-e*. The common acc. pl. *-uš* is well attested in OS manuscripts: §26a (L), §55 (A), §79 (A) (modernized in NH copy B to *-aš*), §144/33 (c), §171/56 (e, p), §196/82 (p), §197/83 (p 2x, y), §198/84 (p 2x), §199/85 (p); versus NH *-aš* in §198/84 (p), §199/85 (p). The OH form *-e* occurs for the pl. nom. com. (§53 A, D, F), but not for the nom.-accus. neut.

*ak(k)*- "to die". The writing *a-ak-ki-iš* is found only in §75 (A).

*akkāla*- "furrow(?)" shows sg. acc. *ak-ka-a-la-an* §168/53 (aa, OS?), versus *ag-ga-la-an* in NS §168/53 (e, p).

*alwanzatar* "sorcery" is spelled differently in A as *a-lu-[wa-an-za-tar]* §44b.

*-an* (sentence particle) only occurs in OS manuscript A: *tāk-ku-wa-ta-an* (= *takku=at=an*) *pār-na-ma ku-e-el-ka pé-eš-ši-ez-zi* §44b. See also *aušta=at=an* <sup>d</sup>*Kammarušepaš* in KUB 17.10 ii 35-36 (OH/MS) and *kuit andan paizzi n=ašta / namma šara UL uizzi anda=at=an ḥarkzi* ibid. iv 16-17.

*anna*- "mother". The loss of *n* in the common sg. acc. immediately before clitics beginning with *š* already occurs in OS, but in the laws seems not to have been restored in the NS copies: *an-na-aš-ma-an* §191/77 (p), §194/80 (aa, p), *an-na-aš-m[a-an-na]* (y).

*aniya*- "to make, work". The contrast *a-ni-e-ez-zi* §160-161 (aa) versus *a-ni-ia-zi* §160-161 (p, v) is expected, since aa appears to be pre-NH. But whether this is proof of its being OH(/OS) is another matter. *an-ni-iš-k°* in A versus *an-né-eš-k°* in B, L and PT is also noteworthy.

*andan* "therein, inside, in it". OS A's *tāk-ku* IN.NU.DA *an-da-an* <sup>1</sup>NU<sup>1</sup>. [GÁL §100 was modernized by NH B (also in F and W) to: *tāk-ku* IN.NU.DA [a]n-da NU.GÁL.

*antuḥša*- "human being" is written fully syllabically only in post-OS manuscript B (§§10, 42, 44). OS manuscript A (and OS or MS manuscript aa, LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-na-az §146b) consistently uses the Sumerogram LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU, usually with complements to indicate grammatical case. Late NH manuscripts C and PT use UN with complements.

*-apa* (OH sentence particle). Occurs only in §110/10 (b) as a variant of *an-da-še-ia* "and in addition to it" in d.

*āppa* (local adverb). The spelling *a-ap-pa* is largely confined to the older manuscripts: A, and aa, being retained rarely in more conservative NH copies: B and b. The writing EGIR-*pa* has replaced it in B, C, E, a, b, e, k, p and PT.

The OH writing *a-ap-pa-an-an-da* §37 (A) is replaced by EGIR-*an-da* in the early NH copy B.

The OH writing *ap-pa-ta-ri-ez-zi* §76 (A) is replaced by syncopated *ap-pa-at-ri-ez-zi* in B, this stem *appatri(ya)*- occurs in the infinitive *a-ap-pa-at-ri-wa-an-zi* in §164-65 (p).

The OH writing *a-pé-ni-iš-ša-an* §55 (A), *a-pé-ni-iš-ša-[an]* §128/25 (aa), *a-[pé-ni-iš-ša-an]* §50 (A) is changed to *a-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an* in §55 (B, D).

*apēniššūwan*. *an-ta-ia-aš-še a-pé-ni-iš-ša-[an]* §128/25 (aa) appears to be older than *an-da-še-ia a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an* §110/10 (d); *an-da-aš-še<<-aš-še>> a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an* §128/25 (c). In clearly datable texts *apēniššūwan(t-)* appears to occur first in MH (see *nu apēniššūwan ḥattat* KBo 32.13 ii 19-20, MH/MS), which supports what appears to be the case here in the laws that OH *apēniššan* was replaced in some post-OS copies by *apēniššūwan*.

*arāwe*- "to be (or declare oneself) free, exempt". OS [a-ra-]a<sup>1</sup>-u-ez-zi §173b/58b (aa) was miscopied by the NH scribe of p as *a-ra-iz-zi*, which he then took as a sloppy equivalent of *a-ra-a-i*



"rises (in rebellion against his master)". This scribe's mistake may have been facilitated by the disappearance of productive "stative" verbs in *-e-* from post-OH Hittite.

*arḫa-* c. "boundary, border". Fully syllabic writings of this word appear to be confined to sg. acc. *ar-ḫa-an* § 168/53 (aa), d.-l. *ar-ḫi* § 6 (A, B), where B has conservatively followed A. Later copies (e, d, p) used ZAG-*a-*. This may indicate that aa is almost as old a copy as A.

*arnuant-* "pregnant (animal)". OH writings sg. acc. c. *ar-nu-an-da-an* § 77a (A 2×), § 83 (A), § 84 (A) seem to be replaced in post-OH copies by sg. acc. c. *ar-ma-u-an-da-an* § 77a (B 2×), *ar-ma-an-da-an* § 83 (B), § 84 (B), [*a*]r-ma-u-an-[da-an] § 83 (BB). *ar-ma-an-da-an* § 83 (B), § 84 (B) might be a twofold scribal error for *ar-ma-<u->an-da-an*, but it is also quite possible to take this as a participle of the verb *armai-*. The semantics of deriving the word for "pregnant" from *arnu-* "to bring (forward)" are unclear. See Commentary on § 77.

*arnu-*. The form *ar-nu-uz-zi* is normal in A, while B usually has *ar-nu-zi*. Obviously, this raises a question which cannot be answered with reference only to the verb *arnu-*: Do the derived verbs in *-nu-* take the writing *-nu-uz-zi* in OS but *-nu-zi* in NH and NS? Seven such verbs occur in the laws: *arnu-*, *ḫuišnu-*, *kinu-*, *parkunu-*, *pittenu-*, *šamenu-* and *tittanu-*.

Table 18. Orthography of *-nu-*Causative Verbs in the Laws

Forms in <i>-nu-uz-zi</i>	Forms in <i>-nu-zi</i>
prs. sg. 3. <i>ar-nu-uz-zi</i> § 4 (A), § 5 (A, B), § 19a (A), § 76 (B);	
	pres. sg. 3. <i>ḫu-iš-nu-zi</i> § 172/57 (p), § 198/84 (p), § 199/85 (p); <i>ḫu-iš-n[u]-zi</i> § 187/73 (p), § 198/84 (p); <i>ḫu-u-iš-nu-zi</i> § 198/84 (p); TI- <i>nu-z[i]</i> § 199/85 (p).
	pres. sg. 3. <i>k[i-n]u-zi</i> § 164-165/49-50 (p);
Pres. Sg. 3. <i>pár-ku-nu-uz-zi</i> § 44b (A, B, C), § 60 (A, M), § 61 (A, M), § 62 (M), § 163/48 (f);	<i>pár-ku-nu-zi</i> § 60 (B, N), § 61 (B), § 62 (A, B), § 163/48 (p); [ <i>p</i> ]ár-ku-nu-zi § 62 (F); <i>pár-ku-nu-zi</i> § XXXIV (2×).
<i>pít-ti-nu-uz-zi</i> § 37 (A); <i>pít-te-nu-uz-zi</i> § 28 (B), § 37 (B); <i>pít-te-nu-[u]z-z[i]</i> § 28 (B).	<i>pít-te-nu-zi</i> § 28 (C); <i>pít-te[-nu-z]i</i> § 28 (C); <i>pí[t-t]e-[nu-z]i</i> § 35 (B); <i>pít-te-n[u-zi]</i> § 28 (C).
[ <i>ša-me</i> ]- <i>nu-uz-zi</i> § 176a/61 (aa); <i>ša-me-nu-uz-zi</i> § 176/61a (p).	
<i>ti-it-ta-nu-uz-zi</i> § 121/18 (e).	

While there are NH copies in the lefthand column above, there are no OH copies in the righthand one. Clearly the older writing *-nu-uz-zi* was retained by later copyists alongside their newer writing *-nu-zi*. That this merely illustrates a trend among the scribes of the law corpus and does not prove that the writing *-nu-uz-zi* was unused by NH scribes overall is clear from examples in late texts: *ar-nu-uz-zi* KUB 21.29 ii 11 (Hatt. III), KBo 4.10 obv. 31, *te-ep-nu-uz-zi* KBo 4.10 rev. 13, *wa-aḫ-nu-uz-zi* ibid. rev. 14, *wa-at-ku-nu-uz-zi* KUB 5.3 + 18.52 i 48, etc. But it does seem that the first *-nu-zi* writings show up in MS and later.

*aršai-* (Va) "to plant, cultivate". In the pret. sg. 2 an older writing [*ar-š*]a?-*ke-e-et* § 169/54 (aa) may have been supplanted by *ar-ši-ik-ke-et* § 169/54 (e).



*atta-* c. "father". The syllabic writing with the *ta* sign (B, aa, e) is older than that with the *da* sign (c, p, y), although the former is not preserved in an OH copy (unless aa is judged to be OS): sg. nom. *at-ta-aš* § 28a (B), etc., § 193/79 (aa); § 194/80 (aa); *at-t[a-aš]* § 194/80 (e); *ad-da-aš* § 28b (C), § 29 (C), § 190/76 (y), § 194/80 (p); *ad-d[a]-aš* § 190/76 (p).

*išša-*, *ēšša-* (II 2 d) "to do, to perform". The OH writings pres. sg. 3 *i-iš-ša-i* § 39, § 40, § 41; pret. pl. 3. *i-iš-še-er* § 54; imp. pl. 2 *i-iš-te-e[n]* § 55 are characteristic of A. NH manuscripts spell the word either *iš-š...* or *e-eš-š...*

*ētriški-* "to feed". The OH writing pres. sg. 3. *[e-et-r]i-iš-ki-iz-zi* § 100 (A) is replaced in NH manuscript B by *e-et-re-eš-ki-iz-zi* § 100 (B), but retained in other NH manuscripts F and R.

*halki-* c. "grain". OH writing sg. gen. *hal-ki-aš* § 96 (A), § 97 (A) is replaced by *hal-ki-ia-aš* § 96 (B), § 97 (B). The sequence *Ci-aC* instead of *Ci-ia-aC* (with *-ia* glide) is characteristic of OH manuscripts. *Ci-aC* stands the best chance of being preserved in NH copies or compositions when a morpheme boundary occurs between the vowels: *wa-a-ši-an* "he buys it", *a-ki-aš* "he dies". In preserved portions of manuscript aa the sequence *Ci-ia-aC* occurs only twice: [... *ha-an-t]e-er-zi-ia-aš-pát* § 146 (aa), [... *a-ra-u-w]a-ni-ia-aš* § 194 (aa). In A it is not attested at all. See also below under *lēlaniya-*.

*hamešhant-* c. "spring". OH copy uses the allative form in *pa-ra-a ha-me-eš-ha-an-da* "through the following spring", "until next spring" § 100 (A, B), which was changed to the locative in NH copy [*pa-ra-a h]a-mi-iš-ha-an-ti* § 100 (Z).

*hāppar* n. r-St. "sale, business". OH copy A writes the first syllable plene: *ha-a-ap-pár* § 48 (A 2x); *ha-a-ap-pa-ra-az* § 48 (A); discontinued in NH copies.

*happarāi-* (*happirai-*, *haprai-*) (Va 1) "to sell". OH copy A writes *ha-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi* § 39 (A, B), *ha-ap-pa-ra-a-it* § 48 (A) with *a* in the second syllable, while NH copies use the other two stems: *ha-ap-pí-ra-iz-zi* § XL; *ha-ap-ra-iz-zi* § 26b (J).

*hark-* 1) "to get lost, to disappear, to cease"; 2) "to die, to perish"; 3) "to default". The second syllable is always written with *-kán-* in OH copy A, versus *-ga-an-* in NH copy L (§ 40). *har-ga-an-ta-aš* § 40 (L) is in fact the only instance of either *(-)ga-an(-)* or *(-)ka-an(-)* in the law corpus.

*LÚhippara-* n. com. "captive, prisoner" (enslaved class). OH writings such as sg. nom. *LÚhi-ip-pár-aš* § 48 (A 2x); *L[Úh]i-ip-pár-aš* § 49 (A) are replaced in NH copies by *LÚhi!-ip-pa-ra-aš* § XL; *LÚA-SI-RUM* § XL (3x); *[LÚ]A-[S]I-RUM* § XLI. *[LÚhi-ip-pár]-!aš!* § 48 (B) could also be restored as *[LÚhi-ip-pa-ra]-!aš!* following the NH syllabification. The phonetic interpretation of the OH spelling is unclear.

*huišuant-* "living, alive". OH writing sg. nom. com. *hu-iš-wa-an-za* attested in § 195a/81a (aa) and § 190/76 (y), seems to have been changed in NH copy *hu-u-iš-wa-an-za* § 195a/81a (p); *TI-an-za* § XXXVII, § 190/76 (p). For the NH writing acc. com. *hu-iš-wa-an-da-an* § 73 (B) I have substituted a probable OH equivalent *[hu-šu-wa-an-d]a-an* § 73 (A) on the basis of the occurrence of such a writing in OH copies outside the laws: KBo 22.2 rev. 9, StBoT 8 ii 19 = KBo 17.1 + 25.3 ii 5, StBoT 25 Nr. 4 ii 14' and Nr. 112 ii 4'; cf. StBoT 26:68 and HED H 338-340.

*huittiya-* (Va 1) "to pull"; here "to substitute, to offer in place of (something)". In this verb the spelling of the first syllable varies even within the single oldest manuscript attesting the word (aa): pres. pl. 3. med.-p. *hu-e-et-ti-an-ta* § 167/52 (aa); *hu-it-ti-ia-an-ta* § 196/82 (aa); *hu-u-it-ti-an-ta* § 167/52 (aa). The spellings *hu-it-ti-* and *hu-u-it-ti-* are also found in NH copy p, but *hu-e-et-ti-* is not. HED H 343-352 gives the stems *huet-*, *huit-*, *hut(t)-*, *huu(i)ttiya-*, but does not explicitly date them.



Melchert, AHP gives *huett(iya)-* 69, 100. Neu, StBoT 26:68 gives *hu-ut-ti-an-na-i* and *hu-ut-ti-an-na-a-i* as the only two OS forms in rituals.

*hullela-* (Va 1), *hulliya-* (Va 1) "to contest, to reject". Melchert 1994 gives *hullela-* 55, 166, 92, 12ri, 169; *hullanzi* 79. In OH the verb was thematic *hulle/a-*, as represented in the laws by pres. sg. 3 *hu-ul-li-iz-zi* § 173a/58a (aa); *hu-ul-li-i[z-zi]* § 173a/58a (aa); and NH continuation of the pl. 3 *hu-ul-la-an-zi* § 29 (B); *hu-u-ul-la-an-zi* § 29 (C). In NH copies this changed sometimes to pres. sg. 3. *hu-u-ul-la-az-zi* § 173a/58a (p), and sometimes to *hu-u-ul-li-ia-az-zi* § 173a/58a (p). Oettinger 1979 261-265 gives a fuller picture not as simple as appears from the limited occurrences in the law texts.

*hünink-* (Va 1) "to injure". While the spelling pres. sg. 3. *hu-u-ni-ik-zi* § 9 is found in both OH A (§ 9), and post-OH B (§§ 9-10), and PT § VIII, the spelling *hu-ú-ni-ik-zi* § 10 (A), being confined to A, is probably OH. It is difficult to tell if *hu-u-ni-kán-za* occurs alongside *hu-u-ni-in-kán-za* in § 9 (A) is a genuine OH writing, since it appears to occur as *hu-u-ni-ká[n-za]* in NH § 9 (C).

*hürkel* n. l-St. "unpermitted sexual pairing". There are several variables in the writing of this word: (1) whether the first syllable is written *hur-*, *hu-ur-* or *hu-u-ur-*; (2) whether the final syllable is written with *i*-containing *-il*, or *e*-containing *-el*. The word is not attested in the first series and therefore never in A or M. In aa it is written only *hu-ur-ki-il* so far as the preserved parts of the word indicate. Only the NH copies show *hur-*, *hu-u-ur-* or *-el*.

*KUŠhūša-* c. (a leather part of a piece of equipment). That plene writing is not necessarily a sign of an earlier stage in the writing of a word is shown here. OH copy A has *KUŠhu-ša-an* § 78, while sg. acc. *KUŠhu-u-ša-an* § 78 (B), § 125/22 (c) comes from two NH copies and therefore indicates the probability of the following restorations: [*KUŠhu-u-š*]a-an § 125/22 (f); *KUŠh[u-u-ša-an]* § 125/22 (o).

*huwai-* (V 1) "to run away". pres. sg. 3. *hu-wa-a-i* § 22 (A), § 23a (A), § 23b (A), § 24 (A); *hu-u-wa-i* § 22 (B), § 23a (B) in all probability shows a shift in vowel length (and therefore stress?) from the first syllable in OH to the second in NH.

*iya-* (Va 1) "to do, to perform, to make". *i-e-zi*, *i-ez-zi* and *i-e-ez-zi* (probably pronounced *yezi*) are all found in OH copy A, although *i-ez-zi* is the most common in that manuscript. Post-OH manuscript B continues to use A's *i-ez-zi* and *i-e-ez-zi* in the sg. and *i-en-zi* in the pl. Copy p also uses *i-e-ez-zi* § 171/56 once, but other NH copies use only *i-ia-zi* and *i-ia-az-zi* in the sg. and *i-ia-an-zi* in the pl.

*išha-* c. "lord, owner, master". In the sg. nom. the differentiation in the syllabic spellings is not consistent: *iš-ḥa-a-aš* and *iš-ḥa-aš* both occur in A. Almost all examples of EN are from late NH copies. The Akkian construct form *BE-EL*, on the other hand, is frequent in A and occurs in aa, as well as in the conservative NH copy B.

*išhi-* (Va 1), *išhai-* (Va 2) 1) "to tie, to bind". 2) "to impose (a service or a fine) upon someone". Copy A shows a consistent preference for *iš-ḥi-an-zi* (pres. pl. 3) instead of *iš-ḥi-ia-an-zi* (copies B, F, P). No other inflected form of this word found in A or aa contrasts clearly with an alternate writing in the NH manuscripts. See Melchert 1994 168 for the word's derivation. See Oettinger 1979 466 for its inner-Hittite development.

*išhunai(?)* (Va 1) "(?)". The pre-NH writing *uš-hu-na-an-[zi]* § 175/60 (aa) contrasts with the NH copy's *iš-ḥu-na-a-an-zi* § 175/60 (p).

*išpanduzzi-* n. "a vessel for wine, libation wine". Older *GEŠTINiš-pa-an-t[u-zi]* § 164-165/49-50 (aa) is changed to *GIŠ.GEŠTINiš-pa-an-du-zi* § 164-165/49-50 (p).

*ištamana-* c. "ear" is written once syllabically *ḥišt-tal[...]* § 95 and once Akkadographically *UZ-NA-A* (dual nom.) § 99 in A, B and F. The later NH copies C and PT write it with the Sumerogram *GEŠTU*.



*ištap(p)*- (Va 2) "to stop up, block" > "to deposit (something in)". The writing [i]š-ta-a-pí § 158/43 (aa) appears to be older than *iš-tap-pí* § 158/43 (n, p).

*iwāru*- n. "a dowry, an inheritance share". *i-wa-a-ru* § 46 (A) (preserved also in NH *i-w[a]-a-ru* § 27 J) appears to be older than *i-wa-ru* in B, C and PT. Similarly, the writing sg. gen. *i-wa-ru-aš* § 46 (A) in *i-wa-ru-aš iš-ḥa-a-aš* (lit. "lord of an inheritance (share)/a dowry") without the glide *w*, appears to be older than *[i-w]a-ru-wa-aš iš-ḥa-a-aš* § 46 (B); *i-wa-ru-wa-aš EN-aš* § XXXVIII. See also inf. *ták-šu-an-zi* § 56 (A), *ták-šu-wa-an-zi* § 56 (B). *ták-ku-wa-ta-an* § 44b (A) (< *takku=at=an* with OH local particle *-an*) has a very atypical glide *w* at morpheme boundary in an OS manuscript.

*kanešš*- (Va1) "recognize, to claim". *ga-né-eš-zi* § 19a (A, B), § 20 (A), § 21 (A), § 62 (F), 70 (B); *ga-ne-[eš-zi]* § 62 (A); *ga-n[e-eš-zi]* § 60 (A), § 61 (A) are attested for copy A, while *ka-ni-iš-zi* § 61 (B), § 62 (B) is confined to post-OH copies. See Oettinger 1979 198f.

*kappuwe*- (OH), *kappuwai*- (Va1) "to count". *kap-pu-u-en-zi* § 83 (A), but later *kap-pu-u-an-zi* § 83 (B); *[ka]p-pu-w[a-an-zi]* § 83 (BB). See Melchert 1994 128, 130 for the development of \**kapu-yéló*- > \**kappu-e/a*- > *kappuwe/a*-, Oettinger 1979 332 for OH *kappue*- > NH *kappuwai*-.

*kariyela*-, *karp*-. OH copy A shows the following: *kar-pí-i-ez-zi* § 46 (A 2x), § 47b (A), § 48 (A), *kar-pí-ez-zi* § 47b (A), *kar-pí-an-zi* § 56 (A); *kar-pí-an-zi* § 52 (A), all consonant with the first stem *kariyela*-. While B, D and G preserve some of the same writings, and even additional ones not preserved in A: *kar-pí-i-e-e[r]* § 54 (D), they introduce forms of the typically post-OH stem *karp*:- *kar-ap-zi* § 46 (B), § 47b (B), § XXXVIII (2x), § XXXIXa, § XXXIXb. See Oettinger 1979 345 and Melchert 1994 136f. (accent on the root), 158.

*karš*-, *karšiyela*-. In this case it is the shorter stem *karp*- which is original and *karšiyela*- is a post-OH development according to Oettinger 1979 200f., 581 n. 2 (explaining parenthesized stems) (see also Melchert 1994 136). The form *kar!-aš-ši-i-ez-zi* § 6 (A), continued in *kar-aš-ši-i-e-ez-zi* § 6 (B), seems to disprove this development, since A is an OH copy. But Oettinger explains its occurrence in A as analogically influenced by *kariyela*-.

*LÚkaruḥali*- c. (a functionary). pl. nom. com. OH *LÚ.MEŠka-ru-ḥa-li-eš* § 54 (A) was replaced in post-OH copies with *LÚ.MEŠka-ru-ḥa-li-iš* § 54 (B), *LÚ.MEŠka-[ru-ḥ]a-li-iš* § 54 (D). I assume that this was an *i*-stem, since the NH nom. pl. com. of an *a*-stem noun would have been *LÚ.MEŠka-ru-ḥa-lu-uš*. In late New Hittite (Ḫattušili III, Tudḫaliya IV, Šuppiluliuma II) texts the earlier nom. pl. ending *-eš* was retained (sometimes as *-iš*) in the consonantal stems (e.g., *ḫūmant*- and the participles in *-ant*-) and in the *i*- and *u*-stems (including the relative *kuieš*), but was replaced in the *a*-stems with *-uš*.

*kēt* "on this side" (OH;) is replaced by *kēz* "on this side" (NH) in § 22b. On *kēt* see Neu 1983 98 n. 356, cf. also *kitkar* and *ket(-)pandalaz*. For grammatical discussions of demonstratives in *-et* see Houwink ten Cate and Josephson 1967 125f., Melchert 1977 259-271.

*gipeššar* n. r/n-St. (0.25 square meters). The use of the determinative *GIŠ* is confined to OH copy A (§ 6).

*kiš*- (mid.) "to become, to be considered". In OH copy A the first syllable is written plene when it is open: *ki-i-š[a]* § 40, *ki-i-[ša-at]* § 51, *ki-i-ša-an-ta-ti* § 49. When it is closed, it is not written plene: *ki-iš-ta-at* § 37. In post-OH copies the first syllable is only written plene in an archaizing retention of the OH archetype: *ki-i-[ša-at]* § 51 (A, B), and presumably *ki-i-ša* § 40 (L), § 86 (B, W), § 173a/58a (p), § 200a/86a (p), where no OH archetype is preserved.

*kuen*- (v. act.) "to kill, to put to death". OH copy A consistently writes *ku-e-en-zi* (§§ 2, 5), whereas the post-OH copies write *ku-en-zi*. In OH the originally short *e* vowel was lengthened under



stress. See Melchert 1994 134f. on the atypical treatment of the stressed short *e* vowel before *n* and a dental (paradigmatic analogy).

*kui-* (rel. pron.) "who, what, which". The OH writing *ku-i-eš* § 52 (A) of the nom. pl. com. usually written *ku-i-e-eš* is attested elsewhere in OS texts: see Neu 1983 102.

*kuiški* "some(one), any(one)". gen. *ku-e-el-ka* 44b (A); [*k*]u?-*!e?*-e!?-*ka?* § 72 (A) seems to be a writing distinctive of copy A.

*kuitman* (conj.) 1) "when". 2) "until". OS *ku-it-ma-a-na-aš* § 10 (A) is replaced in post-OH copies by *ku-it-ma-na-aš* § 10 (B, C), § IX. In OH the vowel in the second syllable of this word was lengthened under rightward shift of the word stress due to the addition of the enclitic *-aš* (so correctly Melchert 1994 106). Most likely the accent remained in this position through NH, but the plene writing to indicate this was discontinued in post-OH.

*kukkurš-* (Va 1) "to mutilate". OS writings include: [*ku-uk-kur*]-*iš-ki-iz-zi* § 95 (A),<sup>38</sup> *ku-uk-ku-úr*-[*ališ-kán-zi*] § 99 (A), versus post-OH copies' *ku-ug-gur-aš-kán-zi* § 99 (B); *ku-uk-kur-aš-ká[n-zi]* § 95 (F), [*ku-ug-gu*]r-*aš-kán-zi* § 95 (P); [*ku-uk-kur-š*]a-*an-zi* § 99 (Z); *kur*-*aš-kán*?[-*zi*] § 95 (Y).

*kulēi-* (collective) n. "unused/idle land(?)". OS plene writing *A.ŠĀku-le-e-i* § 46 (A); *A.ŠĀ.ĤIAku-le-e-i* § 47b (A) is replaced in post-OH copy by *A.ŠĀ.ĤIAku-le-i* § 46 (B); *A.ŠĀ.ĤIAku-le-[i]* § 47b (B).

*kuptar* n. r-St. "remnants (of the ritual)". OS sg. nom.-acc. *ku-up-ta-ar* § 44b (A) is replaced by post-OH *ku-up-tar* § 44b (B, C).

*kurur-* adj. "enemy, hostile, foreign (land)". OS sg. d.-l. *ku-u-ru-ri* § 23b (A) is replaced by post-OH *ku-ru-ri-i* § 23b (B), perhaps showing accent displacement.

*kuššan-* n. n-St. "fee, rent, wages". OH copy A is distinctive in the forms with ungeminate *š*: *ku-ša-an* § 24 (A); *ku-ú-ša-an* § 55 (A, B, F), but also uses the geminate form: *ku-uš-ša-an* § 10 (A, B). OS A and oldish aa also become distinctive with clitic poss. pron. and assimilation of *n* to following consonant: *ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et* § 76 (A), § 157/42 (aa 3×), § 158b/43b (aa), § 159/44 (aa). Syncopated forms such as *ku-uš-na-az* and *ku-uš-ni* are only found in post-OH copies.

*kuššaniya-*, *kušne-* (I 4) "to hire, to rent". The writing with non-geminate *š* in this case is not characteristic of copies A and aa, but occurs once in *ku-ša-ni-ez-zi* § 78 (B) (perhaps as a scribal error for *ku-<uš>-ša-ni-ez-zi*), where the variant in A is *ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi*. The syncopated forms *ku-uš-ne-ez-zi* § 151/40 (c); *ku-uš-n[e-ez-zi]* § 152/41 (c); *k[u-uš-ne-ez-zi]* § 151/40 (c), are all in the same late copy. For another case of syncope between OH and NH see *appatariya-* > *appatriya-*.

*kušata-* n. "brideprice". Unfortunately, there is no preserved writing of this word in OH copy A. But if we may assume, as in other laws, a closer approximation to A's spellings in B than in C, then we may guess that A's writing might have been *ku-ú-ša-ta* as in § 29 (B 2×), § 30 (B), § 34 (B), § 35 (B), § 36 (B). Comparison with *ku-ša-a-ta* § 29 (C) suggests an accent shift of *kúšata* (OH) > *kušáta* (NH). *ku-ú-ša-a-ta* § 29 (C) would then be a conflation of the OH and NH spellings.

*lahha-* c. "voyage, campaign". The one occurrence in A, namely allative *la-ah-ḥa* in § 42, fails to show the plene writing of the first syllable found in some OS and MS texts, but this non-plene writing is matched also in KUB 43.25 10 (OS) (see CHD L-N 4b). There is therefore no contrast of A and B in this spelling, but late NH copy C has replaced the allative with the locative *la-ah-ḥi*.

<sup>38</sup> If we restore this as [*ku-uk-ku-ri*]-*iš-ki-iz-zi*, it cannot be from *kukkurš-* but *kukkur(i)ye-*; see Melchert 1984, 120 sub § 2.2.4.



*lazziya-* v. mid., "to recover". OH syllabic writings *la-a-az-zi-at-ta* § 10 (A), *la-az-zi-at-ta* § 10 (A) are replaced in post-OH copies by semi-logographic SIG<sub>5</sub>-*at-ta-ri* § 10 (B), SIG<sub>5</sub>-*at-[ta-ri]* § 10 (B), SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ri* § 10 (C), SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ta[...]* § 10 (K); SIG<sub>5</sub>-*ta-ri* § IX (2×); SIG<sub>5</sub>-*at-ta* § 113/13 (k).

*lēlaniya-* v. mid., "to become furious". pres. sg. 3. *le-e-[la]-ni-at-ta* § 38 (A) is replaced by a synonym *kar-tim-mi-ia-an-ta-ri* in B, which prevents contrasting of spellings. Nevertheless, *le-e-[la]-ni-at-ta* conforms to what we have seen in other words as the OS spelling: plene writing of the stressed initial syllable and failure to write a glide *\*-ni-ia-at-ta*. See above under *halki-*, *huittiya-*, *išhi-*, and *lazziya-*.

*link-* v. act., "to swear". Contrast pres. sg. 3 *li-ik-zi* § 75 (A) with *li-in-ga-zi* § 75 (B). See Oettinger 1979 135-139, 186f. and CHD s.v.

*lukke-* (thematic), *lukkiš-* v. act., "to ignite, set fire to". See Oettinger 1979 271-277 but differently Melchert 1984 34f. All manuscripts follow OS writing *lu-uk-ke-er-zi* § 98 (B), § 99 (A, B), § 100 (A, B); § 105/5 (a), § 106/6 (aa, a); *lu-uk-ke-er-zi* § 98 (A); *lu-uk-ke-e[z-zi]* § 106/6 (b); *lu-uk-k[e-er-zi]* § 100 (F); *lu-uk-[ke-er-zi]* § 105/5 (b); *lu-u[k-ke-er-zi]* § 106/6 (b, i); *[lu-u]k-ke-er-zi* § 99 (F), with one NH innovation *lu-uk-ki-iš-zi* § 100 (Z).

*luli-* n. c., "basin, pond". OS all. *lu-li-ia* § 25 (A) does not show the plene writing of later copies (abl.) *lu-ú-li-ia-az* § 102/2 (b); *[lu-ú-li-i]a-az* § 102/2 (a).

*māhḥanda* (adv. and conj.) "as". *ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an-da* § 55 (A), § 65 (A) is replaced in post-OH copies (B, D, F) by *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an*. See CHD s.v.

*mān* "if" replaces *takku* (A) in §§ 40-41 (B), replaces *našma* "or (if)" (A) in § 5 (B). *ma-a-na-aš-ta* § 79 (A) "but when" replaced by *ku-it-ma-na-aš-ta* "until" in B. See translation of § 79 for explanation.

*manninkuwan* (Adv.) "nearby, in the vicinity". *ma-an-ni-in-ku-an* § 22 (A) without contrasting example from post-OS, but showing typical OS writing *-ku-an* without glide. Post-OS writings without glide such as *ták-ku-aš* § XI, § 27 (B, C), *[t]ák-ku-an* § 28 (C), *ták-ku-at* § 44b (C), § 45 (B, C) and *wa-ar-nu-an-zi* § 27 (B) are at morpheme boundaries. But even there, see *ták-ku-wa-an* § 28 (B).

*marše-* v. act., "to be dishonest, false, corrupt". A stative verb in *-e-*, elsewhere in the laws sometimes replaced by an *-ešš-* verb. In its only other occurrence, in KUB 11.1 i 20-21 (Tel. pr., OH/NS) *maršēr* is replaced in another NS duplicate with *mar-še-eš-še-er* (cf CHD L-N 200). Different analysis as *\*maršye-* by Oettinger 1979 29, 239, 342 is opposed by Melchert 1984 32, 117 on the basis of *mar-še-e-er* law § 49 (A).

*meyani-* "(temporal) cycle, extent (of time)". *me-e-a-ni* § 165/50 (aa) is replaced by the synonym *me-e-ḥu-ni* "time" in the post-OH copy p. Cf. CHD *meya(n)ni-* a 1'.

*mekk-*, *mekki-* adj., "much, many, most (of)". Although the occurrence of *me-ek-ku-uš* § 33 (A), *m[e-e]k-[ku-uš]* § 32 (A) in the laws is not cited in the morphology of CHD *mekki-* A for the stem *mekk-*, it clearly adds another example of OS evidence for this particular accus. pl. form from that stem.

*-mi-* (enclitic poss. pron.) "my". OH copy A uses only *-me-et* for the nom.-acc. n. form. The writing *-mi-it* in the law manuscripts is confined to post-OH copies (B, C, e). This conforms with the conclusions of Melchert 1984 122-125 as to the OH form *-et* of the neut. poss. enclitics. In none of the above examples is *-met* affixed to an adverb or an instrumental. In the post-OH copies the OH distinction of *-mit* and *-met* has been lost and the scribes used *-mit* throughout.

*mimma-*, *memma-* v. act., "to refuse, reject". Copy A never has the *e* vocalization of the first syllable appearing in some post-OH copies (B, C, F). That B writes *me-em-m...* is crucial for its date,



since *memma-* outside of the laws seems to occur first in the Tawagalawa letter (Hatt. III) according to Melchert 1984 145f., 153, 100 n. 53. CHD L-N 263 morphological sect. shows several cases of "OH/NS", but the "NS" could be late NS, and no examples of MS.

*natta* (adv.) "not". In A and aa it is written exclusively as syllabic *na-at-ta*. Syllabic writing retained twice in post-OH copy B. Other post-OH copies utilize logographic writing *Ú-UL*. To date no clear examples of late NH writing *UL* in the law manuscripts. See CHD L-N 409ff.

*nawi* (adv.) "not yet". *na-a-ú-i* § 93 (B and F 2×); *na-ú-i* § 30 (B); *na-a-wi<sub>5</sub>* § 30 (C). From the evidence for writings compiled in CHD L-N 421 sub *nawi* there is no basis yet for determining the relative age of the two writings *na-a-ú-i* and *na-ú-i*, since the former is found in all periods and the latter from MH/MS through NH. Writings with *wi<sub>5</sub>* are exclusively NH.

*pai-* v. act., "to go". *a-ap-pa-an-an-da pa-a-a[n]-z[i]* "(and supporters) go after (them)" § 37 (A) is replaced by EGIR-*an-da-m[a]-a[š-m]a-aš-k[án ša]r-I di<sup>1</sup>-ia-aš pa-iz-zi* "and a group of supporters goes after them" in B.

*pai-* v. act., "to give". The most interesting comparison here is stem of the iterative, which in OH and perhaps MH was *piške/a-*, but in perhaps late MH and NH was *peške/a-*.

*peššiye-*, *peššiya-*, *peššiyai-* v. act. "to shove, throw, reject; to let fall, abolish; to cause a miscarriage." OH copy knows only the stem *peššiye-*: *pé-eš-ši-ez-zi* § 44a (A, B), § 44b (A), § 77 (A 2×), § 80 (A, B).

*pittinu-*, *pittenu-* v. act. "to run off with (a woman)". The OS writing is *pít-ti-nu-uz-zi* § 37 (A), versus *pít-te-nu-uz-zi* § 28 (B), § 37 (B) and *pít-te-nu-zi* § 28 (C).

*šāktāi-* (Val) "to tend or care for (an injured person)". The second syllable is long in this verb in OH, but not in NH: *ša-a-ak-ta-a-iz-zi* § 10 (A), *ša-ak-ta-iz-zi* § IX (PT).

*šakuwaššar(a)-* "in full value". Note the typical OH lack of a glide in *ša-ku-aš-ša-ra-[an]* § 66 (A). Otherwise, OH and most post-OH copies write the common gender acc. as *ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an* and *ša-a-k[u-wa]-aš-ša-ru-uš* except certain NH copies which have *ša-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-an* § 66 (B), *š[a-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-an]* § 66 (F). The writing of this form with *-šar-* seems to be a NH innovation. The plene writing *ša-a-ku-wa-aš-šar* § 94 (F), § 95 (B), *[ša-a-ku-wa-aš-ša]r* § 94 (B) does not have a precedent in A, but might in *ša-a-k[u-wa]-aš-ša-ru-uš* § 144/33 (aa).

*šalik-* v. mid. "to intrude" > "to have sexual intercourse with". *ša-li-g[a]* § 195a/81 (aa), *š[a-l]i-i-g[a]* § 195a/81 (aa). For *ša-li-i-ga* in OS see *ta* DUGÚTUL-*ša ša-li-ga* KBo 17.43 i 14-16 (fest., OS), (where var. B KBo 17.18 ii 16-18: *ša-li-i-ga* is OS, and D: KBo 17.42 + Bo 2599 vi 3-10 *ša-a-li-ga* is post-OS).

*šemen-*, *šamen-* v. act. "to pass by, bypass, forfeit" (with *-kan*). *šemen-* is the written form of choice in OH manuscripts of the laws, although in OS rituals both are attested (Neu 1983 156). StBoT 25 Nr. 19, where *šamenzi* is found, would appear to be slightly later than Neu's OS types I and II (Neu 1983 52 "dass ... die Schrift von Nr. 19 eher etwas jünger denn älter als Duktustyp II wirkt"). It is probable that the word was spoken /smen/ (Melchert 1984 107): *še-me-en-zi* § 145/34 (aa), *[še-me-e]n-zi* § 48 (A), *ša-me-en-zi* § IV, § 30 (B), § XL, *ša-me-e[n-zi]* § 145/34 (s).

*šarḫuwant-* n. neut. pl. 1) "unborn child, unborn calf"; 2) "(a dog's) stomach". The oldest manuscript, A, uses a logographic writing *ŠA ŠĀ-BI-ŠA* § 77a (A 2 ×), which is interpreted syllabically in the oldest NH copy B as a neut. pl. *šar-ḫu-wa-an-da* § 77a (B 2×); *[šar-ḫu-wa-an-]da* § 77a (K); *šar-ḫu-u-wa-an-da* § 17 (C), § 18 (C). The abl. *šar-ḫu-wa-an-ta-az-še-et* § 90 (B), *šar-ḫu-wa-an-ta-za-ši-it* § 90 (E) can also be understood as neuter. The earliest evidence for a common



gender sg. is from the late NH parallel text: *šar-ḥu-u-wa-an-da-an* 1) § XVI, § XVII (both times obj. of *peššiya-*).

*šarnikzil*, *šarnikzel* n. 1-stem "compensation, replacement". The earliest writings show *šarnikzil*.

*šartiya-*, *šardiya-* com. 1) "helper". 2) "auxiliary troop". The writing without the glide, *šar-ti-an-n[a]* § 38 (A), is OH. A also prefers to use the *ti* sign in this word.

*šaudišt-*, *šawitišt-* n. com. "weanling, weaned animal". The earliest (OS) writing is *ša-ú-di-iš-za* found in copies A and M. Post-OH copies introduce *ša-ú-i-ti-iš-za* with minor variations.

*-še*, *-ši* "him, her" (enclitic dative of the pers. pron. 3 sg.). All examples from A and aa show the characteristic OH form *-še*. Many examples of *-še* are retained in the post-OH copies (B, F, O, P, c, d), but in these are also to be found the later form *-ši*. Only *-ši* forms are found in the late NH copies C and p.

*šepa-* com. "sheaf( ?)". The earliest writing is *še-ba-an* § 158/43 (aa), followed by *še-e-pa-an* § 158/43 (n); *še-e-pa-a[n]* § 158/43 (p).

*šer* (local adverb) 1) "(up)on". 2) "for, on behalf of". A and aa write plene *še-e-er*, while later manuscripts write *še-er*.

*-ši-* (enclitic poss. pron.) "his, her, its". In the nom.-acc. neut. sg. OS A uses *-šet* in preference to *-šit* on nouns, but *-šit* on the local adverb *šēr*. See my remarks above on the OS form *-mi-* "my" with reference there to Melchert 1984 122-125. Post-OH copies either retain OS *-šet* or substitute *-šit*. Late NH copies such as C and p rarely retain *-šet*.

*šeiunyahh-* (mid. used as a passive?) "to be struck (with illness) by a deity". Although none of the preserved forms comes from an OS or MS manuscript, it is possible on the basis of our knowledge of OH orthography to arrange these variants in somewhat chronological order. The forms written *-ni-ah-* without the glide would be older. And the preservation of *ši-e-ú-* might bear the mark of an OH tradition. Does this reflect *\*syeu-*, or is the E sign merely functioning as a glide, indicating *\*siyuniah-*? See Melchert 1984 56f., 60. The order would then be: *ši-e-ú-ni-ah-ta* § 163/48 (p), *ši-ú-ni-ah-ta* § 163/48 (c), *[ši-ú-n]i-ah-t[a]* § 163/48 (bb), *ši-ú-ni-ia-ah-ta* § 163/48 (v). In this case, unexpectedly, the late NH copy p actually preserves the oldest form.

*tāyuga-* "two-year-old". OS spellings *ta-a-* replaced by *da-a-*.

*takkaliyant-* (Part.) "fenced-in, enclosed (vineyard)". Spellings with *-ka-* and without *-ia-* glide are older, although earliest copies not OS.

*takš-* On the spellings with and without the glide see above under *iwāru-*.

*takku* "if". On *tāk-ku-wa-ta-an* § 44b (A) see above under *iwāru-*.

*dampupi-* "untrained, unskilled". *[da?-am?]-pu-pf-in* § 147/36 (aa) versus *dam-pu-...* is perhaps older spelling.

*tān* and *dān* are both in NS manuscripts here. But *ta-a-an* is attested in OS Anitta (KBo 3.22 36) and is found chiefly in OH/NS manuscripts, whereas *da-a-an* is widespread in MH and NH original compositions.

*tar-*, *te-* "to speak, say". The iterative spelling *[tar]-ši-kán-zi* § 55 (A) is older than *tar-aš-kán-zi* I 55 (B).

*tidašuwahh-* "to blind (someone)". The choice of initial sign appears indifferent, but the treatment of the ending in pres. sg. 3 shows the typical OH > NH shift of *-ahhi* > *-ahzi* with the factitive verbs.

*tekan-* n. n-stem. "earth". The pre-NH manuscript aa shows *ta-a-ag-na-a* § 169/54, versus *tág-na-a* in § 169/54 (d, j), which are NS.



*tēpu-* "little, few". The plene writing *te-e-* characterizes the OS manuscript A. NS manuscripts use *te-*. Plene writing is the rule in OS rituals (StBoT 26:194).

*tiye-, tiya-* v. OS A shows *ti-ez-zi*, and aa *ti-i-e-ez-zi* and *ti-an-zi*. OS rituals attest the writings *ti-ez-zi*, *ti-i-ez-zi*, *ti-i-e-ez-zi*, *ti-e-ez-zi* (StBoT 26:197).

*tuḥš-* v. OS A shows inf. *túḥ-ḥu-š-u-an-zi* § 56, aa *tu-uḥ-[š]a-ri* § 144. OS rituals show *tu-uḥ-ša* and *túḥ-ḥu-uš-zi* (StBoT 26:199).

*turiya-* v. All non-plene writings of the first syllable are in NH manuscripts. One example *tu-u-ri-an[-...]* in OS ritual (StBoT 26:201).

*tuwān* adv. The plene second syllable characterizes the OS manuscript aa and is continued in NS p, but not in PT (§ IV). *tu-wa-a-an* and *tu-u-wa-an* in OS SBoT 26:202).

*tuwarnali-* v. OS A and K show initial *tu-* sign.

*uktūri-* adj. Plene writing of second syllable characteristic of OS StBoT 26:204 and conservative NH manuscript B. Contrasted with *uk-tu-ri-...* in less conservative NH manuscript C.

*unattalla-* n. The writing *-ta-al-* is OS, the *-tal-* is NS.

*urkiya(i)-* v. The occurrence of *ur-ki-ia-iz-zi* § 149 (aa, c) is doubtful as an unambiguous sign of OH, especially since *[ur-k]i-i-e-ez-[zi]* § 149/38 (t) looks like an old spelling attesting a stem *urkiye-*.

*uwa-* v. OS *ú-en-zi* (A) contrasts with NH *ú-wa-an-zi* (B). Both spellings attested in StBoT 26: 207 with the second found only once.

*walḥ-* v. Many examples of *wa-al-aḥ-zi*. Few examples in aa of the typical OS *wa-la-aḥ-zi* (StBoT 26: 210).

*warš-* v. The pres. sg. 3 in *-i*, attested in *wa-ar-ši* and *wa-ar-aš-še* (aa), is older than that in *-zi* in this verb.

*waštul-* n. The typical OS gen. *uš-tu-la-aš* is found in aa.

*wemiye-* v. Typical of OS is: *ú-e-mi-ez-zi*. NS B has *ú-e-mi-e-ez-zi*, *ú-e-mi-ia-az-zi*, and *ú-e-mi-ia-zi*.

*-z(a)* (reflexive particle) On the expanding use of *-z(a)* with particular verbs see Glossary sub *-za* and Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 9-10. The reflexive particle (HE § 101) *-z(a)* is written *-az* in situations where the particle is immediately preceded by an *a* vowel: *i-wa-ru-še-ta-az* (\**iwaru=šet=a=z*) § 27 (OH J and NH B) and *DUMU.MEŠ-az* (\**DUMU.MEŠ=a=z*) § 31 (B). The only example of *-z(a)* following an *a* vowel and written in the NH way as *-za* is *am-me-<sup>l</sup>el<sup>l</sup>-pát-wa-<sup>l</sup>za<sup>l</sup>* § 74 (B), where OH manuscript A is broken, but may have had *am-me-el-pát-wa-az*. In these cases the particle not considered to be *-az* but *-z*.<sup>39</sup>

*zīnu-* v. The plene writing *zi-i-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi* in A exemplifies OH.

### Grammar

*Orthography.* In addition to orthographic features associated with particular lexemes, such as those cited above, there are certain orthographic practices of the OH scribes that occur on all forms of the same class. For example, while in OS texts the ablative ending is regularly expressed with the *-az* sign, and only rarely appears as *-za* on certain *s*-stem nouns like *nepišza*, ablatives begin already in MH/MS to be written CONSONANT+*a-za*. See above in Commentary on § 8. The beginnings of this can be clearly seen in the Mašat texts: HKM 46 23-27 ḤUR.SAG-*aš=wa* / ŠA LÚ.KÚR *uddanaza parkuiš* /

<sup>39</sup> Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965, 11 and note 37, citing Sommer and Falkenstein 1938, 176.



*nu=kan* URU *Tapiggaza* / GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A UDU.ĪI.A *katta QATAMMA* / *taršikkimi*. Of course, the older writings with *-az* persist alongside the newer ones in *...a-za*.<sup>40</sup> It is possible that the *a* vowel inherent in the ZA sign was not pronounced in these cases, but that issue is irrelevant to the concerns of orthography. We see here a distinct diachronic pattern.<sup>41</sup> In the laws manuscripts the example that best shows this diachronic distribution is: *šu-ul-la-an-na-az* § 2 (B), undoubtedly preserving the same spelling as OH copy A, versus [*šu-ul-la-an*]-*na-az-za* § 26a (B); *šu-ul-la-an-na-za* § III, § V, § VI, all from NS manuscripts.

In thematic verbs of the *-ye-* class NH manuscripts render explicit the *e*-vocalization (*kar-aš-ši-i-e-ez-zi*, *šu-wa-i-ez-zi*, *i-ez-zi*, *ku-uš-ša-ni-i-e-ez-zi*, *da-i-e-ez-zi*), while OH ones do not (*kar!-aš-ši-i-ez-zi*, *šu-wa-i-ez-zi*, *i-ez-zi*, *ap-pa-ta-ri-ez-zi*, *kar-pí-i-ez-zi*, *ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi*, *pé-eš-ši-ez-zi*, *ši-it-ta-ri-ez-zi*, *ta-a-i-ez-zi*, *ti-ez-zi*, *tu-u-ri-ez-zi*, *ú-e-mi-ez-zi*, see Commentary on law § 6, comments on page 231, and the respective Glossary entries).

For the omission of the *w* glide in OS see *ták-šu-an-zi* and *a-ra-u-aš* in § 56 (A), *ar-nu-an-da-an* § 77 (A) and Otten 1973 47, but note *ták-ku-wa-ta-an* § 44 (A), with *ták-ku-at* in the NS copies.

Another diachronic distinction in general orthography is the treatment of gender distinctions in Akkadograms.<sup>42</sup> OH manuscripts preserve the distinctively feminine forms such as *EL-LE-TAM* "free (woman)", while NH ones substitute the masculine *EL-LAM* or *EL-LUM*.<sup>43</sup> Similarly the distinctive feminine possessive pronoun *-ŠA* is preserved in OH manuscripts, but generally replaced by masculine *-ŠU* in post-OH manuscripts. See Glossary sub *-ŠU* for evidence.

The typical OH writing *nu-uz-za* occurs in § 5 (A), § 21 (A), § 33 (A), while in §§ 5 and 21 the NH manuscripts write *nu-za*. Even post-OH manuscripts preserve the *-z* representation following the vowel *a*: *a-pa-a-ša-az* (§ 80 B), *i-wa-ru-uš-še-et-az* (§ 27 B), *ta-az* § 53 (B).<sup>44</sup> Following *i* or *e* the writing *-za* is attested in *ma-a-né-za* § 53 A iii 7.

Regardless of how one reconstructs the underlying Hittite, the use of Akkadian *U* as a clause connector (not as a word connector) is typical of the OH copies, and is often preserved by the NH copies,<sup>45</sup> but not always (§ 79 in A is replaced in B by asyndeton, in § 195A in OH aa, but replaced in NH p and x by *-ma*). Never does a clause-connecting *U* in a NH copy replace something else in the OH version, although in § 42 B it occurs in a clause apparently added to the shorter version represented by OH copy A. Could B's longer version in § 42 have already existed in another OH copy which he used? See Glossary sub *Ū* and Commentary on §§ 1-2.

*Phonology.* In OH (but no longer in NH) an alternative form of the stem of *waštul* occurs, namely *uštul*. In the laws it occurs in the gen. sg. *uš-tu-la-aš* § 146a/35a (aa); [*u*]š-tu-la-aš § 147/36 (aa); *uš-tu-la-aš* § 148/37 (aa)— all in OS manuscript aa; but *wa-aš-túl-aš* § 146a/35a (c); *wa-a[š-túl-aš]* § 147/36 (t) in NH manuscripts. In an OH divination text we even have the nom.-acc. *uš-tu-ul ta-aš* "It 'took' Sin" KBo 18.151 rev. 15 (OS), ed. Kammenhuber and Ünal 1974. Undoubtedly, a form like

<sup>40</sup> *maniyahhiyaz* HKM 5:8; *KIN-az* ibid. 13, *tuppiyaz* HKM 13:6; URU *Kašepuraz* HKM 25:5; etc.

<sup>41</sup> For other examples in Mašat see: HKM 48:15-15, 50:3-4, 59:4, 96 rev. 11, etc.

<sup>42</sup> On this see also Otten 1973 16, 32.

<sup>43</sup> See Chapter III Commentary on §§ 3-4.

<sup>44</sup> On the orthography of *-za* in the laws manuscripts see Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965, 9.

<sup>45</sup> OH A continued by NH B often, once in § 41 by L, in § 127 OH aa continued by NH c., in §§ 167 and 175 OH aa continued by NH p.



\**ul-ki-iš-ša-ra-aḥ-ḥi* stood in the OS manuscript aa in § 200, where the NH copies have *wa-al-ki-[iš-ša-r]a-aḥ-ḥi* §200b/86b (x); *wa-al-ki-iš-ša-ra-[aḥ-ḥi]* §200b/86b (p).

The OH thematic verbal stems in *-ye/a-* which become athematic *-ya-* in NH are well attested in the OS manuscripts of the laws, and are often preserved in the NH copies as well (Carruba 1962 157-158, 1965 13f., Houwink ten Cate 1970 16f., and Oettinger 1979 28f., 343ff. [*wemye*-class]): pres. sg. 3 *a-ni-e-ez-zi* § 160a/45a (aa), § 160b/45b (aa), § 161/46 (aa); versus *a-ni-ia-zi* § 160a/45a (p), § 161/46 (p, v); pres. sg. 3 *ap-pa-ta-ri-ez-zi* § 76 (A); *ap-pa-at-ri-ez-zi* § 76 (B); [*ap-pa-at-ri-ez-z*]i § 76 (I); pres. sg. 3 *i-e-zi* § 26a (A); *i-ez-zi* § 48 (A 2×, 1× with *-za*); [*i-ez-1z*]i § 48 (B); [*i*]-*ez*-[*zi*] § 48 (B); *i-e-ez-zi* § 46 (B), § 55 (B), § 146a/35a (aa), § 164-165/49-50 (p); *i-e-e*[*z-zi*] § 55 (A) (with *-za*); versus *i-ia-zi* § XXXIXa, § XXXIXb, § XL; [*i-i*]a-*zi* § XL (with *-za*); *i-ia-z*[*i*] § 112/12 (k); [*i-i*]a-*zi* § 112/12 (c), § 146a/35a (c); *kar-pf-i-e-ez-zi* § XXXVIII, § 47b (B); *kar-pf-i-ez-zi* § 46 (A 2×), § 47b (A), § XXXIXb, § 48 (A), § 51 (G); *kar-pf-ez-zi* § 47b (A), § XL; *kar-pf-ez-z*[*i*] § 46 (A); *kar-pf-ez-z*[*i*] § 46 (B); [*kar-p*]f-*ez-zi* § 47b (A); [*ka*]r-*pf-ez-z*[*i*] § 48 (B); *kar!-aš-ši-i-ez-zi* 4) § 6 (A); *kar-aš-ši-i-e-ez-zi* 4) § 6 (B); *ku-uš-ša-ni-i-e-ez-zi* § 42 (B); *ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi* § 42 (A), § 78 (A), § 151/40 (aa 2×), § 152/41 (aa); *ku-uš-ša-ni-[ez-zi]* § 151/40 (q); *ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi* § 151/40 (q); *ku-ša-ni-ez-zi* § 78 (B) versus *ku-uš-ša-ni-ia-zi* § 42 (C); and see above in entry *peššiye-*. It is true, as Houwink ten Cate 1970 16 observed, that *šu-wa-ia-az-zi* and [*d*]a-*a-ia-az-zi* occurring in copy aa suggest that both *-ya-* and *-ye-* forms coexisted in OH. But since manuscript aa seems in many respects later than manuscript A, it may be that in aa we are already seeing the beginning of MH innovations.

Anticipatory total assimilation is seen in *ns > ss* (HE § 36) in OH copies in the common sg. acc. immediately before clitics beginning with *š*. See above sub *anna-* "mother". See also the following examples: *iš-ta-ma-na-aš-ša-an* § 15 and GEŠTU-*aš-ša-an* § 16 (B, presumably continued from its lost OH archetype), *ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et* see Glossary sub *kuššan*, but in NH see the restored forms *ku-uš-ša-an-še-et* § 42 (B), § 76 (I), § 157/42 (n 2×), § 158b/43b (n); [*k*]u-*uš-ša-an-še-et* § 159/44 (u). There are no examples in the laws of the well-attested *nḥ > ḥ*, *nm > (m)m*, or *nw > w*.

*Pronouns*. Characteristic of OH independent pronouns (HE §§ 96-99) is the exclusive use of *ūk*, *zik*, *weš* and *šumeš* for the nom. *ūk* does not occur in the laws. *zik* occurs in § 37, and *šumeš* in § 55, both as nom. The characteristic OH gen. pl. form *šumenzan* does not occur, but neither does its NH replacement *šumel*. The only characteristic OH feature of the enclitic dative and accus. pronouns (HE § 100) is *-še* (for NH *-ši*), which in fact regularly occurs in *parnašša*, but also in *nu-uš-še* § 10 (A), § 22 (A), where NH manuscript B has *nu-uš-ši*. Of course, NH manuscripts like B often simply preserve the readings of their archetypes, as witness *nu-uš-še* in § 11 (B) and *ta-aš-še* § 28 (B). On the *-šel-ši* alternation in the laws see Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 16. There are no forms of *katti = šši*, *ištarni = šmi* so characteristic of the older language.

As stated above in the "Orthography" section, sub *-a-*, the *-at* form of the nom. com. pl. and the nom.-acc. neut. pl. of *-a-* is attested only in post-OH manuscripts. More diachronic evidence above sub *-a-*.

Manuscript B uses in § 23 the double representation of *-an* "him" (*n=an=za=an*) typical of NH texts, whereas OH copy A reads *na-an-za* without the double representation. *na-an-za-an* does not occur in OS or MS texts. It occurs in KUB 1.16 ii 44 (OH/NS), KBo 15.34 iii 13 (OH/NS), KBo 5.3 iii 49 (Šupp. I), and later. This would provide further evidence for a post-MH dating of manuscript B.

The enclitic possessive pronouns have older forms in the accus. sg.: *-man*, *-tan*, *-šan*, *-šumman* and *-šman*. Of these, *-šan* "his/her" is attested in § 15 (B), 16 (B), § 200/86a (p), *-š[a-an-]* § 200/86a (x), and *-šman* "their" is attested in § 191/77 (p), § 194/80 (aa, p, y); cf. *an-na-aš-ma-an-na* "and their



mother" § 194 (aa) is OS. The NH vocalization *-šin* is found in *-ši-in-* § XXXV. See the Glossary and Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 18.

*Noun cases.* The allative case is fully productive in OH and MH, but occurs only sporadically and as a residual feature in NH. In the laws we see this diachronic characteristic in *hamešhant-* c. "spring" (see above): OH copy uses the allative form in *pa-ra-a ha-me-eš-ha-an-da* "through the following spring", "until next spring" § 100 (A, B), which was changed to the locative in NH copy [*pa-ra-a h*] *a-mi-iš-ha-an-ti* § 100 (Z). Other allatives in the laws: sg. all. *pár-na* § 25 (A), § 27 (L), § 44b (A), § 93 (B 2x, F 1x); all. *lu-li-ia* § 25 (A); [*u-li-ia*] § 25 (L); sg. all. *ta-a-ag-na-a* § 169/54 (aa), *tág-na-a* § 169/54 (d, j); sg. all. LUGAL-*an a-aš-ka* § 71 (B), [L]UGA[L-*an a-aš-ka*] § 71 (A).

The OH gen. ending *-an* is not found in the laws.

*Noun number.* The discovery of a formal collective ending in Hittite as opposed to a count plural (Eichner 1985; Neu 1992; Oettinger 1993; 1995) has its effect on the interpretation of several forms in the Hittite laws. A.ŠÀ.ĪL.Aku-le-e-i § 46 (A); A.ŠÀ.ĪL.Aku-le-e-i § 47b (A); A.ŠÀ.ĪL.Aku-le-i § 46 (B); A.ŠÀ.ĪL.Aku-le-[i] § 47b (B) has been convincingly interpreted as a collective by Oettinger 1995. Also *šar-hu-wa-an-da* § 77a (B 2x); [*šar-hu-wa-an-*] *da* § 77a (K); *šar-hu-u-wa-an-da* § 17 (C), § 18 (C) is a collective pl., in contrast to count pl. acc. com. *šar-hu-wa-an-du-uš-šu-uš* § 17 (B); *šar-hu-wa-an-d[u-u]š-šu-uš* § 18 (B). In § 77 it is unfortunate that we cannot prove that the collective forms stood in the OH recension. For in § 77 the OH manuscript A has the logographic ŠA ŠÀ-BI-ŠA in place of *šarhuwanda*. Finally, *kuššani = ššit* in §§ 157-161, which is usually taken as an alternative *i*-stem nom.-acc. neut., may be a collective in *-i* (cf. Commentary on § 158). But in this case it appears that the form *kuššani = ššit* is not in the OH archetype, since aa has *ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et*. For this reason the collective interpretation is more doubtful.

*Noun stems.* In a few cases there is evidence of a change of stem-vowel in common gender nouns from OH *a* to NH *i*. This seems to be the case with the nouns *pišna-* (Sum. LÚ-(*n*)*a-*) "man" and ARAD "male slave" (see Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 17). The change in the stem vowel of the latter is also reflected in the word for "female slave" (behind the logogram GÉME), which is derived from "male slave" by the addition of the stem complement *-šara-*. NH copy B preserves the older stem in *a*, while surprisingly<sup>46</sup> the (late?) OH copy aa was already re-forming the word based on the newer *i*-stem form of the word for "male slave". See Glossary sub GÉME-*a*/eššarešš-.

*Verb stems.* The denominative statives in *-e-* (much more commonly attested in OH than NH)<sup>47</sup> are represented in *arawe-* § 173 (aa), GÉME-(*ašša*)*re-* § 35 (A; replaced in B by GÉME-*aššarešš-*), and *papre-* § 25 (A 3x and B).

*Verb endings.* The older ending *-tat* of the 2 sg. of the middle verb is attested in *zi-ik-wa* UR.BAR.RA-*aš ki-iš-ta-at* § 37 (A), modernized as *zi-ik-wa* UR<sup>1</sup>.BAR.RA *ki-ša-at* in NH manuscript B. The older middle verb endings in *-(t)a*, versus their later counterparts in *-(t)ari*, occur in *ku-<sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup>-ma-a-na-aš la-a-az-zi-at-ta* § 10 (A), versus *ku-it-ma-na-aš SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-ta-ri* in B. Cf. above in this chapter sub *lazziya-*. Other exx. from the laws of the shorter pres. 3rd sg. and pl. middle endings without *-ri* follow: sg. 3 *le-e-[la]-ni-at-ta* § 38 (A), sg. 3 *šaliga* § 195a/81 (aa, p, y); sg. 3 *har-ap-ta* § 66 (A and B); pl. 3 *tu-uš-ša-an-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>* § 28 (B); sg. 3 mid. *uš-ne-eš-kat-ta* § 146a (c), § 146b (aa), § 147/36 (c); [*uš-*

<sup>46</sup> If we can trust the reading of [GÉME-*i*]š-ša-re-ez-zi § 175/60 (aa).

<sup>47</sup> On the denominative stative verbs in Hittite see primarily Watkins 1973, 79f., but with later additions and comments in Melchert 1984, 19, 33 n. 68 (contra Oettinger 1979, 284 n. 50) and Hoffner (in a forthcoming festschrift).



*ne-eš-kat-t]a* § 148/37 (c); *uš-ne-eš-[kat-ta]* § 146a/35a (aa); *uš-ne-eš-k[at-t]a* § 147/36 (aa); pl. 3 *za-aḥ-ḥa-an-da* § 174/59 (p); [*za-aḥ-ḥa-an-d]a* § 174/59 (aa). The longer ending with *-ri* is seen in NS copy: mid. pl. 3 *ḥar-pa-an-ta-ri* 1) § 31 (B with *-kán*); pres. pl. 3 *kar-tim-mi-ia-an-ta-ri* § 38 (B); *iš-kal-la-a-ri* § 15 (B, C), § 16 (C); *iš-kal-la-ri* § 16 (B); but also in OS aa: mid. pres. sg. 3 *tu-uḥ-[š]a-ri* § 144/33 (aa).

The 3rd sg. pres. of factitive verbs in *-aḥḥ-* in OH is *-aḥḥi*, whereas in NH it is *-aḥzi*. For discussion and examples from the laws see Commentary on §§ 7–8.

*Verb voice: actives and middles.* On the use of the dynamic middles (Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 16–17, Houwink ten Cate 1970 18f.), later replaced by active verbs, see *iškallāri* §§ 15–16 replaced by *iškallai* in §§ XIV–XV, and *kar-tim-mi-ia-an-ta-ri* § 38 (B) compared with active *kartimmiyanun* in KUB 13.3 iii 27 (NS).

*Syntax.* The reflexive particle *-z(a)* fails to occur in OH nominal sentences to indicate a 2nd or 3rd person subject, as it regularly does in NH and sporadically in MH: LÚ.MEŠ *IL-KI-wa šu-me-eš* § 55 (A), carried over by NH B. The verb *kiš-* with a predicate nominative “X becomes Y” normally takes *-za* in NH, but not in OH. For OH examples in the laws see: *zik=wa* UR.BAR.RA-*as kištat* § 37 (A), *n=aš* LÚNÍ.ZU *kišari* § XXXV. In §§ 32–33 Manuscript A uses *da-* without *-za* for taking a wife, while B uses *-za* both times.

On the use of *-za* and *-kan*, which expands in post-OH manuscripts, see Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 9–12.

There is a tendency in post-OH manuscripts to replace the genitive construction with partitive apposition (σχημα, see Commentary on § 9), which does not occur in the OH manuscripts (see Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 14).

Conditional *mān* in the continuation of a law is generally asyndetic in A (so in §§ 33, 49 and 53; also § 10 in a contrasting condition; asyndetic temporal *mān* in continuation in § 79), but in the PT takes *nu* (on this see Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 15–16).

The OH adversative clitic *-a*, which in OS contrasts with non-adversative connecting *-a* by not doubling the preceding consonant,<sup>48</sup> occurs in § 42 (A) and § 46 (A), and is omitted in the post-OH manuscripts B and C.

*Word order.* The typical word order for the conditional sentence is *takku* + nominal subject + optional object complement + verb. When the subject is expressed not by a noun but by the indefinite pronoun *kuiški*, the latter appears usually immediately before the verb, or in rare cases following the verb, as in § 3.<sup>49</sup> *kuiški* can break the nexus between locative noun and dependent postposition-adverb, as in [*takku* LÚDAM.GĀR URUḤ] *atti aššuwaš kuiški anda kuenzi* § III. *kuiški* used as an attributive either precedes (§ 19a) or follows (§ 20) its noun and stands immediately before the verb.

*Lexical substitutions.* In § 38 OH copy A's *ḥa-an-ne-eš-na-aš iš-ḥa-a-aš* is replaced by [LÚ<sup>7</sup>ḥa-an] *e??-tal-wa-aš*, and *le-[e]-[la]-ni-at-ta* by *kar-tim-mi-ia-an-ta-ri*.

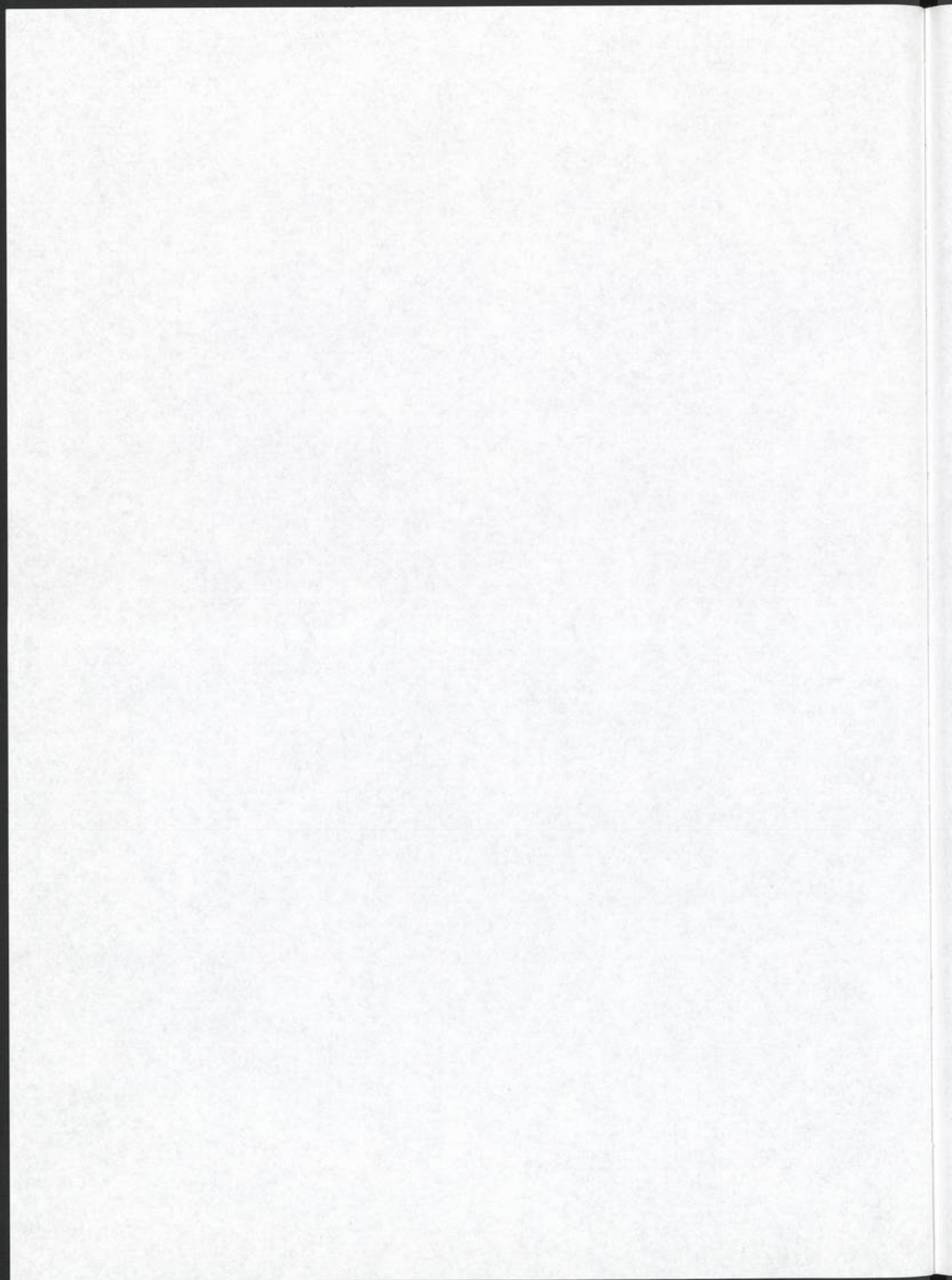
<sup>48</sup> Houwink ten Cate 1973.

<sup>49</sup> On this fixed word order in the *takku* clauses see Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965, 3. For *kuiški* following the verb see also §§ 85, 124. Outside the laws this sequence is found with conditional *mān* and in post-OH texts, but not in OH ones, e.g. KUB 23.77 rev. 57 (MH/MS) *mān huwāi kuiški*, KBo 4.10+ obv. 9 (NH) *mān DUMU=KA DUMU.DUMU[=KA kat]ḥa waštai kuiški*, KBo 18.2 rev. 8–10 *namma=mu mān uppai / kuiški mān=mu UL / kuiški uppai*.



GLOSSARY







## GLOSSARY

## A

*-a-* (enclitic defective pronoun of the 3rd person) "he/him, she/her, it".

sg. nom. com. *-aš* § 3 (A, B), § 4 (A, B), § 6 (A, B), § II, § IV, § 10 (A and B 2x, C 1x), § IX (2x), § X (2x), § XI (2x), § 23 (A 2x, B 1x), § 27 (B 1x, C 2x), § 28a (B), § 30 (B), § XXIVa, § 35 (A, B), § 38 (A, B), § XXXII (2x), § 40 (A, B), § 42 (A 1x, B and C 2x), § 44a (A, B, C), § 45 (B, C), § XXXV, § 48 (A), § XL, § 71 (B), § 75 (A, B and I 2x), § 76 (B, I), § 79 (B), § 84 (A, B), § 86 (B and E 2x, W 1x), § 87 (B, W), § 88 (B, W), § 89 (B, W), § 118/15 (f), § 126/23 (aa, c, f), § 145/34 (aa, c), § 149/38 (c), § 162a/47a (p, v), § 162b/47b (v), § 175/60 (p 2x), § 187/73 (p 2x, x and y 1x), § 188/74 (p 2x, y), § 197/83 (p), § 199/85 (p 2x), § 200a/86a (p); *-a[š]* § 84 (R), § 86 (S); *[-a]š* § 48 (B).

acc. com. *-an* § III, § 6(A, B), § 10(A, B), § 19a (A 1x, B 2x), § 19b (A, B), § 20 (A and B 2x), § 21 (A and B 2x), § 22 (A, B), § 23 (A 3x, B 2x), § 24 (A), § 26a (B, L), § 26b (J), § 27 (C), § 28a (B), § 28b (B, C), § 28c (B 1x, C 2x), § XXI, § 29 (B, C), § XXII, § 30 (B), § 31 (B), § 34 (B 2x), § 36 (B 2x), § XXVI, § 39 (A), § 40 (A, B), § 43 (A and B 1x, C 2x), § XXXIV (2x), § XXXV (2x), § 47a (B), § XXXVI, § XXXIXa, § 60 (A 2x, M, B, F and N 1x), § 61 (A 2x, M, B and F 1x), § 62 (A, M, B, F), § 66 (A and F 2x, B 1x), § 70 (A and B 2x), § 71 (B 6x), § 75 (A 1x, B 2x), § 78 (A, B), § 86 (B 1x, E 2x), § 90 (B, E), § 95 (A, P), § 99 (B, F, Z), § 103/3 (a 2x, b 1x), § 113/13 (k), § 118/15 (f), § 121/18 (a, l), § 149/38 (a 1x, c 2x), 169/54 (aa, e, p), § 187/73 (p), § 188/74 (p), § 193/79 (p), § 199/85 (p), § 200b/86b (p, x); *-a[n]* § 71 (A), § 133/30 (aa), § 188/74 (p); *[-a]n* § 62 (A), § 66 (I), § 95 (B), § 121/18 (aa).

sg. nom.-acc. neut. *-at* § 28a (C), § 29 (B), § 44b (A, B, C), § XXXIV, § XXXV (3x), § XL, § 98 (A), § 106/6 (a, b, i), § 127/24 (c), § 162b/47b (v), § 163/48 (f 3x, p 4x), § 187/70 (p); *[-a]t* § 98 (Q).

pl. nom. com. *-e* § 53 (A, D, F); *-at* § 31 (B 3x), § XXV, § XXIX.

acc. com. *-uš* § 26a (L), § 55 (A), § 79 (A) (in B *-aš*), § 144/33 (c), § 171/56 (e, p), § 196/82 (p), § 197/83 (p 2x, y), § 198/84 (p 2x), § 199/85 (p); *-aš* § 198/84 (p), § 199/85 (p).

nom.-acc. neut. *-at* § 45 (A and C 1x, B 2x); *-a[t]* § 45 (C).

*-a* (after a final consonant), *-ya* (after a final vowel or logogram) (enclitic conjunction for joining individual words within a clause and for joining adjacent clauses) 1) "and", 2) "also", 3) "but". For adversative *-a* that doesn't geminate the preceding consonant see § 42 (A) and § 46 (A) and Houwink ten Cate 1973.

*-a* 1) § 5 (A, B), § III, § 6 (A, B), § IV, § 25a (A), § 28a (B), § 28b (B 2x), § 28c (B), § 31 (B), § 41 (A 2x, B and C 1x), § 42 (B), § 46 (B), § XXXVIII, § 49 (A), § 50 (A, B), § 53 (A, B, F), § 55 (B), § 95 (A, B), § 97 (B), § 98 (A, B, Q), § 99 (B, Z), § 142/31 (c), § 146b/35 (aa, c), § 163/48 (p), § 166/51 (p), § 170/55 (e, p), § 189/75 (y), § 191/77 (p), § 194/80 (aa, p).

2) § 39 (A, B), § 44b (A, B, C), § 54 (A, B), § 55 (A), § 64 (A), § 65 (B), § 73 (B), § 76 (A), § 106/6 (b), § 110/10 (d), § 166/51 (aa), § 191/77 (p), § 193/79 (aa), § 198/84 (p), § 200a/86a (p, x).

3) without gemination of preceding consonant: *ták-ku-za LÚ-ša* (not *LÚ-aš-ša*) § 26b (J), § 30 (B), *ták-ku-aš at-ta-aš-ša-ša É-ri a-ki* § 27 (B), *LÚ GIŠTUKUL-ša!* § 40 (A), *ták-ku ša-aḫ-ḫa-na mi-im-ma-i* § 41 (A) (compare *ták-ku GIŠTUKUL-li-ma mi-im-ma-i* § 40 A), *ták-ku ku-uš-ša-na na-at-ta pí-ia-a-an* § 42 (A), *ták-ku-uš-še A.ŠA.ḪLA-ša te-[e-pu-uš pí-ia-an-za]* § 46 (A), *ták-ku*



- A.ŠĀ.ĤI.A-na (not A.ŠĀ.ĤI.A-an-na) *me-ek-ki-i wa-a-ši* § 47b (A), *ma-a-na-an iš-ḥa-aš-ši-ša ú-e-mi-ia-zi* § 71 (B, [A]), *a-pa-a-ša* (B: *a-pa-a-ša-az*) KUŠ UDU *da-a-i* § 80 (A, B), *ták-ku ARAD-ša* § 101/1 (a), § 105/5 (a), § 121/18 (aa, a, f), § 132/29 (c), § 143/32 (c), *ta-m[a-i-š]a pa-iz-zi* § 146a/35a (c, [aa]), *ta-ma-i-ša-kán pé-e-[ra-an wa-la-aḥ-zi]* § 146b/35b (aa), cf. § 148/37 (aa, c), § 162a/47a (p, v), § 168/53 (aa, e, p), § 170/55 (p), § 172/57 (aa, e, p), § 175/60 (p), § 190/76 (p, y), § 191/77 (y), § 196/82 (y 2×, p 3×), § 199/85 (p, z); cf. also *kinun-a*, *parnašše-a šuwaezzi*).
- ya 1) § XXIVa, § 39 (B), § XXXIV, § 34 (A), § 70 (B), § 168/53 (e), § 195b/81b (aa, p), § 195c/81c (e), § 198/84 (p), § 199/85 (p); -i[a] § 195a/81a (aa); [-i]a § 188/74 (p).
- 2) § IV, § 10 (A, B), § IX, § XXXIV, § 51 (A, B), § 70 (B), § 101/1 (a), § 110/10 (d), § 128/25 (aa), § 166/51 (a, p); [-i]a § 51 (D).
- 3) § III, § 26a (L), § 191/77 (p), § 193/79 (p, y); -i[a] § 26a (B).
- (y)a - -(y)a "both ... and" § 40 (A, B).
- ak(k)*- v. 1) "to die" (e.g., § 27, § 75, § 76, § XXXVII, § 149/38, § 163/48, § 192/78, § 193/79); 2) "to be killed" (serves as the passive of *kuen*- "to kill") (e.g., § 199/85)
- pres. sg. 3 *a-ki* § 3 (B), § 4 (A, B), § II, § 6 (A and B 2×), § IV, § 27 (B), § 38 (A, B), § 42 (B, C), § 44a (A, B, C), § 72 (B), § 75 (A, B, I), § 76 (A, B), § 84 (A, B), § 86 (B, E, H, W), § 87 (B, W), § 88 (B, W), § 89 (B), § 126/23 (aa, c, f), § 163/48 (p), § 166/51 (p), § 170/55 (e, p), § 174/59 (p), § 187/73 (p), § 188/74 (p), § 192/78 (p, y), § 193/79 (p and y 2×), § 197/83 (p 2×), § 198/84 (p), § 199/85 (p 2×); *a-k[i]* § XXXII (2×), § 76 (F); *a-[ki]* § 3 (A), § 89 (W), § 199/85 (p); *a-[k]i* § 72 (A); [*a-k*]i § 89 (E), § 193/79 (aa).
- pl. 3 *ak-kán-zi* § 37 (B), § 166/51 (aa, p), *ak-[kán-zi]* § 37 (A).
- pret. sg. 3 *a-ak-ki-iš* § 75 (A); BA.ÚŠ § 75 (B), § 149/38 (c) (where BA is the Sumerian verbal prefix and ÚŠ the verbal root).
- imp. pl. 3 *ak-kán-du* § 198/84 (p).
- aggala*- n. com. "furrow(?)" or perhaps a kind of plow(?). See commentary on § 168.
- sg. acc. *ak-ka-a-la-an* § 168/53 (aa), *ag-ga-la-an* § 168/53 (e, p).
- akkant*- (substantivized) part. "deceased/dead person; ghost(?)".
- sg. inst. *ak-kán-ti-it* 190/76 (y); GIDIM<ti-it> § 190/76 (p).
- (a)ku ... -(a)ku (apocopated form of correlative *takku ... takku* "if ... if"; cf. *mān ... mān*) "whether ... or". Paraphrased in my translation of §§ 1, 2, 19 as "male or female respectively".
- LÚ-na-ku MUNUS-na-ku § 1 (B), § 2 (B), [LÚ-na-k]u MUNUS-na-[ku] § 2 (A), LÚ-na-ku MU[NUS-na-ku] § 19a (A), [LÚ-an-na-ku] MUNUS-na-ku § 19a (B).
- ku ... -ku ... -ku § 98 (B, Q).
- alwanzatar* n. neut. r/n-stem "sorcery".
- sg. nom.-acc. *al-wa-an-za-tar* § 44b (B, C), *a-lu-[wa-an-za-tar]* § 44b (A), *al-wa-an-za-tar* § 111/11 (c, d)
- ammel* "my" (gen. sg. of the personal pron. *ug(a)* "I").
- am-me-el* § 74 (B).
- amiyar(a?)*- n. com. "(irrigation) ditch, canal".
- sg. acc. PA<sub>5</sub>-an § 162a/47a (p 2×); PA<sub>5</sub>-a[n] § 162b/47b (w).
- abl. *a-mi-ia-ra-za* § 109/9 (d); PA<sub>5</sub>-az § 109/9 (b).
- an (OH sentence particle).
- ták-ku-wa-ta-an* (= *takku=at=an*) § 44b (A), *nu-uš-še-an* (= *nu=šše=an*) § 78 (A).
- anna*- n. com. "mother".
- sg. nom. *an-na-aš* § 28a (B), § 28b (B 2×, C 1×), § 28c (B), § 29 (B, C), § 171/56 (e, p).



- acc. (with enclitic possessive pron.) *an-na-aš-ša-an* § 200a/86a (p), [*an-n*]a[-aš]-š[*a-an*] § 200a/86a (x); *an-na-aš-ma-an* § 191/77 (p), § 194/80 (aa, p), *an-na-aš-m[a-an-na]* (y).
- gen. (with enclitic possessive pron.) *an-na-ša-aš* § 189/75 (p), *an-na-a[š?]-ša aš* § 189/75 (y).
- dat.-loc. *an-ni* § 28c (C), § 195c/81c (p); (with enclitic possessive pron.) *an-ni-iš-ši* § 195c/81c (p), [... a]n-na-še § 195c/81c (e).
- annaneka*- n. com. "sister having the same mother, (in polygamous marriage) full sister".
- pl. acc. *an-na-né-ku-uš* § 194/80 (p, y), *an-na-ne-ku-uš* § 191/77 (p), *an-na-ne-[ku-uš]* § 191/77 (y), [*an-n*]a-ne-ku-uš § 194/80 (aa),.
- annanu*- v. act. "to instruct, train".
- inf. *an-na-nu-ma-an-zi* § 200b/86b (x), *an-[na-nu-ma]-an-zi* § 200b/86b (p).
- verbal subst. gen. *an-na-nu-u[m-m]a-aš* § 200b/86b (x), [*an-na-nu-um-m*]a-aš § 200b/86b (p).
- part. *annanuwant*- "trained".
- sg. acc. com. [*a*]n-na-nu-wa-an-ta-an § 177/62 (p).
- annanuḥḥa*- adj. "trained".
- sg. acc. com. *an-na-nu-uḥ-ḥa-an* § 65 (A, B), § 119/16 (f, l), § 149/38 (aa, c); *an-na-nu-uḥ-ḥa-[a]n!* § 119/16 (l = Bo 92/113); [*an-na-nu-u*]ḥ-ḥa-an § 119/16 (aa), [*an-na-nu-uḥ-ḥ*]a-an § 65 (H).
- KUŠ*annanuzzi*- n. neut. (part of the harness), for derivation see Melchert 1984 166.
- sg. acc. KUŠ*an-na-nu-uz-[zi]* § 129/26 (c).
- MUNUS*annawanna*- n. com. "step-mother".
- sg. gen. *an-na-wa-an-na-aš* § 190/76 (y), MUNUS*an-na-wa-an-na-aš* § 190/76 (p).
- aniya*- v. act. 1) tr. "to make" (§ 160-161), 2) intr. "to work" (§ 10, § IX), 3) tr. "to work, tend" (obj. land § 40, § XXXIII).
- pres. sg. 3 *a-ni-e-ez-zi* § 160a/45a (aa), § 160b/45b (aa), § 161/46 (aa); *a-ni-ia-zi* § 160a/45a (p), § 161/46 (p, v).
- pl. 3 *a-ni-ia-an-zi* § 160a/45a (u), § 161/46 (u); [*a-ni-i*]a-an-zi § 160b/45b (u); [*a-ni-ia*]-z[*i*] § 160a/45a (v).
- Iter. *anneški*-:
- pres. sg. 3 *an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi* § 10 (A), § IX; *an-né-eš-ki-iz-zi* § 10 (B); *an-né-e[š-ki-iz-zi]* § XXXIII;
- pl. 3 *an-né-eš-kán-zi* § 40 (L); *an-ni-iš-kán-z[i]* § 40 (A), [*a*]n-né-eš-kán-zi § 40 (B).
- anda* adv. 1) "therein, inside, in it" (§ IV, § 100), 2) "(and) in addition (to it)" (*anda = ya = šše/i* § 70, cf. § 149/38).
- an-da* § 100 (F, W); [*a*]n-da § 100 (B); *an-da-ia-aš-ši* § 70 (B); *an-da-e-še* (for *anda = ya = šše*) § 149/38 (c); [*a*]n-da-aš-še § 70 (A); *an-da-še-ia a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an* § 110/10 (d); *an-da-aš-še* «-aš-še» *a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an* § 128/25 (c); *an-ta-ia-aš-še a-pé-ni-iš-ša-[an]* § 128/25 (aa) "and as much in addition"; cf. *apeniššuwān*.
- anda* (Postpos. with dat.-loc.) "inside of, in the midst of (goods), on (a field)".
- § III, § IV (2×), ANA KUR *kururi an-[da]* "into an enemy land" § 23 (A);
- anda* (as preverb): see *ar-*, *epp-*, *pai-*, *peda-*, *šittariye-*, *dai-*, *tiya-*, *uwa-*, etc.
- andan* adv. "therein, inside, in it".
- an-da-an* § 100 (A) (var. *an-da* in § 100 B, F, W); *an-da-n...* § 98 (A, B, Q), *an-da-na-pa a-pé-e-[ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an]* § 110/10 (b) "and as much in addition"; cf. *apeniššuwān*.
- andan* (postpos. with dat.-loc.) "inside of, within".
- an-da-an* § 127/24 (aa; É-ri *an-da-an* omitted in c).
- LÚ*antiyant*- n. com. "live-in (i. e., dependent) son-in-law" (Turkish *içgüvey*).
- sg. acc. LÚ*an-ti-ia-an-ta-an* § 36 (B).



*antuḫša-* n. com. "person, human being". Described: *ták-ku* LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-*an* LÚ-*an-na-ku* MUNUS-*na-ku* (§ 19a) "a human being—whether man or woman".

sg. nom. § 98 (B); LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.L[U...] § 39 (L); LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.[LU] § 98 (A); [LÚ.]U<sub>8</sub>.LU § 98 (Q); with Hittite complements: LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-*aš* § 6 (A, B), § 25 (A, B), § 107/7 (b, d, i).

gen. LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-*aš* § 9 (A), § 11 (A), § 13 (A), § 15 (B).

acc. *an-tu-uh-ša-an* § 10 (B), § 42 (B); *an-tu-uh-ša-a[n]* § 44b (B); LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU § 9 (B); [LÚ.]U<sub>19</sub>.[LU]? § 9 (X); with Hittite complements: LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-*an* § 7 (A, B), § 10 (A 2×, B 1×), § 11 (B), § 13 (B), § 19a (B), § 42 (A), § 44b (A); [LÚ.]U<sub>19</sub>.LU-*an* § 19a (A); [LÚ.]U<sub>19</sub>.LU-*an* § 147/36 (c); UN-*an* § 10 (C 2×), § IX, § 11 (C), § 13 (C), § 15 (C), § 42 (C), § 44b (C); U[N...] § XXXII, § 149/38 (c).

abl. LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU-*na-az* § 146b/35b (aa).

pl. nom. LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU.MEŠ § 38 (A, B).

-*apa* local particle.

*an-da-na-pa a-pé-e-[ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an]* § 110/10 (b), variant of *an-da-še-ia* "and in addition to it" in d.

*apa-* demonstr. pron. "that (one), the aforementioned".

sg. nom. com. *a-pa-a-aš* § 57 (B, D), § 58 (B, D), § 73 (B), § 74 (B), § 106/6 (a, b, d, h, i), § 113/13 (k), § 166/51 (p), § 167/52 (p); *a-pa-a-š ...* § 80 (A, B); [*a*]-*pa-a-aš* § 167/52 (aa); *a-pa-aš* § 57 (A), § 58 (A); *a-pa-a-ša-az* (*apāš=ašz*) § 80 (B); *a-pa-a-aš-pát* § 10 (A, B, C), § 23 (A, B), § 25 (A), § 170/55 (e, p);

acc. com. *a-pu-u-un* § 2 (B), § 3 (B), § 10 (A, B), § 45 (C), § 74 (B), § 76 (A, B); *a-pu-ú-u[n]* § 45 (A); *a-[pu-u-u]n* § 10 (B); [*a*]-*pu-u-un* § 4 (B); [*a-pu*]-*u-un* § 4 (A); [*a-pu-u-u*]n § 45 (B); *a-pu-ú-un-pát* § 43 (A), *a-pu-u-un-pát* § 99 (B), *a-pu-un-pát* § 43 (B, C).

nom.-acc. neut. *a-pa-a-at* § XXXVII, § XXXIXb.

gen. *a-pé-e-el* § XXIVa, § 65 (B), § 113/13 (c), § 162a/47a (p); *a-pé-e-[el]* § 50 (A), § 113/13 (d), § 162a/47a (f), § 189/75 (y); [*a-pé*]-*e-el* § 142/31(c); [*a-pé-e-el*] § 113/13 (k); *a-pé-el-pát* § 162/47 (v); *a-pé-e-el-pát* § 189/75 (p).

dat.-loc. *a-pé-e-da-ni* § XXXVII.

pl. acc. com. *a-pu-u-uš-pát* § IV.

*āppa* adv. "back, again".

*a-ap-pa* § 22 (A), § 23a (A), § 23b (A), § 45 (A), § 48 (A), § 79 (A), § 95 (A, B), 103/3 (b), § 164-165/49-50 (aa), § 167/52 (p), § 168/53 (aa); *a-[ap-pa]* § 44a (A); EGIR-*pa* § 22 (B), § XXXIV (3×), § 45 (B), § XXXV, § XL, § 79 (B), § 86 (B, E), § 99 (B), § 100 (B), § 103/3 (a, b), § 105/5 (a), § 168/53 (e, p), § 171/56 (e and p 3×); EGIR-*[pa]* § 23b (B); EG[IR-*pa*] § 44a (B); [E]GIR-*pa* § 44a (C); [EG]IR-*pa* § 98 (B), § 99 (A), § 113/13 (k); [EGIR-*p*]a § 105/5 (b);

*āppan*

EGIR-*an* § 99 (F), variant to EGIR-*pa* in A and B. See § 27, § 162.

GIŠ*appala-* (tool made entirely or partly of wood).

pl. dat.-loc. (?) GIŠ*ap-pa-la-aš* § 121/18 (f).

*āppan(-)anda*, EGIR-*anda* adv. "after (him/it/them)".

*a-ap-pa-an-an-da* § 37 (A), EGIR-*an-da* § 37 (B).

*appatariya-* (*appatriya-*) (4) "to commandeer".

pres. sg. 3 *ap-pa-ta-ri-ez-zi* § 76 (A); *ap-pa-at-ri-ez-zi* § 76 (B); [*ap-pa-at-ri-ez-zi*]i § 76 (I); inf. *a-ap-pa-at-ri-wa-an-zi* § 164-165/49-50 (p), *ap[-pa-at-ri-wa-an-zi]*, § 164-165/49-50 (f); [*a-ap-pa-at-ri-wa-a*]n-zi § 164-165/49-50 (aa).



*apeniššan* adv. "in such a way, so".

*a-pé-ni-iš-ša-an* § 55 (A), *a-pé-ni-iš-ša-[an]* § 128/25 (aa); *a-[pé-ni-iš-ša-an]* § 50 (A), *a-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an*, § 55 (B, D).

Written as Akk. *QA-TAM-MA* § 53 (B, D), § 65 (A), § 73 (B); *Q[A-TAM-MA]* § 53 (A).

with *-pát* " § 32 (B), § 33 (B), § 51 (D), § 64 (B), § 65 (B), § 68 (B), § 84 (A), § 178/63 (p); *QA-TAM-MA-pát* § 68 (I); *QA-TAM-MA-[pát]* § 64 (F), § 68 (A), § 178/63 (x); *QA-TAM-M[A-pát]* § 51 (B); *QA-TAM-[MA-pát]* § 51 (A); *Q[A-TAM-MA-pát]* § 65 (F); *[QA-TAM-M]A-pát* § 84 (B).

*apeniššuwant-* adj. "such a"; also "as much".

[...-n]i-iš-šu-wa-an § 110/10 (j).

*anda=še=ya apeniššuwant*, *andan=apa apeniššuwant*, *anta=ya=šše apenišša[n]* (sg. nom.-acc. neut.) "and as much in addition"

*an-da-še-ia a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an* § 110/10 (d); *an-da-aš-še<<aš-še>> a-pé-e-ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an* § 128/25 (c); *an-ta-ia-aš-še a-pé-ni-iš-ša-[an]* § 128/25 (aa); *an-da-na-pa a-pé-e-[ni-iš-šu-u-wa-an]* § 110/10 (b); cf. *anda(n)*.

*appezziyan* adv. "subsequently".

*ap-pé-éz-zi-an* § 31 (B); *ap-pé-éz-zi-n ...* § 29 (B), *EGIR-zi-an* § XXXV (2x); *EGIR-zi-[n-]* § 29 (C), § XXII; *EGIR-an* § XXIVa, *[ap-p]é-zi-ia-an* § 162a/47a (u); *EGIR-éz-zi-az* § 162a/47a (p); *[EGIR-éz-z]i?-i[n?...] § 162/47 (f)*.

*apiya* adv. "there".

*a-[pí-ia]* § 27 (A), *a-[pí-ia]* § 27 (C).

*ar-* v. act. "to arrive" (also of time).

pres. sg. 3 *a-ri* § 164-165/49-50 (aa, p).

*anda ar-* "to come together; cohabit(?)".

pres. pl. 3 *an-da a-ra-an-zi* § 31 (B).

(LÚ)*ara-* n. com. "fellow, companion, colleague", see Akkadogram LÚTAPPŪ and Sumerogram LÚ ĤA.LA=ŠU.

sg. nom. LÚ*a-ra-aš* § 163/48 (p), *a-[ra-aš]* § 163/48 (v).

dat.-loc. *a-ri* § 163/48 (f, p).

pl. nom. *a-re-eš* § 55 (B), *a-re-[eš]* § 55 (A).

*arahzena-* (or *arahzenant-*) adj. "neighboring, surrounding".

sg. nom.-acc. neut. *a-ra-aḫ-zi-na-an* § 183/69 (p).

*arai-* v. See *arawe-*.

*arawa-* adj. "free from, exempt from". Cf. Hoffner 1983b.

sg. nom. com. *a-ra-u-aš* § 56 (A), *a-ra-u-wa-aš* § 56 (B, D).

nom.-acc. neut. *a-ra-a-u-wa-an* § 51 (G).

pl. nom. com. *a-ra-u-e-eš* § 51 (B); *a-ra-a-u-e-eš* § 51 (G); *a-r[a-u-e-eš]* § 51 (A); *[a-ra-u]-e-eš* § 51 (D).

*arawahḫ-* v. act. "to exempt, free".

pres. sg. 3 *a-ra-wa-aḫ-ḫi* § XXXIXa, *a-ra-u-wa-aḫ-ḫi* § XXXVI.

*arawanni-* (substantivized) adj. "free (person)". Cf. also Akk. *ELLU*. Cf. Hoffner 1983b.

sg. nom. com. *a-ra-u-wa-an-né-eš* § 101/1 (a), *[a-r]a-u-wa-né-eš* § 101/1 (b).

acc. com. *a-ra-u-wa-ni-in* § 194/80 (p), *MUNUSa-ra-u-wa-an-ni-in* § 195b/81b (p); *MUNUSa-ra-u-wa-a[n-ni-in]* § 195b/81b (y).

gen. *[a-ra-u-w]a-ni-ia-aš* § 194/80 (aa), *a-ra-wa-an-ni-aš* § 194/80 (y).

pl. acc. com. *a-ra-u-wa-an-ni-uš* § 191/77 (y), *a-r[a-u-w]a?-[an-ni-u]š* § 191/77 (p).



- Akkad. *ELLU*, fem. *ELLETU* (cf. commentary on §§ 3-4): sg. nom. masc. *EL-LUM* §31 (B), §94 (B, T), §96 (A), §98 (A, B, Q), §121/18 (f), §191/77 (p, y), §194/80 (y); *EL-[LUM]* §XXX, §94 (A, O).
- EL-LAM* (acc. as nom.) §IV, §94 (F), §132/29 (c), §142/32 (c), §170/55 (e, p), §194/80 (p); *EL-[LAM]* §133/30 (c).
- gen. masc. *EL-LIM* §36 (B).
- fem.(!) *EL-LI* (masc. as fem.) §17 (B), §XVI.
- masc. *EL-LAM-aš* (acc. as gen.) §15 (B).
- acc. masc. *EL-LAM* §3 (B) (as masc. and fem.), §7 (A, B), §13 (B), §17 (C), §93 (B, F), §172/57 (e, p); *[E]L-LAM* §11 (C); *E[L<-LAM>-i]n* §32 (B).
- masc. *IL-LAM* §13 (C); *IL-L[A]M* §15 (C).
- fem. *EL-LE-TAM* §35 (A), §175/60 (p); *[E]L-LE-TAM* §175/60 (aa).
- masc. *EL-LUM* (nom. as acc.) §V, §VII, §IX, §11 (B), §X, §XII, §XIV.
- fem.(!) *EL-LUM* (nom. masc. as acc. fem.) §35 (B).
- sg. predicate masc. *EL-LUM* §51 (D). pl. predicate masc. *EL-LU* §50 (A).
- (with Hitt. compl.): sg. gen. masc. *ELLAM-aš* §11 (A), §13 (A).
- arawe*- v. act. "to be (or declare oneself) free, exempt" (cf. Hoffner forthcoming in a festschrift):  
pres. sg. 3 *a-ra-u-uz-zi* §173/58b (p); *[a-ra-]a-u-uz-zi* §173/58b (aa). *[a-ra-]a<sup>1</sup>-u-uz-zi* §173b/58b (aa) was miscopied (and perhaps reinterpreted) by (p) as *a-ra-iz-zi*, which interpreters who did not understand how to read the broken form in aa took as a sloppy equivalent of *a-ra-a-i* "rises (in rebellion against his master)".
- arha*- n. com. "boundary, border".  
sg. acc. *ar-ha-an* §168/53 (aa), *ZAG-an* §168/53 (e 1x, p 2x), §169/54 (e, p); *ZA[G-an]* §168/53 (d); *[ar-ha-a]n* §169/54 (aa).
- dat.-loc. *ar-ḥi* §6 (A, B).
- ark*- v. act. 1) "to divide up (a living ox)" (§73); 2) "to cut off (fruit trees from a canal)" (§109). 3) "to cut up or subdivide (land, A.Š<sup>ku</sup>-le-e-i)" (§46, §47b).  
pres. sg. 3 *a-ar-ki* §46 (A), §47b (A), §73 (B), §109/9 (c); *a-ar-[ki]* §46 (B); *a-a[r-ki]* §73 (A), §109/9 (j); *a-ar-gi* §109/9 (d);
- armahh*- v. "to impregnate".  
part. sg. acc. *[ar-m]a-ah-ha-an[-da-an]* §77a (K); dat.-loc. *ar-ma-ah-ha-an-ti* §178/63 (p), *ar-[ma-ah-ha-an-ta-aš]* §178/63 (b).
- armawant*- adj. "pregnant".  
sg. acc. com. *ar-ma-u-an-da-an* §77a (B 2x), (with var. *ar-nu-an-da-an* in A 2x); *ar-ma-an-da-an* or *ar-ma-<u>-an-da-an* §83 (B) (with var. *ar-nu-an-da-an* in A), §84 (B) (with var. *ar-nu-an-da-an* in A); *[a]r-ma-u-an-[da-an]* §83 (BB) (with var. *ar-nu-an-da-an* in A).
- arnu*- v. act. 1) "to move, transport". 2) "to replace(?)". 3) "to bring (a dead body for burial)".  
pres. sg. 3 *ar-nu-uz-zi* §4 (A), §5 (A, B), §19a (A), §76 (B); *[ar-nu-u]z-zi* §3 (A); *[ar-nu-uz-z]i* §76 (I); *ar-nu-zi* §2 (B), §3 (B), §4 (B), §19a (B), §76 (A), §100 (B, F); *ar-[nu-zi]* §100 (A); *[ar-nu-z]i* §1 (B);  
pl. 3 *ar-n[u-an-z]i* §196/82 (aa), *a-ar-nu-wa-an-z[i]* §196/82 (p).  
part. *arnuwant*- "pregnant (animal)" (see above sub *armawant*-).  
sg. acc. com. *ar-nu-an-da-an* §77a (A 2x), §83 (A), §84 (A).



*arnuwala-* n. com. (noun denoting persons captured in battle who can be settled on state-owned lands to work them, sometimes translated as "civilian captive"; logogram NAM.RA).

sg. acc. *ar-nu-wa-la-an* 200a/86a (p, x); *ar-nu-w[a-...]* §200a/86a (z); pl. NAM.RA.ĤI.A §40 (B); [NAM.RA.ĤI.]A §112/12 (d); with Hittite complements: NAM.RA.ĤI.A-*an* §40 (A).

*arpu-* v. mid.

pres. sg. 3 *ar-pu-ut-ta* §162/47. Read rather *la-ar-pu-ut-ta* according to Güterbock 1980. See also HW<sup>2</sup> I (1980) sub *arpu-* and CHD L-N sub *larpu-*.

*aršai-* v. "to plant, cultivate".

pres. sg. 3 *ar-ša-a-iz-zi* §105/5 (a); [*ar-ša-a-iz*]-*zi* §105/5 (c); *ar-ša-iz-zi* §105/5 (b); *ar-še-ez-zi* §103/3 (a), [*a*]*r-še-ez!*-*zi* §103/3 (b); [*ar-še-ez-z*]*i* §103/3 (a).

Iter. *aršik(k)e-*:

pret. sg. 2 *ar-ši-ik-ke-et* §169/54 (e), [*ar-š*]*a?-ke-e-et* §169/54 (aa).

*arši-* n. com. "planting".

sg. nom. *ar-ši-iš* §103/3 (a), [*a*]*r-ši-iš* §103/3 (b).

acc. [*a*]*r-ši-in* §105/5 (a), [*ar-ši-i*]*n* §103/3 (b).

*aruwai-* v. "to prostrate oneself, bow down".

pres. pl. 3 *a-ru-wa-[a-an-zi]* §55 (A), *a-ru-wa-a-a[n-zi]* §55 (B), *a-r[u-wa-a-an-zi]* §55 (D).

*ašawar* n. neut. r/n-stem "pen (for sheep and goats)".

sg. dat.-loc. *a-ša-ú-ni* §66 (A); *a-ša-ú-[n]**i* §66 (B).

*ašēš-* v. "to settle (someone)".

pres. pl. 3 *a-še-ša-an-zi* §196/82 (p, y).

*aška-* "gate, entrance, doorway".

sg. dat.-loc. *a-aš-ki* §50 (A, B).

LUGAL-*an aška-* "the kings' gate (as the place of royal adjudication)".

sg. all. LUGAL-*an a-aš-ka* §71 (B), [L]UGA[L-*an a-aš-ka*] §71 (A).

sg. dat.-loc. LUGAL-*an a-aš-ki* §187/73 (p), LUGAL-*an [a-aš-ki]* §188/74.

-*ašta* (local particle).

-*aš-ta* §38 (B), §79 (A, B), §90 (B).

*aššu-* adj. "good, dear, valuable".

sg. nom.-acc. neut. *a-aš-š[u]* "desirable, right, appropriate" §28c (C).

*aššu-* n. neut. "goods, wares, possessions, property".

sg. nom.-acc. *a-aš-šu* §III (2×), §5 (B), §27 (B, C, J); *a-[aš]-šu?* §45 (A); [*a-aš-šu*]-*u?* or [*a-aš-ša*]-*u-wa?* §27 (L); (with poss. pron.) *a-aš-šu-uš-še-et* (= *aššu=ššet*) §5, §32 (A), §33 (A);

pl. dat.-loc. *a-aš-šu-wa-aš an-da* §III.

*atta-* n. com. "father".

sg. nom. *at-ta-aš* §28a (B), §28b (B 2×), §28c (B), §29 (B), §193/79 (aa); §194/80 (aa); *at-t[a-aš]* §194/80 (e); *at-[ta-aš]* §XXI; *ad-da-aš* §28b (C), §29 (C), §190/76 (y), §194/80 (p); *ad-d[a]-aš* §190/76 (p).

dat.-loc. *at-ti* §28c (C).

(Written with Akkadogram) sg. gen. (Status constr.) *A-BI* §55 (A and B 2×, D 1×); (with poss.) nom. *A-BU-ŠU* "his father" §193/79 (p 2×, y 1×); gen. *A-BI-ŠU* "his father's" §46 (A, B), §XXXVIII.

(URUDU)*ateš* n. neut. "axe".

sg. nom.-acc. *a-te-eš* §157/42 (i); [*a*]-*te-eš* §157/42 (p, q); [*a-t*]-*e-eš* §157/42 (aa 2×); URUDU*a-te-eš* §157/42 (p), §160/45 (p, u); URUDU*a-[t]*-*e-eš* §161/46 (p); [URUDU*a-te-e*]*š* §160b/45b (v).



TÚG*adupli* (a kind of garment).

TÚG*a-du-up-li* § 182/67-68 (p); TÚG*a-tu-up-li* § 182/67-68 (x).

## E

GIŠ*eia-* (GIŠ*eian-*) n. neut. (an evergreen tree).

sg. nom.-acc. GIŠ*e-ia-an* § 50 (A), GIŠ*e-ia* § 50 (B).

*eka-* n. neut./com. "ice".

sg. dat.-loc. *e-ki* § 56 (A).

GIŠ*elzi-* n. neut. "balance, (set of) scales".

sg. nom.-acc. (with poss.) GIŠ*el-zi-mi-it* § 169/54 (e), GIŠ*e-el-[zi-mi-it]* § 169/54 (p).

*enant-* adj. "trained?" (of animals).

sg. nom. com. *e-na-an-za* § 66 (A, B, F).

acc. com. *e-na-an-da-an* § 65 (A and H 1×, B and F 2×), *e-na-[an-da-an]* § 65 (A).

*ep(p)-, ap(p)-* v. "to seize, capture, acquire".

pres. sg. 3 *e-ep-zi* § 22 (B), § 36 (B), 43 (A, B, C), § 49 (A, L), § 66 (A, B), § 71 (B), § 105/5 (a), § 118/15 (f), § 158/43 (aa, p), § 175/60 (aa, p), § 197/83 (p 2×, y 1×); *e-ep-z[i]* § 49 (A); *e-ep-[zi]* § 66 (I); *e-e[p-z]* § 22 (A); *e-e[p-zi]* § 118/15 (aa); *e[-ep-zi]* § 197/83 (y); *[e-ep-z]* § 158a/43 (n).

pl. 3 *ap-pa-an-zi* § 93 (A 2×, B and F 1×); *ap-pa-an-[zi]* § 93 (B).

part. *appant-*:

pl. nom. com. *ap-pa-an-te-eš* § 38 (B), *ap-pa-a-[an-t]e-eš* § 38 (A).

*anda ep(p)-* "to pack(?)".

part. pl. nom.-acc. neut. *an-da ap-pa-an-da* § 122/19 (f), *an-da a[p-pa-an-da]* § 122/19 (a).

*epa-* (meaning unclear)

mid. pres. sg. 3 *e-pa-a-ri* § 111/11 (d); *[ap-pa-at-t]a-ri* § 111/11 (c).

*eš-* v. "to be, to exist".

pres. sg. 3 *e-eš-zi* § XXXVII, § 98 (B); *e-eš-za!* § 98 (A); *e-[eš-zi]* § 98 (Q).

pl. 3 *a-ša-an-zi* § 53 (A, D); *a-ša-an-z[i]* § 53 (B); *[a-ša-an-z]i* § 53 (F).

imp. pl. 2 *e-eš-tén* § 55 (B) (*i-iš-te-e[n]* § 55 (A) is to be understood as a form of *ēšša-* "to perform").

*išša-, ēšša-* (II 2 d) "to do, to perform" (iter.-dur. of *iya-* "to do")

pres. sg. 3 *i-iš-ša-i* § 39 (A), § 40 (A), § 41 (A); *iš-ša-i* § 41 (B); *iš-š[a-i]* § 40 (B); *[iš-š]a-a-i* § 39 (B); *e-eš-ša-i* § XXX, § 41 (C), § XXXVII (2×); *e-eš-ša-[i]* § XXXI; *e-eš-ša-a-i* § XXXVI.

pret. sg. 3 *e-eš-še-eš-ta* § XXV.

pl. 3 *i-iš-še-er* § 54 (A); *e-eš-šer* § 101/1 (a), § 121/18 (f), § 166/51 (p); *e-eš-še-er* § 54 (B), *e-eš-še-er* § 54 (D).

imp. pl. 2 *e-eš-tén* § 55 (B); *e-eš-[te]-en* § 55 (D); *i-iš-te-e[n]* § 55 (A).

*e-eš-šu-u-wa-an da-a-i* "he begins to perform" § 112/12 (k).

*edi* adv. "from that side".

*e-di* § 22b (A, B), § 171/56 (e), *i-di* § 171/56 (p).

*ētriya-* v. "to feed".

iter. *ētriški-*:

pres. sg. 3 *[e-et-r]i-iš-ki-iz-zi* § 100 (A); *e-et-re-eš-ki-iz-zi* § 100 (B), *[e-e]t-ri-iš-ki-iz-zi* § 100 (F); *[e-et-ri-]iš-ki-iz-zi* § 100 (R).



## H

- hāli*- n. neut. "corral (for bulls)".  
 sg. nom.-acc. *ha-a-li* § 176a/61a (p).  
 pl. dat.-loc. *ha-a-le!-e-aš* § 66 (A); *ha-a-l[i-i]a-aš* § 66 (B); *ha-a-li-aš* § 66 (F).
- haliya/e*- v. act. "to roll (the wheel)".  
 pres. pl. 3 *ha-l[i]-en-zi* § 198/84 (p).
- halki*- n. com. "grain".  
 sg. acc. [*hal-ki-i*]n § 96 (A); *hal-ki-in* § 112/12 (d) as hypercorrection of *HAL-QĪ-IM* § 112/12 (c) (see Otten 1990); cf. Akk. *HALQU(M)*.  
 sg. gen. *hal-ki-aš* § 96 (A), § 97 (A); *hal-ki-ia-aš* § 96 (B), § 97 (B).  
 inst. *hal-ki-it* § 96 (A, B), § 97 (A, B); *hal-ki-i[r]* § 97 (Q).
- hamenk*- v. act. "to bind, to tie".  
 part. *hamenkant*-: sg. nom. com. *ha-me-in-kán-za* § 29 (B); *ha-am-me-en-kán-za* (C).
- hamešhant*- n. com. "spring".  
 sg. dat.-loc. *pa-ra-a ha-me-eš-ha-an-da* "through the following spring", "until next spring" § 100 (A, B); [*pa-ra-a h*]a-mi-iš-ha-an-ti § 100 (Z).
- haneššar* n. neut. r/n-stem. "case, litigation, judgment, lawsuit".  
 sg. gen. *ha-an-ne-eš-na-aš iš-ha-a-aš* "a litigant" § 38 (A) (var. in B [LÚ<sup>?</sup>ha-an-n]e<sup>??</sup>-tal-wa-aš).  
 dat.-loc. *ha-an-ne-iš-ni* § 38 (A); [*ha-a*]n-ne-eš-ni § 38 (B).  
 Akkadogram sg. status constructus *DI-IN* § 102/2 (a, b), § 111/11 (c, d), § 173a/58a (p 2×), § 176a/61a (aa, p); *D[I-IN]* § 44b (B).  
 status pronominalis *DI-IN-ŠU-NU* "their case" § 32 (B), § 33 (B).
- hannitalwa*- n. com. "litigant".  
 pl. nom. [LÚ<sup>?</sup>ha-an-n]e<sup>??</sup>-tal-wa-aš § 38 (B) (var. in A *ha-an-ne-eš-na-aš iš-ha-a-aš*).
- handai*- v. act. "to prepare".  
 pres. sg. 3 *ha-an-da-a-iz-zi* § 162b/47b (v).
- hantezziya*- adj. "former, first".  
 sg. nom. com. *ha-an-te-ez-zi-ia-aš* § 28a (B); *IGI-zi-iš* § 28a (C).  
 pl. acc. com. [*ha-an-t*]e-ez-zi-uš § 146a/35a (c); [*ha-an-t*]e-ez-zi-ia-aš § 146a/35a (aa); *h[a-a]n-te-ez-zi-ia-aš* § 146b/35b (aa).
- hanti hanti* adv. "(to divide) equally".  
*ha-an-ti h[a-an-ti] šar-r[a-a]n-zi* § 33 (A).
- GIŠhanza(n)*- n. neut. ? (an implement?).  
 sg. dat.-loc.(?) *GIŠha-an-za-n[i-it? ...]* § 144/33 (c).
- hanza har(k)*- "to preserve inviolate(?)".  
 pres. sg. 3 *SAG.KI-za har-zi* § 164-165/49-50 (p).
- hapallašai*- v. act. "to injure".  
 pres. sg. 3 *ha-pal-la-ša-iz-zi* § IX.
- happar* n. neut. r-stem. "sale, business".  
 sg. nom.-acc. *ha-a-ap-pár* § 48 (A 2×); *ha-ap-pár* § XL (2×), § 146a/35a (aa).  
 dat.-loc. *ha-ap-pa-ri* § 146a/35a (c).  
 abl. *ha-a-ap-pa-ra-az* § 48 (A); *ha-ap-pár-ra-az* § XL.



*happarai-* (*happirai-*, *haprai-*) v. act. "to sell".

pres. sg. 3 *ha-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi* § 39 (A, B), § 149/38 (c); *ha-a[p-pa-ra-iz-zi]* § 149/38 (t); *h[a-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi]* § 149/38 (aa); *ha-ap-pt-ra-iz-zi* § XL; *ha-ap-ra-iz-zi* § 26b (J); *ha[-ap-ra-iz-zi]* § 26a (L).

pl. 3 *ha-ap-pár-ra-an-zi* § 176a/61a (p).

pret. sg. 3 *ha-ap-pa-ra-a-it* § 48 (A).

*happari(ya?)*- n. com. "price".

pl. acc. *ha-ap-pa-ri-uš* § 146a/35a (aa, c); *ha-ap-p[a-ri-uš]* § 146a/35a (t); [*ha-ap-pa-ri-uš*] § 146b/35b (aa).

TÚG*hap(p)ušant-* n. com. (a garment).

sg. gen. TÚG*ha-ap-pu-ša-an-da-aš* § 182/67-68 (p); TÚG*ha-pu-ša-an-da-aš* § 182/67-68 (x).

KUŠ*happutri-* a leather harness(?).

sg. acc. KUŠ*ha-ap-pu-ut-[ri]* § 131/28 (c).

*haratar* n. neut. r/n-stem. "offence".

sg. nom.-acc. *ha-ra-a-tar* § 190/76 (p), § 191/77 (y), § 194/80 (y 2×), § 197/83 (p), § 199/85 (p); *ha-ra-a-[tar]* § 192/78 (y); [*h*]*a-ra-a-tar* § 192/78 (aa), § 194/80 (aa); *ha-ra-tar* § 190/76 (p), § 193/79 (p), § 194/80 (aa 1×, p 3×), § 200a/86a (p 2×); *ha-r[a-tar]* § 194/80 (e), § 200a/86a (z); *ha-ra-[tar]* § 191/77 (p); [*ha-ra*]<sup>1</sup>*-[tar]* § 192/78 (p); [*ha-ra*]*tar* § 200a/86a (x).

*har(k)-* v. act. "to have, to hold".

pres. sg. 3 *har-zi* § 39 (A, B), § 40 (B, L), § 41 (A, B, C with -za), § 46 (A, B), § XXXVIII, § 47a (A, B), § XXXVI, § XXXIXa, § 53 (B, D), § 164-165/49-50 (p), § 193/79 (p, y), § 195b/81b (e, p), § 195c/81c (p); *har-z[i]* § 41 (L); *har-[zi]* § 40 (A); [*har-z*]*i* § 53 (F).

pres. pl. 3 *har-kán-zi* § 52 (A, B); *har-kán-[zi]* § 52 (G).

pret. sg. 3 *har-ta* § 193/79 (p).

*pē har(k)-* "to have in one's possession".

pres. sg. 3 *pé-e har-zi* § III.

*hark-* 1) "to get lost, to disappear, to cease"; 2) "to die, to perish"; 3) "to default".

pres. sg. 3 *har-ak-zi* 1) § 41 (B, C), § XXXIV (with -kán), § 75 (A, B, I), § 127/24 (c); *har-ak-z[i]* § 41 (A); [*ha*]*r-ak-zi* § 40 (B).

2) § XXXVII (with -kán), § 98 (A, B).

3) § 41 (A, B, C); [*har-ak-z*]*i* § 41 (L).

part. *harkant-*: sg. nom. com. *har-kán-za* "vacated" § XXXVIII, § XXXIXb.

acc. com. *har-kán-ta-an* § 40 (B); *har-kán-ta-[an]* § XXX; *ha[r-kán-ta-an]* § XXXIII; *har-kán-ta-aš* § 40 (A); *har-ga-an-ta-aš* § 40 (L).

nom.-acc. neut. *har-kán* 1) § XXXV (w. sentence particle -kán).

NA*harmiyalli-* n. neut. (a kind of stone).

sg. nom.-acc. NA*har-mi-ia-al-li* § 128/25 (c).

*harnink-* v. act. "to destroy, to ruin".

pres. sg. 3 *har-ni-ik-zi* § 107/7 (b, d), § 144/33 (c); [*har*]-*ni-ik-zi* § 107/7 (h).

*harp-* v. act. "to join, associate, rank"; mid. 1) (of spouses) "to get separated, to become estranged". 2) (of livestock) "to stray (into another corral)".

pres. act. sg. 3 *har-ap-zi* § 112/12 (c).

mid. sg. 3 *har-ap-ta* 2) § 66 (A and B 2×, F 1×).

mid. pl. 3 *har-pa-an-ta-ri* 1) § 31 (B with -kán).



NINDA *ħarši*- n. com. "thick loaf of bread".

sg. acc. NINDA *ħar-ši-in* § 164-165/49-50 (p), § 169/54 (aa, e); NINDA *ħar-ši-i[n]* § 169/54 (p); [NINDA *ħar-ši-i*]n § 164-165/49-50 (aa).

*ħaš-* (V 1/2) "to breed, to give birth".

pres. sg. 3 *ħa-a-ši* § 176a/61a (p 2x); *ħa-a-š[i]* § 176a/61a (aa).

*ħašša*- n. com. "hearth, brazier".

sg. dat.-loc. *ħa-aš-ši-i* § 24 (A).

\**ħilatar* n. neut. r/n-stem. "yard(?), enclosure(?)". See Laroche 1957 18, and the notice taken by HW (Erg. 1) 6 and Friedrich 1959 102 note 2.

sg. gen. *ħi-la-an-na-aš* in: UR.GI<sub>7</sub> *ħi-la-an-na-aš* "a dog of the enclosure(?)" § 89 (B, E); ŠAH *ħi-la-an-na-aš* "a pig of the yard" § 82 (A, B).

*ħink-* v. act. "to present".

pres. sg. or pl. 3 *ħi-in-ga-zi* § 71 (B).

pl. 3 *ħi-in-kán-zi* § 71 (B).

LÚ*ħippara*- n. com. "captive, prisoner" (enslaved class).

sg. nom. LÚ*ħi-ip-pár-aš* § 48 (A 2x); L[Ú*ħi*]*ħi-ip-pár-aš* § 49 (A); [LÚ*ħi-ip-pár*]-*l aš* § 48 (B); LÚ*ħi!*-*ip-pa-ra-aš* § XL; LÚA-SI-RUM § XL (3x); [LÚ]A-[S]I-RUM § XLI.

dat.-loc. LÚ*ħi-ip-pa-ri* § 48 (2x).

*ħuišnu-* v. act. "to keep (someone) alive, to preserve/spare someone's life".

pres. sg. 3. *ħu-iš-nu-zi* § 172/57 (p), § 198/84 (p), § 199/85 (p); *ħu-iš-n[u]-zi* § 187/73 (p), § 198/84 (p); *ħu-u-iš-nu-zi* § 198/84 (p); *ħu-u-i[š-nu-zi]* § 188/74 (x); TI-*nu-z[i]* § 199/85 (p).

*ħuišuant-* adj. "living, alive".

sg. nom. com. *ħu-iš-wa-an-za* § 190/76 (y); § 195a/81a (aa); *ħu-u-iš-wa-an-za* § 195a/81a (p); TI-*an-za* § XXXVII, § 190/76 (p); acc. com. *ħu-iš-wa-an-da-an* § 73 (B); [*ħu-š-u-wa-an-d*]*a-an* § 73 (A).

*ħuittiya-* v. act. "to pull"; here "to substitute, to offer in place of (something)".

pres. pl. 3 med.-p. *ħu-e-et-ti-an-ta* § 167/52 (aa); *ħu-it-ti-an-ta* § 167/52 (p); *ħu-it-ti-ia-an-ta* § 196/82 (aa); *ħu-it-ti-ia-an[-tal-zi]* § 196/82 (y); *ħu-u-it-ti-an-ta* § 167/52 (aa); *ħu-u-it-ti-ia-an-ta* § 196/82 (p); *ħu-u-it-ti-ia-a[n-ta]* § 199/85 (p); *ħu-u-it-ti[- ... ]* § 199/85 (p).

*ħulle/a-* v. act., *ħulliya-* v. act. "to contest, to reject".

pres. sg. 3 *ħu-u-ul-la-az-zi* § 173a/58a (p); *ħu-u-ul-li-ia-az-zi* § 173a/58a (p); *ħu-ul-li-iz-zi* § 173a/58a (aa); *ħu-ul-li-i[z-zi]* § 173a/58a (aa); pl. 3 *ħu-ul-la-an-zi* § 29 (B); *ħu-u-ul-la-an-zi* § 29 (C).

*ħumant-* adj. "all, entire".

sg. nom. com. *ħu-u-ma-an-za* § XXXVIII (2x).

acc. com. *ħu-u-ma-an-da-an* § 47b (A), § XXXVII, § XXXIXb.

dat.-loc. *ħu-u-ma-an-ti-ya* § 56 (A, B, D); *ħu-u-ma-an-t[i]* § 50 (A).

pl. nom. com. *ħu-u-ma-an-te-eš* § 49 (A).

*ħünink-* v. act. "to injure".

pres. sg. 3 *ħu-u-ni-ik-zi* § 9 (A, B), § VIII, § 10 (B); *ħu-ú-ni-ik-zi* § 10 (A).

*ħüninkant-* part. "injured"

sg. nom. com. *ħu-u-ni-in-kán-za* § 9 (A 1x, B 2x), § VIII; *ħu-u-ni-kán-za* § 9 (A); *ħu-u-ni-ká[n-za]* § 9 (C).

GIŠ*ħüppulli* n. neut. (an important part of a house).

sg. nom.-acc. GIŠ*ħu-u-up-pu-li* § 171/56 (e); GIŠ*ħu-u-up-pu-ul-li* § 171/56 (p).



*hūrkel* n. neut. *l*-stem. "unpermitted sexual pairing".

sg. nom.-acc. (attested in aa): *hu-ur-ki-il* § 191/77 (y), § 195a/81 (y), § 195b/81 (aa, y); *hu-ur-[ki-il]* § 195a/81 (aa); [*hu-ur-ki-il*] § 195c/81 (aa); (not attested in aa): *hu-u-ur-ki-il* § 187/73 (p), § 189/75 (p), § 190/76 (p), § 195a/81 (p), § 195b/81 (p), *hu-[u]-ur-ki-il* § 189/75(p); *hu-u-u[r-k]i-il* § 189/75 (p); *hur-ki-il* 191/77 (p, y); *hu-u-ur-ke-el* § 188/74 (p), § 195c/81 (p); *hu-u-[ur-ke-el]* § 198/82 (y); *hu-ur-k[e-el]* § 188/74 (x); *hur-ke-el* § 195a/81 (e), § 195c/81 (e); [*hur-k*]e-el § 195b/81 (e); [*hur-ke-e*]l § 196/82 (e).

*hurki* n. com. "wheel".

sg. acc. *hu-ur-ki-in* § 198/84 (p); *hu-u[r-ki-in]* § 198/84 (y).

In broken context:

*hur-ki-* § 123/20 (a); *hur-k[i]* § 123/20 (c).

Written as Sumerogram:

acc. GIŠUMB[IN] § 142/31 (c).

With Hittite complements: gen. GIŠUMBIN-aš § 142/31 (c); [GIŠ]UMBIN-aš § 142/31 (c).

KUŠhūša n. com. (a leather part of an equipment).

sg. acc. KUŠhu-u-ša-an § 78 (B), § 125/22 (c); [KUŠhu-u-š]a-an § 125/22 (f); KUŠh[u-u-ša-an] § 125/22 (o); KUŠhu-ša-an § 78 (A).

huššelli n. neut. "pit".

sg. abl. hu-u-uš-ši-el-li-ia-az § 110/10 (d); hu-uš-ši-li-az § 110/10 (b); [hu-u-uš-ši-li-i]a-az § 110/10 (j).

huwai v. act. "to run away".

pres. sg. 3 hu-wa-a-i § 22 (A), § 23a (A), § 23b (A), § 24 (A); hu-u-wa-i § 22 (B), § 23a (B).

NAhūwāši n. neut. "stela".

sg. nom.-acc. [N]A<sub>4</sub> hu-u-[wa-a-ši] § 128/25 (c).

## I

-(i)a "and, also". Cf. -a.

*iya* v. act. "to do, to perform, to make".

pres. sg. 3 *i-e-zi* § 26a (A); *i-ez-zi* § 48 (A 2x, 1x with -za); [*i-ez-zi*] § 48 (B); [*i*]-ez-[zi] § 48 (B); *i-e-ez-zi* § 46 (B), § 55 (B), § 146a/35a (aa), § 164-165/49-50 (p); *i-e-e[z-zi]* § 55 (A) (with -za); *i-ia-zi* § XXXIXa, § XXXIXb, § XL; [*i-i*]a-zi § XL (with -za); *i-ia-z[i]* § 112/12 (k); [*i-i*]a-zi § 112/12 (c), § 146a/35a (c); *i-ia-«an»-zi* § 112/12 (d); *i-ia-az-zi* § XXXVI.

pl. 3 *i-en-zi* (with -za) § 31 (B); [*i-en-z*]i § 33 (A); [*i-e*]n?-z[i?] § 196/82 (p); *i-ia-an-z[i]* § 196/82 (e); *i[-ia-a?...] § 184/70 (p).*

imp. pl. 2 *i-it-te-en* § 55 (A, B).

*appa iya* "to make again".

pres. sg. 3 EGIR-pa *i-ia-zi* § 171/56 (e); EGIR-pa *i-e-ez-zi* § 171/56 (p).

*iyatniyant* "productive".

pl. dat.-loc. *i-ia-at-ni-ia-an-da-aš* § 107/7 (d); *i-ia-at-n[i-ia-an-da-aš* § 107/7 (b); [*i-ia-a*]t-ni-ia-an-da-aš § 107/7 (h); [*i-ia-at-n*]i-ia-an-da-aš § 107/7 (a).

TÚGim-m[i? ... ] (a kind of garment).

§ 182/67-68 (p).

*išha* n. com. "lord, owner, master".

sg. nom. *iš-ḫa-a-aš* § 38 (A), § 46 (A, B), § 60 (A, M), § 61 (M), § 86 (B), § 99 (A), § 121/18 (aa); *iš-ḫa-[a-aš]* § 62 (M), § 86 (S); [*iš-ḫ*]a-a-[aš] § 86 (W); [*iš-ḫa*]-a-aš § 149/38 (aa); *iš-ḫa-aš* § 20



- (A, B), § 21 (A, B), § 24 (A, B), § 60 (B), § 62 (B), § 66 (B), § 70 (B), § 71 (B), § 78 (B), § 80 (A, B), § 99 (B), § 149/38 (c); *iš-h[a-aš]* § 61 (B); *i[š?-h]a?-aš* § 149/38 (q); *[i]š-ha-aš* § 19a (B); *iš-ha-* § 61 (A), § 62 (A), § 66 (A), § 70 (A), § 78 (A).
- dat.-loc. *iš-hi* § 45 (B), § 79 (A, B), § 86 (B), § 95 (A, B), § 99 (A, B), § 173b/58b (p); *i[š-hi]* § 45 (A).
- (written logographically) EN § 43 (C), § XXXVII (3×), § 52 (G), § 106/6 (d), § 113/13 (c, d), § 168/53 (e, p); [E]N § 118/15 (f); with Akkadian complements EN-ŠU § XXXV (2×); with Hittite complements: sg. nom. EN-aš § 86 (E); [E]N-aš § 99 (z); (with poss.) EN-š[e-ša] § 99 (F); EN-š ... § 66 (F), § 121/18 (a); sg. acc. (with poss.) EN«iš»-ši-in § XXXV; gen. EN-aš § XXXVIII; dat.-loc. (with poss.) EN-iš-ši § XXXV, § 99 (F); EN-ši § 86 (E).
- (written with Akkadogram) sg. Status constr. BE-EL § 43 (A, B), § 52 (A, B), § 72 (B), § 74 (B 2×), § 79 (A, B); BE-E[L] § 72 (A), § 74 (A), § 90 (E); B[E-E]L § 90 (B); BE-[EL] § 52 (D); [B]E-EL § 74 (A); [BE-E]L § 113/13 (k); BE-LÍ § 168/53 (aa); (with poss.) <sup>1</sup>BE-EL<sup>1</sup>-ŠU § 95 (B).
- BEL ŠUPPATI "a person entitled to wear a reed-shaped emblem(?)" BE-EL ŠU-UP-PA-TI § 52 (A, B); BE-[EL ŠU-UP-PA-TI] § 52 (D); EN ŠU-UP-PA-TI § 52 (G).
- išhai-* v. act., *išhiya-* v. act. 1) "to tie, to bind". 2) "to impose (a service or a fine) upon someone".  
pres. sg. 3 *iš-ha-a-i* 1) § 158/43 (aa, n).
- pl. 3 *iš-hi-an-zi* 2) § 94 (A 2×), § 95 (A); *iš-hi-an-z[i]* § XLI; *[i]š-hi-an-zi* § 94 (O); *iš-hi-ia-an-zi* § 95 (B, P); *iš-hi-ia-a[n-zi]* § 94 (B), § 95 (F); *iš-[hi-ia-an-zi]* § 94 (O); *i[š-hi-ia-an-zi]* § 94 (F); *[iš-hi-ia-a]n-zi* § 95 (P).
- iš-hi-an-za* 1) § 158/43 (p).
- išhizzi(ya)-* v. mid.  
EN-iz-[zi-ia-at-ta-ri ... ZI-an-za] "s/he (becomes) angry?" § XXIVa.
- išhunai(?)* v. act. "(?)".  
pres. pl.3. *iš-hu-na-a-an-zi* § 175/60 (p); *uš-hu-na-an-[zi]* § 175/60 (aa).
- išhuzzi-* c. "belt".  
pl. acc.(?)<sup>1</sup> *iš-hu-uz-zi-ia-aš* § 175/60 (p).
- iškallai-* v. act., mid. 2? "to tear off".  
pres. sg. 3 act. *iš-kal-la-i* § XV, *iš-gal-la-i* § XIV; mid. *iš-kal-la-a-ri* § 15 (B, C), § 16 (C); *iš-kal-la-ri* § 16 (B).
- TÚGiškallišar n. neut. r/n-stem. "a tattered(?) garment".  
sg. nom.-acc. TÚGiš-kal-li-iš-šar § 182/67-68 (p); TÚGiš-kal-le-eš-šar § 182/67-68 (x).
- GIŠiškiššana- n. neut. (an important part of the house). Cf. HED E/I 426 s.v. and add KUB 29.1 iii 18-19 misinterpreted and misattributed to *iškiš* on HED E/I 424.  
sg. nom.-acc. (with poss.) GIŠiš-ki-iš-ša-na-aš-ši-it § 171/56 (p); GIŠiš-ki-iš-ša!-ni-še-et § 171/56 (aa).
- išpanduzzi-* n. neut. "a vessel for wine, libation wine".  
sg. nom.-acc. GIŠ.GEŠTINiš-pa-an-du-zi § 164-165/49-50 (p); GEŠTINiš-pa-an-t[u-zi] § 164-165/49-50 (aa); [GEŠTINiš-pa-an-du-z]i § 164-165/49-50 (bb).
- ištamana-* n. com. "ear".  
sg. acc. with 3 poss. *iš-ta-ma-na-aš-ša-an* § 15 (B).  
pl. acc. *iš-ta-a-ma-nu-uš* § 95 (B); <sup>1</sup>*iš-ta*<sup>1</sup>-[ ... ] § 95 (A); [ ... ]-ma-nu-uš § 95 (F).

<sup>1</sup> Taken as free-standing gen. by Friedrich 1959 112, 122 and Puhvel 1984 401.



Written logographically with Hittite complements: sg. acc. GEŠTU-*an* § 15 (C), § XIV, § 16 (C), § XV; with 3 poss. GEŠTU-*aš-ša-an* § 16 (B); written with UZNU: dual nom. UZ-*NA-A* § 99 (A, B); U[Z-*NA-A*] § 99 (F).

*ištap(p)*- v. act. "to stop up, block" > "to deposit (something in)".

pres. sg. 3 *iš-tap-pí* § 158/43 (n, p); [*iš-ta-a-pí*] § 158/43 (aa).

*ištarna* postpos. "among".

*iš-tar-na* § 52 (D, G).

*ištarnink*- v. act. "to cause sickness, to incapacitate".

pres. sg. 3 *iš-tar-ni-ik-zi* § 10 (A, B); *iš-tar-ni-ik-z[i]* § 10 (C).

*išuwān dai* "to put on the mud pile(?)".

(with *-kán*) *i-šu-wa-an da-a-i* § 163/48 (p); [*i-šu-wa-an da-a-i*] § 163/48 (f, v).

*išuwānalli-* (*šuwānalli-*) n. neut. "mud(?)".

sg. loc. *i-šu-wa-na-al-li* § 163/48 (p); *i-šu-wa-[na-al-li]* § 163/48 (bb); [*i-šu-wa-na*]-*al-li* § 163/48 (v); *šu-wa-na-al-li* § 163/48 (f).

*idalawešš-* v. act. 1) "to go wrong". 2) "to become estranged" (reciprocal, with *-za* or *-kan*).

pres. sg. 3 *i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-zi* 1) § XXXIV.

pres. pl. 3 *i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi* 2) § 31 (B) (with *-kán*), § 53 (D) (with *-za*); *i-da-la-u-e-ša-an-z[i]* § 53 (G); *i-da-a-la-u-iš-š[a-an-zi]* § 53 (F); *i-t[a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi]* § 53 (A).

*idalu-* adj. "evil".

sg. nom. com. *-]da-lu?-uš* § 26 (A).

*iuga-* adj. "yearling".

sg. nom. com. *i-ú-ga-aš* § 57 (A 1×, B and D 2×), § 58 (B 2×, D 1×); *i-ú-g[a-aš]* § 58 (D); *i-ú-[ga-aš]* § 58 (F).

gen. *i-ú-ga-aš* § 178/63 (aa, p), § 180/65 (p 2×, x 1×); *i-ú-ga-aš-ša-aš* (!;?) § 186/72 (p).

(written logographically) MU.1 § 60 (A, M, B, U), § 61 (A, M), § 63 (A, B, H), § 67 (A, B, I); MU.[1] § 61 (B).

*iwāru-* n. neut. "a dowry, an inheritance share".

sg. nom.-acc. *i-wa-a-ru* § 46 (A); *i-w[a]-a-ru* § 27 (J); *i-wa-ru* § 27 (B, C), § 46 (B), § XXXVIII; *i-wa-ru-...* (with poss.) § 27 (C); *i-wa-[ru]* § 46 (C);

sg. gen. *i-wa-ru-aš* § 46 (A) in *i-wa-ru-aš iš-ḫa-a-aš* (lit. "lord of an inheritance (share)/a dowry"); [*i-w*]-*a-ru-wa-aš iš-ḫa-a-aš* § 46 (B); *i-wa-ru-wa-aš EN-aš* § XXXVIII.

## K, G

*ka-* (demonstrative pron.) "this".

*kaš - kaš* "one - the other", "this one - that one".

sg. nom. com. *ka-a-aš* § 49 (A), § 191/77 (p 2×, y 1×); *k[a-a-aš]* § 191/77 (y); [*ka*]-*a-š* ... § 49 (A).

sg. acc. com. *ku-u-un* § 49 (A 2×), § 196/82 (p 2×, y 1×).

sg. nom.-acc. neut. *ki-i* § 40 (A and L 1×, B 2×), § XXX, § 41 (A, B and C 2×), § XXXI, § 64 (A and H), § 184/70 (p); [*k*]-*i-i* § 40 (A).

sg. gen. *ke-e-el* § 133/30 (aa), § 166/51 (aa 1×, p 2×), § 196/82 (p, y); *ke-e-[e]* § 196/82 (p).

pl. gen. *ki-in-za-an-[na]* § 65 (A).

*kakkapa-* n. com. (a bird, "duck(?), swan(?)").

sg. acc. *ka-ak-ka-pa-an* § 119/16 (aa); [*ka-ag*]-*ga-pa-an* § 119/16 (I).

*kammara-* n. com. "cloud, smoke"; "swarm of bees (?)".

sg. dat.-loc. *kam-ma-ri* § 91 (A, B, E).



*-kán* (enclitic local particle).

On the use of *-kan* which expands and diversifies in post-OH manuscripts see Carruba, Souček, and Sternemann 1965 10-12.

The following verbs are accompanied by *-kan* in the laws:

*arawaḥḥ-* "to set free, to exempt" § XXXVI, § XXXIXa.

*ḥark-* "to lose, to eliminate," or "to cease, to disappear, to default, to perish" § XXXIV, § XXXV, § XXXVII. (Cf. *ḥark-* for references without *-kán*).

*ḥarp-* "to get separated, to separate oneself from others" § 31 (B). (Cf. *ḥarp-* for references without *-kán*).

*išuwān dāi* "to put on the mud pile(?)" § 163/48 (f, p, v).

*idalaweš-* "to estrange, to alienate" § 31 (B). (Cf. *idalaweš-* for references without *-kán*).

*kuen-* "to kill" § III, § 90 (B, E), § 199/85 (p). (Cf. *kuen-* for references without *-kán*).

*pai-* "to go" § 37 (B), § 70 (B).

*šamen-* "to forfeit" § IV, § 30 (B), § 48 (A, B), § XL, § 145/34 (aa, c).

*para šuwai-* "to turn out, to expel" § 171/56 (e, p).

*anda dai-* "to put smth on" § 78 (B), § 163/48 (f, p, v).

*para tarn-* "to take away, to deprive someone of something" § 34 (B), § 36 (B).

*tuhš-* "to separate" § 28c (B), § 29 (B, C); *-k[án]* § 28c (C).

*piran walḥ-/GUL* "to strike first" 146b/35b (aa), § 148/37 (aa, c); *[-k]án* § 147/36 (c)

*SlxSÁ* "to lie within the radius of" § IV.

*-kán* in broken context: § XXII, § XXV (2x), § XXIX, § 105/5 (g).

*kanešš-* v. act. "recognize, to claim".

pres. sg. 3 *ga-né-eš-zi* § 19a (A, B), § 20 (A), § 21 (A), § 62 (F), 70 (B); *ga-ne-[eš-zi]* § 62 (A); *ga-n[e-eš-zi]* § 60 (A), § 61 (A); *[ga-ne-e]š-zi* § 20 (B), § 21 (B); *ka-ni-iš-zi* § 61 (B), § 62 (B).

*kappi-* adj. "small".

sg. nom.-acc. neut. *kap-pí* § 85 (A, B).

*kapina-* n. com. "thread, strand of wool".

pl. acc. *ga-pí-nu-uš* § 126/23 (c); *[ga]-pí-nu-uš* § 126/23 (m); *ka-pí-nu-uš* § 126/23 (o).

*kappue-, kappuwai-* v. act. "to count".

pres. pl. 3 *kap-pu-u-an-zi* § 83 (B); *[ka]p-pu-w[a-an-zi]* § 83 (BB); *kap-pu-u-en-zi* § 83 (A).

*garāp-, garēp-* (Oett. II 1 c) "to eat (for the animals), to devour". Oettinger 1979 53.

pres. sg. 3 *ka-ra-a-pí* § 75 (A, B), § 90 (B, E).

*karmalaššai-* (mid. 1?) "become crippled/disabled (?)".

pres. sg. 3 *kar-ma-la-aš-ša-i* § X (2x), § XI (2x).

*karpiye/a-, karp-* (Va 1) 1) "to lift, to carry"; 2) "to carry out, to render (feudal services)".

pres. sg. 3 2) *kar-ap-zi* § 46 (B), § 47b (B), § XXXVIII (2x), § XXXIXa, § XXXIXb; *k[ar-ap-zi]* § 47b (B); *kar-pí-i-e-ez-zi* § XXXVIII, § 47b (B); *kar-pí-i-ez-zi* § 46 (A 2x), § 47b (A), § XXXIXb, § 48 (A), § 51 (G); *kar-pí-ez-zi* § 47b (A), § XL; *kar-pí-ez-zi* § 46 (A); *kar-pí-ez-[zi]* § 46 (B); *[kar-p]í-ez-zi* § 47b (A); *[ka]r-pí-ez-[zi]* § 48 (B).

pres. pl. 3 2) *kar-pí-ia-an-zi* § 56 (D), *kar-pí-an-zi* § XXXVIII, § 51 (D), § 52 (D, G), § 56 (A); *kar-pí-an-zi* § 52 (A); *ka[r-pí-an-zi]* § 50 (A), § 52 (B); *k[ar-pí-an-zi]* § 46 (A, B).

pret. pl. 3 2) *kar-pí-i-e-e[r]* § 54 (D), *kar-p[í-er]* § 54 (A).

*Giškarpiya-* n. com. (a tree).

sg. acc. *Giškar-pí-na-an* § 101/1 (a).



- karš-*, *karšiyē/a-* v. act. 1) "to cut", 2) "to cut down", 3) "to separate", 4) "to cut out, to deduct".  
 pres. sg. 3 *kar-aš-zi* 4) § 85 (A, B), 2) § 104/4 (a), § 113/13 (d, k), 3) § 168/53 (p); *kar-aš-[zi]* § 104/4 (b); *ka[r!-aš-zi]* 4) § 85 (S); [*ka*]r-aš-zi 2) § 113/13 (c); *kar-aš-še-ez-zi* 3) § 168/53 (e); *kar!-aš-ši-i-ez-zi* 4) § 6 (A); *kar-aš-ši-i-e-ez-zi* 4) § 6 (B).  
 part. sg. nom.-acc. neut. *kar-ša-an-da-an* 2) § 113/13 (c); *kar-aš-ša-an-da-[an]* 2) § 113/13 (d); *kar-š[a-an-da-an]* 2) § 113/13 (k).
- kartimmiya-* v. mid. "to become furious".  
 pres. pl. 3 *kar-tim-mi-ia-an-ta-ri* § 38 (B); in broken context: *kar-tim-m[i-ia- ...]* § XXXII.
- karū* adv. "formerly, previously".  
 Always spelled the same in the laws. For the rare *ka-a-ru-ú* outside the laws with secondarily stressed anaptyctic vowel see Neu 1980b 46ff. and Melchert 1994 30. *ka-ru-ú* § 7 (A, B), § 9 (A, B), § 19b (A, B), § 25 (A), § 51 (B, G), § 54 (A, B, D, F), § 57 (B, D), § 58 (B, D), § 59 (A, M, B, D), § 63 (A, B), § 69 (A, B, I), § 81 (A, B), § 91 (B, E), § 92 (B), § 94 (A, F), § 101/1 (a), § 121/18 (a, f), § 166/51 (p 2×), § 167/52 (p); *ka-[ru-ú]* § 63 (F); [*k*]a-ru-ú § 51 (D), § 67 (A, B), § 94 (B); [*k*]a-r[u]-ú § 51 (A); [*ka-r*]u-ú § 63 (M), § 129/26 (c); [*ka-ru-*]ú § 25 (L).
- LÚkaruḫali-* n. com. (a functionary).  
 pl. nom. *LÚ.MEŠka-ru-ḫa-li-eš* § 54 (A); *LÚ.MEŠka-ru-ḫa-li-iš* § 54 (B); *LÚ.MEŠka-[ru-ḫ]a-li-iš* § 54 (D).
- karuili-* adj. "ancient, former, previous".  
 sg. acc. com. *ka-ru-ú-i-li-in* § 53 (B, D); *ka-ru-ú-li-in* § 53 (F); *k[a-ru-ú-i-li-in]* § 53 (A).
- kaššaš* postpos. "in place(?)".  
*ka-aš-ša-aš* § 167/52 (aa 1×, p 2×), § 196/82 (p); *ka-a-aš-ša-aš* § 199/85 (p).
- kattan* (prep.) "below". Cf. *kattan dai-*.
- katral* n. "bell(?)" (a bronze part of an equipment).  
 sg. nom.-acc. *kat-ra-al* § 129/26 (c).
- KUŠgazzimuel-* n. neut. (a leather part of an equipment).  
 sg. nom.-acc. *KUŠga-az-zi-mu-el* § 129/26 (c).
- keššar-*, *keššera-* n. com. "hand"; "part, share" is written *QĀTAM* § 53.  
 sg. nom. *ke-eš-ši-ra-aš* § III; nom. w. poss. pron. *ke-eš-šar-ši-iš* § 3 (B);  
 written with *QĀTU*. sg. acc. 1 *QĀTAM* § 53 (A, B); 1-*EN QA-TAM* § 53 (D).  
 2 *QATAM* § 53 (A, B, D, F).  
 Status constr. *INA QĀTI* "by the hand of" § 75 (A).  
*QA-AS-SÚ* "his/her hand" 1) § 4 (A, B), § 11 (A, B, alternating with *ŠU-SÚ* in var. C), § 12 (A, B).  
*ŠU* colophon (F<sub>2</sub>).  
*ŠU-SÚ* "his/her hand" § 11 (C), § X, § XI.  
 with Hitt. complements: sg. nom. *ŠU-aš* § II, § V, § VI.
- kēt* adv. "from this side" (var. to *kēz*).  
*ke-e-et* § 22b (A).
- kēz* adv. "from this side".  
*ke-e-ez* § 22b (B).
- gimra-/gimmara-* n. com. "land, field, steppe".  
 sg. gen. *gi-im-ra-aš* § 53 (A 2×, D 1×); *gi-im-ma-r[a-aš]* § 53 (B); *gi-im-r[a-aš]* § 53 (F); *gi-i[m-ra-aš]* § 53 (F); *LÍL-aš* § 53 (D).
- kinu-* v. act. "to open" > "to seek to appropriate".  
 pres. sg. 3 *k[i-n]u-zi* § 164-165/49-50 (p); *k[i?-nu-zi]* § 164-165/49-50 (bb).



*kinun* adv. "now".

*kinun+ -a* "and" > *ki-nu-na* "and now, but now" §7 (A, B), §9 (A, B, C), §19b (A, B), §25b (A), §51 (G), §57 (A, B, D), §58 (M, B, D, F), §63 (B, F), §67 (I), §69 (A, B), §81 (A, B), §91 (B), §94 (A, F), §101/1 (a), §119/16 (aa, f), §121/18 (f), §129/26 (c), §167/52 (p); *ki-nu-n[a]* §63 (A), §94 (T); *ki-nu-[na]* §59 (M); *ki-[nu-n]a* §59 (B); *ki-n[u-na]* §51 (B); *k[i-nu-n]a* §67 (B); *k[i-nu-na]* §51 (D), §59 (A); *[k]i-nu-na* §67 (A), §92 (B), §119/16 (l); *[ki-nu-n]a* §7 (X), §121/18 (aa).

*gipeššar* n. neut. r/n-stem. (0.25 square meters).

1 *gi-pé-eš-šar* §103/3 (a), §168/53 (e, p).

2 *gi-pé-eš-šar* 103/3 (a).

1 *ME gi-pé-eš-šar* §6 (B); 1 *ME* <sup>GIŠ</sup>*gi-pé-eš-šar* §6 (A).

*kiš-* (mid.) "to become, to be considered" (without *-za!*).

pres. sg. 3 *ki-ša-ri* §40 (B), §XXXV, §71 (B); *k[i-ša-ri]* §45 (B), §71 (A); *ki-ša-a-ri* §45 (C); *ki-i-ša* §40 (L), §86 (B, W), §173a/58a (p), §200a/86a (p); *ki-i-š[a]* §40 (A).

pret. sg. 2 *ki-ša-at* §37 (B); *ki-iš-ta-at* §37 (A).

pret. sg. 3 *ki-i-š[a-at]* §51 (A, B).

pret. pl. 3: *ki-i-ša-an-ta-ti* §49 (A).

*kiššan* adv. "thus, so, this way".

*ki-iš-ša-an* §166/51 (p); *ki-iš-š[a-an]* §169/54 (p); *ki[-iš-ša-an]* §121/18 (a), §169/54 (aa); *[ki-iš-ša-an]* §101/1 (a); *kiš-an* §121/1851 (f).

*kišduwant-* "hungry" > "(a year) characterized by famine".

sg. dat.-loc. *ki-iš-du-wa-an-ti* §172/57 (p); *[ki-iš-du-wa-an]-ti* §172/57 (aa); *ki-iš-du-wa-an-da* §172/57 (e).

*-ku - -ku* "be it ... or ...", cf. under *-aku - -aku*.

*kuen-* (v. act.) "to kill, to put to death".

pres. sg. 3 *ku-e-en-zi* §5 (A); *ku-e-e[n-zi]* §2 (A); *ku-en-zi* §1 (B), §2 (B), §5 (B), §III (2×) (with *-kán*), §90 (B, E) (with *-kán*), §170/55 (e, p), §187/73 (p), §188/74 (p), §197/83 (p, y), §198/84 (p), §199/85 (p with *-kán*); *ku-en-z[i]* §188/74 (x, y).

pres. pl. 3 *ku-na-an-zi* 199/85 (p); *ku-na-an[-...]* unplaced fragments KBo 12.50.

*kui-* (rel. pron.) "who, what, which".

sg. nom. com. *ku-iš* §25 (A 2×, L 1×), §26c (C), §28c (C), §43 (C), §XL (with *-za*), §50 (A 3×), §51 (B, G), §106/6 (a, b, h, i), §166/51 (p), §167/52 (p), §168/53 (aa, e, p), §185/71 (p), §186/72 (p); *ku-[iš]* §51 (A, D); *k[u-iš]* §25 (B); *[k]u-iš* §186/72 (p); *[ku-i]š* §48 (A); *ku-i-š ...* §23 (A 2×); *[ku]-i-š ...* §23 (B); *ku-i-š[...]* §106/6 (d).

sg. acc. com. *ku-in* §193/79 (p).

nom.-acc. neut. *ku-it* §30 (B), §XXXIV, §XXXV, §XXXVII, XXXIXb, §48 (A), §98 (A, B); *ku-i[t]* §XXIII; *[ku-i]t* §XL.

sg. gen. *ku-e-el* §24 (A), §XXXIXb; *ku-e-l ...* §6 (A, B), §50 (A, B); *ku-i-e-l ...* §162/47 (v).

pl. nom. com. *ku-i-eš* §52 (A); *ku-i-e-[eš]* §52 (B); *k[u-i-e-eš]* §52 (G); *[ku-i]-e-eš* §52 (D).

*kuiš kuiš* rel. pron. "whatever".

sg. nom. com. *ku-iš ku-iš* §IV.

nom.-acc. neut. *ku-it ku-it* §28a (B), §XXXIV, §127/24 (c); *k[u-i]t ku[-it]* §28a (C); *[ku]-it ku-it* §127/24 (aa).

*kuiški, kuitki* 1) adj. "a, some". 2) (pron.) "anyone, somebody, anything, something".

sg. nom. com. *ku-iš-ki* 1) §19b (A, B), §20 (A), §21 (A), §38 (A, B); *ku-iš-k[i]* §21 (B); *ku-iš[-ki]* §19a (B).



- 2) § 1 (B), § 2 (B), § 4 (B), § 5 (A, B), § III, § 7 (A, B), § V, § 8 (A, B), § VI, § VII, § 9 (A, B), § VIII, § 10 (A, B), § IX, § 11 (A, B), § X, § 12 (A, B), § XI, § 13 (A, B, C), § XII, § 14 (B, C), § XIII, § 15 (B, C), § XIV, § 16 (B, C), § XV, § 17 (B, C), § XVI, § 18 (B, C), § XVII, § 22 (A, B), § 37 (A), § 42 (A, B, C), § 44a (A, B, C), § 44b (A), § 45 (C), § XXXV, § 46 (A, B), § XXXVIII, § 47a (A, B), § 47b (A), § XXXVI, § XXXVII, § XXXIXa, § XXXIXb, § 48 (A), § XL (2×), § 53 (A, B, D), § 57 (A, B, D), § 58 (B, D), § 59 (B), § 60 (B), § 61 (B), § 62 (A, B, F), § 63 (A, B, F), § 64 (A, B, F), § 65 (A, B, F), § 67 (A, B, I), § 68 (A, B), § 69 (A, B), § 70 (A, B), § 71 (A, B), § 73 (A, B), § 74 (A, B), § 75 (A, B), § 76 (A, B), § 77a (A 2×, B 1×), § 77b (A), § 78 (A), § 80 (A, B), § 81 (A, B), § 82 (A, B), § 83 (A, B), § 84 (A, B), § 85 (B), § 87 (B, E), § 88 (B, E), § 89 (B, E), § 91 (B, E), § 92 (A 1×, B 2×), § 100 (A, B, F), § 102/2 (a), § 103/3 (a), § 104/4 (a, b), § 106/6 (b, i), § 108/8 (d, i), § 109/9 (d, j), § 110/10 (d), § 111/11 (d), § 113/13 (k), § 121/18 (f), § 122/19 (f), § 124/21 (c), § 125/22 (c 2×, f 1×), § 126/23 (c 3×, f and m 1×), § 128/25 (c 2×), § 129/26 (c), § 130/27 (c), § 144/33 (c), § 145/34 (c), § 146/35a (aa, c), § 146b/35b (aa), § 147/36 (a, c), § 148/37 (aa, c), § 149/38 (aa, c), § 151/40 (aa and c 1×, q 2×), § 152/41 (aa), § 159/44 (aa, u), § 162a/47a (p 2×, v 1×), § 164-165/49-50 (aa, f), § 166/51 (aa, p), § 168/53 (e, p), § 169/54 (e), § 172/57 (e, p), § 173a/58a (p 2×), § 176a/61a (p), § 176b/61b (aa, p), § 177/62 (p 2×), § 186/72 (p), § 199/85 (p), § 200a/86a (x), § 200b/86b (p, x); *ku-iš-k[i]* § 68 (I), § 77b (K), § 106/6 (d), § 119/16 (f), § 126/23 (c), § 143/32 (c), § 162b/47b (v), § 164-165/49-50 (p); *ku-iš-[k]* § 3 (B); *ku-iš-[ki]* § 44b (C), § 47b (B), § 69 (I), § 110/10 (j), § 124/21 (n), unplaced frg (bb); *ku-i[š-ki]* § 63 (H), § 102/2 (b), § 109/9 (b), § 110/10 (b), § 124/21 (c), § 125/22 (o), § 126/23 (f), § 127/24 (c); *ku[-iš-k]* § 37 (B); *ku[-iš-ki]* § 59 (D), § 77b (B), § 126/23 (m); *k[u-iš-ki]* § 45 (A), § 76 (I), § 91 (A), § 92 (A), § 111/11 (b), § 124/21 (a, c), § 125/22 (a), § 126/23 (a), § 172/57 (aa); *[k]u-iš-ki* § 3 (A), § 44b (B), § 103/3 (b), § 106/6 (a), § 120/17 (aa), § 144/33 (aa), § 151/40 (aa), § 159/44 (p), § 162a/47a (v); *[k]u-iš[-ki]* § 186/72 (y); *[k]u-[i]š-ki* § III; *[ku]-iš-ki* § 45 (B), § 48 (A), § 61 (M), § 110/10 (c), § 113/13 (d), § 126/23 (m), § 144/33 (aa), § 162b/47b (v); *[ku-i]š-ki* § 88 (W), § 101/1 (a), § 105/5 (b), § 118/15 (aa), § 124/21 (n, o), § 126/23 (o), § 143/32 (r), § 169/54 (p), unplaced fragments (bb); *[ku-iš]-ki* § 4 (A); *[ku-i]š-[ki]* § 111/11 (j); *[ku-iš-k]* § 2 (A), § 59 (M), § 60 (M), § 78 (B), § 105/5 (a), § 124/21 (n), § 125/22 (n), § 128/25 (aa), § 142/31 (c), § 145/34 (aa), § 149/38 (t), § 162a/47a (u), § 173a/58a (aa); *ku-iš-ka* § 10 (C).

nom.-acc. neut. *ku-it-ki* 2) § XXXIV.

gen. *ku-e-el-ka* 44b (A); *[k]u?-[e?]-el?-ka?* § 72 (A); *ku-el-qa* § 72 (B), *ku-e-el-qa* 163/48 (p); *ku-el-ga* 44b (B); *ku[-e-el-qa]* § 163/48 (f); *[ku]-e-il-ka* 44b (C).

*UL kuiški* "no one, nobody". *Ú-UL ku-iš-ki* § 34 (B), § 55 (B), § 56 (B, D), § 175/60 (p); *Ú-UL ku-iš-k[i]* § 55 (D); *[Ú-U]L ku-iš-ki* § 36 (B); *[Ú-UL k]u-iš-ki* § 175/60 (aa); *na-at-ta ku-iš-ki* § 55 (A), § 56 (A).

*kuitman* (conj.) 1) "when". 2) "until".

1) *ku-it-ma-a-n* ... § 10 (A); *ku-it-ma-n* ... § 10 (B, C), § IX.

2) *ku-it-ma-n* ... § 79 (B); *ku-it-ma-an* § 164-165/49-50 (p); *[k]u-it-ma[-an]* § 164-165/49-50 (f), *[ku?-i]t?-[m]a?-an* § 113/13 (c, d).

*kukkurš-* v. act. "to mutilate".

Iter. *kukkurš(š)ki-* pres. sg. 3 *[ku-uk-kur]-iš-ki-iz-zi* § 95 (A).

pl. 3 *ku-ug-gur-aš-kán-zi* § 99 (B); *ku-uk-kur-aš-ká[n-zi]* § 95 (F), *ku-uk-ku-úr-[ališ-kán-zi]* § 99 (A); *[ku-ug-gu]r-aš-kán-zi* § 95 (P); *[ku-uk-kur-š]a-an-zi* § 99 (Z); *kur<-aš>-kán?[-zi]* § 95 (Y).

*kulēi-* n. neut. "unused/idle land(?)".

collective nom.-acc. *A.Šàku-le-e-i* § 46 (A); *A.Šà.ḪI.Aku-le-e-i* § 47b (A); *A.Šà.ḪI.Aku-le-i* § 46 (B); *A.Šà.ḪI.Aku-le-[i]* § 47b (B).



*kuptar* n. neut. r-stem. "remnants (of the ritual)".

sg. nom.-acc. *ku-up-ta-ar* § 44b (A); *ku-up-tar* § 44b (B, C).

*kurški-* v. act. iter. See under *kukkurš-*.

*kurur-* adj. "enemy, hostile, foreign (land)".

sg. dat.-loc. *ku-u-ru-ri* § 23b (A); *ku-ru-ri-i* § 23b (B).

*kuššan* (conj.) "as soon as, when". On the formation see Melchert 1994 154.

*ku-uš-ša-[a]n* § 28a (C).

*kuššan-* n. neut. n-stem. "fee, rent, wages".

sg. nom.-acc. *ku-ša-an* § 24 (A); *ku-ú-ša-an* § 55 (A, B, F); *ku-uš-ša-an* § 10 (A, B), § IX, § 24 (A, B), § 42 (A 2×, B 4×, C 3×); *ku-uš-[ša-an]* § 10 (K); *k[u-uš-ša-an]* § 26a (J); *[k]u-uš-ša-an* § 26a (L); *[ku-u]š-š[a-a]n* § 24 (B).

with poss. pron. *ku-uš-ša-aš-še-et* § 76 (A, B), § 157/42 (aa 3×), § 158b/43b (aa), § 159/44 (aa), § 160/45; *ku-uš-ša-aš-š[e-et]* § 160a/45a (aa); *ku-uš-ša-[aš-še-et]* § 160b/45b (aa); *ku-u[š-ša-aš-še-et]* § 161/46 (aa); *[ku-u]š-ša-aš-še-et* § 158a/43a (aa); *ku-uš-ša-an-še-et* § 42 (B), § 76 (I), § 157/42 (n 2×), § 158b/43b (n); *[k]u-uš-ša-an-še-et* § 159/44 (u);

collective(?) (cf. Commentary on § 158). *ku-uš-ša-né-eš-ši-it* § 157/42 (p); *ku-uš-ša-ni-iš-ši-it* § 157/42 (p 2×), § 158a/43a (p), § 160b/45b (p), § 161/46 (p); *ku-uš-ša-[ni-i]š-ši-it* § 159/44 (p); *ku-uš-š[a-n]i-iš-ši-it* § 160/45 (p); *[k]u-uš-ša-an-še-et* § 159/44 (u); *[ku-u]š-š[a-...-it]* § 157/42 (i); *[ku-uš-ša-...-ši]-it* § 160b/45b (v), § 161/46 (v).

dat.-loc. *ku-uš-ša-ni* § 42 (C), § 150/39 (aa, q 2×), § 158a/43a (aa), § 158b/43b (aa), § 158b/43b (p); *[ku-u]š-ša-ni* § 158a/43a (n); *ku-uš-ni* § 150/39 (c 2×); *[k]u-uš-ša-ni* § 150/39 (aa); *ku-uš-ša-ni-i* § 158a/43a (p).

abl. *ku-uš-ša-na-az* § 145/34 (aa); *ku-uš-na-az* § 145/34 (c); *[ku?-uš?-na-a]z* § 145/34 (s).

*kuššaniy<sup>e</sup>/a-*, *kušne-* v. act. "to hire, to rent".

pres. sg. 3 *ku-uš-ša-ni-i-e-ez-zi* § 42 (B); *ku-uš-ša-ni-ez-zi* § 42 (A), § 78 (A), § 151/40 (aa 2×), § 152/41 (aa); *ku-uš-ša-ni-[ez-zi]* § 151/40 (q); *ku-uš-ša-[ni-ez-zi]* § 151/40 (q); *ku-ša-ni-ez-zi* § 78 (B); *ku-uš-ne-ez-zi* § 151/40 (c); *ku-uš-n[e-ez-zi]* § 152/41 (c); *k[u-uš-ne-ez-zi]* § 151/40 (c); *ku-uš-ša-ni-ia-zi* § 42 (C), [... *ku-uš-š[a-ni-ia]*[- ... ] § 78 (K).

*kušata-* n. neut. "brideprice".

sg. (or pl.?) nom.-acc. *ku-ú-ša-ta* § 29 (B 2×), § 30 (B), § 34 (B), § 35 (B), § 36 (B); *ku-ú-ša-a-ta* § 29 (C), *ku-ú-[ša-a-ta]* § 30 (C); *ku-ša-ta* § XXIII; *ku-ša-a-ta* § 29 (C).

*kutruwai-* v. act. (with *-za*) "to secure witnesses".

pres. sg. 3 *ku-u-ut-ru-wa-a-ez-zi* § XXXV; *ku-ut-ru-wa-a-ez-zi* § XXXV.

## L

*lahha-* n. com. "voyage, campaign".

sg. dat.-loc. *la-aḥ-ḥa* § 42 (A, B); *la-aḥ-ḥi* § 42 (C).

*lag-* v. act. "to knock out (someone's tooth)".

pres. sg. 3 *la-a-ki* § 7 (A, B), § 8 (A, B, X), § VII (2×).

*larpu-* v. mid.? (meaning unknown).

*la-ar-pu-ut-ta* § 162a/47a (p); *la-[ar-pu-ut-ta* § 162a/47a (w); *[la-a]r-pu-ut-ta* § 162a/47a (f); *la-ar-pu-ut-t]a* § 162a/47a (u).

*lazziya-* v. mid., "to recover".

pres. sg. 3 *la-a-az-zi-at-ta* § 10 (A); *la-az-zi-at-ta* § 10 (A); *SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-ta-ri* § 10 (B); *SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-[ta-ri]* § 10 (B); *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ri* § 10 (C); *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ta[...]* § 10 (K); *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ta-ri* § IX (2×); *SIG<sub>5</sub>-at-ta* § 113/13 (k).



*le* (prohibitive negation) "let not".

*le-e* §48 (A 2×), §XL, 198/84 (p); [*le-e*] §XL.

*lĕlaniya-* v. mid., "to become furious".

pres. sg. 3 *le-e-[la]-ni-at-ta* §38 (A).

*link-* v. act., "to swear".

pres. sg. 3 *li-ik-zi* §75 (A); *li-in-ga-zi* §75 (B).

pl. 3 *li-in-kán-[zi]* §75 (I).

*lukke-* (thematic), *lukkiš-* v. act., "to ignite, set fire to".

pres. sg. 3 *lu-uk-ke-ez-zi* §98 (B), §99 (A, B), §100 (A, B); §105/5 (a), §106/6 (aa, a); *lu-uk-ke-ez-z[i]* §98 (A); *lu-uk-ke-e[z-zi]* §106/6 (b); *lu-uk-k[e-ez-zi]* §100 (F); *lu-uk-[ke-ez-zi]* §105/5 (b); *lu-u[k-ke-ez-zi]* §106/6 (b, i); [*lu-u*] *k-ke-ez-zi* §99 (F); [*lu-uk-ke-ez-z*] *i* §105/5 (g), §106/6 (a); *lu-uk-ki-iš-zi* §100 (Z).

part. *lukkant-*: sg. nom.-acc. neut. *lu-uk-kán* §106/6 (d), [*lu-u*] *k-kán* §106/6 (b).

*luli-* n. com., "basin, pond".

sg. gen. *lu-li-ia-aš* §119/16 (f) (*luliyáš* MUŠEN "pond bird").

all. *lu-li-ia* §25 (A); [*lu-li-ia*] §25 (L).

abl. *lu-ú-li-ia-az* §102/2 (b); [*lu-ú-li-i*] *a-az* §102/2 (a).

*luzzi-* n. neut. "compulsory public work, corvée".

sg. nom.-acc. *lu-uz-zi* §46 (A 3×, B 1×), §XXXVIII (3×), §47a (A, B), §47b (A 3×, B 1×), §XXXVI (2×), §XXXIXa (3×), §XXXIXb (3×), §48 (A), §XL, §50 (A), §52 (A, B), §54 (A, B, D), §56 (A, B, D); *lu-uz-z[i]* §47b (B), §51 (B, D); *lu-u[z-zi]* §47b (B), §54 (F); [*lu-uz-zi*] §52 (D); [*lu-u*] *z-zi* §46 (B); [*lu-u*] *z-zi* §48 (B), §52 (D); [*lu-uz-z*] *i* §46 (B).

## M

*-ma* (conj.) "but".

I 10 (2×). [23]. 24. 26? 28a. 28c var. 29. 30. [37]. 40. 41. 41 var. 43 44b 45 46 ~47b]. 71. 75. 86. 95. 98 var. ? 99. - Par. II, III (2×), IV, IX (3X), X, XI, XXIII, XXIV, XXV (3 X), XXX, XXXI, XXXV (4 X), XXXVI, XXXVII (2×), XXXVIII, XXXIXa, XL. - 106/6. 107/7. 8 12. [13] var. [47] var., 163/48 (2×). 55 var., 73 (2×). 74 (2×). [77]. 195/81a. 195/81a var., 197/83. 199/85.

*-ma+-aš* "he" > *-ma-aš* 187/73. 74.

*-ma+-an* "him" > *-ma-an* 187/73. 74.

*-ma+-at* "es" > *-ma-at* I 35 (2×). - 163/48.

*mahhan* (adv. and conj.) "as".

*ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* §55 (B, D, F) (var. in A *ma-a-ah-ḥa-an-da*), §65 (B, F) (var. in A *ma-a-ah-ḥa-an-da*), §73 (A, B), *ma-aḥ-ḥa-[an(-?) ...]* §73 (S), - 70 (j).

*māḥhanda* (adv. and conj.) "as".

*ma-a-ah-ḥa-an-da* §55 (A), §65 (A).

*GIŠmaḥla-* n. com. "vine branch".

sg. acc. *GIŠma-aḥ-la-an* §101/1 (c), §108/8 (b 2x), dat.-loc. *GIŠma-aḥ-li* §101/1 (c).

*man* and (enclitic) *-man* (particle of the unreal or potential).

~ 49 (4x). - Par. XLI. *ma-a-am[-ma-an]* §49 (A).

*mān* (conj.) 1) "when" (OH), 2) "if" (NH).

1) §55 (A [*ma*]-*a-an*, B, D), §10 (A, B, C), §IX, 2) §5 (B, var. of A *na-aš-ma*), §27 (J), §33 (A), §40 (B, replacing *ták-ku* A), §41 (B, C, replacing *ták-ku* A, L), §49 (*ma-a-am[-ma-an]* A), §50 (A), §53 (A, D, F 2×, 1× *ma-a-né-za*), §64 (F), §71 (A, B), §79 (*ma-a-na-aš-ta* A replaced by



- ku-it-ma-na-aš-ta* in B), - Par. VII, X (2×), XI, XXV, XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXV (2×), XXXVI, XXXVII (2×), XXXIXa—§ 171/56 (e, p), § 193/79 (p, y).
- mān* +*-aš* "er" > *ma-a-na-aš* § 10, § 27 (J) - Par. IX, X.
- mān* +*-an* "ihn" > *ma-a-na-an* § 71 (A, B). - Par. XXXVI, XXXIXa.
- mān* +*-e* "they" > *ma-a-né(-za)* § 53 (A).
- ma-a-am[-ma-an]* § 49 (A).
- mān* - *mān* "whether ... or". Par. XXXVII.
- manninkuwan* adv. "nearby, in the vicinity".
- ma-an-ni-in-ku-an* § 22 (A).
- marše-* v. act., "to be dishonest, false, corrupt".
- pret. pl. 3 *mar-še-e-er* § 49 (A).
- mašīyan* adv. "as much as, as many as".
- sg. nom.-acc. neut. *ma-ši-ia-an* 128/25 (c), broken away in aa.
- meḥur* n. neut. r/n "time".
- sg. dat.-loc. *me-e-ḥu-ni* 165/50 (p) (var. in aa *me-e-a-ni*).
- meyani-* "(temporal) cycle, extent (of time)".
- me-e-a-ni* § 165/50 (aa).
- mekk-, mekki-* adj. "much, many, most (of)".
- sg. nom. com. [*me-ek-ki-iš*] § 46 (A?, B), sg. nom.-acc. neut. *me-ek-ki* § 94 (A, B, F, O), § 95 (A, B, P), pl. acc. com. *me-ek-ku-uš* § 33 (A), *m[e-e]k[-ku-uš]* § 32 (A). Since A writes the sg. nom.-acc. neut. twice as *me-ek-ki* (§§ 94, 95), *me-ek-ki-i* § 47b (A) may be an adverb; cf. CHD *mekki* B (morphology sect.) and Melchert 1994 85, 102, 131, 184.
- mene-* n. neut. "face".
- sg. nom.-acc. neut. *me-ne-iš-ši-it* § 166/51 (p) (2×); broken away in aa, but probably *me-e-ni-iš-ši-it*.
- mi-* (enclitic possessive pron.) "my".
- sg. nom.-acc. neut. *-me-et* § 40 (A, B), § 41 (A 2×, B 2×); *-mi-it* § 40 (B), § 41 (C), § 169/54 (e).
- miyant-* (part. of *mai-* "to grow") "growing, in bloom" (modifying a vineyard in § 105/5 or a field in § 106/6).
- sg. A. com. *mi-ia-an-da-an* § 106/6 (a) (var. *ta-me-e-el-l[a]* § 106/6 i), [*mi*]-*ia-an-da-an* § 106/6 (c) (var. *ta-me-e-el-l[a]* § 106/6 i), [*m*]-*ia-an-da-an* § 107/7 (a), *mi-ia-an-ta-[an]* § 105/5 (b).
- pl. nom.-acc. neut. *mi-an-da* § 107/7 (d), *m[i-an-da]* § 107/7 (b), *mi-an-t[a- ...]* § 107/7 (h).
- milit-* n. neut. "honey".
- Written with Sumerogram LĀL: § 181/66 (p, x).
- mimma-, memma-* v. act., "to refuse, reject".
- pres. sg. 3 *mi-im-ma-i* § 30 (B) (with *-za*), § 40 (A), § 41 (A, B), § 28 (B); the clause is replaced in C with *ták-ku at-ti-ma an-<sup>I</sup>ni Ú1-UL a-aš-š[u]*, [§ 95], [*mi-i*]-*m-ma-i* § 40 (B), *mi-im-[-ma-i]* § 40 (L), *me-<sup>em</sup>->ma-i* § 41 (C); pl. 3 *mi-im-ma-an-zi* § 55 (A), *mi-im-ma-a[n-zi]* § 28 (A), *me-em-ma-an-zi* § 55 (B), *me-em-ma-an[-zi]* § 55 (F).

## N

- nai-* v. act., "to lead, turn".
- pres. pl. 3 *ne-e-ia-an-zi* § 166/51 (p).
- appan arḥa nai-* pres. sg. 3 EGIR-*an ar-ḥa ... na-a-i* § 162a/47a (p); [...] *na-a-i* § 162a/47a (u, v).
- eḏi nai-* pres. sg. 3 *e-di na-a-i* § 171/56 (e 3×, p 2×), *i-di na-a-i* § 171/56 (p).
- šara nai-* pres. sg. 3 *ša-ra-a n[a]-a-i* § 162a/47a (p).



*nakkuš* n. neut.

*na-ak-ku-uš* §98 (A, B)

*n=an* "and him", *n=aš* "and he", *n=at* "and it" cf. under *nu*.

*-naš* (enclitic personal pron.) "us"

(dat. and acc.) §55 (A 2×); *-n[a-aš]* §55 (B); *-n[a-aš]* §55 (F).

*našma* (conj.) 1) "or", 2) "or (if)".

Always written *na-aš-ma* 1) §3 (B), §4 (B), §5 (A, B), §6 (A, B), §8 (A, B), §VII, §11 (A, B, C), §X, §12 (A and B 2×), §XI, §14 (B), §XIII, §16 (B), §XV, §24 (A, B), §25 (A), §31 (B), §35 (B), §37 (A), §44b (B, C), §XXXV, §69 (A, B, I), §74 (B), §77 (A), §78 (A), §86 (B, E), §101/1 (a), §104/4 (a, b), §105/5 (b), §125/22 (c, f), §128/25 (c), §129/26 (c), §130/27 (c), §146a/35a (aa, c), §164-165/49-50 (aa, f, p), §175/60 (p 2×), §176b/61b (b), §177/62 (p), §194/80 (p, y), §195c/81c (p), §200a/86a (p), §200b/86b (p 2×, x 1×), Unplaced Fragments (z); *na-aš-ma* §195c/81c (y); *na-aš-m[a]* §14 (C), §16 (C), §86 (S), §146a/35a (c), §177/62 (b); *na-a[š-m]a* §37 (B); *na-a[š-ma]* §8 (X); *na-[aš-ma]* §86 (H), §195c/81 (e); *n[a-aš-ma]* §146a/35a (c), §200b/86b (p, x); *[n]a-aš-ma* §1 (B), §25 (L), §125/22 (o), §195c/81c (aa); *[n]a-a[š-ma]* §195c/81c (x); *[na-a]š-ma* §2 (B); *[na-aš-m]a* §74 (A), §86 (S), §200b/86b.

2) 5 (A), §7 (A, B), §8 (A, B), §47b (A), §XXXVII; *[n]a-aš-ma* §8 (X); *na-[aš-ma]* §47b (A), *na-aš-m[a]* §46 (A).

*našma +aš* "he" > *na-aš-ma-aš* §XXXIXb, §75 (A, B); *[n]a-aš-ma-aš* §75 (I).

*našma +an* "him" > *na-aš-ma-an* 75 (B).

*našma +at* "it" > *na-aš-ma-at* §31 (B).

*naššu* (conj.) "either".

*na-aš-šu* §31 (B), §XXV, §175/60 (aa, p), §176b/61b (b 1×, p 2×), §200b/86b (p); *[n]a-aš-šu* §164-165/49-50 (p); *[na-aš-š]u* §200b/86b (x).

*natta* adv. "not".

*na-at-ta* §27 (B), §39 (A), §42 (A), §46 (A), 47b (A), §54 (A 2×), §55 (A), §56 (A), §57 (A 2×), §58 (A), §66 (A), §71 (B), §99 (A), §194/80 (aa); *na-at-t[a]* §118/15 (aa); *na-a[t-ta]* §47a (A); *na-[at-ta]* §169/54 (aa); *n[at-ta]* §71 (A); *Ú-UL* §III, §IV, §X, §XI, §28a (B, C), §28c (C), §34 (B), §35 (B), §39 (B), §42 (B and C 2×), §45 (B), §XXXV (2×), §46 (B), §XXXVIII (2×), §XXXVI, §XXXVII, §XXXIXa, §XXXIXb, §XLI, §54 (B 2×, D 1×), §55 (B, D), §56 (B, D), §57 (B and D 2×), §58 (B and D 2×), §66 (F, I), §71 (B), §86 (B, E), §98 (B), §99 (B), 108/8 (b, d, h), §112/12 (d, k), §163/48 (p 2×), §169/54 (e), §175/60 (p), §187/73 (p), §188/74 (p, y), §190/76 (p 2×), §191/77 (p, y), §192/78 (y), §193/79 (p), §194/80 (e 1×, p 3×, y 2×), §199/85 (p 3×), §200a/86a (p 4×, z 1×), *Ú-U[L]* §27 (C), §XXXIII, §45 (C), §54 (D), §194/80 (y), *Ú[-UL]* §XXIX, §47a (B), §54 (F), §187/73 (y), §199/85 (z), §200a/86a (z), *[Ú-U]L* §36 (B), §47b (B), §66 (B), §163/48 (bb).

*nawi* adv. "not yet"

*na-a-ú-i* §93 (B and F 2×); *na-ú-i* §30 (B); *na-a-wi<sub>s</sub>* §30 (C).

*nega* "sister".

*n[e-]k[a-aš]* §200a/86a (p).

Written logographically (with dat.-loc. poss.): NIN §195c/81c (p, y); [NI]N-iš-ši §195c/81c (aa).

Akkad. A-ĦA-[SĀ] (< \*aĥāt + -ša): "[her] sister" §192/78 (y).

*negna* "brother".

Written logographically: ŠEŠ-ŠU "his brother" §193/79 (p, y), §195a/81a (aa 1×, p 2×); ŠEŠ-ŠÚ §195a/81a (y); ŠE[Š-Š]U §193/79 (p); ŠE[Š-ŠU] §195a/81a (y).

With Hittite complements: ŠEŠ-aš §195a/81a (e, x).



Plural nom. *AT-HU-Ú* § 194/80 (aa); *AT-HU-U-TIM* § 194/80 (p).

*nu* (conj.) 1) (connecting equal clauses) "and, and then, and by that", 2) (introducing the final clause) "therefore, so" (It does not occur in the laws as regularly as in the texts of later period).

- 1) § IV, § 9 (B), § 10 (A, B), § IX, § 38 (A, B), § XXX, § 41 (A 1×, B 2×), § 43 (A 1×, B and C 2×), § XXXIXb, § 48 (A), § 55 (A 3×, B 4×, D 1×), § 77a (B 2×, F 1×), § 106/6 (a), § 108/8 (d), § 169/54 (e), § 178/63 (p), § 191/77 (p), § 198/84 (p, y); *[n]u* § 149/38 (c), *n[u]* § 198/84 (p).
- 2) § 10 (A, B), § 19a (A, B), § 25 (A), § 28a (B), § 28b (B, C), § XXI, § 39 (A, L), § 40 (B 2×), § 41 (B and C 2×), § XXXI, § 42 (B, C), § 43 (B), § XXXVI, § XXXVII, § XXXIXb, § 49 (A), § 50 (A), § 55 (B, D), § 75 (A, B), § 94 (B), § 95 (A, B, P), § 99 (B, Z), § 100 (B, F), § 200/86b (x); *n[u]* § XXXIII, § 200/86b (p).

In conjunction with other enclitics:

*nu+-a-* "he" > *na-*:

sg. nom. com. *na-aš* "and he" 1) § 3 (A, B), § 4 (A, B), § II, § X, § XI, § 23 (A 2×, B 1×), § 27 (C), § 38 (A), § XXXII, § 40 (B), § 42 (A 1×, B and C 2×), § 44a (A, B, C), § 75 (A, B, I), § 76 (B, I), § 84 (A, B), § 86 (B, E), § 87 (B, W), § 88 (B, W), § 89 (B), § 197/83 (p); *na-a[š]* § 84 (R), § 86 (S), *na-[aš]* § 23 (B), § 197/83 (e); *n[a-aš]* § 42 (A); *[n]a-aš* § 38 (B), § 79 (B), § 86 (W), § 89 (W)

2) § IV, § 30 (B), § 35 (B), § 45 (B, C), § XXXV, § 48 (A), § XL, § 71 (B), § 86 (B, E), 145/34 (aa, c), § 162a/47a (p, v), § 175/60 (p); *[n]a-aš* § 35 (A); *[na-a]š* § 48 (B).

1) or 2?) § XXXII (2×).

sg. acc. com. *na-an* "and him" 1) § III, § 6 (A, B), § 19a (A, B), 19b (B), § 21 (A, B), § 22a (A, B), § 29 (B, C), § 31 (B), § 34 (B), § XXVI, § 36 (B), § 40 (A, B), § XXXIV, § XXXV, § 47a (B), § 71 (B), § 90 (B, E), § 95 (A, P), § 99 (Z), § 199/85 (p); *[n]a-an* 19b (A), § 20 (A, B), § 99 (B, F); *[na-a]n* § 95 (B).

2) I § 23b (A, B), § 26a (B, L), § 26b (J), § 27 (C), § 28 (B 1×, C 2×), § 30 (B), § 34 (B), § 36 (B), § XXXV, § 66 (A, B, F), § 70 (A, B), § 71 (B 3×), § 75 (A, B), § 86 (B), § 149/38 (c); *n[a-an]* § 149/38 (aa); *[na-a]n* § 27 (L).

1) or 2?) § XXII.

sg. nom.-acc. neut. *na-at* "and it" 1) § 163/48 (f and p 2×); *n[a-at]* § 163/48 (f).

2) § 28a (C), § XXXIV, § XXXV, § XL, § 98 (A), *[na-a]t* § 98 (Q)

1) or 2?) § XXV, § XXIX, § 162b/47b (v)

pl. nom. com. *na-at* "and they" 1) § 31 (B)

pl. acc. com. *nu-uš* "and them" 1) § 26a (L), § 55 (A), § 79 (A) (in B *[na]-aš*)

pl. nom.-acc. neut. *na-at* "and them" 1) § 45 (A, B), *na-a[t]* § 45 (C).

*nu+-ašta* > *na-aš-ta* 1) § 38 (B), § 90 (B).

*nu+-kán* > *nu-kán* 2) § IV; 1) *n[u-kán]* § 37 (A).

*nu+-šan* > *nu-uš-ša-an* 1) § 100 (B); *nu-uš-ša-a[n]* § 100 (F); *[nu-uš-ša-a]n* § 100 (A).

*nu+ši* "him, her" > *nu-uš-ši/še* "and him" 1) § 29 (B, C), § XXXV, § 78 (A with *-an*, B with *-kán*)

*nu-uš-ši* 10 (B, C), § IX, § X (2×), § XI (2×), § 16 (C), § 20 (B), § 22 (B 2×), § 40 (B, L), § 44a (B), § XXXVII, § XLI, § 78 (B), § 200b/86b (p), unplaced fragments (z); *nu-uš-š[i]* § 44a (C); *[nu-u]š-ši* § 26a (L).

*nu-uš-še* § 10 (A), § 11 (A, B), § 22 (A 2×), § 23 (A, B), § 40 (A), § 78 (A).

*nu+-šmaš* "them" > *nu-uš-ma-aš* "and them" 1) § XXIVa, § 38 (B).

*nu+-za* > *nu-za* 1) § 9 (A, B, C), § 31 (B), § XXV, § 40 (B), § 41 (B 1×, C 2×), § 105/5 (a, g); *[nu]-za* § 105/5 (b).

2) § VIII, § 21 (B), § 31 (B), § XXIVa, § 43 (C), § XXXV, § 106/6 (d), § 171/56 (e and p 2×); *[n]u-za* § 5 (B).

*nu-uz-za* 1) § 33 (A, 2) § 5 (A), § 21 (A), § 43 (A).



*nu+-zan* (< *-za-šan*) > *nu-za-an* 1) 105/5 (a).

## P, B

*pa-*

*p[a-]* §162b/47 (w).

*paḥhur* n. neut. r/n-stem. "fire".

sg. nom.-acc. *pa-aḥ-hur* § 106/6 (d, i); [*p*]a-aḥ-hur § 106/6 (b).

dat.-loc. *pa-aḥ-hu-e-ni* §44a (A, B); IZI-ni §44a (C).

*pai-* v. act. "to go".

pres. sg. 3 *pa-iz-zi* §23 (A), §38 (B), §42 (A, B, C), §118/15 (f), §146a/35a (c), §164-165/49-50 (f), §173b/58b (p); [*p*]a-iz-zi §164-165/49-50 (p); [*p*]a?-iz-z[i?] §118/15 (l); [*pa-*]iz-zi §118/15 (aa); [*pa-i*]z-zi §146a/35a (aa); *p*[a-iz-zi] §38 (A), §164-165/49-50 (aa); *pa-i*[z-zi] §86 (B), §173b/58b (aa); *pa-iz-z[i]* §23 (B), §118/15 (aa).

pres. pl. 3 *pa-a-an-zi* §79 (A, B).

imp. pl. 3 *i-it-te-en* §55 (A, B).

inf. *pa-a-u-wa-an-zi* §56 (D) (var. in (A) *ták-šu-an-zi*; in (B) *ták-šu-wa-an-zi*)

*anda pai-* "to go in(to)".

pres. sg. 3 *an-da ... pa-iz-zi* §93 (B, F); [*an*]-da ... *p*[a-iz-zi] §93 (F); [*an-da*] ... *pa-iz-zi* §93 (B); *a*[n-da] ... *pa-iz-zi* §93 (A); *an*-[da] *pa-iz-zi* §23 (A); *an-da ... [pa-iz-zi]* §93 (A).

*āppan(-)anda pai-* "to go after, pursue".

pres. pl. 3 *a-ap-pa-an-an-da pa-a-a[n]-z[i]* §37 (A) (var. EGIR-*an-da-m*[a]-a[š-m]a-aš-k[án ša]r-*dī<sup>1</sup>-ia-aš pa-iz-zi* in B).

*appanda pai-* "to go after, pursue".

pres. sg. 3 EGIR-*an-da ... pa-iz-zi* §37 (B) (var. *a-ap-pa-an-an-da pa-a-a[n]-z[i]* in A).

*pai-* v. act. 1) "to give, replace".

pres. sg. 3 *pa-a-i* §1 (B), §2 (B), §3 (A, B), §4 (A, B), §II, §5 (A and B 2×), §III (2×), §IV (2×), §7 (A), §V (2×), §8 (A, B), §VI (2×), §VII (2×), §10 (A 3×, B and C 2×), §IX (4×), §11 (A, B), §X (2×), §12 (A, B, C), §XI (2×), §13 (B), §XII, §14 (B, C), §XIII, §15 (B, C), §XIV, §16 (B, C), §XV, §17 (B 2×, C 1×) §XVI, §18 (C), §XVII, §19b (A, B), §20 (A, B), §22 (A 3×, B 1×), §23 (A, B), §24 (A 2×), §25 (A 2×), §26a (J), §40 (A, B), §42 (B and C 3×), §45 (B), §47a (A, B), §57 (A 1×, B and D 2×) §58 (A, B and D 2×, M and F 1×), §59 (A, M and N 1×, B 2×), §60 (A and M 1×, B 2×), §61 (A and F 1×, B 2×), §62 (A and M 1×, B and F 2×), §63 (A, B and F 2×), §67 (A 2×, B 1×), §69 (A and B 2×, I 1×), §70 (A, B), §72 (A, B), §74 (A 1×, B 2×), §75 (A, B), §76 (A), §77 (A 3×, B 1×), §78 (A, B), §81 (A, B), §82 (A, B, R), §83 (A 2×, B 1×), §85 (A), §86 (B, E), §87 (B, E), §88 (B, E), §89 (B, E), §91 (B), §92 (A 1×, B 2×), §93 (B 2×, F 1×), §94 (B, F, T), §95 (A 2×, B 1×), §96 (B), §97 (A, B), §101/1 (a), §103/3 (a, b), §104/4 (a), §105/5 (a, b, c, d), §106/6 (d, i), §107/7 (a and c 1×, d 2×) §108/8 (c and d 2×), 109/9 (c, d), §110/10 (c, d, j), §113/13 (k), §121/18 (a), §122/19 (a), §124/21 (c 2×, f and o 1×), §125/22 (c, n, o), §126/23 (aa and c 3×), §127/24 (c), §128/25 (aa 1×, c 2×), §142/31 (r), §143/32 (c), §144/33 (aa 3×, c 1×), §145/34 (aa, c), §146a/35a (c), §146b/35b (aa), §147/36 (c), §148/37 (c), §149/38 (aa, c), §150/39 (aa), §152/41 (aa), §158/43 (p), §162a/47 (p), §164-165/49-50 (aa, p), §167/52 (p), §168/53 (e, p), §170/55 (e, p), §172/57 (p 2×), §174/59 (p), §176a/61 (p), §177/62 (aa 1×, p2×), §178/63 (p), §185/71 (p), §186/72 (p 6×), §200b/86b (p 3×), Unplaced Fragments (z); *pa-a-i!* §124/21 (n); [*p*]a-a-i §III, §40 (L), §85 (B), §104/4 (b), §126/23 (f), §128/25 (aa); [*p*]a-a[-i] §86 (H); [*pa*]-a-i §60 (N), §88 (W), §94 (B), §95 (O), §97 (Q), §101/1 (a), §126/23 (m), §162b/47 (c), §200b/86b



- (x); [pa]-a-i! § 124/21 (aa); [pa-a]-i § 10 (B), § 60 (F), § 106/6 (b, h), § 107/7 (aa), § 127/24 (aa), Unplaced Fragments (bb); p[a-a]-i § 67 (B); p[a-a-i] § 63 (M), § 125/22 (aa, m), § 142/31 (c), § 143/32 (r); pa-[a]-i § 128/25 (c), § 174/59 (aa); pa[-a-i] § 26c (C), § 58 (M), § 95 (F), § 151/40 (t 2x), § 152/41 (t), § 200b/86b (x); pa-a-[i] § 7 (B), § 13 (C), § 18 (B), § 83 (BB), § 91 (A), § 94 (A), § 108/8 (b), § 113/13 (d), § 120/17 (aa), § 124/21 (o), § 131/28 (c), § 143/32 (aa), § 144/33 (aa), § 168/53 (d), § 177/62 (aa), § 200b/86b (x); pa-a<i> § 62 (A); pa-a[- ... ] § 72 (S); pa-[ ... ] § 109/9 (j).
- pres. pl. 3 *pf-an-zi* 1) § 40 (A), § 46 (A), § XXXVIII, § 47b (A, B), § XXXIXb, § 112/12 (c); [*pf-a*]n-zi § 40 (B); *pf-[a]n-zi* § 46 (B); *pf-a[n-zi]* § 28 (C), § 40 (L); *pf-an-[zi]* § 112/12 (d); *pf-an-z[i]* § 28 (B), § XXX.
- pret. sg. 3 *p[é-eš-ta]* § 28 (B).
- part. *piyant-*: sg. nom. com. *pf-ia-an-za* § 46 (A); *pf-an-za* § XXXVIII (2x).
- nom.-acc. neut. *pf-ia-a-an* § 42 (A 2x, B 1x); *pf-ia-an* § 42 (B), § XXXVIII; *pf-i-ia-an* § 42 (C 2x), § 46 (C).
- pl. nom. com. *pf-[ia-an-te-eš]* § 46 (C).
- Iterative *piške-* (OH and early MH), *peške-* (later MH and NH):
- pret. pl. 3 *pf-iš-ker* § 7 (A), § 9 (A), § 19b (A), § 25 (A), § 49 (A), § 57 (A), § 59 (A, M), § 63 (A), § 94 (A); *p[í-iš-ker]* § 69 (A), § 94 (B); *pf-iš-[ker]* § 63 (M), § 94 (O); *pf-iš-ke[r]* § 67 (A); *pf-iš-ke-er* § 81 (A); *pf-i[š-...]* § 81 (K); [*pí-iš-ki-ker*] § 119/16 (aa); *pé-eš-ker* § 7 (B), § 9 (B), § 19b (B), § 57 (B, D), § 58 (B, D), § 59 (B), § 63 (B, H), § 67 (B, I), § 69 (B), § 81 (B), § 91 (B), § 94 (F, T), § 119/16 (f), § 122/19 (f); [*pé-eš-ker*] § 63 (F); [*pé-eš-ke*]r § 58 (F); *pé-e[š-ker]* § 69 (I); *p[é-eš-ker]* § 129/26 (c); *pé-eš-ke-er* § 49 (L).
- āpa pai-* 1) "to give back". 2) "to replace again".
- pres. sg. 3 [*a-ap-pa p*]a-a-i 2) § 100 (A); *a[-ap-pa ... pa-a-i]* § 44a (A); *a-ap-pa ... [pa-a-i]* 1) § 45 (A)
- EGIR-*pa pa-a-i* 1) § 86 (B, E), 2) § 100 (B); [E]GIR-*pa ... pa-a-i* 1) § 44a (C); [EGIR-*pa pa-a-i*] 1) § 86 (W); EGIR-*pa ... [pa-a-i]* 1) § 45 (B); EG[IR-*pa ... pa-a-i*] 1) § 44a (B).
- pres. pl. 3 *a-ap-pa ... pf-an-zi* 1) § 95 (A, B).
- EGIR-*pa ... pf-an-zi* 1) § 95 (Y); [EG]IR-*pa ... [pf-an]-zi* 1) § 99 (A); [EGIR-*pa ... p*]f-an-zi 1) § 95 (F); EGIR-*pa ... pf-[an]-zi* 1) § 99 (B); [ ... ] *pf-an-z[i]* § 99 (R).
- EGIR-*an ... [pf-an-zi]* 1) § 99 (F).
- pa-pre-* "to be(come) impure" > "to do something impure or defiling". Cf. CHD P 106f.; Melchert 1984 19, 33 n. 68 (contra Oettinger 1979 284 n. 50).
- pres. sg. 3 *pa-ap-re-ez-zi* § 25 (A 3x); *pa-ap-[re-ez-zi]* § 25 (B); [*pa-ap-re-ez-zi*] § 25 (B).
- parā* adv. 1) "in addition". (Prev.) 2) ?.
- 1) *ták-ku* A.Š.Ā.ĤLA *ku-e-el-la pa-ra-a wa-a-ši* "If he buys in addition someone (else)'s land" § XXXIXb.
- 1) *parā ḥamešḥanda* "to the following spring". *pa-ra-a ḥa-me-eš-ḥa-an-da* § 100 (A, B), [*pa-ra-a ḥ*]a-mi-iš-ḥa-an-ti § 100 (Z); [*p*]a-ra-a § 100 (W).
- 2) *parā tarnai-* to change someone's social status. pres. sg. 3 *pa-ra-a tar-na-i* § 36 (B); *pa-ra-a tar-na-i* § 34 (B); *pa-ra-a [tar-na-i]* § XXIX.
- 2) *-za ... parā šuwai-* to disinherit. pres. sg. 3 *-za ... pa-ra-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi* § 171/56 (e); *-za ... pa-ra-a šu-ú-i-ez-zi* § 171/56 (p).
- parkuešš-* v. act. "to be pure, innocent".
- pres. sg. 3 [*pár-ku-e-eš-z*]i § 25 (L); *pár-ku-e-eš-z[i]* § 25 (L).



*parkunu*- v. act. "to purify (ritually)".

pres. sg. 3 *pár-ku-nu-uz-zi* §44b (A, B, C), §60 (A, M), §61 (A, M), §62 (M), §163/48 (f); *pár-ku-nu-zi* §60 (B, N), §61 (B), §62 (A, B), §163/48 (p); [*p*]ár-ku-nu-zi §62 (F); *pár-ku-[nu-zi]* §60 (F); *pár-ku-nu-[zi]* §61 (F).

*āppa parkunu*- "to make pure again".

pres. sg. 3 EGIR-*pa pá*r-ku-nu-zi §XXXIV (2×).

*parn*- (stem of the oblique cases of *per* n. neut.) "house".

sg. all. *pár-na* §25 (A), §27 (L), §44b (A), §93 (B 2×, F 1×).

sg. dat.-loc. *pár-ni* §44b (B); *pár-n[i]* §44b (C).

Written logographically: É §IV, §XVIII?, §XXIX, §46 (A, B), §XXXVIII, §XXXVII, §52 (D).

With Hittite complements: sg. nom.-acc. É-*er* §31 (B 2×), §XXIV (2×), §XXV, §94 (A, B, F, T),

§95 (A, B, O), §98 (A, B), §99 (A, B), §146a/35a (c); É-*er-šet* §19a (A, B); É-*e[r]* §98 (Q).

dat.-loc. É-*ri* §27 (B), §XXXIV, §98 (A, B), §127/24 (aa), §197/83 (p); É-*ri-ši* §10; É-*er-ši* §IX;

É-*iš-ši* §164-165/49-50 (aa, p); É-*[ri]* §98 (Q).

With Akkadian complements: sg. gen. É-*TIM* (Akk. *bītim*) §XXV.

É-*SÚ* (Akk. *bīssu*) "his house" §51 (G 2×), §164-165/49-50 (aa, p), §173a/58a (p); É-*SÚ-NU*

(Akk. *bīssunu*) "their house" §53 (A, B, D); É-*ŠU*(sic)-*NU* §33 (A); pl. É.Ī.A-*ŠU-NU* (Akk.

*bītātīšunu*) "their houses" §50 (A).

*parna=šše=a šuwayezzi* "and he shall look to (his) house for it":

In OS: *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi* §5 (A), §8 (A), §19b (A), §20 (A), §57 (A), §59 (A), §77

(A), §81 (A), §94 (A); [*pár-na-aš*]-*še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi* §61 (A); [*pár-na-aš*]-*še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-*

*[zi]* §61 (M); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a*]-*šu-wa-i-ez-zi* §3 (A); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi*] §97 (A);

*pár-n[a-aš-š]*-*e-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi* §4 (A); *pár-na-[aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi]* §60 (M); *pár-na-aš-še-*

*e-a š[u-wa-i-ez-zi]* §13 (A), §58 (M), §62 (M); *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-[ez-zi]* §12 (A); *pár-*

*na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-[zi]* §11 (A), §59 (M); *pár-na-aš-še-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi* §7 (A), §25 (A);

*pár-na-aš-še-a šu-wa-i[a-az-zi]* §149/38 (aa); [*pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-w*]-*a-i-ez-zi* §119/16 (aa); *pár-*

*na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-ia-az-zi* §127/24 (aa); *pár-na-še-e-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi* §63 (A); [*pár-na-še-e-a*]-

*šu-wa-i-ez-zi* §96 (A); *pár-na-še-e-[a šu-wa-i-ez-zi]* §62 (A); *pár-na-še-e-a šu-wa-i-[ez-zi]* §58

(A); *pár-na-še-a šu-w[a-a-ez-zi]* §60 (A); *pár-na-še-a šu-wa-i-ez-zi* §67 (A), §82 (A), §83

(A); *pár-na-še-a š[u-wa-i-ez-zi]* §69 (A); *pár-na-še-a šu-wa-i-e[z-zi]* §70 (A); [*pár-na- ... šu-*

*w*]-*a-i-e[z-zi]* §63 (M);

In NS: *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §2 (B), §57 (B), §59 (B), §60 (B), §61 (B), §62 (B), §63

(B), §91 (B), §107/7 (d), §108/8 (d); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi*] §3 (B); [*pár-na-aš-še-*

*e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi*] §5 (B); [*pár-na*]-*aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §8 (X); [*pár-na-aš*]-*še-e-a šu-wa-*

*a-ez-[zi]* §60 (F); [*pár-na-aš-š*]-*e-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §87 (W); [*pár-na-aš-š*]-*e-e-a šu-wa-a-[ez-zi]*

§25 (L); [*pár-na-aš-še*]-*e-e-a š[u-wa-a-ez-zi]* §61 (F); [*pár-na-aš-še*]-*e-a šu-wa-a-[ez-zi]*

Unplaced Fragments (bb 2×); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a*]-*šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §1 (B); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-*

*a-ez-zi*] §60 (N), §105/5 (a); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi*] §105/5 (b); *pár-[na]-aš-še-e-a šu-*

*wa-a-ez-zi* §97 (B); *pár-n[a-aš-š]*-*e-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §104/4 (b); *pár-na-aš-še-e-[a] šu-wa-a-ez-*

*zi* §4 (B); *pár-na-aš-še-e-[a šu-wa-a-ez-zi]* §88 (W); *pár-na-aš-še-e-a [šu-wa-a-ez-zi]* §63 (F);

*pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-e[z-zi]* §8 (B); *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-[zi]* §7 (B); *pár-na-aš-še-*

*e-a šu-wa-a-ez-[i]* §105/5 (d); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu*]-*ú-wa-a-ez-[zi]* §94 (F); *pár-na-aš-še-e-a*

*šu-wa-a-iz-zi* §72 (B); [*pár-na*]-*aš-še-e-a [šu-wa]-a-iz-zi* §149/38 (q); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a*]-

*[šu-wa-a-i]z-zi* §124/21 (o); [*pár-na*]-*aš-še-e-a šu-wa[-a-iz-zi]* §63 (H); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a*]-*š[u-*

*wa]-a-iz-zi*] §108/8 (b); *pár-na-aš-še-e-a š[u-wa-a-i]z-zi* §67 (B); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a*]-*šu-w[a-i-*

*ez-zi]* §25 (B); *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-[i-ez-zi]* §20 (B); [*pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-i*]-*e-ez-zi* §19b

(B); *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi* §11 (B), §12 (B), §14 (B), §15 (B), §58 (B), §70 (B),

§81 (B), §82 (B), §87 (B), §88 (B); [*pár-na-aš-še*]-*e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi* §77 (B); [*pár-na-aš-*



- še-e-a šu-wa-a-i*]-ez-zi §94 (B); *p[ár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi]* §96 (B); *pár*-[*na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-e*]-z-zi §83 (B); *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-[ez-zi]* §17 (B); *pár-na-aš-še-e-a šu-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi* §13 (B), §XII; *pár-na-aš-še-e-ia šu-ú-wa-a-[iz-zi]* §62 (F); [*pá*]-*r-na*-[*aš-še-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi*] §149/38 (t); *pár-na*-[*aš-še-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi*] §88 (E); *pár-na-aš-še-a š[u-wa-a-ez-zi]* §87 (E); *pár-na-aš-še-a šu-wa-a-ez[-zi]* §58 (D); *pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §17 (C), §104/4 (a), §127/24 (c); [*pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez*]-zi §124/21 (n); [*pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez*]-z[i] §124/21 (n); *pár-n*[*a-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi*] §122/19 (a); *pár-na-aš-š[e-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi]* §143/32 (c); *pár-na-aš-še-ia š[u-wa-a-ez-zi]* §124/21 (c); *pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-z[i]* §129/26 (c), §149/38 (c); *pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-[iz-zi]* §130/27 (c); *pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-a-i[z-zi]* §124/21 (c); [*pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-i-ez*]-zi §119/16 (l); *pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-iz-zi* §13 (C); [*pár-na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-iz-zi*] §15 (C); [*pár*]-*na-aš-še-ia šu-wa-iz-zi* §14 (C); [*pár-na-aš-še-i*]*a šu-wa-iz-zi* §143/32 (r); *pár-na-aš-ši-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §69 (B); *pár-na-še-e-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §57 (D); [*pár-n*]*a-š[e-e-a šu-ú-wa-a-ez-zi]* §67 (I); [*pár-na-še-*]*e-a šu-wa-a-i[z-zi]* §104/4 (g); *pár-na-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §121/18 (f); [*pár-na-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi*] §108/8 (h); [*pá*]-*r-na-še-ia šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §124/21 (f); *pár-na-še-i*[*a šu-wa-a-ez-zi*] §12 (C); [*pár-na-še-i*]*a šu-wa-a-[iz-zi]* §124/21 (f); *pár-na-aš-ši-ia? šu-...-zi* §108/8 (i).
- pár-na-aš-še-e-a* [ ... ] §97 (Q); [*pár-n*]*a-aš-še-e[-a ...]* §70 (V); *pár-na*[-*aš-še-ia*] §133/30 (aa); *pár-na-aš-še-i*[*a*] §123/20 (n); *pár-na-a*[*š-*] §121/18 (a); *pár-na-aš-š[e-...]* §83 (R); [*pár-n*]*a-še-e-a* [ ... ] §77 (K).
- paršiya-* (HE §192) 1) "to violate" 2) "to break".
- pres. sg. 3 *pár-ši-ia* 1) §168/53 (aa 1x, e and p 2x), §169/54 (aa, e, p). 2) §169/54 (e); [*pár-ši-i*]*a* 1) 168/53 (aa).
- pat* (enclitic particle of identification). 1) "that very, the aforementioned", 2) "(the) same", 3) "only", 4) (with poss. pron.) "own".
- pát* §5 (A, B), §IV, §95 (A, B, P); vgl. auch *apaš-pat* u. *apa-*. §10 (A, B, C), §9 (A, B), §25 (A), §26a (J), §49 (A), §51 (G), §146a/35a (aa, c), §19a (A, B), §21 (A, B), §23 (A, B), §74 (B), §158/43 (aa), §162a/47 (v), §170/55 (e, p), §189/75 (y), §43 (A, B, C), §99 (B, Z), §XXXIV, §56 (A, B, D), §64 (A, H); [*pát*] §146a/35a (t), §189/75 (p), §99 (F); *-pát*[*t*] §146b/35b (aa).
- QATAMMA-pat* "in the very same way": *QA-TAM-MA-pát* §32 (B), §33 (B), §51 (D), §64 (B), §65 (B), §68 (B), §178/63 (p); [*QA-TAM-M*]*A-pát* §84 (B); [*QA-TAM-MA-pát*] §65 (F); *QA-TAM-[MA-pát]* §51 (A); *QA-TAM-M[A-pát]* §51 (B); *QA-TAM-MA[-pát]* §178/63 (x); *QA-TAM-MA-[pát]* §64 (F), §68 (A); *QA-TAM-MA-pát*[*t*] §68 (I).
- šakuwaššar=pat* "in full value": *ša-ku-wa-aš-šar-pát* §94 (A); [*š*]*a-ku-wa-aš-šar-pát* §94 (O); *ša-ku-w*[*aš-šar*]-*pát* §95 (A); *ša-a-ku-wa-aš-šar-pát* §95 (B); [*ša-a-ku-wa-aš-ša*]*r-pát* §94 (B); *ša-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-an-pát* §66 (B); [*š*]*a-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-an-pát* §66 (F); *ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an-pát* §70 (B), §75 (A, B); [*ša-ku-wa-*]*aš-ša-ra-an-pát* §66 (I); *ša-ku-aš-ša-ra-[an-pát]* §66 (A).
- humanteš=pat* "all": *hu-u-ma-an-te-eš-pát* §49 (A).
- 2-pat* "both": *2-pát* §198/84 (p).
- URUḪattuši-pat* "in Ḫattuša/Ḫatti itself": [*URUḪa-at-tu-ši-pát*] §19b (A); *URUḪa-at[-tu-ši-pát]* §19b (B).
- karū-pat* "already previously" > "first": *ka-ru-ú-pát* §166/51 (p), §167/52 (p).
- pe ḫar(k)-* v. act. "to have/hold in one's possession, to keep".
- pres. sg. 3 *pé-e ḫar-zi* §III.
- peḫute-* v. act. "to lead away".
- pres. sg. 3 [*p*]*é-e-ḫu-te-ez-zi* §19a (A); *pé-e-ḫu-te-ez-zi* §19a (B), §27 (C), §XXXV; [*pé*]-*e-ḫu-te-ez-zi* §19b (B); *pé-e-ḫu-[te-ez-zi]* §27 (B); *pé-ḫu-te-ez-zi* §19b (A).



*penna-* v. act. "to drive (there)".

pres. sg. 3 *pé-en-na-a-i* § 163/48 (p), § 168/53 (d, p); [*pé*]-*en-na-a-i* § 168/53 (e); [*pé-e*]-*n-na-i* § 163/48 (bb); *p[é-e]n-n[a-i]* § 142/31 (c); *pé-en-n[a-a-i]* § 163/48 (v).

*appa penna-* v. act. "to drive back (there)": pres. sg. 3 *a-ap-pa ... pé-en-na-i* § 79 (A); EGIR-*pa ... pé-en-na-i* § XXXV, § 79 (B).

*arḥa penna-* "to drive away": pres. sg. 3 *ar-ḥa pé-en-na-a-i* § 163/48 (p); [*ar-ḥa p*]-*é-en-na-i* § 163/48 (c); [*ar-ḥa pé-en-na-*]-*i* § 163/48 (bb).

*peššiye-, peššiya-, peššiyai-* v. act. "to shove (a man into a fire, § 44a), throw away, dispose of (remnants of a ritual, § 44b); to let fall, abolish, waive (a right or privilege) (§§ 9, 25); to cause (a pre-born child or animal foetus) to fall, cause a miscarriage (§§ 17-18, 77); to abandon (a sheep to a wolf)" (§ 80). For discussion see Commentary on §§ 9, 17-18, 44a, 44b, and 80.

pres. sg. 3 *pé-eš-ši-ez-zi* § 44a (A, B), § 44b (A), § 77 (A 2×), § 80 (A, B), § 77 (B 2×); *p[é-e]š-[-ši-i]a-zi* § 17 (B); *pé-eš-[-ši-i]a-zi* § 18 (B), *pé-eš-ši-ia-zi* § 18 (C); *pé-eš-ši-ia-az-zi* § 17 (C); *pé-eš-še-ia-az-zi* § XVI, § XVII; *pé-eš-ši-i[a- ... ]* § 77 (K); *pé-eš-ši-ia-iz-zi* § 44a (C).

pret. sg. 3 4) *pé-eš-ši-et* § 9 (A, B); [*pé-eš-ši-e*]-*t* § 25 (A).

pret. pl. 3 3) *pé-eš-ši-e[r]* § 49 (A).

*arḥa peššiya-* "to refuse, reject".

pres. sg. 3 *ar-ḥa pé-eš-ši-ia-zi* § 39 (B).

*peda-* (2c) "to carry off, carry away".

pres. sg. 3 *pé-e-da-a-i* § 43 (C); *p[é-e-da-a-i]* § 44b (C); *pé-e-da-a-[i]* § 44b (C); *pé-e-da-i* § 43 (B), § 44b (B), § 106/6 (a, b), § 168/53 (aa); *pé-[e-da-i]* § 44b (B).

*anda peda-* "to carry in": pres. sg. 3 *an-da pé-e-da-a-i* § 27 (C); *an-da [pé-e-da-a-i]* § 27 (B) (with -za); *an-da [pé-e-da-i]* § 27 (L); *an-da pé-e-d[a-i]* § 27 (J).

*arḥa peda-* "to carry off/away": pres. sg. 3 *ar-ḥa pé-e-da-i* § XXXV.

*peda-* n. neut. "place".

sg. nom.-acc. *pé-e-da-an* § IV.

dat.-loc. *pé-e-di* § 10 (A, B), § 76 (B); *pé-di* § 10 (C), § IX, § 76 (I), § 191/77 (p); [*pé-d*]-*i* § 76 (A).

*piyanai-* v. act. "to reward (someone)".

pres. sg. 3 *pí-ia-na-iz-zi* § 45 (B, C); [*pí-i*]-*a-[n]a-iz-[zi<sup>†</sup>]* § 45 (A).

*per* nom.-acc. of *parn-* "house"; q.v.

*piddai-* (I 3) "to pay as required".

pres. sg. 3 *píd-da-iz-zi* § 29 (B); *píd-da-a-iz-zi* § 34 (B), § 35 (B); *píd-d[a-a-iz-zi]* § 36 (B); *píd-da[ ... ]* § XX.

pret. sg. 3 *píd-da-a-it* § 30 (B).

part. *piddant-*: sg. nom.-acc. neut. *píd-da-a-an* § 29 (C).

*pittinu-, pittenu-* v. act. "to run off with (a woman)".

pres. sg. 3 *pít-ti-nu-uz-zi* § 37 (A); *pít-te-nu-uz-zi* § 28 (B), § 37 (B); *pít-te-nu-[u]z-z[i]* § 28 (B); *pít-te-nu-zi* § 28 (C); *pít-te[-nu-z]i* § 28 (C); *pí[t-t]e[-nu-z]i* § 35 (B); *pít-te-n[u-zi]* § 28 (C).

*punuš(š)-* v. act. "to ask, inquire".

pres. pl. 3 *pu-nu-uš-ša-an-zi* § XXXIXb.

LÚ*pūpu-* n. com. "lover".

sg. acc. LÚ*pu-pu-un* § 198/84 (p).

*pupulli-* n. neut. "heap of ruins".

sg. nom.-acc. *pu-p[u-u]l-li* § 173a/58a (p).



*purut-* n. neut. "mud".

sg. nom.-acc. *pu-ru-ut* § 110/10 (b), § 111/11 (b); [*pu-r*]u-ut § 111/11 (d); *pu-[ru]-ut* § 110/10 (d); *pu-u-ut* § 110/10 (j). On the loss of *r* in *pu-u-ut* see Melchert 1994 125.

## Š

*šahhan* n. neut. n-stem (a payment or service required by the state).

sg. nom.-acc.: *ša-ah-ḥa-an* § 41 (B 1×, C 2×), § 47a (A), § XXXVII (2×), § 51 (B, G), § 54 (A, B); *ša-ah-ḥ[a-an]* § 41 (L), *ša-ah-ḥa-a[n]* § 51 (A), [*ša-ah-ḥ*]a-an § 54 (D), [*ša-ah-ḥa-a*]n § 54 (F), § 112/12 (d), *ša-a[ḥ-ḥa-an]* § 112/12 (d). With conj. "but" or "and": *šahha(n)n=a:* (with *n=a:*) *ša-ah-ḥa-na* § 40 (B), § 41 (A 2×), [*ša-a*]ḥ-ḥa-na § 46 (B), *ša-ah-ḥa-[na]* § 40 (L). (with *nn=a:*) *ša-ah-ḥa-an-na* § 41 (A, B, C), § XXXVIII, [*š*]a-ah-ḥa-an-na § 40 (A), *ša-ah-ḥa-an[-na?]* § 41 (B).

With possessive enclitics: *ša-ah-ḥa-me-et* § 40 (A), § 41 (A, B), [*ša-ah-ḥa-me-e*]t § 41 (L), *ša-ah-ḥa-mi-it* § 40 (B), [*š*]a-ah-ḥa-mi-it § 40 (L), § XXX, *ša-ah-ḥa-ni-mi-it* § 41 (C) (cf. *kuššani=ššir*), *ša!-ah-ḥa-aš-še-et* § 39 (A), *ša!-ah-ḥa-an-[na]* § 39 (B), *ša-ah-ḥa-an[-še-et]* § 39 (L).

gen. *ša-ah-ḥa-na-aš* § 46 (C).

*šak(k)-* v. act. "to know".

pres. sg. 3 *ša-ak-ki* § 163/48 (f, p); *ša?-ak-ki* § 191/77 (p).

*šaktāi-* v. act. "to tend or care for (an injured person)".

pres. sg. 3 *ša-a-ak-ta-a-iz-zi†* § 10 (A), *ša-a-ak-ta-a-iz-zi* § 10 (B), *ša-ak-ta-iz-zi* § IX.

*šakuwant-* "visible(?)", "erected(?)" (part. of *šakuwai-* "to see"?).

sg. nom.-acc. neut. *ša-ku-wa-a-an* § 50 (A). [*š*]a-ku-wa-a-an § 50 (B).

*šakuwaššar(a)-* "in full value"

sg. acc. com. *ša-ku-aš-ša-ra-[an]* § 66 (A), *ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an* § 70 (A, B), § 71 (A, B), § 75 (A, B), [*š*]a-ku-wa-[aš-ša-ra-an] § 66 (I). *ša-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-an* § 66 (B), [*š*]a-ku-wa-aš-šar-ra-an § 66 (F).

nom.-acc. neut. *ša-ku-wa-aš-šar* § 94 (A, T), § XXXV, *ša-ku-w[a†-aš-šar]* § 95 (A), [*š*]a-ku-wa-aš-šar § 94 (O), *ša-ku-wa-aš-šar* § 95 (F); *ša-a-ku-wa-aš-šar* § 94 (F), § 95 (B); [*š*]a-a-ku-wa-aš-šar § 94 (B).

pl. acc. com. *ša-a-k[u-wa]-aš-šar-ru-uš* § 144/33 (aa).

*šalik-* v. mid. "to intrude" > "to have sexual intercourse with".

pres. sg. 3 *ša-li-g[a]* § 195a/81 (aa), [*š*]a-[l]i-i-g[a] § 195a/81 (aa); *ša-li-ga* § 195a/81 (p), *ša-li-i-ga* § 195a/81 (p 1×, y 2×).

*šamana-* n. com. "foundation (stone)".

sg. abl. *ša-ma-na-az* § 128/25 (c).

*šemen-, šamen-* v. act. "to pass by, bypass, forfeit" (with *-kan*).

pres. sg. 3 *še-me-en-zi* § 145/34 (aa), [*š*]e-me-e[n-zi] § 48 (A), *ša-me-en-zi* § IV, § 30 (B), § XL, *ša-me-e[n-zi]* § 145/34 (s).

*šamenu-* v. act. "to dispense with, do without".

pres. sg. 3 *ša-me-nu-uz-zi* § 176/61a (p); [*š*]a-me[-nu-uz-zi] § 176a/61 (aa).

*-šan* (enclitic sentence-particle).

With postposition/adverb *šēr*: *ta-aš-ša-an [ḥa-ap-pa-ri še]-e-er ḥa-ap-pár i-e-ez-zi* § 146/35 (aa); *ta-aš-ša-an ḥa-ap-pa-ri [še-er ḥa-ap-pár i-i]a-zi* § 146/35 (c).

Attested with the following verbs:



- arnu-* "to carry over to". [*nu-uš-ša-a*]n *pa-ra-a ha-me-eš-ša-an-da ar-[nu-zi]* § 100 (A); *nu-uš-ša-an pa-ra-a ha-me-eš-ša-an-da ar-nu-zi* § 100 (B); *nu-uš-ša-a*[n *ha-me-eš-ša-an-da*] *ar-nu-zi* § 100 (F).
- anda pai-* "to enter". *an-da-š[a-an pâr-na na-a-ú-i pa-iz-zi]* § 93 (A); [*an-da-aš-š*]a-an *pâr-na na-a-ú-i pa-iz-zi* § 93 (B); [*an*]-*da-aš-ša-an pâr-na na-a-ú-i p[a-iz-zi]* § 93 (F).
- dai-* "to place, impose (*šahhan*)". *nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ku-it ša-aḥ-ḥa-an LUGAL-uš da-a-i* § XXXVII.
- tittiya-* "to associate with" *ták-ku-uš-ša-an GIDIM-ti <ti-it> ti-an!?-zi* § 190/76 (p); *ták-ku-uš-ša-an ak-kán-ti <ti>-it ti-an-zi* § 190/76 (y); *ták-ku-uš[-ša-an ...]* § 190/76 (x);  
in broken context: *na-at-ša-an x[ ...]* § 162b/47b (v).
- šani(ya?)-* "one and the same(?)".  
sg. dat.-loc.(?) *ša-ni-ia [pé-di]* "in the same [place]" § 191/77 (y); p has instead: *2-el pé-di* "in the place of the two (women)", which means the same thing.
- URUDUšankuwalli- n. neut. (a copper object).  
sg. nom.-acc. URUDUš*a-an-ku-wa-al-li* § 143/32 (c).
- šarra-* v. act. "to divide up".  
pres. pl. 3 *šar-ra-an-zi* § 53 (A, B and D 3×, F 1×), [*š*]ar-ra-an-zi § 32 (A), [*š*]ar-ra-an-z[i] § 53 (F), [*šar-ra-a*]n-zi § 53 (G), *šar-r[a-a]n-zi* § 33 (A), *šar[-ra-an-zi]* § 33 (A).
- takšan šarra-* "to half, divide equally".  
pres. pl. 3 *ták-ša-an šar-ra-an-zi* § 31(B, with -za).
- šarḥuwant-* n. com. 1) "unborn child, unborn calf"; 2) "(a dog's) stomach".  
sg. acc. com. *šar-ḥu-u-wa-an-da-an* 1) § XVI, § XVII (both times obj. of *peššiya-*).  
count pl. acc. com. *šar-ḥu-wa-an-du-uš-šu-uš* § 17 (B); *šar-ḥu-wa-an-d[u-u]š-šu-uš* § 18 (B).  
collective pl. *šar-ḥu-wa-an-da* § 77a (B 2×); [*šar-ḥu-wa-an-*]da § 77a (K); *šar-ḥu-u-wa-an-da* § 17 (C), § 18 (C).  
abl. *šar-ḥu-wa-an-ta-az-še-et* 2) § 90 (B), *šar-ḥu-wa-an-ta-za-ši-it* 2) § 90 (E).  
logographic acc.: ŠA ŠĀ-BI-ŠA § 77a (A 2×);
- šarnikzil, šarnikzel* n. neut. l-stem "compensation, replacement".  
sg. nom.-acc. *šar-ni-ik-zi-il* § 21 (A, B), § 37 (A, B), § 38 (B), § 42 (A), § 49 (A), § 90 (B), § 163/48 (p), *šar-ni-[ik]-zi-il* § 38 (A), *šar-ni-ik-zi-i-il* § 65 (B), *šar-ni-ik-ze-el* § 65 (F), [*šar-ni-i*]k-ze-el § 90 (E), [*šar-n*]i-ik-ze-el § 162b/47 (c), [*šar-ni-i*]k-ze-el § 162b/47 (v), [*šar-ni-ik-ze-e*]l? § XLI.
- šarnink-* v. act. "to replace, make compensation for".  
pres. sg. 1 *šar-ni-ik-mi* § 95 (A, P), *šar-ni-ik-m[i]* § 95 (B), *šar-ni-i[k-mi]* § 95 (Y).  
pres. sg. 3 *šar-ni-ik-zi* § 5 (A, B), § III, § 28 (B, C), § 29 (C), § 42 (B, C), § XXXV, § 49 (A), § 99 (A 1×, B 2×), § 127/24 (c), [*šar-ni-ik-*]zi § 98 (F), [*šar-ni-ik-z*]i § XLI, § 99 (F, Z), *šar-ni-[i]k-zi* § 98 (B), [*šar-ni-ik-zi*] § 99 (Z), *šar-ni-ik-[zi]* § 98 (Q), § 99 (A, F), *šar-ni-ik-z[i]* § 95 (A), [*šar-ni-ik-*]za § 98 (A), pl. 3 *šar-ni-in-kán-zi* § 28 (B), § 29 (B), *šar-ni-in-ká[n-zi]* § 28 (B), *šar-ni-en-kán-zi* § 28 (C), *šar-ni-e[n-kán-zi]* § 28 (C).
- appa šarnink-* "to replace again".  
pres. sg. 3 EGIR-*pa ... šar-ni-ik-zi* § XXXIV.
- šartiya-, šardiya-* n. com. 1) "helper". 2) "auxiliary troop".  
sg. nom. *šar-di-ia-aš* 1) § 38 (B), *šar-ti-ia-aš* § 38 (A), *š[ar?-di?-ia?-aš?* § XXXII, [*ša*]r-di-ia-aš 2) § 37 (B).  
acc. *šar-di-ia-an* 1) § 38 (B), *šar-ti-an-n[a]* § 38 (A).  
pl. nom. [*šar-d*]i-i-eš 1) § 37 (A).



*šaudišt-, šawitišt-* n. com. "weanling, weaned animal".

sg. nom. *ša-ú-di-iš-za* § 57 (A 2×), § 58 (A), § 60 (A, M), § 61 (A, M), [*ša-ú-di*]-*iš-za* § 58 (A), [*š*]*a-ú-di-iš-za* § 58 (M), *ša!-ú-d*[*i-iš-za*] § 58 (M), *ša-ú-di-iš-za* § 63 (A), [*ša-ú-di-i*]*š-za* § 63 (M), *ša-ú-d*[*i-iš-za*] § 67 (A), *ša-ú-i-ti-iš-za* § 57 (B), § 58 (B), § 61 (B), § 63 (B), *ša!-ú-i-ti-iš-za* § 60 (B), *ša!-ú-i-ti-iš-za* § 63 (H), *ša-a-ú-ti-eš-za* § 67 (I), *ša-a-ú-i-ti-iš-za* § 57 (B), *ša-a-ú-i-ti-iš!*-*za* § 58 (B), [*a*]-*a-ú-i-ti-iš-za* § 67 (B), *ša-a-ú-i-ti-eš-za* § 58 (D), *ša-a-ú-i-te-eš-za* § 57 (D), § 58 (D), § 61 (F), *ša-a-ú-i-te-e*[*š-za*] § 57 (D), *ša-ú-i-te-e*]-*š-za* § 58 (F), [*ša*]-*a-ú-te-eš-za* § 63 (F).

gen. *ša-ú-i-ti-iš-ta-aš* § 178/63 (p), § 181/66 (p), § 185/71 (p), § 186/72 (p).

*-še, -ši* "him, her" (enclitic dative of the pers. pron. 3 sg.).

*-še* § 10 (A), § 11 (A, B), § 22 (A 2×), § 23a (A, B), § 28 (B), § 40 (A), § 46 (A 2×), § 47a (A), § 70 (A), § 78 (A), § 94 (F and O 1×, A 2×), § 95 (A, B, F, P), § 110/10 (d), § 128/25 (aa, c), § 149/38 (c); *-š[e]* § 94 (F), § 95 (F).

*-ši* § 10 (B, C), § IX, § X (2×), § XI (2×), § 16 (C), § 20 (B), § 22 (B 2×), § 26a (L), § 28 (B, C), § 29 (B, C), § 35 (B), § 40 (B, L), § 44a (B), § XXXIV, § XXXV, § 46 (B), § XXXVIII (4×), § 47a (B), § XXXVII, § XXXIXb, § XLI, § 70 (B), § 78 (B), § 94 (B), § 95 (B, P), § 183/69 (p), 200/86b (p), Unplaced Fragments (z); *-š[i]* § 44a (C), 195a/81 (x).

*šeli-* n. com. "grain heap".

sg. gen. *še-li-ia-aš* § 86 (H), *še-e-li-ia-aš* § 86 (E), [*še*]-*e-li-ia-aš* § 86 (B).

dat.-loc. *še-e-li-ia* § 86 (B).

*še-e*-[*li-ia*] § 86 (A), [*še-li*]-*ia* § 86 (H), *še-e*-[*i*] § 86 (E).

*šeli*(?) "lover".

pl. nom. com. *ši-e-līe-eš* (?) § 31(B).

*šena-* n. com. (a statuette or figurine used for magical purposes).

[*še-e*]-*ni* § 111/11 (b).

*šepa-* n. com. "sheaf(?)".

sg. acc. *še-ba-an* § 158/43 (aa); *še-e-pa-an* § 158/43 (n); *še-e-pa-a[n]* § 158/43 (p <j>)

*šepik(k)ušta-* n. com. "pin".

sg. acc. *še-pf-ku-uš-ta-a[n]* § 126/23 (o), ZI.KIN.BAR § 126/23 (c), [ZI.KI]N.BAR § 126/23 (m), Z[I.KIN.BAR] § 126/23 (f).

*šer* postpos. "on behalf (of)".

*še-er* § 99 (Z), *še-e[r]* § 99 (B).

*šer* (local adverb) 1) "(up)on". 2) "for, on behalf of".

*še-e-er* 1) § 166/51 (aa), *še-er* § 166/51 (p), *še-er-wa-aš-ši* 2) § 95 (B), *še-e-er-ši-it-wa* § 95 (A), [*še-e-er-ši-i*]! § 99 (A) (var. postpos. *šer*), [*še*]-*er-še-er-wa* § 95 (P).

*katta(n) šeške-* "to sleep with (a woman)". Friedrich 1959 132 distinguished two syntactic frames: one with *katta(n)* governing the woman in the dative, the other with *katta(n) šeške-* taking the woman as an accusative direct object ("trans. '(eine Frau) beschlafen"). The second construction is found in the late NH copy § 194/80 p (KBo 6.26 iii 44-48), and in § 200b (p, x).

pres. sg. 3 1) *še-eš-ki-iz-zi* § 195a/81 (p), [*še-eš-ki-iz-z*]i § 195a/81 (aa), [*še-eš*]-*ki-iz-zi* § 195a/81 (e), *še-eš-kán*(sic)-*zi!* § 195a/81 (y).

pl. 3 2) *še-eš-kán-zi* § 194/80 (y 1×, aa and p 2×).

*katta(n) šešk-* with gen. "to sleep with (a woman)".

pres. sg. 3 2) *kat-ta še-eš-ki-iz-zi* § 200a/86a (p), *še-eš-ki-iz-z*[i § 200a/86a (z), *kat-ta-an ... še-eš-k*[i *iz-zi*] § 200a/86 (x).



-šī "him, her" (see -še, -ši above).

-ši- (enclitic poss. pron.) "his, her, its".

sg. nom. com. -šīš. -ši-iš § 3 (B), § 49 (A, L), § 80 (A, B), § 190/76 (p); -ši-ša § 71 (B); -ši-ša- § 19a (B), § 20 (A, B), § 21 (A, B), § 24 (A), § 60 (A), § 61 (A), § 62 (A), § 66 (A), § 70 (A, B), § 78 (A, B), § 149/38 (aa, c); -š[i-ša-] § 60 (B), § 62 (B); -šī-š[a] § 99 (A), § 193/79 (aa); -šī-š[a-] § 24 (B), § 60 (M), § 66 (B), § 121/18 (aa); -še-ša § 99 (B), § 190/76 (y); -š[e-ša] § 99 (F).

acc. com. -šan. -ša-an § 15 (B), 16 (B), § 200/86a (p); -š[a-an-] § 200/86a (x); -šin. -ši-in- § XXXV.

nom.-acc. neut. -šet: -še-et § II, § 5 (A, B), § 13 (A, B, C), § XII, § 14 (B, C), § XIII, § 19a (A, B), § 27 (C 1×, B 3×), § 42 (B), § 64 (B, F, H), § 76 (A, B, I), § 157/42 (n 2×, aa 3×), § 158/43 (n 1×, aa 2×), § 159/44 (aa, u), § 163/48 (f 1×, p 2×), § 171/56 (e), § 197/83 (p); -š[e-et] § 160/45 (aa); -še-et § 27 (J); -še <-et> § 95 (P); -še-ta- § 27 (B, J); -še-ta- § 27 (J); [še-t]a- § 26a (B); -še-da § 64 (A); -šit: -ši-it § 27 (C), § 95 (A), § 157/42 (p 3×), § 158/43 (p), § 159/44 (p), § 160/45 (p 2×), § 161/46 (p), § 166/51 (p 2×), § 171/56 (p 2×); [-šī-it] § 160/45 (v); [-šī-i]t § 99 (A); -šī-[ta] § 27 (C).

gen. -šaš -ša-ša § 27 (B); -ša-aš § 53 (A and D 2×), § 189/75 (p), § 190/76 (y); [-š]a-[aš] § 53 (B); -š[a-aš-] § 27 (C); -ša<-aš> § 190/76 (p).

dat.-loc. -ši § 10 (B, C, A 2×), § IX (2×), § 27 (C), § XXXV, § 50 (A, B), § 76 (A, B, I), § 79 (A, B), § 86 (B, E), § 95 (A, B), § 99 (A, B, F), § 144/33 (aa), § 163/48 (f, p), § 164-164/49-50 (aa, p), § 171/56 (e, p), § 173b/58b (p), § 195a/81 (y, aa 2×, p 3×); -še § 195a/81 (e).

inst. -šet: -še-et § 90 (B); -ši-it § 90 (E).

pl. acc. com. -šuš. -šu-uš § 17 (B), § 18 (B).

dat.-loc. -šaš. -ša-aš § 167/52 (aa 1×, p 2×); [-ša]-aš § 167/52 (aa).

*anda šiyattalliya* "to secure a sealed deed". See Starke StBoT 31(?), who supposes this stem arose through a mistaken reading of *ši-e-et-RI-ia*.

pres. sg. 3 *an-da ši-ia-at-tal-li-ia-az-zi* § 41 (C), (var. to *anda šiyattariyazi*).

*anda šiyattariya* (*šittariya*-) "to secure a sealed deed" 1) (without *-za*); 2) (with *-za*).

pres. sg. 3 1) *an-da ši-[ia-at-ta-ri-ia-zi]* § 40 (L); *an-da š[i-ia-at-ta-ri-ia-zi?]* § XXXI; [*an-da ši-ia-at-ta-ri-e-ez-zi*] § 41 (L); *an-da ši-it-ta-ri-ez-zi* § 40 (A); *an-da ši-it-ta-ri-ez-zi* § 41 (A); *an-da ši-e-[et-ta-ri-ia-zi]* § XXX.

2) *an-da ši-i[a-at-ta-ri-ia-zi]* § 40 (B); *an-da ši-ia-at-ta-ri-i-e-ez-zi* § 41 (B); pret. sg. 3 1) *an-da ši-it-ta-ri-et* § 55 (A); *an-da [š]i-it-ta-ri-et* § 55 (B); *an-da ši-e[-e]t-t[a-ri-et]* § 55 (D).

GIŠšīšiyam(m)a- n. neut. ? (a tree or its wood).

sg. nom.-acc. GIŠšī-ši-a-ma § 124/21 (c).

[GIŠšī-ši-i]a-m[a] § 124/21 (f).

šiššura "watered, irrigated"

sg. gen. A.ŠÀ šī-iš-šu-ú-ra-aš § 183/69 (p).

šieuniyahh- (mid. as pass.) "to be struck (with illness) by a deity".

pres. sg. 3 šī-e-ú-ni-ah-ta § 163/48 (p), šī-ú-ni-ah-ta § 163/48 (c), [šī-ú-n]i-ah-t[a] § 163/48 (bb), šī-ú-ni-ia-ah-ta § 163/48 (v).

šiwatt- n. com., "day"; written also as Sum. U<sub>4</sub>

U<sub>4</sub>.1.KAM "for one day" § 79 (A), § 159/44 (aa); [U<sub>4</sub>].1.[KA]M § 79 (B).

-šmaš "to them" (enclitic dat. of personal pron. pl. 3).

-uš-ma-aš § XXIVa, § 38 (B); -a[š-m]a-aš § 37 (B).

-šmi- (enclitic poss. pron.) "your (pl.)".

pl. nom. com. -šmeš: -eš-me-eš § 55 (B), -e[š-me-eš] § 55 (A).



-šmi- (enclitic poss. pron.) "their".

sg. acc. com. -šman; -aš-ma-an- § 191/77 (p), § 194/80 (aa, p); -aš-m[a-an-] § 194/80 (y).

nom.-acc. neut. -šemet. a-aš-šu-uš-še-me-et § 33 (A), a-aš-šu-uš-še-me-[et] § 32 (A).

pl. nom. com. -šmeš; -eš-me-eš- § 54 (A); -iš-me-eš- § 54 (B,D); [...-]me?-eš § 54 (F).

šullatar n. neut. "quarrel, dispute".

sg. nom.-acc. šu-ul-la-tar § 164-165/49-50 (p), § 169/54 (e); š[u!-ul-la-tar] § 164-165/49-50 (f); š[u-ul-la-tar] § 164-165/49-50 (bb); [šu-ul-la-]a-tar § 169/54 (aa).

abl. šu-ul-la-an-na-az § 2 (B), § 127/24 (c); [šu-ul-la]-an-na-[az ... ] § 127/24 (m); [š]u-ul-la-a[n-na-az ... ] § 127/24 (o); š[u-ul-la-a]n-na-[a]z § 1 (B); [šu-ul-la-an]-na-az-za § 26a (B); šu-ul-la-an-na-za § III, § V, § VI.

šumeš pers. pron. "you (pl.)".

šu-me-eš § 55 (A 2x, B and D 1x).

šu-[me-eš] § 55 (B).

šunna- "to fill".

pres. sg. 3 šu-un-na-i § 96 (A, B), § 97 (B).

[š]u-un-na-i § 97 (A).

šuniya- v. act. "to drop, sow (seed); sow (a field)".

pres. sg. 3 šu-ú-ni-ez-zi § 166/51 (p).

pret. sg. 3 šu-ú-ni-et § 166/51 (p); šu-ú-ni-e-et § 167/52 (p).

šuppal- n. neut. l-stem. "cattle".

pl. nom.-acc. šu-up-pa-la-aš-še-et § 163/48 (f 1x, p 2x).

appa šuppiyahh- v. act. "to make sacred/holy again, reconsecrate; make pure again(?)".

pres. sg. 3 EGIR-pa šu-up-pf-ia-ah-ḥi § 164-165/49-50 (p), § 168/53 (e, p), a-ap-pa šu-up-pf-ia-ah-ḥi § 167/52 (p), § 168/53 (aa), a-ap-pa šu-up-p[f-ia-ah-ḥi] § 164-165/49-50 (aa), [a-ap-pa šu-up-p]f-ia-ah-ḥi § 167/52 (aa).

šuwai- v. act. "to shove", see sub šuwei-.

šuwai-, šuwaye-, šuwaya- v. act. "to look (to something)".

pres. sg. 3 šu-wa-a-ez-zi § 1 (B), § 2 (B), § 3 (B), § 4 (B), § 5 (B), § 7 (B), § 8 (B, X), § 12 (C), § 17 (C), § 25 (L), § 26a (L), § 26c (C), § 43 (C), § 57 (B, D), § 58 (D, F), § 59 (B, N), § 60 (A, B, F, N, U), § 61 (B, F), § 62 (B), § 63 (B, F, H), § 67 (B), § 69 (B), § 72 (B), § 87 (W), § 88 (W), § 91 (B), § 94 (F), § 95 (P), § 97 (B), § 104/4 (a, b, g), § 105/5 (a, b, d), § 107/7 (d, h), § 108/8 (b, d, h, o), § 121/18 (f), § 122/19 (q), § 123/20 (o), § 124/21 (c, f), § 127/24 (c), § 129/26 (c), § 130/27 (c), § 149/38 (c, q), Unplaced Fragments (bb 2x).

šu-ú-w[a?-i]z?-zi § 43 (B), šu-ú-w[a-iz-zi] § 95 (Y).

šu-wa-iz-zi § 13 (C), § 14 (C), § 15 (C), § 143/32 (r).

šu-ú-wa-a-ez-z[i] § 67 (I); šu-ú-wa-a-[ez-zi] § 62 (F).

šu-wa-i-ez-zi § 2 (A), § 3 (A), § 4 (A), § 5 (A), § 7 (A), § 8 (A), § 11 (A), § 12 (A), § 13 (A), § 19b (A), § 20 (A, B), § 25 (A, B), § 57 (A), § 58 (A, M), § 59 (A, M), § 60 (M), § 61 (A, M), § 62 (A, M), § 63 (A, M), § 67 (A), § 69 (A), § 70 (A), § 77 (A), § 81 (A), § 82 (A), § 83 (A), § 94 (A), § 96 (A), § 97 (A), § 105/5 (g), § 119/16 (aa).

[š]u-wa-i]-e-ez-zi § 19b (B).

šu-wa-a-i-e-ez-zi § 13 (B), § XII.

šu-wa-a-i-ez-zi § 11 (B), § 12 (B), § 14 (B), § 15 (B), § 17 (B), § 58 (B), § 70 (B), § 77 (B), § 81 (B), § 82 (B), § 87 (B), § 88 (B); [š]u-wa-a-i]-ez-zi § 83 (B), § 94 (B).

šu-wa-ia-zi § 43 (C),.

šu-wa-ia-az-zi § 107/7 (aa), § 127/24 (aa), § 149/38 (aa).



*šuweli-* v. act. "to shove or push off (§43; without *-za*); divorce (a wife, §26b; with *-za* in MH J); forfeit or lose (a slave, §§95, 99; without *-za* in NH B, OH A broken)".

*šu-ú-[iz-zi]* §26b (J), *šu[-ú-ez-zi]* §43(A), *šu-ú-iz-zi* §95 (A), [*šu-ú-i*]-*zi* §99 (A), *šu-ú-iz-zi* §99 (B), *šu-ú-e-ez-[zi]* §99 (F), *š[u-ú-e-ez-zi]* §99 (Z).

*parā šuweli-* "to drive out" (with *-za*).

pres. sg. 3 *pa-ra-a šu-ú-i-ez-zi* §171/56 (p); *pa-ra-a šu-wa-a-ez-zi* §171/56 (e).

*šuwānalli-*. Cf. *išuwānalli-*.

## T, D

*ta* 1) (for the joining of coordinate independent clauses) "and", 2) (to introduce a secondary, further qualified apodosis) "then" (in OH having the same value as *nu*).

1) I 10 (C!), 43 (A, B, C), 86 (E). - §106/6 (i), §107/7 (b), 124/21 (c, f), §164-165/49-50 (aa, f, p, bb), §167/52 (aa, p), 168/53 (aa, d, e, p), 169/54 (aa, e, p), 171/56 (aa, p), 174/59 (aa, p), 193/79 (p, y), 195/81 (p), 198/84 (p).

2) §46 (A, B), 47b (A), - Par. XXXVIII, §164-166/49-50 (aa, f, p, bb), 172/57 (p), 198/84 (p).

As base for the attachment of other enclitics:

*ta* + *-a-* (pron. 3 pers.) > *ta-*: sg. nom. com. *ta-aš* §118/15.

sg. acc. com. *ta-an* 1) I 10, 60, 61, 62. - §103/3 (a, b), §113/13 (k), §169/54 (aa, e), 193/79 (p); 2) Par. XXXIV. - §103/3 (a, b), broken §118/15 (f).

nom.-acc. neut. *ta-at* 1) §163/48 (p, v) (var. in f: *na-at*); 2) §127/24 (c), not *ta-at ar-pu-ut-ta* in §162/47, rather *ta la-ar-pu-ut-ta* (see footnote in transliteration).

pl. acc. com. *tu-uš* 1) 144/33 (c), 197/83 (p, y); 2) 171/56 (e, p), 196/82 (p).

N. com. *ta-a* as nom. pl. neut.; 1) *ta-a* §107/7 (d), as acc. pl. (or sg. ?) neut. 1) §168/53 (d, var. to *ta-az* in aa).

*ta+-kan* > *ták-kán* 1) §146a/35a (aa).

*ta+-šan* > *ta-aš-ša-an* 1) §146/35 (aa, c).

*ta* + *-še* "to him/her" > *ta-aš-še* 1) I 47a (A, var. to B *na-an-ši*), 2) I 28a (B, var. to C *na-at-za*).

*ta+z(a)* > *taz(a)*: *ta-az* 1) §53 (A, B), - §106/6 (a, b, d, h), 168/53 (aa, e, p). 2) §48. - §166/51, 167/52; *ta-za* 1) §53 (D), *ta-za!* (text: *ta-a*) §168/53 (d).

*da-* (II 2a) "to take".

pres. sg. 1 *da-aḥ-ḥi* §74 (B).

pres. sg. 3 *da-a-i* 1) §6 (A, B), 9 (A, B), 21 (A, B), 23 (A), 27 (C, J), 30 (B), 31 (B), [32a] (B), 33 (A, B), 34 (B), 43 (C), 47a (A, B), 48 (A), 53 (A, B, D, F), 66 (A, B, F), 70 (B), 71 (B), 74 (B), 80 (A, B), 90 (E; var. to A: K[A]R-*iz-zi*); Par. IV, VII — §106/6 (a, d, h, i), 113/13 (c, k), 146b/35b (aa), 149/38 (c), 162a/47a (p, v), 166/51 (p; var. to aa *wa-ar-aš-še*), 168/53 (aa, d, e, p), 169/54 (aa, e, p), 171/56 (e, p), 175/60 (p), 192/78 (p), 193/79 (p, y); *da-a-[i]* §106/6 (b), [*da*]-*a-i* §113/13 (k), 162b/47b (v), §193/79 (aa), *da-a-i!* §175/60 (aa); pres. pl. 3 *da-an-zi* 1) §41 (A, B, C), 43 (B, var. to C *da-a-i*), *da-an[-zi]* §43 (A); imp. sg. 3 *da-a-ú* §53 (A, var. to D, F *da-a-i*).

iterative *daške-*: pret. pl. 3 *da-aš-ke-er* §9 (B, var. to A *da-aš-ke-e-er*), §25 (L, var. to A, B *da-aš-ke-e-er*), *da-aš-ke-e-er* §25 (A, B), *da-aš-ke-e-er* §9 (A)

*āppa da-* "to take (back)":

pres. sg. 3 EGIR-*pa da-a-i* §171/56 (e, p), Par. [XL]; *a-ap-pa dai* §48 (A).

*kattan dā-* "to take below".

pres. sg. 3 *kat-ta-an-na da-a-i* §162/47 (p, [v]).



*šer dā-* "to take above (i.e., upstream?)".

pres. sg. 3 *še-er da-a-i* §162/47 (v, var. to p *ša-ra-a n[a]-a-i*).

*dāi-* v. act. "to put, place; impose (an obligation)".

pres. sg. 3 *da-a-i* Par. XXXVII (obj. *šahhan*), § 163/48 (p, c, obj. *išūwan*)

For *dāi* in *eššūwan dai-* see under the verb *išša-/ēšša-*.

*anda dāi-* "to place upon" (with *-kan*).

pres. sg. 3 *an-da da-a-i* §78 (A, B) (objs. *KUŠhu-ša-an*, *KUŠta-ru-uš-ḥa*).

*tāya/i-* v. act. 1) (trans.) "to steal (something)" (§ 19, 20, 21, 57, 63, 65, 120, etc.). 2) (intr.) "to steal" (§ XLI). 3) "to burglarize (a house)".

pres. sg. 3 *da-a-i-ez-zi* 1) § 19 (B), 20 (B), 57 (A), 63 (B), § 65 (B), § 120/17 (aa), *da-a-i-ez-zi* § 63 (F), *da-i-e-ez-zi* § 58 (B), *da-a-i-e-ez-zi* § 66 (I), *da-a-i-e-ez-zi* § 110/10 (j), *ta-i-ez-zi* § 69 (A), § 82 (A), § 83 (A), § 94 (A), § 95 (A), § 97 (A), *ta-a-i-ez-zi* 1) § 19a (B), 19b (A), § 20 (A), § 21 (A), § 49 (A), § 59 (B), § 63 (A), § 64 (A, B), § 65 (A), § 67 (A, B), § 68 (A, B), § 69 (B), § 70 (A, B), § 81 (A, B), § 82 (B), § 83 (B), § 85 (B), § 92 (B), § 94 (B), § 95 (B), § 96 (B), § 103/3 (b), § 125/22 (aa), *ta-i-e-ez-zi* § 110/10 (c), § 125/22 (c, f), § 126/23 (c), § 127/24 (c), § 128/25 (c), § 130/27 (c), *ta-i-e-ez-zi* § 96 (P), *ta-i-e-e-z-zi* § 125/22 (c), *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi* § 101/1 (a), § 102/2 (a), § 120/17 (f), § 124/21 (c), § 126/23 (c), *ta-a-i-e-e-z-zi* § 95 (P), § 129/26 (c), *ta-a-i-e-ez-zi* § 122/19 (f), § 124/21 (n), *ta-i-ia-zi* 1) § 103/3 (a), *ta-ia-az-zi* 1) I 57 (B), *ta-a-i-ia-zi* 1) § 64 (F), § 108/8 (d), § 143/32 (r); *ta-a-ia-az-zi* 1) § 128/25 (aa); *da-ia-az-zi* § 125/22 (o), *da-a-i-ia-zi* 1) 57 (D), 58 (D), § 94 (T), § 110/10 (d), 2) Par. XLI; [*da*]-*a-i-ia-az-zi* 1) § 110/10 (d);

*tayazil-* n. neut. l-stem "theft".

sg. nom.-acc. *ta-ia-az-zi-il* §49 (A).

gen. *tayazilaš* 1) "(that) of the theft" = "compensation for theft" (§ 65, 94, 95), 2) "(he) of the theft" = "the thief" (§§ 73, 94?, 95?).

*ta-ia-zi-la-aš* 1) § 65 (A), § 94 (B), § 95 (A), *ta-[ia-zi-la-aš]* 1) § 94 (F), *da-ia-zi-la-aš* 2) § 73 (B), *d[ia-zi-la-aš]* 1) § 94 (A).

*tāištai-* v. act. "to load".

pres. sg. 3 *ta-a-iš-ta-i* § 124/21 (c).

part. *taištiyant-*: pl. nom.-acc. neut. [*ta-i*]*š-ti-an-da* § 124/21 (o).

*taišzi-* n. com. "shed(?)".

sg. acc. *ta-iš-zi-in* § 100 (A, B, F) (2×), [*ta-i*]*š-zi-na-aš-ši* § 100 (F).

*dāyuga-* "two-year-old" (alternating with MU.2 in § 60, § 61, § 63):

sg. nom. com. *ta-a-i-ú-ga-aš* § 57 (A, B) (2×), § 58 (A, B) (2×) *ta-a-i-ú-[ga-aš]* § 58 (M), *ta-a-i-ú-ú-ga-aš* § 58 (B). *da-a-i-ú-ga-aš* § 58 (D), *da-a-i-ú-ga-[aš]* § 57 (D), *da-a-i-ú-ga-aš* § 57 (D).

*taggaliyant-* (part.) "fenced-in, enclosed (vineyard)" (modifies <sup>GIŠ</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN):

sg.(?) abl. *tág-ga-li-ia-an-da-za* § 108/8 (d), *ták-ka-li-an-da-az* § 108/8 (b); pl. nom.-acc. neut. *tág-ga-li-ia-an-da* § 108/8 (d), *ták-ka-li-an-d[a]* § 108/8 (b, i).

*taki-* "another":

sg. dat.-loc. *ta-ki-i-ia* § 6 (A) *ta-ki-ia* § 6 (B); *taki- ... taki-* "one ... the other": sg. dat.-loc. *ta-ki-ya (utnē) ... ta-ki-ya (utnē)* § 191/77 (p, y) (2×), 196/82 (2×).

*tagn-* stem of the oblique cases of *tekan* "earth", q.v.

*takš-* (Va1/2) "to construct, fabricate, make".

inf. *ták-šu-an-zi* § 56 (A), *ták-šu-wa-an-zi* § 56 (B).



*takšan* adv. "together".

*takšan aš-eš-* "to dwell together":

*ták-ša-an a-ša-an-zi* § 53 (A, B);

*takšan šarra-* "to divide (something) equally, to halve (something)":

pres. pl. 3 *ták-ša-an šar-ra-an-zi* § 31 (B).

*takšeššar* n. neut. r/n-stem. "price list(?)".

sg. nom.-acc. *ták-še-eš-šar* § 184/70 (p).

*takku* "if".

Always written *ták-ku*: §§ [4], 5 (2×), 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 13 14, 15, 16 [17] (2×), 18 (2×), 19a, 19b, 20, 21, 22 (4×), 23 (2×), 24, "26a", "26b", 27 (3×), 28a, 28b, 28c, 29, 30, 31, 32, "32a", "32b", 33, "33", 34, 35, 36, 37 (2×), 38 (2×), 39 (2×), 40 (2×), 41 42 (3×), 43 44a 44b (2×), 45 (2×), 46 (4×), 47a, 47b (3×), 53 (3×), 57 (4×), 58 (4×), 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65 (3×), 66 (7×), 67 68 69 70 (4×) 71 (3×) 72 73 74 (2×), 75 (2×), 76 77a (2×), [77b], [78] [79] [80] 8182, 83, 84, 85, 86 (2×), 87, 88, 89, 90, 92 (3×), 93 (2×), 94 (3×), 95 (3×), [97], [98], 99 (2×), 100 (2×). colophons. PT §§ [II], III, IV (5×), V (2×), VI (2×), VII (2×), VIII, IX (2×), X, XI (2×), XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, [XVIII], XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, [XXVII], XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII (4×), XXXIXa, XXXIXb (3×), XL — 102/2, 103/3, 105/5 (2×), 106/6, 107/7 (3×), 108/8 (3×), 109/9 (2×) 119/16 17 (2×), 121/18 (2×), 122/19, zo, 124/21 (2×), 125/22 (2×), 126/23 (4×) 127/24, 128/25 (3×), 129/26, 130/27, 131/28, 132/29 (2×), 133/30, 143/32 (2×), 144/33 (3×), 145/34, 146/35, [149]/[38], 150/39 / (2×), 151/40, 152/41, 157/42 (3×), 158/43 (2×), 159/44, 160/45, 161/46, 162/47 (3×), 163/48, 164/49, 166/51, 168/53, 169/54, 170/55 (2×), 171/56, 172/57 (2×), 173/58a, 173/58b, 174/59, 175/60, 176a/61a, 176b/61b, 177/62 (2×), 178/63, 179/64, 180/65, 187/73, [188]/[74], 189/75 (3×), 190/76 (3×), 191/77 (2×), 192/78, 193/79, 194/80 (3×), 195/81a, 195/81b, 195/81C, 196/82, 197/83 (3×), 198/84 (2×), 199/85 (3×), 200/86a (2×), 200/86b (2×). colophon.

With attached enclitics:

*takku +a-* "he" > *takku(w)a-*:

sg. nom. com. *ták-ku-aš* "if he" § 27 (B, C). Par. XI. - § 195/81b (x).

A. com. *ták-ku-an* "if ... him/her" § 28b, 86 (B). - Par. XXI. - § 200/86b (p, x). *ták-ku-wa-an* I § 28 (B), 71 (B), § 86 (E), *ták-ku-a[n?] ...* ] § 133/30 (aa).

nom.-acc. neut. *takku=at* "if it" *ták-ku-at* I 44b (B, C), § 45 (B, C), *ták-ku-wa-ta-an* § 44b (A) (with OH local particle *-an*).

pl. acc. com. *takku+uš* "if ... them" *ták-ku-uš* § 197/83 (p), § 198/84 (p, y).

*takku +šan* > *ták-ku-uš-ša-an* § 190/76 (p, y).

*takku+ši (-še)* "him/her" > *ták-ku-uš-še* § 46 (A 2×). *ták-ku-uš-ši* § 46 (B). - Par. XXXVIII (2×).

*takku+za* > *ták-ku-za* § 26a (J), § 26b (J), § 32 (B), § 33 (B), Par. XL.

*takku* never with *-kan*.

*dala-* v. act. "to leave".

pres. sg. 3 *ta-a-la-i* § 145/34 (aa), *da-a-la-i* § 39 (A)

*damai-* (indefinite pronoun) "another".

sg. nom. com. *ta-ma-i-ša-kán* § 146b/35b (aa), § 147/36 (aa, c), § 148/37 (c), *ta-ma-i-ša-an* § 28 (B), § 43 (A, B), *ta-ma-a-i-ša-kán* § 148/37 (c, t), *ta-ma-a-i-ša-an* § 43 (C).

gen. [*da-m*]e-e-el § 39 (B) (var. in A: ŠA ŠA-NI-I-IM-MA); *ta-me-el-la* § 170/55 (e), *da-me-e-el-la* § 170/55 (p), *ta-me-e-el-l[a]* § 106/6 (i).

dat.-loc. *ta-me-e-da-ni* § 28 (B), *da-a-me-e-da-ni* § 28 (C), *da-me-e-da-ni* Par. IV, XXXVII.



- dammel(i)*- adj. "unused, untouched, uncultivated, virgin".  
*dam-me-el pé-e-da-an* § IV.
- dampupi*- "untrained, unskilled".  
 sg. acc. com. *da?-am?l-pu-pf-in* § 147/36 (aa), *dam-pu-pf-in<sub>4</sub>* § 147/36 (c), *dam-pu-pf[- ... ]* § 147/36 (t), *dam-pu-u-pf-in* § 177/62 (p).
- dān* "secondly, next, afterwards".  
*ta-a-an* § 193/79 (p), *da-a-an* § 193/79 (y).
- dannatta*- "bare, empty" > "(GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN 'vineyard') with no fruit".  
 sg. nom.-acc. neut. *dan-na-at-ta-an* § 107/7 (d), pl. nom.-acc. neut. *ta-an-na-ta* § 107/7 (b), *ta<sup>12</sup>-an-na-an-da* § 107/7 (h).
- [*ta(p)peššar* n. neut. r/n-stem.] sg. dat.-loc. *ta(p)pešni* as adv. "previously".  
*ta-pé-eš-ni* § 93 (A, B, F) (2x), § 122/19 (a, f), *tap-pé-eš-ni* § 122/19 (q).
- dapiya*- "entire, in (their) entirety".  
 sg. nom.-acc. neut. *ták-ku* A.ŠĀ.ĤI.A *da-pf-an pf-i-ia-an* § 46 (C) "if fields have been given in (their) entirety". Cf. *ták-ku-uš-ši* A.ŠĀ.ĤI.A-uš *ḥu-u-ma-an-za pf-an-za* § XXXVIII.
- tapulli*- n. neut. (a copper implement).  
 sg. nom.-acc. [*ta-pu-ul-li* § 157/42 (aa), *ta-pu-ul-li* (n, p)].
- tar-*, *te-* v. act. "to say; promise". part. *tarant-* "(woman) spoken for (by suitor)", or "(woman) promised (to suitor by parents)" (§ 28a).  
 pres. sg. 3 *te-ez-zi* § 40 (A, B), 41, 74, 75, 95, Par. XXXIXb, § 149/38, 163/48, 169/54 (2x), 170/55, 198/84 (2x).  
 pl. 3 *ta-ra-an-zi* § 40 (A), *da-ra-an-[zi]* § 40 (L).  
 sg. nom. com. *ta-ra-an-za* § 28a (B) (var. in C *da-ra-an-za*).  
 iterative *tarš(i)k-*. pres. pl. 3 *tar<sup>1</sup>-ši-kán-zi* § 55 (A), *tar-aš-kán-zi* I 55 (B).
- tarna-* v. act. "to let, release (animals into an area)" (§ 107/7), *parā tarna-* "to free, emancipate" (with *-kan*) (§ 34, § 36).  
 pres. sg. 3 *tar-na-i* § 34 (B), § 36 (B), § 39 (L) - § 107/7 (a, c), *tar-na-a-i* § 107/7 (d), [*tar-na-ji* § 39 (A), *tar-na-[a-i]* § 107/7 (i)].
- taruḥ-* v. act. "to be in charge(?)".  
 pres. sg. 3 *ta-ru-uh-zi* § 50 (A).
- taruḥa-* n. neut. (a leather part of the harness).  
 sg. nom.-acc. *KUŠta-ru-uš-ḥa* § 78 (A), [*KUŠta-ru-uš-ḥa* § 78 (B) - *KUŠta-ru-uš-ḥ[a]* § 125/22 (c), *KUŠta-r[u-uš-ḥa]* § 125/22 (f), [*KUŠta-r[a-r]u-uš-ḥ[a]* § 125/22 (n), *KUŠta-ru-uš-ḥa*] § 125/22 (o).
- d/tašuwahḥ-* (v.) "to blind (someone)".  
 pres. sg. 3 *da-šu-wa-aḥ-ḥi* § 7 (A, B), § 8 (A, B), § V, § VI, *ta-šu-wa-aḥ-ḥi* § 77 (A), [*ta?*]-*šu-wa-aḥ-zi* § 77 (B).
- te-* v. act. "to say", cf. *tar-*.
- tekan-* n. neut. n-stem. "earth".  
 sg. all. *ta-a-ag-na-a* § 169/54 (aa), *tág-na-a* § 169/54 (d, j).

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps *da<sup>1</sup>-*.



*tēpu-* "little, few".

*te-[e-pu-uš]* § 46 (A), sg. nom.-acc. neut. *te-e-pu* § 94 (A 2×), 95 (A 2×) (var. in B, F both times *te-pu*), *te-pu* § 94 (B, F, O 2×), § 95 (B, F 2×) - Par. XXXVIII. pl. nom. com. *te-e-pa-u-<sup>l</sup>wa<sup>l</sup>* § 46 (C).

*tiya-* v. act. 1) "to arrive (of time)" (§ 50), 2) *kušni tiya-* "to enter into a wage-earning agreement" (= hire oneself out for wages) (§ 150, 158), 3) *LUGAL-i tiya-* "to approach the king" (§§ 187, 188, 200), 4) *akkantit tiya-* "to enter into (sexual relations) with a dead person" (§ 190).

pres. sg. 3 *ti-e<sup>o</sup>-zi* § 190/76 (p) (var. in y *ti-an-zi*), *ti-ez-zi* § 50 (A, B), § 166/51 (p), § 200/86a (p), *ti-i-ez-zi* § 188/74 (p), 199/85 (p), *ti-i-e-ez-zi* § 150/39 (aa 2×, q 2×), § 158/43 (aa 2×), *ti-ia-zi* § 150/39 (c 2×), § 158/43 (n and p 2×), *ti-ia-ez-zi* § 187/73 (p), pl. 3 [*t*]i-an-z[i] § 166/51 (aa), *ti-an-zi* § 190/76 (y).

*šer tiya-* ("to step upon" >) "be placed upon". pres. sg. 3 *še-er ti-ez-zi* § 166/51 (p) (var. in aa [*še-er t*]i-an-z[i]).

(*šara*) *tittanu-* v. act. "to place upon".

pres. sg. 3 *ti-it-ta-nu-uz-zi* § 121/18 (e).

*tittiyant-* (part. ?) "installed(?)".

sg. nom. com. *ti-it-ti-an-za* § 40 (A, B), § 41 (A, B, C).

*túhš-* (v. act. and mid.) 1) "to cut up (cloth)", § 144/33; 2) "to cut/harvest (grapes)", § 56, § 113/13 (with *-za*). 3) "to separate" (maritally) § 28c

act. pres. pl. 3 *túh-ša-an-<sup>l</sup>zi<sup>l</sup>* § 28 (C), § 29 (B), *túh-<sup>h</sup>u-iš-ša-[an-zi]* § 29 (C).

-*anniyē-* pres. sg. 3 *túh-ša-an-na-i* § 113/13 (k).

mid. pres. sg. 3 *tu-u<sup>h</sup>-[š]a-ri* § 144/33 (aa), *túh-ša-ri* § 144 (c); pl. 3 *tu-u<sup>h</sup>-ša-an-<sup>l</sup>ta<sup>l</sup>* § 28 (B).

inf. *túh-<sup>h</sup>u-šu-an-zi* § 56 (A), *túh-šu-u-wa-an-zi* § 56 (B), *túh-šu-wa-a[n-zi]* § 56 (D).

*tuekkant-* n. com. sg. nom. *tu-ek-kán-za-ši-iš-pát* § 49 (A).

*tuliya-* n. com. "assembly". sg. dat.-loc. *tu-li-ia* § 55 (B).

*turiya-* v. act. "to hitch, harness".

pres. sg. 3 *tu-u-ri-ez-zi* § 71 (A), § 75 (A, B), § 79 (A), § 159 (aa), *tu-ri-ia-zi* § 159 (p), pl. 3 *tu-ri-ia-an-zi* § 166 (p).

Iterativ *turiške-*: pres. sg. 3 *tu-u-ri-iš-ki-iz-zi* § 71 (B).

Verbal substantive gen. *tu-u-ri-ia-w[a]-aš* § 64 (A), *tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-aš* § 64 (B), § 66 (B), *tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-aš* § 64 (F), *tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-[aš]* § 64 (H), *tu-u-ri-ia-u-aš* § 66 (A), *tu-ri-ia-u-aš* § 180/65 (p), *tu-u-ri-ia-wa-aš* § 180/65 (x).

*duwan ... duwan* adv. "hither ... thither".

*tu-wa-a-an ... tu-wa-a-an* § 166/51 (aa), *du-wa-a-an ... du-wa-a-an* § 166/51 (p), *du-wa-an ... du-wa-an-na* Par. IV.

*tuwarnali-* (I 3) "to break, smash".

pres. sg. 3 *tu-wa-a[r-ni-iz-zi]* § 11 (A), § 74 (A), *tu-w[a- ... ]* § 11 (K), *tu-wa-<sup>l</sup>ar-ni<sup>l</sup>-iz-zi* § 11 (B), *du-wa-ar-[ni-iz-zi]* § 11 (C), *du-wa-ar-ni-iz-zi* § X, XI, *tu-wa-ar-na-zi* § 12 (B).

## U

*ukturi-* n. com. pl. "incineration place".

pl. dat.-loc. *uk-tu-u-ri-aš* § 44b (B); *uk-[tu-u-ri-aš]* § 44b (A); [*uk-t*]u-ri-ia-aš § 44b (C).

*ummiyant-* com. (adj. of unclear meaning; modifying birds).

pl. acc. *um-mi-ia-an-du-uš* § 120/17 (f).



- unna-* "to drive (here)".  
 pres. sg. 3 *u-un-na-i* § 71 (B).
- unattalla-* n. com. "merchant".  
 sg. acc. *ú-na-at-ta-al-la-an* § 5 (A); *ú-na-at-tal-la-an* § 5 (B); LÚDAM.GÀR § 5 (A, B).
- urkiya(i)-* "to trace, track down".  
 pres. sg. 3 *ur-ki-ia-iz-zi* § 149/38 (aa, c); *u-u[r-ki-ia-iz]-zi* § 149/38 (q); [*ur-k*]i-i-e-ez-[zi] § 149/38 (t).
- uš* See *-a-*.
- ušniya-* v. "to sell".  
 Iter. *ušneške-*: pres. sg. 3 mid. *uš-ne-eš-kat-ta* § 146a (c), § 146b (aa), § 147/36 (c); [*uš-ne-eš-kat-ta*]a § 148/37 (c); *uš-ne-eš-[kat-ta]* § 146a/35a (aa); *uš-ne-eš-k[at-t]a* § 147/36 (aa).
- ušhunai-* See *išhunai-*.
- uttar* n. neut. r/n-st. "matter, (legal) case".  
 sg. nom.-acc. *ut-tar* § 64 (A, B, F); [*u*]ʔ-[*tar?*] § 65 (A).  
 A-WA-AS-SÚ "his/its case" § 68 (A), § 84 (A); A-WA-SÚ § 68 (B, I); A-[WA-SÚ] § 84 (B).
- utne-* n. neut. "land, territory", also "country" (in contrast to the city).  
 sg. dat.-loc. *ut-ni-ia* § 71 (A, B); *ut-ne-e* § XXXVII, § 191/77 (p and y 2×); KUR § 5 (A and B 3×), § 19a (A, B), § 19b (A), § 20 (A and B 2×), § 21 (A and B 2×) § 23 (A 2×); [K]UR § 23 (B); KUR-e § XXXVII, § 23 (B).
- uwa-* (I 8) "to come".  
 pres. pl. 3 *ú-wa-an-zi* § 79 (B); *ú-en-zi* § 79 (A).  
 pret. pl. 3 *ú-e-er* § 55 (A, B, F).
- appa anda uwa-* "to come back in".  
 pres. sg. 3 EGIR-*pa an-da ú-iz-zi* § 171/56 (e, p).
- uwate-* v. act. "to lead, conduct (here)".  
 pres. sg. 3 *ú-wa-te-ez-zi* § 20 (A, B), § 21 (A, B), § 198/84 (p), § 199/85 (p); *ú-wa[-te-ez-zi]* § 199/85 (z); *ú-wa-t[e-ez-zi]* § 187/73 (p).  
 pres. pl. 3 *ú-wa-da-an-zi* § 188/74 (y); [*ú-wa-da-an-zi*]i § 188/74 (p); *ú-wa-da-an-z[i]* § 187/73 (y).
- āppa uwate-* "to lead back here".  
 pres. sg. 3 *a-ap-pa ... ú-wa-te-ez-zi* § 22 (A), § 23 (A); [*a-ap-pa*] *ú-wa-te-ez-zi* § 23 (B); *a-ap-pa ú-wa-t[e-ez-zi]* § 23 (A).  
 EGIR-*pa ... ú-wa-te-ez-zi* § 22 (B); EGIR-[*pa ... ú-wa-te-ez-zi*] § 23 (B).

## W

- wa(r)* (quotative particle).  
*-wa* § 37 (A, B), § 55 (A, B), § 95 (A, B, P), § 169/54 (aa, e); *-wa-* § 55 (A, B), § 74 (B); *-wa-aš-* § 95 (B); *-wa-ra* § 75 (B), § 149/38 (c). The particle can be omitted, as in: § 40 (A and B 2×, L 1×), § XXX, § 41 (A, B and C 2×, L 1×), § 55 (A, B and D 2×), § 75 (A, I), § 169/54 (e), § 198/84 (p and y 2×).
- wak-* v. act. "to bite (off)".  
 pres. sg. 3 *wa-a-ki* § 13 (A, B, C), § XII, § 14 (B, C), § XIII.
- walḥ-* v. act. "to strike".  
 pres. sg. 3 *wa-al-aḥ-zi* § 3 (B), § 4 (A, B), § 77 (A and B 2×), § 84 (A, B), § 86 (B), § 87 (B), § 88 (B, W); [*wa-al-a*]ḥ-zi § 87 (W); [*wa-al-a*]ḥ-z[i] § 89 (W); *wa-a[l-a]ḥ-zi* § 89 (B); *wa-al-aḥ-z[i]* § 38 (B); G[UL-*aḥ-zi*] § 88 (E), § 89 (E); GUL-*a[ḥ-zi]* § 87 (E).



- pres. pl. 3 *wa-al-ḥa-an-zi* § 101/1 (a).  
*piran walḥ-* "strike first (> preempt)".  
 pres. sg. 3 *pé-e-ra-an wa-la-aḥ-zi* § 146a/35a (aa); [*pé-e-ra-a*]n *wa-la-aḥ-zi* § 147/36 (aa); [*pé-ra-an wa-a*]l-*aḥ-z[i]* § 148/37 (t); [*pé-ra-an wa-a*]l-*aḥ-zi* § 146a/35a (c); *pé-e-[ra-an wa-la-aḥ-zi]* § 146b/35b (aa); *pé-e-ra-an wa-l[a?-aḥ-z]*i § 148/37 (aa); *pé-ra-an GUL-aḥ-zi* § 147/36 (c), § 148/37 (c); [ ... G]UL-*aḥ-zi* § 147/36 (t).
- walli-* "shorn(?), smooth(?) (of hides)".  
 sg. nom.-acc. N. *wa-al-li* § 185/71 (p).
- walkiššarahḥ-* v. act. "to make (a student) an expert".  
 pres. sg. 3 *wa-al-ki-[iṣ-ša-r]a-aḥ-ḥi* § 200b/86b (x); *wa-al-ki-iṣ-ša-ra[-aḥ-ḥi]* § 200b/86b (p).
- war-* v. mid. "to burn" (intr.).  
 pres. sg. 3 *wa-ra-a-ni* § 105/5 (a); [*wa-ra-a-n*]i § 105/5 (b).
- war-* (quotative particle) see -*wa*.
- warḥui-* adj. "rough, shaggy".  
 sg. nom. com. *wa-ar-ḥu-iš* § 185/71 (p).
- warnu-* v. act. "to burn" (trans.).  
 pres. sg. 3 *wa-a[r-nu-zi]* § 27 (J); BIL-n[*u-zi*] § 27 (C).  
 pres. pl. 3 *wa-ar-nu-an-zi* § 27 (B).
- warš-* v. act., *waršiya-* v. act. 1) "to sweep up, clean". 2) "to harvest, reap".  
 pres. sg. 3 2) *wa-ar-aš-zi* § 167/52 (p); *wa-ar-ši* § 167/52 (aa); [*wa-ar-*]š-i § 106/6 (aa); *wa-a[r-ši-]* § 106/6 (h); *wa-ar-še-e-ez-zi* § 106/6 (a); [*wa-ar-*]š-i-a[-*az-zi*] § 106/6 (b); *wa-ar-aš-še* § 166/51 (aa); *wa-ar-x[ ... ]* § 106/6 (d).  
 pres. pl. 3 1) *wa-ar-ši-ia-an-zi* § 158/43 (p); [*wa-ar-š*]i-an-zi § 158/43 (aa).
- waš-* v. act. "to buy, acquire".  
 pres. sg. 3 *wa-a-ši* § 47b (A 2x), § XXXVII, § XXXIX (2x), § 48 (A), § XL, § 146a/35a (aa, c), § 169/54 (e, p), § 176a/61 (p 2x), § 177/62 (aa 1x, p 2x), § 185/71 (p), § 186/72 (p 3x); [*wa-*]a-š-i § 47b (B); w[*a-a-ši*] § 26b (J), § 176/61 (aa).
- waššiya-* v. act. "to clothe, cover".  
 pres. sg. 3 *wa-aš-ši-e-ez-zi* § 198/84 (p).
- wašta-* v. act. "to sin, commit an offense".  
 pres. sg. 3 *wa-aš-ta-i* § 4 (A, B), § II, § III, § V, § VI; [*wa-aš-t*]a-i § 3 (B).  
*wašta-* with postpos. *katta(n)* governing a noun in gen. "to sin with, commit a sexual offense with".  
 pres. sg. 3 *kat-ta wa-aš-ta-i* § 189/75 (p 3x, y 1x), § 190/76 (p), § 200a/86a (p); [*kat-ta wa-aš-t*]a-i § 188/74 (p); *kat-ta [wa-aš-t]a-i* § 187/73 (p); *kat-ta [wa-aš-ta-i]* § 190/76 (y); *kat-ta w[a-aš-ta-i]* § 188/74 (y); *kat-ta wa-a[š-ta-i]* § 189/75 (y); *kat-ta ... wa-aš-ta-i* § 199/85 (p); [*kat-ta-an*] *wa-aš-ta-a-[i]* § 189/75 (x); *kat-ta-an [wa-aš-ta-a-i]* § 189/75 (x); ... *wa-a[š-ta-i]* § 199/85 (z); ... *wa-aš-t[a-a-i]* § 190/76 (x).
- waštai-* n. com. "sin, offence".  
 sg. nom. *wa-aš-ta-iš* § 197/83 (p); *wa-a[š-ta-iš]* § 197/83 (y).
- waštul* n. neut. "sin, offence".  
 sg. nom.-acc. *wa-aš-túl* § 197/83 (p).  
 gen. *wa-aš-túl-aš* § 146a/35a (c); *wa-a[š-túl-aš]* § 147/36 (t); *uš-tu-la-aš* § 146a/35a (aa); [*u*]š-tu-la-aš § 147/36 (aa); *uš-[tu-la-aš]* § 148/37 (aa).
- watku-* v. act. with dat.-loc. "to leap upon".  
 pres. sg. 3 *wa-at-ku-zi* § 199/85 (p); *wa-at-ku-z[i]* § 199/85 (p).



*wemiya-* v. act. "to find, to come across".

pres. sg. 3 *ú-e-mi-ez-zi* § 62 (A), § 66 (A), § 71 (A), § 78 (A), § 96 (A); [*ú*]-*e-mi-ez-zi* § 45 (A), § 61 (A); [*ú*]-*e-mi-e*]-*z-zi* § 61 (M); *ú-e*]-*mi-ez-zi*] § 78 (K), § 79 (K); *ú-e-m*]-*i-ez-zi*? § 121/18 (aa); *ú-e-mi-e*]-*ez-zi* § 79 (A); *ú-e-mi*]-*ez-zi*] § 24 (A); *ú-e-mi-ez*]-*z*]i § 60 (M); *ú-e-mi-ez-zi*]i § 71 (A); *ú-e-mi-e-ez-zi* § 60 (B); [*ú*]-*e-mi-e-ez-zi*]i § 60 (A); *ú-e-mi-ia-zi* § 24 (B), § XXXV (4x), § 66 (F), § 71 (B 3x), § 78 (B), § 79 (B), § 197/83 (p); [*ú*]-*e-mi-i*]-*a-zi* § 61 (F), § 90 (E); [*ú*]-*e-mi-ia*]-*z*]i § 60 (F), § 97 (B); *ú*]-*e-mi-ia-zi*] § 66 (I); *ú-e-mi-ia*]-*z*]i § 71 (V); *ú-e-mi-ia-z*]i § 62 (F); *ú-e-mi-ia-az-zi* § 45 (B), § 61 (B), § 62 (B); [*ú*]-*e-mi-ia-az-zi*] § 66 (B); *ú-i-mi-ia-zi* § 90 (B); *ú-e-mi-ia*]-[ ... ] § XXV; *KAR-zi* § 45 (C); *K[A]R-iz-zi* § 90 (B)

*wen-* v. act. "to poke, fuck".

pres. sg. 3 *ú-en-zi* § 191/77 (p, y), § 194 (aa, p), § 200a/86a (x).

*weši-* n. com. "pasture".

sg. acc. *ú-e-ši-in* § 146a/35a (aa); [*ú*]-*e*]-[*ši-in*] § 146a/35a (c).

abl. *ú-e-ši-ia-az* § 162b/47 (c, v).

*wešiya-* v. act. "to graze".

v. subst. gen. *ú-e-ši-ia-u-wa-aš* "Weidepferd" § 180/65 (x); *ú-e-ši-ia-u*]-*wa-aš*] § 180/65 (b).

*wete-* v. act. "to build".

pres. sg. 3 *ú-e-te-ez-zi* § 100 (A, B), § 145/34 (aa); [*ú*]-*e-te-ez-zi*] § 100 (W); [*ú*]-*e-te*]-*ez-zi*] § 100 (F).  
*appa wete-* "to rebuild".

pres. sg. 3 [*a-ap-pa ú-e*]-*te-ez-zi* § 98 (A); [*EG*]-*IR-pa ú-e-te-ez-zi* § 98 (B); ... [*ú*]-*e-te-ez-zi* § 98 (Q).

*witt-* n. com. "year".

sg. nom. *MU.KAM-za* § 164-165/49-50 (p).

dat.-loc. *ú-i-it-ti* § 172/57 (aa); *MU-ti* § 172/57 (e); *MU.KAM-ti* § 172/57 (p).

*MU.1.[KAM]* "one year" § 24 (B).

*MU.2.KAM* "two years" § 175/60 (p); *M[U.2.KAM]* § 175/60 (aa).

*MU.3.KAM* "three years" § 35 (A), § 176a/61a (aa 1x, p 2x); [*M*]-*U.3?.[KAM]* § 35 (B); *MU.3[...]* § 176a/61a (b).

*MU.4.KAM* "four years" § 112/12 (c, d), § 175/60 (p).

*-za (-z)* (enclitic reflexive part. for all persons) "(to/for/by) oneself".

For the OH writing *nu-uz-za* see § 5 (A), § 21 (A), § 33 (A).

Verbs with inconsistent use of *-za (-z)* in the laws:

*aniya-* v. act. without *-za*. 1) tr. "to make" (§ 160-161), 2) intr. "to work" (§ 10, § IX), 3) tr. "to work, tend" (obj. land § 40, § XXXIII). Iter. *anneške-*: pres. sg. 3 [*an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi*] § 10 (A), *an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi* Par. IX. [*an-né-eš-ki-iz-zi*] § 10 (B), *an-né-e*]-[*š-ki-iz-zi*] § XXXIII; pl. 3 *an-né-eš-kán-zi* § 40 (L).

with *-za*. pres. pl. 3 *-za ... an-ni-iš-kán-z*]i § 40 (A), but without *-za* in B.

*arnu-* without *-za* pres. sg. 3 *ar-nu-zi* § 2 (B), § 3 (B), § 4 (B), § 19a (B), § 76 (A), § 100 (B, F); [*ar-nu-z*]i § 1 (B), § 100 (R); *ar*]-[*nu-zi*] § 100 (A); *ar-nu-uz-zi* § 4 (A), § 19a (A), § 76 (B); [*ar-nu-u*]-*z-zi* § 3 (A); [*ar-nu-uz-z*]i § 76 (I).

with *-za* pres. sg. 3 *-za ... ar-nu-uz-zi* § 5 (A, B).

*ep(p)-* usually without *-za* "to seize" (referenses above under *ep(p)-*). pres. sg. 3 *e-ep-zi* § 22 (B), § 36 (B), § 43 (A, B, C), § 49 (A, L), § 66 (A, B), § 71 (B), § 118/15 (f), § 158/43 (aa, p), § 175/60 (aa, p), § 197/83 (p 2x, y 1x); [*e-ep-z*]i § 158/43 (n); *e*]-*ep-zi*] § 197/83 (y); *e-e*]-*p-z*]i § 22 (A); *e-e*]-*p-zi*] § 118/15 (aa); *e-ep*]-*z*]i § 66 (I); *e-ep-z*]i § 49 (A)

once with *-za* "seize for oneself". pres. sg. 3 *-za-an ... e-ep-zi* § 105/5 (a); *-za ... [e-ep-zi]* § 105/5 (b); *-za ...* § 105/5 (g).



- happarai-* (*happirai-*, *haprai-*) v. act. without *-za*. "to sell". pres. sg. 3 *ha-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi* § 39 (A, B), § 149/38 (c); *ha-a[p-pa-ra-iz-zi]* § 149/38 (t); *h[a-ap-pa-ra-iz-zi]* § 149/38 (aa); *ha-ap-pí-ra-iz-zi* § XL; *ha-ap-ra-iz-zi* § 26b (J). pl. 3 *ha-ap-pár-ra-an-zi* § 176a/61a (p). pret. sg. 3 *ha-ap-pa-ra-a-it* § 48 (A).
- with *-za* ? pres. sg. 3 *-za ... ha[-ap-ra-iz-zi]* § 26a (L); *-za[ ... ha-ap-ra-iz-zi]* § 26a(B).
- har(k)-* v. act. without *-za*. "to have, to hold". pres. sg. 3 *har-zi* § 39 (A, B), § 40 (B, L), § 41 (A, B), § 46 (A, B), § XXXVIII, § 47a (A, B), § XXXVI, § XXXIXa, § 53 (B, D), § 193/79 (p, y), § 195b/81b (e, p), § 195c/81c (p); *har-z[i]* § 41 (L); *har-[zi]* § 40 (A); [*har-z*]i § 53 (F). pres. pl. 3 *har-kán-zi* § 52 (A, B); *har-kán-[zi]* § 52 (G). pret. sg. 3 *har-ta* § 193/79 (p).
- with *-za*. pres. sg. 3 *-za ... har-zi* § 41 (C).
- iya-* without *-za* "to make, do" (references sub *iya-*) act. pres. sg. 3 *i-ia-zi* § XXXIX (2×); [*i-i*]a-zi § 112/12 (c); *i-ia-z[i]* § 112/12 (k); *i-ia-az-zi* § XXXVI; *i-e-ez-zi* § 46 (B), § 55 (B), § 164-165/49-50 (p). pres. pl. 3 *i-ia-«an-»zi* § 112/12 (d); *i-ia-an-z[i]* § 196/82 (e); [*i-e*]n?-z[i?] § 196/82 (p)
- with *-za* "to make for oneself". pres. sg. 3 *-za ... i-ia-zi* § 171/56 (e); *-za ... i-e-ez-zi* § 171/56 (p); *-za ... i-e-e[z-zi]* § 55 (A). pres. pl. 3 *-za [ ... i-en-z]*i § 33 (A).
- É-ir *iya-* with *-za* "to found a family/household". pres. pl. 3 *-za ... i-en-zi* § 31 (B).
- happar iya-* without *-za* "to carry on trade". pres. sg. 3 [*ha-ap-pár i-i*]a-zi § 146a/35a (c); *ha-a-ap-pár ... i-ez-zi* § 48 (A); [*ha-a-ap-pár*] ... *i-ez-z[i]* § 48 (B); *ha-ap-pár i-e-ez-zi* § 146a/35a (aa).
- with *-za* "to make a trade for/by oneself". pres. sg. 3 *-za ha-ap-pár ... i-ia-zi* § XL; *-za ... ha-ap-pár [i-i]a-zi* § XL; *-za ... ha-a-ap-pár i-ez-zi* § 48 (A); [*-za*] ... [*ha-a-ap-pár i*]e-z-zi § 48 (B)
- idalawešš-* v. act. without *-za*. 1) "to go wrong". 2) "to become estranged". pres. sg. 3 *i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-zi* § XXXIV. pres. pl. 3 *i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi* § 31 (B).
- with *-za* "to become estranged, have a falling out". pres. pl. 3 *-za i-da-a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi* § 53 (D); *-za i-t[a-la-u-e-eš-ša-an-zi]* § 53 (A); *-za i-da-a-la-u-iš-š[a-an-zi]* § 53 (F); *-za i-da-la-u-e-ša-an-z[i]* § 53 (G).
- karp-/karpiya-* without *-za* 1) 1) "to lift, to carry"; 2) "to carry out, to render (feudal services)". pres. sg. 3 2) *kar-ap-zi* § 46 (B), § XXXVIII (2×), § XXXIXa, § XXXIXb; *kar-pí-i-ez-zi* I § 46 (A 2×), § 47b (A), § XXXIXb, § 48 (A), § 51 (G); *kar-pí-ez-zi* § 47b (A); *kar-pí-ez-z[i]* § 46 (A); *kar-pí-ez-[zi]* § 46 (B); [*kar-p*]í-ez-zi § 47b (A); [*ka*]r-pí-ez-zi § 48 (B). pres. pl. 3 2) *kar-pí-ia-an-zi* 56 (D), *kar-pí-an-zi* § XXXVIII, § 51 (D), § 56 (A); *ka[r-pí-an-zi]* § 50 (A), *k[ar-pí-an-zi]* § 46 (A, B). pret. pl. 3 2) *kar-pí-i-e-e[r]* § 54 (D), *kar-p[í-er]* § 54 (A).
- with *-za* ? pres. sg. 3 *-za ... kar-pí-iz-zi* § XL.
- kutruwai-* v. act. with *-za*. "to secure witnesses". pres. sg. 3 *-za ku-u-ut-ru-wa-a-ez-zi* § XXXV; *-za ... ku-ut-ru-wa-a-ez-zi* § XXXV.
- mimmai-* v. act. "to refuse, reject": without *-za*: pres. sg. 3 *mi-im-ma-i* § 28 (B), § 40 (A), § 41 (A, B); [*m*]i<sup>t</sup>-im-ma-i § 95 (B); [*mi-i*]m-ma-i § 40 (B); [*mi-im-ma*]-i § 95 (P); *mi-im-[ma-i]* § 40 (L); *me-«em->ma-i* § 41 (C). pres. pl. 3 *mi-im-ma-a[n-zi]* § 28 (A); with *-za*: pres. sg. 3 *-za mi-im-ma-i* § 30 (B); [*-za mi-im-ma*]-i § 30 (C); *-za ... m[i-im-ma-i]* § 26a (J). pres. pl. 3 *-za mi-im-ma-an-zi* § 55 (A); [*-za*] *me-em-ma-an-zi* § 55 (B); *-za me-em-ma-an[-zi]* § 55 (F).
- anda peda-* with *-za* "zu sich hineinschaffen". pres. sg. 3 [*-a*]z *an-da [pé-e-da-i]* § 27 (L); [*-az*] *an-da pé-e-da-a-i* § 27 (C); *-az an-da [pé-e-da-a-i]* § 27 (B); *-az an-da pé-e-d[a-i]* § 27 (J)
- pittenu-* "to run off with" without *-za*: pres. sg. 3 *pít-te-nu-zi* § 28 (C); *pí[t-t]e-[nu-z]*i § 35 (B); *pít-te-n[u-zi]* § 28 (C); *pít-te-nu-uz-zi* § 28 (B), § 37 (B); *pít-te-nu-[u]z-z[i]* § 28 (B); *pít-ti-nu-uz-zi* § 37 (A); with *-zan*: pres. sg. 3 *-za-an pít-te[-nu-z]*i § 28 (C).
- šarra-* without *-za*: pres. pl. 3 *šar-ra-an-zi* § 53 (A, B, D); [*š*]ar-ra-an-zi § 32 (A); [*š*]ar-ra-an-z[i] § 53 (F); *šar[-ra-an-zi]* § 33 (A); *šar-r[a-a]n-zi* § 33 (A); with *-za*: pres. pl. 3 *-za ... šar-ra-an-zi* § 31 (B), § 53 (A, D); [*-za*] ... *šar-ra-an-zi* § 53 (B); [*-za*] ... [*šar-ra-a*]n-zi § 53 (G); *-za ... [šar-*



- ra-an-zi*] § XXIVa, § 53 (F); *-za-an ... šar-ra-an-zi* § 53 (D); *-az ... šar-ra-an-zi* § 53 (A, B); *[-az] ... šar-ra-an-zi* § 53 (F).
- šarnink-* "to make compensation", usually without *-za*: pres. sg. 1 *šar-ni-ik-mi* § 95 (A, P); *šar-ni-ik-mi*] § 95 (Y); *šar-ni-ik-m[i]*] § 95 (B). pres. sg. 3 *šar-ni-ik-zi* § 5 (A, B), § III, § 28 (B), § 29 (C), § 42 (B, C), § XXXIV, § XXXV, § 49 (A), § 99 (A 1×, B 2×) § 127/24 (c); [*šar-ni-ik-zi*] § 98 (F); [*šar-ni-ik-z*]i § XLI, § 99 (F, Z); *š[ar-ni-ik-zi]* § 99 (Z); *šar-ni-[i]k-zi* § 98 (B); *šar-ni-ik-[zi]* § 98 (Q), § 99 (A, F); *šar-ni-ik-z[i]* § 95 (A); [*šar-ni-ik-za*] § 98 (A). pres. pl. 3 *šar-ni-in-kán-zi* § 28 (B), § 29 (B); *šar-ni-in-ká[n-zi]* § 28 (B); *šar-ni-e[n-kán-zi]* § 28 (C); once (perhaps twice) with *-za*: pres. sg. 3 [*-za(?)*] ... *šar-ni-ik-zi* § 28 (C). pres. pl. 3 *-za šar-ni-en-kán-zi* § 28 (C).
- anda šiyattariya-* without *-za* (usually OH): pres. sg. 3 *an-da š[i-ia-at-ta-ri-ia-zi?]* § XXXI; [*an-da š[i-ia-at-ta-ri-e-ez-zi]*] § 41 (L); *an-da š[i-it-ta-ri-ez-zi]* § 40 (A); *an-da š[i-it-ta-ri-ez-zi]*] § 41 (A); *an-da š[i-e[-et-ta-ri-ia-zi]*] § XXX. pret. sg. 3 *an-da š[i-it-ta-ri-et]* § 55 (A); *an-da [š[i-it-ta-ri-et]* § 55 (B); *an-da š[i-e[-e]t-ta-ri-et]* § 55 (D); with *-za* (usually NH): pres. sg. 3 *-za ... an-da š[i-ia-at-ta-ri-i-e-ez-zi]* § 41 (B); *-za ... an-da š[i-ia-at-ta-ri-ia-zi]* § 40 (L); *-za ... an-da š[i-a-at-ta-ri-ia-zi]* § 40 (B); *-za ... an-da š[i-ia-at-tal-li-ia-az-zi]* § 41 (C).
- šuwai-* without *-za* "to push or shove off, forfeit, lose" pres. sg. 3 1) *šu-wa-[a]-iz-zi* § 43 (C); *šu-wa-ia-zi* § 43 (C); *šu-ú-w[a?-i]z-zi* § 43 (B); 2) *šu-wa-a-ez-zi* § 95 (P); [*šu-wa-a-ez-zi*]i § 26a (B); *šu-ú-w[a-iz-zi]* § 95 (Y); 2) *šu-ú-iz-zi* § 95 (A); [*šu-ú-i]z-zi* § 99 (A); *šu-ú-iz-zi* § 99 (B); *šu[-ú-ez-zi]* § 43(A); *šu-ú-e-ez-zi*] § 99 (F); *š[u-ú-e-ez-zi]* § 99 (Z). Because the text is broken in §§ 95 and 99 of A, it is uncertain if it construed with *-za* in this meaning.
- with *-za* "to shove away from oneself, divorce (a wife)" pres. sg. 3 [*-za*] ... *šu-wa-a[-iz-zi]* § 26a (L), § 26c (C); *-za ... šu-ú[-iz-zi]* 26b (J), *-za ... šu-wa-a-ez-zi* § 171/56 (e); *-za ... šu-ú-i-ez-zi* § 171/56 (p).
- da-* without *-za* "to take", pres. sg. 3 *da-a-i* § IV, § 27 (C, J), § 30 (B), § 31 (B 2×), § 33 (A 2×), § 47a (A, B), § 53 (A 1×, B and F 3×, D 4×), § 74 (A, B), § 80 (A 2×, B 1×), § 90 (E), § 106/6 (h, i), § 113/13 (c 1×, k 2×), § 146b/35b (aa), § 162a/47 (p 1×, v 2×), § 162b/47 (v), § 169/54 (aa, e), § 171/56 (e and p 3×), § 175/60 (p), § 192/78 (p), § 193/79 (p 3×, y 1×); *da-a-i!* § 175/60 (aa); [*da-a-i*] § 113/13 (k), § 162b/47 (v), § 193/79 (aa 2×); *d[a-a-i]* § 30 (C), § 32 (A); *da-[a-i]* § 113/13 (d); *da-a-[i]* § 53 (F). pres. pl. 3 *da-an-zi* § 43 (B). pret. sg. 3 *da-a-i* § 9 (A, B). imp. sg. 3 *da-a-ú* § 53 (A). Iterative pret. pl. 3 *da-aš-ke-er* § 9 (B); *da-aš-ke-e-er* § 9 (A).
- with *-za* "to take for oneself". pres. sg. 1 *-za ... da-aḥ-ḥi* § 74 (B). pres. sg. 3 *-za da-a-i* § 6 (A, B), § 149/38 (c); *-za ... da-a-i* § 9 (B), § VIII, § 21 (A, B), § 23 (A), § 31 (B), § 32 (B), § 33 (B), § 34 (B), § 43 (C), § 66 (B, F), § 70 (B), § 71 (B), § 74 (B), § 106/6 (d); [*-za*] ... *da-a-i* § 106/6 (a); [*-za*] ... *da-a-[i]* § 106/6 (b); *-za ... [d]a-a-i* § 66 (A); *-za ... [da-a-i]* § 70 (A); *-za ... d[a-a-i]* § 26a (L), § XL; *-za ... da-[a-i]* § 9 (A); *-za-an ... [da-]a-[i]* § 23 (B); *-az da-a-i* § 168/53 (aa, e, p); *-az ... da-a-i* § 48 (A), § 80 (B), § 166/51 (p); [*-az*] ... *da-a-i* § 27 (C); [*-az*] ... [*da-a-]*i 27 (J); *-az ... [da-a-i]* § 26a (B), § 27 (B). pres. pl. 3 *-za ... da-an-[zi]* § 43 (A).
- tuhš-* usually without *-za* "to cut off, harvest" (for references see *tuhš-*). pres. sg. 3 *túḥ-ša-ri* § 144/33 (c); *tu-uh-ša-ri* § 144/33 (aa); *tu-uh-[š]a-ri* § 144/33 (aa). pres. pl. 3 *túḥ-ša-an-zi* § 28 (C), § 29 (B); *túḥ-ḥu-iš-ša-[an-zi]* § 29 (C); *tu-uh-ša-an-ta* § 28 (B).
- once with *-za* "to harvest for oneself" pres. sg. 3 *-za ... túḥ-ša-an-na-i* § 113/13 (k).
- turiya-* without *-za* "to hitch up, harness". pres. sg. 3 *tu-u-ri-ez-zi* § 75 (A, B), § 79 (A), § 159/44 (aa); *tu-u-ri-ia-zi* § 79 (B); [*tu-u-ri-ya-az-zi*] § 75 (I); *tu-ri-ia-zi* § 159/44 (p). pres. pl. 3 *tu-u-ri-ia-an-zi* § 166/51 (aa); *tu-ri-ia-an-zi* § 166/51 (p). v. subst. gen. *tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-aš* § 64 (B), § 66 (B, F); *tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-[aš]* § 64 (H); *tu-u-ri-ia-u-wa-aš* § 64 (F); *tu-u-ri-ia-w[a]-aš* § 64 (A); *tu-u-ri-ia-wa-aš* § 180/65 (x); *tu-u-ri-ia-u-aš* § 66 (A); *tu-ri-ia-u-aš* § 180/65 (p); *tu-u-ri[- ...]* § 180/65 (b).



- with *-za* "to hitch up for oneself". pres. sg. 3 [-*za*] *tu-u-ri-ez-zi* § 71 (A). Iterative pres. sg. 3 *-za tu-u-ri-iš-ki-iz-zi* § 71 (B).
- warš-* (*waršiya-*) without *-za* "to sweep, clear". pres. pl. 3 *wa-ar-ši-ia-an-zi* § 158/43 (p<j>); [*wa-ar-š*] *i-an-zi* § 158/43 (aa)
- with *-za* "to reap for oneself". pres. sg. 3 *-az wa-ar-še-e-ez-zi* § 106/6 (a); *-az* [*wa-ar-*] *ši-a[-az-zi]* § 106/6 (b); *-az wa-a[r-ši- ...]* § 106/6 (h); *-az wa-ar-x[ ...]* § 106/6 (d); [*-az*] ... *wa-ar-ši* § 167/52 (aa); [*... wa-ar ...*] *-ši* § 106/6 (aa); *-az ... wa-ar-aš-zi* § 167/52 (p); [*-az*] ... *wa-ar-aš-še* § 166/51 (aa).
- za* with no verbal complement. *-za* § XXV.
- zah-* v. mid. "to hit one another".  
pres. pl. 3 *za-ah-ḥa-an-da* § 174/59 (p); [*za-ah-ḥa-an-d*] *a* § 174/59 (aa).
- GIŠ*zahrai-* n. com.  
sg. acc. GIŠ*za-ah-ra-in* § 126/23 (aa, c, f); *za-a[ḥ-ra-in]* § 126/23 (o); GIŠ*za-ḥur-ti* § 126/23 (m).
- zai-* v. act. "to cross (a river)".  
pres. sg. 3 *za-a-i* § 43 (A, B, C).
- zan* (enclitic particle, < *-za-šan*).  
*-za-an* § 23 (B); *-za* in A, § 26a (L<sub>2</sub>), § 28 (C), § 49 (A), § 53 (D); *-za* in A, F and G, § 105/5 (a); *-za* in b and g; *-za[-an]* § 26a (B).
- zik* (personal pron.) "you".  
sg. nom. *zi-ik* § 37 (A, B)
- URUDU*zina-* n. com. (Plur. !) "shears(?)".  
sg. acc. [URUDU*zi-n*] *a-al-li* § 143/32 (r); URUDU*zi-na-[al-li]* § 144/33 (c); URUDU*zi-na-a[l-li]* § 143/32 (c).
- zinu-* (for *zainu-*) v. act. "to cause (an animal) to cross (a river)".  
Iterative *zinuške-*  
pres. sg. 3 *zi-i-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi* § 43 (A); *zi-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi* § 43 (B); *ze-e-nu-uš-ki-iz-zi* § 43 (C).
- URUZ*iplanta-*  
dat.-loc. sg. URUZ*ip-la-an-ti* § 50 (A); [URUZ*ip-la-an-ti*] § 51 (A); URUZ*ip-pa-la-an-ti* § 51 (B); URUZ*ip-pa-la-a[n-ti]* § 51 (G)
- zipittani-* (*zipattani-* ?) n. neut. (small unit of capacity).  
sg. nom.-acc. *zi-pát-ta-ni* § 181/66 (p 2×); *zi-pát-ta-[ni]* § 181/66 (p); *zi-pád-da-ni* § 181/66 (p 1×, x 3×); *zi-[pád-da]-ni* § 181/66 (x).



## SUMERIAN WORDS

## A

A.GÀR Only in the combination <sup>A.ŠÀ</sup>A.GÀR. Cf. below.

A.ŠÀ n. "field, land" (Akk. *eqlu*). A.ŠÀ takes common gender agreement in OS copy A, but neuter in OS copy aa. In later manuscripts the underlying noun is common gender in a and c, neuter in C and d, and vacillates in b. See Commentary on §§46-47 and Chapter IV (Manuscripts), Orthography sub § 106.<sup>3</sup>

§6 (A, B), §26a (B), §XXXVIII, §72 (B), §79 (A, B), §106/6 (b and i 1×, d 3×), §124/21 (o), §168/53 (aa and e 1×, p 2×).

pl. A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A §39 (B 2×), §40 (A 2×, B 3×, L 1×), §41 (A, B and C 2×, L 1×), §46 (B 1×, C 3×), §47a (A), §XXXIXb; A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A §46 (B); A.ŠÀ[ĪI.A] §46 (B); A[.ŠÀ.ĪI.A] §39 (B); [A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A] §40 (L); [A.ŠÀ.ĪI].A §39 (A), §40 (L 2×), §47a (B).

A.ŠÀ-ŠU (Akk. *eqel-šu*) "his field" §XXXIXb, §48 (A), §XL, A-NA A.ŠÀ-ŠU (= *ana eqli-šu*) §106/6 (d).

A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-ŠU §47b (A).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-š=a §46 (A), A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-uš §XXXVIII (2×).

acc. A.ŠÀ-an §168/53 (e, p); [A.ŠÀ-a]n §106/6 (a); A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-an §40 (A), §46 (A 2×), §XXXVIII, §52 (A, B, G), §53 (D); A.Š[ĪI.A-an] §46 (B); A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-n- §39 (A), §47b (A), §53 (A, B, F); A.ŠÀ[ĪI.A-n-a] §39 (L).

gen. A.ŠÀ-aš §86 (E), §168/53 (d, e); A.ŠÀ-na-aš §86 (B); A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-aš §XXXIXa; A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-š- §46 (A); A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-aš §46 (A).

dat.-loc. A.ŠÀ-ni §44b (B), §79 (A, B), §86 (B); A.Š[ĪI.A-ni] §86 (E); (with poss.) A.ŠÀ-iš-ši §162b/47b (w), A.ŠÀ-i[š?-š?i?] §124/21 (f); A.ŠÀ.ĪI.A-ni §72 (B).

Akkad. complements:

sg. nom. A.ŠÀ-LUM (Akk. *eqlum*) §106/6 (a, c) (as acc.).

acc. A.ŠÀ-LAM (Akk. *eqlam*) §106/6 (d), §112/12 (d), §166/51 (p), §167/52 (aa, p), §168/53 (e 2×, p 1×), §169/54 (e); A.ŠÀ-L[AM] §169/54 (p); A.Š[ĪI.A-LAM] §168/53 (aa); [A.ŠÀ-L]AM §106/6 (b); [A.ŠÀ-LA]M §106/6 (h), §168/53 (aa).

<sup>A.ŠÀ</sup>A.GÀR "land, property". §IV (3×), §XXXVI, XXXVII (4×), XXXVIII, §XXXIXb.

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. <sup>A.ŠÀ</sup>A.GÀR-an §XXXVIII, §XXXIXa.

A.ŠÀ ĪI.A.LA.NI (some kind of field) §183/69 (p).

A.ŠÀ šiššura- "irrigated(?) field". sg. gen. A.ŠÀ šiššuraš §183/69 (p).

LÚA.ZU "physician".

§10 (A, B), §IX; L[ÚA.ZU] §10 (C).

GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB "cow".

§66 (A, B), §67 (A, B), §77a (A, B), §151/40 (q), §178/63 (b 1×, p 2×); [GU<sub>4</sub>Á]B §67 (I).

GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB.GAL "fullgrown cow".

§178/63 (b, p).

LÚAGRIG "foreman, administrator".

§35 (B), 175/60 (p).

<sup>3</sup> This observation about the diachronic difference in gender of A.ŠÀ attributes a somewhat "archaic" character to the cadaster text KUB 8.75+ (CTH 239.1), in which A.ŠÀ is always common gender.



AMAR n. com. "calf".

§ 178/63 (b, p), § 185/71 (p), § 186/72 (p).

ANŠE n. com. "ass".

§ XXXV, § 70 (A), § 76 (B, I).

With Hittite complements: sg. acc. ANŠE-in § 70 (B), § 71 (A), § 75 (A, B), § 76 (A), § 148/37 (c), § 152/41 (aa, q); [AN]ŠE-in § 148/37 (aa).

ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA n. com. "mule".

§ 70 (A), § 75 (A, B), § 76 (A, B, I), § 129/26 (c), § 148/37 (c), § 152/41 (a, q), § 180/65 (p), § 200a/86a (p); ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.N[A] § 148/37 (aa); ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.N[A] § 180/65 (b); ANŠE.GÌR.N[U]N.NA § 180/65 (x); A[NŠE.GÌR.N]UN.N[A] § 148/37 (t); [ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.N]A § 71 (A).

With Hittite complements: sg. acc. ANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA-an § 70 (B), § 71 (B).

ANŠE.KUR.RA n. com. "horse".

§ XXXV, § 58 (A and B 2×, D 3×, F 1×), § 61 (A 1×, B 2×), § 64 (A, B, F, H), § 66 (B, F), § 70 (A, B), § 71 (B), § 75 (B), § 76 (A, B), § 77a (A, B), 129/26 (c), § 148/37 (aa), § 152/41 (q), § 180/65 (b 1×, p and x 2×); ANŠE.KUR.R[A] § 152/41 (c); ANŠE.[KUR.RA] § 71 (A); AN[ŠE.KUR.RA] § 61 (F); A[NŠE.KUR.RA] § 66 (A); A[NŠE.KUR.RA] § 71 (V), § 200a/86a (z); [A]NŠE.KUR.RA § 148/37 (aa); [AN]ŠE.KUR.RA § 75 (A); [ANŠE.KUR.RA] § 61 (F); [AN]ŠE.KUR.[RA] § 75 (I); [ANŠE.K]UR. [R]A § 152/41 (aa); [ANŠE.KUR.RA] § 76 (I).

pl. ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ § 58 (B), § 61 (B); ANŠE.KUR.RA.ĤIA I § 58 (M and D 1×, B 2×); ANŠE.KUR.R[A.ĤIA] § 58 (D); A[NŠE.KUR.RA.ĤIA] § 58 (F).

With Hittite complements:

sg. gen. ANŠE.KUR.RA-aš § 77b (A); ANŠE.K[UR.RA-aš] § 130/27 (c).

dat.-loc. ANŠE.KUR.RA-i § 200a/86a (p).

ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĤ n. com. "stallion".

§ 58 (B 3×, D 1×), § 61 (B); [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MA]Ĥ § 58 (M).

With Hittite complements: sg. nom. ANŠE.KUR.RA.MAĤ-aš § 58 (A 2×, D 3×); ANŠE.KUR.RA.-MAĤ-a[š] § 58 (B); [ANŠE.KUR.RA.M]AĤ-aš § 58 (F); [ANŠE.KUR.RA.MA]Ĥ-aš § 58 (A).

ANŠE.KUR.RA.NÍTA "male horse".

§ 178/63 (p), § 180/65 (p), § 181/66 (p, x).

ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ "mare, (yearling) filly". Not "Zugstute" (Friedrich 1959 140 and still Siegelová 1986 24)! See below under MUNUS.AL(.LÁ).

§ 66 (B, F), § 68 (B), § 180/65 (p, x), § 181/66 (p, x); ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL.[L]Á § 178/63 (p); [ANŠE].KUR.RA MUNUS.AL.LÁ § 68 (I); ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL § 68 (A).

With Hittite complements: ANŠE.KUR.RA MUNUS.AL-aš § 66 (A)

ANŠE.NITA "jackass".

§ 178/63 (b, p).

ANŠE.MUNUS.AL.LÁ "female ass, jenny". See below under MUNUS.AL(.LÁ).

§ 178/63 (p), AN[ŠE.MUNUS.AL.LÁ] § 178/63 (b).

GIŠAPIN n. com. "plow".

With Hittite complements: sg. acc. GIŠAPIN-an § 121/18 (f), § 166/51 (p); G[IS...] § 121/18 (a).

ARAD n. com. "(male) slave" (Akk. *ardu*).

§ 20 (B), § 21 (A, B), § 52 (A and G 1×, B and D 2×), § 99 (B), § 170/55 (e, p); [AR]AD § 20 (A), § 52 (A, G), § 99 (A).

ARAD-SÚ (Akk. *ara(d)-zu*) "his slave" § 21 (A, B).



- ARAD.MEŠ-ŠU "his slaves" § 196/82 (p, y).  
 With Hittite complements:  
 sg. nom. ARAD-aš § 22 (A, B), § 23 (A 2×), § 24 (A), § 32 (A), § 33 (A 2×), § 95 (A, O), § 97 (A, B), § 99 (A), § 173b/58b (p).  
 ARAD-iš § VII, § IX, § 23 (B), § 24 (B), § 32 (B), § 33 (B), § 34 (B), § 36 (B), § 95 (B), § 99 (B);  
 ARAD-i[š] § XXVI.  
 ARAD-š- § 101/1 (a), § 105/5 (a), § 121/18 (a, f), § 132/29 (c), § 170/55 (p), § 172/57 (e, p);  
 [ARA]D-š- § 121/18 (aa); LÚARAD-š- § 143/32 (c).  
 acc. ARAD-an § 4 (B), § 8 (B), § VI, § XI, § 14 (B, C), § XIII, § 16 (B, C), § XV, § 93 (A), § 95 (A, B, P); ARAD-[an] § 93 (B, F); ARAD-na-an § 8 (A, X), § 12 (B).  
 gen. ARAD-na-aš § 12 (A); ARAD-na § 99 (F); ARAD-š- § 95 (A, B).  
 ARAD É NA<sub>4</sub> "slave of a Stone House". See Otten 1958 104f.  
 § 52 (B); ARAD É N[A<sub>4</sub>] § 52 (D); [AR]AD É NA<sub>4</sub> § 52 (A, G).  
 LÚAŠGAB "leatherworker".  
 § 176b/61b (p), § 200b/86b (p).  
 LÚÁZLAG "fuller".  
 § 176b/61b (p), § 200b/86b (p, x).

## B

- BA.ÚŠ "he died" (from Sum. ÚŠ "to die"). Cf. ak(k)-.  
 BÀD "fortification (wall), fortress".  
 With Hittite complements: sg. dat.-loc. BÀD-ni § 56 (A, B, D).  
 LÚBÁḪAR "potter".  
 § 176b/61b (aa, p); L[ÚBÁḪAR] § 176b/61b (b).  
 GIŠBAN "bow". Cf. LÚ GIŠBAN.  
 GIŠBANŠUR (Akk. paššūru) "table".  
 With Hittite complements: sg. abl. GIŠBANŠUR-az § 47a (A); GIŠ[BANŠUR-a]z § 47a (B).  
 BIL "to burn (up)" Cf. warnu-.  
 BURU<sub>14</sub> "harvest (season)".  
 With Hittite complements: sg. dat.-loc. BURU<sub>14</sub>-i § 158/43 (aa 2×); B[URU<sub>14</sub>-i] § 158/43 (p).

## D

- DAM n. com. "wife" (Akk. aššatu).  
 § 26a (A), § 195/81a (p, y); DA[M-an-ni] § XXIVa, § XXVI.  
 DAM-TI (Akk. aššati) "my wife". nom. § 198/84 (p).  
 DAM-SÚ (Akk. ašša(t)-zu) "his wife". nom. § 192/78 (y); acc. § 27 (J), § 192/78 (p), § 193/79 (p, y), § 198/84 (p, y); DAM-S[Ú] § 193/79 (aa).  
 DAM-ŠU (Akk. aššati-šu) "(of) his wife"  
 gen. § 31 (B), § 34 (B), as acc. § 27 (C).  
 LÚDAM.GÀR "merchant". Cf. unattalla-.  
 DANNA (unit of linear measure; = Akk. bēru)  
 3 DANNA § IV (2×).  
 DÀRA.MAŠ "deer"  
 § 65 (A, B); DÀRA.[MAŠ] § 65 (F).



DI.KUD "case".

§ 44b (C) (B is restored as: *D[I-IN LUGAL-RI]*)

DINGIR "god".

With Akkadian complements: sg. gen. DINGIR-LIM § 75 (A, B, I).

DUB "tablet".

DUB.1.KAM colophon (F<sub>2</sub>).

DUB.2.KAM colophon (D), colophon (e).

DUB.3.KAM colophon (ABOT 52). I couldn't find that

DUB.SAR "scribe".

colophon to PT (KBo 64).

DUG "jug".

§ 164-165/49-50 (p), § 167/52 (p), § 168/53 (d, e, p).

LÚDUGUD "dignitary; magistrate" (military officer; cf. von Schuler, *Orientalia* NS 25, 56, pp. 209-223; Beal 1995).

§ 173a/58a (p).

DUMU n. com. "son; child" (Akk. *māru*).

colophon to PT (KBo 64), § 193/79 (y)

pl. DUMU.MEŠ § 26a (J), § 31 (B 2×), § 55 (A, B, D); [DUMU].MEŠ § 26a (L)

DUMU-ŠU "his/her son" § 48 (A), § XL, § 171/56 (e 3×, p 1×), § 194/80 (aa, p, y)

DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU "his sons" 175/60 (aa, p); DUMU.MEŠ-Š[U] § 27 (B); for sg. "her son" § 171/56 (p).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. DUMU-aš § 171/56 (e).

acc. DUMU-an § 200/86b (p); [DUMU-]an § 200/86b (x).

Akk. complements: sg. acc. DUMU-AM (Akk. *māram*) § 31 (B), § 32 (A), § 33 (A).

DUMU.DUMU "grandchild, grandson".

DUMU.DUMU-ŠU "his grandson". colophon to PT (KBo 6.4).

pl. DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠU "his grandson" colophon to PT (KBo 6.4); DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-Š[U] colophon to PT (KBo 6.4).

DUMU.LUGAL "king's son, prince".

§ 52 (A, B, D, G)

DUMU.MUNUS n. com. "daughter, girl" (Akk. *mārtu*).

§ 28a (B, C), § 30 (B), § XXIII; DUMU.MU[NUS] § XXII; [DUMU.MUN]US § 30 (C).

DUMU.MUNUS-SÁ (Akk. *mārassa*) "her daughter" § 195c/81c (p); DUMU.MUN[US-SÁ]

§ 195c/81c (x); [DUMU.MUNUS]S-SÁ § 195c/81c (y); DUMU.MUNUS-SÚ § 200a/86a (z).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. DUMU.MUNUS-aš § 29 (B).

gen. DUMU.MUNUS-aš § 189/75 (p, y).

dat.-loc. (with poss.) DUMU.MUNUS-ši § 195b/81b (aa, p); DUMU.MUNUS -T[? ] § 195b/81b (x).

DUMU.NITA n. com. 1) "son. 2) "young man".

2) § 36 (B).

DUMU.NITA-ŠU "her son" § 171/56 (p 2×); [DU]MU.NITA-Š[A?] § 171/56 (aa).

With Hittite complements:

sg. gen. DUMU.NITA-aš 1) § 189/75 (p, y); DU[MU.NITA-aš] § 189/75 (x).

acc. DUMU.NITA-an 1) § 44a (C).



dat.-loc. (with poss.) DUMU.NITA-*ši* 1) § 27 (C), § 171/56 (p); DUMU.NITA-*iš-ši* § 171/56 (e).  
 DUMU *UMMIĀN* "trained artisan, craftsman".  
 § 176b/61b (p).

## E

KUŠE.SIR n. com. "shoe".

With Hittite complements:

pl. acc. KUŠE.SIR-*uš* § 22a (A, B).

É n. "house, estate" (Akk. *bītu*). Cf. *per/parn-*.

É.GAL "palace" (Akk. *ekallu*).

§ 9 (A), § 126/23 (c 2x, f and o 1x); É.[G]AL § 198/84 (p); É.G[AL] § 126/23 (o); [É.G]AL § 126/23 (f).

With Akkadian complements:

sg. gen. É.GAL-*LIM* (Akk. *ekallim*) § 9 (A 1x, B 2x), § 25 (A), § 41 (A, B, C), § XXXIXa, 199/85 (p); É.[GAL-*LIM*] § 41 (L), § XXXI.

É GU<sub>4</sub> "an ox barn, stable".

§ 145/34 (c).

É IN.NU.DA "(straw)barn".

§ 158/43 (n); É IN.N[U.DA] § 158/43 (aa, p)

É.NA<sub>4</sub> "stone house" > "mausoleum".

§ 52 (A, B, G); É N[A<sub>4</sub>] § 52 (D).

É.NIM.LĀL "beehive".

§ 92 (A and B 2x); [É.NIM.LĀ]L § 92 (A); É? NIM?<.LĀL> Unplaced fragments.

EGIR adv. "then, afterwards".

§ XIX is missing in the Hittlaws HD copy § XXIX.

With Hittite complements:

EGIR-*an* "reverse(?)" § 162a/47a (p).

EGIR-*an-da* "after (him/it/them)". Cf. *appanda*.

EGIR-*pa* "back, in return, again". Cf. *appa(n)*.

EGIR-*ez-zi-az* "upstream(?)". Cf. *appezziyan*.

EGIR-*zi-an* "afterwards, consequently". Cf. *appezziyan*.

EN n. com. "lord, owner, master". Cf. *išha-* (= Akk. *bēlu*).

ÉRIN.MEŠ "troops".

§ 54 (A and D 7x, B 6x, F 1x); ÉRI[N.MEŠ] § 54 (F); É[RIN.MEŠ] § 54 (B); [ÉRIN.M]EŠ § 54 (F).

ÉSAG n. com. "storage pit (for grain)".

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. ÉSAG-*an* § 96 (A 2x, B 1x), § 97 (A 2x, B 1x); [ÉSA]G-*an* § 96 (P 2x); [ÉSAG]-*an* § 97 (B); [ÉSAG-*a*]n § 96 (B), § 97 (Q)

gen. ÉSAG-*aš* § 97 (B); ÉSAG-*š-* § 96 (B); ÉS[AG-*aš*] § 97 (A).

## G

GA.KIN.AG "cheese".

§ 181/66 (p); [GA].KIN.AG. § 181/66 (x).



GAD "linen(cloth)

GAD.GAL "large (bolt of) linen". § 182/67-68 (p).

GAL.NA.GAD "chief herdsman"

colophon to PT (KBo 6.4).

GÉME n. com. "female slave".

§ II; pl. GÉME.MEŠ-ŠU "his female slaves" § 196/82 (p, y).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. GÉME-aš § 24 (A, B), § 31 (B).

acc. GÉME-an § 2 (B), § 4 (B), § 8 (A, B), § 12 (B), § 14 (B, C), § XIII, § 16 (B, C), § XV, § 18 (C), § XVII, § 33 (A, B).

gen. GÉME-aš § 12 (A), § 18 (B), § 194/80 (p, y).

pl. acc. GÉME.ḪI.A-uš § 194/80 (p); GÉME.MEŠ-uš § 194/80 (y).

GÉME-(ašša)re- v. act. "to become a (female) slave".

GÉME-re-e[z-zi] § 35 (A).

GÉME-<sup>a</sup>/eššarešš- v. act. "to become a (female) slave".

pres. sg. 3 GÉME-e-eš-zi § 175/60 (p); [GÉM]E?-aš-ša-re-[e]š-zi § 35 (B); [GÉME-i]š-ša-re-ez-zi § 175/60 (aa).

(GIŠ)GEŠTIN n. com. 1) "vine". 2) "wine".

GIŠGEŠTIN 1) § 113/13 (d 1x, k 3x); GEŠTIN 1) § 113/13 (c). 2) § 183/69 (p).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. GIŠGEŠTIN-iš 1) § 105/5 (a, b); GIŠGEŠTIN[-iš] 1) § 105/5 (g); GIŠGEŠTIN-aš 1) colophon (D), colophon (e).

acc. GIŠGEŠTIN-an 1) § 113/13 (k); GEŠTIN-an § 113/13 (c); [GI]Š[G]EŠTIN-an § 113/13 (d).

GEŠTU n. com. Cf. *ištamana*- "ear".

GIDIM "dead person, ghost". Cf. *akkant*-.

GÍN "shekel.

½ GÍN § 151/40 (aa), § 157/42 (aa and p 2x, i and n 1x), § 179/64 (p), § 183/69 (p).

½ GÍN.GÍN § 150/39 (q).

1 GÍN § 89 (B), § 103/3 (b), § 122/19 (f), § 125/22 (aa, c, f, o), § 152/41 (aa), § 157/42 (aa, i, p), § 162a/47a (p, v), § 179/64 (p, b and x 2x), § 181/66 (p and x 4x), § 182/67-68 (p), § 183/69 (p 2x), § 185/71 (p 8x); 1 GÍ[N] § 181/66 (x).

1 GÍN.GÍN § 89 (E), § 101/1 (aa 2x), § 103/3 (a), § 125/22 (aa), § 150/39 (q); 1 GÍN.GÍ[N] § 120/17 (f), § 151/40 (c); 1 GÍN[GÍ]N § 181/66 (x); 1 GÍ[N].GÍN § 151/40 (aa).

2 GÍN § 22 (A), § 74 (B), § 77a (A 1x, B 2x), § 178/63 (p), § 179/64 (p, x), § 181/66 (p), § 183/69 (p); 2 GÍ[N] § 74 (A).

2 GÍN.GÍN § IX, § 103/3 (a), § 128/25 (c).

3 GÍN § 9 (A and B 3x, C 1x), § 14 (C), § 16 (C), § 22 (A, B), § 25 (A 2x, L 1x), § 77a (A), § 92 (A, B), § 102/2 (b), § 107/7 (d), § 108/8 (b, d, h, i), § 124/21 (n 1x, o 2x), § 178/63 (b), § 182/67-68 (p); 3 GÍ[N] § 182/67-68 (p); 3 GÍ[N] § 25 (A).

3 GÍN.GÍN § VIII, § IX, § 101/1 (a), § 102/2 (a), § 105/5 (a), § 121/18 (aa, f), § 123/20 (c), § 143/32 (c), § 182/67-68 (x); 3 GÍ[N].GÍN § 123/20 (a).

4 GÍN § 178/63 (p), § 181/66 (p, x), § 182/67-68 (p).

5 GÍN § XI, § 17 (B), § 18 (B), § 91 (B), § 107/7 (b, i), § 147/36 (aa), § 178/63 (b, p), § 182/67-68 (p); [5 GÍ]N § 91 (A).

5 GÍN GÍN § 144/33 (aa). ;



- 6 GÍN § VII, § 9 (A, B), § 10 (A, B, C), § 12 (C), § 23 (A), § 24 (A), § 42 (B, C), § 77b (A, B), § 82 (A, B), § 83 (A, B), § 92 (B), § 93 (A), § 95 (A, Y), § 97 (A, B), § 101/1 (b), § 105/5 (d), § 108/8 (b), § 109/9 (d), § 126/23 (o), § 145/34 (aa), § 200b/86b (p, x), Unplaced fragments (z); 6 GÍ[N] § 23 (B), § 108/8 (h).
- 6 GÍN.GÍN § XV, § 25 (L), § 83 (BB), § 93 (F), § 95 (F), § 102/2 (a), § 121/18 (aa, f), § 126/23 (c), § 131/28 (c), § 132/29 (c), § 143/32 (c), § 145/34 (c); 6 GÍN.GÍ[N] § 83 (R); 6 GÍN.[GÍN] § 105/5 (b).
- 7 GÍN § 178/63 (p).
- 8 GÍN § 178/63 (p).
- 10 GÍN § 7 (X), § 8 (A, B), § VI, § IX, § X, § 12 (B), § 17 (B), § 18 (C), § 107/7 (d), § 146b/35b (aa), § 172/57 (p), § 176b/61b (p), § 178/63 (p), § 180/65 (p, x), § 182/67-68 (p).
- 10 GÍN.GÍN § XI, § XVII, § 107/7 (a, c), § 144/33 (aa, c), § 172/57 (aa), § 182/67-68 (x).
- 12 GÍN § VII, § 15 (B), § XIV, § 20 (B), § 24 (A), § 26c (C), § 42 (B, C), § 81 (A, B), § 88 (B, E), § 93 (B, F), § 94 (A), § 96 (B), § 178/63 (b), § 182/67-68 (p); [1]2 GÍN § 15 (C), § 20 (A); 10[+2] GÍN § 178/63 (p); 12 GÍ[N] § 94 (F).
- 12 GÍN.GÍN § 88 (E), § 119/16 (f), § 129/26 (c).
- 14 GÍN § 180/65 (p).
- 15 GÍN § 180/65 (p, x).
- 15 GÍN.GÍN § 180/65 (x).
- 20 GÍN § IV, § 7 (A, B), § V, § VI, § 11 (A, B), § X, § 17 (C), 87 (B), § 177/62 (aa, p), § 180/65 (p), § 182/67-68 (p, x).
- 20 GÍN.GÍN § XVI; [20 GÍ]N.GÍN § 87 (B).
- 25 GÍN § 177/62 (aa, p).
- 30 GÍN § 182/67-68 (x), Unplaced fragments KBo 12.50; 30 GÍ[N] § 182/67-68 (p).
- 50 GÍN § 24 (B).
- numeral lost in lacuna: [...] GÍN § 14 (B), § 94 (B), § 108/8 (d), § 157/42 (n); [... GÍ]N § 108/8 (c), § 133/30 (c); [... GÍ]N § 25 (A), § 109/9 (j), § 152/41 (c); [...] GÍN.GÍN § 107/7 (a), § 126/23 (aa), § 37; [... GÍ]N.GÍN § 101/1 (a, b), § 147/36 (c), § 148/37 (c); [... GÍN].GÍN § 124/21 (f); [... GÍN.GÍ]N § 25 (L), § 101/1 (aa), § 105/5 (b), § 133/30 (c).
- GÌR "foot" (Hittite *pada-*).  
§ 74 (A, B).  
GÌR-ŠU "his leg" § 11 (A, B), § X, § 12 (A, B), § XI; GÌR-ŠU § 11 (C).
- GIŠ 1) "tree". 2) "wood, timber". (Hittite *taru*, Akk. *išu*).  
2) § 102/2 (a 2x), 1) § 105/5 (b) (var. a GIŠ-ŠÍ, cf. below); [GI]Š 2) § 102/2 (a 1x, b 2x)  
pl. GIŠ.ĪLA 1) § 108/8 (b, h) (var. d GIŠ-ŠÚ, cf. below), § 118/15 (f).  
With Hittite complements: sg. nom.-acc. GIŠ-ru 2) § 102/2 (a, b).  
With Akkadian complements:  
sg. nom. GIŠ-ŠÚ 1) § 108/8 (d), § 109/9 (d).  
gen. GIŠ-ŠÍ 1) § 105/5 (a); GIŠ[-ŠÍ] § 105/5 (g); [GIŠ-ŠÍ] § 105/5 (c); LÚ.MEŠNAGAR GIŠ-ŠÍ  
"carpenters" § 54 (D); [LÚ.MEŠNAGAR GIŠ-ŠÍ] § 54 (F).
- LÚGIŠ.NU.KIRI<sub>6</sub> (LÚNU.GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>) "gardener".  
pl. LÚ.MEŠNU.GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> § 56 (A); LÚ.MEŠGIŠ.NU.KI[RI]<sub>6</sub> § 56 (D); LÚ.MEŠG[IŠ.NU?.GI]ŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>  
§ 56 (B).
- GÚ "neck" (Akk. *kišādu*).  
GÚ-ŠÚ (Akk. *kišāssu*) "his neck" § 166/51 (p).



GU<sub>4</sub> com. "bull" (Akk. *alpu*).

Without phonetic complement: § 43 (B and C 2×), § XXXV, § 57 (A 4×, B 5×, D 6×), § 60 (A and M 2×, B 3×, F and V 1×), § 63 (A 3×, B 2×, F and H 1×), § 67 (A 3×, B and I 2×); § 70 (A, B), § 71 (V), § 72 (B), § 73 (B), § 74 (A 2×, B 5×), § 76 (B), § 98 (B, Q), § 178/63 (p), § 185/71 (p), § 186/72 (p 2×); G[U<sub>4</sub>] § 43 (A), § 60 (F); [G]U<sub>4</sub> § 60 (N), § 67 (I).

GU<sub>4</sub>-ŠU (Akk. *alap-šu*) "his bull" § 43 (A, B), § 74 (A, B).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. GU<sub>4</sub>-uš § 199/85 (p 2×); GU<sub>4</sub>-u[š] § 199/85 (z); GU<sub>4</sub>-aš § 72 (B), § 130/27 (c).

acc. GU<sub>4</sub>-un § 71 (A, B), § 74 (B), § 75 (B), § 78 (A); [GU<sub>4</sub>-u]n § 76 (A).

gen. GU<sub>4</sub>-aš § 43 (A), § 77b (A), § 187/73 (p).

pl. GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪIA § 43 (C), § 53 (A, B, D, F), § 57 (A 1×, B and D 2×), § 60 (B), § 63 (A and B 2×, M, F and H 1×), § 67 (A, I), § 79 (A, B), § 159/44 (aa), § 166/51 (p 2×), § 167/52 (p); GU<sub>4</sub>.Ī[IA] § 67 (I); [G]U<sub>4</sub>.ĪIA § 159/44 (u); [GU<sub>4</sub>].ĪIA § 57 (A); [GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪI].A § 67 (B); G[U<sub>4</sub>.ĪI].A § 159/44 (p); G[U<sub>4</sub>.ĪI].A § 67 (B).

[G]U<sub>4</sub>?ĪIA-ŠU "his bulls(?)" § 100 (B).

With Hittite complements: [GU<sub>4</sub>.ME]Š-š- § 166/51 (aa); G[U<sub>4</sub>.ĪI].A -it § 121/18 (aa); G[U<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A-it] § 121/18 (q); GU<sub>4</sub>.ĪIA[-uš] § 145/37 (aa, t).

GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ "plow ox".

§ 63 (A, B, F), § 65 (A), § 66 (A, B, F), § 151/40 (c, q), § 176a/61a (p), § 178/63 (b 1×, p 2×); G[U<sub>4</sub>.API]N.L[A] § 63 (H); [GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.L]Á § 151/40 (aa).

GU<sub>4</sub>.GAL "fullgrown ox".

§ 185/71 (p 2×).

GU<sub>4</sub>.MAH "bull".

§ 57 (D 2×), § 60 (B), § 178/63 (p).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. GU<sub>4</sub>.MAH-aš § 57 (A and D 2×, B 1×); GU<sub>4</sub>.M[AĪ-aš] § 57 (B 2×); G[U<sub>4</sub>.MAĪ]-aš § 57 (A).

acc. GU<sub>4</sub>.MAH-an § 57 (A, B).

gen. GU<sub>4</sub>.MAH-aš § 176a/61a (p).

GUL- "to strike" Cf. *walḫ-*.

GUN "load".

§ 102/2 (a 2×, b 1×).

## Ī

ĪA.LA "part, share". Cf. A.ŠÀ ĪA.LA.NI and LÚ ĪA.LA.

GĪŠĪAŠĪUR "an apple tree".

§ 105/5 (a); [GĪŠĪAŠĪUR] § 105/5 (b, c).

GĪŠĪAŠĪUR.KUR.RA "pear(?) tree".

§ 105/5 (b); [GĪ]ŠĪAŠĪUR.KUR.RA § 104/4 (b); [GĪŠĪAŠĪUR.KU]R.RA § 104/4 (a).

ĪUR.SAG "mountain".

With Hittite complements:

sg. dat.-loc. ĪUR.SAG-i § 197/83 (p, y).



## I

(UZU)Ì "oil, fat".

UZUÌ § 80 (A); [UZ]UÌ (B); Ì § 90 (A).

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. Ì-*an* § 90 (B); [Ì]-*an* § 90 (E).

Ì.DÙG.GA "fine oil".

§ 181/66 (p); Ì.GA.DÙG § 181/66 (x).

Ì.NUN "butter/ghee".

§ 181/66 (p, x).

Ì.ŠAḪ "lard".

§ 90 (A, B), § 181/66 (p, x).

ÍD n. com. "river, stream".

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. ÍD-*aš* § 43 (B, C).

acc. ÍD-*an* § 43 (A, B and C 2×).

abl. ÍD-*az* § 22b (A and B 2×).

GIŠIG "door".

§ 127/24 (c), § 171/56 (e).

GIŠIG-ŠU "her door" § 171/56 (p).

IGI "eyes".

IGI-ŠU "his (her, its) eyes" § 77b (A), [IG]I-ŠU § 77b (K).

IGI-zi- "first". Cf. *ḫantezziya-*.

IKU (measure: 3,600 square meters).

1 IKU § 107/7 (a, d, i), § 183/69 (p 2×), § 185/71 (p).

IN.NU.DA "straw"

§ 100 (A, B, F, Z). Cf. also É IN.NU.DA "(straw)barn".

ITU "month".

ITU.1.KAM "one month" § 24 (A 2×), § 151/40 (aa 2×, c 1×), § 157/42 (aa 2×, n 1×, p 3×);

ITU.1.KA[M] § 150/39 (aa); ITU.1.K[AM] § 152/41 (q); [I]TU.1.KAM § 150/39 (q 2×),

§ 151/40 (q); [IT]U.1.KAM § 152/42 (aa); [ITU.]1.KAM § 157/41 (aa); I[TU.1.KAM § 150/39 (aa).

ITU.2.KAM "two months" § 158b/43b (p).

ITU.3.KAM "three months" § 158a/43a (aa), § 158b/43b (aa, u); ITU.[3.KAM] § 158a/43a (p);

[ITU].3.KAM § 158a/43a (n).

ITU.5.KAM "(her) fifth month" § 17 (B).

ITU.10.KAM "(her) tenth month" § 17 (B), § 18 (B).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. 11 ITU-*aš* "the eleventh month" § 50 (A).

IZI "fire". Cf. *paḫhur*.

## K

KÁ "door, gate".

KÁ É.GAL "the gate of the palace" § 126/23 (c 2×, f and o 1×); KÁ É.[G]AL § 198/84 (p); KÁ

É.G[AL] § 126/23 (o); [KÁ É.G]AL § 126/23 (f); with Akk. complements: KÁ É.GAL-LIM § 199/85 (p).



KA.DÛ or KA.GAG (a kind of beer).

§ 164-165/49-50 (p), § 168/53 (e, p); KA.D[Û] § 167/52 (p); [KA.D]Û § 164-165/49-50 (aa).

KAM (suffix). Cf. DUB, ITU, MU, UD.

KAR "to find". Cf. *wemiya-*.

MUNUSKAR.KID com. "prostitute".

With Hittite complements:

sg. gen. MUNUSKAR.KID-*aš* § 194/80 (p); MUNUSKAR.[KID-*aš*] § 194/80 (y).

KASKAL n. com. "road, campaign".

§ 56 (B, D).

With Hittite complements: pl. acc. KASKAL-š- § 56 (A).

KI.LÁ "weight".

§ 157/42 (aa 1×), § 160b/45b (aa), § 161/46 (aa); KI.L[Á] § 157/42 (aa); [KI].LÁ § 157/42 (aa); [KI].LÁ § 157/42 (n).

KI.LÁ.BI "its weight" § 157/42 (p 3×), § 160b/45b (p), § 161/46 (p), § 182/67-68 (p); [KI].LÁ.BI § 161/46 (u); § 161/46 (v); KI.[LÁ.BI] § 160b/45b (v); [KI.LÁ.BI] § 161/46 (v).

KIR<sub>14</sub> n. "nose"

KIR<sub>14</sub>-ŠU "his nose" § 95 (A, B, O), § 99 (A, B, F).

KIR<sub>14</sub>-še-et "his nose" § 13 (A, B), § XII, § 14 (B, C), § XIII; [KI]R<sub>14</sub>-še-et § 13 (C).

GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> n. com. "garden".

§ 146a/35a (aa); [GIŠKIRI]<sub>6</sub> § 146a/35a (c).

With Hittite complements: sg. gen. GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>-*aš* § 86 (B); GIŠ[KIRI<sub>6</sub>-*aš*] § 86 (B).

dat.-loc. GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>-*ni* § 86 (B).

GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN "vineyard"

§ 48 (A), § XL, § 56 (B, D), § 107/7 (a, d), § 108/8 (d, h); [GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN] § 105/5 (a); GIŠK[IRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN] § 108/8 (b); GIŠ[KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN] § 107/7 (h); GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub> GIŠGEŠTIN § 185/71 (p). With Hittite complements: pl. acc. GIŠKIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN-*aš* § 56 (A).

KISLAḪ n. com. "threshing floor".

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. KISLAḪ-*an* § 158/43 (aa, n, p).

KÛ.BABBAR "silver".

§ II, § 5 (A and B 2×), § III (2×), § IV (2×), § 7 (A and B 2×), § V (2×), § 8 (A, B), § VI (2×), § VII (2×), § 9 (A and B 4×), § VIII, § 10 (A, B, C), § IX (3×), § 11 (A, B), § X (2×), § 12 (B, C), § XI (2×), § 13 (B, C), § XII, § 14 (B, C), § XIII, § 15 (B, C), § XIV, § 16 (B, C), § XV, § 17 (B, C), § XVI, § 18 (B, C), § XVII, § 20 (A, B), § 22 (A 2×, B 1×), § 23 (A), § 24 (A), § 25 (A 3×, L 2×), § 26c (C), § 42 (B 1×, C 2×), § 74 (B), § 77a (A and B 2×), § 77b (A, B), § 81 (A and B 2×), § 82 (A), § 83 (A), § 87 (B, E), § 88 (B, E), § 89 (B, E), § 91 (A, B), § 92 (B 2×), § 93 (A 2×, B and F 1×), § 94 (A, F and O 1×, B 2×), § 95 (A, F), § 96 (B), § 97 (A, B), § 101/1 (a 5×, b 1×), § 102/2 (a 2×, b 1×), § 103/3 (a 2×), § 104/4 (a), § 105/5 (a, b, d), § 107/7 (a and d 2×, c and i 1×), § 108/8 (b and c 1×, d 2×), § 109/9 (d, j), § 121/18 (aa), § 122/19 (f), § 124/21 (f and n 1×, o 2×), § 125/22 (aa, c, f), § 126/23 (aa, c), § 127/24 (c), § 128/25 (c), § 129/26 (c), § 131/28 (c), § 132/29 (c), § 143/32 (c, r), § 144/33 (aa 2×, c 1×), § 145/34 (aa, c), § 146a/35a (c), § 146b/35b (aa), § 147/36 (aa, c), § 148/37 (c), § 152/41 (aa, q), § 157/42 (aa and p 3×, n 2×), § 162a/47a (p, v), § 177/55 (e, p), § 172/57 (aa, p), § 176b/61b (p), § 177/62 (aa 2×, p 1×), § 178/63 (b 1×, 7×), § 179/64 (p and x 3×), § 180/65 (p 5×, x 4×), § 181/66 (p 7×, x 2×), § 182/67-68 (p 6×, x 1×), § 183/69 (p 2×), § 185/71 (p 10×), § 200b/86b (p), Unplaced fragments KBo 12.50; KÛ.BABBA[R] § 9 (C); KÛ.BABB[AR] § 108/8 (h), § 129/26 (c); KÛ.BAB[BAR] § 125/22



(aa), § 157/42 (i), § 183/ 69 (p 2×); KÛ.BA[BBAR] § 25 (L), § 146a/35a (aa), § 177/62 (p), § 179/64 (b), § 182/67-68 (x); KÛ.B[ABBAR] § 92 (A) § 108/8 (b), § 123/20 (c), § 178/63 (b), § 179/64 (b), § 182/67-68 (x); KÛ.[BABBAR] § 83 (B), § 94 (A), § 121/18 (aa), § 143/32 (c), § 182/67-68 (x 2×); K[Û.B]A[BBAR] § 101/1 (b); K[Û.BABBAR] § 7 (X), § 17 (B), § 24 (A), § 93 (F), § 103/3 (b), § 108/8 (i), § 119/16 (aa), § 121/18 (f), § 125/22 (o), § 150/39 (q), § 151/40 (aa), § 181/66 (x), § 182/67-68 (p), Unplaced fragments (z); [K]Û.BABBAR § 23 (B), § 92 (A), § 108/8 (c), § 125/22 (o), § 151/40 (t), § 181/66 (x 2×); [K]Û.BA[BBAR] § 182/67-68 (p); [KÛ].BABBAR § 12 (A), § 121/18 (aa); [KÛ.B]ABBAR § 178/63 (x); [KÛ.BA]BBAR § 25 (A); [KÛ.BAB]BAR § 95 (B); [KÛ.BABB]AR § 178/63 (aa 2×), § 181/66 (x); [KÛ.BABBA]R § 91 (B), § 105/5 (c).

KUN n. com. "tail".

§ 43 (B, C).

With Hittite complements: sg. acc. KUN-an § 43 (A).

KUR n. neut. "land". Cf. *utne-*.

KUŠ "hide, skin".

§ 80 (A, K, B), § 185/71 (p 9×).

KUŠ-ŠU "its hide" § 162b/47b (v).

LÚKUŠ<sub>7</sub> "chariot warrior".

pl. LÚ.MEŠKUŠ<sub>7</sub> § 54 (A, B); LÚ.MEŠKU[Š<sub>7</sub>] § 54 (D).

## L

LÀL n. neut. "honey". Cf. *milit-*.

LÍL "land, field, steppe". Cf. *gimmara-/gimra-*.

LÚ n. com. "man" (Akk. *awīlu*). Syll. reading *pišna-*.

§ IV, § IX, § X, § XIV, § 19a (B), § 19b (A and B 2×), § 20 (A and B 2×), § 21 (A, B), § 26a (J), § XXIVa, § XXV, § XXX, § 94 (F), § 96 (y), § 98 (A), § 121/18 (f), § 132/29 (c), § 133/30 (c), § 143/32 (c), § 150/39 (c), § 170/55 (e, p), § 172/57 (p), § 191/77 (p, y), § 194/80 (p, y); L[Ú?] § XXIVa, § XXIX, § 133/30 (aa), § 170/55 (aa).

pl. LÚ.MEŠ § 37 (A 2×, B 1×), § 40 (A, B), § 46 (A), § XXXVIII, § 47b (A), § XXXIXb, 174/59 (p); L[Ú.M]EŠ § 37 (B); [LÚ].MEŠ § 47b (B).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. LÚ-aš § 6 (A, B), § IV, § 26a (B, L), § 27 (C 4×, B and J 1×), § 28a (B, C), § XXIII, § 31 (B 2×), § XXIVa, § XXV, § 43 (A, B, C), § 96 (A, B), § 98 (B, Q), colophon (D), § 158/43 (p), § 187/73 (y), § 188/74 (x), § 189/75 (y 2×), § 190/76 (p, y), § 192/78 (p), § 193/79 (y), § 195a/81a (p, x, y), § 195b/81b (p), § 197/83 (p, y), § 199/85 (p), § 200a/86a (p, z); LÚ-a[š] § 189/75 (x), § 195b/81b (y); LÚ-[aš] § 27 (B), § 189/75 (x), § 195b/81b (x); L[U-aš] § 195a/81a (e).

LÚ-iš § 187/73 (p), § 193/79 (p 2×), § 197/83 (p); LÚ-[iš] § 189/75 (p); L[Ú-iš] § 188/74 (p), § 189/75 (p); [LÚ-iš] § 189/75 (p).

LÚ-eš § 150/39(q), § 188/74 (y), § 193/79 (y); [LÚ-e]š § 150/39 (aa); § 158/43 (aa).

LÚ-š- § 26b (J), § 30 (B), § 199/85 (z).

LÚ-eš<sub>17</sub> (sg. !) § 166/51 (p).

acc. LÚ-an § V, § VII, § VIII, § XII, § 19a (B), § 26a (J), § XXV, § 44a (A, B, C), § 93 (B, F), § 177/62 (b, p); [LÚ]-an § 26a (L), § 93 (A), § 149/38 (aa); [LÚ-a]n § 3 (B); LÚ-n- § 1 (B), § 2 (B), § 19a (A).



- gen. LÚ-*na-aš* § 24 (A, B), § 27 (J), § 167/52 (p), § 197/83 (p), § 199/85 (p); [LÚ-*na-*]*aš* § 167/52 (aa); LÚ-*aš* § 192/78 (y).
- dat.-loc. LÚ-*ni* § 28a (B), § 28b (B), § 29 (B 2x, C 1x), § 199/85 (p); LÚ-*[ni]* § 199/85 (p).
- LÚ-*i* § 28a (C), § 28b (C), § XX.
- With Akkadian complements:
- LÚ-*MA* § 190/76 (p); LÚ-*M[A?]* § 190/76 (y).
- sg. nom. LÚ-*LUM* (Akk. *awilum*) § 94 (A, B, O).
- gen. LÚ-*LIM* (Akk. *awilim*) § 29 (C).
- LÚ *GIŠBAN* "bowman".
- pl. LÚ.MEŠ *GIŠBAN* § 54 (A, D); LÚ.MEŠ *GIŠB[AN]* § 54 (B).
- LÚ.ĤA.LA "partner, associate".
- LÚ.ĤA.LA-*ŠU* "his partner" § 53 (A, D and F 2x, B 3x); [L]Ú.ĤA.LA-*ŠU* § 192/78 (p); [LÚ.ĤA.LA-*ŠU* § 53 (F); LÚ.ĤA.LA-*[ŠU]* § 53 (A).
- pl. LÚ.MEŠĤA.LA-*ŠU* "his partners" § 51 (D), § 53 (D, G); LÚ.MEŠĤA.LA-*[ŠU]* § 51 (G); [LÚ.MEŠĤA.LA-*ŠU* § 51 (A 2x); LÚ.MEŠĤA.LA-*ŠU*] § 51 (D).
- LÚ.MEŠĤA.LA-*ŠU-NU* "their partners" § 50 (A).
- LÚ *IL-KI* "man owing *ILKU*-services".
- § 40 (A and B 2x, L 1x), § 41 (B 4x, A and C 3x); LÚ *IL-K[I]* § XXX; LÚ *I[L-KI]* § XXXI; LÚ *[IL-KI]* § XXXI.
- LÚ.MEŠ *IL-KI* § 55 (A and B 2x); [LÚ].MEŠ? *IL-KÍ* § 55 (D); LÚ.MEŠ *IL-K[Í]* § 55 (D); [LÚ.MEŠ *I]L-KI* § 55 (F).
- LÚ.MEŠNI-*ŠU-Ú-ŠU* "his relatives".
- § 51 (A and B 2x, G 1x); [LÚ.MEŠNI-*ŠU-Ú-ŠU* § 51 (D).
- LÚ *GIŠTUKUL* n. com. "man having *TUKUL*-obligation?".
- § 40 (A 1x, B 2x), § 41 (A 2x, B, C and L 1x), § XXXVII, § XXXIXb, § 53 (A and B 2x, D and F 3x), § 112/12 (c, d); LÚ *GIŠT[UKUL]* § 40 (L); LÚ *GIŠ[TUKUL]* § 40 (A, B); LÚ *G[İŠTUKUL]* § 47b (B); [L]Ú *GIŠTUKUL* § 53 (G).
- pl. LÚ.MEŠ *GIŠTUKUL* § 52 (A, D), § 112/12 (c, d); [LÚ.MEŠ] *GIŠTUKUL* § 52 (G).
- With Hittite complements: sg. gen. LÚ *GIŠTUKUL-aš* § 47b (A); *GIŠTUKUL-ša!* § 40 (A).
- LÚUM.ME.A n. com. "master, expert".
- With Hittite complements: sg. nom. L[ÚU]M?.[M]E?.IA?[-a]š? § 200/86b (p).
- LÚUK.KIE: (or perhaps Akkad.?) (a personnel).
- [LÚ]UK?!.KIE § 50 (A).
- LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU n. com. "person, human being". Cf. *antuḫša-*.
- LÚ.UR.GI<sub>7</sub> n. com. "dog trainer, hunter".
- [LÚ.]UR.GI<sub>7</sub> § 88 (E). With Hittite complements:
- sg. gen. LÚ.UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-*aš* § 88 (B); LÚ.UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-*[aš]* § 88 (W).
- LUGAL n. com. "king" (Akk. *šarru*). Syll. reading *ḫaššu-*.
- § 44b (C), § 47a (A, B), § XXXVI, § XXXIXa, § 53 (A, B, D, F), § 55 (A and B 2x, D 1x), § 56 (B, D), § 111/11 (c, d), § 176a/61a (aa, p); LU[GA]L § 173a/58a (p).
- With Hittite complements:
- sg. nom. LUGAL-*uš* § 9 (A, B), § 25 (A), § 40 (B), § 47a (A), § XXXVI, § XXXVII, § XXXIXb, § 187/73 (p), § 188/74 (p), § 198/84 (p 2x), § 199/85 (p); LUGA[L-*uš*] § 9 (C); L[UG]AL-*uš* § 199/85 (p); LUG[AL-*uš*] § XXX; [LUGAL-*u*]š § 187/73 (p), § 188/74 (p).
- LUGAL-*š-* § 40 (A).
- acc. LUGAL-*un* § XXXIXb.



gen. LUGAL-*wa-aš* § 49 (A, L); LUGAL-*aš* § 56 (A); LUGAL-*an* § 71 (B), § 187/73 (p), § 188/74 (x), [L]UGA[L-*an*] § 71 (A); [LUGAL-*w*]a-*an* § 25a (A).

dat.-loc. LUGAL-*i* § 187/73 (p, x, y), § 188/74 (p, x, y), § 199/85 (p); written LUGAL-*uš* (should be LUGAL-*i*) § 200a/86a (p).

With Akkadian complements:

sg. gen. LUGAL-*RI* (Akkad. *šarri*) § 102/2 (a).

## M

MA.NA "mina" (a measurement).

½ MA.NA § 157/42 (p); ½ MA.[NA] § 157/42 (i).

1 MA.NA § IV, § 7 (A, B), § V, § 13 (B, C), § 81 (A, B), § 94 (B, F, O).

§ 127/24 (c), § 129/26 (c), § 146a/35a (aa, c), § 157/42 (aa 1x, p 2x), § 161/46 (aa, p), § 170/55 (e, p), § 180/65 (p, x), § 185/71 (p 2x); [1] MA.NA § 94 (A); [1 M]A.NA § 119/16 (aa), § 157/42 (q).

2 MA.NA §, § III, § 160b/45b (aa, p, v).

3 MA.NA § IV, § 157/42 (aa).

4 MA.NA § 181/66 (p, x).

6 MA.NA § III.

7 MA.NA § 182/67-68 (p).

15 MA.NA § XIII.

30 MA.NA § XII.

1 ME (i.e., 100) MA.NA § 5 (A 2x, B 1x), § 160a/45a (aa); [1 ME] MA.NA § 160a/45a (p); [1 ME M]A.NA § 5 (B).

GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA "wagon".

§ 122/19 (f); [GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA] § 158a/43a (aa).

pl. GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA.ĪI.A § 124/21 (n), § 158a/43a (p); GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA.[ĪI.A] § 124/21 (o).

MÁŠ.GAL "he-goat".

§ 65 (A 1x, B and F 2x), § 66 (A), § 176a/61a (p); [M]ÁŠ.GAL § 65 (H); [M]ÁŠ.GA[L] § 66 (B);

MÁŠ.GAL-*aš* § 176a/61a (aa).

MÁŠ.TUR "goat kid".

§ 179/64 (p), § 185/71 (p), § 186/72 (p).

MU, MU.KAM n. com. "year". Cf. *wett-*.

MU.1 "yearling". Cf. *iuga-*.

MU.2 "two-year-old". Cf. *daiuga-*.

MUL n. com. "star"; syll. reading *hašter-*.

pl. MUL.MEŠ § 79 (B).

With Hittite complements: MUL.ĪI.A-*eš* § 79 (A); MUL.ĪI.[A-*eš*] § 79 (K).

MUNUS n. com. "woman" (Akk. *sinništu*).

§ XXIVa, § 42 (B).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. MUNUS-*za* § II, § 6 (A, B), § IV, § 26a (J), § 27 (B, C), § 31 (B), § 150/39 (c, q), § 158b/43b (p), § 197/83 (p).

acc. MUNUS-*an* § 1 (B), § 3 (B), § 17 (C), § 26a (L), § 26b (J), § 32 (B), § 35 (B), § 37 (B), § 175/60 (p), § 177/62 (p), § 193/79 (p, y), § 197/83 (p, y); MUNUS-*na-an* § 35 (A), § 37 (A), § 193/79 (p); MUNUS-*na-[an]* § 193/79 (y); MUNUS-*n[a-an]* § 32 (A); MUNUS-*n-* § 1 (B), § 2 (A, B), § 19a (B); MU[NUS-*n-*] § 19a (A); [MUNUS]-*na-an* § 193/79 (aa).



gen. MUNUS-*aš* § 17 (B), § 42 (C); MUNUS-*na-aš* § 197/83 (p, y); MUNUS-*š*- § 24 (A); MUN[US-*š*] § 24 (B).

dat.-loc. MUNUS-*ni* § 192/78 (p); MUNUS-*n[i]* § XIX.

With Akkadian complements: sg. nom. MUNUS-*TUM* (Akk. *sinništum*) § 29 (C), § XXV (2×), § 190/76 (p); [MUNUS-*TU*]M? § 158b/43b (aa).

gen. MUNUS-*TIM* (Akk. *sinništum*) § 34 (B); MUNUS-*TI* (Akk. *sinništi*) § XVI.

MUNUS.AL(.LÁ) denotes the female animal in the following combinations attested in the laws: ANŠE.KUR.RA.MUNUS.AL.LÁ "mare, (yearling) filly", ANŠE.MUNUS.AL.LÁ "female ass, jenny". I showed clearly in Hoffner 1965 19f. note 2, 1966a 399f., and 1967b 185 that the signs "SAL.AL.LAL" were used by Hittite scribes to designate the female of the species, especially when there was no distinct Sumerogram for the female (as there was in the case of UZ<sub>6</sub>, GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB and UDU.U<sub>8</sub>). Add now further examples in KUB 55.38 i 15-17 and KBo 39.24 ii 2-9. 1 MÁŠ.GAL MUNUS[.AL.]LAL KBo 39.24 ii 6 is interesting, since it shows that MÁŠ.GAL, usually translated "Ziegenbock" (billy goat), when supplemented by MUNUS.AL.LAL could represent the female goat. And since there are examples of its use with the pig (ŠAḪ MUNUS.AL.LAL KUB 35.142 iv 6) and the dog (UR.GI<sub>7</sub> MUNUS.AL.LAL *ibid.* iv 7), which are very unlikely draught animals, one should finally give up the implausible translation "female draught animal" popularized in Friedrich 1952 and retained as recently as Siegelová 1986 24 ("Zugstute"). Correctly interpreted now in HZL p. 238, but with only partial bibliography.

MUŠ n. com. "snake".

With Hittite complements: sg. acc. MUŠ-*an* § 170/55 (e, p).

MUŠEN n. com. "bird".

pl. MUŠEN.ḪLA § 120/17 (f).

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. MUŠEN-*i[n]* § 119/16 (f).

pl. acc. MUŠEN.ḪLA-*uš* § 120/17 (f).

LÚMUŠEN.DÛ n. com. "augur".

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. LÚMUŠEN.DÛ(-?)*an* § 177/62 (b); LÚMUŠEN.DÛ-*a[n]* § 177/62 (p).

## N

NA<sub>4</sub> "stone"

§ 128/25 (c); [N]A<sub>4</sub> § 128/25 (aa).

pl. NA<sub>4</sub>.ḪLA § 128/25 (aa, c); NA<sub>4</sub>.[ḪLA] § 128/25 (c).

LÚNAGAR "carpenter".

§ 176b/61b (aa, p), § 200/86b (p, x).

LÚNAGAR GIŠ-ŠÍ "carpenter who makes wooden objects".

pl. LÚ.MEŠNAGAR GIŠ-ŠÍ § 54 (D); L[Ú].MEŠNAGAR GIŠ-ŠÍ § 54 (A); [LÚ.MEŠNAGAR GIŠ-ŠÍ] § 54 (F).

NAM.RA n. com. "civilian captive". Cf. *arnuwala-*.

LÚNÍ.ZU n. com. "thief".

§ 45 (B), § XXXV, § 71 (B).

pl. LÚ.MEŠNÍ.ZU § 49 (A, L).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom. LÚNÍ.ZU-*aš* § 45 (C), § 86 (B); L[ÚNÍ.ZU-*aš*] § 86 (E); [LÚN]Í.ZU-*aš* § 86 (W).



acc. LÚNÍ.ZU-*an* § 66 (A), § 71(B); [LÚ]NÍ.ZU-*an* § 66 (I); LÚNÍ.[ZU-*a*]n § 66 (F); LÚN[Í.Z]U-*a*[n] § 66 (B).

NÍG.BA "gift, a grant".

§ 47a (A, B), § XXXVI, § XXXIXa, § 53 (A, B, D, F 2×).

NIM.LÀL com. "bee".

§ 92 (A, B); NI[M.LÀL] § 92 (B).

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. [NIM.L]ÀL-*an* § 91 (E); pl. acc. [NI]M.LÀL.ĤI.A-*an* § 91 (B).

NIN "sister". Cf. *nega-*.

NINDA n. com. "bread".

pl. NINDA.ĤI.A 164-165/49-50 (f, p), § 167/52 (p), § 168/53 (e, p).

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. NINDA-*an* § 47a (A, B).

NINDA *ħarši-* Cf. *ħarši-*.

NU.GÁL "there is no, it doesn't exist".

§ IV, § 21 (A), § 37 (A, B), § 38 (B), § 49 (A), § 90 (B, E), § 92 (A, B), § 100 (B, F), 197/83 (p);

[N]U.GÁL § 38 (A); [N]U.G[ÁL] § 49 (L); NU.[GÁL] § 100 (A); [NU.G]ÁL § 100 (W).

NUMUN n. com. 1) "seed", 2) "offspring".

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. NUMUN-*an* 1) § 166/51 (aa, p).

dat.-loc. NUMUN-*ni* 1) § 166/51 (p).

pl. gen. NUMUN.ĤI.A-*aš* 2) § 26a (J).

## P

PA<sub>5</sub> "(irrigation) ditch, canal". Cf. *amiyar(a ?)-*.

## S

SAG.DU n. com. 1) "head" 2) "person" (Akk. *qaqqadu*).

1 SAG.DU 2) § 4 (A, B), § 42 (A, B), § 174/59 (aa, p), § 200/86b (p); [1 S]AG.DU § 200/86b (x); 1 SAG.DU-SÚ § 42 (C).

2 SAG.DU 2) § 2 (A), § 3 (A, B), § 149/38 (c); [2 SAG.D]U § 2 (B), § 149/38 (aa); 2 SAG.DU.MEŠ § 149/38 (q).

3 SAG-DU 2) § 53 (A, B, D).

4 SAG.DU 2) § 1 (B).

6 SAG.DU 2) § 19b (A, B).

7 SAG-DU 2) § 53 (D, F); 7 SA[G.DU] § 53 (A).

10 SAG.DU 2) § 53 (A); 10 SAG.DU.MEŠ § 53 (D); [10 SAG.D]U § 53 (F).

12 SAG.DU 2) 19b (A, B).

SAG.DU-SÚ (Akk. *qaqqa(d)-zu*) "his head" § 9 (A, B, X), § IX, 173a/58a (p), § 198/84 (p).

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. SAG.DU-*an* § VIII.

SAG.KI "forehead".

SAG.KI-*za ħar(k)-* "to preserve inviolate (?)" Cf. *ħanza ħar(k)-*.

LÚSANGA n. com. "priest".

With Hittite complements:



- sg. nom. LÚSANGA-*eš* § 50 (A); LÚSANGA-*š*- § 200/86a (p); LÚSANGA-*aš* § 200/86a (z).
- SI "horn".  
§ 74 (B); S[I] § 74 (S).
- SI×SÁ "to determine".  
pres. sg. 3 mid.-pass. SI×SA-*ri* § IV.
- SIG "wool".  
SI[G] § 126/23 (m).
- SIG<sub>4</sub> "brick(s)".  
§ 128/25 (c).
- SIG<sub>5</sub> "good, healthy".  
§ 74 (B).  
With Hittite complements: sg. acc. com. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*an-da-an* § 106/6 (a); [SI]G<sub>5</sub>-*an-da-an* § 106/6 (b).  
nom.-acc. neut. SIG<sub>5</sub>-*an* § 106/6 (d), § 113/13 (k); [SI]G<sub>5</sub>-*ia-an* § 106/6 (aa).
- SIG<sub>5</sub>- (Mid.) "to recover, to become healthy". Cf. *lazziya*-.
- SILA<sub>4</sub> "lamb".  
§ 179/64 (p, b, x), § 185/71 (p), § 186/72 (p).
- LÚSIMUG.A "smith".  
§ 160a/45a (p), § 176b/61b (p), § 200b/86b (x); LÚSIMUG § 176b/61b (aa); [LÚSIMU]G § 160a/45a (aa).
- LÚSIPA "herdsman".  
§ 35 (A, B), § 87 (E). With Hittite complements: sg. gen. LÚSIPA-*aš* § 87 (A).
- LÚSIPA.GUD "cowherd".  
[LÚSI]PA.GUD Unplaced fragments KBo 12.50.
- LÚSIPA.UDU "shepherd".  
§ 175/60 (p); LÚSIPA<.UDU> Unplaced fragments KBo 12.50.
- SUM.SIKIL.SAR "garlic". Syll. reading *šuppiwašhar*.  
§ 101/1 (a).

## Š

- ŠÀ "(heart) in, inside" (Akk. *libbu*).  
§ XXIX.  
INA ŠÀ-BI (Akk. *ina libbi*) "among/in (them/it)" § 92 (A, B).  
ŠÀ-BI-ŠA (Akk. *ša libbi*) "her intestines/belly"="her foetus".  
ŠA ŠÀ-BI-ŠA (Akk. *ša libbi-ša*) "that of her intestines/belly"="her foetus" § 77a (A 2×).
- ŠAḪ n. com. "pig, sow".  
§ 83 (A, B), § 84 (A, B), § 86 (A, B, E); ŠA[Ḫ] § 83 (R); Š[AḪ] § 84 (R).  
With Hittite complements:  
sg. nom. ŠAḪ-*aš* § 199/85 (p, z).  
gen. ŠAḪ<-*aš*> § 199/85 (p).
- ŠAḪ ŠE n. com. "fattened pig".  
§ 81 (A, B); Š[AḪ ... ] § 81 (K).
- ŠAḪ *hi-la-an-na-aš* "pig of the courtyard"  
§ 82 (A, B).



ŠAḪ.TUR "piglet".

§ 83 (A 1×, B 2×), § 85 (A, B), pl. ŠAḪ.TUR.ḪI.A § 83 (A).

ŠE "corn, barley".

§ 78 (A, B), § 83 (A, B), § 85 (A), § 126/23 (aa, c, f, o), § 142/31 (c), § 158/43 (aa, n and u 1×, p 2×), § 159/44 (aa, p), § 160a/45a (aa, p), § 161/46 (aa, p, v).

ŠEN (GIŠŠEN, URUDUŠEN) n. com. "(copper) box".

URUDUŠEN § 160a/45a (p); ŠEN.URUDU § 160a/45a (aa); [U]RUDUŠEN § 160a/45a (u).

With Hittite complements: sg. acc. GIŠŠEN-*an* § 125/22 (c, o).

GIŠŠENNUR "plum(?) tree".

§ 104/4 (a, b); [GIŠŠ]ENNUR § 105/5 (a).

ŠEŠ n. com. "brother". Cf. *negna-*.

LÚŠU.GI n. com. "old man".

With Hittite complements: pl. dat. LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI-*aš* § 71 (B 2×); [LÚ].MEŠ ŠU.GI-*aš* § 71 (A); see Otten 1973 34.

LÚŠU.I "barber".

§ 144/33 (c).

GIŠŠUKUR n. com. "lance, spear".

§ 126/23 (c).

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. GIŠŠUKUR-*an* § 101/1 (a).

## T

TI-*ant-* "alive". Cf. *ḫuišuant-*.

TÚG "garment, bolt of cloth" (Akk. *šubātu*).

§ 126/23 (c, f), § 182/67-68 (p).

TÚG-SÚ (Akk. *šubā(t)-zu*) "his garment" § 171/56 (e, p).

TÚG.BÁR "sackcloth garment?"

§ 182/67-68 (p).

TÚG.GÚ (a kind of garment) "an ordinary tunic".

TÚG.GÚ[...] § 182/67-68 (p).

TÚG.GÚ.È.A (Akk. *naḫlaptu*) "shirt, tunic".

TÚG.GÚ.È.A SIG "sheer/thin tunic" TÚ[G].GÚ.È.A SIG § 182/67-68 (p); [TÚG.GÚ].È.A SIG § 182/67-68 (w).

TÚG.SIG "light/fine garment/cloth".

§ 144/33 (c), § 182/67-68 (p, x).

TÚG.SÍG "wool garment".

§ 126/23 (c), § 182/67-68 (p); [1 TÚ]G.SÍG § 126/23 (f); [1 TÚ]G.SÍG § 126/23 (aa), [1 TÚ]G.SÍG § 126/23 (m).

GIŠTUKUL n. (property assigned to a TUKUL-man).

§ 40 (B 3×), § 41 (C 3×); GIŠ[TUK]UL § 41 (B).

With Hittite complements:

sg. nom.-acc. GIŠTUKUL-*li* § 40 (A 3×), § 41 (A 2×, B and L 1×); GIŠTUKU[L-*li*] § 40 (A);

GIŠTUKUL-[*li*] § 40 (B); GIŠ[TUKUL(-*li*)] § 41 (L); [GIŠTUKUL-*li*?-*iš*] § 40 (L).



TUR 1) "child"; 2) "little, small".

TUR-*an* Unplaced fragments KBo 12.50 (z).

## U

U<sub>4</sub> "day". Cf. *šiwatt-*.

UDU n. com. "sheep".

§ XXXV, § 80 (A, K, B), § 98 (Q), § 164-165/49-50 (p), § 167/52 (p), § 168/53 (e, p), § 179/64 (p, b, x), § 185/71 (p 3×), § 186/72 (p 7×), § 196/82 (p 2×), § 199/85 (p); UD[U] § 168/53 (aa); [UD]U § 98 (B).

pl. UDU.ĪLA § 53 (A, D, F), § 59 (A and M 1×, B 2×), § 62 (A, B, F), § 69 (A and B 2×, I 1×), § 107/7 (a, d), § 162b/47b (v), § 167/52 (p); U[DU.ĪLA] § 53 (B); UDU.[ĪLA] § 59 (D); [UDU].ĪLA § 69 (I); [UDU.ĪLA] § 107/7 (c).

With Akkadian complements: UDU.ĪLA-ŠU § 107/7 (i).

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. UDU-*un* § 80 (A, B); UDU[-*un*] § 80 (K).

gen. UDU-*aš* § 188/74 (y); U[DU-*aš*] § 188/74 (x).

UDU.A.LUM "ram".

§ 59 (B, D), § 62 (A, B); [UDU.A.L]UM § 62 (F).

UDU.ÁŠ.MUNUS.GÀR "lamb, (sexually) immature sheep".

§ 59 (B), § 69 (B); [UDU].ÁŠ.MUNUS.GÀR § 62 (F); UDU.MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀR § 62 (A), § 69 (A); UDU.MUNUS.Á[Š.G]ÀR § 59 (M); [UDU.MUNUS.ÁŠ.GÀ]R § 62 (M); ÁŠ.MUNUS.GÀR § 62 (B).

UDU.KUR.RA n. com. "mountain goat".

§ 65 (A, B, F, H).

UDU.NÍTA n. com. "wether".

§ 59 (B), § 62 (A, B), § 66 (A, B, F), § 69 (A and I 1×, B 2×), § 176a/61a (p); [U]DU.NÍTA § 176a/61a (aa); [UDU.NÍT]A § 59 (M); [UD]U.NÍTA § 62 (F).

With Hittite complements:

sg. acc. UDU.NÍTA-*an* § 69 (A).

UDU.U<sub>8</sub> n. com. "ewe". HZL 210's UDU."SÍG+MUNUS" is a deliberately cautious writing. On the advice of Miguel Civil I regard this as the Boğazköy equivalent of standard UDU.U<sub>8</sub>. In earlier fascicles of the CHD we read it UDU.U<sub>10</sub>. It is the Sumerogram for Akkadian *immertu* and *lahru*.

§ 59 (B, D), § 62 (A, B), § 66 (A, B, F), § 69 (A and B 2×, I 1×); UDU.[U<sub>8</sub>] § 62 (F); [UDU].U<sub>8</sub> § 69 (I).

GIŠUMBIN "wheel". Cf. *hurki-*.

UN n. com. "man". Cf. *antuḫša-*.

UR.BAR.RA n. com. "wolf".

Without phonetic complement: § 37 (B), § 80 (B).

With Hittite complements: sg. nom. UR.BAR.RA-*aš* § 37 (A), § 75 (B); [U]R.BAR.RA-*aš* § 75 (A).

dat.-loc. UR.BAR.RA-*ni* § 80 (A).

UR.GI<sub>7</sub> n. com. "dog"

§ 87 (B, E).

UR.GI<sub>7</sub> *hi-la-an-na-aš* "gate dog" > "watchdog" § 89 (B); [UR.]GI<sub>7</sub> *hi-la-an-na-aš* § 89 (E);

UR.G[*l*<sub>7</sub> *hi-la-an-na-aš*] § 89 (W).

With Hittite complements: sg. nom. UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-*aš* § 90 (B); [UR.G]I<sub>7</sub>-*aš* § 90 (E).



- acc. UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-*an* § 88 (B, E).  
 gen. UR.GI<sub>7</sub>-*aš* § 199/85 (p).
- URU n. com. "town, city" (Akk. *ālu*).  
 pl. URU.DIDLI § 50 (A).  
 With Hittite complements:  
 sg. nom. URU-*aš* § IV (2×).  
 acc. URU-*an* § 146a/35a (c); [URU-*i*]a?-*an* (for Hittite *ḥappiryan*) § 146a/35a (aa).  
 gen. URU-*r*[*i-aš*] § 40 (B).  
 dat.-loc. URU-*ri* § 6 (A, B), § 46 (A, C), § XXXVIII, § 184/70 (p), § 196/82 (p, y); [U]RU-*ri* § 196/82 (p); URU-*ri* § 196/82 (aa); [URU-*r*]i § 46 (B).  
 With Akkadian complements:  
 sg. gen. URU-*LIM* (Akk. *ālim*) § 40 (A), § 46 (A), § XXXVIII, § 47b (A, B), § XXXIXb; [UR]U-*LIM* § 40 (L).
- URUDU "copper".  
 § 126/23 (c, m), § 181/66 (p, x).
- LÚURUDU.NAGAR n. com. "coppersmith".  
 § 56 (D); [LÚURUDU.NAG]AR § 56 (A).
- LÚUŠ.BAR n. com. "weaver".  
 § 51 (A, B), § 176b/61b (p); [L]ÚUŠ.BAR § 200b/86b (p); L[ÚUŠ.BAR] § 51 (G).
- DUGÚTUL "vessel, pot".  
 Without phonetic complement: § 173b/58b (p).  
 With Hittite complements: sg. dat.-loc. DUGÚTUL-*i* 1) § 25 (A); DUGÚTUL-[*i*] § 25 (B).
- UZ<sub>6</sub> n. com. "(nanny)goat".  
 § 179/64 (p, x), § 185/71 (p 2×).
- UZU "meat, flesh".  
 § 186/72 (p 2×); [U]ZU § 186/72 (p).  
 UZU-ŠU "its meat" § 162b/47b (v).  
 UZU-ŠU-NU "its meat" § 185/71 (p), § 186/72 (p); UZU-[ŠU-N]U "their meat" § 186/72 (p).

## Z

- ZA.GÌN "(lapis lazuli >) blue"  
 § 182/67-68 (p, x).
- ZABAR "bronze"  
 § 126/23 (c), § 157/42 (aa 3×, p 1×); [Z]ABAR § 160b/45b (aa); ZA[BAR?] § 129/26(c).
- ZAG n. com. "border, boundary". Cf. *arḫa-*.
- ZI.KIN.BAR "pin". Cf. *šepik(k)ušta-*.
- ZÍZ n. neut. "(bread) wheat".  
 § 160b/45b (aa, p), § 183/69 (p).
- ZU<sub>9</sub> 1) "tooth". 2) "clove (of garlic)".  
 1) § VII (2×), 2) § 101/1 (a).  
 1) ZU<sub>9</sub>-ŠU "his tooth" § 7 (A, B), § 8 (A, B, X); ZU<sub>9</sub>-ŠÚ § VII.



## AKKADIAN WORDS

## A

*ABU* "father". Cf. *attaš*.

*AḪĀTU(M)* "sister". Cf. *nega-*.

*ANA* (prep.) "to, for, towards" (corresponds to Hittite dative).

*A-NA* § 9 (A, B), § 10 (C), § 19a (A, B), § 19b (A, B), § 20 (A, B), § 21 (A, B), § 23a (A), § 23b (A), § 29 (C), § 31 (B), § 34 (B 2×), § 36 (B), § 41 (A), § 55 (A), § 56 (B), § 80 (B), § 83 (A, B, R), § 101/1 (a 2×), § 105/5 (a, b, g), § 106/6 (d 2×), § 107/7 (a, d, i), § 113/13 (c, d), § 128/25 (c), § 142/31 (c), § 150/39 (aa 2×), § 151/40 (aa 2×, c 1×), § 152/41 (q), § 157/42 (aa and n 1×, p 3×), § 173b/58b (p), § 198/84 (p, y), § 199/85 (p); *A-N[A]* § 26a (L), § 106/6 (b), § 159/39 (c), § 151/40 (c); *A-[NA]* § 157/42 (aa); *[A-N]A* § 157/42 (aa).

*LÚASIRU(M)* "captive, prisoner" (enslaved class). Cf. *LÚhippara-*.

*ATHŪ* "relatives, brothers". Cf. *negna-*.

*AWATU* "matter; (legal) case, disposition". Cf. *uttar*.

## B

*BĒLU* "lord, owner, master" Cf. *išha-*.

*BUBŪTĀNU* "covered with welts or swellings (*bubūtu*)?".

*BU-BU-Ú-TA-NU-UM ŠA<sup>1</sup> NI[M.LÀL]* "(the offender would have been) exposed to bee-sting." § 92 (B).

## D

*DĪNU(M)* "case, litigation, judgment, lawsuit". Cf. *ḫanneššar*.

## E

*ELLU(M)*, fem. sg. *ELLETU* "free (person)". Cf. *arawanni-*.

*EMSŪ* "rennet".

*EM-ŠÚ* § 181/66 (p); *[E]M-ŠÚ* § 181/66 (x).

*ĒPIŠU* ("maker"; part. of *epēšu* "to make").

masc. sg. status constructus *LÚE-PIŠ TÚGKA-BAL-LI* "maker of leggings" § 176b/61b (p); *E-PIŠ [...]* § 176b/61b (b); *[LÚE-PIŠ] KA-BAL-LI* § 176b/61b (aa).

## H

*LÚḪĀLIBU* (a title).

masc. sg. gen. *LÚḪA-A-LI-BI* colophon of PT (KBo 6.4).

*ḪALQU(M)* "(one who has) disappeared".

masc. sg. gen. *ḪAL-QÍ-IM* § 112/12 (c).

*ḪARPU* "young" (of animals from whom skins are taken). Cf. tables in commentary on § 178 and 185.

fem. sg. gen. *ḪA-RU-UP-TI* § 185/71 (p).



## I

*ILKU* "ILKU-services". Cf. *LÚ ILKI* "man owing *ILKU*-services".

*ILLAM* (another writing for *ELLAM*), cf. *ELLU* "free".

*INA* prep. "in, into"; 1) answering the question "where?" (of location). 2) answering the question "when?" (of time). 3) answering the question "(in)to where?, for what?".

*I-NA* § 5 (A and B 3×), § 50 (A), § 92 (A, B), § 126/23 (c 2×, f, m and o 1×), [*I*]-*NA* § 126/23 (o); § 35 (A), § 112/12 (c, d), § 175/60 (aa, p), § 176a/61a (a and b 1×, p 2×); [*I*]-*NA* § 35 (B); § 41 (B, C), § XXXI; [*I-N*]A § 41 (L), § 124/21 (o), unplaced fragments (bb).

*I-NA QA-TI* "by the hand of" § 75 (A).

*INAKKISŪ* "they cut off" (pres. pl. 3. of Akk. *nakāsu* "to cut off").

*I-NA-AK-KI-SŪ* § 173a/58a (p); [*I-NA-AK-KI-SŪ*] § 173a/58 a (aa).

*GIŠINBU* "fruit, fruit tree".

sg. acc. *GIŠIN-BA-AM* § 109/9 (b); *GIŠIN-B[A-A]M* § 109/9 (d); [*GIŠIN-BA-AM*] § 109/9 (j).

*IŠTU* prep. 1) "from" 2) "out from, through, by".

*IŠ-TU* § 20 (A, B), § 21 (A, B), § 46 (A, B), § XXXVIII; § XXXIXa, § 75 (B, I), § 126/23 (m).

*ITTI* prep. "with, by".

*IT-TI* § 112/12 (k); [*IT*]-*TI* § 112/12 (c); [*IT-TI*] § 112/12 (d).

## K

*TŪGKABALLU* (legging).

masc. pl. gen. *TŪGKA-BAL-LI* § 176b/61b (p); *KA-BAL-LI* § 176b/61b (aa).

## M

*-MA* (Akk. encl. part.) "also, even".

colophon of PT (KBo 6.4), § 190/76 (p); *-M[A?]* § 190/76 (y).

*MAḤAR* (Status constr. of *maḥru* "front side" as prep.) "before; at; with".

*MA-ḤAR* § 195a/81a (p, y).

*MANDA* (a type of troops).

ÉRIN.MEŠ *MA-AN-DA* § 54 (A, B, D).

*ME* "hundred".

1 *ME* § 5 (A 2×, B 1×), § 6 (A, B), § 108/8 (b, d), § 109/9 (d), § 160a/45a (aa 2×, p 1×); [1] *ME* § 108/8 (h)

## N

*NĪŠU* "people" > "relatives".

LŪ.MEŠ *NI-ŠU-Ū-ŠU* "his relatives" § 51 (2× A, B, D, G).

## P

*PA*. abbreviation for *PARISU*. Cf. below.

*PANI* prep. "before, in front of, in the presence of".

colophon (F<sub>2</sub>).



*PARISU* (a measure of capacity; for Hittite metrology see Hout 1990).

sg. (status constr.) ½ *PA-RI-SI* §126/23 (aa); 1 *PA-RI-SI* §78 (A); 30 *PA-RI-SI* §158a/43a (aa); [1 *PA-RI-SI*] §78 (B); [*P*]*A-RI-SI* §85 (A); 2 [*P*]*A-RI-SI* §85 (S).

abbreviation *PA.*: without number (=1 *PA.*?) §83 (B), §183/69 (p); ½ *PA.* 126/23 (c, f, o), §142/31 (c), §159/44 (aa, p); 1 *PA.* §83 (A), §160b/45b (aa, p), §161/46 (aa, p, v), §183/69 (p); 3 *PA.* §183/69 (p); 4 [*P*]*A.* §183/69 (p), 12 *PA.* §158b/43b (aa, p, u); 30 *PA.* §158a/43a (n, p); 1 *ME PA.* §160a/45a (aa, p).

*PÜHU* "substitute".

*PU-UH-ŠU* "substitute for himself/herself" §172/57 (p); [*P*]*U-UH-ŠU* §172/57 (e).

## Q

*QĀTU* 1) "hand". 2) "part". Cf. *keššar-/keššera-*.

*QĀTAMMA* adv. "the same as just mentioned, the very same, in the same manner, in the same ratio". Cf. *apeniššan*.

*QATI* "is complete, is finished" (stative sg. 3. masc. of *qatū* "to be complete, finished").

*QA-TI* colophon (D), colophon (e).

## Ş

*ŞIMDU(M)* "team (of draft animals)".

*ŞĪ-IM-DUM* §159/44 (p); sg. status constr. *ŞĪ-IM-DĪ* §166/51 (p); [*ŞĪ-IM-DĪ*] §159/44 (aa).

## Š

*ŠA* 1) (determinative pron.) "that one (of), he (of)".

2) (used as a relative pron.) §160b/45b (p)

3) (attested before ideograms or Akk. words to indicate gen.; in some exceptional cases it also occurs before the Hittite gen. forms, like: *ŠA* 1 *zi-pát-ta-ni* "of one bottle" §181/66 (p 2x); *ŠA* 1 *zi-pát-ta-[ni]* §181/66 (p); *ŠA* 1 *zi-pád-da-ni* §181/66 (p); [*ŠA*] 1 *zi-pád-da-ni* §181/66 (x 3x); [*ŠA*] 1 *zi-[pád-da]-ni* §181/66 (x); *ŠA* "of a ... garment" (p); *TÚGĥa-pu-ša-an-da-aš* §182/67-68 (x).

1) *ŠA É.GAL-LIM* "that of the palace = "the palace's share (of the fine)" §9 (A, B), §25 (A).

*ŠA ŠĀ-BI-ŠA* "that of her intestines/belly" = the child in her womb §77a (A 2x).

3) *ŠA A-BI* <sup>d</sup>*UTU-ŠI* "of the father of the Sun?" colophon (D).

*ŠA ARAD* "of the slave" §99 (B); [*Š*]*A* [*AR*]*AD* §99 (A)

*ŠA É-TIM* "of the house" §XXV.

*ŠA LÚGAL.DUB.SAR* "of the chief scribe" colophon of PT (KBo 6.4).

*ŠA GU<sub>4</sub>.APIN.LÁ* "plow ox" §65 (A).

*ŠA mĥa-ni-ku-DINGIR-LIM* "of Hanikili" colophon of PT (KBo 6.4).

*ŠA ITU.2.KAM* "for 2 months" §158/43 (p).

*ŠA ITU.3.KAM* "for 3 months" §158/43 (aa)

*ŠA mKa-ru-nu-wa* "of Karunuwa" colophon of PT (KBo 6.4).

*ŠA KUR UGU* "of the Upper Land" colophon of PT (KBo 6.4).

*ŠA LÚ ILKI* "of the man owing *ILKU*-services" §41 (A, B and C 2x); [*Š*]*A LÚ IL-KI* §41 (L).

*ŠA LÚ GIŠTUKUL* "of the man having a *TUKUL*-obligation" §40 (A 1x, B 2x), §112/12 (d); [*Š*]*A LÚ GIŠTUKUL* §112/12 (c).

*ŠA* ½ *MA.NA* "weighing one half mina" §157/42 (p); [*Š*]*A* ½ *MA.[NA]* §157/42 (i)

*ŠA* 1 *MA.NA* "weighing one mina" §157/42 (aa, p), §161/46 (aa, p).

*ŠA* 2 *MA.NA* "weighing two minas" §160b/45b (aa, p, v).



- ŠA 1 ME MA.NA "weighing 100 minas" § 160a/45a (aa); Š[A 1 ME] MA.NA § 160a/45a (p).  
 ŠA MÁŠ.GAL "of a he-goat" § 65 (B, F); Š[A...] § 65 (H).  
 ŠA MU.1.[KAM] "one year's" § 24 (B); ŠA [MU.1.KAM] § 24 (B).  
 ŠA MUNUS "of a woman" § 42 (B).  
 ŠA NI[M.LÀL] § 92 (B).  
 ŠA NUMUN.HI.A-aš "for the seed" § 26a (J).  
 ŠA ŠA-NI-I-IM-MA "another person's" § 39 (A).  
 ŠA 1 TÚG "of one bolt of cloth" § 126/23 (c); Š[A 1 TÚG] § 126/23 (m, o).  
 ŠA LÚURUDU.NAGAR "of the coppersmiths" § 56 (D); ŠA [LÚURUDU.NAG]AR § 56 (A).  
 in the extended price catalog § 178/63 (b and p 5x), § 179/64 (b 1x, x 2x, p 3x), § 180/65 (p 4x, x and b 2x), § 181/66 (p 8x, x 1x), § 182/67-69 (e 5x, p 6x, x 4x), § 183/69 (p 6x), § 185/71 (p 10x), § 186/72 (p 4x); Š[A] § 178/63 (p), § 182/67-68 (e 6x, p 2x); [Š]A § 180/65 (x 2x), § 181/66 (x).  
 Damaged: ŠA L[Ú ...] "of the man?" § XXIVa, § XXIX.  
 ŠANŪ adj. "another".  
 masc. sg. gen. ŠA ŠA-NI-I-IM-MA "another person's" § 39 (A).  
 ŠIMU "price".  
 ŠI-IM-ŠU "its price" § 178/63 (p 6x, a and x 1x), § 179/64 (p 2x, x 1x), § 180/65 (p 5x, x 1x), § 181/66 (p 3x, x 1x), § 182/67-68 (p), § 185/71 (p); <ŠI-IM-ŠU> § 180/65 (x 2x), § 181/66 (x 3x); [Š]I-IM-ŠU § 179/64 (p), § 180/65 (x), § 181/66 (x); ŠI-IM-[ŠU] § 178/63 (b); ŠI-I[M-ŠU?] § 182/67-68 (e); [Š]I[-IM-ŠU?] § 178/63 (aa); Š[I-IM-ŠU] § 179/64 (x), § 182/67-68 (e, p).  
 Š[I-I]M-ŠU-NU "their price" § 179/64 (p); ŠI-I[M-ŠU-NU] § 179/64 (x).  
 -ŠU encl. poss. pron. "his/its", -ŠA "her/its".  
 sg. masc. -ŠU "his/its" § 7 (A, B), § 8 (A, B, X), § 11 (A, B), § X, § 12 (A, B), § XI, § 27 (C), § 31 (B), § 34 (B), § 43 (A, B), § XXXV (2x), § 46 (A, B), § XXXVIII, § 47b (A), § XXXIXb, § 48 (A 3x), § XL (2x), § 51 (A 4x, B and D 2x, G 1x), § 53 (B, D and F 3x, A 2x, G 1x), § 74 (A, B), § 77b (A, K), § 95 (A and O 1x, B 2x), § 99 (A and B 2x, F 1x), § 100 (B), colophon of PT (KBo 6.4), § 106/6 (b 2x, d 1x), § 107/7 (i), § 162b/47b (v), § 178/63 (aa and x 1x, p 6x), § 179/64 (p 2x, x 1x), § 180/65 (p 5x, x 2x), § 181/66 (p 3x, x 2x), § 182/67-68 (p), § 185/71 (p), § 192/78 (p), § 193/79 (p 3x, y 2x), § 194/80 (aa, p, y), § 195a/81a (aa 1x, p 2x), § 196/82 (p and y 2x); <-ŠU> § 180/65 (x 2x), § 181/66 (x 3x); [-Š]U § 48 (B); § 95 (A), § 193/79 (p).  
 -ŠŪ § VII, § 11 (C), § XL, colophon of PT (KBo 6.4), § 162b/47b (v), § 195a/81a (y).  
 -ŠÚ § 4 (A, B), § 9 (A, B, X), § 11 (A, B, C), § IX, § X, § 12 (A, B), § XI, § 27 (J), § 21 (A, B), § 42 (C), § 51 (G 2x), § 68 (A, B, I), § 84 (A), § 164-165/49-50 (aa, p), § 166/51 (p), § 171/56 (e), § 173a/58a (p 2x), § 192/78 (p, y), § 193/79 (p, y), § 198/84 (p 2x); -S[Ú] § 193/79 (aa); [S]Ú § 173a/58a (aa).  
 sg. fem. -ŠA "her/its" (in OS manuscripts) § 77a (A 2x); -Š[A?] § 171/56 (aa).  
 -ŠĀ in DUMU.MUNUS-ŠĀ (Akk. *mārassa* < *mārat-ša* "her daughter") § 195c/81c (p, y).  
 But also -ŠU for fem. (in NS copies except for § 175/60 (aa), unless this means "his children"):  
 -Š[U?] § 27 (B), § 171/56 (e 3x, p 5x), § 175/60 (aa, p); -ŠŪ § 200a/86a (z).  
 pl. masc. -ŠU-NU "their" § 32 (B), § 33 (A, B), § 50 (A 2x), § 179/64 (p 2x), § 185/71 (p), § 186/72 (p); -ŠU<-NU> § 179/64 (p); -[ŠU-N]U § 186/72 (p).  
 -ŠŪ-NU § 53 (A, B, D, F).  
 ŠUMU "name" (ŠUM sign used as ideogram).  
 With Hittite complements: sg. nom.-acc. ŠUM-an § 170/55 (e); ŠU[M-an] § 170/55 (p).  
 ŠUPPATU "reed-shaped emblem (?)". Cf. *išha-*.



## T

*TUPPU* “(clay) tablet”.

sg. gen. *TUP-PI* §53 (A, B); *TUP-PU* §53 (D); *TUP-P[U]* §53 (F).

## U

*U* conj. “and; also”. See discussion in commentary on §§ 1-2.

§ 1 (B), § 3 (A, B), § 4 (A, B), § 26a (J 2×), § 27 (B), § 31 (B), § 32 (A), § 33 (A), § 40 (A), § 41 (A 1×, L 2×), § 42 (B), § 43 (A) (in alternation with *nu*), § 50 (A), § 51 (A, B and G 2×), § 53 (A, B and D 4×, F 2×, G 1×), § 54 (A, B, D), § 74 (A 1×, B 2×), § 79 (A), § 83 (A, B), § 96 (A, B), § 97 (A, B), colophon of PT (KBo 6.4) (2×), § 103/3 (a 2×, b 1×), § 127/24 (c), § 162b/47b (v), § 166/51 (p), § 167/52 (aa, p), § 175/60 (aa, p), § 181/66 (p), § 194/80 (aa, p, y), § 195a/81a (aa).

*UK-KI-E*, cf. *LÚ UK-KI-E*.

*UL* adv., cf. *natta*.

*UNŪTU* “vessel”.

pl. *U-NU-TEMEŠ* §45 (B, C), §XXXV.

*UZNU* “ear”. Cf. *ištamana-*.

## a) Divine Names

<sup>d</sup>*U* “Stormgod”.

sg. nom. <sup>d</sup>*U-aš* § 169/54 (e); [<sup>d</sup>*U-a*]<sup>š</sup> § 169/54 (aa).

<sup>d</sup>*UTU* “Sungod”.

sg. nom. <sup>d</sup>*UTU-uš* § 169/54 (e).

sg. dat.-loc. <sup>d</sup>*UTU-i* § 169/54 (e).

<sup>d</sup>*UTU-ŠI* (i. e. Akk. *Šamšī*) “My Sun, My Majesty”.

sg. gen. <sup>d</sup>*UTU-ŠI* colophon (D).

## b) Personal Names

<sup>m</sup>*Ha-ni-ku-DINGIR-LIM* “Hanikuili” (= “man from Ankuwa”).

<sup>m</sup>*Ha-ni-ku-DINGIR-LIM* colophon of PT (KBo 6.4); <sup>m</sup>*Ha-ni-ku-DINGIR-LIM-iš* colophon of PT (KBo 6.4).

<sup>m</sup>*Ka-ru-nu-wa* “Karunuwa”.

<sup>m</sup>*NU.GIŠ.[KIRI<sub>6</sub>]* colophon of PT (KBo 6.4)

<sup>m</sup>[ ]

sg. dat.-loc. <sup>m</sup>[ ... ... *IŠ-TUR*] colophon (F).

## c) Geographical Names

*URUArinna*.

dat.-loc. *URUA-ri-in-na* §50 (A), §51 (B, G); *URUA-[ri-in-ni]* §50 (A).

*KUR URUArzawa*.

*KUR URUAr-za-u-wa* § 19a (B).

*URUHatra*.

*URUH<sub>a</sub>-at-ra-a* §54 (D); *URUH<sub>a</sub>-[at-ra-a]* §54 (A)



## KUR URUHatti.

dat.-loc. KUR URUH<sub>a</sub>-at-ti § 5 (A, B), § 20 (A, B), § 21 (A, B).

## URUHatti.

dat.-loc. URUH<sub>a</sub>-at-ti § 5 (B), § 19b (A, B), § 20 (A 2x, B 1x), § 55 (A, B); [URUH]a-at-ti § III;  
URU[H<sub>a</sub>-at-ti] § 55 (D); URUH<sub>a</sub>-at-t[i] § 20 (B)

## URUHattuša-.

dat.-loc. [URU]H<sub>a</sub>-at-tu-ši § 19b (A); URUH<sub>a</sub>-at[-tu-ši] § 19b (B).

abl. URUH<sub>a</sub>-at-tu-ša-az § 19a (B).

## URUHemuwa-.

URUHé-mu-wa § 54 (A, B); URUH<sub>i</sub>-im-mu-[w]a § 54 (D).

## KUR URULuwiya-.

dat.-loc. KUR URUL<sub>u</sub>-ú-i-ia § 5 (B); [K]UR URUL[u-ú-i-ia] § 23 (B).

abl. KUR URUL<sub>u</sub>-ú-i-ia-az § 20 (B), § 21 (B).

## KUR Luwiya-.

dat.-loc. KUR Lu-ú-i-ia § 5 (A), § 19b (A), § 23 (A); KUR Lu-ú-i-[ia] § 19a (A).

abl. KUR Lu-ú-ia-az § 20 (A), § 21 (A).

## LÚ URULuwiya- n. com. "Luwian man".

sg. nom. LÚ URUL<sub>u</sub>-ú-i-ia-aš § 19a (B).

sg. acc. LÚ URUL<sub>u</sub>-i-in § 19b (A); LÚ URUL<sub>u</sub>-ú-i-ia-an § 19b (B).

LÚ URULuwiumna- com. "Luwian man".

sg. gen. LÚ URUL<sub>u</sub>-ú-i-u-ma-na-aš § 21 (A); LÚ URUL<sub>u</sub>-i-um-na-aš § 21 (B).

## Manda (a people).

Ma-an-da § 54 (A, B, D).

## URUNerik.

dat.-loc. URUNe-e-ri-ik-ki § 50 (A).

## KUR URUPalā.

dat.-loc. KUR URUPa-la-a § 5 (A, B).

## Šāla (a city?).

gen. sg. Ša-a-la § 54 (A, B, D); [Ša-a-l]a § 54 (f).

## URUTamalki.

gen. sg. URUTa-ma-al-ki § 54 (B, D); URUTa-ma-al-ki § 54 (A); URUTa-ma-al-[k]i § 54 (F).

## URUTašhiniya

gen. sg. URUTa-aš-ḥi-ni-ia § 54 (A, B); URUTa-aš-ḥi-ni-i[a] § 54 (F); URUTa-aš-ḥé-ni-ia § 54 (D).

## KUR U[GU] "Upper Land"

colophon of PT (KBo 6.4).

## URUZalpa.

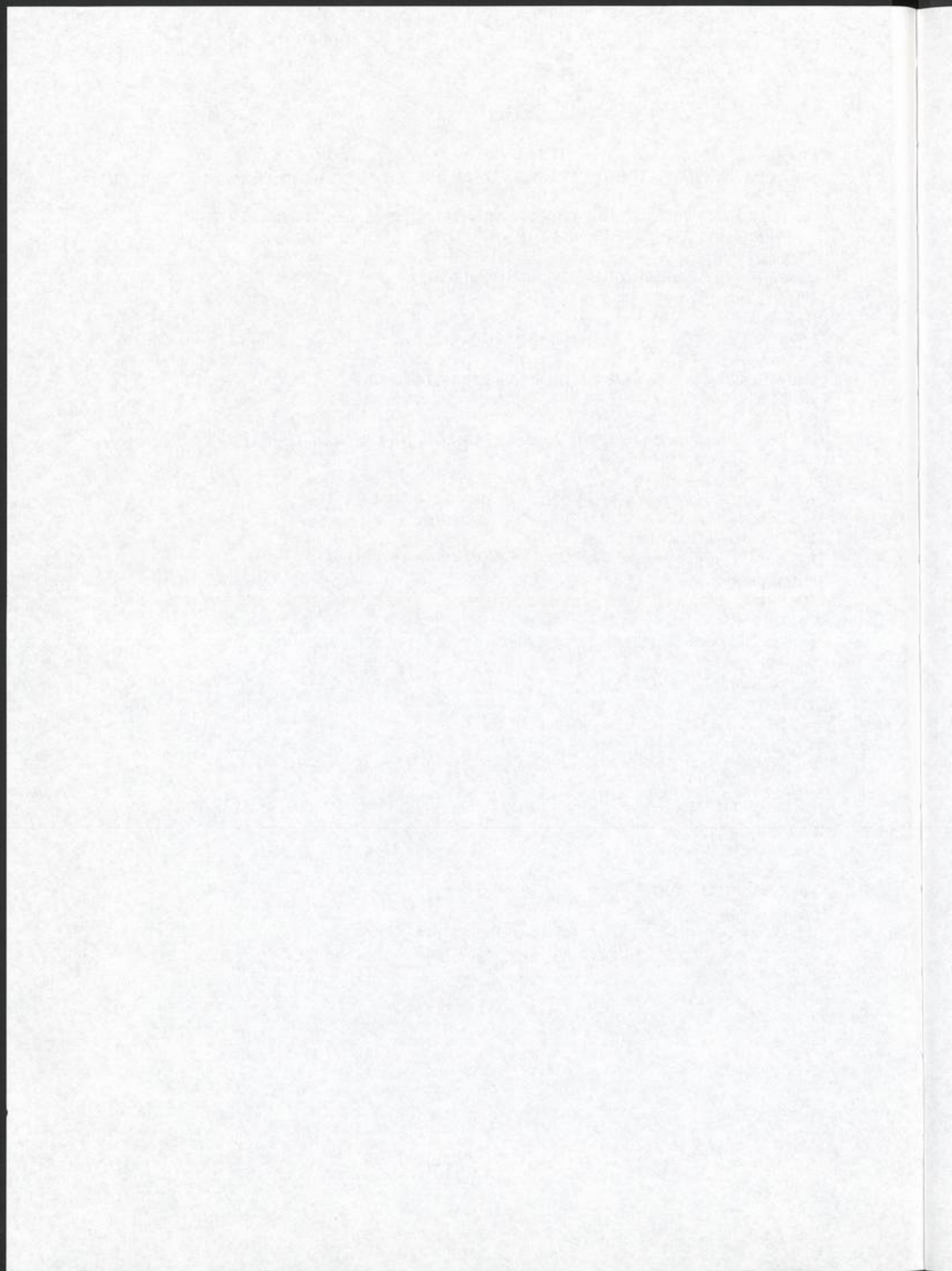
URUZa-al-pa § 54 (A, B, D).

## URUZippalantiya.

dat.-loc. URUZi-ip-pa-la-an-ti § 51 (B); [URUZi-ip-la-an-ti] § 51 (A); URUZi-ip-pa-la-a[n-ti] § 51 (G);

URUZi-ip-la-an-ti § 50 (A); [URUZi-ip-pa]-la-an-ta § 50 (L).







## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ALP, S.  
 1950-1951 "Die Soziale Klasse der NAM.RA-Leute und ihre hethitische Bezeichnung." *JKF* 1:113-135.  
 1952 Review of E. Neufeld 1951. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 6:93-98.  
 1957 "Zu den Körperteilnamen im Hethitischen." *Anatolia (Anadolu)* 2:1-47.  
 1990 "Die Verpflichtungen *šaḫḫan* und *luzzi* in einem Masat-Brief." *Orientalia. Nova Series* 59 (2):107-113.  
 1991 *Hethitische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VI. Dizi - Sa. 35*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- ARCHI, A.  
 1968 "Sulla formazione del testo delle leggi ittite." *SMEA* 7:54-89.  
 1979a "Auguri per il Labarna." In *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata*. Edited by O. Carruba. Pavia: Aurora Edizioni.  
 1979b "L'humanité des hittites." In *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*. Edited by E. Masson. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard.
- ARDZINBA, V. G.  
 1988 "Some Observations on §168 of the Hittite Laws (in Russian)." In *Šulmu. Papers on the Ancient Near East Presented at International Conference of Socialist Countries (Prague, Sept. 30-Oct. 3, 1986)*. Edited by P. Vavroušek and V. Souček. Prague: Universzita Karlova.
- AVALOS, H. I.  
 1997 "Medicine." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*. Edited by E. M. Meyers. New York: Oxford University Press.
- BALKAN, K.  
 1973 *Eine Schenkungsurkunde aus der althethitischen Zeit, gefunden in Inandik 1966*. Ankara.
- BEAL, R. H.  
 1986 The Organization of the Hittite Military. Ph. D. Dissertation. The University of Chicago.  
 1988 "The <sup>GIS</sup>TUKUL-institution in Second Millennium Hatti." *AoF* 15:269-305.  
 1995 "Hittite Military Organization." In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by J. M. Sasson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- BECHTEL, G.  
 1936 *Hittite Verbs in -sk-*. Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc.
- BECKMAN, G. M.  
 1982a "The Anatolian Myth of Illuyanka." *JANES* 14:11-25.  
 1982b "The Hittite Assembly." *JAOS* 102:435-442.  
 1983 *Hittite Birth Rituals*. Edited by H. Otten. Vol. 29, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* 29. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
 1986 "Inheritance and Royal Succession Among the Hittites." In *Kaniššuwat: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on his Seventy-fifth Birthday, May 27, 1983*. Edited by H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and G. Beckman. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.  
 1988 "A Note on Paragraph 28 of the Hittite Laws." In *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz*. Edited by Y. L. Arbeitman. Louvain-la-neuve: Peeters.  
 1990a "The Hittite 'Ritual of the Ox' (CTH 760.I.2-3)." *Orientalia. Nova Series* 59:34-55.



- 1990b "Medizin. B. Bei den Hethitern." In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7. Edited by D. O. Edzard. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- 1996 *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Edited by H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Writings from the Ancient World* 7. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- BERMAN, H., AND H. A. HOFFNER, JR.  
1980 "Why parhu- is not the Hittite Word for 'Fish', JCS 32, 1980, 48-49." *JCS* 32:48-49.
- BOLEY, J.  
1993 *The Hittite Particle -z / -za*. Edited by W. Meid, *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 79. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- BOYSAN-DIETRICH, N.  
1987 *Das hethitische Lehmhaus aus der Sicht der Keilschriftquellen*. Edited by A. Kammenhuber, *Texte der Hethiter* 12. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- BURDE, C.  
1974 *Hethitische medizinische Texte*. Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* 19. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- CARRUBA, O.  
1962 Review of J. Friedrich 1959. *Kratylos* 7:155-160.  
1964 "Hethitisch -(a)šta, -(a)pa und die anderen 'Ortsbezugspartikeln'." *Orientalia. Nova Series* 33:405ff.  
1966 *Das Beschwörungsritual für die Göttin Wišuriyanza*. Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Heft 2*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
1988 "Die Hajasa-Verträge Hattis." In *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae*. Edited by E. Neu and C. Rüster. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
1993 "Zur Datierung der ältesten Schenkungsurkunden und anonymen Tabarna-Siegel." *IM* 43:71-85.
- CARRUBA, O., V. SOUČEK, AND R. STERNEMANN  
1965 "Kleine Bemerkungen zur jüngsten Faßung der hethitischen Gesetze." *ArOr* 33:1-18.
- CATSANICOS, J.  
1991 *Recherches sur le Vocabulaire de la Faute. Apports du Hittite à l'étude de la phraséologie indo-européenne, Cahiers de N.A.B.U.* 2. Paris: SEPOA.
- CHRISTMANN-FRANCK, L.  
1971 "Le rituel des funérailles royales hittites." *RHA* 71:61-84.
- COLLINS, B. J.  
1989 *The Representation of Wild Animals in Hittite Texts*. Ph. D. Dissertation. Yale University.
- CORNIL, P.  
1987 "Textes de Boghazköy. Liste des lieux de trouvaille." In *Hethitica*.  
1994 "Guerre et armé hittites." *RIDA* 41:99-109.
- COTTICELLI-KURRAS, P.  
1992a *Das hethitische Verbum 'sein'. Syntaktische Untersuchungen*. Edited by A. Kammenhuber, *Texte der Hethiter*, 17. Stuttgart: Carl Winter.  
1992b "Die hethitischen Nominalsätze." In *Per una grammatica ittita: Towards a Hittite Grammar*. Edited by O. Carruba. Pavia: Gianni Luculano Editore.
- DARDANO, P.  
1997 *L'aneddoto e il racconto in eta antico-hittita: La cosiddeta 'cronaca di palazzo', Biblioteca di Ricerche Linguistiche e Filologiche* 43. Roma: Il Calamo.
- DARGA, M.  
1985 *Hitit Mimarlığı, I- Yapı Sanatı*. Istanbul: Istanbul University.



## DEL MONTE, G. F.

- 1980 "Metrologia hittita. I. Le misure de capacità per aridi." *OA* 19:219-226.  
 1981 "Note sui trattati fra Hattusa e Kizzuwatna." *OA* 20:203-221.  
 1985 "Rituali magici e potere nell'Anatolia ittita." In *Soprannaturale e potere nel mondo antico e nelle società tradizionali*. Edited by M. F. Fales and C. Grottanelli. Bologna: Angeli.

## EDEL, E.

- 1976 *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof. Neue Funde von Keilschriftbriefen Ramses' II aus Bogazköy, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vorträge G 205*. Opladen: Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

## EHELOLF, H.

- 1936 "Hethitische-akkadische Wortgleichungen." *ZA* 44:170-195.

## EICHNER, H.

- 1985 "Das Problem des Ansatzes eines urindogermanischen Numerus 'Kollektiv' ('Komprehensiv')." In *Grammatische Kategorien. Funktion und Geschichte. Akten der VII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Berlin, 20.-25. Februar 1983*. Edited by B. Schlerath and V. Rittner. Berlin: Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

## ERTEM, H.

- 1965 *Boğazköy metinlerine göre Hititler devri Anadolu'sunun faunası*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi.

## FRANTZ-SZABÓ, G.

- 1995 "Hittite Witchcraft, Magic, and Divination." In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by J. M. Sasson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

## FREYDANK, H.

- 1971 "Zu den §§54/55 der hethitischen Gesetze." In *Beiträge zur sozialen Struktur des Alten Vorderasien*. Edited by H. Klengel. Berlin.

## FRIEDRICH, J.

- 1924 "Der hethitische Soldateneid." *ZA* 35:161-191.  
 1926 *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache. 1. Teil*. Edited by F. Sommer, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft (E.V.) 31.1*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.  
 1928 "Reinheitsvorschriften für den hethitischen König." In *Altorientalische Studien Bruno Meissner zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.  
 1930a *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache. 2. Teil*. Edited by F. Sommer, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft (E.V.) 34.1*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.  
 1930b "Zu den kleinasiatischen Personennamen mit dem Element *muwa*." *KIF* 1:359-378.  
 1952 *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Kurzgefaßte kritische Sammlung der Deutungen hethitischer Wörter*. 1st ed. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.  
 1959 *Die hethitischen Gesetze, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 7*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.  
 1960a *Hethitisches Elementarbuch, 1. Teil: Kurzgefaßte Grammatik*. Edited by H. Krahe. 2nd ed, *Indogermanische Bibliothek. 1. Reihe: Lehr- und Handbücher*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.  
 1960b "Zum letzten Satze der zweiten Tafel der hethitischen Gesetze." *RHA* XVIII/66:33-35.

## FRIEDRICH, J., AND A. KAMMENHUBER

- 1975-1984 *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage. Band I: A. Vol. 1, Indogermanische Bibliothek. Zweite Reihe: Wörterbücher*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.



- 1988 *Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage. Band II: E. Vol. 2, Indogermanische Bibliothek. Zweite Reihe: Wörterbücher.* Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- GARRETT, A.  
 1990a "Hittite Enclitic Subjects and Transitive Verbs." *JCS* 42:227-242.  
 1990b *The Syntax of Anatolian Pronominal Clitics.* Ph. D. Harvard University.
- GIORGADZE, G.  
 1974 "Die Begriffe 'Freie' und 'Unfreie' bei den Hethitern." *Acta Antiqua* 22:299-308.
- GIORGIERI, M.  
 1990/publ 1991 "Magia e intrighi alla corte di Labarna-Hattusili." *IstLombRend* 124:247-277.
- GOETZE, A.  
 1925 *Hattušiliš. Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexen.* Edited by F. Sommer, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* 29. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.  
 1928a *Das Hethiter-Reich, Alter Orient* 27/2.  
 1928b *Madduwattaš, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft.* 32. Jahrgang. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.  
 1933a *Die Annalen des Muršiliš.* Edited by F. Sommer, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* 38. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.  
 1933b *Kleinasien.* Edited by H. Bengtson. 1st ed, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients.* München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.  
 1938 *The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi, American Oriental Series 14.* New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society.  
 1957 *Kleinasien.* Edited by H. Bengtson. 2nd rev. ed, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients.* München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.  
 1964 "State and Society of the Hittites." In *Neuere Hethiterforschung.* Edited by G. Walser. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.  
 1966 "On §§163, 164/5 and 176 of the Hittite Code." *JCS* 20:128-132.  
 1968 Review of J. Friedrich 1966. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 22:16-24.  
 1969 "The Hittite Laws." In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (3rd ed.)*. Edited by J. B. Pritchard. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- GRAYSON, A. K.  
 1972 *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions I.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- GREENGUS, S.  
 1995 "Legal and Social Institutions of Ancient Mesopotamia." In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East.* Edited by J. M. Sasson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- GURNEY, O. R.  
 1990 *The Hittites.* Second edition with revisions ed. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- GÜTERBOCK, H. G.  
 1942 *Siegel aus Bogazköy. Zweiter Teil.* Edited by E. F. Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft* 7. Berlin: Im Selbstverlag des Herausgebers.  
 1943 Review of J. Friedrich 1940. *Orientalia. Nova Series* 12:153ff.  
 1952 *The Song of Ullikummi: Revised Text of the Hittite Version of a Hurrian Myth.* New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.  
 1954 "Authority and Law in the Hittite Kingdom." *JAOS* Suppl. 17 (July-September):16-24.  
 1956 "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma I as Told by His Son, Mursili II." *JCS* 10:41-68, 75-98, 107-130.  
 1957 Review of J. Friedrich 1952. *Oriens* 10:350-362.



- 1958 "The Composition of Hittite Prayers to the Sun." *JAOS* 78:237-245.
- 1961a "Hittite Mythology." In *Mythologies of the Ancient World*. Edited by S. N. Kramer. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co.
- 1961b Review of J. Friedrich 1959. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 15:62-78.
- 1962a "Further Notes on the Hittite Laws." *JCS* 16:17-23.
- 1962b "Hittite Medicine." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 36 (2):109-113.
- 1964 "Lexicographical Notes II." *RHA* XXII/74:95-113.
- 1966 Review of R. Haase 1963. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 68:119-122.
- 1971 "The Hittite Palace." In *Le palais et la royauté. Comptes rendus de la 19<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- 1972 "Bemerkungen zu den Ausdrücken *ellum*, *wardum* und *asirum* in hethitischen Texten." In *Gesellschaftsklassen im Alten Zweistromland und in den angrenzenden Gebieten - XVIII. Rencontre assyriologique internationale, München, 29. Juni bis 3. Juli 1970*. Edited by D. O. Edzard. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 1980 "Randbemerkungen zu einigen hethitischen Gesetzen." *WO* 11:89-92.
- 1983a "A Hurro-Hittite Hymn to Ishtar." *JAOS* 103:155-164.
- 1983b "Noch einmal die Formel *parnaššeja šuwaizzi*." *Orientalia. Nova Series* 52:73-80.
- GÜTERBOCK, H. G., AND E. HAMP
- 1956 "Hittite *šuwaya-*." *RHA* XIV/58:22-25.
- GÜTERBOCK, H. G., AND T. P. J. V. D. HOUT
- 1991 *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*. Edited by T. A. Holland, *Assyriological Studies No. 24*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- HAAS, V.
- 1977a "Bemerkungen zu *Glšeya-*." *AoF* 4:269-276.
- 1977b *Magie und Mythen im Reich der Hethiter: I. Vegetationskulte und Pflanzenmagie*. Hamburg: Merlin Verlag.
- 1992 "Hethitologische Miscellen." *SMEA* 29:99-110.
- 1994 *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion, Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abteilung. 15. Band*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- 1995 "Death and the Afterlife in Hittite Thought." In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by J. M. Sasson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- HAAS, V., AND M. WÄFLER
- 1976 "Bemerkungen zu *Éheštīla-* (1. Teil)." *UF* 8:65-99.
- HAAS, V., AND I. WEGNER
- 1994 "Baugrube und Fundament." *IM* 43:53-58.
- HAASE, R.
- 1956 "Über die Formel *Parnaššeja šuwāizzi* in den hethitischen Gesetzestexten." *WO* 2:290-293.
- 1959 "Ist der § 200B der hethitischen Gesetze unvollständig überliefert?" *ZA* 53:193-199.
- 1960 "Zur Systematik der zweiten Tafel der hethitischen Gesetze." *Revue internationale des droit de l'antiquité (3rd series)* 7:51-54.
- 1961 "Zum Tatbestand der vorsätzlichen Tötung eines Menschen in der hethitischen Rechtssammlung." *BiOr* 18:14-16.
- 1962a "Regelt §9 der hethitischen Rechtssammlung eine leichte Leibesverletzung?" *BiOr* 19:114-116.
- 1962b "Über neue Vorschläge zur Erklärung der hethitischen Formel *parnaššeja šuwaizzi*." *BiOr* 19:117-122.



- 1963 *Die keilschriftlichen Rechtssammlungen in deutscher Fassung*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1965 "Zur Deutung der §37 und §38 der hethitischen Rechtssammlung." *JKF* 2 (1-2):251-256.
- 1967 "Zum hethitischen Prozeßrecht." *ZA* 57:250-257.
- 1968 *Die Fragmente der hethitischen Gesetze*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1971 "'arnu-' in der hethitischen Rechtssammlung." In *Studi in Onore di Eduardo Volterra*, 6. Milan: Università di Roma.
- 1976 "Über Tierdelikte in den sogenannten hethitischen Gesetzen." *ZSS* 93:253-260.
- 1977 "Der Inzest in den sogenannten hethitischen Gesetzen." *WO* 9:72-76.
- 1978 "Zur Tötung eines Kaufmanns nach den hethitischen Gesetzen (§§5 und III)." *WO* 9:213-219.
- 1982a "Der <sup>LÜ</sup>hipparaš ein 'homme d'affaires'?" In *Investigationes Philologicae et Comparativae. Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser*. Edited by E. Neu. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1982b "Die Kollektivhaftung bei den Hethitern." In *Studi in onore di Cesare Sanfilippo I: Giuffrè Editore*.
- 1983 "Das Verbum parkunu- in den hethitischen Gesetzen." *Hethitica* 5:29-39.
- 1984 *Texte zum hethitischen Recht. Eine Auswahl*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- 1987 "Kapitaldelikte im hethitischen Recht." *Hethitica* 7:93-108.
- 1993 "Über vermutliche 'Irrläufer' in den hethitischen Gesetzen." *AuOr* 11:95-100.
- 1994a "Deuteronomium und hethitisches Recht. Über einige Ähnlichkeiten in rechtshistorischer Hinsicht." *WO* 25:71-77.
- 1994b "Drei Kleinigkeiten zur hethitischen Recht." *AoF* 21:65-72.
- 1994c "Überlegungen zu §173 (\*58) der hethitischen Gesetze." *Anatolica* 20:221-225.
- 1996 "Überlegungen zur erlaubten Tötung eines Menschen in der hethitischen Rechtssammlung." *WO* 27:36-44.
- HALLO, W. W., AND K. L. YOUNGER, eds.  
1997 *The Context of Scripture. Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions and Archival Documents from the Biblical World*. Leiden: Brill.
- HART, G. R.  
1983 Review of N. Oettinger 1979. *Kratylos* 28:102-108.
- HAWKINS, J. D.  
1986 "Royal Statements of Ideal Prices: Assyrian, Babylonian and Hittite." In *Ancient Anatolia: Aspects of Change and Cultural Development. Essays in Honor of Machteld J. Mellink*. Edited by J. V. Canby, E. Porada, B. S. Ridgway and T. Stech: University of Wisconsin Press.
- HEINHOLD-KRAHMER, S.  
1977 *Arzawa: Untersuchungen zu seiner Geschichte nach den hethitischen Quellen*. Edited by A. Kammenhuber, *Texte der Hethiter* 8. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- HOFFMANN, I.  
1984 *Der Erlaß Telipinus, Texte der Hethiter* 11. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- HOFFNER, H. A., JR.  
1963 The Laws of the Hittites. Ph. D. Dissertation. Brandeis University.  
1965 "An English-Ugaritic Index." In *Ugaritic Textbook*. Edited by C. H. Gordon. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.  
1966a "Composite Nouns, Verbs, and Adjectives in Hittite." *Or NS* 35:377ff.  
1966b "Hittite Law." In *The Biblical World*. Edited by C. Pfeiffer. Grand Rapids: Baker.  
1966c "Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity and their Use in Second Millennium Magic Rituals." *JBL* 85:326-334.



- 1967a *An English-Hittite Glossary, Revue Hittite et Asiatique XXV/80*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- 1967b Review of E. von Schuler *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87:179-185.
- 1967c "Ugaritic *pwt*: a Term from the Early Canaanite Dyeing Industry." *JAOS* 87:300-303.
- 1968a "Birth and Namegiving in Hittite Texts." *JNES* 27:198-203.
- 1968b "A Hittite Text in Epic Style about Merchants." *JCS* 22:34-45.
- 1969a "On the Use of Hittite *-za* in Nominal Sentences." *JNES* 28:225-230.
- 1969b "Some Contributions of Hittitology to Old Testament Study." *Tyndale Bulletin* 20:27-55.
- 1970 "Remarks on the Hittite Version of the Naram-Sin Legend." *JCS* 23:17-22.
- 1971 "Hittite *ega-* and *egan-*." *JCS* 24:31-36.
- 1973a "The Hittites and Hurrians." In *Peoples of Old Testament Times*. Edited by D. J. Wiseman. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1973b "Incest, Sodomy and Bestiality in the Ancient Near East." In *Orient and Occident. Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*. Edited by H. A. Hoffner, Jr. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- 1974 *Alimenta Hethaeorum, American Oriental Series 55*. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- 1975a "Hittite Mythological Texts: A Survey." In *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 1975b "Propaganda and Political Justification in Hittite Historiography." In *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- 1981a "The Hurrian Story of the Sungod, the Cow and the Fisherman." In *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of E. R. Lacheman*. Edited by M. Morrison and D. I. Owen. Winona Lake, Ind.: James Eisenbraun.
- 1981b "The Old Hittite Version of Laws 164-166." *JCS* 33:206-209.
- 1982 "The Old Hittite Legal Idiom *suwaye-* with the Allative, *JAOS* 102, 1982, 507-9." *JAOS* 102:507-509.
- 1983a "A Prayer of Mursili II about his Stepmother." *JAOS* 103:187-190.
- 1983b Review of J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber 1979-80. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 40:407-417.
- 1986 "Studies in Hittite Grammar." In *Kaniššuwār. A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on his seventy-fifth birthday, May 27, 1983*. Edited by H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and G. M. Beckman. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 1990 *Hittite Myths*. Edited by B. Long, *Writings from the Ancient World* 2. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- 1994 "The Hittite Word for 'Oil' and its Derivatives." *KZ* 107:104-112.
- 1995a "The Hittite Laws." In *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. Edited by M. T. Roth. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- 1995b "Legal and Social Institutions of Hittite Anatolia." In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by J. M. Sasson, K. Rubinson, J. Baines and G. M. Beckman. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- 1996 "From Head to Toe in Hittite." In *Go To The Land I Will Show You: Studies in Honor of Dwight W. Young*. Edited by J. Coleson and V. Matthews. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- 1997 "On Homicide in Hittite Law." In *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on his 80th Birthday*. Edited by R. Averbeck, M. Chavalas and G. Young. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press.
- VAN DEN HOUT, TH. PH. J.
- 1990 "Maße und Gewichte. Bei den Hethitern." In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (RLA)*, 7. Edited by D. O. Edzard. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.



- 1995           Review of P. J. Neve 1992. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 52:545-573.
- HOUWINK TEN CATE, P. H. J.
- 1970           *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire (c. 1450-1380 B.C.)*, *Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul* 26. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten.
- 1973           "The Particle *-a* and its Usage with Respect to the Personal Pronoun." In *Festschrift Heinrich Otten*. Edited by E. Neu and C. Rüster. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- HOUWINK TEN CATE, P. H. J., AND F. JOSEPHSON
- 1967           "Muwatalli's Prayer to the Storm-God of Kummanni (KBo XI 1)." *RHA* XXV/80:101-140.
- HROZNÝ, B.
- 1919           *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi in Umschrift, Boghazköi-Studien* 3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- HROZNÝ, F.
- 1922           *Code Hittite provenant de l'Asie Mineure (vers 1350 av. J.-C.)*. 1<sup>er</sup> partie. *Transcription, traduction française*. Edited by F. Hrozny, *Hethitica. Tome 1<sup>er</sup>. Première partie*. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- IMPARATI, F.
- 1964           *Le leggi ittite, Incunabula Graeca* 7. Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- 1984           "Il trasferimento di beni nell'ambito del matrimonio privato ittita." *Geo-archeologia* (2):109-121.
- 1991           "Autorità centrale e istituzioni collegiali nel regno ittita." In *Esercizio del potere e prassi della consultazione*. Edited by A. Ciani and G. Diurni. Rome: Libreria Editrice Lateranense.
- 1995           "Private Life Among the Hittites." In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by J. M. Sasson. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- JOSEPHSON, F.
- 1972           *The Function of the Sentence Particles in Old and Middle Hittite, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Indoeuropaea Upsaliensia* 2. Uppsala: Akv Service AB.
- 1979           "Assibilation in Anatolian." In *Hethitisch und Indogermanisch: Vergleichende Studien zur historischen Grammatik und zur dialektgeographischen Stellung der indogermanischen Sprachgruppe Altkleinasiens*. Edited by E. Neu and W. Meid. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- KAMMENHUBER, A.
- 1961a           Review of J. Friedrich 1959. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 18:77-82.
- 1961b           "Zur Textüberlieferung der II. Tafel der hethitischen Gesetze." *BiOr* 18:124-127.
- KAMMENHUBER, A., AND A. ÜNAL
- 1974           "Das althethitische Losorakel KBo XVIII 151." *KZ* 88:157-180.
- KEMPINSKI, A., AND S. KOŠAK
- 1970           "Der Išmeriga-Vertrag." *WdO* 5:191-217.
- KESTEMONT, G.
- 1974           *Diplomatique et droit international en Asie Occidentale (1600-1200 av. J. C.)*, *Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain* 9. Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste.
- KLENGEL, H.
- 1963           "Der Schiedsspruch des Mursili II. hinsichtlich Barga und seine Übereinkunft mit Duppi-Tesub von Amurru (KBo III 3)." *Orientalia. Nova Series* 32:32-55.
- 1965           "Die Rolle der 'Ältesten' (LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI) im Kleinasien der Hethiterzeit." *ZA* 57:223-236.
- 1979           "Handel und Kaufleute in hethitischen Reich." *AoF* 6:69-80.



- 1980 "Mord und Bußleistung im spätbronzezeitlichen Syrien." *Mes* 8:189-197.
- 1988 "Papaja, Katazipuri und der eja-Baum. Erwägungen zum Verständnis von KUB LVI 17." In *Studi di Storia e di Filologia Anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*. Edited by F. Imparati. Firenze: Elite: Edizioni Librarie Italiane Estere.
- KLINGER, J.
- 1992 "Fremde und Aussenseiter in Hatti." In *Aussenseiter und Randgruppen*. Edited by V. Haas. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz.
- KOŠAK, S.
- 1982 *Hittite Inventory Texts (CTH 241-250)*. Edited by A. Kammenhuber, *Texte der Hethiter* 10. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- 1988 "Ein hethitischer Königserlaß über eine gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Reform." In *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae*. Edited by E. Neu and C. Rüster. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- KOROŠEC, V.
- 1930 *Sistematika prve hetitske pravne zbirke*. Ljubljana.
- 1931 *Hethitische Staatsverträge, Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien* 60. Leipzig: Verlag von Theodor Weicher.
- 1932 "Beiträge zum hethitischen Privatrecht." *ZSS* 52:156-169.
- 1959 "Die Tontafel KBo. VI,4 und ihr relatives Alter." In *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag am 27. August 1958 gewidmet*. Edited by R. von Kienle, A. Moortgat, H. Otten, E. von Schuler and W. Zaumseil. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- 1969 "Gesetze. B. Hatti." In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 3. Edited by E. Ebeling, B. Meissner, E. Weidner, W. von Soden and D. O. Edzard. Berlin, Leipzig and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- 1980 "Die Todesstrafe in der Entwicklung des hethitischen Rechtes." *Mes* 8:199-212.
- KRONASSER, H.
- 1966 *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache I*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- LAMBERT, W. G.
- 1960 *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- LAROCHE, E.
- 1957 "Études de vocabulaire VI." *RHA* XV/60:9-29.
- 1958 "Lécanomancie hittite." *RA* 52:150-162.
- 1960 "Hittite *arawa*- 'libre', Hommages G. Dumézil." *Latomus* 45:124-128.
- 1971 *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Vol. 75, *Études et Commentaires*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- 1986 "Hittite *nakkuš* — *nakkušiš*." In *Kanissuwar*. Edited by H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and G. M. Beckman. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- LEBRUN, R.
- 1980 *Hymnes et prières hittites, Homo Religiosus* 4. Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d'histoire des religions.
- MARAZZI, M.
- 1982 "Nota sul testo KBo XXII 61 (=CTH 291)." *SMEA* 22:67-68.
- 1988 "Note in margine all'editto reale KBo XXII 1." In *Studi de Storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*. Edited by F. Imparati. Firenze: ELITE.
- MARAZZI, M., AND H. NOWICKI
- 1978 "Vorarbeiten zu den hethitischen Gebeten (CTH 372, 373, 374)." *OA* 17:257-278.
- MASCHERONI, L. M.
- 1979 "I paragrafi struttura diacronica della leggi etee. Potere e strumenti di persuasione nel II millennio." *OA* 18:29-39.



## MELCHERT, H. C.

- 1977 Ablative and Instrumental in Hittite. Ph. D. Dissertation. Harvard University.  
 1978 "The Acts of Hattušili I." *JNES* 37:1-22.  
 1979 "On §§56, 162, and 171 of the Hittite Laws." *JCS* 31:57-64.  
 1980 "The Use of IKU in Hittite Texts." *JCS* 32:50-56.  
 1984 *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology, Ergänzungshefte zur Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung, Nr. 32*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.  
 1993 *Cuneiform Luvian Lexicon*. Edited by H. C. Melchert, *Lexica Anatolica* 2. Chapel Hill, N. C.: Self-published.  
 1994 *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. Edited by R. S. P. Beekes, A. Lubotsky and J. S. S. Weitenberg, *Leiden Studies in Indo-European* 3. Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi.

## MORA, C.

- 1983a "Il ruolo politico-sociale de pankus e tuliyas: Revisione di un probleme." In *Studi Orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore*. Pavia.  
 1983b "Sul §55 delle Leggi ittite." *OA* 22:49-51.

## MOYER, J.

- 1983 "Hittite and Israelite cultic practices: A selected comparison." In *Scripture in context, II*. Edited by W. W. Hallo. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

## MÜLLER-KARPE, A.

- 1988 *Hethitische Töpferei der Oberstadt von Hattuša, Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Band 10*. Marburg/Lahn: Hitzeroth Verlag.

## NEU, E.

- 1968 *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen*. Edited by H. Otten, *StBoT* 5. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
 1979 "Zum sprachlichen Alter des Hukkana-Vertrages." *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 93:64-84.  
 1980a *Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift*. Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* 25. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
 1980b *Studien zum endungslosen Lokativ des hethitischen, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 23. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.  
 1983 *Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten*. Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten, Heft 26*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
 1985 "Neue Wege im Hurritischen." In *Akten des XXIII. Deutschen Orientalistentages*. Würzburg.  
 1988a *Das Hurritische: Eine altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht*. Vol. Jahrgang 1988, Nr. 3, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH.  
 1988b "Varia Hurritica. Sprachliche Beobachtungen an der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Hattuša." In *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae*. Edited by E. Neu and C. Rüster. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
 1989a "Neue Wege im Hurritischen." In *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 16. bis 20. September 1985 in Würzburg. Ausgewählte Vorträge*. Edited by E. von Schuler. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.  
 1989b "Zum Alter der personifizierenden -ant-Bildung des Hethitischen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der indogermanischen Genuskategorie." *KZ* 102:1-15.  
 1992 "Zum Kollektivum im Hethitischen." In *Per una grammatica ittita: Towards a Hittite Grammar*. Edited by O. Carruba. Pavia: Gianni Iuculano Editore.  
 1993 "Knechtschaft und Freiheit. Betrachtungen über ein hurritische-hethitisches Textensemble aus Hattusa." In *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem*



- Alten Testament. Internationales Symposium Hamburg 17.-21. März 1990.* Edited by B. Janowski, K. Koch and G. Wilhelm. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1995a *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I: Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Hattuša, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, 32.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1995b "Mehrsprachigkeit im Alten Orient — Bilinguale Texte als besondere Form sprachlicher Kommunikation." In *Kommunikation durch Zeichen und Wort. Stätten und Formen der Kommunikation im Altertum IV.* Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.
- 1996a *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I, StBoT 32.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
- 1996b *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung II: Grammatik und Glossar, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, 33.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- NEUFELD, E.  
1951 *The Hittite Laws.* London: Luzac and Co. Ltd.
- NEUMANN, G.  
1971 Review of K. K. Riemschneider 1970. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 76:265-267.
- OETTINGER, N.  
1976 *Die Militärischen Eide der Hethiter.* Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Heft 22.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1979 *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbuns, Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft 64.* Nürnberg: Verlag Hans Carl.
- 1982 Review of E. Neu 1980. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39:364-368.
- 1993 "Der Akzent des indogermanischen Kollektivums im Lichte des Hethitischen." *MSS* 54:207-214.
- 1994 "Der Ablaut von 'Ahorn' im Indogermanischen." *KZ* 107:77-86.
- 1995 "Griech. ὄστέον, heth. *kuḷēi* und ein neues Kollektivsuffix." In *Verba et Structurae. Festschrift für Klaus Strunk zum 65. Geburtstag.* Edited by H. Hettrich, W. Hock, P.-A. Mumm and N. Oettinger. Innsbruck: Universität Innsbruck.
- OPPENHEIM, A. L.  
1943 "Assyriological Gleanings I." *BASOR* 91 (October):36-39.
- 1956 *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, TAPS NS 46.3.* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- OTTEN, H.  
1942 *Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus, Mitteilung der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 46/1.* Leipzig: Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptische Gesellschaft.
- 1958 *Hethitische Totenrituale, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 37.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- 1961 "Eine Beschwörung der Unterirdischen aus Bogazköy." *ZA* 54:114-157.
- 1973 *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Heft 17.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- 1979 "Original oder Abschrift—Zur Datierung von CTH 258." In *Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche.* Edited by E. Masson. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard.
- 1984 "Blick in die altorientalische Geisteswelt: Neufund einer hethitischen Tempelbibliothek." *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*:50-60.
- 1988 "Ebla in der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue aus Boğazköy." In *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla.* Edited by H. Hauptmann and H. Waetzoldt. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- 1990 "Bemerkungen zur Überlieferung einiger hethitischer Texte." *ZA* 80:223-227.
- 1991 "Exkurs zu den Landschenkungsurkunden." *AA* 1991:345-348.
- OTTEN, H., AND V. SOUČEK  
1966 "Neue hethitische Gesetzfragmente aus dem Grossen Tempel." *AfO* 21:1-12.



## PECCHIOLI DADDI, F.

- 1982 *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell'Anatolia ittita, Incunabula Graeca 69.* Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- 1994 "Il re, il padre del re, il nonno del re." *OAM* 1:75-91.
- 1995 "Le così dette 'cronache di palazzo'." In *Atti del II congresso internazionale de hittitologia.* Edited by O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri and C. Mora. Pavia: Iuculano.

## PECCHIOLI DADDI, F., AND A. M. POLVANI

- 1990 *La mitologia ittita.* Edited by P. Sacchi, *Testi del Vicino Oriente antico 4.1.* Brescia: Paideia Editrice.

## PECKERUHN, K.

- 1988 Die Handschrift A der hethitischen Gesetze. Ph. D. Julius-Maximilians-Universität zu Würzburg.

## POETTO, M.

- 1977 Review of J. Tischler 1977. *Paideia* 32:314-321.

## POETTO, M., AND S. SALVATORI

- 1981 *La collezione Anatolica de E. Borowski (in "The Lands of the Bible Archaeology Foundation" - Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada), Studia Mediterranea 3.* Pavia.

## POLVANI, A. M.

- 1988 *La terminologia dei minerali nei testi ittiti. Parte prima, Eothen. Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico, 3.* Firenze: Elite. Edizioni librarie italiane estere.

## POPKO, M.

- 1978 *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen), Dissertationes Universitatis Varsoviensis.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- 1995 *Religions of Asia Minor.* Translated by Zych, Iwona. Warsaw: Academic Publications Dialog.

## POSTGATE, J. N.

- 1994 *Early Mesopotamia: society and economy at the dawn of history.* London: Routledge.

## PUHVEL, J.

- 1979 Review of J. Tischler 1977. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 36:56-58.
- 1984 *Hittite Etymological Dictionary. Volumes 1-2: A, E, I.* Edited by W. Winter. Vol. 1-2, *Trends in Linguistics. Documentation.* Berlin-New York-Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers.
- 1986 "Who were the Hittite *hurkilas pesnes*?" In *o-o-pe-ro-si: Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- 1991 *Hittite Etymological Dictionary. Volume 3: H.* Edited by W. Winter and R. A. Rhodes. Vol. 3, *Trends in Linguistics. Documentation 5.* Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

## REICHERT, P.

- 1963 "Glossaire inverse de la langue hittite." *RHA* 21 (fasc. 73):59-145.

## RIEKEN, E.

- 1994 "Der Wechsel -a-/i- in der Stammbildung des hethitischen Nomens." *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 107:42-53.

## RIEMSCHEIDER, K. K.

- 1958 "Die hethitischen Landschenkungsurkunden." *MIO* 6:321-381.
- 1961 "Zu den Körperverletzungen im hethitischen Recht." *ArOr* 29:177ff.
- 1970 *Babylonische Geburtsomina in hethitischer Übersetzung.* Edited by H. Otten, *StBoT* 9. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

## ROST, L.

- 1953 "Ein hethitisches Ritual gegen Familienzweist." *MIO* 1:345-379.



- ROTH, M.  
1995 *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, Writings from the Ancient World 6.* Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- RÜSTER, C.  
1993 "Eine Urkunde Hantilis II." *IM* 43:63-70.
- RÜSTER, C., AND E. NEU  
1989 *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten.* Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Beiheft 2.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- SCHARFF, A., AND A. MOORTGAT  
1959 *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum.* München.
- SICK, U.  
1984 Die Tötung eines Menschen und ihre Ahndung in den keilschriftlichen Rechtsammlungen unter Berücksichtigung rechtsvergleichender Aspekte. Dr. iur., Juristische Fakultät. Eberhard-Karls-Universität zu Tübingen.
- SIEGLOVÁ, J.  
1971 *Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus.* Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Heft 14.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
1986 *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente.* 3 vols. Praha: Národní Muzeum v Praze.  
1993 "Metalle und Metallurgie. A. II. In den heth. Texten." In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, 8.* Edited by D. O. Edzard. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter.
- SINGER, I.  
1983 *The Hittite KILAM Festival. Part One.* Edited by H. Otten. 2 vols, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Heft 27.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
1984a "The AGRIG in Hittite Texts." *AnSt* 34.  
1984b *The Hittite KILAM Festival. Part Two.* Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Heft 28.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
1996 *Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381).* Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- SOMMER, F., AND A. FALKENSTEIN  
1938 *Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattusili I. (Labarna II.).* Vol. Neue Folge. Heft 16, *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung.* München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- SOUČEK, V.  
1956 "Einige Bemerkungen über status libertatus und status servitutis im hethitischen Recht." In *Charisteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia.* Edited by F. Tauer, Kuběčková and I. Hrbek. Prague: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Ved.  
1960 "Einige Bemerkungen zum hethitischen Strafrecht." *Acta Universitatis Carolinae—Philologica I Orientalia Pragensia* 1:3-11.  
1961 Review of J. Friedrich *OLZ* 1961:453-468.  
1988 "Zur Struktur der hethitischen Gesellschaft." In *Šulmu. Papers on the Ancient Near East Presented at International Conference of Socialist Countries (prague, Sept. 30-Oct. 3, 1986).* Edited by P. Vavroušek and V. Souček. Prague: Univerzita Karlova.
- SOYSAL, O.  
1987 "KUB XXXI 4 + KBo III 41 und 40 (Die Puhanu-Chronik). Zum Thronstreit Hattušilis I." *Hethitica* 7:173-254.

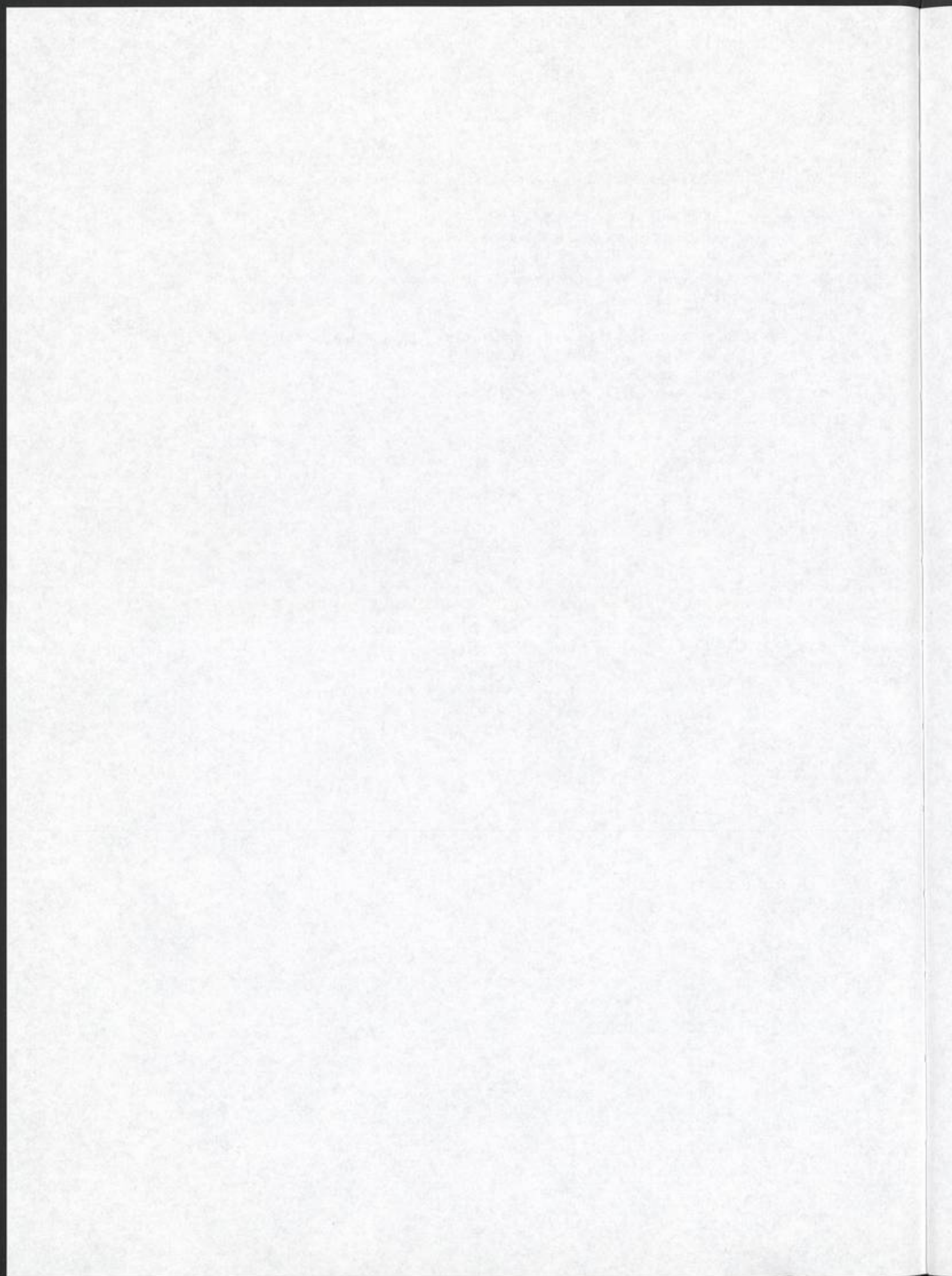


- STARKE, F.  
 1977 *Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen*. Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* 23. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.  
 1979 "Halmasuit im Anitta-Texte und die hethitische Ideologie vom Königtum." *ZA* 69:47-120.  
 1990 *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens, Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten, Heft 31*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- STEFANINI, R.  
 1964 "Una lettera della regina Puduhepa al re di Alasija (KUB XXI 38)." *AttiAccTosc* 29:3-69.
- STURTEVANT, E. H., AND G. BECHTEL  
 1935 *A Hittite Chrestomathy*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America.
- SÜEL, A.  
 1985 *Hitit kaynaklarında tapınak görevlileri ile ilgili bir direktif metni, AÜDTCFY 350*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Basımı.
- SÜRENHAGEN, D.  
 1985 *Paritätische Staatsverträge aus hethitischer Sicht, Studia Mediterranea* 5. Pavia: Aurora Edizioni.
- THOMPSON, J. A.  
 1974 *Deuteronomy. An Introduction and Commentary*. Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press.
- TSEVAT, M.  
 1975 "The Husband Veils a Wife." *JCS* 27:235-240.
- UNGNAD, A.  
 1992 *Akkadian Grammar*. Translated by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. Edited by M. A. Sweeney. 5th Edition ed, *Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study, No. 30*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- VAN BROCK, N.  
 1962 "Dérivés nominaux en L du hittite et du louvite." *RHA* XX (fasc. 71):67-168.
- VEENHOF, K. R.  
 1972 *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and Its Terminology, Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia, 10*. Leiden: Brill.
- VON SCHULER, E.  
 1957 *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte*. Edited by E. Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 10*. Graz: Ernst Weidner.  
 1959 "Hethitische Königserlasse als Quellen der Rechtsfindung und ihr Verhältnis zum kodifizierten Recht." In *Festschrift J. Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.  
 1965 *Die Kaskäer, Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie u. vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Ergänzungsbände zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, 3*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co.  
 1982 "Die hethitischen Gesetze." In *Rechtbücher*. Edited by O. Kaiser. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn.
- WALTHER, A.  
 1931 "The Hittite Code." In *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law*. Edited by J. M. P. Smith. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- WATKINS, C.  
 1972 *Indo-European Studies I*. Cambridge, Mass.: Dept. of Linguistics, Harvard University.  
 1973 "Hittite and Indo-European Studies: The Denominative Statives in -ē-." *TPS*:51-93.  
 1976 "Sick-Maintenance in Indo-European." *Ériu* 27:21-25.
- WEITENBERG, J. J. S.  
 1984 *Die hethitischen U-Stämme*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.



- WERNER, R.  
1967 *Hethitische Gerichtsprotokolle*. Edited by H. Otten, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Heft 4*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- WESTBROOK, R., AND R. D. WOODARD  
1990 "The Edict of Tudhaliya IV." *JAOS* 110:641-659.
- YARON, R.  
1963 "On Section II, 57 (=172) of the Hittite Laws." *Revue internationale des droit de l'antiquité (3rd series)* 10:137ff.
- YOSHIDA, D.  
1987 *Die Syntax des althethitischen substantivischen Genitivs*. Edited by A. Kammenhuber. Vol. 13, *Texte der Hethiter 13*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- ZIMMERN, H., AND J. FRIEDRICH  
1922 "Hethitische Gesetze." In *Alter Orient 23*. Leipzig.







## INDEX OF SUBJECTS IN THE LAWS

(Numbers refer to laws, not to pages.)

- A
- abduction 19a, 19b, 20, 21  
 accidental offenses. *See* homicide: accidental  
 adultery. *See* sexual offenses  
 agricultural labor 158  
 animals (in general): training 65, 66, 88, 119; sexual activity with 187-188, 199-200  
   bees 91-92. *See also* honey  
   birds 119-120  
   bulls: defined 176a; castrating 60; goring 166a; price 178; theft 57; sexual assault by 199  
   cattle (*see also* bulls and cows): abusing or injuring 73-75, 77-78; apportioning 53; as an instrument of execution 121, 166; causing damage to another's crops 79; dead 72, 75, 98; feeding 100; hides 185; hiring 75, 151, 159; impressing 76; selling 148; stealing 63, 65, 70; stray 66, 71, 79;  
   cows 66, 67, 77a; price 178; sexual activity with 187 dogs 87-90, 199  
   dogs 87-90, 199  
   donkeys (asses) 70, 75-77, XXXV, 148, 152, 178  
   goats 65, 176, 179, 186, mountain goats 119  
   horses 58, 61, 64, 66, 70-71, 75-77, XXXV, 129-130, 148, 152, 180, 200  
   mules 70, 71, 75, 76, 129, 148, 152, 180, 200  
   pigs 81-86, 199; lard of 90, 181  
   sheep  
   snakes 170  
   wolves 37, 75, 80  
 apprenticeship. *See* contracts: apprenticeship  
 arm. *See* injury  
 artisan, price of 176  
 asses. *See* animals: donkeys  
 assault and battery. *See* injuries, bodily; sexual offenses: rape
- B
- beef, price of 185  
 bees. *See* animals: bees  
 birds. *See* animals: birds  
 bird-watcher. *See* professions and crafts: augurs
- blinding. *See* injury, bodily: eye  
 boundaries: violating 168-169  
 bride price (Hittite *kusata*) 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 36  
 burglary 94  
 burial 1-5
- C
- capital punishment: 121, 126, 166, 170, 173, 187-191, 195, 197, 199  
 castration. *See* animals: bulls: castrating  
 cereals: prices 183  
 children: allocation of to divorced couple 31, 32, 33; repudiating or disinheriting 171  
 concealment of fugitives or offenders 24  
 consent: woman's consent to sexual intercourse 197  
 contracts: apprenticeship 149, 176, 177, 200; breach of: construction 145, nuptial 29  
 corvée 39-41, 46-47, XXXIX, 48, XL, 56  
 courts: of the king 44b, XXXVI, XXXIX, 55, 71, 102, 111, 173, 176, 187-188, 198-200; of a magistrate (LÚ.DUGUD) 173  
 crop damage. *See* animals  
 cult, domestic: disruption of 164  
 custody 71, 79
- D
- dead animals. *See* animals  
 death penalty. *See* capital punishment  
 disinheritance. *See* children: repudiating or disinheriting  
 distraint or impressment 164(?)  
 divorce. *See* marriage, dissolution of  
 domiciliation. *See* home, establishment of  
 dowry 27, extradotal property 27
- E
- ear. *See* injury  
 elopement 20, 37  
 extradotal property. *See* dowry  
 eye. *See* injury
- F
- famine 172



finder rewards 22, 45, XXXV, 71, 79  
 foreigners 19, 54

## G

garments, price of 182  
 goring ox. *See* animals: bull: goring

## H

harboring fugitive slaves 24  
 hides, price of 185. *See* animals: cattle  
 home, establishment of 27  
 homicide: accidental 3-4; in quarrel 1-2, III; of a merchant 5, III; with impunity 197  
 honey 181  
 husband, *antiyant*-husband (whose matrimonial domicile is the wife's parents' home) 36

## I

ice procurement 56  
 impressment 164(?)  
 impunity 197  
 incapacitation: temporary 10, IX; permanent X  
 incest. *See* sexual offenses: "unpermitted sexual pairing"  
 injuries, bodily: arm 11-12, X-XI; ear 1516, XIV-XV; eye 7-8, V-VI; leg 11-12, X-XI; nose 13-14, XII-XIII; tooth 7-8, V-VII  
 inheritance: share (*iwaru*) 46, XXXVIII. *See* children: repudiating/disinheriting.  
 irrigation. *See* water rights

## J

judges: authority of 173; the king as judge 44, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXIX, 49, 55, 71, 102, 111, 173a, 176a, 187, 188, 198, 199, 200a(?), Telepinu Edict 49(?), 50  
 jurisdiction 44, 71, 102, 110, 176, 187, 198, 199, Telepinu Edict 50

## K

kidnapping. *See* abduction  
 king (as judge). *See* judges

## L

labor, public (*corvée*, Hittite *luzzi*) 46, XXXVIII, 47, XXXVI, XXXIX, 48, XL, 50-52, 54, 56  
 lard. *See* animals: pigs  
 leg. *See* injuries, bodily  
 levirate marriage. *See* marriage, levirate  
 liability for homicide on one's property 6, IV, 72

## M

magic. *See* sorcery  
 marriage, contracting 27, 28, 29, 30, 34; dissolution of 26a, 26b, 26c, 31, 32, 33; levirate 193  
 measuring to nearest town IV  
 meat, price of 185  
 medical care 10, IX  
 merchant, homicide of 5, III, 6(?)  
 miscarriage: woman's: 17-18, XVI-XVII, cow's: 77

## N

necrophilia 190(?)  
 nose. *See* injuries, bodily: nose

## O

oath, exculpatory 75

## P

palace share of fines 9, 25  
 pardon, of adulteress by husband 198  
 partner 50-51, 53, 192  
 partnership, dissolution of 53  
 penalties and punishments: corporal 92, 101; death 121, 126, 166, 170, 187, 188, 199  
 physician's fee 10, IX  
 prices 176-186  
 priests. *See* professions  
 professions and crafts: agricultural laborers 158; augurs 177; barbers 144; builders 145; carpenters 145, 200; foremen *overseers* 175, XXVI; fullers 176, 200; gardeners 56; herdsmen 35, 80, 87, 175; leather workers 176, 200; maker of leggings 176; physicians 10, IX; potters 176; priests 50, 200; prostitutes 194; smiths 160, 161, 200; weavers 176, 200  
 prostitutes. *See* professions

## R

rewards 22, 23  
 river, fording 43  
 runaway slaves. *See* slaves

## S

sexual activity with permitted animals: 200a.  
 sexual offenses (especially 187-200): adultery 197, rape 197, "unpermitted sexual pairing" 187-200  
 shepherds. *See* social classes  
 slaves: homicide of 2, 4, II; injuries to 8 VI (8), VII (7-8), IX (10), XI, 11, 14, XIII, 16, XV; marriage of 31; runaways 22, 23, 24



social classes: *arnuwalaš* 40, XXX, 112, 200; *hipparaš* 48, XL, 49, XLI; AGRIG (foreman) XXVI, 175; shepherds (SIPA) 35, 80, 87, 175. *See also* slaves  
 sorcery (Hittite *alwanzatar*) 44, 111, 170, Telipinu Edict 50  
 substitute worker 10, IX

## T

tenure, land 39-41, 46-56  
 tooth. *See* injuries, bodily: tooth  
 trespass 164(?), 168-169

V  
 venue 6, IV, 71, 72

## W

wages, women's 24, 158  
 water rights: 109, 162  
 wine, price of 183  
 witnesses XXXV (45)  
 wolf: "you have become a wolf" 37; as a predatory animal 75, 80

## TOPICS

(Hereafter, index numbers refer to pages in this book)

abduction of a woman 187  
 ablative ending 260  
 ablative of cause 166  
 adultery 4, 165  
 allative 198  
 allative case 263  
 animal's death 165  
 apodosis 12  
 apposition, partitive 264  
 arrangement of the laws by subject matter 13  
 assimilation 262  
 assimilation of *nš* > *šš* 178  
 Assyrian proverb 188  
 asyndesis 167  
 asyndetic juxtaposition 12  
 authority of the king 4  
 banishment 224  
 bee-keeping 196  
 bee-sting 6  
 bee-stings 196  
 beheading 218  
 bestiality 224  
 blinding 175  
 blinding an animal 175  
 bribes 5, 218  
 burning of the *āššū = šet* 182  
 canine tooth 198  
 casuistic formulation 11  
 categories 14  
 Cattle Prices 221  
 class protest 220  
 "clean" and "unclean" animals 224  
 clove of garlic 198

collective 191, 210, 251, 263  
 competence 4  
 consent of both sexual partners 227  
 consequence 170  
 contractual obligations 188  
 coppersmiths 193  
 corporal punishment 6, 196  
 cremation rites 182  
 custody 182  
 death penalty 181, 189, 219  
 deflation 6  
 deflower 225  
 disfiguring of insubordinate or rebellious slaves 197  
 disinheritance 217  
 dissolution of marriage 181  
 distinction in the sex of victims 170  
 dog 196  
 domestic cult 214  
 domesticated animals proscribed to humans for sexual pairing 224  
 double negative 197  
 double object 188  
 dowry 181  
 dual form, Akkadian 197  
 durative form 202  
 dynamic middles 264  
 ears 219  
 elders 5, 190  
 exculpatory prayer 213, 216  
 execution 218  
 exemptions from *luzzi* 192  
 extradition 181  
 eye and tooth 175



- eyes or teeth 178  
 factitive verbs in *-aḫḫ-* 176  
 feminine forms 261  
 fine 6  
 food-stealing dog 196  
 foundations 205  
 fraud 208  
 free 169  
 free-standing genitive 176  
 fugitives 181  
 gardeners 193  
 garlic 198  
 gate 5  
 gate of the king 4  
 gender distinctions in Akkadograms 261  
 gender inversion 170  
 gestures associated with disinheriting and reinstatement 217  
 glide 168  
 governor 4  
 gradation 180  
 gradation of offences 179, 218  
 gradation of penalties 179  
 gradation of rewards 181  
 gradation of the penalties 204  
 grain-storage pits 196  
 harbor fugitive slaves 181  
 harness of equids 205  
 harvest season 210  
 Hawthorne's novel *The Scarlet Letter* 226  
 hiring animals 209  
 hiring persons 209  
 homicide 165-166  
 horse 224  
 humiliation 178, 219  
 hypercorrection 202  
 ice 193  
 ice-storage house 193  
 "ideal" prices 220  
 impunity 165  
 Inandik landgrant 226  
 incineration dump 189  
 inheritance share 190  
 injuries, cosmetic 178  
 instrumental use of the ablative 201  
 insubordination 219  
 Israelite law 174, 175, 177, 224  
 iterative 175  
 jurisdiction 4  
 justifiable homicide 166  
 Kadašman-Enlil 165  
 karū clauses 5  
 king's gate 190  
 king's law court 189  
 kinsman of the husband 226  
 law 1  
 leather-working industry 205  
 legal traditions 171  
 levirate marriage 226  
*lex talionis* 175  
 liability of the community 174  
 lord of the blood 165  
 Luwian inscriptions 220  
 Luwiya 171  
 Luwiya (Arzawa) 179  
 magic, analogic 217  
 magistrate 4  
 male-female distinctions 175  
 manuscript aa 262  
 manuscript B 168, 262  
 masculine-feminine distinction 169  
 measuring to the nearest town 174  
 men of the town 187  
 Mesopotamia 220  
 Mesopotamian law 183, 188  
 Mesopotamian laws 209  
 metrical equivalents 7  
 military campaign 188  
 multiple wives 183  
 mutilation 219  
 non-parity treaty 180  
*ns* > *ss* 251, 262  
 oath 174  
 omissions and mistakes in OS copy A 176  
 oral agreements 184  
 ordeal 219  
 originals 197  
 Orthography 260  
 ownership 182  
 pair of shoes 181



- palace as fiscus 176  
 palace share 7  
 Palaeography 230  
 parental consent 183  
 partner 225  
 pig 224  
 plow 203  
 precedent case 188  
 precedent cases 14  
 price lists 220  
 price ratio of barley to wheat as 3 to 8 211  
 prices 7, 220  
 prices of Animal Skins 223  
 prices of Equides 221  
 priest 5  
 priests 192  
 pronouns, enclitic possessive 262  
 pronouns, independent 262  
 protasis 12  
 protasis and apodosis 12  
 punishment, corporal 7  
 punitive view of law 7  
 r-stem common gender nouns 170  
 rations 209  
 reciprocal sense 220  
 reduction in fines 6  
 reforms and modifications of the laws 5  
 renting equipment 209  
 result clause 170  
 robbery 170  
 royal verdict 217  
 sacral offence 213, 215  
 sale, obstructing a. 206

- e-, verbs in 181  
 -pat 173  
 -šša 168  
 -šan "his/her" 262  
 -šan 225  
 -šara- 186  
 -še 168, 262  
 -ške- 188, 198, 206  
 -šman 262  
 -za 167

- Samson 175  
 sandhi writing 202  
 score presentation III  
 seasonal labor 210  
 sequence 175  
 shoes 181  
*skhêma* 176  
 slave 169  
 snake 217  
 sorcery 189  
 straw 198  
 substitution 165  
 substitution of sacrificial animals 215  
 tariff 222  
 teeth 175  
 theft, 190  
 thematic verbs of the -ye- class 261  
 threefold compensation 190  
 treason 166  
 trial before the king 189  
 TUKUL-man 187  
 two or three 196  
 venue 174  
 violating of boundaries 216  
 voodoo doll 189  
 w glide 261  
 wages and rations 209  
 wages of men and women 209  
 waiving 176  
 weavers 192  
 witnesses 190  
 women's wages 210

## HITTITE

- za 261  
 ak- 165  
 akkala- 215  
 alwanzatar 189  
 annanuḫḫa- 193, 208  
 annanuzzi 205  
 antiyant- 182, 186  
 appalašša- 203  
 appatriya- 214  
 ARAD-(n)a- 186



- ARAD-*i*- 186  
*arai*- 219  
*arawa*- 169  
*arawanni*- 169  
*arawe*- 219  
*arḫi* 171  
*arnu*- 166-167, 194  
*arnuwala*- 187  
*arnuwant*- 194  
*arši*- 199  
*aru šuwaru* 194  
*ašnu*- 5  
*auriyaš išḫaš* 5  
*dam-me-el* 172  
*dammel(i)*- 172  
*edi nai*- 217  
*EL-LAM-aš* 176, 178  
*enant*- 193  
 GÉME-(*ali*)ššara- 186  
 GÉME-*aššarešš*- 263  
 GÉME-*šarešš*- 185  
*gullakkuwan* 218  
*ḫannešnaš išḫa*- 3  
*ḫanneššar* 2  
*ḫapallašai* 176, 177  
*ḫapputri* 205  
*ḫaratar* 225  
*ḫariya*- 167  
*ḫarmiyalli* 205  
*ḫarpantari* 184  
*ḫašterza* 170  
*ḫikkarza* 170  
*ḫulle/a*- 217  
*ḫurkel* 1, 224  
*ḫuššelli*- 201  
*išḫiul* 2  
*iškallai*- 178  
*išuwān* 213  
*iwaru* 182, 190  
*karmalaššai* 177  
*karū* 12  
*karū ... kinuna* 175  
*kuen*- 166  
*kulēi* 190-191, 263  
*kuptar* 189  
*kuššaniye*- 211  
*kuššani = ššit* 263  
 LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM 187  
*luzzi* 193  
*maškan* 5  
*mimma*- 181  
*mān + -man* 192  
*na-an-za-an* 262  
*nu* 11, 12, 170  
*nu-uz-za* 261  
*palḫi*- B 219  
*pankuš* 5  
*parkunu*- 213  
*parnaššea šuwayezzi* 168  
*parā* 198  
*pe* 188  
*peran walḫ*- 207  
*peššiya*- 176, 179  
*pittenu*- 183, 187  
*punuške*- 218  
*pupu*- 184  
*pupulli* 218  
 SAG.DU-*aš waštul* 170  
*šakuwān* 192  
*šamen*- 166, 176  
*šankuwalli* 206  
*šardiya*- 186  
*šardiyaš* 13, 165  
*šarḫuwanda* 263  
*šarnikzel* 165  
*šena*- 189  
*šielai* 184  
*šieuniyahḫ*- 213  
*šullatar* 166  
*šuppiwašḫar* 198  
*šuppiyahḫ*- 213, 216  
*šuwaye*- 169  
*šuwe*- 169, 181  
*taišzi*- 198  
*taki*- 171  
*takiya* 171  
*tampūpi*- 208, 221  
*taye*- 180



tūriye- 211  
ulkiššarahh- 227  
ummiyanduš 202  
uššaniya- 206-207  
uštul 261  
uwanšikke- 225  
waḥnu- 182  
walḥ- 170, 198  
warnu- 182

bēl šuppati 192  
BEL MADGALTI 5, 193, 218  
dāku 165  
dā'ikānu 165  
É ŠURĪPI 193  
kunāšu 212  
mullā 165  
nadū 179, 195

A.GÀR 191  
AŠGAB 205  
AGRIG 185  
DUGUD 218  
É GIŠ.KIN.TI 192  
É.GI<sub>4</sub>.A 225  
ÉSAG 196  
gu<sub>4</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub> 215  
GU<sub>4</sub>.MAḤ 220

§ 1-6 14  
§ 1-7 165  
§ 7-8 173  
§§ 9 7  
§ 19 165, 167  
§ 21 173  
§ 22 173  
§ 23 262  
§ 24 7  
§ 25 14  
§ 26 167  
§ 26-36 14  
§ 28 173, 207  
§ 29 218  
§ 35 220

wašta- 224  
wašta-, katta(n) 225  
waštul 207  
wen- 225  
witti meyani 214  
zahḥiya- 220  
zahrai- 203  
zahurti 203

## AKKADOGRAMS

nu'ā 208  
pišū(m) 196  
-ŠA "her" 179  
šarāqu 180  
šuppatu 192  
tīlu 218  
U 167, 261

## SUMEROGRAMS

IN.NU.DA 198  
LÚ.MEŠ URU-LIM 5  
LÚ.U<sub>19</sub>.LU 176  
NAM.RA 187  
udu-dab<sub>5</sub> 215  
UN 176  
ZÍZ is not = KUNĀŠU in Hatti 212  
ZU<sub>9</sub> 198

## LAWS

§ 35 169  
§ 36 185  
§ 37 14, 196  
§ 38 14  
§ 38-39 165  
§ 40 167  
§ 42 165  
§ 42-44 14  
§ 43 165, 174  
§ 44 4, 165, 173  
§ 46-47 187  
§ 55 264  
§ 56 200  
§ 57 173  
§ 58 13



§ 66 184  
 § 71 5  
 § 76 167  
 § 77 175, 179  
 §§ 91-92 6  
 § 92 6  
 § 94 196  
 § 100 263  
 § IV 12  
 § V 166  
 § VII 12, 175  
 § XXXV 12  
 § XXXVIII 13  
 § 101 6  
 § 102 4  
 § 111 4, 189  
 § 112 185, 187  
 § 113 199  
 § 121 6

ABL 555 rev. 3-6 188  
 Bo 8282 203  
 Deuteronomy 21.1-9 174  
 Deuteronomy 21.18-21 220  
 Deuteronomy 22 9 215  
 Deuteronomy 22.9-11 224  
 Deuteronomy 24 6, 10-13 214  
 Exodus 21.18-19 177  
 Exodus 21.2 186  
 Exodus 21.24-25 175  
 Exodus 22.5-6 200  
 Hammurapi § 23-24 172  
 Hatt. i 75-76 166  
 Hatt. ii 36 211  
 HKM 8 3-11 205  
 HKM 14 10-14 175  
 HKM 16 11-15 175  
 HKM 18 left edge 1-5 197  
 HKM 19 21 211  
 HKM 25 15-21 210  
 HKM 25 5 211  
 HKM 30 190  
 HKM 46 23-27 260  
 HKM 52 34-39 187

§ 122 196  
 § 127 166  
 § 147 221  
 § 162 15  
 § 164-167 216  
 § 166 6, 203  
 § 170 15, 165, 189  
 § 176 197  
 § 176a 4  
 § 177 208, 227  
 § 184 222  
 § 187-188 165  
 § 191 171  
 § 197 165, 207, 227  
 § 198 4, 197  
 § 198-199 165  
 § 199 165  
 § 200 5, 187, 221, 262  
 § 200a 224

## TEXTS

HKM 57 5  
 HKM 57 10-17 187  
 HKM 58 and 59 175  
 HKM 84 obv. 19 175  
 HKM 109 12-13 212  
 Huqq. iii 55-56 226  
 Isaiah 5.5 200  
 Judges 16.21 175  
 KBo 1.10 rev. 20 174  
 KBo 2.1 214  
 KBo 3.1 i 64-65 166  
 KBo 3.1 ii 56-58 199  
 KBo 3.22 71 211  
 KBo 3.27 obv. 8-10 201  
 KBo 3.34 ii 30-32 227  
 KBo 3.40 14-15 167  
 KBo 3.60 iii 10-13 225  
 KBo 5.3 iii 49 262  
 KBo 5.4 obv. 39-40 205  
 KBo 6.34 i 19-20, iii 7-8 175  
 KBo 6.34 iv 16-17 216  
 KBo 10.2 ii 18-19 201  
 KBo 10.45 ii 50-52 183  
 KBo 11.14 ii 22-24 205



- KBo 10.45 ii 50-52 183  
 KBo 11.14 ii 22-24 205  
 KBo 13.101 i 15 173  
 KBo 13.64 obv. 12, 13 202  
 KBo 14.3 iv 28 211  
 KBo 14.3 iv 38 198  
 KBo 17.65 obv. 5 225  
 KBo 18.151 rev. 15 261  
 KBo 21.22 18-20 207  
 KBo 22.1 218  
 KBo 22.1 31 215  
 KBo 22.6 iv 14-16 199  
 KBo 25.151 + 26.136 obv. 17-19 202  
 KBo 32.14 ii 13-14 179  
 KBo 32.14 iii 9-10 183  
 KBo 32.14 rev. 46-47 204  
 KBo 32.24 ii 14-18 201  
 KUB 1.16 ii 44 262  
 KUB 1.16 ii 75 166  
 KUB 5.1 iii 53-55 214  
 KUB 7.53 i 4-5 179  
 KUB 9.1 ii 24-31 206  
 KUB 10.1 i 5 202  
 KUB 10.92 v 13 203  
 KUB 11.25 iii 17-18 203  
 KUB 12.62 rev. 7-8 203  
 KUB 13.2 ii 18-20 200  
 KUB 13.2 ii 36-41 187  
 KUB 13.2 iii 9-16 171  
 KUB 13.2+ iv 18-19 197  
 KUB 13.3 iii 27 218  
 KUB 13.35+ i 39-40, 44-48 205  
 KUB 13.4 i 28-30 197, 219  
 KUB 13.4 ii 20-21 183  
 KUB 13.4 iii 16 170  
 KUB 13.4 iv 28 209  
 KUB 13.8 15-17 199  
 KUB 13.8/1-18 214  
 KUB 13.9 ii 4 170  
 KUB 13.9+ ii 11-19 175  
 KUB 14.1 rev. 51 211  
 KUB 14.3 iii 1-2 214  
 KUB 17.21+ iv 13-14 214  
 KUB 17.29 ii 10-12 216  
 KUB 20.1 iii 16 197  
 KUB 20.11 ii 8-10 203  
 KUB 21.27 + 676/v i 33-36 206  
 KUB 21.27 iv 39-41 206  
 KUB 21.27 iv 40 206  
 KUB 23.108 rev. 11-13 194  
 KUB 23.108 rev. 7-13 221  
 KUB 24.8 ii 9 189  
 KUB 29.39 i 4-5 7  
 KUB 31.100 rev. 8-10 202  
 KUB 31.20 + KBo 16.36 iii 7-9 198  
 KUB 31.4 + KBo 3.41 obv. 7-8 193  
 KUB 31.69 obv.? 7 207  
 KUB 32.130 27-34 214  
 KUB 32.5 ii 5-7 196  
 KUB 36.100 rev. 6 201  
 KUB 36.91 (+) KUB43.68 rev.? 10-12 205  
 KUB 39.14 i 3-9 216  
 KUB 39.6 iii 18-19 186  
 KUB 41.11 rev. 2, 32 224  
 KUB 43.30 ii 6 193  
 KUB 45.28 + KUB 39.97 obv. 1 173  
 KUB 53.14 ii 9 207  
 KUB 53.50 i 4 217  
 KUB 60.156 rev. 12-14 205  
 LE § 3-4 209  
 LE § 26 183  
 LE § 3, 10 209  
 LE § 4, 7-11, 14, 32 209  
 LE § 50 181  
 LE § 60 196  
 LE §§ 26, 31 225  
 Leviticus 18-20 224  
 Leviticus 19.19 215  
 LH § 9-11 190  
 LH § 14 180  
 LH § 16 181  
 LH § 17 181  
 LH § 20 196  
 LH § 23-24 174  
 LH § 27 200  
 LH § 28 200  
 LH § 31 200  
 LH § 50 181  
 LH § 148-149 182  
 LH § 162 183

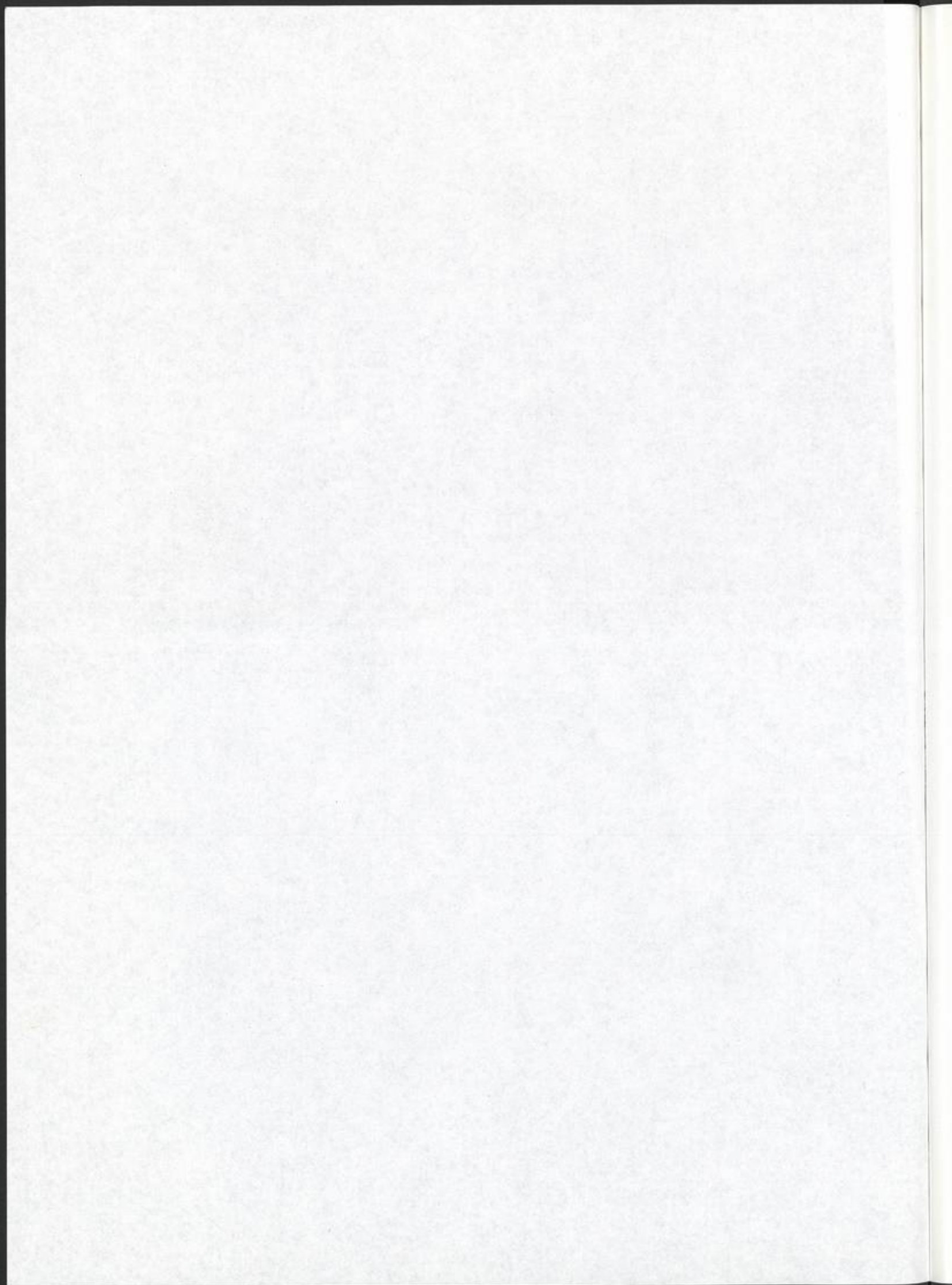


- LH § 172 217  
LH § 205 219  
LH § 209 179, 195  
LH § 209-214 179  
LH § 215-217, 221-224, 228, 234, 239, 257-258,  
261, 264, 271, 273-274 209  
LH § 242/243, 268-271 209  
LH § 275-277 209  
LH § 282 219  
LL § 5 209  
LL § 12 181  
LL § 24 183  
LL § a 209  
LU A iii 114-124 215  
LU § 5 225
- LX § g-k 209  
MAL A § 15 226  
MAL A § 21 179  
MAL A § 47 189  
MAL A § 4 197  
MAL B § 14-15 204  
MAL B § 4 215  
MAL § 21, 50-52 179  
SLEx §§ 7-8 225  
SLHF iv 10-11 225  
SLHF iv 42-v 11 209  
SLHF vi 23-31 188  
Ullik. I C iii 27, B iii 18-19 198  
VBoT 24 i 31-33 216



PLATES







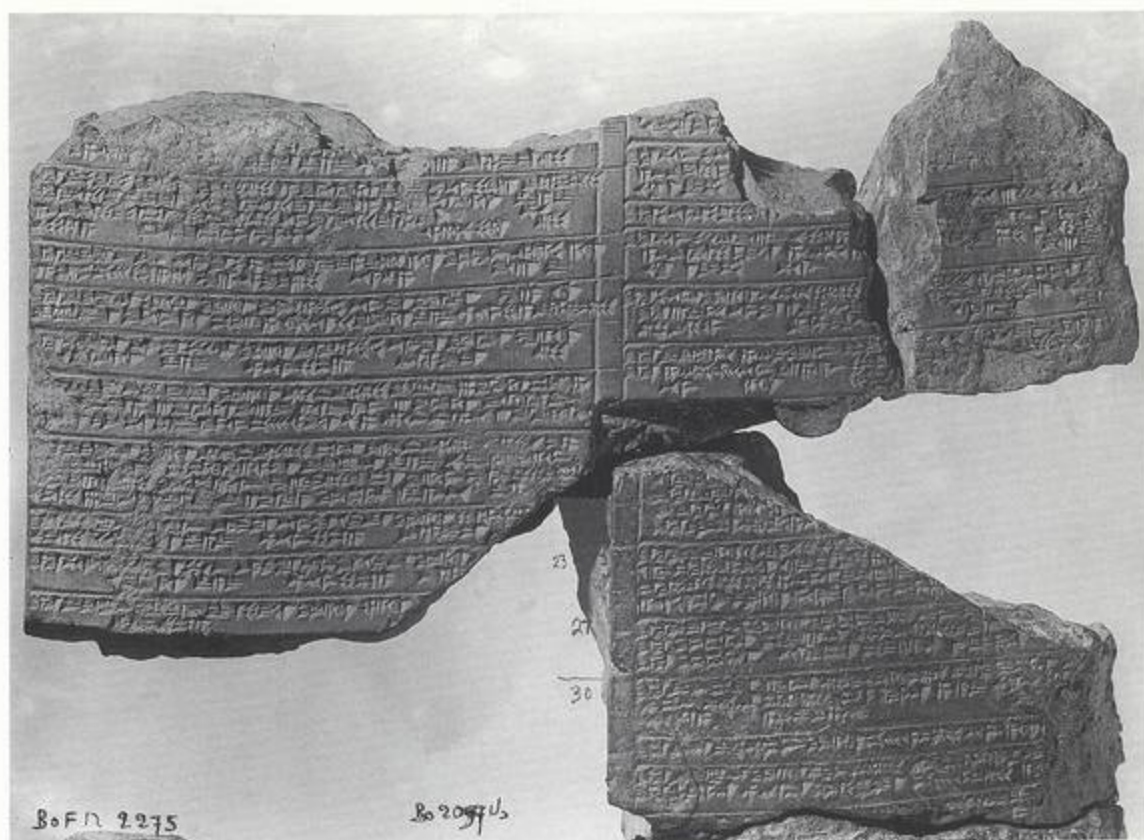


Plate 1 a: KBo 6.2 (Bo 2097), Series One, Copy A, OH script. Column I on the left contains laws §§ 4-13. Column II on the right contains §§ 28c(?) - 45. The photo, made long before additional joins were made, does not show the joining fragments published as KBo 19.1 (1338/u), 19.1a (814/v), KBo 22.61 (Bo 69/633) and 22.62 (1195/u). For KBo 22.61 (Bo 69/633) which joins at §§ 2-4 see Plate 10. For a photo of column II showing the right side of §§ 32-38 see Hrozný 1922, [his] plate V. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.

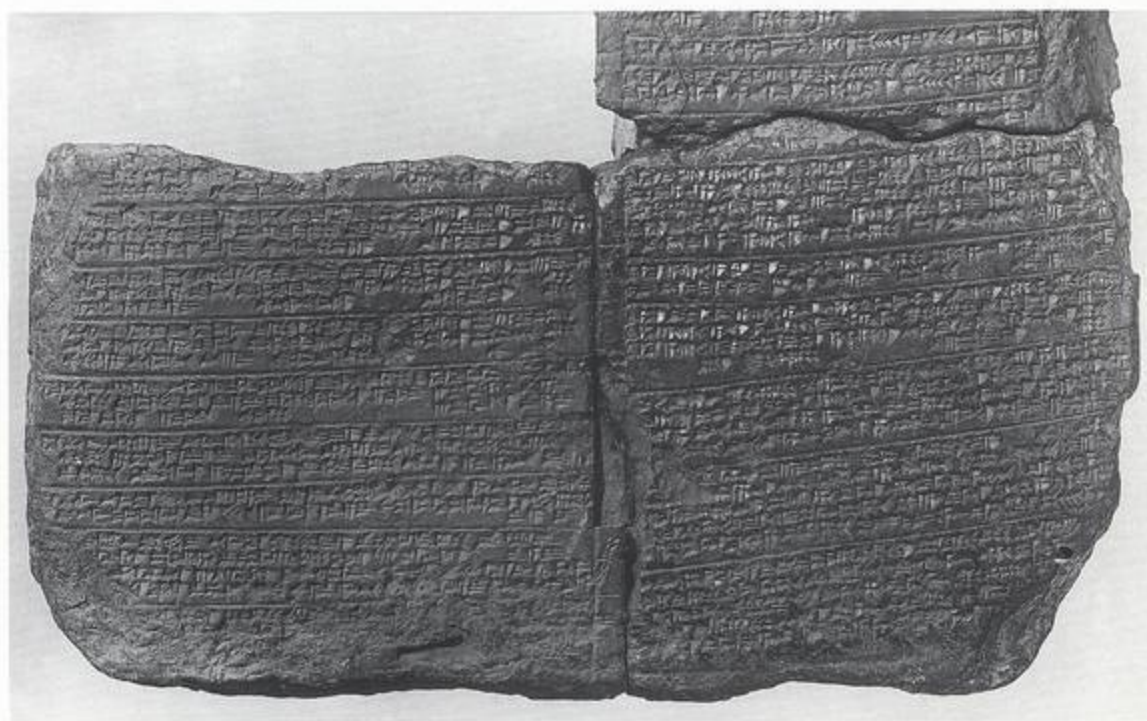


Plate 1 b: KBo 6.2 (Bo 2097), Series One, Copy A, OH script. Column I on the left contains laws §§ 19A-26A. Column II on the right contains §§ 44A-50. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.



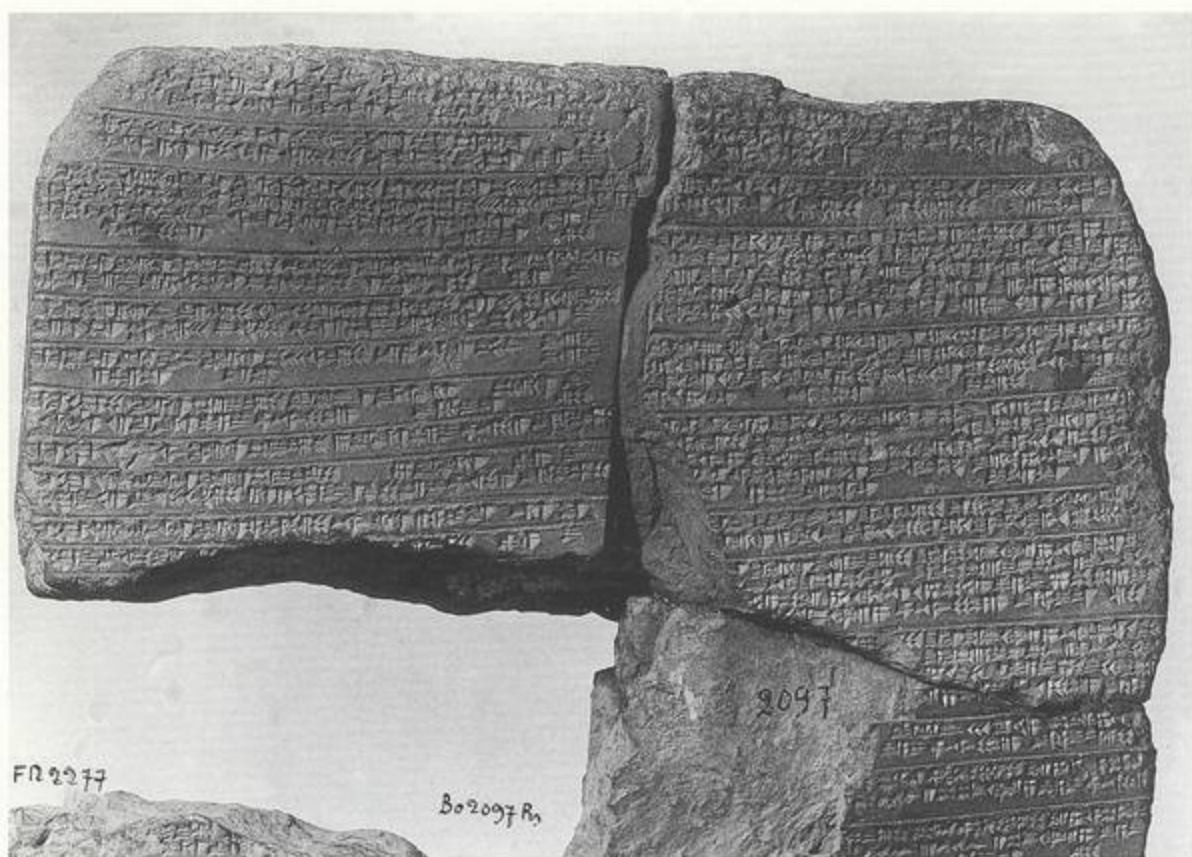


Plate 2 a: KBo 6.2 (Bo 2097), Series One, Copy A, OH script. Upper portion of column III, lines 1-37, on the right shows laws §§ 51-61. On the left, IV 32-61, shows laws §§ 91-100. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.



Plate 2 b: KBo 6.2 (Bo 2097), Series One, Copy A, OH script. Lower portion of column III on the right contains §§ 59-71. On the left, IV 1-23, shows laws §§ 75-86. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.



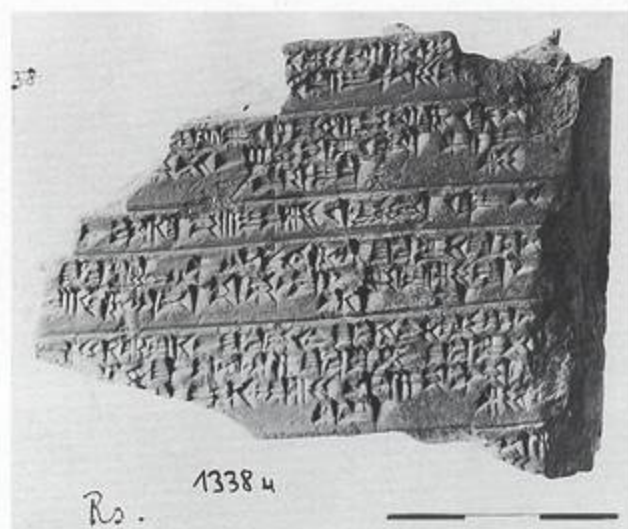


Plate 3 a: KBo 19.1 (1338/u), Series One, Copy A, OH script. Join to KBo 6.2 in column II, showing laws §§ 39-41, and in III 38-52, showing laws §§ 62-67. Photo from the German Boghazköy Expedition archives.

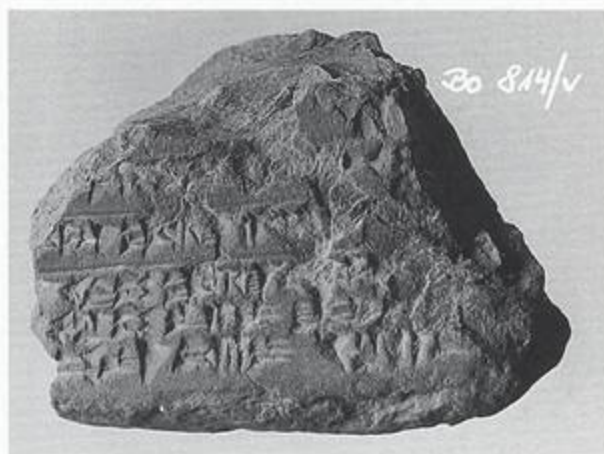


Plate 3 b: Left, KBo 22.62 (1195/u), Series One, Copy A, OH script. Join to KBo 6.2 in column III 17-24, showing laws §§ 55-57. Right, KBo 19.1a (814/v), Series One, Copy A, OH script. Join to KBo 6.2 in column III, showing laws §§ 73-74. Photo from the German Boghazköy Expedition archives.



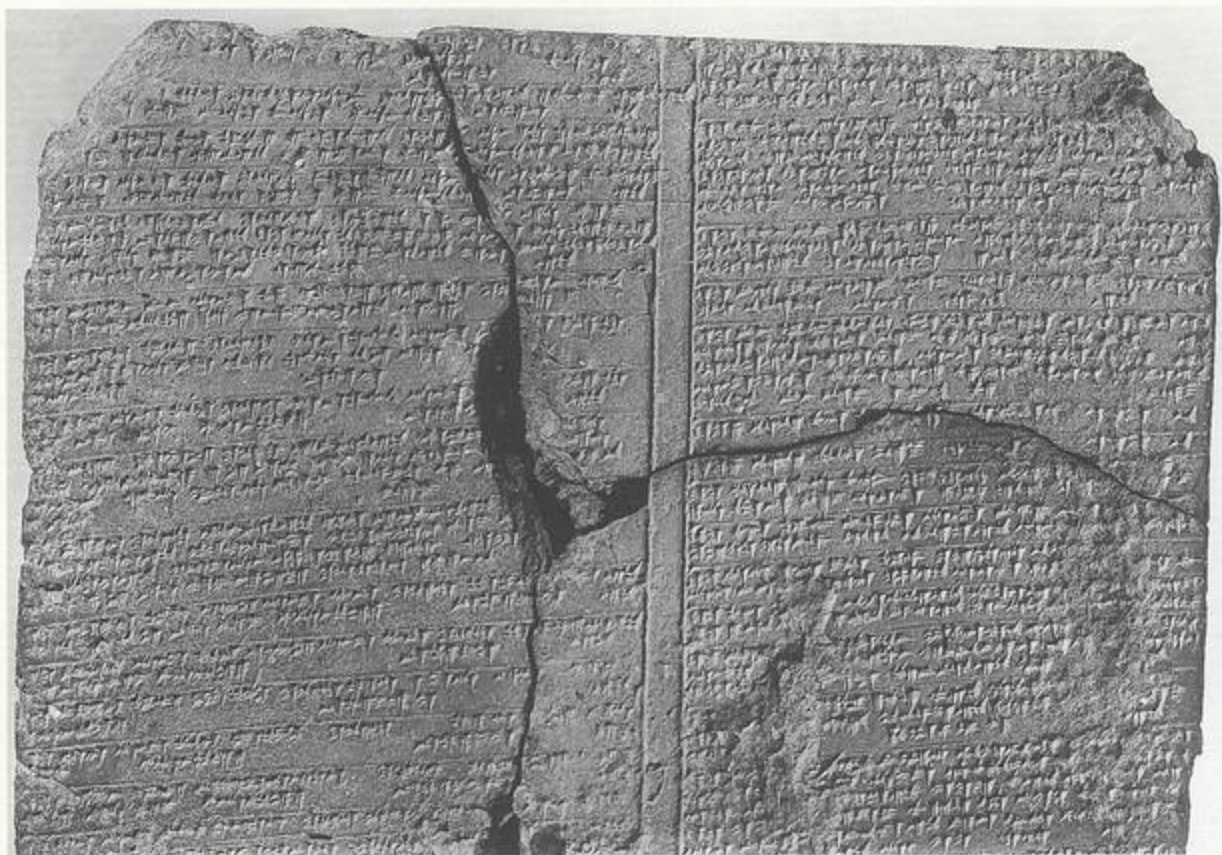


Plate 4 a: KBo 6.3 (VAT 12889), Series One, Copy B, NH script. Upper portion of column I, lines 1-39, on the left shows laws §§ 1-16. On the right, II 1-42, shows laws §§ 27-40. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.

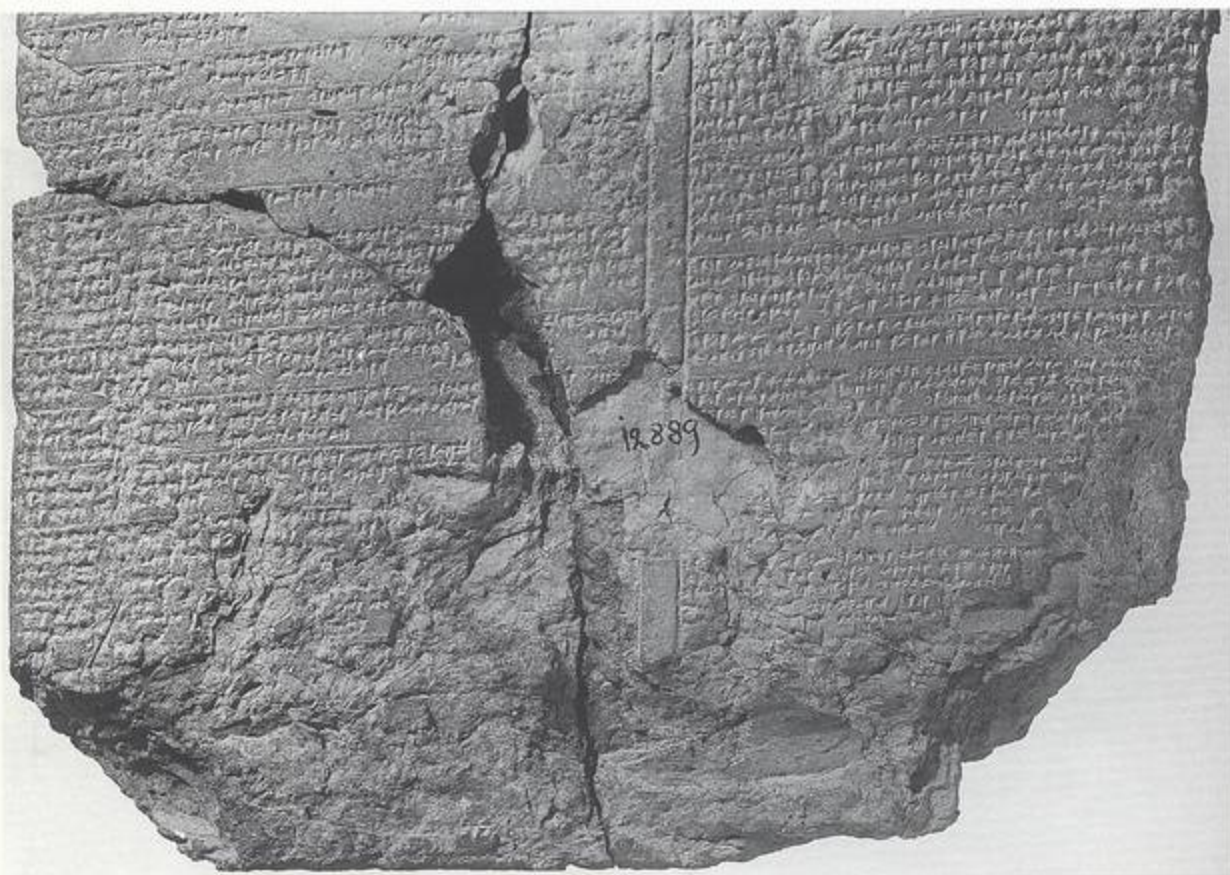


Plate 4 b: KBo 6.3 (VAT 12889), Series One, Copy B, NH script. Lower portion of column I, lines 35-75, on the left shows laws §§ 14-26B. On the right, II 37-71, shows laws §§ 40-48. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.



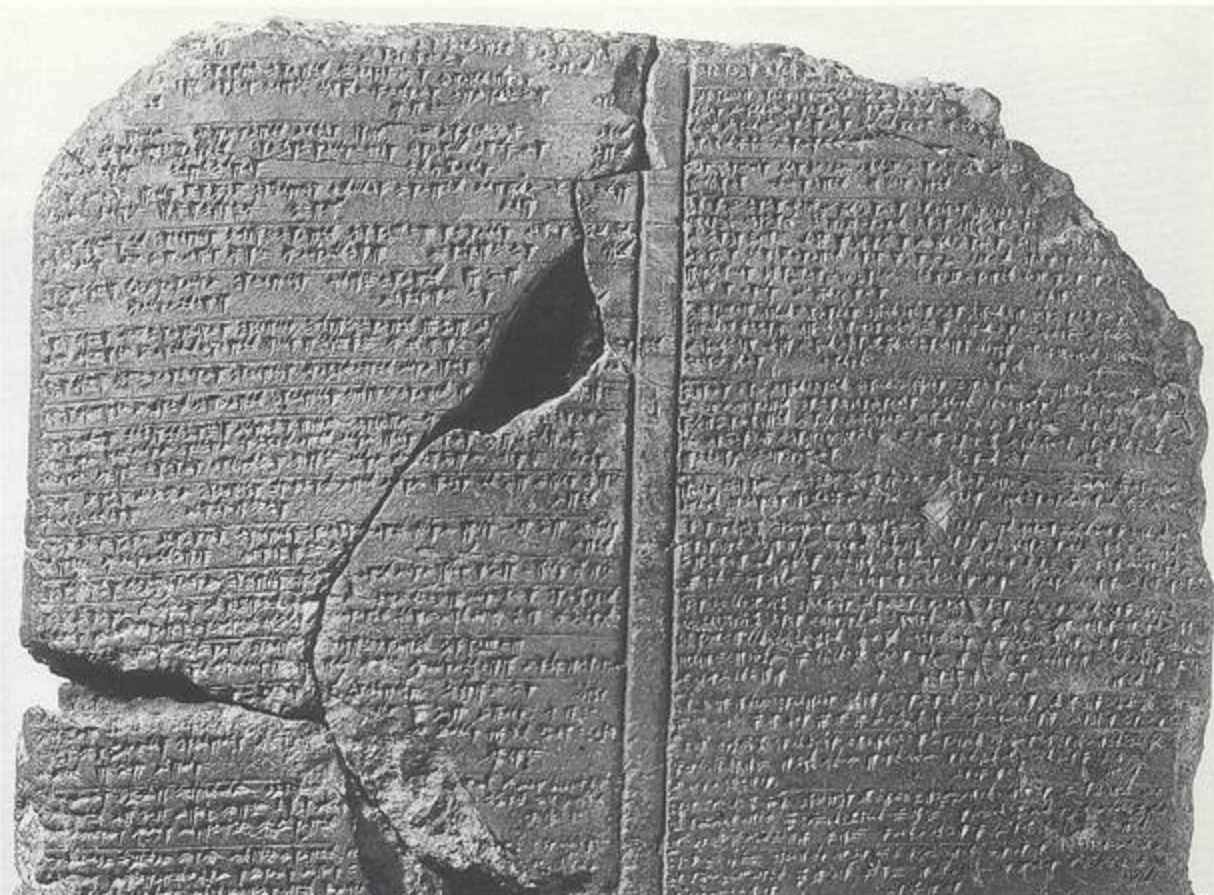


Plate 5 a: KBo 6.3 (VAT 12889), Series One, Copy B, NH script. Upper portion of column III, lines 1-45, on the right shows laws §§ 50-62. On the left, IV 1-41, shows laws §§ 77-94. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.

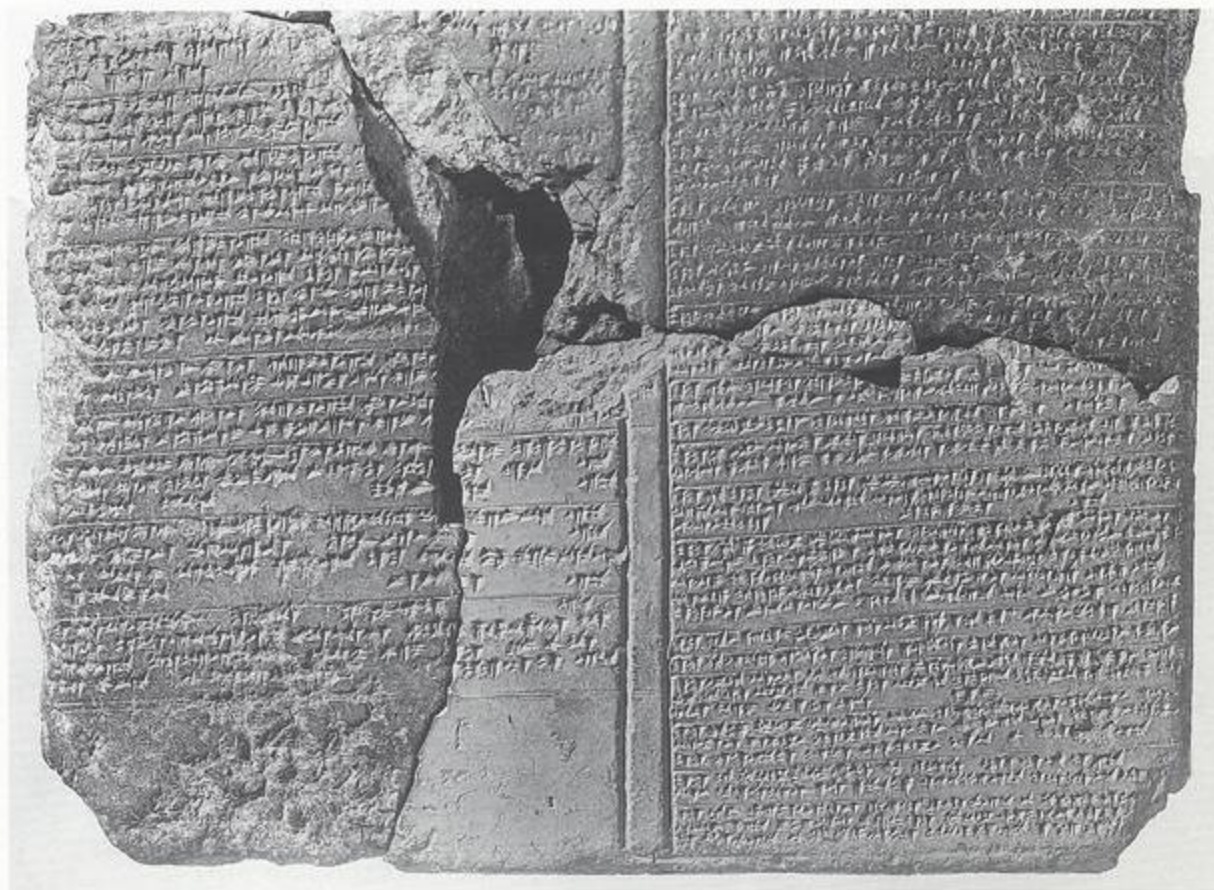


Plate 5 b: KBo 6.3 (VAT 12889), Series One, Copy B, NH script. Lower portion of column III, lines 37-80, on the right shows laws §§ 60-77. On the left, IV 31-62, shows laws §§ 92-100. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.



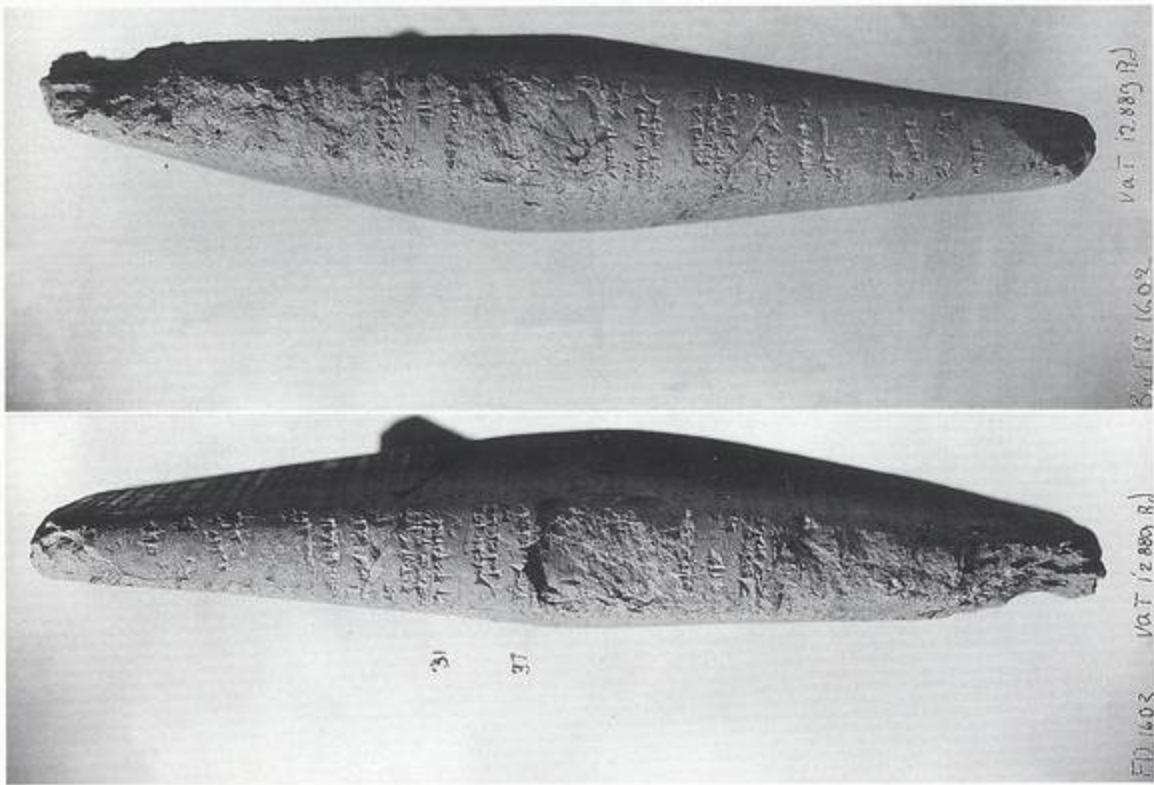


Plate 6 b: KUB 29.16 (Bo 1789), Series One, Copy M, OH script. Shows column I §§ 58-63. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.

8

Plate 6 a: KBo 6.3 (VAT 12889), Series One, Copy B, NH script. Two orientations of the right edge. On the left the overruns from column II are seen right side up. On the right the tablet has been turned and lighted so that overruns from column III are seen right side up. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.



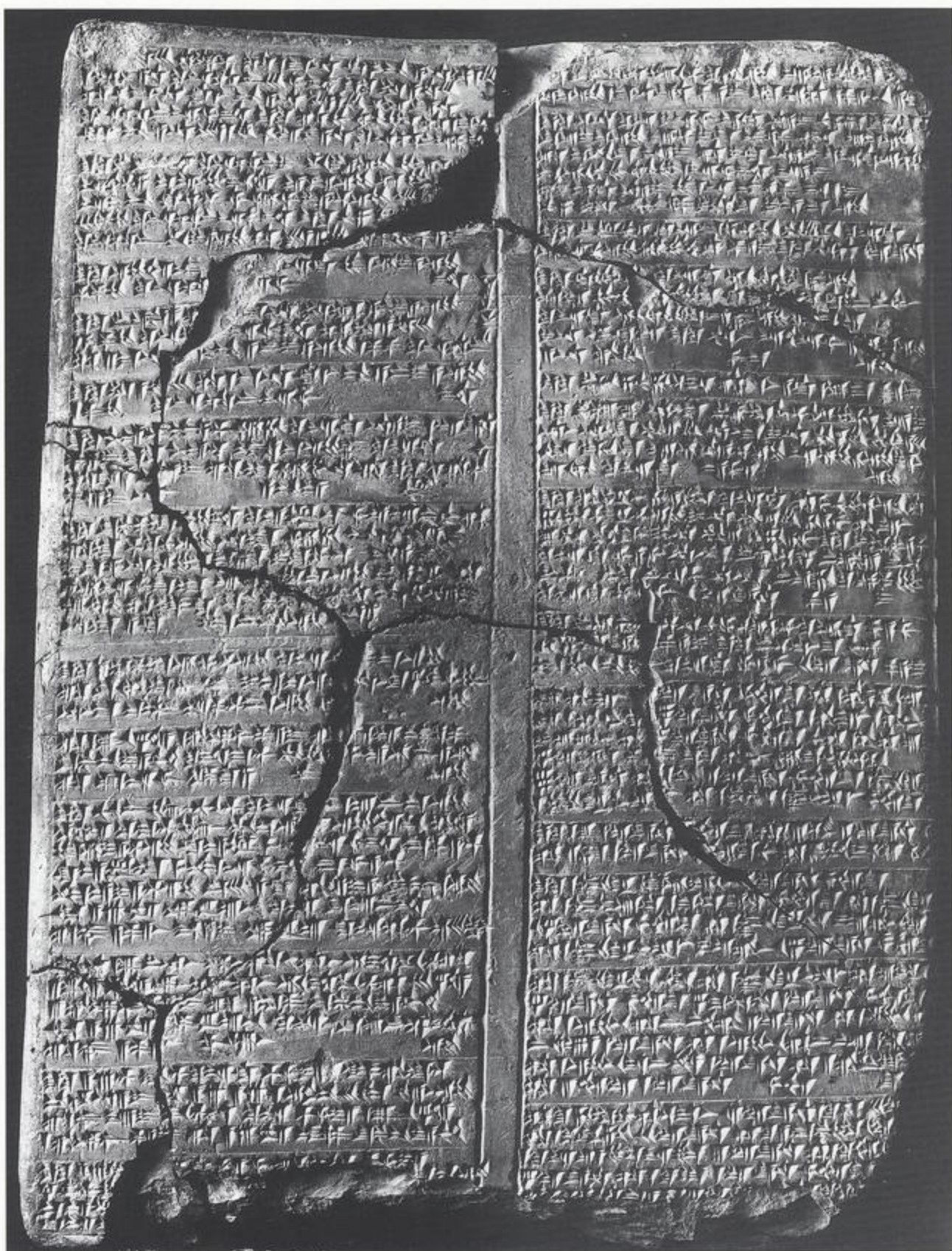


Plate 7: KBo 6.26 (Bo 2015), Series Two, Copy p, NH script. Column I on the left contains laws §§ 157-169. Column II on the right contains §§ 170-182. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.



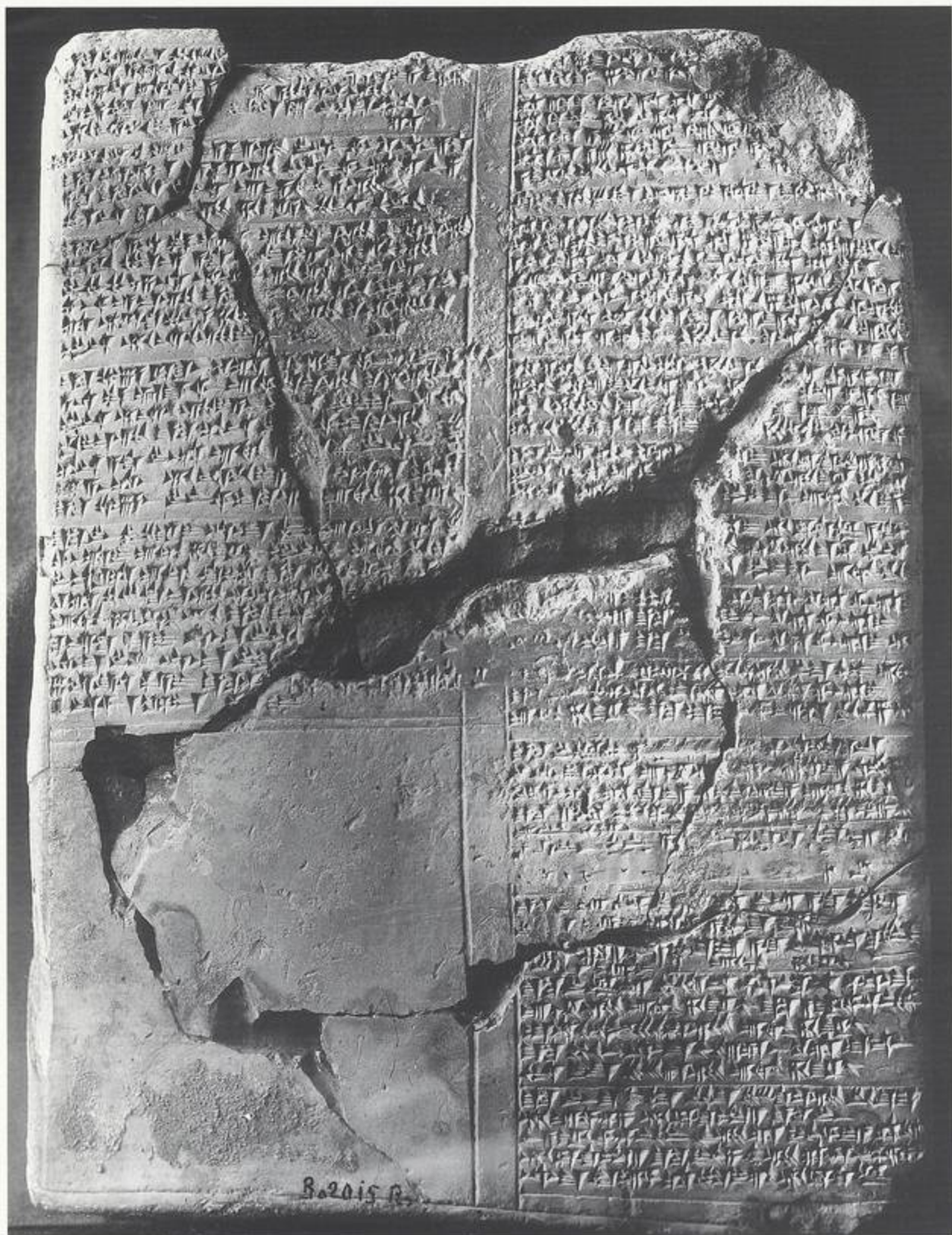


Plate 8: KBo 6.26 (Bo 2015), Series Two, Copy p, NH script. Column III on the right contains §§ 182 bis - 195. Column IV on the left contains §§ 196-200. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.



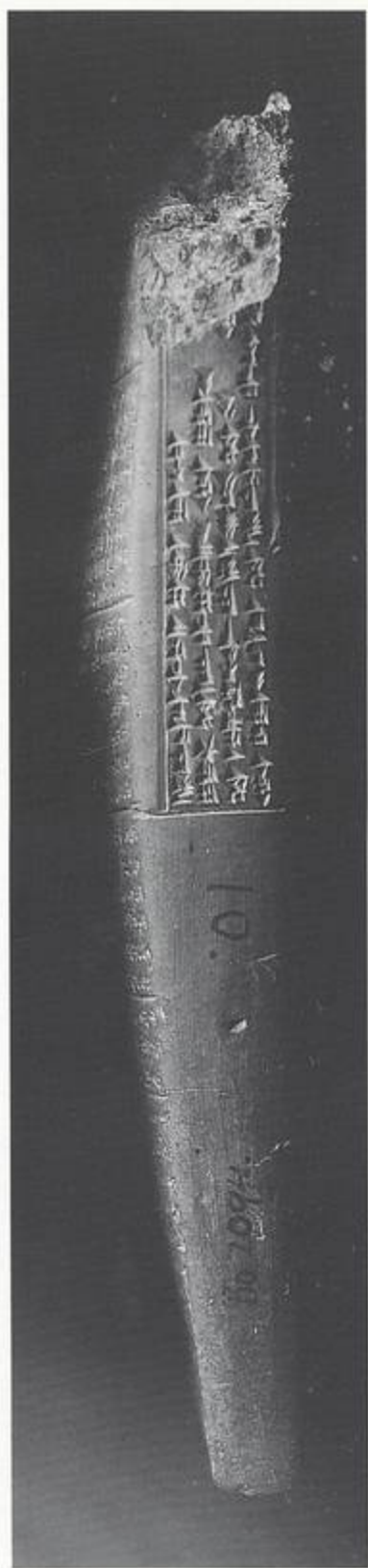
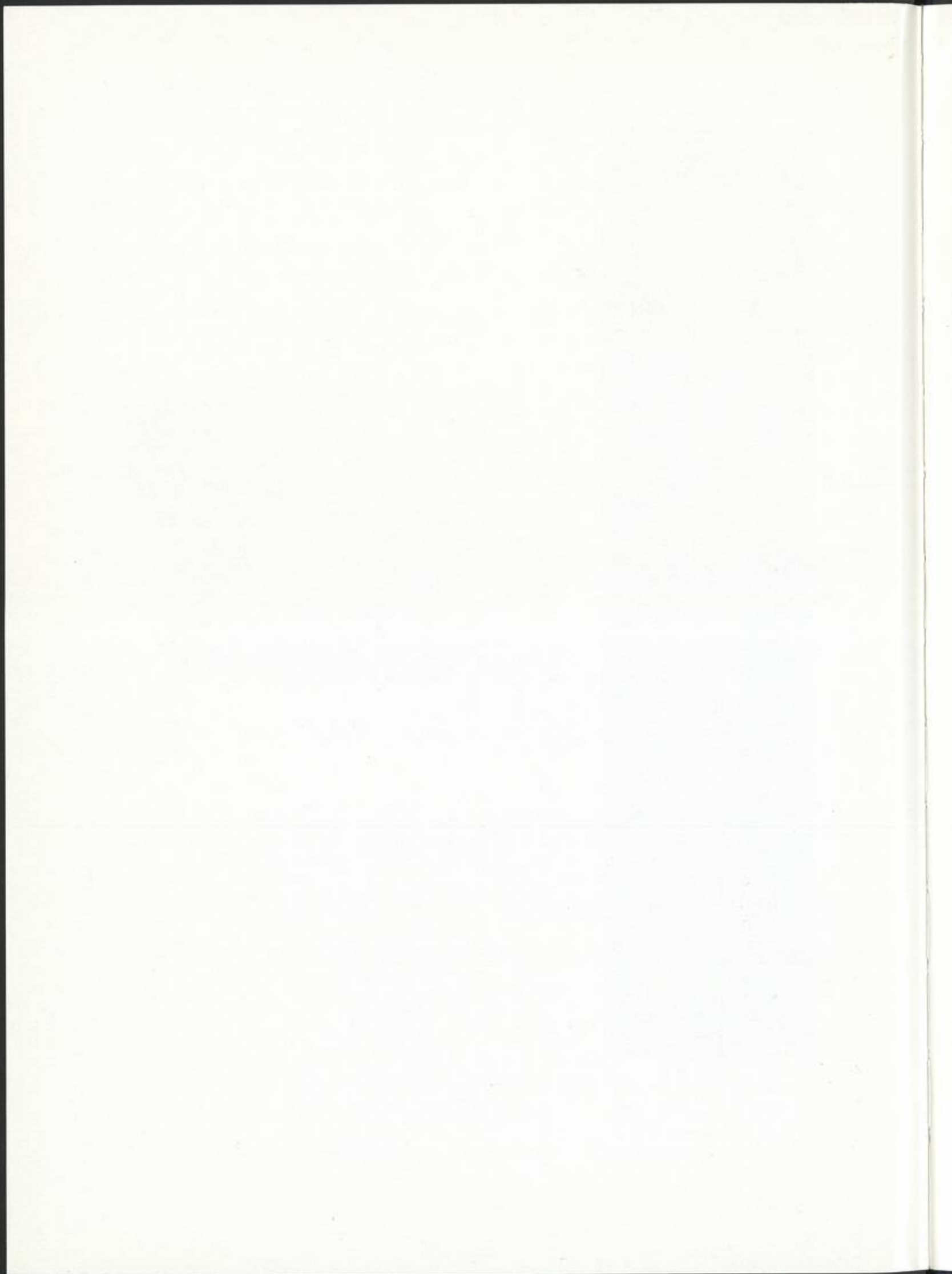


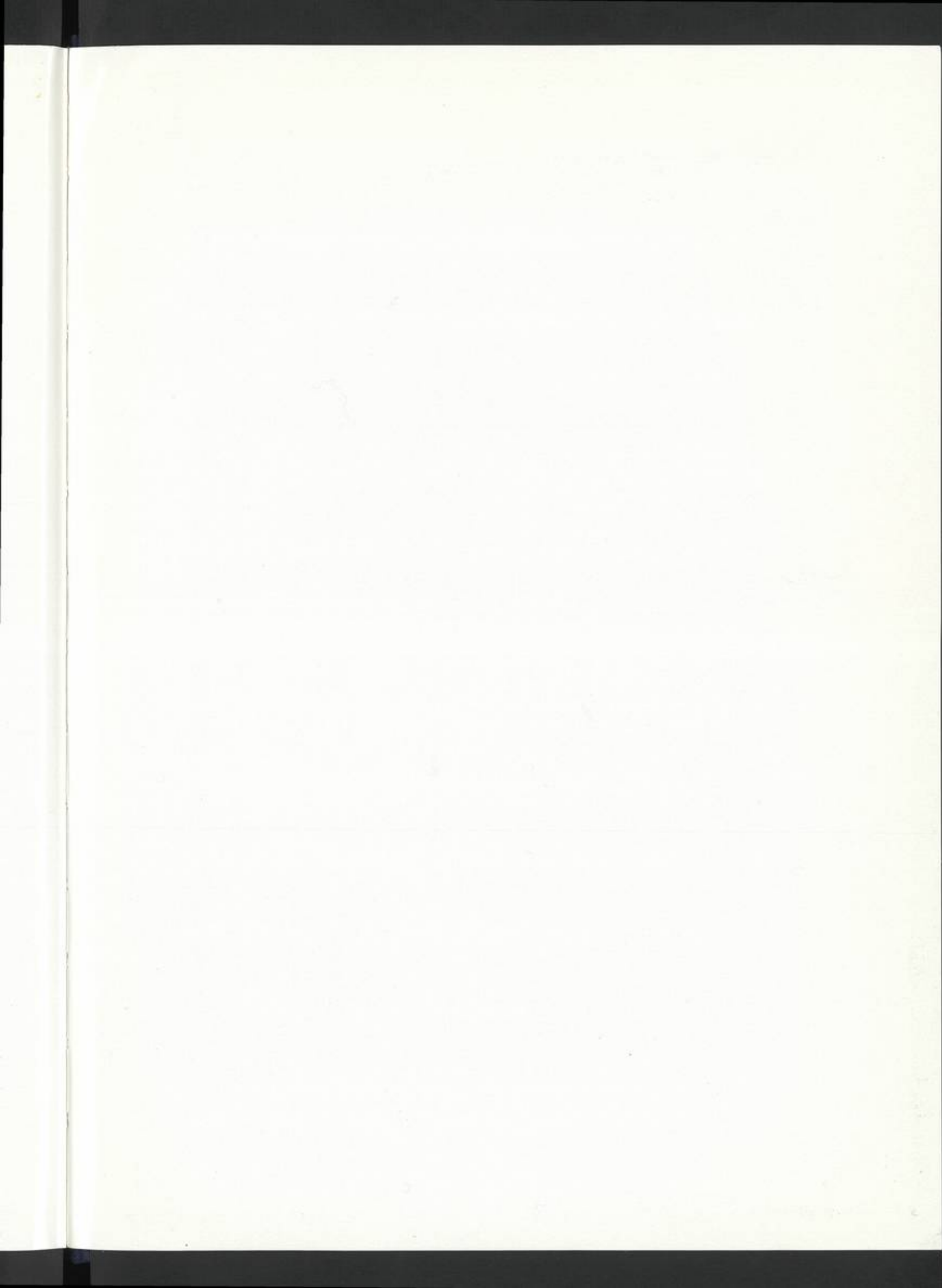
Plate 10: KBo 22.61 (Bo 69/633), Series One, Copy A, OH script. Join to KBo 6.2 in column I, showing laws §§ 2-4. Photo from the German Boghazköy Expedition archives.

Plate 9: Left edge of KBo 6.4 (Bo 2094, copy PT) in the middle, showing the colophon of PT. Photo from Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin.

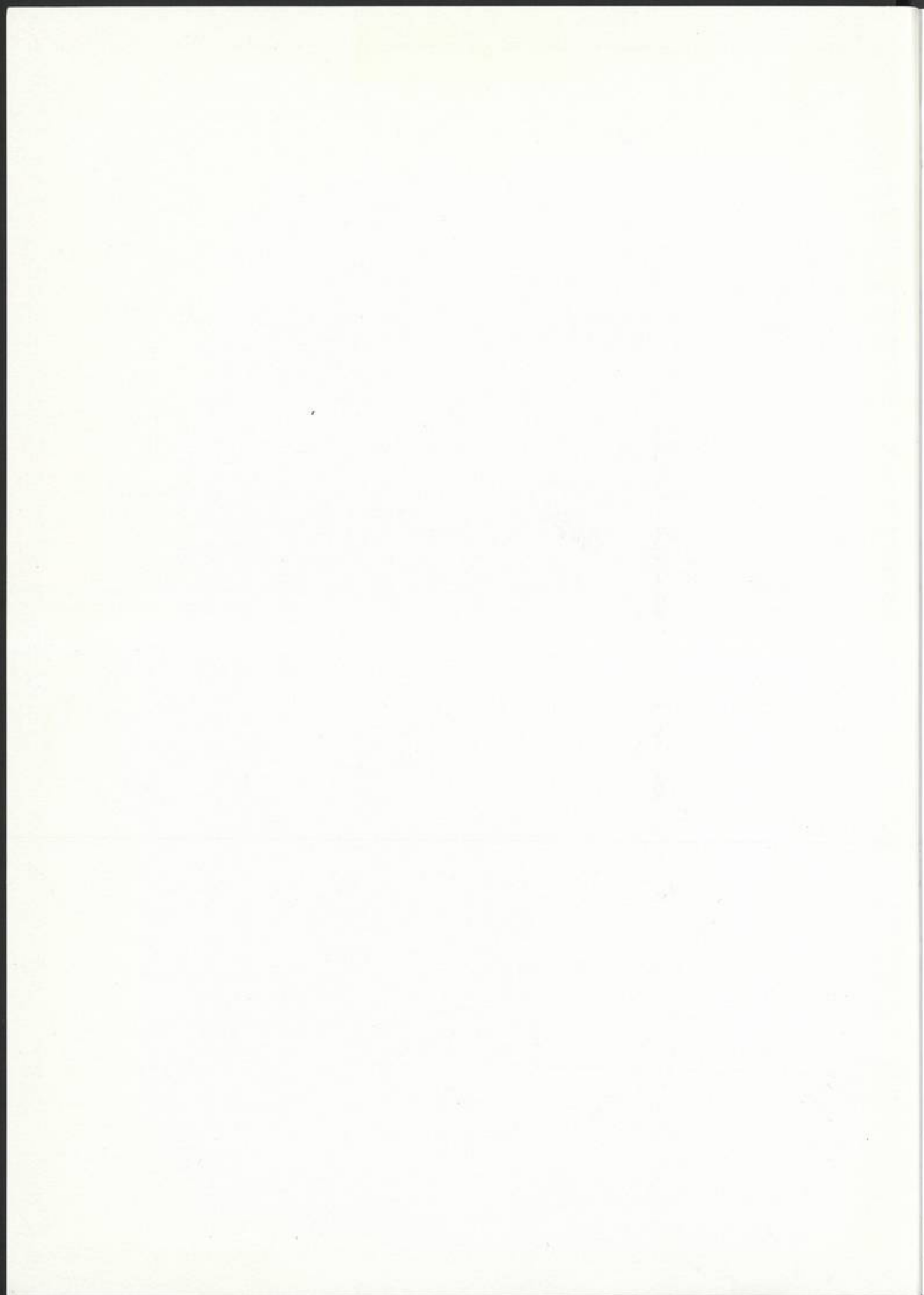




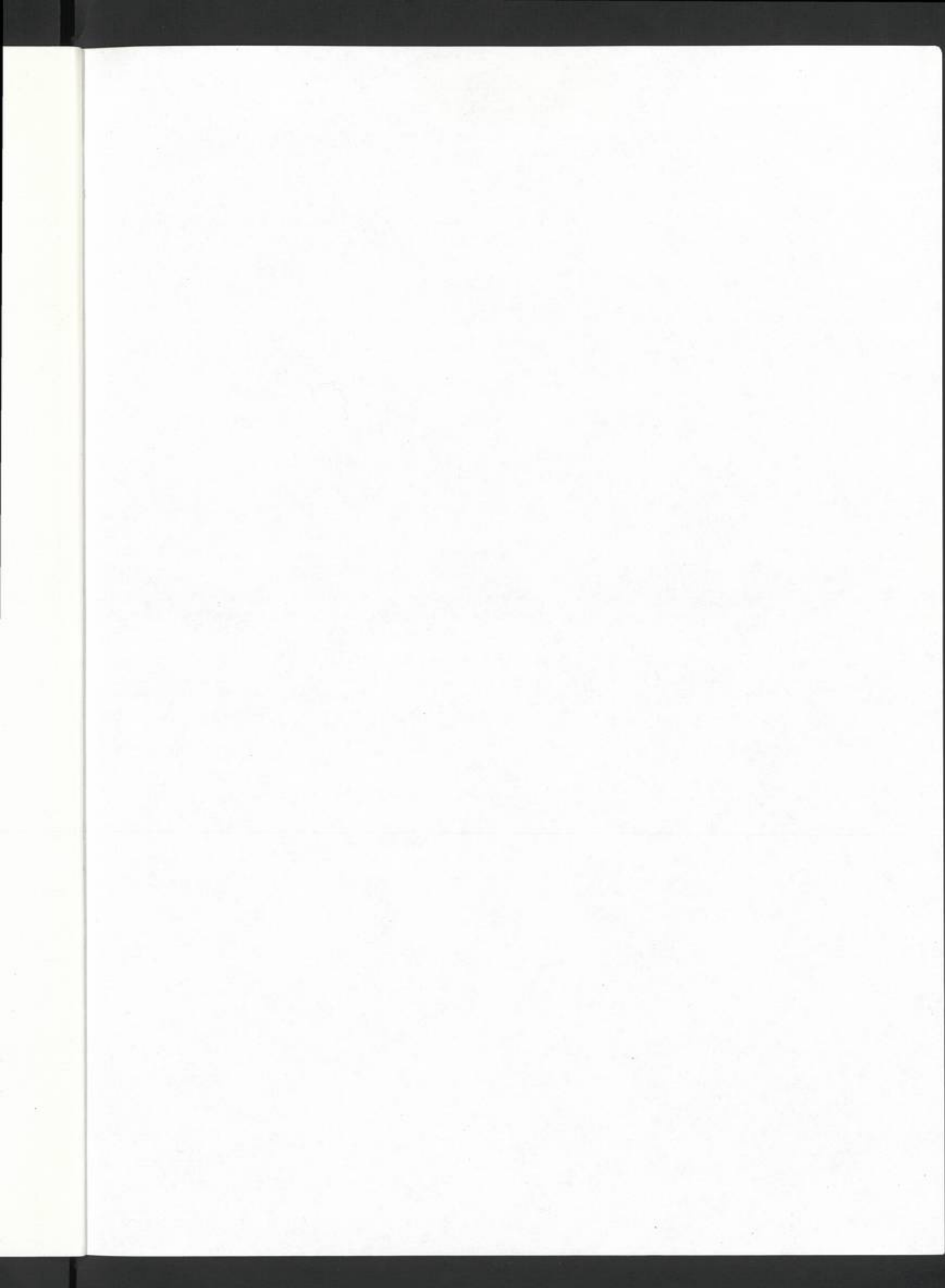




















3 1142 02470 7062



New York University  
Bobst Library  
70 Washington Square South  
New York, NY 10012-1091

DUE DATE

DUE DATE

DUE DATE

\* ALL LOAN ITEMS ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL \*

Bo: **RETURNED** **DUE DATE**  
**FEB 20 1999** **MAR 08 2004**  
**BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION** **BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION**  
**RETURNED** **DUE DATE**  
**JAN 31 2009**  
**MAR 22 2009**  
**BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION**

**RETURNED** **DUE DATE**  
**NOV 1 2011** **JUN 28 2008**  
**BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION** **BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION**  
**BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION** **DUE DATE**  
**DEC 2 2008**  
**BOBST LIBRARY CIRCULATION**  
**RETURNED**



