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THE ARZANA HOUSE

by Harry A. HOFFNER Jr. (New Haven)

Surely one of the most intriguing of the social centers of the ancient world was the tavern or inn, where citizens congregated to eat, drink, exchange news, sing and enjoy themselves in the company of the opposite sex. Under existing circumstances we do not possess much information about these centers in the documents from the archives of the cities of the ancient Near East. By the very nature of the case one did not have occasion to mention, much less describe the activities which went on in them in the official documents of the palace or temple. But here and there in literary texts, in laws, in ritual or festival texts there emerges a bit of evidence for their existence and character.

Assyriologists have long known of the existence of taverns in ancient Mesopotamia, where they bore various names¹. In Sumerian the term was (é) éš-dam (or é-eš-dam)², loaned into Akkadian as *aštammu* (*bīt aštammi*; Assyrian *bēt altamme*). But other native Akkadian designations also existed, including *bīt sābīti* "house of the (female) tavern-keeper"³, which reflects the custom for a woman to serve as proprietress of this establishment. The *sābītu* may also have served as the madame in charge of prostitutes. It has long been recognized that the woman Rahab was the madame of the inn at Jericho, where the two Israelite spies lodged for the night, as recorded in chapter two of the Book of Joshua⁴.

That such inns existed also in the land of the Hittites we now know. But until

¹ B. LANDSBERGER, OLZ 1931, 135; T. JACOBSEN, JNES 12 (1953), 184 n. 32 [= *Toward the Image of Tammuz* (1970), 349 n. 68]; A. FALKENSTEIN, ZA 56 (1964), 118f.; A.L. OPPENHEIM, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1964), 151, 262, 303; W. RÖLLIG, *Das Bier im Alten Mesopotamien* (1970), 53f.

² CAD A2, 473 lists only (é) éš-dam; AHw, 85 lists only éš-dam. Both spellings occur. For é-éš-dam see proto-Kagal 112 (MSL 13, 70) and A.L. OPPENHEIM, *Dreams* (1956), 269.

³ C. GADD, in RAI 14 (1965), 24 n. 4; A. GOETZE in AS 16 (1965); F. KRAUS, *Amišaduqa*, 161ff.; W. RÖLLIG, *Das Bier* (1970), 87 n. 188. The masculine counterpart *sābū* (Sum. lú-kurún-na; MSL 12, 101, line 163) is also known (B. LANDSBERGER, ZDMG 69, 504-05; W. RÖLLIG, *Das Bier* [1970], 87 n. 188). Add, although he is never mentioned in contexts with the inns, the LÚ.KURÚN.NA is also found in Hittite in the company of cupbearers, tablemen, cooks, and bakers (KUB XIII 4 iii 56; KBo II 1 i 24, ii 5; KUB XXXVIII 12 i 15). In KUB XVIII 32 obv 7 we even find an É LÚ.KURÚN.NA, although it is questionable that this is another writing for the inn or tavern.

⁴ FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *Antiquities of the Jews*, V, 8; cf. RÖLLIG, *Das Bier* (1970), 53.

E. LAROCHE in 1949 proposed for the Hittite expression *arzana parn-* (or *Ēarzana-*) the translation "inn" ⁵ no one knew by what name they might have been called. It is now possible on the basis of wider documentation to describe the Hittite inns and to sketch their role in the official and unofficial gatherings.

TABLE I

1. Akkadographic (or stem form):
I-NA *Ē ar-za-na* (IBoT I 29 rev 46; Bo 2616 ii 25)
ŠA *Ē ar-za-na[-?]* (KUB XX 92 rev vi? 17)
2. Accus. sg.:
Ēar-za-na-an (KBo V 6 i 16)
3. Gen. sg.:
Ēar-za-na-aš (ABoT 25+KBo XVII 65, rev 25; KUB XXXI 76+XL 88, i 9;
 KUB XXV 51 iv 2', 8'; KUB XII 9 : 4': KBo XXI 79 left 2'; 245/v
 rev 3'; 595/t ii 6'; 56/s ii 22)
4. *I-NA* *Ē ar-za-na-aš* (KUB XX 92 rev vi? 14; 396/d left 11')
5. *IŠ-TU* *Ē ar-za-na-aš* (KBo XXI 79 left 7' and 2'?)
6. Gen. sg. preceding regens:
ar-za-na-aš parn-/per-/Ē (KBo XIII 223 iii 1-2; KBo XVI 84 obv 2'; KBo
 XVII 13 obv 6 [Old Hittite]; KBo XIX 163 iv 42', i 18'; KBo XXI 91:
 6'; KUB XXVI 71 rev iv 8; 56/s ii 24'; 1453/u obv 11-12; Bo 6594 i 6,
 7; Bo 7767: 5'; Bo 7937 left 11')
7. Dat.-loc. sg.:
Ēar-za-na (Bo 2701 iii 14', 19')
8. *ar-za-na pár-na* (IBoT I 29 obv 29, 50 [collations])
9. *Ē ar-za-na-i* (Bo 4068 right 9')
10. Ablative:
Ēar-za-na-az (KBo VII 42 iv 4')

Hittite spellings of the word for the inn are tabulated in Table I. Spelling no. 8 (*ar-za-na pár-na*) might indicate a compound word, for no genitive ending appears on the first component, *arzana* ⁶. But it is also possible that *arzana* and *parna*

⁵ RA 43 (1949), 74.

⁶ H.A. HOFFNER, Or NS 35 (1966), 388f., 400f. See also *ištamahura* "earring" and the personal name Arzanahšu (P. GARELLI, *Les assyriens en Cappadoce*, 136f.; E. LAROCHE, *Les noms des hittites*, 297-302).

are two nouns in apposition translatable as "to the *arzana*, the house" ⁷. If so, then both nouns exhibit the terminative case in *-a*. If the two comprise a single compound noun, then the final *-a* in *arzana* is simply its stem.

Spellings 2, 7, 9 and 10 (and possibly also 3, 4 and 5) belong to another pattern, in which the element *arzana* does not appear in the genitive case form. In these spellings it is not clear whether the sign *Ē* is to be regarded as a determinative or a logogram ⁸. If it is a logogram, then we have another compound, this time with the opposite sequence of the two component words, reconstructed as **perar-zana-* or **parnarzana-*, and we should transcribe these spellings as *Ē-ar-za-na-*. In this type of compound the initial component receives no inflection, while the second component (*arzana-*) undergoes inflexion ⁹. A third pattern is represented in spellings 3, 4 and 5. The sign *Ē* is either the logogram followed by the syllabic spelling of the Hittite noun *arzana-* in the genitive case, or (since the *Ē* always lacks complementation with case endings in these instances) the determinative in which case the genitive case *arzanaš* is explicable according to F. SOMMER, HAB, 76 and 92ff. and J. FRIEDRICH, *Heth. Elem.* ², § 212.

In the fourth pattern, represented by spelling 6, the genitive *arzanaš* precedes the logogram *Ē* according to the normal word order for *regens* and *rectum* in Hittite, and the word for "house" is fully inflected.

The fifth pattern, exhibited in spelling 1, is Akkadographic. The designation for the inn is preceded by an Akkadian preposition (*I-NA* or *ŠA*), and *Ē AR-ZA-NA* is probably to be interpreted as the construct of Akkadian *bītu* followed by the stem-form of the *Wanderwort* (not a genitive in *-i*!).

The fifth and final orthographic representation for the word "inn" is the locative case form *ar-za-na-an-ni* (collation has confirmed this reading, as opposed to emendation *ar-za-na pár!-ni*), which presupposes a nominative **arzanatar* ¹⁰. To the stem *arzana-* has been added the formative *-atar* customarily designating

⁷ Comparable is the construction *URUTi-li-ú-ra-aš URU-aš* (KUB XXI 29 i 11) and the like.

⁸ There is a regrettable lack of concern evident among some Hittitologists as to whether one writes a sign as logogram or determinative. Whereas this may at times be a matter of some indifference, *GIŠAPIN* = *epinnu* but *GIŠ.RÍN* = *gišrinnu*, in other instances the relationship is obviously that of a genitival compound: *TÚG.GÜ.Ē.A*, or of noun + adjective: *DINGIR.MAH* (not *DMAH*!).

⁹ This pattern is otherwise attested in the questionable word *pirešhannaš* (LAROCHE, RHA fasc. 61 [1957], 128), on which see H. HOFFNER, Or NS 35 (1966), 388. Again compare the personal name Arzanal šu.

¹⁰ HWb, 34.

verbal nouns or abstracts. Indeed it is possible to translate the passage which contains this word in such a fashion as presupposes a verbal noun from **arzanai*- "to lodge, quarter, provide with food and lodging", the base also of the passive participle *arzanant*- (on which see below)¹¹.

In 1956 H. G. GÜTERBOCK proposed an attractive derivation for these words¹². He supposed that underlying them all was the word which appears in Akkadian as *arsānu* (or *arsannu*) and in Sumerian as *ar-za-na*. The latter indeed may be an early loan from Akkadian¹³, but even if the word entered Sumerian from Akkadian it is not necessarily true that it originated in Akkadian. This word, which designates "(barley) groats", is found often in Hittite texts in both the Sumerian (*AR.ZA.NA*) and Akkadian (*AR-SA-AN-NU*) spellings¹⁴. According to GÜTERBOCK's theory the Hittite word for groats must also have sounded like **arzana*, for the inn was called the *arzana* house because *arzana* (or rather a dish —*TU*₇ (Akkad. *ummaru*) "soup, porridge"¹⁵—made from *arzana*) was one of the characteristic foods served there. In support of his theory GÜTERBOCK himself cited two passages from the text of the EZEN *haššumaš*, where a prince at the inn ordered food and was served a variety of foods including "two *UPNU*-measures of *ARSĀNU*"¹⁶. Since the Akkadian word *arsānu* has not yet been found in the Old Assyrian tablets, the Hittite texts are our earliest evidence for its employment in Asia Minor. In Hittite texts the word *arzana*- occurs already in Old Hittite texts (e.g., KBo XVII 13), and continues to be found in the later copies of rituals exhibiting Hattian influence. It appears in texts whose composition dates to the so-called "Middle Hittite" period (predecessors of Šuppiluliuma I)¹⁷, and in texts describing life during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I (KBo V 6 i 16). In fact there is no reason to believe that the term *arzana* for the food and the term *arzana parn*- for the inn did not continue in use throughout the five centuries of the Hittite kingdom (c. 1750-1200).

¹¹ FRIEDRICH, *Heth. Elem.*², § 44b; **arzanatar* is correctly compared with *ašandulatar* "garrisoning" (cf. verb *ašandulai*-) by KAMMENHUBER, MIO 2, 435 n. 90, although she subsumes both under "atar-Ableitung von Gegestandbezeichnungen (sic !)".

¹² JCS 10 (1956), 90.

¹³ Belonging to that stratum of Akkadian words which entered Sumerian with the accusative case ending but without mimation; cf. I.J. GELB, MAD 2 (2nd ed., 1961), 5; and MAD 3, 66.

¹⁴ A. GOETZE, *Language* 36 (1960), 467; CAD A², 306-07.

¹⁵ On the reading *TU*₇ when "soup, porridge" (Akkad. *ummaru*) is meant see discussion in HOFFNER, *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (1973).

¹⁶ IBoT I 29 obv 50ff., rev 46ff.

¹⁷ E.g., IBoT I 29 and *Bēl Madgalki* (— CTH 261; VON SCHULER, *Dienstanw.*, 36ff.). For a general statement of my view see now JNES 31 (1972), 29-35 (review of Ph.H.J. HOUWINK TEN CATE, *Records of the Early Hittite Empire*).

Deriving from the word *arzana*- "groats" by way of a posited intermediate stage, the hypothetical denominative verb **arzanai*- "to provide with food and lodging" is the participle *arzanant*-, which describes members of a class of mobile persons at the disposal of the crown¹⁸. These persons were settled on crown lands, provided with livestock, seed and winter food supply, and were expected to cultivate crown lands in return for support and an unspecified proportion of the crop. Members of this class, often further described as *arzanant*- "supported, provided with food and lodging", were more commonly designated by either the Sumerogram *NAM.RA* or its Hittite equivalent *arnuwala*-¹⁹. Also deriving from the verb **arzanai*- is the verbal noun *arzanatar* "the action of lodging and feeding" (KUB XXXI 86 ii 27f.; KUB XXXI 89 ii 15-16). Deriving from the base noun *arzana*- is the professional designation ^{LU}*arzanala*- (KBo XX 16 obv 8' [old ductus]; Bo 806 right 1'), discussed by NADIA VAN BROCK in RHA fasc. 71, 99. In fact, since the sign preceding the *ar-za-na-a-la-aš* in KBo XX 16 obv 8' and preceding *a[r-za-na-a-li]* in Bo 806 right 1' is not visible, one cannot be sure regarding the sex of the *arzanala*-official in these the only two known occurrences. If the situation in Anatolia was at all similar to that in Mesopotamia, the proprietress of the inns could be designated under this term (Akkad. *sābītu*). Should one then restore [^{MF}*arzanala*-?

From the passages in which the various related terms for the inn occur we can learn the following. The *arzana* house was an establishment which dispensed food and drink. It might well be asked if the food was dispensed to paying customers or only to the prince, the priestess called the *NIN.DINGIR*, and other official personnel. Phrasing the question differently, can we be sure that the *arzana* house was a commercial venture open to the public? Or was it only a dining facility associated with a temple? Nothing is ever mentioned in the texts about payment for food or lodging. And in most recorded cases the persons dining there were members of an official party celebrating a festival. The only instance which seems to point to an establishment open to the general public on a pay basis is the passage from the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (KBo V 6 i 14-17): "And because all Gašga-land was at peace, therefore some of the Hittite population had hostel(s) behind Gašgaean towns, (while) some had again gone to the town"²⁰. This passage furthermore suggests a location for the inns outside of the towns proper. But it must be admitted that, because of the lack of evidence, it is impossible to be certain as to the public character of these inns. In an age before the invention of coinage a customer at such an inn would probably have paid his bill in kind, that is in grain or in weighed silver (compare the Code of Hammurapi, §§ 108-111).

¹⁸ HWb, 34 with literature, to which add now HOFFNER, *Alim. Heth.* (1973), 48 n. 230.

¹⁹ HOFFNER, *Alim. Heth.* (1973), 29 n. 136.

²⁰ Translation of GÜTERBOCK, JCS 10 (1956), 90.

Passages from the EZEN *haššumaš* reveal that a wide variety of foods were served²¹. While the inns may have derived their name from the porridge made from barley groats, the Hittite equivalent of the British pub's "steak and kidney pie", one could dine on other fare as well. Admittedly the EZEN *haššumaš* text describes a meal served to a prince and his companions, so allowance must be made for this select clientele. He was served hot bread (NINDA *a-a-an*), moist bread (NINDA *LABKU*), barley bread (NINDA.ŠE), sweet cakes (NINDA.KU₇), *takarmu*- and *anahi*-breads, porridge made from groats (TU₇ *ARSANNU*), milk (GA), beer (KAŠ), and a drink called *marnuwan*. The portions were large, for the prince had brought with him twelve priests as guests. A similar meal served to a prince in an *arzana* house is described in Bo 2616 and Bo 2701, where the foods included were meat (*šuppa*), breads²², beer, wine and *marnuwan*-drink.

Drinking at the *arzana* house is demonstrated not only by the above cited offerings of beer, wine and *marnuwan*, but also by the verb [*ha-aš-ši-iq-qa-nu-wa-an-zi*] "they slake their thirst" in KBo IX 124 3', and by the mention of the "goblets (GAL.HI.A) of the *arzana* house" in KUB XXXI 76 + KUB XL 88, i 9 (R. WERNER, StBoT 4 [1967], 22-23).

The *arzana* house was likewise a place for music and merriment. The festival text KUB XXV 51 iv 1-7 describes proceedings in which someone (quite likely the M¹NIN.DINGIR mentioned in the context) comes to the inn followed by a group of songstresses (M¹.MEŠ ŠIR), who sing a song in the Hattic language. A four-line passage in KBo XVII 13 obv 6-10 mentions in the same immediate context with the *arzana* house the words "they sing" and the word for a kind of musical instrument, the *galgalturi*, which was either strummed as a stringed instrument or beaten as a percussion one²³. Singing or making music in connection with visits to the inn is also mentioned in KBo XXI 79 left 2', 7', 11'ff. and KUB XII 9 1'-8'; KBo XXI 100 rev 17'; Bo 7937 left 10'-14'. Another brief passage from a festival text (KUB XX 92 vi 13-15) tells of "lords" (Akkad. *bēlū*), who after completing the pouring of libations at the cult stand proceed to the *arzana* house and "make merry" (*ta-az du-uš-kán-zi*).

²¹ IBoT I 29 obv 50ff., rev 46 ff. Are the "places for porridge (TU₇)" mentioned as one of the responsibilities of the commander of the border garrisons to be conceived of as inns? See HOFFNER, JCS 24 (1971), 35.

²² Also obtainable at the *arzana* house were: NINDA₇*šaramma* (Bo 2701 iii 20', 30'), NINDA₇*mari*- (Bo 7767 5'-6'), and TU₇*hapanziri* (Bo 2701 ii 9').

²³ E. LAROCHE, JCS 2 (1948), 127 n. 66 and JCS 6 (1952), 117. H. OTTEN *apud* HWb *Erg.* 3 (1966), 18, suggests equivalence with Akkad. *haskallatu*, which occurs only at Boğazköy, unless VON SODEN is correct in identifying it with *hashaltu* (AHw, 330), in which case it would not designate a musical instrument but "ein Satz... aus Kupfer".

One could spend the night in the *arzana* house. The same texts which describe the NIN.DINGIR's visit to the *arzana* house (KUB XXV 51 iv 2'ff.; KBo XIX 163 iv 42-43; etc.) indicate that she spent the night there and left after breakfast on the following day. In Bo 2616 ii 25-28 a prince dines at the *arzana* house in the town of Taniškuri and spends the night in the very same town (note *-pát*), quite possibly in the *arzana* house itself. Furthermore in close association with visits to the *arzana* house one finds mention of the *tunnakkeššar* 'bedroom' (KBo XIX 163 i 19; Bo 2701 ii 18', iii 29'; Bo 6594 i 6').

In such inns where there is food, drink, merriment, and rooms for overnight guests, one expects also to find prostitutes. The Hittite texts do not record the sex of the proprietors of the *arzana* houses. It would be interesting to know if they were women, as they often were in Babylonia. But the texts do not leave us in doubt that there were prostitutes at these houses. The only evidence comes from the text of the EZEN *haššumaš*. The word *haššumaš* is the genitive of the noun *haššumar*, which has been identified by OTTEN (AfO 23 [1970], 37 n. 13) in two passages from unpublished texts. He translates it "Zeugungsfähigkeit" and considers it to be a verbal substantive from the verb *haš*- "to beget, procreate". From the contexts of the unpublished texts the translation proposed by OTTEN seems satisfactory. In Bo 6464 ii 18' it is coupled with DUMU.MEŠ-*tar* "progeny", and in Bo 3141 right 7'-9' the sequence is: MU.KAM.HI.A GÍD.DA [...] DUMU-*la-tar* DUMU-*an-na-aš* TI-*tar* [...] *ha-aš-šu-mar* *pár-ku-nu-mar*, "longevity [...] progeny, the life of progeny, [...] procreative powers, purification". If, as OTTEN supposes, *haššumar* is the verbal substantive of the verb *haš*-, one would expect also an infinitive of the type **haššumanzi*. Since *haš*- "to beget" is not an ablauting monosyllabic *mi*-verb, one should not expect a verbal substantive **haš(š)atar* and infinitive **haš(š)anna*. Therefore *haš(š)atar* (HWb, 62: "Zeugung; Zeugungskraft; Gebärmutter (Körperteil); Familie, Sippe") is problematic. Passages where *haššatar* almost certainly must be translated "procreative power, power to germinate, etc." are: KUB IX 27 + KUB VII 5 + 8, i 2; KBo VI 34 ii 31. In KUB XIII 4 iv 35 *haššannaš mehuni* means "in the season of giving birth (*haš*- with the mother as subject)". In many other cases, however, *haš(š)atar* differs from *haššumar* in possessing a more concrete reference: "that which has been procreated; family, progeny, clan". As GÜTERBOCK has observed, the festival seems to be an initiation rite for a Hittite prince, who has attained puberty²⁴. To borrow a term from anthropological literature, it was a *rite de passage*, and the only example of such from Hittite texts. Toward the end of the first tablet of the ritual the prince sits

²⁴ *Apud* D. SINOR, *American Oriental Society, Middle West Branch Semi-centennial Volume* (Indiana Univ. Press, 1970), 99-103.

and eats with twelve prostitutes (MÍ.MEŠ KAR.KID). Later on in that same night priests "consecrate" him (*šuppiyahhanzi*), make him to lie down (*šaššanuanzi*), and place around him loaves of bread, and pour out in a circle about him beer. When they have readied him, they bring in the twelve prostitutes, and the tablet ends at this point. It is possible that prostitutes could have served some function other than having sexual intercourse with the prince during the night, but not probable. Especially in view of the very name of the festival. Thus on this one occasion in ceremonies carried out in the *arzana* house prostitutes were available for the prince. The prostitutes ate with the prince in the *arzana* house (IBoT I 29 rev 46-49). The ensuing action is not explicitly related to a different location (rev 50ff.). One must conclude then that the prostitutes went to bed with the prince in the *arzana* house itself. One wonders too (and this is only speculation) if the MÍ.NIN.DINGIR, who in the festival text KUB XXV 51 iv 1-7 enters the inn, spends the night there, and leaves the following morning, is there to sleep with the king or the crown prince. This was, of course, the chief role of the NIN.-DINGIR (*entu*) in Babylonia²⁵. In the festival text KUB XX 92 rev vi 13-17, after the "lords" have gone to the inn and made merry, a fragmentary line of the text mentions "the girls (MÍ.MEŠ KÍ.SIKIL) of the town" engaging in some activity at the ... inn. One can hardly separate the mention of these girls of the town from the merrymaking of the lords at the *arzana* house. Sexual intercourse at the *arzana* house may explain also the remarkable personal name Arzanahšu discussed by GARELLI and LAROCHE²⁶, which apparently means "offspring of the *arzana* house".

We have noted above in KBo V 6 i 14-17 that the hostels or inns were at least sometimes located at a distance from the city proper. A passage from the instructions to the commanders of the border garrisons (*bēl madgalti*)²⁷, a text composed during the late 15th century, suggests that another location favored by some for the *arzanatar* (or *arzana* house) was abutting the wall of the city. The district commanders were instructed to prohibit the use of a site abutting the city wall for an inn. The reasons for the prohibition are not stated. The danger to the wall and to the city itself of destruction by fires accidentally set by drunken patrons cannot be overlooked, especially since this prohibition follows directly upon

²⁵ NIN.DINGIR is, of course, one Sumerian writing *entu* high priestess, who consummated the sacred marriage rite with the Mesopotamian king. See B. LANDSBERGER, ZA 30 (1916), 71ff. and OLZ 1931, 129; H.G. GÜTERBOCK, ZA 42 (1934), 62 n. 2; J. NOUGAYROL, JNES 9 (1950), 51ff.; T. JACOBSEN, ZA 52 (1957), 107 n. 32 [= *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, 375 n. 32]; A.L. OPPENHEIM, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (1964), 193, 358.

²⁶ See note 6 above.

²⁷ KUB XXXI 86 ii 26-29 (VON SCHULER, *Dienstanw.*, 43-44).

another which enjoins against the attachment of a torch on a sconce to an outside or inside wooden pillar and precedes another which prohibits the setting of any fire, no matter how small, against the base of the city wall. But one also cannot forget the picture of easy access and easy escape from the brothel located on the city wall painted for the reader in the story of the prostitute Rahab in the Book of Joshua, chapter 2. The two Israelite spies, who had enjoyed access to the city and to a sampling of its tipsy citizens in Rahab's inn, were let down by a rope from a window of this inn built into the wall of the city itself²⁸. Was a similar situation in the mind of the Hittite who drafted this prohibition to the commanders of the border garrisons? If not, what was the reason for forbidding the building of an inn abutting the wall?

Although festival acts occasionally took place in the *arzana* house, there is no reason to conceive of it exclusively as a religious building, although one fragment (396/d lefthand 10'-12') mentions a [NA₄h]u-u-wa-ši in an *arzana* house. Cf. also Bo 2616 ii 25ff., 29. Also unclear to me is the visit to the *arzana* house by the pregnant woman in the ritual text "when a woman conceives" (ABoT 25 + KBo XVII 65, rev 25ff.).

What emerges from the analysis of these passages is that the Hittite inns were very much like the inns in other parts of the ancient Near East. They were social centers providing food, drink, lodging and women to both men of the nearest cities and to travelers who were passing through. For the convenience of the travelers the inns were normally situated outside the city walls but near to the city. That they could be built inside the city and abutting the city wall itself is presupposed by the prohibition of the same in the *Bēl Madgalti* text.

Many questions can be asked for which the existing documentation can provide no answer. But perhaps we should be grateful that we can learn even this much from a relatively small group of passages which mention the *arzana* house somewhat incidentally.

²⁸ Joshua, chapter 2. On espionage in ancient Mesopotamia see J. M. SASSON, *Studia Pohl* 3 (1969), 39-40; H. SCHMÖCKEL, *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients* (1961), 125.