

The Nexilitas Factor

Host-guest relationships in small owner managed
commercial accommodation facilities in
contemporary South Africa

A THESIS IN FULFILMENT OF A MASTERS' DEGREE IN THE SUBJECT TOURISM AND IN THE
FIELD OF HOSPITALITY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

RHODES UNIVERSITY

BY

VOLKHER HEINRICH CHRISTOPH VON LENGELING

STUDENT No. 609V7657

SUPERVISED BY PROFESSOR ROBIN PALMER

May 2011

Abstract

The commercialization of hospitality established arguably the oldest profession. Historically small commercial hospitality establishments, known as inns in the western world, were of ill repute. Perhaps connected to their reputation, this category of accommodation facility has been seriously neglected as an area of academic inquiry, particularly from the perspective of the host. While there has been a huge growth in the interdisciplinary field of tourism studies in recent decades, little attention has been paid to the role of the host in the host-guest relationship at whatever level of analysis. This thesis seeks to redress the balance. Hospitality is a basic form of social bonding. This type of bonding, where a hierarchy between strangers is implicit (as with hosts and guests), may be termed 'nexilitas'; nexilitas is a form of social bonding in liminal circumstances. To that extent it is comparable to 'communitas' which describes social bonding between equals in certain liminal circumstances. The difference is that nexilitas is a form of bonding between individuals in a complex power relationship. The host controls the hospitality space, but custom also empowers the guest with certain expectations, especially in the commercial context.

The thesis identifies the various forms of hospitality – traditional '*true*' or '*pure*' hospitality, *social hospitality*, *cultural hospitality* and *commercial hospitality* – and discusses these critically in their historical and cross-cultural contexts, with emphasis on the perspective of the host. The passage of hospitality is then traced through the three phases of pre-liminality, liminality and post-liminality and discussed along the themes *anticipation*, *arrival* and *accommodation* and finally *departure* of the guest. While the historical and ethnographic review is mainly based on written histories and the experiences of other anthropologists as guests as well as ethnographers, the passage of hospitality draws on the multi-sited auto-anthropological experiences of the author, both as host and as ethnographer of contemporary South African hosts in small owner-managed commercial hospitality establishments.

Table of contents

Table of contents	iii
Table of Figures	v
Preface	vi
1	1
Introduction	1
<i>1.1. Context</i>	2
1.1.1. The neglect of hospitality in tourism theories	2
1.1.2. Theories of hospitality	4
1.1.3. Social bonding factor	9
<i>1.2. Goal</i>	17
<i>1.3. Approach</i>	18
1.3.1. Literature survey	19
1.3.2. Field survey	21
1.3.3. Field sites	22
1.3.4. Interviews	27
<i>1.4. A guide to the structure of this thesis</i>	31
2	33
The bond in hospitality	33
<i>2.1. Be my guest</i>	34
<i>2.2. 'True' or 'pure' hospitality</i>	38
<i>2.3. Cultural hospitality</i>	49
<i>2.4. Commercial hospitality</i>	56
<i>2.5. Professional aliens' experience of nexilitas</i>	62
3	74
Anticipation and preparation	74
<i>3.1. Master of the house</i>	74
<i>3.2. Reservation, discrimination and screening</i>	79
<i>3.3. Waiting</i>	87
4	89
Arrival and the 'time' of hospitality	89
<i>4.1. Reception</i>	89

4.2. <i>The 'time' of hospitality</i>	97
5	104
Accommodation and the 'space' of hospitality	104
5.1. <i>Inside and outside</i>	104
5.2. <i>Home and house</i>	107
5.3. <i>Rules of the house</i>	110
5.4. <i>Food and commensality</i>	114
5.5. <i>Compotorality</i>	121
5.6. <i>Service and entertainment</i>	125
5.7. <i>Display and destruction of wealth</i>	131
6	135
Departure of the guest	135
6.1. <i>Successful bonds</i>	135
6.2. <i>Failed bonds</i>	139
6.3. <i>Exile</i>	147
6.4. <i>Rewards</i>	151
7	155
Summary and conclusion	155
Appendices	163
APPENDIX 1. <i>Nexus and nexum</i>	163
APPENDIX 2. <i>Thenardiers' song</i>	165
APPENDIX 3. <i>Hospitality Facilities</i>	172
APPENDIX 4. <i>Background</i>	175
APPENDIX 5. <i>Grading</i>	187
APPENDIX 6. <i>Questions</i>	191
APPENDIX 7. <i>'Revenge of the concierge'</i>	192
APPENDIX 8. <i>'B&B rules suck'</i>	195
APPENDIX 9. <i>'B&Bs in SA'</i>	199
References	202

Table of Figures

Figure 1 Graphic showing the three basic motives as presented by Häusel (2008)	10
Figure 2 Table 1 Interviewed commercial hosts' profiles	30
Figure 3 Abraham receiving the Angels, Loggia di Raffaello, Vatican.	41
Figure 4 African hospitality by George Morland	45

Preface

Innkeeping is what I do best and have been doing for more than twenty years, which is all my adult life. Long ago I realized that I have a preference for being a host rather than a guest. I grew up in a house where there were at least two big feasts (± 100 guests) annually and frequent visits by friends and family from Germany. I was the one of my siblings who was eager to serve the guests. Quite in line with research done by O'Mahony and Lashley of career choices in the hospitality industry, I too developed my love for hosting at home (Lashley 2008: 75). Since 1986 I have visited the National Arts Festival with intervals until my permanent settlement in Grahamstown in 2003. I have been part of this 'host city' for almost eight years now and was particularly occupied with professional hospitality in the restaurant side of hosting, although there had always been some form of commercial accommodation facility connected to the restaurant activities. Currently I am the host at the *Yellow Piano Inn* and *Burg Lengeling Backpackers* on a small farm 20kms out of town. Academically I have busied myself with law before, completed the B Juris and LLB degrees, was admitted as an advocate of the High Court of South Africa but I have never practiced law professionally. When an academic desire hit again it would obviously be in the field that I have operated in with passion all my life albeit with no previous training in the social sciences.

I am a native host in the sense that I was born to be a host. Once in a family confrontation the rather derogatory German word-play was hurled at me: "*Wer nichts wird, wird Wirt*" (He who gets to nothing, becomes a host, particularly the male 'Wirt' of the 'Wirtshaus') meaning that an innkeeper-host is viewed as the lowliest creature, a nothing (*nichts*), unable to do better things in life. In Europe throughout the ages innkeeping was of low esteem. For me though, it is the best thing in life; it is so basic and rewarding.

Service is the best description of what I do, but for me, at least, it never meant subservience. I host voluntarily and do not compromise myself. It is not only the power that

comes with the job that gives satisfaction; it is the genuine pleasure of doing it – service with a smile! I have always explained the nature of the waiter’s job to new waiters to be essentially like prostitution: you perform a very intimate task, facilitating the satisfaction of basic needs of the guest; your relationship is relatively brief and for pure enjoyment of the guest for which you receive remuneration in proportion to the service. (“Thanks, keep the tip!”) Even before there was prostitution there was hospitality, the true ‘oldest profession’. About four thousand years ago the code of Hammurabi in Babylon also dealt with commercial hospitality and is one of the oldest sources to have survived till today. Specifically described is the position of women working in these places who were deemed ‘below the law’ (Firebaugh 1928: 18-9). Logic dictates that in order to do prostitution there needs to be some hospitality but hospitality can exist completely without prostitution. However there has always been a close relationship between the two activities.

Commercial hospitality has grown phenomenally with the development of tourism and with the ever growing demand for middle-class hospitality where hotels and hotel chains take care of mass guests. As innkeeper the host is directly in contact with the guest and in this case there is something more. There are rewards in hospitality which are not pecuniary for they stem from a form of social bonding, for which the Greeks had a term – *philoxenos* (the love for strangers). *Philoxenos* is not as well known as its opposite, *xenophobia* (the fear of strangers). The fear and hence also the hatred of strangers is overcome when they are found to be friendly and trustworthy. Why then overcome *xenophobia* to such an extent that taking strangers into your home and caring for them (i.e. exhibiting *xenophilia*) becomes a career, a profession – that of innkeeper? And how does commercialisation affect the intimate relationship of host and guest, from the perspective of the host?

As we shall discover, the interdisciplinary literature and even the anthropological literature of tourism has a bias: it deals with the host-guest relationship in situations of hospitality but almost exclusively from the perspective of the guest – except in the general sense of host as the society (natives) receiving tourists, not as their guests but strangers that just impose on their natural hospitality like parasites do.

Confronted with virtually a host-less scholarly representation of hospitality, I set forth to investigate expressions of hospitality in the past and across cultures and then to study the continuities and transformations that have occurred in small owner-operated commercial hospitality enterprises in contemporary South Africa. With studying law I could perpetuate my Latin studies and therefore my very first enquiry into hospitality would involve the origin of the words and terms. I found to my surprise that in the oldest usages hosts and guests are treated as equals, as demonstrated by the French word *hôte* which means *both* host *and* guest (Prick van Wely 1949: 262). The etymon for *host* and *hôte* is the Latin word *hospes* which is a combination of the words stranger or enemy with power, control, to become master. *Hospes* (host or guest) is made up of *hostis* and *potis* or *potens* (Pertsch 1971: 531 and Caputo 1997:110). The homonym *hospes* already captured the intrinsic ambiguity of the relationship when strangers engage: either hospitable (positive) or hostile (negative). It also represents the complexity of being more than one thing at the same time and it indicates the possibility for social bonding (two becoming one). Further back stands the Proto-Indo-European word **ghos-ti* combined with **poti* to yield **ghos-pot-* (O’Gorman 2005: 141), hence also *ghost* and the German *Gast*, which share this common ancestry with host.

The name for the host-guest space, the hospitality space, developed from the adjective *hospitalis* to *domus* or *cubiculum* (house or room) and particularly in French to *hôpital* (for the care of the sick or hurt), *hospice* (where poor, infirm or insane people more or less stayed permanently) and *hôtel* (for ordinary use by anybody) into nouns alone (The Encyclopaedia Britannica 1898 Vol. XII: 301). Ultimately the words hospice, hospital, hospitality, host, hostage, hostel, hostelry, hostile, hostility and hotel are all related to *hôte*. Incidentally, the etymon of accommodation is the Latin verb *accommodare* which means ‘to fit one thing to another, adjust ... adapt ... apply, bring to’ (Smith and Lockwood 1988: 7). It seems as if the question is who is to fit to whom, host to guest or guest to host, *hôte à hôte*. The translation of a story titled *L’Hôte* by Albert Camus (2006) is ‘*The Guest*’ although the translator mentions in the introduction that the word means ‘tellingly’, both host and guest and the story could be equally called ‘The Host’, but it is not – why?

The history of the semantics of hospitality suggests that it is impossible to discuss the guest in the absence of the host or to bias the discussion in one direction more than the other, but this is what has occurred in the relatively recent scholarship of hospitality. The main purpose of this thesis is redress – to reassert the role of the host (in the unambiguous sense it has in English) in hospitality studies in the social sciences.

Throughout my investigation I was critically assisted by my partner, Dr. Claudia von Lengeling, who has over the years taken over the catering aspect of our joint operation while I am more concerned with actual hosting, the ‘front of house’ aspects. There is no way with words to describe my gratitude for Claudia’s input as hostess and her active support with this study. You came as a guest and became my co-host. I am greatly indebted to my supervisor, Prof. Robin Palmer, for having stuck his neck out to accommodate my project and his subsequent guidance on the road to writing a thesis and pointing to the folly of the procrustean process of ‘making things fit’. So too would I like to express with sincerity my gratitude to all informants, participants, colleagues and the observed, who had their words and actions, wittingly or not, included in this study.

1

Introduction

Hospitality together with travel and leisure studies, roughly constitute the elements of the tourism paradigm. In this study the focus is on hospitality, an element of tourism studies that has been seriously neglected, until now. The irony of the scholarly neglect of this basic human relationship is exacerbated by the fact that hospitality is, in fact, the oldest profession, an outgrowth of the most basic voluntary relationship between distant kin and strangers. First comes hospitality, then all else follows, and when hospitality fails conflict follows. And the role of the host logically precedes that of the guest. Yet, the very methodology of ethnography is inherently biased which shows especially in the anthropology of hospitality: field researchers in the human sciences have always accumulated experience by being the guests of the hosts they studied. This bias notwithstanding, the hosts' point of view requires attention at least as much as the guests' point of view. In this study I use a combination of formal anthropological and more informal methods to examine the host-guest process specifically from the host's point of view. Commercial hospitality in owner managed small accommodation facilities (such as 'Bed and Breakfasts' and 'Backpackers') is comparable to innkeeping because it involves face-to-face host-guest contact and has more to it than just providing hospitality for money. There is a potential for a bond which is part of basic human nature. Social bonding can happen between individuals as 'equals', such as between guest and guest, but social bonding can also occur between host¹ and guest. This bonding in hospitality, *nexilitas*, is the focus of this investigation.

¹ The approach here is general therefore *host, master or king* imply simultaneously *hostess, mistress or queen* unless otherwise indicated.

1.1. Context

1.1.1. The neglect of hospitality in tourism theories

The neglect of hospitality in tourism theories has been pointed out by Amanda Stronza (2001: i) where she quotes Victor Turner: 'Tourism has some aspects of showbiz, some of international trade in commodities; it is part innocent fun, part a devastating modernizing force. Being all these things simultaneously, it tends to induce partial analysis only'; Natan Uriely and Arie Reichel (2000:271) find inconsistent reports on host-guest relationships and state that 'the issue of host-guest contact has been barely discussed'; Nigel Rapport and Joanna Overing (2003:358) in their *Social and Cultural Anthropology; The Key Concepts* explain the meanings and motivations in tourism but they do not deal with the hospitality concept save for acknowledging that tourist interactions with locals 'will be equally complex and varied'; Melani Smith and Kathryn Forest noted that 'Indeed, it would be interesting to address similar issues [concerning festival tourism] from the perspective of local residents and festival audience' (in Picard and Robinson 2006:148); John K. Walton (2005: 5) notes that tourism studies have recently been extended by the efforts of Conrad Lashley '[especially] to persuade academics in the closely related subject area of hospitality to take seriously the insights on offer from the humanities in general and historical studies in particular ... But there is much to be done.'

So far all anthropologists have been guests; therefore ethnographies are to that extent 'traveller's tales' – which demonstrates the 'theoretically biased way' of ethnography (Thomas Eriksen 2004: 42). According to Malcolm Crick there are 'disconcerting similarities between a touristic "quest for otherness" and that of anthropology – "professional tourism" – which explains a 'basic emotional avoidance' of the tourism topic in anthropology, until it became unavoidable through its massive scale and worldwide reach (Crick 1989:311). Inbuilt in all forms of tourism research there is also a bias towards the guest because research is almost always done from the viewpoint of the guest/customer/tourist (hence the name 'tourism').

However, and at a more general level since the advent of mass tourism, there is also the growing concern social scientists have felt for the hosts in the more general sense of the 'host population.' Crick (1989: 320-1) reports on the findings of the Christian Conference of Asia in 1980: 'The church conference claimed that ... tourism had "wreaked more havoc than brought benefits to recipient Third World countries ... In its present form, linked as it is with transnational corporations, ruling elites and political hegemonies, and totally unmindful of the real spiritual, economic and political and socio-cultural needs of recipient countries" ... the piecemeal analysis of tourism without the political-economic overview is typical of bourgeois social science and is a strategy often used to avoid real social issues'. Valene Smith (1987) and Tracy Berno (1999) discuss host populations, i.e. the locals/natives, and the devastating effects of tourism on these cultures and Stephen Taylor (2004:88n) notes: '[Captain James] Cook was remarkably perceptive about the impact of Europeans on indigenous peoples, writing:

"We debauch their morals already too prone to vice and we interduce [sic] among them wants and perhaps diseases which they never before knew and which serves only to disturb that happy tranquillity they and their fore Fathers had enjoy'd [sic]. If any one denies the truth of this assertion let him tell me what the Natives of the whole extent of America have gained by the commerce they have had with Europeans".'

Uriely and Reichel (2000:272) wrote that 'institutionalized mass tourists ... have less [sic] opportunities for direct and meaningful encounters with hosts.' The anthropological quest has delivered an abundance of ethnographies and published traveller's tales, told always from the viewpoint of guest/tourist (Steward in Walton 2005: 39). These all recognize actions and reactions of the hosts in the more general sense and even the effects tourism had on host societies, but seldom deal with them.

From the above the general neglect of the hosts' point of view and the biased approach to the study of hospitality in tourism is clear. The severe consequences of ignoring the host (if not the host nation) has also been pointed out and to add insult to injury I discovered an article entitled 'The host should get lost' by Julio Aramberri (2001). Beyond the provocative title Aramberri argues that the terms (host and guest) have become outdated and his 'paper argues that the host-guest model does not help explain the nature of modern mass tourism;

obscures the complex interactions between local cultures and their environments and favors [sic] a static and exclusionary vision of culture' (741); 'They will no longer be bonded by the sacred covenant of host and guest' (742); he also states however, in mitigation, that 'the guest will always be a pest' (2001: 750). Aramberri's frustrations can be understood considering the rare and confusing contemporary theories of hospitality, to which I now turn.

1.1.2. Theories of hospitality

In the 1930s hospitality had a place in theory as demonstrated by one of the founding fathers of modern anthropology, Marcel Mauss, who opens *The Gift* with a citation of some stanzas (no. 39 and further) from *Hávamál*² in the Scandinavian Edda. The *Hávamál* captures descriptions of the importance of hospitality, host-guest, host-stranger and guest-guest relationships (Clarke 1923:18).

For Mauss the biggest gift one can give is the gift of hospitality, for without hospitality we cannot survive. Mauss treats hospitality as an essential form of exchange to develop his concept of 'total prestation'.³ The trinity to give, to take and to reciprocate in *The Gift* shows the flow or movement of the exchange, in a world where the dualistic human approach would be static if it were only the ebb and flow between give and take, or as in ordinary commerce – buying and selling. Reciprocity brings the dynamism to exchange by recognition of the give and take that preceded it. In this realm of motion there is room for magic and myth, as indeed Mauss highlighted with this 'spiritual mechanism' that 'moves' us to reciprocate. He then animates the object – the gift. The giver gives part of himself and the other takes part of that self along with the gift, *the gift* takes that part of the self (power) along, whereas the gift is actually only a symbol or token of the bond in hospitality. The

² 'In *Hávamál* ... it is said that "men are men's joy" ... The full implication of this expression is alien to us; the same is true of the common Norse expression, "Bare is a brotherless back", depicting the miserable situation of a man standing alone without the faithful backing of good friends' (Vanggaard 1972: 186).

³ In some translations 'total services' (WD Hall's 1990 translation) or '*totale Leistung*' (German translation of Eva Moldenhauer (1990)

bond remains even if the symbols or tokens have been lost or destroyed. The reciprocal act equalizes the relationship or when it is rejected it can be tantamount to a declaration of war. The giver has the right to give but the receiver has the obligation to receive. In the hospitality sense then the gift, the precious token, is in itself sometimes valueless, without any *animus* (Geist) but full of meaning for the parties to it, those that have been bonded in hospitality, hosts and guests. Mauss' focus on the gift has obscured the underlying tie without which the symbol is worthless. About this development although in a different context Thorkil Vanggaard (1972: 202) wrote:

The more familiar with his inner world [represented by symbols] a human being is, the more real are the symbols and their representations to him, and the more intimately is the religious cult interwoven with the vitally important events of the day and year. Culture in its true sense depends on a flexible balance in the interplay of events in people's inner and outer worlds. Conversely the cult – and the culture – lose their meaning when familiarity with symbols disappears and, with it, the feelings and possibilities of action attached to them. At best there remains a set of fairly good manners, humanistic ideals, habits of hygiene and technical conveniences that may reasonably be named civilization.

As a consequence of this development in our society we are increasingly preoccupied with objects and anything that may be perceived through the sense-organs.

Symbols can be interpreted by everybody differently and so can have yet another meaning '...they can mean different things to different people, or to the same person on different occasions.' Therefore symbols 'are intrinsically difficult to analyse' (Davis 1992:76&80) because they have meaning but which is not set in fixed words of universal application. John Davis uses symbolic constructs to describe money as a complex order of symbols and from it one can understand the use of universally applicable symbols in the hospitality industry analogous to the universal acceptance of money in a multitude of exchanges. Yet this all ignores the fact that there are things money cannot buy. Service is just such a thing which can be remunerated but not bought, unless we want to revert back to overt slavery.

Conrad Lashley (2008) is the main proponent of the 'three-domain' approach to explain hospitality and this explanation involves the distinction between a cultural/social domain, a private/domestic domain and a commercial/public domain in which hospitality occurs. His cultural/social domain refers to 'true' hospitality devoid of immediate reward. His private/domestic domain involves the 'desire to please others', 'desire to meet another's need', 'desire to entertain one's friend' and 'desire to have company'. His commercial domain represents the staging of hospitality in order to make customers feel like friends. Applying the 'three-domain' approach would mean that a home is actually in the private/domestic domain and with a typical B&B also in the commercial/public domain - the complexity and possible confusion is obvious and can only be contributed to the guest-only point of view of the research. Paul Slattery (2002:22) lashes out at the 'three-domain zealots' who maintain that 'if it is commercial it is inferior to the private' and I agree with Slattery when he states that

Lashley's exposition of the commercial domain is based on the assumption that if hospitality customers pay, then their enjoyment is compromised. The commercial domain condemns the hospitality business because it is a business. No professional involved in hospitality can accept this as a serious interpretation of the industry. It is also an interpretation that flies in the face of the historic and long-term future global growth in demand for professional hospitality services.

Evidently Lashley does not even appreciate the subtleties of the Maussian approach as supplemented by Davis in the preceding discussion. This is only one serious consequence of the guest's-side-only research and the subsequent conclusions about the complexity of hospitality. Slattery states:

The three-domain approach explicitly excludes essential features of the industry so that what is left is a denuded and sterile conception of commercial hospitality and hospitality management that is portrayed as the poor relation to the hospitality available in the social and the private domains (Slattery 2002:23).

In 'Finding the Hospitality Industry' Slattery (2002) suggests a contextual approach. He identifies three levels of contexts which he calls the industry context, corporate context and venue context. The industry context is made up by free-standing hospitality businesses (hotels, quasi-hotels, bars and restaurants), hospitality in leisure venues (like casinos, theatres, health clubs), hospitality in travel venues (airports, stations etc.) and subsidised hospitality (in workplaces, military or retailers). The corporate context is representative of the biggest part of the hospitality industry, hotel chain groups, while he claims that 'quasi-hotels' (B&Bs and the like) are on the decline.⁴ The third context, venue context, revolves around the fact that hospitality involves 'consumption' of the hospitality product on/in a particular venue unlike retail which involves a simple buying and selling exchange and consumption of the product happens later and elsewhere. Slattery (2002: 27) concludes

By focusing only on the process of exchange in hospitality the three-domainers exclude the industrial and corporate contexts of hospitality (which are obviously absent in the private domain) and the diversity of venue contexts. Consequently, they have produced a sterile conception of hospitality and a radically inaccurate conception of the hospitality industry. To exclude context is untenable. To include context renders the position of the three-domainers redundant.

Despite Slattery's criticism the generally accepted definition of commercial hospitality by Brotherton & Wood reads:

The hospitality industry is comprised of commercial organizations that specialize in providing accommodation, and/or food, and/or drink, through a voluntary human exchange, which is contemporaneous in nature, and undertaken to enhance the mutual well-being of the parties involved (Lugosi 2008: 140).

The theoretical position of hospitality is not clear and there seems to be some disparity. A simple taxonomy of the contexts of the occurrences of hospitality does not explain the

⁴ 'Our analysis ... shows that by 2030 the number of hotel rooms in the world will double to around 30 million and that the room stock of hotel chains will increase from 4.5 million to 20 million, while the number of unaffiliated hotel rooms will not grow and quasi hotels will continue to decline' (Slattery 2002:25).

special human behavioural patterns. From the host's view these arguments completely disregard the importance of the social bonding factor. However, the motive of 'mutual well-being' in the definition of Brotherton & Wood is at least indicative of social bonding.

Between every host and guest the individualities of both are involved but the exchanges are facilitated by the recognition of the potential for a social bond especially because it is within the liminal construct of hospitality. This manifestation of a social bond between host and guest is *nexilitas*. The term is derived from 'nexus' and from the information concerning the origin of the Latin *nexus* the derived concept of *nexilitas* is not impeded with connotations that might come into conflict with its use here (See Appendix 1 for an elaborated description of the *nexum* action).⁵ *Nexilitas* is a concept 'off the shelf' and ready for use as a concept to describe a condition of social bonding in which there are status inequalities between the parties concerned. The Latin *hospitium* as concept might have been a good contender but comes burdened with its Roman meanings; equally would 'bond in hospitality' be more descriptive than precise.

The host has been just another 'object' in the guest's gaze but was not dealt with, mostly ignored but, as noted, also attacked. This situation is unsatisfactory. If the host, on a whim, rearranges the furniture the stage for the guest is rearranged, the object of his gaze altered and lines between 'front' and 'back' blurred. All these observations tell us nothing about the host. This is exactly where this study fits in: to make a representation of commercial hospitality from the view point of the host.

⁵ essentially the *nexum* action meant that a debtor placed his person, his actual physical body, as surety and when the debt was called up and the debtor could not perform the creditor had the right to do anything with/to the debtor. This notion must still have been current in Shakespeare's time, for the plot of *The Merchant of Venice* in which Shylock demands his pound of flesh, turns on it.

1.1.3. Social bonding factor

In the preface to Bronislaw Malinowski's 'Argonauts of the Western Pacific' (1932), Sir James G Fraser might have already anticipated the neglect of hospitality in tourism studies when he wrote:

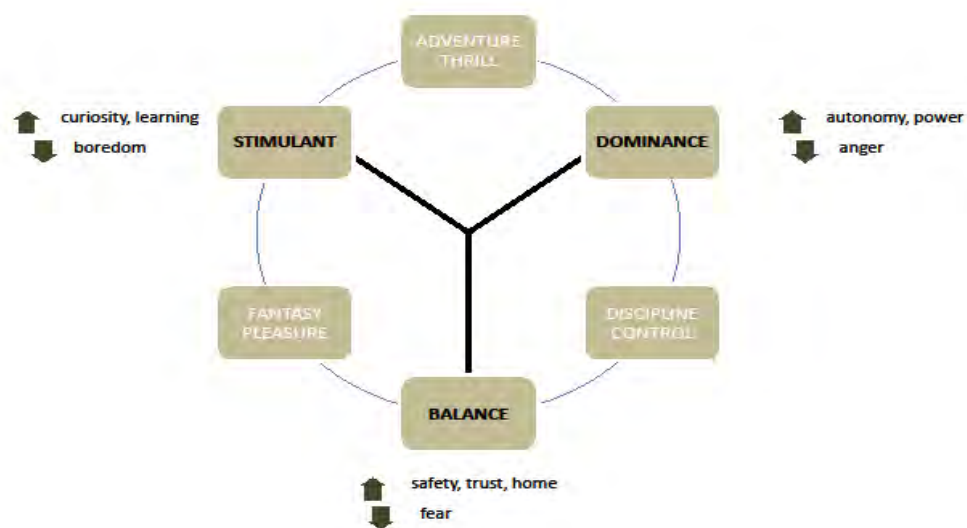
That material foundation, consisting in the necessity of food and of a certain degree of warmth and shelter from the elements, forms the economic or industrial basis and prime condition of human life. If anthropologists have hitherto unduly neglected it, we may suppose that it was rather because they were attracted to the higher side of man's nature than because they deliberately ignored and undervalued the importance and indeed necessity of the lower.

Indeed, throughout the history of professional hospitality it was rated as the lowest trade with strong connections to the sex industry. However, hospitality universally involves at least meeting the basic needs of the guest by the host but ideally it means to exceed these absolute minimums. Basic human needs are sustenance, sleep and shelter,⁶ and are generally met at home or in a homely space. The host invites the guest into his/her space: 'Come cross my threshold'; 'Make yourself at home' as John Caputo (1997: 111) relays Jacques Derrida. On-the-road one needs a home away from home. Derrida (2000) throughout his seminars stresses that hospitality is impossible without a house/home. Throughout societies all over the world hospitality was supplied on a general reciprocal basis, when a host self became a guest/traveller and required a host. Kevin O'Gorman (2005: 141) quotes Muhlman who stated that hospitality 'represents a kind of guarantee of reciprocity – one protects the stranger in order to be protected from him.' Malinowski's Trobrianders are perhaps a classic example of this required security: within the *Kula* exchange a group of islanders was safe from being killed and eaten by others

⁶ Dagmar Fenner (2007:118) paraphrases Abraham Maslov's hierarchy of human needs: the primary (food, drink, rest, shelter) and the secondary basic needs such as sex, security, communitas and love.

(foreigners/strangers) when they visited another isle to trade – they secured their host and hospitality with the *Kula* transaction (Malinowski 1932: 222).

In order to procure and secure basic needs humans have developed various strategies. Psychologists pursuing human motivation theories have discerned three basic human motives which are all present at once but in different degrees of prominence depending on the circumstances. Neurological studies of the brain have been summarized in a diagram (Figure 1 below) displaying the three basic human motives – stimulant, dominance and balance and the related emotions to each (Häusel 2008).



Simplified version of a graphic showing the three basic motives as presented by Häusel (2008)

Figure 1. Graphic showing the three basic motives

The stimulant motive involves curiosity and learning; the dominance motive finds expression in power and autonomy whereas it is the balance motive that drives the desire for safety and trust and is ultimately symbolized by the home as stress-free zone. When curiosity is not satisfied it turns to boredom, a lack of autonomy or power leads to anger and the result of lack of safety or trust is fear. The intermediate zones between the main

motives of stimulant, dominance and balance are examples of sensations when two motives overlap hence fantasy and pleasure need both stimulant and balance; when stimulant and dominance overlap we sense adventure and thrill and behind discipline and control is a mixture of balance and dominance. The graphic is very useful to explain the potential development of *nexilitas* or to demonstrate where a conflict lies in the host-guest relationship. The very basic fear of strangers lies in an imbalance and in order to host this imbalance has to be addressed with *Gastfreiheit* (hospitality, 'guest freedom') which reflects a freedom of fear.

To simplify matters, we can assume that host and guest are otherwise status equals before they meet. Hosts, as guests, are equally motivated, both want autonomy and power and both need safety and trust and people meet out of curiosity for the strange. The equal positions change with hospitality because hospitality happens in the host's home and this is where the host is powerful and autonomous. The host offers safety and trust without losing autonomy of his position as host, yet the host makes the guest feel 'at home' and therefore 'powerful'. In order to achieve this delicate balance the host employs various tactics, like screening, service and staging. Any failure of the host's actions can cause unwelcome feelings of fear or anger.

The actual relationship between host and guest is complex and dependant on a myriad of individualistic circumstances. What is most important is that there is still something more than just seeing to the basic needs or taking care of someone else for money. That 'something more' is the manifestation of a basic social bond, the ancient bond or *nexus* of hospitality. It starts with a smile to express curiosity and the promise of safety, thereby defeating the fear of strangers. The process of balancing the needs and wants of both, host and guest, is accompanied by the aforementioned process of social bonding which I now explain further.

Victor Turner conceptualised *communitas* as a form 'of a generalised social bond between all human beings' (Rapport and Overing 2007: 47) that manifests especially in a liminal (threshold) space when strangers engage with each other, *das Zwischenmenschliche*. The threshold also symbolizes the exact point where the time of hospitality starts. Passing the threshold space into the hospitable space is symbolic of entering a home or home-like space and at the same time symbolic of the temporary nature of hospitality. The rites of hospitality are *rites of passage*.

It is beyond cavil that spatial dispositions represent or are symbolic of social relationships, but I do not agree that spatial relationships, spatial images, or spatial concepts are simply representations of social relations and, therefore, are wholly determined by them. Before space can represent anything at all, there must be imposed upon it a structure of differentiation, or topology, which allows other relationships to be expressed in its terms. This topologization is logically prior to representation, and is a conceptual and cultural function. Durkheim and Simmel made the first moves in the direction of a theory of meaningful space, but for them spatial differentiation was fully accounted for by social structure that it merely represented. In a different vein, Arnold van Gennep, in *Rites de Passage*, used spatial structure to account for a broad range of other social phenomena. When he used the term *passage* in his important and influential essay on the "rites of passage" he had in fact invented a rich metaphor (Thornton 1980:14).⁷

From the '*rites de passage*', as outlined by Van Gennep, the concept of *liminality* is drawn. The threshold is an inter-zone which is a world in itself. This is clear from the distinctions pre-liminality, liminality and post-liminality. Real liminality begins after pre-liminality and ends before post-liminality, the same as symbolized by the crossing of a threshold. Turner (1969: 96ff) describes two 'models' of human connections. The one is in structure, wherein there is a hierarchy and the other in anti-structure – *communitas* as a bonding where people

⁷We shall consider the threshold ... Very early in the history of anthropology, Van Gennep recognized the significance of the threshold as a point of transition, and, using this notion as his fundamental metaphor, he elaborated a theory of *liminal rites* (from the Latin *limen*, 'threshold') which has proved to have a wide and powerful application. Van Gennep noted that "the door is the boundary between the foreign and domestic worlds in the case of an ordinary dwelling" ... Among the Iraqw the threshold is both the boundary between the domestic world of the inside of the house and the public domain, and in some contexts between the world of men and the world of spirits' (Thornton 1980:39-40).

are equal or then in the process of liminality have become equal, 'levelled'. Between these two models individuals have alternating exposure between 'states and transitions'. Turner sees *communitas* as the 'now' and structure 'is rooted in the past and extends into the future through language, law, and custom' (Turner 1969:113). 'For me, *communitas* emerges where social structure is not' (Turner 1969: 126). *Nexilitas*, as a form of social bonding would feature 'structure', and indeed, hospitality is intrinsically bound to a 'static' space, the home. The gendering of *communitas* and 'structure' leads Turner (1959: 114) to state that the 'patrilineal tie is associated with property, office, political allegiance, exclusiveness, and it may be added, particularistic and segmentary interests. It is the "structural" link par excellence. The uterine tie is associated with spiritual characteristics, mutual interests and concerns, and collaterality'. Herein Turner finds *communitas*. Referring to Martin Buber's famous 'Ich – Du' (I, Thou), the singular *I* with the singular *other*, thus equals, as the 'flow' where community happens, Turner (1969: 127) classifies *communitas* as part of *das Zwischenmenschliche*, a concept remarkably close to *Ubuntu*.⁸ Both *communitas* and *nexilitas* belong within *das Zwischenmenschliche*. *Communitas* then, 'is a relationship between concrete, historical, idiosyncratic individuals. These individuals are not segmented into roles and statuses but confront one another rather in the manner of Martin Buber's "I and Thou"' (Turner 1969: 132). He carries on showing that

this modality of relationship ... appears to flourish best in spontaneously liminal situations – phases betwixt and between states where social-structural role-playing is dominant, and especially between status equals ... Wisdom is always to find the appropriate relationship between structure and *communitas* under the *given* circumstances of time and space, to

⁸ The South African Nobel Laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu describes *Ubuntu* as follows:

'It is the essence of being human. It speaks of the fact that my humanity is caught up and is inextricably bound up in yours. I am human because I belong. It speaks about wholeness, it speaks about compassion. A person with *Ubuntu* is welcoming, hospitable, warm and generous, willing to share. Such people are open and available to others, willing to be vulnerable, affirming of others, do not feel threatened that others are able and good, for they have a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that they belong in a greater whole. They know that they are diminished when others are humiliated, diminished when others are oppressed, diminished when others are treated as if they were less than who they are. The quality of *Ubuntu* gives people resilience, enabling them to survive and emerge still human despite all efforts to dehumanize them.' From <http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/search?q=ubuntu&commit=find+quotes>

accept each modality when it is paramount without rejecting the other, and not to cling to one when its present impetus is spent (Turner 1969: 138-9).⁹

From here it is easy to see that the hospitality concept lies ambiguously between 'structure' and 'anti-structure': the host has ultimate control of the hospitality space but the guest has a right to having his reasonable needs met and even exceeded – but only for the duration of the stay. During the time of hospitality there is a relationship modality between *inequals* (hosts and guests) which is *nexilitas*. Also important to constantly remember that, like *communitas*, *nexilitas* 'is a phase, a moment, not a permanent condition' and 'together they

⁹ Turner somehow 'clings' onto *communitas* even in the post-liminality stage but this stage of the passage is identified by the fact that quite soon a relatively stable relationship between equals has emerged (like fraternity) and it has proceeded beyond the liminal *communitas*. 'Yet, as most anthropologists would now confirm, customary norms and differences of status and prestige in preliterate societies allow little scope for individual liberty and choice – the individualist is often regarded as a witch; for true equality between, for example, men and women, elders and juniors, chiefs and commoners; while fraternity itself frequently succumbs to the sharp distinction of status between older and junior sibling' (Turner 1969: 130).

He continues on p132: 'But the spontaneity and immediacy of *communitas* – as opposed to the jural-political character of structure – can seldom be maintained for very long. *Communitas* itself soon develops a structure, in which free relationships between individuals become converted into norm-governed relationships between social personae. Thus it is necessary to distinguish between: (1) *existential* or *spontaneous* *communitas* – approximately what the hippies today would call "a happening", and William Blake might have called "the winged moment as it flies" or, later, "mutual forgiveness of each vice"; (2) *normative* *communitas*, where, under the influence of time, the need to mobilize and organize resources, and the necessity for social control among the members of the group in pursuance of these goals, the existential *communitas* is organized into a perduring[sic] social system; and (3) *ideological* *communitas*, which is a label one can apply to a variety of utopian models of societies based on existential *communitas*.' The distinction of ideological *communitas* proves the contradiction in terms with the distinction of normative *communitas*. It has morphed and is not *communitas* anymore but *societas*, community, fraternity etc. Turner concludes: 'Both normative and ideological *communitas* are already within the domain of structure, and it is the fate of all spontaneous *communitas* in history to undergo what most people see as a "decline and fall" into structure and law.'

'Structureless *communitas* can bind and bond people together only momentarily...

If one is looking for structure in the *communitas* of crisis or catastrophe, one must find it not at the level of *social interaction* but in a Lévi-Straussian way, underlying the lurid and colourful imagery of the apocalyptic myths generated in the milieu of existential *communitas*. One finds, too, a characteristic polarization in movements of this type between, on the one hand, a rigorous simplicity and poverty of elected behaviour – "naked unaccommodated man" – and, on the other, an almost febrile, visionary, and prophetic poetry as their main genre of cultural utterance' (Turner 1969: 153).

On p154 he continues

'But, when crisis tends to get placed before rather than after or within contemporary social experience, we have already begun to move into the order of structure and to regard *communitas* as a moment of transition rather than an established mode of being or an ideal soon to be permanently attained.'

Turner then concludes:

'*Communitas* cannot manipulate resources or exercise social control without changing its own nature and ceasing to be *communitas*. But it can, through brief revelation, "burn out" or "wash away" – whatever metaphor of purification is used – the accumulated sins and sundering of structure' (Turner 1969: 185).

make up one stream of life, the one affluent supplying power, the other alluvial fertility' (Turner 1969: 140). *Communitas*, although primarily deduced from rituals (such as initiation rituals)¹⁰ but also 'the moment a digging stick is set in the earth, a colt broken in, a pack of wolves defended against, or a human enemy set by his heels') had for Turner already application in a wide range of liminal circumstances, to such an extent that it could be discerned in tourism as indeed Gavin Jack and Alison Phipps (2005) proved. Thus the guest-guest social bonding readily converts to *communitas* as they become acquainted with each other in the liminal space away from home. *Nexilitas* involves at least one basic inequality: the guest **enters/penetrates** the space of the host and the host **takes care of** the most intimate needs of the guest which often involves much more than pure commerce, and which the host feels nonetheless compelled to do. Thus *nexilitas* is like *communitas* in that it occurs in liminal spaces, but the temporary bond it creates is not one based on role equivalence, but rather on role complementarity.

One of the rare anthropological works I have come across in this investigation that dealt with hosting was *The Cocktail Waitress* by James Spradley and Brenda Mann (1975). In doing an ethnography of a cocktail waitress they mentioned all the elements of hospitality, but they did not discuss them as such. They state that the bar set-up is representative of hospitality in general and I do agree with them when they mention that people who have worked in similar situations would 'find many of the patterns to be strikingly familiar' (1975: 27). Innkeeping traditionally also involves the provision of drinking facilities. The owner of Brady's bar is the 'patriarch' as supreme host in a mock household where the members of this household are the staff, the focus is on service and there is intense social interaction on various levels. Hosting staff are interactive with each other and with the guests for staff are agents of the host and render a service which is directly connected to the guest. The hosting time in the bar is limited to 'hundreds of brief encounters' which Spradley and Mann (1975: 26) actually list as rewards within the bar culture along an 'intense world of social interaction' and 'social companionship' within the 'household' and with the guests.

¹⁰The Lovedu, for instance, conceived initiation as 'crossing over' which is linked to the threshold-concept; 'to cross over' from one state to another, from child to adult but also from stranger to kin (Krige and Krige 1943: 139).

Bona fide hands-on hosts, much more than cocktail waitresses, offer real trust and reliability in taking care of guests and their needs for reasons which go beyond pure commerce. Rewards in commercial hospitality are both material and emotional. From a very basic understanding of hospitality elemental concepts in hospitality can be identified, and these are: the time of hospitality, the hosting space, the host (and the French *hôte* means the guest too) and hosting actions. The time of hospitality is best represented by the 'threshold' because it is limited – thereafter the more permanent relationships of kin, affinity, parasitism or enmity ensue. The host space is the host's static connection to structure, thus best represented by the 'home'. This space is also where the most basic element of all living organisms' existence, sustenance, is stashed. Host actions and reactions are reflexive with the perceived motivations of the stranger. The process of the host assisting the stranger to turn into a satisfied guest is *nexilitas*. The host actions involve primary 'defences', service and staging which can also be entertainment. The elements of hospitality are not static and isolated but severely influence each other as situations change and this will also be evident in the discussion below because all the elements are present in any given hospitality circumstance but to different extents.

The chronology of the hosting process for the host begins with the anticipation of a guest (pre-liminality). At the arrival of the guest the face-to-face encounter actually happens and the ensuing relationship between host and guest lasts for the duration of the time of hospitality (liminality), which ends with the departure of the guest when the host has to balance the aftermath and rewards (post-liminality). The host is the giver (of hospitality) and the guest is the receiver or taker. How they will continue with the exchange transactions would determine their ultimate relationship be it kin or friend or foe or reverting back to being strangers. The host also gives something of him/herself from the beginning, because the guest is in need or want and the host gives his/her space and time, whereupon it is the guest who reciprocates after taking. This something of one self is that little bit extra the host does for a guest, the extra mile the host would go to satisfy the guest, and these are the workings of *nexilitas*. A praline on the bedside table, a chef's *amuse*

guelle, the 'free' gift, or that little extra which is making it particularly hospitable, are examples of manipulation of *nexilitas* in the hospitality industry. By loading exchanges with meaning the exchange itself can become a symbol of hospitality, even if it is actually not that valuable or even wanted. Once enjoyed it needs to be reciprocated and the guest is caught up in a social bonding. What we see here is very far removed from pure commerce which is buying and selling. In commercial hospitality the nature of the situation causes services to be paid for, it does not involve the buying of a tangible object apart from the consumables involved but it does involve at least the possibility of social bonding.

Based on the examination of the condition of the social bonding factor in hospitality one can distinguish '**true**' or '**pure**' **hospitality**, that is when the hospitality offering is unanticipated and spontaneous; **social hospitality**, when there is already a nexus between host and guest (kinship or friendship), **cultural hospitality**, when hospitality is utilized politically to establish loyalty ties (e.g. *Kula*, *hospitium*, men's houses, Potlatch etc.); or **commercial hospitality**, when any form of hospitality is offered for money. All the forms of hospitality can be found throughout the history from classic hospitality, which represented an ancient sacred bonding as well as traditional innkeeping, to hospitality today.

1.2. Goal

In this dissertation I seek to redress the imbalance in the anthropology of hospitality by offering views from hosts by hosts and guests and the perspective of the host him/herself - **host stories**, as it were. In order to put hospitality back in the picture I examine contemporary commercial hospitality in South Africa in face-to-face host-guest encounters as opposed to hospitality in large hotels.

1.3. Approach

Anthropology is about finding the 'rules' of being human. Kate Fox (2004: 8), in her auto-anthropological study of the English, describes how she deliberately breaks rules in order to find them because it is sometimes the best access one has to the rules. By the breaking of rules as a method to confirm or 'test' their existence she demonstrates many rules of the contemporary English society. Fox also confirms that ethnography involves to 'live with' the native and recognises her being a guest also inside her own society. Living with the native has hitherto in ethnographies implied to become the native's guest.

My approach here is to conceptualize hospitality by examining a most basic form of human behaviour – social bonding, and then test hospitality in various contexts, with my own reflexivity and other hosts' experience; it does, however, not include deliberate provocation of any informants. To examine the essential features of hospitality which make up a very complex structure and are very basic at the same time involves application of all the methods of the anthropological quest. The multi-sourced approach includes a survey of the relevant academic literature and other media; multi-sited ethnography; semi-structured interviews; participant observation and reflexive auto-anthropology. My own experience in the field of this enquiry has suitably equipped me with the 'host' language in order to understand and interpret hosts, their motives and actions.

The main research question in the contemporary context of late capitalism, in terms of current commercialised slogans, can be phrased as: If the 'customer/guest is **king**', where does that leave the '**king** of the castle'?

1.3.1. Literature survey

Following Walton (2005: 11) I used a wide range of source material including guide-books, travel writing, architecture and reported nature of stage performances, alongside more conventional historical archives, newspapers and other media sources. The only academic work on hospitality produced by someone who had been a 'professional host', which I came across in this research, is the historical document by W.C. Firebaugh (1928) *The Inns of Greece & Rome and a History of Hospitality from the Dawn of Time to the Middle Ages*. Ethnographies from all over the world produced valuable information on universal hospitality concepts but none was written up specifically on the hospitality theme as for instance religion or rituals. Mauss produced *The Gift* after studying, among other documents, ethnographies done on a variety of societies, notably also the works of Boas and Malinowski. Along the same lines I gathered information on concepts of hospitality in such societies. Almost like a bonus, very often the anthropologists described their own personal experiences with the host, the 'native', and as usual in ethnographical works some mention is made in the Preface, Acknowledgements or Introduction, of special experiences of the author. I found that this is most often where monograph writers refer to the hospitality they experienced although there are also references in the main text (The collection of anthropologists' experience of *nexilitas* is dealt with separately below in section 2.5. *Professional aliens' experience of nexilitas*).

Notable among the non-academic works are the representations of hosts in the audio-visual documents *Fawlty Towers*, the musical *Les Misérables* and the Latin satire *Satyricon*. These have particular value as *lenses* (universal models) with which to view an archetypical commercial host, the innkeeper. Although fictional, both pairs of hosts (Basil and Sybil Fawlty and Mr and Mme Thenardier) and hospitality encounters in *Satyricon* are exemplary of the fact that in the past in owner managed commercial accommodation facilities a *nexus* existed (and still exists) between host and guest.

Fawlty Towers was written by John Cleese and Connie Booth after they observed a real hotelier, 'a man of infinite rudeness, called Donald Sinclair' of the Gleneagles Hotel when they stayed there during a film shoot of the Monty Python group. The host was so bad that all but Cleese and Booth of their team left the hotel for another. The pair was 'fascinated by Sinclair and his *rabid dislike of guests*'¹¹ (My italics). In a commercial setting where guests are bringing in the money it seems contradictory to dislike them but this aspect will be dealt with later.

The character Thenardier, in the world famous musical based on Victor Hugo's book *Les Misérables*, is Boubil and Schönberg's 1985 rendition of a commercial host. The Thenardiers' self aggrandizing songs, in the scene of ex-'soldier'-turned-innkeeper Thenardier's inn, set in 1823 in Montfermeil in a politically unstable France, are satirical but like all satire highly revealing of the ideals of hospitality through their obvious breaching by the innkeeper host and his wife. Their performances in the musical are by far the most spirited, if not the highlight of the entire show. Thenardier is not as sophisticated or 'honest' as Basil Fawlty, but Mme. Thenardier and Sybil Fawlty have more in common. The musical has been performed in 17 different countries and has been translated into several languages which then suggest some universal application of its concepts, no less so for the archetypical commercial host. (The texts of the Thenardiers' songs are available in Appendix 2.)

Firebaugh (1928) relied heavily on Satyricon as source material for information concerning inns and hospitality in old Rome. Satyricon of Petronius¹² (around 60 AD) is the oldest surviving satire in Latin and spoofs some of the most serious tensions between hosts and guests, implying that this was a widespread, well known and problematical nexus in the ancient world. In the commentary to the translation of Sarah Ruden (2000:162) she writes that what remains of the original 16 books are only two or three books, with the later part

¹¹ From the pamphlet accompanying the BBCDVD: 'The complete Fawlty Towers' (2005).

¹² Petronius Arbiter is believed to be the author as it would also suit his position as Nero's 'Fashion Police Commander', around the sixties A.D.

of the story about a “mock household”. The parvenu Trimalchio is a former slave devoted to excess and is joined by the lovers Encolpius and Ascyltos whose background and travels are lost with the missing volumes. Ruden further explains the sequence in Roman Dinner parties and points to scenes where these are satirised. Also revealing is that another name for the dinner party was ‘living together’ and a guest is someone ‘lived with’. Satyricon is pure satire in which most rules of hospitality have been turned upside down.¹³

1.3.2. Field survey

According to Rapport and Overing ‘(o)ur best methodology is our experience of ourselves’(2003:28). I combine all the ‘types’ of anthropology ‘at home’¹⁴ in this study. Auto-anthropology is ‘deliberately ambiguous and tautological’, it involves ‘one’s own, one’s home, and oneself, and explores that murky ground, at once physical, phenomenological, psychological, social and personal’ (Rapport and Overing 2007:19). As a native host, I am studying myself and other commercial (occasionally social) hosts. The settings include my home as well as theirs and reference is made to hospitality as expressed by anthropologists and others in ethnographies and historic or relevant documents. Auto-anthropology and ‘anthropology at home’ in more than one sense in the field of the anthropology of hospitality involves multiple ‘at homeness’. In the real world hospitality is concerned with the instance when at least two strangers meet and begin a series of exchanges, and

¹³ ‘I ran home as fast as an innkeeper runs after the guy that’s gone without paying the bill’ (section 62); Trimalchio brags about his enormous house with four dining rooms, twenty bedrooms and a guesthouse for a hundred people (section 77); Encolpius rents a room in a cheap hotel to bemoan the departure of his lover and lists his crimes i.a. ‘hospitem occidi’ ‘I killed my host’ (sec.81); In section 83 Ruden comments in footnote 178 : ‘Guest-friend may mean either guest or host. Encolpius is invoking a *sacred relationship*, that between guest and host to express the enormity of Ascyltos’ betrayal.’; a host’s son is seduced by a guest (sec.85); Encolpius is reminded of his duties towards guests and table manners(sec. 93); An innkeeper scolds the lovers for trashing the room and trying to bilk (sec. 95); In sec.137 Encolpius kills the pet of his hostess, an old woman, and is reprimanded for his abuse of hospitality and polluting her house with blood ; What is left of the story ends with guests sharing their thoughts on eating their deceased host as he required in his last will, if they were to inherit.

¹⁴I have discerned three types auto-anthropology: 1. in the strict sense of the meaning self analysis, reflexivity therefore obviously ‘at home’ (like Pierre Bourdieu’s self-analysis); a subdivision can be made into previous experience and current fieldwork; 2. analysis of one’s own culture ‘at home’ (like Anthropology done in the West thus traditional ‘anthropology at home’ (Fox 2004)) and 3. analysis of ethnographies and other sources about other cultures ‘at home’ like Mauss did to produce *The Gift*.

hospitality involves a home or homely space and time experienced therein, all of which cuts very close to the bone of the circumstance of any anthropological study. The fieldworker is always a *guest* who is observing the *host* – the ‘native’ then. In this enquiry I *am* the native too.

From mid 2009 to 2011 I used a three legged approach to a multi-sited field. One was in the form of a reflexive field diary I kept of my encounters in Grahamstown and elsewhere while noting my own host stories; the second consisted of semi-structured interviews with hosts and the third part included reflections on two fieldtrips (to deep rural sites) which offered further opportunities to do participant observation. Fieldwork outside of Grahamstown inevitably changed me into a guest but with the opportunities to enter a meta-position, which provided for a certain *distantiation*. I observed my host dealing with guests other than myself while they were not informed about my relationship with the host - I could have been anybody, therefore distanced. However, from a philosophical point of view it would defeat the purpose if I were to be a guest observing hosts (thereby producing ‘travellers’ tales’) as the host should be the native of this ethnographic enquiry, observing the host – host stories then. To enhance this distinction I, the author, refer to myself, as innkeeper and restaurateur, by my first name, Volkher, in a third person narrative in the auto-ethnographical data presented in this study.

1.3.3. Field sites

Tourism in South Africa has, since 1994, grown to the extent that South Africa was able to successfully host a mega event like the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. South Africa became the ‘host of Africa’. Grahamstown, a historic ‘city’ and educational centre in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, has for decades been hosting events that are mega in relation to its small size: the annual National Arts Festival (NAF) which is the highlight on the city’s annual

calendar, and the largest arts festival in Africa; lesser festivals such as the schools festival and Scifest and big conferences.

Because it is mainly the festivals that draw visitors in extraordinary huge numbers to Grahamstown, I compare it with Oudtshoorn, a town in the Western Cape and host city of the annual Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK), the biggest Afrikaans language festival in the world.¹⁵ Experiences on the Transkei Wild Coast and in the Gamkaskloof are complementary to the two urban foci because of their isolation and rurality and will be described as much as is necessary in the context of the host story concerned.

To the delimited territorial field I added the qualifiers of ownership and size of the establishment for the purpose of my empirical study. The scope of the empirical study is deliberately limited to hospitality facilities that more readily display occurrences of *nexilitas* in a commercial circumstance: facilities that are operated on a personal level by the owner-managers thereof and are consequently rather small and personal when compared to a hotel. Guest houses, inns, small lodges, B&B's, self-catering establishments and backpackers fall into this category (see descriptions of facilities in Appendix 3). References to hotels, restaurants, bars and other commercial hospitality facilities are included to better demonstrate certain issues.

Grahamstown and Oudtshoorn:

More elaborated background sketches of Grahamstown and Oudtshoorn are available in Appendix 4. Here it suffices to state that one can notice a 'thrill-chill' dyad between the two

¹⁵ 'The two festivals were chosen for comparison because they are South Africa's biggest arts festivals at the moment. Both occur in small towns that are still divided along racial lines into high and low income areas. The structure of both festivals is similar as is their duration, making comparisons and combination of results easier. However, despite these similarities, there are also marked differences. The two festivals occur in two different provinces. The Eastern Cape (NAF) is one of South Africa's poorest provinces, with a mainly African-origin, Xhosa speaking population. The Western Cape (KKNK) is wealthier and has a more diverse population, mostly consisting of mixed-origin people and European-origin Afrikaans speaking people' (Snowball 2005:148-9).

touristic descriptions of Oudtshoorn and Grahamstown and my observations during festivals. Action, adventure and movement seemed to describe the *thrill* on offer in Oudtshoorn while Grahamstown offers diversions that are more intellectually and emotionally challenging than physically challenging hence *chill*.

Main economic activities in Oudtshoorn are industry and tourism; Grahamstown lives off and around Rhodes University and some private schools, the courts of law and the National Arts Festival which provides a much needed annual cash injection for local businesses. The culture and heritage of the two towns are very different, probably best displayed by the fact that over ninety percent of the inhabitants of Oudtshoorn speak Afrikaans whereas in Grahamstown most people speak isiXhosa or English. Grahamstown is not a general tourist destination, Oudtshoorn is. In Grahamstown the NAF and other big events (Scifest and Highway Africa) are extraordinary times where the guests are *festinos*¹⁶ or foreign conference goers which are 'cosmopolitan' and at the KKNK '*feesgangers*' (festival goers) are mainly Afrikaans-speaking. But there is no real difference between Afrikaans-speaking or English-speaking owner managers of small commercial accommodation facilities confirming E R Leach (quoted in Rapport and Overing 2007: 28) 'cultural differences, though sometimes convenient, are temporary fictions'.

¹⁶ 'Festino is the name given to the festival goer and hence also to guests to the NAF. During the 1990's it was observed that the Festival 'has attracted, to the highly subsidised mainstream events at least, a largely white, middle class audience who have developed Eurocentric cultural tastes' (Snowball 2000:18). This was also reflected by 'Recurring comments by visitors [which] included: "the festival is too white; the local township people don't seem to be included; too expensive for shows" etc.' (Snowball 2000:86). And by 2005 'A very real concern' to maintain the audience base 'who mostly represented European-origin, English-speaking liberals' (Snowball 2005:46). Studies conducted at the 2003 and 2004 Festivals checked for foreign tourist attendance of the Festival and found that about 40% of the visitors to the NAF were from the Eastern Cape of the remainder only very few were foreigners (Snowball 2005: 83-4). 'Most festinos came from South Africa (90%), 5% from other African countries and 5% from the UK and USA. NAF audiences tend to represent the wealthier, better-educated parts of society, as is the case with many cultural events the world over. The vast majority of festinos interviewed (82%) had a gross monthly household income of R7 500 or more, with 44% having income in excess of R15 000 per month. Almost everyone interviewed had finished high school (96%) and 64% of the sample had some tertiary education (mean years of education were 14, median, 15). Consequently, most festinos were employed in professional, managerial or administrative posts (53%) and many were students (36%)' and 'represents a reasonable approximation of NAF festinos' (Snowball 2005: 222-3). Further concerning the nature of the festinos, Snowball reports that the Festival 'attracts relatively few family groups with young children' (2005: 99) and that the NAF 'always attracted more women than men, particularly to the craft markets and art exhibitions' and she mentions the 'increasingly young audiences at the NAF' (Snowball 2005:200).

A unique host society, the Grahamstown Hospitality Guild (GHG), was founded more than a decade ago because commercial hosts were not happy with the way the Municipality's Grahamstown Tourism (predecessor of the current *Makana Tourism*) was promoting tourism to Grahamstown, or its B&B industry and set out to promote Grahamstown and touristic facilities available to tourists. The aims and objectives of the GHG as stated in their constitution are: 'To grade accommodation on an annual basis ... To act as mediator between accommodation providers and visitors where disputes have arisen and cannot be resolved amicably between the parties ... To provide a forum for the sharing of ideas and advice related to the running of accommodation establishments.' The consideration for a separate grading system, say to the Tourism Grading Council of South Africa (TGCSA) star grading, was that the Guild recognized the special circumstance of Grahamstown especially as festival host, the need to also grade *ad hoc* facilities that spring up during festival, and to give members an alternative opportunity to the rather expensive star grading (See Grading criteria in Appendix 5). The grading is based on similar guide lines as those of TGCSA. The grading system also provides for an image of accountability to ensure the benefit of the guest. The best example of a symbol of the luxury and standard in the hospitality industry is the star grading system. Internationally people get valuable information simply by observing how many stars an accommodation establishment has been awarded. In Grahamstown the GHG has introduced a rating system which is indicated by one to four pineapples.¹⁷ On their website¹⁸ they explain that the pineapple has for ages been a symbol of hospitality: exhibited on a fence- or bedpost to show availability of lodgings, and when removed, signals to the guest that he has overstayed and it is time to go.

The GHG has been instrumental in erecting huge information boards at all entrances to Grahamstown, and has initiated a programme to 'include' township (Grahamstown East) accommodation facilities and helped with the marketing of these facilities, besides dealing promptly with relatively few serious complaints from both guests and hosts, so far. The emphasis is on mediation when complaints are dealt with. Over the years the lists for festival accommodation, advice to new and established accommodation providers, the

¹⁷ Pineapple farming and canning has long been a major industry of the Eastern Cape.

¹⁸ <http://www.grahamstown-accommodation.co.za/>

network between members to expose fraudsters and schemes,¹⁹ providing agents with guidelines to evaluate accommodation facilities and the sharing of relevant information have become of real value to the members of the GHG and their guests alike. In general the GHG has for a decade now ensured a higher standard of hospitality in Grahamstown. By setting certain basic standards guests know what to expect and hosts what to provide so as to avoid disappointment of either (Mary Birt 2010: personal communication).

The GHG has an extensive website featuring all its members, about 80% of all accommodation facilities from Grahamstown West only. To date all the valiant efforts have not succeeded in putting Grahamstown on the tourist map. For some reason Grahamstown just does not seem to be a tourist destination outside of the various festivals and conferences. This is unfortunate not least because hospitality has a potential for increasing income and employment in a city that has no big industries.

Until recently, the black majority in the Makana District have not been much involved in the local hospitality industry as hosts. Currently operational in Grahamstown East is *Kwam e Makana*, a provincial government sponsored poverty alleviation project that is encouraging and assisting people in the township area to offer B&B facilities to tourists to promote cultural tourism. This is in line with other initiatives, such as those in Knysna in the Western Cape, where ‘community tourism’ is advertised with slogans reading ‘be a guest of the mothers of creation’ and ‘you cannot call a quick drive through the township a cultural experience – you have to participate and not just be a spectator’.²⁰ Important to note is that commercial hosts seem to posit themselves as tourist attractions, to become objects of the ‘tourist gaze’. This is another direction Kwam e Makana only recently took after previous attempts, including those of the GHG, to lure festinos or tourists to these facilities had failed. While black contributions to the hospitality industry may be significant elsewhere,

¹⁹ Often members get enquiries from some prospective guest who would like to make a booking and pay a deposit. The deposit is paid or even an amount far exceeding that. Soon the booking is cancelled and the deposit wanted back which the hosts then refund only to find that the initial payment of the guest was fraudulent e.g. false cheque or credit card.

²⁰ <http://www.knysnalivinglocal.co.za/>

this trend is in its infancy in Grahamstown and it is outside the scope of this study to investigate the differences between the two host societies in Grahamstown and no such organization in Oudtshoorn. Much of the theory and empirical findings of this study would, of course, be relevant to any commercial hospitality situation, and it is hoped that it could make a contribution to hospitality as a source of development, not exploitation, in small towns of South Africa.

1.3.4. Interviews

For the interviewing part of fieldwork my sample selection was random from over one hundred facilities in Grahamstown that could have qualified for this study.²¹ Most of them had been guests to my restaurant sometime in the past but none could be considered to be more than a colleague. The host sample comprises two host couples, seven hostesses (two of them were from Grahamstown East) and in Oudtshoorn the interviewee was a male host of whom I had been a guest. For background purposes I summarized the gendering of the hosts of small facilities from online data: of 53 establishments in Grahamstown West (city and surrounds) were owned and managed by 4 male hosts, 14 couples and 35 female hosts;²² of 18 establishments in Grahamstown East all were owned and managed by female hosts.²³ To a great extent then, is my sample representative of the genders of small commercial hosts in Grahamstown.

I have not specifically asked interviewees for their age but all were mature adults, ranging from thirty to seventy years old. From the table of host profiles (table 1) one would not be able to distinguish between the two black interviewees from Grahamstown East and the

²¹ Today Grahamstown boasts three hotels and over a hundred small accommodation facilities. Mr. Willem Makkink of Makana Tourism informed me in August 2009 that these small accommodation facilities provide for about two thirds of the estimated total of 1400 beds. The Tourism Office guesses that the category 'VFR' (visiting friends and relatives) provides for another 1200 beds. Then suddenly the number of beds increases for the National Arts Festival to about 16 000. This increase is absorbed mainly by Rhodes Res facilities and school hostels and various informal arrangements which are difficult to statisticize.

²² <http://www.grahamstown-accommodation.co.za/bedandbreakfast.html>

²³ <http://www.grahamstown.co.za/subcategory.php?cid=5>

white rest from Grahamstown West, save for noticing 'home-stay'. Home-stay differs from the other establishments only by the fact of their physical location in the township and that the host-guest contact can be closer because more facilities are shared. They would by definition fall within the general description of B&B (See Appendix 3 for descriptions of facilities). I anticipated that most of the owner-managers of small accommodation facilities I would interview would be of similar social and cultural standing (middle class)²⁴ to myself which proved to be the case. The only real difficulty I experienced in the field was the realization in Oudtshoorn that to conduct further interviews would be very difficult in our very short sojourn and annoying to the host during the festival time.²⁵ I conducted a semi-structured interview with our host, like the ones I did in Grahamstown but in Afrikaans, while he was constantly bothered by landline phone, cell phone or enquiries from other guests. *'Ek hou nie van die tyd nie; dis hectic oor die fees'*²⁶ is what our host told me while I was interviewing him. Nevertheless he was talkative enough and the type of informant that once going carries on and tells all sorts of stories (about his student and army days) before he was finally fully occupied by a telephonic booking enquiry. I then rather focussed on observations of the KKNK itself. Yet, since I was after a general host-guest concept quantitative interviewing was not required.

My investigation started when I questioned other commercial hosts what comes to mind first when one thinks of why people host strangers. 'It is nice because of all the people you meet' would be close to the standard reply. Meeting people means these friendly connections with strangers are pleasurable even in the commercial hospitality setting. From these 'pilot samples' I drew up a list of questions for further semi-structured interviews with

²⁴ As described by Gaude (2004) in the broad sense of the meaning of the term middle class.

²⁵ Difficulties were also experienced by Antrobus and Snowball when they tried to gather information on festivals: 'A particular problem is that day visitors and those staying for only one or two nights are more difficult to collect data on because they are generally in more of a hurry than longer-stay visitors (Antrobus et al. 1997). In a study on Festival accommodation, funded by the Grahamstown Accommodation Guild, (Antrobus and Snowball 1998) a specific attempt to collect data from day and short-stay visitors was made by using a "sixty second interview". The motivation behind it was that, since the interview would take only one minute of the visitor's time, even those who were only staying for a day or two might be willing to help' (Snowball 2005: 85). It is indeed difficult to obtain this type of data from people, hosts and guests alike, at festivals.

²⁶ I don't like this time ; it's hectic over festival

the randomly chosen commercial hosts. The list of questions (see Appendix 6) was a guide to provide for a next point if one has dried up in the conversation or to 'come back' when we had drifted off with a host story. I started with introductory statements about my research and ethics (their anonymity etc.) and then asked questions like how long the person had been involved in the industry and their motivation for commercial hosting. I prompted my informants to tell of stories that have remained with them still long after their initial contact with a guest and these stories are referred to as *memorable host stories*. I found that all those interviewed were eager to tell their 'host stories'. Interviews and reflexive exchanges with the informants were noted, in my personal 'short-hand', and later expanded and legibly transcribed. I also noted my personal observations and/or 'gut feeling' in my field diary. Table 1 (Figure 2. below) summarises the profiles of the interviewed commercial hosts.

As mentioned, I asked each of the interviewees to tell me a most memorable host story. These stories differ from other host stories because they were specifically asked for. The approach here was similar to the 'memorable meals' research done by Lashley (2008: 77), where written accounts on the most memorable meals were subjected to semiotic analysis from which the researchers discerned which is the most important dimension (in that case of the meal). My question to the interviewee was to please tell me a most memorable story involving the interviewee as host and one or more guests – a memorable host story. I made no mention at all of any bond in any interview save in so far as 'relationship' would describe such a connection in itself. I had not completed any theoretical construct by the time that I had finished with all the interviews and my questioning was therefore unbiased. Some interviewees gave more than one story and these are also included.

Host	Type of establishment	Years as commercial host	Family members involved or assisting	Other/previous work experience	Full time or part time hosting	% of guests disliked	Attitude to regulations and grading
1. Female	B&B	15	Son	Retired teacher	Full time	1%	'absolute farce'
2. Couple	Self catering	4	Both wife and husband	Full time agents	Part time	8%	Regulations are good
3. Couple	B&B	7	Wife and husband, son occasional	Both retired early	Full time	1%	Positive
4. Female	Home stay	10	Husband	Retired teacher	Full time	1%	Regulations are necessary
5. Female	B&B (Farm stay)	5	Husband	Tour guide	Part time	1%	Can be more effective
6. Female	B&B	2	Husband and daughter	Therapist	Part time	10%	Good advice
7. Female	Guesthouse	5	Husband	Formerly teacher	Full time	10%	Necessary for high standard
8. Female	B&B (was Home stay)	10	Daughter	Retired teacher	Full time	1%	Awaiting star grading
9. Female	Guest house	7	Husband and daughter	Formerly agent	Full time	1%	Necessary for high standard
10. Male	Backpackers	10	None	Always in hospitality	Full time	1%	N/A

Figure 2. Table 1. Interviewed commercial hosts' profiles

Ethics

All the informants, participants and interviewees were informed that their names would not be used and their identities would otherwise be protected in this work. I return to a consideration of the ethics in the special circumstances of hospitality research below (section 2.5, pp 61).

1.4. A guide to the structure of this thesis

I have just dealt with the rationale for and some of the theses and theories as well as some preliminary insights from historical semantics of hospitality and an introduction to the various sources of information, both primary and secondary, on which this study is based.

The development of modern commercial hospitality emerged from both an ancient sacred context as an institution which had a profound impact on the forming of societies and millennia of innkeeping, into something more specialized (e.g. corporate hospitality, as Slattery (2000) sees it) that nonetheless retained much of its intrinsic quality. The various expressions of hospitality as identified by examining the nexilitas factor will be discussed in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 to 6 are organized in terms of a set of themes representing the essential features of hospitality and also following the sequence of the passage of hospitality: anticipation (pre-liminality), arrival and accommodation (liminality) and departure of the guest (post-liminality). The hosts' anticipation, preparation and the guest reservation are dealt with in chapter 3. In chapter 4 the guest arrives and this marks the important beginning of the face-to-face encounter as the hospitality phenomenon is determined by its temporary and liminal nature. In this chapter the focus is on the time aspect of liminality. Chapter 5 considers hospitality in relation to host space, which is in most instances in this study also the host's home space within which the guest is accommodated. The host's balancing actions within this space are further discussed along the themes of food, drink, service and entertainment. Chapter 6 takes a closer look at the scene the host has to deal with when the guest leaves (or has to leave) and the host is rewarded and has to deal with the 'aftermath'. The four themes *anticipation*, *arrival*, *accommodation* and *departure* are markers of the rites of commercial hospitality linked to the movement of the guest through the hosting passage and the 'before' and 'after' for the host.

In chapter 7 the forms of hospitality are summarized along with the elements and related themes of the hospitality passage. I will conclude that hospitality offers a most natural 'stage' on which social bonding can happen and this is a very important part of the motive for hosting for a modern-day innkeeper. Even in commercial hospitality there is at least a potential for a social bond and when this bond in hospitality, *nexilitas*, is forged, the host (and one can assume the guest too) is satisfied beyond pecuniary value. The *nexilitas* factor cannot be ignored because it is fundamental to hospitality.

2

The bond in hospitality

All forms of hospitality have social bonding in common. The different forms of hospitality are therefore not mutually exclusive. The different expressions of hospitality can be discerned by viewing the condition of the social bond. The condition of the bond, the *nexilitas* factor, is the indicator to identify the type of hospitality. The forms thus identified are *'true' or 'pure' hospitality, social hospitality, cultural hospitality and commercial hospitality*. *'True' or 'pure' hospitality* is represented by the biblical Abraham who neither expected his guests, had any expectations of the guests nor anticipated any reward other than being sociable – i.e. pure *nexilitas*. This social bond was recognized throughout ancient times and religiously revered and naturally flowing from this is *social hospitality* where the social bond underlying the interaction of host and guest has developed into the 'permanent' bond of kinship or friendship. Social hospitality is post-*nexilitas* (social hospitality will not be discussed separately here but references to it will be made throughout). In the higher strata of various societies hospitality became institutionalized and often meant total reciprocity – host and guest switched roles and exchanged gifts and tokens to formalise their bond. This is discussed as *cultural hospitality*. Besides social and cultural hospitality, there is another manifestation of a bond in hospitality which anthropologists experienced (or not) when studying their hosts, the natives, where they identified, for instance, a resultant 'quasi-kinship'. These will be dealt with in the section 2.5. *Professional alien's experience of nexilitas* (pp.61). Classic *commercial hospitality*, a form of hospitality which required no pre-existing bond, was available for anybody without connections which historically implied the lower strata of societies. Money (or some other material trade-off before the use of money) made it possible to gain access to 'hospitable' facilities offered by people like the Thenardiens throughout the ages, the sleazy innkeeper. The development of the hospitality industry as it is practiced today, had to take into account the enormous rise in the number of guests of higher social strata, the middle class. Contemporary commercial hospitality,

despite its millennial history, displays aspects of true hospitality as well as cultural hospitality.

2.1. Be my guest

Thenardier sings: Master of the house
 Quick to catch yer eye
 Never wants a passerby
 To pass him by

By receiving the stranger the host turns the stranger into a guest. It is necessary to have a closer look at who this stranger might be. The basic distinction drawn between strangers in a great variety of societies is whether they are internal or external strangers.²⁷ It is a point of departure and highlights the degree of strangeness required of the 'other' in order to qualify as 'stranger', viewed from the hosts' side. Questions then arise about differences in action in dealings between these different types of strangers, discrimination between guests-to-be. The commercial host's curiosity is directed at any stranger who would like to become guest, but the host allows only those in who have passed the first basic screening. Indeed, 'screening' is the first 'defence' mechanism the host employs to secure his autonomy and safety. On becoming a guest the external stranger can turn into internal stranger.

The Romans also made distinctions between strangers; Latin for 'stranger' is *hospes*, *hostis*, *peregrinus*, *externus*, or *advena*.²⁸ Each word has a slight slant in meaning which would become significant in the context in which it is used whether for external or internal

²⁷ This distinction of strangers is found everywhere around the globe. The distinction of the outside-stranger and the inside-stranger which have also been so sorted in the ancient times of Greece and Rome, is also found among the Akan what they call *Zongo* (foreigner, stranger) and *ahoho* (guest, stranger) (Fortes and Patterson 1975: 241). For example in Africa, from the Tallensi and other groups in Ghana, the Yoruba of Nigeria, the Tswana as studied by Isaac Schapera and the Nuer which Evans-Pritchard wrote about, where it seems great similarities exist as to peoples' perception of strangers – roughly one can discern two categories: the foreign/external stranger and the internal stranger (Fortes and Patterson 1975: 248).

²⁸ Meaning: Guest-friend, friend; stranger, enemy, foe; foreigner; outsider; coming from without

strangers. Max Kaser (1971: 35) concludes that ‘a foreigner’ (*Nichtbürger; Ausländer*) was at first *hostis* and only later *peregrinus* (from ‘*peregre*’²⁹ meaning that what is outside of the *ager Romanum*, Roman territory). *Peregrini* were deemed ‘free’ and only without rights (*rechtslos*) when they were an enemy, but once there was a ‘sacred’ bond conceived in *bona fides* (*hospitium; cliens et patronus; familia*) they could call on the *ius civile*, otherwise *peregrini* were excluded from the Roman Civil Law (Kaser 1971: 281).

Meyer Fortes and Sheila Patterson write of the Tallensi of Ghana about their concept of stranger:

To understand it we must realize that before the “coming of the white man” – say at the turn of the century – as old men relate, a solitary stranger of another tribe would not have been able to go about freely in any Tallensi settlement. He would have been seized and enslaved. To be safe, a person from the outside must have either a kinsman or affine or at least a friend to vouch for him, initially at any rate, in the community he entered. (Fortes and Patterson 1975: 231)

It is generally agreed that regardless of his provenance, a stranger may not be turned away from one’s doorway. He must at least be offered a drink of water but should properly speaking be invited to share a family meal. This is in part a matter of elementary ethical propriety or more simply of plain human decency: to do otherwise is not only unbecoming, it carries the danger of *dulem*, unforeseeable mystical retribution ... (Fortes and Patterson 1975: 232)

One way of incorporating the stranger... is to change him into a guest and this is normally accomplished by offering the stranger food and drink in accordance with the principle that commensality creates the kind of bonds that are ritually – I would say also morally – compelling, substituting as it were for bonds of kinship or of common citizenship. (Fortes and Patterson 1975: 243-4)

The process of the stranger becoming guest seems similar across cultures especially when viewed with a social bonding approach, which means examining the *nexilitas* factor in these

²⁹ Not to be confused with *pergraecari* which means ‘to drink like a Greek’ (Firebaugh 1928: 185)

situations. The reward for hosting on a basic level is something intangible; it is a feeling and an emotion for a stranger. Hospitality is the only process whereby the stranger can change into a guest.

The Tswana solve the problem by assimilating the stranger, in ways reminiscent of the Romans. By contrast, among the Tallensi and the Akan, different as their political systems are, the rule that citizenship accrues fundamentally by right of descent is more reminiscent of Greek and Hebrew ideas. It hardly needs adding that the Tswana norms of hospitality to strangers as guests conform to the general ideals we find in most societies. Visitors must be given food and gifts to take back with them; selfish hosts are despised and generous hosts praised and respected.

... The stranger, however he is identified and defined, is the prototypical “other”, the alien outside the fence of custom, belief and rule that marks the limits of the moral community to its members. If he is merely a passer-by he is readily accommodated to by the ephemeral hospitality enjoined by religious and ethical rules in most societies (Fortes and Patterson 1975: 249-250).

There were distinctions of strangers according to ethnicity among the Iraqw and ‘the Iraqw freely admit that they are protected by the effectiveness of the rituals designed to maintain the borders against penetration by hostile outsiders’ (Thornton 1980: 48). They had perceived dangers in every direction around them and perceived themselves as ‘a people in the middle’ (Thornton 1980: 85). On the other hand they were an open community that assimilated strangers who could surpass the deception of their rituals and other public displays.³⁰

The meaning of the concept ‘stranger’ ranges from the *hostile outsider* and *passer-by* to the *alien*. ‘Professional alien’ is what Fox calls the ethnographers’ stance (which so far has been that of the guest) but guests in commercial hospitality can be strangers in the literal meaning of the word, actual strangers (Fox 2004: 16, 93). The moment the stranger has

³⁰‘I never heard any suggestion that it was necessary to be born into the society in order to be considered a member of it.’(Thornton 1980: 117)

been accepted as guest the bonds can develop which at first connect these hosts and guests. These bonds could remain *nexilitas* in commercial hospitality (in the case of 'return guests' or 'regulars') or develop to friendship or kinship. The hospitality in the latter two cases would become social hospitality in which case the bonds usually recognized are those of internal strangers. Ultimately though, it makes no real difference for the commercial host if the stranger is an internal or external stranger: for a host is anyway the one turning *any* stranger he allows in into a guest.

From the commercial host's perspective the guest can be anybody – any stranger, traveller, tourist, anthropologist – it does not matter for the host what the purpose of the guest's travels is. For a host it makes absolutely no difference if an anthropologist is on holiday or working. Anthropologists are over-sensitive to be thrown into the "professional tourism" classification (Crick 1989: 311) but if viewed from the host's vantage point the reason for the guest's visit is irrelevant – the host is concerned with the guest's needs here and now, and the money is the same. Money is the token whereby the commercial host recognizes the intent of the guest. If the stranger-guest has a bad reputation or ill intent and the host recognizes such, he will naturally activate his defence mechanisms. The most natural instance where the guests' behaviour could become questionable and the host's trust is abused is a parasite, but then one enters the realm of deception by the guest, a *male fide* guest. Hosts rely on the *bona fides* of their guests and like some interviewed hosts said they did not like the guest because 'I could not trust the guest'. In other words, mistrust leads to fear and to avoid fear the host's tactics are also orientated to increase control to maintain his power.

All interviewees have reported a very low percentage (1-10%) of their guests being 'difficult', 'high maintenance' or 'nightmare guests' (see figure 2, table of host profiles). These guests will be discussed later. Different types of guests to either Grahamstown or Oudtshoorn during extraordinary (festival) times as opposed to ordinary business times mean for the hosts busier times but the change in guest type does not change the way the hosts host. All the hosts I met were unanimous that international tourists (real strangers)

are their favourite guests, because they are appreciative of everything and are always ‘low maintenance’.

Guests today, as customers or strangers, want commoditized hospitality, all to their liking and they see commercial hosts as mere facilitators who have to do their job. Crick (1989) notes the development of the notion in marketing that the *customer is king*. In 1977 the slogan “the consumer – the only person who matters” saw all-round commercial application (Crick 1989: 319). By the 80s this slogan had been replaced by ‘King for a Day’ (Crick 1989: 332) and ‘the customer is king/ always right’ slogans still abound today. The customer is dazzled with ‘king size’ commodities to simulate royalty. But it is the host who makes the customer/guest feel *like* a king. When the guest chooses to become merely a customer or a consumer the host is more likely to recognize a parasite than a guest. The guest acquires the title because of the host and not in spite of the host – the host, the master of the house, is always the ‘king of his castle’ and will exile an unwanted guest. Fortes and Patterson (1975: 234) write about Akan proverbs regarding strangers which reflect a sophisticated understanding of the host-guest relationship and one reads ‘when you [as host] accept the hospitality of a stranger, your dignity is small’ – the host is supposed to dispense hospitality, not the guest. For the host only the guest is strange – for the guest everything is strange.

2.2. ‘True’ or ‘pure’ hospitality

Volkher and Claudia had for a few months tolerated a long-term guest who turned out to be a nuisance, he did not reciprocate their hospitality and became more and more parasitic and a burden to such an extent that they had told him to leave. After this experience they considered not to accept long-term guests anymore. Two days after Boxing Day 2009 a middle-aged couple arrived unexpectedly in the afternoon. Volkher went out to greet the strangers and they told him that they were relocating to Grahamstown and were looking for a new home; they had found Volkher’s facility via the Internet and decided that it would be the ideal base from where they could explore the area for houses to rent. Volkher noticed that the couple looked very tired and felt that there was something strangely irritating or

even scary about them. The woman had a desperate look and Volkher thought she was slightly tipsy. Nevertheless he showed them his facilities and booked them into one of his cottages. He also told them that for the next days he actually had several bookings already and none of the cottages was available for a continuous period of longer than one or two days; if they wanted to stay longer they would have to change cottages. Volkher knew that moving guests around from room to room would be uncomfortable and restless for the guests but inevitable, so he rather forewarned them. Volkher and Claudia were also wary of long-term guests and as they had just gotten rid of one, they were not eager to have similar problems again and made no effort to encourage a long-term stay. However, they had accepted the guests, partially for the money and partially to help weary travellers. Later in the afternoon and after the guests had settled in and rested for a while they came around to the bar. Accompanied by some beers the guests started telling their story to their hosts. The woman had a serious accident at home where she had severely burned her face and parts of her upper body and hands. She had a series of operations to create a new face and that which Volkher thought was inebriation was in fact a speech impediment as a result of the burns. The guests wanted to make a new start away from the scene of the accident. Night had already fallen some four hours later when Volkher served the guests a supper which Claudia had prepared in the meantime. The woman retired shortly after the meal tired from the day's travelling and safe at their destination. The husband had another drink at the bar with Volkher and told him that his wife was a bit emotional with them moving, leaving her dog behind and all. By then Volkher understood why the guests upon arrival had that air of despair around them and he felt sympathy.

Four days later one of the cottages became available for a longer period of time and Volkher and Claudia moved some furniture and equipment around so as to install the couple in a cottage with *ad hoc* self catering facilities like a refrigerator, gas cooker, grill, pots and pans, cutlery, crockery and water kettle. The guests had paid their full account up until then and even if they liked the guests, Volkher and Claudia made efforts to keep as many everyday activities as possible apart and private from the guests because in the long run they wanted their privacy and thought the guests would feel and need the same. However, they shared their New Year's midnight celebration with the guest couple who had told them they were

to view a possible home the following day. They were all a bit inebriated by the time they stumbled off to their beds well into the small hours of the first day of 2010.

The next day the guests returned in the evening and very excitedly announced that they had found a place not even far from there; they were so happy and relieved. They were practically to become neighbours and Volkher and Claudia greatly reduced the amount of their new account when the guests offered to pay because the guests had been so easy-going and a kind of friendship had started to develop. The mood was celebratory and they again had some drinks; the session did not last for too long but it was much more familiar than their previous encounters. The woman, very emotional, thanked the hosts for having 'caught' her up when she felt 'lost, just floating around'.

The guests were unanticipated and at first upon revealing their intention of a possible lengthy stay the hosts feared that these strangers might become a burden. The hosts nevertheless allowed the weary travellers in and did everything to ensure that the guests were comfortable while at the same time maintaining their positions as hosts. The guests turned out to reciprocate by being grateful to have found acceptance and emotional support and a bond developed especially marked by occasions where the hosts and the guests shared a drink or two and this bond lasted for the duration of the guests' stay. Besides the ordinary commercial transaction a rewarding bond for both host and guest had developed - this is what is meant with *nexilitas* – the host-guest bond in hospitality.

The myth that a stranger might turn into an angel or god is indicative of the potential emotional reward a host may receive by accepting the stranger as guest. Derrida (2000: 153) directs us to Abrahamesque hospitality and this becomes evident when we look at the painting of Abraham receiving guests in the Loggia di Raffaello in the Vatican City.



Figure 3. Abraham receiving the Angels, Loggia di Raffaello, Vatican. Painted by Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino (1483 – 1520)

In Figure 3. we see the weary travellers expressing *communitas* by gaily holding hands while Abraham, the host, the patriarch, king of his castle, humbly bends down. He bends down for the strangers, a gesture of 'submission', welcome, *come in*, when the guests have not even revealed their identity (as angels). The mistress of the house is hiding but looking out which demonstrates the fear for strangers but also her curiosity. The host 'stages' an elevation of the guest (through bending down) so that the guest may feel at home and need not fear the host. 'True' or 'pure' hospitality would be in instances where the host does not necessarily expect the guest but nonetheless takes the stranger up without apparent reward and only because of his 'love for strangers'. The hosts had no anticipation of receiving guests/strangers/weary travellers, yet when confronted with the situation spontaneously acted within *das Zwischenmenschliche* and accepted the strangers as guests. Satisfaction of curiosity and the freedom of fear are basic human needs which are rewards in themselves, if fulfilled, and facilitate social bonding which is also rewarding in itself. These are the emotional rewards in true hospitality.

*The Levite and his concubine*³¹ is a very grim story richly decorated with hospitality imagery (the threshold, the house/home, guest protection) and centres on the bond between host and guest (*nexilitas*) – sometimes deemed to be stronger than bonds of kin or affinity. The Roman *ius hospitii* recognised a *nexus* in law between host and guest so much so that the host even had to represent his guest in court.³² This tie could even become hereditary.

The character of a *hospes*, i. e. a person connected with a Roman by the ties of hospitality, was deemed even more sacred and to have greater claims upon the host than that of a person connected by blood or affinity. (O’Gorman 2005: 141 quoting Schmitz (1875))

Exactly the same words and sentence are found in William Smith’s (1907: 209)³³ discussion of *hospitium privatum*³⁴. It appears as if there is an argument for a third type of social bond – the temporary hospitality bond, *hospitium* as the Romans understood it or the state of *nexilitas* as proposed in this thesis. And indeed, Vanggaard (1972:186) too writes about the dependence on hospitality:

The world of the Norsemen was held together by the close personal bonds with other men through kinship, friendship and the dependence of chieftain and yeoman. There is a chasm

³¹ Judges 19 relates the story of the Levite and his concubine. The Levite first enjoys the extended hospitality of his father-in-law after he went there to fetch back his ‘wife’. En route back, at sunset, they reached a small village but no one offered them hospitality, eventually they were taken in by an old man who would not let them spend the night in the square. At his house he took care of their donkeys and did the feet washing. While they enjoyed themselves some ‘wicked’ men of the village demanded deliverance of the Levite so that they could have sex with him (verse 22). The old man tried to convince them not to do such a vile thing to his guest, who was under his protection; instead he offered his virgin daughter and the concubine to do with as they pleased. They persisted and then the Levite sent his woman outside where the gang raped and abused her till dawn and then she managed to get to the threshold of her host’s house to die there (verse 26). The Levite on his way out picked up his dead concubine and put her on a donkey. At home he cut her into twelve pieces and sent them all over Israel so that everyone would be warned never to do such a thing again.

A similar story is told in Genesis 19 with the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah: two angels, also disguised as weary travellers, who arrived in the evening enjoyed the hospitality of Lot when all the men from town came and demanded deliverance of them so that they could have sex with them (verse 5). Lot also offered his virgin daughters instead of guests who were under his protection. The angels interfered by striking the mob with blindness and rewarding Lot by warning him to get out of the place because it was to be destroyed. After the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah the story ends with the incest of Lot’s daughters with him to preserve the family.

³² About the Nuer who seemingly had the same practice Evans-Prichard (1969: 124) wrote that travellers, although seldom without some kinship link, will receive protection and hospitality from their host and ‘(i)f he is wronged, his host, and not he, is involved in legal action.’

³³ ‘The character of a *hospes*, i. e. a person connected with a Roman by the ties of hospitality, was deemed even more sacred and to have greater claims upon the host than that of a person connected by blood or affinity.’

³⁴ Private hospitality; as opposed to *hospitium publicum* which would be similar to diplomatic missions today, thus hospitality between states.

between this and modern group solidarity. To the latter, close personal relations present something of a threat; ideally personal bonds are expected to retreat before the considerations of the group and its 'cause' or common interests.

The strong effects of this bond have been mentioned with the story of the *Levite and his concubine* but even in commercial hospitality today *nexilitas* involves actions that seem to be motivated by something stronger than those expected in case of kinship or friendship. A memorable host story concerning a contemporary commercial hospitality situation where the bond in hospitality was described as 'better' than that of kinship, illustrates the point. The story is about guests, 'a delightful young couple', who cooked a chilli chocolate sauce in their cottage and then brought the pot to the hostess' kitchen to be cleaned, commenting that the last time they cooked the sauce their drain at home got blocked. The hostess was very glad that they brought it to her and did not overburden the facilities in the cottage. The guests also brought some special wine with them and offered some to the hostess and her husband. They then had a good time together and the guests commented that the hosts 'are like our parents, just better.' Although the comment was made jokingly it still represents the thought, and ultimately the ease, of comparing the 'mother-child-care relationship' to that of hospitality. Hospitality means taking care of the other and the guest reciprocity indicates the beginnings of a social connection. Because strangers are involved the relationship is not burdened with the emotions connected to kinship or friendship.

Another hostess in Grahamstown related that she often has to tell her husband 'to keep it down' when he passes the window of the guests which is close to their backdoor; it is his house, yet he is expected to 'bend' like Abraham did. Another host related the story of the hosts stealing a rose for a regular guest which can be construed as risking one's own security for pleasure of the guest. On an occasion when Volkher's sister and family visited she got really upset with him because he insisted on making the pizzas for his guests before those for her hungry children. In that instance his commercial guests came first, even before the interests of blood. If he would have prepared the pizzas for his nephews first he would have kept his commercial guests waiting and the quality of his professional performance

and his service would have suffered and he would have felt embarrassed. Besides as social guests his sister and children had access to help themselves to food other than pizza. More recently Volkher explained to his daughter that he and Claudia had prepared certain food items which were for guest consumption and she could not have them, but if the guests have left and there were some left behind she could have those. Sometimes when it is really busy, especially in a full restaurant scene, Volkher would 'let off some steam' towards anybody who is not a guest, say in the kitchen, and quite often towards those who are closest to him, only to return to the service of guests with a smile. He wanted the food quality and his service to be perfect so that he can be proud of his prestation. Guests' interests are then still seen in certain circumstances as superior to those of kin or friends. Within the time of hospitality the guests' interest are of paramount importance to the commercial host, but only for the time of hospitality. These fleeting moments are particularly rewarding for the host if the host has successfully performed on his stage and the guest was 'at home'. Volkher had a guest where he commented to Claudia that it felt with that particular guest as if he could have been their own son. These instances are indicative of the extreme positive working of *nexilitas* even in the commercial hospitality sphere where the hosts are like parents and the guests like children. Even if these 'children' pay to be there, such a type of bonding can exist for that time of hospitality.

Another example of true hospitality in which strangers became 'accidental' guests is demonstrated by the story of the shipwrecks of the *Grosvenor*. The guests were not anticipated by the hosts and in the circumstances the guests did not anticipate being guests either. The *Grosvenor*, a schooner en route to Europe from India, wrecked on what is called the Wild Coast of Transkei, Eastern Cape on 4 August 1782. Close to the site of this shipwreck which is called Port Grosvenor, I operated a small inn, Promised Land Inn, for about four years (1999 - 2003). All through my wanderings and travels through that very beautiful country I would meet smiling amaPondo who do exactly what Nelson Mandela³⁵ meant when he said:

³⁵ Incidentally, Mr Mandela studied his wardens, his 'hosts', who were 'boerseuns', white Afrikaner boys and men, for a very long time. As portrayed in the film *Invictus* it is in prison that Mr Mandela got to understand

A traveller through a country would stop at a village and he didn't have to ask for food or for water. Once he stops, people give him food, entertain him. That is one aspect of Ubuntu ...³⁶

Years later (2009) when we travelled among the Bomvus (aka amaBomvana) further south I am happy to report that that old style of Transkeian hospitality was still practiced widely. We would wander over the rolling green hills, exchanging friendly greetings with everybody we pass, even being invited into a hut and offered at least water to drink.



Figure 4. *African hospitality* by George Morland, 1790

The painting in figure 4 depicts the imaginary scene of the survivors and the natives after the *Grosvenor* ran ashore; she was only one of many that fell prey to that wicked coast line but in her case a handful of survivors actually made it back to 'civilization' in the form of what was then some Dutch farmer in the Grahamstown area and eventually back to Europe. Taylor (2004: 79) noted the commentary that the picture portrays 'All will be well for the castaways; they have fallen among noble savages'. The general European image of Africa at that time was rather morose, concerning rampant cannibalistic feasts around huge cooking

the importance of Rugby as the sport of the Afrikaner and his subsequent support of the sport to instigate his nation building process including the whites.

³⁶ From a video clip at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ubuntu_\(philosophy\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ubuntu_(philosophy))

pots containing hapless light skinned creatures. However, Taylor (2004: 158&161) states that sources suggest the natives to have been hospitable and even offer excess hospitality rather than any hostility. In the painting the hosts are depicted as helpful and not fearsome; there are even babies of the hosts around. Confirmed reports of the shipwrecks of the *Grosvenor* conclude that at first the castaways were not hurt by the natives, neither really assisted. The natives had recently discovered iron and were far more interested in salvaging this precious material than helpless/hopeless humans. After a couple of days the shipwrecked survivors could barter with the natives and when they decided to leave south towards the Cape the natives tried to prevent them from leaving. However, they forged ahead and soon the party split up into several small groups – most never to be seen again. Reliable sources account for only two of these castaways being murdered by the natives but without any reference to motive. Two others assimilated with the natives. From the host's (native's) point of view they were nothing better than perhaps tramps especially after having been relieved of everything natives could possibly have found a value in en route south. These 'guests' were seen as mere beggars and had no means to reciprocate when they reached native communities further south. The shipwrecks had nothing to offer, not even social bonding (they were all along very eager to get away from the 'wild' and 'uncivilized' natives, except for the two assimilants) and the hosts could not, or would not, carry on being hospitable with the obvious absence of any potential reciprocity. The strangers were past the stage of weary travellers, they were readily recognized as parasites. Promises, if at all understood, of repayment once the poor souls had returned home safely were for obvious reasons seen as very empty. When a guest is not able to reciprocate and is still being taken care of the relationship would change to charity by the host. Charity and hospitality are mutually exclusive concepts. The hierarchy in charity always remains the same where reciprocity in hospitality is an attempt at equalizing the given hierarchy between host and guest. Taylor ends his account of the castaways with a snippet referring to the inscription on a ring, which the East India Company gave to the Dutch governor Van Plettenberg, to reward the Dutch for their efforts in assisting the castaways. The inscription was a quote from Virgil: *Ab hoste docere* meaning 'to be taught by the enemy (stranger)' (Taylor 2004: 211).

Another example of unanticipated guests is illustrated by a story, which Volkher and Claudia humorously refer to as 'the tour bus nightmare'. They had often contemplated the logistics when a huge group of people would suddenly arrive unannounced and indeed on different occasions both of them had actual nightmares on the topic. Volkher's nightmares had their source in reality though. He had told Claudia of the time when he operated a small pizzeria in the Northern Drakensberg area some years before and a tour bus arrived with 30 people who wanted pizza for supper. Volkher had enough stock but together with hasty and hectic in-between pre-preparations instead of accelerating the pizza output it slowed down. It took over three hours for the last guests to get their pizza and by that time everyone became impatient. Volkher felt that he would henceforth rather say upfront 'Sorry, I can't do it' than accepting it and failing in at least a satisfactory outcome for his guests, even if he tried his best. Perhaps he developed a sort of 'stage fright' where he knew what to do but felt equipped with two left hands because of the hectic of the situation. The commercial host is not always prepared for guests but if guests suddenly arrive would nonetheless try his best not to fail in basic hospitality. In this sense the commercial host exercises true hospitality but it is also rewarded with money.

Festival was over again and Volkher and Claudia relaxed, anticipating a lazy Sunday afternoon and some pizza which he would prepare. They wound down and Volkher was just busy topping their pizzas when a small bus pulled up to the gate. They thought that a 'tour bus nightmare' had just become reality. Usually Volkher and Claudia open their restaurant facility on reservation only, because it is not viable to be open all the time and besides they are not available all the time. Volkher went outside to greet the guests who had intended to come for lunch. He explained their 'by prior booking arrangement' to the guests but he quickly added that since they were there anyway they might just as well have a look at his venue and invited them to get something to drink. He was not prepared to offer them lunch but he could still be hospitable. They were a group of about 16 performers for a show at festival. By that time they had been travelling together for so long that they formed a type of family. They explained to Volkher that some of the older ones were like parents to the younger ones, some just children, and others 'attachments'. After their tour of the facilities and a glass of water or two they complimented Volkher's style and promised to book soon

for another occasion. They returned to their bus which did not want to start again. After some long deliberation amongst themselves and the driver they accepted it to be an 'electronic problem'. They phoned the bus rental company and were told that a technician would be dispatched immediately and should be there within one hour. Initially they came to Volkher's place with the intention to have lunch and after that proved not possible they had decided to go on to Port Alfred, but then the bus broke down. Volkher went out to where the bus was parked and some of the travellers had gotten out of the bus again. They told him what had happened and that they will have to wait. Volkher knew they must have been hungry and he could not carry on with his personal pizza preparations or eat while the 'shipwrecks' were around. He told them that he and Claudia would prepare 'lunch' for them as long as the guests bear with them because they would have to improvise but they will try their best. Volkher and a guest pulled some tables together and he served them drinks. He was very conscious of the fact that he prefers doing service after a shower and at least a fresh set of clothing, but there was no time for vanity in this case. Within 30 minutes of getting the guests seated around the table and serving drinks, Volkher served spring rolls with sweet chilli sauce and a first round of pizzas as starters. For the main course Claudia had prepared a huge salad, a hearty oxtail stew and rice and Volkher more pizza. Fruit salad and chocolate brownies were their dessert offer. The guests were very grateful and asked what would have been different in the case if they had booked because there was nothing that they could not praise about the 'improvisation'. Volkher explained that the quality of the food was the same but with booking he could have better prepared the venue and the table and besides the guests were lucky that Claudia had indeed prepared some stock of foods in advance for a party some days later. After payment of their account, to which they added a generous tip, every one of the guests personally thanked Volkher and expressed their amazement at the venue, service and food. They wanted to stay longer but the technician arrived (two hours later) with another bus that whisked the guests away and left behind the broken down bus, to be towed away the following day. From this potential nightmare-come-true scenario all turned out well and again besides the 'extra' money it was rewarding to witness guest satisfaction especially because it started with their predicament of being 'shipwrecked' and the hosts unprepared. The host dispenses hospitality and his prestation (*Leistung*) is honoured by the guests. More than the pecuniary reward is the guest reciprocity of social recognition of the host and gratitude for the efforts of the host.

Volkher was happy because his guests were happy. Three hours later than planned, they could resume their own pizza preparations and unwind all over again on that Sunday afternoon.

2.3. Cultural hospitality

In some societies hospitality became ritualized and institutionalized and to represent the institution hosts and guests exchanged tokens or gifts and often it implied total reciprocity, in other words, the host and guest switch roles. In Ancient Rome the traveller 'enjoyed the hospitality of private citizens whom they treated with courtesy and consideration; and their own houses in Rome were open to those with whom they were accustomed to stay' (O'Gorman 2005: 141 referring to Livy: History of Rome).

The effect of the Roman accent on the right to hospitality, opposed to the Greek obligation of hospitality, had a direct influence on the development of citizenship by law as opposed to citizenship by birth. A Roman citizen by law was a 'permanent guest' who had been assimilated by the host community yet was non-native. The same religiously sanctioned principle – *hospitium* – was when viewed from the host's perspective an obligation and when viewed from the guest's, a right. The ties of private hospitality were established between individuals by mutual gifts, or the mediation of a third person and still sanctioned by religion. Upon establishment of the nexus a die or billet was broken and each kept their part as token (*tessera hospitalis*) of the connection.³⁷

These tokens of hospitality ... served still another purpose during the Middle Ages, as tokens of recognition for political purposes ... From this system we derive hotel bills and probably all checking systems, such as baggage checks, and the like (Firebaugh 1928: 42).

³⁷ 'In the Poenulus of Plautus, the Young Carthaginian remarks to Agorotocles, "Thy father Antidamus was my guest; this token of hospitality was the bond between us," and Agorotocles immediately made answer, "And thou shalt receive hospitality from me"' (Firebaugh 1928: 42). And when within hospitality hostility starts the *tessera* are broken to pieces and 'Be Gone! Go seek where there is confidence in your oaths; here now, with us, Alcesimarchus, you've renounced your title to our friendship' (Plautus quoted by O'Gorman 2007: 25).

From the traditional private hospitality rites developed early official practices of public hospitality of declaring someone to have the 'Freedom of the City' and such a 'stranger' could count on the hospitality and friendship of the citizens.³⁸

Again, it might happen that strangers would be excluded from hospitality through a certain disdain of ancient manners and customs, or because of certain preferences of citizens who refused to see a guest in a man who did not present the token of amity (Firebaugh 1928:45).

The ancient Greek concept of hospitality was captured with *philoxenos* ('love of strangers'), contrasting *xenophobia* ('fear of strangers'). Homer's *Odyssey* has often been used to refer to the working of the old laws of hospitality (*xenia*). Firebaugh (1928: 40) mentions that the 'fraternal bond which had formerly seemed to unite all men even as though in one great family, that fraternal chain, let us call it, seemed little by little to break under strain.'³⁹ Hospitality was then beginning to adapt to ancient forms of commoditisation so as to extend to the Roman form of *philoxenos*, *hospitium*, which had the result of wider incorporation of strangers and making them citizens, thus part of 'one great family' - not merely because of kin but also because of guest-friendship and in that case male guest-friendship, 'brotherly love' or at its most basic *nexilitas*. The incorporation of a stranger is the bottom line of the host's actions. Strangers become guests, become friends and this contributes to the power and security of the host.

³⁸ 'The stranger, *hospes* or *hostis* could count on hospitality which – perhaps by way of tests ... converted him into an honoured guest. But one need only to compare the way Odysseus is received in Phaeacia with the way Aeneas and his armed companions are received by Pallas and Evander when they reach Arcadia, in *Aeneid* VIII, not as suppliants or beggars but as kinsfolk returning to help reconquer their ancestral land, to realize how different were the Greek and Roman ideals' (Fortes and Patterson 1975: 248).

³⁹ Theophrastus reported of hospitality values that have atrophied similar to that described by Petronius: "Cool cistern-water has he at his house; and a garden with many fine vegetables, and a cook who understands dressed dishes. His house, he will say, is a perfect inn; always crammed; and his friends are like the pierced cask – he can never fill them with his benefits!" (Firebaugh 1928: 44). Another story was by Aelian: "Stratonice, the flute girl, having been accorded a welcome in a house which she had been invited to enter, would have been greatly flattered by such attention which she had found in a strange land in which she had no reason to expect hospitality and no ties to entitle her to that consideration. She presented her most graceful thanks to the host whose kindness had prompted such attention and received her with such good grace; but, arriving as an unexpected guest, and perceiving that the house was open to any and all who wished to stop and stay over; 'Let us go,' said she to her slave, 'we are like a pigeon that has taken to a tree, what you mistook for a house of hospitality is only an inn'" (Firebaugh 1928: 45).

The Latin homonym for host and guest, *hospes*, clearly reflected the connection between host and guest. The right of the guest versus the obligation of the host were interchangeable especially when the host becomes guest at the former guest. One has to bear in mind that most reports in ancient sources concern the upper crust of Roman society or caricatures of these strata and, concerning hospitality, the lower classes had to contend themselves with the inns where hospitality already meant something else – the first commercialization of hospitality had been the inn.

In classic Rome the *villa urbana* was a luxury guest house for the owner (when the owner takes some time out) as well as for his guests (Lomine in Walton 2005:79) and concerned total reciprocity – hosts and guests swap their villas. Key concepts about Roman tourism were built around the concepts of *peregrinatio*, *otium* and *hospitium*⁴⁰ as much as key concepts about mass tourism today elementarily entertain the concepts of foreign travel, leisure and hospitality. As noted, *hospitium* meant something more than what one would generally understand as hospitality for it referred to a ‘permanent’ relationship (Walton 2005: 71), which seems contrary to the general temporary nature of hospitality. Although *hospitium* as ‘permanent’ relationship, even a hereditary tie, may exist and the periods of stay rather long, the actual time of hospitality still passes with the end of a particular visit and thus retains its ephemeral nature. It would change when the guest became a full time boarder, family member or parasite. Hospitality was reciprocated with hospitality when the host visits his former guest and they would repetitively exchange positions. This then explains why one word, *hospes* means both host and guest. Loykie Lomine (in Walton 2005: 72) further argues that *hospitium* facilitated the development of tourism, it represented the guarantee of hospitality, but ‘it stunted the development of hotels’ in ancient Rome.

The sacrosanctity of ‘noble’ hospitality was still intact in the Middle Ages where the church as House of God offered sanctuary and hospitality to whomever crossed the threshold and

⁴⁰ Meaning: travelling or staying in foreign countries; free time, leisure, ease and hospitality, the relationship between host and guest (Lomine in Walton 2005: 70).

all monasteries had the *Divine Duty of Hospitality*. The commercial development of hospitality was practically hi-jacked by the church. There were weary travellers of course, and the sleazy inn was well represented in every town or city but it is doubtful to even imagine a form of tourism like the Roman tourism during these dark and dangerous ages, particularly in the absence of general *otium* or peace. Even *hospitium* took on another meaning. The *Hospitium* became the name of the guesthouse usually attached to a monastery. Furthermore the hosteller monk was reminded that 'by showing cheerful hospitality to guests the reputation of the monastery is increased, friendships are multiplied, animosities are blunted, God is honoured, charity is increased, and a plenteous reward in heaven promised' (Davis 1924: 372).

The Order of Hospitalers as the social counterpart to the military Templars was founded around 1092 at the church of the Holy Sepulchre, aimed to be to 'the service of the poor and of strangers' (Davis 1924: 366). They were also known as the Knights of St John of Jerusalem and maintained a hospital especially for sick pilgrims; today, in Grahamstown, as all over the world, there is still a continuation of this order as St John Ambulance Foundation. The church had institutionalized hospitality and *hospitium* was then the name of the hospitality space, the building, and not that tie or bond of guest-friendship the Romans cherished. The host became anonymous and all the hostelries were regulated by the church and its executors; the host had his duties and the guest knew what to expect – this must have paved the way for the development of the hotel and the procrustean nature of mass hospitality. It started out as institutionalized hospitality; it developed an anonymity aspect; it emerged from the regulations of the *hospitium*, but without the 'bond' aspect, which became replaced to some extent by plain commerce. More recent one can state that big hotels in turn became the 'temples' of commercial hospitality – in this sense one can speak of the 'Waldorf Cathedral', for instance.

Some ethnographies contained accounts of the actual act of bonding as symbolized with the giving of gifts and services and some ritual. Bonding has been described by Malinowski concerning the Kula partnership:

[Kula] is one of the special bonds which unite two men into one of the standing relations of mutual exchange of gifts and services [my italics] so characteristic of these natives. The overseas partner is, on the other hand, a host, patron and ally in a land of danger and insecurity. Nowadays, though the feeling of danger still persists, and natives never feel safe and comfortable in a strange district, this danger is rather felt as a magical one, and it is more the fear of foreign sorcery that besets them. In olden days, more tangible dangers were apprehended, and the partner was the main guarantee of safety. He also provides with food, gives presents, and his house, though never used to sleep in, while in the village (Malinowski 1932: 91-2).

He concludes on p.510 that the Kula is a

big, inter-tribal relationship, uniting with definite social bonds a vast area and great numbers of people, binding them with definite ties of reciprocal obligations, making them follow minute rules and observations in a concerted manner – the Kula is a sociological mechanism of surpassing size and complexity, considering the level of culture on which we find it.

The *Kula* can be associated with something akin to the Roman *hospitium* and the medieval hospitality arrangements, complete with tokens (gifts), and even extending to the pan-tribal level.

The main attitude of a native to other, alien groups is that of hostility and mistrust. The fact that to a native every stranger is an enemy, is an ethnographic feature reported from all parts of the world. The Trobriander is not an exception in this respect, and beyond his own, narrow social horizon, a wall of suspicion, misunderstanding and latent enmity divides him from even near neighbours. The Kula breaks through it at definite geographical points, and by means of special customary transaction. But, like everything extraordinary and exceptional, this waiving of the general taboo on strangers must be justified and bridged over by magic (Malinowski 1932: 345).

An initial show of hostility was demonstrated to visitors so that when the Trobrianders arrived on a friendly island they were 'treated almost as intruders' but then the 'hostility' completely disappeared when the ritual spitting over the village has been performed

(Malinowski 1932: 345-6). This 'welcoming' ritual was also a stern reminder of what would happen if hospitality would fail – they would revert to 'hostility and mistrust'. This way the tokens were then exchanged and the actual hosting could follow.

Besides the similarities of hospitality institutions also with the potlatch of the Kwakiutl (Boas 1966: 100) and the men's houses of the Swat Pathans (Barth 1959: 59), other examples of societies where bonding was ritualized can be seen among the Iraqw and Zulu. Thornton (1980: 37) reports on the Iraqw, who when they pass each others' huts must call out a greeting, no greeting near the house shows ill-intent of the stranger. The friendly greeting is the first recognition of a bond or then the potentiality for a bond. Thornton describes the ritual bonding with a stranger by both parties putting a finger through a hole pierced in a strip of a slaughtered goats' skin to 'make friends or brothers ... (t)his description caught the attention of Van Gennep who cited it as an example of "incorporation of strangers"'; 'moral bonds' are thus created for the benefit of the stranger and the land (Thornton 1980: 212-214).

Of the bonding with a stranger Dan Wylie (2006:151) noted the story of an older man, a 'stranger who has been adopted, having no home of his own' who had not had his ears pierced in the Zulu tradition and was ordered by King Chaka to have his ears '*boboza'd*', thus *becoming one of them*. The piercing or 'going through' in order to establish a token of a social bond are also symbolized by the ring which one puts on a finger as confirmation of a connection.

The absence of traditional small commercial hospitality in Africa has been reported by Deon Maas (2010: 82) who states that there are no public toilets or middle-market hotels in Africa, there are supposedly luxurious hotels and backpackers and it seems that B&Bs are rare, at least formally so (a quick Google search 'B&B Africa' confirms at least the lack of modern communication systems for the advertising of such facilities, and if there are some,

only very few are listed for an entire country like Ghana or Nigeria)⁴¹. Some African tribes have displayed a notion of some hospitality institution such as E Jensen Krige and J D Krige (1943: 60) found among the Lovedu of Mpumalanga, where the selling of beer

is regarded in the same light as charging strangers for board and lodging, a practice that prevails among Highveld tribes; and it is almost as bad as what the Lovedu imagine to be the European custom of making relatives who come on a holiday pay their hosts. "Our hotels are our relatives" said a Lovedu man to us.

These various cross-cultural references reveal that what underlies hospitality is some form of social bond which can also become institutionalised or ritualized. Traditional inns, as forerunners of hotels and neo-inns, are also strikingly absent in non-western societies but forms of ritualized hospitality are found all over the world. This form of hospitality is connected to a particular culture and its rituals. In cultural hospitality *nexilitas* also established itself in its purest form. It was regulated by ritual and in some cases reinforced by repetitive role swapping between host and guest. Once guest-friendship has been established bonds of kin or 'real' friendship can follow and then with subsequent visits social hospitality would rule the encounters. Contemporary cultural hospitality is found in hospitality clubs where there is swapping of roles between hosts and guests and the 'tourist culture', mass tourism, in which institutionalized mass hospitality providers take care of the needs and wants of guests without ever even implying total reciprocity (swapping of roles). There are many hotel-rituals, each connected to the hierarchal representation of the host as manager, receptionist, waiter or chambermaid and in face-to-face encounters of these with guests *nexilitas* is possible.

⁴¹ www.bedandbreakfast.com

2.4. Commercial hospitality

Wealth flowed in incalculable profusion, and brought all attendant ills in its train ... the tavern keeper and the petty tradesman were held in no less contempt than had been the case in earlier times, and we shall find this true almost without exception for a period of over a thousand years in the history of the greatest of the ancient seats of culture and power (Firebaugh 1928:98).

As mentioned, the oldest surviving source on commercial hospitality is the code of Hammurabi dated around 1770 BC (Firebaugh 1928: 18). Historically professional hospitality was regarded as the 'lowest' profession and the ancient Greek myth of Procrustēs (Prokrostēs or Damastes, his first name)⁴² illustrates the worst kind of host '... said to be the son of Poseidon, who lived beside the road between Athens and Eleusis. He ensnared strangers with hospitality, then seized them and fastened them to a bed which he then made them fit, cutting short their limbs if they were too long for it, or racking them if they were too short' (Howatson and Chilvers 1993: 450).⁴³ The 'philosophy' behind it is 'one size fits all'. Theseus killed several monsters and brigands on his way to become king of Athens, usually in the same manner these attacked and killed their victims. Theseus (incidentally also fathered by Poseidon) thus trimmed the top end of Procrustēs's body after he had been racked and so 'cleaned' the name of hospitality. Henceforth the ancient Greeks believed the wrath of the gods to strike if they did not receive and protect travellers. Travellers were under the direct protection of the supreme god Zeus (*Zeus Xenios*). The story is one of many such 'supernatural sanctions' that instil the norms of hospitality into cultures of the past and present worldwide. Theseus attempted to rid the world of hosts abusing hospitality but even in Grahamstown in this late capitalist era there were 'hosts' who offered appalling

⁴²According to Ward and others (1970) Procrustes means 'he who beats out and stretches' and Damastes means 'the subduer'

⁴³Guerber (1863: 231) and Roorda (1925: 18) refer to Procrustēs having had two beds, a very short one for the long guest and a very long one for the racking of smaller people but all sources agree that he lured his guests with 'hospitality.'

facilities at exorbitant prices to unwitting festinos. That was one of the main reasons for the inception and regulation of commercial hospitality in Grahamstown by the Grahamstown Hospitality Guild (GHG). And whilst being a modern-day Theseus the GHG applied the same Thesean methods to fight the abusive hosts – by criteria which have the effect of *levelling* a standard, even if it is a higher standard. Today ‘procrustean’ is defined as ‘(of a system, a set of rules, etc.) treating all people or things as if they are the same, without considering individual differences and in a way that is too strict and unreasonable’ (Hornby 2005: 1158). This is also remarkably close to the ‘one size fits all’ of modern mass hospitality in big hotels or even the ‘take it or leave it’ attitude of some hosts in commercial hospitality.

Professional or commercial hospitality was very limited in ancient Greece⁴⁴ and only really became recognizable as such in classic Rome (Firebaugh 1928:29). For those without a *hospitium-nexus* there were *hospitia*, *stabulae*, *tabernae*, *popinae* and *cauponae*,⁴⁵ and, as noted, the host was in the case of these inns, like his guests, usually of the lower class.⁴⁶ Later on in the empire some emperors, Claudius, Nero and Caligula in particular, sought out

⁴⁴ Hospitality as such was very important to the Greeks: ‘On a visit to Pelops, Laius, the king of Thebes, fell in love with Chrysippus [Pelop’s son] while teaching the boy ... Driven by untameable desire he abducted the boy. In his wrath and outrage Pelops cursed Laius and his kin ... Plato gives further evidence that the myth was commonly known in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. ... As a result of the curse, Laius was killed by his own son Oedipus ... it would be a naive misunderstanding to assume that Pelops cursed Laius because of his homosexual relationship to the boy. Laius’s crime was that he took the boy without the father’s consent, thereby violating the rights and duties of host and guest’ (Vanggaard 1972: 29-30).

Aret, a ‘Greek concept of nobility for which we have no precise equivalent in present-day language ... showed itself as “the driving force of a man’s skill, power, and character” ... It manifested itself in his skill in his use of weapons, in the way he steered his four-in-hand, rode his horse, formed his speech ... it manifested itself in his power of body and of spirit, and it manifested itself in his character – his courage and steadfastness in battle (the death-wounds of the fallen had to be in front); his hardihood, faithfulness to his duties; his obedience; his power of authority; his sense of solidarity with his fellows and his country; his faithfulness in personal relations; his honesty and integrity, power of judgement, fairness, temperance, generosity, and reliability as a host or a guest’ (Vanggaard 1972:34).

⁴⁵ Meaning: guest-chamber, inn, guest quarters, pothouse, haunt, brothel, tavern, cook-shop, eating-house. It seems as if there was even in Rome, as today, confusion with terms for accommodation facilities. Firebaugh (1928: 119) stated that the collective term for these facilities is *deversorium* or *diverticulum* (1928: 244) and further mentions *ganea*: ‘should mean a subterranean tavern, hidden away in the rocks and woods’ akin to *lustra* (a den of some animal, sometimes a stew) (1928: 132-3).

⁴⁶ ‘Judge by what Harpax says of the hag Chrysis, the toothless and greasy hostess whom he met, “I will go and lodge outside the gates, at the third tavern, with the old woman Chrysis, gross as a hogshead, lame and greasily fat.” From the propriety of this hostess, judge well that of the lodging’ (Firebaugh 1928: 245-6).

the adventure of frequenting these establishments.⁴⁷ Firebaugh struggled to find representations of meritorious innkeepers although these must have existed:

Reading of hostelries of Greece and Rome as disclosed in the classic and post-classic writings of these lands, where the good old tradition of hospitality was often so grossly abused, one is left to wonder if it was not after all the exception that secured attention, if the honest keeper of clean tavern, with its warmest welcome and savoury food, was not in all ages performing his pious duty to his guests, simply and unostentatiously and unmentioned, while his ill-favoured competitor with his tricks of misrepresentation, adulteration, and secret theft caught the attention of poet and prose writer, who justly found him guilty of inhumanity which stands forth as a sacrilege to the race (Firebaugh 1928: Introduction).⁴⁸

Many of the old Roman accommodation facilities were attached to some shop (selling food, drink or sex), the actual occupation of the host. One can surmise a bed and breakfast type of arrangement where extra room was used to accommodate guests inside the home, but far from the luxuries the upper classes enjoyed in guest villas. Eventually even innkeeping and other minor forms of commercial hospitality declined:

The spread of Christianity, the invasion by savage barbarians, whose morals were at first purer than the effeminate serfs whom they subjugated, the slow strangulation of internal commerce; these three things may, in the largest sense of the word, be said to have caused innkeepers and innkeeping to decline to a degree which would have scarcely been deemed

⁴⁷ 'Notwithstanding the degradation of national character, the standing of the publicans was not improved; on the contrary, it was even rendered more contemptible by direct legislation and by action in the courts. Claudius and Nero were frequent visitors in the taverns, Vitellius and Otho were also guilty of the same indiscretions' (Firebaugh 1928: 104).

But Claudius and Nero were the most excessive 'in harshness and injustice meted out to the innkeeping classes' (Firebaugh 1928: 179). 'Emulating the examples set by Caligula, Nero, and Vitellius ... he frequented the taverns and haunts of vice at night, his head enveloped in a cowl such as worn by vagrant wayfarers; disguised in this manner, he mixed with the brawling roisterers and bullies, took part in their battles, and came home with his face and body a mass of bruises and contusions. In spite of his disguise, he was well known in these taverns. Sometimes he amused his ennui by throwing heavy pieces of money at the vases and porcelains, to break them' (Firebaugh 1928: 180).

⁴⁸ 'Yet the writer well remembers more than one wayside forest inn along the former boundaries of western Russia and eastern Germany and Austria which were strongly reminiscent of the standards to which the ancients took such universal exception ... "The Roman inns, from the time of Horace to Sidonius Apollinaris were in bad standing and even dangerous"' (Firebaugh 1928: 60) and 'history of inns and taverns was, in ancient times, an integral part of the history of brigandage and thuggery; and many of the hospices in Western Russia and the provinces bordering that great frontier are strikingly akin' (Firebaugh 1928: 127).

possible, and forced the refectories of the various religious orders to take upon themselves the duties of a hospitality well-nigh Grecian in its purity and its freedom from self interest.

The innkeepers at Rome during the age of Alexander Severus were engaged in open warfare with the Christians and sought by every means possible to give the death blow to the new religion which seemed designed to destroy their calling by its austere and moral precepts of sobriety (Firebaugh 1928: 261).⁴⁹

The Thenardiens are probably equally well represented in reality today as they have been throughout history. The development of hotels implied that the meaning of the relationship between host and guest in hotels has become sanitised, free from any basic host-guest bonding yet still facilitating *communitas* among guests. This does not mean that *nexilitas* cannot exist in hotels – in fact, there are several stories in this study depicting *nexilitas* in the hotel setting. Contemporary commercial hospitality in owner managed small accommodation facilities involves most aspects of true and cultural hospitality with the added factor of some material reward. The material reward is only part of the reward for a small commercial host and in certain circumstances the money is not worth the risk involved with a stranger.

Since about the time of the Grand Tour and the subsequent ‘golden age’ of hotels in the time before the World Wars there was a demand for better commercial hospitality facilities

⁴⁹ ‘In discussing the decline of innkeeping, and the change which the rites of hospitality underwent, as a necessary corollary, we must give some consideration to one of the most curious social conditions with which the world has ever been confronted. On the one hand, we have the movement of the Christian revolution, operating in favour of liberty, enfranchising poverty, and extending the protection of the laws to it; on the other, the political chaos brought about by barbarian invasions, operating to install new authority, the parent, as it were, of a new slavery. It was not a case of action followed by the inevitable reaction, for the two contrary movements were simultaneous, and the singular combination born of that contradiction has never been thoroughly studied and understood by historians. The masters of Rome became the slaves of their conquerors; the classes who had known nothing but slavery passed under the authority of new masters, and the ancient slaves of the Germans and the Goths attached themselves to the destiny of their latest owners’ (Firebaugh 1928:267).

‘The classes with whom we are especially concerned ... the innkeeping and tavern-keeping classes, had, notwithstanding their infamy, come to play a major part and exert a powerful influence in prolonging the existence of pagan rites, and aiding in their celebration, and the determined opposition which Christianity encountered amongst the slaves and the vilest of the rabble, may be accounted for by this fact’ (Firebaugh 1928: 268).

than the traditional inn from an ever increasing number of middle class to relatively wealthy tourists (Mars and Nicod 1984: 27-8). The golden age of hotels was rekindled after the World Wars to the extent that this form of commercial hospitality has extended to corporate management structures to deal with mass tourists. Even the inn developed a better name to such an extent that a contemporary huge hotel group uses it in their name: *Holiday Inn*. For millennia the inn was the representation of commercial hospitality and only in the last century or so have the neo-inns developed first as hotels and later as B&Bs and backpackers, the latter being closer to the original form of an inn.

Concurrent with the growing demand for commercial or professional hospitality, the hospitable space developed from inn to hotel to hotel chain, thence also mass hospitality facilities; from living quarters, to bed and living room, to guest quarters, to reception lounges and guest suites. The growing middle class obviously were not content with the traditional sleazy inn and since the weary traveller as guest became the 'tourist', the guest's demands increased to facilities where the 'guest can be king', in complete control of the facility and a battalion of service staff. On the other hand, since about the mid 1980's B&Bs, backpackers and similarly managed guest houses developed as an alternative to the other fully commercialized hospitality facilities (Mars and Nicod 1984: 27). At about the same time, from about 1984, in Grahamstown, Snowball (2005: 91) reports of a move from hotel accommodation to private homes which concurs with Mary Birt's experience (2010: personal communication). Interesting is the full circle commercial hospitality seems to have made by returning to the *home* for hospitality. It is as if hospitality has also become 'localized' in the very period of its greatest globalization under multi-national hotel chains. Again, like in ancient times, the private home has become the space for hospitality, albeit commercially and not concerning total reciprocity. The rise of these so-called 'quasi-hotels', some of them expensive and exclusive in the categories of 'lodge' or 'boutique hotels' is more apparent than real, however. All such neo-inns are actually in decline, at least in Britain, when compared to the phenomenal growth of hotel chains (Slattery 2002:25).

Contemporary legislation in South Africa, concerning commercial accommodation facilities, is encoded in the Tourism Act (72 of 1993) which is essentially the same as the old Hotels Act (70 of 1965) which

was enacted to provide for the development and improvement of accommodation establishments ... To achieve this end the Act creates an Hotel Board ... which is empowered *inter alia* to register... and grade... hotels... Accommodation establishment' for purposes of the Act meant 'any premises wherein or whereon the business of supplying lodging and one or more meals per day for reward is or is intended to be constructed ... 'Lodging' means bedroom accommodation and the services ordinarily associated therewith (Milton and Fuller 1971:636).

This was long before the widespread B&B and backpackers type of facility existed and leaves 'the services ordinarily associated therewith' open to include any traditionally related services. All of the types of accommodation facilities, besides camping, offer at least a bed and from there upgrade with the provision of bedding, private room, private bathroom en suite, extending to various entertainment facilities and various food and beverage options to ultimately a guest suite, which has the ultimate in luxury offerings for the guest, at a price of course.

In conclusion, contemporary owner managed commercial hospitality is a combination of the long established inn, upgraded with aspects of contemporary cultural hospitality which requires the 'universal token', money, yet maintaining aspects of true hospitality. The rewards that a commercial host draws from the relationship with the guest are both material and emotional. Social bonding has at least the potential to manifest even in an otherwise commercial situation. The nexilitas factor in commercial hospitality is the indicator that besides the money a social bond is possible.

2.5. *Professional aliens' experience of nexilitas*

A rich source describing hospitality is found in a collection of anecdotes by anthropologists (fieldworker-guests) of their personal experiences of hospitality with their hosts, the natives they were studying. As mentioned, monographers often made references to their personal hospitality experiences in the preface, acknowledgements or introduction sections, although there were also references in the main text. From these it is also clear why anthropology has been likened to 'professional tourism'. Aspects of cultural hospitality are entertained (such as some rituals) but the hospitality concerned is neither institutionalised nor is it social hospitality (there were no pre-existing kinship or friendship bonds) or commercial hospitality (although anthropologists 'pay their way' the hosts concerned were not commercial hosts, but rather 'innocent' hosts). However, nexilitas could again occur in its purest form as that 'third' type of basic social bonding.

Fortes and Patterson (1975:250-1), also referring to other ethnographers, describe the process of nexilitas – the movement from strangerhood to 'quasi-kinship':

The passage from the status of stranger to that of guests, then to that of friend and, with luck, eventually to that of the quasi-kinship of the accredited sojourner, is familiar to anthropologists from their own experience. The reminiscence with which I began this essay may not be typical but most beginnings in the field research are bound to meet with the apprehension if not suspicion that is the common initial response to strangers. This happens even in relatively sophisticated, newspaper-reading, economically and social complex communities, as Frankenberg found. "When I arrived in the island" Firth records ... "my motives were of course suspect, and though outwardly very friendly and hospitable, the people were really greatly disturbed". We have all had similar experiences. "I was a *ger*" says Evans-Pritchard, using the Hebrew word, of his stay among the Nuer, "what they call *rul*, an alien sojourner, among them for only a year"... It is a step forward when the stranger-enquirer is accepted as a guest, permitted some degree of participation in the community's life.

Only after demonstrating disinterested respect for the customs and values of his hosts and after showing his good faith and trustworthiness in other ways, does the way open up for the anthropologist's admission to the friendship and possibly even quasi-kinship that will give him the freedom of the community. In effect he thus becomes, if he is lucky, an honorary citizen of the community and it is this that will enable him to complete his task (Fortes and Patterson 1975:251).

They clearly recognize the bona fides and the potential for a bond (friendship or quasi-kinship) which are fundamental to nexilitas. 'Among Azande I was compelled to live outside the community; among the Nuer I was compelled to be a member of it. Azande treated me as a superior; Nuer as an equal' is what E E Evans-Prichard (1969:15) wrote in the beginning of his monograph and details the problems of initially getting through to the Nuer and then to deal with their expert evasiveness until they had to some extent accepted that he was around, and then he would be able to extract information to conduct his field studies: 'I have obtained in Zandeland more information in a few days than I obtained in Nuerland in as many weeks' (Evans-Prichard 1969:12).

Thomas Gaude (2004) provides another example of a positive field experience which he neatly packed in his acknowledgements: 'I owe a great deal to the participants in this study for letting me into their homes and sharing their experiences. Without them this study would not have been possible.' Indeed his fieldwork settings often involved hospitality, social visits with coffee and cake:

I found the technique of participant observation adequate, when the interviewees were interested in the subject themselves and a certain 'chemistry' between interviewer and interviewee secured. If this was the case, it was possible to join the respondents at parties or other events, inviting them home for supper or having a Sunday's 'Kaffee und kuchen' at either their or my home. Sometimes I just turned up at their homes without prior arrangement ...' (Gaude 2004: 10)

His participants, being hosts and sometimes guests, and how they became connected, clearly demonstrates bonding ('chemistry') within hospitality and he did not think it realistic to 'maintain all relationships formed in future' which again reflects the ephemeral nature of *nexilitas*.

Brian Du Toit (1974) writes about his personal hosts:

The people in the valley deserve a word of very sincere appreciation for the way in which they accepted this **Outsider**. They were more than hospitable, and showed me more than kindness. The doors of their humble houses weren't only open, they were inviting (Du Toit 1974: vii)(bold in original).

After having been 'mothered' by the natives Du Toit wrote that when the time came to leave, he was begged to return and they said they will miss him '*because you became like one of us*' (my italics).

Camping in the valley during the research, we were the object of the sympathy of every mother in the valley and rarely could we leave a house after a visit without a few oranges, some cookies, a loaf of fresh bread, a small bottle of preserves and similar gifts (Du Toit 1974:70).

Thornton doing an ethnography of the Iraqw of Tanzania is also very expressive in his Acknowledgments and makes specific mention of various 'homes':

It is with regret that I acknowledge that the fieldworker can never repay the tremendous debt of kindness to the people with whom he has lived and worked. I can only express my thanks in the most general terms. The people of Kwermusl have added a great deal to my life and to my understanding of other's lives. I miss them. I shall not forget Father Augustino and Father Silvini, whose courtesy, trust, and friendship were always to be relied upon. I cannot adequately express my deep gratitude to Dionis and Paskal and their families, but I like to think that they understand how great their contribution is to this book and receive some compensation from that knowledge (Thornton1980: xvii).

After finding no accommodation in the town where Thornton landed he camped on the parade grounds of the District Offices to await permission to carry on with his research he writes about his contact with his hosts:

This was unusual because, quite unlike the experience of many other cultural anthropologists who have been observed more closely and more constantly than they have been able to observe, the Iraqw had so far been completely indifferent to me and my inquiry. I invited the old man over to my tent for tea, and poured him two or three large cupfuls before he began to speak to me ... He looked at me and told me that he could tell me right then, everything I wanted to know! ... he continued to interview me with great astuteness. Finally he paused and told me, "If you want to stay here, you must plant a garden and work" ... After a few weeks in *Kainam* I met a family in the neighboring *aya* of *Kwermusl* whom I liked very much. I asked them if I could live with them. They agreed, and I began a relationship with the family ... Dionis and his brother-in-law, Paskal, became my closest friends and advisors during my stay in Iraqw land (Thornton1980: xxii - xxiii).

Thornton even got his fiancé to come and live with him. They got married there and had a house built for them by their host family. He seemed to have all the necessary support in his fieldwork too: 'In fact, when the man performing the sacrifice saw that my tape recorder had malfunctioned during the dedication prayer, he offered to say it again, waiting until the machine was running and taking care to speak clearly into the microphone' (Thornton 1980: 95).

In other ethnographies native hosts have for instance been appraised by Barth (1959: Preface): 'But their help would have availed little had I not been hospitably received by a great number of Pathans in all walks of life. They became my friends ...' and he their guest-friend, taking up the connection; or like Boas (1966) whose Kwakiutl Ethnography was not completed at the time of his death and he never came to thank his hosts in that work although all indications are that he was the accepted type of ethnographer as Codere

reports that he was well liked and had a relationship with the Kwakiutl stretching over many years.

Another story of becoming 'one of them' is relayed by Michael Stewart (1997: 234) about his personal experience with his 'natives':

One had to become Rom or, for me at least, like a Rom, and then constantly demonstrate one's adherence to this ethic.

The Rom were particularly suspicious of outsiders because they 'lived in a world where they were despised by the non-Rom' but one was readily accepted by the brothers if one demonstrated to be like them which meant continuously living by the motto of *sharing is caring*. Of Stewart's contribution Bloch writes in the foreword:

What the anthropologist can do is make meaningful to us the actions and reactions of those who only seem to be foreign until understanding is achieved. As Stewart shows so well, in spite of history and culture the Gypsies do, in the end, belong to our one shared social network. They are moved by emotions and beliefs similar to those that move us and everyone else (Stewart 1997: xiv).

Interesting are the comments Turner made about his relationship with the Ndembu he was studying. He does not refer to the liminality of doing fieldwork or the type of social bonding he and his wife experienced when they became part of the community:

I soon discovered that the Ndembu were not at all resentful of a stranger's interest in their ritual system and were perfectly prepared to admit to its performances anyone who treated their beliefs with respect. It was not long before Chief Ikelenge invited me to attend a performance of a ritual belonging to the gun-hunters' cult, *Wuyang'a* ...

I moved my camp from the chief's capital to a cluster of commoner villagers. There, in time, my family came to be accepted as more or less a part of the local community, and, ... my wife and I began to perceive many aspects of Ndembu culture that had previously been invisible to us of our theoretical blinkers...

Our entree to performances, and access to exegesis, was no doubt helped by the fact that, like most anthropological field workers, we distributed medicines, bandaged wounds, and, in the case of my wife (who is a doctor's daughter and bolder in these matters than I), injected with serum persons bitten by snakes. Since many of the Ndembu cult rituals are performed for the sick, and since European medicines are regarded as having mystical efficacy of the same kind as their own though greater in potency, the curative specialists came to regard us as colleagues and to welcome our attendance at their performances...

As we became increasingly a part of the village scene, we discovered that very often decisions to perform rituals were connected with crises in the social life of villages (Turner 1969: 8-10).

The Lovedu of the Duiwelskloof area in Mpumalanga had been studied by Krige and Krige in 1943. General Jan Smuts prefacing the Kriges rather patronizingly relays a story:

my daughter visited the country of the queen with a company of friends with the hope that they might be able to see her. In that mountainous, almost roadless country the party was overtaken by a violent rainstorm and late at night arrived at her headquarters drenched, exhausted and more dead than alive. The queen ordered a hut to be cleaned and prepared for them where they stayed the night; and the next day, having probably heard that she was the Prime Minister's daughter, gave a personal audience to her. Imagine the thrill! That established a personal bond between the queen and my wife, suitably recognized in the customary South African way ... [Years later] I also learnt that near her headquarters was a forest of cycads... This decided me at last to spend a holiday in the queen's country, and with my relations as guides, I had a most interesting experience. I saw how they had, through simple humanness, overcome the fears and the shyness of the people and were on most familiar terms with both the queen and her subjects. I saw my cycad forest... We exchanged information and gifts in the traditional style, and I could thank her for her kindness to my daughter in the distant past. She was much taken up with all the useful, domestic articles my wife had sent her... (Krige and Krige 1943: vii).

In my survey of ethnographies three stood out from which I could discern that things did not go as smoothly as seemed usual between the anthropologist guest and the native host. The

continuation of the preface of General Smuts reads: ‘... gaining confidence of the native...presents unusual difficulties among the people of Mujaji, whose suave and accommodating manners can be most effectively used to frustrate the quest of the field-worker’ (Krige and Krige 1943: viii). The authors themselves conclude:

In our experience, despite our efforts to help people (which they often shamelessly exploited) and to justify the value to the tribe of our work (which made us only more distrusted), threats were often made against those who were our close associates and suspicion rested even on those whom we casually visited, unless, indeed, they could give an assurance that they had deceived us (Krige and Krige 1943: 295).

They do in the preceding pages explain that the Lovedu lived the idea of sharing, so that one may ‘legitimately’ beg which ‘Europeans often interpret ... as obtuseness, shameless beggary, insensitiveness to high ideals, and even insolence’ (Krige and Krige 1943:292). The Kriges as guests proved very patronizing and appeared to have been disliked by their hosts. One can surmise that the Lovedu merely tolerated the Kriges but still withheld *nexilitas*, which would after all come from the host’s side first. While the Kriges could still provide useful goods or entertainment they were tolerated but there was no acceptance and no bonds developed.

The second ethnography which also showed some tensions is that of Malinowski (1932). He lists European people whom he wishes to thank for assisting him and ‘extended to me their kind hospitality’ (Malinowski 1932: xx) but nowhere does he mention any gratitude towards the natives (his real hosts) he was studying. In fact we see later in the book that he had trouble in his dealings around the Trobriand Islands and did not, at least in the beginning, experience *nexilitas*.

I will remember the long visits I paid to the villages during the first weeks; the feeling of hopelessness and despair after many obstinate but futile attempts had entirely failed to

bring me into real touch with the natives, or supply me with any material ... (Malinowski 1932:4).⁵⁰

His relationship with the natives improved with time and he dismissed information received from whites who traded there ‘... they were for the most part, naturally enough, full of the biased and pre-judged opinions inevitable in the average practical man, whether administrator, missionary, or trader’ (Malinowski 1932: 5). Yet Malinowski imposed himself on his host community very much like modern tourists did with the advent of mass tourism in mass hotels. The only nexilitas Malinowski experienced initially in the Trobriands was in fact with fellow Europeans who helped him to settle.

I went and sat for a moment among the morose and unfriendly Amphlett Islanders, who, unlike the Trobrianders, distinctly resented the inquisitive and blighting presence of an Ethnographer (Malinowski 1932: 212).

Malinowski also committed ‘breaches of etiquette, which the natives, familiar enough with me, were not slow in pointing out...’ But in the end he did acquire “the feeling” for native good and bad manners’ and ‘I began to feel that I was indeed in touch with the natives, and this is certainly the preliminary condition of being able to carry on successful field work’ (Malinowski 1932: 8). By getting to know the ‘rules of the house’ Malinowski’s interaction with his hosts improved.

Again it seems as if the guest was disliked. No wonder then that Nigel Barley (1983) names the chapter where he describes how he actually sets out for fieldwork and encounters similar disdain from the locals as Malinowski did: ‘Honi soit qui Malinowski!’⁵¹

⁵⁰ Malinowski reported another not so positive experience: ‘My arrival was a very untoward event to the natives, and complicated matters, causing great annoyance to Tovasana, the main headman’ (Malinowski 1932:379). And ‘Unfortunately, To’uluwa got it into his head that I had brought him bad luck, and so when he planned his next trip, I was not taken into his confidence or allowed to form one of the party’ (Malinowski 1932:479). This happened after the wind suddenly changed on the previous attempt to sail.

⁵¹ A play on the motto *Honi soit qui mal y pense* – shame be to him who thinks evil of it.

In this third example Barley, following Malinowski, is quite frank about anthropologists' experiences in the field when *nexilitas* is sought by the guest but not taken up by the host:

Much nonsense has been written by people who should know better, about the anthropologist 'being accepted'. It is sometimes suggested that an alien people will somehow come to view the visitor of distinct race and culture as in every way similar to the locals. This is, alas, unlikely. The best one can probably hope for is to be viewed as a harmless idiot who brings certain advantages to the village. He is a source of money and creates employment.' ...'True, I had disadvantages. I attracted outsiders to the village, which was bad. I would fatigue my hosts with foolish questions and refuse to understand their answers. There was the danger that I would repeat things I had heard and seen. I was a constant source of social embarrassment ... I was liked because I had entertainment value. No one could ever be sure what I would do next (Barley 1983: 56-57).

Further on Barley demonstrates that things were not as they seemed and what he experienced is probably the same type of deception other fieldworker-guests were also subjected to:

Anthropological works are full of how the fieldworker fails to 'find acceptance' until one day he picks up a hoe and begins to dig himself a garden. This immediately opens all doors to him; he is 'one of the local people'. The Dowayos are not like that. They were always appalled when I attempted the smallest act of physical labour.

Then Barley gets deceived into appointing a gardener without any arrangement of emoluments for him – those were extracted later. Again it seems as if the fieldworker was merely tolerated ('grin and bear') and there was even avoidance of a real connection by the hosts.

The bias towards the guest's point of view in anthropology is demonstrated by the very method of ethnography – to the extent that some fieldworkers avoid hospitality in order to be scientifically objective without taking into account that naturally the dismissal of hospitality means hostility. *Nexilitas* is then also a prerequisite for having success with ethnography.

At an Anthropology postgraduate research seminar at Rhodes University in February 2011 it was stressed that ethics of research and particularly with ethnographical research is of utmost importance.⁵² During the ensuing discussion some more points were highlighted in the discussion paper concerning tensions with informants: 'Obviously, you are a guest in their situation, and should always be aware of that – but you are also a human being. And they accept you for that. So should you. Very often tensions reveal valuable ethnographic insights'; and about not choosing sides in the field 'While this is your temporary home, it is not your home'; and about reciprocity 'You will be shown hospitality with endless cups of tea, meals, people's time' and should make an appropriate effort to some give something back.

There was consensus among the students that consent forms almost always cause problems and in some cases even make research impossible. One comment was 'They feel like they have to sign their life away' and as a consequence rather did not want to be an informant/participant at all. Technically in the on-going research situation one would have to obtain this signature for each event or meeting which would be very burdensome besides being bureaucratic impediments in an otherwise informal exchange.

If fieldworkers are guests it implies that the informant has to be the host. From the host's point of view imposing guests are despised. The fieldworker, especially strictly following Malinowski and others, is always imposing but hosts can be 'softened' and then they offer hospitality which involves mutual trust and respect. Fieldworkers who ignore the

⁵²Being ethical is important in everyday life – so much so when we impose ourselves upon other people and expect them provide us with hospitality and sensitive information about themselves and others. It is not permissible to do anything that may in any way jeopardise anybody upon whom one's research may impact. This directly violates the trust which our research hosts have given us, and the undertakings we have given them. To our deep shame, some students in the Rhodes Department of Anthropology have been deeply unthinking, irresponsible and even callous in this regard. Being ethical in research is not only about 'do no harm'; it is about respecting people in a much more fundamental sense. This requires you to actively think about their position, and wellbeing, their power/lessness and vulnerability relative to you and the way you mediate wider relations and well being all the time in the field – not in a once off when/if you sign a 'consent form' or get formal permission to do research' (Page 5 of the discussion paper).

fundamental rules of hospitality will cause damage either to the host, themselves or other guests. The first rule is that the host is always 'king of his castle' and any guest should respect that and abide by the applicable house rules. Even if the host is of a lower social standing the host remains the host and would naturally like to please the guest if the guest respected the first rule. In some cultures, as mentioned, it was the guest who had to present a token to identify himself; in the commercial hospitality setting it is the guest who 'signs-in'; in medical practice it is the patient who 'signs' consent. Similarly is it understandable that an informant/participant, as host, is not the one to sign anything – the guest (or patient) does that. A guest (fieldworker) who requests from his host to sign anything causes suspicion because the nature of the host-guest relationship dictates the authority of the host and he is not going to 'sign away' anything, save when it is part of an agreement reached before, for example, about the amount of the remuneration involved for the host's services. The signing of a consent form in that case would be part of a preceding agreement. From the host point of view the fieldworker should be the one signing an undertaking that he/she guarantees to abide by ethics. It might even be a matter to consider anthropologists to swear an oath similar to the Hippocratic Oath medical practitioners swear before they set out to practice.

The nature of our research relationship and the fact that anthropologists often work in contexts characterised by differential access to power and resources imposes upon us a grave responsibility to consider carefully the character of our research and its likely effects for those who participate in it, particularly those in situations of reduced or limited power. Consequently, we need always to be mindful that our research can detrimentally affect our research participants or lead to their feeling they have been harmed by it. It is our responsibility not to embark on research projects that may have such effects, and to discontinue such work if, once begun, it threatens to have such effects (Anthropology Southern Africa 2005, 28(3&4): 142).

To summarize then, the character of the human research relationship involves basic hospitality – guest and host. If something is not in order on this level between host and guest conflict may follow. It may seem as if there is a possible threat with the research

project whereas it is rather the negation of basic rules of hospitality that could have led to ill feelings and not the theme of the project. An informant, being also human and host, may for that reason feel threatened to such an extent that further research is impossible, whereas the project theme, even if it is a sensitive one, may not have been the cause of any threat at all. Fieldworkers should be aware that they are mere guests the moment they are entering somebody else's space and they can only be tolerated and even pass pleasantly when the general and specific rules of hospitality are respected. This applies to all forms of hospitality. Many hosts, like other people, like to tell their stories and will gladly do so without further formalities.

3

Anticipation and preparation

The commercial host anticipates the guest, whoever that stranger may be. Sometimes, as has already been described by some stories, guests arrive when the host does not expect guests. The unanticipated guest in commercial hospitality is known as a 'walk-in'. Within the host's anticipation there are reflections of the host's strategies to prepare his facility and service, his 'stage' and 'performance'. The phase of anticipation is also an opportunity to 'screen' the potential guest as a tactic of the host to avoid conflict. Anticipation finally also involves waiting for the guest to arrive. For the host this is the pre-liminal phase of the hospitality passage.

3.1. Master of the house

Although hosts are a natural minority group, they determine the terms and conditions of hospitality. The host has to be prepared for one or more guests, or at least be in such a state as to be able to host. The host offers a 'home' for the guest but in this study it is also his own home where he makes the rules. Imposing guests are met with disdain, as Derrida puts it: 'I want to be master at home (ipse, potis, potens, head of house ...) Anyone who encroaches on my 'at home', on my ipseity, on my power of hospitality, on my sovereignty as host, I start to regard as an undesirable foreigner, and virtually as an enemy. This other becomes a hostile subject, and I risk becoming their hostage' (Derrida in Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000: 53). This could have been the situation with some fieldworkers' experiences as noted above.

No formal training or qualifications are required to become a commercial host of one's own facilities and this category of occupation is often classified as entrepreneurial. Hosts have to

be in a material condition to host and have the necessary facilities. The host determines the very detail of his offering. Maria Laura Di Domenico and Paul Lynch (2007: 329 ff) found that hosts are 'in control of the aesthetic production of the space', definers, interior (and exterior) designers and regulators 'of the presentation and contents of the space'. The actions the host has taken in anticipation of the guest are done with the desire to ensure the satisfactory passage of the guest and the host arranges the space as he thinks it would appeal to guests. The host wants to be proud of his facilities and not embarrassed – the host wants to positively project himself.

Di Domenico and Lynch (2007: 333) quote a hostess who said "you're always having to look respectable" when there are guests around. Although they discuss this comment in terms of the conflict of guest's and host's space which is from the host's point of view no conflict for all the space is under the host's command and such a conflict would imply a conflict with oneself. What is at issue is the anticipation and preparation hosts do in order to facilitate, in lieu of ensuring, the smooth passage of hospitality. As Firebaugh (1928: 246) mentioned when describing Harpax who commented on the old hag Chrysis, his hostess: 'From the propriety of this hostess, judge well that of the lodging'. The host needs to be clean⁵³ and present himself and his facility in a pleasant manner. Indeed, interviewed hosts have often proudly referred to the cleanliness of their facilities to the extent of claiming that 'that is what makes guests come back'. As mentioned, cleanliness is also part of the Grahamstown Hospitality Guild's grading criteria. In order to (re)present him/herself the host has to appear in front of the guest, at least in the way he would like to be treated by the guest. If the host is dirty or un-kept the guest might shy away or at least feel uncomfortable. In this sense the propriety of the host is part of the show of the master of the house.

On the fieldtrip to the Wildcoast of the Transkei our hostess, very distressed and apologetically, informed us that there was a mix up with her bookings. The cottage we were

⁵³ 'The host is clean; the parasite is dirty; I mean that it is only clean for itself. The "for itself" stinks. You can eat, sleep, make love, and so on in the deodorized hotel, but you won't sleep a wink or eat a morsel in dirty surroundings' (Serres 2007: 145).

staying in and paid for three nights was also booked for that night, the last night of our stay, by a group of people from Johannesburg. She immediately offered us a room in their house, their private guest room. We moved our luggage to the other room and offered to help with the cleaning of the cottage but she said it was not necessary as 'I can tell you are clean people'. After we had inhabited the room and cottage for two days, she simply drew the duvets straight, shook up the pillows and wiped the dust off the bedside table – ready for the next guests! We did feel rather uneasy and wondered about the general hygiene practices of our hostess.

Preparing the outfit for commercial hosting establishes the hosts' control right from the start, so that the host can secure the reward of a satisfied guest. A memorable host story depicts the dilemma of a hostess who did not feel all that confident about her offering of hosting space, she was relieved that the guests were nonetheless satisfied in the end. The hostess told the story of a mother with children and a nanny who were desperate for accommodation over a busy weekend when the hostess was otherwise fully booked (most other B&Bs in town were booked too). The hostess could only offer a room which was 'not for paying guests' because it had no ablution facilities en suite and was not otherwise fitted like her commercial guest rooms. The group arrived in the latest big model Mercedes Benz and the hostess immediately feared that her guest would object. 'I was worried the whole night if this woman would be all right – she had to share a room and the bathroom with her nanny!' This was meant in an old South African 'status aware' context where such sharing of facilities could have implied difficulties besides logistics. With breakfast the next morning the guest expressed her deep gratitude for the trouble the hostess had in getting the room ready and enquired whether the same room would be available on her return journey. 'She somehow liked it!'

Unlike our hostess in the Transkei, this hostess expressed a serious concern about the propriety of her facilities and she also felt uncomfortable with paying guests in her private guest quarters; she felt these facilities were not up to the standard the guests required but did not want the guests to be uncomfortable or without any accommodation either. Yet

nexilitas urged her to do what she could for these guests. In the end her reward was that the guests had accepted and appreciated her offer; the guests indicated that they will return to 'their room' which is an extreme positive outcome of nexilitas.

The latest forms of neo-inns are represented by meritorious owner managers of small commercial accommodation facilities. A break with the age old tradition of innkeeping is particularly evident in the fact that most of these operators, in Grahamstown at least, are women. These women have absolutely nothing in common with their historical forbearers' image in innkeeping. Throughout the ages women connected to commercial hospitality institutions were deemed 'below the law'. The position did not improve in ancient Greece.⁵⁴ In old Rome women working in these establishments were readily regarded as prostitutes and had no recourse to Roman law for rape.

In the eyes of the law, the innkeeper, the pander, and others of like standing were on the same footing, and the wife or concubine of a tavern keeper was so lightly esteemed that she was exempt from the provisions of legislation against adultery and other problems of domestic triangulation: her position was so lowly that the law might have been offended if she failed to break it, or even if she heeded it at all (Firebaugh 1928: 98).

It was due to the calling they followed, their penchant for prostitution, their professional hospitality, their substitution and adulteration of wines, that they were denied the free enjoyment of their goods. They could not act as guardians for children, they were deprived of the right of taking oath, and, except in special cases, they were not permitted the right of accusation in justice (Firebaugh 1928: 135).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ 'Their women were for the most part strumpets from the lowest stratum. In absolute proof of this we need only to cite a very curious passage from the Theodosian code ... that such women were absolved from the penalties carried by law against adultery, so true was it thought that their hideous calling was but one facet of the profession still older' (Firebaugh 1928: 64).

⁵⁵ 'But the almost universal disrepute in which the aubergists were held may be inferred from a multitude of passages in classical literature. Among the most striking is that passage in the Characters of Theophrastus in which he describes an individual so lost to shame and so lacking in intelligence that he would even be capable of conducting a public house ... In fact, the austere post-renaissance scholar goes so far as to sum up the attributes of hosts who did better than serve their patrons with a savory dish or a rare vintage, calling them pimps and their establishments public stews' (Firebaugh 1928: 57-8). 'As to the masters of these establishments, we cannot think ourselves better informed, in fact, our information is, if anything, even more scanty and sketchy. We only know that, as in the case of the keeper of a tavern or

Mars and Nicod wrote *The World of Waiters* in 1984 when the position of women in commercial hospitality was rarely any better than the cocktail waitress Spradley and Mann (1975) described a decade before. Women were simply not employed as waiting staff in higher class establishments (Mars and Nicod 1984: 62). Cocktail waitresses were the lowest in the staff hierarchy in the type of bars Spradley and Mann (1975: 70) studied. Since these works times have changed and since the B&B industry was (and is) a 'home industry', it is women dominated. Being within the home its establishments are mostly women-controlled.

Basil Fawlty often reminds his guests that "I'm trying to run a hotel here" (Cleese and Booth 2000: 242), his wife, Sybil, reminds him "This is a hotel, Basil, not a Borstal, and it might help business if you could have a little more courtesy, just a little" (Cleese and Booth 2000: 83). The Fawlty Towers 'hotel' is in the upper range of size of establishment to qualify for this study,⁵⁶ but the host-guest relationships and disasters never involve more people than in an average B&B facility.

You might say that when charity goes wrong we can perceive fairly clearly what people think charity should be, for on the whole people are more talkative about criteria when actions result in failure than they are about events which go off as they should (Davis 1992: 34).

By replacing the word 'charity' with 'hospitality' this quote explains how Basil Fawlty reveals 'fairly clearly' what we perceive hospitality to be. Breaking the rule demonstrates the rule in concepts as far apart as charity and hospitality. Clearly Cleese's phenomenal performance as Basil Fawlty draws most of the attention in this series, so much so that the content of what

cabaret, the calling of him who conducted a pandokeion was held detestable and infamous' (Firebaugh 1928: 63).

'Cicero ... ends by wondering how anyone can place the least credence in the word of a restaurant keeper (*popae credi mirabar*)' (Firebaugh 1928: 155).

'During the interminable number of years which comprised the life of the Roman world ... we have met always the same abuses; whether in tavern, inn, or cabaret, always have the scandalous contraventions of honesty and morality intruded themselves into our speculations and forced themselves upon our notice.

Lechery in silk, lust in rags, vice generally unpunished and always open, and unbridled orgies that transcend belief, infamy and robbery – all these things taken together may be said to have formed an integral part in the calling of the innkeeper' (Firebaugh 1928: 261).

⁵⁶ Basil bemoaning his guests says: 'Sybil, look! If we can attract this class of customer, I mean ... the sky's the limit!' Sybil retorts: 'Basil, twenty-two rooms is the limit!' (Cleese and Booth 2000: 7).

he is actually saying, is often obscured by his ranting; he is after all only a representation of a poor old hotelier.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, the character Basil is trying to run a hotel and at least he is trying to be an honest master of the house; his wife Sybil is undoubtedly mistress of the house. The Fawlty's offer an image of meritorious commercial hosts, albeit catastrophic, as opposed to the image of the Thenardiers, the lowly innkeepers. Revealing is also the time when *Fawlty Towers* was presented, in the mid 1970's, which coincides with the rise of international mass tourism, and perhaps also the struggle of innkeepers to meet rapidly increasing guest demands.

3.2. Reservation, discrimination and screening

Tellingly, the first episode of *Fawlty Towers*, titled *A Touch of Class*, opens with Basil Fawlty behind his reception desk concluding a phone call with a guest-to-be: 'One double room without bath for the 16th, 17th and 18th... yes, and if you'd be so good as to confirm by letter? ... thank you so much, goodbye.' Later Basil tries to convince Sybil of his strategy to attract higher class guests: 'Sybil, look! If we can attract this class of customer, I mean ... the sky's the limit!' Sybil brings Basil back to reality: 'Basil, twenty-two rooms is the limit!' But Basil continues to bemoan his guests: 'I mean, have you seen the people in room six? They've never even sat on chairs before. They are the commonest, vulgarest, most horrible, nasty ...' Basil has to swallow his words when a new guest, a 'very non-aristocratic-looking cockney', arrives and asks for a room which Basil soon answers with 'No we haven't any rooms. Good day ...' Sybil busts Basil's lie by just taking over the reception of the new guest whom she rather fancies (Cleese and Booth 2000: 1-8). In these first scenes of *Fawlty Towers* one can note a successful reservation by a guest that seems to conform to Basil's desire for higher class guests. Basil also makes very clear which guests he does not like and when confronted with a 'walk-in' he applies the 'fully booked lie' with a curt 'Good day' in an attempt to ward the guest off. His efforts are then turned about by Sybil. However, when another guest arrives Basil busies himself on the phone. Only when the new arrival says he

⁵⁷ 'But while it's easier than ever for people to vent their spleen at the Basil Fawlty's of this world, what about the poor old hoteliers who have to put up with us?' asks journalist Will Hyde in 'Revenge of the concierge' Sunday Times Nov 15 2009: Travel & Food p.15.

is 'Lord Melbury' Basil reacts stunned. Basil puts the phone down immediately: 'I'm so sorry to have kept you waiting, your lordship ... I do apologize, please forgive me. Now, was there something, anything, I can do for you? Anything at all?' (Cleese and Booth 2000: 12). With one guest Basil Fawlty is snobbish and with the other he bends over backwards but it is the latter who turns out to be a wanted criminal and in the end is arrested by the other who turns out to be of the police.

The first screening of guests happens with the booking enquiry and reservation made by the guest. As already mentioned, in many societies one needed a token to identify oneself as guest or else one was seen as hostile stranger. Today that token is money, which is not as discriminating as the old token – at least making a reservation and usually a deposit ensures that both guest and host have some security about their mutual arrangement. The most common screening is economic. Other guest screening and discrimination is particularly evident in the cheaper facilities because the more expensive ones have automatically 'screened' guests by virtue of their higher rates. Certain people simply cannot afford upmarket facilities. But the money is the same regardless of the guest therefore screening is aimed at testing for something non-pecuniary. Hosts will always prefer guests from a higher social stratum because the host-guest 'equalization' would imply an upliftment of the host; the opposite happens with guests of lower strata – it would mean a down-grading for the host. In the *Hávamál* this is expressed in stanza 123:

'For you will never get from a bad man any return for kindness, but a good man will be able to gain for you a sound and sure reputation' (Clarke 1923: 75).

The interviewees provided some examples of the functioning of 'screening'. One interviewed hostess screens people when they make enquiries on the phone and found that often people try her because her rates are rather cheap. 'If the voice is OK' or simply the attitude, and these are wholly subjective criteria, she will accept them. In another facility most of the guests are booked through a booking agency, especially during festivals, so that

hostess herself does not screen her guests but they have in fact been screened by the booking agency. A host said that if he gets a bad gut feeling when dealing with an enquiry of a potential guest he will not accept the booking; other commercial hosts would inform their colleagues not to take guests that hail from certain areas. A guest house in the Grahamstown area sports a sign at the entrance stating 'No Low Life or Riff-Raff allowed' which also reflects a crass type of screening, assuming that those referred to in the notice understand it. However, with screening one quickly gets a feeling that something is amiss and besides the host also has to consider that other guests may be disturbed by an undesirable co-guest.

The working of screening is nowadays also effected with email and the following story illustrates the process: A guest-to-be made a telephone enquiry and after taking a provisional booking Volkher suggested that the guest check their website for more details and future contact if he needed any. The guest was wheelchair-bound and although Volkher's facilities are not certified as wheelchair-friendly he has a room in the 'private' backyard area which is suitably fitted for people in wheelchairs. He had prepared this room some years ago for the visit of a paraplegic friend after the friend had advised him on the layout of the space needed for wheelchairs. The potential guest's first email was an enquiry about payment but in the second email he enquired about a 'better deal' for he anticipated visits to Grahamstown on a regular basis and would then like to use the same facilities. Volkher replied that the rates quoted to him were already 'special', and since the room is actually a private guest room and their daughter will be using the room when she visits soon, it will only be available in a few months time again. Volkher also gave him the contact particulars of the only certified (as far as he knows) wheelchair-friendly accommodation facility in Grahamstown. The guest's repetitive enquiries about the exact details of the facilities were understandable considering his disability. However, after the fifth email exchange Volkher's experience warned him that that man would be a particularly demanding guest, over and above his special condition. Volkher had to consider two possible conflicts: one was that if he would give too much the reward would be too small – how much nuisance can he endure at a rate of R450 for three people per day?; the second possible conflict could occur with the personal contact with an unsatisfied guest which he

also would rather not want to anticipate. Volkher felt his gut feeling proved right when he received the next email (the transcriptions are verbatim):

'It sound very nice, I would like to know if you could make the bedroom or the rondavel very romantic? Im coming to ghramstown for work but i also would like to traeat my fiance with a very romantic short night. Can you arrange something for me with no extra costs because im only going to be there for a short time. I want to make it worth my money For being there for a few hours. We will make use of you food and bar, what time is the bar closeing and will i get a bottle of champane or something?'

The guest was asking for extra service for free, without any reward. The fact that he would have stayed for a very short time makes no difference in the preparation of the room and the cleaning afterwards. Volkher would not hesitate to make a room 'very romantic', which he has often done, if he and the guest had already 'clicked', or if somebody would offer him an attractive reward. In this case the demands irritated him and he had the feeling the guest wanted to abuse his hospitality which in turn made him aggressive. Still, he decided to 'stage' in order to get this booking over and done with without open conflict and again explained the workings of their facility. Volkher felt that the next email from the guest was downright insolent: 'Thanks alot, will the champane be on the house? Wil make the transfer leter today or early 2morrow.' Volkher's answer was 'The champagne is R55 and our accommodation rates are already the cheapest, we can't offer freebies on top of that.' The guest replied 'What do you have for pizza topping and how many can i choose? Whats the price for the lezanga ang is that all you have?' By then the demands irritated Volkher to boiling point. Volkher realized that he preferred not to have this man as a guest because he could foresee the danger of such severe conflicts that he might not to be able to hide his aggression at the face-to-face encounter with this guest. The next day two email exchanges were made concerning directions and the guest's confirmation that they will be arriving two days later. The day after more emails were exchanged and following is again a direct transcript:

Guest: 'Hi there, i just want to inform you that only me "the wheelie" and my co-worker is going to sleep over that night, So it will be R150+R150. can you add our food and drinks with the sleep on 1 bill?'

Host: 'Ok, so it's just one cottage for 2 people sharing at R150 per person per night. About what time can we expect you?'

Guest: 'No its 2 people in 2 cottages. we will be there between 7pm and 10pm, will leave early in the morning. i will phone you before 1pm and inform you if we would eat a pizza. So will it be R150 a cottage?'

Host: 'Our minimum rates for a cottage are R300 and we were willing to discount you already (instead of R600 for 2 cottages we quoted only R450). Either we stick with R450 for 2 cottages or you share 'Afrique' for R300. By now I'm getting more and more annoyed with your haggling and would rather suggest you look for accommodation elsewhere.'

Guest: 'Im sorry about everything, ill inform you tomorrow if ill stay there. The R450 is all in order, sorry for all the fuzz, Im in a wheellie si i must always do what people say. Sorry for everything.'

Volkher did not hear or see anything of the guest until the day after the supposed reservation when he made a new enquiry: 'Hi there. I want to know if i can have 2 rondawels for 2 days. i will make the internet payment on SID. AND HOW MUCH WILL THE COSTS BE?'

Volkher decided not to respond to the enquiry but later on that day the guest phoned and at first pretended to be a completely new guest. Once Volkher pointed out to him that he recognized him as the person with all the demands, the guest immediately concurred and repeated his 'demand' for 'two rondavels'. To terminate this painful process Volkher told him 'I do not wish to have you as a guest here – it is not about the money or your wheelchair; I do not appreciate your attitude. Sorry, you are not welcome here'.

This story demonstrates how a host would follow his 'gut feeling' about a potential conflict with the guest and since that is obviously not desirable (presumably equally so for the guest) the contact is averted. The fact that this person was physically disabled had in fact nothing to do with any 'criteria' he was screened for since the host had a facility that would have been comfortable for a paraplegic; the guest could as well have been anybody, any stranger. I have a collection of the email contacts we have had with other guests and none

of them contained this type of demanding tone. The vast majority are in a friendly, sometimes jocular, informal email fashion without exaggerated demands.

As mentioned with reference to Fawlty, to ward off guests hosts use the 'fully booked lie' or say that they are fumigating and closed for that period. It is thus a highly subjective and arbitrary affair depending on the whim of the host. My host in Oudtshoorn told me that he had successfully used the 'fully booked lie' as part of his tactics to get rid of prostitutes and drug dealers who had been frequenting the establishment when he took over the business. Like Basil the host wanted a better class of guest because that would be more rewarding and would contribute to his success. Hosts rather deal with people of their own social status or strive to attract guests of higher strata. Hosts also use the 'fully booked lie' when guests with whom they had previously had a negative experience want to return. The memorable host story about an attempted bilking (discussed later) ended with the hostess telling me that when the guests enquired about a future booking she was indeed fully booked but would have told the guests anyway that she was fully booked because she did not want them to return. The 'fully booked lie' can easily be undone with mentioning to the guest that there was a mistake, a cancellation or as Sybil states, a guest had just left and a room became available again.

Two memorable host stories were about screening that 'failed'. The first is about guests who had made a reservation some months before and were en route to Addo National Park. The hostess allocated them to a particular room because they had also booked supper and the room would be conveniently close for the hostess to do service. The guests phoned and confirmed their imminent arrival. On one extremely hot afternoon with a thunderstorm brewing the couple arrived in their 4X4. Immediately on arrival the guest asked where they were supposed to cook and then demanded 'this and then that – he became a different person', at least to what she expected from the nice voice on the phone earlier. As these things go everything that could go wrong did. The heat and humidity were exacerbated by flies everywhere and then the heavens opened and the roof leaked under the heavy torrent. The guest was however determined to '*braai*' (grill/barbeque) and proceeded to do so in the

rain, 'he had to do his thing' and she resolved simply to sit it out. The hostess' screening failed. She was expecting at least a normal guest and not such a demander and this was exacerbated by the workings of Murphy's Law. She had also prepared food for the guests which they did not want anymore. In the end she just had to 'grin and bear it'.

The other memorable host story where the screening failed had a positive end. The hostess caters for the upper market guest but there arrived once, as she related it, a '*skedonk*' (an old and battered car) transporting an electrician and his assistant. She sensed their discomfort, especially when other '*larney*' (upper class) guests were around but she resolved to be very welcoming. She found the guests were most respectful and she appreciated that the men wore ordinary jeans and a neat shirt to breakfast and then changed into their overalls before they left. They left a note in her visitor's book: 'thank you for treating me with dignity'. To an extent this hostess' screening failed for the working class guest is not her everyday desired guest. By keeping to the compulsion *nexilitas* exerts, she succeeded in making the guests feel at home in her home; the guests recognized and from their side respected even the unwritten rules of the house (about dress). Through the medium of the visitor's book they expressed their gratefulness for the hostess' consideration. Once the guest is 'at home' *nexilitas* is working and will maintain the relationship until the end, which is not the end of time but the end of hospitality. This story also indicates that *nexilitas* is not necessarily bound by class divisions and actually a mechanism to surpass such differences.

The fear of strangers is a normal condition to protect ourselves against the dangers inherent with the unknown. It is the first line of 'defence' demonstrated by the screening and discrimination efforts of hosts. In anticipation of the guest's arrival the booking enquiry by the guest is a golden opportunity for the host to do screening. Screening is another expression of downright discrimination as Basil demonstrated with a walk-in guest whom he disliked and told the fully booked lie. With walk-in guests there is no prior opportunity 'to check the guest out' but a quick examination usually does the trick. Once the host has accepted the guest and thus demonstrated that he can host, that is balancing the fear of the

unknown with the curiosity for the unknown, nexilitas can follow or not. No establishment of nexilitas is possible when the guest actually threatens the well-being or even the existence of the host. Screening can fail and as will be discussed later 'exile' is the host's 'secondary defence line' for those types of guests, *'guests that should get lost'*.

The one and only South African Appeal Court case to date concerning an innkeeper's duty to accommodate a traveller was adjudicated in *Jockie v. Meyer* (1944 AD 354). Appeal Court Judge Tindall referred to the host

falsely alleging that he had no accommodation for him (the guest) ... because the plaintiff was not of the class for which he ... catered ... Though the pleadings do not mention the fact, the plaintiff is Chinese by race; hence the defendant's unfortunate refusal to allow him to remain at his hotel.' (355) 'He told the magistrate that he only catered for Europeans and that if he accepted non-Europeans his customers would object (358).

The judge then dealt with Old Roman Dutch Law⁵⁸ and concluded

I am prepared to assume in favour of the plaintiff that an hotel-keeper is bound to give a traveller accommodation in the absence of good ground for refusal. But from this assumption it does not necessarily follow that the traveller who is given accommodation by an hotel-keeper has a right to remain indefinitely (361).

The case was ultimately decided in favour of the innkeeper along the same lines as the 'Right of Admission Reserved'-rules work, whereby the law recognizes the host's right to accept or reject guests. The host decides to whom he will extend the 'welcome' and then nexilitas. What this case confirms is that in commercial hospitality the innkeeper is sovereign. The host is 'king of his castle' but can 'lower the draw-bridge' to allow the guest in – if that is what the king desires. This 'discriminatory' act of the host is part of the host's defence system in anticipation of the possible power struggle between host and guest when

⁵⁸ Voet (4.9.4), who states that an inn-keeper cannot refuse admittance to travellers unless for good reason given, is on the side of those who hold that the meaning of the words "*nam est in ipsorum arbitrio ne quem recipiant*" is that inn-keepers are free to refuse everyone in the sense that they need not start trade, but that if they choose to do so they cannot complain of the strict conditions under which the law compels them to carry it on' (1944 AD 360).

they meet face-to-face. A guest is only a temporary position but the commercial host continues to host and is also concerned with other guests. The guest is therefore 'chosen' by the host. The host understands that for the guest it is quite the opposite: the guest thinks he chooses his host but the guest can only be allowed in by the host.

The host is 'king' and prepared to receive the guest but does not cease to be master of the house when the guest has been received. The late capitalist guest has been tricked into thinking as an absolute rule that hosts 'must meet the desires and demands of the paying guest, [who is] the 'master/mistress' of the experience. Their [the hosts'] role is socially apportioned as menial' (Di Domenico and Lynch 2007: 335). If this were true it would be tantamount to slavery and clearly it reveals ignorance of any potential for social bonding which underlies the encounter.

3.3. Waiting

Vladimir: We wait. We are bored ... No, don't protest, we are bored to death, there's no denying it (From *Waiting for Godot* by Samuel Beckett (1965)).

Waiting is an integral part of the whole hosting process and it would be a very drawn-out and boring affair to expand this aspect here. In the sequence of hosting actions there are numerous times of waiting for guests. It is important to note that waiting for the guest involves for the host preparation efforts and costs which have been incurred, whether the guest arrives or not. Fitting and maintaining the room/unit, switching lights and/or heating on etc. incur costs, therefore there is obviously some anxiety about the guest's arrival. The host prepares a home-space for the guest but also has to keep it. *Warten* (waiting) and *bewirten* (hosting) in German have obvious etymological connections, hence also waiting in the sense of a waiter, which will be discussed later. A guest can experience hospitality and hospitableness and even in a no-host situation (the host is perhaps momentarily absent), but a guest would always experience some hospitality, however basic. Therefore there is

always a host waiting for guests even if the host is not present or directly represented. The basic facilitating of hospitality has been provided by someone, a host, for the guest.

An interviewee who was about to retire from commercial hosting started the interview by spontaneously remarking that 'one thing I will definitely not miss is the endless waiting for lost or delayed guests'. On an occasion a guest told Volkher during breakfast one morning that he had been a barman before. He enquired whether the night before had been busy or quiet – he fell asleep so early he could not tell. He said about his experience: 'I know, you sit there and wait – no people, no money, but you wait.' Yes, waiting on people, waiting for people pretty much sums up the service actions of the host. It is the expression of taking care and being prepared to share time and space, sometimes in vain.

4

Arrival and the 'time' of hospitality

Crossing the threshold is entering and not only approaching or coming. Strange logic, but so enlightening for us, that of an impatient master awaiting his guest as a liberator, his emancipator (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000: 123).

At last the guest arrives and the face-to-face encounter begins. The reception of a guest and the meeting and greeting are the signals from the host to the guest to cross the threshold and enter the host's space. The guest's entering of the host's space is the consummation of hospitality. Now, in this liminality, the workings of *nexilitas* begin and would last for the duration of the time of hospitality.

4.1. Reception

THENARDIER: Welcome, M'sieur
Sit yourself down
And meet the best
Innkeeper in town

'Welcome' is what the host expresses as the guest is received. Small commercial hosts value the personal reception of guests for this is the first face-to-face encounter with the stranger who is about to become guest. The importance of the greeting ritual and things that could go wrong with it has been extensively discussed by Erving Goffman (1963: 74ff) in the context of 'behaviour in public places' but can equally apply 'at home', and need not be repeated. Reception is often informal and my experience has shown that 'one less piece of

paper will make life easier', as some guests stated, for they did not want a receipt when they paid and appreciated not having to fill out forms. Modern technology also provides that most of the information required for the standard checking-in is already supplied with phone or email exchange. The guest is allowed in and shown around and initiated in the use of the facilities. The guest is invited to make himself at home.

Volkher usually personally goes out to greet his guests as they arrive by motorcar. If they have a reservation he would welcome them with their name 'Hi, hello ... Mr Mtzali? ... yes! Welcome ...' The host recognizes the 'token' when the guest reveals that it is indeed the expected guest. Usually the guests get out of the car and all the guests are individually greeted and introduced sometimes more formally than other times. To illustrate the intensity of the moment of reception there are the examples of Volkher's reception of guests on the day before the start and the first day of the National Arts Festival in 2009. All his rooms had been fully booked well in advance for more or less the whole period of festival. A couple from Johannesburg were the first to arrive late in the afternoon. The normal greeting and introduction procedure happened and the guests were shown around the facilities with fading daylight. At nine o'clock that night Volkher phoned the leading guest of a group of guests from Cape Town which he also expected to arrive that day. He enquired where they were as it was getting late and perhaps they got lost but they said they were delayed. They arrived after 10 o'clock and Claudia showed them around while Volkher kept his orphaned zebra toddler, Johnnie, at bay and tried to answer all the guests' questions about Johnnie. The guests informed Volkher that three more people of their group will arrive shortly. Volkher expected 6 adults, 1 toddler and 1 baby, as was their revised reservation the day before when the guests increased their booking from only three adults for whom they had booked initially. Volkher spent quite some time the day before rearranging the furniture to accommodate this group but then, because all the other rooms were also fully booked, quickly had to prepare his private guest room as well. Well after 11 o'clock that night the others arrived, being four and not three as remarked earlier. The leading guest immediately took the newcomers aside and they had a long conversation which they kept aside. Volkher felt quite odd just standing there, waiting for the guests to finish. After a while one of the women in the later group came over and asked Volkher 'Oh

hi, are you new?’ He promptly retorted ‘No, this is my place!’ realizing that because they were swept away by the ‘leader’ upon arrival he did not attend to the usual greetings and introductions. He then belatedly carried these out with the inquisitive newcomer. Thereafter he took his leave and said to the guest that any of them were welcome to come around to the kitchen if there would be anything they required further. Claudia had in the meantime shown the mother and nanny, who were part of the earlier group, around her kitchen where they would find the kettle and other utensils particularly needed for baby care and she hastily prepared another bed for the extra person. Volkher and Claudia went to bed late wondering how those guests were going to get along, in and out of their kitchen – they did not offer self-catering, but with the babies decided to make some extra arrangements. It was obvious that those guests were looking for something reasonable and cheap because accommodation for ten days of festival could cost quite a lot for such a group. Generally backpackers have an image of almost endless accommodation options with some communal cooking facilities which in their case were then under construction and of which the guests had been fully informed when they made the reservation.

The next day all the guests went to town except the nanny with the toddler and baby left in her care. The nanny prepared porridge for the toddler and bottles for the baby in Claudia’s kitchen. The parents returned with more supplies that needed refrigeration space which proved another problem but with a squeeze they could add their perishables to the already full fridge. The mother of the children told Claudia that they would only stay one more night instead of the booked ten days. About the others, she said she was not sure whether they would return at all (and they had not paid yet). The situation seemed to become unbearable – first they booked for three adults, then the booking changed to three more and the toddler and baby. Finally arriving though, were seven people and the two small children with a nanny, and then they wanted to change the reservation again! Claudia worked out a price for the entire group for two nights and said to the leading guest that he could collect the money from their whole group (they wanted to pay separately), pay together and all can check out the next day. Most guests had returned from town by midnight when Volkher was still waiting up for yet another group of expected guests from Cape Town. He had also phoned them earlier and they said they were on their way but would probably arrive quite

late. He had put up paper notices with directions to their reserved cottage. At about three o'clock in the morning he finally went to bed and did not wake up when Claudia did at four o'clock when the new guests finally arrived. Half sleep-walking she directed them to their cottage and, needless to say, everybody came to rest at last. At seven o'clock the next morning there was a commotion and the bigger part of the other group left without further ado while Volkher and Claudia were already busy preparing breakfast for the other guests. The 'leader' then came over and sorted out the account and profusely thanked them for all the trouble they had and apologized for any inconvenience. He had found lodgings with friends in town which would make life much easier with the babies. Volkher and Claudia were very relieved that everything with these guests had been settled and that the tension which built up had gone. The guests' premature evacuation certainly meant a loss of potential income in a peak season but unsatisfied or unsatisfiable guests is quite the opposite of what any host has in mind. Tensions also easily arise when guests are roaming the private areas of the home and here the small commercial host is no different from anybody else concerning private autonomy.

On another occasion a mother and her teenage son, who had booked beds in the backpackers on the farm, had arrived but found no one to receive them. By phone they reached Volkher and Claudia's son, who managed the backpackers at that stage, but forgot about that booking and had gone out. He phoned them at their restaurant in town and Claudia and her daughter rushed out to the farm (a twenty minute drive out of town) where the guests were anxiously waiting. Claudia checked the guests in and then waited for her son to return so that the guests would not feel deserted if left on their own so soon. It was a Sunday, the one day in the week when the restaurant in town was closed and Volkher used the time with no guests around to do maintenance on another building. After he had finished at the other premises and returned to the restaurant he found that he could enter through the back gate with the remote control but he did not have any key to enter the building which concerned him rather seriously as thick smoke came bellowing out of the kitchen window. Claudia, in her hurry to get to the waiting guests on the farm, had left something cooking on the gas cooker in the kitchen. Volkher phoned Claudia and told her that the kitchen was on fire, he didn't have a key and he would try to break in but she

should hurry back. At the backpackers on the farm Claudia started with a panic, stumbled and broke her wrist. In the meantime her son arrived and could take care of his guests while Claudia, trying to pretend that all is fine, at least towards the guests, in a combined effort with her daughter managed to drive back to town after temporarily stabilizing the fracture. In the meantime Volkher had smashed a window, got inside the kitchen and switched the cooker off, which had a heavily smoking but not yet burning pot on it. Claudia arrived back in town and they could seek medical attention.

This story illustrates the importance of receiving a guest and the consequential efforts to make the guest feel 'at home', or at least, not deserted. Even when Claudia broke her wrist she did not share this discomfort with the guest because she thought it might distress the guest. The host takes care of the guest, not the other way around. The host stages, even to the extent of pretending not to have pain, particularly in the critical reception situation (which was in this case more critical than usual because the guest had felt abandoned in the beginning).

Volkher received a booking enquiry from a young woman who indicated that she and her fiancé would like to stay for three days; she said she had seen his facility on the internet and would like a double room. On the day of their expected arrival she phoned and told Volkher that they would be arriving late. Volkher told her all is fine and gave further directions how to get to his place. They phoned a couple of times again because the electrical supply of their GPS device failed and they had gotten lost. Volkher repeated the directions and told them that they should please phone again if they felt lost. Finally they arrived and as usual Volkher went out to greet them and showed them where their cottage was and where to park their car. The woman immediately got out of the car and very friendly greeted Volkher. He went around to the other side of the car to greet the fiancé and also because their booked cottage was on that side of the car. He noticed that the man's legs were paralysed and that he had the car fitted with manual devices to be able to drive. Formally they shook hands, during which the man introduced himself as 'Gerrie' and Volkher asked him if he was Afrikaans, which he confirmed. The rest of their conversation was then in Afrikaans. Volkher

showed them around and asked them if they would need anything in particular. He found it strange for someone to make a reservation without inquiring whether the facility is wheelchair-friendly; he thought about offering them the rondavel that was fitted for paraplegics but decided that this guest's condition was probably of such a nature that he could manage in normal facilities and besides the rondavel was in their private area; something reminded him of an email enquiry some time ago but he immediately suppressed it and resolved not to have any prejudices. There was no doubt in his mind that the guests were of low social standing and even if he had had a bad experience with such a type of guest he tried to be as 'normal' as possible; the guests seemed 'OK' to him.

The reception was longer than usual and the woman seemed ecstatic about the place and showed a lot of interest in the animals (dogs, cats, zebra, buck etc.) and sometimes called her fiancé by another name which was not Gerrie. Volkher registered this but did not make anything of it. The woman asked if she could have a look at the other cottage and Volkher said 'OK' but he would have to fetch the key. He went to the kitchen where the keys are kept and told Claudia that the man was in a wheelchair and they required a plastic chair which Claudia then said she would wipe clean first and then bring it out. After a while Claudia came with the chair and greeted the guests, then she excused herself and returned to the kitchen. Volkher finished with the rather lengthy reception ritual and also returned to the kitchen to find Claudia in a state of shock. 'It's him, it is that 'guy in the wheelie!' Volkher immediately said 'No, that can't be'. Soon he made the connection too. Claudia had immediately recognised the 'the wheelie' when she greeted him from his Facebook picture which she had sourced after the incident with the email enquiry some months ago. She had confirmed her suspicion by asking him during her greeting what his job was and he answered that he was debt collector. Bingo. They easily reconfirmed it all by calling up the Facebook pictures of both fiancés on the internet. 'But what to do now?' The guests had been allowed in and welcomed, they had been properly received – nexilitas had started. Volkher had said to them 'Please make yourselves at home' – yet some time before, he had told the same guests 'You are not welcome'.

During the introduction the guests had told Volkher that they would leave very early the next day but they also indicated to him that they have decided that they would like to have dinner and a whisky or so 'You do have a bar?' (As if they were completely unfamiliar with the facilities). By the time the guests came around to the bar, her pushing him in his wheelchair across the lawn, Volkher and Claudia had not resolved 'What to do?' It was too late for the 'fully booked lie' and they could not expel the guests – on what grounds? (The previous unreasonable demands of a guest-to-be?). This time their screening seemed to have 'failed' and the guest was 'staging' too – by pretending to be someone else. Besides, now that they were there *in corpora*, the host's 'show' had to go on. Both host and guest were acting – the guests wondering if they were recognised and Volkher pondering on how he maintains putting up his 'unprejudiced' show in those circumstances. Should he confront the issue or keep pretending and just host normally? He resolved to the latter. Volkher and Claudia were also discussing the interesting situation of this double staging and the guests also staging - everybody was staging. He served their supper and drinks in the usual manner. During their supper 'Gerrie' told Volkher of their ordeal earlier in the day when he had to have something rewired in the car and while they were waiting they got relieved of their clothing – luckily she had put all valuable stuff in her handbag when they left the car. His wheelchair was not taken. When he had phoned to ask for directions the car charger started smoking and became defunct with the result that the GPS did not work anymore. She let slip out that he had said 'Die man spook by ons' (The man's ghost is haunting us) when he referred to three things that have gone wrong as if they were some curses or bad omens to prevent them from coming there. Volkher again registered that they obviously thought their cover-up is working but he did not react. At the end of the meal they returned to the bar and again 'Gerrie' made very long monologues about his job, his parents, crime, his *oupa* and all the latest technical devices of which Volkher could only relate to here and there; his mind was still occupied with the question 'What to do?' and noted the sudden short silences when the woman accidentally called 'Gerrie' by his real name. Volkher amused himself when they enquired about his daughter and when she would visit again – information they could only have had because of the previous email correspondence. The woman at some stage later said she was tired and that they should go to their cottage. 'Gerrie' explained again that because of the trouble with the car they wanted to leave early the next morning and they made movements as if to move on. 'Gerrie' wanted to settle their full account then and

Volkher made the calculation and told them the total amount which 'the wheelie' handed over without any ado. He asked if he could get a receipt and Volkher said 'no problem' and proceeded to make out an invoice which he addressed to 'the wheelie's' real full name and surname, not 'Gerrie'. Volkher only handed over this receipt when they were finally leaving to their cottage because no one asked him for it and 'the wheelie' kept on telling all other sorts of stories and he thought it best to wait until the last moment of contact. After the guests retired, Volkher and Claudia reflected on when the guests would read the receipt and realise that they had been recognised basically from the start and what their reaction would be. Volkher had his pleasure therein that his show out-trumped that of the guest. Volkher had no reason to criticize the guests on anything; they were respectful and not demanding, they did not haggle about the price and generally behaved as most guests do (the guest had perhaps learned something with the previous email contact); except for their 'show' Volkher found nothing else dishonest or untrustworthy about the guests. The guests were of low social standing but nonetheless 'OK'. However, the motive for the determination of the guest to get into Volkher's facility remained a mystery.

A memorable host story concerning the reception of a 'walk-in' paying guest concludes this section. The guest arrived in a brand new Mercedes Benz and summoned the host to the front door. He sported an arrogant attitude while enquiring about the rates and after the host explained the options the guest said that it was far too expensive and could he not get a 'special deal'. The host, annoyed, told the guest that in East London there are cheaper facilities and he should rather try there. The guest persisted by enquiring what kind of discount could be arranged if he did not have breakfast, for instance. Whereupon the host told him 'We don't have any deal and be my guest, East London is just about one and a half hours that way or probably much less in your car'. The guest asked why the host was fighting with him and the host answered it was the guest who was provoking a fight with him. The guest however, insisted then that he be, at least, shown the room which the host reluctantly did. In the room the guest immediately said he will take it and asked for the checking-in procedure. Later when the host came across the guest the guest asked him if he would care join him for a glass of red wine, some special bottles he had carried along from

the Cape. The animosity forgotten they had a nice conversation and the guest did stay for breakfast and settled his full bill without further ado.

The guest had evidently attempted a joking relationship before any bond had been established, and it had predictably backfired, particularly because the joke concerned the 'money talk taboo'. A similar guest screening, as discussed above, happens with walk-in guests but then at the time of greeting and reception. Hosts would rather not accommodate a guest when there is an indication that there might be conflict and in the face-to-face reception situation the host makes quick judgements – the fact that a guest might present enough of the token (money) is not the only criteria to allow the guest in; the actual personal feelings of the host are just as important, if not more so. In the service industry the provider always feels disrespected if a guest/client asks for a discount. Once the guest adheres to the rules of the house and shows respect for the host normal hospitality and *nexilitas* follow.

4.2. The 'time' of hospitality

The tactful guest will take his leave Early,
not linger long:
He starts to stink who outstays his welcome
In a hall that is not his own.

(Stanza 35 of the *Hávamál* as translated by Auden (1970: 6)).

The threshold is a symbol of liminality, spatio-temporal limitations, and concurring with Turner, David Picard (2006:11) views liminality as 'moments (time) and places (space) of ambiguity where daily realities are suspended.' Permitted 'ritualised transgressions' of the normal run of things seems to be inherent with any concept of hospitality where the scales

rather draw towards excess than miserliness. The Feather Palaces⁵⁹ in Oudtshoorn, together with their common usage today as guest houses, typify the role of hospitality, to host exquisitely, thus the ‘excess’ bits and pieces in places and times when guests are hosted and entertained. It is exactly this excess on the part of the host, the demonstration of taking care and the ‘passing through’ that places the guest in the most expectant situation – to such an extent that some revert to infantile behaviour. Rapport and Overing (2007: 403) state: ‘One plays like a child again, except with adult capacities; one enjoys extramarital sex, nude sunbathing and drug-taking ... one is a foreigner from oneself.’ This is also evident from ‘infantile’ guest behaviour as reported in ‘Revenge of the concierge’ (full article in Appendix 7). Someone else, the host, is taking care and, as stated, it is the ‘care’ aspect which is underlying host actions similar to mothering. But the excess is only for a short time and like the threshold, passed. Liminality means that there are defined borders both in time and of space.

“Guests are like fish, after three days they stink”, the old Italian saying goes. In medieval monasteries the first two days of stay were free, hence travellers usually left on the third day and new guests arrived which all caused great financial difficulties for monasteries (Davis 1924: 372) but it nonetheless supported the ‘three day rule’. According to the Hávamál (stanza 51) guests would not only stink but would be ‘rotten’ by the fifth day:

Among bad friends affection burns more fiercely than fire for five days, but when the sixth comes it dies out, and all the friendly feeling between them becomes spoilt (Clarke 1923: 57).

The understanding that hospitality is temporary has its reflection in other branches of the service industry. In restaurants and bars, for instance, the time is determined by the time the guest needs to eat or drink and usually does not exceed opening hours and the time actually spent with the guest is much shorter than that in accommodation facilities. ‘Selwyn (2000) recounts the story of a café by a bridge in Sarajevo which offered three qualities of coffees to weary travellers. The quality gradually declined as the traveller stayed longer, ranging from “welcome”, to “still here”, to the final lowest quality which was known to staff as “fuck off coffee”’ (Lashley 2008: 72). All this very clearly demonstrates the temporary

⁵⁹ Feather Palaces is the name given to exquisite mansions built during the ostrich feather boom around the turn of the previous century (See Appendix 4 for more detail).

nature of hospitality and that it has to end ideally around the third day, in the case of accommodation guests. When hospitality ends a construct of kin, affinity, parasitism or reverting back to strangers, follows.

In *Jockie vs. Meyer* (1944 AD 354) the Appeal Court Judge ruled on p.362:

It seems to me beyond dispute that the stay of a visitor at a hotel may be so long continued that he ceases to be a traveller. How long he remains a traveller is a question of fact in the particular case. In England where an inn-keeper is bound to receive all comers who are travellers, it has been held that if a guest has ceased to be a traveller and has become a mere lodger or boarder, the inn-keeper may turn him out after reasonable notice.

From the interviewed hosts I could only discern individualities concerning the time of hospitality. Some hosts prefer long-term guests (not boarders) and others would prefer strict adherence to the three-day rule. Another hostess likes long term guests (staying up to three months) because they know how everything goes and are rather easy then. The extended time is particularly evident during festivals where hosts prefer guests that stay the entire duration of festival (usually ten days) because less room turnover of new guests makes logistics easier in an otherwise busy time. In restaurants and bars the time has also been noted as 'hundreds of short encounters'. Hospitality is a short-term process and the longer the stay, the greater the likelihood of a transformation in the relationship.

In 2000 Callie and Monique Strydom, a South African couple who incidentally had been guests of mine when they travelled through Grahamstown in 2009, were taken hostage by a rebel group off an island in the Philippines where they were diving during a holiday. They have recalled their hostage story in a book ghost-written by Marianne Thamm where they refer to the "Stockholm syndrome":

This psychological "condition" was first identified in 1973 when four hostages were held for six days during a botched bank robbery in Stockholm. At the end of it ... all of the captives

refused to testify against the captors and one of the hostages even became engaged to one of the hostage takers.

The syndrome is a coping mechanism that is employed by people who are placed under severe mental and physical stress after having their freedom removed with no hope of escape. It is a strategy that is employed to keep the captor happy so as not to endanger one's own life and can result in an over-identification and even sympathy with the hostage-takers. It takes about three to four days for this psychological shift to manifest (Strydom, 2001: 146).

In the case of the Strydoms and their co-hostages, with whom they naturally bonded in the liminal hostage condition (*communitas*), they only experienced limited expression of the syndrome with their captors. In their case their captors had to 'protect' them against attacks from the Philippine Army but later on in their four month long ordeal they had contact with journalists and could have mail contact with family and friends in South Africa, which were social reliefs. Although captors threaten hostages with their lives hostages are valuable only alive and therefore the captors need to 'take care of' their 'guests'. The taking care of anybody is psychologically always related to the mother-child-care-relationship which seems to naturally spring into action when given the opportunity. The 'Stockholm Syndrome' was epitomized in 1974 by Patricia (Patty) Hearst, a billionaire's daughter in the USA, who was kidnapped by an urban guerrilla group (Symbionese Liberation Army) but then joined them and married the leader.

Even in this extreme form of 'hospitality' there is at least the potential for a social bonding. Save for the etymology of the word 'hostage', at first glance, the hostage situation rather belongs under imprisonment and the denial of freedom than under hospitality. However, it stayed true to its etymon in the cases discussed. The relationship captor-hostage is remarkably close to host-guest (although Procrustean to an extent); what is described by the Stockholm syndrome is the start of a social bond and it seems to be initiated with a process similar to the psychological workings in *nexilitas*, that of taking care after having taken up. The same time, of three to four days, before a more permanent bond establishes itself, applies in hospitality as the duration of the time of hospitality.

A memorable host story, which illustrates that the extent to which hospitality extends towards the guest is limited, concerned an old man from the Karoo accompanied by his young advocate. They were guests at a guesthouse because they had to attend a high court matter. The old man's wife had instituted an action for divorce and apparently had told him that he would get nothing and 'had to leave the farm in his underpants'. On the morning of the court hearing the hostess fixed the old man's tie and straightened his jacket after he insisted they all pray together. He tottered off clutching a Castle Lager beer box containing all his files and papers with his nervous advocate in close pursuit. When they returned from court the old man put his box down and exclaimed '*Die Here was genadig!*' (God had mercy). Now in high spirits he asked the hostess if she would come with him to his new house to help him with the linen, curtains and kitchen set-up which she obviously had to decline. They felt that the old man needed support, even in dressing and they felt obliged to assist him, but not so far as moving in with him. Nexilitas does not necessarily involve such radical bonding as extending hospitality to the guest at his home (unless the situation would have warranted complete reciprocity). When the time of hospitality has expired the host is relieved of his duty to host, which means that the 'care' for the guest ceases. What can remain is the bond, if one was established, and this bond will compel the commercial guest to seek up the particular host again on occasion of a return visit.

A demonstration of the abuse of the time of the hospitality and the intensity of time in the restaurant situation, especially concerning service, can be found in the case of a businessman from Grahamstown who celebrated his company's yearend function in Volkher's restaurant. Technicians, shop assistants, secretaries, managers and their partners made up a group of about twenty white people (Black cleaning or messenger staff were not there). They arrived at about seven o'clock in the evening and had dinner while consuming vast amounts of alcohol. Volkher was aware of his legal duty not to serve more alcohol to the already inebriated and he did not want to appear to be rude by telling the guests that they must leave, but he was very tired after a long day of work and he would have to get up early the next morning again. So at one o'clock in the morning, an hour after the

businessman himself had said to Volkher that he should just tell them when they should leave for 'we're having such a good time and don't notice the time', Volkher dispatched the waiters to collect an order for the 'last round' of drinks which was subsequently served together with the bill. The man promptly ordered another round and sent the bill back. The guest had ignored the request to leave (the calling of 'last round') and challenged Volkher's authority as host by ordering another round and sending the bill back. Reluctantly that round was served followed by the amended bill, thus repeating a polite request to leave. A little before two o'clock the businessman came to the reception desk and slightly unstable asked why Volkher was throwing them out; Volkher's authority was openly questioned in the presence of the waiters, but still he tried 'to keep it down' and remain calm and polite while he sensed aggression from the guest. Volkher said to the guest that he himself had told him earlier to tell him when it is time to go and it was then long after midnight. Mumbling something or another, the guest handed over his golden credit card and Volkher asked him to complete the bill for he has not filled in any amount for gratuity for the waiters. He then simply rewrote the total without any gratuity which Volkher pointed out to him 'Sorry, you forgot to put the tip in'. The guest suddenly started in rage about having had no service. Volkher told him that even if it was a buffet style meal where they helped themselves, nevertheless the waiters set the restaurant and clean up their mess. Usually the restaurant closed at about 23h00 and then it was already 02h00 and for the last three hours the waiters had served only them as all other guests had left long before midnight and besides, in his case, all the drinks were served by the waiters, which amounted to, by far, the bigger part of the total amount of their bill. Volkher tried to explain the position of the waiters and the well-known rules concerning gratuity, especially in restaurant settings. On the account of about R4500 he then added R100 and adjusted the final total to R4600. Volkher said to him that this was not in order as the norm for gratuity, as the guest surely knew, was around 10-15% of the total amount. Now red in his face he started swearing at Volkher and screamed 'Fuck Volkher - **You** put it in then! R1000, no better R10 000, I don't fucking care!' Volkher still calmly responded 'you obviously do not understand what I mean', whereupon the guest tore up the bill. However Volkher proceeded to run the credit card through the electronic banking terminal adding a 10% gratuity which the machine approved and printed two receipts, the guest signed a copy and took his. Volkher had enforced the 'tipping rule' of the house and thereby secured at least the material reward in commercial hospitality for

the waiters too. Shouting further abuse the guest returned to his group and announced loudly that Volkher had thrown them out and they must leave immediately. The party quickly subsided and they all piled out never to return, not any one of them. Volkher had however no regrets about them not returning. Coming back though were twisted rumours that Volkher had lost his temper, tore up the bill and violently threw them out of the restaurant. It was a very unpleasant incident but the guest's behaviour was simply too much to 'grin and bear'. Volkher enforced his rules being aware that the result might be to lose a regular guest forever. Clearly the time of hospitality had long been transgressed and the fact that the guest's alcohol intake had also transgressed the normal, were the main contributors leading to the intense conflict. The fact that he did not want to add any gratuity for the waiters was seemingly an attempt to take some 'revenge' on being 'thrown out' although the waiters themselves had no authority to throw any guest out; the guest attempted to exhibit power by punishing those that he thinks are merely his 'servants' but he abused his host and hospitality which in turn led to his 'exile'.

5

Accommodation and the 'space' of hospitality

THENARDIER: Enter M'sieur
 Lay down your load
 Unlace your boots
 And rest from the road

Still within the liminal phase of hospitality, in this chapter the focus is on the hosting space. The guest is not only invited in but also encouraged to make himself at home. Please come in! 'Come, cross my threshold'; 'Make yourself at home' is what Derrida exclaims (Caputo 1997:111). The guest passed the threshold, the actual doorway which can extend to the entrance hall, reception area, foyer and lobby. This chapter also includes sections which describe what is found inside the hosting space, such as food, drink and shelter, as well as the host's actions within this space, these include service and entertainment. To conclude the seeming anomaly of the display and destruction of wealth is examined.

5.1. Inside and outside

The guest is only inside once he completely passed the actual threshold area, having penetrated the home-space, whether authentic or staged. The guest then still might not have gone as far as the 'back' but the 'front' (and the 'back') is anyway part of the inside of the house. Guestrooms are still part of the 'front' whereas the 'back' is where hosts usually do not appreciate guests such as food storage and preparation areas. The 'dramaturgical' perspective is an attempt, initiated by Erving Goffman, to describe the way in which the host manipulates space in order to maintain his control, but again viewed from the guest's perspective. Di Domenico and Lynch (2007: 323-4) further state that besides 'front' and 'back' there is also the host's real private space which is the same space of minimum privacy

everybody needs – a private sleeping and grooming area. The living area may already be shared space. The division inside-outside is far more important from the host's point of view than that of 'front' and 'back' because the host operates in both 'front' and 'back', that is inside. As was pointed out, the fundamental difference between strangers is whether they are internal or external strangers. Once inside the stranger has become a guest. Inside would describe the complete home separated from the outside by the threshold. A stranger is sometimes not allowed in as noted with the screening and discrimination earlier. 'Front' and 'back' may be useful in the big hotel scenario where the host is only represented by managers and staff but in the commercial 'home' setting 'front' and 'back' often blur where host and guest share space.

An epitome of an appearance of the division between the 'inside' and the 'outside', particularly as territorially separated spaces, is the Gamkaskloof as described in Du Toit's (1974) work and which I had visited on a fieldtrip there in 2010. For about 150 years an Afrikaner community (who referred to themselves as the '*klowers*') existed inside the valley, relatively isolated with no road or telecommunication system connecting them to the outside. There was a clear distinction of which stranger gets what hospitality and after the road had been cut, open hostility was displayed towards imposing outsiders.

My visit to this valley also involved camping next to a 'river' there. It is a profound place because at its widest the valley is little more than half a kilometre wide but twenty kilometres long. One definitely feels **inside** this valley and there was the whole world **outside**. A distinction the *klowers* attached quite some value to. This reminded me of the Iraqw (Thornton 1980) and the Rom (Stewart 1997) too, although in their sense it was more an imaginary line that divided inside and outside, where the *klowers* were physically surrounded by a border of inhospitable mountains; the people were hospitable though. There is a direct account of General Reitz during the Anglo Boer War when he accidentally stumbled into the valley:

We were received with uncouth but sincere hospitality and we applied ourselves gratefully to the goat meat, milk and wild honey that were placed before us (Du Toit 1974: 112) (A lost English officer was diverted with false directions).

On most other accounts it seemed the people of the valley were rather hospitable to strangers up to the point in time when the inside-outside-division started to change:

He is a man of rough cast, hardened by his constant struggle with nature. He is typical of the people of Gamkaskloof. So are they all, kind, warm, and friendly, but hard; hard not only because they have been shaped by nature, but also because they have reacted against fellow man who lives Outside. It is this outsider who has produced a name for Gamkaskloof, who looks down on the population as backward, who considers the region primitive, and who therefore calls it 'The Hell' (DuToit 1974: 22).

Then Du Toit (1974: 22-4) lists some examples where the *klowers* actually actively kept tourists away and 'from these examples of reaction it will become clear that any person using this offensive term [*Die Hel* or The Hell] immediately becomes *persona non grata*. One gets the impression that the apathy toward Outsiders is usually well founded.' There were deliberate attempts to make the 'guest' get lost as some of the stories show, like the one where a *klower*, in age old tradition, gave false directions when he met any unwanted stranger in the mountains. These 'hosts' obviously screened and then discriminated between visitors-to-be to their hidden valley.

After the road though (1963), the attitude of the *klowers* changed. This road blurred the distinct division between inside and outside. Within three decades of the opening of that hell road (it is said to be one of the worst mountain passes in the world) it was the main conductor **out** of the valley of the *klowers* and an attraction for the new touristic generation, already indicated by the group of doctors who invested in some holiday/excursion/nature-type getaway, to come **in**, thus introducing a new era for the valley – an era of tourism. In fact, Mrs. Joubert of the Gamkaskloof Resort is already doing

exactly that, doling out hospitality to weary travellers. In 1991 the last of the *klowers* left the valley (Sue Van Waart 2000: 175). According to the 'die hel' website 'the only remaining live in, born and bred Gamkaskloofer, (is) Annetjie Joubert'.⁶⁰ She had also left but returned some years later to operate the Gamkaskloof Resort. They offer accommodation in restored houses, camping, a kiosk and restaurant which were unfortunately fully booked at the time of my journey there and therefore we camped on private property.

5.2. Home and house

'Home and house' are very important concepts in anthropology and even more so because modern peoples migrate in search of a better quality of life 'at home', wherever that may be (Rapport and Overing 2007: 173). Home and house relate to space and time:

In short, homes could be understood as the organization of space over time and the allocation of resources in space and over time (Rapport and Overing 2007: 175).

This home-space belongs to the host which he then offers for enjoyment by the guest. Spradley and Mann (1975:2) say about bars: 'Bars are places where work and play overlap, and where many people find a home away from home.' What is important here is that they did indeed discern a home-concept in that hospitality environment. Yet this is not a real home, so it is called a 'mock household',⁶¹ like Trimalchio's (in *Satyricon*), Thenardiers' or Fawlty's,⁶² and it can have custom made trimmings like a patriarchal

⁶⁰ www.diehel.com

⁶¹ Brady's bar as Spradley and Mann (1975:59) observed had a hierarchy that even involved regular guests to be part of the host-side: On top was Mr. Brady the patriarch /owner; then the two Manager/bartenders/(princes) Mark and John; then the casual bartenders and bouncers (all male); then the regular guests (mostly male); then the waitresses; then female customers; lastly everybody else off the streets. The regular guests have become part of this household and rank even higher than the waitresses. Spradley and Mann described a very successful and popular bar with this social structure within which everybody has his/her place/station where they fulfil their roles.

⁶² Fawlty Towers offers another example of this type of host family: Basil and Sybil Fawlty are the leading pair (parents); Polly and Manuel are the adult 'children' doing service and there are some regular or long-term guests, the retired Major Gowen and two old ladies, Miss Tibbs and Miss Gatsby who complete the picture of some old relatives staying for quite a while, even years, and all are very familiar with each other.

management/ownership structure, with the 'family' made up by staff members (which indeed often form a type of sibling/kin-like bond) under a single manager or a hierarchy of managers. Another way to describe this phenomenon is a 'fictive kinship group' (Spradley and Mann 1975:147). From my experience I can state that this mock household is for all practical purposes the same as a real household for it provides the same services i.e. tending to of basic needs of others/guests. As noted among the interviewed hosts (see table 1, Figure 2), often one or more family members are involved in assisting with hosting and besides many have permanent housekeeping staff.

Debbie Sprowson (see article in Appendix 9) describes a typical township home stay in Grahamstown East and the hostess' dealings with space and time. The facility is small and basic; ablutions must also take place in the bedroom as the bathroom is under construction; the hostess explains how she would sacrifice sleep (time) in order to be ready for the guest and realise her aim which is ultimately to make money. In the more affluent Grahamstown West a hostess told me that she had designed her garden so as to ensure guest privacy apart from the daily family life, but also for their own privacy. She preferred small families as guests because the room was large enough to place an extra mattress on the floor (if the guests had small children) and the guests had private access to the pool area. In fact it was so private that the hostess, also a therapist, had considered offering family therapy sessions for guests who would come then specifically for that. These examples illustrate the way in which hosts manipulate space but they also have to maintain the space.

A memorable host story which captures the host's control of the hosting space was related to me by my host in Oudtshoorn. The funniest thing for this host was when once on inspection of the pool area he stumbled onto two Swedish girls sun-tanning without clothing. His colleague was greatly excited when he told him what he had seen, '*hy's jonk, jy weet, vol testosteron*'.⁶³ However two days later this same colleague was greatly disappointed to witness a German male couple exhibiting the same tendency to experience the 'Come for the sun'-slogan of Oudtshoorn's tourism authority. The guests' unusual

⁶³ He's young, you know, full of testosterone

behaviour, at least for South Africans, is amusing and entertaining. Note also the fact that hosts see everything, or are supposed to see everything that is happening in their facility. It is not that hosts go snooping around, but in order to maintain the facility panoptical presence is required.

As Will Hide reports: 'Perhaps people behave worse in large hotels, hiding behind the anonymity that multiple floors and large numbers of other guests provide. But they forget at their peril the CCTV cameras that lurk in every corridor' (see Appendix 7). Journalist Maas reports on the 'know' in hotels in Africa: '*Elke skurk en hotelklerk (die twee is dikwels een en dieselfde persoon) weet waar 'n toeris sy geldbelt dra*' (Maas 2010: 140).⁶⁴ Hosts, as has been noted amongst the Roman inns,⁶⁵ know or are supposed to know everything that happens on their property. Jack and Phipps (2005) discuss *communitas* and the hosts are recognized, but merely as wallpaper or part of the *given* circumstances. Even if hosts are supposed to be panoptical they themselves have not been looked at academically. The host, exercising the passive or static type of humanness, opposed to the active and dynamic guest blends with the structure, the home, to such an extent that he can easily be overlooked – hence perhaps the bottom line of the neglect of hospitality in tourism theories.

Examples of tourism theories reflecting the position of the host from the guest's point of view can be found with Jack and Phipps (2005: 127) who include a quote by David Chaney⁶⁶ in which he clearly expresses the 'authenticity' on the side of the host and the 'staging' in all 'tourist locales'. The tension between 'producers' (hosts) and 'consumers' (guests/tourists) are highlighted in terms of binaries like Turners' liminal-liminoid forms in tourism,

⁶⁴ Every robber and hotel clerk (they are often one and same person) knows where a tourist carries his money belt.

⁶⁵ The inn- or tavern-keeper 'will know not only everything that was said, and everything that was done; and not he alone, the cook, and the staff of the establishment' too, even if the doors and windows had been shut, cracks filled and neighbourhood noises were loud (Firebaugh 1928:196). 'And so it has always been: the insatiable curiosity of a tavern-keeper and the gossipings of some slaves have often been the causes which have led to discovery and to murder' (Firebaugh 1928:200).

⁶⁶ 'As tourists we are above all else performers in our own dramas on the stages the industry has provided ... in practice all tourist locales can be seen to involve degrees of staging ... there is in all of them a management and clear articulation of cultural identity oriented towards what Urry (1990) has called 'the tourist gaze'.'

Schechner's efficacy-entertainment thesis or Certeau's strategy-tactic comparison. Using Foucault, Jack and Phipps (2005: 127) examine tourists within these 'commodified spaces' controlled by 'panoptic regimes'. About their experience with their hostess in a B&B they write: '(I)t must also be remembered that bed and breakfasts are often, although certainly not always, owned by private individuals or families who often live in the same space ... B&Bs are tricky. You never quite know what to do and how to comport yourself' (Jack and Phipps 2005: 140). Perhaps Jack and Phipps were uncomfortable with their host's panoptic control, but they do not discuss it further.

The typical owner managed small commercial accommodation facility is an extended household space: at the centre is the host's private space and this can extend to the host family's private space and living area; service areas such as the kitchen, scullery and laundry are usually attached to the host's private area but with obvious access to the communal areas; then there are communal areas which both host and guest use (such as lounges, dining rooms and the garden); and there are the spaces exclusively for guests which the host often designs or arranges in such a way as to ensure guest privacy.

5.3. Rules of the house

Basil Fawlty: 'It's against the law ... The law of England. Nothing to do with me'

The 'rules of the house', which are often tacit and belonging to a specific social or cultural group, are easily transgressed by guests. Guests to the house are often ignorant of these rules and the problems arising from the transgression of the rules usually rest with the host – even in a hotel or host city it would be the hospitality provider that ultimately has to solve all problems. Some problems are beyond that which the host can control, specifically guest-induced problems, whether from their person, culture or property. Di Domenico and Lynch (2007: 332) found that a 'common theme was that all proprietors expected guests to abide

by both communicated and non-communicated house 'rules' ... The balance of power in the host/guest relationship is perceived by hosts to rest firmly with them. They value their control over the business in spatial terms.' The rule of thumb is to 'do in Rome as the Romans do.'

Bourdieu (1984) points out that cultural taste is not an inborn thing, but rather the result of one's upbringing and, particularly, education. Thus the capacity to make meaning of or to decode a particular art form is not easily acquired and, to a large extent, is tacit and thus much more difficult to acquire from outside a specific social class or group (cited in Snowball 2005: 55).

Snowball then gives an example where people would clap between symphony movements because they are not educated about behaviour at symphonic performances. The same would apply for table manners. Firebaugh mentions dietary and other or religious prohibitions for partaking in commensality and festivities even among various ancient peoples (for instance, Jews would not have been happy guests at Trimalchio's table) (Firebaugh 1928: 45). It is the host who has to make clear what the rules of the house are, especially if there are any specific rules, the host cannot just assume the guest knows everything; at the same time the host does not wish to offend through being patronizing – it is a fine line the host treads.

A memorable host story where guests were ignorant of the general house rules is about a group of regular guests, in this case government officials, who had the habit of taking everything that can be taken from the room like tea, coffee, sugar, toiletries, toilet paper etc. But then the hostess anticipated that and cleared the room of all extras and just the basics were left for these guests to use but not enough to take home. The hostess commented 'I learned how to handle these people'. The hostess learned how to maintain the house rules by simply denying the guests access to excess. The host usually has superfluous stock, to be able to host, and the guest should not see that because of seeming excess it is a free for all. It has been mentioned that house rules are often unwritten or unspoken and even in big hotels there can be confusion as to what constitutes what the

guest can use, consume or take with. Rules of the house are usually explained in the fine print of formal checking-in procedures, as in hotels, but more often involve verbal reminders.

Another memorable host story is about a guest who mistakenly entered the hosts' private lounge and fell asleep on the sofa – 'he just made himself at home'. The hosts were amused and let him be. The guest must have really felt at home and thought the private lounge homely when in fact the guest had trespassed onto the private domain of host. In this instance the host found the guest's ignorance of the rules amusing and turned a blind eye at the 'offence' which again demonstrates *nexilitas*.

Basil Fawltly tells guests who have just arrived and enquired about their reservation for a double room: 'Now, what's going on here? You're not married, is that it? ... Well, I can't give you a double room, then.' When the guests protest Basil says "It's against the law ... The law of England. Nothing to do with me ... I can give you two singles if you like ...' (Cleese and Booth 2000: 55). Basil Fawltly simply made up the supposed 'law of England' to justify his own conservatism. The rules of the house are the rules of the house, however absurd the guest may think them.

On an occasion Volkher hosted a couple with a toddler and a grandmother for lunch. The doting parents allowed the toddler to show off its newly acquired walking skills **on** the table, breaking general unspoken table rules. That was still bearable in comparison to parents that imagine their tone deaf offspring to be the new Rachmaninoff and promptly permit it to attach those sticky little digits to Volkher's yellow piano. The piano is a rarity: a 1938 Wurlitzer Butterfly Grand Piano done in Streamline Art Deco Style. Why guests would feel compelled to put their ignoramus child to this object as if it were a rocking horse, is beyond Volkher's comprehension. In all fairness, I have to add that Volkher enthusiastically encourages anybody who can play piano to give this one a try and then the experience is usually pleasurable for both host and the guest. But a sticky toddler hammering away on the

ebony and pounding the ivory tortures Volkher. Although he has insurance for damages, he thinks that guests should not feel as if they have temporarily 'bought' his facility and can do with it whatever pleases them. What the guests do in fact *pay for* is the service which Volkher is very happy to provide, as long as they leave his property in peace. Disrespect for the host's property, like breaking the rules of the house, even if they are not familiar to the guest, will always lead to possible conflict because it directly affects the host's autonomy. In the scenes involving babies and children on the piano Volkher avoided conflict by suppressing his annoyance and carrying on with his service, which is a form of staging, but he would bewail the scene with Claudia, in private, later. In the situation where he has waiters to assist with the service he will ask one of them to please tell the parents that the 'owner' does not appreciate children on the piano, whereby he avoids direct confrontation but still enforces the rule.

Contrary to what the host may think he is doing by hosting and accepting the guest by bestowing elaborate hospitality, even going through extra trouble to do so, the guest may rather want to get out of the house. The 'home' is thus another subjective concept and what one may want from a *home away from home* can be quite something different for someone else as Ndumiso Ngcobo's article and a letter concerning the article entitled 'B&B rules suck', demonstrate. He states 'Oh, I hate B&Bs with a smouldering passion' and 'At the core of my discomfort with B&Bs is that whole "personal touch" poppycock' (His observations of procrustean hosts and a defence letter from a host in Grahamstown are available in Appendix 8). What is clear from Ngcobo's account is that he should not visit B&B's and the like because there will always be personalized rules to suit the host, not the guest. Ngcobo's report stands in stark contrast to Debbie Sprowson's transcribed interview (see Appendix 9) about her experiences in a township B&B and the nexilitas happening in that hostess' home. She seemingly accepted the rules of the house.

5.4. Food and commensality

Thenardier: Food beyond compare
Food beyond belief

Sustenance (food and drink) is the most basic need. It precedes sex for one can abstain from sex without endangering one's life, but fasting has its limits. By eating something is completely consumed by the body, completely moves from outside to inside, where it is transformed and certain elements absorbed others discarded. As mentioned, the movement from outside to inside is the exact moment when hospitality starts; thus sustenance is an appropriate opportunity for the symbolisation of hospitality, which not only mimics but sacralises it – so with exaggeration of eating it would naturally become feasting, which would explain the generally accepted behaviour of commensality.⁶⁷ Commensality also has distinct parallels to parasitism.⁶⁸ The fact that *McDonaldization* and *Coca-colazation* represent late capitalist epitomes of commoditization and that they concern food and drink is not surprising if one grasps the basic elementary value of sustenance – tellingly the huge mass hospitality sector is in hot pursuit. Very revealing then are the findings of Lashley (2008: 77ff) in their 'memorable meals'⁶⁹ research that 'the emotional dimensions of the meal were much more significant than the quality of the food in creating memorable meals.' Mass-everything is more about quantity than quality but what is important are the 'emotional

⁶⁷ Commensality comes from the Latin prefix *com-* (with, together) and the noun *mensa* (table) so meaning 'to share the table'

'commensality creates the kind of bonds that are ritually – I would say also morally – compelling, substituting as it were for bonds of kinship or of common citizenship' (Fortes and Patterson 1975: 243-4).

'Hospitality is, in a sense, a special form of gift-giving, with the added factor of commensality. Commensality implies solidarity, and the recipient of food is under obligation to respect his host, and to support him in times of need. To abandon persons with whom one has shared a meal in case of trouble is dishonourable, to stick by them is meritorious ...' (Barth 1959:77).

⁶⁸ Ruden (2000: 162) explains the sequence in Roman Dinner parties and points to scenes where these are satirised. Another name for the dinner party was 'living together' and a guest is someone 'lived with'; compared to the Greek *parasitos* which meant 'fellow-diner', 'guest'.

⁶⁹ 'The occasion of the meal or holiday, is often a celebration of bonding and togetherness with family and friends. The company of others comes across strongly... The atmosphere created by the setting, other people and their treatment by hosts provide emotional dimensions to meal occasions which are vital to creating memorable occasions. Interestingly, few of the respondents mentioned the food consumed or quality of dishes as part of their descriptions' (Lashley 2008: 77-8).

dimensions'. Kate Fox (2004: 310) asserts: 'The giving and sharing of food is universally known to be one of the most effective forms of human social bonding.'

[The meat in Iraqw rituals] is neither the centre nor the periphery. The life force of the animal has been used in closing the boundary of the *aya* (home-land). In the commensal feast enjoyed by the elders and *kahamuse* from all of the sections of the *aya*, the unity of the people is reaffirmed. Eating together is a symbol of unity at this level because it stands for the solidarity of the household. The members of the household consume the product of their labours together in peace (Thornton1980:100).

In 1959 Barth wrote his monograph on the Swat Pathans of a remote area in Pakistan. Among the Pathans of the Swat valley the chief amasses power by distributing hospitality in his 'men's house' and thereby building a dependency of his 'guests' on him. On pointing to the similarities of the 'potlatch' institutions elsewhere he states that:

The chief's reckless spending, giving and hospitality, are a means by which he builds up such a following ... Only through his hospitality, through the device of gift-giving, does he create the wider obligations and dependence which he can then draw upon, in the form of personal support ... (Barth 1959: 48).

Gift-giving and hospitality are potent means of controlling others, not because of the debts they create, but because the recipient's dependence on their continuation. A continuous flow of gifts creates needs and fosters dependence, and the threat of its being cut off becomes a powerful disciplinary device.

To finance the maintenance of these lavish outpourings some chiefs go as far as exhausting their riches with dire consequences (Barth 1959: 80-1).

Similar practices have been described in other societies such as the Kawelka of Papua New Guinea⁷⁰ where the host gains political following by throwing lavish parties. The cycle of out-

⁷⁰These are portrayed in the film depicting the story of *The Kawelka: Ongka's Big Moka* by Andrew and Marilyn Strathern (1974). Another example can be found with the Siuai of Bougainville studied by Douglas Oliver.

partying rivals often has detrimental effects as hosts rally for support by ever increasing costs to maintain the hospitality. In these societies the winner-host becomes a '*Big Man*'.

As a young man Volkher had obtained a bursary to be a law student after he had finished school. During the following years he attended night lectures, worked as secretary during the day and as waiter in a restaurant on free nights. Although his study and living costs were sufficiently covered he also applied for bank loans which were specifically granted to students. He qualified for these on merit but actually his sole motive was to have access to easy cash which he used entirely on hosting fabulous parties. Together with savings he was able to host at least two such parties a year. He hired a powerful sound system, made decorations to suit the theme of the party and acquired devices for special effects, such as a smoke machine and fireworks. His potent punch and ample food snacks which he had prepared himself were provided gratis for the guests. Over a period of ten years 'blasting' a suburban neighbourhood in Pretoria with his parties he had built up quite a following of fans of his parties. He earned a reputation for his hospitality to such an extent that over 70 people from Pretoria followed him to the Promised Land Inn, in the Transkei, where he hosted a 24 hour long millennium party; at cost for the guests and heavily subsidised by his own resources. It was only some years later that he managed to pay off the last of bank loans. At that time Volkher had no political motives except his own vanity of having successfully hosted another memorable party. The result was, however, that he had a following although these did not become dependent on him. Important though is the crass distinction between hospitality and charity. He did not provide anything gratis out of charity but in the name of hospitality and for his own personal pleasure.

In a work by Stewart (1997) on the Rom in Hungary there is an example of a 'modern' 'Western' society that still practices an 'ancient' form of hospitality. Since they were a disliked minority they found themselves 'outside-insiders' from before the World Wars to communist rule to the return of capitalism (Stewart 1997: 12). The noblest work for the Rom is to trade horses. Everything else does not necessarily mean either work or leisure as usually defined in western terms like, for instance, gambling which children get taught to

play from a young age (Stewart 1997: 23-7). *Taking care of* one another is the absolute rule between Rom 'brothers', it is the bottom line of the *Gypsy Way* and this obviously leads to elaborations of commensality (Stewart 1997: 48). Hospitality is the backdrop for the "swapping" and as such also the roles of hosts and guests in order to achieve equalization. The most swapped object among the Rom was food. The Rom saw to a homogenization of their community by similar *sharing* and *caring* as between equal brothers extended to equal households.

It gave a sense of Rom hospitality and the ethic of "sharing"... But this generosity can also be seen as one of the prime means by which the Rom sustained an image of themselves as living in a world of natural abundance ... Note, however, that it was by enforcing hospitality *on each other* that the Rom lived out the dream of belonging to a world of natural abundance (Stewart 1997: 242).

The Nuer, a Nilotic people of Sudan, a very belligerent sort whose main pastime was that of raiding their neighbouring tribes for cattle, were studied by Evans-Prichard and he writes that *inter se* the Nuer adhere to rules of hospitality and appear to be very sociable, food and beer always distributed as widely as possible, as means of supporting each other in work or drought or ritual (Evans-Prichard 1969: 84). On p.85 he writes

for it is scarcity and not sufficiency that makes people generous, since everybody is thereby insured against hunger. He who is in the need to-day receives help from him who may be in the like need to-morrow.

A good example of real old style Afrikaner hospitality and commensality is found in the work of Du Toit on the Gamkaskloof. In that isolated community it was 'back to basics' and general reciprocity was the rule: In the Gamkaskloof

(c)offee is always served when a visitor arrives, with the question, "What about something to eat?". The visitor is invited to partake of a meal, to share in whatever has been prepared even though he was not expected and the food is not sufficient ... This is partly a practical matter, based on the maxim of "share while you can for tomorrow you might be in need of

help”, but also it is part of the general atmosphere of the valley in which there is an awareness that others may be in need and “since I have plenty, I may as well be a good neighbour” ... Harmony and co-operation could be linked with the common psychological type in Gamkaskloof, since ... we find that only a certain kind of person, who is temperamentally adaptable to this location and social situation, can live here ... (Du Toit 1974: 69-74).

What was peculiar about the Kloof was that ‘Social stratification among the people of the valley is negligible or non-existent ... The valley lacks any kind of leadership but specialists are recognized. While males usually occupy a higher status than females, it largely depends on the personality of the person involved’ (Du Toit 1974: 27). The idea to win power with lavish displays of food and gifts seemed to have been absent. There commensality was not to the political benefit of an individual, even if the New Year’s party was often hosted by the same people, they had no particular better social standing as a result thereof. One can only assume that the stark topographical liminality of the valley humbled a community of equals where one group of people hosted naturally. The Rom were surrounded by a ‘hostile’ outside and operated on the principle of total reciprocity. Hosts become guests and the guests become hosts and so it goes on. Important to note is that in all these cases the guests were internal strangers and commensality is an expression of the solidarity within a society. In some societies the host manipulates commensality in order to gain power and secure a following. Often the host does not join in the general commensality but would eat only within his private group.

About commensality, or rather the absence thereof, Malinowski (1932:491) reports about the Trobrianders: ‘As on all such occasions, the strangers do not eat their food in public, and even its re-distribution is done in the privacy of their camping place near the canoe.’

Naturally, like all animals, human or otherwise, civilised or savage, the Trobrianders enjoy their eating as one of the chief pleasures of life, but this remains an individual act, and neither its performance nor the sentiments attached to it have been socialised... It is this indirect sentiment, rooted of course in reality in the pleasures of eating, which makes for the

value of food in the eyes of the native. This value again makes accumulated food a symbol, and a vehicle of power (Malinowski 1932: 171-2).

Barley (1983: 137) noted: 'As I had feared, food was to be prepared ... Fortunately, it is impolite to watch strangers eat and so I would retire to a hut with Matthieu to dine.' Matthieu was Barley's interpreter and they were attending a feast. The Kriges (1943) found it rather surprising that although food was ceremoniously served among the Lovedu, their host did not join them in the actual meal. Commensality there also happened within a household group.

Interviewed host's descriptions of guests' commensality included: 'Festival is different because festinos are different people. Festinos are free-spirited people not interested in politics or soccer, they have a passion for the arts and with festival these like-minded people come together. Breakfasts become an uncontrollable gaggle of exchanges between guests from all over the world.' Another host told me that they hosted both the opposing parties to a high court case at the same time; over breakfast they would discuss their next hunting trip to Namibia but the moment they left for court they started fighting about their case. On other occasions it might be the attorneys and their witnesses or prostitutes who together partake in breakfast. A hostess reported the case where parents who reside in Kenya brought their children to be enrolled into a private school. 'The whole place became a home for one big happy family' as there were other guest families for the same reasons as the Kenyans; they took over the entire place but in that case it meant the guest space. This space is devoted to the guest to enjoy commensality and *communitas* with co-guests while the host provides the service.

Throughout the descriptions of the various societies' expressions of commensality, the hosts' role as such was not discussed but again was just the *given*. However, it is obvious that someone has to orchestrate commensality and here the manipulation of food starts and can go as far as bestowing political power on the host. What is also revealing from the

cross-cultural data is that commensality causes or reinforces an extremely strong bond, so strong that it is perhaps too strong for the commercial aspects of professional hospitality. Commercial hosts have commented that they would not join paying guests for a meal but might have a drink with them afterwards. In commercial hospitality commensality is rather connected to *communitas* and *nexilitas* is found in the provision or facilitating thereof.

I can recall only very few occasions in my innkeeping career where I would have dined with a guest and get paid for it afterwards. Where it seems natural to eat together with friends and family (social hospitality), it is awkward to dine with complete strangers but it is not awkward to serve a meal to strangers and get remunerated for it. In commercial hospitality *nexilitas* implies a perpetuation of the inequality within social bonding and it is the host who has to maintain the balance. By eating together, a very strong equalizer, the inequality of host and guest gets blurred and can lead to conflict, at least between what is social or commercial.

Mars and Nicod (1984: 99) remark about waiters: 'No waiting staff are permitted to sit, eat, smoke, shout, swear, or engage in an activity considered inappropriate in the customers' presence'. Service staff is 'de-humanised' so that there can be no hierarchal conflict. In the owner managed small commercial accommodation facilities it is the master of the house who often personally does the service or even the cleaning which can be described as part of the 'bending down' for the guest. It follows then that the host does not want to compromise his 'staging' by sharing the table with a guest which entails equalization. In order to maintain balance the commercial host rather lets the guest feel special by serving the guest instead of joining the guest.

Besides also concerning tacit 'house rules', a memorable host story presents an example of guest commensality: The hostess related the story of an ambassador to the UN who had been invited to the opening ceremony of the NAF and his office booked two double rooms which they indicated would have to be 'swept' for security reasons. Nobody ever came for

the 'sweeping' and on the due date of the reservation two fancy cars pulled in. They were perfectly happy to carry their own luggage to their rooms and she did the usual introduction which included showing them a little map of Grahamstown so that they would find their way around. As usual she checked on the rooms in the evening when she put out some 'muskadel' (a sweet fortified wine) and chocolates and checked the lighting and heating/cooling. This time she picked up the distinct smell of KFC take-aways and by rounding a corner saw her ambassador guests sitting on the lounge suite in the bedroom and eating chicken out of the polystyrene KFC bucket; they exclaimed 'oh god, she's bust us!' and immediately explained that they missed KFC chicken so much that they had to have some right away! The hostess just laughed and said to the guests 'it's OK'. This was memorable to the hostess because it had entertainment value. The hostess 'caught' her guests in a seemingly compromising situation, which was amusing. The guests were not really in the wrong but because of the fact of being in the hostess' facility they could possibly have transgressed a general rule of the house (eating in bedrooms is generally not desired by hosts). Note also the tactic of 'panoptic control' exercised by 'checking' on the rooms. Again an 'accident' accelerated nexilitas but the commensality was only between the guests.

5.5. Compotorality

THENARDIER & CHORUS: Everybody bless the landlord!
Everybody bless his spouse!

THENARDIER: Everybody raise a glass

MME. THENARDIER: Raise it up the master's arse.

ALL: Everybody raise a glass to the master of the house!

Compotorality⁷¹ means drinking together and most often involves imbibing together that all round accepted 'social lubricant', alcohol. Besides the actual material differences of the products consumed in commensality (solids, food) and compotorality (liquids) and that in many cases both are present at once, the main distinction for a commercial host is that he will readily join guests for a drink but not a meal. Cultures all over the world have ritual practices concerning the consumption of alcohol from the ancient sacred religious rituals to pubs in England today. Firebaugh (1928:16) refers to various ancient and medieval rituals which were sealed with a drink similar to the practice today of drinking a toast on the clinching of a deal. Vanggaard wrote about the drinking of toasts in Scandinavia:

During a formal or even a semi-formal dinner it is the rule – and one which astonishes foreigners – never to take a drink on your own, You raise your wineglass, looking into somebody else's eyes – the lady's on your right or, together with her, into those of some couple at the table – you drink and again look at each other with a slight nod before putting your glass back on the table. Ladies are not really supposed to take the initiative in drinking. This ceremonial drinking of toasts is the remnant of an ancient and solemn custom. But nobody now believes in all seriousness that the fate of men in this life or of the dead in the next will alter if the toast is not drunk in the proper way (Vanggaard 1972: 13).

Germans, as rule, address strangers with the formal *Sie*. At some stage when the two have become familiar a ritual (*Duzen*) is performed whereby each hook the right arm of the other and thus 'locked' simultaneously drink a drink (usually alcoholic). Henceforth the two will address each other with the personal '*Du*'. Fox (2004: 101), discussing English 'pub-talk' states:

that the primary function of *all* drinking-places, in *all* cultures, is the facilitation of social bonding, and that *all* drinking-places tend to be socially integrative, egalitarian environments – so what, if anything, is particularly English about the bonding and egalitarianism we find embedded in coded pub-talk?

⁷¹ Compotorality is a neologism. The word comes from the Latin *compotor* which means 'drinking companion', made up of the prefix *com-* (together) with *potare* (to drink). Latin gave recognition to a female drinking companion as *compotrix* (Smith and Lockwood 1988: 131).

'It was not the custom of antiquity to indulge in wine, or any other luxury to excess, except, indeed, on the occasion of some sacred festival' (Firebaugh 1928: 160-1). And indeed, with the huge number of gods that had to be honoured these festivals were very frequent, not to mention the household gods which required daily attention. The inns on the other hand, served wine and other beverages at any time to anybody who could afford it. One distinction an inn still carries today is that inns usually offer some pub facilities (if it is not synonymous with pub; see descriptions of facilities in Appendix 3).

The older Lovedu did not approve of the selling of beer and an old man 'was prepared to justify the commercial pattern in which salt, meat, tobacco, European vegetables, even money [was exchanged, but] the sale of beer seemed to him intolerable' (Krige and Krige 1943: 60). The ritual connected to drinking beer, to compoteriality, means that social bonds are created and in some societies it was not commercialized but carried its own rituals. If it were commercialized amongst these people they would have frowned on the selling of beer as Western societies frowned on prostitution.

Fox (2004: 88ff) again referring to 'pub-talk', which most often involves a 'taboo' on 'money talk', states that it would be considered rude to transgress these rules by mentioning money in ordering and serving drinks at a pub, which also demonstrates a 'denial' of the commercial transaction and rather the promotion of social bonding. The publican often gets included in the buying of rounds without himself ever having to buy a round. Depending on the status of the barman (owner, manager or employee) it is unusual to drink all the drinks 'bought' for the barman when they are bought, although all are accepted and reciprocated with a mere 'thank you' or if the position allows a reciprocal round 'on the house'. Still the publican usually receives more drinks than he gives out free. Spradley and Mann (1975) as well as Mars and Nicod (1984) refer to drinks that guests ordered for service staff, which they either consume after their shift or convert into money. These drinks are intended as a type of gratuity or 'tip' and indeed in German the word for tips is *Trinkgeld* and in French it is *pourboire*, both meaning money for drinks.

The English tea drinking and pub cultures are excellent examples of compototality, like Japanese tea gardens, coffee shops or cafés elsewhere. Often the same group of people gathers somewhere to simultaneously drink tea or coffee, or gather in a pub to drink alcoholic beverages, without necessarily eating something. These groups are forming quasi-kinship groups like 'drinker brothers (and/or sisters)' which exemplifies the social bonding as the underlying motivation. Strangers are also 'acculturated' by drinking with the group or a new temporary group is formed, which can develop into a 'drinker brother/sister/mixed'-group by repeating the drinking ritual. Compototality for a commercial host is a 'lesser form' of equalization and therefore hosts would more frequently have compototality than commensality with guests. It usually takes very little time to drink a drink and the moment together is more fleeting in comparison to eating a meal and it is possible to maintain a hierarchy. This is also revealed by host and guests on the opposite sides of a bar counter (incidentally, 'bar' has the same etymon as 'barrier'). Eating together equalizes. Naturally, like all animals, human or otherwise, friend and foe, zebra and lion, can drink together but do not eat together.

The reception drink is the first service of hospitality a host can offer. As noted with Nelson Mandela's expression concerning Ubuntu, once the guest has entered the space of the host, crossed the threshold and penetrated the home, the host provides at least fresh water to drink (or if it were the Sheraton it becomes a hot damp towel to wipe one's hands and a glass of fresh orange juice while one is checked in at the reception area which consists not of a counter but bureaux arrangements with arm and wing chairs exquisitely upholstered, as if it were a private lounge). In restaurants service usually first concerns an order for drinks and the calling of the 'last round' of drinks signals the end of the evening's service. The 'last round' is a ritualized polite request that the guest must leave, telling him that the time of hospitality is over.

Often at functions Volkher suggests to the organizing party to have punch, sherry, sparkling wine or non-alcoholic drinks set up for guests to be served upon arrival. A guest once commented to Volkher, while he was serving these arrival drinks, that he should also have a glass and immediately followed it up with 'or aren't you allowed to'. For Volkher it was not a matter of disallowance because it is his place but rather the recognition that service staff do not usually drink, and even more rarely eat, with the guest. In that particular case he did join the party for a glass of sparkling wine after he had served their meal and those of all the other guests; he had finished with his primary host duties and could then attend to deeper social bonding.

Many of the host stories already presented depict hosts and guests drinking together and on my fieldtrips I have noted, as guest, several occasions where I experienced some form of connection with my hosts and in each case it involved compotorality of an alcoholic beverage. The memorable host story concerning guests who commented that their hosts were 'like our parents, just better' involved the compotorality of a special bottle of red wine along the same lines as the memorable story about the guest who first annoyed the host but later shared his special wine with the host. In another memorable host story mention was made of '*muskadel*', a sweet fortified wine, which the hostess offers her guests in a carafe 'on the house'. Other hosts informed me that with familiar guests they might go for a meal to a restaurant together but the hostess emphasised that she would never share a meal with her guests in her establishment. Another hostess told me that she often 'befriends' her guests and would take some of them along to a regular wine tasting event on Fridays where they would meet other B&B owners and friends. Compotorality between host and guest is a strong expression of *nexilitas* and the execution thereof would depend on the given circumstances and personalities.

5.6. Service and entertainment

Thenardier: Servant to the poor

Butler to the great

Aramberri (2001:746) in his article 'The host should get lost' argued that

the nonmaterial reciprocity of the old covenant is gone and that no amount of mourning will bring it back to life. If the covenant is gone, so are also the fuzzy codes of mutual rights and duties that spelled its details. Now the main tie that binds the contracting parties is the deliverance of services – commodities – on the part of the hosts, just providers of services, while the guests are no longer guests, just customers.

I beg to differ and would not *get lost*! If the 'guest' is merely a buyer and the 'host' the seller we are not talking about hospitality but retail. The guest may believe that what binds him is the contract for the commodity of service but then we are talking about vending machines and blow-up dolls which are as fake as the all too well known fake smile of hospitality industry workers. If it were real it would amount to the purchase of the host like a slave, albeit only temporarily. It certainly humiliates the host. In contemporary commercial hospitality money is merely a token whereby the stranger indicates to the host that he can reciprocate, but the money does not buy hospitality.

Service and the host's staging while doing so are essential features of host's actions during the accommodation of the guest. These actions are exemplified in the rituals of serving food and drinks and epitomised by the actions of the waiter. References to the restaurant scenes are more intense than those of simply serving breakfast. The typical B&B implies breakfast is served but the facilities studied here often offered 'full board' and that involves further similarities to the typical restaurant scenario but it also implies that the host is the waiter too. Service is, however, another 'fuzzy' concept as again peoples interpretations of service actions may differ. A striking aspect of the Swat Pathans, for instance, is that they view anybody doing any service for remuneration immediately subordinate. Service is done by servants and no more to it (Barth 1959: 48-52). The Kriges (1943) describe the 'native

etiquette' of the Lovedu, particularly the show of subservience (woman crawl in and out while serving food or beer), although service 'hardly ever implies subservience.'

Volkher once hosted a lunch at the Yellow Piano Inn for some elderly ladies of Grahamstown. He knew all of them by first name as they did him for they had become 'return guests' or 'regulars'. It was the birthday celebration of one of them whose husband had recently passed away. After a hearty reception (hugs and kisses with each) the ladies were treated with Volkher's service and he felt like 'dancing to their tune' which he was certain he sensed the guests 'instructed' him in which 'steps' to do. He would gladly execute this order then that – 'nothing is impossible'. And at no time was he subservient – that would have offended the ladies. The guests kept complimenting Claudia's cooking and expressed their complete satisfaction, as usual. Volkher was entertained by their gossip about restaurants and personalities in town. All of this, and specifically the fact that nexilitas with the ladies had once again been successful, was hugely rewarding besides the settlement of the bill. As a native host Volkher finds that service comes naturally to him but it does not mean subservience and in this story the guests also did not expect subservience but service. Nexilitas in commercial hospitality is different from other social bonds for the inequality persists also with return guests – the host is still the host and the guest guest. In the case of return guests it never becomes completely reciprocal, for instance when there is a bond of kinship or friendship and it would then resort under social hospitality. Only rarely would guests invite their commercial host to come and visit them, yet the guests' frequent return visits to the host are repetitions and reinforcements of the same nexilitas.

In Volkher's restaurant operations in Grahamstown's CBD it happened once that patrons left the restaurant because he felt it important to look after his waiters' interests, perhaps even in a pimp sort of way. Volkher has this mission of conveying the rules concerning gratuity to guests that seem to abuse service. What the following host story highlights is that service is not bought but paid for. Gratuity is the way in which a commercial guest reciprocates the service and waiters will go the extra mile *and more* to earn more tips. The story is of a lawyer who actually had become a regular guest but with a bad reputation among the

waiters of being stingy with gratuity; every time he visited the restaurant he would send the waiters hither and thither, for example, for a sequence of single glasses of water and would at least once complain about something which remained unclear to Volkher too. So when he came again, that time with an entourage of three secretaries, none of the waiters wanted to serve them and Volkher had no choice but to inform him of the situation. Volkher went to the table and after greeting the guests explained that the waiters in his restaurant work for themselves, that is they were not his employees but work for gratuity, which was not automatically included in the bill. The guest retorted that Volkher was a slave driver and what he did was illegal. Volkher had studied enough law to know he was not operating illegally; he was well aware of the fact that his restaurant had a very good reputation, also for good service and appearance (an article in a contemporaneous weekend newspaper had just reported such). The deal with the waiters, all were students working for 'pocket money', was that they get no pecuniary remuneration from him but he provides a meal of their choice with each shift and this was very popular with the waiters. So Volkher continued to inform the guests that under the circumstances none of the waiters were willing to work for free but if that was all a grave misunderstanding he begged the guests to inform him of such, for it was in his interest to keep the service matching the high quality of food he offered. The lawyer looked at his secretaries, frowned and turning to the host said 'Very well, we will leave!' They left and needless to say never returned to the establishment. The guest evidently viewed the waiters as servants and by treating them as such, humiliated them.

Paying for the service 'to be waited on hand and foot' is a commercial transaction but unlike retail, the 'product' in hospitality, service, is intangible. As mentioned, money in hospitality is a universal token and reciprocates the service but one does not buy the server with it. It is the product, the service, which gets remunerated. Otherwise it would amount to slavery or be equal to the abuse of the *nexum* action in ancient Rome. As mentioned, service and staging are the ways in which hosts take care of the basic needs of guests. Service involves control and discipline by the host (Spradley and Mann 1975; Mars and Nicod 1984). Staging by the host is directed at entertainment because entertainment avoids boredom and can therefore be readily expressed by both host and guest. This way the comfort of the guest is

ensured and conflicts avoided. The 'joking relationship' is exemplary of the ease with which even simple entertainment manifests in the hospitality situation.

Spradley and Mann (1975) note the 'Joking Relationship' which is the friendly or trying to be friendly onslaught of a seemingly hostile nature by the host towards a guest or within the interaction with other members of the 'household'. However, it only works with established relationships, such as that between the young man and his *malume* (mother's brother) in South Africa that Radcliffe-Brown described and which was the first identification in ethnography of such a relationship:

The behaviour is such that in any other social context it would express and arouse hostility; but it is not meant seriously and must not be taken seriously. There is a pretense of hostility and a real friendliness. To put it another way, the relationship is one of permitted disrespect (Spradley and Mann 1975: 89).⁷²

Thus when Basil Fawlty tries to joke with the Germans about the war, they do not think it funny because not only are they guests but also strangers with limited English and a different perspective, not least on the joke-ability of a war that was so traumatic for the post-war generation of young Germans.⁷³ According to another founder anthropologist, the

⁷² Spradley and Mann (1975) carry on to describe the conditions of this relationship: it is restricted to certain participants (members of the 'household' and host guest with each other); it is restricted to certain settings/space (home or territory); it involves insults and sexual topics and it is usually also a public encounter. The territorial imperative binds it like a home is bound to a house or home-like space. In the bar Spradley and Mann studied, rituals of masculinity were celebrated in a space where the male asserts himself as the centre of the business – it is a men's ceremonial centre like the 'ceremonial home' of the mock household.

⁷³ Cleese and Booth (2000: 156) 'Basil: Is there something wrong?; and German: Will you stop talking about the war?; Basil: Me? You started it!; and German: We did not start it. ; Basil: Yes you did, you invaded Poland ... here, this'll cheer you up, you'll like this one, there's this woman, she's completely stupid, she can never remember anything, and her husband's in a bomber over Berlin ... (*the lady howls*) Sorry! Sorry! Here, she'll love this one ...'; 'Basil: No, this is a scream, I've never seen anyone not laugh at this! ; and German: Go away!'; 'Basil: Shut up! Here, watch – who's this, then? *He places his finger across his upper lip and does his Führer party piece. His audience is stunned.* Basil: I'll do the funny walk ... *He performs an exaggerated goose-step out into the lobby, does an about-turn and marches back into the dining room. Both German women are by now in tears, and both men on their feet.* Both Germans: **Stop it!**; Basil: I'm trying to cheer her up, you stupid Kraut! ; and German: It's not funny for her.; Basil: **Not funny?** You're joking! ; and German: Not funny for her, not for us, not for any German people.; Basil: You have absolutely no sense of humour, do you! ; 1st German: (*shouting*) **This is not funny!**; Basil: **Who won the bloody war, anyway ?'**

Trobriand Islanders had both their 'Basil Fawlties' and their more typical hosts whose entire aim was to place their guests at ease, whether humour is involved or not.⁷⁴

Nexilitas allows for the recognition of a hierarchy therefore does the 'joking relationship' establish itself easily between host and guest while this relationship is also possible between members of the 'household'. Again, it is dependent on individualistic circumstances and not always appropriate. What is clear though, is that the joking relationship requires some structure to operate in, of which hospitality is a natural example. The joking relationship eases the interaction between host and guest by being entertaining.

In a memorable host story, depicting an entertainment reward, the hostess described how she put out a bowl with an assortment of citrus fruit from her garden, lemons, oranges and grapefruit for decoration. A guest then commented on the interesting variety of 'lemons' they grew because they ate what they thought to be an orange but she pointed out was in fact the grapefruit. This incident was memorable for the hostess simply because it was amusing. In fact, her guests' ignorance about citrus fruit was the source of amusement. At one stroke, both host and guest were entertained and shared a jocular moment, laughing together. It is also an example of the sort of humour that works, because rather than volunteer an observation, the hostess responds to their query quite honestly, but it exposed their ignorance in such a way that they could still laugh at themselves.

Even Thenardier understood the role of humour:

⁷⁴About the Boyowas of the Trobriand Islands Malinowski touches on a description of a 'joking relationship': 'As soon as an interesting stranger arrives, half the village assembles around him, talking loudly and making remarks about him, frequently uncomplimentary, and altogether assuming a tone of jocular familiarity.' Further on the same page about Boyowa character he writes: 'One of the main sociological features at once strikes an observant newcomer – the existence of rank and social differentiation. Some of the natives – very frequently those of the finer looking type – one treated with most marked deference by others, and in return, these chiefs and persons of rank behave in quite a different way towards strangers. In fact, they show excellent manners in the full meaning of this word' (Malinowski 1932: 52).

Thenardier: Master of the house
 Doling out the charm
 Ready with a handshake
 And an open palm
 Tells a saucy tale
 Makes a little stir
 Customers appreciate a bon-viveur

Service also involves taking care of that which the guest leaves behind besides money or feelings of satisfaction. Guests also leave rubbish and excrement. The excavation of a 'luxury hotel' in Pompei revealed some graffiti in Latin which Tony Perrottet (2002: 76) translates as "Innkeeper, I pissed in the bed. Yes, I admit it, want to know why? You forgot the chamber-pot"! This is a two thousand year old reminder for the host to also take care of what the guest personally discharges. Guests often refer to the condition of ablution facilities of hospitality establishments to judge their experience with their host although in most cases these facilities are used by guests exclusively. As mentioned, host's presentations are aimed at an image of cleanliness of person and facility but it falls outside the scope of this investigation to deal extensively with this aspect of service in hospitality.

5.7. Display and destruction of wealth

A host who displays wealth and excess of food displays power and prestige. Besides room trashing and other offences committed by guests, which will be discussed later, there are circumstances where hosts, and it seems guests too, display what has been called the 'wilful destruction of wealth'.

Volkher had hosted a number birthday parties at which he observed that the person whose birthday it is and close relatives and friends of that person are 'hosts' too, they are 'social hosts'. As commercial host Volkher hosted a 21st birthday party where towards the end of it, well past midnight, the boyfriend of the birthday girl started throwing chocolate cake with cream cheese icing at his equally inebriated friends. A 'food fight' ensued and cream cheese

splashes adorned the walls and smashed fruit the floor. Volkher was mesmerized by the realization that this ‘destruction of wealth’ usually happens in a state of excess, similar to that of the Roman concept of *otium*⁷⁵, which is always abundant in hospitality situations. Food fights, usually male instigated, are also similar expressions of ‘wilful (playful) destruction of wealth’ as the Trobriand or Kwakiutl men did; in hospitality there is enough excess to allow even a guest to express power. The fight was ended when the ammunition (food) was taken away by the girl guests, and only then did Volkher realize he had perhaps a duty, much more a real interest, as commercial host to end it. However, he himself could have ended up like one of the boys who got caught in the cross-fire with cream cheese in almost every facial orifice. Volkher saw that the boy was struggling and told him that he needed to clean himself up and therefore he should follow him which the boy did. Volkher showed him a basin and gave him a towel and when he was sort of clean the boy thanked him for saving his life whereon Volkher said ‘No, I haven’t saved your life – I am your host and simply did what a host should do!’ The boy thanked him for his hospitality then. New cultural knowledge and the heartfelt gratefulness of the guest were fascinating Volkher’s mind while the party slowly wound down. Later the birthday girl did offer to make good for the cleaning up and obviously the boyfriend had his satisfaction in boyish ‘fun’ – actually the ‘destruction of wealth’. Food fights are usually not appreciated by commercial hosts.

Trobrianders let their yams rot as a display of wealth. The accumulation of food and the display thereof signals wealth and prestige, *otium* then. Sometimes food, especially yams displayed in special yam houses, was allowed to rot which to the native meant that the magic worked. But it also amounts to a wilful destruction of wealth.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Leisure, freedom, wealth, general peace and prosperity; Firebaugh (1928: 101) notes that the word has no exact equivalent in English.

⁷⁶ “We shall eat, and eat till we vomit”, is a stock phrase often heard at feasts, intended to express enjoyment of the occasion, a close parallel to the pleasure felt at the idea of stores rotting away in the yam house... Naturally, like all animals, human or otherwise, civilised or savage, the Trobrianders enjoy their eating as one of the chief pleasures of life, but this remains an individual act, and neither its performance nor the sentiments attached to it have been socialised... It is this indirect sentiment, rooted of course in reality in the pleasures of eating, which makes for the value of food in the eyes of the native. This value again makes accumulated food a symbol, and a vehicle of power’ (Malinowski 1932: 171-2).

The Kwakiutl Boas studied practiced 'the potlatch', the giving of gifts and great feasts along the same lines as the Swat Pathans do in their men's houses. The giving of gifts and hospitality are done to exact reciprocity which is politically motivated. The potlatch however was a more elaborate affair (Boas 1966: 100),⁷⁷ the wealthier the greater the show even to the extent that

rivalry between chiefs and clans finds its strongest expression in the destruction of property. A chief will burn blankets, a canoe, or break a copper, thus indicating his disregard of the amount of property destroyed and showing that his mind is stronger, his power greater, than that of his rival. If the latter is not able to destroy an equal amount of property without much delay, his name is "broken". He is vanquished by his rival and his influence with the tribe is lost, while the name of the other chief gains correspondingly in renown.

Feasts may also be counted as destruction of property, because the food given can not be returned except by giving another feast. The most expensive sort of feast is the one at which enormous quantities of fish oil ... are consumed and burnt, the so-called "grease feast" (Boas 1966: 93).

In an example of 'the wilful destruction of wealth' among the Rom in a hospitality situation, Stewart (1997: 245) records:

And then at some point during the first day of the new year, in several houses in the settlement, the man of the house would begin to break small domestic items ... Other men broke bottles, tore up their money, or overturned furniture. In these ways, at the point when they began the year anew, men assaulted the *gažo* (non-Rom) lurking among the Rom in their own homes.

Hosts can destroy wealth in order to exhibit their position. Although Volkher was the commercial host, the social host (in the host story above) took up the same stance as some

⁷⁷ Boas (1966:100): 'Now he invites all the tribes. Then he gives a potlatch to them ... for this is called potlatch, the giving of many blankets to each man and empty boxes in which the blankets that are given away were; and also the baskets in which were dry salmon and clover roots and long clover roots and all kinds of food; and also mats on which the guests are sitting down when they are fed by the host. All these are given to them by the chief and host.'

hosts at other feasts. Commercial hosts do not appreciate the damage done by the guests, even though the guests were also 'hosting'. The damages ultimately rest with the host who would have to make an extra effort to repair damages in order to be ready to host again. If the host controls the destruction, as would also be the case in throwing a party, it amounts to a display of wealth and power which can lead to the host procuring a following of loyal supporters.

6

Departure of the guest

The time of hospitality expired and it is time for the guest to leave. The parting, as with the greeting, is an important moment for the commercial host in face-to-face encounters. In the post-liminal stage of hospitality the host assesses the situation which involves 'calculating' the rewards and the host has to insure settlement of any outstanding dues. As noted are the rewards both material and emotional and in most cases of hospitality in owner managed small commercial accommodation facilities the encounter was successfully balanced and both host and guest satisfied. However, there are situations where the host has to end the relationship prematurely if there happened to be a gross conflict with the guest.

6.1. Successful bonds

Thenardier: Comforter, philosopher,
 And lifelong mate!
 Everybody's boon companion
 Gives 'em everything he's got

Some memorable host stories concerned direct references to bonds that had been established such as the one where the hostess shared the deeply shocking experience of one of her guests, a mother visiting her son who was a student at Rhodes University. The mother had to deal with the suicide of her son during her visit. The hostess knew she had to support this poor mother and helped her where ever she could. 'This lady was in trouble and I went out of my way to try and comfort her', she really felt for the mother and said 'there was a strong bond between us'. This situation markedly demonstrates *das Zwischenmenschliche*. The hostess was well aware that the mother was a paying guest but

again a special circumstance created a strong bond. Part of those special circumstances was the reinforcement of nexilitas.

Another memorable host story was about an elderly disabled man who required a plastic chair to use in the shower which the hostess arranged for him. Somehow the chair broke but luckily the man did not get hurt and was rather 'cool' about it 'he was such a nice guy and we had long chats'. As noted, there are often special circumstances, almost like a secondary act or 'accident' that actually sparks the intimate contact. In this instance the hostess was greatly concerned for the special condition of the guest and when there was an accident nexilitas was accelerated and the connections followed.

Following are other anecdotes with which the interviewees parted unprovoked about a feeling of a bond. As mentioned, I did not refer interviewees to nexilitas, nexus, bond, tie or connection, yet these comments were spontaneously made by the interviewees.

One hostess made a point of stating that the '*bonds that are formed*' are a very important aspect for her to do commercial hosting in the first instance. 'Regulars' or return guests, those guests who come back to the same facility when they visit the area again, are excellent examples of what is meant with nexilitas. Return guests do so because of a bond in hospitality – that is not a bond of kin or affine. This 'third' type of bond and the resultant relationship are possible in commercial hospitality. A hostess who told me that she had 'lots of return guests' remarked: '*they become like family, a very large extended family*'; quite similar to the descriptions by anthropologists of 'quasi-kinship' with their hosts (natives). Often when these regulars phone to make the booking they want 'their room', the same room they had on previous occasions, almost like a child referring to its room – the exact same was related to me by three more interviewees one who said 'they are very possessive of *their* room'. I have had the same experience with return guests and particularly common in a restaurant is the 'guest's table', as if the particular guest owns it. In these cases the host

allows the guest to remain under the impression (stages) that the guest 'owns' the facility/room/table because it is a tactic to make the guest feel at home.

Another hostess related that she had a couple of return guests and also ones who asked for a specific ('their') room. She said these guests come back because she offers them more 'personal attention than some of those B&Bs in town'; 'people want to talk' and she is very willing to exchange talk; 'with these people there is also a *rapport* and it is always easier with people if they come again, there develops a *familiarity*.' Another hostess said that she seldom socializes with her guests 'but sometimes one can relate to a person and have longer chats'. Then there was the hostess who said she had a rather large number of return guests. Her establishment was aimed at upmarket guests and specifically over festival she accommodated the 'big people in the Arts, like chairpersons, ambassadors, the Premier of the Eastern Cape's office officials and 'very unserious people, I laughed so much!' The hostess felt that festinos come for fun; therefore they are fun people to have around. She said her approach is always friendly but not too familiar, she does not ask too many questions and does not give too much of herself. 'The service has to be 100%'. Over the years only one guest had become a real friend and she looked forward to seeing her again when she would visit her at the end of the year.

A judge who returned regularly actually became a very good personal friend of the hosts. '*It does happen: a guest arrives as a stranger but leaves as friend, one can just click, perhaps because of similar interests; people appreciate it if you go the extra mile, make them feel at home – there is a vibe that you feel.*' Other examples, where the positive relationship has extended beyond the liminal nexilitas with guests, were the story of a guest from Bloemfontein who after her stay with the hostess had become friends and to date still keeps contact and the other was the story of an official from Bisho and his wife who also became friends after they stayed for a festival. When the hostess goes to Bisho she visits her 'guests'.

Hosts of a self-catering facility told me they have a 'stick to the facts' attitude and do not indulge their guests. The hosts feel that they offer a unique product in a market where there is stiff competition. The types of guest that like their facilities are those that prefer privacy, also from the host. The guests prefer to be left alone and be just among themselves which is what they guarantee. Therefore she said 'the best guests are those that I don't hear from'. However they are aware of some 'bond' with some guests and appreciate small gifts guests sometimes leave for them. Their main tool for connecting with guests is a guest book that is frequently used by guests to make comments about their stay, even nasty things. So wrote a guest that the host was there too long when checking the guests in and another complained that they hardly ever saw the host. A female guest wrote that she did not appreciate being shown how the washing machine worked and where the soap powder has to go concluding 'I am not from the bush, you know!' Guest remarks in guest books or visitor's books are as a rule complimentary and in this context I present here a direct transcript of a meaningful guest remark in my guestbook:

'Thank you! A wonderful stop – very refreshing. Lovely to see life off the hamster wheel and as it should be. Well done for achieving balance!'

More than one interviewed host reported that parents from far away who come to enrol their children at the University usually stay then for 'Orientation Week' or at least the first weekend thereof. This is one of those particularly busy times of the year for hosts in Grahamstown. The hosts offer extra services to these parents and the students and they will continue to support the child once the parents have left. If the student needs something or just feels homesick the student is encouraged to come and visit the hosts, which they often do. Then the parents come again to pick up their child for holidays and stay over again. In the meantime the parents had sent parcels to the hosts for their children to come and pick up. The hosts helped these students to get their cars fixed or even let students use their PC. A host related of a guests' son's ex-girlfriend's brother, whom they had become acquainted with through the years, would 'pop in for a cup of coffee and a chat'. Another student would always leave her laptop with the hosts if she left for holidays and came again to pick it up when she returned. In return some hosts get invited to the 21st birthday celebrations of the

students. They feel that these children are becoming like their own. Another hostess said that she often felt to be like a 'psychologist' to parents who left their children to study at Rhodes for the first time. She had to counsel them and comfort them when they were crying. This type of relationship is maintained over 4-5 years until the student graduates; then the parents again stay with the same hosts and preferably in 'their' room. Finally, the parents express their gratitude towards the hosts for all the support given over the years with a little gift. There are similarities between this relationship and the *Kula* or *hospitium*, bonds in hospitality that last over years to the mutual benefit of both host and guest: some aspects of a visit can even become ritualised; there are reciprocal gifts and the possibility of complete reciprocity when the hosts become the guests of these families. By then the relationship has outlasted *nexilitas* and ordinary friendship can engage.

A former Grahamstown Hospitality Guild chairperson was quoted saying: 'Providing hospitality goes way beyond people just paying us money to use our beds and eat our breakfasts ... We have lovely examples of this dedication by our hardworking members. Some have their guests' cars washed, some fetch guests from bus terminals, some ferry guests to where they need to go, some make dinner reservations, or book doctor and dentist appointments, or take them to chemists. They invite student children of guests to come to the establishments to enjoy family time, they pass on important family messages, and even take their children food in the San(atorium)! We become an important local contact point for our customers.'⁷⁸ All of these services are done out of *nexilitas*, taking care of one's guest even in an otherwise commercial setting.

6.2. Failed bonds

Commercial hosts obviously like most of their guests and from the host profiles (table 1) it has been noted that only a very small percentage (between 1% and 10%) of guests turn out to be problematic guests and/or caused damages to the host. Although a minority, these

⁷⁸ Reported in *Makana Moon* 5 November 2009: frontpage

guests have serious unpleasant impacts on their hosts and sometimes even on other guests, and therefore warrant closer examination. Screening has been discussed as a primary 'defence line' hosts employ to avoid exactly such guests because hosts have to protect their interests in order to be able to host. Hosts want to avoid conflict but sometimes guests who transgress the rules of hospitality cause conflict. In these cases the nexilitas factor is a constraint on the host's response, very often also because the host has to consider other guests. By allowing the stranger/guest in, the host becomes utterly vulnerable and open for exploitation. When this insecurity becomes apparent (the host gets irritated or hurt by the guest) the host can develop a 'rabid dislike' for that particular guest. Cleese and Booth's description of their host's 'rabid dislike for guests' is reflected by the character Basil Fawlty who seems to display a general dislike of guests but it is quite understandable, considering he also has to deal with various 'guests from hell'. Below, a classification is made of these 'guests from hell' along degrees of dislike from the most disliked guest to the just irritant guest but there are cases which are between one and another category. Broadly then, guests whom hosts would rather avoid can be classified as criminals, offenders, abusers and unreasonable demanders.

Criminals

Tellingly, the very first episode of Fawlty Towers, as mentioned, portrays a con artist who deceived Basil by pretending to be a Lord Melbury but who gets caught by the police as a wanted criminal before a very frustrated Basil could get a punch at him.

One memorable host story was about a criminal guest: A Nigerian gentleman was dropped off by taxi late one afternoon in front of the hosts' establishment and when he enquired about available accommodation also indicated that he preferred a street facing room which they happened to have available and he checked in. Around midday the next day the hosts had not heard or seen any sign of their guest and decided that because that was very unusual they would have to check the room and entered it with their spare key. They

discovered the room stripped of all electric and electronic equipment, all linen and towels, all crockery, in fact everything that was possible to pass through the window had passed through it and needless to say there was no sign of the guest. Obviously the hosts' screening of this walk-in guest failed. Criminals are on the top of the unwanted-guest list, and so it is unsurprising that an instance of crime features as a memorable host story. Two other interviewed hosts also told of a guest, 'a Nigerian gent', who left with their property, for instance a TV set, but fortunately did not clear out the room.

Bilking (leaving without paying), is also spoofed in *Satyricon* and seems to have been a common crime if 'I ran home as fast as an innkeeper runs after the guy that's gone without paying the bill' (sec.62) was supposed to be funny for the Romans. Bilking is a specially recognized crime in law. The special offence of 'Bilking' was also recognised by the Hotels Act:

Any person who leaves an hotel (accommodation establishment) without paying his account for lodging ... and meals supplied commits an offence (Milton and Fuller 1971: 636).

The Tourism Act is mainly concerned with establishing The South African Tourism Board and therefore Common Law still determines, much the same as the old English Law the 'Liability to receive and entertain guests'; 'Liability for personal safety of guests'; 'Liability for property of guests' and the 'Innkeeper's lien' (W A Joubert 2003: Vol. 28: 33). The common law of England concerning innkeeping, much the same since the Renaissance, kept regulating commercial hospitality by stipulating these obligations on hosts to provide accommodation and safety of person and goods of travellers who require it. Further legal developments held innkeepers liable for loss or damage of the goods or person of the guest in certain circumstances. At the same time the host had a lien over the belongings of a guest if he fails to pay the bill (The Encyclopaedia Britannica 1898 Vol. XIII: 82). The latter being a remnant of the type of action a creditor could use to secure a debt and historically linked to the ancient *nexum*-action of Roman law. Criminals such as murderers, fraudsters, thieves and the like which obviously have no respect for the host are the worst guests. The worst criminal is the murderer and there is an example of *hospitem occidi* ('I killed my host' (sec.81)).

Offenders

A hostess related her memorable host story about a Johannesburg couple who had paid a deposit on booking some time ahead and then came and stayed for a couple of days. On their last day of a 'normal' stay the guests refused to pay the balance and did not tell the hostess why they did not want to pay. She thought that they intended cheating her for there was nothing wrong up until then. She locked the gate and their room with their luggage still in it after they went out for a short time. The guests must have realized that they would not get away with it when they found everything locked and unable to get their luggage. Later they phoned and told the hostess that they have the money and would like to fetch their luggage, 'just like that'; she then handed over the luggage once they had paid. The same guests phoned her some time later again to make a booking which she could not take because she was really fully booked but she told me even if she had room she would have refused the guests because of the previous experience. The second worst types of disliked guests are *offenders* and an attempt to bilk can be seen as offensive behaviour by the guest. In this story the hostess also exercised her right to a lien over the property of the guests until the guests' account is settled.

Offensive guests are those that destroy or damage the property or business of the host, asking for unjust refunds or attempt to bilk. Obscene public behaviour also falls in this category. Room trashers would also resort in this group although the extent of the damage will determine if it is actually a crime. Again there are some examples of offenders in Satyricon (e.g. room trashing (sec. 95), killing the pet of the hostess (sec. 137) etc.). Grahamstown hosts related of a guest couple who were fighting so badly that the hosts were called there, neighbours came over to see what was happening, the local security company was called and they discovered a lot of things had been broken in the house by the angry couple; another told of a guest who tore fittings from the wall and trashed the place; other guests had performed some burning ritual where they burned a t-shirt in the room,

stained a wall and caused other small damages around the place. Many hosts referred to government officials as offensive guests, for instance, these guests would only stay 2 or 3 days of their week long reservation saying that they have been invited to stay with relatives, claiming a refund of the amount for the remaining days, already paid by the government department and the officials obviously pocketing the money that way, which the hosts felt was unethical. To add to these guest profiles the collection of host stories related in Hide's article *Revenge of the concierge* (full article in Appendix 7) offers the following examples of offenders:

It still amazes me that normal level-headed, intelligent people seem to become complete and total w*****s the second they walk in the door of a hotel; A "Scandinavian gent" returned to the boutique hotel a little unsteadily, then pulled his trousers down in front of reception to relieve himself – and we're talking "No 2" on the list of sins. He then went to his room as if nothing had happened. "Of course, we were beyond horrified. Luckily he was checking out the next day. I handed him his bill and said, 'This extra amount is for cleaning up after you last night.' He just passed over his credit card and paid up, didn't say anything, but didn't look at all embarrassed either"

Hide also reports on a guest arriving in a limousine at an upmarket guest house and offloaded and set up a complete bar on the terrace of his room. After he got some ice from the proprietor he told other guests in the bar to come up to his 'bar' "I'll undercut these prices by 25%".

When we visited Oudtshoorn we had a room leading onto the same pool which was also the scene for the host's memorable story. There I witnessed one after another tent being erected on any flattish spot on the sloping lawn around the pool. All of these tents were inhabited by Afrikaans-speaking people attending the KKNK. Two overweight Afrikaner couples eventually settled on a level gravel patch after they removed a pole holding up a huge bamboo umbrella, because it was in their way. It was like rearranging the garden, which was hardly part of guests' rights and obligations. We ourselves were rather uneasy with all their commotion and I also understood why our host told me that he did not like

that time of year. By the time our host came past me he gave me a side glance which I interpreted as 'grin and bear it'. I could only sympathize. The hosting space is a space which belongs to the host at all times and is only available for the guest to enjoy, not to disturb.

Following is a story of how a guest 'fiddled' with an account afterwards which may even constitute bilking. Volkher had hosted several weddings and with a recent celebration some of the family of the groom had travelled from Cape Town and were therefore booked into the accommodation facility for the wedding night. The aunt of the groom occupied one cottage on her own, one of her sons and his girlfriend were in the other double bedded cottage, and the youngest son was accommodated with some other wedding guests in the dormitory. The rates were R100 for the dorm bed, R280 for a single in a double bedded cottage and R400 for two people in the other double bedded cottage. Volkher had worked out with the aunt, still on the night of the wedding, the total amount of R780. That was when she wanted to retire early and they agreed that she will transfer the funds electronically the next day when they were back in Cape Town. About a week later Volkher received an email from the aunt wherein she complained that she had to use the communal bath house for a hot shower as there was only cold water in the room – she suggested a 'serious reduction'! Volkher responded that they had an agreement before the guests left and the rates were in the Backpackers' price range (thus very cheap) and he had anyway nowhere advertised that there were hot showers in the rooms. She insisted on paying no more than R100 per person thus a total of R400 which she had transferred and wrote back that she hoped he would find that in order. Volkher replied that he did not find it in order but nonetheless did not wish to enter into a debate with her. He did not appreciate her one-sided adaption of the account but what could he do? The guest is too far away to warrant action for such a relatively small amount of money although what the guest did was to break trust and this is a far greater offence in hospitality than what the money is worth, particularly if viewed with a social bonding approach. Commercial hosts, as many other service industry providers (such as doctors, prostitutes or hairdressers), are insulted when guests want to haggle about the price. This is also reflected in the 'money talk taboo' which often applies in the service industry.

Abusers

The degree of abuse would determine whether these guests are offensive or just abusive. Smuggling extra guests in, being messy, abuse of the facilities with 'minor' damages, disturbing other guests and breaking the rules of the house are typical of this category of disliked guests.

Interviewed hosts commented about these guests with statements like 'I am sceptical about African couples because experience has taught me that they are messy' or 'Indian people that cook in the room and used the kettle (provided to boil water for tea or coffee) as curry cooking pot'. Other abusers are those where one person books in and later there are more guests in the room and using the facilities. Students have caused a hostess some headaches, for instance, they would book the room which is a large double bedded suite and then fit perhaps six of them in because then it is rather cheap per person if they divide the costs. A host reported that once there were nine people in one double room, which would actually constitute an offence. Manual labourers were mentioned as another messy group that were not welcome as guests even if the company pays and payment is never a problem. Big groups that tend to take over the place, which is taking more than the guest space, are also disliked. A hostess told me that once a church group of which only a few members were paying guests filled the hostess' entire courtyard with the congregation, cooked food there and ruined her garden, and she loves her garden. Other incidents related to me which are also forms of abuse were about guests who would sneak their pets into the room and these then cause damage to the furniture or students who vomited all over the room; young people especially over festival have also caused disturbance to the host and other guests by coming back late from the shows and then making a lot of noise. Some guests bring their own liquor and they become drunk and disturb other guests which is unreasonable stress for the host. Hide (see appendix 8) relates the host story where 'One of our night managers walked into the main stairwell around 3am to find a couple having sex ... When the manager

asked them to go to their room, the gentleman replied they couldn't as his wife was in there sleeping.'

Volkher hosted a dinner for a professor and his wife who were treating a visiting couple. The men seemed to be colleagues and were often engrossed in their own conversation. Towards the end of the meal when Volkher served dessert he noticed that the visiting woman had become entangled in an argument with all three the other guests. The argument, which contents Volkher never learned, grew in vehemence to such an extent that the woman ran screaming out of the dining hall. Upon hearing the commotion Volkher quickly returned to the bar where both men were anxiously waiting with their wallets in their hands. The visiting guest insisted on paying as if to make good for his wife's behaviour. The mood was very tense and although Volkher knew that their argument had nothing to do with him, nor was caused by him, he felt abused. Even if he did get his pecuniary reward he felt that the hysterical woman had spoiled not only her co-guests' evening but also his. Volkher was denied the satisfaction of greeting happy guests at the end of what should have been a pleasant evening.

Unreasonable demanders

These guests demand things which are beyond the control of the host, they demand services without reciprocation, treat the host like a servant or simply do not respect the master of the house. These expressions vary between what the host deems insolent on the one side and patronising as the other extreme. Guests once made out as if the hosts personally had to solve the water and electricity supply problems of Grahamstown because they said that they booked for a facility supplied with both and, if not, the hosts had misled them; guests from the richer Western Cape Province and Johannesburg have been mentioned by Grahamstown hosts to be particularly demanding (one example was that they would insist on a second warm water bottle 'and covered please') and they have many more expectations, especially first timers at festival, they expect it to be absolutely perfect and

tend to complain about the smallest of things or barking dogs which are out of the hosts' control; South African guests tend to 'moan' a lot opposed to foreign guests; a hostess reported that she told a 'high maintenance' guest that she can unfortunately not accept his booking when he returns to Grahamstown, 'it would not be a good idea if you came back here'.

Another striking example of an unreasonable demander is Mrs Richards in Fawlty Towers who complains to Basil about everything from the size of the bath to the view but still decides to stay. Mrs Richards was modelled on information Cleese and Booth gathered about real difficult guests. Mrs Richards: 'Now listen to me; I'm not satisfied, but I have decided to stay here. However, I shall expect a reduction.' Basil asks: 'Why, because Krakatoa's not erupting at the moment?' Mrs Richards retorts: 'Because the room is cold, the bath is too small, the view invisible and the radio doesn't work' (Cleese and Booth 2000: 166). Which were all unreasonable, if not untrue complaints.

All these stories reveal that there are some guests who abuse hosts and hospitality; they abuse the ambivalence of the situation by transgressing the rules. These guests' behaviour is disrespect for the host and his facility and the host, bound by *nexilitas*, still tries to effectively work towards a balance even if it is in vain. If all else fails the host will ask the guest to leave, and this is discussed next.

6.3. Exile

Basil Fawlty: Well, you should have thought of that before, shouldn't you.

Too late now. Come on, out! *Raus! Raus!*

The previous section indicated the instances where hosts developed 'a rabid dislike of guests'. Besides taking recourse in law hosts can choose to 'grin and bear it' or to exile the guest. There was one memorable host story where the hostess resolved to 'grin and bear it' and from my own experience tolerance is an approach which usually avoids direct conflict and besides fits in with the host's staging. Exile is very rare and only applied as measure of last resort. Rapport and Overing (2007: 173) define exile as 'a rite of violent disaggregation from a home community which pitches refugees into a liminal zone ... which can only be overcome by a corresponding rite of reaggregation into new identities'.

The Iraqw were perceived to be 'an unwarlike, passive people' because they 'preferred ritual action to direct forms of action in the mediation or settlement of disputes.' 'The skin is the boundary of the person, and by breaking it, the man, who merely acted in self-defence, endangered the continuity of the boundary of the section near which the incident occurred' (Thornton 1980:55). From this personal boundary distinction the further distinctions between house and outside, settled land and wilderness are drawn. Each distinction is divided by a frontier/threshold – a place 'neither here nor there'.⁷⁹ Exile was their preferred social sanction whereby they could ritually disaggregate unwanted members of their community.

⁷⁹ 'The relationship between the inside of the house and the outside is the same as the relationship between the settled land (the *aya*) and the wilderness outside its borders (the *slaa*'). The boundary between these regions, the threshold of the house, *duxutamo*, and the boundary of the land, *digma*, are ritually significant; that is, there are specific symbolic acts performed on them and directed to them' (Thornton 1980:31). 'The chief political divisions within Iraqw society are those that exist between the elders and the youth, and between the bounded, inside region of the *aya* and the hostile outside' (Thornton 1980: 133). 'Incidentally, the killing of the impure child on the threshold places the dangerous act neither in the house nor in the land; it takes place in the interstice which is neither here nor there, and so the death of the polluted child occasions no pollution in itself' (Thornton 1980:143) Even the 'coming out of a woman' (*marmo*) 'signalled a woman's eligibility for marriage and for sexual relations, the metaphorical comparison of the woman's body with the *aya* (settled land), vulnerable to penetration under attack by outsiders, appears to arise naturally from practical experience' (Thornton 1980:130). 'Ultimately, wrong behaviour is punished by the suspension of all social contact with the offender and eventually exile into the bush ... the offender is prey both to beasts and to men' (Thornton 1980: 88). 'By blocking the doorway – the symbol of continuity between a family's domestic space and the rest of the inhabited area around them – the message is conveyed that they are no longer considered to be part of the community. Under such circumstances, persons dealt with in this manner leave the community and go into the frontier, the unknown and dangerous outside' (Thornton 1980:40). On p151 he refers to thorn bushes that get 'placed on the threshold ...' Thus they are forced to become strangers.

Exile is the preferred sanction of a commercial host too when he had enough and this has been demonstrated already in various host stories. It is a second line 'defence' action of the host for in this case the guest has been allowed in, into the 'home community'. The stranger had become a guest but the host cannot tolerate the guest any longer. 'This is used as a vehicle of social control by the host' (Di Domenico and Lynch 2007: 334). The authors referred to a host who stated 'We've thrown people out before'. Marco Pierre White (2008) described the procedure of demonstrating to some unwanted restaurant guests that they have to leave by clearing everything from the table, and if that had not yet convinced the guests to leave the table itself is removed too. Financial matters take second place to the host's feelings and the guest is often not charged or is refunded when asked to leave. Exile is a way to turn the guest into a stranger again, similar to the body's reaction towards a parasite. It is the disaggregation of all nexilias if any had already manifested.

Hide (2009: 15)(full article in Appendix 8) relates the story in which 'a B&B landlady from Birmingham told us: "I asked them, in a nice manner, to calm things down and then wondered how I was going to tolerate them for three more nights. When water poured through the ceiling from their bathroom, I took a deep breath and thought, 'I've spoken to them in my language, so now I'll speak to them in theirs'. In the end, it was 'Pack your bags and f*** off that worked best.'" In the same article there is another story depicting 'destruction of wealth' and the consequential exile of commercial guests: 'On a visit to Brazil, a Scottish singer started playing football with some friends in the presidential suite of the five-star Copacabana Hotel in Rio de Janeiro, breaking a picture, leaving marks on the wall and provoking complaints from other guests. The man and his friends were told in no uncertain terms to leave. You can't get away with that kind of behaviour, even if you are Rod Stewart.'

Tellingly Sybil Fawltly reads a book by Harold Robbins entitled *Never Love A Stranger*, which Basil refers to as 'trans-Atlantic tripe'. Later in the same episode Basil, loaded with an

apparent 'rabid dislike of guests', asks if guests really understand what it means to be a host:

This is typical, absolutely typical ... of the kind of ... (*shouting*) ARSE I have to put up with from you people. You ponce in here expecting to be waited on hand and foot, well I'm trying to run a hotel here. Have you any idea of how much there is to do? Do you ever think of that? Of course not, you're all too busy sticking your noses into every corner, poking around for things to complain about, aren't you. Well, let me tell you something - this is exactly how Nazi Germany started, you know. A lot of layabouts with nothing better to do than to cause trouble. Well I've had fifteen years of pandering to please the likes of you and I've had enough. I've had it. Come on, pack your bags and get out! (Cleese and Booth 2000: 242).⁸⁰

Basil Fawlty expresses perhaps his feelings about the neglect of the host too and the resultant disastrous consequences of ignoring the master of the house. Guests generally do not concern themselves with what the host prepares for them – they find the place as it is. The guest's preliminary anxiety is rather different than that of the host. Of course the guests 'expect to be waited on hand and foot', that is what hospitality is about from the perspective of especially the *paying* customer-guest. Most hosts understand this reasonable expectation and give at least the appearance of meeting it fully, as we have seen with the high percentage of positive host-guest encounters. But if things get too much for the host, the host has to 'grin and bear' the guest until the end of the time of hospitality or accelerate the end by exiling the guest.

⁸⁰ This is addressed to all the guests assembled in the foyer of Fawlty Towers at the end of the episode 'Waldorf Salad'. An American guest, Mr. Hamilton challenged Basil about customer satisfaction: '(*addressing the guests*) 'Hah! What I'm suggesting is that this is the crummiest, shoddiest, worst-run hotel in the whole of Western Europe.'; '(*to Basil*) 'And that you are the British Tourist Board's answer to Donald Duck.'; After Basil rounds up his regular guests/long-term guests to say that they are satisfied he retorts to Mr. Hamilton: 'You see ... satisfied customers! Of course if this little hotel is not to your taste, then you are free to say so, that is your privilege. And I shall of course refund your money ... I know how important it is to you Americans. But you must remember (*he hands the money over*) that here in Britain there are things that we value more, things that perhaps in America, you've rather forgotten, but which here in Britain are far, far more important ...'(Cleese and Booth 2000:241)

6.4. Rewards

Thenardier: Glad to do a friend a favor
 Doesn't cost me to be nice
 But nothing gets you nothing
 Everything has got a little price!

The commercial host's actions are reward orientated. Besides the purely commercial money exchange there are intangible rewards for the host which are often more important than commerce. The host is rewarded already simply by successful hosting; the host has satisfied a basic human need – by being master of the house the host retains the feeling of autonomy and control. This power together with a social bond, result in the conditions of 'freedom' of fear and anger for the host. The guest lacks autonomy but with *nexilitas* the host ensures the guest's freedom of fear and anger. The host's prestation (*Leistung*) provides for social recognition: the host can be proud of the successful hosting and the guest reciprocates (thanks) the host for it. Taking care of someone else, a child or even an animal is rewarding in itself. The consequences of social bonding, *nexilitas* and satisfied guests are feelings of harmony and safety. The satisfaction of curiosity and the learning of something new are particularly evident when the strangers are external strangers.

The very first memorable host story that I recorded in my first interview with a commercial hostess is about a 'most enduring connection' the hostess had ever made with a guest. The hostess was contacted to facilitate the visit of a world renowned French choreographer and philosopher. He spoke only French and since she had been a French teacher it was arranged that she would accompany him when it was necessary for him to have a translator. He had a reservation for accommodation in another facility but was dropped off at the hostess' house. When she wanted to take him there he 'begged' her to let him rather stay with her, she sensed something desperate in his plea but could not understand it since he had not even seen his reserved lodgings. He then told her that when he arrived at the Port Elizabeth

airport the day before there was no one to pick him up. Someone helped him to a hotel where he could arrange for transport the following day to Grahamstown. He felt terribly lost and now that he had found someone with whom he connected he did not want to risk losing it. She set him up in her guest room and arranged meetings for him at Rhodes Drama Department and other interested parties. He told her about Côte D'Ivoire where he grew up and about his father, a mayor of some town there. His thesis involved the changing of thought by changing steps in a dance. The hostess' children were teenagers then and fascinated by all the guest told and taught them (she translated for all): 'it just meant so much for me and my family' she told me with tears welling up in her eyes. The guest stayed for more than a week and had 'non-stop interaction' with them and other guests. 'It was just fabulous!' She said he would only seclude himself in his room for 2-3 hours every evening to write letters and think but otherwise he was highly sociable. They kept contact with each other for many years afterwards by writing to each other frequently but have not seen each other since.

This story is, in the context of this study, a perfect example of *nexilitas*, to such an extent that it obscures the fact that it was actually a commercial transaction. Besides satisfying the hostess' motive of curiosity she successfully hosted a satisfied guest. The emotional reward the hostess received far exceeded the material reward. She had learned new things which were fun and entertaining. In this case there was true reciprocity, a balanced continuum of giving and taking between host and guest. Other points to note about the story are that the hostess did not anticipate the coming of the guest as her guest; the guest complied with the picture of a weary traveller who turned out to be an 'angel'; there was a meaningful connection between host and guest; and although the time of hospitality ended, they still kept contact.

Particularly connected to Grahamstown are recurrent circumstances in the host stories involving teaching, which is understandable considering that education is the only 'industry' Grahamstown has. Tourists, particularly cultural tourists, want to learn from their hosts. Herein would be the key for a win-win situation for Grahamstown which is already a cultural

centre, also to become a cultural tourist destination where hosts and guests can learn from each other. Four memorable host stories had references to something that a host had learned from the guest which is a direct fulfilment of the curiosity motive of any human, but also an unexpected reward from the guest, from whom the only real expected return can be pecuniary. Three stories were mentioned before⁸¹ and in the other of these stories the hostess told me that she was busy with a module for her studies when a guest from Holland stayed with her. The module concerned problems of youngsters, teenage pregnancy and Satanism. She said that the guest was a huge source of information on Satanism; ‘he explained everything, he helped me a lot’ comparing students and teaching in Holland with students here etc. In the end, she passed the module easily. The hostess followed this story up by mentioning another international guest, a lawyer from Australia, who moved from some lodgings in town to the hostess’ and ‘she stayed for a week and was very happy; she also taught me a lot’.

A quantitative summary of the memorable host stories indicates that from a total of seventeen memorable stories *twelve* are representations of *nexilitas*, a pleasant and rewarding connection with a stranger. One story had entertainment value for the host alone and four were negative stories, that is hosts suffered damages either material or emotional or both. One negative story was about straightforward criminality and another about an attempt at it, very insolent guests were remembered in the third story and in the fourth ‘negative’ story the hostess had learned how to deal with the types of guests so that what was negative was somewhat equalized. Of the positive stories three relate some memorable comical situations where there was some ‘joke’ involved; these were memorable because of their entertainment value and two showed traits of the ‘joking relationship’. Two other positive stories concerned normal functions of the hosts but the guests provided for extraordinary or special circumstances which made the encounter memorable besides accelerating *nexilitas*. All the remaining stories involved *special care* that the hosts took in

⁸¹ The first memorable host story was about a guest, a choreographer and philosopher, of whom the hostess commented that she and her family had learned a lot.; the second story was about a guest whose son had committed suicide and the third was about the government officials which the hostess said she learned how to handle.

those particular circumstances of the case and connected to the particular individuals; this special care was not remunerated with money.

What is meant by material rewards today is the settling of the account with money. The account or bill should reflect the agreed rates and, as a rule, is to be settled before the guest finally departs. Generally payment is made in an uneventful manner in line with the 'money talk taboo'; the account is presented and the guests pay while both host and guest refrain from talking about it except if there is an error or something is unclear. In fact, they would deliberately talk about anything else than the money. Some stories described conflicts in the payment situation which were to the host's demise. One-sided reductions by the guest not only mean fiscal damages but also involve the breaking of trust which, as noted, works directly against social bonding. The fact that the actual 'product' of hospitality, service, is intangible contributes to potential conflicts and once service is done it cannot be undone; it cannot be taken back. The material rewards are diminished when the guest has caused damage and even small accidents, for instance when guests forget to leave the keys or 'accidentally' take a towel along, cut directly into the host's pocket. The host has to be prepared for the next guest and has to replace damaged or stolen 'hosting tools'.

The post-liminality with one guest can coincide with guests at other stages of the passage and so the whole cycle continues. Again and again the host anticipates and prepares for the new guest, the arrival and accommodation of the new guest are tended to and it ends again when the guest has left.

7

Summary and conclusion

It has emerged from the historical and cross cultural sections of the thesis that there are universal rules of hospitality; that these rules concern **both host and guest**; and they also apply in commercial hospitality. Mauss opened *The Gift* with citations from the Hávamál (stanzas 39 and onwards) to demonstrate the primary importance of hospitality and throughout this study various references have been made to the Hávamál. The first seven stanzas, the introduction to this epic poem, capture the essential features and rules of hospitality in a holistic way, featuring both host and guest which, as I also showed at the outset of the thesis, is not common, at least in the way the host-guest relationship is treated in the social sciences – with a distinct bias towards the experience of the guest(s). The Hávamál begins with an expression of the fear of the strange and the fear of strangers; followed by mutual greetings and the master of the house allocating a space for the newcomer; next the duties of the host to fulfil the basic needs of the guest are extensively listed and this ensures a ‘hearty welcome’; the duties of the guest to look and listen and learn the rules of the house, respect the host and observe other guests are then discussed and eventually the fear is overcome and the ‘stranger’ becomes ‘guest’ and is safe – **nexilitas**, the gift of hospitality has occurred. The first seven stanzas of the Hávamál⁸² are so profoundly evocative of the nexilitas relationship which is at the core of this thesis, that I hope I shall be forgiven for quoting them in full as I conclude the thesis:

The man who stands at a strange threshold,
 should be cautious before he cross it,
 Glance this way and that:
 Who knows beforehand what foes may sit
 Awaiting him in the hall?

⁸²Translated by W H Auden (1970: 1-2)

Greetings to the host,
The guest has arrived,
In which seat shall he sit?
Rash is he who at unknown doors
Relies on his good luck,

Fire is needed by the newcomer
Whose knees are frozen numb;
Meat and clean linen a man needs
Who has fared across the fells,

Water, too, that he may wash before eating,
Handcloths and a hearty welcome,
Courteous words, then courteous silence
That he may tell his tale,

Who travels widely needs his wits about him,
The stupid should stay at home:
The ignorant man is often laughed at
When he sits at meat with the sage,

Of his knowledge a man should never boast,
Rather be sparing of speech
When to his house a wiser comes:
Seldom do those who are silent make mistakes;
mother wit is ever a faithful friend,

A guest should be courteous
When he comes to the table
And sit in wary silence,

His ears attentive,
 his eyes alert:
 So he protects himself

Hospitality and innkeeping, thus, are concepts as old as mankind and ancient sources reflect both the host's and guest's points of view. However, in a contemporary world in which all research has been done from the guest's point of view, the focus of this study has been on the host and hosting in order to redress the balance. The setting was in owner managed small commercial accommodation facilities or 'neo-inns'. The study of these, including my own experience of such operations, has revealed the highly ambiguous relationship that occurs between host and guest, in which the guest is treated like a 'king' yet the host remains the 'king of his castle'. Late capitalist guests have been spoilt into thinking that service is something one can buy. In this investigation it was demonstrated that *nexilitas* is intrinsic: service in the host-guest interface is something money can't buy. Hosts serve their guests but are not subservient. The only way to buy service is through slavery and the host is no slave, neither he nor his spouse nor his 'family' of helpers. The rendering of a service must however be reciprocated, and in the absence of the possibility of return hospitality (total reciprocity) in commercial settings, payment at a rate agreed before the hospitality occurs is an acceptable acknowledgment of the putative debt.

Hospitality is a process, ephemeral and liminal both for the giver and receiver thereof. Turner (1969) identified a form of social bonding in certain liminalities between equals which he named *communitas*. *Nexilitas* is a bond *in liminality* between status *unequals* – this is the intrinsic difference between *communitas* and *nexilitas*. *Communitas* represents the horizontal and *nexilitas* the vertical workings of *das Zwischenmenschliche*. In the final analysis, the host has power over the guest, but as one might expect in states of liminality this is by no means one-sided or clear-cut. Within the hosting space and for a limited time the host takes care of the needs and wants of the guest, implying that the host subordinates himself to the guest. The host's behaviour does not reflect that of one who has power as the householder over the guest; he exhibits quite the contrary by providing service. But what

may seem odd in everyday life is normal under conditions of 'anti-structure', that is, in the period of liminality. Nexilitas in its own fashion is as much a suspension of normal relations in liminality as *communitas* is.

Within hospitality the two main types of human connections, bonds of kin and bonds of affinity, have been expanded with concepts of 'fictive kinship' and consequently also the 'mock household'. Along the same lines all hospitality facilities offer a 'household' that the guest joins albeit temporarily; this facilitates the potential for 'quasi-kinship'. The strong bond of hospitality is also reflected in contemporary commercial hospitality when the bond is repetitively invoked in the case of return guests; it actually becomes stronger each time and eventually the parties become 'like family'. It has been demonstrated that this bond is often superior to those of extended kin and friendship, albeit only for a limited time. The potential for a bond between any host and guest is captured in the etymology of *hôte*, – as far back as the hypothetical *ghos-pot* and certainly in *hospes* which is *hostis* (stranger/guest) with *potens* (capable, possessed of and mighty, powerful). These words reflect the way in which nexilitas is the fundamental factor that entertains and harmonizes the face-to-face host-guest encounter.

The essential features of hospitality have been established. These include the host, the guest, the time of hospitality, the hosting space and the host's actions and reactions vis-à-vis the guest. By rendering a basic service the host 'elevates' the guest but the guest is expected to respect the host and his home. The hospitality passage for the host is marked by the rites and rituals which were discussed along the themes of anticipation, arrival, accommodation and departure of the guest. Anticipation and preparation for the guest demonstrate the preliminary phase of the passage and the actual liminality begins with the arrival of the guest. The liminality lasts for the time of hospitality which has been discussed around the 'three day rule,' after which it is harder to maintain nexilitas. The hosting space is represented by the 'home' in which the host provides accommodation, service and entertainment. The end of the time of hospitality is tied to the departure of the guest(s) who return to 'normal' life. From the commercial host's perspective, the nexilitas bond with

each and every guest is in a sense normal life because without guests the host has no role (and no income): that state of being can only be seen as a return to normalcy if it is occupied with activities such as preparation and maintenance that are closely linked to the hosting role and can thus be seen as part and parcel of it.

Within the context of each of the markers various strategies and tactics of the host have been examined. The host's strategies, as presented by the memorable host stories of interviewed hosts and augmented with the other ethnographic data, are strategies to maintain control while at the same time using strategies to make the guest feel at home. The host uses several tactics to advance the strategy of maintaining control. Screening as a preliminary assessment of the potential guest serves to select a suitable guest – or at least exclude the most obviously unsuitable. The appearance of the facilities and the display of wealth together with the rules of the house demonstrate the host's position as master of the house. Panoptic control is gained by the design of the hosting space and access regulations for guests. To make the guest feel at home hosts use the tactics of staging friendliness and patience to avoid anger and fear; with guest reciprocity *nexilitas* is consummated and it is particularly expressed in extra individualized care, efficient service, sharing time, joking and compotuality. In cases when the guest becomes intolerable the host will exile the guest by either thinking up excuses or blatantly lying, if the guest is not directly told to leave. The *nexilitas* factor guarantees the pleasurable passage of hospitality for both host and guest.

Through the identification of the *nexilitas* factor, different forms of hospitality have been identified as 'true' or 'pure' hospitality, cultural hospitality, social hospitality and commercial hospitality. 'True' hospitality is the idealised model of hospitality and reflects universal elements of the creation of a bond between strangers. It is epitomised by the image of the biblical Abraham receiving 'weary travellers'. In cultural hospitality the bonds are institutionalized and serve to secure the parties involved; here the mass tourism culture represents contemporary cultural hospitality, as do hospitality clubs which operate on total reciprocity (hosts and guests swap roles). The ancient and universal model for social

hospitality is a bond of kin or affine; a bond had been established through prior connections and there is recognition of the visitor as an 'internal stranger'. Commercial hospitality extends to any stranger and is usually reciprocated with money as a token of the stranger's desire to be treated as a guest, and not a parasite, under conditions of modernity in which any prior connection that might imply a connection or any hope of reciprocal hosting is unlikely.

Besides the financial rewards, hosts cherish the emotional and moral rewards which more than often outweigh the money aspect. Non-pecuniary rewards which often featured in the host stories were described as the pleasure of taking care, social recognition and the satisfaction of the curiosity for new knowledge. The host strives to approximate the ideals of hospitality. A satisfied guest reflects the host's *Leistung*, his prestation of himself as meritorious host which in itself is already rewarding – the successful application of *nexilitas*, even if the bond is ephemeral.

Hospitality as practiced by owner-managers of small accommodation facilities clearly reflects the workings of *nexilitas* in this otherwise commercial circumstance. These types of hosts have existed ever since the dawn of Western civilization and surely predate it and have always been found beyond its reach. Hosts still accept guests into their homes and take care of their guests' needs and wants in much the same way, as the empirical study of hosts in Grahamstown and other centres has verified. Mass tourists hosted in big hotels may be oblivious of their hosts but small commercial hosts are engaging face-to-face with their guests, whoever they may be. In a world where the focus is on consumers and their rights only, the position of the small commercial host has become most vulnerable. In African culture where innkeeping is emergent or only a recent phenomenon and most recently aimed at poverty alleviation (as proposed in Grahamstown East), it would necessitate proper understanding, especially of the position of these hosts, to make a success of such projects. If my analysis is correct, any diminution or dilution of the 'master of the house' role through encouraging hosts to make an inauthentic exhibition of themselves could well

lead to the emergence of attitudes and expectations on either side of the *'hôte-hôte'* line that do not mesh with nexilitas.

Further investigation of the host's point of view and nexilitas may reveal a very useful model to map or augment other social bonding opportunities in liminalities where there is a hierarchal difference between the parties but service and care is involved, such as doctor-patient, master-student or prostitute-client, and as noted with the fieldworker-native research situation ethical considerations should include the concepts of host and hospitality. Hospitality, the guest **and the host** are three points of reference which enable us to measure relationships between them far more holistically than with the guest-favoured bias alone. The host's role and point of view offer an essential counterpoint to those of the guest, without which it is impossible to fully understand the phenomenon we call hospitality.

Appendices

APPENDIX 1. *Nexus* and *nexum*

The words come from the verb *necto* which means to bind, tie or join together. The very ancient (pre-classical) Roman contract of *nexum* is believed to be the original source of later Roman legal developments of contracts which include loan, deposit, pledge, sale, location, partnership, mandate, surety ship and later credit. 'Sale was the offspring of barter, - of instant exchange of one thing for another' (Encyclopaedia Britannica (EB) 1898 XX: 693). The position was that 'mere agreement' between the parties did not provide either for any recourse in case of non-prestation. Development in theory indicated a difference between the duty to perform and the right to the performance. A public sanction of the solemn promises between the parties had then to be executed 'To entitle a man to claim the intervention of the civil tribunals to compel implement of an engagement undertaken by another, it was necessary ... either should be clothed in some form prescribed or recognized by the law, or that it should be accompanied or followed by some relative act which rendered it something more than a mere interchange of consent. ... This undertaking to repay arose from the contract of *nexum*, which was older than the Tables' (EB XX: 693). As also in other societies the Roman law merely reflected the norms of society, the underlying human mechanisms. In early times law was established by ritual performances of the priests.

The origins of the *nexum* action seemed to be the formalising of some bond. Although creditors relied on the *bona fides* of the borrower and accepted that he was honest and willing to repay (*obligatio bona fidei*), surety ship of some form became required. What happened then was that if matters for the borrower became worse and he exhausted all other possible kinds of surety he would 'imply or hypothecate' *himself*, his person (body) by uttering a one-sided promise (*sponsio*) to the creditor to perform. The *sponsio* was the expression of the required ritual formalities (no example had been preserved in writing). Then if things did not improve for the poor debtor and the creditor claims repayment the creditor can take the person and 'like a wasting disease, it had come to his body; how his creditor, instead of putting him to work (*in servitium*), had thrown him into a dungeon and a torture-chamber' (EB XX: 693). Initially the debtor still had his personal freedom and merely had to work for the creditor (*Schuld knechtschaft* 'debt-enslavement')

(Kaser 1971: 167). Later the debtor fell completely at the mercy of the creditor who could enslave, torture and/or kill him since his body then belonged to the creditor. The law was that if there were several creditors the debtor's body would be cut up and proportionally distributed among the creditors, although there is no report that this actually happened (Smith 1907: 269). Another person could be substituted if the debtor could arrange it. There are indications that this could have extended to include the family/household of the debtor. This was a *total prestation* and refers to the relationships of social dependency within society (*clients, nexi in fidem dediti* (Kaser 1971: 27)).

In the ensuing *iure nexi* the transaction became *nexum* and the bond itself or the debtor called *nexus*. Some confusion exists because the words have been used interchangeably and sometimes substituted with *vinctus* (literally tying someone up) and *obligatio* (pledge). By public action with witnesses the bond could be set aside by *nexi liberatio*. The *nexum* became abused to such an extent that the Lex Poetilia Papiria of 326 BC stipulated among other provisions that 'no one should ever again be the nexus of his creditor in respect of borrowed money; and ... that all existing *nexi qui bonam copiam jurarent* should be released' (EB XX: 694). All those bound up in *nexi* and who had sworn good faith were released and henceforth creditors would have to approach a public forum to procure a magisterial decree if they wanted to have any claim on the body of the debtor. The Lex Poetilia effectively led to the disuse of the nexal obligation and *nexus* was left to develop into the meaning the word has today: 'a complicated series of connections between different things' (Hornby 2005: 987). The derivative *nexilitas* has hitherto not been used in any particular circumstance.

APPENDIX 2. Thenardiers' song

Following is the text of the Thenardiers' song from the musical *Les Misérables*:

DRINKER THREE: Come on you old pest

DRINKER TWO: Fetch a bottle of your best

DRINKER ONE: What's the nectar of the day?

(Thenardier enters with a flask of wine)

THENARDIER: Here, try this lot
Guaranteed to hit the spot
Or I'm not Thenardier

DRINKERS: Gissa glass a rum
Landlord, over here!

THENARDIER: Right away, you scum *(to himself)*
Right away, m'sieur *(to customer)*

DINER ONE: God this place has gone to hell

DINER TWO: So you tell me every year

DRINKER SIX: Mine host Thenardier
He was there so they say,
At the field of Waterloo

DRINKER SEVEN: Got there, it's true
When the fight was all through

DRINKER ONE: But he knew just what to do
Crawling through the mud
So I've heard it said
Picking through the pockets
Of the English dead

DRINKER EIGHT: He made a tidy score
From the spoils of war

THENARDIER: My band of soaks
My den of dissolutes
My dirty jokes, my always pissed as newts.
My sons of whores
Spent their lives in my inn
Homing pigeons homing in
They fly through my doors
And their money's as good as yours

DINER ONE: Ain't got a clue
What he put in this stew
Must have scraped it off the street

DINER TWO: God what a wine!
Chateau Neuf de Turpentine
Must have pressed it with his feet

DRINKERS: Landlord over here!
Where's the bloody man?
One more for the road!
Thenardier, one more slug o' gin.

GIRL: Just one more, or my old man is gonna do me in.

(Thenardier greets a new customer)

THENARDIER: Welcome, M'sieur
Sit yourself down
And meet the best
Innkeeper in town
As for the rest,
All of 'em crooks
Roeking their guests
And cooking the books.
Seldom do you see
Honest men like me
A gent of good intent
Who's content to be

Master of the house
 Doling out the charm
 Ready with a handshake
 And an open palm
 Tells a saucy tale
 Makes a little stir
 Customers appreciate a bon-viveur
 Glad to do a friend a favor
 Doesn't cost me to be nice
 But nothing gets you nothing
 Everything has got a little price!

Master of the house
 Keeper of the zoo
 Ready to relieve 'em
 Of a sou or two
 Watering the wine
 Making up the weight
 Pickin' up their knick-knacks
 When they can't see straight
 Everybody loves a landlord
 Everybody's bosom friend
 I do whatever pleases
 Jesus! Won't I bleed 'em in the end!

THENARDIER & CHORUS: Master of the house
 Quick to catch yer eye
 Never wants a passerby
 To pass him by
 Servant to the poor
 Butler to the great
 Comforter, philosopher,
 And lifelong mate!
 Everybody's boon companion
 Everybody's chaperone

THENARDIER: But lock up your valises
 Jesus! Won't I skin you to the bone!

(To another new customer)

THENARDIER: Enter M'sieur

Lay down your load
Unlace your boots
And rest from the road

(Taking his bag)

This weighs a ton
Travel's a curse
But here we strive
To lighten your purse
Here the goose is cooked
Here the fat is fried
And nothing's overlooked
Till I'm satisfied...

Food beyond compare
Food beyond belief
Mix it in a mincer
And pretend it's beef
Kidney of a horse
Liver of a cat
Filling up the sausages
With this and that

Residents are more than welcome
Bridal suite is occupied
Reasonable charges
Plus some little extras on the side!

Charge 'em for the lice
Extra for the mice
Two percent for looking in the mirror twice
Here a little slice
There a little cut
Three percent for sleeping with the window shut
When it comes to fixing prices
There are a lot of tricks he knows
How it all increases

All those bits and pieces
 Jesus! It's amazing how it grows!

THENARDIER AND CHORUS: Master of the house
 Quick to catch yer eye
 Never wants a passerby
 To pass him by
 Servant to the poor
 Butler to the great
 Comforter, philosopher,
 And lifelong mate!
 Everybody's boon companion
 Gives 'em everything he's got

THENARDIER: Dirty bunch of geezers
 Jesus! What a sorry little lot!

MME. THENARDIER: I used to dream
 That I would meet a prince
 But God Almighty,
 Have you seen what's happened since?
 `Master of the house?'
 Isn't worth me spit!
 `Comforter, philosopher'
 - and lifelong shit!
 Cunning little brain
 Regular Voltaire
 Thinks he's quite a lover
 But there's not much there
 What a cruel trick of nature
 Landed me with such a louse
 God knows how I've lasted
 Living with this bastard in the house!

THENARDIER & CHORUS: Master of the house.

MME. THENARDIER: Master and a half!

THENARDIER & CHORUS: Comforter, philosopher

MME. THENARDIER: Ah, don't make me laugh!

THENARDIER & CHORUS: Servant to the poor. Butler to the great.

MME. THENARDIER: Hypocrite and toady and inebriate!

THENARDIER & CHORUS: Everybody bless the landlord!
Everybody bless his spouse!

THENARDIER: Everybody raise a glass

MME. THENARDIER: Raise it up the master's arse.

ALL: Everybody raise a glass to the master of the house!

The musical ends with the master of the house and his spouse as 'Beggars at the Feast':

THENARDIER: Ain't it a laugh

Ain't it a treat?

Hob-nobbin' here

Among the elite?

Here comes a prince

There goes a Jew.

This one's a queer

But what can you do?

Paris at my feet

Paris in the dust

And here's me breaking bread

With the upper crust!

Beggar at the feast!

Master of the dance!

Life is easy pickings
If you grab your chance.
Everywhere you go
Law-abiding folk
Doing what is decent
But they're mostly broke!
Singing to the Lord on Sundays
Praying for the gifts He'll send.

M. & MME. THENARDIER: But we're the ones who take it
We're the ones who make it in the end!
Watch the buggers dance
Watch 'em till they drop
Keep your wits about you
And you stand on top!
Masters of the land
Always get our share
Clear away the barricades
And we're still there!
We know where the wind is blowing
Money is the stuff we smell.
And when we're rich as Croesus
Jesus! Won't we see you all in hell!

APPENDIX 3. Hospitality Facilities

Accommodation Facilities

Below are descriptions for most types of contemporary commercial accommodation facilities. Various definitions overlap and the terms are generally very loosely applied by both hosts and guests, nationally and abroad, especially *B&B* and *Guest House* which is often used for any of the facilities listed. *Inn* has stood for millennia before as the name of an owner-operated small accommodation facility. From the information on Roman facilities it seems that even then there were problems in precise definition of this type of establishment (see p.57 footnote 45). The Grahamstown Hospitality Guild (GHG) closely follows the definitions of TGCSA.

Inn:

'1 (*old-fashioned, BrE*) a pub, usually in the country and often where people can stay the night 2 (*NAmE*) A small hotel, usually in the country 3. Inn used in the names of many pubs, hotels and restaurants: *Holiday Inn*' (Hornby 2005: 769). By adding the *Inn* to their name a big group like Holiday Inn deliberately taps into the feeling associated with *country hospitality*. The inn is probably the most encompassing facility offering bed, food and beverage as well as some space for entertainment and/or commensality, *communitas* and *nexilitas* (compototality). The standards and size can vary much as will be seen also with definitions of other types of facilities. The Tourism Grading Council of South Africa (TGCSA) does not define *Inn* but uses *Country House* which in definition seems to be the closest.

Lodge:

'1. A small house in the country where people stay when they want to take part in some types of outdoor sport: a hunting lodge ...' (Hornby 2005: 869). The TGCSA defines a lodge as 'an accommodation facility located in natural surroundings. The rates charged are usually inclusive of all meals and the experience offered at the lodge, with game drives, battlefield tours, etc.'

Guest house:

'1 (*BrE*) a small hotel 2 (*NAmE*) a small house built near a large house, for guests to stay in' (Hornby 2005: 663). The TGCSA definition reads 'can be an existing home, a renovated home or a building that has been specifically designed to provide overnight accommodation. A guest house will have public areas for the exclusive use of its guests. A guest house is a commercial operation enterprise and as such the owner or manager may live on the property.' It is basically the same as an inn.

B&B:

'bed and breakfast *noun* (*abbr.* B and B, B & B) **1** (*BrE*) a service that provides a room to sleep in and a meal the next morning in private houses and small hotels: *Do you do bed and breakfast?* ... compare FULL BOARD, HALF BOARD **2** a place that provides this service: *There were several good bed and breakfasts in the area*' (Hornby 2005: 118). The acronym 'B&B' was derived (in the 1980s) from a term used in hotels to present various forms of charges – Dinner, Bed & Breakfast (DBB), thus full board, or Bed & Breakfast, half board. Strictly speaking is a B&B a facility where the guest lives with the host in the host's house for the duration of stay. The guest has his own room, originally like the child's room or private guests' room(s), but all other facilities, ablutions and entertainment, may be shared with the host family. TGCSA also states that breakfast 'must be served'. However as mentioned before this term is very loosely applied to any small accommodation facility and comparable to *home-stays* in Grahamstown.

Backpackers

Backpackers usually stand for International Backpackers for it offers basic facilities for foreign tourists who traditionally travelled with a backpack, usually containing their own bedding and food. Not all backpackers are owner managed and there are even backpackers managed by backpackers, which almost suggest that there is no host. Needless to say these facilities are usually cheap which then has presented a negative picture to prospective guests at times. They are often rated as the lowest in the range of commercial hospitality offerings and are therefore closest to the historical sleazy inn.

Self-catering units

'S-C's can vary from the type where one would pick up a key somewhere and deposit it again at the end of the stay, having had contact with the host only by phone or mail, to instances where the host is around for the arrival and departure of the guest, but does not supply any meals or entertainment. Prices range with the style of the facility from very basic (room to sleep, ablution and cooking facilities) to five star units complete with entertainment and service.

Hotel:

'**1** a building where people stay, usually for a short time, paying for their rooms and meals ... **2** (*AustralE, NZE*) a pub **3** (*IndE*) a restaurant' (Hornby 2005: 725). Interesting to note is the different meanings *hotel* has adopted throughout the English Empire. Strictly according to the dictionary there is hardly any difference between inn and hotel, yet everybody knows that a hotel is often situated in a huge building where the host is represented by managers. TGCSA defines hotel as 'providing accommodation to the travelling public, has a reception area, and offers at least a "breakfast room" or communal eating area. 'In general a hotel

makes food and beverage services available to guests; these may be outsourced or provided by the hotel.'

The Booking Kit for the National Arts Festival (NAF Booking Kit 20 June - 4 July 2010: 234) advises: 'Accommodation for the Festival is made up of different categories:

FORMAL SECTOR ACCOMMODATION – Accommodation providers with year-round accommodation dedicated for the use of visitors in hotels, guesthouses and bed and breakfast establishments.

INFORMAL SECTOR ACCOMMODATION – Accommodation in family homes, either on a vacant house basis, where residents vacate their homes for the use of visitors, or on a bed and breakfast (home stay) basis, in rooms in homes where visitors share facilities with the host family.

UNIVERSITY RESIDENCES – Two Festival 'Hotels' (in two adapted modern residences); Plus single rooms in Rhodes University residences

SCHOOL HOSTELS – a variety of rooms (single, twin-bedded, semi-private and dormitory style) in the boarding hostels of local schools.

BACKPACKERS / CARAVAN and CAMPING SITES.'

APPENDIX 4. Background

Background to the research sites

The descriptions of and comparisons between Grahamstown and Oudtshoorn provide a socio-economic background to two town fields in this study in which the owners/managers of a small commercial accommodation facility operate. Particular observations were made concerning festivals at the NAF in 2009 and 2010 and at the KKNK in 2010. A comparison between these two festivals was facilitated by the work done by Jeanette Snowball in previous years about the economic circumstance of these festivals.

Grahamstown

It is estimated that the first humans to roam the Makana District were Early Stone Age Hominids about 1.5 million years ago. The San hunter-gatherers have populated this area for about the last 10 000 years and the Khoi pastoralists came around 2000 years ago. About 800 AD it is believed that the first ancestors of the Xhosa migrated south from the KwaZulu-Natal region. Rhini is the name of a Xhosa family who lived in the valley along the Blaauwkrantz River, hence a recent politically involved movement to rename Grahamstown eRhini. They were probably of the first Xhosas in this area to come into contact with the Dutch *trekboere* in the early 1800s who left the Cape Colony on a northerly migration mainly to escape British rule.

In 1812 the farm of Lucas Meyer was 'chosen' by the British authorities to become a military outpost and they dispatched Col John Graham to establish such. In what is known as the Battle of Grahamstown in 1819 the Xhosa diviner Makana persuaded Chief Ndlambe to attack the estimated 6000 troops in town with disastrous results for the Xhosa. The 4000 people sent by Britain in 1820 to form a population barrier between the Xhosa and their

station, *Graham's-town* were to be known as the '1820 Settlers'. These people were mostly forced by hardship into the small town and left their distinct mark (e.g. the abundance of Georgian and Victorian style buildings) on the future development of the city. Since 1974 the 1820 Settlers Monument dominates the southern skyline of Grahamstown. It is a monumental building to commemorate the 1820 Settlers and became the birth place of the annual National Arts Festival.⁸³

Almost two hundred years later a huge migration of farm workers with their families has again swelled the population of the town after the tourist industry of game farming in the Makana area made their services redundant. As a consequence the eastern landscape of town has changed with a huge RDP Housing project in Vukani, formerly the 'Grahamstown East Commonage'.

The constant battles between Xhosa, British and Dutch /Afrikaner for the most of the 1800s caused the greater Grahamstown area (Makana District) to be known as Frontier Country. 'A frontier, as I understand it, is not merely a military line; it is a zone of cultural contact and

⁸³ In 1974 with the inauguration of the 1820 Settlers Monument, boasting amongst several smaller venues, the Guy Butler auditorium of world class standards with a seating capacity of 1000 people, the first festival was held. Then it was perhaps only the opening celebration of the monument which ran over a week and there were 60 events on the programme (Snowball 2005: 30) but in the years to come it developed into 'The Shakespeare Festival' in 1976, 'Grahamstown Festival' in 1977, the 'Sharp Festival of the Arts Grahamstown' in 1978, 'Five Roses Festival of the Arts Grahamstown' in 1979, until in 1984 'Standard Bank National Arts Festival' to just 'National Arts Festival' since 2001 (Snowball 2005:32-5).

It was modelled on the Edinburgh Festival in Britain, probably the biggest arts festival in the world. Indeed there are shows that have made their debut performance in Grahamstown (or at the KKNK) only to be spotted by talent hunters from the Edinburgh Festival organizers, which seems to be one of the highest accolades any performance can rake in. Like the Edinburgh Festival parallel programmes on what is called the 'Main' and the 'Fringe' are offered.

Snowball (2005) divides the history of the NAF into three periods: 'Beginnings' (1970 – 1983) followed by a second phase '1984 – 1994' and then 'The New South Africa'. Her first work in 2000 sets out to demonstrate the economic impact value of a cultural event on Grahamstown with particular reference to the value of externalities provided for by the NAF. In her second work of 2005 she discusses various methods to determine economic impact values of cultural events and the NAF and KKNK form case studies to explain methods like ticket sales method, accommodation method and contingent valuation method. She demonstrates that none of the methods should be applied in isolation because of all the bias and uncertainties, and rather applied parallel to come close to a more scientific specific value, an informed guesstimate.

psychological adjustments. For generations men on a frontier seem to live confused and torn between two worlds.’ – Prof. Winifred Maxwell.⁸⁴

In 1864 the Parliament of the Cape sat for the first and only time in Grahamstown which was then the second biggest European type town after Cape Town on this southern tip of Africa.⁸⁵ From then it seemed that development slowed down, except for stock and dairy farming and the introduction of pineapple farming to Settler Country in 1865 which is still widely practiced alongside the latest development of game farming.

Today there is no huge industry apart from education, if one can call it an industry – several well respected schools and of course Rhodes University. The annual National Arts Festival usually at the beginning of July has however placed Grahamstown on the map, and this is the aspect of the local society and economy that most interests us (O’Meara 1995:12-13; Snowball 2000: 53; Snowball 2005:68).

On-line available demographic representation of the population in Makana District (greater Grahamstown area) is rounded as follows: Total inhabitants about 70 000; Black 51 500; Coloured 10 100; White 8150; Asian 320.⁸⁶

Sixty-two percent of Grahamstown respondents were African-origin people, 34% were of European-origin and 4% of mixed-origin. When compared to the statistical data on the population of the area, it was found that this approximates the census data (Stats SA 1996) on the population’s racial make-

⁸⁴ Presidential address to the Grahamstown Historical Society, 1972 (O’Meara 1995:84)

⁸⁵ The Zulus were estimated to have had a population less than a million (Wylie 2006: 53) from which instance the capitals, KwaBulawayo or Mgungundhlovu, would have had been more populous than Cape Town at that stage.

⁸⁶ <http://www.socdev.ecprov.gov.za/districts/Cacadu/Demographics/Cacadu%20Demographic%20Maps/Cacadu.pdf>; Snowball (2000: 119) mentions an estimate by the municipality that about 27 500 people lived in the western part of town and about 97 200 in the east which would total to over 120 000 people, a *decline* of 50 000 people in the last decade just seems improbable.

up quite well. The home language of 62% of respondents was Xhosa, 34% spoke English and 4% Afrikaans (Snowball 2005:173).

Xhosa and English are still the main languages in this former frontier region. Grahamstown is also referred to as the 'City of Saints' because there are so many places of worship (about 50). The impressive Anglican Cathedral of St. Michael and St. George built from 1824 onwards, with the tallest bell tower in South Africa, and completed in 1879 marks centre of town (O'Meara 1995: 34). Between *City of Saints* and *Africa's Festival Capital* Grahamstown is truly representative of a magico-religious centre.⁸⁷ It is coincidental that *frontier* also embraces the liminal concept, the threshold-like space which is the same spatial construct for hospitality as well as the magic in entertainment and the sacredness of the basic tie, which are aspects of the hospitality concept.

In 1995 the Cathcart Arms Hotel, along Market Square, was the oldest existing licensed hotel in South Africa: 'it was established by 1820 Settlers William and Ann Trotter in 1831 as a "brewery and house of accommodation"' with a licence granted by Lord Somerset in 1825. When I came to Grahamstown in 2003 this hotel looked as if it had been closed down some years before. Two other long-established central hotels, the Goodwood and the Grand, had also subsequently closed, as did the more modern Settler's Motel on the outskirts of town. The first has been reincarnated as the Frontier Arms hotel, but the second and third have both been converted into residences for students. Discussing supply constraints Snowball reports in 2005 that there was an acute shortage of accommodation: 'Grahamstown has only one major hotel, a growing number of upmarket guest houses and many "bed and breakfast" establishments run from private homes – a large number of them only during the

⁸⁷ In the 'Frontier Country' Grahamstown is the magico-religious centre, City of Saints and Festival Capital along the same imagery described by Thornton among the Iraqw:

'The frontier is an *imaginary* line in the etymological sense of the word: It is an image. It has no other reality apart from the "customs" or "formalities" that serve to mark it as either political space (e.g. the territory of the sovereign nation) or as religious space (the precinct of the temple or altar). The political, legal, and economic formalities together with the magico-religious formalities ... They are all means of designating a particular sort of relationship to what is fundamentally a cognitive image of space' (Thornton 1980:15).

Festival. Accommodation is also offered during the Festival in Rhodes University residences' (Snowball 2005:90).

The B&B industry has grown to the demise of hotels in Grahamstown. In 2010 Grahamstown boasted three hotels, the Victoria Hotel, Frontier Arms Hotel and a Protea Hotel, and over a hundred small accommodation facilities.⁸⁸ During festival there are extended options to accommodate visitors to the festival. Besides the NAF there are several smaller festivals (like Scifest) and big conferences (like Highway Africa) which one could also describe as extraordinary times in the annual calendar. Ordinary times throughout the year are mainly influenced by the comings and goings of students to the university, pupils to the schools and parties to matters in court. December usually means that Grahamstown becomes a ghost town because local residents are holidaying elsewhere and because Grahamstown is not a tourist destination but merely a convenient stop over en route elsewhere.⁸⁹

In order to improve conditions commercial hosts and other interested parties formed the Grahamstown Hospitality Guild (GHG). The history and nature of this guild was related to me by Mary Birt, who was a founding member of the GHG (2010: personal communication). In 1998 the Standard Bank, then the title sponsor of the National Arts Festival, commissioned an indaba with all sorts of stakeholders to discuss anticipated logistical problems with the Festival in 1999 which would be the 25th anniversary of the Festival and therefore bigger than usual.

Stakeholders included business people, suppliers of accommodation and festival organisers and concerned Grahamstonians. At the indaba it was decided among numerous other

⁸⁸ Mr. Willie Makkink of Makana Tourism informed me in August 2009 that these small accommodation facilities provide for about two thirds of the estimated 1400 beds. The Tourism Office guesses that the category 'VFR' (visiting friends and relatives) provides for another 1200 beds. Then suddenly the number of beds increases for the National Arts Festival to about 16 000. This increase is absorbed mainly by Rhodes Res facilities and school hostels and various informal arrangements which are difficult to statisticize.

⁸⁹ According to Snowball: 'unlike larger cities, Grahamstown does not have many other attractions which may account for the presence of a significant number of tourists at other times or for other reasons' (Snowball 2000:44).

issues, to form some sort of committee with the special purpose to oversee accommodation over the Festival period for there had been quite a number of complaints from guests to the Festivals before about accommodation facilities that were hardly habitable, yet rented out at exorbitant prices to festinos desperate for accommodation. The B&Bs only really started mushrooming after 1984 and even with this extension of possible accommodation facilities there were still shortages towards the end of the 90s. The need was also recognized that all accommodation facilities during the Festival be better linked so as to make it easier for a visitor to locate available accommodation instead of running the gauntlet from full house to full house, be it physically or on the phone. Equally would such a service benefit the host if for instance the guests cancelled and the host then has space available and needs to advertise such again, especially during the Festival when the demand for accommodation is extremely high.

A pamphlet for Grahamstown “GRAHAMSTOWN; The Heart of Frontier Country; Africa’s Festival Capital; Visitor’s Guide” lists ten things to do in Grahamstown:

1. Absorb the student vibe ...
 2. Slow down and listen to the birds ...
 3. Post a letter in the oldest post box in the country ...
 4. View the works of art ...
 5. Step back in time ...
 6. Appreciate the detail and beauty ...
 7. Brush up on your general knowledge ...
 8. Researching South African music or literature? ...
 9. How big is the Coelacanth? ...
 10. Visit Artificers’ Square ...
- For more, go to www.grahamstown.co.za.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ The website of Makana Municipality mentions an abundance of game in the general area http://www.makana.gov.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=11&Itemid=20

Oudtshoorn

The Klein Karoo is a great plain in the Western Cape, approximately 60km wide and 250km in length between the Swartberg Mountains and the Langeberg and Outeniqua mountain ranges, actually like a very big valley. Oudtshoorn is its 'capital'. The town was founded in 1847 and was named after Baron Pieter van Rheeде van Oudtshoorn who died there in 1773. The main street is called Baron van Rheeде Straat.

Statistics South Africa presented tables of figures in 2006 on the demography of Oudtshoorn from which it is rather obvious that this is a thoroughly Afrikaans town. C. J. Langenhoven (1873-1932), 'champion of the Afrikaans language, writer, author of the (previous and now part of the) national anthem of South Africa, *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*', resided in Oudtshoorn (Mayhew 1980: 120). He is the definitive historical link to the development of the Afrikaans language;⁹¹ he authenticates the Afrikaans festival, KKNK, held there annually in the beginning of April. Language is not a barrier between races or religions because most people speak Afrikaans there as mother tongue.⁹² An important religious minority in this area are the Jews. Oudtshoorn has been referred to as 'Little Jerusalem' because of a large Jewish community actively involved during the feather boom.⁹³ The availability of a

⁹¹ Still today one local Advertising- and Newspaper is called "Herrie" after Herrie the elephant, a literary creation of Langenhoven. A street, school, suburb and public places have been named after Langenhoven.

⁹² '(T)he Afrikaner ... was born on the outposts of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, weaned in the vast expanses of the interior while withdrawing from British domination and struggling against hordes of African tribesmen, came of age after being thrashed by the British troops in the Second War of Independence (The Anglo-Boer War), and matured as the ruler of South Africa. In his personality and make-up are ingrained the struggle for recognition in the years during which he opposed Anglicization, and fear of the possibility of being swamped by the numerically superior Africans' (Du Toit 1974: 95). Du Toit's archetype was over-generalised even when he constructed it in the hey-days of apartheid. Today the population is even more diverse. Most Afrikaners have adapted well to the New South Africa; those such as the late Eugene Terreblanche (recently murdered leader of an extreme right wing white supremacist group, AWB) or the perpetrators of occasional distasteful utterances and incidents during the KKNK which always win huge media coverage, are by no means representative. Most Afrikaners are proud of being 'new' South Africans, like all the other groupings in the country, trying to find the unity in diversity, while still expressing themselves in their mother tongue. The Afrikaans support for the National Soccer team during the 2010 FIFA World Cup was equal to any other citizen although the traditional sport of the Afrikaner is Rugby.

⁹³ http://www.seligman.org.il/oudtshoorn_history.html

contemporary copy of the “South African Jewish Report” (a newspaper published in Johannesburg) at local supermarkets is evidence of a still strong Jewish community today.

Around 1870 the feathers of the large bird, *Struthio australis*, the ostrich, became very popular fashion accessories, particularly in Europe and the USA. This is referred to as the ‘feather boom’ and hundreds of thousands of ostriches were bred after being domesticated. Feather ‘barons’ built fabulous mansions and the town rapidly expanded until the crash of the industry brought about by the First World War (Mayhew 1980: 112-9).

Ostrich farming is still the biggest agricultural industry with a particularly high demand for the export of ostrich meat to Europe, the feathers and hides too, but never to those record heights at the beginning of the previous century. As ‘Ostrich Capital of the world’ the townsfolk boast many ‘Feather Palaces’ which have been carefully restored to their previous glory and turned into guest houses or B&Bs since the mid 1980’s, when in Oudtshoorn like elsewhere the B&B boom started. Fabulous examples are Rietfontein Ostrich Palace, Adley House, 141 High Street, La Plume, Foster’s Manor, to name but a few. In the older parts of town there are so many of these palaces that it still lends a feeling of the bygone grandeur to the streets.

The Illustrated Guide to Southern Africa advises ‘(t)he town has a municipal tourist camp and several hotels’ (Mayhew 1980: 120). That was 1980. Thirty years on ‘Your Official guide to Cape Route 62 ZA’ (a pamphlet issued by Greater Oudtshoorn Tourism (GOT)) describes Oudtshoorn as the

commercial and tourism centre of the greater Klein Karoo region ... the area is an ecological hotspot where three plant biomes ... converge. Our slogan is “Come for the sun” because even in mid-winter we have mild day temperatures that average between 16 and 20 degrees. The region offers a complete range of accommodation styles that suit the needs of all kinds of national and international visitors. Accommodation facilities vary from luxurious five star hotels and guest houses through to camping and self-catering establishments, as well as several backpacking hostels. The entire region is safe and peaceful with many of the

accommodation facilities situated in the most beautiful natural surroundings. When it comes to tourist activities, the greater Oudtshoorn region truly offers something for every tourist. One needs to spend at least two to three nights in the region to really be able to enjoy everything we have to offer...

The Greater Oudtshoorn Tourism 'Come for the sun'-pamphlet lists over 200 guest houses, B&Bs, Lodges and 3 Backpackers and the friendly lady in the Tourism Office issuing these pamphlets in 2010 informed us that there were only five hotels in Oudtshoorn.

Oudtshoorn is presented as a tourist destination and the pamphlet issued by the Greater Oudtshoorn Tourism lists activities:

'Therefore, visit us and experience: Ostrich Show Farms; The Cango Caves; The Meerkatman; Stroking a white Bengal tiger or a Cheetah; Wine tasting at our cellars; Riding a camel; The Live Pioneers Experience; Being pampered at spas and wellness centres; Game drives; Quad bikes in a game reserve; Eco-walks and tours; 4X4 routes; Township tours; Our museums and historical buildings; Adventure activities; Wining and dining in superb restaurants; Visiting our artists in their studios; Travelling a historical pass; Riding a mountain bike; Horseback rides amongst game; Flying in a hot air balloon or a micro-light aircraft; Stargazing the magnificent Milky Way; Attending the Klein Karoo National Arts Festival; Going to Hell (Gamkaskloof)'.

Coupled with the general 'thrill' on offer was the general sense of festivity on the streets and in the designated festival area 'Rivierbuurt' in Oudtshoorn, where alcoholic beverages were sold everywhere and *kuier* (party) seemed to be the main activity, compared to Grahamstown's rather inhibited expression of festivities, perhaps just 'arty'. All local newspapers in Oudtshoorn, even the festival paper "*krit*", carried articles on measures taken by the authorities to curb alcohol abuse and public drunkenness, which created the

idea that this was a general condition amongst festival goers.⁹⁴ *'Kuier'* is best translated with 'partying', than the strict literal meaning of 'to visit'. *Kuier* seems to be the main activity of KKNK festival goers although festival organizers stress that the main business is the arts.⁹⁵ Large scale *communitas* seems nonetheless to be the focus.

The people attending the KKNK were predominantly white families, a distinct number of coloured people but very few black people. The Nigerian selling cheap fakes made in China, really stood out as a black face in a sea of lighter toned skins. It seemed as if only Afrikaans was spoken by almost everybody although everybody seemed equally comfortable to switch to English or Xhosa, when necessary.

'The structure of the KKNK is very similar to the NAF, including Main and Fringe programs, free shows and art exhibitions. Like Grahamstown, Oudtshoorn is still divided along wealth and racial lines, although the dominant language spoken by both European origin and mixed origin people is Afrikaans' (Snowball 2005:113).⁹⁶ However, Snowball (2005: 69) refers to *'event war'* which

is evident in the competition that has developed between the Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees (KKNK) and the NAF ... Despite the fact that KKNK organizers have completely different aims in mind and, in fact, were assisted by NAF organizers in starting up ..., reports

⁹⁴ **Oudtshoorn Courant** Friday 2 April 2010 on p4 'Polisie gereed vir AbsaKKNK 2010': 'Drankmisbruik nie geduld' ; **Die Burger** 31 March 2010 on p3 'Dronkes gaan vasgevat word by fees'; **krit** Donderdag 1 April 2010 p5 'Antwoorde op al dáái vrae; Hoe om die KKNK te oorleef' ; **Die Hoorn** 1 April 2010 p5 'Polisie gereed vir vanjaar se fees'

⁹⁵ The CEO of the KKNK , Brett Pyper, was quoted in the 'Die Burger' of Woensdag 31 Maart 2010 on p3 in the article '*Ondersteun kunstenaars finansieel, vra KKNK*': '*Ek dink daar is plek vir almal. Geselligheid en kuier is deel van die fees, maar die kernbesigheid is die kunste.*' (Support artists financially, asks KKNK: I think there is place for all. Conviviality and 'party' is part of the festival but the central business is the arts.)

⁹⁶ Observing other similarities Snowball notes that

'Both the NAF and KKNK have similar structures in that they include ticketed Main and Fringe events, a certain number of free shows and craft markets. Both are heavily sponsored by private organizations, although the NAF has recently received considerable backing from the Eastern Cape government as well...A certain amount of competition, reported on in the media, has sprung up between the older, more culturally diverse NAF and the newer, more focused KKNK. On the basis of ticket sales and economic impact, the KKNK is larger ... and appears to be growing faster than the NAF. However, when comparing the quality and diversity of shows, the NAF is ahead...'

in the media persist in comparing the two festivals, particularly with reference to the number of visitors they attract and their economic impacts on the two towns they occur in.

Snowball (2005: 186) reports that in 2003 the economic impacts for the regions caused by the festivals were R33 million for Grahamstown and R44 million for Oudtshoorn.⁹⁷

Concerning the festival in Grahamstown Snowball has noted comments by locals:

The mostly commonly cited were that the festival provides entertainment and contact with the outside world (“I saw people I never thought I would”, “We see nice things, people and clothes”), educational benefits, especially for the youth, community pride and bringing “life to the town” and the showcasing of artistic talent, particularly locals (“Exposure for the gifted”, “Makes us proud and love theatre”). Many respondents mentioned the entertainment value of the festival (“It is the most exciting part of the year”, “Gives us a chance to have a holiday”) or on the other hand ‘For example, “Festival is a mess – Grahamstown is too small and traffic is bad”, “Too crowded and not my kind of thing”, “Quality is bad” and so on (Snowball 2005: 189-90).

Incidentally there is a phenomenon in Grahamstown called ‘festival refugees’. In this case some locals who had enough of festivals leave town for the duration of festival and often rent out their houses or parts thereof to festinos, because, as has been reported often, there is an acute shortage of accommodation during festival and of course an opportunity to make money.

The majority of stall holders were similar at both the festivals. The Rivierbuurt at KKNK and the Village Green of NAF almost look identical. White marquees and chopped bark in the

⁹⁷ To compare the value globally she mentions for instance a study ‘of the “European Capitals of Culture” festival event in Salamanca in 2002. They found that the festival generated 556.1 million Euros for Castilla y Leon, 247.2 million Euros for the rest of Spain and 803.3 million Euros in total (2004:15). They argue that this is an important way of valuing the festival because a city nominated as a “European Capital of Culture” must be financially sustainable (profitable) in the long run since, “along with the cultural organization itself, there is a need for a remarkable effort in the form of creating new cultural facilities, urban redesign, tourist equipment and communication in the city” (Herrero et al. 2004:3)’ (Snowball 2005: 66-7).

passage ways are lined with similar arts and crafts and food stalls. A sameness was also evident in the types of commercial hosts in the two towns. In other words there is no real difference between Afrikaans-speaking or English-speaking owner/managers of small accommodation facilities confirming Leach (quoted in Rapport and Overing 2007: 28) 'cultural differences, though sometimes convenient, are temporary fictions'. Both towns are small festival cities.

APPENDIX 5. Grading

Below are various depictions and descriptions of grading systems.

GHG Pineapple Grading:



Approved: Recommended rates - up to R210.00 per person sharing (accommodation only).

Accommodation with basic levels of comfort, clean and functional,

with reasonable rates/minimum.

Beds and mattresses should be in good condition, mattresses may be foam. Linen and towels in good condition, heater and fan available.

Bathrooms may be shared, private or en suite.

Breakfast can be self-served (uncooked) or self-catering.

Parking available.



Recommended: Recommended rates - R215 - R275 per person sharing (accommodation only).

Good quality accommodation.

Beds and mattresses should be in good condition, mattresses may be foam. Linen and towels should be in good condition, heater and fan available.

Bathrooms private or en-suite, limited toiletries.

Breakfast can be self-served and be uncooked, but must be varied and substantial.

Off-street parking available.



Highly Recommended: Recommended rates - R280 - R400 per person sharing (accommodation only).

Very good quality accommodation.

Beds and mattresses should be in good condition, covered bases with good quality high density foam or inner sprung mattresses, top quality linen and towels in good condition, heater and fan available in room and public areas.

Bathrooms private or en-suite, full toiletries, hairdryers available.

Served breakfast should be offered, unless in specifically self-catering unit in which case can be self-service.

If breakfast is uncooked, it must be varied and substantial.

Lock up parking available.



Superior: Recommended rates - R400 + per person sharing (accommodation only).

Superior accommodation with excellent levels of comfort, quality all round facilities and top service to guests.

Beds and mattresses in very good condition, covered bases with good quality high density foam or inner spring mattresses. Top quality (cotton linen) and bath sheet size towels in good condition.

Heater and fan available in room and public areas.

Spacious rooms, Lounge area for guests' exclusive use, TV in bedroom, Satellite TV, laundry service, safes in rooms, privacy for guests.

Bathrooms private or en-suite, full toiletries, hairdryers supplied.

Served cooked breakfast foods must be offered together with a good variety of uncooked breakfast foods.

Lock up parking available.

Star Grading

The Tourism Grading Council of South Africa has secured the exclusive use of the "star" symbol to denote standards in the Tourism Industry. Establishments are assessed and given a "star" rating.



Fair to good (acceptable/modest) quality in the overall standard of furnishings, services, and guest care. Clean, comfortable and functional accommodation.



Good quality in the overall standards of furnishings, service and guest care.



Very good quality in the overall standard of furnishing, service and guest care.



Superior (excellent) comfort and quality with a high standard of furnishing, service and guest care.



Exceptional quality and luxurious accommodation (matching best international standards.) Highest standard of furnishings.

Portfolio Collection



Benchmark of the Best. An Exclusive collection of Benchmarked Quality Accommodation in Southern Africa:

* **The Country Places, City and Safari Collection**

Fine Country Houses, Boutique Hotels and Private Game Reserves. Including select City Hotels, Villas, Apartments and Health Spas in Southern Africa.

* **The Retreat Collection**

City Guest Houses, Country Retreats, Small Game Lodges, Unique Self-Catering Hideaways including apartments and Villas, in South Africa and Swaziland.

* **The Bed n Breakfast Collection**

Quality Bed and Breakfasts in private Homes, Self-Catering Cottages and on Working Farms in Southern Africa.

AA Quality Awards



AA Recommended - Reached set minimum requirements.



AA Highly Recommended - High levels of professionalism and attention to detail in decor and quality of furnishings.



AA Superior Accommodation - Pristine with excellent quality decor and furnishings, together with remarkable levels of professionalism hospitality and service.

The information above was copied from the homepage of Grahamstown Hospitality Guild.

APPENDIX 6. Questions

List of questions

- How long have you been offering accommodation?
- What is your main motivation? Is it only money? Other considerations?
- Please tell me a host story, a story that you keep remembering.
- Have you had guests that you did not like? Why? How many? What did you do?
- Are there specific groups of people you dislike as guests?
- What is the effect of guests on your family?
- Do you have regular/return guests? Expand on why do you think so and how do they behave.
- What do you think of regulations and grading?
- Is festival any different from other times of the year?

APPENDIX 7. 'Revenge of the concierge'

From Sunday Times, Nov 15, 2009 Travel & Food p.15

Lighter side

Revenge of the concierge

By Will Hide

Hotel employees are dishing the dirt on dastardly guests through Facebook, says Will Hide. For many people, logging on to the hotel review website tripadvisor.com has become an integral part of holiday planning.

But while it's easier than ever for people to vent their spleen at the Basil Fawltys of this world, what about the poor old hoteliers who have to put up with us?

A Facebook group, "You know you've worked in hotels, when.", which was set up for hotel employees to dish the dirt on guests, now has more than 70000 followers and makes interesting reading. "It still amazes me that normal, level-headed, intelligent people seem to become complete and total w*****s the second they walk in the door of a hotel. Why?" asks one poster from Leeds.

We asked some hoteliers to recall their worst experiences - and they weren't backward in coming forward, despite most wanting to remain anonymous.

There is one story doing the rounds, confirmed by a South American hotelier, about the night a "Scandinavian gent" returned to the boutique hotel a little unsteadily, then pulled his trousers down in front of reception to relieve himself - and we're talking "No 2" on the list of sins. He then went to his room as if nothing had happened.

"Of course, we were beyond horrified. Luckily, he was checking out the next day. I handed him his bill and said, 'This extra amount is for cleaning up after you last night.' He just passed over his credit card and paid up, didn't say anything, but didn't look at all embarrassed either."

While that might be an extreme example, a constant theme is the way people feel they can behave badly just because they are away from home.

"Three Essex pole-dancers booked in for four nights. After just one night their behaviour was unacceptable - very loud, smoking in rooms, wet towels over the antique furniture, and so on," a B&B landlady from Birmingham told us. "I asked them, in a nice manner, to calm

things down and then wondered how I was going to tolerate them for three more nights. When water poured through the ceiling from their bathroom, I took a deep breath and thought, 'I've spoken to them in my language, so now I'll speak to them in theirs'. In the end, it was 'Pack your bags and f*** off' that worked best."

Perhaps people behave worse in large hotels, hiding behind the anonymity that multiple floors and large numbers of other guests provide. But they forget at their peril the CCTV cameras that lurk in every corridor.

"One of our night managers walked into the main stairwell around 3am to find a couple having sex," said an executive from a well-known chain. "When the manager asked them to go to their room, the gentleman replied they couldn't as his wife was in there sleeping."

Sometimes the brazenness of guests can be breathtaking. "Our hotel is about an hour's drive away from Marbella," its English owner said. "A few years ago a guy booked in with an enormous limousine. He was one of those know-it-all types. He made my hackles rise from the moment he arrived.

"He had been in his room for five minutes when he appeared in reception to ask for two strong guys to help him unload huge boxes from the boot of his limo. I wandered out to watch and found that he had unpacked a complete bar and set it up on his room terrace.

"Then he came to ask for ice - a reasonable request - but he wanted three bucketfuls. Just before dinner, when the bar was filling up with other guests, in waltzes chummy and says in a very loud voice: 'Ladies and gentlemen, can I have your attention please? Don't pay these prices - I've got a bar on my terrace and I'll undercut these prices by 25%.'

"We've also had guests who took down the curtains to make a bed for their dog."

And then there's the just the plain bizarre, as the owner of an historic manor house hotel in Kent explained.

"We had a couple about three years ago who booked in for Valentine's Day. The next morning they checked out very early via the night porter and said in passing that they had had a bit of an accident with some shoe polish. 'No problem,' the porter said, 'I'll get housekeeping to sort it out.'

"When housekeeping entered the room, which was a master suite, the whole place was covered in black shoe polish. Up the walls, on the carpets, on the furniture and bed. It was appalling. A silk-covered sofa was ruined and all the bedding had to be replaced, and the carpets."

What started with romance ended in court - and the hotel won.

You would never be one of those people - would you? Because if you are, revenge can be sweet. On a visit to Brazil, a Scottish singer started playing football with some friends in the presidential suite of the five-star Copacabana Hotel in Rio de Janeiro, breaking a picture, leaving marks on the wall and provoking complaints from other guests.

The man and his friends were told in no uncertain terms to leave. You can't get away with that kind of behaviour, even if you are Rod Stewart. - The Times, London

APPENDIX 8. 'B&B rules suck'

28/3/2010

LETTERS lifestyle@sundaytimes.co.za

B&B RULES SUCK
 ENJOYED Ndumiso Ngcobo's Headline Act "Not another B&B. Ever" (March 21), totally agree. My kids and I moved out of a beautiful B&B in Grahamstown and into a crummy hotel after a few hours, just to escape the regimental time schedule and rules laid down by the grumpy old guy and his dog running it.
 — Zita Peters, by e-mail

NO COFFEE IN THAT MILK
 LIN Sampson's article on our ersatz "Café Society" (March 21) was interesting, but contained one major inaccuracy. The Duchess of Wisbeach in Sea Point, one of the places she claims is part of this chichi set, is far from it. The food is generally mediocre and unpredictable, the service is slow, the décor on closer inspection is cheap and nasty. The owner's friends are often allowed to illegally smoke in the main

section of the restaurant. It gets worse: the place is mostly fly-white, filled with pompous WASPs mumbling with hot potato accents, pretending they were part of the Happy Valley set in old Kenya. No, Lin, simply because the proprietor is a friend of yours does not make her or her vile little backstreet white enclave part of any Café Society.
 — Herman Lategan, Sea Point

BROWN SUGAR? I DON'T THINK SO
 IN RESPONSE to Lin Sampson's article "Café Society". Cape Town has the unfortunate reputation of being a racist village. The provincially minded, albeit occasionally amusing, Eurocentric delusions of Lin Sampson's pathetic social aspirations, among countless others, are contrived and pretentious and do nothing to recognise or observe our deeply divided society.
 — Beezy Bailey, by e-mail

Not another B&B. Ever.

Headline Act

Mar 21, 2010 12:07 AM | By Ndumiso Ngcobo

Who would choose the homely charms of a Mrs Doubtfire lookalike when you could stay in an impersonal hotel?



I do a fair bit of business travelling which involves staying over for a night or two. I always insist on staying in hotels instead of bed-and-breakfasts. I struggle to understand this B&B fad. I comprehend the people who say "I love the fact that a B&B is a home away from home" even less. The rationale is confusing to me. It sounds a lot like someone walking into a KFC outlet looking for a Big Mac. I don't know about anyone else, but reversing that car out of my driveway is a strong hint that sleeping at home ceases to be an option. I'm a hotel man. The more sterile and impersonal, the better. In fact, if I had my way, hotels would have unmanned check-in counters. That way I wouldn't have to deal with those high-calibre, motivated individuals with glazed looks at hotel receptions. In my former life as a technical consultant I did not always have control over my accommodation arrangements and ended up being put up in B&Bs quite a bit. I never stayed at a B&B I liked. Ever. And I've stayed in dozens of them. At the core of my discomfort with B&Bs is that whole "personal touch" poppycock.

I remember staying at this B&B in Kloof in greater Durban a few years back. I flew in around 8am, drove straight to see a client for the whole day and then met up with friends. Around 5.30pm I get a call from the elderly gentleman running the place with his wife.

What time would I be coming through to check in? I tell him I'd probably get there after dinner - around 10pm or so.

"Oh dear," he sighs, "the missus and I try to be in bed by 8pm if it can be helped. But one mustn't grumble, I suppose. We'll have to sit up and wait for you." My Catholic guilt kicks in immediately, imagining the geriatric couple seated on a plastic-covered couch, playing Scrabble with arthritis-ravaged fingers, guzzling cup after cup of coffee and pinching each other to avoid dozing off. So I excused myself and drove all the way to Kloof to check in. Now I find myself in the middle of a crash course on the identity of the three keys I'm handed - for the gate, main door and my room. And oh, the pathway to the gate goes past the swimming pool, please ensure the small gate is closed because Rasputin the Chihuahua likes to drink from the pool. That's correct; now I have to live with the anxiety that I might be responsible for Rasputin's bout of diarrhoea the next day. The coup de grace came the

following morning when I was woken up at 6.30am because I had to move my car to allow another guest to leave. By returning late the previous night, I had messed up the parking sequence necessitated by parking constraints, see.

Oh, I hate B&Bs with a smouldering passion. The knock on your door every 20 minutes to make sure you're okay. The dowdy ole lady who keeps fussing over you, sharing her horoscope while fluffing your pillows. A lady in a Morningside, Durban B&B gave me a 10-minute lecture on the dangers of salmonella after I ordered "sunny-side up and runny" eggs. As I sat there trying to swallow my rubbery eggs, I knew there had to be another way. I've even suffered the ignominy of tripping the security alarm at 2am in a guest house in Kommetjie in the Cape.

At another guesthouse I was subjected to a high-pressure fire hose masquerading as a shower. And it only had two settings - "Antarctica" and "Volcano" because the owner doubled as the handyman. Don't be ridiculous; I couldn't use the bath. That's a disgusting medieval practice of soaking in your own filthy scum. Sitting there staring at his rear cleavage as he tinkered with pressure valves and whatnot, I declared war on B&Bs.

If you enjoy being fretted over by a Mrs Doubtfire lookalike, good for you. Each to his own. I enjoy big hotels with their impersonal lobbies. But at least no one will walk in and ask what I'm doing should I decide to tie my socks to dry on a revolving ceiling fan.

From: Settlers Hill Cottages [mailto:settlershill@imaginet.co.za]

Sent: 30 March 2010 09:08 AM

To: lifestyle@sundaytimes.co.za

Cc: info@grahamstown-accommodation.co.za

Subject: In defence of B&Bs

Dear Editor,

As an old guy (not grumpy, I hope) with a dog, running a B&B in Grahamstown, I feel I must jump to the defence of our industry ("B&B rules suck", March 28).

Hotels are perfectly fine if one is satisfied with inflated prices, characterless formulaic rooms and receptionists who don't even look up when you pass. What the B&B industry attempts to provide is a comfortable stay at a reasonable price in a home or guest house that has been tastefully and individually furnished. Sure, one does not have all the amenities offered by a hotel, but B&Bs are usually run by only two people, and sometimes only one, so one must expect certain limitations and regulations. Many B&B owners, on the other hand, will

go the extra mile, by meeting unusual requests, providing information, and even showing the guest around their town. There is no excuse for grumpiness, however, and I would respectfully ask whether Ms Peters perhaps arrived late (we also have lives to live, you know), had extra people not originally booked, or had unreasonable requests, such as wanting laundry done immediately or expecting DSTV in a three-star establishment.

Grahamstown has a well-run Hospitality Guild (GHG, info@grahamstown-accommodation.co.za), tempered in the fire of many festivals and the like, that welcomes comments and complaints.

Yours sincerely,

Don Hendry

APPENDIX 9. 'B&Bs in SA'

Bed & Breakfasts in South Africa

"Before I know it, I'm sipping hot tea and gulping down Margret's delicious spaghetti and pilchards..."

By Debbie Sprowson

Listen to this Commentary!

The National Arts Festival in South Africa happens once a year in the little town of Grahamstown. But Grahamstown, like many other urban areas in South Africa, still bares the marks of apartheid in its structure. The poorer areas, known as townships, rarely see any of the festival's wealth. "Kwam-e-Makana" is one initiative trying to address this problem, and aims to spread the festival wealth by helping township people open Bed & Breakfasts as a form of economic development. Youth Radio contributor Debbie Sprowson reflects on her visit to Grahamstown and how she thinks this program is helping the community.

It's a cold evening at the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown, and I've just booked myself into a bed and breakfast (B&B). But the one I chose is not an ordinary B&B, it's part of the "Kwam-e-Makana" project, which aims at to spread some of the festivals throughout the community. The project has now given 40 home-owners in the Joza township an opportunity to open up their own B&B's. Right now, I'm boarding the KWAM taxi which will take me to my new home for the evening, and with me are three friendly guys who call themselves cadets.

CADET 1 (on tape)

By the way Debbie, this is my director...and George...

DEBBIE

We are traveling down a dusty street with many little square houses. But the place we have just stopped at looks particularly inviting. Two of its walls are bright orange while the other two are face brick. As I walk across the small garden and onto the porch I am greeted with a soft hand-shake and a broad smile from my host.

MARGRET (on tape)

Molwenni...I'm Margret...

DEBBIE

Molo Margret. Thank you for having me...

DEBBIE

Mama Margret is short and over her round stomach is a white apron. She has wrapped two scarves around her head - one black and the other bright pink and green. She leads me into her dining room and I head straight for one of the couches next to the oil heater. Before I know it, I'm sipping hot tea and gulping down Margret's delicious spaghetti and pilchards.

My bedroom is cozy with a small rug on its concrete floor. I get into the surprisingly comfortable bed and wrap myself in the four blankets that Margret has given me. She has even left a hot water bottle, just in case.

I've just woken up and Margret is bringing me what she calls my shower. I simply step out of bed and into the red oval tub half filled with hot steaming water.

To be honest, it does feel kind of weird sitting cross legged in the middle of my room half submerged in water. It feels and sounds like another world here...

But hey, it's an experience. And Margret is preparing one hell of a breakfast to look forward to! Besides the bacon, eggs, sausages, tomatoes and salad, there are the sweeter delicacies that take up most of Margret's time.

MARGRET (on tape)

We wake up early in the morning, baking muffin. Fet cook and after guest is gone we want to sleep a little bit.

DEBBIE

But preparing for her guests are the least of Margret's worries. For her its more important to be making money then getting her sleep.

MARGRET (on tape)

Our guests help us, they pay 150 rand per day! First things my daughters school fees and money stay in the bank and buy food and fixing my house, this year I want to finish my ceiling and plumbing with the festival money.

DEBBIE

Margret also gives a portion of her money to her daughter as well as another lady who helps with the cooking and cleaning. And of course, she needs to pay the plumber who will connect her bath and her geyser. So it seems that the project is reaching its aims of

poverty alleviation and creating job. Back on the taxi another cadet tells me how he sees his job.

CADET 2 (on tape)

For us as the cadets we doing a flexible job to make people fall in love with Grahamstown, and for now "Kwam" is doing a great job. I'm trying to say thanks to who ever came up with the idea.

DEBBIE

It's been an amazing experience, one definitely worth repeating. And all the better if it's helping ensure that festival time is one that can benefit the whole of Grahamstown.

References

- Anonymous. (2005).** Ethical guidelines and principles of conduct for anthropologists. *Anthropology Southern Africa* 28(3&4): 142ff.
- Aramberri, J. (2001).** The Host Should Get Lost; Paradigms in the Tourism Theory. *Annals of Tourism Research* 28(3): 738-761.
- Auden, W. H. (1970).** *Hávamál; Words of the High One*. New York: Kessinger Publishing LLC.
- Barley, N. (1983).** *The Innocent Anthropologist; Notes from a Mud Hut*. Bungay, Suffolk: Penguin Travel Library, British Museum Publications Ltd.
- Barth, F. (1959).** *Political Leadership among Swat Pathans*. London: University of London. The Athlone Press.
- Berno, T. (1999).** When a guest is a guest: Cook Islanders view tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26(3): 656-675.
- Boas, Franz (Edited by H. Codere). (1966).** *Kwakiutl Ethnography*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2007).** *Sketch for a Self-Analysis*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Camus, A. (2006).** *Exile and the Kingdom*. New York: Vintage International. Vintage Books.
- Caputo, J. D. (1997).** *Deconstruction in a Nutshell; A Conversation with Jacques Derrida*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Clarke, D. E. (1923).** *The Hávamál; With Selections from Other poems of the Edda, Illustrating the Wisdom of the North in Heathen Times*. Cambridge: At the University Press.

Cleese, J. and Booth, C. (2000). *The Complete Fawltly Towers*. London: Methuen Humour.

Crick, M. (1989). Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18: 307-44.

Davis, H. W. (1924). *Mediaeval England; A new edition of Barnard's Companion to English History*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

Davis, J. (1992). *Exchange; Concepts in the Social Sciences*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Derrida, J. and Dufourmantelle, A. (2000). *Of Hospitality* (Translated by Rachel Bowlby). Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Di Domenico, M. L. & Lynch, P. A. (2006). Host/Guest Encounters in the Commercial Home. *Leisure Studies* 26(3): 321-338.

Du Toit, B. M. (1974). *People of the Valley; Life in an Isolated Afrikaner community in South Africa*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Eriksen, T. H. (2004). *What is Anthropology?* London: Pluto Press.

Evans-Pritchard, E. (1969). *The Nuer ; A description of the modes of livelihood and political institutions of a Nilotic people*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fenner, D. (2007). *Das gute Leben*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Firebaugh, W. C. (1928). *The Inns of Greece & Rome; And a History of Hospitality from the Dawn of Time to the Middle Ages*. Chicago: Pascal Covici.

Firth, R. (1964). Essays on Social Organization and Values. *London School of Economics : Monographs on Social Anthropology No.28* . London: The Athlone Press. University of London.

Fortes, M. and Patterson, S. (1975). *Studies in African Social Anthropology*. London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press.

Fox, K. (2004). *Watching the English; The Hidden Rules of English Behaviour*. London: Hodder.

Gaude, T. F. (2004). *Reluctant Germans: Modifying Identity in Diaspora*. Minor Dissertation for MA. University of Cape Town. Cape Town.

Geertz, C. (1963). *Peddlers and Princes; Social Change and Economic Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Goffman, E. (1963). *Behaviour in public places; notes on the social organization of gatherings*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Guerber, H. A. (1863). *De Mythen van Griekenland en Rome; Haar Oorsprong en Beteekens*. Zutphen: W J Thieme & Cie.

Häusel, H-G. (2008). *Brain Script; Warum Kunden kaufen*. Freiburg: Haufe Verlag, Haufe-Lexware.

Hornby, A. S. (2005). *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. 7th Edition, International Student's Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Howatson, M. C. and Chilvers, I. (Editors) (1993). *The Concise Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Jack, G. and Phipps, A. (2005). *Tourism and Intercultural Exchange; Why Tourism Matters*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Channel View Publications.

Joubert, W. A. (2003). *The Law of South Africa (LAWSA), Volume 28*. Durban: LexisNexis Butterworths.

Kaser, M. (1971). *Das Römische Privatrecht; Erster Abschnitt; Das Altrömische, Das Vorklassische und Klassische Recht.* München: C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Krige, E. J. and Krige, J.D. (1943). *The Realm of a Rain-Queen; A study of the pattern of Lovedu Society.* London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Lashley, C. (2008). Studying Hospitality: Insights from Social Sciences. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism* 8(1): 69-84.

Lugosi, P. (2008). Hospitality spaces, hospitable moments: consumer encounters and affective experiences in commercial settings. *Journal of Foodservice* 19: 139-149.

Maas, D. (2010). *Witboy in Afrika; Reise deur die Donker Kontinent.* Kaapstad: Tafelberg.

Malinowski, B. (1932). *Argonauts of the Western Pacific; An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea.* London: E.P. Dutton & Co; New York: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.

Mars, G. and Nicod, M. (1984). *The World of Waiters.* London, Boston, Sydney: George Allen & Unwin.

Mauss, M. (1990). *Die Gabe; Form und Funktion des Austauschs in archaischen Gesellschaften (übersetzt von Eva Moldenhauer).* Sinzheim: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag.

Mayhew, V. (1980). *Illustrated Guide to Southern Africa.* Cape Town: The Reader's Digest Association of South Africa.

McDonough, N. (2010). Visitors Guide 2010/11. Grahamstown: Makana Tourism (Pamphlet).

Milton, J R L and Fuller, N M. (1971). *South African Criminal Law and Procedure.* Cape Town, Wynberg, Johannesburg: Juta & Co., Limited.

- O'Meara, E. (1995).** *Grahamstown Reflected*. Grahamstown: An Albany Museum Publication.
- O'Gorman, K. D. (2005).** Modern Hospitality: Lessons from the past. *The Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management* 12(2): 141-151.
- O'Gorman, K. (2007).** *Dimensions of Hospitality: Exploring Ancient Origins*. In *Hospitality: A Social Lens; Advances in Tourism Research*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Perrottet, T. (2002).** *Route 66 A.D; On the Trail of Ancient Roman Tourists*. London: Ebury Press.
- Picard, D. and Robinson, M. (Editors). (2006).** *Festivals, Tourism and Social Change; Remaking Worlds*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Channel View Publications.
- Prick van Wely, D. F. (1949).** *Kramers' Frans Woordenboek; Frans-Nederlands en Nederlands-Frans*. Negentiende druk. Den Haag, Batavia: G.B. van Goor Zonen's Uitgewermaatschappij N.V.
- Rapport, N. and Overing, J. (2007).** *Social and Cultural Anthropology; The Key Concepts*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Roorda, F. (1925).** *Inleiding tot de Mythologie*. Rotterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar's Uitgevers-Maatschappij.
- Ruden, S. (2000).** *Petronius, Satyricon; Translated with Notes and Topical Commentaries*. Indianapolis, Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc.
- Serres, M. (2007).** *The Parasite* (translated by Lawrence R Schehr). Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Slattery, P. (2002).** Finding the Hospitality Industry. *Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport & Tourism Education* 1(1): 19-28.

- Smith, W. and Lockwood, J. (1988).** *Chambers Murray: Latin – English Dictionary*. Edinburgh, London: Chambers and John Murray.
- Smith, S. L. J. (1989).** *Tourism Analysis; A Handbook*. London, New York: Longman Scientific & Technical.
- Smith, V. L. (1987).** *Hosts and Guests: The anthropology of tourism*. Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Smith, W. (1907).** *A Smaller Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. London: John Murray.
- Snowball, J. D. (2000).** *Towards more accurate measurement of the value of the arts to society: Economic impact and willingness to pay studies at the Standard Bank National Arts Festival*. M A. Dissertation, Rhodes University. Grahamstown.
- Snowball, J. D. (2005).** *The Economic Valuation Of Cultural Events In Developing Countries: Combining Market and Non-Market Valuation Techniques at the South African National Arts Festival*. Thesis for Doctor of Philosophy, Rhodes University. Grahamstown.
- Spradley, J. P. & Mann, B. J. (1975).** *The Cocktail waitress; Woman's work in a man's world*. Chichester, Brisbane, Toronto: John Wiley & sons Inc.
- Stewart, M. (1997).** *The Time of the Gypsies*. Oxford: Westview Press, L.L.C.
- Stronza, A. (2001).** Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30: 261-83.
- Strydom, C. and M. (2001).** *Shooting the Moon; A Hostage Story*. Claremont, Western Cape: Spearhead.
- Taylor, S. (2004).** *The Caliban Shore: The Fate of the Grosvenor Castaways*. London: faber and faber.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica. (1898). *A Dictionary of Sciences and General Literature, Ninth Edition*, Volumes VIII, XII & XIII. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.

Thornton, R. J. (1980). *Space, Time, and Culture among the Iraqw of Tanzania*. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, San Francisco: Academic Press.

Turner, V. W. (1969). *The Ritual Process; Structure and Anti-Structure*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Uriely, N. and Reichel, A. (2000). Working Tourists and their Attitudes to Hosts. *Annals of Tourism Research* 27(2): 267-283.

Urry, J. (2003). *Global Complexity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Van Waart, S. (2000). *Die Hel; vallei van die leeus; Verhale oor Gamkaskloof – Die afgesonderdste vallei in Suid-Afrika*. Pretoria: LAPA Uitgewers.

Van Zyl, D. H. (1977). *Geskiedenis en Beginsels van die Romeinse Privaatreg*. Durban: Butterworths.

Vanggaard, T. (1972). *Phallós; A Symbol and its History in the World*. New York: International Universities Press, Inc.

Walton, J. K. (2005). *Histories of Tourism; Representation, Identity and Conflict*. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Channel View Publications.

Ward, A. G.; Connor, W. R.; Edwards, R. B and Tidworth, S. (1970). *The Quest for Theseus*. Vienna: Brueder Rosenbaum.

White, M. P. (2008). *The Devil in the Kitchen; Sex, Pain, Madness, and the making of a Great Chef*. New York, London: Bloomsbury.

Wylie, D. (2006). *Myth of Iron; Shaka in History*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.