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DIMENSIONS OF HOSPITALITY: EXPLORING ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL ORIGINS

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Hospitality has an ancient origin and honourable tradition. As more attention is being channelled towards seeking a greater understanding of hospitality, there is an increasing debate between academics working in the field of hospitality management and those from the wider fields of the social sciences. The hope has already been expressed that this is 'a beginning from which the subject will grow and develop' (Lashley and Morrison, 2000: xvi). The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to contribute to this debate by providing a summary of findings from a continuing investigation into the historical origins of hospitality.

The chapter explores the origins of hospitality in the ancient and classical worlds, focussing mainly on the Greek and Roman civilisations. The time period to 500BC is generally referred to as the ancient world, and the time period 500BC to 500AD is generally referred to as the classical world. After considering the etymology of hospitality, the chapter goes on to explore: hospitality and mythology; hospitality and the household; public hospitality; commercial hospitality, and hospitality in the contemporaneous religious writings. The evaluation of the outcomes leads to the identification of five dimensions of hospitality, which have been evolving from the beginning of human history.

1. ETYMOLOGY

All modern words readily associated with hospitality are evolved from the same hypothetical Proto-Indo-European root *ghos-ti[1] which means: stranger, guest, host: properly 'someone with whom one has reciprocal duties of hospitality' (AHD 2000). The word guest came from the Middle English gest, evolved from Old Norse gestr, and from Old High German gast, both come from Germanic *gastiz. *Ghos-ti also evolved to the Latin root hostis, enemy, army, where host (multitude) and hostile find their origin; hostia, sacrifice, host (eucharistic). The combination of *ghos-ti and another Proto-Indo-European root *poti powerful, gave the compound root *ghos-pot-, *ghos-po(d)-, which evolved to the Latin hospes and eventually into: hospice; hospitable; hospital; hospitality; host (giver of hospitality); hostage; and hostel. The Greek languages also evolved from the same Proto-Indo-European base, *ghos-ti gave the Greek xenos which has the interchangeable meaning guest, host, or stranger. Traditionally, the guest was the person with whom one had mutual obligations of hospitality; they were also the stranger, and a stranger could well be hostile. Strangers were feared because their intentions are often unknown, and they can appear as bearers of magical and/or mystical powers. The law or custom pertaining to the Ancient Greeks, of offering protection and hospitality to strangers is philoxenos, literally 'love of strangers'; the antithesis of which is still in common English usage today: 'xenophobia'. Hospitality then, 'represents a kind of guarantee of reciprocity - one protects the stranger in order to be protected from him' (Muhlmann 1932:463).

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[1] When an * is used before it shows that the word is constructed, ie its existence has been deduced of by linguistic scholars and there is no written evidence to prove the existence of the word.

2. MYTHOLOGY AND HOSPITALITY

In Ancient Greece, it was not known if the stranger knocking at the door was going to be hostile or hospitable, whether they were a God disguised, or watching from above and passing judgment. The deity could often leave without being recognised. This was not considered important for 'it is hard for mortals to see divinity' (Homer, *Demeter* 1:111[2]). Hospitality was a way of honouring the Gods, which was so essential, so fundamental to civilized life, that its patron was the God of Gods, Zeus himself: 'Zeus is the protector of suppliants and guests, Zeus Xeinios, who attends to revered guests' (Homer, *Odyssey* 9:270-71).

In true hospitality, it matters not who is the guest, nor their apparent status in life. Generous hospitality, freely given to a stranger was the same as offering it to a God. Reese (1993) in his analysis of the writings attributed to Homer (c 900 BC) identifies 18 'hospitality' scenes; typical of these is where Telemachos greets Athena:

> "…he saw Athena and went straight to the forecourt, the heart within him scandalized that a guest should still be standing at the doors. He stood beside her and took her by the right hand, and relieved her of the bronze spear, and spoke to her and addressed her in winged words: 'Welcome, stranger. You shall be entertained as a guest among us. Afterward, when you have tasted diner, you shall tell us what your need is" (Homer, *Odyssey* 2:118-124)

It is clear from this, and in conjunction with the other scenes in the Homeric writings, that hospitality brought expectations: a warm welcome; food; a comfortable place to sit; charming company; and entertainment. Since the traveller would not usually be wandering from their home into the dangers of the world, it was assumed they were on some mission. The host therefore was expected to be able to provide some form of assistance, thus 'you shall tell us what your need is'. In the remainder of these scenes,

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[2] For an explanation of this form of referencing see page 000

there was normally a celebration to which the guest would have been entreated to join. Afterwards, the guest would be allowed to sleep, bath, exchange gifts, and have a light departure meal.

In many of the stories, because of their honourable behaviour, the human hosts are rewarded with preferential treatment by the Gods. Odysseus, throughout his odyssey searches for *xenia* (in the sense of 'hospitable reception'), in a wide variety of situations. On returning home, only those who have offered him hospitality are not killed. In the Homeric writings, the Gods, as well as the legendary human characters, like Telemachos and Odysseus, primarily served as role models for the ancient Greeks who would have been expected to emulate the positive interactions between them.

Accepting that hospitality was sacred in nature and should not be abused, certain violations of that code however could take place. The Greeks in some cases had particular words for some of these breaches: for example: *xenodaites* 'one that devours guests', a concept epitomised by the Cyclops 'the guest-eating monster' (Euripides, *Cyclops* 659) and *xenoktonos* 'slaying of guests and strangers' (Liddell and Scott 1940). These breaches of the hospitality code were seen are serious crimes, and like the Cyclops, those who were guilty were generally condemned by mankind.

> "Perhaps among you it is a light thing to murder guests, but with us in Hellas it is a disgrace. How can I escape reproach if I judge you not guilty? I could not. No, since you endured your horrid crime, endure as well its painful consequence"
> (Euripides, *Hecuba* 1247 – 1250)

Violations of hospitality also brought the wrath of the Gods. For example, Pausanias in his 'Description of Greece' warns that 'the wrath of the God of Strangers is inexorable' (Pausanias, *Achaia* 7:25); the Greeks were reminded of these words when

the Peloponnesians arrived and ransacked the city of Helice (373BC), which Zeus then levelled through an earthquake.

3. HOSPITALITY AND THE HOUSEHOLD
3.1 Domestic Hospitality in Ancient Greece

In the writings of Homer, hospitality was centred round the *oikos* (home, household). The concept of household would also include slaves and illegitimate children. In addition certain sections of society: valuable craftsmen, who do not themselves own land, but serve those the *oikos*; or vagabonds or exiles, who threaten instability to the *oikos*; and even Odysseus were also owed a duty of hospitality. The master of a household formed allegiances with the masters of other households *(oikoi)*; through this tangible hospitality, their house grew in wealth, strength, and status which was measured against other households. Solon, the most famous of all ancient Greek lawgivers, (born in Athens about 640 BC), is renowned for his repeal of the oppressive laws of Draco (the origin of the word draconian). Solon remodelled the constitution removed the aristocracy's oppression of the people and introduced the great body of the people to participation in the government. Solon placed great importance upon being hospitable.

> "Anacharsis came to Athens, knocked at Solon's door, and said that he was a stranger who had come to make ties of friendship and hospitality with him. On Solon's replying that it was better to make one's friendships at home, "Well then," said Anacharsis, "do you, who are at home, make me your friend and guest." So Solon, admiring the man's ready wit, received him graciously and kept him with him some time. This was when he was already engaged in public affairs and compiling his laws"
> (Plutarch, *Vita* 5:1)

This is a direct continuation of the hospitality centred on the *oikos*, as shown in the writings of Homer. In addition Plato (c.400 BC) in *Timaeus* wrote the dialogue

between Socrates and Timaeus, where the reciprocal nature of hospitality is clearly shown.

> "Socrates: One, two, three; but where, my dear Timaeus, is the fourth of those who were yesterday my guests and are to be my entertainers today?
> Timaeus: He has been taken ill, Socrates; for he would not willingly have been absent from this gathering.
> Socrates: Then, if he is not coming, you and the two others must supply his place.
> Timaeus: Certainly, and we will do all that we can; having been handsomely entertained by you yesterday, those of us who remain should be only too glad to return your hospitality"
> (Plato, *Timaeus* 1:1)

As well as being reciprocal, hospitality was also hereditary. Euripides (c 440 BC) refers to 'tokens' exchanged to show who was united in bonds of hospitality, these tokens could be passed down from generation to generation or they could even be exchanged between friends. These tokens guaranteed the same level of hospitality to friends and dependents as was enjoyed by those who made the original hospitality agreement.

> "I am ready to give with unstinting hand, and also to send tokens, to my friends, who will treat you well. You would be a fool not to accept this offer"
> (Euripides, *Medea* 613)

Aristotle (c.340 BC), in the 'Athenian Constitution' gives examples of the duties which led from having ties of hospitality.

> "Thereupon Isagoras, finding himself left inferior in power, invited Cleomenes, who was united to him by ties of hospitality, to return to Athens, and persuaded him to 'drive out the pollution', a plea derived from the fact that the Alcmeonidae were supposed to be under the curse of pollution" (Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution* 3:20)

It is clear that hospitality brought with it obligations, not only of friendship but also of duty. Hospitality also had to be carefully balanced between two extremes. The 3000-year-old advice given to Telemachos from King Menelaus is still pertinent today

> "I would condemn any host who, receiving guests, acted excessively hospitable or excessively hostile; all things are better in due measure. It is as blameworthy to urge a guest to leave who does not want to as it is to detain a guest who is eager to leave.

One must grant hospitality to a guest who is present and grant conveyance to a guest who wants to leave" (Homer, *Odyssey* 15:69-74).

3.2Domestic Hospitality in Ancient Rome

Hospitality in Rome was never exercised in the indiscriminate manner, as in the heroic age of Greece, but, the custom of observing the laws of hospitality was probably common to all the nations of Italy. In many cases, it was exercised without any formal agreement between the parties, and it was deemed an honourable duty to receive distinguished guests into the house. Public hospitality, seems likewise, to have existed at a very early period among the nations of Italy, 'throughout the City the front gates of the houses were thrown open and all sorts of things placed for general use in the open courts, all comers, whether acquaintances or strangers, being brought in to share the hospitality' (Livy, *History of Rome* 5:13). These kind and generous acts of hospitality, lead to long lasting friendships between the host and the guest. No doubt, it was from these personal bonds that the public ties of hospitality were later to be formed: 'After recovering from their wounds, some left for their homes, to tell of the kind hospitality they had received; many remained behind out of affection for their hosts and the City' (Livy, *History of Rome* 2:14).

The Roman poet Ovid (43 BC – AD 17) wrote on topics of love, abandoned women, and mythological transformations. In *Metamorphoses,* Ovid told the story of the Gods Jupiter and Mercury who came to earth in human form and travelled around looking for a place to rest. After being turned away a thousand times, the Gods came upon the simple thatched cottage of Baucis and Philemon. Baucis and Philemon had little to offer, but generously shared what they had: a little bacon and 'double-tinted fruit of chaste Minerva, and the tasty dish of corner, autumn-picked and pickled; these were served for relish; and the endive-green, and radishes surrounding a large pot of

curdled milk; and eggs not overdone but gently turned in glowing embers, all served up in earthen dishes. Then sweet wine served up in clay, so costly!' (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8:1026ff). They were about to kill their only goose to feed their guests, when the Gods revealed themselves. Jupiter and Mercury took Baucis and Philemon up the mountain to see the valley, in which the homes of all their neighbours, who had turned away the strangers, had been flooded. Their own simple home had been transformed into a temple, of which they then became the priests.

Private hospitality with the Romans, similar in its nature to that of Greece, seems to have been more accurately and legally defined. According to Schmitz (1875) the character of a *hospes*, i.e., a person connected with a Roman by 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. The connection of hospitality with a foreigner, imposed upon a Roman, various obligations. Amongst those obligations were: to receive in their house the *hospes* (traveller); 'they 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' (Livy, *History of Rome* 42:1). There were also duties of protection; and, in case of need, to represent a guest as his patron in the courts of justice.

Private hospitality was established between individuals by mutual presents, or by the mediation of a third person, and hallowed by religion. In the same way as Zeus presided over hospitality conducted by the Greeks, Jupiter was thought to watch over the *ius hospitia* (law of hospitality) in the Roman Empire. Similarly the violation of hospitality was also as great a crime and impiety in Rome as it was in Greece. When

hospitality was formed between two individuals they would divide between themselves a token called a *tessera hospitalis* (hospitality token), by which, afterwards, they themselves or their descendants, as the connection was hereditary, might recognise one another. This is shown, for example, in the dialogue between Hanno and Agorastocles in the play *Poenulus* by Plautus:

> "Hanno: If so it is, if you would like to compare the token of hospitality, see here, I've brought it.
> Agorastocles: Come then, show it here. It is exactly true; for I've got the counterpart at home.
> Hanno: O my host, hail to you right earnestly; for it was your father, then, Antidamas, that was my own and my father's guest; this was my token of hospitality with him.
> Agorastocles: Then here at my house shall hospitality be shown you; for I don't reject either Hospitality or Carthage, from which I sprang.
> Hanno: May the Gods grant you all you may desire."
> (Plautus, *Poenulus* 5:2:87ff)

The *tessera* bore the image of Jupiter, emphasising Jupiter's divine protection of hospitality; when this kind of hereditary hospitality was established, it could not be dissolved except by a formal declaration and in this case, the *tessera hospitalis* was broken into pieces.

> "Be gone! Go seek where there is confidence enough in your oaths; here now, with us, Alcesimarchus, you've renounced your title to our friendship."
> (Plautus, *Cistellaria* 2:1:27)

4. PUBLIC HOSPITALITY
4.1 Hospitality and the Ancient Greek City-States

Xenophon (c. 400 BC), whose name means 'strange sound' or 'guest voice', was an Athenian knight, an associate of Socrates, and is known for his writings on Hellenic culture. Whilst a young man, Xenophon participated in the expedition led by Cyrus against his older brother, the emperor Artaxerxes II of Persia. Cyrus hoped to depose his brother and gain the throne, but did not tell his mercenaries the true goal of the expedition. A battle took place at Cunaxa (c. 401 BC), where the Greeks were

victorious but Cyrus was killed, and shortly thereafter, their general, Clearchus of Sparta, was captured and executed. The mercenaries found themselves deep in hostile territory, far from the sea, and without leadership. Crossing the high plateaux (modern-day Armenia), whilst hastening to the rescue of Cyrus, Xenophon described the loyal and hospitable people they met, during their campaign. The people offered them what they had: cattle; corn; dried grapes, vegetables of all sorts; and fragrant old wines, details concerning the gifts of hospitality were as follows: 'Here they sent the Hellenes, as gifts of hospitality, three thousand measures of barley and two thousand jars of wine, twenty beeves and one hundred sheep' (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6:1).

Plato, in his 'Laws' (12:952d – 953e) detailed four types of stranger/guest from abroad who are to be welcomed but treated differently, according to their purpose, rank and station. These may be summarised as:

- Merchant on trade or business: who is to be received by the officials in charge at the markets, harbours, and public buildings, outside of the city. The relationship is very limited, formal and businesslike, and the receiving officials are also responsible for ensuring the proper conduct of the merchant.

- Cultural visitor to view artistic achievements, including musical performances: who is to be received at temples where friendly accommodation is to be provided. The relationship is formal and businesslike, with care and attention only for a reasonable time, and the priests and temple keepers are responsible for both the conduct of the visitor and of those that the visitor meets.

- Civic dignitary on public business: who is to be received at civic receptions and by the generals and public officials. The relationship is formal and businesslike

and the official with whom the dignitary lodges is responsible for their care and conduct.

- Occasional high-status cultural visitor, who must be over 50 years of age, to view art objects, or to exhibit such objects: who is to be welcomed as a visitor of the rich and the wise, being themselves rich and wise. Also received by those in charge of education or those with special recognition for their artistic work. The relationship is formal but friendly according to high-level peer status.

Plato also indicated that there should be conformity with the 'Laws' for all guest/strangers from abroad, and that the 'Laws' also apply when sending out the state's own citizens to other states. The observance of these 'Laws' was doing honour to Zeus, Patron of Strangers, and was therefore seen as the only appropriate behaviour, rather than being unwelcoming to guest/strangers, which, by definition, is dishonouring Zeus. The 'Laws' also indicated that the relationships are formal ones, with legal obligations on both sides. In Homeric literature, hospitality was shown as a way of giving respect and showing honour; it was also non-judgmental of social status. However in Plato's 'Laws', although hospitality for the visitor/stranger from aboard is welcoming, it is codified to provide reference points for provision of hospitality.

Relations between the Greek city-states gave rise to the role of *Proxenos,* who was literally the 'guest-friend' of a city-state; looking after the interests of a foreign state in his own country; for example, the Spartan *Proxenos* in Athens was an Athenian citizen. The office of *Proxenos* was an ancient one, employed throughout the Greek world. The word *xenos* implies 'guest' or 'foreigner'; however, in this context the

general consensus among scholars, is that *proxenia* (the relationship of the *Proxenos*) is one of hospitality (see for example Phillipson 1911; Ehrenberg 1960; Adcock and Mosley 1975; Pope 1976). Domestic politics dominated the interests of citizens who had little use for diplomacy, since Greek city-states were essentially self-centred and insular. However, mutual ties of hospitality did exist between leaders of states and important families of other cities. These links brought about an informal diplomatic avenue of communication (Phillipson 1911; Adcock and Mosley 1975).

The office of *Proxenos* was at first, probably, self-chosen. Thucydides in his recounting of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) refers to volunteers, but the office was to become matter of appointment. These *Proxenoi* undertook various functions including the reception and entertainment of guests. Liddell and Scott (1940) suggest that they would also represent the guest in courts of law if necessary. The earliest reference to an Athenian *Proxenos*, who lived during the time of the Persian wars (c 490 BC), is that of Alexander of Macedonia (Herodotus, *Histories*). It was not until the middle of the fifth century B.C. that the term *Proxenos* became common throughout Greece; the establishment of the institution is documented by numerous inscriptions from the last third of the fifth century B.C. (Wallace 1970; Walbank 1978). Gerolymatos (1986) asserts that there was also a clandestine side to the *proxenia*. It could function as both an overt and a covert intelligence system, as representatives of this institution were indeed in an ideal position to: collect and transmit political and military information; to organize political subversion and sabotage; they could also arrange the betrayal of besieged cities to the forces of their patrons.

4.2Roman Public Hospitality

The first direct mention of public hospitality, being established between Rome and another city, is after the Gauls had departed from Rome. It was decreed that the City of Caere should be rewarded for its good services (c. 273 BC), by the establishment of public hospitality between the two cities. 'Friendly relations as between state and state were to be established with the people of Caere, because they had sheltered the sacred treasures of Rome and her priests, and by this kindly act had prevented any interruption to the divine worship' (Livy, *History of Rome* 5:50).

The public hospitality after the war with the Gauls, gave to the Caerites, the right of hospitality with Rome. In the later times of the Roman Republic, the public hospitality established between Rome and a foreign state was no longer found; but a relation, which amounted to the same thing, was introduced instead, that is, towns were raised to the rank of *municipia*. When a town wanted a similar relationship with Rome, it entered into *clientela* with some distinguished Roman, he then acted as patron of the client-town. This hospitality, when shared between states, was applicable to individuals as well, 'As they entered Capua the senate and people came out in a body to meet them, showed them all due hospitality, and paid them all the consideration to which as individuals and as members of an allied state they were entitled' (Livy, *History of Rome* 9:6). There was also the custom of granting the honour of *hospes publicus* (modern equivalent 'Freedom of the City) to a distinguished foreigner by a decree of the senate; this seems to have existed to the end of the Roman Republic:

> "Servius had been careful to form ties of hospitality and friendship with the chiefs of the Latin nation, and he used to speak in the highest praise of that cooperation and the common recognition of the same deity." (Livy, *History of Rome* 1:45)

Whether such a public *hospes* undertook the same duties towards Roman citizens, as the Greek *Proxenos*, is uncertain. Public hospitality was, like the *hospitium privatum* (private hospitality)*,* hereditary in the family of the person to whom it had been granted

> "Carthalo the commandant of the garrison, had laid down his arms and was going to the consul to remind him of the old tie of hospitality between their fathers when he was killed by a soldier who met him."
> (Livy, *History of Rome* 27:16)

5. COMMERCIAL HOSPITALITY
5.1 Commercial Hospitality in Ancient Greece

In the *History of the Peloponnesian War,* Thucydides relates the events from 431 BC to 401 BC, and marked a significant departure from the literary style of historical writing. In the text is the word *katagogion,* which is taken to mean inn or hostelry and from the context could be understood to be one of the oldest reference to commercial hospitality.

> "The city the Thebans gave for about a year to some political emigrants from Megara, and to the surviving Plataeans of their own party to inhabit, and afterwards razed it to the ground from the very foundations, and built on to the precinct of Hera an inn two hundred feet square, with rooms all round above and below" (Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, 3:68)

The same word *katagogion*, appears in the writings of Xenophon. In this case they were constructed by the city-state for the shipowners, merchants and visitors and these hostels bestowed various benefits on the city-states.

> "When funds were sufficient, it would be a fine plan to build more hostels for ship owners near the harbours, and convenient places of exchange for merchants, also hostels to accommodate visitors. Again, if houses and shops were put up both in the Peiraeus and in the city for retail traders, they would be an ornament to the state, and at the same time the source of a considerable revenue" (Xenophon, *Ways and Means*, 3:12-13)

5.2 Commercial Hospitality in Ancient Rome

Kleberg (1957) defined four principal categories of commercial hospitality establishments in ancient Roman: *hospitia; stabula; tabernae*; and *popinae*, these terms have become the standard for the archaeological categorisation of ancient hospitality businesses:

- *Hospitia* were establishments that offered rooms for rent, and often food and drink to overnight guests (DeFelice 2001). Packer (1978) asserts that *hospitia* were expressly fabricated for business purposes, although a number of them represent secondary uses of existing private homes in Pompeii.

- *Stabula* had an open courtyard surrounded by a kitchen, a latrine, and bedrooms with stables at the rear. Businesses within city gates were smaller than those in the countryside, due to pressure of space (Packer 1978). Casson (1974) observed that in Rome *stabulae* were probably the most common type of overnight accommodation. *Stabula* were *hospitia* with facilities to shelter animals; often found just outside the city, close to the city gates, the 'ancient equivalent of modern motels' (Packer 1978:44)

- *Taberna*, in the first century A.D., referred to either a shop or a tavern, however in many publications, the term *taberna* refers to almost any kind of shop, so there is a good deal of confusion when compiling a list of such establishments from secondary sources (DeFelice 2001). *Tabernae*, in their first century AD sense, served a variety of simple foods and drink. They usually contained a simple L-shaped marble counter, about six to eight feet long, with a simmering pot of water and shelves of other food on the back wall of a tiny room, often just large enough for the proprietor and several assistants (Kleberg 1957; Casson 1974; Packer 1978).

- *Popinae* were also establishments limited to serving food and drink. Some may have offered sit down meals; this term was often used to describe public eating-houses.

In summary then: *tabernae and popinae* had no facilities for overnight guests whilst *hospitia* and *stabula* usually did. *Hospitiae* were normally larger than *stabulae* and a *stabula* would have had accommodation to keep animals as well as guests. According to DeFelice (2001) *Hospitiae, stabulae, tabernae*, and *popinae* were not always standalone businesses; often a *hospitia* or *stabula* would have a *taberna* or *popina* connected with or adjacent to them. These commercial hospitality businesses existed for travellers, merchants, and sailors who came to trade and sell, or those who were stopping overnight along the way to other destinations. From the discussion about the reciprocal nature of private hospitality it is already clear that not all travellers required such services DeFelice (2001) asserts that *hospitiae* and *stabulae* along major roads and at city gates gained a reputation for attracting lower classes who were too poor or socially insignificant to have developed a network of personal hospitality; in other literature of the time *hospitiae* also had a reputation for bedbugs, discomfort, violence and danger.

6. RELIGIOUS WRITINGS

The oldest collection of texts that refer to hospitality are from a literary genre known as Ancient Near East Texts. These texts belong to a large family of Eastern Mediterranean traditions from Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt. Normally these texts are seen in parallel with the Old Testament. Certain works date

back to around 3500 BC, therefore they are as old as the history of writing itself. One example would be the Teachings of Khety.

> "Give the stranger olive oil from your jar,
> And double the income of your household.
> The divine assembly desires respect for the poor
> More than honour for the powerful."
> (Khety 28 in Matthews 1991:282)

In this text and others, there is a clear directive on how to treat strangers, and the rewards, both in the temporal sphere through befits to the household and the spiritual sphere, by pleasing the Gods.

Another example, taken from over a millennium later, is from Ugarit in the Stories of Aquat (Matthews 1991). Ugarit was an important commercial centre, on what is today, the northern coast of Syria. It connected the tradelanes between Egypt to the south, islands like Crete to the west and Mesopotamia to the east. Culture followed Ugarit's prosperity, especially between 1500-1250 BC and from that time, come the stories of Aquat. The stories of Aqhat portray him as a wise son and a wise hunter. Danil is Aqhat's father, Danatiya is his mother, Paghat is his sister. Danil and Danatiya are unable to have a son until Baal, their divine patron, helps them.

> "Danil went home...
> On the first day, the midwives arrived,
> The singers and the chanters entered the household of Danil.
> The powerful one roasted an ox for the midwives,
> the protégé of Harnam, threw a feast for them.
> He gave wine to the skilful midwives,
> he provided food for the singers and the chanters."
> (Aquat 2:11-12 in Matthews 1991:68)

These texts provide examples of Ancient Near East hospitality, where the host is attentive to those they have found in their house. Another well-known work from around the same time would be the so-called 'Egyptian Book of the Dead', (the title

of 'Book' is a bit of a misnomer, for it is more accurately a collection of papyri).
Hospitality to the stranger is of importance, as is seen from the quotation taken from
the Papyrus of Ani. This is one of the prayers said by the sojourners in the afterlife, to
appease the Gods upon arrival in the halls of judgement.

> "I have propitiated the God by doing his will, I have given bread to the hungry
> man, and water to him that was athirst, and apparel to the naked man, and a
> ferry-boat to him that had no boat. I have made propitiatory offerings and
> given cakes to the Gods..."
> (Ani - Theban version about 1240 B.C. (Wallis Budge 1895:587))

In addition a more readily and universally available collection of texts is the
compilation known as the Old and New Testaments of 'Bible'.

6.1 The Old Testament

Within the Old Testament, numerous references exist to the practice of hospitality and
serve as hosts, and to treating human life with respect and dignity. In the Book of
Genesis, God offers the newly created world as living space and its plants and trees as
food to all living creatures; they are to be guests in God's world and at God's table.
In other words, while enjoying God's gracious provisions, God's human guests are to
preserve awareness of and respect God's ultimate ownership (Janzen 2002). The
story goes on to relate the 'fall of man' and the expulsion from Eden. Adam and Eve
eating from the forbidden tree is an act of disobedience therefore sin in this situation
can be defined as disobedience. Janzen then makes the challenging observation that
Adam and Eve are saying "we (humanity) want unlimited use and control of the
world. In this light, sin can be described as the human attempt to be owners, rather
than guests" (2002:6).

In the Old Testament many laws specifically require hospitality and concern for strangers in particular

> "If you have resident strangers in your country, you will not molest them. You will treat resident strangers as though they were native-born and love them as yourself for you yourselves were once aliens in Egypt."
> (Leviticus 19:33-34)

Other laws, often associated with those concerning strangers, assure good treatment of weak members of society, laws concerning redemption, are framed in accordance with the spirit of hospitality. In the story of Abraham (Genesis 18:2-8), there is the classic hospitality event, with his wife Sarah he shows gracious receptiveness to three strangers. The text records when Abraham saw three simple nomads in the distance, he ran towards them to offer his hospitality. When Abraham greeted the strangers, he was not making a gesture of religious adoration, but simply a mark of respect. At first, Abraham sees his guests as humans, as their superhuman character is only gradually revealed. He welcomes them warmly and invites them into his tent, to rest a bit and to eat a little. When they followed him home, however, Abraham had a full course banquet prepared for them. Yet as great as Abraham's hospitality might have been, he had to contend with a society that was literally the antithesis of everything he represented, the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were infamous for their cruelty and greed.

Later (Genesis 19:1-9) when the angels journeyed to Sodom and Gomorrah, in search of a righteous man, only Lot and his family were set apart to be saved. Lot was deemed righteous, by the fact that he alone imitated Abraham's behaviour of hospitality. There are numerous legends about Sodom and Gomorrah. In relation to hospitality, there is another well-known legend, the people of the city had a special

bed which they would offer to guests, and when the guests were too tall for the bed, they would cut off their feet and when they were too short, they would stretch their limbs.

Illustrative examples of the many other hospitality events would include the second book of Kings and it is an unusual example of peacemaking: the prophet Elisha, exhorts the king of Israel to treat his Syrian prisoners of war to a meal, then send them home.

> '"Offer them food and water, so that they can eat and drink, and then let them go back to their master.' So, the king provided a great feast for them; and when they had eaten and drunk, he sent them off and they went back to their own master. Aramaean raiding parties never invaded the territory of Israel again."
> (2 Kings 6:22-23)

In the book of Job, when Job is swearing an oath of innocence, in his defence of his good life, listing all the sins he has not committed. He places special emphasis on his practice of hospitality: "no stranger ever had to sleep outside, my door was always open to the traveller" (Job 31:32). Additionally the Prophet Isaiah looks ahead to the end of time, he describes it as God's eschatological banquet:

> "On this mountain, for all peoples, Yahweh Sabaoth is preparing a banquet of rich food, a banquet of fine wines, of succulent food, of well-strained wines."
> (Isaiah 25:6-9)

Thus, a banquet is used as the image of a redeemed humanity, which is entertained at the Lord's Table in a mood of fulfilment and rejoicing. This text, has had particular influence on similar imagery in the New Testament; the concept of a Messianic banquet was current in Jerusalem.

In the Old Testament, hospitality is central to virtually all of Old Testament ethics; God, the Great Host, invites His guests into His house, the created world, to enjoy its riches and blessings. However, the duties of the guest are clear too, the host expects these guests to follow His example and share their livelihood and their life, with their fellow guests on His earth.

There are certain parallels between the hospitality that Odysseus seeks, and the other hospitality scenes portrayed by Homer and those described by Ovid. Abraham was central to Old Testament hospitality; he showed unreserved hospitality to the strangers, only later seeing the true nature of his guests. Hospitality and in particular the treatment of strangers is then enshrined in the Old Testament, strangers have to be well treated, because the people themselves were strangers in a foreign lands. When Job was swearing his oath of innocence, in defence of his good life he makes special mention of his hospitable nature. A clear parallel can be seen between Job and the Egyptian sojourners in the afterlife; both were attempting to appease their Gods by verbalising their acts of hospitality. Throughout the whole of the Old Testament, the duties of hospitality are of paramount importance, seen all the way through to the 'eschatological banquet' of the end New Testament.

6.2New Testament

The scholarly investigation of New Testament hospitality is both a recent and rapidly expanding phenomenon. In 1976, a supplementary volume (Crim 1976) to the long-time standard work Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (Buttrick 1962) and it did not contain an article on 'hospitality'. Shortly afterwards, Harper's Bible Dictionary was published in which Malina (1985) wrote an article on 'hospitality'. He shows a

discernible pattern to hospitality: testing the stranger, when one must decide if the stranger's visit is honourable or hostile, immediately followed by a transition phase, normally by foot washing. Then the stranger is now seen as a guest; the guest enjoys a full expression of welcome, becomes a part of the household, then the day comes when the guest must leave. In departure, the guest is transformed once again into friend or enemy. Approximately another decade later, Koenig's (1992) article on 'hospitality' was published in The Anchor Bible Dictionary. He identifies a distinctive element in biblical hospitality, that of culture, in which God and/or Christ was often the host or guest. He also points out, that Luke seemed particularly interested in hospitality, since he alone in his gospel, included the stories of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, the rich man and Lazarus, Zaccheus, and the Emmaus appearance story.

At the beginning of John's gospel, an account is given of the treatment of Jesus at his birth:

> "He was in the world that had come into being through him, and the world did not recognise him. He came to his own and his own people did not accept him."
> (John 1:10-11)

There was no one who would take the family in; this in a land where hospitality was considered so important. Traditionally in the nativity scene Jesus was born in an inn, rather than 'inn' the Greek word *kataluma* can mean a room, in this context most probably 'dwelling'. The manger, where the animals ate, was probably fixed to a wall of the poor living space, which was so crowded, that there was no better place for the child to safely lie. By mentioning the manger, Luke symbolizes Jesus, as the

sustenance of the world and often, throughout his Gospel, Luke refers to eating and drinking as a symbol for close friendship and union with God.

It was necessary for the well-being of mankind and essential to the protection of vulnerable strangers. Therefore, it is not unsurprising that hospitality was also to become a distinctive feature of the early Christian church. This was due to two principal reasons: it was in keeping with the general continuity with Hebrew understandings of hospitality that associated it with God, covenant, and blessing; and partly in contrast to Hellenistic and Roman practices, which associated it with benefit and reciprocity. However, as has been shown Greek and Roman views of benevolence and hospitality stressed formal reciprocal obligations between benefactor and recipient. Because a grateful response from the beneficiary was key to the ongoing relationship, the Greek and Roman tradition emphasized the worthiness and goodness of recipients rather than their need; relations were often calculated to benefit the benefactor.

Jesus told His disciples to follow His example and 'take nothing for their journey' (Mark 6:8 and parallels) thus; He presupposed that they were sure of always finding hospitality. Further, it is assumed that they could even make their own choice of hosts

> "Whatever town or village you go into, seek out someone worthy and stay with him until you leave. As you enter his house, salute it, and if the house deserves it, may your peace come upon it; if it does not, may your peace come back to you. And if anyone does not welcome you or listen to what you have to say, as you walk out of the house or town shake the dust from your feet. In truth I tell you on the Day of Judgement it will be more bearable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for that town."
> (Matthew 10:11-15)

In this case, however, the claims of the travellers to hospitality are accentuated by the fact that they are bearers of good tidings for the people. It is in view of this latter fact, that hospitality to them, becomes so great a virtue, the 'cup of cold water' becomes so highly meritorious, as it is given 'in the name of a disciple' (cf. Matthew 10:41f). Rejection of hospitality to one of his followers, is equivalent to the rejection of Jesus himself.

Even towards the end of his life, Jesus remained dependent on the hospitality of others for two of his greatest acts. The Last Supper, which he celebrates with his disciples, takes place in a borrowed room (Mark 14:13-16 and parallels) and even after death, he was the guest of Joseph of Arimathea in his tomb (Mark 15:42-46 and parallels). Hospitality, in particular to the homeless becomes the key to life eternal. The parable of the last judgement, portrays God separating the sheep from the goats, based on hospitality extended or refused:

> "He will place the sheep on his right hand and the goats on his left. Then the King will say to those on his right hand, 'Come, you whom my Father has blessed take as your heritage the kingdom prepared for you since the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you made me welcome, lacking clothes and you clothed me, sick and you visited me, in prison and you came to see me.'"
> (Matthew 25:32-37)

He continues after his resurrection, to offer himself as guest. "Look, I am standing at the door, knocking. If one of you hears me calling and opens the door, I will come in to share a meal at that person's side" (Revelation 3:20).

7. DIMENSIONS OF HOSPITALITY.

This chapter set out to explore the origins of hospitality by investigating evidence of hospitality, mainly within the Greek and Roman cavitations of the ancient and classical worlds, and also in the contemporaneous religious writings. The key influences affecting the attitudes towards hospitality in the societies considered are: religious practices and beliefs; the advancement trade and commerce; transactional expectations; social status and the household; a system of communication; and the fear of strangers. From the exploration clear parallels have been found between the texts, and a variety of common features of hospitality are identified. Further evaluation of these outcomes leads to the identification of five dimensions of hospitality. The dimensions are: honourable tradition; fundamental to human existence; stratified; diversified and, central to human endeavour.

7.1 Honourable tradition

The common features of the honourable tradition dimension of hospitality are:

- The concepts of guest, stranger, and host are closely related
- Hospitality is seen as essentially organic, revealing much about the cultural values and beliefs of the societies
- Reciprocity of hospitality is an established principle
- Providing hospitality is paying homage to the gods – a worthy and honourable thing to do – and failure is condemned in both the human and spiritual worlds

Hospitality is initially concerned with the protection of others in order to be protected from others. Additionally within the ancient and classical worlds, often reinforced by religious teaching and practice, hospitality is considered as an inherently good thing to provide, without any immediate expectation of an earthly reward. The vocational nature of hospitality is established through the concept of the provision of hospitality as paying homage to a superior being, or pursuing a higher ideal. This may provide a basis for the view that hospitality management should be recognised as a true profession because of its strong vocational origins. Even with this vocational

influence, the concept of reciprocity - monetary, spiritual, or exchange - is already well established, as is the concept of failure in providing hospitality being viewed as both an impiety and a temporal crime.

7.2 Fundamental to human existence

The common features of the dimension of the fundamentalism of hospitality to human existence are:

- Hospitality includes food, drink and accommodation and also is concerned with the approach to be adopted e.g. welcoming, respectful and genuine
- Hospitality is offered and the extent or limitation of it is based on the needs and the purpose of the guests/strangers
- Alliances are initially developed through hospitality between friends, households and states, and are strengthened through continuing mutual hospitality
- Hospitality once granted between individuals, households and states is also granted to descendants and through extended friendships

Hospitality is a primary feature in the development of the societies that have been considered. It is an essential part of human existence, especially as it deals with basic human needs (food, drink, shelter and security). It is also clear that the concept of the hospitality being based on meeting the needs that the guests have at the time, rather than the type of people that they are, is already established. Relationships between households and friends were developed through mutual hospitality between the original partners, and then subsequently given to their descendants, and their wider circle of friends. This also establishes the concepts of loyalty systems and continuing shared benefits.

7.3 Stratified

The common features of the stratification dimension of hospitality are:

- Developments in the societies lead to the formal stratification of hospitality: the codification of hospitality being based on whether it was private, civic or business, and on the needs and purpose of the guest/stranger, and their nature or status

- Reciprocity of hospitality becomes legally defined
- Civic and business hospitality develops from private hospitality but retains the key foundations – treat others as if in their own home
- Hospitality management, in the civic and business sense, is established as being centred on persons responsible for formal hospitality, and also for protection of guest/stranger and ensuring their proper conduct.

Hospitality has never been homogeneous. Since the earliest time, hospitality provision is increasingly codified. As the societies become more sophisticated, the codification of hospitality provides reference points for how to treat a range of guests/strangers, according to a variety of criteria. Typologies of hospitality also become apparent: private, civic, and business/commercial. Other features identified, which increasingly become more formal as the societies develop, include legal governance, more sophisticated approaches to codification, and the establishment of contractual relationships. Hospitality professionals emerge as civic and business hospitality develops, with particular individuals being recognised as having formal and defined responsibilities for hospitality.

7.4 Diversified

The common features of the diversification dimension of hospitality are:

- Places of hospitality were initially differentiated primarily by the existence, or not, of overnight accommodation
- Individual places of hospitality either offer associated services, or are located near other places of hospitality
- Originally places of hospitality are for the lower classes that did not have established networks of hospitality enjoyed by the higher classes
- Increasing travelling amongst the higher classes created demands for superior levels of places of hospitality

The needs of the host and the guest have always varied; hospitality therefore has always had to be able to respond to a broad range of needs. The exploration of the ancient and classical worlds shows that the basis for a diverse range of types of establishments in order to meet the needs of the full spectrum of society is already developing. Although originally at lower levels, the provision of higher levels of

hospitality establishment and service is a direct consequence of the ability of the higher classes to afford to travel to lands where there are not known, but it enables them to be in environments which are commensurate with their wealth and status, without the need to establish a household there.

7.5 Central to human endeavour

The common features of the dimension of the centrality of hospitality to human endeavour are:

- Hospitality is a vital and integral part of the societies
- Shared hospitality is a principle feature in the development and continuation of friendships and alliances between persons, between communities, and between nations
- Hospitality is the focus for the celebrations of significant private, civic and business events and achievements throughout life
- Hospitality is also foreseen as a principal feature of the end of time

Since the beginning of human history, hospitality is the mechanism that has been central to the development of the societies, at both the individual and collective levels.

It is the catalyst that is used to facilitate all human activities, especially those that are aimed at enhancing civilisation. It is also identified as being the central feature of human endeavour and celebration, through until the end of time.

8. LOOKING FORWARD

This chapter has presented a summary of findings from continuing research into the origins of hospitality, in the ancient and classical worlds. It is clear that the five dimensions of hospitality identified so far, have been evolving since the beginning of human history. It also seems that it is inherent in human nature to offer hospitality, and that the societies, and the contemporaneous religious teachings, support and reinforce this trait. The identification of the five dimensions of hospitality, as above, provides one way of interpreting the outcomes of the exploration that has been

undertaken to date. Whatever the approach that might be used, it is certainly evident that hospitality has a long history, a honourable tradition, and a rich heritage.

Exploring the origins of hospitality can aid the practitioner within the hospitality industry today; awareness of the past can always help to guide the future. The current increasing debate on, and research into, the origins of hospitality can enhance the future of the industry. Professionalism and greater expertise can surely come from a deeper understanding of the dimensions of hospitality, that have been evolving since antiquity, and on which the industry now relies.   However, within a modern hospitality industry context, it may also be worth reflecting on the extent to which the hospitality being offered is honest and welcoming, or just transactional, with the guest seen merely as a source of revenue? Does there exist such a thing as a true hospitality industry host, with the intention of being genuinely hospitable?

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10. GUIDE TO CLASSICAL TEXTS

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