The Essence of Hospitality from the Texts of Classical Antiquity

The development of a hermeneutical helix to identify the philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality

Kevin D O'Gorman

ξένος ἤμην καὶ συνηγάγετέ με
(Mt 25:35c)

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management at The University of Strathclyde.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

The research project is an investigation into the philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality in order to identify the extent to which these are founded in ancient and classical history. The research focuses on Classical Antiquity and specifically investigates the history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality within Greco-Roman texts and contemporaneous religious writings. In so doing it demonstrates how authoritative and disciplined research can make a significant contribution to the emergent research area of hospitality studies. The resulting thesis details a variety of outcomes and conclusions related to the phenomenon of hospitality, and also provides a basis for further enquiry.

The research outcomes support the view that modern hospitality management literature has largely ignored this area of investigation. The principal methodological conclusion is that robust textual analysis can be undertaken within hermeneutical phenomenology and enhanced using a derived hermeneutical helix. The principal investigative outcome is that the hospitality phenomenon in its broadest sense has been recorded since the beginning of human history and it embraces a wide range of activities beyond the commercial provision of food, drink and accommodation. In particular, the essence of the hospitality phenomenon, within Classical Antiquity, is characterised by a reciprocally beneficial two-way process that takes place within three distinct and separate contexts: domestic, civil and commercial, which can also be summarised and represented by dynamic visual models.

INDEX OF TABLES

INDEX OF FIGURES

GLOSSARY OF NAMES AND TERMS

NAME	SHORT BIOGRAPHY
Abraham	In the Bible (אַבְרָהָם) and Qur'ān (ابراهيم) Jews, Christians and Muslims regard him as the founding patriarch of the Israelites and of the Nabataean people. Famous for his hospitality to three strangers at an oasis among the 'Oaks of Mamre'.
Aeneas	Leader of the Trojans, according to Virgil Romulus and Remus were both descendants of Aeneas through their mother, and thus he was responsible for founding the Roman people.
Apicius	Apicius was the proverbial cognomen for several connoisseurs of food. The most famous (and probably the second), Marcus Gavius Apicius, lived in the early Empire (*c.*30 BC); he kept an academy, in the manner of a philosopher. A third Apicius, or even a group of Apicii, lived in the late fourth or early fifth century and redacted the surviving Roman cookbook bearing his name.
Aristocles	Believed to be the real name for Plato.
Aristotle Ἀριστοτέλης	(384–322 BC) Ancient Greek philosopher, who wrote books on many subjects, including physics, poetry, zoology, logic, rhetoric, government, and biology; student of Plato at the Academy.
Classical Antiquity	The broad term for the period of cultural history centred on the Mediterranean Sea, which begins with the earliest-recorded Greek poetry of Homer (*c.*770 BC), and coincides with the traditional date of the founding of Rome in 753 BC. The end is disputed and includes the end of Western Roman Emperor in 476 AD and 529 AD with closure of Plato's Academy in Athens.
Cicero	Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) Orator and statesman of Ancient Rome, and is generally considered the greatest Latin orator and prose stylist.
Cyclops	The notorious one-eyed monster that was famous for killing then devouring his guests.
Dido	Queen of Carthage (in modern-day Tunisia) She is best known from the account given by the Roman poet Virgil the Adenoid, however also mentioned in Ovid.
Dionysius of Halicarnassus	(*c.*60–7 BC) was a Greek historian and teacher of rhetoric, who flourished during the reign of Caesar Augustus.
Elissa	Greek name for Dido (see Dido)
Euripides Εὐριπίδης	(*c.*480–406 BC) was considered to be one of the great tragedians of classical Athens. Ancient scholars thought that Euripides had written 92 plays; 18 of them have survived complete.
Herodotus Ἡρόδοτος Ἁλικαρνᾱσσεύς	Herodotus of Halicarnassus (484–*c.*425 BC) Historian famous for writing The Histories, a collection of stories on different places and peoples he learned about through his travels. Often claimed to be the first travel writer.

Homer Ὅμηρος	Legendary early Greek poet traditionally credited with the composition of the Iliad and the Odyssey, commonly assumed to have lived in the eighth Century BC.
Jupiter	In Roman mythology, Jupiter held the same role as Zeus in the Greek pantheon, as the patron deity of the Roman state, the god of laws, social order and in particular hospitality.
Livy	Titus Livius (59 BC–17 AD) wrote a history of Rome, *Ab urbe condita libri*, from its founding (traditionally dated to 753 BC) through the reign of Augustus.
Menelaus	King of Sparta married to Helen. When Paris, a Trojan prince, came to Sparta and left with Helen causing the Trojan War. After the Greeks won the Trojan War, Helen returned to Sparta with Menelaus.
Nestor	An Argonaut, who in the Odyssey, receives Telemachus in a most hospitable manner and entertains him lavishly as a guest.
Odysseus	Hero of Homer's Odyssey, most famous for the ten years it took him to return home from the Trojan War. Odysseus was the king of Ithaca, husband of Penelope and father of Telemachus.
Ovid	Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BC–17 AD), a Roman poet who wrote on topics of love, abandoned women, and mythological transformations.
Petronius	(*c.*27–66 AD) A Roman writer who was a noted satirist. Amongst scholars there remains confusion over his real name, being identified as C. Petronius Arbiter, but the manuscript text of the Satyricon, used in this thesis calls him Titus Petronius
Plato Πλάτων	(*c.*427–*c.*347 BC) Ancient Greek philosopher, who wrote on many philosophical issues, dealing especially in politics, ethics, metaphysics and epistemology. He was a student of Socrates, writer of philosophical dialogues, and founder of the Academy in Athens.
Plautus	Titus Maccius Plautus (254–184 BC) A comic playwright in the time of the Roman Republic. He wrote approximately 130 plays, of which 21 survive
Plutarch Πλούταρχος	Mestrius Plutarchus (*c.*46–127 AD), Greek historian, biographer, and essayist. He was also a priest of the Delphic temple and a magistrate; he represented his home on various foreign missions.
Roman Empire	The Roman Empire followed the Roman Republic. However, several dates are traditionally offered for the transition from Republic to Empire: Julius Caesar's appointment as dictator (44 BC), Battle of Actium (31 BC), and the Senate's declaration of Octavian as Augustus (27 BC). At this territorial peak, the Empire was approximately 6 million km² of land. The end of the Roman Empire is traditionally, if not strictly accurately, placed at 476 AD.

Roman Republic	The phase of the ancient Roman civilization characterised by a republican form of government, began with the overthrow of the Monarchy *c.*509 BC and lasted over 450 years until its subversion, through a series of civil wars, into the Roman Empire
Sarah	Wife of Abraham.
Socrates Σωκράτης	(*c.*470–399 BC) Greek philosopher who is widely credited for laying the foundation for Western philosophy; principal source of information on him comes from Plato's dialogues.
Telemachus	Son of Odysseus and Penelope. After his father had been gone for nearly 20 years, young Telemachus is advised to travel in search of news of his father depending on hospitality throughout his voyage.
Thucydides Θουκυδίδης	(*c.*455–*c.*400 BC) Ancient Greek historian and the author of the History of the Peloponnesian War, which recounts the fifth century BC war between Sparta and Athens. This work is widely regarded a classic, and represents the first work of its kind.
Ulysses	Odysseus in Roman mythology (see Odysseus)
Virgil	Publius Vergilius Maro (70–19 BC), Latin poet, the author of the Aeneid, an epic poem of twelve books that became the Roman Empire's national epic.
Xenophon Ξενοφῶν	(427–355 BC) Ancient Greek soldier, mercenary and an admirer of Socrates and is known for his writings on the history of his own times, the sayings of Socrates, and the life of Greece.
Zeus Ζεύς	In Greek mythology he is the king of the gods, the ruler of Mount Olympus, and god of the sky and thunder, amongst his other roles was watching over the law of hospitality.

FREQUENTLY USED LATIN AND GREEK TERMS

TERM	TRANSLATION	MEANING
Caupona	Restaurant	Commercial hospitality establishment that served food and drink, offered sit down meals; this term was often used to describe public eating-houses and sometimes included a few rooms.
Clientela	Client City	When a town wanted to establish a formal hospitality relationship with Rome, it entered into *clientela* to some distinguished Roman, who then acted as patron of the client-town; next stage *municipia*.
Epistemology ἔπιστεμε λογἰα	Epistemology	The branch of metaphysics that deals with the nature of knowledge, its presuppositions and foundations, and its extent and validity.
Hospes	Guest	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.
Hospes publicus	Public Guest	The custom of granting the honour of the title *hospes publicus* to a distinguished foreigner by a decree of the senate; similar to modern concept of freedom of the city.
Hospitium	Hotel/Hostel	Larger commercial hospitality establishments that offered rooms for rent, and often food and drink to overnight guests; often specifically built for business purposes.
Hospitium privatum	Private hospitality	Various obligations came with the connection of hospitality with a foreigner imposed upon a Roman, amongst those obligations included: reception of a guest when travelling; duties of protection; and, in case of need, to represent him as his patron in the courts of justice.
Ius hospitii	Law of hospitality	Those joined in a relationship of private hospitality was established by mutual presents, or by the mediation of a third person, Jupiter was thought to watch over the *ius hospitii*.
Katagogion κατὰγογιον	Inn/Hostel	Purpose built for the provision of commercial hospitality in the Greek city-states.
Lumpanar	Brothel	Provided a full range of services of a personal nature, sometimes even including food, beverage and accommodation.

Metaphysics τῶν μετὰ τὰ φῦσικα	Metaphysics	Metaphysics is one of the principal works of Aristotle and the first major work of the branch of philosophy with the same name. The title of the work is τῶν μετὰ τὰ φῦσικα literally 'of the things after physics' The branch of philosophy concerned with the ultimate nature of existence.
Municipia	Town	Name given to a town that had an established formal hospitality relationship with the City of Rome; stage after the relationship of *clientela.*
Oikos Οἰκος	home, household	This includes not only the resident 'family' in biological sense of the term, but also all those who live in the house as well as those who depended upon the household and contribute to its wealth and survival. This may include slaves; illegitimate children; normally the offspring of the master and female slaves; resident in-laws; and 'adopted' persons who serve as retainers or 'squires'
Ontology ὄντος λογία	Ontology	The branch of metaphysics that deals with the nature of being and conceptualisations of the nature of reality
Philoxenos Φιλόξενος	Love of strangers	Greek law/custom of offering protection and hospitality to strangers; its antithesis is still in common English usage today 'xenophobia'.
Popina	Restaurant	Alternative name for a restaurant; seen under caupona.
Proxenos πρόξενος	Guest-friend	Literally the 'guest-friend' of a city-state; looking after the interests of a foreign state in his own country
Stabula	Coaching Inn	Buildings with open courtyard surrounded by a kitchen, a latrine, and bedrooms with stables at the rear. Often found just outside the city, close to the city gates; offered food, drink and accommodation.
Taberna	Bar	Sold a variety of simple foods and drink. They usually contained a simple L-shaped marble counter, about six to eight feet long
Tessera Hospitalis	Hospitality token	When bond of hospitality was formed, the two friends used to divide between themselves a token by which, afterwards, they themselves or their descendants might recognise one another.
Xenia Ξένἱα	Guest/Stranger	In Greek it had the interchangeable meaning of guest or stranger, thus the first of many hospitality paradoxes is seen. Also has the sense of 'hospitable reception'.

xenodaites ξενοδαίτης	Guest-eater	Literally 'one that devours guests', a concept epitomised by the Cyclops; one of the two most serious breaches of the hospitality code, the other being killing guests.
xenokonos ξενοκτόνος	Guest-killer	Literally 'slaying of guests and strangers', one of the two most serious breaches of the hospitality code; the other being eating guests.
Xenos ξένος	Guest/Stranger	See Xenia

ABBREVIATIONS

Over the years, scholars have developed a number of schemes for abbreviating the names of ancient authors and the titles of their works. In general, a citation of an ancient work begins with the abbreviation for the author's name, followed by the appropriate abbreviation for the title of the work being cited; e.g., Pl. *leg.* = Plato's Leges (laws). Note the difference between an author abbreviation and a title abbreviation is clarified by noting the style of type used for each. Author abbreviations appear in plain type e.g., Pl. = Plato, whereas title abbreviations appear in italic type e.g. *leg.* = Leges (laws). Once the abbreviations are written in the citation, then a series of numbers and/or letters are given that refer to sections of the work, which has been subdivided for reference purposes. For further discussion on abbreviations, and discussions of authors and their texts, please see Hornblower and Spawforth (Oxford, 2003).

ABBREVIATION	FULL	TRANSLATION
Herod.	Herodotus	Author
Ab urbe	Ab urbe condita libri	Books from the Foundation of the city
Ach.	Achaia	Achaia
Aen.	Aeneid	Aeneid
An.	Anabasis	Anabasis
Arist.	Aristotle	Author
Ars am.	Ars amatoria	The Art of Love
Ath. Pol.		Constitution of Athens
Cic.	Cicero (Marcus Tullius)	Author
Cist.	Cistellaria	The Casket Comedy
Cyc.	Cyclops	Cyclops
Deiot.	Pro rege Deiotaro	For King Deiotaro
Eunap.	Eunapius	Author
Eur.	Euripides	Author

Hec.	Hecuba	Hecuba
Hom.	Homer	Author
Il.	Iliad	Iliad
Leg.	Leges	Laws
Livy	Livy	Author
Med.	Medea	Medea
Met.	Metamorphoses	Metamorphoses
Od.	Odyssey	Odyssey
Off.	De officiis	Offices
Ov.	Ovid	Author
Paus	Pausanias	Author
Petron.	Petronius	Author
Pl.	Plato	Author
Plaut.	Plautus	Author
Plut.	Plutarch	Author
Poen.	Poenulus	The Little Cartheginian
Quest. conv.	Quaestiones convivales	Table Talk
Sat.	Satyrica	Satyricon
Thuc.	Thucydides	Author
Ti.	Timaeus	Timaeus
Verg.	Virgil	Author
Vit.	Vitae Parallelae	Parallel Lives
VS	Vitae sophistarum	Lives of the Sophists
Xen.	Xenophon	Author

1. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

In contemporary hospitality literature the history and philosophy of hospitality seem to be largely overlooked areas for investigation, in particular its portrayal of the historical evolution of the phenomenon of hospitality. From personal study in the fields of classical history and philosophy, and after reading contemporary hospitality literature, it seems that modern hospitality may have its foundation in the culture of Classical Antiquity.

Wood (1999: 738) considers "that, in essence, the organic and spiritual qualities of hospitality have disappeared, replaced in the public sphere by a formally rational system of (usually monetary) exchange whereby hospitality is provided in particular institutional forms (hotels, restaurants) that are essentially impersonal". He goes on to say "for the most part, hospitality is no longer about the personal giving of the host's own food and accommodation but a matter of impersonal financial exchange." Wood (1999) in stating this is reflecting on modern thinking on the hospitality industry within a narrowly and poorly defined commercial context only.

Going back in time to primitive and archaic societies, hospitality in its broad sense was seen as essentially organic, as a vital and integral part of such societies revealing much about their cultural values and beliefs. Muhlmann (1932) notes that the principles which governed the peoples' attitudes towards hospitality in these societies were: religious practices and beliefs; the advancement of trade and commerce; transactional expectations; social status and the household; a system of communication; and the fear of strangers.

1.2. RESEARCH PURPOSE

1.2.1. RESEARCH AIM

The principal aim of this research is to undertake an investigation into the philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality.

The main research question is: How the phenomenon of hospitality evolved in the Greco-Roman world of Classical Antiquity?

1.2.2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

i. To investigate Greco-Roman texts of Classical Antiquity in order to identify the philosophy underpinning the phenomenon of hospitality;

ii. To explore the religious writings contemporaneous to Classical Antiquity in order to detail the philosophy and practices of hospitality contained therein;

iii. To apply, develop and evaluate hermeneutical analysis for hospitality research;

iv. To provide authoritative and disciplined research on the classical history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality; and

v. To make a significant contribution to the research area of hospitality studies.

1.2.3. JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH

Research investigating the genesis and the evolution of the phenomenon of hospitality is a field of investigation that has suffered from a relative neglect of serious academic

study. The increasing debate on, and research into, the origins of hospitality can only contribute to enhancing modern hospitality studies and in turn the future of the hospitality industry. Morrison and O'Gorman (2006: 47) note that research based on historical textual enquiry into the phenomenon of hospitality "is not about replicating the past, but to provide meaning and context, and depth of insight that allows submerged aspects of human behaviours, morals and ethics to surface". New research into the history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality using ancient texts is complex, challenging and indeed difficult; however, when successfully achieved it can be both rewarding and revealing and provide a base to make a significant contribution to knowledge and to the hospitality studies literature.

Research into the historical perspective is supported by O'Connor (2005: 267) who states that: "only once an understanding of hospitality's origins and its place in human nature is achieved can one expect to discover what hospitality means today, and more importantly what it will mean to those entering the industry in the future." O'Connor (2005) recognises hospitality as a broad concept alongside hospitality as a profession, with historical literature contributing to informing industry practices of today and tomorrow, and the avoidance of higher education graduates being 'prisoners of the present' (Woods, 1991). Exploring the origins of hospitality can surely aid the practitioner within the hospitality industry today; awareness of the past can always help to guide the future.

Van de Mieroop (1999) notes that the span of written history is roughly 5,000 years, with Sumerian cuneiform being the oldest form of writing discovered so far. This writing tends to be used as the beginning of history by the definition used by all historians; the period before writing is known as prehistory. The oldest collection of

texts that refer to hospitality would be from a literary genre known as 'Ancient Near East Texts'. Postgate (2005) observes that 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, and are as old as the history of writing itself.

1.3. THE HOSPITALITY LEXICON

As the research investigates the history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality, it has to depend on original written sources and then their translation into English. In addition, as the research is based on the analysis of texts, an understanding of evolution of language used in the texts should provide both a template and the linguistic background against which the research is conducted. Equally important is how these words are now used and translated into contemporary English. The first part of this section is an in-depth review of the etymological evolution of the words readily associated with hospitality. In the second part, the evolution of English is also briefly looked at as this outlines the basis for the discussion on the translation philosophy adopted in this research in Section 2.4.3.

1.3.1. PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN BEGINNING

Indo-European is the name given for geographic reasons to the large and well-defined linguistic family that includes most of the languages of Europe, past and present, as well as those found in a vast area extending across Iran and Afghanistan to the northern half of the Indian subcontinent. It is held by Mallory and Adams (2006) that sometime around the middle of the fifth millennium BC people expanded from the

steppe zone north of the Black Sea and beyond the Volga into the Balkans and adjacent areas. These were the Kurgan peoples, who bore a new mobile and aggressive culture into Neolithic Europe, and they became the Indo-Europeans. However, with this movement of people into Europe in about 4500 BC also began the Proto-Indo-European language. This single language was to develop into forms as divergent as Mycenaean Greek and Hittite by the middle of the second millennium BC. As Renfrew (1990) observes, English words can be derived from Indo-European languages back to their fundamental components in Proto-Indo-European, the parent language of all ancient and modern Indo-European languages. The dialects or branches of Indo-European, still represented today by one or more languages, are Indic and Iranian, Greek, Armenian, Slavic, Baltic, Albanian, Celtic, Italic, and Germanic. In modern times, this family of languages has spread by colonization throughout the Western Hemisphere.

English is the most prevalent member of the Indo-European family, the native language of nearly 350 million people. As Mallory and Adams (2006) record, there are four main sources for English words that have evolved from an Indo-European root: direct descent from Indo-European to Germanic to Old English to English; borrowed from Old Norse during the Norman conquest; borrowed from French as a result of Norman French domination; and borrowed from Latin at various times. These four sources and their development towards English words are supported by a timeline and shown in

Figure 1:1, which summarises the key stages in the evolution of Modern English. Figure 1:1 also summarises the evolution of English: the black lines show the direct descent of words, whereas the broken lines illustrate the borrowing of words from other language families.

4500 BC	Early Indo-European Language
2000 BC	Mycenaean Greek
1100 BC	Classical Greek
600 BC	Early Latin
300 BC	New Testament or Koine Greek

43 AD	Latin 'enters' English with the Roman Conquest of Britain
200 AD	Germanic Settlers in Britain influence the language
500 AD	Old English Inscriptions (Runes)
1066 AD	Norman Conquest – Middle English
1600 AD	Beginning of Modern English

Figure 1:1 Evolution of English

1.3.2. ORIGINS OF GUEST AND HOST

All the words that are readily associated with hospitality are evolved from the same hypothetical root *ghos-ti[1]. According to Watkins (2000) the 'guest' in Indo-European times (*c.*4000 BC), was also the 'stranger', and the 'stranger' in an uncertain and warring tribal society may well be hostile: the Latin cognate *hostis* also means 'enemy'.

Figure 1:2 has been developed as means of summarising the evolution of the words 'host' and 'guest' and associated Modern English words from their Indo-European roots. The language families are shown within rectangular dotted lines, the dotted lines show borrowings from other language, whereas solid lines show a direct descent from the Indo-European root. For example, 'guest' can be directly traced from the Indo-European root *ghos-ti* through the Germanic *gastiz*, then entering Middle

---

[1] Whenever an * is used it shows that the word is hypothetical; it has been constructed by linguistic scholars; there is no written evidence for its existence

7

English as gest, but only after having been influenced/borrowed from the Old Norse *gestr*; it eventually became 'guest' in current English.
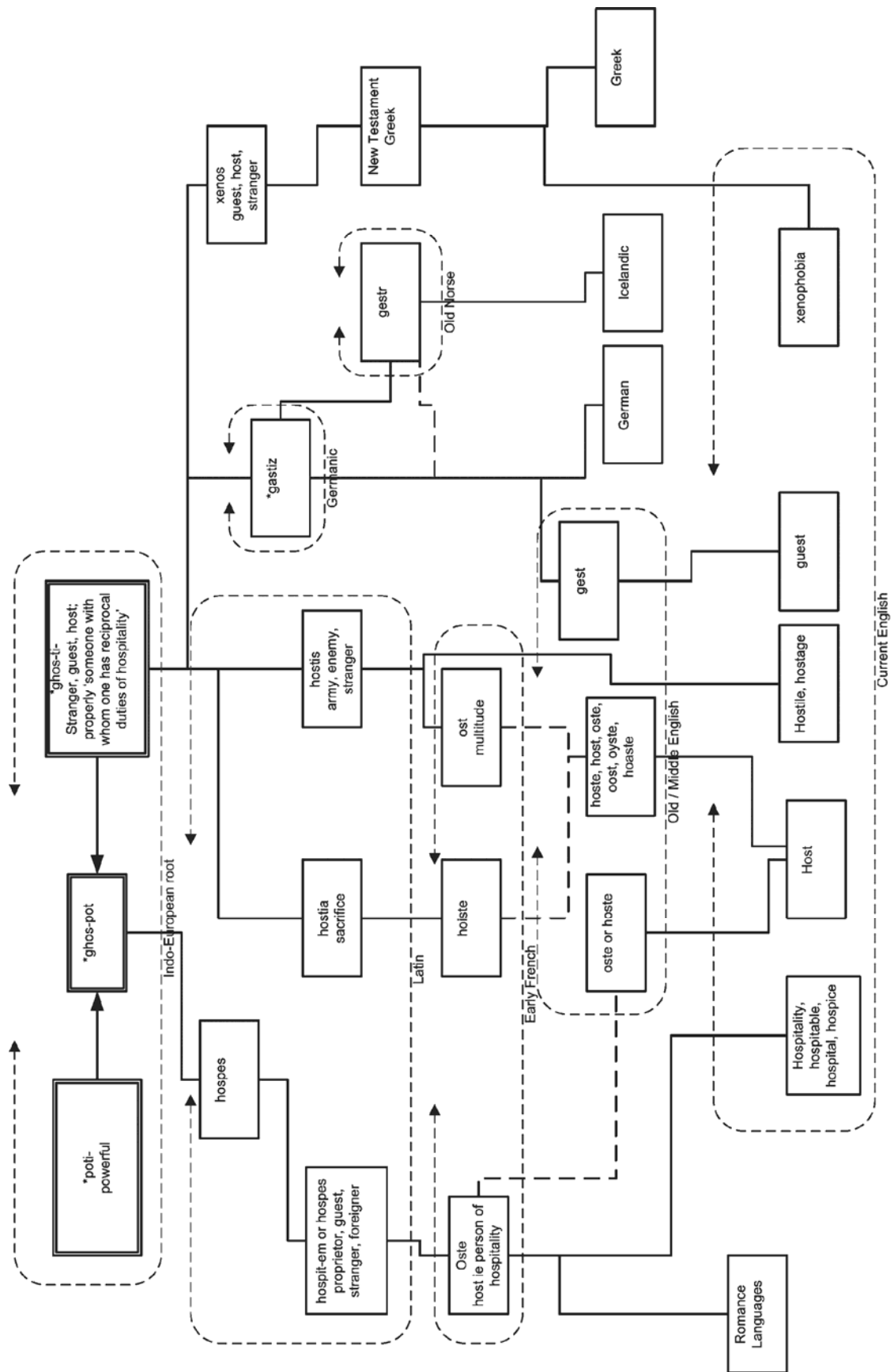
Figure 1:2 Evolution of 'host' and 'guest'

9

'Stranger', 'guest', 'host': properly "someone with whom one has reciprocal duties of hospitality" (Watkins 2000: 89). As Ringe (2006) notes, the modern English word 'guest' has evolved from Old Norse *gestr*, 'guest'; from Old High German *gast*, 'guest'. Both come from Germanic *gastiz*. The compound forms the Proto Indo-European *ghos-pot-, *ghos-po(d)-,* have given 'guest-master', one who symbolises the relationship of reciprocal obligation. From the same root the classical Greek ξένος/*xenos* meaning 'guest', 'host', and/or 'stranger' has evolved. The classical Greek word for hospitality was φιλόξένος/*philoxenos,* literally the 'love of strangers'. For the Greeks φιλόξένος/*philoxenos* was the law or custom of offering protection and hospitality to strangers. English today still uses the word xenophobia (from the Greek 'fear of strangers') but has lost the word *philoxenos.*

In current usage, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word 'host' assumes three basic definitions, summarised as:

- a great company, a multitude;

- a large number; a man who lodges and entertains another in his house: the correlative of guest;

- the bread consecrated in the Eucharist, regarded as the body of Christ sacrificially offered; a consecrated wafer.

Watkins (2000) notes that 'host' as with 'guest', also originated with the Indo-European root, *ghos-ti-*. Kurzová (1981) argues that this root evolved into two Latin terms: *hostia*, meaning 'sacrifice', and *hostis*, 'army', 'enemy', and 'stranger'. Compound forms *ghos-pot-* subsequently evolved into the Latin *hospitem* or *hospes*,

meaning 'proprietor', 'guest', 'stranger', 'foreigner; and subsequently hospice, hospitable, hospital, hospitality, host. 'Host' as 'multitude' appeared in Old French as *ost*, carrying with it a military connotation deriving from the Latin *hostis*. At almost the same time, a word pronounced identically yet trailing an 'e' – *oste* – turned up with the suggestion of 'host' as a person of hospitality. Around the year 1290, both words came into usage in Middle English as ost. Over time, the 'h', lost from the Latin, alternately appeared in and vanished from variant spellings (hoste, host, oste, oost, oyste, hoaste, etc.) until, 'host' as 'multitude' had shed its dominantly military evocation and, though still often used in reference to armies, could stand for multitudes of any kind.

Bickford (2002) observes the antagonistic flavour of the word was increasingly subsumed into a Biblical vernacular, as 'host' came to describe a 'host of angels' or a 'heavenly host' (though often passive, gathered around God, this 'heavenly host' could also be warlike and menacing). For a while – between 1390 and 1560 – 'host' as 'proprietor' was used interchangeably with 'guest', semantically returning it to its Latin roots. Meanwhile, the Eucharistic 'host' had an incarnation as *hoiste* in Middle French, before appearing in the early 14th century as the Middle English oste or hoste. Until very recently, 'guest' and 'host' were understood to be two different roles. Some popular television programmes even have the 'guest host' where a different person, 'guest', presents, 'hosts' the show each week.

1.4. BACKGROUND TO HOSPITALITY STUDIES RESEARCH
1.4.1. APPROACHES TO STUDIES OF THE HOSPITALITY PHENOMENON

In the last 25 years a debate that has taken place within hospitality research in the UK has broadened from the centrality of the hospitality industry, and a comparatively narrow focus on management issues and techniques, to the study of the conceptual phenomenon of hospitality. This section frames the research and sets the location of the thesis within the emergent hospitality studies field and explores the mechanisms for the analysis of the texts used in the primary research. Section 3 critically evaluates the literature relating to classics, theology and philosophy that is identified. Throughout this critical evaluation of the literature both the perspectives or way of knowing hospitality and the methodological issues that were prevalent in the research are highlighted.

Research into the phenomenon of hospitality is a comparatively new field of academic study. Arguably, the debate can be traced back to Nailon (1982) and the rejoinder of Wood (1983). Nailon (1982: 135) argues "what seems to be missing is any general agreement of a conceptual statement about the constituent parts of any theoretical framework and body of knowledge which constitutes hospitality management." Wood (1993: 104) in his rejoinder states that hospitality management is "essentially a social activity, developed and currently practised within the context of historically worked out patterns of economic, legal and social behaviour and institutions"; Wood (1983: 104) goes on to highlight that management academics have always been reluctant to take on board explicitly sociological approaches to the study of management, arguing that this is "largely because of the noncritical and conservative nature of management as a set of practices in a capitalist society". Cassee (1983: xv) observes "the hospitality industry is no island but is interrelated with all kinds of developments in

the outside world". Slattery (1983: 10), whilst not explicitly addressing the role of research, proposes the case for adopting a social scientific methodology to provide "theoretically grounded interpretations of people and social events in hospitality". Slattery (1983) then argues that this should be done in order to "…understand the hospitality world and to solve social and administrative problems within it". This view of hospitality research is essentially about the application of existing social science theory to hospitality management:

> "Once the theory is selected and studied the scholar can then experiment with its application to hospitality management … applying social scientific theories to the hospitality industry is … about developing hospitality versions of the theories" (Slattery 1983: 11)

Litteljohn (1990: 209) suggests that research in the field of hospitality was already mature in the sense that it "is more easily exemplified by a greater activity in the field than by any consensus as to its philosophy or direction". Litteljohn (1990) proposed that there were three alternative approaches to hospitality research: hospitality research based on the natural and physical sciences (e.g. food science); the hospitality management approach; and the hospitality studies approach. For Litteljohn (1990) the hospitality studies approach stems from the desire to design solutions to the issues which face hospitality organisations and suggests that achieving this will largely be an industry-led phenomenon, "in the sense that the research issues tackled must not only be analysed within an appropriate organizational framework, but should also be informed by industry preoccupations and results evaluated within an industrial setting". However, Litteljohn (1990: 67) allows for an approach that is open to whatever academic discipline, and is prepared to utilise any area of the social sciences that may be useful, as long as "academic departments further accept that research should be relevant to industry issues". Slattery (1983), and then Litteljohn (1990),

argue that research for the sake of research should not be encouraged; it should be subservient to the needs of the hospitality industry to keep it relevant to the area of hospitality management.

Jones (1996: 8) rejected Litteljohn's (1990) qualified view that the discipline was mature observing, "far too many hospitality researchers cannot write, and in particular cannot develop argument". Jones (1996: 5) observes that no commonly shared paradigm of what is meant by 'hospitality' exists, going on to note that "reference to the research literature would indicate that there has been little or no discussion of what we mean by hospitality". Jones (1996: 7) also argues that there has been no explicit discussion, because the "implicit assumption is that we share values based on the idea that somehow hospitality is different". He states that:

> "…there are some unique characteristics that make hospitality distinctive enough to make a research field in its own right. These values often derive from the fact that the people who engage in such research have a hospitality background – they studied hospitality at college, worked in the industry, and then got into academia. Relatively speaking, there are few active hospitality researchers who were trained to be social scientists, psychologists, economists or whatever" (Jones 1996: 7).

It could of course also have been argued that within social science, psychology, economics or whatever, there are not many trained hospitality management practitioners or hospitality academics. This raises the issue whether the academics in hospitality or other disciplines had that ability or the background necessary to work across disciplines.

Jones (1998), in response to the idea that hospitality is different, edited a special edition of the International Journal of Hospitality Management; in the editorial he explained that it was to take stock of hospitality research and publish some seminal

articles providing structure and meaning to specific areas of hospitality research. Hospitality research was divided into what he described as academic disciplines: strategic management (Olsen and Roper 1998); marketing (Bowen and Sparks 1998); human resource management (Guerrier and Deery 1998); accounting and financial management (Harris and Brown 1998); operations management (Jones and Lockwood 1998); and systems and technology (Kirk and Pine 1998). Jones (1998) argues that these areas were already prevalent in the hospitality curriculum thus enabling authors to evaluate hospitality specific research in the context of wider generic disciplines. Although it is unclear just how seminal these articles were, Jones (1998) drew a number of conclusions from a review of a decade of hospitality research output. These can be summarised as:

- There had been too much conceptualisation and not enough primary research.
- Conceptualisation suggested a preoccupation with hospitality being different to other industries.
- There was a failure to articulate and debate fundamental issues relating to research philosophy and methodology.
- There was a need for multi-disciplinarity and there was a difficulty in achieving it.

At this stage, what can be seen from the emergent debate is the centrality of the hospitality industry and the direct relationship with applied management disciplines. The word 'hospitality' was considered synonymous with either the hospitality industry or hospitality management; as yet there was no suggestion of the study of the conceptual phenomenon of hospitality within this particular academic community.

1.4.2. IN SEARCH OF HOSPITALITY

Responding to the call from Jones (1996) regarding the need for the further exploration of the concept of hospitality, Lashley (1999) reports on a meeting held in Nottingham in April 1997, which aimed to explore subjects of common interest

amongst some of the leading researchers and writers in hospitality subjects within the UK. Lashley (2000: 5) notes that the contemporaneous definitions of hospitality were largely "determined by hospitality as an economic activity-set of consumers and suppliers, market niches, and occupations". However, as a result of this meeting, Gannon (1997), Guerrier (1997), Lucas (1997), Morrison (1997), and Wood (1997) stimulated and encouraged thinking about hospitality beyond the confines of the somewhat commercially driven and, thereby restricted definitions. As Lashley (2000a: 5) states:

> "The ensuing debate … invited participants to consider the wider social, anthropological and social psychological aspects of the hospitality exchange. Thus hospitality can be conceived as a set of behaviours which originate with the very foundations of society. Sharing and exchanging the fruits of labour, together with mutuality and reciprocity, associated originally with hunting and gathering food, are at the heart of collective organisation and communality. Whilst later developments may have been concerned with fear of and need to contain strangers, hospitality primarily involves mutuality and exchange, and thereby feelings of altruism and beneficence"

Jones (2004a) observes that this stage of the debate, which lasted three years, culminated in the text In Search of Hospitality: Theoretical Perspectives and Debates (Lashley and Morrison eds., 2000). The text was an attempt to present wide-ranging interdisciplinary perspectives to the analysis of the concept of hospitality. Purcell (2002: 204) in her review of the book described it as "a literary smorgasbord; lots of variety, unexpected bits and pieces" going on to add "but not, on the whole, very nourishing…".

Eight years later the book seems to be standing the test of time and could reflect the comments of Page (2003: 727) in his review "it is a thoughtful, challenging and interesting book to read". Lynch (2003) provided an overview of some of the chapters

and the concepts of hospitality that were identified. This overview is now enlarged to cover the whole book and is presented in a revised format in Table 1:1.

Perspective	Concepts Of Hospitality	Author
Social Science	Semantic and evidential hospitality.	Brotherton and Wood
Anthropology	Significance of hospitality in creation/consolidation of political structures. Imposition of moral obligations underpinning social structures.	Selwyn
Education	History and development of the curriculum from hotel and catering to hospitality management.	Airey and Tribe
Ethnography	Nature of hospitality and the host – guest relationship in the commercial hospitality of a package holiday. Where the 'host' has the double objective of the guest spending more money and having a good time.	Andrews
Gender	Commodification of domestic labour. Tensions that exist between the guest and host in the home environment. Contrast between domestic and commercial hospitality.	Darke and Gurney
History	Centrality of exchange concept. Links nobility and hospitality. Rituals: provision of hospitality and treatment of the stranger. Morality of hospitality and justification of social control.	Walton
Hospitality Management	Loss of hospitableness in provision of commercial hospitality.	Lockwood and Jones
Media and Semiotics	Nature of hospitality as understood through meanings conveyed through the media – in particular television food programmes	Randall
Philosophy	Spiritual essence transcending material provision. Host motivation. Reciprocal host–guest motivations. Optional moral virtue.	Telfer
Philosophy	Research philosophy and social scientific methods of researching hospitality	Botterill
Philosophy	Industry exemplars of hyper reality and simulacra. Host-guest involvement in product construction. Hospitality consumption as symbolic rather than instrumental activity.	Williams
Sociology	Commercial hospitality in the private home – specifically where the physical accommodation is the home for the hosts.	Lynch and MacWhannell

| Sociology | Use of intentional and unintentional humour within commercial hospitality settings. | Ball and Johnson |
| Sociology | The nature of work in the hospitality industry, in particular hidden aspects of service and servility and relationships with guests. | Guerrier and Adib |

Table 1:1 Concepts of Hospitality from *In Search of Hospitality*
(Developed from Lynch 2003: 47)

From developing this analysis of the book (based on the work undertaken by Lynch 2003), it can be seen that the research emphasis continues to be orientated towards the industry; indicated by the number of references to the industry within the concepts column. However, the table also identifies the different perspectives of hospitality than those contained within Jones (1998). Lashley (1999; 2000), in the context of situating and seeking to synthesise, to a degree at least, the book's contributions, distinguishes between three 'independent and overlapping' domains in which hospitality activities occur: 'social'; 'private'; and 'commercial'; this is shown in Figure 1:3.

These three domains are defined thus:

- Social – considers the social settings in which hospitality and acts of hospitableness take place together with the impacts of social forces on the production and consumption of food, drink and accommodation.

- Private – considers the range of issues associated with both the provision of the 'trinity' in the home as well as considering the impact of host and guest relationships.

- Commercial – considers the provision of hospitality as an economic activity and includes both private and public sector activities.

(Lashley, 2000: 5)

Host
Physiological Needs
Psychological Needs

Extraction of surplus
Services for profit
Producer limitations
Market limitations

Social

Commercial

Private

Dealing with strangers
Mutuality
Status and prestige

Managing the
hospitality expearance
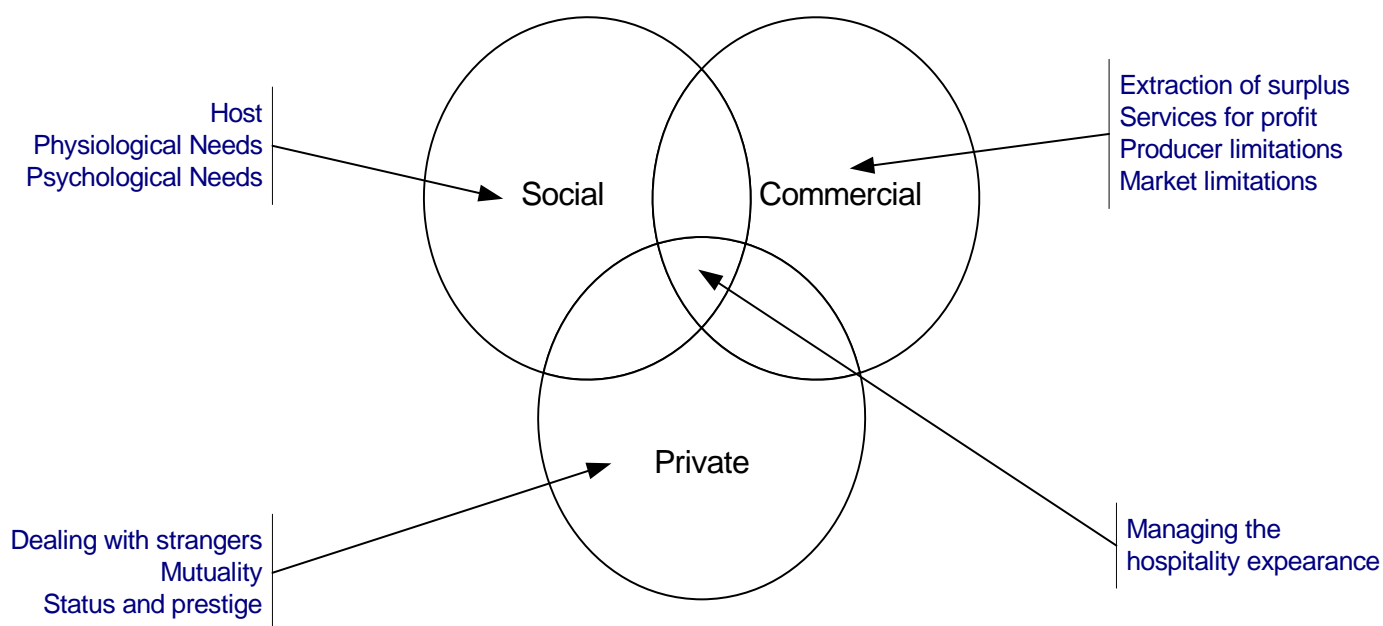
Figure 1:3 Three Domain Model of Hospitality
(Lashley, 2000: 5)

Lashley and Morrison (2000: xvi) in their editors' foreword express their intention

that the book be seen as exploratory:

> "intended as a medium for dissemination, debate and future directions of work
> in the discipline. By the very nature of the project, the contents are eclectic …
> and the book deliberately aims to reflect a plurality of views in which some
> individuals do not agree with others … The book is, therefore, not intended as
> the final word, but more of a beginning from which the subject will grow and
> develop"

Somewhat prophetically Lashley (2000) suggested that there may be some "in the

practitioner community that who regard these discussions as arcane and somewhat

sterile", although the 'Three Domain Model' was generally accepted at the time to be

both groundbreaking and controversial. Slattery (2002: 19) asserted that the

fundamental ideas proposed by Lashley and Morrison (2000) "degrade the hospitality

industry" and in particular the approach taken by Lashley (1999; 2000) is "redundant

for understanding the industry and as an effective basis for teaching and research in

hospitality". Brotherton (2002a) in his initial rejoinder to Slattery (2002) notes that

the 'Three Domain Model' was not an *a priori* influence on the authors' thinking; indeed it only emerged *a posteriori* from the distillation of the contributions to the book. Brotherton (2003: 67) asserts that there is no such thing as a 'three domains school' of thought (as suggested by Slattery 2003), nor was it used as a theoretical or structural basis to inform the individual contributions in the text. The model itself is not "regarded as a reasonable criterion to judge the credibility or value of the book". In a final rejoinder Jones (2004b: 70) notes that for too long hospitality academics have been defensive about their discipline and "there is no absolutely 'right' perspective of hospitality, hospitality management or the hospitality industry".

Jones (2004a), perhaps as an attempt to settle the dichotomy, later develops Litteljohn's (1990) approaches from three to six schools of thought which are: hospitality science model; hospitality management school; hospitality studies; hospitality relationship; hospitality systems and the three domains school. Jones (2004a: 39) goes on to argue that "these schools of thought and the boundaries between them are fuzzy". Jones (2004a: 37) makes a distinction between hospitality studies and hospitality relationship; he identifying hospitality studies as:

> "[A] school of thought derives from the human sciences such as economics, psychology and sociology. It tends to use the hospitality industry as the context for its research rather than be interested in the industry per se. It therefore has some similarities with the second perspective within the hospitality management school of thought, with the same inherent challenges. Academics in this school are not in crisis largely because they see themselves as economists or psychologists or sociologists first, and hospitality researchers second."

The school of thought which was described by Jones (2004a: 39) as 'hospitality relationship' or 'The Three Domain School' (after Lashley's 1999, 2000 three domain model of hospitality) represents academics who may "think that the crisis in the hospitality management school derives from the scrutiny of their approach, whereas it

was probably at crisis point before the emergence of this school". However, it is unclear where Jones (2004) actually imagines this crisis to exist or indeed its nature and manifestation. It was Slattery (2003) that named the so-called 'three domain school'; it was never advocated as a school of thought by Lashley. Arguing that there was a crisis within a conceptual school of thought that does not actually exist would seem to be an unnecessary increase in the rhetoric without actually increasing the contribution to knowledge. Indeed, as Jones (2004a: 39) concludes, "given the debate between Slattery and Brotherton, there now seems some doubt as to whether this really is a school of thought".

Morrison (2004: 4), in an attempt to progress the debate, observes that hospitality academics must move on from the "never-ending circle of parochial debate of hospitality as 'management' or 'studies'". Morrison (2004: 4) further asserts that there is already considerable justification for the study of hospitality as "a core cultural and social concept in higher education" and supports this by citing various authors as advocates of this approach and who share the same view, for example: Bryman 2004; Schlosser 2001; Sloan 2003; Strong 2003; and Ritzer 2003. Morrison (2004: 4) further proposes this hospitality studies "approach to the study of hospitality represents knowledge and learning for their own sakes as opposed to a narrowly driven curriculum servile to the supposed needs of industry". Lashley (2004: 13) arguing that "the tyrants of the relevant should not be allowed to deflect them from responsibilities to empower students through education and the pursuit of knowledge" succinctly sums up the debate up as follows: "the study *of* hospitality allows for a general broad spectrum of enquiry, and the study *for* allows studies that support the management of hospitality" (Lashley 2004: 15).

Morrison and O'Gorman (2006: 4) note that Lashley's statement explicitly acknowledges that the intellectual growth and progression of hospitality as an academic field of study is best served through the critical analysis of the concept of hospitality as broadly conceived.

> "Academic reputation can be enhanced through the celebration of its diversity and multi-disciplinarity as a specialist field of study, with systematic, vibrant partnering and intellectual exchange of hospitality and of discipline-based academics, unfettered by artificially created boundaries that serve to isolate and perpetuate an insularity in the process of knowledge creation and higher education."

1.4.3. MODERN PHILOSOPHY AND HOSPITALITY

This section further explores the complexity of the phenomenon of hospitality, critically evaluating the studies and thought of contemporary philosophers who have considered the phenomenon of hospitality. No studies into hospitality and classical philosophy have been identified; however, certain contemporary philosophers have written on the philosophy of hospitality. The work of these philosophers is reviewed in order to provide this research with sound academic basis and to acknowledge that philosophy and hospitality have already been discussed within other academic disciplines. This is done by focusing on three separate issues that are evident in their writings: moral philosophy of hospitality from the perspective of the guest host relationship; hospitality between peoples and nation states; and the use of language in hospitality provision and consumption.

1.4.3.1. Individual Moral Philosophy: Host

Derrida (2000a) defined hospitality as inviting and welcoming the 'stranger'. This takes place on different levels: the personal level where the 'stranger' is welcomed into the home; and the level of individual countries. His interest was heightened by

the etymology of Benveniste (1969) who analysed 'hospitality', which is from a Latin

root, but derived from two proto Indo-European words that have the meanings of

'stranger', 'guest' and 'power'. Thus in the 'deconstruction' of the word, there can be

seen:

> "an essential 'self limitation' built right into the idea of hospitality, which
> preserves the distance between one's own and the 'stranger', between owning
> one's own property and inviting the 'other' into one's home." (Caputo 2002:
> 110)

Derrida (2000a: 13) observes that there is always a little hostility in all hosting and

hospitality, constituting what he called a certain 'hostipitality': "If I say 'Welcome', I

am not renouncing my mastery, something that becomes transparent in people whose

hospitality is a way of showing off how much they own or who make their guests

uncomfortable and afraid to touch a thing." To Derrida then, the notion of having and

retaining the mastery of the house underlies hospitality.

> "'Make yourself at home', this is a self-limiting invitation … it means: please
> feel at home, act as if you were at home, but, remember, that is not true, this is
> not your home but mine, and you are expected to respect my property."
> (Caputo 2002: 111)

Telfer (2000) also explores this when discussing the motivation behind hospitality.

There is a limitation to the amount of hospitality that 'hosts' can and wish to offer,

just as important are the intentions that lie behind any hospitable act: there surely is a

distinction to be made between hospitality for pleasure and hospitality that is born out

of a sense of duty. She considers hospitality to be a moral virtue, and articulates

hospitable motives to be:

> "Those in which concern for the guests' pleasure and welfare, for its own
> sake, is predominant. These can include entertaining for pleasure where that
> pleasure largely depends on knowing that one is pleasing the guests, and sense
> of duty where there is also concern for the guests themselves. And hospitable
> people, those who possess the trait of hospitableness, are those who often

entertain from one or more of these motives, or from mixed motives in which one of these motives is predominant." (Telfer 1996: 82)

People choose to pursue the virtue of hospitableness because they are attracted by an ideal of hospitality. As Telfer (1996: 101) says "the ideal of hospitality, like all ideals, presents itself as joyful rather than onerous, and provides the inspiration for the pursuit of the virtue or virtues of hospitableness." There is a distinction made between hospitality offered for pleasure and hospitality that is born out of a sense of duty. Telfer (1996) also develops this classification to include the type of guest to whom a host would offer hospitality. This classification is summarised as:

1. Those in a relationship to the host. This includes guests within a social circle, that the host is obliged to offer hospitality to, for example, colleagues, neighbours, fellow parishioners, parents whose children are friends and relatives.
2. Those in need. This Telfer (1996: 91f) terms "good-Samaritan hospitality", this encapsulates all who are in need of hospitality. It may be a need for food and drink; however, it also includes "a psychological need of a kind which can be met particularly well by hospitality, such as loneliness or the need to feel valued as an individual".
3. Friends of the host. Hospitality is shown to friends because "liking and affection are inherent in friendship; the liking produces a wish for the friends' company (as distinct from company in general), the affection a desire to please them" (Telfer 1996: 93).

On several occasions arguments are based on simple assertions rather than an elaboration of philosophical underpinnings, or on the use of descriptive categories as universals of human conduct. For example, Telfer (1996: 107) notes gluttony may come in several forms but always involves "caring too much for the pleasures of eating and drinking"; this is a rather sweeping statement to cover all of human society.

Telfer (1996:93) argues that there is a special link between friendship and hospitality, because it involves the home of the host: "hospitality (provided it is not too formal) is an invitation to intimacy, an offer of a share in the host's private life." This can cause

a paradox when the friends start visiting without invitation and therefore they stop being guests and start to become like part of the family. Telfer (1996: 93) then asks "Is turning friends into family the essence of this kind of hospitality, or does it go beyond hospitality?" Hospitality in this situation is double edged: the host can either make a special fuss over them or the special fuss can be deliberately avoided to allow them to feel at home. Telfer (1996: 101) concludes that the reason why hosts choose to pursue the virtue of hospitableness is that they are attracted by an ideal of hospitality. "The ideal of hospitality, like all ideals, presents itself as joyful rather than onerous, and provides the inspiration for the pursuit of the virtue or virtues of hospitableness."

In stark contrast to the individualistic perspective offered by Telfer on hospitality in a domestic context, Derrida (2000b) offers a more encompassing philosophy of hospitality. In an attempt to clarify terminology, this section adopts Derrida's differentiation between the 'law of hospitality' and 'laws of hospitality':

> "The law of unlimited hospitality (to give the new arrival all of one's home and oneself, to give him or her one's own, our own, without asking a name, or compensation, or the fulfilment of even the smallest condition), and on the other hand, the laws (in the plural), those rights and duties that are always conditioned and conditional, as they are defined by the Greco-Roman tradition and even the Judaeo-Christian one, by all of law and all philosophy of law up to Kant and Hegel in particular, across the family, civil society, and the State." (Derrida 2000b: 77)

This distinction is useful because it clarifies that there is a universal truth of hospitality; however, the way that hospitality is offered is normally governed by a set of rules dependent on the context: domestic, civic or commercial.

In his discussions, Derrida (2000b) makes a distinction between unconditional hospitality, which he considers impossible, and hospitality that is always conditional. A distinctive aspect of Derrida's approach to the phenomenon of hospitality is his reflection on how achieving an absolute hospitality is impossible. In trying to imagine the extremes of a hospitality to which no conditions are set, there is a realisation that unconditional hospitality could never be accomplished. It is not so much an ideal: it is an impossible ideal. The phenomenon of hospitality necessarily contains the concept of the other or foreigner within it, since hospitality requires, *a priori*, a concept of the outsider or guest. From the perspective of the host, Derrida distinguishes between a guest and a parasite:

> "In principle, the difference is straightforward, but for that you need a law; hospitality, reception, the welcome offered have to be submitted to a basic and limiting jurisdiction. Not all new arrivals are received as guests if they don't have the benefit of the right to hospitality or the right of asylum, etc. Without this right, a new arrival can only be introduced 'in my home,' in the host's 'at home,' as a parasite, a guest who is wrong, illegitimate, clandestine, and liable to expulsion or arrest" (Derrida 2000b: 59f).

Derrida (2000a) argues that hospitality is therefore conditional in the sense that the outsider or foreigner has to meet the criteria of the *a priori* 'other'. He is implying that hospitality is not given to a guest that is absolutely unknown or anonymous, because the host has no idea of how they will respond.

> "Absolute hospitality requires that I open up my home and that I give not only to the foreigner (provided with a family name, with the social status of being a foreigner, etc.), but to the absolute, unknown, anonymous other, and that I give place to them, that I let them come, that I let them arrive, and take place in the place I offer them, without asking of them either reciprocity (entering into a pact) or even their names. The law of absolute hospitality commands a break with hospitality by right, with law or justice as rights" (2000b: 25)

Derrida (1999a, 1999b) argues that absolute hospitality requires the host to allow the guest to behave as they wish; there must be no pressure or obligation to behave in any

particular manner. Absolute hospitality does not make a demand of the guest that would force them to reciprocate by way of imposing an obligation. The language used by Derrida could be held to imply that make a guest conform to any rules or norms is a bad thing.

1.4.3.2. Hospitality and the Nation States

This section develops from the previous section that focused on the individualist view point, to show that the hospitality relationship also exists on a wider scale by considering hospitality between peoples and states. It begins by using the illustrative example of the French Revolution and the declaration of national hospitality as providing a case example of hospitality offered by the states. This is echoed in the writings of Derrida and two other post-colonial theorists Rosello and Ben Jelloun, recognised philosophers who have devoted a considerable amount of thought to hospitality.

Kant (1780) argues that individuals have a universal right to shelter in any country, but for a limited time period and not if they would jeopardise the security of the country in question. This philosophy was codified in French national hospitality during the revolution when Saint-Just in the *Essai de Constitution* stated:

> "The French people declares itself to be the friend of all peoples; it will religiously respect treaties and flags; it offers asylum in its harbours to ships from all over the world; it offers asylum to great men and virtuous unfortunates of all countries; its ships at sea will protect foreign ships against storms. Foreigners and their customs will be respected in its bosom." (Saint-Just 1793 cited in Duval 1984: 441)

This quote illustrates the original rhetorical gestures used to present the French Republic as generous and hospitable: the promise a generous and welcoming attitude to all strangers.

When reviewing French revolutionary hospitality, Wahnich (1997b: 346) identifies that its *raison d'être* was in offering sanctuary and security to all: "first and foremost, citizens are men, and the purpose of national law is not to identify the frontier but to guarantee universal law, without limits." However, as soon as this principle of hospitality was established it was betrayed. Wahnich (1997b: 347) asserts that "the enigma of a hospitality subverted by suspicion, of friendship experienced in terms of treason, and of a fraternity that invents the most radical forms of exclusion." Wahnich (1997a) also highlights a modern hospitality enigma: the situation where nation states want their emigrants treated as sacred guests but pay scant attention to their own laws of hospitality regarding immigrants. In contemporary times, nations admit a certain number of immigrants – conditionally. This is echoed in the writings of Schérer (1993: 7) registering his concern that hospitality has become an impossible luxury:

> "Isn't hospitality the madness of our contemporary world? To praise hospitality just when, in France and almost everywhere else in the world, the main concern is to restrict it, from the right to asylum to the code of nationality! Disturbing, excessive, like madness, it resists all forms of reason, including *raison d'être.*"

Studying hospitality and the nation states, Derrida (1999a) notes that to the best of his knowledge there is no country in the world that allows unconditional immigration. Individuals may consider themselves to be practically hospitable; however, they will not leave their doors open to all who might come, to take or do anything, without condition or limit. Derrida argues the same can be said about nation states; conditional hospitality takes place only in the shadow of the impossibility of the ideal version. Derrida (1998b: 70) reflects on the conceptual possibility of unconditional hospitality in order "to understand and to inform what is going on today in our world". This is reflected in the following quote:

> "Unconditional hospitality implies that you don't ask the other, the newcomer, the guest to give anything back, or even to identify himself or herself. Even if the other deprives you of your mastery or your home, you have to accept this. It is terrible to accept this, but that is the condition of unconditional hospitality: that you give up the mastery of your space, your home, your nation. It is unbearable. If, however, there is pure hospitality, it should be pushed to this extreme" (Derrida 1998b:71).

Derrida (1998b: 70) also questions the restricted nature of national hospitality to legal and illegal immigrants:

> "We know that there are numerous what we call 'displaced persons' who are applying for the right to asylum without being citizens, without being identified as citizens. It is not for speculative or ethical reasons that I am interested in unconditional hospitality, but in order to understand and to transform what is going on today in our world."

In Derrida's later works, he is interested in many unconditionals: such as an unconditional gift, an unconditional pardon and an unconditional mourning. As each of these is deemed impossible, impossibility takes on an increasingly strong resonance in his late work. Derrida's views on hospitality illuminate a transition in his philosophical project from earlier writings (Derrida 1981a; 1997b). Whilst considering hospitality, there is a progression of thought in relation to 'ideals' and depiction of the 'other'; the preceding Derridean writings concerning depictions of maternity, gender, nature, community and family values in popular culture an 'ideal' version is considered impossible. With hospitality, Derrida stresses impossibility in a different way and makes an alternative use of the idea that ideals are impossible. This impossibility amounts to an 'otherness' with which there is an everyday relation. Derrida (1999a) quotes former French minister of immigration Michel Rocard who in 1993 stated, with respect to immigration quotas, that France could not offer a home to everybody in the world who suffered. Derrida (1999a) asserts that Rocard's immigration quota is set through mediation with a threshold of impossibility. For

Derrida impossibility opens up possibilities of transformation; the case of Rocard highlighted the fragility of brutal authority. Some of the French 'hosts' might respond with quick agreement about the strict limitations on 'guests'; however, others might be provoked into asking why more and better hospitality should not be offered, and what does set the limit.

In considering hospitality more generally Derrida (1981a: 163) identifies 'otherness' in reference to "the other, the newcomer, the guest"; interrogating humanities ethical relationship with itself, receptiveness and in relationship with others: strangers; foreigners; immigrants; and friends – guests.

> "For pure hospitality or a pure gift to occur, however, there must be an absolute surprise. The other, like the Messiah, must arrive whenever he or she wants. She [sic] may even not arrive. I would oppose, therefore, the traditional and religious concept of 'visitation' to 'invitation': visitation implies the arrival of someone who is not expected, who can show up at any time. If I am unconditionally hospitable I should welcome the visitation, not the invited guest, but the visitor. I must be unprepared, or prepared to be unprepared, for the unexpected arrival of any other. Is this possible? I don't know. If, however, there is pure hospitality, or a pure gift, it should consist in this opening without horizon, without horizon of expectation, an opening to the newcomer whoever that may be. It may be terrible because the newcomer may be a good person, or may be the devil" (Derrida 1998b: 70)

This quote demonstrates an important distinction between messianicity and messianism[2], another way of reading his 'impossibility' and related notion of otherness. A messianism is considered by Derrida as a kind of dogmatism, subjecting the divine other to "metaphysico-religious determination" (Derrida 1994:89); forcing the ultimate guest, the Messiah, to conform or at least converge to the host's preconceptions of them. When imagining the coming of the Messiah, the host

---

[2] Messianic structure or messianicity is the expectation of future coming of the Messiah and bringing of justice. Messianism is the identification in time and history of the messianic structure; messianisms say that the Messiah has already appeared in time, tradition, and history.

attributes a new kind of origin and centrism to a divine other and assumes the latter suits their imaginative picture.

Faith for Derrida (1997a: 120) is undeconstructible, while religion, like law, is deconstructible. Faith is "something that is presupposed by the most radical deconstructive gesture. You cannot address the other, speak to the other, without an act of faith, without testimony." To speak to another is to ask them to trust you.

> "As soon as you address the other, as soon as you are open to the future, as soon as you have a temporal experience of waiting for the future, of waiting for someone to come; that is the opening of experience. Someone is to come, is now to come" (Derrida 1997a: 123)

The faith in the other to come, according to Derrida, is absolutely universal, thus the universal structure of faith is an undeconstructible. In contrast, Derrida (2002: 67–8) suggests invoking messianicity: as "the unexpected surprise... If I could anticipate, if I had a horizon of anticipation, if I could see what is coming or who is coming, there would be no coming." Derrida's view of messianicity is not limited to a religious context, but extends to his depiction of otherness more generally. His comments about the other apply to a friend, someone culturally different, a parent, a child; where the issue arises of whether the host is capable of recognising them, of respecting their difference, and of how the host may be surprised by them. Thus Derrida allows for a pure form of hospitality. However, in the case of surprise the unsuspected guest is received on the terms of the host; unconditional hospitality is still impossible. Similarly when a country's borders are open to guests or immigrants, conditional hospitality places the country in relation to the impossible; the impossible greater generosity inhabits the act of conditional hospitality.

Engaging with the writings of Derrida's writings on hospitality, Rosello (2001) adopts a postcolonial philosophical stance, combines a brief historical inquiry into the nature of French hospitality as a metaphor for public acceptance of the other, and close textual analysis of several recent French and francophone novels and films; addressing what issues might be at stake if the immigrant (legal or otherwise, and usually non-European) were considered a guest. Examining France's traditional role as the *terre d'asile* (land of sanctuary) for political refugees, Rosello (1998) shows how this image of a welcoming France is now contrasted with France as part of the 'Fortress Europe' (a land that seeks to close its borders to unwelcome immigrants). Rosello's (1998) analysis also discusses the entire decade of the 1990s in France, when media reports of demonstrations and sit-ins by hundreds of *sanspapiers* (immigrants without papers) demanding amnesty and regularisation of their status, filled newspapers almost every week.

Rosello (2002) develops her stratification of private concepts to public or state hospitality by examining the novel *Un Aller Simple* (One-Way Ticket). This novel, written by van Cauwelaert (1994), is a humorous story about a young man (born in France, raised by Gypsies) deported to a nonexistent Moroccan village because his fake passport names this fictional place as that of his birth. Rosello (2002)links this story to French and European Union immigration laws and treaties of the same decade (1990s). The absurdity of immigration laws that seek to reduce individuals to their official documentary identity, without regard to the fluctuating and ethereal nature of national identities are highlighted within the novel by van Cauwelaert. Rosello's textual analysis reveals different hospitality scenarios between groups and between individuals, especially the notion of hosts and guests and their respective responsibilities. Emphasising this, Rosello (2002: 176) notes:

"The very precondition of hospitality may require that, in some ways, both the host and the guest accept, in different ways, the uncomfortable and sometimes painful possibility of being changed by the other"

Within 'Fortress Europe' there does not seem to be the political will to allow increased immigration and the thought of European hosts being changed is an anathema. Rosello expresses grave concerns regarding the future of immigrants in Western Europe. It is unlikely that they be perceived of as honoured guests deserving of consideration, whereas it is more probable that they be likened to guests who have fallen into the category of parasite; they have overstayed their welcome and must be brutally ushered out.

Rosello's philosophical concerns are also reflected in the writings of another postcolonial theorist Tahar Ben Jalloun; a Moroccan who emigrated to France in 1971. Drawing upon his personal encounters with racism he uses the metaphor of hospitality to elucidate the racial divisions that plague contemporary France. Ben Jalloun (1999) states that laws of hospitality are a fundamental mark of civilisation, observing that he comes from a poor and relatively unsophisticated country, where the stranger's right to protection and shelter has been practised since time immemorial. On moving to France, Ben Jalloun discovered that hospitality was not reciprocal, despite the benefits that France had clearly gained from its former colonies. Although France had enjoyed one side of the reciprocal arrangement, hospitality was not reciprocated to those who wished to come as guest to France; the former hosts were not welcomed as guests. Hospitality was conditional; a right to visit was not a right to stay. Ben Jalloun (1999: 39) wishes to "open windows in the house of silence, indifference and fear"; French society seems to remain inhospitable, even frightened by immigrants. Ben Jalloun (1999: 116) suggests that former colonials feel abandoned

by the authorities of their own countries and in France, live in fear of being returned to them: "in France he dreams of the country he left behind. In his own country, he dreams of France… he thumps back and forth a bag full of small possessions and of grand illusion". Despite having lived for about 30 years in France the author states that:

> "yet sometimes I feel I am a stranger here. That happens whenever racism occurs, whether it is virulent or latent, and whenever someone lays down limits that mustn't be transgressed" (Ben Jalloun 1999: 133)

Ben Jalloun (1999) concludes with a plea aimed at policymakers; instead of laws that restrict hospitality, i.e. entry and residence, he advocates a policy that establishes links between morals and everyone's right to acceptance and equity.

For current postcolonial philosophical theory, hospitality is a multifaceted concept. What are commonly referred to as 'laws of hospitality' are largely unwritten and thereby subject to flux and interpretation. For Rosello (2001), what makes the phenomenon of hospitality relevant for philosophical investigation is the potential for redefinition in the traditional roles and duties of the guest and the host. Alternating between notions of duty and voluntary charity, hospitality between individuals and states of different racial, ethnic, or religious, backgrounds entails its own ramifications. Ben Jalloun (1999) argues that racism is caused by the existence of hospitality thresholds and boundaries.

Discontentment and personal bias is one of the issues that arise when reviewing the philosophical literature. This comes across clearly in the writings of Ben Jalloun, in his homesickness and general discontentment with his host country. Derrida too was an immigrant to France; his background could have had a strong influence on his

thinking and writing. He was a Jewish adolescent in Algeria in the 1940s, during and after the anti-Semitic French colonial regime under German occupation. He had been excluded in his youth from his school after it reduced the quotas for Jews to seven per cent. Confronted with violent racism, he avoided school during the period when he was obliged to attend a school for Jewish students and teachers. He eventually managed to gain entry to study philosophy in Paris. His subsequent experiences as a young student in Paris were isolated and unhappy, consisting of intermittent depression, nervous anxiety and a seesaw between sleeping tablets and amphetamines resulted in exam failures in the early 1950s. This does not prove that either Derrida or Ben Jalloun did have any political bias or underlying propagandist tendency; however, the fact that neither of them seem to explicitly discuss their potential bias does leave room for doubt.

1.4.3.3.   Hospitality and Language

The two previous sections have highlighted the moral philosophy of the host guest relationship both at the individual level and at the national level. The underlying principal is that during any hospitality relationship the host and guest inhabit the same moral universe and are subject to transcendent laws of hospitality. However, the hospitality relationship is complicated by the use of language and culture. Ben Jalloun (1999: 3) highlights the problem of language and cultural difference within different laws of hospitality:

> "In an unpublished novella called 'The Invitation' I tell the true story of a television crew who went to Algeria to produce a program about an immigrant who had gone home. The shooting lasted a week, and throughout the whole time the villagers entertained the crew. The immigrant's father went into debt to provide presents and sumptuous meals all around. The director, touched by such warmth and generosity, gave the old man his business card. "If ever you're in Paris," he said in typical Parisian style, "be sure to come and see

me!" But when one evening six months later the old man rang at his doorbell, it took the director some time to realize who he was. Very embarrassing for all concerned."

Ben Jelloun (1999: 3) notes that this illustration shows "hospitality does not always imply reciprocity"; however, what this story also highlights is the embarrassment of the difference between expectations and behaviour. Both the guest and the host speak the same language, but are from different cultural backgrounds and their language and cultural differences led to confusion between how to extend and accept invitations.

Derrida (2000a) proposes that issues of language cannot be dissociated from the most basic level of hospitality; guests can be discomforted and fundamentally disadvantaged by the host's language.

> "The question of hospitality starts here: must we require the strange to understand us, to speak our language in all the meanings of the words, in all its possible extensions, before being able to, in order to be able to, welcome him or her" (Derrida 2000a:21)

Derrida (2000a) argues that this imposition and use of language is the first barrier to hospitality that is imposed by the host on the guest. Using Ancient Athens, Derrida (2000a: 16) notes "the foreigner had some rights", the threshold of the host's domain establishes a social relation by delimiting the difference between those who are and are not of Athens. In the case of language, the social relations and understanding distinguish between sameness and difference; hospitality is extended on the host's terms and not those of the guest.

> "Because intentionality is hospitality, it resists thematization. Act without activity, reason as receptivity, a sensible and rational experience of receiving, a gesture of welcoming, a welcome offered to the other as stranger, hospitality opens up as intentionality, but it cannot become an object, thing, or theme. Thematization, on the contrary, already presupposes hospitality, welcoming, intentionality, the face. The closing of the door, inhospitality, war, and allergy already imply, as their possibility, a hospitality offered or received: an original or, more precisely, pre-originary declaration of peace" (1999c: 48)

The example of France is used: when the Prime Minster Michel Rocard closed the door on unconditional hospitality, Derrida (1999) argues that he opened up a conceptual paradox; similarly with this pre-originary hospitable declaration of peace there is another paradox at work. For the declaration to be understood, it has to be, *a priori*, inherently and universally understandable to everyone. This means, in turn, that a monolingual communication is required. In this situation Derrida (1998a) considers hospitality from the punitive side of what he refers to as a politics of language, within which *monolinguism* is imposed as a precondition for hospitality.

According to Derrida (1998a:10) *monolinguism* refers to a paradox that formed what he calls the rule of language:

> "We only ever speak one language…
> (yes, but)
> We never speak only one language."

Derrida was noticing in Ancient Athens where the foreigner was welcomed according to the duties and obligations that appropriated the foreigner within Athenian law. This is a sovereign law that belongs to Athens, certainly, but that as in the case of all monolinguisms seem to originate from somewhere else, since even the native Athenians are always striving to appropriate it to themselves in the name of becoming the perfect and most native of citizens.

> "First and foremost, the *monolingualism* of the other would be that sovereignty, that law originating from elsewhere, certainly, but also primarily the very language of the Law. Its experience would be ostensibly autonomous, because I have to speak this law and appropriate it in order to understand it as if I was giving it to myself, but it remains necessarily heteronomous, for such is, at bottom, the essence of any law. The madness of the law places its possibility lastingly inside the dwelling of this auto-heteronomy." (Derrida 1998b: 39)

Belonging to the monolinguism of a native tongue is difficult for the simple reason that this language is not entirely perfectible; therefore, there is always the slight sense of being a stranger or foreigner to it. This self-perception of being alien or foreign despite your native tongue or status is what Derrida calls auto-heteronomy. For Derrida the identification with the native tongue is important because being a native speaker is a sign of political identity and the consequential legal rights. Speaking a language, therefore, is a means of dwelling or remaining within a political identity even when you are a foreigner abroad.

The politics of language can protect, since it is politics that prepare the way for hospitality in the Athenian sense, in which citizens and foreigners are both known quantities with formal contractual relations of hosting and being a guest. However, Derrida notes that the law under which people gather themselves to that language, gives them their political identity and security, is not as hospitable as one might like to imagine, precisely because it is political.

> "[Language is] one of the numerous difficulties before us, as with settling the extension of the concept of hospitality… In the broad sense, the language in which the foreigner is addressed or in which he is heard, if he is, is the ensemble of culture, it is the values, the norms, the meanings that inhabit the language" (Derrida 2000a: 132)

In terms of language and hospitality this would mean that if language shelters the guest, it does not incorporate or assimilate the guest into itself. Derrida (1998a) notes that at the same time "we speak only one language…" because there is always the possibility of speaking otherwise, a speaking differently that is the condition of the essence of speaking one language properly.

Earlier in Chapter 1, when studying the evolution of English, Figure 1.1 showed the language's linguistic pedigree. It was clearly shown that English is made up of different languages that, over time, have not only become incorporated into the native language but have been so incorporated as to become indistinguishable. This illustrates Derrida's observation that in speaking a single language it is impossible to speak one language alone. Derrida emphasises the difficulty of establishing a hard and fast difference between the native and the foreign.

Discontentment and bias are two of the issues that arise from the writing of Derrida, Rosello and Ben Jelloun. It comes across clearly for example, in the writings of Ben Jelloun, in his homesickness and general discontent with his host country. Derrida too was an immigrant to France and his background could also have had a strong influence on his thinking and writing. This does not prove that either Derrida or Ben Jelloun have any political bias or underlying propagandist tendency; however, the fact that neither of them seems to explicitly discuss their potential bias does leave room for doubt. In addition, in investigating the hospitality of the classical Greco-Roman world Derrida was then drawing conclusions and writing for the modern age. Telfer, through her treatment of domestic hospitality, and Derrida, Rosello and Ben Jelloun with their investigation of the state and the relationship to the individual, all to a greater or lesser extent seem to expect that the hospitality relationship should be the same. There is limited consideration given to the motivations of either the guest or the host, and even less recognition given to the fact that the hospitality relationship exists in dissimilar contexts: domestic, civic or commercial, each with their own different sets of laws. This lack of contextual consideration potentially reflects and raises issues that are similar to those discussed in Section 3.3, of the potential for the existence of the teleological fallacy.

1.4.3.4. Summary issues identified in the philosophical literature

Based on the discussion, review and analysis of the contemporary philosophical literature, Table 1:2 Hospitality Issues from the Philosophical Literature summarises the key hospitality issues.

Author	Hospitality Issue
Ben Jalloun (1999)	Hospitality is a fundamental mark of civilisation
Ben Jalloun (1999)	Postcolonial hospitality is not reciprocal
Ben Jalloun (1999)	Need to speak the same language to offer hospitality
Derrida (1998)	Language gives hospitality to the other: people; ideas; or culture
Derrida (1998b)	Study of hospitality gives a basis of understanding to aid understanding on the world around us.
Derrida (2000)	All hospitality is conditional – unconditional hospitality is impossible
Derrida (2000)	Hospitality requires *a priori* the concept of a guest – not a parasite
Derrida (2001b)	True hospitality requires some element of surprise – however this does not make it unconditional as the guest is still received on the terms of the host.
Kant	Universal right to shelter – for a limited time and the guest must do no harm
Rosello (2001)	Guest and host must be open to the possibility of being changed by each other
Schérer (1993)	Hospitality is an impossible luxury – nations are trying to restrict it
Telfer (1996)	Motivations behind offering hospitality – people are attracted to the ideal of hospitality
Telfer (1996)	Typology of guest
Telfer (1996)	Hospitality is a moral virtue
Telfer (1996)	Special link between home and hospitality – invitation to intimacy
Wahnich (1997a)	Double standards of the states regarding hospitality – emigrants should be honoured guests whilst immigrants are close to parasites
Wahnich (1997b)	Hospitality, subverted by suspicion, can lead to radical forms of distrust and exclusion

Table 1:2 Hospitality Issues from the Philosophical Literature

1.5. Determining the Focus of the Research

1.5.1. Hospitality in Ancient Near Eastern Texts

By way of further determining the focus of the research, the following example demonstrates the illuminative capacity of historical investigation. It provides a brief overview of the history of hospitality in Egypt and Mesopotamia, nearly as old as the history of writing itself. The texts and key events that these examples have been drawn from are summarised in Figure 1.4; they form an illustrative beginning for the research as they offer a glimpse of what hospitality was like when writing began; but unfortunately that is all the literature that has been identified from that very early time period. Between the contemporary era and the time when these texts were first written, there is a gap of up to 5000 years and a very limited literature base from which to draw conclusions.

3500 BC	Beginnings of Writing	
	'Ancient Near East' hospitality texts	
2700 BC	Great pyramids in Egypt	
2100 BC	Teachings of Khety	
2000 BC	Laws of Hammurabi	
	Hostels in Mesopotamia	
1500 BC	'Tourist' graffiti written on the inside of the Great Pyramid	
	Hostels on Crete	
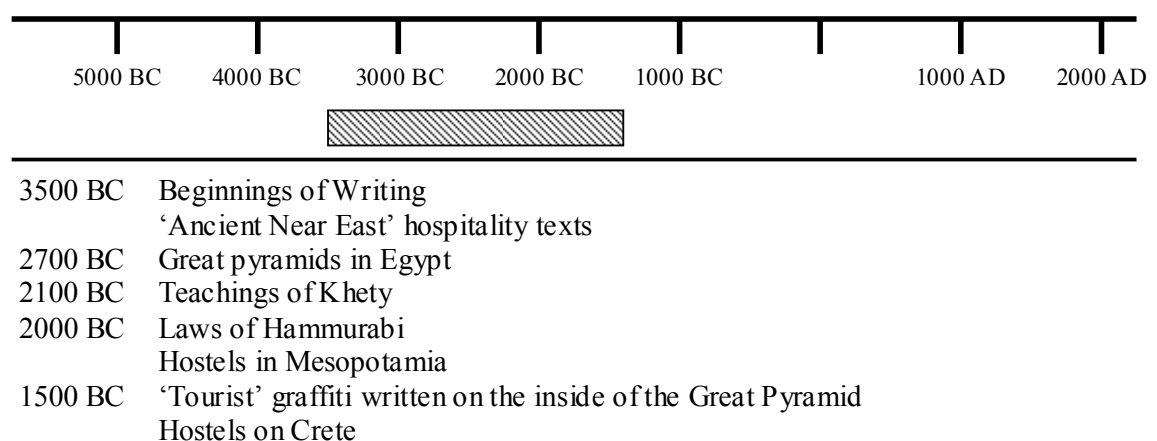
Figure 1:4 Timeline of 'Ancient Near East Texts'

The teachings of Khety are a satire that celebrate the work of scribes and makes fun of every other trade in Egypt; they were written around 2100 BC. In the text, there is a

clear directive on how to treat strangers, and the rewards, both in the temporal sphere

through benefits to the household and the spiritual sphere, by pleasing the gods.

> "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 XXVIII in Matthews 1991a: 282)

Clearly domestic hospitality is not a new phenomenon. Hostels and inns in

Mesopotamia date back to at least 2000 BC; they were in the business of supplying

drinks, women, and accommodation for strangers. Drinks included datepalm wine and

barley beer, and there were strict regulations against diluting them. Driver and Miles

(1952) in the translation of the law code of time (the Laws of Hammurabi) show that

the punishment for watering beer was death by drowning; there was a requirement

that tavern keepers, on pain of death, report all customers who were felons. Other

hospitality related laws include women who had retired from the priestly office caught

entering an inn were to be burned alive. According to Richardson (2000) the

assumption was that she was going there for sex. The general level of the clientele and

surroundings are illustrated by the saying: 'If a man urinates in the tavern in the

presence of his wife, he will not prosper… He should sprinkle his urine to the right

and the left of the door jambs of the tavern and he will prosper' (Gelb 1956:s.v.

astammu). The commercial hostels were even discussed in religious hymnody as in

the following:

> "I enlarged the footpaths, straightened the highways of the land,
> I made secure travel, built there 'big houses' [hostels of some sort],
> Planted gardens alongside of them, established resting-places,
> Settled there friendly folk,
> (So that) who comes from below, who come from above,
> Might refresh themselves in its cool,
> The wayfarer who travels the highway at night,
> Might find refuge there like in a well-built city" (Pritchard 1955: 585)

The official referred to in the hymn founded fortified settlements to maintain sizeable government hostels along the major roads to service the needs of the travellers, regardless of whether they were official visitors or traders. Jones and Snyder (1961) give a detailed account of large scale hospitality in operation at Lagash in Babylonia (modern day Iraq). It ensured efficient movement of administrators, couriers, and army personnel between the capital and the subject cities; distances which varied from 100 to 400 miles away. The travel orders included an issue of one day's food rations. At the end of this they stayed for the night at a government hostel and then received rations for the next day. The amount and quality of the food differed according to rank, with administrators eating better than dispatch riders.

In Egypt some characteristics of tourism, travel for curiosity or pleasure, can be found from about 1500 BC. Firth and Quibell (1936) note that in 1500 BC the Sphinx and the three great pyramids were over a thousand years old, and on the wall of one of the chapels connected to the pyramids there is 3500-year-old graffiti. What facilities for food and lodging were available for ordinary holidaying Egyptians is unclear. Yoyotte (1960) hypothesises that more than likely they slept in the open and fed themselves as best they could, leaving the locals to clean up after them. However, priests or those on government assignment had everything provided for them. As they travelled they would be cared for at temples and government depots along the way; this was standard procedure in Egypt for all who were travelling on official business.

As yet no archaeological remains of the hostels (as referred to in Pritchard 1955 above) have been discovered; however, in Crete there is evidence of a hostel erected at around 1500 BC. According to Evans (1921) it was a small elegant structure placed

alongside the highway at the approach to the palace at Knossos. Details are given of kitchens, dining rooms, and bathing facilities, all designed to allow travellers, after the long ride across the island, to rest and refresh themselves before entering the palace. Oppenheim (1967) observes that at least some of the roadside government hostels in Mesopotamia welcomed casual non-official travellers, whilst Jacobsen (1970) notes that in towns travellers would be accommodated in the local inn.

Within this illustration of hospitality from 3500 BC to 1500 BC certain characteristics of hospitable behaviour that are clearly recognisable today become evident: a disposition towards hospitality is prevalent; generous hospitality can bring certain rewards whereas a lack of hospitality can lead to retribution; hospitality is a personal duty and should not be delegated to others.

1.5.2. CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY AS THE FOCUS FOR THE RESEARCH

For the main body of research in this thesis a considerably larger body of text is required, which is why the period directly following that of the Ancient and Near East texts has been selected: that of Classical Antiquity. Classical Antiquity is a broad term for the period of cultural history centred on the Mediterranean Sea, which begins with the earliest-recorded Greek poetry of Homer (*c.*770 BC), and coincides with the traditional date of the founding of Rome in 753 BC, the beginning of the history of the Roman Republic. Classical antiquity continues through the death of Alexander the Great and decline of Greece, the advent of the Roman Empire, the rise of Christianity and the fall of the Western Roman Empire (fifth century AD), ending in the dissolution of classical culture with the close of Late Antiquity. The time period

identified and these events are summarised in Figure 1:5 Key Events in Classical Antiquity.

Although the ending date of Classical Antiquity is disputed, Liebeschuetz (2001) notes that currently most Western scholars use the abdication of Romulus Augustus, last Western Roman Emperor in 476 AD as the end of ancient European history. However, as Ward-Perkins (2005) observes, the date used as the end of the Classical Antiquity is entirely arbitrary and is a matter of some dispute amongst historians; alternative dates that are often used for the end this period are: 293 – Persecution of the Christian by Roman Emperor Diocletian; 395 – Division of Roman Empire into the Western Roman Empire and Eastern Roman Empire; and 529 – Closure of Plato's Academy in Athens by Byzantine Emperor Justinian I.

800 BC	600 BC	400 BC	200 BC		200 A D	400 A D	600 A D

770 BC	Beginning of Classical Antiquity
	Earliest recorded written Greek poetry
753 BC	Foundation of the Kingdom of Rome
509 BC	Roman Republic
323 BC	Death of Alexander the Great and end of Ancient Greece
146 BC	Greece is assumed into the Roman Republic
44 BC	Foundation of the Roman Empire
395 AD	Division of the Roman Empire
476 AD	Fall of the Western Roman Empire
529 AD	Closure of Plato's Academy in Athens
530 AD	Benedict of Nursia wrote his Monastic Rule

Figure 1:5 Key Events in Classical Antiquity

Therefore, for the purposes of this research Classical Antiquity begins with the writings of Homer, as the first textual source of Classical Antiquity, and concludes with the Rule of St Benedict (*c.*530 AD), arguably the last text of the period or the first of the Middle Ages. The Rule is the foundation for the spread of monastic life

across Western Europe, and chapter 53 was recognised by Borias (1974) as the key focus for subsequent hospitality. During the Middle Ages the monasteries (as well as being the custodians of civilisation, knowledge and learning) had also provided the blueprints for detailed and formalised rules for religious hospitality, the care of the sick and the poor, and responsibilities for refugees, which were all to be adopted later within the nation states and by secular organisations. In addition the *scriptoria* (writing rooms) of the mediaeval monasteries had been the centres for the production of copies of the works of Classical Antiquity.

As Benedict was writing his Rule, Classical Antiquity was at an end and the next period of time is known as either the Dark Ages or the Early Middle Ages began. In historiography the phrase the Dark Ages is most commonly known in relation to the European Early Middle Ages (from about 476 AD – depending which date is used for the end of Classical Antiquity – to about 1000). According to Mommsen (1942) it is generally accepted that the term 'Dark Ages' was first used by Petrarchae (*c.*1330) when writing of those who had come before him. He said that "amidst the errors there shone forth men of genius, no less keen were their eyes, although they were surrounded by darkness and dense gloom" (Petrarchae 1554: 1194). Petrarchae was reversing the traditional Christian metaphors of 'light versus darkness' to describe 'good versus evil'. Classical Antiquity, so long considered the 'Dark Age' for its lack of Christianity, was now seen by Petrarch as the age of 'light' because of its cultural achievements, while Petrarch's time, lacking such cultural achievements, was now seen as the age of darkness. Later historians expanded the term to include not only the lack of Latin literature, but a lack of contemporary written history and material cultural achievements in general: an age more silent than dark. Most modern historians dismiss the notion that the era was a 'Dark Age' by highlighting that this

idea was based on ignorance of the period combined with popular stereotypes: see for example Smith (2005) who illustrates the pluralism and cultural diversity of Europe in a time period that is more appositely described as the early Middle Ages.

1.6. FOUNDATION FOR THE RESEARCH

The initial presentation contained within this chapter has laid the foundation for the research. It identifies that the history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality is an important area of study, not least because it has been under investigated. The etymology and the evolution of 'host' and 'guest' and lexically coterminous words were briefly reviewed, and highlighted the surface contradictions of hospitality where, even linguistically, the relationship between 'host' and 'guest' is not a clear one.

The historical evolution of the concept of hospitality was shown to have a considerable illuminative capacity; this was achieved by using Ancient and Near East texts that referred to hospitality. These texts show certain characteristics of hospitable behaviour that are clearly recognisable today. It was evident that the research required a considerably larger but delimited body of text than was available from Ancient and Near East. The research uses Greco-Roman literature and contemporaneous religious writings from Classical Antiquity, as these are both rich in textual heritage and linguistically readily accessible. Therefore, the focus of the research has been sharpened temporally, linguistically, and geographically.

The history and philosophy of hospitality, as yet, is not underpinned by a robust foundation of research. The methodology of phenomenological hermeneutics was

identified and justified in the context of the research, as a practical scientific methodology for the interpretation of texts. Undeniably new research in to the history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality using ancient and classical text is both complex and difficult; however, if successfully achieved it will be both rewarding and revealing and should make a significant contribution to knowledge and to hospitality studies literature.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter starts with a discussion on research philosophy and duly selects the interpretivist paradigm as apposite for the research approach. The research methodology of hermeneutical phenomenology is identified and discussed; methodological principles are constructed; the data selection is then justified and focused in line with the philosophy and methodology. This methodology raises significant rhetorical and axiological considerations, these include: use of language; translation philosophy; and reflexivity. The issues identified from the methodological literature are then discussed and conclusions are drawn where appropriate.

The second section of this chapter presents a detailed and structured account of how the research was conducted using a methodology derived from the in-depth discussion on hermeneutical phenomenology and pertinent philosophical stand points.

2.2. RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY AND PARADIGMS

In 1781 Immanuel Kant published his 'Critique of Pure Reason' (1781/1998) and, as Kuhn (1971) noted, caused a Copernican revolution in philosophy. Kant argued that there are ways of knowing about the world other than through direct observation, and that people use these all the time; this proposition provided the platform for the launch of many of the ideas associated with qualitative research methodology. Kant's view proposes considering not how our representations may necessarily conform to objects as such, but rather how objects may necessarily conform to our representations. From

a pre-Copernican view, objects are considered just by themselves, totally apart from any intrinsic cognitive relation to our representations; it is mysterious how they could ever be determined *a priori*. Kant theorised that things could be considered just as phenomena (objects of experience) rather than noumena (things in themselves specified negatively as unknown beyond our experience). Therefore, if human faculties of representation are used to study these phenomena, *a priori* conceptualisations can be envisaged. Kant (1781/1998) also showed how flawless logic can prove the existence of God; at the same time he showed how flawless logic proves that there is no God at all; illustrating that opposing philosophies can be equally logical and at the same time contradictory and incomplete, a salient warning to any emergent researcher defending their philosophical stance.

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) assert that it is imperative that researchers clearly outline the epistemological or philosophical basis for "claiming to know what we know; the substantive basis for our knowledge claims" (Easton 1998: 73). Kuhn (1970) set in place the tradition that once a paradigm is chosen it is advisable for the researcher to remain within that paradigm. For the purposes of this discussion, as defined by Harré (1987: 3) a paradigm is considered to be "a combination of a metaphysical theory about the nature of the objects in a certain field of interest and a consequential method which is tailor-made to acquire knowledge of those objects." At the philosophical level it could be perceived as dualistic if the researcher were to argue simultaneously that they believe that social reality is separate and external, whilst maintaining that reality is merely a construction of the mind. Hussey and Hussey (1997) emphasise the importance for researchers to recognise and understand their philosophical orientations within the paradigm adopted for their project. Creswell (1998) states that the research project must be framed within philosophical and theoretical perspectives.

The perspective for this research is utilising a single paradigm, although other authors like Gioia and Pitre (1990), and Lewis and Grimes (1999) have argued for a mixture under terms such as multiparadigm and metatriangulation. This though is distinct from the methodological level, where mixing methodologies are possible and acceptable for data collection (see for example Jick 1979; Creswell 1994; Hussey and Hussey 1997).

2.2.1. OVERVIEW OF THE POSITIVISTIC PARADIGM

Comte (1830/1853) first used the term positivism. He had envisaged that sociology was to be the apex of positivism; this view is summarised in Giddens (1974: 1) as "the science of man completed the historical evolution of the hierarchy of the scientific disciplines, and for the first time made possible an adequate understanding of that evolution". Durkheim (1895/1964) was to defend Comte's traditional version of positivism which accentuated the supremacy of logic and scientific knowledge as the paradigm of all valid knowledge; the solution to the major practical problems facing mankind. Checkland (1999) observes that Durkheim understood sociology to be the objective study of 'social facts'; and that social facts were to be considered as things. However, positivism was used in a derogatory sense by the Frankfurt School (typical examples can be seen in Horkheimer and Adorno (1944/1988), Marcuse (1967), Adorno (1969)), in the 1960s, to describe the assertions of Popper (1957) that science offers the best method in the pursuit of objective knowledge (see for example Giddens 1974; Checkland 1999). Popper (1957) describes the scientific method as the "method of bold conjectures (hypothesis) and ingenious and severe attempts to refute them (falsification)" (cited in Checkland 1999: 57). Popper (1957) argues that sociologists must adopt the procedural rules, standards and intellectual conventions of science and

embrace the point that there are no such things as 'truth' other than conjectural, relative truth.

Positivism is a science of society; comparable with the natural sciences. According to Giddens (1974) this proposition rests on three assertions:

- methodological procedures of natural science may be directly adapted to the study of human social actions;

- outcome of research in the social sciences will take the form of causal laws; and

- results of social research are value-free.

Hussey and Hussey (1997) note the popularity of positivism in business research because the data used is highly specific and precise. Babbie (1998) argues the place for positivism in social research and points out the interacting links between positivism and phenomenology by noting that "every observation is qualitative at the outset" (Babbie 1998: 36), whilst observing "qualitative data seem richer in meaning is partly a function of ambiguity" (1998: 37). Babbie (1998) further argues that in social science, unlike physical sciences, paradigms cannot be true or false, as ways of looking; they can only be more or less useful.

2.2.2. OVERVIEW OF THE INTERPRETIVIST PARADIGM

Giddens (1979) asserts that interpretivism, the generic paradigm of the social sciences, amongst other variants comprises of: phenomenological sociology; philosophical hermeneutics; and social constructionism. Interpretivism, developed in reaction to the dominance of positivism in the 19th and 20th centuries, identifies these

are fundamental differences between the natural and human sciences. Schwandt (2000) observes that the basis of these distinctions stemmed from the different aims – explanation versus understanding. Schutz (1954) attests that Weber (1924), a key proponent of this paradigm, argued that the social sciences seek to 'understand' social phenomena in terms of 'meaningful' categories of human experience and therefore, the 'causal-functional' approach of the natural sciences is not applicable in social inquiry. Checkland (1999) develops this by stating that Weber recognised the nature of 'subjectivity' in studying humans, and noted that whilst physical systems cannot react to predictions made about them, social systems can. He pointed out that the 'self-consciousness' of human beings and the 'freedom of choice', which that consciousness entails, implies that an observer can never obtain an up-to-date account of the subject's state of mind, which would be correct for the agent to accept. The social scientist can only reveal 'trends' rather than 'laws'.

Weber's interpretive social science, based on the 'attribution of meaning', is closely related to Husserl's (1950/1964) work on phenomenology. The basic premise of the interpretivist paradigm as indicated by Hussey and Hussey (1997) is that unlike the physical sciences, which deal with objects external to the researcher, the social sciences deal with action and behaviour generated from within the human mind. There is a clear interrelationship between investigators and the investigated, researcher and the researched. Verification of what actually exists in the social and human world depends on the researcher's interpretation; the researchers' beliefs regarding the metaphysical realm could influence their interpretation of the physical realm.

2.2.3. DISCUSSION ON PARADIGMS

St Anselm, the 11th century philosopher and Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote, "I do not seek to understand so that I may believe, but I believe so that I may understand" (Anselm *Proslogion* 154–5). St Anselm asserts that nothing is achieved or ascertained by merely speculating from the sidelines; a certain level of committed involvement is necessary. Ritchie and Lewis (2003) emphasised that different research vantage points would yield different types of understanding, whilst accentuating these diverse perspectives does not negate the existence of an external reality. Hammersley (1992) referred to 'subtle realism'; the acceptance that the social world does exist independently of individual subjective understanding, although highlighting that the social world is regulated by normative expectations and shared understandings. The theory of the independent existence of the social world was established by Aristotle (*c.*350 BC) when he argued that something exists apart from the concrete thing:

> "If, on the one hand, there is nothing apart from individual beings, and the individuals are infinite in number, how is it possible to get knowledge of the infinite individuals? For all things that we know, we know in so far as they have some unity and identity, and in so far as some attribute belongs to them universally. But if this is necessary, and there must be something apart from the individuals, it will be necessary that something exists apart from the concrete thing" (Arist. *Metaphysics* 999a: 25–8).

The positivist ontological position vis-à-vis reality is that social reality exists independently of the researcher is useful for this research as it seeks an understanding of the evolution of the concept of hospitality over time. However, at the ontological level the scientific method is now being brought into question; various authors including Gleick (1987), Lewin (1993), and Williams (2000) observe that developments in chaos theory and quantum physics have led to an increasing number of studies questioning whether the natural world is as stable and law-like as had been previously supposed. This suggests that a positivistic understanding of the history of

hospitality would appear difficult to achieve. This view is supported by Berg (2001) who observes that objects, people, situations, and events do not possess meaning; meaning is conferred on these elements by and via human interaction.

Interpretivism could be considered a relevant paradigm for this research because it is seeking to observe the general trends and perceptions of a social phenomenon. As the research is concerned with seeking an understanding of the different perceptions, this suggests the selection of the interpretive paradigm, whatever that methodology might be. This view is supported by Strauss and Corbin's (1990) position that qualitative methods are useful for unravelling and understanding what lies behind any phenomenon about which little is known. Drucker (1974) points out that management is a practice rather than a science and Checkland (1999) observes that even proponents of the unity of science (such as Popper (1957) who assumes that facts can be gathered in the social sciences in much the same way as in natural sciences) have unfortunately devoted little attention to the particular problems of social science. Creswell (1998: 75f) states that it must be accepted that "qualitative research is legitimate in its own right and does not need to be compared to achieve respectability".

There are clearly difficulties associated with qualitative research. Easterby-Smith *et al.* (2002) recognise that problems may emerge in the analysis and interpretation of data and that there is often difficulty in achieving validity and reliability in qualitative research. Therefore, due recognition also needs to be given to the importance of being as objective and neutral as possible in the interpretation and presentation of the research. Ritchie and Lewis (2003) reinforce that reflexivity is important in striving for objectivity and neutrality; reflexivity is further developed in Section 3.1.

2.2.4. PARADIGM SELECTION

The foregoing discussion has explored the rationale behind the paradigm being developed in this thesis and the corresponding philosophical assumptions made in the context of the nature of the research problem. Current thinking would consider it essential for a research project to be framed within one philosophical paradigm, and to remain within it. It has been established that the philosophical paradigm and the basic research assumptions must be compatible and clearly understood. The work of Creswell (1994) can be used to present a summary of research assumptions which relate to the philosophical paradigm. These are:

- ontological issue (nature of reality);

- epistemological issue (relationship of the researcher to that being researched);

- axiological issue (role of values in a study); and

- rhetorical issue (language selection in research).

These research assumptions (summarised in Table 2.1) may also be used to support the selection of the interpretivist paradigm.

Assumption	Question	Positivism	Interpretivist
Ontological	What is the nature of reality?	Reality is singular, set apart from the researcher	Reality is multiple and interpreted by the researcher
Epistemological	How do we obtain knowledge of that reality?	Researcher is independent from that being researched	Researcher interacts with that being researched
Axiological	What is the role of values?	Value-free and unbiased	Value-laden and biased
Rhetorical	How is language used in the research?	Formal based on set definitions; impersonal voice	Informal evolving decisions; personal voice

Table 2:1 Research Assumptions and Positivistic and Interpretivist Paradigms
Source: Adapted from Creswell (1994: 5)

The positivist assumption that social reality exists independently of the researcher is certainly an attractive ontology for the research, as it seeks an understanding of the evolution of the concept of hospitality over time. However, the reality which is being investigated is existent in history; furthermore, it is a socially reconstructed reality across multiple epochs and cultures. Therefore, the positivist ontology is not viable as reality is multiple and interpreted by the researcher. Moreover, the positivistic position on the epistemological question of 'How do we obtain knowledge of that reality?' is inappropriate, because it postulates that the act of investigating such a reality would have no effect on that reality, whereas this research is based on historical investigation where interpretation of texts is central.

The positivist axiological assumption clearly states that the research should be value-free and unbiased. One area in particular where the personal bias and beliefs of the researcher will intrude into the research is the use of the ancient and classical texts. These texts have to be translated and interpreted. Language translation is a multi-dimensional approximation; translating each word as precisely as possible may miss the intention of the text; translating idiom by idiom, pun by pun, sarcasm by sarcasm, and poetry by poetry will ignore the meaning of the actual words. Whilst translating each word by its meaning in the specific context will destroy concordances, translating each word consistently by the same word, will often be less than accurate, as the spectra of meanings overlap, but do not coincide. Accepting this reality, it would seem impossible to translate text and adopt a positivist, value-free and unbiased axiological approach, whereas the interpretivist assumption of value-laden and bias seems pertinent. The interpretivist rhetorical assumption details that the language used develops from informal evolving decisions and is enhanced by personal voice, the close dependence of the research on language and rhetoric, and the

continually evolving decisions regarding translations, again indicate that interpretivism would seem the appropriate philosophical stance. This does not mean that no other paradigm may be suitable; however, it does show why interpretivism can be considered to be the best fit at this stage in the evolution of the research.

2.3. METHODOLOGY: PHENOMENOLOGICAL HERMENEUTICS

2.3.1. USE OF LITERATURE IN RESEARCH

The exploration of literature pervades the entire thesis, with the focus of the primary research on textual analysis. This research is being carried out within the interpretivist paradigm as it is seeking to observe the general trends and perceptions of a social phenomenon. As the research is concerned with seeking an understanding of different perceptions of hospitality contained in the texts of Classical Antiquity combined with the selection of the interpretivist paradigm, the application of hermeneutics seems pertinent. Hart (2002: 15), in discussing the importance of a PhD literature review, observes that it must cover "all known literature on the problem, including that in other languages"; in this research that is also pertinent to the gathering of the data for the primary enquiry.

2.3.2. HERMENEUTICS

The Greek word *hermēneia*, meaning interpretation or understanding, encapsulated a wide range of interpretation and clarification which covered speech, translation, and commentary (Brown and Schneiders 1995). Hermeneutics has now become the theory of textual interpretation. Originally concerned with interpreting sacred texts; it has developed over time into a scientific methodology (Bohman 2001). According to

Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004: 53) "hermeneutics has its roots in the Renaissance in two parallel and partly interacting currents of thought the Protestant analysis of the Bible and the humanist study of the ancient classics." This was the first time that Biblical texts were to be critically evaluated; previously they were held as the divinely inspired word of God and were considered beyond critical interpretation.

At that stage the interpretation of part of a text could be considered as part of the whole text, this is represented by the 'Hermeneutic Circle' in Figure 2:1. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004) observe that the individual verse would be analysed and then used to improve and develop the understanding of the whole text. Interest turned increasingly away from the Bible or some individual work from classical antiquity. Attention was then focused on the author behind the work; authors were placed in their social context − which can be further broadened to their whole historical background. Eventually, the entire world history became the whole to which it is necessary to refer in order to understand a single part.
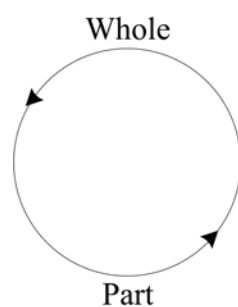
Figure 2:1 The Hermeneutic Circle
Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004: 53)

In this research the whole is the defined period of time from which the texts have been taken, whilst the part is the references they make to hospitality. Thus, the references to hospitality are to be understood in the context of their time, but used to form a concept of hospitality over time.

Schleiermacher's (1808/1998) analysis of textual understanding and expression heralded the evolution of hermeneutics into a modern scientific methodology, culminating in Dilthey's (1883/1989) attempt to ground the human sciences in a theory of interpretation, understood as the imaginative but publicly verifiable re-enactment of the subjective experiences of others. The hermeneutic approach attempts to understand human actions by interpreting them in more or less the way a written text is interpreted, hermeneutics being the theory and method of such interpretations. Dilthey (1900: 249) defined hermeneutics as "the methodology of the interpretation of written records". Koppl and Whitman (2004) observe that some writers, like Gadamer (1981), elevate hermeneutics to the level of universal philosophy, whereas this thesis is adopting a classical hermeneutics, which makes no claim to the effect that all knowledge is hermeneutic. Classical hermeneutics claims only that human actions can be understood in much the same way that a poem or the instructions on a tube of toothpaste are understood, in terms of the internal perceptions and beliefs of the person who performed it. Bohman (2001: 377) supports this view by stating that this "method of interpretation reveals the possibility of an objective knowledge of human beings not accessible to empiricist inquiry and thus of a distinct methodology for the human sciences."

McAuley (2004: 192) states that "issues of intuition, interpretation, understanding, the relationship between the researcher and the subject of research and the reader" are central to hermeneutics. Hermeneutics is an assertion that "understanding is interpretation ... thus reaching an understanding is not a matter of setting aside, escaping, managing, or tracking one's own standpoint, prejudgements, biases, or prejudices. On the contrary understanding requires the engagement of one's biases"

(Schwandt, 2000: 194). Ricoeur argues "there is no general hermeneutics ... but only disparate and opposed theories concerning the rules of interpretation" (1970: 26), therefore it could be said that hermeneutic understanding can encompass many positions. Heidegger (1927/1982) held that by questioning texts he was engaged in disclosure, not just theorising.

2.3.3. PHENOMENOLOGY

Edmund Husserl is generally considered to be the founder of phenomenology. He considered it to be a foundational science underlying all of the sciences and sought to clarify, through the use of critical reflection and description, the foundation and constitution of knowledge in consciousness. Husserl (1931) claimed that the phenomena that form our conscious experience manifest essences or structures. To be specific, he viewed experience as consisting of both concrete particulars and the categories of meaning to which they belong. To illustrate this Hein and Austin (2001: 4) use the following example of apples

> "Although we may have experiences of a variety of apples, which vary in color, size, and texture, these are all instances of 'appleness', which is also experientially real. The meaning 'appleness' therefore remains the same despite variations in how it is manifested concretely. In other words, the structure of 'appleness' provides us with concrete instances of apples."

This is a development from Aristotelian metaphysics where Aristotle argued for the independent existence of the social world as distinct from the physical world. Similarly, when investigating hospitality over a period, there can be a variety of instances of hospitality – all of these are experientially real; it is the overriding concept of hospitality that is being investigated. Husserl (1931) saw the task of phenomenology as describing these metaphysical structures, including their constituent parts and their interrelationships.

61

Existential philosophical thought, namely the works of Kierkegaard (1846/1962; 1953) and Nietzsche (1887; 1891), then influenced Husserl's pure phenomenology, resulting in the later emergence of existential phenomenology. Hein and Austin (2001 :4) assert that "existential philosophy focuses on the basic or universal themes of human existence, including, among others, the need to find purpose or meaning in our lives, the finiteness of existence, our freedom and responsibility in making choices, and our commitment to isolation or relationship with others". It is from this emergent existential philosophy that existential phenomenology evolves.

Existential phenomenology is grounded mainly in the works of Heidegger (1962, 1971), Sartre (1943, 1946, 1960), and Merleau-Ponty (1962, 1968). According to Hein and Austin (2001), it is primarily in the work of Heidegger that Husserl's phenomenology and existentialism are merged. Heidegger shifted the focus of inquiry to existence in general. In doing so, he interpreted existence as our experience of being-in-the-world (rather than simply our experience of being). Existential phenomenology is explicitly hermeneutical. Heidegger (1962) conceived of his approach to phenomenology as an interpretive understanding of existence in the world, referring to it as a 'hermeneutics of existence'. For Heidegger and other existential phenomenologists, phenomena are necessarily 'interpreted' and treated as textual in nature.

According to Hayllar and Griffin (2005) phenomenology as a research methodology is increasing in popularity. This is supported by Crotty (1996; 1998) when he asserts that it is particularly popular in academic disciplines that focus on understanding human experience within a particular living context. According to Merleau-Ponty

(1962: vii), phenomenology "tries to give a direct description of our experience as it is, without taking account of its psychological origin and the causal explanations which the scientist, the historian or the sociologist may be able to provide." Van Manen (1990: 36) argues that the "aim of phenomenology is to transform lived experience into a textual expression of its essence—in such a way that the effect of the text is at once a reflexive re-living and a reflective appropriation of something meaningful: a notion by which a reader is powerfully animated in his or her own lived experience". He observes that "there is a determinate reality-appreciation in the flow of living and experiencing life's breath. Thus a lived experience has a certain essence, a 'quality' that we recognise in retrospect" (Van Manen 1990: 36).

2.3.4. PHENOMENOLOGICAL HERMENEUTICS

The method adopted in this research is primarily hermeneutic phenomenology. It attempts to be descriptive, to show how things look, to let things speak for themselves and, in the context of the hermeneutic project, it is interpretive. While there may be, at first glance, an implicit contradiction between description and interpretation. Van Manen (1990: 180) feels that this may be resolved "if one acknowledges that the (phenomenological) 'facts' of lived experience are always already meaningfully (hermeneutically) experienced. Moreover, even the 'facts' of lived experience need to be captured in language (the human science text) and this is inevitably an interpretive process." Denzin (1989: 53) also notes the hermeneutic nature of interpretive research when he argues that:

> "Interpretive research enters the hermeneutic circle by placing the researcher and subject in the center [sic] of the research process. The subject who tells a self or personal experience story is, of course, at the center of the life that is told about. The researcher who reads and interprets

> a self-story is at the center of his or her interpretation of that story. Two interpretive structures thus interface one another"

Van Manen (1990) suggests four methodological practices for hermeneutic phenomenological writing; these are developed by Hayllar and Griffin (2005), and are adapted and developed for this research as epistemological practices and detailed below.

2.3.4.1. Epistemological Practices

1. Turning toward lived experience

Hayllar and Griffin (2005: 518) observe that phenomenological research requires orienting one's thinking toward the questions "What is something really like: what is the nature of the lived experience, what is it about this phenomenon that sets it apart." Hein and Austin (2001: 6) assert that during the data collection the phenomenological researcher must make "every effort to suspend or set aside his or her presuppositions, biases, and other knowledge of the phenomenon obtained from personal and scholarly sources".

This process is referred to as bracketing (or the phenomenological reduction) and involves a process of rigorous self reflection. Valle and King (1978) assert the process of bracketing occurs during the entire course of the research and involves making presuppositions, biases, and other assumptions explicit so that they appear as clearly as possible. Husserl (1962) observes that through bracketing, the researcher strives to move from the natural attitude to what is referred to as the transcendental attitude. The effort to achieve the transcendental attitude is termed the reduction because the researcher "quite literally reduces the world as it is considered in the 'natural attitude' to a world of pure phenomena" (Valle and King, 1978: 12).

Van Manen (1990: 47) argues that this suspension of belief allows the researcher "to come to terms with their assumptions, not in order to forget them again, but rather to hold them deliberately at bay and even to turn this knowledge against itself, as it were, thereby exposing its shallow or concealing character". Engaging in disciplined and systematic efforts to set aside assumptions or pre-understanding about the phenomenon under investigation allows the researcher to gain a clear understanding of the phenomena, whilst being as open and receptive as possible to the data collection. After the data has been collected the researcher then enters into a dialogue with the text using the understanding gathered and drawing on their pre-understanding to interpret the phenomena under investigation in the hope of revealing something that is hidden. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004) called this stage 'alethic hermeneutics' from the Greek aletheia (uncoveredness), this is developed from Heidegger (1927) who stated that phenomenology allowed the revelation of something hidden. This is shown as Figure 2:2 as a development of the classical hermeneutical circle.
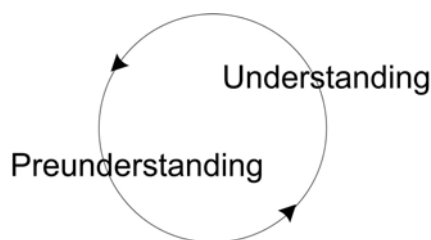
Figure 2:2 The Alethic Hermeneutical Circle
Source: Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004: 57)

2.   Investigating the Phenomenon

It is important to clearly define the phenomenon under investigation and in this phenomenological investigation the data is texts from Classical Antiquity; when using texts and documents May (1991: 138–9) observes that these:

> "...do not simply reflect, but also construct social reality and versions of events. The search for documents 'meaning' continues, but with researchers also exercising 'suspicion'. It is not then assumed that documents are neutral artefacts which independently report social reality, or that analysis must be rooted in that nebulous concept practical reasoning. Documents are now viewed as mediums through which social power is expressed. They are approached in terms of the cultural context in which they were written and may be viewed 'as attempts at persuasion'".

This section of the methodology chapter focuses the data collection by clearly delimiting the thesis linguistically, temporally, and geographically and concludes by identifying the literary genres and some of the authors and that will be investigated in Chapter 3. To illustrate this delimited focus throughout the thesis all the key events referred to from throughout Classical Antiquity are summarised in Figure 1:5. During the discussion and inductive analysis of the texts in Chapter 4 this timeline will be used to illustrate the location of groups of texts within this time period under investigation, clearly demonstrating the interrelationship thus allowing the analysis to take a less temporal but more teleological focus.

Linguistic Focus
The focus on Greco-Roman texts and the contemporaneous religious writings of Classical Antiquity, delimits the research to the languages of Hebrew, Aramaic, Ancient and Koine Greek, and Latin. As demonstrated in Section 2.4.3, it is very important to have access to the texts in as many translated versions as possible; however, there is no substitute for have the texts in their original language and a

corresponding understanding of the texts in the original languages. Therefore, the research is also limited to a certain extent by the language skills of the researcher.

Where possible the Greco-Roman from Classical Antiquity used in this research have been taken from the Loeb Classical Library. This series, begun early in this century, encompasses both Greek and Latin authors and provides the Greek or Latin text on the left-hand page, with a good English translation facing it. For texts not available in the Loeb series, a standard critical edition of the text has been cited. In the case of the Patristic writers the comprehensive compilation by Migne (1855–99) of the Patristic works has been cited. All texts studied are detailed in part one of the list of references.

Temporal Focus

This research takes place during the period of time known as Classical Antiquity; since this period offers a suitable volume of literature required for the research. At the beginning of the last century, the Cambridge scholar F.M. Cornford reflected on the enduring allure of Classical Antiquity, said:

> "The ancient classics resemble the universe. They are always there, and they are very much the same as ever. But as the philosophy of every new age puts a fresh construction on the universe, so in the classics scholarship finds a perennial object for ever fresh and original interpretation" (Cornford 1903: 19).

As shown in Section 1.5.1, when the example of hospitality in Ancient and Near Eastern Texts was used to justify the value of critical historical research, it became clear that no matter how tempting it was to go as far back in time as possible there was not the textual foundation to make the research possible. The next period of time allows for a large collection of texts and sufficient temporal focus; and indeed as Cornford (1903) observed "classics scholarship finds a perennial object for ever fresh and original interpretation" – this time the object for interpretation is hospitality.

In Table 2:2 Context of the Authors and Writings used in the Research the texts have been laid out to demonstrate clearly, on a timeline, the historical location of each of the authors quoted. The left-hand column gives the dates of major historical events that may have had an influence on the various authors cited. Felperin (1985: 31) when discussing the analysis of texts states that they tend to "resemble so many Pacific islands in a vast coral reef of textuality, all outwardly distinct yet uncertainly connected with and supported by each other in an elaborate submarine network." With this research the 'elaborate submarine network' is the reference to hospitality.

The right-hand column gives a list of the major authors or works researched in the hermeneutical analysis; here the texts are grouped according to age. This demonstrates clearly the importance of the oral tradition to the ancient cultures (Koester 1991). It is interesting to note that the events surrounding the life of Abraham have been dated to around 1850 BC (Matthews 1991a), whilst it is generally accepted that Genesis did not begin to take written form until 1000 BC. A more recent example of the importance of oral tradition would be the observation that Jesus died around 30 AD, and the Gospels did not begin to take written form for at least 40 years (Neirynck 1990); therefore, dates of particular happenings have been included along with the date of the redaction of the actual work. The 'Age' column has been divided up according to standard form of the archaeological periods of Palestine given in North and King (1995: 1203).

CONTEXT OF THE AUTHORS AND WRITINGS		
HISTORICAL NOTES	**AGE**	**AUTHORS AND WRITINGS QUOTED IN THESIS**
The Judges 1200–1025 King David 1010–963 Capture of Jerusalem by Israelites 1000 Building of The Temple 966 Sack of Thebes 633 Fall of Jerusalem 587	IRON AGE 1200–539	Book Of Genesis starts to take a written form 1000–800 Homer 850 Prophet Elisha 850 Codification of Deuteronomy 800 Prophet Isaiah 722 Solon 638–560 Editing of Books of Kings 622
Building of Second Temple in Jerusalem rebuilt 515 Revolt of Cyrus 401	PERSIAN 539–332	Simondes 556–468 Book of Job 500 Euripides 485–406 Socrates 470–399 Compilation of Psalms 450 Xenophon 431–360 Plato 428–347 Aristotle 384–322
Conquests of Alexander the Great 332 John Hyrcanus 134	HELLENISTIC 332–64	Titus Maccius Plautus 254–184 M T Cicero 106–43 Redaction of 1 Maccabees 124 Writing of 1 Maccabees 100
29 BC Augustus Emperor 7–6 BC Birth of Jesus 26–36 AD Pontius Pilate Prefectship 30 AD Death of Jesus Paul's martyrdom under Emperor Nero in Rome 67 AD Destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 AD Clement of Rome, Pope 88–97	RISE OF ROMAN EMPIRE 64 BC	Livy 59 BC–17 AD Ovid 43 BC–17 AD Plutarch 50–120 AD Writings of St Paul 50–67 AD Synoptics, Acts and the Didache around 70 or 80 AD Letter of Clement to the Corinthians 94 AD Gospel & Apocalypse of John about 95 AD

Death of Tacitus in 120 Emperor Hadrian 117–138 Emperor Marcus Aurelius 161–180 Emperor Decius 249–251 Emperor Diocletian 284–305 Emperor Constantine I 306–337 Battle of Milvian Bridge 312	100 AD	Shepherd of Hermas 100 Letters of Ignatius 117 Martyrdom of Polycarp in Smyrna 166 Gospel of Thomas 200 Clement of Alexandra, Stromata 210 Tertullian 212 Cyprian of Carthage 258 Origen 253 Lucius Caecilius Lactantius 240–320
Edict of Milan 313 Julian persecutions 362 Council of Carthage 419 Emperor Justinian granted legal status to poor 530 St Benedict 480–543 Pope Gregory 590–604 Augustine of Canterbury 595–604	CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE II 313	Monastic Rule of Benedict 530

Table 2:2 Context of the Authors and Writings used in the Research
Sources: Fitzmyer (1995); Koester (1991); Matthews (1991a); New Jerusalem Bible (1985) North and King (1995); Wright, Murphy and Fitzmyer (1995)

Texts have been sourced from all the authors in the right-hand column, however, the main periods of investigation runs from approximately 540 BC to the writing of the Monastic Rule of St Benedict. It could be argued that this is a long period of time – however, this is necessary for various reasons. There needs to be a sizable number of texts available that make reference to hospitality; to show any progression of thought, the time period could be reduced, but that would curtail the number of hospitality references available for study. The study ends with the Monastic Rule of St Benedict, as that consolidates much of what has been written before.

Geographic Focus

To study the history of the phenomena of hospitality there is a range of ancient civilisations available, for example: Ancient Chinese, Ancient Japan, the Indian Empires or, in the Americas, the Mayans and Aztecs. All of these civilisations have their own literature – however, this would also broaden scope too far and not provide the focus required. Therefore, the geographic boundaries of this research are those that apply to Classical Antiquity.

Figure 2:3 Imperium Romanum
Source: Ancient World Mapping Centre (2001)

Although traditionally focused on Ancient Greece and Rome, Classical Antiquity is now considered to encompass the entire Ancient Mediterranean world that was embraced by the Roman Empire, thus expanding to Northern Africa and the Middle East. Figure 2:3 Imperium Romanum depicts the landscape and the geographical extent of Classical Antiquity, which corresponds with the Roman Empire at its fullest

extent in the in the early second century AD, from Britannia in the northwest to *Hierusalem* in the southeast.

Literary Genre
Not only is the research delimited linguistically, temporally, and geographically, like all research it is obviously confined by the data available. A characteristic of this research is that unlike other projects, collecting more data is impossible; discovery of lost Greek and Latin texts is not an everyday occurrence. This also remains frustrating; for example, ancient scholars thought that Euripides had written 92 plays, but only 18 of them have survived complete. The wonder is, what would the missing texts have told us? The research also cuts across a range of literary genres. Therefore, this section serves as a short introduction to some of the literary genres: poetry, drama, history, philosophy, personal letters, biographies, apocalypses and autobiographies.

Despite Fagles (1990) observing that the Ancient Greeks did not learn to write until comparatively late in their history, they placed considerable emphasis upon literature. Van Dijk (1997) records that it is generally considered that the western literary tradition began with the Homeric (*c.*700 BC), the epic poems of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* still remain giants in the literary canon. Aeschylus (*c.*500 BC), a playwright who according to Finkelberg (1998) changed Western literature forever, introduced the ideas of dialogue and interacting characters to playwriting; he essentially invented drama as a literary genre. Euripides used his plays to challenge societal norms and makes various references to hospitality.

Biraschi (1989) notes that history as genre began with the writings of Herodotus (*c*.450 BC) and Thucydides (*c*.425 BC). Herodotus is commonly called the father of history and as Rood (1998) records his 'History' contains the first truly literary use of prose in Western literature. However, as Lateiner (1989) records Thucydides is generally considered to be the better historian because of his critical use of sources, inclusion of documents, and laborious research, which resulted in his History of the Peloponnesian War having a significant influence on later generations of historians. Another historian of Ancient Greece, Xenophon (*c*.380 BC), whose name means 'strange sound' or 'guest voice', Bearzot (2004) notes began his work where Thucydides ended his in about 411 BC and carried his history to 362 BC. He wrote with authority on military matters and describes the loyal and hospitable people he met on their way during campaigns.

Philosophy entered literature in the dialogues of Plato, who converted the dialogues of Socratic into questioning written form. Plato, in his 'Laws' details types of stranger guest who are to be welcomed, but details the different levels of hospitality they are to receive according to their rank and station. According to Husain (2002) Aristotle, Plato's student, greatest contribution to literature is considered to be his Poetics, which lays out his understanding of drama, and thereby establishes the first criteria for literary criticism. The emergent difference in literary genre becomes evident, although both Xenophon and Plato knew Socrates, their accounts are very different, as one author was a military historian and the other a poet–philosopher.

Cameron (2004) observes that, in many respects, the writers of the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire chose to avoid innovation in favour of imitating the great Greek authors. This is supported by Sharrock and Morales (2000) when they note

that: Virgil's Aeneid, emulated Homer's Iliad; the playwright Plautus, followed in the footsteps of Euripides; Livy follows essentially the same historical approaches that Thucydides devised); and Ovid and his Metamorphoses explore the same Greek myths again in new ways. The Romans, in comparison with the Greeks, innovate relatively few literary styles of their own.

Sánchez Caro (1989) notes that the Judeo-Christian Bible contains a diverse collection of text and literary genres. Trevijano (2002) records that St. Paul's epistles are the first collection of personal letters to be treated as literature, the Gospels arguably present the first realistic biographies in Western literature, and John's Book of Revelation, though not the first of its kind, essentially defines apocalypse as a literary genre. Augustine of Hippo and the other early Patristic writers (100 AD to 500 AD) according to Trevijano (1998) transformed religious literature in essentially the same manner Plato had philosophy. However, Clark (2005) notes that Augustine's approach was far less conversational and more deductive, writing perhaps the first true autobiography.

What is certainly clear is that hospitality as a literary theme seems to transcend genre and it appears in the writings of many authors throughout Classical Antiquity. More details will be given about the authors referred to here as well as others when they are discussed in Chapter 3.

3.   Reflecting on essential themes

Van Manen (1990) observes that moving from data collection to data interpretation involves a process of phenomenological reflection. Hayllar and Griffin (2005: 518) develop this by arguing that "the grasping, elucidating or explicating of the essential

characteristics of an experience is the basis of the phenomenological endeavour, reflection and interpretation are the means to that end." Denzin (1989) also suggests the use of theme in his approach to data interpretation, the first step in phenomenological reflection is to conduct thematic analysis, which helps give a degree of order and control to the task.

Denzin (1989: 58–9) argues that following bracketing, a process of 'construction' occurs, where the researcher "classifies, orders, and reassembles the phenomenon back into a coherent whole" having as their goal "to re-create lived experience in terms of its constituent analytic elements". This is a clear development of the ideas of Merleau-Ponty (1962) who recommends assembling 'lived facts' in order to find essential meaning within all of them. The researcher whilst reflecting on themes and working the text is engaged in a dialectical process between the text, the researcher and the writing endeavour. Van Manen (1990) suggests that collaboration and the maintenance of a dialogue with a 'co-investigator' helps ensure that the intended meanings and understandings arising from a thematic analysis actually resonate. The role of the 'co-investigator' in this research has been fulfilled by a few individuals, all of whom are thanked in the acknowledgements, further through publications and conference presentations additional feedback and criticism has been sought and has been central to this process.

4.   Writing and rewriting

Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004) observe that in relation to the text, hermeneuticians neither take a monologic stance similar to that of positivism. Instead, as advocated by Caputo (1987) they use the procedure of asking questions to the text, and listening to it, in a dialogic form; this is central in the writing and rewriting phase. Hayllar and

Griffin (2005) observe that to a large extent, the ideas of phenomenological reflection expressed above, and the writing task itself, are false dichotomies; writing and reflection are symbiotic tasks. Van Manen (1990) argues that the approach to writing should focus on maintaining an underlying sensitivity to the language, and through that, to the phenomenon being explored. Denzin (1989) uses the term 'contextualisation' as his suggested mechanism for clarifying themes through the writing process.

2.3.4.2.   Methodological Principles

In addition to these processes of epistemological practice, Madison (1988: 29–30) offers the following methodological principles:

1.   Coherence – the interpretation should be logically consistent.

2.   Comprehensiveness – regard for the whole of the work.

3.   Penetration – the underlying, central problematic should be laid bare.

4.   Thoroughness – all the questions raised by the text should be answered.

5.   Appropriateness – the questions should be raised by the text, not by the interpreter.

6.   Contextuality – the text should be set into its historical-cultural context.

7.   Agreement (1) – the interpretation should agree with what the author really says, without distortions.

8.   Agreement (2) – the interpretation should agree with established interpretations of the text.

9.   Suggestiveness – the interpretation should be 'fertile' and stimulate the imagination.

10.   Potential – the application of the interpretation can be further extended.

Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004) have impugned all of these principles; they make the following intra-hermeneutic observations. Points 2, 3, and 4 are actually the same principle, and concern the regard for the whole of the work. Points 5 and 6 appear to be in conflict with main hermeneutical principles, since they would separate the interpreter from the situation of understanding and the text. Point 7 and 8 seem excessively conservative, and are, moreover, opposed to 9 and 10. "The latter two can be fused into one, namely fertility in research; they are not specific to hermeneutics." (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2004:60) Instead of the principles offered by Madison (1988) and impugned by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004), Hayllar and Griffin (2005) embraced the methodological principles proposed by Van Manen (1990).

A.   Maintain a strong and oriented relation

Hayllar and Griffin (2005) observe that this principle is a warning to those writing phenomenology to ensure that their writing and interpretations remain oriented to the phenomenological questions under investigation. Van Manen (1990:33) notes that "to be oriented to an object means that we are animated by the object in a full and human sense. To be strong in our orientation means that we will not settle for superficialities and falsities."

B.   Considering parts and whole

The final principle is concerned with ensuring that the interpretation is consistent with the various parts of the analysis, as described by Van Manen (1990: 33) when he stated that "at several points it is necessary to step back and look at the total, at the contextual givens and how each of the parts needs to contribute toward the total".

When the methodological principles and practices are combined they form, as described by Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004), the hermeneutic circle of interpretation, which is shown in Figure 2:4.
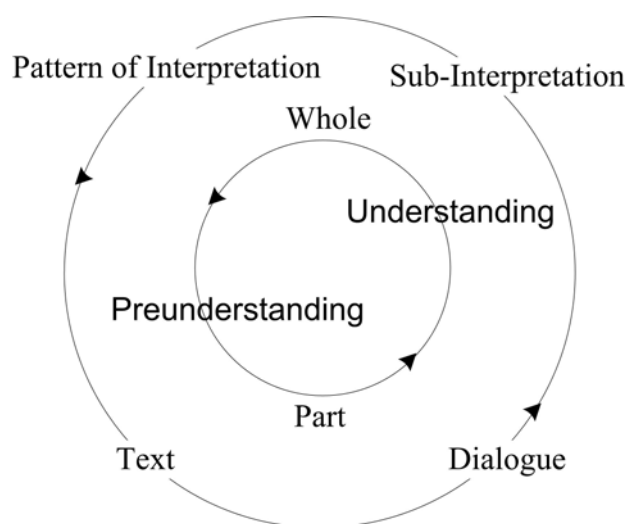
Figure 2:4 The Hermeneutic Circle of Interpretation
Source: Alvesson and Sköldberg (2004: 66)

Before considering the validity of the conclusions, one final methodological consideration was the appropriateness of using one of the computer software programmes for coding and analysis, for example, NUD*IST or NVivo. After consultation with other researchers and piloting a version of NVivo it was concluded that whilst bringing many advantages, particularly in the ordering of large amounts of data, there was not the same level of textual engagement. In this research the analysis needed to be more fluid than the options presented by the use of the software. The software applies a fixed method of classification based on quasi-quantification of qualitative data, whereas in this research meaning transcends word count. This was validated by Charmaz's (2006) observation that such software tends to reduce the creative ability to gain insights from data and is more suited for an objectivist rather than an interpretivist approach.

2.3.4.3.   Determining the Validity of Conclusions

Drawing conclusions is central to any research project, as Gregson (2000: 322) comments: "conclusions are part of the performance of academic writing, suggesting it is possible to summarize in a comprehensive, synthetic way, which looks forward and stakes out the terrain of 'progress'". When the practices and principles of phenomenological hermeneutics are combined they provide a workable methodological framework for a phenomenological study. Despite being a rigorous methodology with an illustrious history classical phenomenological hermeneutics is not as exacting as some quantitative methods. When academic subjects are evolving qualitative methods have brought about great advances, Cohen (1988: 30) strengthens this assumption as follows:

> "The most significant and lasting contributions have been made by researchers who employed an often loose, qualitative methodology. Not only were their research methods often ill-defined and their data unsystematically collected, but even their definition of theoretical concepts, and the operationalization of the latter, leaves much to be desired. Nevertheless, their often acute insights and the theoretical frameworks in which these have been embodied, provided the point of departure for several 'traditions' in the sociological study of tourism, which endowed the field with its distinctive intellectual tension, even as the much more rigorous and quantitative 'touristological' studies often yielded results of rather limited interest".

However, Hayllar and Griffin (2005) observe that an overriding question remains: how do we know that we have fully and faithfully explicated the phenomenon as experienced?

Crotty (1996: 169) notes that because of its epistemological underpinnings, phenomenology provides no objective outcomes in the way objectivity is understood within more positivistic paradigms. However, he argues "there is a criterion we can point to. It consists in the very 'Aha!' we give when we finally describe what is of the essence. We have the sense that, at last, the description fits. We feel gripped by the

phenomenon understood in the way we are describing it." Hayllar and Griffin (2005: 519) develop this when they observe "the 'Aha!' described by Crotty (1996) mirrors the term used by Buytendijk (in Van Manen, 1990) to account for his own sense of completion: the 'phenomenological nod'. It is something we, or others with similar experiences, can clearly recognise". And as Evans (1988: 701) observed, "Validation is ... by the very act of participation, internal to the research in that whilst interpretations must be justifiable in terms of the cited evidence, they are still the product of the ability of the observer to participate meaningfully." In conclusion Harmon (1989) noted that the phenomenological research is rigorous in its own right; however, it contains within it the demand that the researcher be honest and self-aware. This requirement for self-awareness, honesty and transparency in the research process are addressed in the following sections that investigate the rhetorical and axiological considerations contained within this thesis.

2.4. RHETORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

2.4.1. PHILOSOPHY AND EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE

Gorgias, a fifth century Sophist, is remembered for his provocative aphorisms the most notable is his treatise *On What is Not*:

> "Firstly ... nothing exists;
> secondly ... even if anything exists, it is incomprehensible by man;
> thirdly .., even if anything is comprehensible, it is guaranteed to be inexpressible and incommunicable to one's neighbour"
> (Gorgias 500 BC, quoted in Arist. *De Melisso Xenophane Gorgia* 980a: 19–20)

According to Bux (1941) Gorgias' treatise *On What is Not* is just a rhetorical parody of philological and rhetorical philosophical doctrines. Following the rhetorical

approach, researchers in speech communication and rhetoric (e.g. Gronbeck 1972; Engnell 1973; Cascardi 1983; Walters 1994) attempt to attribute to Gorgias an epistemology and a genuine philosophy of rhetoric. For other authors (e.g. Nestle 1922; Calogero 1977; Brocker 1958; Guthrie 1969, 1971) Gorgias is just a nihilist, attacking the doctrines of the Pre-Socratic ontological approach. What is unarguable is that the aphorism deals with ontology, epistemology and introduces to the problem of rhetoric and language in a world where communication was changing. Despite being written 2500 years ago, Gorgias describes eloquently is the evolution of this chapter, the ontological and epistemological issues have been considered now it turns to communicating the research and the use of language.

As communication developed and societies changed from oral to written, Plato (Phaedrus) in 320 BC argued that writing would deteriorate memory, wreak havoc on logical constructions, and create an artificial reality. As a result, cultures that embrace writing would become inferior mentally, socially, and logically. Ong (1987) traced the evolution of oral societies into literate societies, arguing that with the advent of literacy and writing, these cultural patterns changed: concision instead of repetition; analytical organizational patterns instead of narrative; and persuasion based on formal logic rather than presence. McLuhan (1962) offered similar deterministic accounts of communication media such as television and radio; in other words, the medium was the message in that the physical structure of the medium superimposed rhetorical and cultural patterns on its audiences. As Thatcher (2004) observes many authors, including Grossberg (1992), Kaufer and Carley (1993), and Martín-Barbero (1993), discounted the simplicity of these arguments, proposing or arguing instead for mutually constitutive patterns among cultural patterns, writing, and orality. This point can be illustrated using the example of the story of Abraham. This story was

originally based in oral tradition from about 1800 BC, probably first written down in around 1000 BC and redacted for another 500 years; it is impossible to distinguish where the oral tradition stopped and the written redaction began.

The preceding discussion has focused on the evolution of language, without considering the needs of its users, Harris (1996: 160) cautions against segregation of language from language-users, because this resembles "the murky metaphysical underworld of Plato's Forms". If language is separated from its users, it can be made into a quasi-Platonic object that exists prior to those users. This can be illustrated in Aristotelian terms in referring to a man's hand, Aristotle writes:

> "It is not a hand in any and every state that is a part of a man, but only when it can fulfil its work, and therefore only when it is alive; if it is not alive, it is not a part." (Arist. *Metaphysics* 1036b).

Aristotle emphasis this in variety of ways, referring to a man's fingers, he adds: "they cannot exist if severed from the whole; …a dead finger is a finger only in name" (*Metaphysics*, 1035b). In these, Harris (1996) holds that a name severed from language-users is a name in name only. Wittgenstein (1974) holds a similar view in discussing semiotics he makes the point explicit:

> "It is always for living beings that signs exist, so that must be something essential to the sign. Yes, but how is 'living being' to be defined?" (Wittgenstein 1974: 192)

Following Aristotle and Wittgenstein, Harris rejects that treatment of language which separates it from the living beings which use it. McDonough (2000) uses the example of an art student who, in the desire to gain a better understanding of Michelangelo's artistry, hacked off Michelangelo's hand so that its artistic powers could be isolated. For Aristotle, Wittgenstein and Harris to understand what Michelangelo's hand can do, one must study Michelangelo. Language, its use and exploration, pervades the

entire thesis; so far the philosophy and evolution of language has only been studied in abstract isolation. In an attempt to avoid the metaphysical forms of the platonic underworld, this chapter now studies how language is used to report research and the role of the authorial voice, it then investigates language in translation and translation philosophy.

2.4.2. USE OF LANGUAGE IN RESEARCH

Metadiscourse was first discussed by Vande Kopple (1985: 83) as "discourse about discourse or communication about communication"; according to Vande Kopple (1985) textual metadiscourse refers to devices which primarily play the role of organising the text for the reader. Mauranen (1993), Valero-Garcés (1996), Moreno (1997) and Bunton (1999) use the term metatext when discussing textual metadiscourse, whilst Crismore (1989), Crismore and Farnsworth (1990), Hyland (1998; 1999), and Fuertes-Olivera *et al.* (2001) use the term metadiscourse when discussing textual as well as interpersonal functions. From the above it is clear that the concept of metadiscourse is a complex one and includes, use of language, first person pronouns, and evaluative expressions; it may be broadly described as "overtly expressing the writer's acknowledgement of the reader" (Dahl 2004: 1811). Iser (1976) and Jauss (1982; 1989) propose that texts are written for an ideal reader; Hoey (1988) argues that there is always an implied reader, looking over the shoulder of the author. According to Hoey (1988) the author writes to meet the reader's needs at the time, and must always consider the hypothetical reader when writing. In the case of this thesis the reader is multifaceted: supervisors who accompany the writer; the examiners who judge the writer; the wider academic community who have an interest in the research; and there is always the possibility of other readers looking at the

content as an example of how to write or how not to write a thesis. In writing a thesis the author must address all these readers and overcome three challenges: prove that their work is a contribution to the field (Ervin 1993); demonstrate themselves as competent members of the academic discipline (Pare 1993); and say something new (Berkenkotter and Huckin, 1995; Kaufer and Geisler 1989). New authors have to show solidarity with the existing academic community, not least because they will judge the work; Majone (1989) observed that the completeness, shape, structure and beauty of an argument is determined not just by ourselves but by those who receive it.

According to Bowden (1995) and Harklau and Schecter (1996), the voice that an author projects individuates them from all other authors: "Your authentic voice is that authorial voice which sets you apart from every living human being despite the common or shared experiences you have with many others" (Stewart, 1972; cited in Bowden, 1995: 175). This does not mean that the author just has a singular voice, as Ede (1989) explains:

> "Just as you dress differently on different occasions, as a writer you assume different voices in different situations. If you're writing an essay about a personal experience, you may work hard to create a strong personal voice in your essay ... If you're writing a report or essay exam, you will adopt a more formal, public tone. (Ede 1989; cited in Bowden. 1995: 175)

This view of voice also has close parallels with a major tenet of post-structuralist thought. According to Foucault (1980) and Pennycook (1996) people have, by their very nature, multiple instead of unitary personalities or subjectivities. The Russian literary and linguistics scholar Baklitin (1986) proposed the notion of heteroglossia, (from the Greek meaning many tongues) – all language is made up of words, phrases, and ideas in effect borrowed from other authors and infused with their intentions; an author's voice is inevitably multiple, intertextual and appropriate to the situation.

Ivanič (1998) in describing the identity of the academic writer talks about an autobiographical self, which is "the identity which people bring with them to any act of writing, shaped… by their prior social and discoursal history" (1998: 24); another aspect is called self as author, which is described as a relative concept, since "writers see themselves to a greater or lesser extent as authors" (1998: 26). This aspect is particularly relevant to academic writing, "since writers differ considerably in how far they claim authority as the source of the content of the text, and in how far they establish an authorial presence in their writing" (1998: 26).

> "most crucially… rhetorical identity is influenced by the writer's background and this becomes more intricate for students familiar with intellectual traditions which may be very different from those practised in English academic contexts" (Hyland 2002: 1110–11).

Hall (2004: 151) observes that he often criticises much of the cultural turn in the social sciences not because of the spirit behind it or on grounds of the methods employed, but "because of the dense, exclusive language which is used. For me, language should seek to be inclusive so that it call be understood by as many people as possible". In this research the textual analysis has been conducted in English; however, none of the texts used were originally written in English – for this reason there follows discussion on the translation philosophy adopted in the research.

2.4.3. TRANSLATION OF TEXTS

2.4.3.1. Introduction

Since all writing is the product of a particular time and culture, the views expressed in it and the language in which they are expressed reflect a particular cultural conditioning. This sometimes makes them quite different from contemporary ideas and concerns as Kolenberger states clearly "…the text should not be altered in order to adjust it to contemporary concerns" (1995: xi). The finished translation must

communicate accurately the words of the original author; debate is centred on which method or philosophy of translation should be used by the translator. Nida (1964: 159f) asserts that 'there are fundamentally two different types of equivalence', two basic orientations, 'two poles of translating': formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence.

Neubert and Shreve (1992) give an overview of the translation debate; the key areas are discussed below. Snell-Hornby (1988) wrote about the illusion of equivalence and Hewson and Martin (1991) called for a redefinition of translation, including equivalence. From these authors it can be seen that formal equivalence or literal translation lets aspects such as the poetic structure, and whether the same word is being used in several passages, be seen. It is useful if working with a detailed commentary that is discussing the original language or the literary form. Using this type of translation, it is possible to misunderstand the meaning of the text, whereas the dynamic equivalence attempts to transfer the same meaning and impact to a modern reader just as the original would have to its readers. It departs from a literal translation for a number of reasons: idiom; words which have several meanings, the choice of which is based on a combination of context and grammar; words that have no direct equivalent in English that are best rendered by a phrase, or the choice of different wording; and lastly differences in grammatical and stylistic conventions. Malmkjaer (1993) developed the need for cultural relativity in translation, concluding that a number of different variables are involved in the translation of texts that change with time and space, context and culture of the text. The danger of using this type of translation is that the literary features of the original form are often lost, particularly in poetic passages and Tabakowska (1993) insisted that poetics also has a place in translation, when defining translation equivalence.

Developing Hoey's (1988) observation that an author writes to meet the reader's needs, Ruuskanen (1996: 884) argues that the translator must create this reader or at least have a reader in mind while doing the translation. "Since the readers of the source text are different from those of the translated text, then the translator has the problem of empathising with two different sets of readers. The problem is complicated by the fact that the translator is also the writer of the translated text." English translations show differing levels of constancy in the application of either formal equivalence or dynamic equivalence; this is demonstrated in detail using the text of Romans 12:13.

2.4.3.2.   Case Study on Romans 12:13

The Greek text for Romans 12:13 is as follows:

"ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦτες τὴν ψιλοξενίαν διώκοντες".

A morphological analysis of the texts shows:

Word	Base	Morphology	Translation
ταῖς	ὁ	definite article: dative plural feminine	The
Χρείαις	Χρεία	noun: dative plural feminine	Need: to / for needs
Τῶν	ὁ	definite article: genitive plural masculine	of the
ἁγίων	ἅγιος	adjective: genitive plural masculine	holy, saint: of saints
κοινωνοῦτες	Κοινωέω	verb: present active participle, nominative plural masculine	contribute (and related synonyms)
Τὴν	ὁ	definite article: accusative singular feminine	The
ψιλοξενίαν	Ψιλοξενία	noun: accusative singular feminine	love of strangers: hospitality
διώκοντες	Διώκω	verb: present active participle, nominative plural masculine	pursue (and related synonyms)

Figure 2:5 Morphological Analysis of Romans 12:13

This has been rendered in Latin in the vulgate as: "Necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes hospitalitatem sectantes".

Whilst a literal translation of the text would be: "to the necessities of the saints contributing; the hospitality pursuing".

In trying to decide which translation best communicates the content of the original text, formal equivalence translators would argue that the content of the original was best communicated, when the translator consciously tried to parallel closely the linguistic form of the original. Dynamic equivalence translators, on the other hand, argue that the best way is to use the most natural form of the language of the reader, whether or not this closely parallels the linguistic form of the original text (Martin 1997). More than 100 translation of the New Testament are in existence. The translations of Romans 12:13 given below start with the most formal and end with the most dynamic.

King James Version	Distributing to the necessity of saints; given to hospitality
New King James Version	Distributing to the needs of the saints, given to hospitality
Wycliffe Version	Giving good to the needs of saints, keeping hospitality
Rheimes New Testament	Communicating to the necessities of the saints. Pursuing hospitality.
Darby Translation	Distributing to the necessities of the saints; given to hospitality
Revised Standard Bible	Contribute to the needs of the saints, practice hospitality
New Revised Standard Version	Contribute to the needs of the saints; extend hospitality to strangers
New International Version	Share with God's people who are in need. Practice hospitality
New American Standard Bible	Contributing to the needs of the saints, practising hospitality.
New American Bible	Contribute to the needs of the holy ones, exercise hospitality.
The Bible in Basic English	Giving to the needs of the saints, ready to take people into your houses.

English Standard Version	Contribute to the needs of the saints and seek to show hospitality.
God's Word Translation	Share what you have with God's people who are in need. Be hospitable.
Jerusalem Bible	If any of the saints are in need you must share with them; and you should make hospitality your special care.
New Jerusalem Bible	Share with any of God's holy people who are in need; look for opportunities to be hospitable.
Good News Translation	Share your belongings with your needy fellow Christians, and open your homes to strangers.
New Century Version	Share with God's people who need help. Bring strangers in need into your homes.
World Wide English Version	Give to God's people who need it. Be glad to take care of strangers in your house.
New Life Version	Share what you have with Christian brothers who are in need. Give meals and a place to stay to those who need it.
New Living Translation	When God's children are in need, be the one to help them out. And get into the habit of inviting guests home for dinner or, if they need lodging, for the night.

Table 2:3 Translations of Romans 12:13

It can be seen from the above translations, which vary in length from nine words to 32 words, that the verse splits into two parts "ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦτες" and "τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες"

The central word for this study 'φιλοξενίαν' is translated in general, as hospitality, with some notable exceptions. The New Revised Standard version encourages the extension of hospitality 'to strangers', this emphasises the more literal translation of 'φιλοξενίαν' –'love of strangers' – but is rather exclusive as true hospitality should be open to all, friend and stranger alike. The more dynamic translations offer various interpretations of the meaning of hospitality: 'ready to take people into your houses'; 'open your homes to strangers'; 'bring strangers in need into your homes'; 'be glad to take care of strangers in your house'; 'give meals and a place to stay to those who need it'; and finally the most 'dynamic' translation 'and get into the habit of inviting guests home for dinner or, if they need lodging, for the night'.

2.4.4. TRANSLATION PHILOSOPHY

This example shows that translation is a multi-dimensional approximation – there are many differences between the languages: sentence structure; the tenses and moods; and the implied logic contained in the words. Without doubt, there are bad translations; that is to say, translations that make unnecessary changes to the meaning of the text. However, there can be no such a thing as a best translation. The perceived quality of the translation depends on the criteria employed by the translator. Both formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence translations can be very misleading for studying. However, a text in which the translators explain their decisions can border on becoming a commentary rather than a translation.

There has always been some debate on how ancient and classical texts can be 'properly' translated, Oppenheim (1977), a philologist and Assyriologist, did much to make Mesopotamian texts as understandable in the modern world, as those of Greece and Rome. In the introduction to 'Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization', he wrote:

> "... translated texts tend to speak more of the translator than of their original message. It is not too difficult to render texts written in a dead language as literally as possible and to suggest to the outsider, through the use of quaint and stilted locutions, the alleged awkwardness and archaism of a remote period… A step nearer to the realization of the legitimate desire to make the texts 'speak for themselves'… with a critical discussion of the literary, stylistic, and emotional setting of each translated piece" (Oppenheim 1977: 3).

The standard and accessible versions of these texts, in English translation, are by Matthews and Benjamin; in their introduction to the texts, they state, "In preparing [our translation] we tried to meet Oppenheim's challenge. Our readings are not literal or visual, text-oriented, translations, but responsible, reader-oriented, paraphrases. The English vocabulary and idiom emphasises the relationship between the ancient

Near Eastern parallel and the Bible. It imitates commonly used patterns of speech today. It avoids awkwardness and archaism" (Matthews 1991a: xii).

When translating it is clear that some personal bias and beliefs of the researcher will intrude into the research when using the ancient and classical texts. Accepting this reality, Creswell (1994; 1998) asserts that the interpretivist assumption of value laden and bias would be acceptable. The interpretivist rhetorical assumption details that the language used develops from informal evolving decisions and is enhanced by personal voice, the close dependence of the research on language and rhetoric, and the continually evolving decisions regarding translations. The definition of an acceptable translation is what will be accepted by the person who is reading the translation, thus it will change with each text, and even with the same text if it is translated at a different time or for a different purpose. This is why different translations of the Bible are needed for different times and people; the audience has changed, and the needs of the audience have changed. For example, a translation of the bible used for prayerful meditation would not be the same as one used for textual analysis; similarly, a poetic translation of Homer's works would not be very useful in a critical analysis of hospitality encounters in the ancient world.

2.5. AXIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

One of the defining features of the population in contemporary industrial society according to Gergen (1991) and Lash and Urry (1994) is postmodernity and development of reflexivity or self consciousness. This is summarised by Hall (2004: 140) who states "modern societies have reached a position where not only are they

forced to reflect on themselves but also they have the capability of reflecting back on themselves".

This concept of reflexivity has been developed by Giddens (1990; 1991), who considered it to be capacity for greater personal, individual self reflexivity, while Beck (1992) talked of societal self-reflexivity, and Beck *et al.* (1994) through social monitoring and social movements. For researchers, this means that due to the principle of reflexive explanation, "each of us as members of society are able to participate via certain roles and come to reflect on the products of that participation" (Evans 1988: 2000). Hall (2004: 140) observes "whether the condition of modern societies is branded as reflexive modernity or postmodernity, the vagaries of the post-modern condition are virtually unavoidable in contemporary examinations of social science and the worlds from which social research are formed, including our own". Hall (2004: 141) goes on to observe "ironically, this is itself a product of the nature of Postmodernity", which "does not offer itself as a theory to be tested and assessed in the usual fashion. In a peculiar way, postmodernity has to be assessed not from the detached viewpoint of the external observer but from within, from inside its own discourse" (Kumar 1995: 184).

The implications for this research are clear; as has been shown in both the selection of the paradigm and in the development of the research methodology, it follows a clear development of the scientific method. Despite using a traditional research methodology, it being conducted within the interpretivist paradigm – it is in this context that that the personal bias of the researcher will be reflected upon in the apposite places.

2.6. METHODOLOGY IN ACTION AND STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The search for references to hospitality began with personal knowledge of the texts under investigation. This came from and led to traditional methods of textual data collection from Classical Antiquity: for example, referring to classical (Liddell and Scott 1940, 2007; Lewis and Short 1963) and biblical (Brown Johnson and O'Connell 1995; Brown and O'Collins 1995; Strong 1969, 2007) concordances and including inscriptions and graffiti sources such as Greek (Rhodes and Osborne 2007) and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

Advice on further textual sources was sought from academics in the faculties of theology, philosophy and classics in Salamanca and Rome. Some of these academics were members of the Pontifical Biblical Commission and the International Theological Commission and their knowledge was more encyclopaedic than the best concordance. In addition, they were able to provide advice on which versions of the bible were to be used. The *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Elliger and Rudolph 1977) is considered to be the definitive edition of the Hebrew Bible. Widely regarded as a reliable edition of the Hebrew and Aramaic scriptures and is the most widely used original-language edition among scholars; it is based on the Leningrad Codex a nearly exact copy of the Masoretic Text (*c.* ninth century AD) the oldest complete Hebrew/Aramaic Bible still preserved. For the New Testament *Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece* (Nestle and Aland 2006) is the critical scholarly work redacted from over 5,400 complete or fragmented Greek manuscripts. The most recent edition (2006) shows a nearly exhaustive list of variants but includes only the most

significant witnesses for each variant. The Greek text has paragraph and section breaks, cross references in the margins and includes synoptic parallels.

Consideration was also given to new digital and online databases. Two of these were tried: The online *Perseus Classics Collection*, and CD-ROM of the *Packhard Humanities Institute's Latin Database*. These are both integrated collections of materials, textual and visual, on Classical Antiquity. The most accurate results came from searching using original language key word searches thus avoiding the vagaries and inaccuracies of translation variations. One serious deficiency was the difficulty of contextualising the quote. Whereas it had been relatively easy to visually scan the pages of a book surrounding the identified text, the digital collections did not allow this process. However, use of these digital collections identified a small number of sources that had not previously been discovered. More importantly, investigating these digital sources showed that they were not as comprehensive as the more traditional methods.

When presenting early pilots of the research at conferences, certain suggestions, often emanating from non-subject specialists, tended to lead to time consuming tangential enquires. For example, one academic was adamant that the Greek philosopher Epicurus (*c.*341–270 BC) and Epicurean views of hospitality had been overlooked. This meant that all of Epicurus' writings, and those of his contemporary biographer, had to be revisited. What this re-investigation showed was that Epicurus does not mention hospitality; he was a hedonist or to be more accurate the founder of the philosophical theory of hedonism. His biographer, Diogenes Laertius, only refers to Epicurus and his discussion of food in passing:

> "Epicurus describes virtue as the sine qua non of pleasure, i.e. the one thing without which pleasure cannot be, everything else, food, for instance, being separable, i.e. not indispensable to pleasure.".(Laertius, *Vitae* 10:4)

And in the writings of Epicurus there is only one specific reference to food:

> "And even as men choose of food not merely and simply the larger portion, but the more pleasant, so the wise seek to enjoy the time which is most pleasant and not merely that which is longest." (Epicurus, *Menoeceus* 1:22)

This process showed just how easy it was to be sidetracked on interesting, but not particularly relevant, side issues; however, the experience of online materials and the presentation at conferences reinforces that the traditional approaches to textual identification were to be the most fruitful.

The research reported on in this thesis is essentially hermeneutical; that is investigating ways of engaging with and interpreting textual data. It must depend upon on textual data, as there are very few other practical ways of accessing Classical Antiquity. Due to the complexity of the research, the hermeneutic circle developed into a hermeneutic helix. This helical, rather than the conventional circular, process is illustrated in Figure 2:6 Derived Hermeneutical Helix. It allowed for a dynamic and engaging methodology through revisiting the presuppositions and the texts themselves. It also became more critical as it permitted development though simultaneously, focusing and increasing clarity in the distillation of the essence of hospitality that was emerging from the texts.
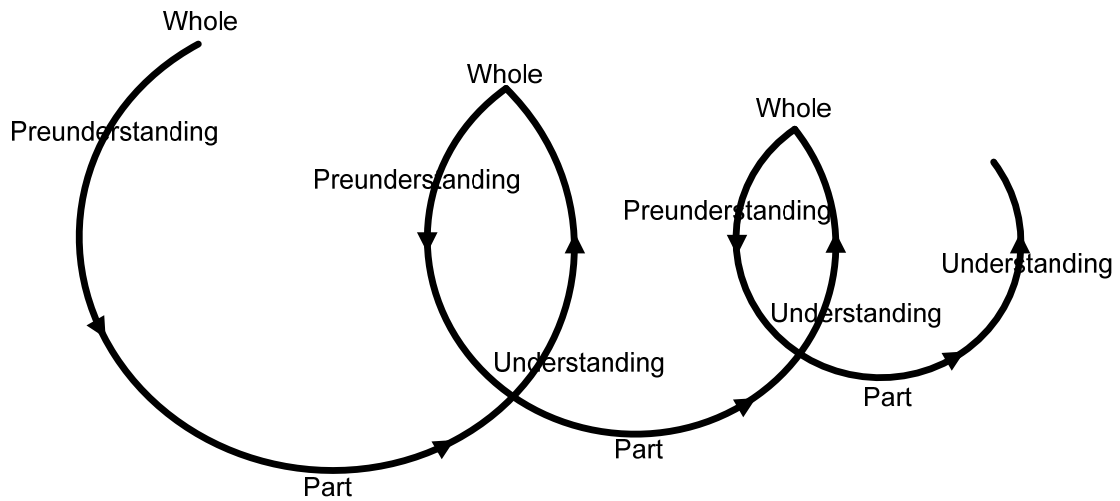
Figure 2:6 Derived Hermeneutical Helix

The development of hermeneutics represented in this approach makes a conventional format for the presentation of a thesis inappropriate as the five-chapter format would not allow for the illustration of the systematic flow and development of ideas. A tradition structuring of a thesis flows from a narrow concept of empiricism, beginning with a literature review that informs both the methodology and the empirical investigation, which leads to a presentation and analysis of the findings, a discussion and conclusions. It is essentially sequential, and presumes that the literature is reviewed in advance of a research design. In the research reported on in this thesis, not all the secondary literature was known in advance of conducting the initial empirical investigation and inductive analysis. Indeed, a significant new development in the literature was published after the first reflective analysis had been completed.

The hermeneutic helix has the dual purpose of providing the foundation for both the methodology of the research and the structure used to report upon its application in the remainder of the thesis. The helical process for the methodology is illustrated in Figure 2:7.
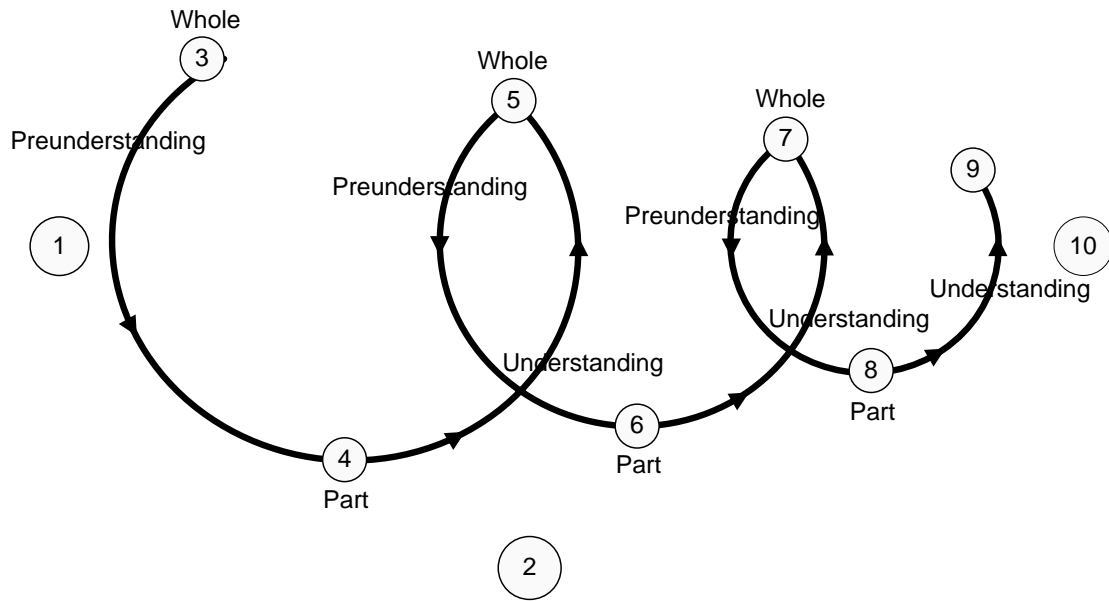
Figure 2:7 Helical Methodological Process

This helical structure for the methodology also provides the basis for the structure of the thesis. The chapters are:

Chapter   Content

1   Introduction and Overview

2   Methodology

3   Presuppositions 1 – Literature Review of Judeo-Christian Theological and Biblical Studies Literature

4   Inductive Analysis

5   Presuppositions 2 – Literature Review of Classics and Hospitality

6   First Reflective Analysis

7   Presuppositions 3 – Literature Review of *Hospitality: A Social Len*s

8   Second Reflective Analysis

9   Discussion of the Findings: Towards a dynamic hospitality model

10   Overall Conclusions

This research, in line with the traditional hermeneutic circle, began with examining the textual corpus as a whole (Chapter 3), through exploring my own presuppositions and pre-understandings of the texts. This was done, first, by developing my own personal reflectivity. This reflexive writing process is repeated at the two subsequent

points where the helix returns to the preunderstanding and presuppositions stage, in order to reflect further on my own bias towards the texts. Second, a review of the Judeo-Christian theological and biblical studies literature was conducted to lay down background details before the inductive textual analysis was undertaken.

In keeping with the traditional hermeneutic circle, after the pre-understandings and the textual corpus as a whole were reflected upon, the texts themselves were considered individually (Chapter 4). The pericopes (small extracts of text from a larger work) that referred to hospitality or hospitality issues, which had been previously identified, formed the basis for the initial inductive analysis. This inductive engagement could have been the end point of the hermeneutical process, and conventionally would have been. However, I was not entirely happy with the presentation of the results as they tended towards being descriptive and thus not overtly analytical. The results did not seem clear and the essence of hospitality still seemed to transcend the description of hospitality that was presented.

What was clear from Chapter 4 was a need to revisit my own presuppositions and pre-understandings of the texts. In order to do this, a literature review of contemporary authors in classics and hospitality (Chapter 5) was then conducted. The ideas that emanate from the analysis of these authors become the pre-understandings for the second twist of helix, when the individual pericopes are reviewed for a second time (Chapter 6). What became clear from the texts is that they were about delivery of hospitality whereas philosophical literature added a dimension of experience of hospitality.

The final stage of the helix (Chapter 7) saw the need to integrate the ideas and research into the area of hospitality studies. Auspiciously this was contemporaneous with the publication of the Hospitality Social Lens (Lashley *et al.* (eds.) 2007). Thus, the structure of the lens was to form the pre-understanding for the third and final twist of helix; a reflective analysis using the lens (Chapter 8).

As a consequence of the application of the hermeneutical helix (Chapter 9) a new hospitality model is presented in three different contexts and from two perspectives. The new model offered here is a natural progression of the Hospitality Social Lens in light of the discoveries made through this research. The conclusions (Chapter 10) review the implications of the research for Hospitality Studies as a subject area. It also reviews the research and in particular the value of the Hospitality Social Lens and the value of the methodological evolution that took place during the research.

Whilst adhering to the derived hermeneutical helix (Figure 2:7 Helical Methodological Process) the epistemological practices and methodological principles that were discussed earlier (Section 2.3.4) were also followed throughout the research process. In order to illustrate their application the process undertaken is summarised in Table 2:4 Applied Epistemological Practices and Table 2:5 Applied Methodological Principles. These tables present the identification of the practice (Column 1), a summary of the process (Column 2) and notes how this was applied in the research (Column 3).

Epistemological Practices		
Practice	**Summary**	**Application**
Bracketing of previous experience and turning toward lived experience	Presuppositions, biases, and any knowledge of the phenomenon obtained from personal and scholarly sources must be set aside.	On identification the texts were re-read and translated in an attempt to look at them afresh, this time from a hospitality perspective rather than a theological view point.
Investigating the phenomenon	It is important to clearly define the phenomenon under investigation in order for the data collection to remain focused.	The phenomenon was delimited linguistically, temporally, and geographically – keeping a tight focus on the Greco-Roman world of Classical Antiquity – despite the temptation to use literature from parallel and cultures, e.g. Mesopotamia or Egypt.
Reflecting on essential themes	Moving from data collection to data interpretation involves a process of phenomenological reflection. The first step in reflection is to conduct thematic analysis which helps give a degree of order and control to the task.	This initial reflection began with a blank sheet of paper. Mind maps illustrated key themes that appeared to dominate the data. It became clear that there was a clear division emerging between hospitality in the home, hospitality at the level of the state and commercial hospitality.
Writing and rewriting	During the analysis the procedure of asking questions to the text, and listening to it, in a dialogic form is central in the writing and rewriting phase. Reflection and writing task can be false dichotomies as they tend to be symbiotic tasks.	The research went through a pilot study and two major rewrites, all of which had been externally validated through conference papers, book chapters and journal articles. The writing and rewriting required and allowed for a frequent objectivity check and great levels of personal reflection

Table 2:4 Applied Epistemological Practices

Methodological Principles		
Practice	**Summary**	**Application**
Maintain a strong and oriented relation	Writing and interpretations must remain oriented to the phenomenon under investigation, thus superficialities and falsities will be avoided.	In order to keep a clear and unbiased orientation advice, assistance and reflection was also sought from academics in the University of Salamanca with high level of expertise in the texts and textual analysis, who were not directly involved in the research.
Considering parts and whole	The overall interpretation is consistent with the various parts of the analysis, step back and look at the total, and how each of the parts needs to contribute towards it.	This reassembly is achieved by combining the issues identified in the literature with the initial reconstructions of the texts of Classical Antiquity. The overviews were achieved by having to constantly reassemble the findings into publications.

Table 2:5 Applied Methodological Principles

From Table 2:4 it can be seen that the epistemological practices were primarily concerned with the understanding and collection of the data, whereas the methodological principles (Table 2:5) dealt with the interpretation and conceptualisation of the data, and the resultant discussion and findings. The methodological principles were necessary to keep the writing and re-writing focused on the phenomenon under investigation; i.e. the essence of hospitality in Classical Antiquity. With this kind of study there is always the temptation to go off at fascinating but wonderfully irrelevant tangents that very little (often nothing) to do with the actual research question. Maintaining a strong and disciplined focus on the phenomenon under investigation, whilst considering the resultant findings was paramount in producing robust and relevant conclusions.

3. PRESUPPOSITIONS 1 – LITERATURE REVIEW OF JUDEO-CHRISTIAN THEOLOGICAL AND BIBLICAL STUDIES LITERATURE

3.1. PERSONAL REFLEXIVITY

This chapter presents the initial exploration of presuppositions; these presuppositions were two-fold: firstly, from my own theological background; and secondly, from a wide range of literature that had already considered hospitality in Judeo-Christian biblical and theological texts. The literature review starts with biblical studies and biblical anthropology, before processing to the Patristic Writers. Patristic theology is the study of early Christian writers, known as the Church Fathers. According to Trevijano (1998), the Church Fathers or the Patristic Writers are the early and influential theologians and writers in the Christian Church, particularly those of the first five centuries of Christian history. Investigation of the Patristic writers ends with St Benedict of Nursia, which is contemporaneous with the end of Classical Antiquity. The term is used to classify and describe writers and teachers of the Church, not necessarily saints. It is generally not meant to include the New Testament authors, though in the early Church some writing of Church Fathers was considered to be canonical.

The objective of the research at this stage was to formalise the background and direction of the PhD and set terms of reference within the aims and objectives of the PhD project. Undertaking research using texts from Classical Antiquity was unproblematic as extensive previous study and research was undertaken in Spain and Rome using these texts. However, this research was the purposes of *licenciatura* on the topic of the philosophy of death, reported in O'Gorman (2003).

The first stage is to under take a personal reflection as Hall (2004: 148) advises self-reflexivity, however, he adds the cautionary observation that "taking such positions or making personal value statements in their dissertations may also upset some examiners if they do not support the inclusions of reflexive statements". Impersonality in academic writing can be traced back to Einstein (1934: 113), who wrote "when a man is talking about scientific subjects, the little word 'I' should play no part in his expositions". Lachowicz (1981: 111) presents a more rhetorically grounded opinion, when he argues that impersonality emphasises "objectivity, openmindedness, and the established factual nature of a given activity". This is a view proposed in many style manuals and textbooks: Arnaudet and Barrett (1984) and Rowntree (1991) advise caution and avoidance in use of the first person, while Jones and Keene (1981), Lester (1993), and Spencer and Arbon (1996) recommend complete abstention. This is confirmed by Myers (1989) and Hyland (2000; 2002) who argue that academic writing requires an understanding of the rhetorical conventions and social understandings of the discipline. In research articles the avoidance of first person pronouns when writing demonstrates "humility towards one's peers, one's reviewers, or the discipline in general, represents the best means of gaining acceptance of one's claims" (Hyland 2000:209). Depersonalised reporting of research is seen in the literature as a grasp of scholarly persuasion, it should allow the research to speak directly to the reader in an unmediated way.

On the other hand, it can be argued that writing carries information about the writer as Ivanič (1998) and Ivanič and Simpson (1992) note that conventions of personal projection, particularly the use of first person pronouns, are powerful means for self representation. Cherry (1988) uses the traditional rhetorical concepts of ethos and

persona to represent persuasiveness as a balance between these two dimensions of authority: the credibility gained from representing oneself as a competent member of the discipline, and from rhetorically displaying the personal qualities of a reliable, trustworthy person. Presenting a discoursal self is central to the writing process, as Ivanič (1998: 32) has made clear:

> "Writing is a particularly salient form of social action for the negotiation of identities, because written text is deliberate, potentially permanent and used as evidence for many social purposes (such as judging academic achievement)."

Writers cannot avoid projecting a particular impression of themselves and how they stand in relation to their arguments, their discipline, and their readers. Kuo (1999) points out that the strategic use of personal pronouns allows writers to emphasise their own contribution to the field and to seek agreement for it. Hall (2004: 147) observes that using 'I' is appropriate in a discussion on reflexivity because "academic writing in the third person conveys an impression of objectivity and scientific rationality which is almost the antithesis of the realisations of reflexive modernity". Accepting that this section is my own axiological self-reflection, I have chosen, where it seems necessary, to write it in the first person.

Self-reflexivity is particularly appropriate in the this research because according to its founder, phenomenological research, began as a course of self-reflection, taking place in the pure intuition of the inner life,

> "It leads eventually to the point that I, who am here reflecting upon myself, become conscious that under a consistent and exclusive focusing of experience upon that which is purely inward, upon what is phenomenologically accessible to me, I possess in myself an essential individuality, self-contained" (Husserl 1962: 7)

In this 'self-contained' realm belonged all real and objectively possible experience and knowledge. As Husserl (1962: 11) further explained, "this also includes the more special apperception through which I take myself to be a man with body and soul, who lives in the world with other men, lives the life of the world." Rogers (1977) and Arnett (1981) stressed that contemporary phenomenology does not base its concepts on internal controls, but rather emphasises intentional consciousness which allows whatever meaning there is in an event to emerge. Pilotta (1979: 288) notes that reflexitivity is the very basis of phenomenological studies and directs the work of scholars: "at the level of reflexivity, the subject or interpreter makes judgements about the world and, at the same time, is part of the world he or she judges". Deetz (1978: 12) when he develops a foundation for the study of communication uses a phenomenological approach and argues the following:

> "The basic reason for studying or discussing communication, whether by everyday actors or researchers, involves the problem of understanding. How is it possible? How can it be improved? What stands in the way of it? ... Discussing understanding is not easy partly because of the great difficulty of the concept itself and partly because the concept raises philosophical questions which we may or may not be qualified to answer or even discuss adequately. Nonetheless, we cannot teach or talk about communication very long until we must either present or assume a theory of understanding."

The parallels between the evolving study of communication, described above, and the current state of hospitality research are striking.

Hall (2004: 148) also observes that "the personal subjectivities of our experiences are vital to our choice of research paths, yet typically go unacknowledged". It is fair to say that I rather stumbled into this area of research, coming from a seven years of advanced study in classics, theology and philosophy. I did not really intend to do a PhD, already having studied at university for 12 years, and left the seminary in Rome

two months before I was due to be ordained. As my studies had taken place in Rome and Spain, I was unaware of research assessment exercises and other such activities. In fact the two things remembered from my first meeting with my supervisor were her absolute disbelief about the contents of my CV, wondering if it was some kind of elaborate practical joke, and her questioning about publishing in theological and classical journals.

An area where personal bias could emerge in this research is the hermeneutical analysis of the texts, as this research is being conducted within the interpretivist paradigm that would seem to be acceptable. Other areas that may be open to bias are translation methodology and textual selection, previously in this chapter there is detailed discussion on both those areas. Hall (2004) also notes the bias that funding can have on a researcher. As this research is self-funded, thus in the privileged position, I was free to research any area I wished and not bound by any funding agenda. I am content to consider myself as a hospitality researcher; my one overriding surprise that limited research had been done in this area of hospitality before. It is appealing intellectually because it allows me to engage in a literature I have already been investigating for seven years, but more importantly, working within the university environment has allowed me to develop the vocational dimension of my life. When I talk about 'vocation' I am referring to engagement in research, study, and teaching methods. Pope John Paul II (2000: 3) elaborates on this point and states that it the duty of academics and researchers to make "universities 'cultural laboratories' in which theology, philosophy, human sciences and natural sciences may engage in constructive dialogue" and observes that in universities "there is an increased tendency to reduce the horizon of knowledge to what can be measured and to ignore any question touching on the ultimate meaning of reality." This is echoed by Morrison

(2004: 3) when she criticises hospitality academics for losing sight of their primary role as "creators, custodians and imparters of knowledge within an educational process that is our duty to society untarnished by territory disputes and battles".

> "Speaking only as one individual I feel strongly that I should not go into research unless it promises results that would advance the aims of the people affected and unless I am prepared to take all practicable steps to help translate the results into action." (White 1972: 102)

It should be clear from the above that I am not a valueless interpreter; I would echo Hall (2004) and adopt above as a personal research credo. That said I also keep in mind the words of Benedict XVI (2005: 2) when he observes that today "we are building a dictatorship of relativism that does not recognize anything as definitive and whose ultimate goal consists solely of one's own ego and desires." Accepting this warning, as has already been shown this research is as objective as possible whilst keeping within an interpretivist phenomenological paradigm, it is neither my own ego nor my own desires that should be paramount in the research, but the wish to present a defensible thesis, that makes an original contribution to the emerging academic discipline of hospitality.

3.2. BIBLICAL STUDIES

In the field of biblical studies, hospitality in scripture has only been investigated during the last century. As was noted in Section 1.6.2 this was partly due to the protestant analysis of the bible and the development of Humanism. With this new movement history became a discipline in its own right rather than a branch of theology. Prior to the Renaissance, biblical texts were treated as sacred and inviolable. Later, one of the first writers to combine biblical anthropology and hermeneutical analysis was Robertson Smith (1927) who was trying to find, in contemporary Bedouin Arab practice, reflections on the notion of biblical hospitality portrayed in

the behaviour of ancient Israel/Judah. He identified aspects of the hospitality encountered:

> "The *ger* [stranger] was a man of another tribe or district, who, coming to sojourn in a place where he was not strengthened by the presence of his own kin, put himself under the protection of a clan or a powerful chief. From the earliest times of Semitic life the lawlessness of the desert has been tempered by the principle that the guest is inviolable. A man is safe in the midst of his enemies as soon as he enters a tent or touches a rope. To harm a guest or to refuse him hospitality is an offence against honour, which covers the perpetrator with indelible shame… The obligation thus constituted is one of honour, and not enforced by human sanction except public opinion, for if the stranger is wronged he has no kinsmen to fight for him." (Robertson Smith 1927: 76)

From this quote it can be seen that biblical hospitality, like that of ancient Greece, was embedded in the culture of the community. Hospitality at this stage brought protection from enemies, even to the extent it was the enemies that had to offer hospitality: Hospitality must not only be freely offered to strangers, but to enemies as well. Riddle (1938) in a hermeneutical study of early Christian writings, argued that biblically mandated hospitality was a central factor in the spreading of the Gospel amongst the early Christian community.

More recently, Crum (1976) published a supplementary volume to the long-time standard work *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, which did not make any reference to biblical hospitality. Later Malina (1985) wrote an article on hospitality in the *Harper's Bible Dictionary*. The biblical material is presented to show a discernible pattern to the provision of hospitality: testing the stranger (when one must decide if the stranger's visit is honourable or hostile); immediately followed by a transition phase, normally including foot washing. Only then is the stranger seen as a guest; the guest enjoys a full expression of welcome, and becomes a part of the household. Then

the day comes when the guest must leave and in departure, the guest is transformed once again into friend or enemy.

Koenig's (1992) article on biblical hospitality was published in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. This is a more comprehensive overview than that provided by Malina (1985). It also contains the first list of biblical sources that detail hospitality. Koenig (1992) finds, amongst other things, that culture is a distinctive element in biblical hospitality, where God and/or Christ is often identified as the host or guest. He also identifies that Luke in his writings seems particularly interested in hospitality, since he alone, includes the stories of: the Good Samaritan; the Prodigal Son; the rich man and Lazarus; Zaccheus; and the Emmaus appearance of Christ, all of these passages have a significant hospitality perspective.

Other authors tend to over simplify the concept of hospitality, Smith (1986: 277) observes that "the term means taking in strangers and travellers" and then goes on to interpret the Old Testamental examples of hospitality simply as acts of kindness. Similarly Field (1994) develops the somewhat romantic view of hospitality as being kind to strangers, going on to argue that the reference in Isaiah 58:6–7 to "offering shelter to the homeless poor" is not connected to the traditional practice of hospitality, but is included in acts of righteousness to be the hallmark of the restored post-exilic community.

Hobbs (1993, 2001), Malina (1986) and Matthews (1991b; 1992) carried out an in-depth hermeneutical analysis into the concept of hospitality in particular pericopes or books of the Old Testament. Hobbs (2001) presents a summary of Matthews' (1991b;

1992) research into hospitality that is contained in the books of Genesis and Judges.

This is summarised here as:

1. There is a sphere of hospitality within which hosts have the responsibility to offer hospitality to strangers. The size of the zone varies.
2. The stranger must be transformed from potential threat to ally by the offer of hospitality.
3. The invitation can only be offered by the male head of a household, and may include a time-span statement for the period of hospitality, but this can be then extended.
4. Refusal could be considered an affront to the honour of the host.
5. Once the invitation is accepted, the roles of the host and the guest are set by the rules of custom. The guest must not ask for anything, but is expected to entertain with news, predictions of good fortune, or gracious responses based on what he has been given. The host provides the best he has available, and must not ask personal questions of the guest.
6. The guest remains under the personal protection of the host until he/she has left the zone of obligation of the host.

This summary attempts to demonstrate that hospitality is not a simple concept; there are deeply rooted cultural norms that are not readily transferable from one culture to another. On the other hand, Malina (1986: 181) also attempts a detailed protocol of hospitality "Hospitality is the process by means of which an outsider's status is changed from stranger to guest… [It] differs from entertaining family and friends." The appearance of a stranger is regarded as an invitation from outside, and a local person takes on the role of testing the stranger. From the test three types of danger emerge: one who is recognised as better than the best of the community so that there is no problem with his precedence within the community; one who is vanquished by the local person and thus owes life and continued presence to their local patron; one who has no friends/kin within the community and is therefore treated as an outlaw – "he could be destroyed or despoiled with impunity, simply because of his potential hostility" (Malina 1986: 184). Finally, Malina (1986: 185) concludes by noting that when the stranger is transformed into a guest, "The stranger will rarely, if ever, reciprocate hospitality", thus they are forever indebted to the host.

3.3. THE TELEOLOGICAL FALLACY

When undertaking any historical textual analysis, care must be taken to avoid what Finley (1983: 110) characterised as "the teleological fallacy"; the tendency to use ancient documents as "a springboard for a modern polemic". This is illustrated in the writing of Janzen (1994: 43) where he states:

> "Hospitality is an ethical component of the familial paradigm that is hard for modern western readers to appreciate in its full weight and significance. It may help us to remember that travel, in the ancient world, was only undertaken for grave reasons, often negative in nature, such as flight from persecution or search for food and survival. Hospitality, under those circumstances, has little to do with modern tourism, but embraces the biblical equivalent to our policies regarding refugees, immigrants and welfare"

This quotation is also discussed by Hobbs (2001) when he notes that it incorporates two important elements: "(1) it has to do with travellers, that is, those who are away from their houses for one reason or another; (2) it is used as a parallel for modern ethical concerns." Hobbs (2001) then highlights that the reader should be aware of the jump that has been made in the second point by discussing a small-scale society and comparing it to a western post-industrial society. Silberbauer (1993: 14) describes a small-scale society as "one whose numbers are to be counted in tens of thousands, or even hundreds, rather than millions. Largely or wholly non-industrial, its technology is centred on agricultural or pastoral production or consumption within the society, or on hunting and gathering". While ancient Israel/Judah became a monarchy with a centralised government, it remained agriculturally based; its later pattern has been likened by Artola and Sánchez Caro (1989: 79) to an "advanced agrarian society" and they note that many, though not all, of the stories of hospitality in the First Testament

are set in the premonarchic period. Caution against a westernising approach is also prompted by Silberbauer (1993), as detailed in Hobbes (2001: 8), and summarised as:

1. There is a clash between modern moral philosophy and alien cultural practices to the point where meaning cannot be assumed to be universal.
2. Comparison between cultures can be done only at the most general level.
3. Fundamental to small-scale societies is the notion of relationships symbolised by gift giving and reciprocity, which forms a milieu for its moral behaviour.

In effect Silberbauer (1993) argues that in small-scale societies morality functions more as a means to an end, rather than as an end in itself. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind this functional aspect of hospitality when dealing with this topic in relation to the worlds of the Old Testamental and Homeric writings. This supports the idea that there is no reason why Old Testamental and Homeric writings cannot be considered as part of the corpus of knowledge for investigation as they are contemporaneous and similar in societal evolution and geographical location.

When biblical anthropologists make comparisons to Old Testamental times, they use the biblical writings for the basis of comparisons to modern day practices; for example, De Vaux (1961: 10) observes current practices among the desert Bedouin of southern Israel and Jordan indicating the importance of the hospitality:

> "Hospitality is a necessity of life in the desert, but among the nomads the necessity has become a virtue, and a most highly esteemed one. The guest is sacred. The honour of providing for him is disputed, but generally falls to the sheikh."

Pitt-Rivers (1971: 59f) highlights the element of self-interest for the host:

> "There is no doubt that the ideal behaviour is very much opposed to closed-fistedness, but lavishness in one direction usually implies restrictions in another. Here people like to make gestures of generosity toward the friend, the acquaintance and the stranger, and they like to make a show of their

generosity… it is more than a matter of individual disposition but a requirement of the system of friendship. The accusation of meanness is very damaging to a person's reputation, for such prestige as derives from money derives not from its possession, but from generosity with it."

These two quotes taken together demonstrate the use of the notion of prestige or honour is extremely important to the phenomenon of hospitality; it subsists in and is characteristic of many ancient and biblical societies.

Herzfeld (1987: 36) when researching the biblical lands observes that the guest is often made aware of the fact that they are on the territory of the host. This is designed to enhance the reputation of the host, and not necessarily to make the guest feel 'at home'. He states:

"'As in your house' is a conventional hyperbole which underscores the poetic properties of the performance. The point is precisely that the visitor is not at home, but is indeed highly dependent upon his host. For many…the height of eghoismos, self-regard, is a lavish display of hospitality, since it speaks volumes about the social importance of the actor."

This further illustrates that hospitality given in a home setting is about the beneficence of the host, rather than the welcome given to the guest. In another work Herzfeld (1991) draws a distinction between hospitality in taverns (public places) and in homes (private places). In taverns "at one level it is the celebration of the ideological egalitarianism of the *parea* (company of friends), of all Cretans, and of all Greeks. At another it marks the possibility of subordinating a powerful guest!" Whereas Herzfeld (1991: 81) notes that in the home "Hospitality does not mark the acceptance of the stranger so much as the moral superiority of the host". Hermeneutically analysing examples of biblical hospitality, then looking for examples of similar practices in traditional cultures in the world today, whilst being illuminating, can have its difficulties.

3.4. PATRISTIC HOSPITALITY

The Patristic Writers, of the first five centuries of Christian history, were the early influential theologians, although not necessarily saints. This group of writers does not include the New Testament authors such as St Paul; however in the early Church some of the Patristic Writers, such as St Clement, were considered canonical. According to Trevijano (1998) the Patristic Writers are generally subdivided into groups, summarised into five as below:

- Ante-Nicene writers, those who lived and wrote before the Council of Nicaea 325 AD;
- Nicene and Post-Nicene writers, those who lived and wrote after 325 AD;
- Apostolic writers are the earliest of the writers considered to be the first two generations after the Apostles of Christ;
- Apologetic writers wrote in reply to criticism from Greek philosophers and in the face of persecution to justify and defend Christian philosophy and doctrine; and
- Desert writers were early monks living in the Egyptian desert.

Although the Desert writers did not write as much as their literary predecessors, their influence on hospitality was surprisingly considerable. In addition to the five groups identified above, the division of the writers into Greek writers and Latin writers is also common. This division into Greek and Latin writers highlights the major issue in researching Patristic views of hospitality: they are not all translated into English.

There has been very little research undertaken on hospitality and the patristic writings, with the notable exception being Oden (2001) who presents a collection of early Patristic texts on hospitality and its practice. Within the texts that are quoted, one basis of Christian hospitality that is highlighted is the idea of the Christian as a sojourner. The readiness to welcome the stranger is a moral stance whereby one responds to the physical, social, and spiritual needs of the stranger, with the host benefiting as well. The biblical texts also narrate accounts of entertaining angels in the

guise of travellers, such as in the story of Abraham (Genesis 18:3–9). Oden (2001) further observes that readers of these texts tend to identify with the hosts because of the hosts' greater power and the greater clarity of identity, whereas the guests are largely varied and undefined. Added to this are notions of common humanity of brothers and sisters, the human being as *imago dei* (in the image of God) i.e. the host, and the church as God's household. In addition to obeying Jesus' command, and thus prospering at the final judgment, the practice of hospitality was seen as: imitating Jesus in washing the disciples' feet; as making a sacrifice to God; as giving hospitality as God does; and even with the expectation to have one's sins absolved.

Oden (2001) outlines the spiritual dynamics of hospitality and presents some ideas on how the host should be orientated ontologically when providing hospitality. These are summarised as:

1. the spirit not of hollow giving but of goodwill, which does not belittle or shame the recipient and which heals both the giver and the recipient;
2. a 'being with' the recipient just as Jesus wished to be present among us and a non-judgemental approach that does not do an outcomes or risk calculation;
3. a belief in miraculous abundance for all involved; and
4. an application of the Gospel injunction to give away life in order to gain it and to restore the *imago dei*.

What is unclear is exactly how Oden comes to these views. This highlights some methodological issues that arise when critically evaluating this book that include:

- The texts lack contextualisation or consideration of the socio-political background.
- There a lack of a clear methodology to show why the selection has been grouped in such a way.
- The texts have been gathered from over 50 English versions and translations; consequently as the author has not translated the texts, they could lack a constant translation philosophy or method.
- The standard classical referencing style has not been used, leading to difficulties in tracing some of the original sources.

These methodological anomalies lead to some confusion in the selection of texts. Throughout the compilation hospitality texts are identified but often included with them are texts that in the original language actually discuss acts of charity and welfare. The texts are reflective of the eastern half of the Roman Empire, after Constantine (*c.*320 AD), whilst the western empire seems largely ignored, with no explanation or acknowledgment as to why. The sources that have been compiled address hospitality from a rather narrow perspective that has not been contextualised. Although all the texts and commentaries reflect Greco-Roman practices of friendship and hospitality, there is no significant reference or evaluation of the Greco-Roman roots of the Christian practice.

The Rule of St Benedict (*c.*530 AD) was recognised by Borias (1974) as the key focus for subsequent religious hospitality. This foundation was to become the basis of all western European religious hospitality. Within St. Benedict's Rule, the main focus for religious hospitality is contained within Chapter 53 which is entitled '*De Hopitibus Suscipiendis*' – 'The Reception of Guests' (*c.*530 AD). The rule has been lived by monks and laypeople from the last 1500 years and been commented upon and analysed by Böckmann (1988), Boiras (1974), Fry (1981), Holzherr (1982), Kardong (1984; 1996), Regnault (1990), Vogüé (1977), Waal (1995), and Wolter (1880). Specifically the influence of Chapter 53 on hospitality provision has not been fully investigated by contemporary authors and this is critically reviewed in Chapter 4.

3.5. SUMMARY ISSUES IDENTIFIED IN THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

Based on the discussion, review and analysis of the theological and biblical studies literature, the following table has been constructed to summarise the key of hospitality issues arising from this review.

Author	Hospitality Issue
De Vaux (1961)	Hospitality is an extended system of friendship
De Vaux (1961)	Host operates within a zone of obligation – hospitality thresholds
De Vaux (1961)	The guest is sacred in nomadic cultures
Herzfeld (1987)	Guest is made aware they are on the territory of the host – not to make them feel at home – shows moral superiority of the host
Hobbs (2001)	Hospitality is a complex concept with deep rooted cultural norms
Janzen (1994)	Biblical hospitality has an ethical component difficult for modern western readers to appreciate in its full weight and significance
Koenig (1992)	Hospitality goes through a stage by stage process
Koenig (1992)	Culture is a distinctive element of biblical hospitality
Malina (1985)	Hospitality requires protocols
Malina (1985)	Hospitality is the process by means of which an outsider's status is changed from stranger to guest
Malina (1985)	Hospitality transforms relationships
Malina (1986)	The biblical material shows a discernible pattern to its development
Malina (1986)	In biblical material the stranger will rarely, if ever, reciprocate.
Matthews (1991; 1992)	Hospitality goes though a process and that in turn transforms the stranger into a guest who is under the protection of host
Oden (2001)	Christian as a sojourner to be one of the bases of Christian hospitality – welcoming the stranger is a moral stance
Oden (2001)	Appropriate ontological orientated when providing hospitality
Pitt – Rivers (1971)	Hospitality is a friendship system
Pitt – Rivers (1971)	Prestige and honour gain through hospitality is central to the self interest of the host
Riddle (1938)	Biblically mandated hospitality was a central factor in the spreading of the Gospel to the early Christian community

Table 3:1 Hospitality Issues from the Theological and Biblical literature

4. INDUCTIVE ANALYSIS

4.1. OVERVIEW

Wide selections of original sources were consulted at this stage to identify references to hospitality. These sources included Hebrew and Greek biblical concordances and electronic indices of Greek and Latin authors. This search took place using English translations of the original texts and it quickly became apparent that there was a considerable corpus of relevant literature. As illustrated and discussed earlier (Section 2.3.4), it was at this stage of familiarisation that the research was delimited linguistically, temporally, and geographically. Although the search was made of English translations, engagement with the texts themselves was in the original languages in which the texts were written.

The research approach is framed by the four methodological practices for hermeneutical phenomenology (Section 2.3.4). First, in preparation for data analysis, thinking is oriented towards the nature of the lived experience at the period of time under investigation, whilst being as open and receptive as possible to the data analysis. This first stage was greatly enhanced by translating the texts from the original languages. This process of translation, as discussed in Section 2.4.3, allows for consistency in translation and this close engagement with the texts aids as far as possible in the setting aside any presuppositions, biases, and other knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation to gain a clear understanding.

The pericopes that referred to hospitality or hospitality issues were chronologically grouped within similar cultural backgrounds. The raw data were then reflected upon. At this point a dialogue is entered into with the text using the understanding gained

during the data collection and drawing on the pre-understandings to interpret the phenomena under investigation in the hope of revealing something that is hidden. This initial reflection literally started with a blank sheet of paper. A sketch pad was used on which to draw mind maps to illustrate key themes that appeared to dominate the data. It quickly became clear that there was a clear division emerging between hospitality in the home, hospitality at the level of the state and commercial hospitality. These mind maps quickly became unmanageable and Visio software was used to allow the easy management of the data.

The Annex gives an example of these mind maps which show a progressive development of this process. Advice, assistance and reflection were also sought from academics at the University of Salamanca with high level of expertise in the texts and textual analysis, who were not directly involved in the research. This allowed for a frequent objectivity check and great levels of personal reflection.

The chapter is in three sections, with Classical Antiquity has been divided into three periods: early, middle, and late. Each of these sections contains texts that are contemporaneous from different political and philosophic-religious ideologies as well as a broad range of literary genres. This inter-textual comparison allows the fullest possible picture of hospitality in Classical Antiquity to emerge whilst increasing the validity of the findings by demonstrating that the ideas and ideals of hospitality were not restricted to one particular ideological group.

This division of Classical Antiquity, although arbitrary (because the distinctions are not entirely delimited), serves both as a useful way to gain an overview of the

interrelated ideas of hospitality and, more critically, as a useful and non biased way of ordering and handling a considerable amount of data. The three subdivisions are:

- Hospitality in Early Classical Antiquity – including the Hellenic Civilisation and the contemporaneous biblical writings
- Hospitality at the height of Classical Antiquity – including the rise of the Roman Empire in the inter-testamental period
- Hospitality in Late Classical Antiquity – including decline and fall of the Roman Empire, together with the New Testamental and Patristic writers and ending with the Rule of St Benedict.

4.2. PERIOD 1: HOSPITALITY IN EARLY CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY
4.2.1. DECONSTRUCTION OF TEXTS

When discussing hospitality in the early period of Classical Antiquity it can be seen that the writing is episodic; this is due to the nature of the texts themselves, which are pericopes taken from larger narrative sections and usually used to either highlight or illustrate a particular philosophic-religious point of view. However, it is clear from the texts that during the early period of Classical Antiquity hospitality was regarded as one of the principle virtues; this is primarily shown by the centrality of hospitality in the religious/mythical writings. Both the Homeric writings and Old Testament teaching expected the people to practise hospitality, by serving as hosts and treating guests with respect and dignity.

At the beginning of the Book of Genesis, the newly created world is offered as a dwelling space with its plants and trees as food to all living creatures; they are to be guests in God's world and at God's table. The beginning of Genesis is full of praise for God's generous hospitality. The image of God's generosity and abundance (blessing) is contrasted with a mentality of a self-centred consumerism, powered by the myth of scarcity, that leads to a Pharaoh-like obsession with control which eventually makes mankind greedy, mean and inhospitable. Genesis presents mankind as being made in the image and likeness of God, to be God's representative and caretaker of creation, with the restriction that he is not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. In other words, while enjoying God's hospitality, guests are to preserve awareness of and respect for God's ultimate ownership. The story goes on to relate the 'fall of man' and his expulsion from Eden. By eating from the forbidden tree Adam and Eve commit an act of disobedience; therefore, sin in this situation can be defined both as disobedience and as a breach of hospitality.

Janzen (2002: 6) proposes that Adam and Eve, by their behaviour, are saying that mankind wants unlimited use and control of the world: "In this light, sin can be described as the human attempt to be owners, rather than guests". God further accommodates his unruly guests and gives them more control, or greater hospitality. Specifically, God allows Noah and his descendants to use animals as food. Again, God institutes a reminder of His ultimate ownership: the blood of the slaughtered animals, symbolising their life, is to be poured out on the ground, not eaten.

Just as Genesis set the foundations for the Judaeo-Christian practices of hospitality the Greco-Roman ones can only be understood in the context of the Homeric writings. In Section 1.3 it was shown that ξένος *xenos,* had the interchangeable meaning of guest

or stranger, thus the first of many hospitality paradoxes is seen. Φῐλόξενος *philoxenos*: the law/custom of offering protection and hospitality to strangers, its antithesis is still in common English usage today 'xenophobia'. The law/custom of hospitality was felt by the Greeks to be so central, and so fundamental to civilised life, that its patron was the god of gods, Zeus.

> "Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τέ
> ξείνιος ὃς ξείνισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοσιν ὀπηδεῖ"

> "Zeus is the protector of suppliants and guests,
> Zeus Xeinios, who attends to revered guests"
> (Hom., *Od.* 9:270–71).

Throughout his journeys, Odysseus searches for *xenia* in the sense of 'hospitable reception' in a wide variety of situations; hospitality must be carefully balanced between two extremes, as explained by King Menelaus to Telemachos:

> "I would condemn any host who, receiving guests, acted with excessive hospitality or excessive hostility; all things are better in due measure. It is as blameworthy to urge a guest to leave against his wishes 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 wishes to leave"
> (Hom., *Od.* 15:69–74).

In these stories of primordial Greece, one never knew when the beggar knocking at the door might be a god, disguised or else watching from above, passing judgment. The deity could leave without being recognised:

> "They did not know who she was; it is hard for mortals to see divinity.
> Standing near they addressed her with winged words."
> (Hom., *Demeter* 1:111–12)

It does not matter who she is or that she had the appearance of an old homeless woman; she is still spoken to with great hospitableness. In this context hospitality

should transcend; it does not matter who the person is, nor their apparent status in life.

She is assured of hospitality towards her:

> "No woman there, when she first looks upon you, will dishonour your appearance and remove you from the mansion, but each will receive you, for indeed you look like a goddess."
> (Hom., *Demeter* l:157–9)

The old woman was the goddess Demeter, and she accepts their invitation to return home with them; their kind words and hospitality draw the goddess out of her rage and hatred towards mankind.

Hospitality then was a way of honouring the gods:

> "…nor is it fitting
> that the stranger should sit on the ground beside the hearth, in the ashes.
> These others are holding back because they await your order.
> But come, raise the stranger up and seat him on a silver-studded chair,
> and tell your heralds to mix in more wine for us,
> so we can pour a libation to Zeus who delights in the thunder."
> (Hom., *Od.* 2:159–64)

Therefore, giving hospitality to a stranger was the same as offering it to a God.

Hospitality towards a stranger is shown clearly in a scene where Odysseus' son, Telemachos, greets the Goddess Athena, who is disguised:

> "…he saw Athene
> 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 eaten dinner, you shall tell us what your need is."
> (Hom., *Od.* 2:118–24)

The Homeric writings show that hospitality brought expectations: food; a comfortable place to sit; charming company; and entertainment. Since the traveller would not usually be wandering out of their home into the dangers of the world, it was assumed

they were on some sort of mission. The host then is expected to be able to provide some sort of assistance, as seen by the line in the above quotation "you shall tell us what your need is". Later in the scene there is celebration and revelry that the newcomer, Athena, would have been invited to join. The hospitality shown towards the goddess in this case demonstrates the importance of the accommodation and the correct attitude shown towards guests. In many of the stories, the honourable behaviour of the human hosts is rewarded with preferential treatment by the gods, as is the case with Telemachos and Athena. She clearly approves of Telemachos, as is demonstrated by all she does to help him, but expresses her displeasure with her suitors by saying:

> "I wish that such an Odysseus would come now among the suitors.
> They would all find death was quick, and marriage a painful matter."
> (Hom., *Od.* 2:265–6)

and her wish comes about. Telemachos is spared, and Athena's suitors are all killed, which happens as a direct result of their rudeness in their hospitability and of taking for granted the hospitality extended to them. At the end of the story, Odysseus returns to his house, to find only those who offered him hospitality on his journey, namely his son and wife, have not been killed. Finally, the rough outline of what all this meant for the people of ancient Greece, and what can be inferred about their society as a whole is perceptible. In these texts the gods, as well as legendary human characters such as Telemachos and Odysseus, primarily served as role models for the ancient Greeks, who would have been expected to emulate their behaviour.

Certain hospitality was sacred in nature and should not be abused, violations of the accepted code that did take place – the Greeks had particular words for some of these breaches: ξενοδαίτης 'one that devours guests', a concept epitomised by the

Cyclops, the notorious guest-eating monster; as Euripides (*Cyc.* 659) wrote "Hurrah, hurrah! Thrust bravely, hurry, burn out the eyebrow of the guest-eating monster;" and ξενοκτόνος 'slaying of guests and strangers' (Liddell and Scott 1940). These breaches of the hospitality code were treated as some of the most serious crimes:

> "Proteus declared the following judgment to them, saying, "If I did not make it a point never to kill a stranger who has been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, I would have punished you on behalf of the Greek, you most vile man. You committed the gravest impiety after you had had your guest-friend's hospitality: you had your guest-friend's wife. And as if this were not enough, you got her to fly with you and went off with her. And not just with her, either, but you plundered your guest-friend's wealth and brought it, too. Now, then, since I make it a point not to kill strangers, I shall not let you take away this woman and the wealth, but I shall watch them for the Greek stranger, until he come and take them away; but as for you and your sailors, I warn you to leave my country for another within three days, and if you do not, I will declare war on you"
> (Herodotus, *Historia* 2:115)

Those who were guilty of these crimes against hospitality, such as the Cyclops, 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"
> (Eur., *Hec.* 1247–50)

Violations of hospitality also brought the wrath of the Gods. Pausanias in his 'Description of Greece' warns that "the wrath of the God of Strangers is inexorable" (Paus., *Ach.* 7:25); the Greeks were reminded of these words when Peloponnesians arrived and ransacked the city; before Zeus caused an earthquake and levelled it.

4.2.1.1.   Domestic Hospitality: The nomad and the homestead

Hospitality has been centred round the οἶκος *oikos* (home, household); this includes not only the resident 'family' in biological sense of the term, but also all those who live in the house as well as those who depend upon the household and contribute to its

wealth and survival, including: slaves; illegitimate children (normally the offspring of the master and female slaves); resident in-laws; and 'adopted' persons who serve as retainers or 'squires'. Those who do not belong to a household, such as Odysseus, may be difficult to place: they could be valuable craftsmen who do not themselves own land but serve those who do, or they could be vagabonds or exiles, threatening instability, accepting the forgoing there is still a duty of hospitality. The master of the *oikos* distributes tasks and goods among its members and forms alliances with the masters of other *oikoi*. Thereby, through this tangible hospitality his house grows in wealth, strength and status as measured against other *oikoi*.

The story of Abraham contains the classic hospitality event of Abraham and Sarah showing gracious receptiveness to three strangers at an oasis among the 'Oaks of Mamre'. This story is actually the occasion of God's appearance (a 'theophany') in anthropomorphic disguise; this is done to protect the host in response to the dictum of Exodus 33:20 "see God and you die!" The occasion of hospitality has become the occasion of divine visitation and revelation.

> "He (Abraham) looked up, and there he saw three men standing near him. As soon as he saw them, he ran from the entrance of the tent to greet them, and bowed to the ground. 'My lord,' he said, 'if I find favour with you, please do not pass your servant by. Let me have a little water brought, and you can wash your feet and have a rest under the tree. Let me fetch a little bread and you can refresh yourselves before going further, now that you have come in your servant's direction. They replied, 'Do as you say'. Abraham hurried to the tent and said to Sarah, 'Quick, knead three measures of best flour and make loaves.' Then, running to the herd, Abraham took a fine and tender calf and gave it to the servant, who hurried to prepare it. Then taking curds, milk and the calf which had been prepared, he laid all before them, and they ate while he remained standing near them under the tree."
> (Genesis 18:2–8)

The text relates how when Abraham saw three simple nomads in the distance, he ran towards them to offer his hospitality. When he 'bowed to the ground' and washed

their feet, 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 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. 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.

> "When the two angels reached Sodom in the evening, Lot was sitting at the gate of Sodom. As soon as Lot saw them, he stood up to greet them, and bowed to the ground. 'My lords', he said, 'please come down to your servant's house to stay the night and wash your feet... But he pressed them so much that they went home with him and entered his house. He prepared a meal for them, baking unleavened bread, and they had supper. They had not gone to bed when the house was surrounded by the townspeople, the men of Sodom both young and old, all the people without exception. Calling out to Lot they said, 'Where are the men who came to you tonight? Send them out to us so that we can have intercourse with them'. Lot came out to them at the door and, having shut the door behind him, said, 'Please, brothers, do not be wicked. Look, I have two daughters who are virgins. I am ready to send them out to you, for you to treat as you please, but do nothing to these men since they are now under the protection of my roof'. But they retorted, 'Stand back! This fellow came here as a foreigner, and now he wants to play the judge. Now we shall treat you worse than them.'"
> (Genesis 19:1–9 abridged)

There are numerous legends about Sodom and Gomorrah. According to Arabic tradition, their ruins lie under the brackish waters of the Dead Sea (known in Arabic as, the Sea of Lot); this was raised up by the Creator to engulf these perverse cities. 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; 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!

The Book of Exodus is one of travelling; God in various guises is leading His people on a journey from Egypt, out of slavery into the land promised to Abraham. That journey continues beyond the flight from Egypt, until Joshua conquers the Promised Land and distributes it to the tribes of Israel. The journey from Egypt is already marked by the hallmarks of hospitality, God's provision of food (manna and quails), water, and protection (Exodus 15–17). The latter part of Exodus (25–31; 35–40) tells of the construction of the tabernacle or sanctuary. This is the place where God is host and receives Israel as the guest; the tabernacle is a symbol of hospitality.

In the book of Job the author swears an oath of innocence; in his defence of his exemplary life he lists all the sins he has not committed placing special emphasis on the practice of hospitality:

> "Have I been insensible to the needs of the poor, or let a widow's eyes grow dim?
> Have I eaten my bit of bread on my own without sharing it with the orphan?
> I, whom God has fostered father-like from childhood, and guided since I left my mother's womb, have I ever seen a wretch in need of clothing, or the poor with nothing to wear…
> No stranger ever had to sleep outside, my door was always open to the traveller."
> (Job 31:16–19, 32)

The Prophet Isaiah looks ahead to the end of time, that is the coming of the day of the Lord in its fullness. He describes this coming of God in his glory 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."

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 imagery in the New Testament and the concept of a messianic banquet was current in Jerusalem: Matthew 22:2–10, Luke 14:13, 16–24.

There is a breach of domestic hospitality identified in the Old Testament – it takes place in the Book of Judges. Sisera, who running for his life, came upon the tent of a man named Heber and his wife, Jael. Jael knew who Sisera was and she invited him into their tent; as a member of the Bedouin clan Jael was bound by custom to extend hospitality to those she met. She gave him milk to drink and a mantle for covering, and apparently acquiesced in his request that she should stand guard at the tent and deny his presence to any pursuers. When Sisera was asleep "Jael the wife of Heber took a tent-peg and picked up a mallet; she crept up softly to him and drove the peg into his temple right through to the ground. He was lying fast asleep, worn out; and so he died" (Judges 4:21). Thus she killed her guest while he was receiving her hospitality. There is no evidence that Sisera offered Jael any insult or violence, and little probability that she acted under any spiritual or divine suggestion.

Solon, the most famous of all the ancient Greek lawgivers, was born in Athens about 640 BC; he is most famous for his repeal of the cruel laws of Draco (in which the term 'draconian' has its origin), by which the aristocracy had oppressed the people. He then remodelled the constitution and introduced the great body of the people to participation in the government. Solon placed great importance upon hospitality.

> "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 thou, who art at home, make me thy 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.

Plato, in *Timaeus,* recounts a dialogue between Socrates and Timaeus showing the reciprocal nature of hospitality:

"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"
(Pla., *Ti.* 1:1)

As well as being reciprocal, hospitality can also be hereditary normally to three generations. Euripides refers to 'tokens' which were exchanged to show that two people were united in bonds of hospitality.

"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, in the 'Athenian Constitution' gives examples of the duties leading from ties of hospitality. It is clear that hospitality brought with it obligations, not only of friendship but also of duty.

"…the house of Pisistratus was connected with them by ties of hospitality. The resolution of the Lacedaemonians was, however, at least equally due to the friendship which had been formed between the house of Pisistratus and Argos."

(Arist., *Athenian Constitution* 3:19)

"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."
(Arist., *Athenian Constitution* 3:20)

4.2.1.2. Civic Hospitality: Communities and the Emergent City

Besides presenting the model of Abraham, the Old Testament specifically commanded hospitality. Many laws specifically direct Israelites to show hospitality and concern for strangers:

"You shall not molest or oppress strangers, for you were aliens in the land of Egypt."
(Exodus 22:21)

And

"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 19:33–4)

Other laws, often associated with those concerning strangers, assure good treatment of weak members of society, especially widows and orphans, for example Deuteronomy 14:28–9; 24:19–22; and 26:12–15. The books of Leviticus (23:14) and Deuteronomy (15:7) require those for whom God has provided richly to provide for the less advantaged among them, in particular the poor. It should also be noted that laws concerning redemption, for example in Leviticus (25:23) etc., are framed in accordance with the spirit of hospitality.

The Book of Deuteronomy establishes the calendar of feasts and gives instructions on how to celebrate.

> "You must rejoice in the presence of Yahweh your God, in the place where Yahweh your God chooses to give his name a home, you, your son and your daughter, your serving men and women"
> (Deuteronomy 16:11)

'The place' is the temple, which is the successor to the tabernacle, later to become the place to which God invites representatives of the people to make a pilgrimage three times a year. Israel is invited to be God's guest; however, hospitality moves from the home into the public domain. That Israel was conscious of its guest status in the temple is also evident in the psalms, and the mood of the guest can change, pleading:

> "Yahweh, hear my prayer,
> listen to my cry for help,
> do not remain deaf to my weeping.
> For I am a stranger in your house,
> a nomad like all my ancestors."
> (Psalm 39:12)

and aware of the security of the host's protection and provision:

> "You prepare a table for me under the eyes of my enemies;
> you anoint my head with oil; my cup brims over.
> Kindness and faithful love pursue me every day of my life.
> I make my home in the house of Yahweh for all time to come."
> (Psalm 23:5–6)

There is an unusual example of peacemaking using hospitality in the second book of Kings. The prophet Elisha exhorts the king of Israel to treat his Syrian prisoners of war to a meal, then send them home. Even prisoners are to be given the hospitality of the State:

> "'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)

Again, in Kings there is a parallel to the feeding of the multitudes that will take place in the gospels:

> "A man came from Baal-Shalishah, bringing the man of God bread from the first fruits, twenty barley loaves and fresh grain still in the husk. 'Give it to the company to eat', Elisha said. But his servant replied, 'How can I serve this to a hundred men?' 'Give it to the company to eat', he insisted, for Yahweh says this, 'They will eat and have some left over'. He served them; they ate and had some left over, as Yahweh had said."
>
> (2 Kings 4:42–44).

Hospitable treatment of prisoners is paralleled in the history of Greece. Xenophon, 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. While a young man, Xenophon participated in the expedition led by Cyrus against his older brother, the emperor Artaxerxes II of Persian. Cyrus hoped to depose his brother and gain the throne, but did not tell his mercenaries of the true goal of the expedition. A battle took place at Cunaxa, 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. The crossing of the high plateaus of modern day Armenia, whilst hasting to the rescue of Cyrus, offers the opportunity for Xenophon to describe the loyal and hospitable people they met on their way, during their campaign. The people offered them what they had: cattle, corn, dried grapes, vegetables of all sorts, and fragrant old wines (Xenophon, *Anabasis*). Details concerning the gifts of hospitality were:

> "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"
>
> (Xen., *An.* 6:1)

As civic life begins to develop, guests and strangers are still to be treated hospitably, but not all guests are to be treated equally. Plato, in his 'Laws' details types of

strangers/guests who are to be welcomed but treated differently according to their rank and station:

> "There are four types of stranger which call for mention. The first and inevitable immigrant is the one who chooses summer… making gain by their trading… this stranger must be received, when he comes to the city, at the markets, harbours, and public buildings outside the city, by the officials in charge thereof; and they shall have a care lest any such strangers introduce any innovation.
>
> The second type of stranger is he who is an inspector… for all such there must be hospitality provided at the temples, to afford them friendly accommodation, and the priests and temple-keepers must show them care and attention, until they have sojourned for a reasonable length of time and have seen and heard all that they intended…
>
> The third type which requires a public reception is he who comes from another country on some public business: he must be received by none but the generals, hipparchs and taxiarchs, and the care of a stranger of this kind must be entirely in the hands of the official with whom he lodges…
>
> The fourth type of stranger comes rarely, if ever: should there, however, come at any time from another country an inspector similar to those we send abroad, he shall come on these conditions: First, he shall be not less than fifty years old; and secondly, his purpose in coming must be to view some noble object which is superior in beauty to anything to be found in other States, or else to display to another State something of that description. Every visitor of this kind shall go as an unbidden guest to the doors of the rich and wise, he being both rich and wise himself; and he shall go also to the abode of the General Superintendent of Education, believing himself to be a proper guest for such a host, or to the house of one of those who have won a prize for virtue; and when he has communed with some of these, by the giving and receiving of information, he shall take his departure, with suitable gifts and distinctions bestowed on him as a friend by friends"
> (Pla., *Laws* 12:952d–953e (abridged)).

This typology of strangers can be summarised in Table 4:1 Plato's typology of hospitably provision; this also highlights the purpose of their visit and the hospitality that must be provided to them.

Typology	Reason for visit	Hospitality Provision

Merchant	Trade/Business	Received by the officials in charge of the markets, harbours and public buildings. Special care must be made to stop them introducing innovations.
Cultural Visitor	To view artistic achievements	Hospitality at the temples, friendly accommodation. Priest and temple keepers are responsible.
Civic Dignitary	Public Business	Civic reception must be received by the generals and public officials. Home hospitality with a public official.
Occasional high-status cultural visitor	To view some unique cultural aspect	Must be over 50. He is a welcome visitor of the rich and the wise. Guest of those in charge of education or those with special virtue.

Table 4:1 Plato's typology of hospitably provision

This formal differentiation of the hospitality provision and the growth of relations between the city states gave rise to πρόξενος *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 employed throughout the Greek world. The word ξενος implies 'guest' or 'foreigner' (Section 1.3.2 Origins of Guest and Host); however, in this context the προξενία *proxenia* (the relationship of the Proxenos) is one of hospitality. 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.

The office of *proxenos* was at first, probably, self-chosen (as Thucydides in 'The Peloponnesian War' makes reference to volunteer *proxenoi*), but soon became a matter of appointment. These *proxenoi* undertook various functions including the

reception and entertainment of guests; they would also represent the guest in courts of law if necessary. The earliest reference to an Athenian *proxenus*, is that of Alexander of Macedonia, who lived during the time of the Persian wars (Herodotus, *The Histories* VIII:136). It was not until the middle of the fifth century BC 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 BC. There was a covert 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 or to organise political subversion and sabotage; they could also arrange the betrayal of besieged cities to the forces of their patrons.

4.2.1.3.   Commercial Hospitality: The Geneses of an industry

With the rise of cities and towns the importance of the commercial hospitality sector begins. *History of the Peloponnesian War,* in which the events from 431 BC to 411 BC are related, is a text marking a significant departure from the literary style of historical writing. Thucydides wrote a military history; he is held to be scrupulous in his presentation of the facts as he abstains from commentary on social conditions, chronicles the events by seasons, and does not discuss state policy unless it refers to the progress of the war. Critically, he interprets mankind's nature and behaviour as a result of man's own actions rather than claiming that man's destiny is controlled by the Gods or other fates outside his influence.

In the text is the word κατογογιον *katagogion*, which is taken to mean inn or hostelry. From the context this can be understood in the commercial sense, and is one of the oldest references to large-scale 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 to its very foundations, and built on to the precinct of Hera an inn two hundred feet square, with rooms all round above and below"
> (Thuc., *The Peloponnesian War,* 3:68)

The same word, *katagogion,* appears in the writings of Xenophon, in this case they are to be constructed by the city-state for the ship owners, merchants and visitors; these inns bestow various benefits to the growing and developing city:

> "When [city] funds were sufficient, it would be a fine plan to build more inns for ship owners near the harbours, and convenient places of exchange for merchants, also inns to accommodate visitors. Again, if inns 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 considerable revenue"
> (Xen., *Ways and Means,* 3:12–13)

Inns were clearly of different standards, some by no means unpleasant. One author whilst reflecting on a person's journey through life uses inns, comfortable and pleasing ones, as metaphor for a distraction to personal development.

> "What then is usually done? Men generally act as a traveller would do on his way to his own country, when he enters a good inn, and being pleased with it should remain there. Man, you have forgotten your purpose: you were not travelling to this inn, but you were passing through it. But this is a pleasant inn. And how many other inns are pleasant? And how many meadows are pleasant? Yet these are only for passing through. But your purpose is this, to return to your country, to relieve your kinsmen of anxiety, to discharge the duties of a citizen, to marry, to beget children, to fill the usual magistracies".
> (Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus 2.23)

4.2.2. INITIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF TEXTS

Hospitality was essentially organic and its evolution revealed a great deal about the cultural values and beliefs of the societies that existed in Classical Antiquity. Developments within these societies led to the formal differentiation of hospitality and three different typologies of hospitality have already clearly emerged: Private or

personal hospitality based around the entire household; civic or public hospitality connected with the state; and an emergent, but important, commercial industry. Through practising hospitality the household increased in strength and status; hospitality itself could be hereditary and reciprocal in nature. Civic hospitality had been connected to the state since Aristotle wrote his Athenian Constitution and Plato stratified guests into four categories; this typology of hospitality, initially between individuals, also led to obligations between the states. The formal linking of states by ties of hospitality led to civic receptions and the exchange of ambassadors. Civic and business hospitality developed from private hospitality but retained the key foundation: treat others as to make them feel at home even though they are not at home. There was also considerable evidence of a distinct and rapidly developing commercial hospitality sector. The literature shows that commercial hospitality was already recognisable by 400 BC as a key source of income for a city and as a necessary attraction to bring tourists or traders to the city.

Hospitality brought obligations of friendship and duty; the failure to fulfil these hospitality obligations was viewed as both an impiety and a temporal crime. Any violation of the moral code or obligations of hospitality were likely to provoke the wrath of both mankind and gods; however, hospitality when properly conducted placates, pacifies, and delights the gods. The laws and customs of hospitality were placed under the protections of Zeus, the god of gods; therefore offering hospitality to a stranger was a way of worshipping the gods. Hospitality once granted between individuals, households and states was also granted to descendants and others through extended friendships. Hospitality, in particular the treatment of strangers, is also

enshrined in Jewish law; strangers have to be well treated because the Jews themselves were once strangers in a foreign land.

The concepts of guest, stranger, and host are closely related only when hospitality was based around the household, all guests/strangers were to be treated the same. Plato's differentiation of hospitality provision into the four categories of merchant on trade or business; cultural visitor to view artistic achievements; civic dignitary on public business; and occasional high-status cultural visitor, demonstrated a significant change in the ideology and thinking that underpinned civic and commercial hospitality provision. In Homeric and biblical literature, hospitality was shown as a way of giving respect and showing honour – it was non-judgmental of social status. However, as hospitality moved from being centred in and on the home into the civic domain guests were no longer treated equally. Hospitality was still welcoming, but it was also stratified. This highlights the fact that as society became more sophisticated and hospitality was no longer homogeneous and the codification of hospitality provided reference points as to how to treat a range of guests/strangers according to a variety of criteria.

On his arrival, the stranger had certain expectations that would be fulfilled: food, drink, accommodation and entertainment. No enquiry was made as to the guest's name or antecedents until the duties of hospitality had been fulfilled; hospitality centred on the home was non-judgemental of social status. Hospitality was initially concerned with the protection of others in order to be protected from others. Transaction expectations from hospitality were an established principle of hospitality and existed on three levels: spiritual; reciprocal and commercial. Hospitality brought both practical and spiritual benefits, before it was to bring direct financial ones; gifts

were of a practical nature and spiritual benefits were also gained through true hospitality. The spiritual nature of domestic and civic hospitality 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. The commercial industry was needed to attract the merchants who paid for their accommodation. As well as attracting traders the commercial sector was seen as an integral means of enhancing the influence of the state beyond its borders.

Central to the hospitality process was the concept of crossing thresholds; hospitality was freely offered to a guest regardless of whether he had entered a tent, a house, a temple or a garden, and the guest was entitled to the hospitality of the host together with the sanctuary and security that came with it. However, the duties of the guest were clear too; the host (or gods) expected these guests to follow their example and share their livelihood and their life with their fellow guests on earth. It was the crossing of thresholds that underpinned the hospitality ideal, turning the stranger, as guest, into a friend during the hospitality transaction.

Since biblical and Homeric times, strangers without exception, were regarded as being under the protection of the Gods, and in general were treated as guests. Hospitality was central to virtually all ethical and moral behaviour; the Gods, the great hosts, led by example. Providing hospitality was a way of paying dutiful homage to the gods, and was enshrined as a worthy and honourable thing to do. Failure to provide hospitality was condemned in both the human and spiritual worlds. The true vocational nature of hospitality was established through the concept of the

provision of hospitality as paying homage to a superior being or as pursuing a higher ideal. Hospitality was a primary feature in the development of the societies that have been considered. It was an essential part of human existence, especially as it dealt with basic human needs (food, drink, shelter and security). Additionally within the ancient and classical worlds, often reinforced by religious teaching and practice, providing hospitality was considered as an inherently good thing to do, without any immediate expectation of an earthly reward.

Alliances were initially developed through hospitality between friends, households and states, and were strengthened through continuing mutual hospitality. This led to the use of hospitality networks as a communications system; visiting guests brought news from other city-states. Hospitality quickly became used as a political facilitator but there was also a darker side to the information exchange, hospitality networks could also be used for espionage, political subversion, and sabotage. The benevolent nature of the hospitality transaction was inverted and used for political gain.

Originally the home was symbolic of hospitality. The oldest accounts of the hospitality transaction are inextricably linked to and centred on the home; friendship established through hospitality began at home. In the case of physical realm it did not matter if the host's home was a humble nomad's tent or the King's Palace, whilst in the metaphysical realm the home could be the Garden of Eden, the tabernacle or any sanctuary. The man is the master of the household but often the woman is responsible for hospitable gestures, for example preparing to the food or the accommodation. These domestic roles were the foundations for civil and commercial hospitality customs and practices.

Hospitality always included the basic human needs of food, drink and accommodation; however, the approach to be adopted was to be welcoming, respectful and genuine. Hospitality was offered and the extent or limitation of it was based on the needs and the purpose of the guests/strangers. Respect and care was central – all guests were to be treated with a genuine spirit of hospitality regardless of their identity. Balance was needed in hospitality with the host neither detaining his guest nor urging them to leave. This ideal of balance was to influence the rituals that began to surround the hospitality process; these included welcoming gestures like bowing and foot washing.

Subdivisions of themes	
Domestic	• Hospitality practices evolved from domestic hospitality • Home refers to the entire household not just family members • Reputation for being hospitable led to growth in stature and status of household • All guests to be treated hospitably • Hospitality offered to all guests on an equal basis • Hospitality is tailored to the needs of the guest
Civic	• Diplomatic relations were established and strengthened by mutual ties of hospitality between states • Exchange of hospitality ambassadors led to deepening of relationships • Civic receptions and freedom of the city were an important part of diplomatic process • The state provides a higher level of hospitality to its own citizens • Civic hospitality is stratified and guests are offered hospitality depending on their rank, status and purpose of visit

Commercial	• Commercial hospitality distinct and separate sector • Large scale provision for food, beverage and accommodation • Recognised a valuable source of income • Needed to support and attract travellers and necessary for business and traders • Commercial hospitality exists for those who do not have a network of private hospitality or receive hospitality by the state • Commercial hospitality must be paid for
Divine Law	• All domestic and civic relationships were placed under the spiritual protection of the gods. • Condemnation and punishment for violation of transcendent laws of hospitality brought divine punishments on individuals or the state • Behavioural expectations in duty of hospitality to the stranger • Particular emphasis placed on hospitality to the needy
Human Law	• Commercial hospitality is governed by temporal legislation • Strangers when receiving hospitality should be controlled, contained and not molested • The guest has a duty not to disturb the realm of the host • Hereditary hospitality to three subsequent generations and verified by exchange of tokens
Spiritual	• Spiritual rewards included good fortune on individuals and on the state • Ultimate benefit was entry into the afterlife and eternal recognition in the heavens
Reciprocity	• Hospitality was given to the stranger in order to be protected from them • Tangible benefits to host include exchange of gifts and military support
Commerce	• Commercial hospitality as source of revenue for the state and individuals • Fine commercial hospitality establishments enhanced the standing of the city
Behaviour	• Guests bring blessing to the home of the host • Whilst in the place of hospitality the host cannot harm the guest in any way • Guests must not harm the host or their property

Thresholds	• Hospitality should be offered as if in the home • Crossing thresholds of guaranteed hospitality and also sanctuary and security
Communication System	• Information gathering took place using hospitality networks with guests were seen as means of news exchange • Alliances born out of hospitality were also subverted for espionage and political gain
Attitude	• Guest seen as a gift from the gods to the host • Provision of hospitality is giving due honour to the gods who watch over the process • Cultural value on which society is founded • Respect for the guest and non inquisitorial towards the guest before hospitality is provided
Religious Connotations	• Mankind is god's guest in the universe • Hospitality was a means of paying homage to the gods • The host and the guest were under the protection of the gods • Spiritual redemption was often through hospitality • Hospitality is rich in religious symbolism
Domestic Roots	• Oldest written accounts of hospitality are linked to the home • Hospitality and hospitality practices emerged from the home
Symbolic Connotations	• Home is symbolic of the hospitality transaction also providing sanctuary and security
Gendered Roles	• Men tend to be seen as master of the household and the host • Woman take the role of cooking and serving in the domestic environment • Hospitality roles were differentiated by gender • Where servants and slaves existed within the household they fulfilled hospitable tasks
Needs	• Concern for guests' basic needs: food, drink and accommodation
Rituals	• Welcoming gestures: bowing, washing of feet; provision of entertainment • Acceptance into the activities of the household • Guests become friends for the duration of the hospitality transaction, maybe longer.

Table 4:2 Hospitality in early Classical Antiquity

4.3. PERIOD 2: HOSPITALITY AT THE HEIGHT OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

4.3.1. DECONSTRUCTION OF TEXTS

From the time of the earliest Hellenic civilisations, hospitality has been religiously sanctioned, with particular gods watching over strangers and travellers; this is true of Roman Republic. Ovid wrote on topics of love, abandoned women, and mythological transformations; he 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, they came upon the simple thatched cottage of Baucis and Philemon (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8:987). They had little to offer, but they 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!"
> (Ov. *Met.* 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. When asked what they wanted, Baucis and Philemon asked that they might be the priests of the temple, and that when their lives came to an end they might die together (Ov. *Met.* 8:1095).

4.3.1.1. Domestic Hospitality: Consolidation of power

The hospitality of the Romans was, as in Greece, either *hospitium privatum*, or *publicum*. Private hospitality with the Romans, however, seems to have been more

accurately and legally defined than in Greece. 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. There were various obligations, which the connection of hospitality with a foreigner imposed upon a Roman – amongst those obligations were: to receive in his house his *hospes* when travelling:

> "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, *Ab Urbe* 42:1)

There were also duties of protection; and, in case of need, to represent him 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; for Jupiter was thought to watch over the *ius hospitii*, as Zeus did with the Greeks and the violation of it was as great a crime and impiety at Rome as in Greece (Cic. *Pro Deiotar* 6).

When hospitality was formed, the two friends used to divide between themselves a hospitality token *tessera hospitalis*, by which, afterwards, they or their descendants – the connection was hereditary – might recognise one another. This is shown in the dialogue between Hanno and Agorastocles in the play *Poenulus, or The Young Carthaginian* 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."
(Plaut., *Poenulus* 5:2:87ff)

From an expression in Plautus and the corresponding description "I have a token of hospitality, which I carry" (*Poenulus* v.1.25), it has been concluded that this *tessera* bore the image of Jupiter. Hospitality, when thus once established, could not be dissolved except by a formal declaration and in this case, the *tessera hospitalis* was broken to pieces as in the following situation:

"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."
(Plaut., *Cistellaria* 2:1:27)

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. It is clearly seen in the writings of Livy, who wrote during the Age of Augustus, a time during which Rome was powerful, prosperous, and still expanding, much of what Livy included in his history was legend and epic drama.

"A formal treaty was made between the leaders and mutual greetings exchanged between the armies. Latinus received Aeneas as a guest in his house, and there, in the presence of his tutelary deities, completed the political alliance by a domestic one, and gave his daughter in marriage to Aeneas."
(Livy, *Ab Urbe* 1:1)

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:

"They were invited to accept hospitality at the different houses, and after examining the situation of the City, its walls and the large number of dwelling-

houses it included, they were astonished at the rapidity with which the Roman State had grown."
(Livy, *Ab Urbe* 1:9)

and

"It is stated that 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, *Ab Urbe* 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, *Ab Urbe* 2:14)

4.3.1.2.   Civic Hospitality: Growth of an Empire

The first direct mention of civic hospitality being established between Rome and another city is after the Gauls had departed from Rome, when it was decreed that Caere should be rewarded for its good services, 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, *Ab Urbe* 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 republic, the public hospitality established between Rome and a foreign state is 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*:

> "Lanuvium received the full citizenship and the restitution of her sacred things, with the proviso that the temple and grove of Juno Sospita should belong in common to the Roman people and the citizens living at Lanuvium."
> (Livy, *Ab Urbe* 8:14)

When a town was desirous of forming a similar relation with Rome, it entered into *clientela* to some distinguished Roman, who 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, *Ab Urbe* 9:6)

Nevertheless, the custom of granting the honour of *hospes publicus* to a distinguished foreigner by a decree of the senate seems to have existed until the end of the 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 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,* 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, *Ab Urbe* 27:16)

and

> "With a view to an alliance with Carthage he married a Carthaginian lady of noble birth, a niece of Hannibal's, and widow of Oezalces. He also sent envoys to Syphax and renewed the old ties of hospitality with him, thus securing on all sides support for the coming struggle with Masinissa."
> (Livy, *Ab Urbe* 29:29)

and again

> "Close on this meeting came a deputation from Perseus. Their hopes of success rested mainly on the personal tie of hospitality which Marcius had inherited from his father."
> (Livy, *Ab Urbe* 42:38)

4.3.1.3.   Commercial Hospitality: Diversified industry

The Roman Empire itself was a vast centre of consumption. It imported much of its food from its many colonies under exclusive agreements and expected unusual food gifts for the aristocracy. In addition, there was market expansion and the wholesale exportation of goods, services and cultural ideas through the colonisation process of the conquered lands.

Contemporary western cuisine still has evidence of the culinary practices and commodities of classical Rome (and others), included in the staple meat and vegetation, which was originally introduced to sustain the invading armies. The study of classical Roman food and cookery relies on an Apician viewpoint. Who or what exactly was Apicius is unclear; Apicius was the proverbial cognomen for several connoisseurs of food. The most famous (and probably the second) was Marcus Gavius Apicius lived in the early Empire (*c.*30 BC). Much to the disgust of the moralist Seneca (*Consolatio ad Helviam*, 8f), this Apicius is held to have kept an academy, in the manner of a philosopher. A third Apicius, or even a group of Apicii, lived in the late fourth or early fifth century and redacted the surviving Roman cookbook bearing his name.

Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* 19:137) and Tacitus (*Annales*) both note that the famous M. Gavius Apicius moved in the circles of Emperor Tiberius (14–37 AD).

Pliny considered that Apicius was born to enjoy every extravagant luxury that could be contrived (*Naturalis Historia* 9:66). This Apicius invented various dishes and sauces in which the pursuit of the refined delicacy was taken to eccentric extremes. According to Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae*, 1.5f), having heard of the boasted size and sweetness of the shrimps taken near the Libyan coast, Apicius commandeered a boat and crew, but when he arrived, disappointed by the ones he was offered by the local fishermen who came alongside in their boats, turned round and had his crew return him to his villa without going ashore. All of the subsequent translations of the Apician writings across the centuries concede that they were written to enhance the mysticism of the Roman cook and did not provide recipes that were easy to follow (no exacting measures, etc). This could even be an attempt at self-preservation and the secret codes required to decipher the text were a way to protect the cook's earning power and place in society.

Roman celebrity cooks enjoyed notoriety and fashion leaders, such as Petronius (27–66 AD), provided much to the consumption gossip and trend setting of the day. The infamous Petronius was the *arbiter elegantiae* (arbiter of good taste) at the court of the Emperor Nero; Tacitus (*Annales* 16:17–20) describes Petronius as hedonistic and witty. Petronius also wrote the *Cena Trimalchionis* Trimalchio's Dinner (*Satyricon* 26:6–78:8) that describes the typical food, drink and conversation of a Roman feast. The cook in Rome commanded the title of Artist; the social importance of the feast and the associated religious hospitality significance meant that the power of the professional cook was encouraged and indulged.

Extensive 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. Amongst the secondary literature, there is the general observation that women working in the hospitality trades were prostitutes. Inns and taverns were said to be "hardly distinguished brothels which lived in constant fear of the police" (Balsdon 1969: 153). Carepino (1940) said that inns were sources of seduction and prostitution and D'Avino (1967) stated that women who worked in inns were accused of working undercover as prostitutes. This is developed by Gardener (1991: 249): "It was taken for granted that in many of these establishments, particularly the *cauponae,* which also had accommodation available; the women waitresses were also working as prostitutes." It should be noted that the derogatory comments were not restricted to serving girls in the taverns; Cicero cites other occupations as *sordid* (dishonourable or vulgar).

> "First, those means of livelihood are rejected as undesirable which incur people's ill-will… Least respectable of all are those trades which cater for sensual pleasures: Fishmongers, butchers, cooks, and poulterers, and fishermen… Add to these, if you please, the perfumers, dancers, and the whole entertainment industry"
> (Cic., *De Officii* 150).

This quote led to some authors to become obsessed with woman working and speculated that all working women were prostitutes. Lindsay (1960) and Pike (1965) hypothesised that women who worked in butcher shops and bakeries were often prostitutes. There is no other evidence in the primary sources to suggest this: *sordidi* means dishonourable or vulgar and should not be confused with sordid in the modern sense. There is, however, plenty of primarily literature portraying Roman bars as dens of iniquity.

> "Virtue is something elevated, exalted and regal, unconquered and unwary. Pleasure is something lowly, servile, weak and unsteady, whose haunt and dwelling-place are the brothel and the bar"
> (Séneca, *De Vita benta* 7:3)

However the clientele of a bar at least seemed to be interesting

> "…search for him in some big bar. There he will be, lying next a cut-throat, in the company of sailors, thieves, and runaway slaves, beside hangmen and coffin-makers, or beside a passed out priest:
> This is liberty hall,
> one cup serves for all,
> no one has a bed to himself,
> nor a table apart from the rest."
> (Juvenal, *Satires* 8:168f)

In Roman law there is certainly an indication that some women working in inns were prostitutes – the law code of Justinian lays down a clear mandate in relation to slave girls who have been sold:

> "A female slave, who has been sold under the condition that she does not make a shameful commerce of her body, must not prostitute herself in a tavern under the pretext of serving therein, in order to avoid a fraudulent evasion of the condition prescribed"
> (*Codex Iustinianus* IIII:lvi:3).

However, within the law code of Theodosius, which dates from the time of Constantine, clearly differentiates between the wife of the tavern owner and a servant girl; it protects serving girls from prosecution and affords them safety under the law.

Commercial hospitality in Roman times indubitably included brothels (*lumpanar*); however, some evaluation of the culture behind brothels is necessary. It was assumed in Roman society that slaves were used as sexual partners for their masters, Seneca stated that sexual passivity was a crime for a free man, a necessity for a slave, and a duty for the freedman (Séneca, *Controversiae* 4:10). Cato the Censor was famed for monitoring the behaviour of public officials and had a strong desire to return the people to conservative conduct and morality. Horace notes that Cato advocates when young men reach a certain age, it is only appropriate that they make the necessary arrangements.

> "When a well-known individual was making his exit from a brothel, 'Well done! Pray continue!' was the stirred verdict of Cato: 'as soon as libido has swollen their members, it's right for young men to come down here rather than drudging away with other men's wives'"
> (Horace, *Satires* 1.2:31–2)

Other authors advance the observations of Horace: Prophyrio observes that libido must be kept in order, without committing crime; and Pseudo-Acro notes that young men should be praised for visiting brothels, not living in them.

> "Cato encountering him leaving a brothel; called him back and praised him. Afterwards when he saw him leaving the same brothel more frequently, he said: 'Young man, I praised you for coming here, not for living here'"
> (Pseudo-Arco 1:20)

This is a rather dark and one-sided impression of the commercial hospitality industry; it can be contrasted with writings of Eunapius in his work *Vitae Sophistarum*. He tells the story of an unnamed barmaid, who whilst preparing a drink for a customer is interrupted and told that her friend is giving birth and in great danger. She drops everything and rushes to the aid of her friend; it transpires that she is also a midwife:

> "When she had relieved the woman in her travail and done all that is usual in case of child-birth, she washed her hands and came back at once to her customer"
> (Eunap., *VS* 3.87).

This text highlights that it was possible for a barmaid, in Roman times, to have an alternative profession, one not connected with prostitution. Another account tells of a man's attraction to the general character of a tavern keeper's wife, however dubious the surroundings might have been.

> "There, as the gods would have it, I fell in love with Terentius, the tavern-keeper's wife; you all knew Melissa from Tarentum, the prettiest of pretty wenches! Not that I courted her carnally or for venery, but more because she was such a good sort. Nothing I asked did she ever refuse; if she made a penny, I got a halfpenny; whatever I saved, I put in her purse, and she never chorused me. Well! Her husband died when they were at a country house. So I

moved heaven and earth to get to her; true friends, you know, are proved in adversity".
(Petron., *Sat.* 61)

There is the affectionate inscription left by a husband, mourning for his wife:

DVICIS	... sweet
ATET HOC AMEMONE SEPVLCHRO PATRIAE POPINARIA NOTA	... in this tomb lies Amemone, a bar-maid known [beyond the boundaries] of her own country,
I TIBVR CELEBRARE SOLEBANT	[on account of whom] many people used to frequent Tibur. [Now the supreme] god has taken
AM DEVS ABSTVLIT ILLI	[fragile life] from her, and a kindly light receives
AM LVX ALMA RECEPIT	her spirit [in the aether]
NVS COIVGI SANCTAE	I, ... nus [put up this inscription] to my holy wife.
SEMPER IN AEVOM	[It is right that her name] remain forever.

Table 4:3 Dedication from a husband to his barmaid wife
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum XVI:3709.

For any analysis of Roman commercial hospitality, the sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum in Italy near modern day Naples offer a unique perspective. The World Heritage Site designation documentation prepared by UNESCO states "nowhere else is it possible to identify any archaeological site that even remotely stands comparison with these two classical towns" (World Heritage Centre (UNESCO) 1996: 52). This is based on the circumstances surrounding the almost instantaneous destruction of the city in history by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 AD, and its literal fossilisation as an archaeological site; at the time of its destruction the city of Pompeii had a population of approximately 10,000 people.

Pompeii is of importance to the examination of hospitality as it was a major centre of commerce and entertainment in the Roman world, and commercial hospitality existed in a highly organised fashion. This large group of Romans their living accommodation typically did not have the basic utilities required to permit safe

domestic preparation and consumption of food. Thus there was a significant requirement on commercial hospitality provision, which fuelled subsequent development, growth and entrepreneurial activity in the sector. In the 1950s four principal categories of commercial hospitality establishments in ancient Roman times were defined by Kleberg (1957): *hospitiae; stabulae; tabernae*; and *popinae*; these terms have become the standard for the archaeological categorisation of ancient hospitality businesses. In summary: *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. This list has been augmented with the inclusion of *cauponae* and other names for bars. The material remains of these different hospitality establishments make exact identification difficult. Not least because no two inns or taverns are exactly alike; the problem of certain identification is also compounded by the fact that many establishments are missing their second floors. These could have had apartments for rent, storage space, guest space or rooms for innkeepers and their families and staff.

Hospitiae were establishments that offered rooms for rent, and often food and drink to overnight guests; this term has evolved from its abstract meaning (see Section 2.4.2). It would seem that *hospitia* were expressly fabricated for business purposes, although a number of them represent secondary uses of existing private homes in Pompeii. *Stabulae* were *hospitiae* with facilities to shelter animals; often found just outside the city, close to the city gates, the ancient equivalent of coaching inns. *Stabulae* 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.

In the first century AD, *taberna* 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 literary sources alone. *Tabernae*, in their first century 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. Ellis (2004) in a survey of Pompeii identifies 158 properties that could have been bars. *Cauponae* were establishments that provided meals, drink, and maybe lodgings; *Popinae* were limited to serving food and drink. Some may have offered sit down meals; this term was often used to describe public eating-houses. *Hospitiae, stabulae, tabernae*, and *popinae* should not always be understood as standalone businesses; often a *hospitia* or *stabula* would have a *taberna* or *popina* connected to it. What would seem to be important is that there were two basic types of establishment, one that dealt with accommodation, and one with food and drink. A summary of the various hospitality businesses and their facilities in given in Table 4:4 Commercial Hospitality Establishments in Ancient Rome.

From empirical archaeological evidence O'Gorman (2007a) shows a cluster of hospitality establishments in the centre of Pompeii, less than two blocks from the busiest street and close to the administrative centre. The main building shown is a hotel, the largest *hospitium* identified so far in Pompeii; it is estimated that it could accommodate more than fifty guests and also had a large secluded garden. It was in the atrium that a graffito with the word 'Christianos' was found (*CIL* IV 679)

Latin Name	Description and facilities	Modern Equivalent
Hospitium	Larger establishments that offered rooms for rent, and often food and drink to overnight guests; often specifically built for business purposes.	Hotel
Stabula	Buildings with open courtyard surrounded by a kitchen, a latrine, and bedrooms with stables at the rear. Often found just outside the city, close to the city gates; offered food, drink and accommodation.	Coaching Inn
Taberna	Sold a variety of simple foods and drink. They usually contained a simple L-shaped marble counter, about six to eight feet long	Bar
Popina Caupona	Served food and drink, offered sit down meals; this term was often used to describe public eating-houses and sometimes included a few rooms	Restaurant
Lumpanar	Provided a full range of services of a personal nature.	Brothel

Table 4:4 Commercial Hospitality Establishments in Ancient Rome

Adjacent but not internally connected to the hotel is a restaurant with a main dining room and a connecting smaller room with a latrine in back. One of the inscriptions in front attests to the fine wine served here (*CIL* IV 815). The name of the restaurateur was Drusus (*CIL* IV 814) who posted a sign in front of his bar which forbade loitering (*CIL* IV 813); of course this sign might be because this restaurant was it was close to lumpanar. Grand Lumpanar has ten rooms, five on each floor; from the layout it appears that only the first floor was devoted to sex for profit. Within each room on the first floor is the typical masonry bed used for sexual encounters, but not for sleep; there is even a concrete 'pillow' at the head of the bed. On the interior walls is the greatest cluster of *hic bene futui* graffiti in the city and above the door into each room is an erotic picture depicting a couple in the various positions of the sex act or foreplay. In each case the setting of the picture is in more comfortable surroundings than the cramped room behind it!

4.3.2. INITIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF TEXTS

The emergent three-fold typology of hospitality became more clearly focused on private, civic, and business/commercial. Hospitality, which increasingly became more formal as the societies developed, included legal governance, more sophisticated approaches to codification of hospitality provision and the establishment of contractual relationships. Hospitality professionals emerged as civic and business hospitality developed, with particular individuals being recognised as having formal and defined responsibilities for hospitality. The importance of growth and flourishing of commercial hospitality was significantly changing everyday life and restaurants; bars and brothels were also common. The act of cooking became a popular pastime; however, the high born woman of the household was not expected to cook. There were significant developments in civic hospitality, events such as civic receptions, or a distinguished person being given 'freedom of the city' came into being; formal hospitality given by the state and was bestowed upon distinguished visitors. Civic hospitality was used to form strategic alliances between the nation states, this also brought an advancement of individual rights, citizens of foreign states enjoyed certain rights and privileges, if there was a bond of hospitality between there two states. A flourishing commercial hospitality industry existed for travellers, merchants and sailors who came to trade and sell, or those who were stopping overnight along the way to other destinations. In the cities, commercial hospitality establishments were often clustered, and have been found near by each other together with the physical remains showing detailed kitchens and bakeries, some with fossilised loaves of bread.

During this period the hospitality customs reflect those of the Greek city-states. The hospitality process had the expectations of food, drink, accommodation and entertainment, etc. Domestic hospitality was of a more formal nature, in the style of a contract, entered into by mutual promise, the clasping of hands and exchange of an agreement in writing or of a token. The *tessera hospitalis* gave a hereditary character to hospitality and a reciprocal agreement, which could not be dissolved without a formal declaration. This formalised domestic hospitality was more binding and sacred in its nature than blood connections. The advantages thus obtained by the guest were the right of hospitality when travelling and, above all, the protection of his host in a court of law. Although hospitality was at the centre of existence, it was not to be entered into lightly – it was sacred and inviolable, undertaken in the name of the supreme god. One further development was that if individuals or states were joined by a common bond of hospitality, there was mutual recognition of their deities. Failure to undertake hospitality in an appropriate manner could cause the wrath of the gods on the offending city or household for generations.

Due to the reciprocal nature of private hospitality not all travellers required the services of a commercial hospitality industry. Establishments along major roads and at city gates gained a reputation for attracting lower classes that were too poor or socially insignificant to have developed a network of personal hospitality. Although originally at lower levels, the subsequent provision of higher levels of hospitality establishment and service was a direct consequence of the ability of the higher classes to afford to travel to lands where they were not known; it enabled them to be in environments commensurate with their wealth and status, without the need to establish a household there.

Commercial hospitality was used on a daily basis by the people within organised and structured social spaces. Inscriptions and illustrations, particularly from Pompeii, have been found that highlight both the mercantile nature of hospitality and level of service provision available. This is also symbolic evidence with regard to lifestyle and consumption statements indicative of branding and a sophisticated level of marketing. In addition, the strategic geographical concentration of hospitality services within cities suggests the synergised ease of hospitality provision and consumption. Commercial hospitality did not eclipse domestic and civic hospitality – there were still the associated spiritual and strategic benefits that properly given and received hospitality brought. The reciprocity of hospitality became legally defined and was used to foster and further develop relationships between the states of the time.

Domestic food consumption patterns generally centred on the provision of a light breakfast normally a snack in the streets as they went about their business, a light lunch eaten at home or bought from the street vendors; for the higher classes usually in the cool of the bathhouse. Dinner was considered the most important meal, and almost a reward for the day's toil and would normally be eaten in a restaurant. Commodities and quantities eaten varied according to ritual and these were based on social standing, income, age and gender. Slaves were widely and cheaply used (but well-fed) and patronage to early forms of popular catering was the norm for the free citizens. For these people living accommodation typically did not have the basic utilities required to permit safe domestic preparation and consumption. Large hospitable meals were a preoccupation of the upper classes; these meals took place in the home, public buildings and indeed commercial establishments. The lower echelons of society would aspire to attend banquets and would try to obtain the patronage of the elite.

The lifestyle, culture and consumption conclusions derived from the evidence provided from the examination of hospitality writings and tangible archaeological finds (with the attached importance of the proximity of associated facilities) indicates that the provision and consumption of hospitality in the Roman world was indeed regarded as a mark of civilisation. Commercial motives were evident in both the organisation of facilities and advertising efforts, menus of the day, etc. Early entertainments and events were highly organised activities, central to the leisure of the day and given prime geographical location to emphasise this importance.

Although hospitality was still closely linked to its domestic roots, formal eating and feasting often moved to commercial hospitality establishments, partly due to many houses not having kitchen facilities. However, frequently, commercial establishments were homes that had been private houses and the bar owners often lived in a room above the bar. In some ways commercial hospitality inverted the traditional domestic roles and men became famous chefs. As well as chefs the development of gendered hospitality roles included women working in the commercial hospitality sector.

In the cities, the centres of consumption, consumers demonstrated lifestyle perspectives by virtue of their engagements in the many aspects of hospitality, including symbolic hospitality, food and eating rituals. The hospitality process was much wider than the narrow product expectations of food, drink and accommodation. It included inherent symbolism centred around the idea that food and eating is an art form that punctuates everyday life.

Subdivisions of themes	
Domestic	• Hospitality becomes legally defined • Established by individuals or through mediation • Hereditary hospitality established by exchange of tokens • Sacred in nature where hospitality ties became more important than blood ties • Hospitality in the home was offered to the stranger • Higher classes had extensive networks of peer to peer domestic hospitality
Civic	• Hospitality used to foster strategic alliances between states • Citizen rights in foreign states where formal hospitality relationships exist • Civic receptions and freedom of the city became legally defined • Hospitality alliances were formed for strategic reasons
Commercial	• Hospitality management professionals existed, their reputations established through professional practice and writings • Stratified and diversified commercial hospitality industry exists • Hospitality establishments become clustered within cities. • Stratified levels of provision offered different levels of service • More money bought better provision • Establishments gained reputations through the quality of their staff and standard of service and clientele
Divine Law	• The guest–host relationship was watched over by the gods • Violation of any hospitality ethical code was considered a crime • Hospitality alliances demanded mutual recognition of each other's deities
Human Law	• Domestic hospitality was formed by formal contract and declaration • Commercial industry and those employed within it increasingly subject to legal control
Spiritual Rewards	• Hospitality brought fortune on individuals and on the state • Ultimate benefit was eternal recognition on the earth and entry into the afterlife and
Reciprocity	• Domestic hospitality relationships would guarantee food, beverage and accommodation and representation in law courts, citizen rights, access to games and sporting events • Civil/state hospitality included mutual recognition of gods and military support in conflicts and war

Commerce	• Hospitality professionals were know and some commanded high reputations within society
Behaviour	• When connected by bonds of hospitality the host must receive guest • Once established bonds of hospitality can only be dissolved by formal declaration
Thresholds	• Crossing thresholds of hospitality provided both physical protection and sanctuary
Communication System	• Patronage was shown through hospitality in particular the giving of meals in restaurants • Hospitality networks allowed for an exchange of strategic information
Attitude	• Hospitality when properly given should lead to lasting friendship • Hosts should portray and openness to guests • Mutual courtesy and consideration should be shown at all times
Religious Connotations	• Hospitality watched over and protected by the gods • Common recognition of deities between hospitably aligned states
Domestic Roots	• Hospitality closely linked to roots in the home
Symbolic Connotations	• Commercial hospitality establishments were often converted homes
Gendered Roles	• Stereotypical roles of e.g. male chef and barmaids started to emerge
Needs	• Provision of food, drink and accommodation
Gestures	• Ritualistic symbolism surrounding the meal and food as an art form in every day life • Bounteous hospitality was a display of social status an hospitality became quasi-theatrical and spectacular in its staging and production • Guests become friends for the duration of the hospitality transaction, maybe longer.

Table 4:5 Hospitality at the height of Classical Antiquity

4.4. PERIOD 3: LATE CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

4.4.1. DECONSTRUCTION OF TEXTS

Throughout Classical Antiquity hospitality was regarded as a fundamental moral practice; hospitality assured strangers at least a minimum of provision, protection and connection with the larger community. It also sustained the normal network of relationships on which a community depended, enriching moral and social bonds among family, friends and neighbours. It was necessary for the wellbeing of mankind and essential to the protection of vulnerable strangers.

It is not unsurprising that hospitality was 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 (see Sections 4.2.4 and 4.3.4), 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 tradition emphasised the worthiness and goodness of recipients rather than their need; relations were often calculated to benefit the benefactor. This is different from the hospitality that was practised by Christ; therefore, the practice of Christian hospitality is always located within the larger picture of his sacrificial welcome, to all who come to him. Christian hospitality was to turn that practice upside down – hospitality towards the weakest, those least likely to be able to reciprocate, was to become the practice.

4.4.1.1.   Domestic Hospitality: Hosting the message

Like the Gods of Greece and Rome, the Christian God, Jesus, took human form and

came to live on the earth. At the beginning of John's gospel, an account is given into

the treatment of Jesus by mankind:

> "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)

Even when he came to be born, there was no one who would take the family in. This,

in a land where hospitality was considered so important, there was literally no room at

the inn; mankind turned their backs and showed no hospitality to a pregnant woman.

> "Now it happened that, while they were there, the time came for her to have
> her child, and she gave birth to a son, her first-born. She wrapped him in
> swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger because there was no room for
> them in the inn."
> (Luke 2:6–7)

Rather than 'inn' the Greek word *καταλύμα (kataluma)* can mean a room, in this

context most probably 'dwelling'. The beginning of Jesus' life on earth is rich with

hospitality symbolism. 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 symbolises Jesus as the

sustenance of the world; often, throughout his Gospel, Luke refers to eating and

drinking as a symbol for close friendship and union with God.

Throughout his itinerant ministry, Jesus was dependant on the hospitality of others, as

he himself said, "Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of

man has nowhere to lay his head" (Matthew 8:20). Jesus was a wandering and

homeless prophet, sent by God but rejected by many (see Luke 4:16–30); he finds

hospitality wherever he can, with those willing to give him shelter. He is dependent on the generosity of others to aid him in his ministry and in particular on those women who minister unto him (Matthew 27:55). In the two public miracles, when he feeds 5000 people in Jewish lands and then 4000 people in the 'pagan' territories, he has to rely on the hospitality of others; he accepts the loaves and the fish that he uses (*cf.* Mark 6:38–41; 8:4–8 and parallels).

Despite and because of his very homelessness, Jesus gathers around him a congregation of those who open themselves to him; Mary and Martha are paradigmatic (Luke 10:38–42). As a guest, Jesus deliberately seeks those who are normally cast out from society:

> "When Jesus was at dinner in his house, a number of tax collectors and sinners were also sitting at table with Jesus and his disciples; for there were many of them among his followers. When the scribes of the Pharisee party saw him eating with sinners and tax collectors, they said to his disciples, 'why does he eat with tax collectors and sinners?'"
> (Mark 2:15–16)

and he also dined with those who condemned him for eating with sinners

> "Now it happened that on a Sabbath day he had gone to share a meal in the house of one of the leading Pharisees; and they watched him closely."
> (Luke 14:1)

Even towards the end of his life, Jesus remains 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 is 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 Christ the king separating the sheep from the goats, based on hospitality extended or refused:

167

> "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 25:32–7)

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).

Yahweh was the host to his people in the Old Testament; Jesus, as God's son, becomes the host who receives an alienated world. The images of God's kingdom that predominate overwhelmingly in Jesus' teaching are those associated with the production of food and drink or homelike refuge for God's creatures. Jesus takes the role of host to the multitude when he feeds the 5000 and then again 4000 people; he is portrayed as one like Yahweh, who fed the people in the wilderness as was seen in Exodus 16 and in the same style as the prophets of Yahweh, who fed his disciples and had food left over (*cf.* 2 Kings 4:42–44).

At the Last Supper, Jesus was the host directing the meal, and washing the disciples' feet (John 13:3–5), which was one of the great acts of hospitality in the Old Testament; moreover, he becomes the spiritually sustaining 'meal' himself:

> "The blessing-cup, which we bless, is it not a sharing in the blood of Christ; and the loaf of bread which we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ? And as there is one loaf, so we, although there are many of us, are one single body, for we all share in the one loaf."
> (1 Cur 10:16–17; Mark 14:12–26; John 6:30–40.).

By his auto-identification, with the symbolic elements of the Passover meal, Jesus associated his body with the bread of affliction, which was offered to all who were hungry and needy, and he associated his blood with the third cup of wine, the cup of redemption. Moreover, by halting the meal, before the traditional fourth cup, Jesus anticipates his role as eschatological host, when he will drink again at the messianic banquet, celebrating the consummation of the kingdom of God "Blessed is anyone who will share the meal in the kingdom of God" (Luke 14:15; *cf.* Isaiah 25:6; Matthew 8:11; Revelation 19:9). In his post resurrection appearances, the disciples perceive the identity of Jesus, when he takes the role of host and says, "come and have breakfast" (Luke 24:13–43; John 21:1–14).

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.

Itinerant Christian ministers and refugees often found themselves in need of sympathetic hosts. This was a particular characteristic of St Paul's writings "Help eagerly on their way, Zenas the lawyer and Apollos, and make sure they have everything they need. All our people must also learn to occupy themselves in doing good works for their practical needs, and not to be unproductive" (Titus 3:13–14) and again in Philemon verse 22 "There is another thing, will you get a place ready for me to stay in?" (Romans 16:1–2, 23; 1 Corinthians 16:10–11; 3 John 5–8). Another characteristic of St Paul's writings, hospitality was clearly seen as a virtue, as one must "contribute to the needs of the saints, practice hospitality" (Romans 12:13) and if one has been faithful, one "must be well attested for her good deeds, as one who has brought up children, shown hospitality, washed the feet of the saints, relieved the afflicted, and devoted herself to doing good in every way" (1 Timothy 5:10). As a final admonishment is given, "practice hospitality, ungrudgingly, to one another" (1 Peter 4:9). This is emphasised in letter to the Hebrews; this letter refers all the way back in time to the hospitality of Abraham, when the Hebrews are told: "Remember to show hospitality to strangers, by doing this, some people have entertained angels without knowing it" (Hebrews 13:3). In his commentary on Hebrews, Long (1997: 143) quotes the third century book on church order 'Didascalia', giving instructions to the bishop:

> "If a destitute man or woman, either a local person or a traveller, arrives unexpectedly, especially one of older years, and there is no place, you, bishop, make such a place with all your heart, even if you yourself should sit on the ground, that you may not show favouritism among human beings, but that your ministry may be pleasing before God."

The letter to Hebrews, in its closing remarks, reflects the kind of hospitality in the early church, this can be contrasted with the concept of hospitality, as understood by the Qumran community:

> "And no man smitten with any human uncleanness shall enter the Assembly of God; no man smitten with any of them shall be confirmed in his office in the congregation. No man smitten in his flesh, or paralysed in his feet or hands, or lame, or blind, or deaf, or dumb, or smitten in his flesh with a visible blemish; no old and tottery man unable to stay still in the midst of the congregation; none of these shall come."
> (1QSa II:4–8, Vermes 1997: 159)

The earliest Christian writers, some of who were contemporaneous with the New Testament and others, in the century afterwards, make specific mention of hospitality. The earliest would probably have been from the letters by Clement of Rome to the Church in Corinth, when they are reminded to the hospitality shown by both Abraham and Lot:

> "And Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness. On account of his faith and hospitality, a son was given him in his old age… On account of his hospitality and godliness, Lot was saved out of Sodom when all the country around him was punished…"
> (Apocrypha, I Clement 5:11–6:1)

These letters by Clement were included in the canons of scripture in the churches in Egypt and Syria and probably date to around 94 AD. Contemporaneous with Clement was the 'Shepherd of Hermas', of whom very little is known; however, sometimes his writings were considered part of the canon of the New Testament and were read throughout the early church. His instruction on hospitality is clear:

> "There is nothing better than these things in the life of man… to be hospitable; for in hospitality there is sometimes great fruit…"
> (Apocrypha, *II Hermas* 8:9–10)

Ignatius of Antioch, the first century Bishop of Antioch in Syria, retained the office for 40 years proving himself as an exemplary bishop. Whilst travelling he makes reference to the hospitality he has received:

> "My spirit salutes you, and so does the affection of the Churches that offered their hospitality to me, not as to a chance visitor, but in deference to Jesus Christ."
> (Apocrypha, *Ignatius to Rome.* 3:11)

The memory of St. Polycarp is closely connected with that of St. Ignatius of Antioch. He was born very probably in the year 69 or 70; later he became Bishop of Smyrns. Under the persecution of Marcus Aurelius, he was martyred around 166 AD. According to records surrounding his death, the night before he was burnt to death, he was held under house arrest. Being a Christian and having guests in his house, he showed them due hospitality:

> "It was the evening and Polycarp had retired to rest, but he came down and, with great courtesy and hospitality, offered them food and wine. He then asked leave that he might pray, and stood and prayed for all whom he had known and for the whole Church throughout the world."
> (*The Martyrdom of Polycarp* Chapter VII)

4.4.1.2.　　Civic Hospitality: Codification of Charity

The *'διδαχή'* or 'The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles', which is a manual governing community life probably codified in about 150 AD, gives a clear indication on the reception of guests and how long they can expect to receive the public hospitality of the village or town.

> "Receive everyone who comes in the name of the Lord… If he who comes is a wayfarer, assist him as far as you are able; but he shall not remain with you more than two or three days, if need be. But if he wants to stay with you, and is an artisan, let him work and eat. But if he has no trade, according to your understanding, see to it that, as a Christian, he shall not live with you idle."
> (*Didache* 12)

Clement of Alexandria was born in the middle of the second century, probably in Athens, to an aristocratic pagan family. According to Trevijano (1988) he was to receive a traditional education in literature, in keeping with other young intellectuals; he travelled around looking for a mentor to satisfy his inquietudes. He eventually met Pantaenus, a Christian, and he then established the catechetical school of Alexandria. Clement taught that:

> "Akin to love is hospitality, being congenial and devoted to the treatment of strangers. And those are strangers, to whom the things of the world are strange… Hospitality, therefore, is occupied in what is useful for strangers; and guests are strangers; and friends are guests; and brethren are friends."
> (Clement of Alexandria, *The Stromata* 2:9)

Clement was an aristocrat, most probably writing to aristocrats who were unaccustomed to performing manual work or services; he uses the examples of Abraham and Sarah to show that performing physical services to guests, is required of all who live according to the teaching of Christ.

> "Let us fix our eyes on those who have yielded perfect service to His magnificent glory. Let us take… Abraham, who for his faith and hospitality was called the friend of God… For hospitality and piety, Lot was saved from Sodom… Abraham, who for his free faith was called 'the friend of God,' was not elated by glory, but modestly said, 'I am dust and ashes.'"
> (Clement of Alexandria, *The Stromata* 4:17)

Tertullian, who was the son of a Roman Centurion rejected paganism and became a priest of the Church in Carthage. Trevijano (1988) notes that very little is known about his conversion; however, with a certain surety his writings are dated from 196 AD to 212 AD − interestingly his rhetoric was Ciceronian in style. Tertullian in his 'Prescription against Heretics' considers the importance of mutual hospitality between the churches as one of their great bonds of unity:

> "Therefore the churches, although they are so many and so great... and all are apostolic, whilst they are all proved to be one, in unity, by their peaceful communion, and title of brotherhood, and bond of hospitality, privileges which no other rule directs than the one tradition of the selfsame mystery."
> (Tertullian, *De Praescriptione haereticorum*, 20)

On 14th September 258, St Cyprian Bishop of Carthage suffered martyrdom during the persecutions conducted under the authority of Emperor Valerian; the night before he was to enjoy the hospitality of the village he was staying in:

> "The proconsul Galerius Maximus ordered Cyprian to be reserved for him until the next day... and he stayed... enjoying his hospitality in the village... Thither the whole company of brethren came; and, when the holy Cyprian learned this, he ordered the maidens to be protected, since all had remained in the village before the gate of the hospitable officer."
> (*Acta Proconsularia Cypriani* 1900:25)

According to Trevijano (1988) Origen lived in Alexandra and Caesarea and is considered one of the most prolific Christian writers. In his work *'Contra Celsus',* he condemns those who breach hospitality, by 'partaking of a man's table' and then conspiring against their host:

> "Observe also the superficiality and manifest falsity of such a statement of Celsus, when he asserts that he who was partaker of a man's table would not conspire against him; and if he would not conspire against a man, much less would he plot against a God after banqueting with him. For who does not know that many persons, after partaking of the salt on the table, have entered into a conspiracy against their entertainers... numerous instances can be quoted showing that they who shared in the hospitality of others entered into conspiracies against them."
> (Origen, *Contra Celsus*, 2:21)

History credits Emperor Constantine with the conversion of the empire to Christianity after his victory, over his stronger rival Maxentius, at the Milvian Bridge on the 28th October 312. With Constantine's public support of the church, it became richer and undertook substantial responsibilities not least in hospitality through the care of need. The Emperor Julian in 362 AD was attempting to suppress the Christian Church and

reintroduce paganism across the Empire, however, he explicitly urged his governors to maintain the Christian practice of the *xenodochein* or hospice. In a letter to the (pagan) Archpriest Arsacius, he writes:

> "If Hellenism [paganism] is not making the progress it should, the fault is with us who practise it ... Do we not see that what has most contributed to the success of atheism [Christianity] is its charity towards strangers...? Establish numerous hospices in every city, so that strangers may benefit from our charity, not only those of our own number, but anyone else who is in need ... For it is disgraceful that not a single Jew is a mendicant, and that the impious Galileans [Christians] maintain our poor in addition to their own, and our needy are seen to lack assistance from us."
> (Browning 1975: 179)

He then goes on to give the specific command "Teach those of the Hellenic faith to contribute to public service of this sort." Thus, in his attempt to reintroduce paganism, Emperor Julian gave clear witness to the significance of Christian institutions, to care for society as a whole. Christians carried on to established many more *xenodochia* in the fourth century, to care for strangers, but particularly for poor strangers who had no other resources, and for the local poor. Gradually these were differentiated into separate institutions according to the type of person in need: orphans, widows, strangers, sick and poor.

Patlagean, the eminent Byzantine historian states that the *xenodochia* lead to "... a social classification built on poor versus rich with poverty not only a material and economic condition, but also a legal and social status..." An arrangement which constituted "... a privileged establishment for the Church..." endowing "... it with the means of sustaining the burden of relief which the Byzantine Emperor could henceforth devolve on it" (Patlagean 1981: 71). Mollat, in his study *Les pauvres au Moyen âge,* shows that beggars and travellers were treated by the law as total strangers and therefore did not enjoy protection. Unlike slaves, who were some

citizen's property and, as such, enjoyed the protection of the law. The *xenodochia* treated these legal non-persons as legitimate inmates, forcing Emperor Justinian to grant them legal status, sometime around 530 AD.

Two fourth century writers were to articulate the unmistakably Christian concept of hospitality. Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius was a Christian apologist of the fourth century and friendly with Emperor Constantine; Constantine raised him from penury and though very old, he was appointed tutor in Latin to his son Crispus. Lactantius explicitly contrasted Christian hospitality with classical practices. He used the classical example of the gods assuming human form to go into the world to exercise his right to hospitality

> "Jupiter himself, after that he received the government, erected temples in honour of himself in many places. For in going about the world, as he came to each place he united the chiefs of the people to himself in friendship and the right of hospitality; and that the remembrance of this might be preserved, he ordered that temples should be built to him, and annual festivals be celebrated by those connected with him in a league of hospitality."
> (Lactantius, *Epitome of the Divine Institutes*, 24)

Recognising hospitality as a 'principal virtue' for philosophers and Christians alike, Lactantius criticised those philosophers who tied it to advantage. Noting that Cicero and others urged that the 'houses of illustrious men should be open to illustrious guests' he then rejected the argument that our bounty must be bestowed upon suitable persons, he reasoned instead that a Christian's house must be open to the lowly and abject.

> "Therefore hospitality is a principal virtue, as the philosophers also say; but they turn it aside from true justice, and forcibly apply it to advantage. Cicero says: 'Hospitality was rightly praised… it is highly becoming that the houses of illustrious men should be open to illustrious guests'. He has here committed the same error which he then did, when he said that we must bestow our bounty on 'suitable' persons. For the house of a just and wise man ought not to

be open to the illustrious, but to the lowly and abject. For those illustrious and powerful men cannot be in want of anything, since they are sufficiently protected and honoured by their own opulence. But nothing is to be done by a just man except that which is a benefit. But if the benefit is returned, it is destroyed and brought to an end; for we cannot possess in its completeness that for which a price has been paid to us. Therefore the principle of justice is employed about those benefits which have remained safe and uncorrupted; but they cannot thus remain by any other means than if they are be stowed upon those men who can in no way profit us. But in receiving illustrious men, he looked to nothing else but utility; nor did the ingenious man conceal what advantage he hoped from it. For he says that he who does that will become powerful among foreigners by the favour of the leading men, whom he will have bound to himself by the right of hospitality and friendship."
(Lactantius, *Divinæ Institutiones.* 4:12)

St John Chrysostom was to be one of the leading voices within the Christian community, encouraging them to live their lives according to the teachings of Christ. He was to describe exactly how a Christian was to comport himself:

"He must be well awake, he must be fervent in spirit, and, as it were, breathe fire; he must labour and attend upon his duty by day and by night, even more than a general upon his army; he must be careful and concerned for all. Sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality."
(Chrysostom, *Homily on Timothy* 1:10)

This was not prearranged hospitality, Christians were to be ready at all times to receive and welcome guests, due preparations were always to be in place.

"Make for yourself a guest-chamber in your own house: set up a bed there, set up a table there and a candlestick. For is it not absurd, that whereas, if soldiers should come, you have rooms set apart for them, and show much care for them, and furnish them with everything… This do: surpass us in liberality: have a room, to which Christ may come… Be not uncompassionate, nor inhuman; be not so earnest in worldly matters, so cold in spiritual. Let also the most faithful of thy servants be the one entrusted with this office, and let him bring in the maimed, the beggars, and the homeless…"
(Chrysostom, *Homily on Acts* 45)

Taking up the teaching of Clement of Alexandria and others, this hospitality was not to be left to the servants; it must be done by the masters of the household.

> Observe, the hospitality here spoken of is not merely a friendly reception, but one given with zeal and alacrity, with readiness, and going about it as if one were receiving Christ Himself. The widows should perform these services themselves, not commit them to their handmaids… And though a woman may be very rich, and of the highest rank, vain of her birth and noble family, there is not the same distance between her and others, as between God and the disciples. If you welcome the stranger as Christ, be not ashamed, but rather glory: but if you receive him not as Christ, receive him not at all.
> (Chrysostom, *Homily on Timothy* 1:14)

Chrysostom was a realist and he recognised the earthly benefits Christians could gain from entertaining persons of high status but he criticised such a practice:

> "Whereas if thou entertain some great and distinguished man, it is not such pure mercy, what thou doest, but some portion many times is as signed to thyself also, both by vain-glory, and by the return of the favour, and by the rising in many men's estimation on account of thy guest".
> (Chrysostom, *Homily on 1ˢᵗ Corinthians* 20)

He develops his teaching by showing that generous hosts, as long as they are not seeking gain, would nevertheless find themselves blessed in the hospitality relationship. Central to his teaching was the idea, that by offering hospitality to a person in need, one ministered to Christ, and in this context, the discrepancy between small human acts of care and the extravagance of divine hospitality was underscored.

> "If you show me hospitality,' He said, 'in your home I treat you hospitably in the Kingdom of My Father; you fed me, so I will take away your sins; you saw me captive, I will free you; I was a stranger, I will make you guest of heaven; you gave me bread, I will give you an entire Kingdom'"
> (Chrysostom, *Homily on Acts* 45)

In the Council held at Carthage in 419, the duties of hospitality were given precedent over the use of church buildings. Canon 42 was entitled 'Concerning the not having feasts under any circumstances in churches' and it stated

> "That no bishops or clerics are to hold feasts in churches, unless perchance they are forced thereto by the necessity of hospitality as they pass by. The people, too, as far as possible, are to be prohibited from attending such feasts."
> (*Council of Carthage,* Canon XLII)

In the Coptic 'Gospel of Thomas', written about 200 AD, the alleged words of Jesus are found, when he is giving his disciples instructions on how to be good guests when they receive hospitality:

> "Jesus said to them... when you go into any land and travel in the country places, when they receive you eat whatever they serve to you."
> (Trevijano, 1997: 58)

Characteristic	Description
Zeal	The Hospitality of Abraham was the model which early Christians were urged to imitate. Abraham was always prepared at the door of his tent, he ran to meet the stranger, and told Sarah and the servants to hurry to prepare for the guests when they appeared.
Duty	Hospitality is a personal duty. The tasks of hospitality are not to be left to servants; but performed by the host personally. It was by no means sufficient to rely on institutions like the *xenodochia,* personal involvement in hospitality was of paramount importance, never to be overlooked.
Sacrifice	The needs of guests are to be given precedent over those of the host. Abraham was aged and busy, but he put the needs of the strangers before his own.
Courtesy	Hospitality involves not just material benefits, but courtesy in the widest sense; what must be offered is more than a meal; civility, humility, kindness, respect, and concern
Attentiveness	Not only should the household be ready to receive guests at any time; in fact, the Christian host should go find the needy stranger and invite him to his house.
Universality	Most importantly, hospitality must not only to be offered to those who can return it; Christian hospitality should be extended to everyone, including slaves and the poor. The stranger you are entertaining is Christ.

Table 4:6 Characteristics of early Christian hospitality

4.4.1.3. Commercial Hospitality: The rise of the Monasteries

At the end of Classical Antiquity, as discussed in Section 1.5.2, the Roman Empire fell and Europe entered a period of decline; at the same time the sophisticated network

of commercial hospitality that had been established fell into disuse. For the considerably fewer people that needed to travel, the monasteries filled the vacuum that had been left. In contemporary literature, for example *Acta Ionannis*, the few remaining contemporaneous commercial hospitality had a reputation for bedbugs, discomfort, violence and danger; these only existed in the towns and there was no provision in the countryside or along roads.

The early Christian teachings provide the basis for the western monastic tradition. There are also parallels to be found in early Buddhist and Hindu writings, and it is known that there was considerable contact between India and Alexandria, which was, at that time (*c.*200 AD), the principal commercial and intellectual centre in the Mediterranean. St. Clement (*Stromateis*, 1.71) recorded that Hindu merchants had formed a permanent and prosperous colony in Alexandria. Other forms of monasticism, such as the Syrian and the strictly Oriental monasticism, were to have no direct influence on that of Europe.

St Benedict is considered the founder of western monasticism, according to St Gregory's Dialogues he was born at Nursia, about 480 AD, and died at Monte Cassino in 543 AD. For Benedict, a monastery was nothing more or less than a school for the Lord's service. Benedict had lived the life of an eremite in the extreme Egyptian pattern. Instead of attempting to revive the old forms of asceticism, he wrote a Rule that consolidated the coenobitical life, emphasised the community spirit, and discouraged all private ventures in austerity. Benedict did not write the Rule for clerics; nor was it his intention to found a worldwide order. His Rule was meant to be for the governance of the domestic life of lay individuals who wanted to live, in the fullest possible way, on the path that led to God.

[1.] All guests who arrive should be received as if they were Christ, for He himself is going to say: "I came as a stranger, and you received Me"; [2.] and let due honour be shown to all, especially those who share our faith and those who are pilgrims. [3.] As soon as a guest is announced, then let the Superior or one of the monks meet him with all charity, [4.] and first let them pray together, and then be united in peace. [5.] For the sign of peace should not be given until after the prayers have been said, in order to protect from the deceptions of the devil. [6.] The greeting itself, however, ought to show complete humility toward guests who are arriving or departing: [7.] by a bowing of the head or by a complete prostration on the ground, as if it was Christ who was being received. [8.] After the guests have been received and taken to prayer, let the Superior or someone appointed by him, sit with them. [9.] Let the scripture be read in front of the guest, and then let all kindness be shown to him. [10.] The Superior shall break his fast for the sake of a guest, unless it happens to be a principal fast day; [11.] the monks, however, shall observe the customary fasting. [12.] Let the Abbot give the guests water for their hands; and [13.] let both Abbot and monks wash the feet of all guests; [14.] after the washing of the feet let all present say this verse: "We have received Your mercy, O God, in the midst of Your church". [15.] All guests should be received with care and kindness; however it is when receiving the poor and pilgrims that the greatest care and kindness should be shown, because it is especially in welcoming them that Christ is received.

[16.] There should be a separate kitchen for the Abbot and guests, so that the other monks may not be disturbed when guests, who are always visiting a monastery, arrive at irregular hours. [17.] Let two monks who are capable of doing this well, be appointed to this kitchen for a year. [18.] They should be given all the help that they require, so that they may serve without murmuring, and on the other hand, when they have less to occupy them, let them do whatever work is assigned to them. [19.] And not only in their case but a similar arrangement should apply to all the jobs across the monastery, [20.] so that when help is needed it can be supplied, and again when the workers are unoccupied they do whatever they are required to do. [21.] Responsibility for the guest house also shall be assigned to a holy monk. [22.] Let there be an adequate number of beds made up in it; and let the house of God be managed by wise men and in a wise manner. [23.] On no account shall anyone who is not so ordered associate or converse with the guests, [24.] but if he should meet them or see them, let him greet them humbly, as we have said, ask their blessing and pass on, saying that he is not allowed to converse with a guest.

Table 4:7 Rule of Benedict Chapter 53

Within St. Benedict's Rule, the main focus for religious hospitality is contained within Chapter 53 which is entitled 'De Hopitibus Suscipiendis' – 'The Reception of Guests' (*c.*530 AD). In this Chapter, there is a polarity between the closed monastic world and the secular world in general. By leaving the secular society, the monk establishes an alternative world in which people from the secular world might wish to

share. Therefore, the ritual reception of guests was to play an important role by being both the bridge and the barrier between the two worlds.

In Benedict 53:1 the central feature is that 'all guests are to be received as Christ'. From the original Latin used in the opening phrase it could be concluded that the chapter is dealing as much with those travellers who arrive unexpectedly, as those who come for a planned visit. The Latin word used for guests is *hospites*. The same word is used in the Bible (Matthew 25:35) for 'strangers', showing clearly that hospitality should be offered to those who are in need of it, as well as to those who command shelter by power or prestige. When he quotes Matthew 25:35, Benedict changes the latin words *collegistis* 'you welcomed' to *suscepistis* 'you received', and *suscipiantur* 'be received'. This is the key concept in the chapter; this echoes in the profession of a monk: he is 'received' in to the monastery, so he can then 'receive' others in hospitality.

The stratification of the hospitality is evident in verse 2, 'proper or due honour' *(congruus honor)* means that not all receive the same honour. There are two categories of person due particular honour: in Latin these are *domesticus fidei* and *peregrinis*. *Domesticus fidei* literally 'those who share our faith' – Fry (1981) states that this would apply to other clerics and monks, who are to be received with greater honour. The latin word *peregrinis* can mean 'pilgrim', 'visiting', 'strange' and 'foreign'. The context seems to favour the more technical meaning of 'pilgrim'; who could possibly be understood as another type of the *domestici fidei* who would then be due same honour. In verse 15, Benedict is recognising the fact that people who were on a holy journey would also single them out for special attention. According to Leclereq (1968) Pilgrimage, as a form of popular spiritual exercise, peaked after St.

Benedict's time. However, there is good evidence for pilgrimage to the tombs of the martyrs and saints, especially at Rome, and to the Holy Places before Benedict wrote his rule. In contrast to the welcome of the monastery, commercial hospitality establishments along major roads and at city gates gained a reputation for attracting lower classes that were too poor or socially insignificant to have developed a network of hospitality.

In verse 3 Benedict talks about the nature of the greeting; here Benedict is probably referring to cordial words and facial expressions, rather than concrete acts of hospitality. The acts are described in the succeeding verses, but the nature of the greeting is extremely important for the morale of the guest. The key point here is that the duty of caring for the physical needs of the guest actually counts for little if it is carried out in an insensitive manner. Benedict now (verse 4) gives instruction on how a guest has to be received. Primacy of the spiritual in the dealings of monks with outsiders is emphasised, making clear that the guest is received on the monastery's terms. If the monks put aside their religious character to deal with all guests at their level, then the cloister is breached and true monastic hospitality is falsified. In verse 6 the phrase 'the greeting itself, however' (*in ipsa autem salutatione*) would seem to indicate that only after the status of the guest is determined, are they actually greeted, and that despite the initial wariness all humility must now be displayed. In verse 7 'a complete prostration on the ground' *(prostrato omni corpore in terra)* is clearly an echo of the greeting Abraham (Genesis 18:2ff) gave to the strangers, and for the monks shows their general submission to the power of God and the benevolence of the community.

In verses 8 and 9 there is rich symbolism as the guest is being led deeper into the building and into the life of the community. Although guests are not allowed into the cloister, if the guests are allowed to pray with the monks then this demonstrates the fullness of the welcome that the monks offer to the guests; praying with the monks is to penetrate to the very centre of their life. From its earliest origins monasticism considered hospitality so important as to override asceticism. In verses 10 and 11 it is clearly shown, however, that the bending of the Rule when there are guests to be accommodated should not be allowed to disrupt community life. The washing of feet (verses 12–14), is a mark of hospitality, not uncommon in the early Church (1 Timothy 5:10; cf. Luke 7:44–45). Verse 15 reminds the monks that special care must be shown to those in greatest need of hospitality, and closes with a specific mention of the poor; those in most need of hospitality.

The rest of the chapter 53 (verses 16–24) is pragmatic, and even restrictive, although certainly practical. It would seem that guests are never in short supply and can arrive at any time, but the monks need to try to minimise the disturbance to the community. In recognition of this there are three specific matters that are dealt with in these verses: the guests' kitchen, their accommodation and their communications with the monks. In verse 16 Benedict allows for a separate abbot's kitchen, this is to provide for the times when the abbot is eating with the guests, while the rest of the monks are fasting (*cf.* verse 10). The running of the guesthouse is entrusted to two monks, who may even need help, indicates that guests 'are never lacking'. The two monks 'who are capable of fulfilling this office' *(qui ipsud officium bene impleant)* are appointed for a year and must be competent. Another preoccupation characteristic of Benedict is indicated by the use of the words 'giving help to those in need of it and keeping them from grumbling' *(murmuratione and solacium).* If people are not given what they

need to carry out their duties, they are not at fault: it is their superiors who fail to train or resource them who are culpable.

Verse 22 has two practical suggestions. The first is 'let there be sufficient beds made up' *(ubi sint lecti strati sufficienter)*. The guesthouse should always be ready for travellers arriving fatigued from the journey. Long delays in preparing the guesthouse would therefore be a hardship for them. The second is that the guesthouse should be 'wisely managed by wise persons' *(sapientibus et sapienter administretur)*. In other words those who are managing the guesthouse should be practically competent. However, this is not to deny that, in a given monastic situation, the Guest Master may give spiritual counsel. The term 'managed' *(administretur)* is important, for it contrasts with proprietorship: within this context God is the owner of the house; the monks merely manage it.

Chapter 53 concludes with a strict instruction to the monks about contact with the guest, 'not to visit or speak with them' *(ullatenus societur neque colloquatur)*. This seemingly harsh restriction appears quite out of harmony with the spirit of the first half of the chapter. However, on the one hand, monasteries that are overrun by guests need to protect their monks from the curious, whilst on the other hand there are garrulous monks in need of a sympathetic ear. Guests who come to the monastery for solitude should not have to provide that kind of listening service. Benedict wrote the first ever 'rule' for the organisation of large-scale hospitality. The most obvious principle is emblazoned at the very head of the chapter in the saying of Jesus, quoted from Matthew 25: "I was a stranger and you took me in"; an encounter with Christ has to be expected in encounters with strangers and wayfarers. Benedict is very practical in his rules. The administration of large-scale hospitality must be 'wisely

managed by wise persons'. Good oversight is necessary, and help given to those entrusted to a department, when needed, is of paramount importance. The guest-director, in particular, should be marked by fear of God and by wisdom. Multi tasking is seen as important: monks must not become so specialised in a particular sphere of work that they will be unable to help in others when required. Preparation is the key to the running of the guesthouse, which must be kept primed and ready. Benedict makes it clear that murmuring or petty moans will not be tolerated. They are neither good for the guest nor are they edifying to the life of the community. If the monks are not given what they need to carry out their duties, it is not their fault but the fault of those who instructed them to undertake the tasks failing to provide suitable training, skills, or tools for the job.

4.4.2. INITIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF TEXTS

Towards the end of Classical Antiquity, domestic hospitality was still held to be a personal duty – the head of the household would not delegate the duty to slaves, although they could carry out some of the laborious tasks. Hospitality in the home must be genuine and freely offered. Civic hospitality was to give rise to a growth of a hospitality network based around the churches and mutual bonds of hospitality between the churches. At the same time, the nature of the hospitality was to change in style. Charitable hospitality for the sick and pilgrims gives rise to organised, community based hospitality networks. When Christians began to have organised communities with their own buildings, hospitality became a community practice. Hospitality was transferred from the house to various institutions which dealt with: the physical needs of the guest, whether stranger, travelling Christian or local peasant,

and hosting and edification of the local assembly. The fall of the Roman Empire was to lead to the significant decline of the commercial hospitality industry as the unity of the empire was shattered. Monastic hospitality began to replace some forms of commercial hospitality because the industry had significantly declined after the break up of the empire and the subsequent reduction in the need to travel.

It is clear that hospitality should not be abused: it is a gift to be treasured by the guest who receives it; the guest must not abuse the host. Free hospitality should only be offered for a limited time, two or three days, those who wish to stay longer must not be idle; if they have a trade or be an artisan they must use their skills for the good of the community, thus the reciprocal nature of hospitality is again underlined. Those who abused the generosity of their, host or breached hospitality in any way, were strongly and repeatedly condemned. The principle motivations for Christian hospitality were Christological, humane, and eschatological; these were guide and inform their hospitality practices.

Two areas are key in hospitality practice in late Classical Antiquity: treatment of guests; and management practice. Sensitivity must be shown to the guests and their needs, they are to receive a cordial welcome, be lead into the centre of community life, and given the opportunity to eat as honoured guests; the needs of the guests are of paramount importance. Everyone has to be treated with kindness, but not all are to receive equal treatment, i.e. greater honour is due to some, discrimination is based on ontological being; those who have configured themselves to be more like Christ have to be treated better – this could be reflected in a hierarchy of accommodation.

Within early Christian hospitality, and subsequently within Monastic hospitality, there is tension between anchoritic informality and coenobitic order. There is a deeper polarity between monastic otherness and welcoming guests from the world from which the monks have distanced themselves. By leaving secular society, the monk sets up an alternative, if overlapping world, in which other people wish to share. At some point, too much sharing will destroy the very otherness which people admire, so care must be taken to avoid falsifying hospitality. The monk, by definition is one who has become a *xenos*, a stranger to the world. Hospitality within a monastery is welcoming but restrictive; this is not in a way intended to be disrespectful towards the guests, it has the intention not to falsify the hospitality that is offered.

The followers of Jesus did not expect earthly rewards for their hospitable actions, but expected metaphysical advantages after death. The early Christians would have been familiar with the theological anthropology of the Old Testament; Adam and Eve were guests in the Garden of Eden, humanity is a guest in God's creation. Mankind is a guest and stranger in the created order and therefore should be hospitable to fellow guests and strangers. Hospitality was seen as a societal need, something human beings owed to each other. This lead to the eschatological motivation, where those who are inhospitable to strangers here on earth, jeopardise their hopes of receiving hospitality in heaven.

The home was the primary location for hospitality, and a great deal of the practices of civic and commercial hospitality evolved from it. The monastery, the home of the monk, has elements of domestic, civic and commercial hospitality. The posture of the monk, before the guest, is one of humility and receptivity. It is clear that the monk is there to aid the guest, who must not be seen as a hindrance to the lifestyle of the

monastery. The reception of guests must not disrupt community life for those not directly involved with their care. Guests will be received on the community's terms; however, the rule of life of the monks may be altered slightly to accommodate the needs of the guest. More paradoxically, the cloister is the avenue to the world. In a monastery, there was the outer cloister surrounding the courtyard, i.e. guest facilities; the inner cloister marked the monk's own buildings; and the innermost cloister, the cloister walk with its garden. Often there was a fountain in the middle of the innermost cloister, from which the water flowed in the four directions of the compass. The cloister became an Eden; not a closed Eden, but an Eden flowing into the whole world.

Encapsulated in the Christological motivation for hospitality was that in receiving strangers, one received Christ; this was echoed by Abraham, who did not know the identity of the strangers he received, nor did he ask, he received whoever came; the emphasis was placed on welcoming into their space. Jesus himself was quite open to the world around him, especially to those who found themselves ostracised and marginalised by society. Despite the underlying ideal of domestic hospitality of being non-judgemental and open to all, society had become stratified to such an extent that people did discriminate. Whereas the meal customs of Jesus were symbolic of this entire attitude; he accepted hospitality from the unacceptable. However he was eating, Jesus often chose to be hospitable to those who were alienated by society; his actions were a way of giving support to the estranged and protection to the vulnerable, both classical tenants of hospitality. Hospitality was held to be a moral practice, in which personal sacrifice was required for the sake of the guest, it was not enough to relay on third parties to carry out hospitable acts.

Hospitality offered in the home was still indiscriminate and welcoming to all. The ideal behind religious hospitality was that the guest should be welcomed by the host in to the house of God. In this way God was seen as the ultimate host, whereas in the past the gods were also held as the ultimate guest. Monastic hospitality, and in particular the concept of the guesthouse, has its roots in the home. However, one of the most significant developments was that the hosts and guests were kept separate. Civic and commercial principles already existed; the monastery could be perceived as a home, but it was not entirely. This was not conceived as an inhospitable act, it was a necessity for the running of the monastery and the supply of a hospitality service. Hospitality based around the home follows a symbolic transition that takes the visitor from stranger to guest to friend. Hospitality often focus on the relief of homelessness – however, this creates the paradox that without an actual home hospitality is impossible.

The treatment of guests often followed a ritualised pattern of welcome. After the welcome, the stranger became the guest and then the guest became a friend. The motivations that governed the performance of Christian hospitality caused the following characteristics that can be seen as central to early Christian hospitality: zeal, duty, sacrifice, courtesy, attentiveness and universality. The performance of hospitality emphasised sincerity and if hospitality was not offered and given is a sincere manner, it counted for nothing. Hospitality still had as the central purpose of providing food, drink and accommodation; however, there was a greater emphasis of meeting the spiritual needs of the guest. Monastic hospitality, as well as being an extension of early Christian hospitality, also filled part of the void left by the decline in the commercial industry.

Subdivisions of themes	
Domestic	• Hospitality must be genuinely and freely offered • Personal duty of the head of the household for hospitality should not be delegate to slaves • Hospitality closely linked to roots in the home • Hospitality in the home was offered to the stranger and is a personal duty • All are welcome, but some are more welcome than others
Civic	• Mutual bonds of hospitality between the churches led to a growth of a hospitality network • In monasteries hospitality provision is based on ontological orientation • Charitable hospitality for the sick, poor and pilgrims gives rise to organised, community based hospitality networks
Commercial	• Provision of commercial hospitality effected by demand • Monastic hospitality became aligned to commercial hospitality • Differentiation of commercial hospitality • Commercial hospitality provision declined when the demand for it declined
Divine Law	• Hospitality must not be abused • Emphasis given to the importance of transcendental hospitality
Human Law	• Free hospitality was limited to three days • Codification of large scale hospitality provision
Spiritual Rewards	• Spiritual rewards of long life and happiness • Hospitality offered to the weakest led to eschatological rewards in the after life
Reciprocity	• Hosts received metaphysical benefits and guests physical benefits • If receiving hospitality of the community the guest must work for the good of the community
Commerce	• Religious hospitality is only free for a limited period time then guests must work for the good of the community
Behaviour	• Receive all who ask • Hospitality must be occupied in what is useful to strangers • Abuse of hospitality is condemned
Thresholds	• Protection of the vulnerable and those without status • Provide aid to those in need • Welcome those who are alienated • Potential for social change

Communication System	• Allows individuals to connect with a community and also interconnection of communities • News was exchanged and carried through communities of hospitality
Attitude	• Guests should be seen as a gift and hosts always to be prepared to offer hospitality • The needs of the guest should be put before the needs of the host • Cultural value as well as a societal need • Hospitality is to be offered even in adversity and absolutely welcoming
Religious Connotations	• Guest should be welcomed as gift from the gods • Hospitality is a moral practice and self sacrifice was central to a hospitable attitude • Reinforcement of the symbolic nature of hospitality • Hospitality was moral virtue which included clothing the poor, feeding the hungry, protecting the vulnerable. • Hospitable motivation included human need and eschatological rewards
Domestic Roots	• Hospitality remains linked to roots in the home • Monastic hospitality has its roots in the home but hosts and guests are kept separate
Symbolic Connotations	• Transition from stranger to guest to friend • Relief of homelessness • Religious hospitality presented accommodation as the guests home in God's house
Gendered Roles	• True hospitality transcends gender
Needs	• Welcoming with emphasis on those in need • Provision of food, drink and accommodation together with clothing, alms and medical care
Gestures	• Christian hospitality reinforced the characteristics of welcoming strangers, devoted and congenial reception. • Guests become friends for the duration of the hospitality transaction, maybe longer.

Table 4:8 Hospitality in Late Classical Antiquity

5. PRESUPPOSITIONS 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW OF CLASSICS AND HOSPITALITY

5.1. PERSONAL REFLEXIVITY

To increase clarity and focus it became clear that there was a need to revisit my own presuppositions and pre-understandings of the texts; it was this revisiting of my own pre-understandings that changed the hermeneutical circle into a hermeneutical helix. In the initial literature review (Chapter 3) the theological and biblical writers had been reviewed. Now a further literature search and review was conducted, and this encompassed the authors in classics. The authors of Classical Antiquity were the philosophers and theologians of their time. Consequently, this chapter focuses on studies using textual analysis and this is followed by theological studies, which is composed of both textual analysis and the interrelated field of biblical/theological anthropology. It concentrates on studies of the phenomenon of hospitality undertaken in the area of Greco-Roman literature. In general, these studies tend to be limited in perspective to particular authors from Classical Antiquity, or individual texts, or even pericopes. Fagles (1990) notes that the Ancient Greeks did not learn to write until late in their history and relied heavily on oral tradition. Therefore, before reviewing these studies consideration is given to when the Ancient Greek oral tradition was transformed into a written corpus.

5.2. HOSPITALITY: LINKS BETWEEN ORAL TRADITION AND TEXTS

The research begins with the works of Homer, the first textual source of Classical Antiquity; however when exactly these works were redacted is unclear. Graziosi (2005) states that papyrus copies of the Homeric writings could be found throughout the Greek World in the fourth and fifth centuries. There must also have been texts in

circulation in the sixth century, because certain classical authors refer to official recitations in Athens, and there are echoes of Homer in the writings of sixth century poets. Fagles (1990: 6) notes that other poets of the seventh century BC, whose work survives only in fragments, have phrases and even half-lines that are also common to Homer, and argues that "these echoes betray acquaintance with the work we know as Homer's". Fagles (1990) also records that there is also a vase, dated to about 750 BC, that has an inscription that refers to the cup of Nestor described in the Iliad (11:745–53).

The Homeric writings concern The Trojan War and surrounding events, Thomas and Conant (2005) observe that Ancient Greek authors date this war to about 1200 BC and that Homer was believed to live around 900 BC. Bakker (1997) records that history and traditions attribute the first written composition of the Homeric writings to 770 BC and thus this date is generally accepted as the beginning of Classical Antiquity. Lord (1960) and Parry (1936) addressed the issue of who Homer was and what are the Homeric writings. Their contributions reconsidered the foundational assumptions that framed the ideas about where written texts originated from. Until this point it had been assumed that it was Homer himself who wrote down his works; there was no concept of a pre-existent oral tradition.

In a separate development, Ong (1987), whose research interests are in cultural history, psychology and rhetoric, included investigating ways in which the media used to communicate the story also shape the nature of the content conveyed. Ong (1987) articulated the contrasts between oral and literate cultures, and made possible an integrated theory of oral tradition. This allows for certain assumptions or hypotheses to be made about a text; these include when the text was first redacted in written form

and how long it has existed in oral form. This is generally known as the theory of traditionality and textuality. This theory, which was also adopted and used in Biblical studies, highlights levels of formulaic compositions within the texts that include the type-scene: A basic pattern of narrative details, some of which could show how the original oral story was remembered and told (traditionality) and then in what form it was originally written down (textuality). As noted by Zumthor (1983), an oral poet needs devices to facilitate the production of the poem at a more detailed level, and this is the reason for the use of formulae and specific type-scenes. Type-scenes such as 'arrival', 'messages', 'dreams', etc., are a fundamental element of oral poetry: they allow the poet to compose by selecting from a more-or-less pre-determined range of detailed narrative units. In the case of the Homeric writings, a summary of all the type-scenes can be found in Edwards (1992).

Drawing on the work of previous authors including that of Lord (1960) and Parry (1937), Reece (1993: 190) undertakes a study of one category of Homeric type-scene, that of hospitality, "the most pervasive type-scene in the Odyssey". The study is about how oral poetry works, however the subject taken for investigation is the hospitality in the Homeric writings, which according to Reece (1993: 191) is "everything that occurs from the moment a visitor approaches someone's house until the moment he departs". Reece (1993: 189) attempts to present the Odyssey as a series of variations on the theme of hospitality; stating that he has:

> "often wondered how an oral poet, when performing a large-scale epic of the size of an Iliad or an Odyssey, would, on a very practical level, go about arranging and structuring the larger units of his epic, the major scenes and large-scale narrative patterns, and, having devised a satisfactory arrangement, how he would remember that arrangement accurately in subsequent performances"

The hospitality scenes, as defined by Reese, are much larger narrative units; some are second only in size to the poems in their totality comprising many smaller type-scenes. Reese identifies 18 hospitality scenes[3] within the writings. The first four hospitality scenes in the Odyssey are seen to establish the paradigm of proper hospitality, with which all the other hospitality scenes are to be compared or contrasted. These scenes follow a structure, consisting up of 38 conventional elements that, to a greater or lesser degree, are common, though no scene presents every element and some of them are hardly represented at all; some of these elements are type-scenes in their own right. These elements are shown in Table 5:1.

	Sub scene	Other elements
I	Maiden at the well / Youth on the road	
II	Arrival at the destination	
III	Description of the surroundings	a. Of the residence b. Of (the activities of) the person c. Of (the activities of) the others
IV	Dog at the door	
V	Waiting at the threshold	
VI	Supplication	
VII	Reception	a. Host catches sight of the visitor b. Host hesitates to offer hospitality c. Host rises from his seat d. Host approaches the visitor e. Host attends to the visitor's horses f. Host takes the visitor by the hand g. Host bids the visitor welcome h. Host takes the visitor's spear i. Host leads the visitor in
VIII	Seat	
IX	Feast	a. Preparation b. Consumption c. Conclusion
X	After-dinner drink	

---

[3] Twelve in the Odyssey: Athena-Mentes in Ithaca; Telemachus in Pylos; Telemachus in Sparta; Hermes and Calypso; Odysseus and the Phaeacians; Odysseus and Polyphemus; Odysseus and Aeolus; Odysseus and the Laestrygonians; Odysseus and Circe; Odysseus and Eumaeus; Telemachus and Eumaeus; and Odysseus' homecoming. Four in the Iliad: the embassy to Achilles; Nestor and Odysseus in Phthia; Thetis and Hephaestus; and Priam and Achilles). Finally two in the Hymns: Demeter in the home of Celeos; and Aphrodite and Anchises)

XI	Identification	a. Host questions the visitor b. Visitor reveals his identity
XII	Exchange of information	
XIII	Entertainment	
XIV	Visitor pronounces a blessing on the host	
XV	Visitor shares in a libation or sacrifice	
XVI	Visitor asks to be allowed to sleep	
XVII	Bed	
XVIII	Bath	
XIX	Host detains the visitor	
XX	Guest-gifts	
XXI	Departure meal	
XXII	Departure libation	
XXIII	Farewell blessing	
XXIV	Departure omen and interpretation	
XXV	Escort to visitor's next destination	

Table 5:1 Structure of Homeric Hospitality Type-Scenes
Source: Reece (1993: 6f)

Reece (1993: 7), whilst conducting a discussion of the extensive hospitality type-scenes in the Homeric writings, accepts that the structure, presented in Table 5:1, is a "highly artificial abstraction, a mechanical device" from which there are a number of hospitality deviations. In particular the contrast made between the pious Nestor and King Menelaus, in whose palace no sacrifices are offered. By contrasting between humble and extravagant hospitality in their respective residences, the hospitality of the former is less grand but warmer and more personal than that of the latter. There is also humour contained in the hospitality scenes, particularly when Menelaus forgets his own remarks about the duty of the good host and detains Nestor against his will:

"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"
(*Od.* 15:69–74).

More general issues of hospitality, in particular the Phaeacians' ambivalent attitude towards strangers, are discussed by Reece (1993: 104) and also how the dynamics of delay show that there may be "a hint of potential hostility" contained in hospitality.

Reece's general methodology of hermeneutical textual analysis, and in particular his observations regarding the form and centrality of hospitality within the Homeric writings, promote a significantly richer understanding of the structure of the Homeric epic. Linking stories of hospitality together was used both by Homer and successive oral poets to construct the epic poem, and Reece (1993) demonstrates how 3000 years later the concept of hospitality was used to analyse how the poem had been constructed and redacted.

5.3. HOSPITALITY IN THE ANCIENT GREEK WRITINGS

Throughout the writings of Homer (*c.*770 BC) Odysseus searches for *xenia,* in the sense of 'hospitable reception,' in a wide variety of situations. Various authors have examined how hospitable this reception actually was; for example, Levy (1963) and Webber (1989) look at the relationship between the host and the guest. Webber (1989: 47) notes that how the guests are identified is a central theme within the depictions of hospitality in the Odyssey, "the society depicted in the poem is made up of a network of interdependencies, most strikingly realized in guest-friendships, in which reciprocal hospitality both creates personal ties and provides for a fair exchange of goods". However on any single visit, the reciprocity is one-sided at the time; the guest

arrives empty-handed, and the host must provide comforts and send the guest on their way with gifts. During the visit, the guest provides nothing in return but their name; the information that will enable the host to claim reciprocal hospitality at a later stage.

Levy (1963) argues that the reciprocal nature of hospitality is also evident in the duty of the guest not to overstay their welcome, and to have due regard for the substance of the host, who on their part must offer hospitality freely and without restriction. Levy (1963: 150) notes "the Germanic proverb, 'After three days guests, like fish, begin to smell' has, as far as I have been able to discover, no counterpart in the Hellenic tradition." If a guest abuses the hospitality offered by a generous host to the extent where the guest destroys the host's livelihood and sustenance, the guest is *de facto* destroying the host. Levy notes that in the Odyssey there is a definite indication of a concern that the guest should not overstep the limits of generosity and thus harm the host. Within the society in which the Odyssey is set, man is identified with his goods and chattels. Often when the host is harmed by the guest's abuse of hospitality, the gods are said to intercede and impose sanctions on the unreasonable guest. Levy (1963) illustrates this by imagining the first audience of the Homeric poems who were an:

> "audience of small farmers, shepherds, neatherds, and fisherfolk, listening with indignation to the recital of how the guests ate up the very essence of the host; each would hear in the tale an echo of his own inner conflict as, in his own home, he followed the dictates of hospitality on the one hand, but saw on the other his meagre stores, the fruit of his hard labour, his very self, in fact, consumed. The hearers would wait with grim anticipation and rising emotion for the denouement, in which the wasters were destroyed by the gods."

Using this illustration Levy (1963) highlights the importance of engaging with the bias of the audience; Homer was telling the story in the way that reflected the

parlance of the audience that it was addressed to, whilst using a concept with which they were familiar: hospitality.

Pedrick (1988: 85) considers the provision of hospitality by noble women in the Odyssey, noting that "the noble woman has three gestures of hospitality: when a guest arrives, she arranges a bed for him; before a grand feast, she supervises his bath; finally, when he departs, she gives him gifts of clothing." Within the Homeric writings these gestures are so repetitive that this three-stage typology can be considered as standard part of the hospitality transaction. However, Pedrick (1988) goes on to observe that these gestures of hospitality do more that just provide simple domestic amenities for the guest, they begin the process of formalisation of the hospitality relationship (*xenia)* between the guest and the host (the husband of the noble woman), by elevating the stranger's status to that of an honoured guest. Burton (1998) further investigates the role played by women in the provision of hospitality in Ancient Greek world in general, rather than just within the Homeric writings. This study highlights the centrality of women who are often playing a more important role than men; celebratory feasts were one of the few situations where women were on equal terms with men, or even presided over them. Wedding feasts offered other occasions on which Greek men and women could gather together and eat and drink on fairly equal terms. Burton (1998: 158) observes that Plutarch (*Quest. conv*.) notes that a wedding guest list is often large because "many or most of the activities relating to a wedding are in the hands of women, and where women are present it is necessary that their husbands also should be included". Burton (1998) also observes that this situation is reflective of the long tradition of women's high visibility in Greek wedding processions and other activities, which are depicted in vase paintings dating from the sixth and fifth centuries BC.

Female gestures of hospitality that appear welcoming and generous can also have more sinister and deceptive qualities when, for example, in the absence of her husband the woman is the host in her own right. Hospitality gestures are not as innocuous in a matriarchal *oikos* (household) as they are in the context of a patriarchal *oikos*. Pedrick (1988: 85) argues that the offer of the noble woman's bed traps the guest "eternally in a sterile, inglorious existence; the bath reveals too much about his person; and the clothing shapes his identity to her desires." These gestures contrast two different visions of hospitality provided by women. On the one hand, hospitality is offered as a wholesome, welcoming gesture that will build a relationship; on the other hand, hospitality can be a useful medium from which the host can subordinate the guest and gain useful information about them.

5.4. HOSPITALITY IN THE LATIN WRITINGS

Virgil's (*c.*40 BC) epic poem *The Aeneid* charts events from the fall of Troy (*c.*1200 BC) through to the establishment of the City of Rome (*c.*753 BC); in the first part of the poem the hero Aeneas flees from Troy to found a new home for his people. During the journey Aeneas and his people depend on the hospitality of Dido, Queen of Carthage. Gibson (1999) notes that in *The Aeneid* Virgil includes five major hospitality scenes[4]; Virgil will have been aware of the status of the hospitality episode in Homer as a type-scene with conventional elements as previously identified by Reece (1993). Wiltshire (1989) investigates hospitality in *The Aeneid;* highlighting five ways in which hospitality has an effect on the characters in the poem:

1. admitting a stranger may be disastrous to the public realm because they bring change and innovation;

---

[4] Dido and the Trojans; Aeneas and Helenus in Epirus; Aeneas and Acestes in Sicily- Latimis and the Trojans; Aeneas and Evander. To this may be added a number of minor episodes, such as Anchises and Anius on Delos and the Trojans and Achaemenides.

2. hospitality may provide a haven for those who can travel no further;
3. hospitality may collapse in the wake of irrational behaviour on the part of the host or the guest;
4. reception of newcomers may foster political alliances; and
5. meeting strangers may free people to behave publicly in new and more effective way.

<div align="right">(Wiltshire 1989: 89)</div>

The hospitality that the main characters experience, either as guests or hosts, breaks down their isolated private world. Then they open their personal space to others and this enables the creation of shared public spaces, where the new community can evolve – or not as the case may be.

The effect of generous hospitality being freely offered and accepted is the creation of a world which at its best will turn all strangers into guests, however when hospitality is abused it can have devastating effects. Ovid was the other epic poet for the Romans – his work *Ars Amatoria* also narrates the foundations of the city of Rome. Gibson (1999) observes that in the opening section of *Ars Amatoria,* Ovid records that Aeneas broke of the rules of *hospitium*. For the Romans, *hospitium*, like *xenia* for the Greeks, contained the ideals of duty, loyalty, and reciprocity (the reciprocal exchanges for hospitality). Gibson (1999: 184) confirms that *hospitium* included the idea of *pietas* "a reference to the guest's sense of, or actual fulfilment of, the duty to pay a proper return on the hospitality received". Throughout Virgil's *Aeneid*, Aeneas had a formidable reputation for doing his duty as a *hospes*, i.e. as someone who was conscientious about their reciprocal duty.

> "The erotic relationship between Dido and Aeneas in Book IV of the Aeneid evolves out of the *hospitium* relationship established between them in Book I. When Aeneas leaves Dido he asserts that their relationship is that of host and guest rather than of husband and wife, and that he has acted and will act well in this *hospitium* relationship (Aeneid 4.334-9). Dido, for her part, even after she has been forced to drop the argument that she and Aeneas are married (Aeneid 4.43 1), continues to attack Aeneas and the Trojans as bad or faithless

hospites (Aeneid 4.538-41, 4.596-8), and ends by renouncing *hospitium* with them (Aeneid 4.622-9)" (Gibson 1999:186).

In Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, however, the reciprocal gesture made by Aeneas for the hospitality he received from Dido was to give her a sword and a reason for her to kill herself with it. Ovid presents an Aeneas who failed in his solemn duty to provide Dido with suitable reciprocity for her hospitality to him.

Gibson (1999: 185) argues that Virgil sets a problem for the reader of the *Aeneid:* "how have Aeneas and Dido acted in the light of the values of hospitium to which they both appeal?" Virgil is using the criterion of hospitality to judge the respective guilt of Aeneas and Dido. Gibson (1999: 186) also argues that there is something intrinsically disordered about the very existence of a *hospitium* relationship between Aeneas and Dido, due to their background and history. Aeneas' mother and Dido's father were the gods Venus and Belus respectively, between whom enmity always existed (*Aeneid* 1.621f.); thus in Roman mythology there would have been corresponding enmity between Aeneas Prince of Troy and Dido Queen of Carthage. When Aeneas led his people from Troy they sought *hospitium* in Carthage. The whole question of *hospitium* between Carthaginians and Trojans was impossible until the gods intervened (*Aeneid* 1.297–300) when Jupiter sends his messenger Mercury to earth to intercede with Dido on behalf of the Trojans. It is only as a result of Mercury's intervention that Dido and the Carthaginians put aside their instinctive animosity (*Aeneid* 1.302–3) and develop a hospitality relationship with the Trojans (*Aeneid* 1.304). However, both Ovid and Virgil show that reciprocally enjoyed hospitality could lead to the establishment and development to alliances of state, for example between the Trojans and the Carthaginians, whereas its one-sided abuse

could also lead nations to war as for example, the breach of hospitality that caused The Trojan War that lead directly to the outbreak of lasting hostility and death.

Livy (*c*.59 BC–17 AD) wrote a monumental history of Rome, *Ab Urbe Condita*, from its founding, traditionally dated to 753 BC, through the reign of Augustus. Bolchazy (1993) investigated the portrayal of hospitality in the writings of Livy, and proposed two theses: Rome, like other societies, moved through seven stages of hospitality toward strangers, with the *ius hospitii* (those who are shown to be righteous by providing hospitality) playing an important humanising role in ancient Roman culture; and Livy in his writings appreciated this role and gave *hospitium* a primary place in his history of Rome. The centrality of *hospitium* is proposed by Bolchazy (1993) observations, summarised as:

- Livy introduces *hospitium* into Aeneas' escape from Troy, a tradition otherwise unattested in all other sources;
- *Hospitium* is also introduced or emphasised in other stories associated with the development of Rome; and
- Livy's Rome is hospitable above and beyond the call of duty, and words related to *hospitium* are scattered throughout all Livy's surviving books.

Therefore, according to Bolchazy (1993: 65), "Livy appreciated the *ius hospitii* as a moral law dictating a friendly relationship between strangers and a peaceful solution to private and international differences", the altruism involved in the *ius hospitii* made it superior to the other virtues.

It is virtually impossible to either prove or disprove that a classical author had a particular theme in the front of their mind when writing; Livy nowhere explicitly states the thesis of hospitality attributed to him by Bolchazy (1993). However, there are a number of passages which are taken out of context by Bolchazy (1993): for example, a few lines after Aeneas and his countrymen escape from Troy due to their

hospitality relationships with the Greeks, Aeneas is found slaughtering native Italians or driving them from their homes in return for their hospitality. Another example would be the reception of foreign ambassadors (Bolchazy 1993: 60f.); this was surely a matter of custom rather than altruism. Even Livy did not portray the Romans as unique in this respect, reception of Ambassadors was a matter of custom (*Ab Urbe* 39.55.4); whilst Livy's record of the speech by the consul to the Rhodian ambassadors in 167 BC indicates that hospitable treatment was reserved for friends (*Ab Urbe* 45.20.7f.).

Bolchazy (1993) details seven stages of hospitality development drawing on comparative evidence from Greece and modern 'primitive' societies. In doing this, Bolchazy (1993), perhaps unintentionally, highlights that the use of comparative material can be highly illustrative, but without a sufficiently sophisticated methodology, it can be misleading. According to Bolchazy (1993) there are the seven stages of hospitality summarised as:

1. avoidance or mistreatment of strangers;
2. apotropaic hospitality (ritual neutralisation of strangers' magical powers);
3. Medea[5] category of hospitality (kindness to ensure the friendly use of strangers' magical powers);
4. theoxenic hospitality (kindness to strangers who could be gods in disguise);
5. kindness in accordance with divine law;
6. contractual hospitality; and
7. altruistic hospitality to anyone in need.

When considering this seven-stage evolution of attitudes toward strangers, Bolchazy (1993) discusses honour under the heading of altruism, suggesting that Livy viewed *hospitium* as an instrument of selfless peace. However, within Livy's writings there are many examples of how hospitality has been abused to the benefit of the abuser:

---

[5] Named after the actions of Medea

- Hospitality along with war to expand Roman domination (*Ab Urbe* 21.2.5);
- Foreign guests and kinsmen were used to secure tyranny (*Ab Urbe* 1.49.8); and
- Allegiances of hospitality were used to enlarge Carthaginian hegemony (*Ab Urbe* 21.2.5)

From these examples the question arises over the justification for Bolchazy's (1993) thesis that Livy believes in the peaceful and humanising influence of hospitality. There are numerous other examples in Livy of cynical manipulation of guests for selfish ends (e.g., *Ab Urbe* 42.17.3–5 and *Ab Urbe* 42.43.3); in other words, it could be argued that hospitality to advance the host's honour and status is anything but altruistic. What is clear is that hospitality can be a useful means of control.

Bolchazy (1993) also makes use of modern anthropological studies to compare the evolution of hospitality in Roman times to the discoveries made by anthropologists in the early part of the 20th Century. His bibliography shows that most of the anthropological sources come from the era of Frazer (see Frazer 1911; 1923). Anthropologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries combed through missionary and travellers' reports, collecting examples of quaint customs. The mass of data was then put together in a logical sequence to illustrate that human societies everywhere undergo a uni-linear development through parallel stages. Bolchazy (1993) has adopted this general overview to the extent that, when the Roman evidence for a particular category of hospitality is sparse or absent, he infers its existence by interpolation. However, since the writings of Evans-Pritchard (1965), Frazer's theory of stages has not stood up to rigorous scrutiny. The underlying reason is that when the reports of fieldwork rather than rhetorical anthropologies began pouring in after the turn of the century, the data did not conform to the stages of uni-linear, parallel evolution. Indeed, Casson (1994) notes that commercial hospitality provision

increased significantly with the growth of trade. However, great care must be taken to avoid contemporary comparisons. These would lead directly to the issue of what Finley (1983) describes as the teleological fallacy, which is the tendency to use ancient documents as basis for a controversial argument about a modern phenomenon; the teleological fallacy is discussed in greater detail earlier (p.111f).

Although the idea of stages of hospitality evolution can be questioned, Bolchazy (1993) certainly stimulates ideas about guests, strangers and hospitality in classical Rome. However, rigorous translation and textual analysis is required; at one point Bolchazy (1993) rightly distinguishes between foreigners and strangers, and at another point he uses a passage about pilgrims resident in Rome as evidence of attitudes toward guests. It is argued that categories of hospitality should not be considered to be all encompassing, for example, Pitt-Rivers (1977) anthropological work has stressed honour as a motivation for hospitality. Bolchazy (1993) classes honour under the heading of altruism, however if a person's only reason for being hospitable is to gain honour, their intention can't be seen as altruistic. It would seem that honour and altruism are two quite different motivations and confusing the two fails to give adequate attention to the motivation for hospitality most relevant to the Rome of historical times. These issues, in particular the teleological fallacy, are more prevalent in the biblical and theological writings and so it was discussed in depth in Section 3.3.

5.5. SUMMARY ISSUES IDENTIFIED IN THE CLASSICS LITERATURE

Based on the discussion, review and analysis of the classics literature Table 5:2 Hospitality Issues from the Classics literature has been constructed to summarise the key issues.

Author	Hospitality Issue
Reece (1993)	Hospitality used as narrative script
Zumthor (1983)	Formulaic use of hospitality
Levy (1963)	Hospitality as metaphor
Pedrick (1988)	Hospitality as a means of social control and manipulation
Bolchazy (1993)	As societies develop the go through different stages of hospitality
Burton (1998)	Woman played an important role in hospitality relationships – in some cases dominant to men
Gibson (1999)	Hospitality for the Roman contained the concepts of: duty; loyalty; and reciprocity.
Gibson (1999)	Breaches in hospitality reciprocity could lead to war
Levy (1963)	Time – important to not overstay the welcome as to put an undue burden on the host
Levy (1963) Weber (1989)	Centrality of guest–host relationship in ancient world
Pedrick (1988)	Hospitable gestures can have a darker character of espionage
Reece (1993)	Guest/Host encounter follow set patterns and conventions
Reece (1993)	Hospitality was a method of judging the worth of a person
Walsh (1974)	Hospitality is a moral/ethical duty
Weber (1989)	Reciprocal nature of hospitality builds interdependent social networks
Wiltshire (1989)	Hospitality can cause social change

Table 5:2 Hospitality Issues from the Classics literature

Tables 5:2 becomes the presuppositions for a second revolution of the hermeneutical helix. The texts from Classical Antiquity tended to focus on the host's perspective. There was a propensity for the texts to be a normative statement of *how* hospitality should be provided, *why* it should be provided and to *whom* it should be provided, rather than focusing on the actual process of provision and the consumption of hospitality or the guest perspective. In contrast the philosophical writings (Section 1:4) explored the *guest* dimension by emphasising the *experience* of hospitality.

6.   FIRST REFLECTIVE ANALYSIS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The reflective analysis contained in this chapter is the first opportunity for the data to be reassembled into a whole, as is outlined in the methodology detailed earlier (Section 2.7). This reassembly is achieved by combining the issues identified in the literature (Chapters 3 and 5) with the initial reconstructions of the texts of Classical Antiquity (Chapter 4). This is done by primarily constructing a large table containing all the elements from both the review of the literature and the initial reconstruction of texts (Section 6.2), and then refining the outcomes in Section 6.3. The various tables presented in this chapter could arguably be contained in an annex. However, stages one and two of this chapter are as much a presentation of the initial findings from the research as they are about illustrating the process; therefore, because this process is critical to the flow and evolution of the research it is located in the main body of the text.

6.2. STAGE ONE: FINDINGS FROM THE TEXTUAL AND LITERATURE ANALYSIS

The reflective process began by combining the three sets findings from the textual analysis (Sections 4.2.2; 4.3.2; and 4.4.2) with the results of the two reviews of literature: summary of issues identified in the Judeo-Christian literature (Section 3.5); summary of issues identified in the philosophical literature (Section 1.4.3) and summary of issues identified in the classics literature (Section 5.3.4)

The combined findings are presented in the five-columned table (6.1) consisting (from left to right) of:

- the aspects of hospitably that emerged from the literature reviews (first column);

- the themes that emerged from the hermeneutical analysis of hospitality in Classical Antiquity (second column); and finally

- three columns of findings detailing aspects of hospitality from the Early, Middle and Late periods of Classical Antiquity.

The rows of the table represent the particular elements of hospitality that have come from the research and these, by their very nature, add richness and complexity to the phenomenon of hospitality.

Literature Review outcomes	Analysis of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity			
	Subdivisions of themes	Early Period	Middle Period	Late Period
• As societies develop they go through different stages in the provision of hospitality	Evolution of Domestic hospitality	• Hospitality practices evolved from domestic hospitality • Home refers to the entire household not just family members • Reputation for being hospitable led to growth in stature and status of household • All guests to be treated hospitably	• Hospitality becomes legally defined • Established by individuals or through mediation • Hereditary hospitality established by exchange of tokens • Sacred in nature where hospitality ties became more important than blood ties	• Hospitality must be genuinely and freely offered • Personal duty of the head of the household for hospitality should not be delegate to slaves
	Evolution of Civic hospitality	• Diplomatic relations were established and strengthened by mutual ties of hospitality between states • Exchange of hospitality ambassadors lead to deepening of relationships • Civic receptions and freedom of the city were an important part of diplomatic process	• Hospitality used to foster strategic alliances between states • Citizen rights in foreign states where formal hospitality relationships exist • Civic receptions and freedom of the city became legally defined	• Mutual bonds of hospitality between the churches led to a growth of a hospitality network • Charitable hospitality for the sick, poor and pilgrims gives rise to organised, community based hospitality networks

	Evolution of Commercial hospitality	• Commercial hospitality distinct and separate sector • Large scale provision for food, beverage and accommodation • Recognised a valuable source of income • Needed to support and attract travellers and necessary for business and traders	• Hospitality management professionals existed, their reputations established through professional practice and writings • Stratified and diversified commercial hospitality industry exists • Hospitality establishments become clustered within cities.	• Provision of commercial hospitality declined as the unity of the empire was shattered • Monasteries began to replace some forms of commercial hospitality

• Hospitality was a method of judging the worth of a person both by individuals and society as a whole	Divine Laws	• All domestic and civic relationships are placed under the spiritual protection of the gods. • Condemnation and punishment for violation of transcendent laws hospitality brought divine punishments on individuals or the state • Behavioural expectations in duty of hospitality to the stranger • Particular emphasis placed on hospitality to the needy	• The guest–host relationship was watched over by the gods • Violation of any hospitality ethical code was considered a crime • Hospitality alliances demanded mutual recognition of each other's deities	• Hospitality must not be abused • Emphasis given to the importance of transcendental hospitality
	Human Laws	• Commercial hospitality is governed by temporal legislation • Strangers when receiving hospitality should be controlled, contained and not molested • The guest has a duty not to disturb the realm of the host • Hereditary hospitality to three subsequent generations and verified by exchange of tokens	• Domestic hospitality was formed by formal contract and declaration • Commercial industry and those employed within it increasingly subject to legal control	• Free hospitality was limited to three days • Codification of large scale hospitality provision

• Reciprocal nature of hospitality builds interdependent social networks • Established hospitality creates an network of contacts with whom hospitality is freely shared • Hospitality transforms relationships • Hospitality when practised by the state can cause social change	Provision of Domestic Hospitality	• Hospitality offered to all guests on an equal basis • Hospitality is tailored to the needs of the guest	• Hospitality in the home was offered to the stranger • Higher classes had extensive networks of peer to peer domestic hospitality	• Hospitality closely linked to roots in the home • Hospitality in the home was offered to the stranger and is a personal duty • All are welcome, but some are more welcome than others
	Provision of Civic Hospitality	• The state provides a higher level of hospitality to its own citizens • Civic hospitality is stratified and guests are offered hospitality depending on their rank, status and purpose of visit	• Hospitality alliances were formed for strategic reasons	• In monasteries hospitality provision is based on ontological orientation
	Provision of Commercial Hospitality	• Commercial hospitality exists for those who do not have a network of private hospitality or receive hospitality by the state • Commercial hospitality must be paid for	• Stratified levels of provision offered different levels of service • More money bought better provision • Establishments gained reputations through the quality of their staff and standard of service and clientele	• Differentiation of commercial hospitality • Commercial hospitality provision declined when the demand for it declined

• Prestige and honour gained through hospitality is central to the self interest of the host • Breaches in the codes of hospitality reciprocity could lead to war	Spiritual Benefits	• Spiritual rewards included good fortune on individuals and on the state • Ultimate benefit was entry into the afterlife and eternal recognition in the heavens	• Hospitality brought good fortune on individuals and on the state • Ultimate benefit was eternal recognition on the earth and entry into the afterlife	• Spiritual rewards of long life and happiness • Hospitality offered to the weakest led to eschatological rewards in the afterlife
	Reciprocity	• Hospitality was given to the stranger in order to be protected from them • Tangible benefits to host include exchange of gifts and military support	• Domestic hospitality relationships would guarantee food, beverage and accommodation and representation in law courts, citizen rights, access to games and sporting events • Civil/state hospitality included mutual recognition of gods and military support in conflicts and war	• Hosts received metaphysical benefits and guests physical benefits • If receiving hospitality of the community the guest must work for the good of the community
	Commerce	• Commercial hospitality as source of revenue for the state and individuals • Fine commercial hospitality establishments enhanced the standing of the city	• Hospitality professionals were know and some commanded high reputations within society	• Religious hospitality is only free for a limited period time then guests must work for the good of the community

• Important for guest not to overstay the welcome and put an undue burden on the host • Guest made aware they are on the territory of the host demonstrating the moral superiority of the host	Behaviour	• Guests bring blessing to the home of the host • Whilst in the place of hospitality the host cannot harm the guest in any way • Guests must not harm the host or their property	• When connected by bonds of hospitality the host must receive guest • Once established bonds of hospitality can only be dissolved by formal declaration	• Receive all who ask • Hospitality must be occupied in what is useful to strangers • Abuse of hospitality is condemned
• Host operates within an often clearly defined zone of obligation Crossing the threshold of hospitality begins the process by means of which an outsider's status is changed from stranger to guest	Thresholds	• Hospitality should be offered as if in the home • Crossing thresholds of guaranteed hospitality and also sanctuary and security	• Crossing thresholds of hospitality provided both physical protection and sanctuary	• Protection of the vulnerable and those without status • Provide aid to those in need • Welcome those who are alienated • Potential for social change

• Hospitable gestures can have a darker character of espionage • Hospitality as a means of social control and manipulation • Hospitality contained the concepts of: duty; loyalty; and reciprocity. • Centrality of guest–host relationship in ancient world • Cultural norms and attitudes are a distinctive element of hospitality • Hospitality is a complex concept with deep rooted cultural attitude	Communication System	• Information gathering took place using hospitality networks with guests were seen as means of news exchange • Alliances born out of hospitality were also subverted for espionage and political gain	• Patronage was shown through hospitality in particular the giving of meals in restaurants • Hospitality networks allowed for an exchange of strategic information	• Allows individuals to connect with a community and also interconnection of communities • News was exchanged and carried through communities of hospitality
	Attitude	• Guest seen as a gift from the gods to the host • Provision of hospitality is giving due honour to the gods who watch over the process • Cultural value on which society is founded • Respect for the guest and non inquisitorial towards the guest before hospitality is provided	• Hospitality when properly given should lead to lasting friendship • Hosts should portray and openness to guests • Mutual courtesy and consideration should be shown at all times	• Guests should be seen as a gift and hosts always to be prepared to offer hospitality • The needs of the guest should be put before the needs of the host • Cultural value as well as a societal need • Hospitality is to be offered even in adversity and absolutely welcoming

• Hospitality is a moral or ethical duty placed on the individual by the gods • Hospitality has an ethical and moral component • Christian as a sojourner to be one of the bases of Christian hospitality where welcoming the stranger is a moral stance • The guest is sacred and seen as a gift from the gods • Theologically mandated hospitality was a central factor in the spreading of the particular message of the religious group	Religious Connotations	• Mankind is god's guest in the universe • Hospitality was a means of paying homage to the gods • The host and the guest were under the protection of the gods • Spiritual redemption was often through hospitality • Hospitality is rich in religious symbolism	• Hospitality watched over and protected by the gods • Common recognition of deities between hospitably aligned states	• Guest should be welcomed as gift from the gods • Hospitality is a moral practice and self sacrifice was central to a hospitable attitude • Reinforcement of the symbolic nature of hospitality • Hospitality was moral virtue which included clothing the poor, feeding the hungry, protecting the vulnerable. • Hospitable motivation included human need and eschatological rewards

	Domestic Roots	Oldest written accounts of hospitality are linked to the home; Hospitality and hospitality practices emerged from the home	Hospitality closely linked to roots in the home	Hospitality remains linked to roots in the home; Monastic hospitality has its roots in the home but hosts and guests are kept separate
• Hospitality operates within culturally established norms and protocols often taken from domestic practices • Hospitality is an extended system of friendship and allows the guest to find a home • Woman played an important role in hospitality relationships, fulfils the role of head of the household when role holder absent.	Symbolic Connotations	• Home is symbolic of the hospitality transaction also providing sanctuary and security	• Commercial hospitality establishments were often converted homes	• Transition from stranger to guest to friend • Relief of homelessness • Religious hospitality presented accommodation as the guests home in God's house
	Gendered Roles	• Men tend to be seen as master of the household and the host • Woman take the role of cooking and serving in the domestic environment • Hospitality roles were differentiated by gender • Where servants and slaves existed within the household they fulfilled hospitable tasks	• Stereotypical roles of for example male chef and female barmaids started to emerge	• True hospitality transcends gender

• The hospitality encounter follow set patterns and conventions – often contains ritualised gestures • Hospitality goes though a ritualised process and that in turn transforms the strange into a guest who is under the protection of host • Hospitality goes through a stage by stage process considered to transform the stranger into a guest • Appropriate ontological orientated when providing hospitality	Needs	• Concern for guests basic needs: food, drink and accommodation	• Provision of food, drink and accommodation	• Welcoming with emphasis on those in need • Provision of food, drink and accommodation together with clothing, alms and medical care
	Rituals	• Welcoming gestures: bowing, washing of feet; provision of entertainment • Acceptance into the activities of the household • Guests become friends for the duration of the hospitality transaction, maybe longer	• Ritualistic symbolism surrounding the meal and food as an art form in everyday life • Bounteous hospitality was a display of social status an hospitality became quasi-theatrical and spectacular in its staging and production • Guests become friends for the duration of the hospitality transaction, maybe longer	• Christian hospitality reinforced the characteristics of welcoming strangers, devoted and congenial reception • Guests become friends for the duration of the hospitality transaction, maybe longer

Table 6:1 Subdivided Aspects of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity

6.3. STAGE TWO: REMOVAL OF SUBDIVISIONS

This reflective analysis was enhanced by removing the arbitrary subdivisions of the periods of Classical Antiquity that had been inserted during the early stages of the data analysis in order to ease the process of managing such a large amount of data. Removing these subdivisions highlighted, not unsurprisingly, that certain aspects of hospitality were duplicated across all three periods. In order to give increased clarity and focus to the presentation of the findings these duplicates were removed and the language was sharpened. During the same cycle it was evident that aspects of hospitality were also repeated in the literature review column, so likewise these duplicates were also removed and the language was sharpened. This coalesced table of findings (Table 6.2) shows the diverse aspects of hospitality that emerged during Classical Antiquity. Within Table 6:2 the number of columns has now been reduced to three.

Literature Review outcomes	Analysis of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity	
	Subdivisions of themes	
• As societies develop they go through different stages in the provision of hospitality	Evolution of Domestic Hospitality	• Hospitality practices evolved from domestic hospitality • Home refers to the entire household not just family members • Reputation for being hospitable led to growth in stature and status of household • All guests to be treated hospitably and hospitality must be genuinely and freely offered • Hospitality becomes legally defined • Established by individuals or through mediation • Hereditary hospitality established by exchange of tokens • Sacred in nature where hospitality ties became more important than blood ties • Personal duty of the head of the household for hospitality should not be delegate to slaves
	Evolution of Civic Hospitality	• Diplomatic relations established and strengthened by mutual ties of hospitality between States • Exchange of hospitality ambassadors lead to deepening of relationships • Civic receptions and freedom of the city important part of diplomatic process • Hospitality used to foster strategic alliances between states • Citizen rights recognised in foreign states where formal hospitality relationships exist • Mutual bonds of hospitality between the churches created a hospitality network • Charitable hospitality for the sick, poor and pilgrims gives rise to organised, community based hospitality networks
	Evolution of Commercial Hospitality	• Commercial hospitality distinct and separate sector • Large scale provision for food, beverage and accommodation • Needed to support and attract travellers and necessary for business and traders • Recognised a valuable source of income • Hospitality management professionals established reputations through professional practice and writings • Stratified and diversified commercial hospitality industry exists and hospitality establishments become clustered within cities • Provision of commercial hospitality effected by demand • Monastic hospitality became aligned to commercial hospitality

	Divine Laws	• All domestic and civic relationships are placed under the spiritual protection of the gods • Hospitality must not be abused; condemnation and punishment for violation of transcendent laws hospitality brought divine punishments on individuals or the state • Behavioural expectations in duty of hospitality to the stranger with particular emphasis placed on hospitality to the needy • Guest / host relationship was watched over by the gods • Violation of any hospitality ethical code was considered a crime • Hospitality alliances demanded mutual recognition of each other's deities • Emphasis given to the importance of transcendental hospitality
• Hospitality was a method of judging the worth of a person both by individuals and society as a whole	Human Laws	• Strangers when receiving hospitality should be controlled and contained but not molested • Guest has a duty not to disturb the realm of the host • Free hospitality was limited to three days • Domestic hospitality was formed by formal contract and declaration • Hereditary hospitality to three subsequent generations and verified by exchange of tokens • Commercial industry and those employed within it increasingly subject to legal control
• Reciprocal nature of hospitality builds interdependent social networks with whom hospitality is freely shared • Hospitality transforms relationships and when practised by the state can cause social change	Provision of Domestic Hospitality	• Hospitality in the home was offered to the stranger • Hospitality offered to all guests on an equal basis and then tailored to meet the needs of the guest • Higher classes had extensive networks of peer to peer domestic hospitality • Hospitality in the home offered to the stranger and is a personal duty of the head of the household • All are welcome, but some are more welcome than others
	Provision of Civic Hospitality	• The state provides a higher level of hospitality to its own citizens • Civic hospitality is stratified and guests are offered hospitality depending on their rank, status and purpose of visit • Hospitality alliances formed for strategic reasons • Monastic hospitality provision based on ontological orientation
	Provision of Commercial Hospitality	• Commercial hospitality exists for those who do not have a network of private hospitality or receive hospitality by the state • Stratified levels of provision offered different levels of service • Commercial hospitality must be paid for and more money bought better provision • Establishments gained reputations through the quality of their staff and standard of service and clientele • Commercial hospitality provision subject to fluctuations in demand

	Spiritual Benefits	• Spiritual rewards included long life, happiness, and good fortune for individuals and for the state • Ultimate benefit was eternal recognition on the earth, entry into the afterlife and eternal recognition in the heavens • Hospitality offered particularly to the weakest led to eschatological rewards
• Prestige and honour gained through hospitality is central to the self interest of the host • Breaches in the codes of hospitality reciprocity could lead to war	Reciprocity	• Hospitality was given to the stranger in order to be protected from them • Hosts received metaphysical benefits and guests physical benefits • Domestic hospitality relationships would guarantee food, beverage and accommodation and representation in law courts, citizen rights, access to games and sporting events • Tangible benefits to host include exchange of gifts and military support • Civil/state hospitality included mutual recognition of gods and military support in conflicts and war • Guest receiving hospitality of the community must work for the good of the community
	Commerce	• Commercial hospitality as source of revenue for the state and individuals • Fine commercial hospitality establishments enhanced the standing of the city • Hospitality professionals commanded high reputations within society • Religious hospitality is only free for a limited period time, then guests must work for the good of the community
• Crossing the threshold of hospitality begins the process by means of which an outsider's status is changed from stranger to guest • Guest made aware they are on the territory of the host demonstrating the moral superiority of the host • Important for guest not to overstay the welcome and put an undue burden on the host	Behaviour	• Guests bring blessing to the home of the host • Receive all who ask • Whilst in the place of hospitality the host cannot harm the guest in any way • Guests must not harm the host or their property • When connected by bonds of hospitality the host must receive guest • Once established bonds of hospitality can only be dissolved by formal declaration • Hospitality must be tailored to the needs of the stranger/guest • Abuse of hospitality is condemned
	Thresholds	• Hospitality should be offered as if in the home • Crossing thresholds guaranteed hospitality and provided physical protection, sanctuary and security • Potential for social change through protection of the vulnerable and those without status, provide aid to those in need and welcoming those who are alienated

	Communication System	• Information gathering using hospitality networks with guests seen as means of news exchange • Alliances born out of hospitality also subverted for espionage and political gain • Patronage shown through hospitality in particular the giving of meals in restaurants • Hospitality networks allowed for exchange of strategic information • Hospitality allows individuals to connect with a community and also interconnection of communities
• Cultural norms and attitudes are a distinctive element of hospitality • Hospitality is a moral or ethical duty placed on the individual by the gods • The guest is sacred and seen as a gift from the gods • Hospitality contained the concepts of: duty; loyalty; and reciprocity. • Theologically mandated hospitality was a central factor in the spreading of the particular message of the religious group • Hospitable gestures can have a darker character of espionage • Hospitality as a means of social control and manipulation	Attitude	• Cultural value on which society is founded as well as a societal need • Guests seen as a gift from the gods and hosts always to be prepared to offer hospitality • Provision of hospitality is giving due honour to the gods who watch over the process • Respect for the guest and non inquisitorial towards the guest before hospitality is provided • Hospitality when properly given should lead to lasting friendship • Hosts should portray and openness to guests • Mutual courtesy and consideration should be shown at all times • The needs of the guest should be put before the needs of the host • Hospitality is to be offered even in adversity and absolutely welcoming
	Religious Connotations	• Hospitality is rich in religious symbolism • Mankind is god's guest in the universe • Hospitality was means of paying homage to the gods • Guest should be welcomed as gift from the gods • The host and the guest were under the protection of the gods • Spiritual redemption often through provision hospitality • Common recognition of deities between hospitably aligned states • Hospitality is a moral practice and self sacrifice was central to a hospitable attitude • Hospitable motivation included human need and eschatological rewards • Hospitality was moral virtue which included clothing the poor, feeding the hungry, protecting the vulnerable.

• Hospitality operates within culturally established norms and protocols often taken from domestic practices • Hospitality is an extended system of friendship and allows the guest to find a home • Woman played an important role in hospitality relationships, fulfils the role of head of the household when absent.	Domestic Roots	• Hospitality always linked to roots in the home • hospitality practices emerged from those of the home • Monastic hospitality has its roots in the home but hosts and guests are kept separate
	Symbolic Connotations	• Home is symbolic of the hospitality transaction also providing sanctuary and security • Commercial hospitality establishments often converted homes • Transition from stranger to guest to friend • Relief of homelessness • Religious hospitality presented accommodation as the guests home in God's house
	Gendered Roles	• Men tend to be seen as master of the household and the host with women take the role of cooking and serving • Where servants and slaves existed within the household they fulfilled hospitable tasks • Hospitality roles were differentiated by gender and stereotypical roles of for example male chef and female barmaids started to emerge but true hospitality transcends gender
• Hospitality goes though a ritualised process and that in turn transforms the stranger into a guest who is under the protection of host • Appropriate ontological orientated when providing hospitality	Needs	• Welcoming with emphasis on those in need • Provision of food, drink and accommodation • Depending on need could also include clothing, alms and medical care
	Rituals	• Specified welcoming gestures, acceptance into the activities of the household, provision of entertainment • Religions reinforced the characteristics of welcoming strangers and devoted and congenial reception. • Ritualistic symbolism surrounding the meal and food as an art form in everyday life • Bounteous hospitality was a display of social status an hospitality became quasi-theatrical and spectacular in its staging and production • Guests become friends for the duration of the hospitality transaction, maybe longer

Table 6:2 Aspects of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity

6.4. STAGE THREE: PHENOMENOLOGICAL REFLECTION

Writing and rewriting was central to this process of moving from data collection to data interpretation and involved a process of phenomenological reflection. In keeping with Van Manen (1990), this process was done in dialogue with other researchers to allow the data gathered to resonate. This included other academics and industry professionals. After this initial period of bracketing and reflection there should be a process of construction where the researcher classifies, orders, and reassembles the data back into a coherent whole, in order to find essential meaning within (as discussed in Section 3.4). One of the challenges at this stage is to construct the initial conceptualisation into a format that it can be debated within the academic community.

This was partly achieved by using the data for two slightly different purposes (O'Gorman 2005a; 2005b), thus ensuring that it was robust enough for other tangential academic purposes. These publications presented a summary of the investigation so far. Clear parallels were illustrated between the texts and genres, and a variety of common features of hospitality were identified.

An Honourable tradition
- 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.

B Fundamental to human existence
- 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 is 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.

C Stratified
- Developments in the societies lead to the formal differentiation 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 the protection of the 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.

D Diversified
- 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 demand 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.

E Central to human endeavour
- 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.

Producing the publications meant the assembling of the data back into a whole, and facilitated dialogue with the wider research community. During this process it became clear that there needed to be a further focusing of the data towards the PhD research objectives. There was a great deal of extraneous, fascinating but ultimately irrelevant material that needed to be laid to one side. For example, this included the study relating to archaeology of hospitality provision in Pompeii. At this stage the latter seemed to be incongruous with the research process. However, it was used to further develop methodology external to the thesis by research dialog and cooperation with an archaeologist and ultimately lead to further publications, O'Gorman *et al.* (2007).

Arguably it could have been possible to stop the hermeneutical process at this stage; the research had gone through a pilot study and two major rewrites, all of which had been externally validated. From one of the conference papers (O'Gorman 2005b), an invitation had been extended to develop a book chapter (O'Gorman 2007); this invitation was to significantly develop the research. One of the major changes at this stage came out of having to revise the chapter, when one of the editors noted that initially the Judeo-Christian texts were being treated as special grouping and the incorporation of the these texts in with the Greco-Roman religious writings was suggested. This aided the self-reflective process and illuminated some latent personal bias, the treatment of the Judeo-Christian texts as a separate and even sacred corpus, when in reality they were contemporaneous and coterminous with the Greco-Roman texts; together making up the texts of Classical Antiquity. After this intervention the texts have been regrouped to compare Ancient Greek religious philosophy of hospitality with the contemporaneous Jewish texts and Roman texts were compared to the coterminous early Christian writers.

7. PRESUPPOSITIONS 3 – LITERATURE OF HOSPITALITY: A SOCIAL LENS

7.1. PERSONAL REFLEXIVITY

Despite the considerable richness of the data, the research had the potential to move further from one of its original aims: the development of hospitality studies. However, this shows that this research could be done from a classics perspective. Despite this potential, this thesis is about hospitality studies. In this final stage of the hermeneutical helix I strongly felt that there was the need to return to the core focus of hospitality studies, and the creation of a model of hospitality in Classical Antiquity. However, the opportunity to develop it further was greatly enhanced by the timely, for this research, publication of Lashley *et al.* (eds.) (2007), which included in O'Gorman (2007) the initial finding from the first reflective analysis or the first twist in the hermeneutical helix. The editors in their concluding chapter offered the Hospitality Social Lens. A short review of the book, the events immediately preceding it and an analysis of the Social Lens is now discussed.

7.2. HOSPITALITY: A SOCIAL LENS

In the decade since the meeting in Nottingham in 1997 (as discussed in Section 1.4.2), the hospitality research agenda has progressed; not least in understanding the comprehension of the word 'hospitality'. Hospitality is no longer only considered synonymous with hospitality management and the hospitality industry. The phenomenon of hospitality is becoming a recognised field of study. This has now been further supported with the publication of *Hospitality: A social lens* (2007),

where Lashley *et al.* argue that hospitality research has gained an increasingly multidisciplinary perspective, primarily caused by:

- maturity within the hospitality management field, intellectually advancing through engagement in a broader spectrum of inquiry, emancipating the previous closed system, reductionist, and unitary approaches through criticism and liberation, reflecting on existing knowledge;

- belief that more critical perspectives drawing on the breadth of the social sciences can better inform the management of hospitality; and

- a challenge to the orthodox, conventional wisdom and rhetoric, and challenge complacent mind-sets, drawing attention to novel and previously peripheral hospitality associated areas worthy of study, and in to the mainstream of social sciences debate.

The editors observe that the chapters in the book "explore hospitality and the relationship between guests and hosts as a phenomenon in its own right" with this being achieved by investigating the relationship from different academic perspectives. Lashley *et al.* (2007: 174) judge that the different perspectives presented "challenge conventional wisdom by bringing to bear multiple 'eyes' all focused on the same phenomenon that is hospitality, but arriving from diverse intellectual starting points and ways of seeing the world". These academic perspectives of hospitality and the different concepts of hospitality contained within *Hospitality: A social lens* are summarised in Table 7:1. This presentation is based on the approach previously used by Lynch (2003) for the preceding book *In Search of Hospitality* as developed in Table 1:1

| Perspective	Concepts Of Hospitality	Author
Anthropology	Moral obligations defining social and cultural expectations about behaviour as host and guest – intra-tribal hospitality and reciprocity	Cole
Architecture	Hotel space designed to create an ambience of hospitality experiences – symbolism and the rhetoric of hospitality adapts to address developments in consumer expectations	Wharton
Classics	Historical insight into religious and cultural obligations for hosts and guest in Greek, Roman and early Christian settings	O'Gorman
Culture	Ethical hospitality – differences between powerful hosts and vulnerable guests – the widespread fear of global strangers	Sherringham and Daruwalla
Cultural Geography	Use of bars, restaurants, clubs and boutique hotels in the regeneration of city centre spaces – role of hospitality experiences in establishing and reinforcing lifestyle experiences.	Bell
Gastronomy	Eating and drinking as focus of gastronomy – reflection on the acts of hosting and the manners of being guests	Santich
History	Multicultural evolution of the 'hospitality industry' in the various colonial hotels and pubs of Melbourne in the nineteenth century	O'Mahony
Human Resource Management	Commercial control through looking good and sounding right – hospitality experiences require selection and development of service staff who sound and look the 'part' as defined by the brand and the market it is supposedly servicing	Nixon and Wahurst
Socio-linguistics	Demonstrating how fast food restaurants manufacture, control and process customers in a set of predicable processes shaping customer tastes and expectations supporting Ritzer's theory	Robinson and Lynch
Sociology	Commercial home of the micro-business being operated as a guest house or hotel – represent a forum for both private and commercial acts of hospitality	DiDomenico and Lynch
Sociology	Component parts of the of the theory of McDonaldization are an anathema to spontaneous hospitable behaviour	Ritzer

Table 7:1 Concepts of Hospitality from 'Hospitality: A social lens'

From Table 7:1 the diversity contained in the book is clearly illustrated, in comparison to Table 1.1, which analysed and summarised *In Search of Hospitality,* a more in-depth and social science oriented view of hospitality emerges from this book. The research tends towards increasing knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon of hospitality without the need to be overtly relevant towards immediate industry concerns. Lashley *et al.* (2007: 187) also propose a bold research agenda to deepen the study of hospitality, in particular stating "the study of hospitality would benefit from turning its gaze outwards to the ways in which hospitality interacts with society". One of their broad recommendations for hospitality research is:

> "Investigate the content and facets of the socially constructed connection between host and guest towards the satisfaction of psychological and physiological needs, transforming a 'stranger into a friend', recognising that the host, guest and hospitality space are co-creators in the process of production, consumption and communication. Recognition also needs to be made of the potentiality of a dichotomy of host/guest reference points that may not share a common moral universe, albeit negotiated between the two extremes of hospitality and hostility." (Lashley *et al.* 2007: 188)

They also propose investigation into historical conceptualisations, features and characteristics of hospitality.

In the words of the editors, the chapters provide "a rich cornucopia of ways of viewing, understanding, and knowing hospitality, across multiple disciplines, interpretations, times, forms, purposes, sites, and social and cultural contexts" (Lashley *et al.* 2007: 173). In their analysis of the chapters, Lashley *et al.* (2007) present "the hospitality conceptual lens", shown in Figure 7:1, as an emergent conceptual framework for future research into the phenomenon of hospitality.
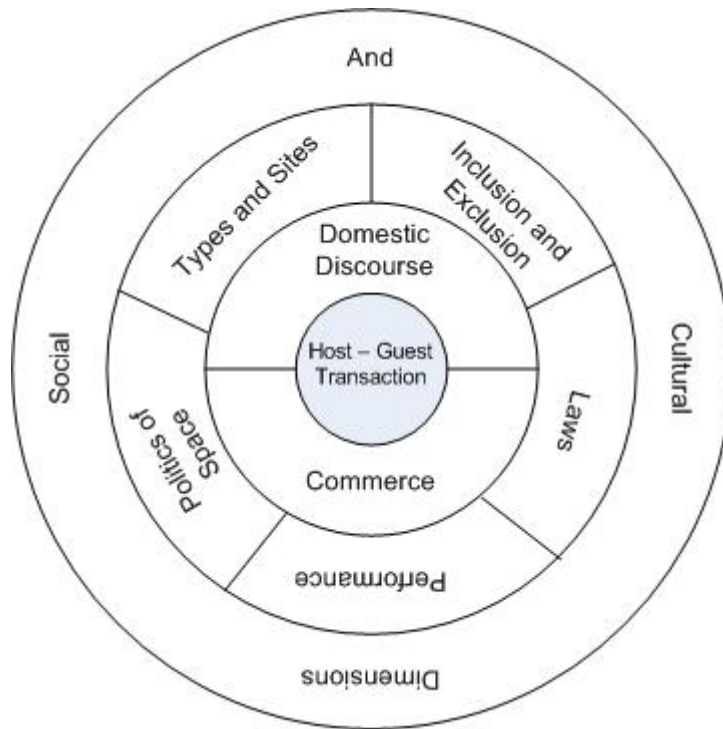
Figure 7:1 The Hospitality Conceptual Lens
Source: Lashley *et al.* 2007: 175

This Hospitality Conceptual Lens contains nine robust themes with the host/guest transaction seen as the central focus of the hospitality phenomenon. The content of these themes are presented in summary form in Table 7:2.

Host/Guest Transaction	The extent to which a host takes responsibility for the care and management of a guest and a guest accepts or rejects the authority of the host
Inclusion/ Exclusion	Symbolism of the host welcoming of an 'other' (guest) across thresholds signifying inclusion, the converse is the exclusion of leaving unwelcome 'others' on the outside.
Social and Cultural Dimensions	Hospitality causes the host and guest construct a temporary common moral universe, involving a process of production, consumption, and communication that defines the host/guest transaction.
Laws	Socially and culturally defined obligations, standards, principles, norms and rules associated with hospitality, defining duties and the behaviours of both host and guest.

236

Performance	Host/guest transaction can be depicted as actors performing their respective roles, on a stage that is deliberately constructed to convey symbolism and meaning; thus highlighting authenticity.
Domestic Discourse	Reflects the domestic roots of hospitality and symbolic connotations of practices, language and gendered roles relative to host/guest transaction within other types and sites.
Politics of Space	Concept of boundaries and meanings of a social, spatial and cultural nature that denote inclusions/exclusions, and defines the level of intimacy/distance within the host/guest transaction once the across thresholds.
Types and Sites	Differentiates between and acknowledges the multi-manifestation of forms and locations for experiencing hospitality and host/guest transaction.
Commerce	Refers to particular types and sites of commercial hospitality where the host/guest transaction explicitly contains economic dimensions alongside those of the social.

Table 7:2 Dominant themes of the hospitality conceptual framework
Source: *Lashley et al.* 2007:174f

This conceptual framework has been presented as a means that can be "employed to examine social situations where hospitality is involved in order to understand aspects of the society in which the hospitality act occurs" and correspondingly it offers a modern base for future hospitality research.

On the whole the book seems to be an attempt to apply critical ideas from a management perspective, focusing on what guests do in the host's premises. Within this context the Hospitality Social Lens seems to be a retro-fit of the book which has evolved *a posteriori* from the chapters. In addition the book tends to present hospitality from the perspective of the hosts rather than guest; a possible legacy of hospitality management where the literature has tended towards a view from a provider's perspective.

Further examination of these themes presented by Lashley *et al.* (2007) suggests that the host/guest relationship is not just limited by the extent to which a host takes

responsibility for the care and management of a guest and a guest accepts or rejects the authority of the host but is actually significantly influenced by the other eight themes. Therefore, the second reflective analysis is structured round the eight modified themes of the hospitality social lens focused on the host/guest transaction.

8. SECOND REFLECTIVE ANALYSIS

8.1. OVERVIEW

A second reflective analysis is now undertaken using an application of the Hospitality Social Lens. This second reflective analysis is critical because, as was noted in Section 2.3.4, Crotty (1996: 169) states that phenomenology provides no objective outcomes in the more positivistic sense. However, he notes "in the very 'Aha!' we give when we finally… feel gripped by the phenomenon understood in the way we are describing it," we find the outcome. Hayllar and Griffin (2005: 519) refer to this as the 'phenomenological nod,' and state that it should be self evident and clearly recognisable. In essence, this is the means by which phenomenology is validated. This final reflective analysis is essential as phenomenological observations are validated by participation in the process and interpretations must be justifiable in terms of the cited evidence (Evans 1988). Thus it is necessary to re-evaluate the final taxonomy of hospitality to ensure that it is self-evident from the original data.

From the previous analyses contained in Table 6.2 a three-fold typology of hospitality provision had emerged:

- domestic or private hospitality based around the home;
- civic or public hospitality normally run by the community to benefit the community, used to build relations of state and control people within the state, and
- commercial hospitality normally for profit, either to the individual running it or for the greater good of the community or state.

During this stage of the reflective process it became clear that there were no aspects of hospitality to emerge from the literature review that had not also come from the primary research. In essence the presuppositions are being confirmed. Therefore, this cycle of the analyses involved combining the aspects of hospitality that emerged from primary research with those aspects that had been highlighted by the literature review. As first identified at the end of Chapter 7, these themes are all qualifiers of the host-guest transaction, which can not be understood, unless contextualised by the other eight themes. The data contain in Table 6:2 were then restructured into eight focused two column tables that consisted of the subdivision within lens themes and the aspects of hospitality that are pertinent to that theme of the Hospitality Social Lens: Types and Sites (Table 8:1); Laws (Table 8:2); Inclusion/Exclusion (Table 8:3); Transactional Expectations (Table 8:4); Politics of Space (Table 8:5); Social and Cultural Dimensions (Table 8:6); Domestic Discourse (Table 8:7); and Performance (Table 8:8).

8.2. HOSPITALITY SOCIAL LENS AND PHENOMENOLOGICAL REFLECTION

8.2.1. TYPES AND SITES

The first table, Types and Sites (Table 8:1), subdivides and groups the types and sites of hospitality in Classical Antiquity into three subdivisions: domestic, civic and commercial. In doing this Table 8:1 clearly highlights and acknowledges the three principal contexts where the host/guest transaction takes place and reinforces the three-fold typology.

Types and Sites	
Subdivisions of lens themes	Analysis of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity
Domestic	- As societies develop they go through different stages in the provision of hospitality - Hospitality practices evolved from domestic hospitality - Home refers to the entire household not just family members - Reputation for being hospitable led to growth in stature and status of household - All guests to be treated hospitably and hospitality must be genuinely and freely offered - Hospitality becomes legally defined - Established by individuals or through mediation - Hereditary hospitality established by exchange of tokens - Sacred in nature where hospitality ties became more important than blood ties - Personal duty of the head of the household for hospitality should not be delegate to slaves
Civic	- Diplomatic relations established and strengthened by mutual ties of hospitality between states - Exchange of hospitality ambassadors lead to deepening of relationships - Civic receptions and freedom of the city important part of diplomatic process - Hospitality used to foster strategic alliances between states - Citizen rights recognised in foreign states where formal hospitality relationships exist - Mutual bonds of hospitality between the churches created a hospitality network - Charitable hospitality for the sick, poor and pilgrims gives rise to organised, community based hospitality networks
Commercial	- Commercial hospitality distinct and separate sector - Large scale provision for food, beverage and accommodation - Needed to support and attract travellers and necessary for business and traders - Recognised a valuable source of income - Hospitality management professionals established reputations through professional practice and writings - Stratified and diversified commercial hospitality industry exists and hospitality establishments become clustered within cities - Provision of commercial hospitality effected by demand - Monastic hospitality became aligned to commercial hospitality

Table 8:1 Types and Sites of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity

8.2.2. LAWS

Laws that govern the hospitality transaction in Classical Antiquity are identified in Table 8:2 and pertain to the socially and culturally defined or established obligations, standards, principles, norms and rules defining duties and the behaviours of both host and guest. Furthermore, what became clear when reflecting upon and subdividing the

laws was that there were two main groups of laws: divine and human. At one level it could be argued that divine law does not actually exist as it is a human construct. However, during the analysis, it was seen that a great deal of the hospitality transaction was governed by divine law so this particular subdivision helps to illustrate the profound complexity to the host/guest transaction.

Laws	
Subdivisions of lens themes	Analysis of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity
Divine	- All domestic and civic relationships are placed under the spiritual protection of the gods - Hospitality must not be abused; condemnation and punishment for violation of transcendent laws hospitality brought divine punishments on individuals or the state - Behavioural expectations in duty of hospitality to the stranger with particular emphasis placed on hospitality to the needy - Guest–host relationship was watched over by the gods - Violation of any hospitality ethical code was considered a crime - Hospitality alliances demanded mutual recognition of each other's deities - Emphasis given to the importance of transcendental hospitality
Human	- Strangers when receiving hospitality should be controlled and contained but not molested - Hospitality was a method of judging the worth of a person both by individuals and society as a whole - Guest has a duty not to disturb the realm of the host - Free hospitality was limited to three days - Domestic hospitality was formed by formal contract and declaration - Hereditary hospitality to three subsequent generations and verified by exchange of tokens - Commercial industry and those employed within it increasingly subject to legal control

Table 8:2 Laws of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity

8.2.3. INCLUSION/EXCLUSION

Aspects of inclusion and/or exclusion that exist within hospitality transactions in Classical Antiquity can also be subdivided and grouped into three subdivisions: domestic, civic and commercial as identified in Table 8:3. Within this section there

seems to exist an underlying tension in the literature. At first, in early Classical Antiquity, all strangers/guests were treated equally; however, as society became more urbanised, guests began to be differentiated according to needs and status whilst certain expectations of both the host and the guest need to be met. It is also rich in symbolism where the host, regardless of context welcomes the guest across their threshold and placing them under their protection. As the urban societies began to develop certain groups in society, often the poor or under privileged were excluded from hospitality transactions.

Inclusion/Exclusion	
Subdivisions of lens themes	Analysis of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity
Domestic	• Hospitality in the home was offered to the stranger • Hospitality offered to all guests on an equal basis and then tailored to meet the needs of the guest • Higher classes had extensive networks of peer to peer domestic hospitality • Hospitality builds interdependent social networks within which hospitality is freely shared • Hospitality in the home offered to the stranger and is a personal duty of the head of the household • All are welcome, but some are more welcome than others
Civic	• The state provides a higher level of hospitality to its own citizens • Civic hospitality is stratified and guests are offered hospitality depending on their rank, status and purpose of visit • Hospitality alliances formed for strategic reasons • Monastic hospitality provision based on ontological orientation • Hospitality transforms relationships and when practised by the state can cause social change
Commercial	• Commercial hospitality exists for those who do not have a network of private hospitality or receive hospitality by the state • Stratified levels of provision offered different levels of service • Commercial hospitality must be paid for and more money bought better provision • Establishments gained reputations through the quality of their staff and standard of service and clientele • Commercial hospitality provision subject to fluctuations in demand

Table 8:3 Inclusion/Exclusion of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity

8.2.4. TRANSACTIONAL EXPECTATIONS

The category of transactional expectations was labelled commerce by Lashley *et al.* (2007) in the original classification of the themes of the Hospitality Lens. It referred to particular types and sites of commercial hospitality where the host/guest transaction explicitly contains economic dimensions; however, the original economic classification did not allow for other benefits to the host or the guest. In the analysis of this research it quickly became clear that frequently the benefits or expectations that the host and/or the guest expected from the hospitality relationship far exceeded economic benefit as detailed in Table 8:4. Therefore, this category is now renamed transactional expectations as this is a considerable more encompassing delimiter and now includes subdivisions of: spiritual benefit; reciprocity and commerce.

Transactional Expectations	
Subdivisions of lens themes	Analysis of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity
Spiritual Benefits	• Spiritual rewards included long life, happiness, and good fortune for individuals and for the state • Ultimate benefit was eternal recognition on the earth, entry into the afterlife and eternal recognition in the heavens • Hospitality offered particularly to the weakest led to eschatological rewards
Reciprocity	• Hospitality was given to the stranger in order to be protected from them • Hosts received metaphysical benefits and guests physical benefits • Domestic hospitality relationships would guarantee food, beverage and accommodation and representation in law courts, citizen rights, access to games and sporting events • Tangible benefits to host include exchange of gifts and military support • Prestige and honour gained through hospitality is central to the self interest of the host • Civil/state hospitality included mutual recognition of gods and military support in conflicts and war • Guest receiving hospitality of the community must work for the good of the community • Breaches in the codes of hospitality reciprocity could lead to war
Commerce	• Commercial hospitality as source of revenue for the state and individuals • Fine commercial hospitality establishments enhanced the standing of the city • Hospitality professionals commanded high reputations within society • Religious hospitality is only free for a limited period time, then guests must work for the good of the community

Table 8:4 Transactional Expectations of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity

8.2.5. POLITICS OF SPACE

Aspects of the hospitality transaction categorised as Politics of Space as set out in Table 8:5 are focused on the concept of boundaries and meanings of a social, spatial and cultural nature and also helps to define the level of intimacy or distance within the host/guest relationship, including the emphasis placed on boundaries and thresholds. The aspects of politics of space have been subdivided into those that emphasises the threshold itself and those that are categorised as behavioural after the guest has crossed the host threshold. This reinforces that the guest and host need to enter the same space in order for the hospitality transaction to take place.

Politics of Space	
Subdivisions of lens themes	Analysis of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity
Thresholds	- Hospitality should be offered as if in the home - Crossing thresholds guaranteed hospitality and provided physical protection, sanctuary and security - Crossing the threshold of hospitality begins the process by means of which an outsider's status is changed from stranger to guest - Potential for social change through protection of the vulnerable and those without status - Provide aid to those in need and welcoming those who are alienated
Behaviour	- Guests bring blessing to the home of the host - Receive all who ask - Whilst in the place of hospitality the host cannot harm the guest in any way - Guests must not harm the host or their property - Guest made aware they are on the territory of the host demonstrating the moral superiority of the host - When connected by bonds of hospitality the host must receive guest - Once established bonds of hospitality can only be dissolved by formal declaration - Hospitality must be tailored to the needs of the stranger/guest - Abuse of hospitality is condemned - Important for guest not to overstay the welcome and put an undue burden on the host

Table 8:5 Politics of Space of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity

8.2.6. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

The social and cultural dimensions identified in Table 8:6 illustrate the richness and complexity of the hospitality transaction. Lashley *et al.* (2007) observe that the act of giving or receiving hospitality causes the host and guest to construct a temporary common moral universe. Within this temporary mortal universe the host and the guest define their behaviour through the sharing of hospitality. This is borne out by the research; however, the research also clearly indicates that social and cultural dimensions both influence and delimit the expectations shared by the guest and host. These expectations come from both the attitude in which they approach the hospitality transaction and any underlying religious connotations that may also influence their philosophy of hospitality. Another social and cultural factor was the importance of hospitality networks as a means of communication between individuals and, as societies progressed to become more urbanised, between states. Thus the social and cultural dimensions have been subdivided into: communication system; attitude and religious connotations.

Social and Cultural Dimensions	
Subdivisions of lens themes	Analysis of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity
Communication System	- Information gathering using hospitality networks with guests seen as means of news exchange - Alliances born out of hospitality also subverted for espionage and political gain - Patronage shown through hospitality in particular the giving of meals in restaurants - Hospitality networks allowed for exchange of strategic information - Theologically mandated hospitality was a central factor in the spreading of the particular message of the religions group - Hospitable gestures can have a darker character of espionage - Hospitality as a means of social control and manipulation - Hospitality allows individuals to connect with a community and also interconnection of communities
Attitude	- Cultural value on which society is founded as well as a societal need - Guests seen as a gift from the gods and hosts always to be prepared to offer hospitality - Provision of hospitality is giving due honour to the gods who watch over the process - Respect for the guest and non inquisitorial towards the guest before hospitality is provided - Hospitality when properly given should lead to lasting friendship - Hosts should portray and openness to guests - Mutual courtesy and consideration should be shown at all times - The needs of the guest should be put before the needs of the host - Hospitality contained the concepts of: duty; loyalty; and reciprocity. - Hospitality is to be offered even in adversity and absolutely welcoming
Religious Connotations	- Hospitality is rich in religious symbolism - Mankind is god's guest in the universe - Hospitality was means of paying homage to the gods - Guest should be welcomed as gift from the gods - The guest is sacred and seen as a gift from the gods - The host and the guest were under the protection of the gods - Spiritual redemption often through provision hospitality - Common recognition of deities between hospitably aligned states - Hospitality is a moral practice and self sacrifice was central to a hospitable attitude - Hospitable motivation included human need and eschatological rewards - Hospitality was moral virtue which included clothing the poor, feeding the hungry, protecting the vulnerable.

Table 8:6 Social and Cultural Dimensions of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity

8.2.7. DOMESTIC DISCOURSE

Domestic discourse reflects the domestic roots of hospitality and symbolic connotations of practices, language and gendered roles relative to host/guest transaction normally these tend to transcend the actual of the context of the hospitality relationship. As can be seen in Table 8:7 this theme has been subdivided into: domestic roots; symbolic connotations and gendered roles. These have been subdivided to increase clarity in the aspects under consideration.

Domestic Discourse	
Subdivisions of lens themes	Analysis of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity
Domestic Roots	• Hospitality always linked to roots in the home • Hospitality practices emerged from those of the home • Hospitality operates within culturally established norms and protocols often taken from domestic practices • Hospitality is an extended system of friendship and allows the guest to find a home • Monastic hospitality has its roots in the home but hosts and guests are kept separate
Symbolic Connotations	• Home is symbolic of the hospitality transaction also providing sanctuary and security • Commercial hospitality establishments often converted homes • Transition from stranger to guest to friend • Relief of homelessness • Religious hospitality presented accommodation as the guests home in God's house
Gendered Roles	• Men tend to be seen as master of the household and the host with women taking the role of cooking and serving • Woman played an important role in hospitality relationships, fulfils the role of head of the household when the head is absent • Where servants and slaves existed within the household they fulfilled hospitable tasks • Hospitality roles were differentiated by gender and stereotypical roles of for example male chef and female barmaids started to emerge but true hospitality transcends gender

Table 8:7 Domestic Discourse of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity

8.2.8. PERFORMANCE

Lashley *et al.* (2007) argue that the host and the guest can be depicted as actors performing their respective roles, on a stage that is deliberately constructed to convey symbolism and meaning; thus highlighting authenticity. However, this research indicated that often these elements of performance highlight deeply held expectations of the guest or the host and are central to the hospitality relationship. This is further reinforced in Table 8:8 with the subdivision of the needs of the guest and particular rituals that take place within the hospitality transaction.

Performance	
Subdivisions of lens themes	**Analysis of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity**
Needs	• Welcoming with emphasis on those in need • Provision of food, drink and accommodation • Depending on need could also include clothing, alms and medical care
Rituals	• Specified welcoming gestures, acceptance into the activities of the household, provision of entertainment • Religions reinforced the characteristics of welcoming strangers and devoted and congenial reception. • Ritualistic symbolism surrounding the meal and food as an art form in everyday life • Bounteous hospitality was a display of social status and hospitality became quasi-theatrical and spectacular in its staging and production • Hospitality goes though a ritualised process and that in turn transforms the stranger into a guest who is under the protection of host • Guests become friends for the duration of the hospitality transaction, maybe longer • Appropriate ontological orientated when providing hospitality

Table 8:8 Performance of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity

8.3. IDENTIFYING THE ASPECTS OF HOSPITALITY

The separate tables (8:1 to 8:8) allowed for comparisons to be made between the themes of the lens. The richness and depth of understanding of hospitality in Classical Antiquity is remarkable in itself. However, during this reflective process, not unsurprisingly, certain cognate aspects of hospitality are repeated across the themes

and the subdivisions that had evolved. The eight tables focused on the themes of lens can be brought together into three groups where the aspects of hospitality are clearly related or analogous in nature:

- Types and Sites; Laws; and Inclusion/Exclusion;
- Transactional Expectations, Politics of Space, Social and Cultural Dimensions;
- Domestic Discourse and Performance.

The analogous nature of these three groups is based on the textual comparison between the aspects of hospitality. This is not to highlight some form of semantic similarity between them, but rather to reflect, identify and reinforce their character and function.

Types and Sites, Laws and Inclusion/Exclusion govern the location and context of the transaction and impose obstacles and barriers on the hospitable relationship imposed frequently by the host on the guest. Another modification that took place at this stage was the discussion based on the laws of hospitality. The distinction between human and divine, which evolved during the analysis, became increasingly artificial as divine laws were presumed on the gods by humanity and then imposed on humanity by mankind. The philosophical abstraction was therefore changed to reflect how the various laws were imposed across the domestic, civic and commercial spheres of the hospitality relationship.

Expectational norms of the hospitality relationship are governed by Transactional Expectations, Politics of Space and Social and Cultural Dimensions with the sub-themes of spiritual benefits, reciprocity, commerce, behaviour, thresholds,

communication system, attitude and religious connotations. Often these expectations may not be realistic on the part of either guest or the host. However, it is the management of these expectations that result in either disappointment or satisfaction within the hospitality process.

Finally, and following the same approach, the last cognate grouping consists of Domestic Discourse with Performance and the sub-themes of domestic roots; symbolic connotations; gendered roles; needs and rituals influence aspects of symbolism within the hospitality relationship.

The identification of the three aspects of hospitality, based on the Hospitality Social Lens, provided a way of organising and tabulating the outcomes of the research. From this tabulation there are a number of themes that emerge. The remainder of this chapter reflects the findings from the research into hospitality in Classical Antiquity.

8.3.1. LOCATION AND CONTEXT IN THE HOSPITALITY RELATIONSHIP

Location and context brings together 'type and sites', 'inclusion/exclusion' and 'laws' from the Social Lens. The details of the results are presented in Table 8:9. This table, redacted from the data, it is clear that the separation of the contexts of hospitality into domestic, civic and commercial hospitality continues to exist. Although the origins of hospitality are located in the home, the developments of civil and commercial hospitality have brought features uniquely associated with them. Domestic, civic and commercial hospitality may superficially be seen to have similar characteristics. However, detailed examination shows that they clearly exist differently within each of

the three contexts. In other words although hospitality in the three contexts always requires the adoption of hospitable behaviours, the nature of the context of the hospitality event means that the nature of the hospitality offered is inherently different.

The needs of the host and the guest have always varied. In consequence, hospitality has always had to be able to respond to a range of needs. The exploration of Classical Antiquity shows that the basis for a diverse range of types of places for the provision of hospitality in order to meet the needs of the full spectrum of society already existed. Although initially centred on the home, higher levels of hospitality and service were established over time, as a direct consequence of the ability of the higher classes to afford to travel to new lands and to demand environments there that were commensurate with their wealth and status. Hospitality has never been homogeneous and its provision has been increasingly codified. As societies became more sophisticated, the codification of hospitality provided reference points for how to treat a range of guests/strangers, according to a variety of criteria. The increased separations of the contexts of domestic, civic and commercial hospitality are also reinforced. Additionally as civic and business hospitality develops, hospitality professionals emerge, with particular individuals being recognised as having formal and defined responsibilities for hospitality. 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.

Lens and Subdivisions	Aspects that govern the location and context in the hospitality relationship

Types and Sites	Domestic	• As societies develop they go through different stages in the provision of hospitality • Hospitality practices evolved from domestic hospitality • Home refers to the entire household not just family members • Reputation for being hospitable led to growth in stature and status of household • All guests to be treated hospitably and hospitality must be genuinely and freely offered • Hospitality becomes legally defined • Established by individuals or through mediation • Hereditary hospitality established by exchange of tokens • Sacred in nature where hospitality ties became more important than blood ties • Personal duty of the head of the household for hospitality should not be delegate to slaves
	Civic	• Diplomatic relations established and strengthened by mutual ties of hospitality between states • Exchange of hospitality ambassadors lead to deepening of relationships • Civic receptions and freedom of the city important part of diplomatic process • Hospitality used to foster strategic alliances between states • Citizen rights recognised in foreign states where formal hospitality relationships exist • Mutual bonds of hospitality between the churches created a hospitality network • Charitable hospitality for the sick, poor and pilgrims gives rise to organised, community based hospitality networks
	Commercial	• Commercial hospitality distinct and separate sector • Large scale provision for food, beverage and accommodation • Needed to support and attract travellers and necessary for business and traders • Recognised a valuable source of income • Hospitality management professionals established reputations through professional practice and writings • Stratified and diversified commercial hospitality industry exists and hospitality establishments become clustered within cities • Provision of commercial hospitality effected by demand • Monastic hospitality became aligned to commercial hospitality
Inclusion /Exclusion	Domestic	• Hospitality in the home was offered to the stranger • Hospitality offered to all guests on an equal basis and then tailored to meet the needs of the guest • Higher classes had extensive networks of peer to peer domestic hospitality • Hospitality builds interdependent social networks with whom hospitality is freely shared • Hospitality in the home offered to the stranger and is a personal duty of the head of the household • All are welcome, but some are more welcome than others

	Civic	• The state provides a higher level of hospitality to its own citizens • Civic hospitality is stratified and guests are offered hospitality depending on their rank, status and purpose of visit • Hospitality alliances formed for strategic reasons • Monastic hospitality provision based on ontological orientation • Hospitality transforms relationships and when practised by the state can cause social change
	Commercial	• Commercial hospitality exists for those who do not have a network of private hospitality or receive hospitality by the state • Stratified levels of provision offered different levels of service • Commercial hospitality must be paid for and more money bought better provision • Establishments gained reputations through the quality of their staff and standard of service and clientele • Commercial hospitality provision subject to fluctuations in demand
Laws	Domestic	• Domestic hospitality placed under the spiritual protection of the gods. • Hospitality must not be abused; condemnation and punishment for violation of transcendent laws hospitality brought divine punishments on individuals or the state • Behavioural expectations in duty of hospitality to the stranger with particular emphasis placed on hospitality to the needy • Strangers when receiving hospitality should be controlled and contained but not molested • Domestic hospitality was formed by formal contract and declaration • Emphasis given to the importance of transcendental hospitality • Guest has a duty not to disturb the realm of the host
	Civic	• Civic relationships are placed under the spiritual protection of the gods. • Violation of any hospitality ethical code was considered a crime • Hospitality alliances demanded mutual recognition of each other's deities • Hospitality was a method of judging the worth of a person both by individuals and society as a whole • Free hospitality was limited to three days • Hereditary hospitality to three subsequent generations and verified by exchange of tokens
	Commercial	• Commercial industry and those employed within it increasingly subject to legal control

Table 8:9 Aspects that govern the location and context in the hospitality relationship

8.3.2. EXPECTATIONAL NORMS IN THE HOSPITALITY RELATIONSHIP

Expectational Norms brings together 'transactional expectations', 'politics of space' and 'social and cultural dimensions' from the Social Lens. The details of the results are presented in Table 8:10. From the data it was clear that hospitality has been 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). In addition, the concept of hospitality as being based on meeting the basic needs that guests have at the time, rather than the type of people that they are, was also established.

Hospitality was initially concerned with the protection of others in order to be protected from others. Additionally, within Classical Antiquity, and reinforced by all religious teaching and practice, it is considered that the offer of hospitality is an inherently good thing to do. Alongside this it is also well established that failure to provide hospitality is viewed as both an impiety and a temporal crime. However, what is equally established is the concept of reciprocity: for any act of hospitality there is always the expectation (explicit or implied) of a benefit that will arise from its provision. Initially, this is simply to be protected from the stranger, but it also can include monetary, spiritual reward, prestige, or benefit exchange. Moreover, the concept of reciprocity within the hospitality event does not just apply to the provider of the hospitality; it also applies to the receiver of the hospitality. There are expectations on the guests, again explicit or implied, either in material terms or in requirements to observe specific behaviours, or both.

Expectational norms also reinforce the notion that in addition to the broad distinctions between the contexts of domestic, civic and commercial hospitality, the geographic location of the context, the cultural (including religious) influences, and the level of development of the society at the time, all affect the contexts differently. Again the nature of the hospitality offered becomes more inherently different depending both on the context of the hospitality event and the wider influences upon it.

Lens and Subdivisions		Aspects that govern the expectational norms in the hospitality relationship
Transactional Expectations	Spiritual Benefits	- Spiritual rewards included long life, happiness, and good fortune for individuals and for the state - Ultimate benefit was eternal recognition on the earth, entry into the afterlife and eternal recognition in the heavens - Hospitality offered particularly to the weakest led to eschatological rewards
	Reciprocity	- Hospitality was given to the stranger in order to be protected from them - Hosts received metaphysical benefits and guests physical benefits - Domestic hospitality relationships would guarantee food, beverage and accommodation and representation in law courts, citizen rights, access to games and sporting events - Tangible benefits to host include exchange of gifts and military support - Prestige and honour gained through hospitality is central to the self interest of the host - Civil/state hospitality included mutual recognition of gods and military support in conflicts and war - Guest receiving hospitality of the community must work for the good of the community - Breaches in the codes of hospitality reciprocity could lead to war
	Commerce	- Commercial hospitality as source of revenue for the state and individuals - Fine commercial hospitality establishments enhanced the standing of the city - Hospitality professionals commanded high reputations within society - Religious hospitality is only free for a limited period time, then guests must work for the good of the community

Politics of Space	Behaviour	• Guests bring blessing to the home of the host • Receive all who ask • Whilst in the place of hospitality the host cannot harm the guest in any way • Guests must not harm the host or their property • Guest made aware they are on the territory of the host demonstrating the moral superiority of the host • When connected by bonds of hospitality the host must receive guest • Once established bonds of hospitality can only be dissolved by formal declaration • Hospitality must be tailored to the needs of the stranger/guest • Abuse of hospitality is condemned • Important for guest not to overstay the welcome and put an undue burden on the host
	Thresholds	• Hospitality should be offered as if in the home • Crossing thresholds guaranteed hospitality and provided physical protection, sanctuary and security • Crossing the threshold of hospitality begins the process by means of which an outsider's status is changed from stranger to guest • Potential for social change through protection of the vulnerable and those without status, Provide aid to those in need and welcoming those who are alienated
Social and Cultural Dimensions	Communication System	• Information gathering using hospitality networks with guests seen as means of news exchange • Alliances born out of hospitality also subverted for espionage and political gain • Patronage shown through hospitality in particular the giving of meals in restaurants • Hospitality networks allowed for exchange of strategic information • Theologically mandated hospitality was a central factor in the spreading of the particular message of the religions group • Hospitable gestures can have a darker character of espionage • Hospitality as a means of social control and manipulation • Hospitality allows individuals to connect with a community and also interconnection of communities
	Attitude	• Cultural value on which society is founded as well as a societal need • Guests seen as a gift from the gods and hosts always to be prepared to offer hospitality • Provision of hospitality is giving due honour to the gods who watch over the process • Respect for the guest and non inquisitorial towards the guest before hospitality is provided • Hospitality when properly given should lead to lasting friendship • Hosts should portray and openness to guests • Mutual courtesy and consideration should be shown at all times • The needs of the guest should be put before the needs of the host • Hospitality contained the concepts of: duty; loyalty; and reciprocity. • Hospitality is to be offered even in adversity and absolutely welcoming

	Religious Connotations	• Hospitality is rich in religious symbolism • Mankind is god's guest in the universe • Hospitality was means of paying homage to the gods • Guest should be welcomed as gift from the gods • The guest is sacred and seen as a gift from the gods • The host and the guest were under the protection of the gods • Spiritual redemption often through provision hospitality • Common recognition of deities between hospitably aligned states • Hospitality is a moral practice and self sacrifice was central to a hospitable attitude • Hospitable motivation included human need and eschatological rewards • Hospitality was moral virtue which included clothing the poor, feeding the hungry, protecting the vulnerable.

Table 8:10 Aspects that govern the expectational norms in the hospitality relationship

8.3.3. SYMBOLISM IN THE HOSPITALITY RELATIONSHIP

Symbolism brings together 'domestic discourse' and 'performance' from the Hospitality Social Lens. The details of the results are presented in Table 8:11. From the texts, and also demonstrated in Table 8:11, hospitality has been central to the development of all societies since the beginning of human history. It is the catalyst that has facilitated human activities, including those that enhance civilisation. It is also identified as being the central feature of human endeavour and celebration, through until the end of time. Relationships between individuals, 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 concept of continuing shared benefits between the individuals and households, which is also reflected within the practices of the civic and commercial contexts. In this sense, hospitality becomes a means of networking and strategic alliances.

The vocational nature of hospitality was established through the original concept of hospitality as homage to a superior being, or pursuit of a higher ideal. This provides a basis for the view that hospitality management should be recognised as a true profession because of its strong vocational origins. However, there is also a whole range of stereotypical roles associated with hospitality both in terms of gender and status. These roles appear and are accepted as normal, mostly reflecting the practices of the home and the household at the time. Inevitably, through the adoption of the customs and practices of hospitality from the home context into the civic and commercial contexts, these stereotypical roles have continued to be adopted and expected, mainly because, at the time, neither the existence of them nor the rationale for them was questioned. There are also similarities within the nature of rituals associated with hospitality. Again, the origins of the home are evident in civic and commercial contexts of hospitality, although they do become more prescribed and documented the further the hospitality practice is separated from the origins of the home and the household.

Lens and Subdivisions		Aspects that govern the symbolism in the hospitality relationship
Domestic Discourse	Domestic Roots	• Hospitality always linked to roots in the home • Hospitality practices emerged from those of the home • Hospitality operates within culturally established norms and protocols often taken from domestic practices • Hospitality is an extended system of friendship and allows the guest to find a home • Monastic hospitality has its roots in the home but hosts and guests are kept separate
	Symbolic Connotations	• Home is symbolic of the hospitality transaction also providing sanctuary and security • Commercial hospitality establishments often converted homes • Transition from stranger to guest to friend • Relief of homelessness • Religious hospitality presented accommodation as the guest's home in God's house

	Gendered Roles	• Men tend to be seen as master of the household and the host with women taking the role of cooking and serving • Woman played an important role in hospitality relationships, fulfils the role of head of the household when the role holder absent • Where servants and slaves existed within the household they fulfilled hospitable tasks • Hospitality roles were differentiated by gender and stereotypical roles of for example male chef and female barmaids started to emerge but true hospitality transcends gender
Performance	Needs	• Welcoming with emphasis on those in need • Provision of food, drink and accommodation • Depending on need could also include clothing, alms and medical care
	Rituals	• Specified welcoming gestures, acceptance into the activities of the household, provision of entertainment • Religions reinforced the characteristics of welcoming strangers and devoted and congenial reception. • Ritualistic symbolism surrounding the meal and food as an art form in every day life • Bounteous hospitality was a display of social status an hospitality became quasi-theatrical and spectacular in its staging and production • Hospitality goes though a ritualised process and that in turn transforms the stranger into a guest who is under the protection of host • Guests become friends for the duration of the hospitality transaction, maybe longer • Appropriate ontological orientated when providing hospitality

Table 8:11 Aspects that govern the symbolism in the hospitality relationship

8.4. REFLECTION ON THE ASPECTS OF HOSPITALITY

From the analysis presented in Section 8.3, it is clear that hospitality has its origins early in human history and has been evolving since that time. It also seems that it is inherent in human nature to offer hospitality, and that the societies and all the contemporaneous religious teachings support and reinforce this trait.

The provision of hospitality clearly takes place within three specific and different contexts: domestic, civil and commercial. The outcome of the research has reinforced this continued separation. In addition, the nature of the hospitality event is affected by the geographic location of the context, the cultural (including religious) customs of the society, and the specific time in history. The modern literature has in many cases

ignored these differing influences on the hospitality event and there is evidence of supporting or criticising hospitality customs based on largely spurious notions of what hospitality could or should be. The potential for the teleological fallacy, especially in the philosophical literature, is especially evident. At best this literature helps with the understanding of human interaction; at worst the discussions and the interpretations of hospitality events are based not only on spurious notions of what hospitality is, but also on attempts to relate different contexts, including comparisons that link separate societies, customs, locations and times in history.

Although civic hospitality is different to the hospitality of the home, it is closely related to the hospitality of the home, with societies often acting as in effect as large households. However, commercial hospitality is something else entirely. An extreme view questions whether commercial hospitality is in fact hospitality at all. Although commercial hospitality requires hospitable behaviour for it to be conducted, does this actually mean that it is offered as true hospitality? Is it not simply a service provided in a hospitable way? The other perspective to consider here is that the commercial hospitality is not offered in isolation. It is only offered when the customer is offering to pay for it and only continues for as long as the customer has the means to pay. One more complex question to explore is: who is actually the host in the commercial hospitality relationship? It could be argued that the host is in fact the customer who, being away from their own household, is simply seeking to re-create their own household somewhere else.

There is the temptation when engaging in reflective hermeneutics is to further narrow the focus of the definitions of the various aspects of hospitality. It could be argued

that behaviour from 'Politics of Space' could be combined with attitude from 'Social and Cultural Dimensions' or 'Performance' and Domestic Discourse' could also be combined. However, from the hermeneutical analysis it is clear that the dimensionality of the hospitality is increasing in complexity. Embracing a broad spectrum of aspects of hospitality counters the reductionist view of the lens. Undeniably the modified lens is a useful means for classifying the data. However, the reflective process should not overly reduce the aspects of understanding of hospitality in Classical Antiquity; rather it must allow the richness and depth of the data to expose itself, thus giving a true depiction of hospitality in Classical Antiquity.

9. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS: TOWARDS A DYNAMIC HOSPITALITY MODEL

9.1. DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOSPITALITY SOCIAL LENS

The new model presented in this chapter is a development of the Hospitality Social Lens in light of the findings and its use in this research to organise the data. One phenomenon of hospitality that has been a constant throughout the research is reflected in etymology: the terms of 'guest' and 'stranger' were originally synonyms. It could really be here that the clue to the nature of hospitality has been there all along. If hospitality is primarily about defence (protection from the stranger) and if the relationship between a host and a guest needs to be established to achieve harmony of reciprocity (mutual benefit) then are not the acts of hospitality simply the mechanisms by which this happens? Therefore, hospitality represents the thresholds over which both the host and the guest have to cross in order to inhabit the same space. Being hospitable is then the description of the set of behaviours that can take place between the host and the guest and hospitality is the term for the two arriving into the same universe, which allows these behaviours to happen. In other words, hospitality as a service is inherently about the management of these behaviours and expectations.

What is self-evident from the research is that hospitality is not friendship; it is not even a commercial friendship. Friends have a relationship that ideally is based on the purest of motivations this is often demonstrated with some or all of the following characteristics: the tendency to desire what is best for the other; sympathy; empathy; and mutual understanding. These are not characteristics that readily appear in the hospitality relationship. The hospitality relationship is one of stresses and barriers:

thresholds that a guest has to cross before they are welcomed. This tension in the guest–host relationship has been reflected constantly throughout the research and exists in domestic, civic and commercial hospitality.

For the purposes of this model the thresholds of hospitality are illustrated by the eight revised themes of the Hospitality Social Lens: 'type and sites'; 'inclusion/exclusion'; 'laws'; 'transactional expectations'; 'politics of space'; 'social and cultural dimensions'; 'domestic discourse'; and 'performance'. These thresholds are normally imposed on the guest by the host and differ greatly depending on the type of hospitality that is being offered even within the typology of domestic, civic and commercial hospitality. For ease of illustration the thresholds illustrated on the model are split on a four-point scale notionally representing level of the threshold or barrier imposed on the guest.

Hospitality never seemed to be offered unconditionally, and at the very least the host always expects some benefit from their hospitable actions, either physical or metaphysical benefits. To illustrate this, Figure 9:1 splits the guest from the host, leaving the host at the centre, whilst the guest is shown in the outer circle. The middle circle shows the eight thresholds of hospitality from revised themes of the Hospitality Social Lens grouped together in the three influencing categories of hospitality relationship (these are illustrated using different colours): location and context; expectational norms; and symbolism. These three influencing categories evolved *a priori* from the research. By placing these influencing categories between the guest and the host the model is then able to further illustrate the thresholds that the guest has to cross and therefore shows them as the barriers put in place by the host.
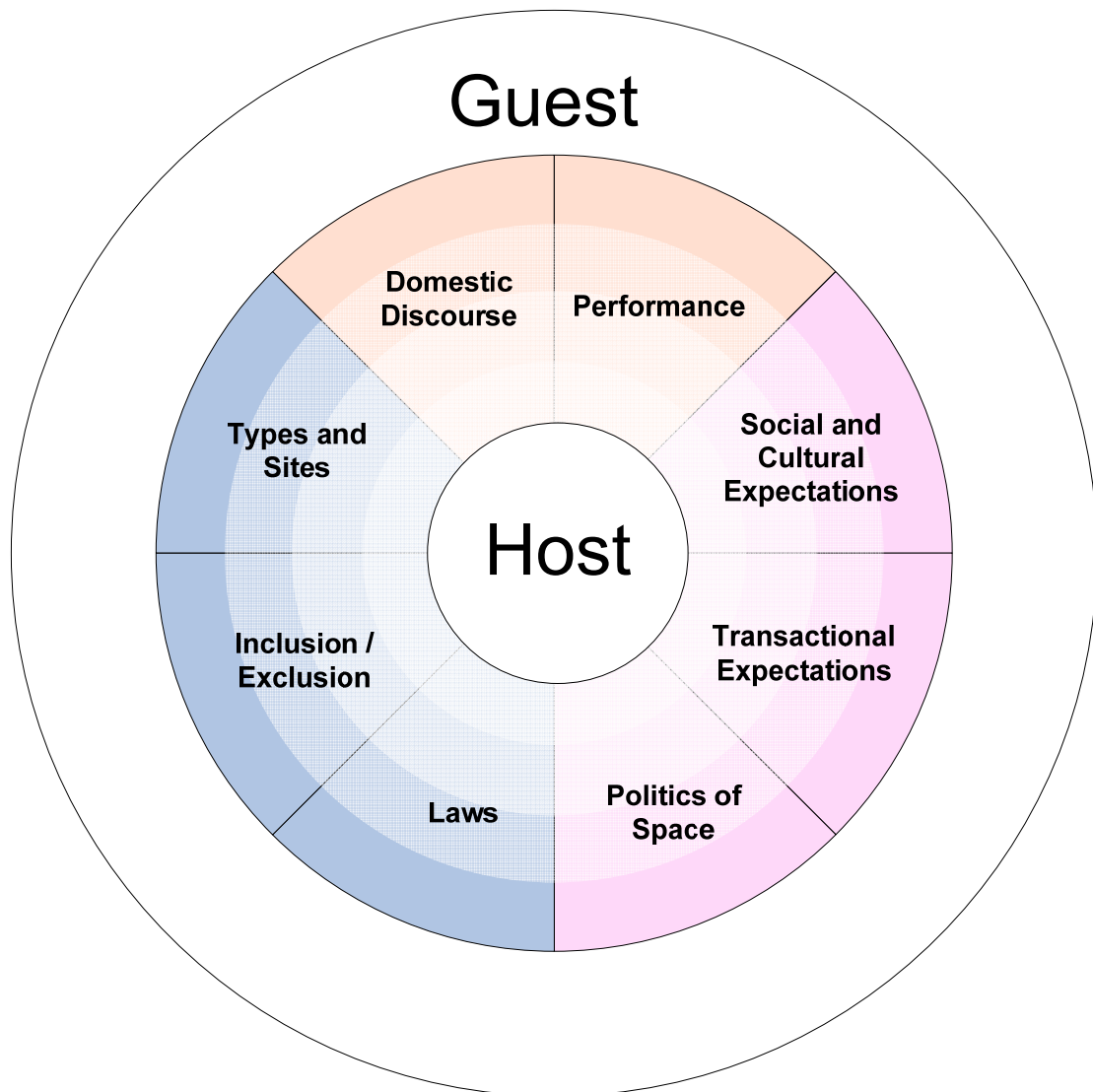
Figure 9:1 Generic Hospitality Relationship

Figure 9:1 shows the guest–host relationship incorporating the modified Hospitality Social Lens and would serve to illustrate a generic hospitality relationship. However, as the research has shown, there is really no such thing as a generic hospitality relationship not least because it exists within three distinct contexts of domestic, civic and commercial. This means that the new model would have to be adaptable to illustrate different hospitality relationships within these different contexts. However, as was discussed earlier in the thesis, care must be taken to avoid any possibility of

creating a teleological fallacy (Section 3.3). Therefore, the examples illustrated here are taken from Classical Antiquity and the temptation to draw parallels to modern or any other times has been resisted.

9.2. DOMESTIC HOSPITALITY

In the domestic sphere, there are plenty of texts that record the process of the host welcoming the guest into their home. Throughout the writings of Homer particular emphasis is placed on domestic hospitality, highlighting that this must not be abused. Violation of these transcendent laws of hospitality results in condemnation and punishment, and brought divine punishments on the individuals. From these earliest times, the research has consistently demonstrated that if the host or the household had a reputation for being hospitable this would directly lead to a growth both in the stature and the status of household and the host. However, hospitality offered at home has always brought expectations that the guest expects to be fulfilled: food; a comfortable place to sit; charming company; and entertainment. These expectations are fulfilled by Abraham and the other Judaeo-Christian characters, Solon, Socrates, and subsequently by the citizens of Rome. Hospitality was often held to be sacred in nature, particularly where bonds of hospitality became more important than blood ties. Towards the end of Classical Antiquity, and certainly within the flourishing Christian communities, domestic hospitality had taken on the mantel of a theological virtue. Throughout the whole period under investigation it was clear that hospitality was a personal duty of the head of the household which should not be delegated to slaves or servants.

Within this relationship there is a great deal of importance placed on symbolism. Performance is dependent upon both the host and the guest knowing what norms of behaviour they are expected to conform to. This is coupled with domestic discourse as everyone is aware of the roles they are meant to play, transcendental or physical. However, transactional expectations are great as reciprocity is probably expected on both sides, be these a cooperative working relationship, better promotion prospects or interpersonal loyalty.
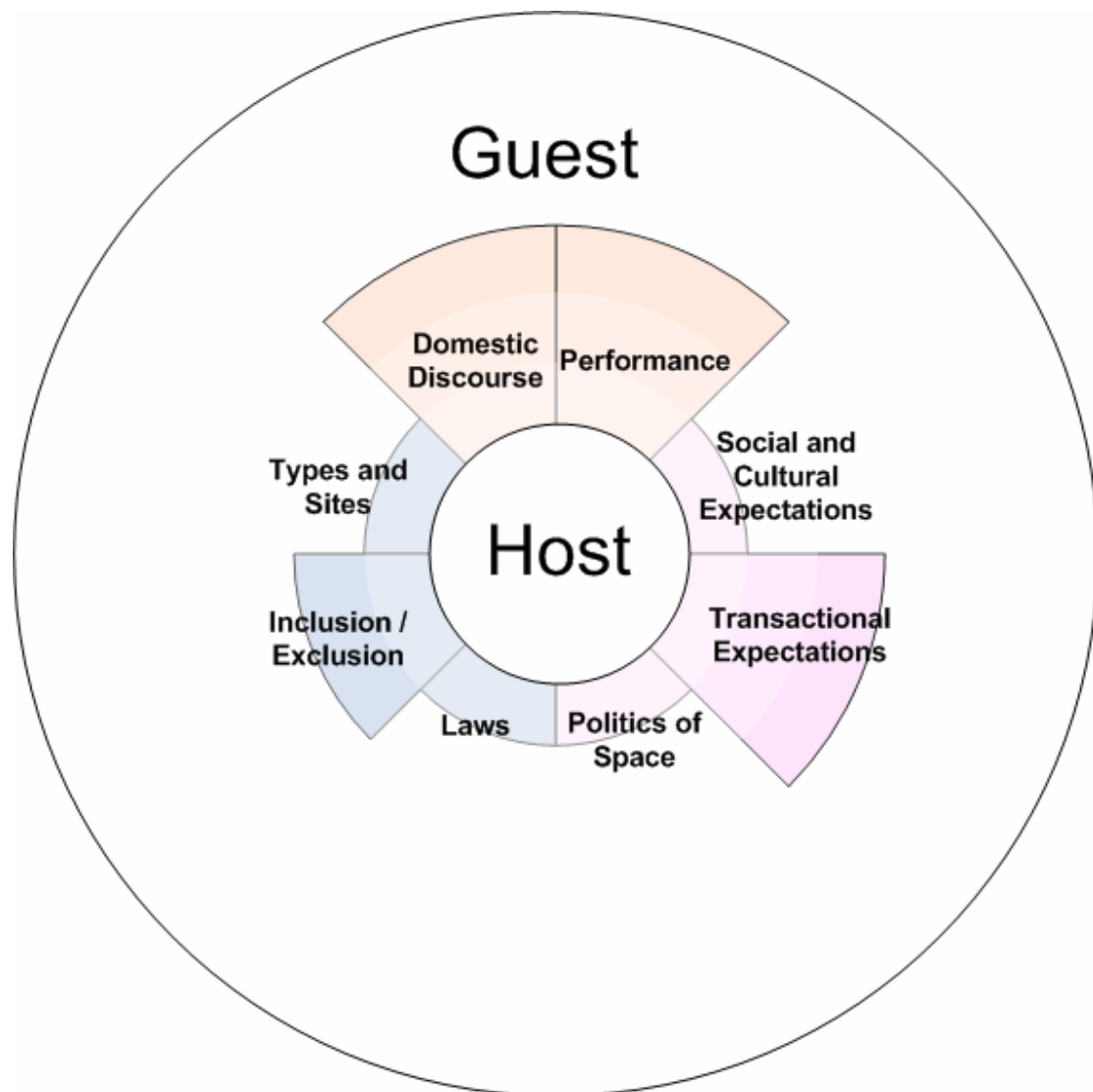
Figure 9:2 Domestic Hospitality Relationship

Finally, the factors that govern the location and context are possibly the least influential and imposing thresholds. However, the exception to that would be 'Inclusion/Exclusion'. Hopefully the host and the guest feel a mutual embrace within the hospitality relationship. Moreover, depending on the context there are those others who were not invited so, metaphorically speaking, are left outside looking in.

9.3. CIVIC HOSPITALITY

As societies develop they go through different stages in the provision of hospitality. However, on the whole the research has shown that the vast majority of hospitality practices and customs have evolved from domestic hospitality. The second example how the model can show different hospitality relationships is taken from the civic sphere. Civic hospitality both originated and abounded within Classical Antiquity. It was seen a necessity for the state with the civic and religious measure of virtue. Figure 9.3 represents the guest–host relationship at a state visit, arguably one of the most stratified hospitality occasions.

Within this hospitality relationship the entire guest–host relationship is delimited by thresholds, some of which are deliberately designed to impose distance between the host and their guests. The symbolism around a state visit is designed to show the power and the influence of the host and often the importance of the principal guest. This is highlighted by the performance threshold. Hospitality at this level becomes quasi-theatrical, spectacular in its staging and production. The guest of honour takes on the persona of a friend for the duration of the hospitality transaction, maybe longer. All the other guests are relegated to the audience, which can include participation,

sometimes by joining in the meals. However, often involvement is solely or largely just as observers merely validating the actions of the host. Domestic discourse is significantly diminished when servants of the host take all the gendered roles and gender itself becomes aspecific. However, certain limited elements remain: for example the host's home becomes symbolic of the country. Within civic hospitality the location and context in which the hospitality is provided is particularly important.
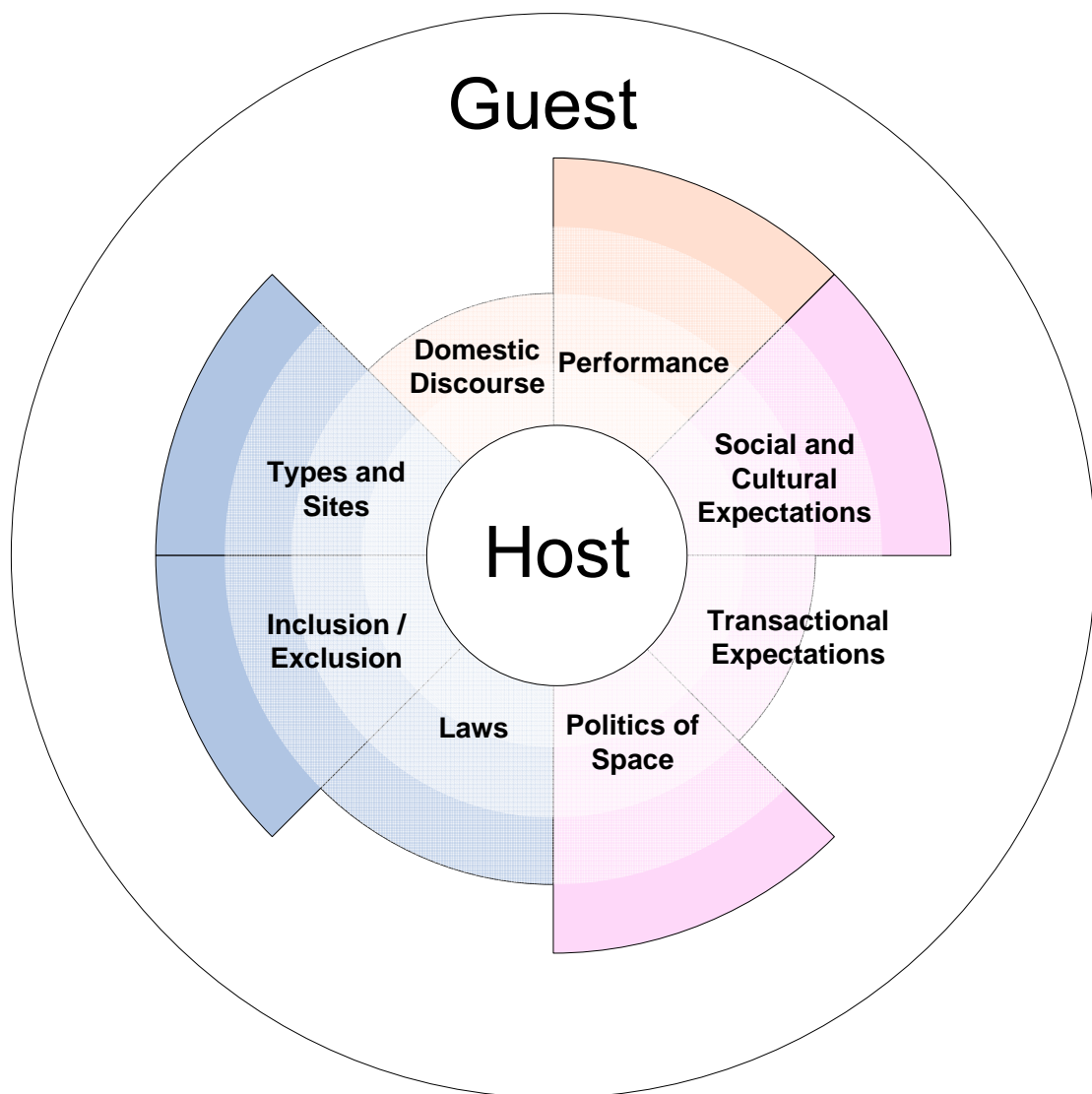
Figure 9:3 Civic Hospitality Relationship

The present research has clearly shown that diplomatic relations have always been established and strengthened by mutual ties of hospitality between states. Of course, civic hospitality is intensely stratified and guests are offered hospitality depending on their rank, status and purpose of visit. It is not unusual for alliances that are formed for strategic reasons to be cemented with formal hospitality. These hospitality relationships when used in a particularly strategic manner can actually transform the interpersonal relationship between the guest and the host and even can be catalysts for social change.

Finally, the expectational norms of the state occasion play a significant part in the civic hospitality relationship. There is still a great deal of prestige and honour to be gained through state hospitality, and its provision is often central to the self interest of both the host and the guest. State occasions normally contain significant public occasions including: welcome ceremonies, state banquets; return dinners where the guest becomes the host of their host; mutual gift giving and departure ceremonies. However, at the individual level even civic hospitality is still tailored by the host to the needs, or more often the personal interests, of the guest.

9.4. COMMERCIAL HOSPITALITY

The research unequivocally shows that the commercial hospitality sector is one of the world's oldest industries. A commercial hospitality relationship is depicted in Figure 9:4; this represents a typical hotel as described by Xenophon or found in Pompeii.
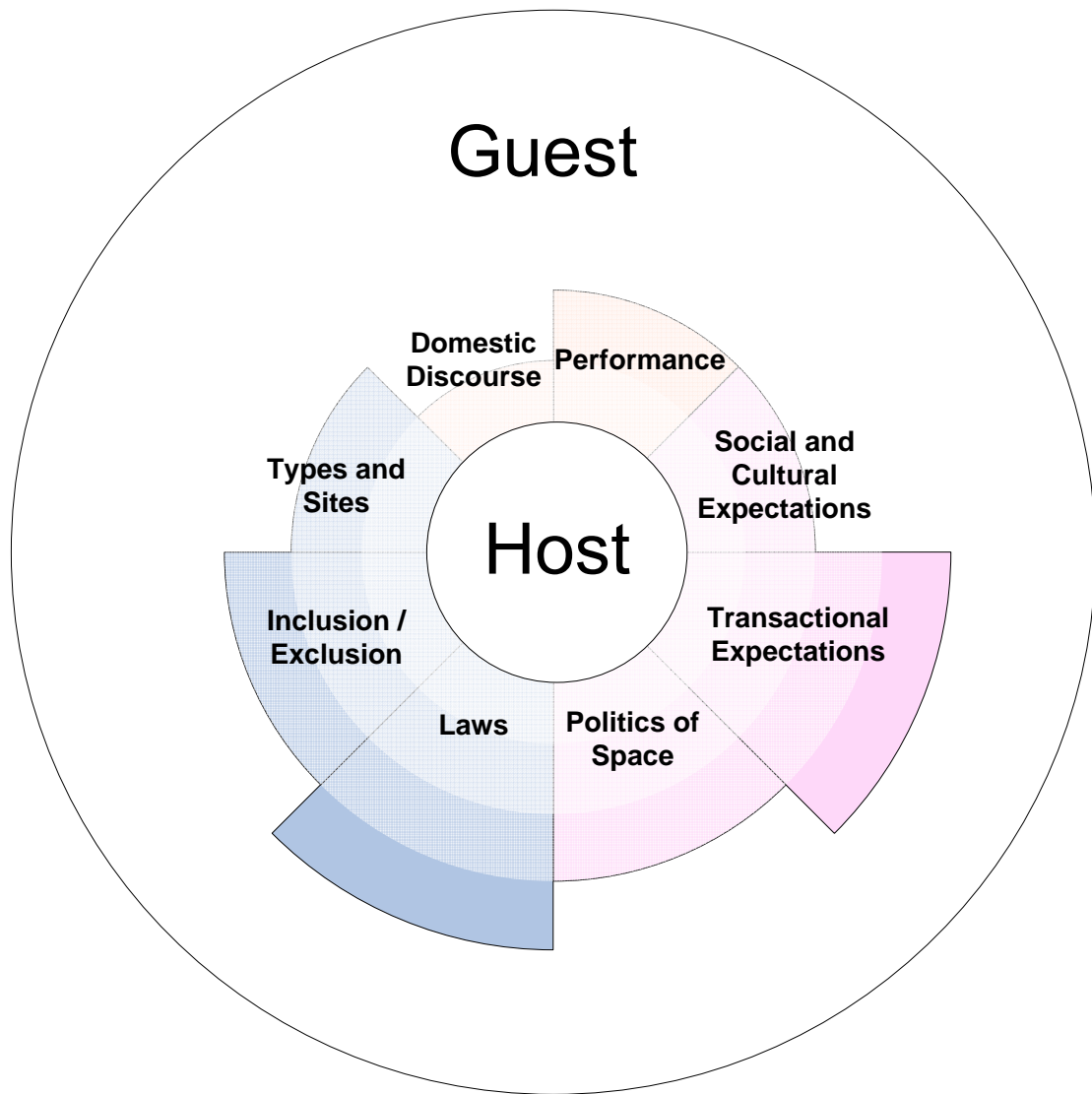
Figure 9:4 Commercial Hospitality Relationship

Hostels and inns in Mesopotamia date back to at least 2000 BC and they were controlled by the laws of the time. Two thousand years later, towns like Pompeii had a flourishing diversified and stratified commercial hospitality industry. There was a wide range of facilities on offer providing a diverse range of services, from the large central hotels located in the middle of a town and other complimentary facilities to smaller countryside establishments along the main roads between the towns.

Within the performance segment there are limited gendered roles; roles are differentiated by gender and stereotypical roles. For example, male chefs and female barmaids started to emerge but commercial hospitality provision tends to transcend gender. The commercial sector tends to exhibit the characteristics of welcoming strangers and devoted and congenial reception. However, these would tend to be disingenuous pseudo-theatrical performances rather than a genuinely hospitable ontological orientation. The aspects that govern the expectational norms in the hospitality relationship are often the most significant the host places on his guest within the commercial hospitality relationship. Commercial hospitality has always been seen as a source of revenue both for the state and for individuals. The reciprocity that is expected by the host for the hospitality that the guest is given is monetary. Often the guest will not pay if the hospitality that is received is not perceived to be of an acceptable standard. As such, in commercial hospitality, hospitality does involve the satisfaction or manipulation of the guests' perceptions. Manipulation or subterfuge is nothing unusual within the guest–host relationship. In Classical Antiquity information gathering used hospitality networks, with guests seen as means of news exchange. However, these networks born out of hospitality were also subverted for espionage and strategic gain. Outstanding establishments within the commercial hospitality sphere have always been considered enhancement to the standing of the city and provided a source of revenue. Similarly, hospitality professionals commanded high reputations within society frequently established through professional practice and writings in Classical Antiquity. However, crossing thresholds of commercial hospitality guaranteed and provided physical protection, sanctuary and security.

In examining the location and context of the commercial hospitality relationship it became evident that in Classical Antiquity the commercial hospitality sector was already distinct and separate from domestic and civic hospitality. There was already a large-scale provision of food, beverage and accommodation and the sector supported and attracted travellers and was necessary and integral for business and served the needs of merchants. Stratified and diversified commercial hospitality industry existed and hospitality establishments become clustered within cities. In other words, the supply of commercial hospitality was already subject to the demand of market forces focused on urban centres to which the merchants were attracted. Commercial hospitality existed for those who did not have an extensive network of private hospitality or were either insufficiently privileged to receive the hospitality of the state or in such an impoverished personal situation that they required it. The commercial provision was not homogeneous, and stratified levels of provision offered different levels of service. Indeed, commercial hospitality had always to be paid for and more money bought a better provision and quality of service. Establishments quickly gained reputations through the quality of their staff and standard of service provided, and equally through the character and behaviour of their clientele. Finally, one constant and unremitting aspect of the commercial industry and those employed within it was the increasing legal control they were subject to.

10. OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

10.1. OVERVIEW

This chapter presents the conclusions on the entire research process. It builds on the final analysis and evaluation of the findings within Chapter 8 and the discussion and the re-presentation of the outcomes in Chapter 9. The aim of the research was to provide research on history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality. This thesis in itself has reported on the research into the phenomenon of hospitality within Classical Antiquity, through examining texts of the time, contemporaneous religious writings and modern commentators on those times. From the exploration, clear parallels have been found between the texts, and a variety of common features of hospitality have been identified. This chapter now presents the final reflection on the research by considering the original objectives. These were to:

  i. Investigate Greco-Roman texts of Classical Antiquity in order to identify the philosophy underpinning the phenomenon of hospitality;

  ii. Explore the religious writings contemporaneous to Classical Antiquity in order to detail the philosophy and practices of hospitality contained therein;

  iii. Apply, develop and evaluate hermeneutical analysis for hospitality research;

  iv. Provide authoritative and disciplined research on the classical history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality; and

  v. Make a significant contribution to the research area of hospitality studies.

After looking at the origins of the research, objectives one and two are considered together. The third objective, the methodology for textual hospitality research, is then considered with objective four, how the thesis has provided authoritative and

disciplined research on the classical history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality. Objective five, the contribution the research as already made to hospitality studies research, is summarised before presenting the final reflective conclusions followed by the identification of further research.

10.2. ORIGINS OF THE RESEARCH

During the initial reading and before undertaking this research it became clear that in current hospitality and tourism literature, the history and philosophy of hospitality was an overlooked area for investigation. In particular, the portrayal of the historical evolution of the phenomenon of hospitality was prone to a great deal of rhetoric and little research; and in certain cases some of the assertions made were manifestly wrong.

In addition to the original motivations for undertaking the research, perusing it emanated from having a foundation of scholarly and analytical skills needed to initiate the research combined with a deep personal interest in the area under investigation. This emanated originally from having had experience working in the hospitality industry and from postgraduate studies in hospitality management. Advanced research skills developed in the faculties of Classics, Philosophy and Theology during previous Master's level studies in Salamanca and Rome provided the necessary background and foundation to explore hospitality in Classical Antiquity. These skills were also enhanced by study for the Postgraduate Diploma in research methodology for business and management, which provided a solid grounding in business research methods.

What proved to be important, along with research skills, was familiarity with the texts and period of time under investigation albeit for previously different purposes. Without the necessary language and translation skills, this project would not have been possible. Whilst it was possible to learn the research methods required within a business school environment, it certainly would have been impossible to learn ancient and classical languages at the same time. That said, the interdisciplinary combination of classics, theology and philosophy in tandem with the atmosphere of a business school brought together a unique set of interests, skills and abilities to underpin the research. Now, finally, standing back from the research there are key aspects of hospitality that apparently are constant: it is only when the details of the research are examined, as presented throughout this thesis, that the true rewarding richness of the outcomes are evident.

10.3. INVESTIGATION AND EXPLORATION OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY (RESEARCH OBJECTIVES I AND II)

In an attempt to contribute to ending the erroneous and sometimes fanciful rhetoric related to hospitality, this research project took as its aim an investigation of Classical Antiquity in order to identify the philosophy underpinning the phenomenon of hospitality. That period of history was selected as it was as far back as one could go yet still have a significant volume of literature to support undertaking this research. Classical Antiquity is accepted to be the period of cultural history centred on the Mediterranean Sea, which begins with the earliest-recorded Greek poetry of Homer (*c*.770 BC), and coincides with the traditional date of the founding of Rome in 753

BC. However, as the end is disputed and includes the end of Western Roman Empire in 476 AD and 529 AD with closure of Plato's Academy in Athens, for this research Classical Antiquity ends with St Benedict (530 AD), who marks the closure of one chapter of European history and the beginning of the next. This has the added benefit of allowing the incorporation of St Benedict's codification of hospitality, the last significant hospitality document of the period.

Chapter 3 presents a two-fold exploration of presuppositions emanating from a personal theological background and also from a wide range of literature that had already considered hospitality in Judeo-Christian biblical and theological texts. The literature reviews start with biblical studies and biblical anthropology, before processing to the Patristic Writers. There was a clear difference in the literature between that which describes hospitality events and that which is specifically documenting the customs and practices required or expected within hospitality events of the time. From the review of both there was found to be clear congruence between the two sets of literature. This provides support for the validity of the outcomes of the research and confidence in the way they are now being interpreted.

During the initial inductive enquiry, as detailed in Chapter 4, and in order to gain a holistic picture of hospitality in Classical Antiquity, the contemporaneous religious writings were also examined in order to provide greater detail. This allowed for an initial and putative identification of the origins of the history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality. After this initial enquiry it became apparent that in order to increase clarity and focus there was a need to revisit the presuppositions and pre-understandings of the texts. It was this revisiting of pre-understandings that changed

the hermeneutical circle into a hermeneutical helix. This evolved by simultaneously developing personal reflexivity, repeated at the two subsequent points where the helix returns to the pre-understanding and presuppositions stage in order to reflect further, and conducting a literature review of the Judeo-Christian theological and biblical studies literature to lay down background details before the inductive textual analysis was undertaken.

In Chapter 4, in keeping with the traditional hermeneutic circle, after the pre-understandings and the textual corpus as a whole were reflected upon, the texts themselves were considered individually. However, the helical process allows for the returning to the pre-understandings and presuppositions, thus a further literature search and review was conducted and encompassed authors in classics and philosophy; i.e. the philosophers and theologians of that time. The findings of this enquiry are documented in Chapter 5. This led directly to the first reflective analysis, presented in Chapter 6, which coalesces the findings from the initial inductive enquiry (Chapter 4) with the reviews of previous studies (Chapters 3 and 5). The coalesced table of findings (Table 6:2 Aspects of Hospitality in Classical Antiquity) shows the diverse aspects of hospitality that emerged during Classical Antiquity; however, it lacked a certain aspect and focus. This lack of focus caused another revisiting of the pre-understandings and presuppositions and a further exploration of the emergent literature, this process coincided with the publication of the Hospitality Social Lens as discussed in Chapter 7.

Preliminary findings from the research have been presented at various stages throughout the thesis and also in various tangential and parallel publications. As

discussed in Section 2.3.4, this was central to the methodological process not only to test the methodology, but also to develop the findings. Writing and reflection are symbiotic tasks and it was necessary throughout to have the methodology and findings validated throughout the phenomenological reflective process. An illustrative selection of these publications is shown in Table 10:1 Publications from the research.

Location in Thesis	Publication Reference	
Chapter 1	O'Gorman (2006b)	Investigation of the writings of Derrida in order to consider his meditation on the contradictions within the language of hospitality thus allowing for an exploration of his attempts to illuminate a variety of contemporary hospitality scenarios.
Chapter 1	O'Gorman (2007b)	Building on the investigation of Derrida's writings, this paper presents a further exploration of writers in philosophy and postcolonial theory in order to identify any underlying trends in the establishment of a coherent philosophy of hospitality.
Chapter 2	O'Gorman and MacPhee (2006)	Empirical investigation into the hospitality offered by contemporary Benedictine monasteries. This paper demonstrates how an enhanced understanding of hospitality can be achieved through synergy between social anthropology, philosophy and practical theology in order to enhance and deepen the interdisciplinary of the research methodology.
Chapter 2	O'Gorman, Baxter and Scott (2007)	The study used commercial hospitality in Pompeii to show how interdisciplinary research methods could greatly enhance the understanding of hospitality through research synergy between classics, sociology and archaeology. This showed how the hermeneutic process could be greatly enhanced by revisiting early presuppositions and considering texts in their widest form, moving beyond so called printed texts to include graffiti and inscriptions and other apposite archaeological evidence.
Chapter 4	O'Gorman (2005a)	Initial conference presentation of the putative findings from the initial inductive analysis

Chapter 6	O'Gorman (2005b; 2007a)	Invited journal paper and book chapter which significantly developed then presented the five dimensions of hospitality found in classical antiquity developed from further research and feedback from the conference.
Chapter 6	O'Gorman (2006c)	This used the data in a different manner to in order to explore particular traditions, ethics, manners, etiquette in provision and consumption of hospitality in Classical Antiquity. By conducting this secondary exploration it tested the robustness of the data.

Table 10:1 Publications from the research

The publications cited in Table 10:1 are born out of earlier and developmental stages and therefore played a significant role in the selection, formation and, more importantly, the evolution of the methodology. On the whole the research that was presented was generally well received, and the feedback incorporated into the next stage of the research. Opening up both the research process and the preliminary findings, in essence the need to explain and justify the research, aided the personal reflective process. The writing and rewriting in itself was a valuable process; however, this was greatly enhanced by the presentation and publication process. Although the intentional nature of the research has allowed for a significant number of publications to have evolved from it, and thus testing the methodology and outcomes, the principal outputs from the research have not been published: these certainly include all of Chapters 7 to 10, including the derived hermeneutical helix and the dynamic hospitality models.

10.4. HERMENEUTICAL ANALYSIS FOR HOSPITALITY RESEARCH AND AUTHORITATIVE AND DISCIPLINED RESEARCH (RESEARCH OBJECTIVES III AND IV)

The third research objective was to apply, develop and evaluate hermeneutical analysis for hospitality research and the fourth one was to provide authoritative and disciplined research on the classical history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality. Initially the methodology seemed to be the development of hermeneutical phenomenology. Only when the final stages of the research were reached and the writing up of the thesis properly began did the self-evident evolution that had taken place with the traditional hermeneutical circle of interpretation become clear.

The initial inductive analysis was done very early on in the research process and the original plan was to use this as the discussions and finding; however, the thesis followed an evolutionary helical process. For example, not all the secondary literature was known in advance of conducting the initial empirical investigation and inductive analysis. Nor was the need for this literature known at the outset. Further, a significant development in the literature was published just before the second reflective analysis, thus allowing for an increased focus in the analysis.

During the early stages the research proceeded in directions that neither aided the process nor enhanced clarity. However, this had led to a significant bank of material for future projects: for example, there is enough textual material to develop research into the mediaeval period. Having attempted two different drafts in the five-chapter format it quickly became clear that a great deal of the depth of understanding of the phenomenon of hospitality that had been gained from the initial inductive analysis was lost in the presentation of the research. One of the hardest decisions that had to be

made was what to leave in and what to cut out of the final draft, reverting to the original focus of Classical Antiquity. This auto-realisation coupled with the desire not to lose any of the richness of the data caused an honest and reflective reappraisal of the research process itself. It was this self-retroflection and the benefits of hindsight coupled with the continued input from other academics that encouraged the presentation of an honest and transparent picture of the research process that was presented in Section 2.6.

Due to the complexity of the research, the hermeneutic circle developed into a hermeneutic helix. As the research was a critical historical investigation of Classical Antiquity in order to identify the origins of the history and philosophy of the phenomenon of hospitality it had to be essentially hermeneutical. However, apart from analysis of texts there were no other data sources available that would provide such a full picture of Classical Antiquity. This helical, rather than the typical circular process, allows for an honest presentation of what actually took place during the research process, enabling a dynamic and engaging methodology through revisiting the presuppositions and the texts themselves. It also became more critical as it permitted development though simultaneously, focusing and increasing clarity in the distillation of the essence of hospitality that was emerging from the texts.

The third review of pre-understandings and presuppositions, detailed in Chapter 7, highlighted the serendipitous publication of the Hospitality Social Lens. The value of the Social Lens has been highlighted (Section 7.2); its construction and development were also explored in Chapter 7 and then applied in Chapter 8 when it was used as a basis for structuring and presentation of the findings. In Chapter 9 the exploration,

discussion and development of the Hospitality Social Lens was synthesised with the findings from the research. This development and distillation of the findings, which were already delineated in Chapter 8, led to the development of a dynamic model for hospitality, in Chapter 9, which succinctly summarises and visually captures the essence of hospitality.

10.5. CONTRIBUTION TO HOSPITALITY STUDIES RESEARCH (RESEARCH OBJECTIVE V)

In addition to the findings and discussion from Chapters 8 and 9, and the antecedent publications (Table 10:1 Publications from the research), the research also had the objective of making a significant contribution to the emergent research area of hospitality studies. The present research, primarily by the preliminary publications, has already underpinned teaching on introductory hospitality courses in the UK and in Australia. It has also informed teaching across a wide variety of undergraduate and postgraduate degree courses and been presented at teaching seminars in the UK, Australia and Iran.

During the PhD process, one of the greatest joys and opportunities for personal growth as a researcher was the occasion to work with other more experienced researchers in cultural heritage, hospitality and tourism. This allowed the opportunity to both deepen and develop knowledge of these subject areas and the methodological practices and procedures more common to these fields of study. This supplementary research has, on the whole, taken place in other socio-economic, temporal and geographical areas outside the Greco-Roman world of Classical Antiquity, thus

allowing simultaneously the development of parallel research areas. These tangential publications have included parallel research in Mongolia (O'Gorman and Thompson 2007), Iran (O'Gorman 2007c O'Gorman, Baum and Maclellan 2007, and (O'Gorman and Prentice 2007a, 2007b). This is by no means the end of the process: other research collaborations are already taking place, including conceptualisations of hospitality and tourism in Islam, and also the history and development of accounting in Classical Antiquity.

The research has also led to invited teaching collaboration with the JISC-funded Spoken Word Services in the development of the advancement of both teaching and learning with digital repository sources and focus on its innovation for advancing the utility and value of digital libraries. Supported by a grant, from the Higher Education Academy: Hospitality, Leisure, Sport and Tourism Network, the Talking Hospitality archive was established. This consists of over 50 digitised radio and television programmes from the BBC Archives which are available to the academic community in a categorised and catalogued collection of hospitality, leisure, sport and tourism related mixed resources. In addition, eight items derived from extracts made from the collection are available as podcasts. For each category in the collection there is a resource list, which includes the podcast, 'traditional' paper references and some online sources. The potential contributions of this project to the academic community are considerable; this project enables the addition of multimedia items to the mix of resources they already use. In addition to encouraging the use of contemporary technologies, these resources help to bring students into closer touch with the realities of contemporary serious debate. Encouraging students, most of whom are not Radio 4

listeners, towards becoming participants in the wider 'intelligent conversation of the nation' is an important general educational goal in itself.

10.6. THE KEY OUTCOMES
10.6.1. THE ORIGINAL RESEARCH QUESTION

As its main research question this thesis asked: How the phenomenon of hospitality evolved in the Greco-Roman world of Classical Antiquity? Overall, it is clear that hospitality has its origins early in human history and has been evolving since that time. Hospitality has been a central feature in the development of all the societies that have been considered. These are societies with urban foci and centralised political control. In these societies, hospitality is the catalyst that has facilitated human activities, including those that enhance civilisation. It is also an essential part of human existence, especially as it deals with basic human needs (food, drink, shelter and security). Also, the vocational nature of hospitality is established through the original concept of hospitality as homage to a superior being, or pursuit of a higher ideal. This provides a basis for the view that hospitality management should be recognised as a true profession because of its strong vocational origins. It also impels a view that hospitality is about mutual expectations and the management of those, as much as it is about the management of activities or resources.

It seems in the societies studied that it is inherent in human nature to offer hospitality, and that the societies and all the contemporaneous religious teachings support and reinforce this trait. Throughout Classical Antiquity the structures and organisation within societies are inexorably linked with religion. Consequently domestic, civil and

commercial hospitality are always under the influence of religious doctrine as much as civil codes. The extensive discussions on hospitality and impiety highlighted a classic chicken and egg position: if faith and belief are human constructs and if these govern everyday life, then does this reinforce the view that hospitality is inherently a basic human trait?

10.6.2. THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT

The provision of hospitality clearly takes place within three specific and different contexts: domestic, civil and commercial. The outcome of the research has provided evidence that reinforces this continued separation. The needs hosts and guests have always varied; hospitality, therefore, has always had to be able to respond to a range of differing needs and contexts. Hospitality has never been homogeneous and its provision has been increasingly codified. Additionally, the nature of the hospitality offered becomes more inherently different depending both on the context of the hospitality event and the wider influences upon it.

In addition to context, the nature of the hospitality event is affected by its geographic location, the cultural (including religious) customs of the society, and the specific time in history. The modern literature has in many cases ignored these differing influences on the hospitality event and there is evidence of supporting or criticising hospitality customs based on largely spurious notions of what hospitality could or should be. The potential for the teleological fallacy, especially in the philosophical literature, is especially evident. At best, this literature helps with the understanding of human interaction; at worst the discussions and the interpretations of hospitality events are based not only on spurious notions of what hospitality is but also on

attempts to relate different contexts, as well as making comparisons that link, for instance, separate societies, customs, locations and times in history. Such reductionist thought holds a general view from pre-assumed premises, rather than building a general view from premises pertinent in diverse contexts. The application of hermeneutic helix developed in this thesis avoids the fallacy.

Although civic hospitality is different to the hospitality of the home, it is closely related to the hospitality of the home, with societies often acting as in effect as large households. However, commercial hospitality is something else entirely. An extreme view questions whether commercial hospitality is in fact hospitality at all. Although commercial hospitality requires welcoming and caring behaviour for it to be conducted, does this actually mean that it is offered as true hospitality? Is it not simply a service provided in a hospitable way? The other perspective to consider here is that the commercial hospitality is not offered in isolation. It is only offered when the customer is offering to pay for it and only continues for as long as the customer has the means to pay. One more complex question to explore is: who is actually the host in the commercial hospitality relationship? It could be argued that the host as organiser is in fact the customer who, being away from their own household, is simply seeking to re-create their own household somewhere else.

10.6.3. HOSPITALITY IS A TWO-WAY PROCESS

What is often either overlooked or simply ignored by those writing in the area of hospitality studies is the fact that hospitality is a process linking the host and the guest. The guest is linked to the host by the very act of the host providing food, drink and often accommodation to the guest; the level of service provided being initially

dependant on the needs of the guest at the time and the capability of the host. However, as time progresses rank, ontological or otherwise, and status do tend to be determining factors of the hospitality on offer.

What is equally established is the concept of reciprocity: for any act of hospitality there is always the expectation (explicit or implied) of a benefit that will arise from its provision. Initially this may be simply to be protected from the stranger but also can include monetary, spiritual reward, prestige or benefit exchange. Moreover, the concept of reciprocity within the hospitality event does not just apply to the provider of the hospitality; it also applies equally to the receiver of the hospitality. There are always expectations on the guests, again explicit or implied, either in material terms or in requirements to observe specific behaviours, or both. The host does not need to be fully altruistic in their endeavour as reciprocity, temporal or metaphysical, is an important part of the hospitality transaction.

The two-way process and the concept of reciprocity are further reinforced by the established conclusion that hospitality is not friendship. Once friendship is established then the relationship changes. The stranger becomes a friend and the potential ultimate goal of hospitality has been achieved. However, this is only the potential goal as, depending on the context, that goal may never be achieved, and in many cases it may never have been the intention of the hospitality process to reach that goal, for example in commercial hospitality.

10.6.4. THE HOSPITALITY STUDIES DEBATE

The hospitality studies debate has done much to enhance the status of hospitality research and education within the academic world. It has also more recently been

providing approaches for researchers to explore the phenomenon of hospitality, and not least of these approaches is the Social Lens. However, as with all debates, there is a danger that they can become ends in themselves and merely a distraction from the process of actually doing the research. What this work has done is to embrace the output from the debates and apply them to the process of investigation into the phenomenon of hospitality.

One criticism of the hospitality studies literature is that the vast majority of it tends to be written from the host or providers' perspective, with very little from the consumers' or guests' perspectives'. However, in this research the dynamic models presented in Chapter 9 can be inverted, enabling the hospitality transaction to be viewed from the guests' or consumers' perspectives'. This reinforces both the two-way process and the concept of reciprocity. The potential inverting of the guest and host, within the same dynamic model, is adaptable to visually represent the hospitality transaction in the different contexts.

10.7. THE ULTIMATE CONCLUSION

Having travelled the journey of the research, one aspect of the phenomenon of hospitality that has been a constant throughout is reflected in the etymology: the terms of 'guest' and 'stranger' were originally synonyms. Is it really here that the clue to the nature of hospitality has been there all along? If hospitality is primarily about defence (protection from the stranger) and if the relationship between a host and a guest needs to be established to achieve harmony of reciprocity (mutual benefit) then are not the acts of hospitality simply the mechanisms by which this happens? Or, in other words,

hospitality represents the thresholds over which both the host and the guest have to cross in order to inhabit the same space. Being hospitable is then the description of the set of behaviours and expectations that can take place between the host and the guest and hospitality the term for the two arriving into the same universe, which allows these behaviours to happen, expectations to be met and the two-way process to obtain.

If hospitality research is to grow and develop it is imperative to develop research rather than rhetoric. At the very beginning of this thesis (p.2) the following quotations from Wood (1999: 738) were used in order to support the need for the research to explore the phenomenon of hospitality:

> "…in essence, the organic and spiritual qualities of hospitality have disappeared, replaced in the public sphere by a formally rational system of (usually monetary) exchange whereby hospitality is provided in particular institutional forms (hotels, restaurants) that are essentially impersonal"

and

> "for the most part, hospitality is no longer about the personal giving of the host's own food and accommodation but a matter of impersonal financial exchange."

However, and with the hindsight of the research, these quotations illustrate many of the inherent errors within certain aspects of hospitality research that this study has tried to avoid. These are sweeping statements, seemingly not backed up with any apparent empirical research evidence. They are also given some credibility by the fact they sound plausible and echo characteristics of other hospitality research, that humanity's organic and spiritual qualities have disappeared and everything is being replaced with commerce. Fortunately, this is at worst simply not true, or at best a myopic and one-sided view of society. As this research has illustrated, commercial hospitality (provision of food, beverage and often accommodation within business) has existed for at least the last 4000 years and has not suddenly replaced anything.

There is nothing inherently wrong with providing a commercial hospitality service within particular institutional forms (now called the hospitality industry, but known by an assortment of different names in the past). Yes, the service can be impersonal, but what is inherently wrong with that?

What Wood (1999) illustrates is the potential danger of considering any hospitality transaction out of its proper time or context and comparing it to any other hospitality transaction from another time or context, i.e. the teleological fallacy. The organic and spiritual qualities that subsist within the domestic context, and indeed also sometimes exist within those individuals offering hospitably in the civic and commercial context, have not been replaced by anything; the three contexts are simply different.

10.8. FURTHER RESEARCH

The results of this research have raised issues that will require further consideration either because they will extend the existing work or because further investigation could refine it. The outcomes should therefore be viewed taking account of the limitation in the methodology identified in Chapter 2 as well as taking account into account the four principal research ideas identified here.

First, the research could be developed horizontally; this research was restricted to the Greco-Roman civilisations of Classical Antiquity, therefore other projects that explore different but contemporaneous civilisations should be possible. For example, an exploration of Ancient Chinese hospitality practices and the emergent commercial hospitality along the Silk Road could be particularly enlightening as it would provide

a useful comparison to the hospitality practices of early Europe. This comparative study could help to answer the question posed earlier and further explore the view that hospitality is inherently a basic human trait and not born out of a particular faith and system of belief.

The second option would be to develop the research vertically into other periods of time within the same geographical region. For example, if the research was progressed into the next period of European history, the mediaeval period, it would be fascinating to see how hospitality continued to develop and evolve over a longer period of time. This could also be true if the research was to be developed horizontally in this time period.

Further research should not be developed on its own. The present research journey has clearly shown, as exampled in Table 10.1, that depth and richness develops with working with other disciplines.

One final question for further research: Is there really anything different in the modern notions of hospitality that is not contained within the origins identified by this research?

11. LIST OF REFERENCES

11.1. CLASSICAL SOURCES

References to ancient Greek, Latin, Biblical, and Patristic texts employ the standard English-language citation system: the author's name; followed by the conventional Latin name for the work, spelled out in full rather than abbreviated; and followed by Arabic numerals that guide the reader to chapter, paragraph, and line. For abbreviations, and discussions of authors and their texts, please see T*he Oxford Classical Dictionary*, edited by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford, 2003).

In the following list of ancient works cited in this book, the Loeb Classical Library, the ongoing series, begun early in this century, encompasses both Greek and Latin authors and provides the Greek or Latin text on the left-hand page, with a good English translation facing it. For texts not available in the Loeb series, a standard critical edition of the text has been cited. In the case of the Patristic writers the 220 volumes of Jacque Paul Migne's comprehensive compilation of the Patristic works (*PL*) has been cited.

Acta Proconsularia Cypriani	*Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, trans. Dana Carleton Munro and Edith Bramhall, Volume 4.1 University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania (1900)
Apocrypha	*The Apocryphal New Testament, being all The Gospels, Epistles and other pieces now extant attributed in the first four centuries to Jesus Christ, His Apostles, and there companions and not included in The New Testament.* William Hone, London 1821.

Anselm, St., *Proslogion*	*Proslogion. with, A reply on behalf of the fool by Gaunilo; and, The author's reply to Gaunilo translated, with an introduction and philosophical commentary, by M. J. Charlesworth*. Clarendon Press Oxford (1965).
Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*	*The Athenian Constitution translated with introduction and notes by P.J. Rhodes.* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth 1984.
Aristotle, *Metaphysics*	*Metaphysics, Oeconomica, and Magna Moralia.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 17. Heinemann 1968.
Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*	*The Learned Banqueters*, Loeb Classical Library, Volume 372–5. Heinemann 2007/08.
Chrysostom, St.,	J. *Patrologiae Graecae: S.P.N. Joannis Chrysostomi, Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani opera omnia quæ exstant.* J.P. Migne, Lutetiæ Parisiorum 1862–3 Volumes XLVII–LXIV.
Cicero, *De Officiis*	*De Officiis.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 30. Heinemann 1913.
Cicero, *Pro Deiotaro*	*Pro T. Annio Milone, In L. Calpurnium Pisonem, Pro M. Aemilio Scauro, Pro M. Fonteio, Pro C. Rabirio Postumo, Pro M. Marcello, Pro Q. Ligario, Pro rege Deiotaro*. Loeb Classical Library, Volume 252. Heinemann 1931.
Clement of Alexandria, *The Stromata*	Clement of Alexandria *The Stromata.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 92. Heinemann 1919.
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum	17 Volumes. Edited by Theodor Mominsen, *et al.* Berlin 1863

Council of Carthage *Dionysii Exigui, Viventioli, Trojani, Pontiani, S. Cæsarii Arelatensis episcopi, Fulgentii Ferrandi et rustici quorum prior Carthaginensis, posterior Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconus, necnon Justi, Facundi, Urgellensis et Hermianensis episcoporum, opera omnia.* J.P. Migne, Lutetiæ Parisiorum 1865 Volume LXVII.

Didache, *Διδαχή* *Διδαχή τον δωδεκα ἀποστολον: The teaching of the twelve apostles - recently discovered and published by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia.* Edited with a translation by Roswell D. Hitchcock and Francis Brown. J.C. Nimmo, London 1885.

Justinian, *Codex Iustinianus* *Digesta Instiniani. The Digest of Justinian.* Latin text edited by Theodor Mommsen, English translation by Alan Watson. Philadelphia 1985

Epictetus, *Arrian* *The discourses as reported by Arrian.* Loeb Classical Library, Volumes 131 & 218. Heinemann 1925 & 1928.

Epicurus, *Menoeceus* *Epicuri Ethica et Epistulae.* In Aedibus Sansonianis, Florentiae 1974.

Euripides, *Cyclops* *Electra, Orestes, Iphigeneia in Taurica, Andromache, Cyclops.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 10. Heinemann 1913.

Euripides, *Hecuba* *Iphigeneia at Aulis, Rhesus, Hecuba, The daughters of Troy, Helen.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 9. Heinemann 1912.

Euripides, *Medea* *Alcestis and Medea* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 10. Heinemann 1994

Herodotus, *Historia* *Historia.* Loeb Classical Library, Volumes 117 – 120. Heinemann 1920–25.

Homer, *The Odyssey* *The Odyssey.* Loeb Classical Library, Volumes 104–5. Heinemann, 1919.

Homer, *Demeter*	*Hesiod, the Homeric hymns and Homerica.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 57. Heinemann 1914.
Horace, *Satires*	Horace. *Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica.* Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Cambridge, Mass., 1926.
Juvenal, *Satires*	*Satires by Juvenal and Persius* Loeb Classical Library, New Volume. Heinemann 2004.
Lactantius, *Epitome Divinarum Institutionum*	*Epitome Divinarum Institutionum* edited by Eberhard Heck and Antonie Wlosok. Teubner, Stuttgart 1994.
	The divine institutes, books I-VII Translated by Sister Mary Francis McDonald. Catholic University of America Press, Washington 1964.
Laertius, *Vitae*	*Lives of Eminent Philosophers.* Loeb Classical Library, Heinemann 1925
Livy, *Ab urbe condita*	*Ab urbe condita.* Loeb Classical Library, Assorted Volumes. Heinemann 1916–49.
Martyrdom of Polycarp	*S. Clementis Romani, S. Ignatii, S. Polycarpi, Patrum apostolicorum, quae supersunt: accedunt S. Ignatii et S. Polycarpi martyria ad fidem codicum recesuit, adnotationibus variorum et suis illustravit, indicibus instruxit Gulielmus Jacobson.* Oxonii e typographeo Academico, 1840.
Origen, *Contra Celsus*	*Contra Celsum* Translated with an introduction and notes by Henry Chadwick. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1953.
Ovid, *Metamorphose*	*Metamorphoses.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 42–3. Heinemann, 1916.

Pausanias, *Achaia*	*Description of Greece.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 93. Heinemann 1918.
Petronius, *Satyricon*	*Satyricon.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 15. Heinemann 1913.
Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*	*The Life of Apollonius of Tyana, the Epistles of Apollonis and the Treatise of Eusebius.* Loeb Classical Library, Volumes 16–17. Heinemann, 1912.
Eubapius, *Vitae Sophistarum*	*The Lives of the Sophists.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 134. Heinemann 1922.
Pindar, *Odes*	Olympian odes, Pythian odes. Loeb Classical Library, Volume 56. Harvard University Press 1997.
Plato, *De Legibus*	*Laws.* Loeb Classical Library, Volumes 187–92. Heinemann 1926.
Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*	*Timaeus and Critias.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 234. Heinemann 1929.
Plautus, *Poenulus et Cistellaria.*	*Poenulus et Cistellaria* in *The little Carthaginian, Pseudolus, The Rope.* Loeb Classical Library, Volume 163. Heinemann 1921.
Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*	*Natural history* Loeb Classical Library, 10 Volumes. Heinemann 1938–62.
Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales*	*Morals and Table Talk.* 16 Volumes. Loeb Classical Library. Heinemann 1927–69.
Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelae*	*Plutarch's Lives.* Loeb Classical Library, 11 Volumes. Cambridge 1949–59.
Pseudo-Acro, *Pseudoacronis scholia*	*Pseudoacronis scholia in Horatium vetustiora.* Edited by Otto Keller. 2 Volumes. Leipzig, 1902–4.

Seneca (the Elder), *Controversiae*	*Controversiae. Suasoriae.* Loeb Classical Library, Volumes 463–4. Heinemann 1974.
Seneca (the Younger), *De Vita Benta et Consolatione ad Helviam*	*De Consolatione ad Marciam. De Vita Beata. De Otio. De Tranquillitate Animi. De Brevitate Vitae. De Consolatione ad Polybium. De Consolatione ad Helviam* Loeb Classical Library, Volumes 132. Heinemann 1932.
Tacitus, *Annales*	*Annales.* Loeb Classical Library, Volumes 132–7. Heinemann 1932.
Tertullian, *De Praescriptione haereticorum.*	*Quinti Septimii florentis Tertulliani de praescriptione haereticorum ad martyras, Ad scapulam* Edited with introductions and notes by T. Herbert Bindley. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1893.
Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*	*History of the Peloponnesian War.* Loeb Classical Library, Volumes 108–10. Heinemann 1919.
Xenophon, *Anabasis*	*Anabasis* and *Hellenica.* Loeb Classical Library Volume 88–90. Heinemann 1919–22.
Xenophon, *Ways and Means*	*Scripta Minora.* Loeb Classical Library Volume 183. Heinemann 1925.

11.2. MODERN SOURCES

Adorno, T.W. (1969) *Der Positivismusstreit in der deutschen Soziologie.* Luchterhand, Berlin.

Alvesson, M. and Sköldberg, K. (2004) *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research.* Sage Publications, London.

Ancient World Mapping Centre (2001) *Imperium Romanum.* Available at http://www.unc.edu/awmc/awmcmap7.html [20/10/06]

Arnaudet, M., & Barrett, M. (1984). *Approaches to Academic Reading and Writing.* Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs

Arnett, R.C. (1981) Toward a phenomenological dialogue. *Western Journal of Speech Communication.* 3:201–12.

Artola, A.M. and Sánchez Caro, J.M. (1989) *Introducción al Estudio de la Biblia: Biblia y Palabra de Dios.* Verbo Divino Estella, Madrid.

Babbie, E. (1998) *The Practice of Social Research.* Wadsworth, Belmont, CA.

Bakker, E.J. (1997) *Poetry in Speech: Orality and Homeric discourse.* Cornell University Press, Ithaca.

Baklitin, M. (1986) *Speech Genres and other late essays.* University of Texas Press, Austin.

Balsdon, J.P.V.D. (1969) *Roman Women: Their history and habits.* Greenwood Press, Westport.

Bearzot, C. (2004) *Federalismo e autonomia nelle Elleniche di Senofonte.* Vita e pensiero Università, Milano.

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society. Towards a New Modernity, trans. M. Ritter.* Sage, London.

Beck, U., Giddens, A. and Lash, S. (1994) *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order.* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Benedict XVI (2005) *Missa Pro Eligendo Romano Pontifice.* http://www.vatican.va/gpII/documents/homily-pro-eligendo-pontifice_20050418_en.html [21/05/05]

Ben Jelloun, T. (1999) *French Hospitality: Racism and North African Immigrants,* Columbia University Press, New York.

Benveniste, E. (1969) *Le Vocabulaire des Institutions Indo-européennes* Éditions de Minuit, Paris.

Berg, B.L. (2001) *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences.* Pearson, London.

Berkenkotter, C. and Huckin, T. (1995) *Genre Knowledge in Disciplinary Communication*. Lawrence Eribaum, New Jersey

Bickford, I. (2002) 'Host' semantic histories taken from the project sponsored by the Stanford Humanities Laboratory and the Seaver Institute, Crowds is a collaborative research project which focuses on the rise and fall of the crowd – particularly the revolutionary crowd – in the Western socio-political imagination between 1789 and the present. http://shl.stanford.edu/Crowds/hist/host.htm 19/12/03

Biraschi, A.M. (1989) *Tradizioni Epiche e Storiografia: Studi su Erodoto e Tucidide.* Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli.

Böckmann, A. (1988) Xeniteia-Philoxenia als Hilfe zur Interpretation von Regula Benedicti 53 im Zusammenhang mit Kapitel 58 und 66. *Regulae Benedicti Studia.* 14/15:131–44.

Bohman, J. (2001) Hermeneutics. In R. Audi (ed.) *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Bolchazy, L.J. (1993) *Hospitality in Early Rome. Livy's Concept of its Humanizing Force.* Ares, Chicago.

Borias, A. (1974) Hospitalité Augustinienne et Bénédictine. *Revue de Histoire de Spiritualité.* 50:3–16.

Bowden, D. (1995) The rise of a metaphor: 'Voice' in composition pedagogy. *Rhetoric Review.* 14:173–88.

Bowen, J.T. and Sparks, B.A. (1998) Hospitality marketing research: A content analysis and implications for future research. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 17(2):125–44

Brocker, W. (1958) Gorgias contra Parmenides. *Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* LXXXVI:425–40.

Brotherton, B. (2002) Finding the Hospitality Industry (A Response to Paul Slattery). *Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport and Tourism Education* 1(2):75–9.

Brotherton, B. (2003) Finding the Hospitality Industry - A Final Response to Slattery? *Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport and Tourism Education* 2(2):67–70.

Brotherton, B. and Wood, R.C. (2000) Defining Hospitality and Hospitality Management. In, C. Lashley and A. Morrison (eds.) *In Search of Hospitality – Theoretical Perspectives and Debates.* Butterworth Heinemann, Oxford, pp.134–56.

Brown, R.E., Johnson, D.W., O'Connell, K.G. (1995) 'Texts and Versions' in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Geoffery Chapman, London.

Brown, R.E. and O'Collins R.F., (1995) 'Canonicity' in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Geoffery Chapman, London.

Brown, R.E. and Schneiders, S.M., (1995) 'Hermeneutics' in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Geoffery Chapman, London.

Browning, R. (1975) *The Emperor Julian.* Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.

Bunton, D. (1999) The use of higher level metatext in PhD theses. *English for Specific Purposes* 18 (Supplement 1):S41–S56.

Burton, J. (1998) Women's commensality in the Ancient Greek world. *Greece and Rome,* 45(2):143–65.

Bux, E. (1941) Gorgias und Parmenides. *Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* LXXVI:393–407.

Bryman, A. (2004) *The Disneyization of Society.* Sage .

Calogero, G. (1977) Studi sul Eleatismo. A. Giuffrè, Florence

Cameron, A. (2004) *Greek Mythography in the Roman World.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Caputo, J.D. (1987) *Radical Hermeneutics. Repetition, Deconstruction, and the Hermeneutic Project.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Caputo, J.D. (2002) *Deconstruction In A Nutshell: A conversation with Jacques Derrida.* Fordham University Press, New York.

Carepino, J. (1940) *Daily Life in Ancient Rome.* Yale University Press, New Haven.

Cascardi, A.J. (1983) The Place of Language in Philosophy; or the Use of Rhetoric. *Philosophy and Rhetoric* XVI:217–27.

Cassee, E.H. (1983) Introduction. In E.H. Cassee and R. Reuland (eds.) *The Management of Hospitality.* Pergamon, Oxford.

Casson, L. (1994) *Travel in the Anicent World.* John Hopkins Press, Baltimore.

Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory; a practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Sage, London.

Checkland, P. (1999) *Systems Thinking, Systems Practice.* Wiley, New York .

Cherry, R. (1988) Ethos vs persona: self-representation in written discourse. *Written Communication*. 5:251–76.

Clark, G. (2005) *Augustine: The Confessions.* Phoenix Press, Bristol.

Cohen, E. (1988) Traditions in the qualitative sociology of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 15 (1):29–46.

Comte, A. (1830/1853) *Cours De Philosophie Positive.* The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte translated by Harriet Martineau. John Chapman, London

Cornford, F.M. (1903) *The Cambridge Classical Course: An Essay in Anticipation of Further Reform.* W.H. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge.

Creswell, J.W. (1994) *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Creswell, J.W. (1998) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions.* Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Crum, K. (1976) *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: an illustrated encyclopaedia.* Abingdon Press, Nashville.

Crismore, A. (1989) *Talking with Readers: Metadiscourse as Rhetorical Act.* Peter Lang, New York.

Crismore, A. and Farnsworth, R. (1990) Metadiscourse in popular and professional science discourse. In: Nash, W. (ed.), *The Writing Scholar: Studies in Academic Discourse.* Sage, London

Crotty, M. (1996) *Phenomenology and Nursing Research.* Churchill Livingstone, Melbourne.

Crotty, M. (1998) *The Foundations of Social Research.* Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Dahl, T. (2004) Textual metadiscourse in research articles: a marker of national culture or of academic discipline? *Journal of Pragmatics.* 36:1807–25

D'Avino, M. (1967) The Women of Pompeii. Loffredo, Napoli

Deetz, S. (1978) Conceptualizing human understanding: Gadamer's hermeneutics and American communication studies. *Communication Quarterly* 12:12–23.

De Vaux, R. (1961) *Ancient Israel.* Darton, Longman & Todd, London.

DeFelice, J.F. (2001) *Roman Hospitality: The Professional Women of Pompeii.* Shangri-La Publications, Warren Center.

Denzin, N.K. (1989) *Interpretive Interactionism.* Sage, NewburyPark.

Derrida, J. (1981a) *Dissemination.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Derrida, J. (1994) *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International.* Routledge, New York.

Derrida, J. (1997a) The Villanova Roundtable: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida. In J.D. Caputo (ed.) *Deconstruction in a Nutshell: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida.* Fordham U.P., USA.

Derrida, J. (1997b) *Of Grammatology: Corrected edition*. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.

Derrida, J. (1998a) *Monolinguism of the Other or the Prosthesis of Origin*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Derrida, J. (1998b) Hospitality, Justice and Responsibility: A Dialogue with Jacques Derrida. In R. Kearney and M. Dooley (eds.) *Questioning Ethics: Contemporary Debates in Philosophy*. Routledge, London.

Derrida, J. (1999a) Responsabilité et hospitalité. In M. Seffahi (ed.) *Manifeste pour l'hospitalité*. Paroles l'Aube, Paris.

Derrida, J. (1999b) *Sur Parole: Instantanés philosophiques*. Editions de l'aube, Paris.

Derrida, J. (1999c) *Adieu to Emmanuel Lévinas*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Derrida, J. (2000a) 'Hostipitality', *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities*, Vol. 5 No. 3, pp 3–18.

Derrida, J. (2000b) *Of Hospitality*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Derrida, J. (2002) *Acts of Religion*. Routledge, New York.

Dilthey, W. (1883/1989) *Einleitung in Die Geisteswissenschaften: versuch einer grundlegung für das studien der gesellschaft und der geschichte. Introduction to the Human Sciences: an attempt to lay a foundation for the study of society and history; translated with an introductory essay by Ramon J. Betanzos*. Harvester Wheatsheaf, London.

Dilthey, W. (1900) The development of hermeneutics. In: Rickman, H.P. (ed.), *W. Dilthey: Selected Writings*. Cambridge University Press, London, pp.246–63.

Driver, G.R. and Miles, J.C. (1952) *Code of Hammurabi in English and Akkadian*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Drucker, P.F. (1974) *Management*. Heinemann, London.

Durkheim, E. (1895/1964) *Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique. The Rules of Sociological Method*. The Free Press of Glenco. New York.

Duval, M. (ed.) (1984) *Œuvres Complètes de Antoine Louis Leon De Saint Just 1767 1794*. Gérard Lebovici, Paris.

Easterby-Smith, M., Thorpe, R., and Lowe, A. (2002) *Management Research: An Introduction*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Easton, G. (1998) 'Case Research as a Methodology for Industrial Networks: A Realist Apologia', in P. Naude and P.W. Turnbull (eds.), *Network Dynamics in International Marketing*. Pergamon, Oxford, pp.73–87.

Ede, L. (1989) *Work in progress: A guide to writing and revising*. St. Martin's, New York.

Edwards, M.W. (1992) Homer and Oral Tradition: The Type-Scene. *Oral Tradition*, Vol. 7 pp.284–330.

Elliger, K. and Rudolph, W. (1977) *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.* Hendrickson Publishers, New York.

Engnell, R.A. (1973) Implications for Communication of the Rhetorical Epistemology of Gorgias of Leontini. *Western Speech* 37:175–84.

Ervin, E. (1993) Interdisciplinarity or 'an elaborate edifice built on sand'? Rethinking rhetoric's place. *Rhetoric Review.* 12:84–105

Evans, A.J. (1921) *The Palace of Minos: a comparative account of the successive stages of the early Cretan civilization as illustrated by the discoveries at Knossos*. Macmillan, London.

Evans, M. (1988) The researcher as research tool. In J. Eyles and D. Smith (eds.) *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography.* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. (1965) *Theories of Primitive Religion.* Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Fagles, R. (1990) *Iliad*. Viking, London.

Felperin, L. (1985) *Beyond Deconstruction*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Field, D.H. (1994) Hospitality. In D.J. Atkinson and D.H. Field (eds.), *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics and Pastoral Theology.* London: Inter-Varsity Press.

Finkelberg, M. (1998) *The birth of literary fiction in ancient Greece.* Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Finley, M.I. (1983) *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology.* Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

Firth, C.M. and Quibell, J.E. (1936) *Excavations at Saggard: The Step Pyramid Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.* Le Caire, Cairo.

Fitzmyer, J.A. (1995) 'Paul' in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Geoffery Chapman, London.

Foley, J.M. (1988) *The Theory of Oral Composition: History and methodology*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977.* Pantheon Books, New York.

Frazer, J.G. (1911) *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul, The Golden Bough: A study in magic and religion, Volume 3*. Macmillan, London.

Frazer, J.G. (1923) *Folk-lore in the Old Testament: studies in comparative religion, legend and law.* Macmillan, London.

Fry, T. (1981) RB 1980: *The Rule of St. Benedict, In Latin and English with Notes. Liturgical Press*. Collegeville.

Fuertes-Olivera, P., Velasco-Sacristán, M., Arribas-Bano, A, Samaniego-Fernández, E., (2001) Persuasion and advertising English: metadiscourse in slogans and headlines. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33:1291–1307.

Gadamer, H.G. (1981) Hermeneutics as practical philosophy. In: H.G. Gadamer (ed.), *Reason in the Age of Science*. The MIT Press, Cambridge. pp.88–112.

Gannon, L. (1997) Sophie's World of Hospitality: in search of the concept. Unpublished paper to the Hospitality Research Group, University of Strathclyde.

Gardner, J.F. (1991) *Women in Roman Law and Society*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Gelb, I.J. (1956) *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.* Oriental Institute, Chicago.

Gergen, K.J. (1991) *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life.* Basic Books, New York.

Gibson, R.K. (1999) Aeneas as hospes in Vergil, Aeneid 1 and 4. *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, Vol. 49 pp.184–202.

Giddens, A. (ed.) (1974) *Positivism and Sociology*. Heinemann, London.

Giddens, A. (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis.* Macmillan Press, London.

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity.* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self Identity*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Gioia, D.A. and Pitre, E. (1990) 'Multiparadigm perspectives on theory building', *Academy of Management Review*, 15(4):584–602.

Gleick, J. (1987) *Chaos: Making a New Science.* Heinemann, London.

Graziosi, B. (2005) *Homer: The resonance of epic*. Duckworth, London.

Gregson, N. (2000) Family, work and consumption: mapping the borderlands of economic geography. In E. Sheppard and T Barnes (eds.) *A Companion to Economic Geography*. Blackwell, Oxford.

Gronbeck, B.E. (1972) Gorgias on Rhetoric and Poetic: a Rehabilitation. *The Southern Speech Communication Journal* 38:27–38.

Grossberg, L. (1992) *We gotta get out of this place: Popular culture and postmodern culture.* Routledge, New York.

Guba, E.G. and Lincoln, Y.S. (1988) 'Do inquiry paradigms imply inquiry methodologies?' in D.M. Fetterman (ed.), *Qualitative Approaches to Evaluation in Education.* Praeger, New York. pp.89–115.

Guerrier, Y. (1997) Of guests, customers and consumers. images of hotels and restaurants. Unpublished paper to the Hospitality Research Group, University of Strathclyde.

Guerrier, Y. and Deery, M. (1998) Research in hospitality human resource management and organizational behaviour. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 17(2):145–60

Guerrier, Y. and Adib, A. (2000) Working in the Hospitality Industry in C. Lashley, and A. Morrison, (eds.) *In Search of Hospitality – Theoretical Perspectives and Debates.* Butterworth Heinemann, Oxford.

Guthrie, W.C.K. (1969) *A History of Greek Philosophy.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Guthrie, W.C.K. (1971) *The Sophists.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hall, C.M. (2004) Reflexivity and tourism research: Situating myself and/with others. In L. Goodson. and J. Phillimore, (eds.) *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies, Epistemologies and Methodologies*. Routledge, London.

Hammersley, M. (1992) *What's Wrong with Ethnography?* Routledge, London.

Harklau, L.A. and Schecter, S.R. (1996). Sociocultural dimensions of voice in non-native language writing. In L. Bouton (ed.), *Pragmatics and Language Learning.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Harmon, L.W. (1989) The scientist/practitioner model and choice of a research paradigm. *The Counseling Psychologist* 17:86–9.

Harré, R. (1987) Enlarging the Paradigm. New Ideas in Psychology 5(1):3–12

Harris P.J. and Brown, J.B. (1998) Research and development in hospitality accounting and financial management. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 17(2):161–82

Harris, R. (1996) *The Language Connection: Philosophy and Linguistics.* Thoemmes Press, Bristol.

Hart, C. (2002) *Doing A Literature Review*. Sage Publications, London.

Hayllar, B., and Griffin, T. (2005) The Precinct Experience: a phenomenological approach *Tourism Management* 26:517–28.

Heidegger, M. (1927/1982) *Grundprobleme der Phänomenologie. The Basic Problems of Phenomenology. Translation, introduction and lexicon by Albert Hofstadter.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Heidegger, M. (1962) *Being and Time.* Harper & Row, New York.

Heidegger, M. (1971) *Poetry, Language, Thought.* Harper & Row, New York

Hein, S.F. and Austin, W.J. (2001) Empirical and Hermeneutic Approaches to Phenomenological Research in Psychology: A Comparison. *Psychological Methods* 6(1):3–17.

Herzfeld, M. (1987) As in Your Own House: Hospitality, Ethnography and the Stereotype of Mediterranean Society. In D.D. Gilmore (ed.), *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*. American Anthropological Association, Washington. pp.75–89.

Herzfeld, M. (1991) *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town.* Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Hewson, L. and Martin, J. (1991) *Redefining Translation: The Variational Approach.* Routledge, London.

Hobbs, T.R. (1993) Man, Woman and Hospitality: 2 Kings 4.8–36. *Biblical Theology Bulletin* Vol. 23 No. 1 pp.91–100.

Hobbs, T.R. (2001) Hospitality in the First Testament and the 'Teleological Fallacy.' *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament,* Vol. 26 pp.3–30.

Hoey, M.P. (1988) Writing to meet the readers needs: text patterning and reading strategies. *Trondheim Papers in Applied Linguistics* 4:51–73

Holzherr, G. (1982) *Die Behediktsregel: Eine Anleitung Zu Christlichem Leben.* Benziger, Verlag.

Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T.W. (1944/1988) *Dialektik der Aufklärung: philosophische Fragmente.* Fischer Taschenbuch, Frankfurt am Main.

Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (2003) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Husain, M. (2002) *Ontology and the art of tragedy: an approach to Aristotle's Poetics*. State University of New York, New York.

Husserl, E. (1931) *Ideas Toward a Pure Phenomenology and Phenomenological Psychology.* Humanities Press, New York.

Husserl, E. (1950/1964) *Die Idee der Phänomenologie. The Idea of Phenomenology*. Nijhoff, The Hague.

Husserl, E. (1962) *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*. Collier, New York.

Hussey, J. and Hussey, R. (1997) *Business Research, A Practical Guide for Undergraduate and Postgraduate Students*. Macmillan Business, London.

Hyland, K. (1998) Persuasion and context: the pragmatics of academic metadiscourse. *Journal of Pragmatics* 30:437–55.

Hyland, K. (1999) Talking to students: metadiscourse in introductory textbooks. *English for Specific Purposes* 18 (1):3–26.

Hyland, K. (2000) *Disciplinary Discourses: Social interactions in academic writing*. Longman, London.

Hyland, K. (2002) Authority and invisibility: authorial identity in academic writing. *Journal of Pragmatics.* 34:1091–112.

Hyland, T (2001) Vocationalism, Work and the Future of Higher Education, *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, 53(4):677–684

Iser, W.(1976) *Der Akt des Lesens: Theorie dsthetischer Wirkung.* Wilhelm Fink, Munich.

Ivanič, R. (1998) *Writing and Identity: The discoursal construction of identity in academic writing.* Benjamms, Amsterdam.

Ivanič, R. and Simpson, J. (1992) Who's who in academic writing? In N. Fairclough (ed.) *Critical Language Awareness.* Longman, London

Jacobsen, T. (1970) Toward the image of Tammuz and other essays on Mesopotamian history and culture. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Janzen, W. (1994) *Old Testament Ethics: A Paradigmatic Approach.* John Knox Press, Louisville.

Janzen, W. (2002) Biblical Theology of Hospitality. *Vision, A Journal for Church and Theology*. Vol. 3 No.1, pp.4–15.

Jauss, H.R. (1982) *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception.* Harvester Press, Brighton.

Jauss, H.R. (1989): *Question and. Answer: Forms of Dialogic Understanding.* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Jick, T.D. (1979) 'Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action', *Administrative Science Quarterly.* 24(4):602–11.

John Paul II (2000) Jubilee Of University Professors: Address Of John Paul II to University Professors of All Nations. Available http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_20000909_jubilteachers_en.html [05/04/05]

Johnson, M. (1999) *Archaeological Theory: An introduction.* Oxford. Blackwell Publishers.

Johnston, R.J. (1983) On Geography and the History of Geography. *History of Geography Newsletter.* 3:1–7.

Johnston, R.J. (1991) *Geography and Geographers: Anglo-American Human Geography Since 1945.* Edward Arnold, London.

Jones, T.B. and Snyder, J.W. (1961) *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty. A catalogue and discussion of documents from various collections.* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Jones, P. (1996) Hospitality research – where have we got to? *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 15(1):5–10.

Jones, P. (1998) Editorial. *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 17:105–10.

Jones, P. (2004a) Hospitality higher education – It's all over…no, it is not*! The Hospitality Review,* 5 (1):5–9

Jones, P. (2004b) Finding the Hospitality Industry: A Response to Brotherton and Slattery. *Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport and Tourism Education* 3(1):69–70.

Jones, P. and Lockwood, A. (1998) Operations management research in the hospitality industry. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp.183–202

Jones, W.P. and Keene, M.L. (1981) *Writing Scientific Papers and Reports.* W C Brown, Iowa.

Kant, I. (1780/1998) *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft.* Critique of Pure Reason; translated and edited by Paul Guyer, Allen W. Wood. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kardong, T.G. (1984) *Together Unto Life Everlasting, An Introduction to the Rule of Benedict.* Assumption Abbey Press, North Dakota

Kardong, T.G. (1996) *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary.* Liturgical Press. Collegeville.

Kaufer, D.S. and Carley, K.M. (1993) *Communication at a Distance: The influence of print on sociocultural organization and change.* Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale, NJ.

Kaufer, D.S. and Geisler, C. (1989), Novelty in academic writing. *Written Communication.* 6(3):286–311

Kierkegaard, S. (1846/1962) *Afsluttende Uvidenskabelig Efterskrift.* Gyldendal, København.

Kierkegaard, S. (1953) *Breve Og Aktstykker Vedrørende Søren Kierkegaard.* Munksgaard, København.

Kirk, D. and Pine, R. (1998) Research in hospitality systems and technology. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 17(2):203–17

Kleberg, T. (1957) *Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans L'antiquité romaine: Études Historiques et Philologiques.* Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala.

Koenig, J. (1992) Hospitality in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freeman Doubleday New York 3:299–301.

Koester, H. (1991) *Ancient Christian Gospels. Their History and Development.* Trinity Press International, Pennsylvania.

Kohlenberger, J.R. (1995) *The Precise Parallel New Testament.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Koppl, R. and Whitman, D.G. (2004) Rational-Choice Hermeneutics. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization.* 55:295–317

Kuhn, T.S. (1971) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Kumar, K. (1995) *From Post-industrial to Post-modern Society: New Theories of the Contemporary World.* Blackwell, Oxford.

Kuo, C.H. (1999) The use of personal pronouns: Role relationships in scientific journal articles. *English for Specific Purposes.* 18(2):121–38.

Kurzová, H. (1981) *Der Relativsatz in den Indoeuropäischen Sprachen.* Academia, Praha.

Lachowicz, D. (1981) On the use of the passive voice for objectivity: author responsibility and hedging in EST. *Science of Science* 2(6):105–11

Lash, S. and Urry. J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space.* Sage, London.

Lashley, C. (1999) In search of hospitality: towards a theoretical framework, *International Journal of Hospitality Management,* Vol. 19, No. 1, pp.3–15.

Lashley, C. (2000) Towards a theoretical understanding. In C. Lashley and A. Morrison (eds.) (2000) *In Search of Hospitality: Theoretical Perspectives and Debates.* Butterworth Heinemann, Oxford.

Lashley, C. (2004) Escaping the Tyranny of Relevance: some reflections on hospitality management education, *Council for Australian Tourism and Hospitality Education Conference* 10–13 Feb. 2004, Brisbane

Lashley, C. and Morrison, A. (eds.) (2000) *In Search of Hospitality – Theoretical Perspectives and Debates.* Butterworth Heinemann, Oxford.

Lashley, C., Lynch, P. and Morrison, A. (eds.) (2007) *Advances in Tourism Research, Hospitality: A Social Lens.* Elsevier, Oxford.

Lateiner, D. (1989) *The historical method of Herodotus.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Leclereq, J. (1968) *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages.* Burns and Oates, London.

Lester, J.D. (1993). *Writing Research Papers.* Harper Collins, New York.

Levy, H.L. (1963) The Odyssean Suitors and the Host-Guest Relationship. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 94. pp.145–53.

Lewin, R. (1993) *Complexity.* Phoenix, London.

Lewis, M.W. and Grimes, A.J. (1999) 'Metatriangulation: building theory from multiple paradigms', *Academy of Management Review.* 24(4):672–90.

Lewis, C.T. and Short, C. (1963) *A Latin Dictionary: Based on Andrews's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Liddell, H.G. and Scott, R. (1995) *A Greek-English lexicon with a Revised Supplement by Roderick McKenzie and Henry Stuart Jones.* Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G. (2001) *Decline and Fall of the Roman City.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Lindsay, J. (1960) *The Writing on the Wall.* Frederick Muller Ltd., London.

Litteljohn, D. (1990) Hospitality research: philosophies and progress. In R. Teare, L. Moutinho and N. Morgan (eds.) (1990) *Managing and Marketing Services in the 1990s*. Cassell, London.

Lockwood, A. and Jones, P. (2000) Managing Hospitality Operations. in C. Lashley, and A. Morrison, (eds.) *In Search of Hospitality – Theoretical Perspectives and Debates.* Butterworth Heinemann, Oxford.

Long, T.G. (1997) *Hebrews.* John Knox Press, Kentucky.

Lord, A.B. (1960) *The Singer of Tales.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Lucas, R. (1997) Hospitality: some conceptual and theoretical considerations. Unpublished paper to the Hospitality Research Group, University of Strathclyde.

McAuley, J. (2004) Hermeneutic Understanding. In C. Cassell and G. Symon (eds.) *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research.* Sage Publications, London.

McDonough, R. (2000) Reflections on reflexivity. *Language Sciences.* 22:203–22.

McLuhan, M. (1962) *The Gutenberg Galaxy.* University of Toronto Press, Toronto

Madison, G.B. (1988) *The Hermeneutics of Postmodernity: Figures and Themes.* Indiana University Press, Indiana.

Majone, G. (1989) *Evidence, Argument, and Persuasion in the Policy Process.* Yale University Press, New Haven.

Malina, B.J. (1985) Harper's Bible Dictionary. Harper & Row, London.

Mallory, J.P. and Adams, D.Q. (2006) *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and The Proto-Indo-European World.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Malmkjaer, K. (1993) Underpinning Translation Theory, Target 5(2):133–48

Mango, C. (1986) 'A Late Roman Inn in Eastern Turkey' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5:223–31.

Marcuse, H. (1967) *Der Eindimensionale Mensch: Studien zur Ideologie der fortgeschrittenen Industriegesellschaft.* Luchterhand, Berlin.

Martín-Barbero, J. (1993). *Communication, culture and hegemony: From the media to mediations.* Sage, Newbury Park.

Martin, R. (1997) *Accuracy of Translation.* Spartan Press Ltd, England.

Matthews, V.H. (1991a) *Old Testament Parallels: Laws and Stories from the Ancient Near East* Paulist Press, New York.

Matthews, V.H. (1991b) Hospitality and Hostility in Judges 4 in *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 21:13-21.

Matthews, V.H. (1992) "Hospitality and Hostility in Genesis 19 and Judges 19." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 22(1):3–11.

Mauranen, A. (1993) Contrastive ESP rhetoric: metatext in Finnish-English economics texts. *English for Specific Purposes.* 12:3–22.

May, T. (1991) *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process.* Open University Press, Buckingham.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1945/1962) *Phénoménologie de la Perception* NRF/Gallimard, Paris. *Phenomenology of Perception.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1948) *Sens et Non-sens.* Les Éditions Nagel, Paris.

Migne, J.P. (1855-1899) *Patrologiae Cursus Completus.* Garnier, Parisiis.

Migne, J.P. (1899) *Willelmi Malmesburiensis monachi opera omnia quæ varii quondam editores, Henricus Savilius et al. in lucem seorsim emiserunt Willelmi scripta, nunc primum, prævia diligentissima emendatione, prelo in*

unum collecta mandantur: accedunt Innocentii II et al. opuscula, diplomata, epistolæ. Garnier, Parisiis.

Mollat, M. (1978) *Les pauvres au Moyen âge: étude sociale*. Hachette, Paris

Mommsen, T.E. (1942) Petrarch's Conception of the 'Dark Ages.' Speculum, 17(2):226–42.

Moreno, A. (1997) Genre constraints across languages: causal metatext in Spanish and English RAs. *English for Specific Purposes* 16(3):161–79.

Morrison, A. (1997) Hospitality-the Humpty Dumpty Syndrome. Unpublished paper to the Hospitality Research Group, University of Strathclyde.

Morrison, A. (2004) Hospitality Education the dawn of a new era? *Hospitality Review.* 6(3):3–4.

Morrison, A. and O'Gorman, K. (2006) Hospitality Studies: Liberating the Power of the Mind, paper presentation, CAUTHE2005, Victoria University, Melbourne.

Muhlmann, W.E. (1932) 'Hospitality', in E.R.A. Seligman (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Macmillan, New York.

Myers, G. (1989). The pragmatics of politeness in scientific articles. *Applied Linguistics.* 10:1–35.

Nailon, P. (1982) Theory in hospitality management, *International Journal of Hospitality Management,* Vol. 1, No. 3, pp.135–43.

Neirynck, F. (1995) *'Synoptic Problem' in The New Jerome Biblical Commentary.* Geoffery Chapman, London.

Nestle, J. and Aland, K. (2006) *Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece.* Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Berlin.

Nestle, W. (1922) Die Schrift des Gorgias, uber die Natur oder uber das Nichtseinde. *Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* LVII:551-562.

Neubert, A. and Shreve, G. (1992) *Translation as Text.* Kent State University Press, Ohio.

Nietzsche, F.W. (1887) *Zur Genealogie der Moral: eine Streitschrift*. C. G. Naumann, Leipzig.

Nietzsche, F.W. (1891) *Jenseits von Gut und Böse: Vorspiel einer Philosophie der Zukunft.* Druck und Verlag von C. G. Naumann, Leipzig.

Nida, E.A. (1964) *Toward a Science of Translation.* E.J. Brill, Leiden.

North, R.J. and King, P.J. (1995) 'Biblical Archaeology' in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Geoffery Chapman, London.

Oden, A.G. (2001) And You Welcomed Me: A Sourcebook on Hospitality in Early Christianity. Abingdon Press, Nashville.

O'Connor, D. (2005) Towards a new interpretation of 'hospitality', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp.267–71.

O'Gorman, K.D. (2003) *Gloria Dei, Vivens Homo: teología de la muerte y vida eternal*, Tesis de Licenciatura. Universidad Pontifica de Salamanca.

O'Gorman, K.D. (2005a) Modern Hospitality: Lessons from the past, *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 12(2):131–41.

O'Gorman, K.D. (2005b) *Hospitality Dimensions: Ancient and Classical Origins*. Presented at 14th Annual CHME Hospitality Research Conference, University of Bournemouth

O'Gorman, K.D. (2006a) The legacy of monastic hospitality: 1 The Rule of Benedict and rise of Western monastic hospitality. *The Hospitality Review.* 8(3):35–44.

O'Gorman, K.D. (2006b) Jacques Derrida's Philosophy of Hospitality *The Hospitality Review.* 8(4):50–7.

O'Gorman, K.D. (2006c) *Ancient and Classical Hospitality: Traditions, ethics, manners, etiquette in provision and consumption*. Presented at CAUTHE Conference, Victoria University, Melbourne.

O'Gorman, K.D. (2007a) Dimensions of Hospitality: Exploring Ancient and Classical Origins. In C. Lashley, P. Lynch and A. Morrison (eds.) *Advances in Tourism Research, Hospitality: A Social Lens.* Elsevier, Oxford.

O'Gorman, K.D. (2007b) The Hospitality Phenomenon: Philosophical Enlightenment? *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*

O'Gorman, K.D. (2007c) 'Commercial Hospitality in Pompeii'. *The Hospitality Review* Vol 9, No 2 pp 44-52.

O'Gorman, K.D., Baum, T. and McLellan, L.R. (2007) 'Tourism in Iran: Central Control and Indigeneity'. *In* Butler, R.W. and Hinch, T. (eds) *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications.* Elsevier, Oxford. pp.301-317.

O'Gorman, K.D., Baxter, I. and Scott, B. (2007) Exploring Pompeii: Discovering Hospitality Through Research Synergy. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research.*

O'Gorman, K.D. and MacPhee, E. (2006) The legacy of monastic hospitality: 1 The Lasting Influence. *The Hospitality Review.* 8(4):16–25.

O'Gorman, K.D. and Prentice, R. (2007) The Prentice-O'Gorman Destination Appraisal Matrix for Tourism. Keynote Address Presented at the 5th International Conference on Tourism in Islamic Countries, in Tehran, Iran

O'Gorman, K.D. and Prentice, R. (2007)الگوي ارزيابي و انتخاب مقاصد توريستي پرنتايس- اگرمن 'Iranian Applications of The Prentice-O'Gorman Destination Appraisal Matrix for Tourism.' ماهنامه صنعت گردشگری Iranian Tourism Industry Monthly Magazine Vol 2, No 2.

O'Gorman, K.D. and Thompson, K.T. (2007) 'Tourism and Culture in Mongolia: The Case of Ulaanbaatar Naadam'. *In* Butler, R.W. and Hinch, T. (eds) *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications.* Elsevier, Oxford. pp.193-210.

Olsen, M.D. and Roper, A. (1998) Research in strategic management in the hospitality industry. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 17(2):111–24

Oppenheim, A.L. (1967) *Letters from Mesopotamia: official, business, and private letters on clay tablets from two millennia.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Oppenheim, A.L. (1977) *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Ong, W.J. (1987) *Oralidad y escritura: Tecnologías de la Palabra.* Fonda de la cultura Económica, Mexico City.

Page, S. (2003) Book Reviews. *Tourism Management* 24:719–28

Pare, A. (1993) Discourse regulations and the production of knowledge. In R. Spilka (ed.) *Writing in the workplace: New, research perspectives.* Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale

Parry, M. (1936) On Typical Scenes in Homer. *Classical Philology*, Vol. 31 pp.357–60.

Patlagean, E. (1981) *Structure social, famille, chrétienté a Byzance, IVe – XIe siècle.* Variorum Reprints, London.

Pedrick, V. (1988) The Hospitality of Noble Women in the Odyssey. *Helios*, Vol. 15 No. 2 pp.85–101.

Pennycook, A. (1996) Borrowing others' words: Text, ownership, memory, and plagiarism. *TESOL Quarterly.* 30:201–230.

Petrarchae F. (1554) *Francisci Petrarchae Opera quae extant omnia. Adiecimus eiusdem Authoris, quæ Hetrusco sermone scripsit carmina.* Henrichus Petri, Basileæ.

Pike, R. (1965) *Love in Ancient Rome.* F. Mueller, London.

Pilotta, J.J. (1979) Presentational thinking: A contemporary Hermeneutic of communicative action. *The Western Journal Speech Communication.* 43:288–300.

Pitt-Rivers, J. (1971) *People of the Sierra* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Pitt-Rivers, J. (1977) *The fate of Shechem, or, The politics of sex: essays in the anthropology of the Mediterranean.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Popper, K.R. (1957) 'The Unity of Method'. Reprinted in J. Bynner and M. Stribley (eds.) (1978) *Social Research: Principles and Procedures.* Longman and The Open University Press, Essex.

Postgate, J.N. (2005) *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History.* Routledge, London.

Pritchard, J.B. (1955) *The Ancient Near East in pictures relating to the Old Testament.* Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Purcell, K. (2002) Book reviews. *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 21: 203–7

Reece, S. (1993) *The Stranger's welcome: oral theory and the aesthetics of the Homeric hospitality scene.* University of Michigan Press, Michigan.

Renfrew, C. (1990) *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Regnault, L. (1990) *La Vie Quotidienne de Pères du Désert en Egypte au IVe Siècle.* Hachette, Paris.

Rhodes, P.J. and Osborne, R. (2007) *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Riddle, D.W. (1938) Early Christian Hospitality: A Factor in the Gospel Transmission. *Journal of Biblical Literature,* Vol. 57, No. 2. pp.141–54.

Richardson, M.E.J. (2000) *Hammurabi's Laws: Text, translation and glossary.* Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield.

Ricoeur, P. (1970) *Freud and Philosophy: An Essay in Interpretation.* Yale University Press, New Haven.

Ringe, D. (2006) *A History of English: From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. (2003) *Qualitative research practice: a guide for social science students and researchers.* Sage Publications, London.

Ritzer, G. (2004) *The McDonaldization of Society Revised New Century Edition.* Pine Forge Press.

Robertson Smith, W. (1927) Lectures on the Religion of the Semites: Fundamental Institutions. A. & C. Black, London.

Rogers, C. (1977) *Carl Rogers on Personal Power.* Delacorte Press, New York.

Rood, T. (1998) *Thucydides: Narrative and explanation.* Clarendon Press, New York.

Rosello, M. (1998) 'Representing illegal immigrants in France: from *clandestins* to *l'affaire des sans-papiers de Saint-Bernard'*, *Journal of European Studies*, Vol. 28 pp.137–51.

Rosello, M. (2000) Interpreting Immigration Laws: 'Crimes of Hospitality' or 'Crimes against Hospitality' *Diaspora*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp.209–24.

Rosello, M. (2001) *Postcolonial Hospitality: The Immigrant as Guest.* Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Rosello, M. (2002) European Hospitality without a home: Gypsy communities and illegal immigration in Van Cauwelaert's Un Aller simple. *Studies in 20th Century Literature* Vol. 26 No. 1 pp.172–93

Rowntree, K. (1991) Writing for Success. Longman Paul, Auckland.

Ruuskanen, D.D.K. (1996) The effect of pragmatic factors on the definition of equivalence in translation. *Language Sciences*. 18(3–4) pp.883–95.

Sánchez Caro, J.M. (1989) *Biblia y palabra de dios.* Verbo Divino, Navarra. 1989

Sartre, J.P. (1960) *Critique De La Raison Dialectique, Précédé Questions de Méthode. Théorie Des Ensembles Pratiques.* Gallimard, Paris.

Sartre, J.P. (1943) *L'être et le Néant: Essai D'Ontologie Phénoménologique.* Gallimard, Paris.

Sartre, J.P. (1946) *L'Existentialisme Est Un Humanisme.* Éditions Nagel, Paris.

Schérer, R. (1993) Zeus Hospitalier: Eloge de l'hospitalité. Armand Colin, Paris.

Schleiermacher, F. (1808/1998) *Hermeneutics and Criticism and Other Writings, translated and edited by A. Bowie.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Schlosser, E. (2001) *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of The All American Meal.* Houghton Mifflin

Schutz, A. (1954) 'Concept and theory formation in the social sciences'. Reprinted in J. Bynner and M. Stribley (eds.) (1978) *Social Research: Principles and Procedures*. Longman and The Open University Press, Essex, pp.25–36.

Schwandt, T.A. (2000) Three Epistemological Stances for Qualitative Inquiry in N. K. Denzin and Y.S Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

Selwyn, T. (2000) An Anthropology of Hospitality in C. Lashley, and A. Morrison, (eds.) *In Search of Hospitality – Theoretical Perspectives and Debates.* Butterworth Heinemann, Oxford.

Sharrock, A. and Morales, H. (2000) *Intratextuality: Greek and Roman textual relations.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Silberbauer, G. (1993) Ethics in Small-Scale Societies. In P. Singer (ed.), *A Companion to Ethics.* Blackwell, Oxford.

Slattery, P. (1983) Social scientific methodology and hospitality management. *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 2(1): 9–14.

Slattery, P. (2002) Finding the Hospitality Industry. *Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport and Tourism Education* 1(1): 19–28.

Slattery, P. (2003) Finding the Hospitality Industry (Slattery's reply to Brotherton). *Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport and Tourism Education* 2(1): 119–20.

Sloan, D. (2003) (ed.) *Culinary Taste: Consumer Behaviour in the International Restaurant Sector.* Butterworth Heinemann,

Smith, D.H. (1986) Hospitality. In J. Macquarrie and J. Childress (eds.), New Dictionary of Christian Ethics. SCM Press, London.

Smith, J.M.H. (2005) *Europe after Rome: a new cultural history 500–1000.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Snell-Hornby, M. (1988) *Translation Studies: An integrated approach.* John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Spencer, C. and Arbon, B. (1996). *Foundations of Writing: Developing research and academic writing skills.* National Textbook Co, Lincolnwood, IL

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques.* Sage, Newbury Park, CA.

Strong, R. (2003) *Feast: A Grand History of Eating.* Random House, London.

Strong J. (2007) *The Strongest Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible.* Zondervan Publishing House, Michigan.

Tabakowska, E. (1993) *Cognitive Linguistics and the Poetics of Translation.* Gunter Narr, Tubingen.

Telfer, E. (1996) *Food for Thought: Philosophy and Food.* Routledge, London.

Telfer, E. (2000) The Philosophy of hospitableness in C. Lashley, and A. Morrison, (eds.) *In Search of Hospitality – Theoretical Perspectives and Debates.* Butterworth Heinemann, Oxford.

Thatcher, B. (2004) Rhetorics and communication media across cultures. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 3:305–20

Thomas, C.G. and Conant, C. (2005) *The Trojan War.* Greenwood Press, London.

Trevijano Etcheverría, R. (1997) *Estudios Sobre el Evangelio de Tomás.* Editorial Ciudad Nueva, Madrid.

Trevijano Etcheverría, R. (1998) *Patrología.* Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Madrid.

Trevijano Etcheverría, R. (2002) *Estudios Paulinos.* Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, Salamanca.

Valero-Garcés, C. (1996) Contrastive ESP rhetoric: metatext in Spanish-English economics texts. *English for Specific Purposes.* 15(4):279–94.

Valle, R.S. and King, M. (1978) An introduction to existential-phenomenological thought in psychology. In R. S. Valle & M. King (eds.), *Existential Phenomenological Alternatives for Psychology*. Oxford Press, New York. pp.3–17.

Van Cauwelaert, D. (1994) *Un Aller Simple.* Livre de Poche, Paris.

Vande Kopple, W. (1985) Some exploratory discourse on metadiscourse. *College Composition and Communication* 36(1):82–93.

Van de Mieroop, M. (1999) *Cuneiform Texts and the Writing of History.* Routledge, London.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1975) Action, Action Description, and Narrative. *New Literary History,* 6:275–94

Van Dijk, G.J. (1997) *Ainoi, Logoi, Mythoi: fables in archaic, classical, and Hellenistic Greek literature: with a study of the theory and terminology of the genre.* Brill, Leiden.

Van Manen, M. (1990) *Researching Lived Experience.* State University of New York Press, Ontario.

Vermes, G. (1997) *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English.* Penguin, London.

Vogüé, A. (1977) *La Règle de saint Benoît, VII, Commentaire Doctrinal et Spiritual.* Les editions du Cerf, Paris.

Waal, E de. (1995) *A Life-Giving Way, A Commentary on the Rule of St Benedict.* Geoffrey Chapman, London

Wahnich, S. (1997a) L'hospitalité et la Révolution française. In D. Fassin, A. Morice, and C. Quirninal (eds.), *Les lois de l'inhospitalité: Les politiques de l'immigration à l'épreuve des sans-papiers.* La Découverte, Paris.

Wahnich, S. (1997b) *L'impossible Citoyen: L'étranger dans le discours de la révolution française.* Albin Michel, Paris.

Walters, D.F. (1994) Gorgias as a Philosopher of Being: Epistemic Foundationalism in Sophistic Thought. *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 27:143–55

Ward-Perkins, J. B. (2005) *The Fall of Rome: and the end of civilization.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Watkins, C. (2000) Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans in *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, Fourth Edition. 2000. Houghton Mifflin Company, Massachusetts.

Webber, A. (1989) The Hero Tells His Name: Formula and Variation in the Phaeacian Episode of the Odyssey. *Transactions of the American Philological Association (1974-)*, Vol. 119. pp.1–13.

Weber, M. (1924) *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Soziologie und Sozialpolitik.* J.C.B. Mohr, Tübingen.

White, G. (1972)

Williams, M. (2000) *Science and Social Science: An Introduction.* Routledge, London.

Wiltshire, S.F. (1989) *Public and private in Vergil's Aeneid.* University of Massachusetts Press, Massachusetts.

Wittgenstein, L. (1969/1974) *Philosophische Grammatik / Philosophical Grammar.* Blackwell, Oxford.

Wolter, M. (1880) *Praecipua Ordinis Monastici Elementa.* Brugis.

Wood, R.C. (1983) Theory, management and hospitality: a response to Philip Nailon. *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 2 (2) pp.103–4.

Wood, R.C. (1997) Hospitality and Hospitality Management~ no more false dawns? Unpublished paper to the Hospitality Research Group, University of Strathclyde.

Wood, R.C (1999) Traditional and alternative research philosophies, in Brotherton, B. (ed.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Hospitality Management Research,* John Wiley, Chichester, pp.3–18.

Woods, R. (1991) Hospitality's History: who wrote what about when, *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly,* Vol. 32, No. 2, pp.89–95.

Woodhead, A.G. (1970) *Thucydides on The Nature of Power.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

World Heritage Centre (UNESCO) (1996) *World Heritage List Extract: Pompei and Ercolano (Italy) No 829.* UNESCO World Heritage Centre, Paris.

Wright, A.G., Murphy, R.E., and Fitzmyer, J.A. (1995) 'A History of Israel' in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Geoffery Chapman, London.

Yoyotte, J. (1960) *Les pèlerinages dans l'Égypte ancienne. Les pèlerinages en Sources Orientales.* Seuil, Paris

Zumthor, P. (1983) *Introduction à la poésie orale*. Seuil, Paris.

12. ANNEX