

Modern Hospitality: Lessons From the Past

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This article presents a summary of findings from a continuing investigation into the historical origins of hospitality in the ancient and classical worlds, focusing mainly on the Greek and Roman civilisations. After considering the etymology of hospitality, the article goes on to explore hospitality and mythology, hospitality and the household, public hospitality, commercial hospitality and hospitality in contemporaneous religious writings. The evaluation of the outcomes leads to the identification of five dimensions of hospitality (honourable tradition, fundamental to human existence, stratified, diversified and central to human endeavour) that have been evolving from the beginning of human history.

As more attention is being channelled towards seeking a greater understanding of hospitality, the hope has already been expressed that this is ‘a beginning from which the subject will grow and develop’ (Lashley & Morrison, 2000, xvi). Hospitality and its history is an under-researched area for investigation. It would appear that the contemporary literature that addresses the history of hospitality is both inaccurate and lacking. The aim is that this research is to make a contribution to the knowledge base to the benefit of both scholars and practitioners. Contemporary literature attributes certain dimensions to hospitality, however, in primitive and archaic societies, hospitality was seen as essentially organic, as a vital and integral part of such societies, revealing much about their cultural values and beliefs.

Research Objectives and Methodology

The key question of the research is: To what extent are the modern dimensions of hospitality founded in ancient and classical history?

The research is comprised of three key areas of study:

1. an examination of the modern hospitality management literature in order to construct a taxonomy of the contemporary hospitality dimensions
2. a review of the works of other authors who have already conducted research in the same field in order to aid the construction of a working methodology
3. a study of the origins of hospitality within ancient and classical texts, and commentaries on them, in order to construct taxonomies of ancient and classical dimensions of hospitality.

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This article reports on the third key area, the research being carried out within the interpretivist paradigm as it is seeking to observe the general trends and perceptions of a social phenomenon; it also requires the application of hermeneutics. Some of the problems of using literature in translation (compounded by the fact that this research is using texts that have been written in at least seven ancient or modern languages) and the surrounding controversies arise from four principal difficulties: differences in ancient manuscripts, obscure text and vocabulary, denominational bias, and translation philosophy. 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'.

Etymology

Many modern words readily associated with hospitality are evolved from the same hypothetical Proto-Indo-European root **ghos-ti*¹ meaning: stranger, guest, host: properly 'someone with whom one has reciprocal duties of hospitality' (American Heritage Dictionary, 2001). The word *guest* came from the Middle English *gest*, evolved from Old Norse *gestr*, and from Old High German *gast*, both come from Germanic **gastiz*. **Ghos-ti* also evolved to the Latin root *hostis*, meaning enemy, army, and where

host (multitude) and *hostile* find their origin; and the Latin root *hostia*, meaning sacrifice, host (Eucharistic). The combination of **ghos-ti* and another Proto-Indo-European root **poti* powerful, gave the compound root **ghos-pot-*, **ghos-po(d)-*, which evolved to the Latin *hospes* and eventually into *hospice*, *hospitable*, *hospital*, *hospitality*, *host* (giver of hospitality), *hostage* and *hostel*. The Greek languages also evolved from the same Proto-Indo-European base; **ghos-ti* gave the Greek *xenos* which has the interchangeable meaning guest, host or stranger. Hospitality, then, 'represents a kind of guarantee of reciprocity — one protects the stranger in order to be protected from him' (Muhlmann, 1932, p. 463).

Grecian Hospitality

Mythology

In Ancient Greece, it was not known if the stranger knocking at the door was going to be hostile or hospitable, whether they were a god disguised, or watching from above and passing judgment. This was not considered important for 'it is hard for mortals to see divinity' (Homer, *Demeter*, 1:111²). Hospitality was a way of honouring the gods, which was so essential, so fundamental to civilized life, that its patron was the god of gods (as mentioned in Homer, *Odyssey*, 9:270–71).

In true hospitality, it doesn't matter who the guest is, nor their apparent status in life. Generous hospitality freely given to a stranger was the same as that given to a god. Reese (1993) in his analysis of the writings attributed to Homer (c. 900 BC) identifies 18 'hospitality' scenes. It is clear from these scenes in the Homeric writings that hospitality brought expectations. As the traveller would not usually be wandering without cause from their home into the dangers of the world, it was assumed they were on some mission,



and the host was expected to be able to provide assistance.

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

Although it was accepted that hospitality was sacred in nature and should not be abused, certain violations of that code could take place, however. The Greeks in some cases had particular words for some of these violations: for example, *xenodaites* ‘one that devours guests’, a concept epitomised by the Cyclops, ‘the guest-eating monster’ (Euripides, *Cyclops*, 659) and *xenoktonos* ‘slaying of guests and strangers’ (Liddell & Scott, 1940). These violations of the hospitality code were seen as serious crimes, and like the Cyclops (Euripides, *Hecuba*, 1247–1250), those who were guilty were generally condemned by mankind.

Violations of hospitality also brought the wrath of the Gods. For example, Pausanias in his *Description of Greece* warns that ‘the wrath of the God of Strangers is inexorable’ (Pausanias, *Achaia*, 7:25); the Greeks were reminded of these words when the Peloponnesians arrived and ransacked the city of Helice (373BC), which Zeus then levelled through an earthquake.

Domestic Hospitality

In the writings of Homer, hospitality was centred round the *oikos* (home, household). The master of a household formed allegiances with the masters of other households (*oikoi*); through this tangible

hospitality, their house grew in wealth, strength and status, which was measured against other households. Solon (born in Athens about 640 BC), the most famous of all ancient Greek lawgivers, who is renowned for his repeal of the oppressive laws of Draco (the origin of the word *draconian*), placed great importance on being hospitable (Plutarch, *Vitae Parallelae*, 5:1), a direct continuation of the hospitality centred on the *oikos*, as shown in the writings of Homer. In addition, Plato (c. 400 BC) wrote dialogue between Socrates and Timaeus where the reciprocal nature of hospitality is clearly shown (Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, 1:1).

As well as being reciprocal, hospitality was also hereditary. Euripides (c. 440 BC) refers to ‘tokens’ exchanged to show who was united in bonds of hospitality (Euripides, *Medea*, 613). These tokens could be passed down from generation to generation or they could even be exchanged between friends. The tokens guaranteed the same level of hospitality to friends and dependents as was enjoyed by those who made the original hospitality agreement. Aristotle (c. 340 BC), in the ‘Athenian Constitution’, gives examples of the duties that led from having ties of hospitality, which include military aid (Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 3:20).

Public Hospitality

Xenophon (c. 400 BC), whose name means ‘strange sound’ or ‘guest voice’, was an Athenian knight, an associate of Socrates, and is known for his writings on Hellenic culture. While a young man, Xenophon participated in the expedition led by Cyrus against his older brother, the emperor Artaxerxes II of Persia, and he described the loyal and hospitable people they met during their campaign (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 6:1). It is interesting to note that the law or custom of the Ancient Greeks of offering protection and hospitality to strangers was known

as *philoxenos*, literally 'love of strangers', the antithesis of which is still in common usage today: 'xenophobia'.

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

- merchant on trade or business
- cultural visitor to view artistic achievements
- civic dignitary on public business
- occasional high-status cultural visitor.

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

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

general consensus among scholars is that *proxenia* (the relationship of the Proxenos) is one of hospitality (see, e.g., Adcock & Mosley, 1975; Ehrenberg, 1960; Phillipson, 1911; Pope 1976). Domestic politics dominated the interests of citizens who had little use for diplomacy, as 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 (Adcock & Mosley, 1975; Phillipson, 1911).

The office of Proxenos was at first, probably, self-chosen. Thucydides in his recounting of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) refers to volunteers, but the office was to become a matter of appointment. These Proxenoï undertook various functions including the reception and entertainment of guests. Liddell and Scott (1940) suggest that they would also represent the guest in courts of law if necessary. The earliest reference to an Athenian Proxenos, who lived during the time of the Persian wars (c. 490 BC), is that of Alexander of Macedonia (Herodotus, *Histories*). It was not until the middle of the fifth century 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 (Walbank, 1978; Wallace, 1970). Gerolymatos (1986) asserts that there was also a clandestine side to the *proxenia*, as both an overt and a covert intelligence system.

Commercial Hospitality

Information about commercial hospitality in Greece is limited; however, Thucydides, when relating the events from 431 BC to 401 BC uses the term *katagion*, which is taken to mean inn or hostelry and from the context could be understood to be a reference, one of the oldest, to commercial hospitality (Thucydides,

The Peloponnesian War, 3:68). *Katagogion* were constructed by the city-state for the ship-owners, merchants and visitors and were considered to be 'an ornament to the state, and at the same time the source of a considerable revenue' (Xenophon, *Ways and Means*, 3:13).

Roman Hospitality

Mythology

In the same way as Zeus presided over hospitality conducted by the Greeks, Jupiter was thought to watch over the *ius hospitium* (law of hospitality) in the Roman Empire. Similarly the violation of hospitality was also as great a crime and impiety in Rome as it was in Greece.

In *Metamorphoses*, Ovid (43 BC–AD 17) 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 (8:987ff). After being turned away a thousand times, the gods came upon the simple thatched cottage of Baucis and Philemon, who had little to offer but generously shared what they had. In reward Jupiter and Mercury took Baucis and Philemon up the mountain to see the valley, in which the homes of all their neighbours, who had turned away the strangers, had been flooded. Their own simple home had been transformed into a temple, of which they then became the priests.

Domestic Hospitality

Hospitality in Rome was never exercised in the indiscriminate manner, as in the heroic age of Greece, but the custom of observing the laws of hospitality was probably common to all the nations of Italy. In many cases, it was exercised without any formal agreement between the parties, and it was deemed an honourable duty to receive distinguished guests into the house. Public hospitality seems likewise to have existed at a very early period among the nations of Italy: 'throughout the City the front gates of the houses were thrown open and all

sorts of things placed for general use in the open courts, all corners, whether acquaintances or strangers, being brought in to share the hospitality' (Livy, *History of Rome*, 5:13). These kind and generous acts of hospitality lead to long-lasting friendships between the host and the guest, and it was from these personal bonds that the public ties of hospitality were later to be formed.

Private hospitality with the Romans, similar to that of the Greeks, seems to have been more accurately and legally defined. According to Schmitz (1875) the character of a *hospes*, that is, a person connected with a Roman by ties of hospitality, was deemed even more sacred and to have greater claims upon the host than that of a person connected by blood or affinity. The connection of hospitality with a foreigner imposed various obligations on a Roman. Among these were to receive in their house the *hospes* (traveller): 'they enjoyed the hospitality of private citizens whom they treated with courtesy and consideration; and their own houses in Rome were open to those with whom they were accustomed to stay' (Livy, *History of Rome*, 42:1). There were also duties to protect guests and to represent them as patron in the courts of justice if need be.

Private hospitality was also established between individuals by giving each other presents, or by the mediation of a third person, and hallowed by religion. Additionally, when hospitality was formed between two individuals they would divide between themselves a token called a *tessera hospitalis* (hospitality token), by which, afterwards, they themselves or their descendants, as the connection was hereditary, might recognise one another (Plautus, *Poenulus*, 5:2:87ff).

Public Hospitality

The first direct mention of public hospitality being established between Rome and another city is after the Gauls had departed from Rome. It was decreed

that the City of Caere should be rewarded for its good services (c. 273 BC) by the establishment of public hospitality between the two cities (Livy, *History of Rome*, 5:50). In the later times of the Roman Republic, the public hospitality established between Rome and a foreign state was no longer found; but instead a relationship was introduced which amounted to the same thing, that is, towns were raised to the rank of municipia. When a town wanted a similar relationship with Rome, it became a client of a distinguished Roman, who then acted as its patron. This hospitality shared between states, was extended to individuals as well (Livy, *History of Rome*, 9:6). There was also the custom of granting the honour of *hospes publicus* (modern equivalent: 'Freedom of the City') to a distinguished foreigner by a decree of the senate. To what extent a *hospes publicus* undertook the same duties towards Roman citizens as the Greek Proxenos is uncertain. Public hospitality was, like the *hospitium privatum* (private hospitality), hereditary in the family of the person to whom it had been granted (Livy, *History of Rome*, 27:16).

Commercial Hospitality

Kleberg (1957) defined four principal categories of commercial hospitality establishments in ancient Rome: *hospitia*, *stabula*, *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 while *hospitia* and *stabula* usually did. *Hospitiae* were normally larger than *stabulae* and a *stabula* would have had accommodation for animals as well (see, e.g., Casson, 1974; Jashemski, 1964; Kleberg, 1957; Packer, 1978). According to DeFelice (2001), *hospitiae*, *stabulae*, *tabernae*, and *popinae* were not always stand-alone businesses; often a *hospitia* or *stabula* would have a

taberna or *popina* connected with or adjacent to them. These commercial hospitality businesses existed for travellers, merchants, and sailors who came to trade and sell, or those who were stopping overnight along the way to other destinations. As the discussion of the reciprocal nature of private hospitality showed, not all travellers required such services. DeFelice (2001) asserts that *hospitiae* and *stabulae* along major roads and at city gates gained a reputation for attracting lower classes who were too poor or socially insignificant to have developed a network of personal hospitality; in other literature of the time *hospitiae* also had a reputation for bedbugs, discomfort, violence and danger.

Religious Writings

The oldest collection of texts that refer to hospitality are those of the literary genre of ancient Near East texts. These texts belong to a large family of eastern Mediterranean traditions from Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine and Egypt and are often read in parallel with the Old Testament. The Old and New Testaments of the Bible are more readily and available.

Old Testament

Within the Old Testament, numerous references are made to the practices of hospitality and serving as hosts, and to treating human life with respect and dignity. Janzen (2002) observes that in the Book of Genesis, God offers the newly created world as living space and its plants and trees as food to all living creatures; they are to be guests in God's world and at God's table. In other words, while enjoying God's gracious provisions, God's human guests are to preserve awareness of and respect for God's ultimate ownership. The story goes on to relate the 'fall of man' and the expulsion from Eden. Adam and Eve's eating from the forbidden tree is an act of disobedience; therefore sin in this situation can be defined as



disobedience. Janzen then makes the challenging observation that Adam and Eve are saying 'we (humanity) want unlimited use and control of the world. In this light, sin can be described as the human attempt to be owners, rather than guests' (2002, 6).

In the Old Testament many laws specifically require hospitality and concern for strangers (see Leviticus 19:33–34). Other laws, often associated with those concerning strangers, assure good treatment of weak members of society, and laws concerning redemption are framed in accordance with the spirit of hospitality. Examples of the many hospitality events would include the story of Abraham (Genesis, 18:2–8). In a classic hospitality event, he and his wife Sarah show gracious receptiveness to three strangers. Also in the second book of Kings is an unusual example of peace-making: the prophet Elisha exhorts the king of Israel to treat his Syrian prisoners of war to a meal then send them home (2 Kings, 6:22–23). And in the book of Job, when Job is swearing an oath of innocence in his defence of his good life, listing all the sins he has not committed, he places special emphasis on his practice of hospitality: 'no stranger ever had to sleep outside, my door was always open to the traveller' (Job, 31:32). Additionally the prophet Isaiah looks ahead to the end of time and describes it as God's eschatological banquet (Isaiah, 25:6–9). A banquet is used as the image of a redeemed humanity, entertained at the Lord's Table in a mood of fulfilment and rejoicing. This image has had particular influence on the New Testament; the concept of a messianic banquet was current in Jerusalem. Hospitality is central to virtually all Old Testament ethics; God, the Great Host, invites His guests into His house, the created world, to enjoy its riches and blessings. However, the duties of the guest are clear too, the host expects these guests to follow His example and share their liveli-

hood and their life, with their fellow guests on His earth.

There are certain parallels between biblical hospitality and the hospitality that Odysseus seeks, and the other hospitality scenes portrayed by Homer and Ovid. Abraham was central to Old Testament hospitality; he showed unre-served hospitality to strangers, only later seeing the true nature of his guests. Hospitality and in particular the treatment of strangers is enshrined in the Old Testament. Strangers have to be treated well because the people themselves are strangers in foreign lands.

New Testament

The scholarly investigation of New Testament hospitality is a recent, rapidly expanding phenomenon. Malina (1985) discerns a pattern to hospitality: testing the stranger, when one must decide if the stranger's visit is honourable or hostile, which is immediately followed by a transition phase, normally foot washing. Then the stranger is seen as a guest who enjoys a full expression of welcome and becomes a part of the household, until the day comes when the guest must leave. In departure, the guest is transformed once again into a friend or enemy. Koenig (1992) identifies a distinctive element in biblical hospitality: God and/or Christ was often the host or guest. He also points out that Luke seemed particularly interested in hospitality, as he alone in his gospel included the stories of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, the rich man and Lazarus, Zaccheus, and the Emmaus appearance story.

Hospitality was necessary for the well-being of mankind and essential to the protection of vulnerable strangers. Therefore, it is not unsurprising that it was also to become a distinctive feature of the early Christian church. This was due to two principal reasons: it was in general continuity with Hebrew understandings of hospitality that associated it

with God, covenant, and blessing; and it was partly in contrast to Hellenistic and Roman practices, which associated it with benefit and reciprocity. However, as has been shown, Greek and Roman views of benevolence and hospitality stressed formal reciprocal obligations between benefactor and recipient. Because a grateful response from the beneficiary was the key to the continued relationship, the Greek and Roman tradition emphasised the worthiness and goodness of recipients rather than their need; relations were often calculated to benefit the benefactor.

Dimensions of Hospitality

This paper has presented a summary of the origins of hospitality, mainly within the Greek and Roman civilisations of the ancient worlds, and also in the contemporary religious writings. From the exploration, clear parallels have been found between the texts, and a variety of common features of hospitality have been identified. Further evaluation of these outcomes leads to the identification of five dimensions of hospitality. These are:

1. *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 was 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, it is considered inherently

good to provide hospitality, without any immediate expectation of an earthly reward. 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 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 to provide hospitality being viewed as both an impiety and a temporal crime.

2. *Fundamental to human existence*

- Hospitality includes food, drink and accommodation and also is concerned with the approach adopted, for example, welcoming, respectful and genuine
- The extent of the hospitality that is offered 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 was 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). The concept of hospitality as being based on meeting the needs that guests have at the time, rather than the type of people that they are, has been 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 estab-



lishes the concepts of loyalty systems and continuing shared benefits.

3. *Stratified*

- Developments in the societies lead to the formal stratification of hospitality: the codification of hospitality being based on whether it was private, civic or business, and on the needs and purpose of the guest/stranger, and their nature or status
- Reciprocity of hospitality becomes legally defined
- Civic and business hospitality develops from private hospitality but retains the key foundations — treat others as if they are 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, and since the earliest time, its provision has been increasingly codified. As 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.

4. *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 were for the lower classes, which did not have established networks of hospitality enjoyed by the higher classes
- Increasing travelling among the higher classes created demands for superior 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 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 was already developing. 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.

5. *Central to human endeavour*

- Hospitality is a vital and integral part of 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 celebration 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 has been central to the development of societies. It is a 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.

Looking Forward

This paper has presented a summary of findings from continuing research into the origins of hospitality in the ancient and classical worlds. It is clear that the five dimensions of hospitality identified so far have been evolving since the beginning of human history. It also seems that it is inherent in human nature to offer hospitality, and that the societies and the contemporaneous religious teachings support and reinforce this trait. The identification of the five dimensions of hospitality, as above, provides one way of interpreting the outcomes of the exploration that has been undertaken to date. Whatever the approach that might be used, it is certainly evident that hospitality has a long history, an honourable tradition and a rich heritage.

Endnotes

- 1 * before a word shows that it has been reconstructed, that is, its existence has been deduced by linguistic scholars without written evidence.
- 2 For an explanation of this form of referencing see Appendix: Guide to Classical Texts.

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Appendix

Guide to Classical Texts

References to ancient Greek and Latin 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 in turn by Arabic numerals that guide the reader to chapter, paragraph and line. For discussions of authors and their texts, please see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, edited by Hornblower and Spawforth (2003). The following is a list of ancient works cited in this book, the Loeb Classical Library. This continuing series, begun early last 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.

Aristotle, <i>Athenian Constitution</i>	<i>The Athenian Constitution translated with introduction and notes by P.J. Rhodes.</i> (1984). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
Euripides, <i>Cyclops</i>	<i>Electra, Orestes, Iphigenia in Taurica, Andromache, Cyclops.</i> (1913). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 10. London: Heinemann.
Euripides, <i>Hecuba</i>	<i>Iphigenia at Aulis, Rhesus, Hecuba, The daughters of Troy Helen.</i> (1912). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 9. London: Heinemann.
Euripides, <i>Medea</i>	<i>Medea.</i> (2002). Edited by Donald J. Mastronarde. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Herodotus, <i>Historia</i>	<i>Historia.</i> (1920–1925). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 117–120. London: Heinemann.
Homer, <i>The Odyssey</i>	<i>The Odyssey.</i> (1919). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 104–105. London: Heinemann.
Homer, <i>Demeter</i>	<i>Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homerica.</i> (1914). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 57. London: Heinemann.
Livy, <i>History of Rome</i>	<i>Ab Urbe Condita.</i> (1916–1949). Loeb Classical Library, assorted volumes. London: Heinemann.
Ovid, <i>Metamorphose</i>	<i>Metamorphoses.</i> (1916). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 42–43. London: Heinemann.
Pausanias, <i>Description of Greece</i>	<i>Description of Greece.</i> Loeb Classical Library, Volume 93. Heinemann 1918.
Plato, <i>Laws</i>	<i>Laws.</i> (1926). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 187–192. London: Heinemann.
Plato, <i>Timaeus and Critias</i>	<i>Timaeus and Critias.</i> (1929). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 234. London: Heinemann.
Plautus, <i>Poenulus</i>	<i>Poenulus et Cistellaria in the little Carthaginian, Pseuddus, the Rope.</i> (1921). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 163. London: Heinemann.
Plutarch, <i>Vitae Parallelae</i>	Plutarch. <i>Plutarch's Lives.</i> (1949–1959). Loeb Classical Library, 11 vols, 2nd ed. London: Heinemann.
Thucydides, <i>Peloponnesian War</i>	<i>History of the Peloponnesian War.</i> (1919). Loeb Classical Library, vols 108–110. London: Heinemann.
Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>	<i>Hellenica, Anabasis.</i> (1919–1922). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 88–90. London: Heinemann .
Xenophon, <i>Ways & Means</i>	<i>Scripta Minora.</i> (1925). Loeb Classical Library, vol. 183. London: Heinemann.