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The Heart of Hospitality and the Historical Development of the Care for Persons

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1 Introduction

Legend has it that Margaret Meade, the famed anthropologist, was once asked by a student what were the earliest signs of human civilization. Immediately Meade replied, "A broken femur that had healed" (Brand, 1980, p. 68). She went on to explain that the human femur, connecting the hip to the knee, is the longest bone in the body and that, if broken, takes a long time to heal. A healed femur indicated care for the injured: someone stayed with that person, hunted for them, kept them safe, and served their needs long enough for healing to take place. More than a pot or a tool, care for the person indicated the disposition to civilization and was one of the distinctive markers that distinguished humans from other hominids.

Care for the person was at the heart of hospitality from the earliest moments of human history. Meade saw it in the fossil record of the earliest human societies; ancient societies recorded it as a basic human virtue and primordial value in their epic tales, particularly in reference to the vulnerable (McCoy, 2013). The vulnerable could include those suffering from some disability or weakness but also the stranger without sustenance, shelter, or protection. Historically, nearly every culture and civilization possesses a foundational myth, tale, or custom that centers around the duty of hospitality, especially in the encounter with strangers. For instance, when a person unknown entered into an Eskimo tribe, the tribe greeted the stranger with ceremonies, feasts, games, and tests of prowess as they tried to figure out how and where this new person would fit in the community. In the ancient world, a stranger needed to have a sponsor in order to enter a city, someone who would speak on his or her behalf and gain for the stranger the protection of the laws and the city divinities (Pitt-Rivers, 2012).

2 Hospitality in the Ancient World

One of the most well-known stories is that of Odysseus, the battle- and travel-worn stranger who depended on the kindness of many as he wandered the world and struggled to find his way home. The

story of Odysseus captures some of the fundamental notions of ancient *philoxenia*, or love for the stranger, that marked (and still marks) so much of Mediterranean culture. In the *Odyssey*, the servant Eumaeus quietly surmised that "all strangers and beggars are from Zeus" (Homer, Book XIV) which articulated the ancient belief that the stranger was protected by the gods, perhaps by Zeus himself, and therefore ought to be welcomed, attended to, and cared for. Indeed, the word *xenos* not only means "stranger" but also "foreigner," "wanderer," and even "guest-friend" (Johnston, 2018; Manoussakis, 2011; Reece, 1993).

The ancient Mediterranean and Greek tradition of caring for the stranger was carried forward into the Western tradition through the early Christian tradition of ancient Rome. "Hospes" meant something similar to "xenos," a stranger, guest, or visitor to whom one must extend welcome and care. It is from this word that we get words like "hospice," "hostel," "hospital," and "hospitality." In a strange quirk of language development, the ancient word "hospitia" (Latin) or "xenodochia" (Greek) denoted something like a modern hostel or inn but could also be a place in which the poor and infirm received care, not unlike the modern hospital (O'Gorman, 2010). The western monastic tradition extended the ancient pagan one by not only claiming that the stranger had the protection of God but was perhaps Christ himself in disguise. "Welcome all as Christ," counseled St. Benedict in his Rule (Rule of St. Benedict, 1982). The radicalness of that claim led Christian monks to develop the habit of welcoming every stranger, from Attila the Hun to the Muslim neighbor, within their doors (Kardong, 2009). Similarly, the Qur'an gives the force of divine command to earlier pre-Islamic practices of hospitality (*karam*), which flows from the recognition that humanity is dependent upon the hospitality of God (Siddiqui, 2015; Stephenson & Ali, 2019). Ibn Battutah (2010) remarked frequently in his *Travels* on the beneficent hospitality he experienced throughout Muslim North Africa and Arabia.

In the non-Western, Chinese tradition, hospitality was also a part of the Confucian ethic. Hospitality was linked to the Confucian humanistic ideal of filial piety and the duty of sympathy, or *ren*, toward others (Berenpas, 2016). Although the meaning of hospitality differs slightly in the Chinese context in that the host–guest relationship is imbued with a

Confucian sense of authority in which the host sets the tone of interpersonal exchange, nonetheless hospitality (*haòkè* or *jiēdài*) carries an ethical imperative in that it is a sign of virtue and of admirable moral character (Chen, 2018). In all these traditions, hospitality is held forth as a deeply human encounter that goes beyond the simple meeting of physical needs to engendering a relationship of persons.

Homes were the primary sites of hospitality in pre-modern societies, although a city or village could also be described as hospitable. In the ancient Mesopotamian epic, *Gilgamesh*, the wild man Enkidu learns to be civilized through the hospitality extended to him. Through the hospitality of a village and of a particular family home in that village, he is taught the social norms and customs surrounding the host–guest relationship and social interaction. Although he is a stranger and without the customs and manners necessary to function well in their village and homes—he is wild, after all—the villagers still welcome him and extend to him not only food and a place of rest but also a rudimentary education in what it means to be a human in communion with others (Sandars, 1960). In many ways, Enkidu is the ultimate stranger, without a home, money, power, or influence, and lacking a basic familiarity with human civilization. His lack makes him vulnerable to the potential abuse or misuse of others, yet a family is led to go beyond mere hospitality, not only welcoming him but extending to him the mercy of healing his vulnerabilities. It is a touching and intimate scene.

The home into which the stranger or the beggar was welcomed could be a palace, as in the case of Odysseus, the wandering king. It could have semi-public spaces more suited to the display of wealth, status, and influence of the feast, with the private domestic quarters segregated from the public eye. Yet most households lacked the wealth to build and maintain homes of this size and purpose, and to welcome the stranger into the home meant welcoming them into the privacy of the domestic space (Aries et al., 1985; Nevett, 2010). The private home as a site of hospitality entailed a certain mutual vulnerability, a welcoming of the potentially threatening and unknown person into the most intimate spaces and relationships. Despite this potential danger, early cultures and civilizations held it as a virtuous undertaking and even an imperative.

The basic behaviors and actions of the hospitable host were somewhat stable across cultures: a shared table of food and drink or the offer of shelter in one's home were the elementary modes of hospitality. The quality of the food or shelter and the dispositions of host and guest could vary, however, and shaped the experience of those actions. Chen has noted that host-directed, hierarchical tone of Confucian hospitality, past and present, was different from the guest-centered practices of European or Muslim hospitality (Chen, 2018). In early China, as is much the case today, the host would set the dress code or determine the tone of host–guest engagement as long as the guest was under his roof. In the European or Muslim contexts, shaped as they had been by the ancient Mediterranean hospitality of Greece, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and northern Africa, the needs of the guest shaped the hospitality offered, and often offered lavishly, whether performatively as a display of status and wealth and virtue, or genuinely, out of a concern for the need of another.

Texts like the *Odyssey*, the *Analects*, and *Gilgamesh* tell us much about the expectations and aspirations of ancient cultures with regard to the duty of hospitality, and they also offer examples of injustices and violations of hospitality on the part of guests or hosts. For example, Odysseus finally reaches home, only to find a horde of young men camped out there, attempting to court his wife Penelope by convincing her of Odysseus' death and persuading her to marry one of them, all the while decimating her wine cellars and pantries. The injustice these suitors commit is one of *instrumentalization*, failing to regard the dignity and personhood of Penelope by reducing her to the social and material gains she could offer them through marriage. As in the *Odyssey*, justice governed the host–guest relationship in the other major traditions; the Qur'an chastises the stingy or abusive host (11:77; 15:68; 18:77) and *hadith* of the Prophet counsel guests not to abuse the generosity of hosts by limiting their visits to a maximum of three days. Similarly, Confucius warned against reducing persons simply as means for profit, which applied to guests and hosts alike (Confucius, 1998). Throughout all of these traditions, a shared expectation of hospitality emerges, the principles of which are a sense of the inviolable dignity of person, the idea that persons are never merely means to some personal or economic goal, and the primacy of receiving the person for their own sake.

3 Transition from Private Hospitality to Commercialized Hospitality

The principles of hospitality in the home in time became the guiding principles of hospitality in the public marketplace and square. However, there were fundamental differences between hospitality exercised in a private home and hospitality done in the public marketplace (Lashley, 2000). Private hospitality involves the creation of a relationship between guest and host, one that in its richest manifestation results in the stranger named as guest-friend. Private hospitality operates according to the economy of the gift in which no money is exchanged but instead a reciprocal bond is created between guest and host (Mauss, 1925). Private hospitality calls for a set of refined virtues on the part of both guest and host: charity, generosity, justice, amiability, and mercy, to name a few. Public or market-based hospitality is commodified in that food, drink, or shelter is offered in exchange for money, it is not usually done in one's private home, there is no expectation of relationship or bond beyond the exchange of goods, it is impersonal, and it is largely limited to caring for the physical needs of the person. Because of these differences, public, market-based hospitality can be more prone to the injustices that are considered violations of private hospitality, particularly the instrumentalization of the person into a means to obtain a particular private end or profit. A host might be tempted to view customers simply in terms of the profit they can bring; a customer might treat staff as a mere means to the comfort and pleasure they desire. The depersonalization of host or guest becomes a real danger in the public sphere of commercialized hospitality.

Hospitality's deep roots in the earliest considerations of what it means to be human, as expressed in the formative religious and cultural texts of ancient societies and as practiced in the private sphere of the home, came to shape the baseline expectations of hospitality in the public, commercial sphere. The duties of the private host to offer sustenance and shelter were divided out, for payment, in the form of cookshops (an ancient version of a food stand or food truck), taverns, hostels, or caravanserais, for example. The expectations of the host and guest in the commercialized setting became more impersonal and more conditional, centered

around exchange, and more prone to instrumentalization, a violation of hospitality (Lashley, 2008; Shin et al., 2012). Yet, as commercialized hospitality grew, so too did the number of laws that protected against the crassest forms of instrumentalization that could harm the customer and the common good of the community or the market through fraud, disorderliness, or other malignant activities. Laws indicate the expectations of a society, and they tell us that just as the conception of justice was an important foundational value governing the host–guest relationship in the private sphere of hospitality, so to was it important in the public, commercialized sphere of hospitality. Laws governed the sale of beer and spirits, circumscribed the activities of inns, taverns, and hostels, and regulated the quality of food, from the earliest Code of Hammurabi to the present, all for the sake of the host, the guest, and the common good of the community.

4 Commercialized Hospitality: Addressing the Social Dimension of Human Being

Historians argue over the details, but it is nevertheless true that connectivity through trade and exploration leaped forward at specific points in history. Valerie Hansen, a historian of global and Asian history at Yale, has recently argued that the year 1000 marked the first era of globalization with the nascent connection of the eastern and western hemispheres; earlier epochs had marked increasing regional connectivity in the Eurasian hemisphere through the silk and tea roads of Asia, the salt and gold routes of Saharan Africa, and other trade routes (Hansen, 2020, Mattingly et al., 2017). With increasing trade and travel, the demand for centers of commercialized hospitality to meet the physical needs of merchants and travelers became apparent along those routes. In some cases, the needs of travelers were met by a variety of vendors in an urban district happy to attend to the need for food, lodging, or entertainment. In other instances, vendors were agglomerated in one place along a route, such as a caravanserai, a walled and protected hostel-cookshop-*cum*-marketplace in which a traveler might purchase hospitality services and sell his goods to the neighboring population (Sims, 1984). With

the expansion of trade, hospitality increasingly extended from the private home into the public, commercial sphere of the urban center or trading post, and with it the vulnerability of the stranger, the pilgrim, and the traveler. The growth in population, especially in urban centers, also drove the growth of commercialized hospitality in ways that seem very modern. The human need for sustenance, shelter, and sociability still needed to be met.

4.1 Sustenance: Food and Drink

One of the oldest forms of commercialized hospitality is the cookshop. Springing up first in the busy markets of cities of China like Kaifeng and Hangzhou and spreading as urban populations grew in the west, the cookshop was little more than a food stall or cart set up in marketplaces or squares. Urbanization in the pre-modern world affected socio-economic groups differently. While wealthier inhabitants lived in homes with hearths to cook on, poorer inhabitants often crowded into small dwellings, not unlike the small apartments of crowded cities like New York. The size and soundness of these structures made fire in hearths impossible and unsafe. This was certainly the case in ancient Rome, where fire was a perennial threat in the precariously built apartments in the slums that ringed the city. Thus, most inhabitants of large cities bought their daily meals from cookshops or stalls, depending on the ingenuity and skill of others to meet their daily needs for food and sustenance.

Before the development of sit-down restaurants and supermarkets, pre-made market food was a staple of sustenance in the ancient and medieval cities of east and west. Because of their importance to the daily life of so many, laws carefully regulated the sale of commercial food stalls, and inhabitants depending on those stalls were able to make complaints to city authorities. In the medieval city of Norwich, England, court records show that inhabitants used the court system to protect the quality of their food supply at the market stalls as well as to ensure fair prices in the market (Sagui, 2019). Jurors presented that some vendors sold sausages and puddings made from measly pigs and that some cooks and

pasty-makers sold two- or three-day-old warmed-over pasties and meat. Jurors also presented that market prices were driven up by people buying up a product before the market opened. Just as the need for hospitality in the form of a meal is a perennial one, so too is the temptation to instrumentalize and defraud for the sake of profit those who might not otherwise be in social, economic, or political position to complain; law ensured them a modicum of protection and justice in their daily sustenance.

The sale of food was often kept separate from the sale of alcoholic drinks like beer and wine, which were an important part of a daily diet in pre-modern societies from Europe to the Middle East, from Asia to Africa. The rise of Islam certainly affected the sale of beer and wine in large parts of the Middle East, Africa, and south Asia where the Quranic prohibitions on "intoxicants and games of chance" (Qur'an 5:90–91) restricted the development of taverns and public houses as seen elsewhere but gave rise instead to the coffee house in the sixteenth century (Roger, 2000). More than the cookshop or the market stall, the tavern, public house, Islamic coffee house, and Asian tearoom became sites of conviviality and sociability (Cantrell, 2000; Topik, 2000; Weisberger & Comer, 2000).

Public places of conviviality were important in pre-modern and modern societies. They were not only places where locals could gather but were also places where travelers and merchants could get their needs met as well. The activities of the pre-modern drinking establishment were often restricted from selling meals or places to sleep, so they were places strictly dedicated to the building of social bonds through a shared drink and conviviality (Kelly-Blazeby, 2001). While cities and towns recognized the social value of conviviality, they were also concerned about the potential for the socially destabilizing consequences of those who had drunk too much and sought to protect the public good through regulation of these establishments. The Ottomans worried that the conviviality of the coffeehouse also harbored talk of sedition and anarchy, and subjected drinking establishments to heavy scrutiny. Authorities were not only interested in protecting the public good but were also keen to protect the customer from faulty weights and measures and enforced accuracy in measurement through fines.

The first establishment that we might recognize as a restaurant began to appear in crowded urban centers of China in the twelfth century. but would not fully emerge in the west until sometime in the nineteenth century in Paris (Rawson & Shore, 2019; Spang, 2000). The restaurant is distinguished from the tavern by formality, the availability of both wine and food, attention to service, a wider selection of choices, and by the ability to sit at a table and be served what one desires. Restaurants tended to emerge in urban areas of dense population that were also crossroads between cultures, as well as catchment areas of regional expats who had moved to the city in search of opportunity. Whereas taverns, cookshops, and tables d'hote tended to serve the cuisine of the region, restaurants catered to different tastes, clientele, and pocketbooks. Rawson and Shore note that restaurants seem to emerge in the Song Dynasty from regional associations formed by transplants to the big city who longed for the taste of home (Rawson & Shore, 2019).

The story of the word *restaurant* and its emergence in Paris in the nineteenth century has less to do with nostalgia for home and more to do nineteenth century health fads. The term *restaurant* originally meant "restorative," and referred to broth that Parisians drank medicinally, like a tonic. One took a *restaurant* hot and sipped it slowly at table. *Restaurant* shops with sipping tables popped up in Paris, and "one went to a *restaurant* … to drink restorative bouillons, as one went to a café to drink coffee" (Spang, 2000). They were not places of commensality but became that over the course of the nineteenth century, spreading to other parts of the Europe and Americas through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They became places of shared tables, shared drinks, and shared meals, places where social and political bonds were forged in public. Some worried that the sumptuousness of restaurant culture would undermine the hospitality and the family relationships of the private home through the lure of gastronomic pleasure that played to one's individual tastes. Others noted that while restaurants catered to individual pleasures, they did not exercise hospitality in the traditional private sense of meeting someone's need in a moment of vulnerability, such as the need for credit. Restaurants were for-profit and not engaged in generosity or charity; the definition of hospitality had apparently changed (Spang, 2000).

4.2 Shelter: Restoration and Rest

The pre-modern cookshop, the tavern, and early restaurant primarily arose to serve the physical and social needs of the local urban population while at the same time welcoming strangers. As travel increased throughout the Afro-Eurasian hemisphere in the medieval period, merchants, pilgrims, and the odd diplomat or wandering scholar traveled through foreign territory and had to find places to eat, sleep, and socialize. Stopping places like hostels, inns, caravanserais, or khans catered specifically to travelers and cropped up along the great trade routes connecting major cities, often sponsored by a local authority wishing to attract and protect trade along the way. These places often provided lodging and sustenance, and sometimes entertainments specifically for travelers. A caravanserai was a walled, fortress-like structure that protected not only the travelers but also the pack animals and merchant goods from brigandage (Denby, 1998). Whether located remotely or near a city gate, a caravanserai could also function like a trading post or a market that could draw in local people. They were also sites of conviviality and shared tables, in which merchants and pilgrims to Mecca might fall into together to form a temporary community, or merchants decide to opt for safety in numbers along the route.

The origins of the inn in Europe are linked to the tremendous explosion in trade, markets, population, and travel after the year 1000 (Britnell, 2006). In many ways, it seemed as if all of Europe was on the move, traveling to regional or international market fairs or going on pilgrimage to far-flung places like Compostela, Rome, or Jerusalem. Chaucer begins the *Canterbury Tales* at the Tabard Inn, where a disparate group of pilgrims to Becket's shrine at Canterbury fall in together for their journey. The function of an inn was to provide lodging and refreshment to travelers, more like a modern hotel and less like a caravanserai. The proliferation of hostels in late medieval and early modern Europe lead to a proliferation of regulations aimed at limiting any potential threats strangers might bring to the city (Carlin, 2018). Yet, as strangers just traveling through to another place, merchants, pilgrims, and other travelers were sometimes subject to bad nights in bad inns, taken advantage of by proprietors for whom profit trumped hospitality.

Authorities attempted to regulate and protect travelers from over-pricing of provisions and lodging, but probably with limited success since most travelers were not always able or interested to spend the time prosecuting unethical practices.

The inn was sometimes referred to as a hostel, a carryover from the Latin *hostes*, meaning guest or stranger. Its kindred word *hospitia*, while originally referring to the large urban dwellings of elite Romans, morphed in meaning to "poor house" and thence to its present meaning, "hospital." The *hospitia* of the late Roman empire (*xenodochia* in Greek) became ecclesiastically funded institutions where charity and hospitality toward the poor were shared out in the form of food and shelter, sometimes for a night and sometimes for longer periods (Horden, 2005). The philanthropic hospitality of *hospitia* also came to embrace poor pilgrims on their way to the holy sites of Rome and Jerusalem, as well as the sick with none to care for them. In addition to the free-standing *hospitia*, monasteries also provided care through their infirmaries. Hundreds of monasteries dotted the Christian world, and many of them followed the counsel of the Rule of St. Benedict to welcome and care for the weak and infirm, as well as those without sustenance. Throughout the ensuing medieval period, the *hospitia* and monastic infirmaries continued this dual role of caring for the poor and caring for the sick. It is true that medicine had not developed enough to enable the complete healing and restoration of many illnesses, so many hospitals became places in which people could be cared for with some level of comfort until their last days. A hospital was a place where one could get a clean bed, clean clothes, and a steady diet, which could be healing in itself for some. Some hospitals became quite luxurious by medieval standards, such that some hospitals, like St. Leonard's, York, allowed elderly persons to pay to reside there in quiet retirement.

The hospital/hospice/hostel had analogs in non-European cultures. In the Islamic world, it was called a *bimaristan*, or "house of the sick." In this case, the function and aim of the institution were more clear-cut and aimed toward the medical, leaving care for the local poor or the poor traveling pilgrim to other charitable institutions (Horden, 2005). Caliphs and shahs often sponsored *bimaristan*, and some became associated with the great Islamic medical centers experimenting with the

medical tradition of the ancient Greeks. The Song Dynasty in China also experimented with new approaches to classical Chinese medicine, developing hospital institutions dedicated specifically to the care of the sick and testing pharmaceutical treatments (Goldschmidt, 2013). Thus, it is primarily in the West where the multiple roles of the *hospitia* clearly tied it to the early Greek, Roman, and Christian conceptions of free hospitality to the stranger and to the vulnerable.

While we might look at the *hospitia* as a forerunner of the hospital, the hospice, the hostel, the poor house, or the retirement home, it also could be seen as the antecedent to the modern spa, the aims of which are the restoration and rest of the mind and body. In nineteenth century Europe, it became fashionable to "take the waters" in various spa towns associated with thermal springs throughout Europe in order to treat weak constitutions or indeterminate maladies. Spa resorts like Baden-Baden claimed to treat a variety of physical and mental problems through applications of the thermal waters, and in a setting that also allowed for sociability at formal restaurants, glittering balls, and artistic performances of high culture (Denby, 1998; Wood, 2012). Similar resorts offering a variety of treatments sprouted up in colonial Indochine that catered to the French, this time not as a restorative to health, but as a restorative to identity and culture of France (Jennings, 2006). In the modern hotel industry of the twenty-first century, spa resorts aim to restore health and humanness to their customers through disconnection from technology and the stress of the workaday world and reconnection to nature and local culture.

The hotel is a modern invention, the origins of which are debated. Some see hotels as emerging gradually from the hostel and inn culture of early modern Europe, and thence from the nineteenth century spa culture and the culture of the Grand Tour among the nobility and the upper-middle class (Jennings, 2006). Others see them as a product of the ingenuity and industrial pragmatism of the American gilded age barons (Denby, 1998). In England, some hospitals that were originally built to care for the poor and infirm were converted into grand hotels—the Savoy London as a prime example. In America, the advent of the skyscraper, the elevator, steam heating, and electricity made the grand hotels of New York, Chicago, and elsewhere scintillating examples of the optimism and faith in the technology of the modern age. With the modern

hotel, the emphasis became comfort, service, amenities, and attention to detail; a far cry from the complaints of early modern inn customers who complained about crowded, unkempt conditions and bad food. The comfort and amenities of modern hotels were such that some people even chose to live in them as a primary residence (Bren, 2021). As with other nineteenth and twentieth-century developments in hospitality, such as the spa and the restaurant, the shift was away from catering to mass needs and toward the tastes and desires of the individual patron. Individual choice became the name of the game in modern hospitality in the *fin de siècle* and into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

5 Conclusion

Hospitality's origin as an ideal and value aimed at caring for the stranger and the vulnerable has its roots in the earliest moments of human history. The earliest considerations of what it means to be human entailed our obligations toward others, particularly those weaker and exposed to the dangers of hunger, thirst, and the vagaries of nature and humankind. A relationship of friendship was the goal of hospitality, with naming the stranger as guest-friend. Implicit in early notions of hospitality was respect for the dignity and personhood of both host and guest, with prohibitions against instrumentalization of either. The growth in population and urbanization led to the commercialization and division of hospitality, with a variety of different proto-"industries" developing to meet the need for sustenance and shelter, both for locals and for the new stranger—the merchant, the pilgrim, the diplomat, or wandering scholar. With the shift to commercial hospitality came the profit motive, which amplified the temptation of host or guest to instrumentalize the other in the commercial exchange. The tremendous leap in population density, urbanization, and industrialization in the nineteenth and twentieth century led to the development of many of the modern modes of hospitality we see today.

At the heart of hospitality, whether free or commercial, is the human person with their physical needs and their spiritual and emotional need

for relationship. The recurring theme in history is the desire for relationships brought about through conviviality and commensality around a shared table, whether public or private, across time and cultures; this points to the social dimension of the human person. Hospitality is a shared desire, an expression of our humanness as inviolable, ineffable, and social beings, and it is this that must give shape and life to our own thinking and practice today.

Action Prompts

- Explore the history of hospitality within your context.
- Discover indicators of care for persons in common social interactions.

Study Questions

1. Historically, what have been the challenges to hospitality in various cultures and places?
2. How does history reveal hospitality as a human virtue?
3. How can an understanding of the historical development of the hospitality industry inform our own practice today?

Chapter Summary

Care for the person defined hospitality from the earliest moments of human history. In ancient societies, hospitality was a basic human virtue and primordial value, particularly toward the vulnerable. The vulnerable include those suffering from disability or weakness but also the stranger without sustenance, shelter, or protection. Historically, every culture held it as a virtuous undertaking. Early notions of hospitality held respect for the dignity and personhood of both host and guest, with prohibitions against instrumentalization of either. Basic hospitality actions were stable across cultures: commensality, conviviality, or shelter. Private hospitality created a relationship between guest and host, the highest of which

named the stranger as guest-friend; it operated according to the economy of the gift in which no money is exchanged; it called for a set of refined virtues on the part of both guest and host. Hospitality's roots in ancient considerations of what it means to be human as practiced in the home shaped the expectations of commercialized hospitality that developed with historical growth in population and expansion of trade networks. Commercialized hospitality differed in that food, drink, or shelter was offered in exchange for money; it was not usually done in one's home; there was no expectation of relationship beyond the exchange of goods, it was impersonal and limited to caring for the physical needs of the person. With the shift to commercial hospitality came the profit motive, which amplified the temptation depersonalize and instrumentalize host or guest in commercial exchange.

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