Part 1: **Theory and Historiography**

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At the Fringes of Byzantine Society: Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers

All social groups create rules of behavior and are at pains to enforce them. Social rules define situations and forms of behavior appropriate to them by labeling individual acts "right" or "wrong." Behavior in accordance with these rules is considered conformist, whereas all behavioral patterns contravening the rules are nonconformist. Consequently, deviance is a construction of human society, the existence of which depends upon the reactions of other people.[1]

This volume is the result of an effort to explore phenomena of social marginalization and marginal groups in the context of a pre-modern society situated at the intersection between East and West and between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, namely Byzantium between the 4th and the 15th centuries, taking as examples three different, but functionally and spatially closely interrelated, types of outsider professions: female prostitutes,[2] actors, and tavernkeepers. Based on these specific groups, this volume attempts to establish a rough framework for further research and to answer a set of crucial questions lying at the heart of every sociohistorical exploration of the topic in question: How do Byzantine narrative and normative texts perceive prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers? What interactions did societies develop between their majority population, their political, moral, intellectual elites, on the one hand, and outsider groups, on the other? What typological features of outsider behavior can we observe? How might we define marginalization in Byzantium based on our historical sources, and what were its main mechanisms?

This book places particular emphasis on the possibilities of interdisciplinary approaches. It makes a case for continuities and changes in Byzantine social structures from their late antique substrate and wants to highlight the particularities of the Eastern Christian sphere in comparison to the Latin West. Most of the chapters herein were first presented at a conference held in May 2019 in Vienna on the subject "Marginalization and Subculture Groups: Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers in Byzan-

1 For deviant behavior, see *Deviance: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. Morris Freilich, Douglas Raybeck, and Joel Savishinsky (New York, 1991); Hans-Georg Beck, "Formes de non conformisme à Byzance," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politique,* Académie Royale de Belgique, série 5, 65 (1979): 313–329; Albert K. Cohen, *Abweichung und Kontrolle*, 3rd ed. (Munich, 1972); *Images of Deviance*, ed. Stanley Cohen (Harmondsworth, 1971); Edwin M. Lemert, *Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control* (London, 1967); John I. Kitsuse, "Societal Reaction to Deviant Behavior: Problems of Theory and Method," *Social Problems* 9/3 (1962): 247–256. For more literature on this topic, see below, n. 5 and 8.

2 The topic of male prostitution deserves special study and remains mostly outside the scope of this volume.

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tium."[3] Other contributions were added later to enrich further the volume's thematic variety.

1 Methodology

The theories and terminological tools used in this volume are borrowed from the disciplines of sociology and social anthropology. They are based on the analytical concepts of "deviant behavior," "socially marginal groups," and "social marginalization," which were gradually introduced into other disciplines and research areas, including medieval studies.[4] It is a common practice in historical studies to use modern sociological terms and concepts to define and analyze the intricate structures of medieval society. In this way, we can better approach and understand the meaning of marginalization, the living conditions, the (self-)identities, the psychological state of marginal and outsider groups, and the social perceptions and attitudes towards outsiders in a pre-modern society like that of Byzantium. There are striking differences between medieval and modern societies, social structures, and forms of social perception. Nevertheless, the analysis of Byzantine sources reveals numerous phenomena of marginalization and socially marginalized groups that share many similarities with what we find in modern social contexts.

According to the well-known labeling theory developed during the 1960s and 1970s in social studies, deviance is not inherent in specific acts but results from the tendency of majorities to label minorities or people who are considered negatively deviant from cultural standards and norms. Hence, the labeling theory sees deviancy as an ascribed social construction.[5] Deviancy has to be understood as the result of

3 The conference was organized by Despoina Ariantzi and Ewald Kislinger as part of the research project 'Marginalization and Subculture Groups: Prostitutes, Actors, and Tavernkeepers in Byzantium (Sixth–Twelfth Centuries)' (P 27865–G25). The project was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), directed by Ewald Kislinger, and hosted at the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Vienna.

4 Jacques Le Goff, "Les marginaux dans l'Occident médiéval," in *Les marginaux et les exclus dans l'histoire*, ed. Vincent Bernard (Paris, 1979), 19–28; Borislav Geremek, "Le marginal," in *L'homme médiéval*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris, 1989), 381–413; Borislav Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge, 2009); Borislav Geremek, "L'image de l'autre: le marginal," in *XVI Congrès international des sciences historiques (Stuttgart, 25 Août–1 September 1985): Rapports*, Stuttgart: Le Comité International des Sciences Historiques 1 (1985): 67–81; *Aspects de la marginalité au Moyen Age*, eds. Guy-H. Allard, Bernard Chaput, Claude Gagnon, François-M. Gagnon, Jean Goulet, André Paradis, Bruno Roy, Raymond St. Jacques, and Claude Sutto (Montréal, 1975).

5 Howard S. Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1963, 2018); John Hagan, "Labelling and Deviance: A Case Study in the Sociology of the interesting," *Social Problems* 20 (1972–1973): 447–458; John I. Kitsuse and Malcolm Spector, "Social problems and deviance: some parallel issues," *Social Problems* 22 (1974–1976): 584–594; Eric Goode, "On behalf of labelling the-

some sort of interaction between the rule-breaker and the dominant social elite of a given community. The dominant elite defines certain forms of behavior as deviant and characterizes individuals who engage in such behavior as deviants. It treats them in a manner it considers appropriate by applying sanctions of increasing severity and by placing the individual in a marginal social status.[6] The term "socially marginalized groups" is here understood and employed in the context of the deviancy discourse as a socio-cultural analytical concept, defining the members of those social groups who play an inferior or marginal role in the power relations of society. Marginal and marginalized groups are usually considered synonymous with "rule-breakers," who, due to their deviance from prevailing cultural and religious-moral norms and values, are pushed to the margins by politically and socio-economically dominant groups and, therefore, appear as powerless actors.

2 State of the Field

Unlike scholars of ancient, late antique,[7] and medieval history,[8] to date Byzantinists have probed the questions posed in this volume only insufficiently. The topic of marginalization and marginal groups in Byzantium has never been examined comprehen-

ory," *Social Problem* 22 (1974–1975): 570–583; Jack P. Gibbs, *Norms, Deviance and Social Control. Conceptual Matters* (New York, 1981).

6 Cohen, *Images of Deviance*, 14; Geoffrey Miles White and John Kirkpatrick, eds., *Person, Self and Experience: Exploring Pacific Ethnopsychologies* (London, 1985), 16; Francis E. Merrill, *Society and Culture: An Introduction to Sociology*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1965), 56.

7 Hans Herter, "Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution im Lichte des heidnischen und christlichen Schrifttums," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 3 (1960): 70–111; *Soziale Randgruppen und Außenseiter im Altertum: Referate vom Symposion „Soziale Randgruppen und antike Sozialpolitik" in Graz* (21.–23. September 1987), ed. Ingomar Weiler with the assistance of Herbert Graß (Graz, 1988); Dimitra Karampoula, "Symphonia und politike Asymphonia. Randgruppen im Rahmen der Gesellschaft der Spätantike," *BZ* 95/2 (2002): 481–508; Ruth Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2008).

8 Le Goff, "Les marginaux," 19–28; Frans Irsigler and Arnold Lassotta, *Bettler und Gaukler, Dirnen und Henker* (Cologne, 1984); Geremek, "Le marginal," 381–413; Geremek, *The Margins of Society*; Borislav Geremek, "L'image de l'autre: le marginal," 67–81; Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990); *Randgruppen der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft: Ein Hand- und Studienbuch*, ed. Bernd Ulrich Hergemöller, 2nd ed. (Warendorf, 1994); *Matrons and Marginal Women in Medieval Society*, eds. Robert Edwards and Vickie L. Ziegler (Woodbridge, 1995); Frank Rexroth, *Das Milieu der Nacht: Obrigkeit und Randgruppen im spätmittelalterlichen London*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 153 (Göttingen, 1999); František Graus, "Randgruppen der städtischen Gesellschaft im Spätmittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 8 (1981): 385–437; František Graus, "Randgruppen der städtischen Gesellschaft im Mittelalter," in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von František Graus, Vorträge und Forschungen* 55 (2002): 303–350; Frank Meier, *Gaukler, Dirnen, Rattenfänger: Außenseiter im Mittelalter* (Ostfildern, 2005).

sively. Our knowledge mainly relies on studies on the more general phenomenon of the outsider, the stranger, or the other in Byzantine society. The first, and in many respects only, extensive discussion of outsider groups thus far can be found in Phaidon' multi-volume compendium on Byzantine daily life,[9] which, though rich in material, is largely outdated concerning its theoretical presuppositions and methodological approach. It deals with a broad range of aspects regarding attitudes towards prostitutes, actors, tavernkeepers, magicians, and homosexuals but fails to evaluate the sources according to modern criteria of source criticism and mixes folkloric and historical elements of different periods and contexts.

A more systematic discussion of conceptions and literary perceptions of the Byzantine outsider began in the 1970s. The initial goal was to elucidate the question as to who the Byzantine outsiders were. To this day, there is a general tendency to give very broad definitions encompassing every kind of commonly not-accepted otherness, including foreigners,[10] political and religious dissenters,[11] and social non-conformists.[12]

Dion S. Smythe was the first to combine systematically the discourse on Byzantine outsiders with the conceptual framework provided by modern sociological theories. His unpublished PhD thesis (1992) examined Byzantine attitudes towards outsiders in the 11th- and 12th-century historiographical texts of Michael Psellos, Anna Komnene, and Niketas Choniates, thereby defining four categories of outsiders on the grounds of gender, religion, race, and class (*taxis*).[13] Smythe mainly drew on theories of deviancy, especially the so-called labellist perspective, and thus described the characteristics of the four categories he defined through a matrix consisting of elements of deviating behavior. The notion of outsider thus gained a comprehensive meaning, basically encompassing all those who reveal deviant behavioral patterns in one way or another. A long-term goal of his inquiry remained a better understanding of the relationship between insiders and outsiders in Byzantine society.

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9 Phaidon Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 6 vols., Collection de l' Institut Français d' Athènes 73 (Athens, 1948–1955), 2:117–162.

10 Robert S. Lopez, "Foreigners in Byzantium," in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 44 [=*Miscellanea Charles Verlinden*] (Brussels, 1974): 341–352, repr. in *Byzantium and the World Around it: Economic and Institutional Relations* (London, 1978), no. 14; Angeliki Laiou, "The Foreigner and the Stranger in 12th century Byzantium: Means of Propitiation and Acculturation," in *Fremde der Gesellschaft: Historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zur Differenzierung von Normalität und Devianz*, ed. Marie-Theres Fögen, Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte 56 (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 71–97.

11 Évelyne Patlagean, "Byzance, le barbare, l'hérétique et la loi universelle," in *Ni Juifs ni Grecs. Entretiens sur le racisme, sous la direction de Léon Poliakov* (Paris, 1978), 81–90, repr. in *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance* (London, 1981), no. 15.

12 Beck, "Formes de non-conformisme à Byzance," 313–329.

13 Dion C. Smythe, *Byzantine Perceptions of the Outsider in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: A Method*, PhD Thesis (St. Andrews, 1992).

An article by Dion Smythe dealt with women as outsiders, combining sociological definitions of outsiders with the feminist definition of gender.[14] Based on Anna Komnene's *Alexias*, Smythe tried to show that Byzantine women could be regarded as outsiders because gender, along with race, class, and religion, is one of the criteria used to distinguish between the self and the other. Another important aspect is subjective awareness or self-awareness as a member of a minority group. Smythe's recent study on "Insiders and Outsiders" (2010) summarizes the results of his previous research and concentrates on women while also examining the Varangian guard as an example of ethnic outsiders.[15] Taken together, Smythe's thought-provoking work, which focuses on 11th- and 12th-century narrative sources and ruling elites in Byzantium, is doubtless of great value for all future attempts in this field because of the interdisciplinary trajectory he has opened by analyzing Byzantine marginal groups based on theories and concepts borrowed from sociology, social anthropology, and gender studies.

In the framework of these broad definitions, during the 1990s the Byzantine outsider with the concept's manifold nuances and ramifications formed a popular topic for conferences. The proceedings of an international symposium held in Athens (1993) dealt with various groups of socially, ethnically, religiously, or ideologically marginalized people, such as idolaters, heretics, blacks, fools, Jews, invalids, homosexuals, and magicians.[16] The resulting volume attempted to outline the social and conceptual context of these groups and to show the potential of a critical analysis of the available source material. Still, it failed to define a theoretical framework regarding the origin, use, and interpretation of the Byzantine terminology for "outsiders" and the accompanying social attitudes in the context of a medieval Mediterranean society.

More specialized topics of deviance and marginalization were discussed in two volumes of conference proceedings (1990, 1994) devoted to religious deviance and related legal issues. These focused on Byzantine canon law and theological responses to religious deviance in the Latin and Eastern traditions.[17] The proceedings of another conference on "Fremde der Gesellschaft" (1991) gathered historical and sociological studies on differentiations between normality and strangeness from an interdisciplinary perspective.[18] An interesting volume entitled "Strangers to Themselves: The Byz-

14 Dion C. Smythe, "Women as Outsider," in *Women, Men and Eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (London, 1997), 149–167.

15 Dion C. Smythe, "Insiders and Outsiders," in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James (Chichester, 2010), 67–80.

16 *Οι περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. Chrysa Maltezou (Athens, 1993).

17 *Religiöse Devianz: Untersuchungen zu sozialen, rechtlichen und theologischen Reaktionen auf religiöse Abweichung im westlichen und östlichen Mittelalter*, ed. Dieter Simon, Studien zur Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte 48 (Frankfurt am Main, 1990); *Identité et droit de l'autre*, ed. Laurent Mayali (Berkeley, 1994).

18 *Fremde der Gesellschaft: Historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zur Differenzierung von Normalität und Devianz*, ed. Marie-Theres Fögen (Frankfurt am Main, 1991).

antine Outsider" (2000) resulted from a Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies held at the University of Sussex in 1998 and comprised nineteen articles covering a broad range of approaches from history, theology, literature, and art history.[19] The symposium aimed to treat the phenomenon of "outsiders" and ideas of "outsiderness" in light of thematically broader and methodologically current approaches, thus provoking further debates on the subject. The notions of the outsider and the other were explored with the help of a great variety of concepts, such as minorities and marginalization, identity and community, conformity, dissidence and deviance, conversion and assimilation, bordering of ethnicity, gender, heterodoxy and taxis, and social exclusion. In addition, attempts were made to position the Byzantine outsider within a broad range of polarities like capital and province, center and margin, norm and divergence, legal and illegal, heresy and orthodoxy, the settled and the nomad, city and desert, and literacy and illiteracy.

Overall, the aforementioned studies and conference proceedings offer valuable insights for conceptualizing the Byzantine outsider broadly and evidence numerous possibilities for combining Byzantine social phenomena with modern sociological theories. Still, they did not attempt to cover the diachronic development of perceptions, social functions, and positions of specific marginal groups in certain sections of Byzantine society. In this respect, the existing bibliography is relatively meager and presents considerable gaps.

The marginal groups forming part of the present volume have been treated in only a few studies, several of which remain unpublished, with diverging perspectives and chronological foci: Stavroula Leontsini's published PhD thesis (1989) on prostitution explored terminological issues, places of professional practice, the everyday life and work of prostitutes, as well as material and social aspects of the early Byzantine period.[20] Avshalom Laniado published an article (2018) on imperial legislation regarding prostitution from the 4th to the 12th century.[21] And Gary Leiser wrote a monograph (2019) on sex work and prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean with a particular focus on the Muslim heartlands and Anatolia.[22] An article by Harry J. Magoulias (1971) analyzed tavern- and innkeepers and prostitutes as socially marginalized outsiders,

19 *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider. Papers from the Thirty-second Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Dion C. Smythe, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1998, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 8 (Aldershot, 2000).

20 Stavroula Leontsini, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz*, Dissertationen der Universität Wien 194 (Vienna, 1989).

21 Avshalom Laniado, "L'empereur, la prostitution et le proxénétisme: Droit romain et morale chrétienne à Byzance," in *Le prince chrétien de Constantin aux royautés barbares (IVe–VIIIe siècle),* eds. Sylvain Destephen, Bruno Dumézil, and Hervé Inglebert, *TM* 22/2 (2018): 49–97.

22 Gary Leiser, *Prostitution in the Eastern Mediterranean World: The Economics of Sex in the Late Antique and Medieval Middle East* (London, 2019).

mainly based on hagiographical sources of the 6th and 7th centuries.[23] Ewald Kislinger's unpublished PhD thesis (1982) on hostelry and accommodation dealt in a rather positivistic manner with different types of inns, taverns, and lodging houses and the people associated with these establishments.[24] Spyros N. Troianos explored the issue of taverns and crimes in early Byzantine law (2010).[25] Apostolos Karpozilos examined Byzantine attitudes towards tavern- and innkeepers in letters of the Palaiologan period (2011).[26]

Other studies have dealt with social attitudes towards actors in Byzantium. Franz Tinnefeld was mainly interested in the social position of the Byzantine *mimos* (1974). More specifically, he tackled the question of whether and in what respect the *mimos* was part of a subculture and what motives led the Greek Orthodox Church to condemn the *mimos* and *pantomimos* and thus banish them to the social underground.[27] From the viewpoint of theater studies, Walter Puchner explored the history of the Byzantine theater and *mimos* in the mirror of Greek patristic texts and synodical decisions made by the Greek Church.[28] A monograph by Ruth Webb is dedicated to the microcosm of the late antique *mimos* in and against society (2008), but except for some brief glances, it does not reach beyond the 6th century.[29] Most recently, Przemyslaw Marciniak has dealt with the Byzantine theater and the performative turn and has explored pertinent terminological issues (2014, 2017).[30]

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23 Harry J. Magoulias, "Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution and the Stage as seen in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *EEBS* 38 (1971): 233–252.

24 Ewald Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe und Beherbergung in frühbyzantinischer Zeit: Eine realienkundliche Studie aufgrund hagiographischer und historiographischer Quellen*, PhD Thesis (Vienna, 1982).

25 Spyros Troianos, "Καπηλεία και εγκληματικότητα στον κόσμο του Βυζαντίου," in *Essays in Honor of Professor C. D. Spinellis*, ed. Maria Galanou (Athens, 2010), 1285–1300.

26 Apostolos Karpozilos, "Περὶ τῶν περιπατούντων εἰς καπηλεῖα καὶ καταγώγια," *Hellenika* 61/1 (2011): 33–46. In the past ten years, there has been growing interest in research on tavernkeepers in the medieval West. See, for instance, John Hare, "Inns, innkeepers and the society of later medieval England, 1350–1600," *Journal of Medieval History* 39/4 (2013): 477–497.

27 Franz Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974): 323–343.

28 Walter Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel der griechischen Patristik und ekklesiastischer Synodalverordnungen. Quellen Anmerkungen aus theaterwissenschaftlicher Sicht," *Maske und Kothurn* 20 (1983): 311–317; Walter Puchner with the assistance of Andrew Walker White, *Greek Theatre between Antiquity and Independence: A History of Reinvention from the Third Century BC to 1830* (Cambridge, 2017), in which see for Byzantium 52–111.

29 Webb, *Demons and Dancers: Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2008).

30 Przemysław Marciniak, "How to entertain the Byzantines? Mimes and jesters in Byzantium," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, eds. Evelyn Vitz and Arzu Öztürkmen (Turnhout, 2014), 125–149; Przemysław Marciniak, "The Byzantine Performative Turn," in *Within the Circle of Ancient Ideas and Virtues. Studies in Honour of Professor Maria Dzielska*, eds. Kamilla Twardowska et al. (Krakow, 2014), 423–430; Przemysław Marciniak, "Laughter on Display: Mimic Performances and the Danger of Laughing in Byzantium," in *Greek Laughter and Tears. Antiquity and After*, eds. Margaret Alexiou and Douglas Cairns (Edinburgh, 2017), 232–242.

These studies constitute a valuable point of departure for the present volume, providing a first analysis of tavernkeepers, prostitutes, and actors as socially marginalized outsiders mainly based on hagiographical and historiographical sources. However, they are mostly confined to the early Byzantine period and make limited attempts to place the data of Byzantine sources into a broader socio-historical and interdisciplinary context. While there is a substantial amount of scholarly debate on these groups more broadly, historians have paid less attention to the question of their disadvantaged position in society, the meaning of their marginalization, and the mechanisms by which marginal identities were created, expressed, or rewritten over time by Byzantine authors in the various types of sources. The editor of this volume has addressed some of these items in a recent study (2021) dealing with forms of social marginalization and the reintegration of Byzantine prostitutes as documented in saints' lives and other narrative sources written between the 5th and the 12th centuries.[31]

3 Problems in Researching Marginal Groups

One of the critical challenges that scholars face is the nature of the available source material. Some archaeological finds have been relevant to the questions at hand. For instance, taverns from the 6th century and the middle or late Byzantine period respectively have been identified in Sagalassos (Ağlasun) in Southwest Turkey and in Corinth. However, this kind of material evidence is rather scarce. The same applies to pictorial representations in Byzantine art. Therefore, our analysis is to a large extent based on written sources, both normative, such as texts of secular and canon law or theological treatises, and narrative, such as saints' lives and chronicles. In all subunits of the present volume, we emphasize source-critical issues, such as the time and place of a text's composition, an author's social position and worldview, literary conventions, narrative techniques, and forms of perception and literary representation. A crucial working principle is that we need to clarify what parameters determined the literary presentation and perception of the three marginalized groups in these texts and to what degree we can draw verifiable conclusions regarding the social reality of outsider groups in Byzantium.

One of the significant problems of source criticism results from the fact that all available texts are written from the perspective of socially, politically, and intellectually dominant groups and thus tend to represent exclusively their norms and values.

31 Despoina Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte: Zwischen Marginalisierung und Reintegration in die Gesellschaft," *Byz* 91 (2021): 1–45. For Roman antiquity, see Thomas McGinn, "Roman Prostitutes and Marginalization," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World* (Oxford, 2015), 643–659.

Inevitably, their descriptions, presentations, and statements reflect the image of social elites and are confined to a specific discursive framework consisting of moral condemnation, appeals, and, occasionally, ideas of compassion and repentance. The marginal groups in question are usually presented as impure, immoral, filthy, sinful, the embodiment of evil, and the personification of sin. People are admonished to stay away from them. The only permissible way to approach them is through the Christian ideal of showing compassion. For instance, people may take pity on prostitutes and actresses who, due to adverse circumstances, were forced to engage in these activities. Hence, there exists an unbridgeable gap between these two opposite sides of society. Opinions and reactions of marginalized individuals are never articulated, not only because they left no written statements but also because prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers never take center stage in Byzantine literature. Authors would rarely make them the protagonists of their narratives, but refer to them only in passing and as an aside. There are descriptions of main characters chancing upon a prostitute in the market, the streets, the harbor, the brothel, or the tavern, but the focus is always on the reactions of the decent and the decorous.[32] The social outsider usually remains anonymous and is rebuked for his provocative outward appearance and immoral behavior, but no further details are given. The only exception is a subgenre of early Byzantine hagiography that treats a specific kind of holiness, i.e. that of "the holy harlot" or "repentant prostitute."[33] Some biographies of former prostitutes, such as Pansemne,[34] and of actresses, such as Porphyria[35] and Pelagia,[36] were modeled after the first penitent saint, Mary of Egypt.[37] In this case, too, however, the focus is not on marginalization but on monastic ideals and the idea that even the most sinful and

32 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 6.

33 Patricia Cox Miller, "*Is There a Harlot in this Text?: Hagiography and the Grotes*que," in *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33/3 (2003): 419–435; Virginia Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints: An Erotics of Ancient Hagiography* (Philadelphia, 2004), ch. 4; Stavroula Constantinou, *Female Corporeal Performances: Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Women*, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 9 (Uppsala, 2005), ch. 2; and Christopher M. Flavin, *Constructions of Feminine Identity in the Catholic Tradition: Inventing Women* (Lanham, MD, 2020), 32–37.

34 *Life of Theophanes and Pansemne*, ed. E. de Stoop, "La vie de Theophane et de Pansemne," *Le musée belge: revue de philologie classique* 15 (1911): 313–329. For Pansemne, see Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 21–22, 26, 28, 37, 40–41, 44.

35 *Life of Porphyria*, ch. 50, in *Leontios de Néapolis: Vie de Syméon le fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, eds. André-Jean Festugière and Lennart Rydén **(**Paris, 1974). For Porphyria, see Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 25–28, 30.

36 *Life of Pelagia*, ed. Bernard Flusin, "Les textes grecs," in *Pélagie la Pénitente. Métamorphoses d'une légende. Tome I. Les textes et leur histoire*, ed. Pierre Petitmengin et al. (Paris, 1981), 39–131. For Pelagia, see Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 10–11; 27, 36.

37 *Life of Mary of Egypt*, in *PG* 87/3, 3697–3725 and trans. Maria Kouli, "Life of St. Mary of Egypt," in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C., 1996), 65–93. Cf. Anne Marie Sargent, *The Penitent Prostitute: The Tradition and Evolution of the Life of St. Mary the Egyptian*, PhD Thesis (Ann Arbor, 1977).

morally corrupt person, such as a prostitute, can adopt the principles of monastic life through repentance and forgiveness.

Another problem concerns the modern terminological distinction between "normal and decent people" and "marginal groups." Byzantine authors do not make such differentiations, so modern scholars must find criteria enabling them to establish categories coming close to modern notions. This can be achieved through recurring characteristics and behavioral patterns that appear in the Byzantine sources concerning the three groups in question. Their analysis allows us to garner information about the terminology, social stereotypes, clichés, and prejudices articulated in the narrative presentations of these groups. These features partly reflect the perception of contemporary social realities and partly accrue from ideas and literary conventions rooted in the Christian patristic tradition or late antique rhetoric. It is frequently impossible, however, to draw a clear distinction between actual experience and literary convention.

In sum, all texts referring to marginal groups determine deviating unacceptable behavior based on a broad range of social, legal, and Christian moral norms. The authors identify with these norms and describe their protagonists as always consistent with these principles while using specific narrative tools to present marginalized people. At first, they characterize them and their world with a wide range of derogatory and morally charged terms. Secondly, they juxtapose their protagonists against them as representatives of the dominant order to which they are called to return. The author frequently assumes this role by addressing his audience in a personal statement. Thirdly, in specific hagiographical texts, the authors present a sinner's remorse through self-statements expressing their preparedness to repent and recant his former way of life.[38]

4 Views, Social Norms, and Legal Concepts

The three marginal groups examined in this volume are a typical and indispensable part of the social fabric in urban environments. They are, in many respects, closely interrelated. Ewald Kislinger aptly called prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers an "unholy triad."[39] Byzantine texts describe female prostitutes (πόρνη, δημοσία πόρνη, δημοσία, πάνδημος γυνή, προϊσταμένη, πεπορνευμένη, ἑταίρα, πεζὴ ἑταίρα, ἑταιρίς, θυμελική, μιμάς, etc.),[40] quite similarly to our modern perceptions, as unmarried or married women who offered sexual services to secure their livelihood or to earn

38 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 7.

39 See the chapter by Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi in this volume, 215.

40 For the terminology, see Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 22–41. Cf. Thomas McGinn, "The Legal Definition of Prostitute in Late Antiquity," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 73–116.

money in the easiest and quickest way possible.[41] The terms μιμάς and θυμελική indicate conceptual and semantic proximity between actresses and prostitutes, as both terms literally mean stage actresses but are usually used as synonyms for prostitutes in hagiographic texts.[42] There is a distinction between voluntary and forced prostitution: the sources provide examples of women who chose to pursue this profession out of sexual desire[43] or because they lived in poverty and were deprived of the protection of their parents.[44] Other accounts speak of women who were forced by relatives in urgent need of money.[45] There were laws protecting women against prostitution and punishing the perpetrators.[46] The spatial settings in which prostitutes pursued their profession were brothels, taverns, and streets in ports, cities, and pilgrimage sites.[47] As a hub of trade and commerce with a vast population, Constantinople had an exceptionally high demand for women offering such services.[48]

41 For Prostitution in Antiquity and Byzantium, see for instance Paul Dufour, *Geschichte der Prostitution*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1901), trans. P. Lacroix [Pseudonym of P. Dafour], *Histoire de la Prostitution* (Bruxelles, 1851–1854); Iwan Bloch, *Die Prostitution*, vol. 1, Handbuch der gesamten Sexualwissenschaft in Einzeldarstellungen (Berlin, 1912); Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 2:117–162; Herter, "Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution," 70–111; Lujo Bassermann (Pseudonym for H. Schreiber), *Das älteste Gewerbe. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Vienna, 1965); Ewald Kislinger, *Prostitution/Byzanz*, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 7:267–269; Johannes Irmscher, "Η πορνεία στο Βυζάντιο," in *Πρακτικά του Α΄ διεθνούς συμποσίου «Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο. Τομές και συνέχειες στην ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή παράδοση»*, ed. Christina Angelidi (Athens, 1989), 253–258; Leontsini, *Prostitution*; Claudine Dauphin, "Brothels, Baths and Babes. Prostitution in the Byzantine Holy Land," *Classics Ireland* 3 (1996): 47–72; Ruth Mazo Karras, "Holy Harlots: Prostitute Saints in Medieval Legend," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1 (1990): 3–32; Thomas McGinn, *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and Brothels* (Ann Arbor, 2004); Thomas McGinn, "Definition of Prostitute in Late Antiquity," 73–116; Laniado, "Prostitution," 49–97; Leiser, *Prostitution*, 1–47; Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3.

42 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3; Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 28. See also Cornelia Horn, "Women, Prostitution, and Violence in the Syriac Martyrdom of the Mimes," in *Syrien im 1.–7. Jahrhundert nach Christus: Akten der 1. Tübinger Tagung zum Christlichen Orient (15.–16. Juni 2007)*, eds. Dmitrij F. Bumazhnov and Hans Reinhard Seeliger, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 62 (Tübingen, 2011), 111–143; Catherine Edwards, "Unspeakable Professions. Public Performance and Prostitution in Rome," in *Roman Sexualities*, eds. Judith P. Hallet and Marilyn B. Skinner (Princeton, 1997), 66–95.

43 For prostitution and sexuality, see Ruth Mazo Karras, "Prostitution and the Question of Sexual Identity in Medieval Europe," *Journal of Women's History* 11.2 (1999): 159–177; Thomas McGinn, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (Oxford, 1998).

44 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3; Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 74–80.

45 Some fathers were forced to enter into contracts with pimps. For such a contract, see Johannes Diethart and Ewald Kislinger, "Papyrologisches zur Prostitution im byzantinischen Ägypten," *JÖB* 41 (1991): 15–23, at 20 (P. Vindob. G 40796).

46 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3; Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 176–178; Herter, "Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution," 74–75.

47 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3–4.

48 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 4; Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 63–64.

Prostitution was intricately linked with the sphere of actors and showmen. The word θέατρον in Byzantium had nothing to do with the literary and historical development of the ancient theater and came to mean all kinds of popular spectacles, frequently of obscene and morally reproachable character. Terms like μίμος, παντομίμος, σκηνικός, and θυμελικός not only referred to spectacles for the ordinary people but also included showmen in traditional costume and street singers.[49] Such performers entertained their audiences in taverns, during the intermissions of chariot or horse races in the Hippodrome, or as jesters at the imperial court.[50]

Although *mimoi* enjoyed quite a respectable position in the context of the games and races of the Hippodrome in the early Byzantine period, Canon 41 of the Quinisext Council in Trullo (691/2) explicitly prohibited their performances and threatened the participants with excommunication.[51] The main argument for the Church's negative attitude towards them rested upon the reprehensible moral standards of actors and their performances. Their obscene gestures and songs were considered dangerous stimuli, polluting the audience's imagination and seducing people to imitate them. Especially seductive were actresses, which explains why they were frequently equated with prostitutes.[52] Ecclesiastical representatives especially rebuked their parodies of Christian rites and worship practices, thus characterizing actors as useless dawdlers and idlers.[53]

Since antiquity, tavernkeepers (κάπηλος, ταβερνάριος, φουσκάριος),[54] among other services, had been offering prostitutes to their customers. Thus, their activities and spatial environment were closely related to brothels and love for sale. For this reason, the Church traditionally held a very critical stance towards taverns and the people operating them. At the same time, secular law, such as Novel 133 of Emperor Justinian,[55] and canon law prohibited monks and women from entering establish-

49 For the terminology, see Marciniak, "How to Entertain the Byzantines," 129.

50 Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 337–338; Marciniak, "Performative Turn," 428–430; Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos," 313.

51 Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 128–129; Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos," 312–313; Marciniak, "How to Entertain the Byzantines," 130–131.

52 Herter, "Soziologie der antiken Prostitution," 97–106; Magoulias, "Bathhouse," 246–252; Hans Georg Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* (Munich, 1986), 71–82; Leontsini, *Prostitution*, 118–137.

53 Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 136–143. Georgios J. Theocharidis, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Profantheaters im IV. und V. Jahrhundert, hauptsächlich auf Grund der Predigten des Johannes Chrysostomos, Patriarchen von Konstantinopel* (Thessaloniki, 1940), Part 2: Mimus, 67–121, at 94. See also the essay of Przemysław Marciniak in this volume.

54 Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 44–45.

55 *Just.* Nov. 133.6, in *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* vol. 3: *Novellae*, eds. Rudolf Schoell and Wilhelm Kroll (Berlin, 1895, repr. 1972). Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 132–139.

ments of this kind.[56] Accordingly, tavernkeepers are customarily described as cruel people prone to crime.[57]

Hence, we are dealing with three professional groups that belong to a shared spatial setting and social milieu situated at the intersection between a commonly accepted sphere of respectable citizens and their social norms, on the one hand, and a marginalized underground associated with illicitness, immorality, and voluptuousness, on the other. Their activities were tolerated to a certain degree as a significant part of the entertainment services offered to the population on numerous occasions in larger settlements and urban centers. Visiting brothels, taverns, inns, and fairs (*panegyreis*),[58] although criticized and restricted by secular and ecclesiastical law, was obviously a prevalent form of entertainment and fulfilled the basic desires of a large section of the population.[59] Nevertheless, people from these groups always conflicted with Christian ideals and moral concepts. The political, religious, and intellectual spokesmen representing the prevalent societal value system sharply distanced themselves from them in their official statements, regarding them as outsiders or outcasts banned to the fringes of society. Thus, they were scorned and disdained and faced various forms of oppression from the majority, though human nature would not allow society to function without their services. As a result, all forms of interaction between "normal" people and marginal groups were inevitably marred by a high degree of ambiguity.[60]

Again, marginalization can be defined as an intricate social process in which certain population groups deviating from predominant norms and values in their habits, behaviors, and beliefs are pushed to the fringes of a given society and thus remain largely excluded from its political, economic, and cultural activities. As a result, the

56 Monks were forbidden by ecclesiastical law to visit inns because they offered wine and prostitutes, which could tempt them. Only when traveling or in case of an emergency were they permitted to stay overnight in an inn. See Canon 54 of Saint Apostel and the commentary of Zonaras, Balsamon, and Aristenos in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων*, eds. Georgios Rhalles and Michael Potles 6 vols. (Athens, 1852–1856), 2:71–72: Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἐν καπηλείῳ φωραθείη ἐσθίων, ἀφοριζέσθω· πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν πανδοχείῳ ἐν ὁδῷ δι' ἀνάγκην καταλύοντος. Also, Canon 24 of Council of Laodicea, in *Discipline générale antique (IIe–IXe)*, vol. 1/2: *Les Canons des Synodes Particuliers*, ed. Perikles-Pierre Ioannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), 140; Canon 22 of the second Council of Nicaea, in *Discipline Générale Antique (IIe–IXe)*, vol. 1/1: *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques (IIe–IXe),* ed. Perikles-Pierre Ioannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), 282–285. See also Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 3; Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 132–139; Magoulias, "Bathhouse," 241, and the essay by Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi in this volume, 222 and n. 50.

57 Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 151–152; Troianos, "Καπηλεία και εγκληματικότητα," 1285–1300; Karpozilos, "Καπηλεῖα," 33–46.

58 Angeliki E. Laiou, "Händler und Kaufleute auf dem Jahrmarkt," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, eds. Günter Prinzing and Dieter Simon (Munich, 1990), 53–70.

59 Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 156–158.

60 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 44; Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 156–158.

great majority of society, with its religious, moral, and political representatives, considers them second-class citizens of inferior standing and dubious reputation.[61]

We can distinguish between two different stages or levels in this process of marginalization in Byzantium and other societies. The first is related to official attitudes expressed in judgments and regulations issued by state or ecclesiastical authorities, i.e., the two chief pillars on which the administrative apparatus and the cultural and political cohesion of Byzantine society are based. The second results from social conventions and behavioral patterns prevailing among "normal" people and from the way the latter position themselves vis-à-vis outsider groups. Comprehending these factors enables us to determine the tools Byzantine society had at its disposal to implement social norms and isolate various categories of marginal groups at an official and informal level.[62]

Law and legislation constitute a pivotal reflection of a society's social ethics and they codify the legal and social position of groups and individuals. Several crucial questions need to be addressed in this context: How and to what extent did legal provisions in Byzantium regulate certain professional activities and the social standing of groups and individuals and thus contribute to their potential marginalization? In what way did legal provisions control and restrain the participation of marginalized people in matters of public life? Did they or their relatives have the right to testify as witnesses in lawsuits or hold public offices? Did the legal system apply the same protection rules and penal provisions to them as to other, non-stigmatized citizens? For instance, there were secular laws prohibiting procuration and protecting dependent persons from forced prostitution. Ecclesiastical laws provided for specific penalties regarding prostitutes, such as a four–year excommunication in conjunction with four-step penitential exercises.[63] State and Church authorities thus erected barriers between "normal" and morally reprehensible people while also recommending their gradual reintegration through expiatory practices. These examples also show that secular and canon law were equally crucial for the formation of commonly accepted moral standards regarding the exclusion and/or inclusion of certain groups. Regarding social practices and moral concepts in everyday life, the Church, due to its daily presence in society, had ample opportunity to enforce its rules and shape what nowadays would be called public opinion.[64]

61 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 1–2. For the various meanings of marginalization and marginality from economic, political, geographical, social, and other viewpoints, see Stanko Pelc, "Marginality and Marginalization," in *Societies, Social Inequalities and Marginalization*, eds. Raghubir Chand, Etienne Nel, and Stanko Pelc (Springer, 2017), 13–28, esp. 14–16.

62 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 6–7.

63 Canon 4 of Gregory of Nyssa, in *Discipline Générale Antique (IVe–IXe)*, vol 2: *Les canons des Pères Grecs*, ed. Perikles-Pierre Ioannou (Grottaferrata, 1962), p. 213, lines 17–21 and Canon 22 of Basil of Caesarea, p. 125. Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 36.

64 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 36; for tavernkeepers see, Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 152.

Regarding marginalization mechanisms in everyday life, it is expedient to shift the focus from normative to narrative sources referring to the attitudes and reactions of "normal" people towards the three marginal groups in question. According to the views and attitudes propagated by state and ecclesiastical authorities, the available texts underline the existence of clearly recognizable social and spatial divides between people abiding by accepted norms and outsiders while also highlighting the conceptual separation between the spheres of the pure and the impure.[65] In terms of space, outsider groups were topographically concentrated in "impure" areas and quarters, which were regarded as places and sites of vice and ill repute and were closely linked to morally suspect and even criminal individuals. We find these people primarily outside the city walls, near marketplaces and the Hippodrome, and in ports.[66] However, the Byzantine imperial legislation made no systematic effort to remove them from specific geographic areas.[67]

Marginalization did not mean the complete exclusion of social groups or individuals from economic, political, or cultural activities. Under certain circumstances, such as public festivities and amusement events, prostitutes, actors, and tavern- and innkeepers constituted a functional component of medieval societies. They were a part of the normality and social reality of everyday life. Despite the mechanisms society employed at times to keep outsiders away from its core areas, the sources also illustrate other aspects of Byzantine social reality, i.e., forms of interaction between "normal" people and marginal groups.[68] At times, these contacts could be conceived of as a dynamic force contributing to societal developments and changes. For instance, during insurgencies and in times of turmoil, outsiders could become involved in political activities or serve as channels of communication between the social elite and lower strata. A case in point is the well-known episode of the violent execution of Stephen the Younger,[69] the first martyr of Iconoclasm, or the outburst of popular unrest surrounding the downfall of Emperor Andronikos I and the rise of Isaac II Angelos in 1185.[70] In both incidents, the available narrative sources talk about people of ill repute assuming roles as cheerleaders of popular outbursts of anger.

65 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 18, 35–36.

66 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 4, 18, 37.

67 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 18, n. 70: Although Byzantine public policy did not prohibit the existence of brothels, it relegated them to side streets and remote locations, to neighborhoods outside the center or the walls, in a form of "moral zoning." The Zeugma, Acropolis Hill, Domninos Embolos, ports, the area around the Hippodrome, and theaters are some of the locations in Constantinople where prostitutes operated.

68 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 1–45.

69 *Life of Stephen the Younger* (*BHG* 1666), ch. 71, lines 1–6, ed. Marie-France Auzépy, *La Vie d'Etienne le Jeune par Etienne le Diacre. Introduction, edition et traduction*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 3 (Aldershot, 1997). For this episode, see the essay by Julie Van Pelt in this volume, 308–309.

70 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Jan A. van Dieten, CFHB 11/1 (Berlin, 1975), p. 349, lines 14–16: [...] καὶ ἀπαιδευτότατοι τῆς Κωνσταντίνου οἰκήτορες καὶ τούτων οἱ ἀλλαντοπῶλαι πλέον καὶ βυρσοδέψαι καὶ

It is also noteworthy that marginalization was not necessarily regarded as a lifelong condition. Byzantine society, although often hierarchical, was nevertheless characterized by some degree of flexibility and mobility and thus provided possibilities for social ascent, changes in a person's status, reintegration, and acceptance by dominant groups. This is documented by individual stories of people belonging to one of the three professional groups in question who managed to become reintegrated into the social spheres of respected citizens and even achieved esteemed positions. Well-known models of social reintegration in Byzantium include the empresses of outsider background, who left her imprint on the empire's religious identity and collective historical memory. One may mention Helena, "the good stabularia," mother of Constantine the Great,[71] Justinian's wife Theodora, a former actress,[72] and Theophano, an innkeeper's daughter and wife of two 10th-century emperors.[73] Other individuals outside the imperial court but still in highly respected positions were Theodore of Sykeon, a former prostitute's son,[74] who became bishop and saint who healed the sick in the 6th century, and the son of a tavern keeper who rose to the position of judge (Εἴς τινα κάπηλον γενόμενον νομικόν) in the 11th century.[75]

5 Marginalization Mechanisms

As we just saw, Byzantine attitudes towards the three professional groups in question were ambiguous and inconsistent. Although often pushed to the fringes of society and lacking economic power, political influence, and status, they still were an integral part of it, and their presence was constantly attested. Accordingly, there were different levels or degrees of marginalization, which are reflected in the sources, depending on the reasons for an individual's stigmatization, his or her legal status (free citizen or slave), gender, and family background.

Female prostitutes and actresses, who were largely equated with prostitutes or considered potential prostitutes, were subject to an especially high degree of margin-

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ὅσοι τοῖς καπηλείοις διημερεύουσι […]. Harry J. Magoulias, "Andronikos I. Komnenos: A Greek Tragedy," *Symmeikta* 21 (2011): 101–136. See also the essay by Kislinger and Ariantzi in this volume, 220.

71 See the essay by Kislinger and Ariantzi in this volume, 215. Cf. Jan Willem Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden, 1997), 79–85.

72 Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 138. James Allan Evans, *The Empress Theodora, Partner of Justinian* (Austin, TX, 2002), 15. See also the essays by Andrew W. White and by Charis Messis in this volume, 80, 186.

73 *PmbZ* # 28125: Ioannes Skylitzes claims that her father Krateros was an innkeeper.

74 *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, ch. 84, lines 24–27, ed. André J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, 2 vols., *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 48 (Brussels, 1970), vol. 1, p. 71. Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 20–21.

75 *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria Minora*, *Oratio* 14, ed. Antony Robert Littlewood, Bibliotheca Schriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Tevbneriana (Leipzig, 1985), 51–57. See also Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 19–20. Cf. the essay by Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi in this volume, 223.

alization. Sexual intercourse with a prostitute was morally condemned but legally tolerated, the law considering prostitution a sin rather than an offense such as adultery. State and church authorities made efforts to protect the institution of marriage and preserve the established role of women in the family.[76] The sexually unrestrained prostitute appears as the antitype to the decorous and honorable wife and mother. Her professional activity was considered shameless and immoral because it ran counter to the principles of the state and the church regarding the position of women.[77]

However, some ecclesiastical authorities put pressure on emperors to take legal measures to combat the phenomenon of prostitution. The novel of Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) on prostitutes and pimps from the early 14th century was issued thanks to the efforts of Patriarch Athanasios I to combat prostitution. This piece of legislation mostly reiterates the content of imperial laws of the early Byzantine period regarding the culpability of brothel owners and procurers. They were considered culpable because they took advantage of the poverty of girls and forced them into prostitution. Accordingly, they were to be punished with property confiscation, as in previous centuries. However, for the first time, this law prescribed a punishment for "the woman who offers herself freely." She "shall be punished by having her hair cut and a shameful procession."[78] This humiliating form of punishment showcases the emperor's intention through the above legislation to denounce prostitutes publicly in order to force them to comply. Furthermore, the novel was to serve as a deterrent to other women from engaging in acts of prostitution.[79] Undoubtedly, this public stigmatization contributed to the marginalization of prostitutes. Although we do not have concrete evidence for the effect this novel had on the living conditions of prostitutes, its very existence still indicates that there must have been a growing awareness of the problems related to prostitution, at least in the milieu of the late Byzantine capital. It is well known that Patriarch Athanasios I was more broadly opposed to the licentiousness of taverns, where wine and prostitutes were offered.[80] His concerns thus found their immediate expression in Andronikos' novel.

What do non-normative texts tell us about the marginalization of prostitutes in Byzantine society? There is a whole set of statements and descriptions of exemplary behaviors regulating the attitude people were expected to adopt towards prostitutes.

76 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 41.

77 McGinn, "Roman Prostitutes," 657.

78 *JGR*, 1:535. For this Novel, see Laniado, "La prostitution," 81–85. Cf. the essay by Charis Messis in this volume, 74–75.

79 For this kind of punishment, see Spyros N. Troianos, "Οι ποινές στο βυζαντινό δίκαιο," in *Έγκλημα και τιμωρία στο Βυζάντιο*, ed. Spyros N. Troianos (Athens, 1997), 13–65.

80 See the essay of Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi in this volume. Under the pressure of letters from Patriarch Athanasios, Emperor Andronikos II issued another novel in 1304, imposing the closing of taverns on weekends so that people could attend church services instead of drinking and having fun in taverns.

References were often accompanied by appeals calling on people of both sexes to distance themselves from "impure, immoral, filthy, and sinful people," who are considered the embodiment of evil and sin. Furthermore, the available accounts make plain that society has developed collective defensive mechanisms in response to the offensive behavior of prostitutes. Decent citizens were supposed to exhibit contempt for prostitutes, offend them, stay aloof, look at them disdainfully, and speak with them in a stern and reprimanding manner to convey the message that these women were not welcome in the sphere of accepted moral norms. To further enhance this contrast, the narratives often emphasize that prostitutes reacted to such displays of disapproval and rebuke with contempt. They are presented as ostentatiously mingling with people and provocatively soliciting their customers.[81] However, the accounts also point out that people felt compassion for and wished to help prostitutes because of the adverse circumstances that had forced them to choose this path.[82] Marginalization was apparently perceived as a reversible process. In theory and according to the precepts of Christian morality, it was not a lifelong status but limited in time and confined to certain conditions. Individuals had a way out, provided they were willing to show remorse and practice repentance. The two paths our sources offer prostitutes and actresses toward their reintegration into the society of the "decent" were marriage and monastic life.[83] The idealized image of the penitent sinner certainly was a well-known cliche in hagiographical texts but also reflected widely shared concepts of social order, sin, and atonement.

In everyday practice, the reintegration of prostitutes into society was complicated. The texts testify that people were reluctant to accept the sincerity of prostitutes in their intent to abandon their profession. Byzantine society is presented as quite hesitant in embracing "its new members" as equals and granting forgiveness for their previous lifestyle. Every misstep could destroy what had been achieved, and the danger of relapse was constantly impending. A serious stumbling block mentioned in the sources was the pressure exerted by people of the old milieu, be it procurers or former clients. Such accounts vividly illustrate the challenges and obstacles former prostitutes faced in their efforts to adapt to the moral precepts and behavioral patterns of social decency. The individuals described in the sources experienced many ups and downs during the reintegration process until they gained stability, or eventually failed.[84]

The marginalization of the *mimos* is associated with the actor's affiliation with an infamous profession in the early Byzantine period.[85] Actors could not serve in the

81 For analysis of the numerous hagiographical and historiographical examples, see Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 8–16.

82 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 16–135.

83 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 40–43.

84 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 17–18, 43–44.

85 For this topic see the essay by Andrew W. White in this volume.

army, hold magistracies, or file lawsuits. Sources from the period predating the Council of Trullo (691/92) often single out two types of entertainers, namely the *thymelikai/thymelikoi* and the *mimoi*. The former played musical instruments, danced, sang, and performed at wedding feasts. The latter was a type of performer with even lower moral standing than their singing and dancing colleagues. Canon 24 of the Council of Trullo prohibited clergymen from watching performances and instructed them to leave wedding feasts before dancers and musicians appeared. Canon 41 explicitly prohibited these performances and threatened participants with excommunication. These ecclesiastical prohibitions were apparently not strictly applied, as the sources testify that performances continued to be staged and were particularly dear to the people. However, the term *mimos* does not appear frequently from the 7th through 11th centuries and seems to have been replaced by other terms such as *paigniotis*, *skenikos*, or *gelotopoios*.[86]

Undoubtedly, *mimoi* did not suffer the same degree of rejection and marginalization by society as prostitutes. The discrimination they endured was more ambiguous. While they had been deprived of political rights ever since the early Byzantine period, they never ceased to be an intrinsic part of public performances and entertainment in Byzantium. They even had a specific role in ritualized state acts, such as imperial ceremonies and triumphs, punishments, and humiliations, which took place in the Hippodrome and other public spaces related to the empire's ruling elite. Byzantine emperors watched their performances, enjoyed their company, and granted them not only money and gifts but also high-ranking titles. Some gained a high reputation and were especially dear to those who loved watching their shows. The *mimoi* were primarily marginalized by the representatives of the Church and members of the intellectual elite, who disliked the performances because they were offensive, coarse, sexually charged, or even obscene, running counter to strict Christian morals. Author from the 11th and 12th centuries, such as Michael Psellos, Kekaumenos, and Theodoros Prodromos, were especially outspoken in expressing their rejection and disgust. They regarded them as of low intellectual capacity and social standing and equated them with foul-mouthed commoners and flatterers. Kekaumenos disapproved of the people making gifts to performers and advised them not to give money to mimes, foul-mouthed people, and flatterers but to respectable men, friends, and those in need. The author urged the emperor, if he wished to reward the mimes, to give them a few coins but no offices—those should be assigned to people worthy of them. In the 12th century, specialists of canon law distinguished between honest *thymelikoi* and "lawful" *skenikoi* working in the emperor's service and their dishonest counterparts. Ecclesiastical authors discarded the *mimoi* as an unacceptable group of people because

86 Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 123–124; Marciniak, "How to Entertain the Byzantines," 127–130, 140.

they incited unseemly laughter and emotions, which the clergy tended to consider troubling and inappropriate.[87]

Tavernkeepers were in a more advantageous position compared to prostitutes and actors. Their services were meant to entertain, and they all used taverns and lodging houses for their activities. In the 6th century, legal prohibitions forbidding them to serve in select military units or to watch public spectacles in the Hippodrome became obsolete, which indicates that their legal status had improved.[88] Tavernkeepers had fixed locations and could be found primarily in the market areas and ports of big cities, but also in provincial towns or traffic arteries in the countryside. The state drew significant profit from their business through taxation. According to the early 10th century Book of the Prefect or Eparch, tavernkeepers formed one of the professional guilds in Constantinople, similar to bakers, merchants, silk traders, jewelers, and various craftsmen. Chapter 19 (*Peri Kapilon*) established prices for wine, calibrated jars for serving, prohibited unfair competition, and introduced rules regarding the closing times on public holidays and Sundays and the curfew in the evening. The Prefect explicitly forbade overnight services for customers, to avoid excessive consumption and outbursts of violence during the night.[89] The Eparch's Book nowhere alludes to the tavernkeeper's links with the prostitution business, which was officially not part of his profession.

Although tavern- and innkeepers were legally recognized as a professional group and contributed significantly to state revenues, they had a poor image and reputation in Byzantine society. Unlike legal and normative texts, the available narrative sources paint a somewhat ambiguous picture of men and women practicing this profession, who, according to the relevant accounts, stood with one foot in the sphere of legality and decency and with the other were teetering on the brink of immorality and crime. Their position in the twilight zone of social acceptability is mainly due to their close ties with prostitutes, which earned them the reputation of procurers.[90] Moreover, they are often described as being involved in brawls, thefts, and other illegal activities listed in the penal provisions of Byzantine criminal law.[91] Thus, despite their well-defined and commonly accepted position in the social fabric of urban markets, ports, and trade routes, tavernkeepers were socially defamed and often suspected of obscene behavior and disdainful business. With its traditional diatribes against this profession, the Church had an impact on the attitude of state authorities and contributed significantly to the dreary image of tavernkeepers, even though it hardly brought about any changes to the views and practices of those who frequented these localities

87 Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz," 335–343; Marciniak, "How to Entertain the Byzantines," 130–132.

88 Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 37.

89 Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 156–158.

90 Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 132–139, 152–158.

91 Troianos, "Καπηλεία και εγκληματικότητα," 1285–1300.

and relied on tavernkeepers' services. Even in its own ranks, the Church struggled to enforce prohibitions barring clerics from entering taverns and inns.[92]

Unlike prostitutes and actors, the hospitality industry did not face marginalization, provided that tavernkeepers limited their services to the customary offerings of food, drink, conviviality, and accommodation. However, if they employed actors or provided the services of prostitutes, their reputation quickly suffered, and they became objects of suspicion. The fact that women legally employed in taverns often engaged in illegal prostitution for additional income highlights the blurred boundary between legal and illegal activities. Nonetheless, there was a strong temptation for tavernkeepers to enhance their business through these extra services.[93]

Concerning this professional group, too, the sources speak about various mechanisms of social marginalization, which could have dire consequences not only for tavernkeepers themselves but also for their relatives and descendants. The bad reputation of parents also stigmatized their children, just as with the offspring of prostitutes.[94] A case in point is Michael Psellos' speech on the "son of a tavernkeeper who became a judge" and the acerbic sarcasm with which the author portrays the social ascent of this person who formerly kept company with prostitutes.[95] As a member of the Constantinopolitan ruling elite, he was not inclined to accept that personal capabilities counted for more than group membership.[96] He articulated here the standpoint of a rigid hierarchical order that assessed its members primarily based on family ancestry, wealth, and education, giving little consideration to the merits of talent and character. For those on the top, the advancement of persons from dubious backgrounds was perceived as a threat to the existing order, and the privileged position they enjoyed and was, in their view, deservedly reserved for themselves.

In the 12th century, Ptochoprodromos' wife complained to her husband about their unhappy marriage. As the main reason she cited their diverging social and economic status. She originated from a noble and wealthy family, whereas her husband was of a poor background. She had brought a dowry into the marriage, raised the children, and managed the household while he sat idly by. Hence, she advised him to marry a woman from his own class, for example, the "destitute and penniless" daughter of a tavernkeeper.[97]

92 Kislinger, *Gastgewerbe*, 132–139, 152–158.

93 Ewald Kislinger, "Byzantium: new insights into marginalized groups," in *scilog*: The online FWF Science Magazine, 11/2019.

94 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 20–21, 39, 43–44.

95 *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria Minora*, Oratio 14, lines 51–57, ed. Littlewood.

96 Ariantzi, "Byzantinische Prostituierte," 19–20.

97 *Πτωχοπρόδρομος*, ed. Hans Eideneier (Irakleio, 2012), p. 157, lines 107–108: ἂς ἔλαβες ὁμοίαν σου, καπήλου θυγατέραν, κουτσοπαρδάλαν τίποτε, γυμνήν ἠπορημένην, ... Margaret Alexiou, "Ploys of performance: Games and play in the Ptochoprodromic Poems," *DOP* 53 (1999): 91–109, at 96–97; Angeliki E. Laiou, *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium* (Nottingham, 1992), 203, 237.

The Poulologos, a literary work dating to the second half of the 14th century, expresses a set of social perceptions, identity concepts, and attitudes toward social groups under the guise of episodes and dialogues occurring among the community of birds, which, however, bears recognizable human traits and characteristics. During an argument, the flamingo (*paragialites*) contemptuously characterizes the pheasant as "the useless son of some tavernkeeper woman," who is not welcome in his company and should stay away.[98] The adjective *achrestos*, i.e., "useless," is semantically linked with the generally shared disrespect for the pheasant's mother's profession.

All these texts, in one way or another, disseminate notions and concepts of the empire's social and intellectual elite. They impart to their readers concepts of moral and social barriers separating the "we"-group, i.e., the ruling class and all "decent" or "normal" people, from the others or outsiders, i.e., all those deviating from dominant models of social and moral behavior. Concepts of good order, sets of legal norms, rules of moral behavior, and Christian concepts of sin and repentance constituted the normative and regulative tools for determining the Byzantine discourse of marginalization as an effective control mechanism of inclusion and exclusion. Other criteria, such as social background, family, and economic status, were employed to define social groups and hierarchies and to regulate forms of social mobility. Elites tended to consider upward mobility as a threat to their exclusiveness and expressed their negative stance by blurring the notions of low social standing and marginalized status.

6 The Contributions of this Volume

Although it is impossible to cover all aspects of a topic as multifaceted as marginalization and marginal groups in one volume, an attempt is made in this volume to cover several key elements as they occurred throughout the Byzantine millennium and to employ an interdisciplinary approach to the subject by examining a large body of written sources in conjunction with pictorial representations and archaeological material. Such a volume could certainly not do without a contribution covering the medieval West to highlight similarities and differences between the Latin and Byzantine spheres. This volume thus consists of a theoretical and methodological introductory part and four thematic sections dedicated to prostitutes and prostitution, tavern- and innkeepers, actors and performers, and the narratological analysis of texts dealing with the three groups in question.

Dion Smythe opens his discussion about the Byzantine outsider with a critical reassessment of modern approaches to the "other," "stranger," "foreigner," "outsider,"

98 *Μεσαιωνικές ιστορίες ζώων. Διήγησις των Τετραπόδων Ζώων και Πουλολόγος*, ed. Hans Eideneier (Irakleio, 2016), p. 282, lines 284–285: "ὅτι κοπέλιν ἄχρηστον καπήλισσας ὀκάποιας ποσῶς οὐδὲν τὸ χρήζομεν νὰ κάθεται κοντά μας."

"different," and "not like us" people in Byzantium in conjunction with some reflections on the issue of contemporary outsiders (me-too-movement, black-lives-matters, etc.). He seeks to establish a valid and coherent theoretical framework for thinking about outsiders by pointing out two fundamental presuppositions that should be considered by those engaged in research on the "other." Firstly, any discussion of outsiders or subgroups can be understood only in terms of the relationship between the defining in-group and the defined out-group. Secondly, the status of outsiders is not permanent. The role and social status of individuals were subject to change, and Byzantine society, although overwhelmingly hierarchical, also gave leeway to various forms of social mobility. Smythe thus presents three different approaches to a much larger group of people living on the fringes of Byzantine society, which can be subsumed under the labels of foreigners, strangers, or outsiders, both external and internal. In particular, there are (1) approaches relating to source texts, (2) approaches relating to sociology-anthropology, and (3) approaches relating to "identity politics." To better understand the large body of available literary sources and manage the manifold phenomena presented in them, it is expedient to categorize outsiders into (1) outsiders by ethnicity, (2) outsiders by religion, (3) outsiders by gender, (4) and outsiders by *taxis*, that is, social order. In this way, Smythe provides a flexible theoretical and terminological framework encompassing all groups and aspects discussed in this volume. Prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers can be understood as specific subtypes of internal outsiders in Byzantine society.

The second part of the volume deals with prostitutes in Byzantium and their marginalization from the early to the late Byzantine period, as well as in Byzantine art and the western medieval world. Charis Messis discusses terminological matters related to the definition of prostitutes in Byzantine sources and the multilayered use of the terms *porne* ("prostitute") and *porneia* ("prostitution") over the centuries. By referring to secular and ecclesiastical law, he presents two ways by which prostitutes became legally visible, namely provisions concerning marriage prohibitions between members of different statutory categories and regulations regarding sex procurement. As regards the typology of prostitutes in Byzantine literature, he discusses individual stories of prostitutes from early and middle Byzantine hagiography, drawing a distinction based on geographical and spatial criteria between poor prostitutes in rural environments and those in urban centers, who are portrayed as greedy for profit and luxuries.

Broaching the issue of whether and to what extent prostitution was a marginal activity in Byzantine society and whether prostitutes could be considered marginalized, Messis concludes that marginalization concerns groups and not individuals. Prostitutes, however, never constituted a homogeneous group. If marginalization concerns individuals, it is difficult to trace such incidents by following the careers of specific women. Most texts, especially hagiographical texts, tell us stories of integration rather than marginalization. However, prostitutes were marginalized for a part of the population but necessary for another part because of the services they offered. Messis

establishes three criteria to assess the degree of marginalization of prostitutes: (1) access to marriage and "normal" life, (2) spatial restrictions on movement and activities, and (3) the status of infamy conditioned by the first two.

Günter Prinzing deals with incidents of suspected and proven prostitution in the late Byzantine period based on court records from the period 1204–1453. The material is gleaned from three groups of sources, namely judicial rulings issued by the ecclesiastical synod in Epirus from the first half of the 13th century, decisions of the patriarchal court in Constantinople from the 14th and 15th centuries, and the novel issued by Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) in 1306 at the request of Patriarch Athanasios I. Overall, prostitution only rarely appears in documents of ecclesiastical jurisdiction during the period in question. Specifically, the acts of the patriarchal register preserve three proven cases of prostitution in the second half of the 14th century, with two of them referring to the Hodegon Monastery and one to a pseudo-monastery (and de facto brothel) in the house of a prostitute named Thiniatissa. She was disguised as a nun and received her clients at home while other nuns living in her house practiced the same profession. Residents of the neighborhood petitioned the authorities to "take measures and remove this disgrace from their home."

This example makes us think that prostitution was practiced almost everywhere in the city, not only in public spaces but also in hidden sites and private homes, to avoid the social stigmatization and marginalization of prostitutes, as the cases referring to the monastic milieu of Constantinople indicate. In the acts of the Metropolitan John Apokaukos of Naupaktos and Archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos of Ochrid, prostitution is implied and mainly concerns married women who cheated on their husbands so that the latter sought divorce. Although it remains unclear whether the incidents in question were cases of prostitution or adultery, there are hints indicating that prostitution was involved. Reportedly, these women were often absent at night and sometimes even for several days. The women had more than one lover. In one case, the husband even accused his mother-in-law of procuring her daughter. Another case deals with the divorce of a married man from Kastoria, who abandoned his wife after living with a Vlach prostitute as a concubine.

Cecily Hennessy's chapter delves into the portrayal of penitent harlots in Byzantine and Western art, with a focus on Mary Magdalene and the paradox of her marginalization and demarginalization in East and West as reflected in extant pictorial representations. In the West, the figure of Mary Magdalene merged with Mary of Bethany (the sister of Martha and Lazarus) and the Blessed Sinner, commonly interpreted as a prostitute. After the 11th century, her cult flourished because of her role as a fallen and redeemed figure with whom believers were inspired to identify. Thus, she became the most revered female saint in the 12th century, and the most famous harlot. In Byzantium, however, she is portrayed as a figure of virtue, not associated with prostitution, sin, repentance, or suffering. In the Gospel texts, Mary Magdalene appears as an essential figure in the story of Christ. She played a significant role as a companion, witness, and apostle to the apostles. She was present with the other

women in Galilee, serving Christ, and in some accounts, remained a companion of the Virgin Mary until her death. However, in the East, she was somewhat marginalized. She was not a significant saint, nor did she have a church dedicated to her in Constantinople, and she rarely appeared in imagery except within a narrative context. The chapter also discusses the different cultural contexts of prostitution in Byzantium and the Latin West, including attitudes toward marriage, concubinage, and slavery. Additionally, it addresses the cult of other penitent harlots, such as Mary of Egypt, Pelagia, Porphyria, and Taisia, and their iconographic depictions in East and West. While Byzantine prostitute saints are represented in Byzantine art, their cults are relatively minor compared to those of Saints Anne, Barbara, Thecla, or Catherine.

Frank Meier examines the multifaceted pathways leading to prostitution and marginalization in medieval German cities, shedding light on the complex and often contradictory conditions under which prostitutes lived and worked in brothels. The documentation of urban prostitution in historical sources, including women's shelter regulations, council decisions, and court judgments, offers valuable insights. It is evident that a significant number of urban prostitutes belonged to the lower classes. Similar to the situation in Byzantium, factors such as poverty, rape, and broken marriages, as well as the influence of traffickers and pimps, promoted prostitution in medieval Western cities. Notably, there were instances where town councils took action against the trafficking of women. Additionally, it is noteworthy that most prostitutes were either foreigners or from the immediate vicinity, as burgher daughters, like virgins, were prohibited from engaging in such activities.

In contrast to Byzantine society, which merely tolerated prostitution, Western medieval societies provided it with institutional and legal legitimization as a necessary evil. Since most people were unable to obtain marriage licenses, brothels served as an important outlet. Brothels were overseen by the town council and existed in every major town. By setting up brothels, the city councilors aimed to prevent clandestine prostitution on the streets, in taverns, and in private apartments. The purpose of women's shelter regulations was to protect prostitutes. However, this was only partially successful, as some of their masters did not adhere to the detailed specifications. Prostitutes were both respected and despised in medieval society. The council promoted commercial prostitution within the institutional framework of the women's shelter. Accordingly, the church tolerated commercial prostitution as a lesser evil, and some shelter regulations explicitly referred to this. Prostitutes were no outsiders. They had their place in the church, were invited to weddings as a token of fertility and good luck, and participated in public festivities.

Even though medieval town councils legalized prostitution by establishing brothels, they also marginalized prostitutes with a series of measures. Free prostitutes, who did not work in brothels operated by the town council, were expected to participate in public festivals and games as symbols of fertility. Prostitutes working in town brothels were easily identifiable due to their distinct clothing, which further stigmatized them. The marginalization of prostitutes was linked to the expectation that a "re-

spectable" woman had to be married, a widow, or a nun. As a result, prostitutes could not acquire civil rights or get married, which made any attempt at rehabilitation into civil life futile. Attempts to ban prostitution, such as the order issued by the French King Louis IX in 1254 to expel all prostitutes from France and confiscate their property and clothes, ultimately failed. It was only after the Reformation that prostitutes were massively discriminated against, women's shelters closed, and their trade relegated to dishonorable circles.

The third part of the volume deals with mimes, actors, and performers, their position in society, and the forms of marginalization applied to them from the early to the late Byzantine period. Andrew W. White examines the case of the marginal mime. By the early Byzantine period, marginalizing mimes had become a mainstream phenomenon. The relative invisibility of the mimes' marginal status speaks to a curious phenomenon of dueling narratives: on the one hand, working actors often had enough money to hire slaves and enjoyed widespread popular acceptance. On the other hand, for all their fame and fortune, mimes were always reviled by Roman intellectuals and officials who, given the opportunity, could make their lives utterly miserable. The chapter discusses the regulation of secular and ecclesiastical law during a pivotal period in the history of Roman mimes, focusing on the changes in their social status. Mimes faced harsh measures in the late Roman era, which led to their social marginalization and loss of respectability. By the end of the 4th century, Roman mimes were legally marginalized, and their status bordered on slavery due to centuries of hardening attitudes and strict legal restrictions. However, their situation gradually improved with their Christianization and changes in civil legislation. Emperor Justinian played a significant role in these reforms, abolishing laws that marginalized actors and improving their social status. His reforms also granted actresses the right to marry men of high social standing and removed penalties for women returning to acting. Additionally, severe penalties were imposed on officials who tried to force women to remain in the theaters. Choricios of Gaza's *Apologia Mimorum* is an oration that seeks to elevate the social status of mimes, even among the elite who despised them. By the 6th century, many mimes had embraced Christianity, and some had returned to performing. Changes in Justinian's legislation appeared to have improved the everyday lives of mimes, allowing them to move about without social stigma, perform in the streets, and even participate in church activities on Sundays. This chapter highlights the various shifts in the fortunes of mimes, cautioning against overemphasizing a single historical period as representative of their entire experience.

The performative culture of the Byzantine era is not well understood, especially when it comes to mimes and actors during the middle and late Byzantine periods, as discussed by Przemysław Marciniak. The main challenge in studying Byzantine mimes is the nature of the sources. The extant material is scattered and often difficult to interpret. Accounts of mimes are so varied that it is uncertain whether they represent a literary creation or a reflection of contemporary social realities. Therefore caution is necessary, and sweeping generalizations about the Byzantine era should be

avoided. Marciniak avoids reconstructing a "continuous tradition" but instead focuses on how mimes and actors were depicted in middle and late Byzantine literature by addressing several key questions: Did the portrayal of mimes change? Was it consistently negative? Did it differ between genres? Do we see a coherent image of despised mimes, or rather a random collection of depictions and stereotypes used as needed by different authors?

Mimes and performers were a diverse group that was never organized into a guild. Both textual and visual sources confirm the presence of various performers but provide little detail beyond that. This lack of clarity is further complicated by the terminology used, as Byzantine writers employed a variety of terms to describe entertainers. They have used these terms interchangeably without distinguishing between different types of performers. It is also challenging to reconstruct specific performance methods. Despite changes in social, political, and religious conditions for performers during the middle and late Byzantine period and a decrease in conflict with the church, they continued to be seen as a moral danger to the audience.

Regarding whether Byzantine mimes were marginalized, it is worth noting that marginalization did not necessarily equate with complete exclusion. It could also mean that a group placed at the fringes of society was tolerated to the extent that it abided by a set of restrictions. The language used in hagiographical and historical texts and twelfth-century canon law was unequivocally denigrating. Despite this, Byzantine texts also highlight the mimes' involvement in palace ceremonies and public or private festivities, suggesting an indispensable role in and a beneficial effect on society. Therefore, the image projected by the sources is complex and contains numerous ambiguities and contradictions.

The fourth part of the volume consists of three chapters that take a closer look at tavernkeepers and the activities and establishments associated with them from both historical and archaeological perspectives. This section shifts the focus from marginalization to a broader examination of the two contrasting types of Byzantine hospitality: disreputable taverns and shady commercial inns, on the one hand, and ecclesiastical or imperial charitable guesthouses (*xenodocheia*, *xenones*) offering services to poor pilgrims and travelers, on the other. Ewald Kislinger and Despoina Ariantzi provide an overview of these forms of standardized hospitality in Byzantium from the early to the late Byzantine period. Starting from the 4th century, state recognition enabled Christian institutions to put their ideas of charitable hospitality and welfare into action, allowing them to compete with commercial establishments, which had already existed in ancient times under the designations of *kapeleia* and *pandocheia*. The chapter describes the ambiguous social status of tavern- and innkeepers, who positioned themselves between social acceptance and marginalization based on how they ran their businesses. In 10th-century Constantinople, tavernkeepers formed a guild and provided wine, food, and lodging while paying taxes to the state treasury. However, taverns also attracted unsavory behavior, illegal activities, and prostitution. Despite institutional acceptance, tavern owners were often associated with criminal elements.

Additionally, taverns were no meeting places for social or intellectual elites, while disreputable individuals often frequented them, thus tarnishing tavernkeepers' reputations.

It comes as no surprise that Church Fathers and ecclesiastical authorities were overwhelmingly ill-disposed towards taverns and inns, as well as the people frequenting them, and thus created a discursive framework of moral repudiation defining tavern owners as social outcasts. Christian morality programmatically discarded all forms of *aselgeia*, i.e., "licentiousness," whether the form of wine consumption, sexual promiscuity, or musical enjoyment. However, these activities were an indispensable part of the tavernkeeper's profession, and taverns never ceased to be in high demand. From the 11th century onwards, there seems to have been a further increase in the consumption behavior of Byzantine tavern customers. The growing income of tavernkeepers brought about an elevation of their social status. Members of tavernkeeper families promoted to the rank of judges were rare exceptions indeed. However, such incidents also reflect a general trend among 11th-century tradespeople and businesspeople, who aspired to social advancement, recognition, and, if their economic situation allowed it, gaining a seat in the Senate. No doubt the empire's economic upswing in the 11th and 12th centuries also benefited religious hospitality institutions, thanks to the patronage of extremely affluent aristocratic landowners. Hence, we know of guesthouses for pilgrims and the poor that operated in the Bachkovo Monastery (in modern-day Bulgaria), founded by Gregory Pakourianos, and in the Almshouse in Rhaidestos (modern Tekirdağ), founded by Michael Attaleiates. Overall, the Byzantine hospitality sector continued to flourish in both its religiously accepted form as charitable guesthouses and its morally repudiated but omnipresent form as commercial taverns and inns to the very last days of the Byzantine millennium.

Max Ritter deals with the tavernkeeper's antipode, the *xenodochos*, i.e., the steward or head of charitable guesthouses (*xenodocheion*, *xenon*). The foundation and maintenance of the oldest *xenodocheia* can be traced back to the initiatives of bishops and monastic communities. From the 6th century onwards, emperors also began to make their appearance as founders and supporters of *xenodocheia*. In this way, they not only projected their care for the poor and needy, following the principle of philanthropy as prescribed by the moral concepts of imperial ideology, but they also strengthened the ties between the central government and the provinces. This is suggested by the fact that a series of imperial guesthouses established after the 6th century were situated at ports providing ferry connections with Constantinople and at termini of significant transport routes. They are documented in sources dating between the 8th and 10th centuries in places like Loupadion, Nicaea, Pylaia, Sangaros, Nicomedia, and Thessalonike. Ritter discusses the problems and challenges a *xenodochos* faced while operating and managing these institutions, as reflected in Canon Law and the legislation of Emperor Justinian. This normative body of evidence can partially be aligned with the details provided by narrative sources referring to charitable guesthouses. Apart from juxtaposing normative and narrative texts regarding

the everyday realities of guesthouse stewards, this chapter also explores the social network of these people in their respective dioceses or monastic communities and their interactions with the guests. Remarkably, the heads of guesthouses often managed to climb the ecclesiastical hierarchy and become bishops or patriarchs.

While the written sources frequently refer to the hospitality sector, be it *kapileia*, *pandocheia*, or *xenodocheia*, the archaeological evidence for taverns and inns in Byzantium is scarce and contradictory. Numerous archaeological finds linkable to the hospitality industry have been discovered in the ancient Roman sites of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia. In the Byzantine period, taverns and inns were undoubtedly just as typical. The expansion of Christian pilgrimage ever since the fourth century generated a growing need for guesthouses along the roadways leading to the significant pilgrimage sites, many of which were located in Asia Minor. Beate Böhlendorf-Arslan's chapter surveys archaeological evidence for taverns, inns, and guesthouses in Byzantine Asia Minor from the 4th to the 11th centuries. In particular, it discusses the question of how such establishments can be identified in archaeological contexts and presents numerous examples of relevant archaeological material from Sardis, Ephesus, Tripolis on the Maeander, Sagalassos, and Boğazköy in central Anatolia. The topographical distribution of taverns in Pompeii offers clues for the location of taverns and inns in late antique and Byzantine cities. It allows us to assume that they must be sought in or near the city center. Moreover, buildings built or converted to provide lodging and food to travelers were to be found at various points along the empire's main roads, the so-called *cursus publicus*. Some ancient Roman way stations (*mansiones*) still operated in Byzantine times, but they had passed into private hands. Some are still identifiable, but the number of preserved *mansiones* has never been systematically recorded.

The archaeological research has singled out typological and functional features of buildings that can be identified with early and middle Byzantine inns on transportation and communication arteries in Asia Minor. Significant examples of inns, hostels, or guesthouses are remains of an early Byzantine *mansio* at the southern exit of Döşeme Boğazı, which is part of the *Via Sebaste* running from Pergamon to Side; a large building complex on the road from Diokaisareia (Olba) to Korasion near Seleukeia (modern Silifke); structures at the Alahan Monastery near Mut; and remains at the western gate of the city of Assos (modern Behram) at the Aegean coast of Asia Minor in the Gulf of Lesbos. These buildings were usually multi-storied and had separate kitchen and restaurant spaces accessible from the main road, huts, stables for horses, water supply features, and, at pilgrimage sites, even a church.

The final chapter, by Julie Van Pelt, deals with discourse-analytical approaches to the three marginal groups by focusing on narratological aspects of Byzantine hagiography. This genre depicts members of these groups in complex and contradictory ways. By sifting through numerous early and middle Byzantine hagiographical texts featuring characters representing one of these groups, Van Pelt charts the narrative mechanisms by which these figures were marginalized while becoming central in

other ways. She distinguishes between texts in which prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers appear as side characters and those in which a saint him-or herself belongs to one of these professions. In the latter category, a subgroup of figures started as practitioners of one of these professions but changed their lives, repented, and turned into saints. A case in point is the repentant prostitutes, also known as "holy harlots." Another subgroup subsumes characters who never abandoned their profession but were still virtuous Christians (and indeed saints). Individuals who worked as prostitutes, actors, and tavernkeepers were not only cast out of Byzantine society but were also marginalized in a religious and spiritual sense. Their professions were viewed as sinful, leading to their exclusion from social and religious communities. Nevertheless, Christianity always maintained ties with social outsiders and sinners. Thus, based on the Gospel's message, they all had the opportunity to enter the kingdom of Christ and be saved spiritually after sincere repentance.

The contributions gathered in this volume do not aim to treat the subject of marginal groups and mechanisms of marginalization in Byzantine society comprehensively. Instead, they showcase different methodological approaches to and interpretations of three specific marginal groups and the prevalent perceptions of them in Byzantine society. This thematic focus enables us to study historical realities, narrative representations, and material remains related to a specific social and professional environment against the background of broader debates about the Byzantine outsider, which have dominated the scholarly literature so far. It also allows us to draw specific comparisons with similar phenomena and discourses in the medieval West. It seeks ways to better understand the results gained from historical analysis, narratology, art history, and archaeology with the aid of the terminology and analytical tools provided by modern social sciences. In this sense, this volume may provide helpful guidance for further advancing research on marginalization in Byzantium and contextualizing it within the broader framework of mentalities and social life in medieval Southeast Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Christian Near East.

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