CLERICS AND SECULAR PROFESSIONS IN THE BYZANTINE CHURCH

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For several centuries the clergy of the Christian Church were not a distinct professional class, depending for their income exclusively on their ecclesiastical duties. By the middle of the third century only the higher orders, mostly the bishops, were considered full-time workers deriving their salaries from the Church. For many years after the reign of Constantine clerics of the other ranks, including presbyters, continued to work at crafts, engage in trade and business, or practice a secular profession earning their livelihood from their non-clerical work. We are concerned here with clergymen engaged in lay professions, from the age of Constantine through the twelfth century.

Much evidence confirms that from the fourth century through the seventh there were ordained men who served as palatine officials, civil servants, notaries, silversmiths, bankers, money lenders, flax and oil merchants, coppersmiths, sail-makers, carpenters, shoe-makers, brick-bakers, bath-keepers, tavern keepers, butchers, ship and house builders, fruit and vegetable dealers and, of course, farmers. In a letter to Eusebios, bishop of Samosata, bishop Basil of Caesarea wrote in 375 AD confirming that in his diocese most of his clergy lived by their non-clerical professions and the practice of secular careers1.

With the growth of Christianity however, and the multiplication of the clergymen’s duties, synodical and legal acts were issued in order to prevent the clergy from secular professions. Several local and ecumenical councils as well as Church Fathers issued legislation forbidding all ranks of the priesthood to pursue “kosmikas phrontidas” that is secular, or worldly professions. As we shall see, however, Church canons and patristic opinion for many centuries affected no radical change in the attitude of Byzantine society toward the clergy in secular professions.

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The sixth, the eighty-first and the eighty-third canons of the fourth-century collection bearing the name of the Apostles (Apostolic canons)

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state that bishops, presbyters, and deacons must not practice secular professions. If they do they should be deposed from their orders. The canons implied that clergymen were required to devote their time to their priestly duties; to keep their mind free from the disturbances and the confusion of worldly affairs. In condemning secular pursuits, the apostolic canons did not specifically condemn all secular professions but only those of a political and civic administrative nature. Those in charge of philanthropic institutions and charitable organizations, and those engaged in teaching were excluded from the provisions of the canons.

The sixteenth canon of the council in Carthage (419) condemned bishops, presbyters and deacons who served as “contractors” (ekleptores) and “Procurators”. It advised that they should seek to earn their livelihood by other than “base and vile business”. Soon after, the fourth ecumenical synod, held in Chalcedon in 451, forbade the clergy, including monks, to accept a military charge (strateia) and “any secular dignity (axian kosmiken). Both terms were used to denote all kinds of military and civic secular offices.

As far as canons of the middle Byzantine period are concerned, we find little change in the church’s attitude. The council in Trullo (691), which issued one hundred-and-two canons of a disciplinary and ethical nature, says little about secular professions. The ninth canon forbids clergymen to run taverns (kapelikon ergasterion). The tenth canon of the seventh ecumenical synod, held in 787 in Nicaea, condemned clergymen who served as meizoteroi, that is stewards of great estates belonging to persons of high state positions. A similar canon was issued by the synods known together as “First and Second Synod of Constantinople”, held in 859 and 861. Its eleventh canon emphasized that clergymen should not occupy positions of secular authority, in particular to be curators of estates of land magnates and of agricultural villages.

Imperial legislation, too, prohibited clergymen from secular offices. Emperors Arcadius and Honorius issued a law in 399 indicating that

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3. Ibid., 3:342-343.
6. Ibid., 2:587-590.
7. Ibid., 2:686-687.
clerics should choose between a civil and an ecclesiastical career. Valen-
tian III, in a law issued in 452 ordered that “clerics shall henceforth
engage in no trade. If they should wish to engage in business, they shall
know that they will be subject to the judges [secular] and will not be
protected by the privilege of clerics”. And Justinian in his new legis-
lation included a law which enforced the prohibition against clergy holding
public offices such as collector of taxes, recorder of public or private
property, attorney to conduct litigation. He allowed them, however,
to be tutors, guardians and administrators of philanthropic institu-
tions8.

The question is: how did the Byzantines themselves understand
the canons and laws that speak of “kosmikas phrontidas” or secular
offices? Collectively Byzantine canonists, including Photios (9th cen-
tury), Ioannis Zonaras (11th), Theodore Balsamon (12th), Alexios
Aristenos (12th), and Matthaios Blastaris (14th), perceived the canons
to condemn clergymen in political and civil administrative positions.
Clergymen were not allowed to serve as imperial secretaries, contractors
for the collection of taxes (ekleptorai), procurators or curators of muni-
cipalities in charge of maintaining public buildings and discharging
municipal funds (meizoteroi), as controllers (pronoetai) and accountants
(logariastai)9. As we have already indicated, clergymen of all ranks
were appointed to head philanthropic institutions (hospitals, old age
homes, orphanages, hospices, reformatory establishments) whether
private, ecclesiastical, or imperial, and were allowed to serve as tutors.

It seems, however, that even these few and rather lenient canonical
restrictions had little effect on the Byzantine clergy. Sufficient evidence
indicates that throughout the Byzantine era (330-1453), the early
centuries in particular, clergymen occupied positions in several secular
professions. This is confirmed by a variety of sources such as hagi-
ographical texts, literary narratives and legal documents. However,
most of our information derives from inscriptions.

Cyril of Scythopolis writes of a deacon in Jerusalem who worked
as a silversmith10. The author of Saint John the Eleemosynary’s life

8. Codex Theodosianus 13.1:16; Novels of Valentinian 35.4; Corpus Juris Civilis,
Novel. 123, 5, 6. Cf. Elias J. Patsavos, E Isodos eis ton kieron kata tous pente pro-
tous aionas (Athens, 1973), 198-203.
10. Cyril of Scythopolis, Life of Saint Sabas, 78, ed. E. Schwartz, Kyrillos von
Skythopolis (Leipzig, 1959).
mentions two clergymen who worked as cobbler’s. A tombstone mentions Paul, the son of Konon, who was a presbyter and a potter (kerameus), and a seventh-century papyrus from Egypt mentions a presbyter-potter, whose name is lost. An inscription from Korykos speaks of “Marinos, presbyter and sail-maker.”12 A sixth-century papyrus mentions Paul, priest of the Holy Church of Saint Thekla, and carpenter.”13 An inscription found in the area of Bosphorus speaks of Konstantinos the priest who was also a lawyer (nomikos).14 A fifth century presbyter from Ephesus named Ioannis was a banker (trapezites) and money dealer (argyroprates); an inscription from Hierapolis speaks of a priest (aidestomatos) named Photinos who was also a banker (trapezites). And another inscription from Korykos (Cilicia) of the early Byzantine period mentions a presbyter named Romanos who was also a banker (trapezites).15 The Church had not prohibited clergymen to be bankers and these inscriptions indicate that no contempt about this trade appeared in the Christian conscience.

An inscription of Korikos speaks of a presbyter named Anastasios who was also a cutter of precious stones (kabidarios); another presbyter named Theodoros and praised as “a friend of all”, from Ancya in Galatia, was a silver-smith; an inscription from Korikos speaks of Stephanos the archdeacon and coopersmith (chalkeus); another inscription from


13. C. Wesel, Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrskunde, 21 vols. (Leipzig, 1901-1924), 10; p. 134, inscr. 259, 4-6; Zeisel, Table I, 196.


the same place speaks of the priest Eugenios, a goldsmith; a tomb inscription from Tarsos speaks of a presbyter named Isakis, who was also a flax-merchant; an inscription from Korasion in Asia Minor refers to a deacon named Petros, who was also an oil merchant. Clergymen were owners of shops, including public baths. An inscription of Korikos refers to the baths of a certain cleric named Dionysios. In the same city there were baths belonging to a deaconess named Theodora.

A fifth century inscription from Assos refers to a presbyter named Elladios, who was also a senator engaged in politics. A Protos presbyter from the area of Korikos was also a “meat seller” or butcher; a presbyter named Tates from Lycaonia was a mason, as was a certain Symeon from Zerzita, Syria, who had taken pride for one of the buildings that he had built in June of 500 AD. A deacon named Petros, son of Antoninos, from Fidre, Syria had also been a builder. A public advocate (scholastikos) named Ioannis, from Antioch’s suburb Serenios, became ordained as a priest was dispatched to Constantinople as apokrisarios of Antioch’s patriarch Domninos (545-559). Related to the scholastiko’s office was that of the notários (notary) who would serve as a secretary to a church council or to the imperial court but who also would be dispatched to a province as the Emperor’s representative or as a diplomat elsewhere. A priest named Petros, from Alexandria, was a notary by profession and participated in the proceedings of the third ecumenical council of 431 in Ephesus. Along with mason and carpenter priests we find priests experts in mosaic work.

20. Ibid., III, no. 304; Corpus Inscriptionum-Graecarum, IV.9172.
22. H. Gregoire, Recueil, no. 41; CIG no. 8838.
23. Monumenta, III, no. 506.
A presbyter named Doris had built the mosaics of the north part of the narthex of a Church in Antioch. 27

Examples of bishops in secular trades become more scarce but are not absent from the early Byzantine Church. Sozomenos relates that Zeno, bishop of Maiuma in Palestine, was a devoted clergyman, attending morning and evening services, looking after the spiritual needs of his diocese but at the same time finding time to work at his trade as a linen weaver. He used the earnings from his manual work to help the poor of his constituents. Bishop Spyridon of Trimithus in Cyprus had been a shepherd before his ordination but he continued to attend sheep even as a bishop not only out of great humility but also because of his great concern for the destitute. Sozomenos adds that Spyridon "whatever his product was he either distributed it among the poor or lent it without interest to those in need" 28. There is no need to doubt the validity of these accounts.

Zeno's and Spyridon's examples were encouraged by the church, which praised those who carried on secular professions for their own needs and philanthropic purposes, and condemned those clergymen who considered manual work beyond their dignity preferring to remain idle. Epiphanius of Cyprus expressed the church's mind when he condemned the clergy of the Massalian heresy who preferred to abstain from work and tended to encourage idleness 29. However, Paulos Samosateus, a heresiarch, was accused not for idleness but because he was greatly involved in secular concerns. Along with his ecclesiastical position he held civil employment as ducenarius, a high rank in the imperial service and in the office staffs. The historian Eusebius writes that Paulos "assumed worldly dignities preferring to be called ducenarius rather than episcopos (bishop)" 29. Orthodox bishops, who held a civil office fared better. For example, Jacob of Nisibis was both the bishop and the governor of Nisibis but he suffered no condemnation and his success in relieving the city from the enemy was highly praised 30.

The illustrations cited in the preceding pages are sufficient to support the thesis that for several centuries there was no dichotomy

29. Epiphanius, Panarion, Haer. 8., Massalian no. 6.
between the priestly vocation and a secular profession. Along with their religious duties, clergymen pursued manual, agricultural, and other more sophisticated careers. Civil servants with administrative experience and directors of social and welfare institutions were not only admitted to the priesthood but many of them were raised to the ranks of bishops, including Metropolitans and even patriarchs. For example Patriarch Akakios of Constantinople (471-489) was in charge of an orphanage in the capital before his election to the Patriarchal throne. Patriarch Euphemios of Constantinople (490-496), too, was the director of an orphanage at Neapolis when elected to become patriarch. Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople (536-552) and one of Justinian’s chief collaborators, was the director of the Samson Xenon-Hospital in Constantinople before his elevation to the episcopal rank and the Patriarchal dignity.

Later in the seventh century we find several Patriarchs whose professional background confirms the above observations. Emperor Herakleios’ best collaborator Sergios, Patriarch of Constantinople (610-638) was in charge of a procheion (house for the poor) before his ordination. Petros, another Patriarch of Constantinople (655-666) was administrator of a gerohomeion (institution for the elderly) named after Saint Clement before he was elected to the patriarchal throne. His successor Patriarch Thomas the Second (667-669) was director of a home for the elderly in the scala region of the capital when he was elevated to the bishop’s rank. And Thomas’ successor John V (669-675) was elected Patriarch from the position of director of the Dexiokratous home for the elderly.

Other ecclesiastical dignitaries either of Constantinople or of other patriarchates and provincial sees such as Paul (519-521), Ephraem (526-546) and Domnos III (546-581) all patriarchs of Antioch; Andreas, Archbishop of Crete (d. 740) and a certain John, bishop of Trimithus in Cyprus (5th century) and later the patriarch of Constantinople, Nicephorus (806-815), the celebrated Photios (858-867; 878-886), the courageous and competent Nicholas Mystikos (901-907; 911-925), Constantine Leichudes (1059-1063), and John Xiphilinos (1064-1075)—all were either appointed or elected to higher ecclesiastical posts from a successful secular administrative office or from a position in the civil service. Ordination to holy orders did not prevent appointment to a

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high governmental position. For example, a deacon of the Hagia Sophia
cathedral named John, known also as papa-Ioannakis, was in 714 mini-
ster of the treasury, a general logothete\textsuperscript{34}.

Among other distinguished laymen, physicians too were ordained
to the priesthood. The names of several of them, including some who
became bishops, are known. As physician-priests they were expected
to attend the physical as well as the spiritual illnesses of the people.
Physicians who had joined monastic communities and served their
fellow monks as physicians are excluded here. In the following pages,
this essay is primarily concerned with the tradition of physician-priests,
who staffed churches and hospitals, public and Church-related welfare
institutions.

The alliance between religion and medicine was present in many
ancient civilizations. It was never absent from Greek civilization, an-
cient or medieval. In the ancient Greek world lay and clerical physicians
were called Asklepiadae\textsuperscript{35}. It is the contention of this study that, as
we shall see, in the Byzantine Church proper, medicine and religion were
in close cooperation. Notwithstanding the scepticism of some monks
about the efficacy of medicine and the emphasis on the effectiveness
of "holy men" rather than physicians in the cure of illnesses, the By-
zantine Church never doubted the usefulness of medicine. It was per-
ceived as a God-given gift. Some ninety years ago, Adolph Harnack
pointed out the relations between medicine and early Christianity. And
several years ago, in a preliminary article, I discussed the place of physi-
cians in the Byzantine Church indicating that some of them were raised
to sainthood while many more had been ordained to the priesthood.
What follows is a summary of that material as well as additional evidence
confirming the close alliance between religion and medicine in the By-
zantine era\textsuperscript{36}.

\textsuperscript{34} Theophanes, Chronographia, A. M. 6207, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipsig,
1883), 1:385. For an English translation see Harry Turville

\textsuperscript{35} See Walter A. Jayne, The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations (University
cantinos, Asklepios kai Asklepieia (Leipsig, 1907), pp. 4-5; Alice Walton, The Cult
of Asklepios, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, No. III (Ginn and Co., [New
York], 1894), p. 67; C. P. Kasvadias, To Ieron tou Asklepiou en Epidauro kai e
Therapeia ton Asthenon (Athens, 1900), pp. 286-291.

\textsuperscript{36} Adolph Harnack, Medicinisches aus der Altesten Kirchengeschichte (Leipsig,
1892), esp. 1-14; D. J. Constantelos, "Physician-Priests in the Medieval Greek
Church," The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, 14.3 (1957) 144-153.
Several outstanding saints in the annals of the ancient as well as in the early Byzantine Church had been life-long physicians. St. Luke, Paul's companion and author of the third Gospel, was a physician (Col. 4:14) and became reputed in the Byzantine Church for his training in Greek wisdom and in the art of healing. He served as a paradigm for Byzantine physicians. Not all the physician-saints had received holy orders but all were honored by Byzantine society as examples of altruism and humanitarian concerns. In a prayer composed for the ill, several physician-saints are invoked to intercede to God in prayer:

O holy Father, Physician of souls and bodies...heal you, also, your servant...through the prayers of the holy and healing non-mercenaries Kosmas and Damian, Kyros and Ioannes, Panteleimon and Hermalaos, Sampson and Dimedes, Mokios and Aniketos, Thalelaios and Tryphon, and the rest.

Of these twelve "anargyroi" (non-mercenaries) saints, seven had received a medical education and had practiced medicine. A few remarks are in order.

Kosmas and his brother Damian had studied both Hippocrates and Galen, and, in addition to their medical practice, they served the Church as well. They felt that medicine by itself was not sufficient to cure their patients and made it their custom to invoke the help of God in the application of their therapeutic science.

Kyros, a native of Alexandria, lived ruling the reign of Diocletian. He had studied medicine there, became a monk, and his clinic in Alexandria survived up to the middle of the sixth century. Patriarch Appolinaris (551-570) replaced the clinic with a church. This same patriarch also built two other institutions, a hospital and an old-age home. The area in which they were located was known as Doryzin.

Panteleimon is one of the anargyroi—the silverless physician-saints. He was born in Nikomedia during the reign of Maximian and studied medicine under a certain Euphrosynos. His training was both Hippo-

40. Symeon Metaphrastes, Vita SS Cyri et Ioannis, MPG, vol. 114, col. 1233CD.
kratic and Galenic medicine. Following his conversion, he offered his services without any compensation and became a committed Christian to the extent that he sacrificed even his life for the Christian cause\(^{41}\).

Diomedes, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was a physician who distinguished himself in numerous philanthropies, aiding poor patients as well as prisoners and other indigents. He suffered martyrdom during the persecution of Diocletian. The fame of his services to the needy, however, survived his death as a monument to the physician-saint\(^{42}\).

Thaleaeeos, another Christian martyr during the reign of Numerian (283-284), had studied medicine in his native Lebanon under a certain chief physician or professor of medicine named Makarios\(^{43}\).

The fourth century bishop Theodotos of Laodicea was a trained physician and as physician-bishop he engaged in many good works among his people, attending their physical as well as their spiritual illnesses\(^{44}\). Theodotos, also mentioned as Theodoros, participated in the First Synod of Nicea (325)\(^{45}\).

Zenobios of Aegis in Cilicia, lived during the reign of Diocletian. He came from a prosperous family and was trained in medicine. After the death of his parents, together with his sister Zenobia, he distributed their wealth to the poor and to charitable institutions and devoted his services to humanitarian causes. He was influenced by the commandment “freely you have received, freely give” (Mat. 10:8) and practiced medicine without renumeration. His philanthropies and his missionary zeal contributed to his elevation to the episcopal office. As bishop of Cilicia, he continued his unmercenary medical vocation as well as his priestly ministry\(^{46}\). In the First Ecumenical Synod a certain Zenobios, orZenonios, bishop of Seleucia, most probably Tracheia, participated and signed the decisions-practica\(^{47}\). It is safe to assume that it was the bishop-physician Zenobios mentioned by Symeon Metaphrastes.

For several centuries after the age of Constantine it was common

\(^{41}\) Symeon Metaphrastes, Vita S. Panteleemonis, MPG, 115, col. 448-449.
\(^{42}\) Acta Sanctorum, August III (1737), p. 268.
\(^{43}\) Acta Sanctorum, May V (1685), p. 180; Cf. Martyrium, pp. 188f, 193B.
\(^{45}\) Ioannes Dominicus Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, vol. 2 (Graz, 1960), col. 693D, cf., ibid., col. 698D.
\(^{47}\) Mansi, op. cit., vol. 2, col. 693D; 698D.
to find clergymen practicing medicine. Basil the bishop of Ancyra in Asia Minor, who was appointed to succeed the deposed and exiled Markellos in 336 AD had been a physician before entering the priesthood. The church historian Sozomenos describes him as "a man of great eloquence and learning". Theodoretos, bishop of Kyros (d.c. 466), wrote of a certain Petros, presbyter and physician, and implied that, as in antiquity, so in his own days it was common for priests to function actively as physicians. They could practice their medical profession without obstruction. Petros was both a good priest and a successful physician. Gerontios, bishop of Nicomedia in the fourth century, was described as a very skilled physician, eloquent, persuasive who served his people as bishop and physician. When he was removed from his see by Patriarch John Chrysostom and replaced by Pansophios, the people of Nicomedia protested against Chrysostom. They supported their bishop-physician for his generosity and his personal concern for all-rich and poor alike. As a bishop he practiced his medical science publicly as well as in private.

A certain patrician named John was in charge of an institution for the aged, a deacon, and an active physician when he was elected to succeed bishop Evagrius of Trimithus in Cyprus in the fifth century.

Sampson, a surname Xenodochos, was a physician by training and lived during the reign of Justinian. According to tradition, his family tree could be traced back to Constantine the Great. After he had distributed his wealth to the poor, he moved to Constantinople, where he devoted his life to a religious and humanitarian career. Menas, patriarch of Constantinople (536-552), ordained Sampson to the priesthood and assigned him to the staff of Hagia Sophia. The biography of Sampson reveals further that in sixth-century Constantinople there were many physician-priests active in the service of society. Symeon Metaphrastes relates that when Justinian fell seriously ill from a disease of the urinary system, many physician-priests were summoned to offer their services to the emperor. It was Sampson, however, who cured him. As an expression of gratitude Justinian ordered the erection of a great hospital.

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which he named in honor of Sampson.\textsuperscript{52}

Hypatios, another sixth-century man of the cloth who was trained in the art of Hippocrates, became a symbol of philanthropy for many suffering people. He treated various patients ill from sores of some sort, perhaps leprosy, who, because of their poverty, had been refused treatment by other physicians.\textsuperscript{53} Pausikakos, the son of a prosperous family from Apameia in Bithynia had received his training in both theology and medicine. His biographer relates that he pursued both careers because he wanted to “heal both bodies and souls”. Because of his excellent reputation, Pausikakos was ordained to the priesthood and was elevated to the office of bishop. Kyriakos, Patriarch of Constantinople (595-608) appointed him bishop of Synaddon. Emperor Maurice (582-602) who had been treated for a serious illness by Pausikakos granted annual financial assistance to the diocese of Synaddon for its social welfare activities.\textsuperscript{54}

The same tradition of physicians ordained to the priesthood persisted in Greek Orthodox Churches, outside the boundaries of the Byzantine state, churches, however, which had inherited Byzantine theology and tradition. A certain physician named Politianos was admitted to Holy orders and ultimately became Patriarch of Alexandria (787-801). Occasionally he practiced medicine even after his elevation to the patriarchal throne. At the request of Harun-al-Raschid, Caliph of Baghdad, Politianos traveled to the Moslem capital in order to heal one of Harun’s wives.\textsuperscript{55} In addition to Politianos, the following Patriarchs of Alexandria were trained in theology and medicine: Eutychios (933-940), Kyrillos II (1103-1118), Nicholas II (1263-1276), an ophthalmologist, and later on Meletios Pegas (1590-1601).\textsuperscript{56}

More but fragmentary information derives from several inscriptions of the early Byzantine period which only mention physicians ordained to the priesthood. An inscription from Erythraia speaks of Ioannis,

\textsuperscript{52} Metaphrastes, ibid., col. 284A-284D; cf., other readings, ibid., cols. 275-276.

\textsuperscript{53} Callinicos, De Vita S. Hypatii Liber, Seminarii Philologicorum Bennensis Sodales (Leipzig, 1895), p. 36.


\textsuperscript{56} I owe this information to Dr. Theodore D. Moschonas, Director of the Library, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria.
the deacon and physician; another from Tralleis commemorates Anastasios, a deacon and physician, who came from Alexandria; two sixteenth-century papyri from Hermopolis in Egypt mention Aurelius Anouthis, son of Joseph, and Andronymos both deacons and physicians. Isidore of Pelusium addressed a letter to a deacon and physician named Dorotheos. In his letter, Isidore, used several medical metaphors. At Koraion, in Cilicia, a tombstone commemorates the archdeacon and physician Pantoleon-Peter. An inscription from Thrace speaks of a presbyter and physician named Paul. Patriarch Severus of Antioch wrote a letter to Theoteknos, “the presbyter and archiatros (chief-physician)”.

As we have pointed elsewhere, the Byzantines maintained numerous public welfare institutions such as hospitals, homes for the aged, xenones (hospices) for poor travelers, houses for the poor, orphanages, and reformatory institutions. All were under the supervision of the Church. Many of the physicians attached to hospitals and other philanthropic institutions such as the famous hospital of Pantocrator, built by John II Komnenos, were ordained priests. The Typikon (ordinance) of John II Komnenos for the hospital and the monastery of Pantocrator does not state whether the physicians were clergymen or laymen, but another source indicates that ordained physicians served the Byzantine society as late as the twelfth century, when the class of physician-priests may have suffered a setback.

According to Theodore Balsamon, the canonist of the twelfth century who wrote commentaries to a nomocanonical collection around 1190, Patriarch Lukas Chryssoberges (1157-1169/70), issued an encyclo-

64. The topic of philanthropic and welfare institutions in the Byzantine Empire is treated extensively in my book Byzantine Philanthropy, op. cit.
cal precluding deacons and priests trained in the medical profession from practicing medicine along with their religious ministry and other clergy from studying and later practicing medicine. He considered it improper for persons of the cloth to change into medical robes and associate with physicians. Despite the patriarch's ruling, it is doubtful whether physicians were excluded from the priesthood.

Although I have not examined any sources after the thirteenth century for concrete evidence of physicians ordained to the clergy, it is well known that during the period of Ottoman rule over the Greek Orthodox World, there were many physicians who studied theology and assumed responsible positions in the organization and in the theological dialogues of the Church. They were described as *iatrophilosophoi*, that is, physician-philosophers. In the early Byzantine Empire they were called *iatrosofistai* (see note 21). The term “philosophers” was used to include training in theology. Some of them became leading theologians and involved themselves in theological controversies, such as Theophilos Korydalleus (1563-1646). Meletios Pegas (1590-1601), Dionysios Pyrros o Thetallas (1774-1853), George Koressios (d. 1661), and especially Eustratios Argentis (b. ca. 1687).

The examples of the later Byzantine period, though not numerous, confirm the existence of priests not only in the medical but also in other secular professions. A certain priest named Niketas Karantenos was also a lawyer (*nomikos*) in the court of Emperor Theodore II Lascaris.

It is possible to draw a few conclusions from this brief survey. First, it is evident that the institution of physician-priests has had an unbroken continuity in the history of Hellenism up to recent centuries. It confirms cultural continuity and reveals a linear development of institutions, ideas, and customs. This continuity is revealed even in the epithets ascribed to the healing god of the ancient Greeks and the God of the Christian Greeks. Asklepios, the physician god of classical Hellas, was described as *Soter* and *Philanthropos*. The same adjectives were attributed by the Christian Greeks to Christ, their new healing God.

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69. Julian, Orations, no. IV. 153B; Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum (Berlin, 1873), 1222; 2056ff; 5813 et passim; W. Dittenberger, Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, vol. I (Berlin, 1892), 2608.
Soter and Philanthropos were very popular names for Jesus, and Orthodox religious services and prayers use these two terms like a refrain.

No less significant is another similarity, concerning the location and function of hospitals and hospices in both Greek worlds. In antiquity, hospitals (katapogia) were usually established next to temples of Asklepios, the god of healing. In the Greek Middle Ages hospitals and charitable hostels were built next to churches. When the physicians failed to cure a patient, he could always go to the adjacent church and invoke the intervention of Christ, the physician of body and soul.

As in antiquity, so also in the Byzantine era the study of medicine was part of the curriculum of a liberal education. Several outstanding Church fathers studied medicine even though they may not have practiced the profession. Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzenos, Photios, and others were well versed in medicine. Furthermore this tradition manifests the mentality of the Greek Church in regard to the sacred and the profane. Since God is the author of all creation, in medieval Greek thought there was no sharp differentiation between the divine and the secular in the sphere of education. Theology and medicine, as salubrious disciplines, could be studied profitably by the same individual, who could serve Church and society in a double capacity. Secular and Christian ideals were viewed as mutually fulfilling, thus producing values befitting man's divine origin and destiny.

Moreover, the concept of physician-priests was in perfect agreement with the Greek theological concept of man as a psychosomatic entity. The numerous prayers and several services of the Greek Church

70. The liturgical texts of the Byzantine Church, which constitute the Prayer and Service books of the Orthodox Churches today, abound in such characterizations. See Euchologion, Paraklesis Athonon, Hymn No. 6, and the service of Holy Unction.


73. Gregory the Preoteus, Vita S. Patris Nostri Gregorii, MPG, XXXV.I, col. 256B.

74. Nicetas, Vita S. Ignatii, MPG, CV. col. 509AB.

75. John Damascene, De Fide Orthodoxa, Bk. 2, ch. 12, MPG, XCI V.1, col. 91ff.
reveal that God is seen constantly diffused in the cosmos, sanctifying, restoring, and renewing His creation. The existence of ordained physicians, attending the bodies and souls, responded to the physical and spiritual needs of a person and were accepted as instruments through which God looks after the welfare of His masterpiece.

The contribution of dedicated physician-priests, many of whom offered their services gratis, confirms that the Byzantine Church was mindful of her responsibilities to society and adopted ways by which it remained close to its people, expressing its social consciousness. The Church and its institutions were not remote from the spiritual, psychological, or temporal needs of its people. The clergy in general were the apologists for the lower classes and often assumed a healthy paternalism over the persecuted, the destitute and the poor. Its humanitarian concerns and its affinity to the masses of its flock deserve to be emphasized.