

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE MEDICAL DOCTOR IN
THE NON-MEDICAL SOURCES OF THE PALAIOLOGAN PERIOD

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Thesis Abstract

İpek Tabur, “The Representation of the Medical Doctor in the Non-Medical Sources of the Palaiologan Period

This thesis aims to examine the physicians of the Palaiologan period and their place in late Byzantine society as reflected in the non-medical literary sources of the period, which include histories, chronicles, letters, hagiographical literature, poems, satires, patriarchal court registers, monastic acts, and *typika*. The awareness exhibited by the non-medical sources of medical practice and its practitioners indicates that physicians during the Palaiologan period (1261-1453) were too influential to be neglected by the sources of the time. An examination of the sources, besides offering interesting information on the personalities of the physicians, also helps one to trace the developments that took place in medicine, its practice and education in the Palaiologan period.

This thesis is comprised of four chapters. Following the introductory Chapter One, Chapter Two focuses on the Palaiologan hospitals, since in the Byzantine Empire medical science, its practice and education were largely organized around the hospital complexes. In Chapter Three the physicians as they appear in the sources are introduced within separate subsections arranged according to the centuries in which they practiced medicine, followed by an interpretation of the data compiled here. The final chapter, Chapter Four, is reserved for the concluding remarks.

Tez Özeti

İpek Tabur, “Palaiologos Döneminin

Tıbbi Olmayan Kaynaklarında Bizans Tıp Doktorları

Bu tez, Palaiologos döneminde, tarihler, kronikler, aziz hayatları, mektuplar, şiirler, satirler, Patrikhane sicilleri, manastır kayıtları ve *typikon*lar gibi dönemin tıbbi olmayan ededi eserlerinde adı geçen doktorları incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Palaiologos dönemi tıbbi olmayan kaynaklarında tıp pratikleri ve tıbbi pratik edenler hakkındaki farkındalık dönemin kaynaklarında doktorların görmezden gelinemeyecek kadar etkili olduklarının altını çizmektedir. Bu kaynakların incelenmesi doktorların kişilikleri hakkında ilginç bilgiler sağlamanın yanı sıra tıbbın gelişimi, pratiği ve Palaiologos dönemi tıp eğitimi konusunda yardımcı olmaktadır.

Bu tez dört bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk giriş bölümünü takiben ikinci bölüm Bizans İmparatorluğu'nda tıp bilimi, pratiği ve eğitimi hastaneler etrafında şekillendiğinden Palaiologos hastaneleri üzerine yoğunlaşmıştır. Üçüncü bölüm kaynaklarda doktorlar hakkında çıkan bilgilerin çalıştıkları yüzyıla göre ayrıldığı üç alt bölümden ve bir analiz bölümünden oluşmaktadır. Tezin son bölümündüyse tezin bütününden çıkarılan bir takım sonuçlara yer verilmiştir.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>BHM</i>	<i>Bulletin of the History of Medicine</i>
<i>BMFD</i>	<i>Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testament</i> , eds. J. Thomas and A.C. Hero, 5. vols., (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000).
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>Byzantinische-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
<i>BS</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
Constantelos,	D.J Constantelos, <i>Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Byzantine Philanthropy Welfare</i> , 2 nd edition (New Rochelle, New York: A.D. Caratzas, 1991).
Darrouzès, <i>Regestes</i>	J. Darrouzès, <i>Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople</i> (Paris: Institut Français d'études byzantines, 1977-1979).
Delehayé,	H. Delehayé, "Deux typika byzantins de l'époque des "Deux typika byzantins" Palaéologues," <i>Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typika</i> (London: Variorum Reprints, 1997).
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
Failler and Laurent,	G. Pachymeres, <i>George Pachymérès Relations</i>

- Pachymérès* *Historiques*, ed. A. Failler, trans. V. Laurent, (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 24), 3 vols., (Paris: Belles Letres, 1984).
- Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras* M. Gabras, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (ca. 1290 - nach 1350)*, ed. G. Fatouros, (Wiener Byzantinische Studien 10), 2 vols., (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 1973).
- Fatouros and Krischer, *Kantakouzenos* J. Kantakouzenos, *Johannes Kantakouzenos Geschichte*, trans. G. Fatouros and T. Krischer, 2 vols., (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1982, 1986).
- Hohlweg, “Aktuarios” A. Hohlweg, “Johannes Aktuarios’ De Methodo Medendi - On the New Edition,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (1984).
- Hunger, *Chortasmenos* J. Chortasmenos, H. *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370 - ca. 1436/7) Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften. Einleitung, Regesten, Prosopographie, Text*, ed. H. Hunger, (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 1969).
- Janin, *GE* R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris: Institut Français d’études byzantines, 1950).
- Janin, *Géographie* R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique d’l’empire ecclésiastique byzantin* (Paris: Institut Français d’études byzantines, 1953).
- JÖB* *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- Laurent, *Regestes* V. Laurent, *Les registres des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople* (Paris: Institut Français d’études byzantines, 1979).

“LipsTyp”	“Typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople,” trans. A.M. Talbot, <i>Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents</i> , 5 vols., (Washington, D.C.: D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000).
Machairas, <i>Chronicle</i>	L. Machairas, Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, entitled “Chronicle”, ed. and trans. R.M. Dawkins, 2 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932).
<i>Mazaris</i>	<i>Mazaris’ Journey to Hades</i> , edited by Seminar Classics 609, (Arethusa Monographs 5) (Buffalo: Department of Classics, State University of New York, 1975).
Miller, <i>Birth of Hospital</i>	T.S. Miller, <i>The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire</i> (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
MM	<i>Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevii sacra et profana</i> , eds. F. Miklosich and I. Müller, 6 vols., (Vienna: Gerold, 1860-1890).
<i>ODB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , A. P. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols., (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
“PanTyp”	P. Gautier (ed.), “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” <i>Revue des études byzantines</i> (1974).
<i>PLP</i>	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> , eds. E. Trapp et al., 12 vols., 2 addenda and index, (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 1976-1996).
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
Tinnefeld, <i>Demetrios Kydones</i>	D. Kydones, <i>Briefe / Demetrios Kydones: übersetzt und erläutert von Franz Tinnefeld</i> , trans. F. Tinnefeld, 2 vols, (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1981)
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et mémoire</i>

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Byzantine medicine is long considered to be of a derivative nature, and disparaged for its supposed stagnating and inert character. This stagnating and plagiarizing nature attributed to Byzantine medicine was for the most part derived from the understanding that it reproduced and preserved with more or less accuracy the great treatises of classical antiquity and transmitted them to the West after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, without adding anything original of its own.¹ Even though the assertion that the Byzantine medical authors compiled the works of the great figures of classical antiquity is true to a certain extent, the medical sources dating from the Byzantine period provide evidence for continuous and innovative medical activity throughout the history of the Byzantine Empire.² Additionally, the conception of Byzantine science in general, and Byzantine medicine in particular, as an aberration claims that the Byzantine society, plagued by the doctrines of Christianity, acted as an obstacle before any form of scientific practice and innovation.³ Thus, by confronting the teachings of scientific medicine with those of a monotheistic religion, such an approach seriously undermines the dynamics of adaptation and transformation, which played a significant role in the development of Byzantine medical practices. Nevertheless, these approaches towards the role and

¹ See John Scarborough's introduction for a full discussion of the state of medical studies in contemporary scholarship and debates pertaining to Byzantine medicine. J. Scarborough, "Introduction," *DOP* 38 (1984), pp. i-xvi; O. Temkin, "Byzantine Medicine: Tradition or Empiricism," *DOP* 16 (1962), pp. 97-115.

² Scarborough, "Introduction," pp. xi-xiv.

³ G. Majno, *The Healing Hand: Man and Wound in Ancient World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 417; F. H. Garrison, *An Introduction to History of Medicine* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1921), p. 111; C. Singer and E.A. Underwood, *A Short History of Medicine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 67.

state of Byzantine medicine in general have been negated and challenged by a growing number of scholars since it is not conceivable that as a craft Byzantine medicine remained unchanged during a period of thousand years. In so doing, these scholars tried to analyze the ancient Greek roots of Byzantine medicine to delineate the role of the ancient Greek medicine in the formation of a medical tradition of Byzantium. Moreover, these historians, rather than basing their arguments on the chasm between secular scientific medicine and the Christian religion, tried to explain the development of Byzantine medicine and the position of its practitioners by establishing a relationship between the two.⁴

Medicine figures quite commonly in Byzantine history and culture when one examines the sources ranging from medical treatises to non-medical texts, which include histories, chronicles, hagiographical literature, poems, letters, satires, patriarchal court registers, etc. The awareness exhibited by the non-medical sources of medical practice and its practitioners is particularly important in examining the degree to which medicine and its practitioners had been incorporated into Byzantine society. The main purpose of this thesis will be to examine the place of the practitioners of medicine, namely the physicians, in Byzantine society during the Palaiologan period (1261-1453) as reflected in the non-medical literary sources. A meticulous scrutiny of the sources clearly indicates that physicians throughout the Palaiologan period were too influential to be neglected by the sources of the time.

The books and articles that have been written on subjects pertinent to Byzantine medicine in contemporary literature for the most part focus on the Early Byzantine period or the eleventh and the twelfth centuries.⁵ Nonetheless, recent

⁴ O. Temkin, *Hippocrates in a World of Pagans and Christians* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

⁵ Some of these articles include, J. Duffy, "Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: Aspects of Teaching and Practice," *DOP* 38 (1984), pp. 21-27; V. Nutton, "From Galen to Alexander:

decades have witnessed an ever more increasing curiosity in the study of different aspects of medical practices of the Palaiologan period. For instance, a number of books and articles have been written on institutions that provide medical facilities in the Palaiologan period. Timothy S. Miller in his comprehensive book on Byzantine hospitals, even though, he concentrates mainly on the period before 1204, provides some information on the medical care facilities of the Palaiologan period.⁶ Demetrios Constantelos, in his book that focuses on the philanthropic institutions of the Palaiologan period, includes a section on the hospitals of the period as well.⁷ Additionally, Mirjana Živojinović's article on the *Krales Xenon* in Constantinople constitutes an important article for the study of Palaiologan hospitals.⁸ Similarly, David Bennett's article on the *xenon* texts contributes to the study of medical education in the hospitals of the Palaiologan period.⁹ Apart from these works, which primarily concentrate on institutions that provided medical care, there are a number of articles pertaining to the medical craft and its practitioners of the Palaiologan period. Erich Trapp's article on the social status of the medical doctors in the Palaiologan period¹⁰ and Gudrun Schmalzbauer's article on the *podagra* (gout) provide insightful information on the subject.¹¹ Marie-Hélène Congourdeau's article

Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity," *DOP* 38 (1984), pp. 1-14; J.A.M. Sonderkamp, "Medicine in the Circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus," *DOP* 38 (1984), pp. 29-41; P.S. Codellas, "The Pantokrator, the Imperial Medical Center of the Twelfth Century AD in Constantinople," *BHM* 12, no.2 (1942), pp. 392-410; T.S. Miller, "The Sampson Hospital of Constantinople," *BF* 15 (1990), pp. 101-135; T.S. Miller, "The Knights of Saint John and the Hospitals of the Latin West," *Speculum* 53 (1978), pp. 709-733.

⁶ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*; T.S. Miller, "Byzantine Physicians and their Hospitals," *Medicina Nei Secoli Arte e Scienza* 11, no.2 (1999), pp. 323-335.

⁷ Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, pp. 113-139; D. Constantelos, *Poverty, Society and Philanthropy in the Medieval Greek World* (New Rochelle, New York: A.D. Caratzas, 1992), pp. 123-129.

⁸ M. Živojinović, "L'hôpital du roi Milutin à Constantinople," *Zbornik Radova* 16 (1975), pp. 105-117.

⁹ D. Bennett, "Three Xenon Texts," *Medicina Nei Secoli Arte e Scienza* (1999) 11, no. 3, pp. 507-519.

¹⁰ E. Trapp, "Die Stellung der Ärzte in der Gesellschaft der Palaiologenzeit," *BS* 33 (1972), pp. 230-234.

¹¹ G. Schmalzbauer, "Medizinisch-Diatetisches über die Podagra aus spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *JÖB* 23 (1974), pp. 229-243, 234-237, 270.

on an abortion case in the late Byzantine period also provides valuable information for the premises of this thesis.¹²

As primary sources for this thesis an assortment of non-medical texts that include histories, chronicles, letter compilations, monastic acts, hagiographical literature, poems, satires and patriarchal court registers will be utilized. Among these, epistolographic sources are the ones that provide the largest amount of information on the physicians of this period. The letters were for the most part composed by the members of intellectual circles or those individuals who played an important role in the political and ecclesiastical life of the empire. The existence of physicians among the addressees of these letters indicates that physicians were among the members of such milieus or had close connections with individuals who belonged to these circles. Thus, the letters provide valuable information concerning the social and intellectual milieu to which the physicians of the Palaiologan period belonged. Furthermore, an examination of the correspondence is also important in terms of defining the position and the role of the physicians in the political and intellectual life of the empire. Lastly, the authors in their letters relate the diseases that they suffered from as well as the remedies that they sought to restore their health. In so doing, they sometimes praise the physicians for their abilities in curing diseases and at other times criticize the inability of the physicians in diagnosing and treating their sufferings. Thus, these letters are also valuable in terms of the information they expound on the medical practices of the time as well as the degree to which the intellectuals of the period were familiar with medical knowledge. The primary epistolographical sources that will be scrutinized in this thesis include the letters of Demetrios Kydones,¹³ the

¹² M.H. Congourdeau, "Un procès d'avortement à Constantinople au XIV^e siècle," *REB* 40 (1982), pp. 103-115.

¹³ D. Kydones, *Briefe / Demetrios Kydones: übersetzt und erläutert von Franz Tinnefeld*, trans. F. Tinnefeld, 2. vols, (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1981); D. Kydones, *Démétrius Cydonès: correspondance*,

letters of John Chortasmenos edited in a volume which also contains extracts in which Chortasmenos relates the diseases that he suffered from between the years 1404 and 1407,¹⁴ Joseph Bryennios,¹⁵ Michael Gabras,¹⁶ Nikephoros Gregoras¹⁷ and George Lekapenos.¹⁸

Patriarchal court registers constitute another type of source in which there are references to Byzantine physicians of the Palaiologan period. Specifically, a number of acts dating from the fourteenth century provide valuable information concerning the status of the medical profession.¹⁹ Monastic *typika*, the foundation documents of monasteries, constitute the primary sources for the study of Byzantine *xenones* since these medical centers came into being as philanthropic institutions founded within monastic establishments.²⁰

Other sources include a number of histories and chronicles composed in this period; namely, the works of George Pachymeres,²¹ John VI Kantakouzenos²² and Leontios Machairas.²³ These histories and chronicles are important for the premises of this thesis for a number of reasons. First of all, these sources contain useful data on the intellectual circles to which the physicians of the time belonged. Secondly, they enable us to portray the historical circumstances in which the physicians manifested themselves.

ed. R.J. Loenertz, 2 vols., (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1956-1960), pp. 59, 63, 122, 148, 166, 173, 213, 218.

¹⁴ Hunger, *Chortasmenos*, pp. 17, 57-59, 62, 72, 78, 88, 111-114, 118-120, 154, 196-199.

¹⁵ R.J. Loenertz, "Pour la chronologie des oeuvres de Joseph Bryennios," *REB* 7 (1949).

¹⁶ Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, vol. II, pp. 66, 493-494, 667, 682-684.

¹⁷ R. Guiland, *Correspondence de Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1927), pp. 59, 105.

¹⁸ S. Lindstam (ed.), *Georgii Lacapeni et Andronici Zaridae Epistulae* (Gothenburg: n.p., 1924), pp. 80, 121, 128, 142, 152, 165.

¹⁹ MM, pp. vol. I, pp. 389-391, 543, 546-549, vol. II, pp. 358-359; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, vol. I fasc. V, pp. 337-338, 480-485, vol. I fasc. VI, pp. 425-426; Laurent, *Regestes*, vol. I fasc. IV, pp. 330-331.

²⁰ *Actes de Xéropotamou*, ed. J. Bompaire, (Archives L'Athos 3), (Paris: Lethielleux, 1964).

²¹ Failler and Laurent, *Pachymérès*, pp. 612-615, 664-665.

²² Fatouros and Krischer, *Kantakouzenos*, vols. I, II.

²³ L. Machairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, entitled Chronicle*, ed. and trans. R.M. Dawkins, 2 vols., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932).

Another valuable source is Mazaris' *Journey to Hades*, composed between January 1414 and October 1415.²⁴ This is a satirical dialogue composed after the manner of Lucian's dialogues, although it takes the form of a narrative in which the author speaks in the first person and reports his conversations. In these conversations Mazaris ridicules certain living or recently dead members of the imperial court at Constantinople and praises the vices of those who are living in the Peloponnesos, where he himself plans to move to start a new life. This work is comprised of two separate parts that were composed at different times and circumstances. The value of this work for my research lies on the prosopographic information that it provides on a handful of physicians including prominent personalities such as Manuel Holobolos, Demetrios Pepagomenos and Nikephoros Doukas Palaiologos Malakes.

The second chapter of this thesis will provide an exposition of the Byzantine hospitals of the Palaiologan period. The nature of the Byzantine hospitals from the early fourth century to the first half of the fifteenth century constituted a topic of study and discussion for a considerable period of time in the modern scholarly research.²⁵ In recent scholarship, the most comprehensive and thorough book written on the subject is Timothy Miller's monograph in which he traced and explored the development of Byzantine hospitals. However, Miller in his pioneering work focuses mostly on the period before 1204 and pays very little attention to the Palaiologan era. His lack of focus seems to stem from two main reasons the first of which is the scarcity of the primary sources dating from this period. Secondly, Miller seems to perceive the Palaiologan period as a period of decadence and decline. Thus, he

²⁴ Mazaris, pp. 10-15, 24, 26, 30, 32, 34, 38, 48, 56, 62, 66, 76, 90, 94, 102, 108, 110, 120.

²⁵ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*; Miller, "The Knights of Saint John," pp. 709-733; Miller, "The Sampson Hospital," pp. 101-135. Other studies include, A. Kouses, "Contribution à l'étude de la médecine des xénons pendant le XV^e siècle," *BNJ* 6 (1928), pp. 77-90; E. Jeanselme and L. Oeconomos, "Un dispensaire médical à Byzance au temps des Paléologues," *Aesculape* 15 (1925), pp. 26-30; C. Cupane

asserts that as a result of the political disarray and the concomitant economical impoverishment, the hospitals went through financial underpinnings. Whereas the hospitals established before 1261 were predominantly financed by the imperial government, those opened after 1261 owed their existence mostly to private donation. Yet, Miller considers the private patronage of the Palaiologan period inadequate to maintain sufficient number of hospitals for Constantinople.²⁶ Miller's line of argumentation is convincing since small amount of sources describing hospital personnel and medical profession dating from the Palaiologan era gives the impression that the nature of the medical care provided by the hospitals in this period has deteriorated.

Another scholar who focused on Byzantine hospitals and medical practices is Demetrios Constantelos.²⁷ In his two volume work on Byzantine philanthropy and social welfare, Constantelos focuses on the understanding and application of the concept of *philanthropia* which constituted the underlying principle in the development and establishment of institutions such as hospices, hospitals, orphanages, old-age homes and other similar institutions in the Byzantine Empire. However, Constantelos' treatment of Byzantine hospitals when compared to Miller's book is comparatively limited in its scope since Constantelos focuses on all sorts of philanthropic institutions, of which hospitals constitute one of the examples. Constantelos, similar to Miller, when discussing the hospitals of the Palaiologan era, asserts that there is little detailed information on the hospitals that existed after 1204. However, he seems to have taken a more optimistic point of view on the nature of the medical practice of this era for he denotes that medical studies in the Palaiologan

and E. Kislinger, "Xenon und Xenodocheia im spätbyzantinischen Roman," *JÖB* 36 (1987), pp. 201-206.

²⁶ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 190-206.

²⁷ Constantelos, *Poverty, Society and Philanthropy*, pp. 123-128.

period were pursued with great vigor and propensity.²⁸ The number of doctors classified in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*²⁹ buttress Constantelos' view by showing that there was ample interest in medicine in this period. Nonetheless, Constantelos fails to provide any reason as to why medical studies were pursued with more vitality or under whose auspices these studies were conducted.

As it has been indicated above, what is aimed in this chapter is to analyze the non-medical sources of the Palaiologan period and trace the developments concerning the hospitals of the era. An exposition of the hospitals of the Palaiologan period is valuable in terms of explicating the role of such institutions in the development and practice of medicine during the Palaiologan period. From the time of their early development in the fourth century as philanthropic care-taking facilities by the Christian clergy up until the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, these institutions were supported by the imperial government, members of the lay aristocracy, the bishops or the monasteries. Moreover, Byzantine hospitals, even though they developed out of Christian institutions for the poor and the homeless, unlike their counterparts in the Latin West in the Middle Ages, were not functioning solely as "houses of charity" where the miseries and pains of the poor, the sick and the destitute were relieved.³⁰ Rather they aimed at providing highly specialized medical care for the sick of any social group, and thus, penetrated thoroughly into the every day life of the society as a whole. Based on the evidence provided by the sources, it is possible to firmly establish the fact that two *xenones*, which provided

²⁸ Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, p. 124; D.J. Constantelos, "Medicine and Social Welfare in the Byzantine Empire," *Medicina Nei Secoli Arte e Scienza* 11, no.2 (1999), pp. 335-337.

²⁹ Hereon the abbreviated form *PLP* will be used.

³⁰ J. Agrimi and C. Crisciani, "Charity and Aid in Medieval Christian Civilization," in *Western Medical Thought from Antiquity to Middle Ages*, ed. M. D. Grmek, trans. A. Shugart, (Cambridge,

services analogous to the earlier centuries, were built during the Palaiologan period. Moreover, the assertion of Constantelos that medical studies were pursued with vigor necessitates an assessment of the hospitals of the Palaiologan period in order to illuminate whether or not the educational function of the hospitals continued during the Palaiologan period. Research conducted on Palaiologan hospitals would also shed light on the political, social, economic and intellectual life of the Empire since these institutions were integrated into the Byzantine society at length.

In the following chapter, the personalities of the “physicians” as they appear in the sources will be discussed. What this chapter primarily endeavors to do is to trace how the physicians of the Palaiologan period were represented in the literary texts. The Palaiologan period covers almost 200 years; thus I believe that rather than a thematic approach a chronological framework may be more appropriate in handling the sources. The physicians will be dealt within separate subsections according to the centuries in which they practiced medicine. Not all of the names classified as physicians in the Palaiologan period were practicing medicine within the territories of the Byzantine Empire. Thus, in each subsection, the physicians will be grouped according to the location in which they practiced medicine. The physicians who practiced medicine outside the territories of the Byzantine Empire will be included only if they constitute supportive examples for a comparative approach. For the most part, the sources provide information on those physicians who were more eminent and well known. Thus, for those physicians who were not mentioned in the sources utilized for this thesis, the information provided by the *PLP* will be utilized.

As pointed out earlier, in the Byzantine Empire medical science, its practice and education were largely orchestrated around the hospital complexes, which were

Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 170-197; Miller, *Birth of Hospital* (1997), et passim.

for the most part established under the aegis of the members of the imperial family. Thus, based on this supposition, one may claim that when the quantity of the hospitals as well as the quality of medical care and medical education provided in these institutions decreases, the state of medical science would also be affected negatively. However, the evidence obtained from the sources of the Palaiologan period challenges this correlation between the hospitals and the state of medicine and medical practice. It is true that Palaiologan hospitals, although to a lesser extent, played an important role as centers of medical practice and medical education. Nonetheless, the evidence obtained from the sources suggests that other factors played an important role in the education and practice of medicine as well. Thus, the sources in which the physicians of the period were mentioned without a doubt need scrutinizing; for such an exposition may well direct us towards an understanding as to how these physicians were educated, where they practiced their craft as well as to their role and status in the Palaiologan society as a whole. An examination of the sources, besides providing interesting information concerning the structure, role, and status of the medical profession of the time, may also provide an interesting glance to the way in which the physicians of the Palaiologan period were perceived by the society in general.

CHAPTER TWO

BYZANTINE HOSPITALS OF THE PALAIOLOGAN PERIOD

The primary aim of this chapter will be to explore various aspects of the Byzantine hospitals in the Palaiologan period as evidenced in the non-medical sources of the time. At the onset, the terminology used in the Byzantine Empire to refer to the care-taking facilities and hospitals will be introduced. Afterwards, a brief historical background to the emergence and development of Byzantine hospitals will be provided. Finally, the medical care facilities and institutions that functioned as hospitals of the Palaiologan period will be discussed. It is unfortunately not possible to draw a coherent picture of the Byzantine hospitals of the Palaiologan period without looking at the medical manuscripts or hospital texts. Nevertheless, even if non-medical literature offers us little information when compared to the medical texts, the details contained in the non-medical sources can provide us with the means to fill the gaps in the history of the Byzantine hospitals of the period.

Byzantine society was plagued with a variety of illnesses; thus, it is not surprising that institutions that provided medical services to the inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire existed in both Constantinople and major provincial cities of the Empire. Even though hospitals and their personnel are represented less in the sources of the Palaiologan period when compared to the earlier periods, which suggests that hospitals were no longer the principle scene for medical practice, still the evidence suggests that hospitals existed in this period.³¹ Apart from the hospitals, the sources reveal a variety of philanthropic institutions that took care of the sick and provided them with food, shelter, nursing care and services of professional physicians.

Orphanages for the orphan boys and girls, old-age homes for the elderly, guesthouses and hospices for the travelers and the needy, and the infirmaries of the monasteries constitute the most commonly known institutions where medical care was provided for the sick. Byzantine authors used different terms to refer to these institutions in their writings. Whereas some of these terms designate the function of the institution specifically, most of the time, the meaning of the term utilized is not lucid enough to illuminate clearly the services provided in each institution.³² Therefore, it is convenient for the premises of this chapter to briefly examine these terms.

Gerokomeion (γεροκομείον)³³ was an institution established with the aim of taking care of the needy and the homeless elderly under the supervision of a *gerokomos* (γηροκόμος). It is a compound word made up of two Greek words, *geron* (γέρων) [old man]³⁴ and *komeo* (κομέω) [take care of, provide for].³⁵ Even though some of the *gerokomeia* offered medical care, the primary aim of these institutions was to provide shelter, proper services and comfort for the elderly who did not have anybody to take care of them rather than treating their illnesses.³⁶

Orphanotropheion (ὀρφανοτροφείον)³⁷ was another philanthropic institution founded with the aim of taking care of the orphans. The term is a combination of two Greek words, *orphanos* (ὀρφανός) [orphan, without parents, fatherless]³⁸ and *trepho*

³¹ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 199-205.

³² Miller, *Birth of Hospital*. Timothy Miller suggests that this is because some terms were derived from words with relatively precise meanings and, thus, refer to a specific kind of institution whereas those that come from roots with broad meanings convey ambiguous definitions.

³³ *ODB*, vol. II, p. 848.

³⁴ H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940), p. 346.

³⁵ Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 975.

³⁶ Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, p. 132. Constantelos asserts in his book that the sources of the Palaiologan era do not provide any information on health services, diet and living conditions in old-age homes.

³⁷ *ODB*, vol. III, p. 1537; T. Miller, *The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in Christian Empire* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003).

³⁸ Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, pp. 1257-1258.

(τρέφω) [cause to grow, bring up, rear].³⁹ The director of the *orphanotropheion* was usually called an *orphanotrophos* (ὀρφανοτρόφος).⁴⁰ Physicians visited these institutions to take care of the ill inhabitants.⁴¹

Ptochotropheion (πτωχοτροφεῖον) [poor house]⁴² or *ptocheion* (πτωχεῖον) [derived from the Greek word *ptochos* (πτωχός) which means poor, beggar]⁴³ is another philanthropic institution that functioned as a shelter where the poor and the destitute were fed. The meaning of the term *ptochotropheion* was transformed throughout the course of Byzantine history. Whereas in the fourth century Basil of Caesarea mentions professional physicians who worked at the philanthropic institution which he founded and referred as a *ptochotropheion*, after the 6th century the institution of *ptochotropheion* took the form solely of a poor house and the term no longer connoted any medical meaning. Timothy Miller, to support his proposition that the term no longer designated a house for the sick after the 6th century, mentions the *typikon* of the almshouse that Michael Attelates founded in Rhaidestos in the eleventh century, in which Attelates did not make any reference to the nursing or the treatment of the sick.⁴⁴

Another type of philanthropic institution was the *nosokomeion* (νοσοκομεῖον),⁴⁵ a compound Greek word that was composed of the words *nosos* (νόσος) [sickness, disease, plague]⁴⁶ and *komeo* (κομέω) [take care of, treat,

³⁹ Liddel and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 1814.

⁴⁰ *ODB*, vol. III, pp. 1537-1538.

⁴¹ According to Constantelos the earlier versions of these institutions served not only as orphanages proper but also as hostels. However, Miller asserts that the term *orphanotropheion* refers clearly to an institution which shelters and feeds the orphans. See Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 24.

⁴² *ODB*, vol. III, p. 1756.

⁴³ Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 1550.

⁴⁴ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 26; P. Gautier, "La diataxis de Michael Attaliate," *REB* 39 (1981), p. 17.

⁴⁵ *ODB*, vol. II, p. 951.

⁴⁶ Liddel and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 1181.

attend].⁴⁷ Miller states that *nosokomeion* as an institution was referred to firstly in the fourth century, even though the verb *nosokomeo* and the noun *nosokomia* were already mentioned in Classical Greek texts. He adds that Palladios was the first among the Greek authors who used the word to describe the institutions established by John Chrysostom as places for the caring for the sick.⁴⁸ The term *nosokomeion* was employed by the Byzantine authors both to designate a medical institution which served the general public or an institution that provided medical services to certain delineated groups such as the monks. The sources dating from the Palaiologan period for the most part seem to utilize the latter meaning of the word alone and denote *nosokomeion* as an infirmary of a given monastery.⁴⁹

Xenodocheion (ξενοδοχεῖον) [a place for strangers to lodge in, inn]⁵⁰ and *xenon* (ξενών) [derived from the Greek word *xenos* (ξενός) which means a stranger]⁵¹ are two other types of institutions that figured quite commonly in Byzantium. *Xenodocheion* literarily meant a guesthouse or an inn that functioned under the supervision of a *xenodochos* (ξενοδόχος). This institution, which was also founded on the concept of Christian hospitality, functioned as a guesthouse for travelers, the poor and the sick. However it was used interchangeably with *nosokomeion* by some Byzantine authors.⁵² On the other hand, *xenon* was used to designate by and large institutions that specialized in tending the sick and acquired

⁴⁷ Liddel and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 975.

⁴⁸ Liddel and Scott, *Lexicon*, pp. 1189; Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 25.

⁴⁹ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 25-26. An act pertaining to the Lavra Monastery dating from 1342, refers to the hospital of the Panteleemon monastery as a *xenon*, and utilizes the term *nosokomeion* when it refers to the infirmary confined to the monks residing at the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos. *Actes de Lavra de 1329 à 1500*, eds. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou, (Archives L'Athos 10), vol. 3, (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1979), pp. 20-26.

⁵⁰ *ODB*, vol. III, p. 2208.

⁵¹ Liddel and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 447.

⁵² St. Basil used *xenodocheion* to refer to the infirmary for the sick monks in his monastery. Nevertheless, it was not *xenodocheion* that became the conventional term for a hospital. By the thirteenth century the term *xenodocheion* was no longer used to designate a hospital. See Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 26-27.

the meaning of a hospital as early as the sixth century.⁵³ In the twelfth century, the hospital of the Pantokrator monastery is usually designated as *xenon* in its *typikon*.⁵⁴ Similarly, in the late thirteenth century, the hospital of the Lips monastery was also referred to as a *xenon*.

The terminology used by the Byzantine authors in referring to the institutions which provided medical services to the Byzantines is vague and confusing due to the changes in the connotations of the terms in time and parallel services provided by all of these institutions. Non-medical sources of the Palaiologan period scrutinized for this thesis generally provide little or no detail on the functions of these institutions. Nevertheless, it is necessary to differentiate the hospitals, as we understand them today, from other care-taking facilities, since they provide medical care for the ill, hire professional physicians as part of their staff and offer medical education that are the primary focus of this chapter. Even if all the abovementioned institutions provided various services for the ones who were under their care, it was the Byzantine *nosokomeia* and specifically *xenones* that provided professional medical care for the public with their highly specialized medical personnel, carefully outlined rules and regulations as well as teaching facilities.

Before passing on to the discussion of the *xenones* of the Palaiologan period, it is necessary to briefly provide an historical background to the development of the hospitals in the Byzantine Empire. There has been an ongoing discussion about the ancient roots of the hospitals as institutions that housed the sick in modern scholarly research. A series of authors have claimed that *xenones* and *nosokomeia* as Christian medical institutions of the fourth century were not the earliest examples to such

⁵³ For an analysis of the different usages of the term *xenon* starting from its earlier appearance in classical sources see Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 26-29.

institutions. They claim that, rather, there existed in the ancient Greco-Roman world *nosokomeia*, *iatreia* (clinics) or *asklepeiai* (temples), which were dedicated to providing medical treatment.⁵⁵ An analysis of the ancient roots of Christian hospitals lies beyond the premises of this thesis. However, any study conducted on the Byzantine hospitals inevitably requires a preliminary exposition of the concept of *philanthropia* in its Greco-Roman and Christian background. Whether it may be in the context of the ancient Greek world or the Byzantine Empire, the concept of *philanthropia* provided the initiative for the founders to establish medical centers for the care and the treatment of the sick. Nevertheless, by naming *philanthropia* as the driving motive behind the establishment of such facilities, I do not intend to naively suggest that no other factor played a role in the foundation and maintenance of such institutions.

*Philanthropia*⁵⁶ literarily means humanity, benevolence, and kind-heartedness. It also implies man's love for man or mankind in general. In the ancient Greek world, rulers' benevolence to his subjects, citizens' love and generosity for their equals, individuals' concern for the elderly, the sick, the strangers or the orphans were all designated as different forms of philanthropic act. Demetrios Constantelos in his book asserts that the ancient Greek attitude toward philanthropy, which meant man's love for his near ones, his affection and active concern not only for his kin but for his fellow man in general constituted an essential part of the background to Byzantine philanthropy.⁵⁷ More specifically he goes on to say that the

⁵⁴ According to Miller, the Pantokrator has both a *nosokomeion* for its monks and a *xenon* for those outside the monastic community. See Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 28. See also Delehaye, "Deux typica byzantins," p. 93.

⁵⁵ Constantelos, "Medicine and Social Welfare," p. 346.

⁵⁶ Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 1932.

⁵⁷ Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, pp. 1-13.

Christian teaching of *agape* (ἀγάπη) [love of God for man and of man for God]⁵⁸ had a great impact on the Greek notion of *philanthropia* in terms of broadening it in theory and practice. Jesus advised his disciples to love each other as he loved them.⁵⁹ However, in the Christian sense, *philanthropia* became one of the cardinal virtues, which is pursued in the imitation of God's example rather than as an expression of humanistic pity or compassion toward man in need. As it has been stated in the words of Jesus, the believers were to imitate the creator.⁶⁰ Consequently, it became a political attribute through which the philanthropic ruler, bishop or a patron in imitation of God sought the well being of the Christian subjects. The concept of philanthropy manifested itself most openly in the establishment of philanthropic institutions of which the medical facilities constituted one example.⁶¹ Indeed, it was through the early establishments of medical facilities by bishops that we witness the institutionalization of Christian philanthropy. Nonetheless, even if the ethical and religious significance of philanthropic actions in Christian dogma and what it meant for a disciple of Christ cannot be undermined, it was not always pure *philanthropia* that motivated the benevolent bishops or the rulers to commit philanthropic acts since political considerations and practicality besides moral and religious incentives played a significant role.

As it has been indicated previously, Byzantine hospitals began to develop in the fourth century AD when care-taking institutions were established by the Christian clergy.⁶² It is a difficult task to distinguish the earliest hospital foundation established as an example of the Christian charity tradition in the light of available evidence.

⁵⁸ Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 6.

⁵⁹ John 15:12, *Holy Bible: The Old and New Testaments. King James Version* (Iowa Falls: Riverside Book and Bible House, 1979), p. 72.

⁶⁰ "A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another; as I have loved you, that you also love one other." John 13:34, *Holy Bible*, p. 71.

⁶¹ *ODB*, vol. III, pp. 1649-1650.

Moreover, it is equally difficult to make a distinction between intentions that motivated the foundation of such establishment in the first place. In recent scholarship, some historians tried to analyze the development of hospitals within the context of the urban monastic movement's commitment to charity. Others, on the other hand, have seen it within the light of rival claims to popular support of Orthodox and Arian "heretics" in the fourth century. Still others related it to the legitimization of imperial authority through generosity to the church, as a symbol of the emperor's dedication to the community.⁶³ It is clearly seen that all of these different factors played a role in the development of Byzantine hospitals and some continued to play significant roles in the coming years of the empire.

In its earlier years some of the institutions that provided medical care for the sick were created in association with the monasteries where monks played an active role in treating the patients residing in medical wards. Nevertheless, the role of the monks functioning in early Byzantine hospitals was challenged and curbed as they were at the Council of Chalcedon subjugated to the authority of the local bishops.⁶⁴ Additionally, the regulations of emperor Justinian (527-565), which incorporated the *archiatroi* of the ancient Greco-Roman world into the institution of the hospitals, relegated the monks into a secondary position as well.⁶⁵ From seventh century onwards the staff of these institutions consisted of salaried men, and the role of the monks diminished. Nevertheless, primary sources dating from the fourteenth century provide evidence to trace the changes in the relationship between monks in the Byzantine Empire and the *xenones* in which they worked. A number of documents

⁶² Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 90-117.

⁶³ P. Horden, "The Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe and Islam," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (2005) 35, no.3, p. 361 et passim.

⁶⁴ Miller, *The Birth of Hospital*, pp. 100-102.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-105.

dating from the early fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reveal that monks designated as medical doctors or *nosokomoi* were present in hospital staffs.⁶⁶

It is known that hospitals in the Byzantine Empire starting from their early emergence were erected next to churches or as a part of monastery complexes. Thus, monastic *typika* are important sources that divulge information pertaining to the medical facilities in the Byzantine Empire. A careful reading of these sources would provide information on the organization, function and the role of the hospital, which became the main unit of Byzantine medical profession primarily in Constantinople as well as in other urban centers. Additionally, some of the *typika* contain information pertaining to the medical care that should be provided for the sick monks. An exposition of these primary sources reveals how monastic communities perceived illness and provided treatment to their sick members.

Of the twenty-one *typika* and individual testaments dating from the Palaiologan period included in the voluminous work *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, eleven refer to the sick monks and the regulations on how they should be treated. Of these twenty-one primary sources, only one, the *typikon* of the Lips Monastery, mentions a *xenon* as a separate edifice that provided medical care to the general public.

The *typika* which refer to the care of the monks and nuns who were stricken with illness are valuable both in terms of revealing the measures taken by the monastic communities in treating their sick members as well as the treatments offered by the attending physicians. All of the rules refer to the privileged position of the sick members of the monasteries. The rules concerning the diet, bathing and liturgical duties, which were regulated with precision and on egalitarian principles,

⁶⁶ Ναθανάηλ, # 19957, *PLP*, vol. VIII, p. 99. He was the *nosokomos* of the *Krales Xenon* in the early fifteenth century.

were bent only when a sick member of the community is concerned. The monks are ordered not to spare any expense to help the sick retain their health. This included the expenses of the physicians and medicine, as well as allowing special diets and taking patients frequently to baths. Specifically, the superior of the monastery in all of these rules was instructed to restore the patient to his or her previous health through medical remedies.

Specific attention paid to the diet, medicine and bathing of the sick monks elucidates to a small extent the knowledge of the authors of these rules on methods of treatment utilized by the physicians of the time. The importance given to the diet of the sick accords with the norms of the medical treatment of the time since it is known that in Greek medicine dietary habits played an important role in the restoration of health. Whereas the healthy members of the monastic communities were obliged to follow dietary rules and restrictions, the sick did not have to abide by these rules, and in accordance with the diagnosis of the physician they were allowed to eat healthy food as a part of their treatment whenever it is recommended. The *testament* of Patriarch Matthew I for the Monastery of Charsianeites dedicated to the Mother of God Nea Peribleptos provides additional information on the food that the sick were allowed eat. The rule allows the sick to eat either salty or sweet foods, but not both.⁶⁷ A similar approach was taken in the rule and *testament* of Makarios Choumnos for the Nea Mone monastery in Thessaloniki. In this rule, the author declares that the special requests of the sick should be considered and that better wine should be offered as an ailment to “those with a sickish stomach”.⁶⁸ Ill stricken members of the monasteries were also not subjected to rules concerning bathing until they recovered

⁶⁷ “Charsianeites: *Testament* of Patriarch Matthew I for the Monastery of Charsianeites dedicated to the Mother of God *Nea Peribleptos*,” trans. A.M. Talbot, in *BMFD*, vol. 4, pp. 1628, 1653.

⁶⁸ “Choumnos: Rule and *Testament* of Makarios Choumnos for the *Nea Mone* of the Mother of God in Thessalonike,” trans. A.M. Talbot, in *BMFD*, vol. 4, pp. 1436, 1451.

from their affliction. Whereas as a rule, the monks and the nuns in the *typika* that are examined were allowed to take baths at most four times a year, sick ones were to observe the prescriptions of their physicians on bathing.

Some of the *typika* also made provisions concerning the liturgical duties of the sick. Whereas in some rules, such as the *typikon* of Neilos Damilas for the convent of the Mother of God Pantanassa at Baionaia in Crete, the sick and the elderly were punished for avoiding their liturgical duties, in some others, such as the *Rule* of Patriarch Athanasios I, even the old and the sick were forbidden to sit down during the performance of the chants.⁶⁹

Timothy Miller in his article on Byzantine physicians and their hospitals asserts that during the eleventh and twelfth centuries sick and injured monks of Constantinople were attended by the physicians in a hospital.⁷⁰ In doing so, he suggests that the monks due to high rates charged by physicians on private visits had to go to *xenones* to receive medical treatment. However, the information provided in the *typika* dating from the Palaiologan period portrays a different picture. In all of the *typika*, which include a section on how the sick monks should be attended and treated, if it is necessary, the superior is ordered to call in a physician to the cloister to provide a treatment to the sick brethren.⁷¹ The *typikon* for the convent of Mother

⁶⁹ “Neilos Damilas: *Testament* and *Typikon* of Neilos Damilas for the Convent of the Mother of God Pantanassa at Baionaia on Crete,” A.M. Talbot, in *BMFD*, vol. 4, pp. 1463, 1473-1474; “Athanasios I: *Rule* of Patriarch Athanasios I,” trans. T. Miller, in *BMFD*, vol. 4, p. 1496. This latter document represents a bold attempt by Patriarch Athanasios I (1289–93, 1303–1309) to issue general legislation binding on the empire’s monasteries that might well have preempted provisions of many existing founders’ *typika*.

⁷⁰ Miller, “Byzantine Physicians and Their Hospitals,” pp. 324-325. As primary sources he uses a satirical poem attributed to Ptochoprodromos, who is assumed to be the same person as the court rhetorician and poet Theodore Prodromos. Miller’s reading of the poem suggests that the monks did not expect a superior to summon a physician to treat the sick monks within the confines of the monastery. Rather they were expected to visit the physician in some kind of a private office. Additionally, he refers to the *typika* of the monasteries of Mamas and Pantokrator in which the superiors were to convey the sick monks to a nearby *xenon*.

⁷¹ “The *Typikon* of Andronikos II Palaiologos for the Monastery of St. Demetrios-Kellibera in Constantinople,” trans. G. Dennis, in *BMFD*, vol. 4, p. 1509; “The *Typikon* of Theodora Synadene for

of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople provides additional information on the qualities of the physicians that should be summoned to the convent. Chapter ninety of this rule outlines the steps that the superior was to follow for the treatment of the sick nuns. According to the *typikon*, the superior was supposed to summon a physician who is “skilled in his profession and endowed with great piety”.⁷² In a similar manner, the seventh chapter of the *typikon* of the monastery of Charsianeites also instructs that “doctors skilled at curing such afflictions” should be summoned.⁷³ The fees charged by the physicians on private visits do not seem to constitute, at least on paper, a problem to the monastic community, since most of the rules state that the expenses for the treatment of the sick monks should be provided from the treasury of the monastery. Nevertheless, in some *typika* references to the prohibition of individual monks from retaining part of their personal property as a provision for old-age and illness implies that some monks were searching for means other than the monastic funds for sustaining their well-being. The reason behind such a shift in the rules regulating the treatment of the sick monks may be, as Miller asserts, the growing number of physicians who chose private practice due to the inadequate number of hospitals and hospital beds as well as the deteriorating quality of the medical care provided at the hospitals.⁷⁴

Establishing hospitals was also seen as a prestigious act for the rulers or private benefactors whether they were lay individuals or ecclesiastical officials. Starting from the fourth century up until 1261 the sources present a large number of individuals from a variety of different social backgrounds who with their own initiatives established or restored hospitals within the boundaries of the Byzantine

the Convent of Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople,” trans. A.M. Talbot, in *BMFD*, vol. 4, p. 1549.

⁷² *Ibid.*, “*Typikon* of Bebaia Elpis,” p. 1549. See chapter 90.

⁷³ “*Typikon* of Nea Peribleptos,” pp. 1628, 1641, 1659.

Empire. Whereas among the benefactors of earlier hospitals we come across names such as Basil of Caesarea or Gregory of Naziansus, it can be observed that imperial initiative in establishing hospitals predominated in the following centuries.⁷⁵ The *xenon* of the Pantokrator monastery, which is for the most part accepted as the most elaborate and comprehensive hospital complex of the Byzantine Empire, was founded by John II Komnenos in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, by drawing on the monastic *typika*, hagiographical texts, imperial acts and other literary sources dating from the Palaiologan period, it would not be an overgeneralization to claim that hospitals established or renovated at this period predominantly relied upon the donations of the rich aristocratic benefactors rather than the members of the imperial family. The following section is reserved for an analysis of the hospitals of the Palaiologan period based on the abovementioned sources.

The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and their following fifty-seven years of long rule had brought a considerable destruction both to the hospitals of the Empire's capital and the provinces. It has been stated that in the sources dating from the Palaiologan period nothing is mentioned pertaining to the *xenones* of Eubolos, Sampson, Markionos, Pantokrator, Myrelaion or the Petrion. Only two hospitals that were established prior to 1204 in Constantinople, namely the Panteleemon and Mangana, are reported as functioning during the last centuries of the Empire.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, starting from the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 by Michael VIII Palaiologos, the old *xenones* were restored or new ones were constructed through the efforts of the members of the imperial family, wealthy aristocrats, generals and monks. These institutions include the *xenon* of the Lips monastery, the Panteleemon *xenon*, the *Krales xenon*, and establishments that were founded by the

⁷⁴ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 199-206.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 85- 89, P. Horden, "Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium," pp. 381-389.

general Michael Glabas and George Goudeles. An examination of these institutions is necessary both in terms of evaluating the nature of the medical care facilities during the Palaiologan period as well as elucidating the relationship of the Palaiologan hospitals with the groups that supported or founded these philanthropic institutions.

When Michael VIII Palaiologos regained the control of Constantinople he immediately started to restore the hospital facilities of the Empire's capital. Timothy Miller asserts that the future patriarch Gregorios of Cyprus⁷⁷ praised the emperor for finding medical centers and allotting them with financial means to attend and cure the sick. Nevertheless, it has been stated that the future patriarch did not provide the names of the hospitals that the emperor restored or found.⁷⁸

The first source dating from the Palaiologan period that mentions a *xenon* which provided medical care facilities for the general public is the *typikon* of the Lips monastery (modern Fenari İsa Camii) drafted by Theodora, the widow of Michael VIII Palaiologos.⁷⁹ The Lips *typikon* includes valuable information on the organization, administrative and medical staff of the *xenon* as well as the regulations concerning the diet of the patients, the salaries of the employees and equipments that should be provided for the hospital. Moreover, it lists the estates that Theodora donated for the renovation of the old Lips monastery and the hospital attached to it. A comparative exposition of the Lips *typikon* with the *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery reveals the analogous and dissimilar characteristics of a hospital established during the reign of the Palaiologan dynasty when compared to the most prominent example of a Byzantine hospital.

⁷⁶ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 190.

⁷⁷ Gregorios of Cyprus was the patriarch of Constantinople between 1283 and 1289. See *ODB*, vol. II, pp. 866-867 for bibliographic information.

⁷⁸ Miller, *Byzantine Hospitals* (1977), p. 195.

Constantine Lips was the founder of the original tenth century monastery in the Lykos valley in west-central Constantinople. It has been stated that according to an unreliable source a hospital was attached to the monastery.⁸⁰ Towards the end of the thirteenth century, Theodora Palaiologina took on the restoration of this complex. Apart from establishing a second church dedicated to St. John the Forerunner, she founded a twelve-bed hospital. Chapters 46, 50 and 51 of the *typikon* refer to the estates, which were reserved for the expenditures of the hospital, its organization and its administrative and medical staff.⁸¹

Empress Theodora in chapter 46 of the *typikon* listed the revenues from her estates that would sum up to 600 *nomismata* that will solely be reserved for the expenditures of the *xenon*. According to the *typikon*, 260 *nomismata* from the revenues of a village called Nymphai in the vicinity of Constantinople, two mills near Aphameia worth 32 *nomismata*, 138 *nomismata* from another village called Skoteinon in the region of Macedonia, as well as 70 *nomismata* from four mills and 100 *nomismata* from arable land in the same region were to be reserved for the care and treatment of patients in the hospital.⁸²

The Lips *xenon* had one ward that consisted of twelve beds that were reserved exclusively for the treatment of women patients.⁸³ There is evidence of the separation of patients by their diagnosis in some Byzantine *xenones* from as early as the seventh century. The Pantokrator *typikon* mentions a ward each for patients with fractures or wounds, ophthalmologic and intestinal diseases and two wards for other illnesses and

⁷⁹ Delehaye, "Deux typica byzantins," pp. 116-141. "LipsTyp," pp. 1254-1286.

⁸⁰ Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, p. 354; Janin, *GE*, pp. 318, 321, 1254; G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1984), pp. 309-312.

⁸¹ Delehaye, "Deux typika byzantins," pp. 132, 134; "LipsTyp," pp. 1279-1281.

⁸² Delehaye, "Deux typika byzantins," p. 132; "LipsTyp," pp. 1279-1280.

⁸³ See chapter 50 in Delehaye, "Deux typika byzantins," p. 134.

a ward for woman patients.⁸⁴ The hospital of the Lips Monastery with its single ward for women when compared to the Pantokrator *xenon* of the twelfth century is considerably small in scale.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the ratios of the administrative and medical staff to the number of patients and the organizational structure set up by the Lips *typikon* is quite similar to that of the Pantokrator *typikon*. The Lips *xenon* was governed by a *nosokomos* who was assisted by an *epistekon* (supervisor).⁸⁶ In comparison to two accountants, who advised the *nosokomos* of the Pantokrator, in Lips there is only one assigned to advise the *nosokomos* of the *xenon*. The supervision of the material resources of the hospital was undertaken by the superior (προϊσταμένης) of the Lips monastery, who was assisted by her *oikonomos*.⁸⁷ As Miller suggests, the Lips *Typikon* does not assign a *primmikerios* to supervise all the medical procedures of the institution. This may be due to the fact that with its smaller scale, the monastery housed relatively few numbers of medical practitioners, which did not require any *primmikerioi* to supervise them.⁸⁸

The Lips *typikon* assigns three male physicians to treat the patients, and it does not refer to any monthly shifts among the physicians. It is also striking that, whereas the Pantokrator *typikon* mentions a female physician who operates at the female ward, in the Lips *typikon*, even though the hospital was reserved solely for women, there is no reference to female physicians.⁸⁹ Additionally, Theodora hired a *nosokomos*, an administrative assistant (ἐπιστήκον), six medical assistants (ὑπουργοὶ ἕξ), two pharmacists (ποιμεντάριοι δύο), one blood-letter (φλεβοτόμος),

⁸⁴ “PanTyp,” pp. 82-83. In this section concerning the hospital, the *typikon* discusses how the fifty beds reserved for the patients should be distributed among those with different illnesses.

⁸⁵ Delehay, “Deux typica byzantins,” p. 134.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134. See chapter 51, lines 27-28.

⁸⁷ Delehay, “Deux typica byzantins,” p. 134. See chapter 50, lines 9-13.

⁸⁸ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 201-202.

⁸⁹ “PanTyp,” pp. 84-85, 100-101.

three servants, one cook, and a washerwoman.⁹⁰ Thus, it may be concluded that even if the *xenon* of the Lips Monastery, when compared to the extensive complex of the twelfth century Pantokrator, was smaller in size and confined to only one ward, Theodora in drafting the *typikon* tried to maintain a high level of medical care for the hospital's patients.

Miller asserts that Theodora had paid the employees of the *xenon* approximately at a rate analogous to that of the Pantokrator *xenon*. Each one of the three physicians at the Lips *xenon* received sixteen *nomismata* a year with no *annona* allotments.⁹¹ The salaries of the other personnel is as follows: 14 *nomismata* for a *nosokomos*, 12 *nomismata* each for an administrative assistant and two pharmacists, 10 *nomismata* each for six medical assistants and three servants and a cook, 5 *nomismata* for a laundress and finally 4 *nomismata* for a blood-letter. Thus, it may be concluded that with the exception of the *nosokomos* the salaries of the hospital staff at the Lips *xenon* did not decrease when compared to those of the Pantokrator in the twelfth century.⁹²

The *xenon* of the Lips monastery was well supplied and provisioned. As Miller asserts, the amount of wheat, wine, oil, salt, and wood for heating seem to be abundant for a hospital of this size. The Lips *typikon* provides information on the annual expenditure of food, which was to be served to the sick. The patients who resided at the hospital were to be served thirty *modioi* of wheat every year. In addition to that seventy *hyperpera* were reserved for wine, sixty for food, four for oil,

⁹⁰ Delehay, "Deux typika byzantins," p. 134. See Chapter 51, lines 24-31.

⁹¹ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 202. The physicians at the women's ward of the Pantokrator were paid 6 1/3 *hyperpera* with an *annona* allotment of 36 *modioi* of wheat. Thus, Miller calculates their total income to be 9 1/3 Komnenian *hyperpera*, which would approximately equal to 14.1 *hyperpera* in 1281.

⁹² Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 203.

six for salt and flaxseed oil, and three for barley.⁹³ It has been stated that the amount of dishes served and the rations of food set by the Lips *typikon* were approximately similar to those laid down by the *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery.⁹⁴ Additionally, similar to the *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery, Lips mentions no meat or dietary products and provides a strictly vegetarian regime.

To sum up, the *xenon* attached to the Lips monastery, as far as the sources of the period go, appears to be the first hospital known by name, established with the initiative of a member of the Byzantine imperial family during the Palaiologan period. Moreover, the sources of the period, with the exception of the hospital complex established by the Serbian king Uroš II Milutin and the Panteleemon *xenon* refurbished by Niphon, do not give any information about the existence of similar complexes established in the Palaiologan period. Even in Milutin's and Niphon's case, the plausibility of the sources renders it impossible for one to make comparisons to reach more concrete conclusions. However, even if the paucity of the sources forces us to vulgar generalizations based on the Lips *xenon* about the general state of hospital care in the earlier decades of the Palaiologan period, a comparative analysis of the *typikon* issued by Theodora with the *typikon* of the Pantokrator Monastery suggests that the empress sought to maintain the level set by the Pantokrator *typikon*. I believe that within the light of the information obtained from the Lips *typikon* it would not be so far reaching to claim that empress Theodora, even though in a comparatively smaller scale, tried to carry on a tradition that was established almost two centuries earlier.

Whereas a member of the imperial family, Empress Theodora, financed the *xenon* of the Lips Monastery, most other hospitals founded after 1261 owed their

⁹³ See chapter 50, lines 14-21 in H. Delehay, "Deux typika byzantins," p. 134; "LipsTyp," p. 1261.

existence to private benefactors. Among such hospitals which were either founded or restored with the initiative of private donation one can count the *xenon* established by Michael Glabas, the Panteleemon *xenon* which was restored by the wealthy monk Niphon and the *nosokomeion* founded by George Goudeles.

During the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1281-1327), the *protostrator* Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas⁹⁵ established a *xenon* in Constantinople. We retrieve the information on the existence of such a *xenon* from a poem composed by Manuel Philes on behalf of the general to extol his benevolent act.⁹⁶ Miller claims that this *xenon* was established probably near the Church of Theotokos Pammakaristos, which was restored by Glabas.⁹⁷

Another private donor of the Palaiologan period, who used his wealth to refurbish the monastery of St. Panteleemon, which was founded in the late tenth century, was a monk named Niphon. In an imperial chrysobull issued by emperor John V Palaiologos in 1342, the emperor confirms the donations made by Niphon, his spiritual father, to the Lavra monastery on Mt. Athos and its *nosokomeion*. This act also reveals that Niphon, who was very benevolent towards the orphans, the poor, the sick, the prisoners and who constructed or repaired inns, churches and monasteries, allotted a proportion of his personal holdings to repair the ancient Panteleemon *xenon*.⁹⁸ According to the act, the great and magnificent *xenon* of St. Panteleemon, which suffered from the Latin rule in Constantinople, was

⁹⁴ For alimention regulations of the Pantokrator see "PanTyp," pp 54- 58; Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 203.

⁹⁵ Michael Glabas, or Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes, was born around 1235 and died after 1304. He held a series of government posts from *megas papias*, *kouropalates*, *pinkernes* to *megas konostaulos* until he attained the dignity of *protostrator* sometime after 1297. Michael Glabas and his wife Maria Doukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina were known to be wealthy patrons of arts. It is known that Glabas restored the monastery of Pammakaristos in Constantinople. See *ODB*, vol. II, p. 852 for more information.

⁹⁶ M. Philes, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, 2 vols., (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1967), vol. I, pp. 280-282.

⁹⁷ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 195.

reconstructed to its previous beauty and people came to the *xenon* from different places of the earth to seek health.⁹⁹

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, George Goudeles,¹⁰⁰ one of the leading figures in Manuel II Palaiologos' court, transformed his house into a *nosokomeion*. John Chortasmenos, in one of his letters addressed to George Goudeles, praises the latter for his good conduct in both public and private life. He goes on to eulogize Goudeles for his way of life devoted to *philanthropia*. In doing so, Chortasmenos mentions a house of Goudeles, which he dedicated to Christ on behalf of the poor and transformed into a *nosokomeion*.¹⁰¹ However, the letter does not provide any information on the location, size or organization of this foundation.¹⁰²

Probably the wealthiest hospital complex of the Palaiologan period was the *Krales Xenon* (ξενὼν τοῦ Κραλή) in Constantinople. This hospital owed its existence to the wealthy Serbian king Uroš II Milutin¹⁰³ (1281-1321) who financed the building of this institution in the early fourteenth century. In modern scholarly research this hospital receives little attention; however, for this present work it is quite crucial since the *Krales Xenon* constitutes the momentous example of a

⁹⁸ *Actes de Lavra de 1329 à 1500*, vol. 3, pp. 20-26.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁰ George Goudeles was known to be descendant of the aristocratic Γουδέλης family. He was the *mesazon* of Manuel II Palaiologos. For more information on the origins of this family see *ODB*, vol. II, p. 862.

¹⁰¹ Hunger, *Chortasmenos*, p. 157; “[...] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὕστερον ἀναθεῖναι Χριστῷ διὰ τῶν πενήτων καὶ νοσοκομεῖου σχήματι ταύτην περιβαλεῖν, πῶς οὐκ ἄνδρὸς ὀξέως συνιδεῖν τὸ λυσιτελὲς δυναμένου καὶ ἅμα τῶν πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὁδῶν ἀγούσων τὴν ἐπιτομωτέραν ἐξευρηκότος [...]”.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 157-159.

¹⁰³ Stephan Uros was the king of Serbia from 1281 until 1321. Milutin's first wife Helena was the daughter of John I Doukas of Thessaly. Until 1298 Milutin took an anti-Byzantine policy by launching wars against the Empire. However, in 1298-1299 he took Andronikos II's daughter Simonis as his fourth wife and from that time onwards he remained within the orbit of the Byzantine Empire. During his reign, the Serbian court adopted Byzantine ceremonial and Byzantine influence increased in Serbia. See *ODB*, vol.III, pp. 1949-1950, 2209.

Palaiologan hospital that managed to survive until the final decades of the Byzantine Empire.

Information pertaining to this *xenon* in primary sources of the period is very meager and partial. The most important vernacular source that provides information on this hospital is the hagiography of the King Milutin written by the Serbian archbishop Danilo II.¹⁰⁴ The incomplete information provided by Danilo II can be buttressed partially by other Greek sources and for the most part by the acts of Chilandar monastery. Milutin's biographer in his work praises the king's philanthropic deeds and defines the hospital founded by Uroš II Milutin as an act of pure *philanthropia*.¹⁰⁵ However, the significance of this source lies in the information that it provides about the whereabouts of the hospitals as well as the specific emphasis Milutin put on the medical staff and provisioning of the hospital.

Danilo wrote that king Milutin in the city of Constantinople in the place known as Prodromos donated large amounts of money for the restoration of the Monastery of John Prodromos and building of a number of buildings including a *xenodocheia*.¹⁰⁶ The text suggests that the hospital was built within the confines of the monastery of John Prodromos, however, there is a debate among the contemporary scholars about the exact site of this hospital. Mirjana Živojinović asserts that Danilo's biography is not clear on in which monastery of Prodromos that *xenon* is established. However Živojinović adds that from the acts of the Chilandar Monastery it is attained that the hospital was situated in the district of Petra in the vicinity of the Blachernai Palace. According to Živojinović an act dating from

¹⁰⁴ S. Hafner (trans.), "Danilo II: Stefan Uros II Milutin," *Serbisches Mittelalter: Altserbische Herrscherbiographien* (Graz: Styria, 1976), vol. II, pp. 174-178. (From now on will be referred as Danilo II.)

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 173f.

August 1322 concerning the division of a village between the Chilandar and the *xenon* provided information on the exact location of the hospital. According to the act the representatives of the Chilandar Monastery and the John Prodromos monastery met in order to accomplish a mutual agreement on the division of the territories of the village. The representative of the John Prodromos Monastery named himself as the head of the honorable monastery, which is dedicated to the name of the honorable John the Baptist, called Petra.¹⁰⁷ Similarly Timothy Miller suggests that it was the Monastery of John Prodromos in the district of Petra, whereas Raymond Janin asserts that no source provides adequate information to determine the precise location of this hospital.¹⁰⁸

Danilo also refers to Milutin's keen interest in the medical personnel. He wrote that Milutin brought in many skilled physicians and endowed them with large sums of gold and whatever they requested so that they can attend the patients on a regular basis.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, he added that Milutin brought his qualified and loyal men to take care of the sick. These physicians were responsible to comfort and heal the patients and fulfill their needs.¹¹⁰

Milutin also bought some Greek villages for the monastery. Danilo shortly mentioned this in his biography as: *“Und for der griechischen Regierung erwarb er käuflich viele ausgescuhte Dörfer, vermachte sie [dieser Stiftung] damit sie dieser*

¹⁰⁶ Danilo II, p. 177. “Und sogar in Konstantinople selbst erbaute er an einer Stelle, genannt Prodromos, ein Gotteshaus, in dem er dafür unzählbares Geld stiftete; dort errichtete er auch viele prächtige Gebäude und gründete Xenodochien, das heißt Hospitale.”

¹⁰⁷ Živojinović, “L'hôpital du roi Milutin,” pp. 105-107.

¹⁰⁸ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 195-196; R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastère*, (Paris: Institut Français d'études byzantines, 1953), p. 572.

¹⁰⁹ Danilo II, p. 177. “Er zuchte auch viele erfahrene Ärzte zusammen, gab ihnen viel Gold und was sie sonst benötigten, damit sie standing die Kranken beaufsichtigen und sie heilen.”

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 177. “Und außerdem bestellte er für diese seine geeigneten und treuen Männer, welche die Kranken versorgen und für sie alles Nützliche verrichten, so daß sich kein einziger Kranker beklagen kann, da man ihm, wenn er um etwas bittet, auch gibt.”

Institution Abgaben entrichten.”¹¹¹ However, an exposition of another short document mentioned by Živojinović, which concerns the division of the property rights and revenues of a village between the Chilandar and Prodromos monasteries, could provide more information on the revenues allocated to Milutin’s hospital.¹¹²

As it has been indicated earlier in this chapter, Byzantine hospitals were perceived as the prime example of today’s hospitals and differentiated from other philanthropic institutions, not only because they provided their patients with professional medical care but also because they functioned as centers of medical education. It is known that Byzantine hospitals were closely linked to the medical profession and they influenced the teaching of medicine as well as its practice. Miller discusses in detail how the *xenon* of the Pantokrator Monastery in the twelfth century functioned as a teaching hospital. The *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery stipulates that the attached hospital was to hire a respected physician to instruct medical students in the basics of the medical art.¹¹³ Moreover the *nosokomos* at the Pantokrator had charge of the διδάσκαλος τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐπιστήμης (teacher of medicine) at his hospital.

The sources of the Palaiologan period reveal that there were a number of hospitals in the empire that continued to teach medicine at this period. David Bennett analyzed a number of medical texts, which he defines as *xenon* texts, and concluded that the titles and the contents of these texts associated them with the teaching and practice of medicine in Byzantine hospitals.¹¹⁴ The information that we have on John Zacharias, one of the best-known physicians of the fourteenth century, can prove to be elucidating in terms of the role of these institutions in the teaching of medicine.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

¹¹² Živojinović, “L’hôpital du roi Milutin,” pp. 108-112.

¹¹³ “PanTyp,” pp. 106-107.

¹¹⁴ Bennett, “Three Xenon Texts,” pp. 507-519.

The information that we have on John comes from the letters of George Lekapenos. In a letter dating from 1299, George Lekapenos warns his friend that he should stay in Constantinople and finish his studies instead of going to Thessaloniki where according to Lekapenos he would not have the apt opportunities. This letter also reveals that John Zacharias has not yet completed his medical studies and not possessed his τέχνη, which he is improving through daily practice at a φροντιστήριον (*phrontisterion*). In Byzantine terms, the word φροντιστήριον refers to a place of education, a monastery or a monk's cell or the place for taking care of the poor, the weak and the sick.¹¹⁵

Friedrich Fuchs, in his monograph on higher education in Byzantium, denotes that in the fifteenth century we witness an educational complex comprised of a monastery, a public library, a *xenon* and a *mouseion*. He suggests that this complex may have developed from the example of the school of Maximos Planoudes,¹¹⁶ which was established in the thirteenth century. Fuchs' suggestion is intriguing since it is known that within the confines of the Monastery of John Prodhomos, apart from the *xenon*, there was also a library and an institution of higher education called *katholikon mouseion*, which was associated with the *xenon*. In 1406, the *nosokomos* of the *Krales xenon* (also a physician at the *xenon*), the monk Nathanael, commissioned John Chortasmenos for the rebinding of the famous Vienna Dioskourides manuscript.¹¹⁷ The existence of such a manuscript within the holdings of the *xenon* both indicates that the hospital maintained a library and was still rich

¹¹⁵ Hohlweg, "Actuarius," pp. 122-123.

¹¹⁶ F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1926), p. 61. For bibliographical information on Maximos Planoudes see *ODB*, vol. III, pp. 1681-1682.

¹¹⁷ Hunger *Chortasmenos*, pp. 17, 47; Zivojinovič, "L'hôpital du roi Milutin," p. 106. "Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον τὸν Διοσκουρίδην πανταπᾶσι Παλαιωθέντα καὶ Κινδυνεύοντα τελείως διαφθαρῆναι ἐστάχωσεν ὁ Χορτασμένος Ἰωάννης προστροπῇ καὶ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἑν μοναχοῖς κυροῦ Ναθαναὴλ νοσοκόμου τηνικαῦτα τυγχάνοντος ἑν τῷ ξενῶνι τοῦ Κράλη."

enough to rebind a manuscript. It may also be suggested that the existence of the hospital and the library may have contributed to the establishment of the school in the same place.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the *mouseion* with the initiative of Manuel II Palaiologos developed into a more comprehensive institution. It was probably the most prominent example of an educational institution in the late Palaiologan period since it housed many valuable scholars of the late Palaiologan period who were specialized in a variety of scientific disciplines. Unfortunately, the names of these individuals who taught at this institution are for the most part unknown to us.

Among the scholars who gave lectures at the *mouseion* the ones whose names have reached us include the eminent rhetorician, astronomer and physician George Chrysokokkes, John Chortasmenos and Michael Apostolis.¹¹⁸ Probably the most famous scholar of the fifteenth century who taught at the *mouseion* was John Argyropoulos.¹¹⁹ Even though the sources do not suggest that Argyropoulos himself was a physician, the existence of physicians among his students suggests that he was giving lectures on subjects that were related to the medical craft. A Greek manuscript dating from this period contains an image of Argyropoulos giving a lecture at the *mouseion*. In the same depiction, the names of some of his students are listed. Among his Greek students we come across some names that were known to be practicing medicine in the fifteenth century in Constantinople such as Antonios Pyropoulos, John Panaretos, Demetrios Angelos, and Branas.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen*, p. 72.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73.

¹²⁰ D.J. Geanakoplos, *Constantinople and the West: Essays on the Late Byzantine and Italian Renaissances and the Byzantine and the Roman Churches* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), pp. 96-97.

The existence of scholars who are known to be giving lectures on subjects related to the medical art at the *katholikon mouseion* or students who are known to be physicians support the claim that suggests that the *mouseion* provided medical education. However, these individuals whom we encounter as physicians in the sources of the Palaiologan period were also affiliated with and composed works on other scientific disciplines. Therefore, a meticulous reading of the writings of these individuals may provide information about the interests of each one of these personalities and, thus, thoroughly enlighten us about the disposition of the general education, and particularly about the curriculum to which a physician of the late Palaiologan period was exposed.¹²¹ Even though within the light of the available evidence utilized throughout this chapter it is not possible to define the nature of the medical education provided in Byzantium, an exposition of John Argyropoulos's life and his scholarly inclinations may provide intriguing information on this subject.

John Argyropoulos was born circa 1393/1394 in Constantinople. Then, he moved to Thessaloniki, where he received his secondary education. After he completed his studies he returned back to Constantinople in 1407, and it is suggested that he established himself as a teacher in the capital before 1425. Alain Touwaide states that Argyropoulos stayed in Constantinople until 1438/1439, and later traveled to Padua (Italy), where he stayed between the years 1441 and 1444. After his stay in Italy he returned to Constantinople where he spent five years from 1448 to 1453. The evidence suggests that it was at this period that he gave lectures at the *katholikon mouseion* in Constantinople. It is known that after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans, he returned to Italy where he lived until his death in Rome in 1487.¹²² It is asserted by some scholars that after his return from Padua to Constantinople in 1441,

¹²¹ A. Touwaide, "The Letter to a Cypriot Physician Attributed to John Argyropoulos (ca. 1448-1453)," *Medicina Nei Secoli Arte e Scienza* 11, no.3 (1999), pp. 585-601.

Argyropoulos tried to apply the teaching experiences that he gained in Italy to the educational system of Byzantium.¹²³

At this point, delving into the educational system of Western universities, however relevant it may be, would be a lengthy digression, which is out of the premises of this thesis. Nonetheless, in order to trace out analogous developments in the Byzantine Empire and elucidate the level of awareness in Byzantine educational and intellectual circles on prominent scholarly debates that took hold in the West, it is necessary to provide brief information. It is known that at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century in the Western world, the scholastic debates, which emphasized a new relationship between the theory and practice, also influenced the field of medicine. The new approach which put a specific emphasis on the medical craft, drew attention to a medical learning that cannot only be taught but also has to be acquired through practice. Additionally, they chose to resort to other sciences or techniques such as astrology, magic or alchemy with the intention of adapting the traditional means of therapy to daily life. It can be delineated from Jacquart's article that this new approach made its way to prominent universities such as Padua where the teaching of medicine was highly regarded.¹²⁴ As in the example of the hospital of the Pantokrator monastery, which has been discussed above in detail, we assume that some hospital complexes of the Byzantine Empire before thirteenth century served as centers of medical education, where presumably the residents had the chance to practice their theoretical knowledge. In the fourteenth century, as the abovementioned example of John Zacharias demonstrates, physicians were not only given a theoretical education but also received a practical training.

¹²² Touwaide, "The Letter to a Cypriot Physician," pp. 585-590.

¹²³ K.P. Matschke and F. Tinnefeld, *Die Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz: Gruppen, Strukturen und Lebensformen* (Cologne: Bohlau, 2001), pp. 206-209.

Thus, at the time when John Argyropoulos was appointed as the head of the *katholikon mouseion* and started to give lectures there, he probably witnessed a system of education more or less tantamount to the one that he was exposed to in Italy.

In conclusion, what this chapter endeavored was to explore the institutions mentioned in the non-medical sources of the Palaiologan period which provided medical care to the sick. The information obtained from the hagiographical texts, monastic *typika*, poems, imperial chrysobulls, and monastic acts, though scarce it may be, indicates that throughout the Palaiologan period hospitals that provided medical care to the sick existed. In terms of the terminology used to refer to these institutions, the term *xenon* is commonly used to refer to a hospital where medical care was provided to the general public, whereas *nosokomeion* was generally used to refer to the infirmaries of the monasteries where the sick monks were attended.

As it has been indicated in the introduction, one of the aims of this thesis was to challenge the traditional understanding that political disintegration and the associated economical decline had a deteriorating effect on the medical practice and facilities that provided medical care in the Palaiologan period. Even though the sources dating from the Palaiologan period offer less information when compared to the earlier periods, still the evidence suggests that institutions which provided medical care and education existed throughout this period. It is possible that the nature of the medical practice and the medical care provided in these hospitals may have been altered, but this does not necessarily mean that it had diminished to a considerable extent. Attributing decadence to the state of medicine in the Palaiologan period, and trying to explain this overall condition of the medical practice by and

¹²⁴ D. Jacquart, "Theory, Everyday Practice, and Three Fifteenth-Century Physicians," *Osiris* 6 (1990), pp. 140-150.

large through the deterioration of imperial patronage of medical facilities induces serious problems. Such an explanation undermines all those activities that were not pursued under the auspices of the Byzantine imperial family. As we have seen, probably the wealthiest hospital complex of the period, the *Krales Xenon*, was financed by the Serbian ruler Milutin. Even though Milutin was connected to the Byzantine imperial family through matrimonial ties, still, it was the resources and revenues allocated by Milutin that made the establishment of such an institution, which managed to provide medical care up until the final decades of the Byzantine Empire, possible. Additionally, as we have seen in the examples of Niphon, Goudeles, and Glabas, wealthy individuals who did not belong to imperial circles established new facilities that provided medical care or renovated the existing ones.

It is true that, to a certain extent medicine, its practice and education was still orchestrated around the hospital complexes of the Palaiologan period. However, trying to explain the overall state of medical knowledge and its practice in the Palaiologan period solely by means of the role played by the hospitals, falls short of explaining the substantial quantity of medical texts written in this period as well as the significant number of physicians who were mentioned in the sources. As it will be discussed in the following chapter, the number of physicians mentioned in the non-medical sources of the Palaiologan period is relatively high when compared to the earlier periods. Thus, an exposition of the sources in which there are references to physicians is necessary in order to understand the developments that took place in medicine, its practice and education, as well as the changes in attitude towards the role and the status of medical practitioners during the Palaiologan period.

CHAPTER THREE

PHYSICIANS OF THE PALAIOLOGAN PERIOD

A survey of the secondary literature on the history of Greek medicine and its practitioners from its ancient origins to medieval times reveals that a lot has been written on ancient Greek physicians and their works. This at first glance may not seem very startling since the scholars have at their disposal copious amount of medical writings, such as the works of those authors who have been incorporated into the Hippocratic and the Galenic corpus. Nonetheless, the availability of the sources is not the only motive behind such particular interests. The attitude which regards the Ancient Greek medicine as the precursor and the ancient physicians as the earliest practitioners of Western secular medicine also played a significant role in the nourishment of such interests.

However, a survey of the literature on Byzantine medicine and its practitioners portrays a different picture. In recent scholarship on the history of medical thought and practice in the Byzantine Empire, relatively few studies have been conducted on the practitioners of the art of medicine, namely the physicians. The studies conducted particularly on Byzantine physicians predominantly focus on the earlier periods of the empire's history.¹²⁵ Little has been said about physicians of the period following the Early Byzantine era and, apart from a couple of articles, virtually nothing has been written on people who practiced medicine during the

¹²⁵ B. Baldwin, "Beyond the House Call: Doctors in Early Byzantine History and Politics," *DOP* 38 (1984), pp. 15-19; S.A. Harvey, "Physicians and Ascetics in John of Ephesus: An Expedient Alliance," *DOP* 38 (1984), pp. 87-93; J. Duffy, "Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seven Centuries," pp. 21-27; A. Kazhdan, "The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature of the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 38 (1984), pp. 43-51.

Palaiologan period.¹²⁶ Yet, however scarce these studies may be in number and limited in scope, the scholars, by rendering the medical doctor as their subject matter, seek to incorporate a group of individuals whose historical significance has been largely overlooked into the cultural, social, scientific and intellectual life of the Byzantine Empire.

This chapter endeavors to analyze a number of non-medical sources dating from the Palaiologan period and demarcate those individuals who were affiliated with the medical profession. A meticulous examination of the sources, besides providing interesting biographical information on the physicians of the period, may also prove to be edifying on the structure, role and status of the medical profession of the time. The first part of this chapter will provide a prosopographic survey of the physicians of the Palaiologan period mentioned in the non-medical sources of the time. In so doing, the historical circumstances in which the physicians manifested themselves in the non-medical sources will be narrated. An analysis section that provides an exposition of the various aspects of the medical profession of this period will follow this part. The following individuals have been arranged chronologically according to centuries. Those on whom the sources available for this thesis provide evidence are discussed in detail, while for others only the information offered by the *PLP* is briefly recounted.

The terms used to describe medical practitioners in the sources scrutinized for this thesis, unfortunately, do not enable us to distinguish the various degrees of competence in both the practice and theory of medicine. Nonetheless, before moving on to the discussion of the personalities of the physicians, it is convenient for the premises of this chapter to introduce the Greek terminology used to refer to medical

¹²⁶ Hohlweg, "Actuarius," pp. 121-133; Trapp, "Die Stellung der Ärzte," pp. 230-234; Touwaide, "The Letter to a Cypriot Physician," pp. 585-590; F. Tinnefeld, "Georgios Philosophos: Ein

doctors in the sources of the period. A number of terms such as *iatros* (ἰατρός) [one who heals],¹²⁷ *archiatros* (ἀρχιατρός), *aktouarios* (ἀκτουάριος), *asklepiadai* (ἄσκληπιάδαι) [decendants of Asklepios]¹²⁸ and *iatron paides* (ἰατρῶν παῖδες)¹²⁹ are used to refer to the physicians of the period.

The title *archiatros* was given to the chief physicians who were practicing in the several hospitals of Constantinople by the beginning of the seventh century. As late as the fourteenth century we come across in the sources physicians with the title *archiatros* who were working in the *xenones* of Constantinople.¹³⁰

Aktouarios was a name given to an official whose functions changed over the centuries. In the late Roman Empire it was the title given to a fiscal official whose duty was the distribution of the military wages. According to a ceremonial book dating from the tenth century, the job description of the *aktouarios* is to distribute awards to victorious charioteers on behalf of the emperor. At least from the reign of Alexios I (1081- 1118) the leading doctor of the imperial court held the title of *aktouarios*.¹³¹ In the sources of the Palaiologan period, the term is still used to refer to the physicians of the imperial court.¹³²

Korrespondent und Freund des Demetrios Kydones,” *OCP* 28 (1972), pp. 141-172.

¹²⁷ Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 816; Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 154-155. Whereas in the *typika* of the earlier periods terms used to designate physicians of different ranks such as *protarchoi* (head physicians), *archiatroi* (second rank physicians), *mesoi* (the regular doctors), *teleutaioi* (the lowest order) exist, in the Lips *Typikon* dating from the Palaiologan period the physicians are simply referred to as *iatros*.

¹²⁸ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 258; *ODB*, vol. I, pp. 208-209. The terms *asklepiadai* and *iatron paides* were ancient Greek usages used by Kantakouzenos to refer to physicians.

¹²⁹ Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 817.

¹³⁰ Liddell and Scott, *Lexicon*, p. 252, Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, p. 44.

¹³¹ Miller, *Birth of Hospital*, pp. 149-159.

¹³² *ODB*, vol. I, p. 50.

Physicians of the Thirteenth Century

The evidence pertaining to the ten names classified as physicians in the thirteenth century concentrates on the second half of the period. However, the information that we obtain from the sources is not detailed for each one of the physicians. Thus, whereas those physicians who were represented in depth will be discussed in detail, others who were poorly represented will be mentioned only in name.

What is particularly striking about the physicians of the thirteenth century is the fact that almost half of the names were depicted as the physicians of the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259-1282). Metaxopoulos (Μεταξόπουλος),¹³³ along with Theodoros Argyropoulos (θεόδωρος Αργυρόπουλος),¹³⁴ and a Michael (Μιχαήλ)¹³⁵ are three physicians who prepared medicaments for emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1272.¹³⁶ The best documented of the physicians of Michael VIII Palaiologos was a certain Kabasilas (Καβάσιλας)¹³⁷ who was present at the emperor's deathbed in 1282. He is referred to as an *aktouarios*, the court physician, of the emperor by George Pachymeres, the author of one of the most informative sources on the earlier decades of the Palaiologan period.¹³⁸ In September 1282, the ruler of the principality of Epiros renounced the treaty that he had previously signed

¹³³ *PLP* number 17971.

¹³⁴ *PLP* number 91290.

¹³⁵ *PLP* number 19015.

¹³⁶ Unfortunately, the sources utilized for this thesis do not provide any information on the medical condition of the emperor at this period. Another point of interest is the family name Argyropoulos used by Theodoros. We come across a famous intellectual and scholar in the fifteenth century, John Argyropoulos, who bears the same family name and who is assumed to have been giving lectures at the *katholikon mouseion* in Constantinople on medicine. Nevertheless, within the light of available evidence it is unfortunately not possible to establish a link between these two names.

¹³⁷ *PLP* number 10067. *ODB*, vol. II, p. 1087. Unfortunately, we do not know the first name of the physician Kabasilas, however, it is known that the Kabasilas was a aristocratic lineage known from the reign of Basil II onward. Moreover, it is also acknowledged that Kabasilas possessed lands in Chalkidiki and Thessaloniki. *PLP* states that the physician Kabasilas was a landlord in Thessaloniki.

¹³⁸ Failler and Laurent, *Pachymères*, pp. 664-665.

with Michael VIII Palaiologos and took up arms against the Byzantine Empire. Thus, Michael decided to retaliate against John and called on the help of his son-in-law, Nogaj, the Khan of the Golden Horde. Even though the empress tried to dissuade Michael VIII from going by pointing to his ill-health, in November the emperor traveled to Rhaidestos, where he was forced to disembark because of a dangerous storm. Afterwards, he rode to a village called Allage where his illness progressed to a life threatening degree. Pachymeres recounts that the emperor was suffering from a disease which was affecting his intestines.¹³⁹ There, he received the troops of Nogaj and shortly after he died.¹⁴⁰ It is within this historical context that we come across the name of physician Kabasilas, who was apparently accompanying the emperor on his campaign. Kabasilas, when first questioned about the condition of the emperor's disease, responded cautiously and instead of announcing the news of the emperor's impending death, he advised Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328), the son of Michael VIII and the heir to the throne, to start the preparations for the emperor's burial.¹⁴¹ According to information provided by the *PLP*, Kabasilas held the title *pansebastos sebastos* until his death in 1296.¹⁴²

The history of George Pachymeres, mentions another physician named Perdikkas (Περδικκας).¹⁴³ Michael VIII Palaiologos, in the year 1280 summoned Perdikkas with the intention of questioning him on his relationship with John Angelos, the brother of Demetrios Michael Angelos who was married to the daughter

¹³⁹ Failler and Laurent, *Pachymérès*, p. 661. The text reads as follows: “(...) καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀναβάλλεσθαι ἢ μὴν ἀμελεῖν καὶ διὰ τὴν νόσον ὑπερτίθεσθαι (...)”.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 658-664; D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 87.

¹⁴¹ Failler and Laurent, *Pachymérès*, pp. 664-665.

¹⁴² *ODB*, vol. III, pp. 1862-1863. The title *sebastos*, even though it served as the root for high-ranking titles such as *sebastokrator*, *panhypersebastos*, *protosebastos* and was itself conferred primarily to the members of the Byzantine aristocracy, by the end of the twelfth century lost its previous connotations. The *sebastoi* of the twelfth century were called *pansebastoi sebastoi*, which was constituted of two groups. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the commanders of ethnic units were referred to as *sebastoi*.

of the emperor. Emperor Michael VIII at this time was suspicious of John for conspiring against his authority.¹⁴⁴ Nonetheless, it is not possible to conclude from Pachymeres' narrative whether Perdikkas was also a physician of Michael VIII Palaiologos or not.

PLP lists John Theognostos (Ἰωάννης Θεόγνωστος),¹⁴⁵ who was also a priest, as one of the physicians; however, it does not provide a specific date to when he practiced his craft and rather delineates the time period as the second half of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, a patriarchal act dating from the patriarchate of Gregorios II of Cyprus (1283-1289) reveals that Theognostos was a practicing physician roughly during his patriarchate.¹⁴⁶ According to this act, a certain man named Phrangopoulos had been incarcerated¹⁴⁷ and nearly tortured to death. This rumor vexed the patriarch as a result of which he asked Theognostos, who was also his friend and his physician, to medically examine Phrangopoulos. The patriarch demanded that if the prisoner was on the verge of dying due to mistreatment, Theognostos should immediately bring this issue to the emperor's attention. If not, he should attend to his own patients and let Phrangopoulos die in the prison.

Other physicians from the thirteenth century include a certain Manuel (Μανουήλ)¹⁴⁸ who was practicing medicine between the years 1270-1274,¹⁴⁹ a John (Ἰωάννης)¹⁵⁰ who was known to be a monk in 1281, a certain Evangelios

¹⁴³ *PLP* number 22441.

¹⁴⁴ Failler and Laurent, *Pachymérès*, pp. 612-615.

¹⁴⁵ *PLP* number 7081. He was also a teacher and a priest.

¹⁴⁶ Laurent, *Regestes*, vol. I fasc. IV, no. 1542, pp. 330-331.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 329-330. Act number 1541 reveals information pertaining to the incarceration of Phrangopoulos. He was accused of breaking into the house of one of the high ecclesiastical officials and sexually assaulting one of his daughters.

¹⁴⁸ *PLP* number 16678.

¹⁴⁹ *Actes de Xéropotamou*, p. 81. "Τὴν μί(αν) κασέλαν τὴν μικρ(ήν) ἀρίῳ τ(ήν) τ(ὸν) ἱατρ(ὸν) τ(ὸν) κύρ Μανουήλ."

¹⁵⁰ *PLP* number 92113. *PLP* suggests that he may be the same person with John Theognostos.

(Εὐαγγέλιος)¹⁵¹ who was practicing medicine between the years 1293-1297 as well as a physician named Markianos (Μαρκιανός).¹⁵²

Physicians of the Fourteenth Century

The evidence obtained from the sources of the fourteenth century on the physicians of the period paint a slightly different picture. First of all, in the fourteenth century there is an increase in the number of the physicians represented in the non-medical sources of the time when compared to the thirteenth century. The list of physicians from the fourteenth century includes thirty-two names. This increase can simply be explained with chronological factors since the sources utilized for the thirteenth century concentrate on the period after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. Unfortunately, the sources for the most part are revealing in terms of the information pertaining to well known and prestigious individuals.

Similar to the thirteenth century we come across a number of names in the fourteenth century who were appointed as physicians to Byzantine emperors. The court physician (*aktouarios*) John Zacharias¹⁵³ was probably the most famous Byzantine physician of the fourteenth century. He was practicing medicine in the years when Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos ruled. The information that we have

¹⁵¹ PLP number 91873. He was an addressee of a *chartophylax* named Niketas Kyprianos (Νικήτας Κυπριανός). It is known that one of the letters of Nikephoros Choumnos dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, was addressed to a certain Kyprianos who was referred to as *hypatos ton philosophon* (consul of the philosophers). The abovementioned Kyprianos has been identified with the *chartophylax* of the Great Church. See C.N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204 - ca.1310)* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1982), pp. 128-130. *χαρτοφύλαξ* is an ecclesiastical official of Constantinople and the provinces with archival and notarial duties. The significance of the office which has been attested from the sixth century onwards expanded with the growth of synodal transaction. During the reign of Andronikos, an attribute, *megas*, was added to the title of *chartophylax*. Additionally in some monasteries *chartophylax* was included among the officials as a monk or a nun responsible for the security and conservation of monastic records; see *ODB*, vol. I, p. 415.

¹⁵² PLP number 16985.

¹⁵³ PLP number 6489.

on the life of John Zacharias, for the most part, comes from the correspondence of George Lekapenos, Michael Gabras, and John Zacharias' own writings.¹⁵⁴

Armin Hohlweg, in his article on John Zacharias' *De Methodo Medendi*, thoroughly analyzed Lekapenos' letters to come up with biographical information on Zacharias' life.¹⁵⁵ Hohlweg fixes the birth date of John around 1275 or a bit later. From a letter of George Lekapenos in the fall of 1299, we learn that John along with his mother and other relatives lived in Constantinople where he studied medicine. The same letter also reveals that John was considering moving to Thessaloniki, a decision that was opposed by Lekapenos who urged him to stay in the capital and finish his studies. From another letter of Lekapenos, dating from 1307, we learn that John by this time presumably finished his studies since Lekapenos addresses him as an *iatros agathos* (ἰατρὸς ἀγαθός), a good doctor. John must have received the title of *aktouarios* (ἄκτουάριος) between 1310 and 1323 since in manuscripts dating from this period he is referred to as σοφώτατος καὶ λογιώτατος βασιλικὸς ἰατρὸς, the wisest and the most learned doctor of the imperial court.¹⁵⁶ This can also be verified in a letter written by Michael Gabras in 1323 where John Zacharias was referred to as ἄκτουάριος.¹⁵⁷ The date of John's death cannot be determined.

In the correspondence of Michael Gabras, there are four letters addressed to John Zacharias.¹⁵⁸ In letter 310, Michael Gabras wrote to John Zacharias about his

¹⁵⁴ George Lekapenos was a member of the Armenian originated Lekapenos family. He was a writer and a grammarian. He was probably a pupil of Maximos Planoudes and was active in the literary circles in Constantinople under emperor Andronikos II. For more information see *ODB*, vol. II, p. 1169.

¹⁵⁵ Hohlweg, "Actuarius," pp. 121-124.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-126.

¹⁵⁷ Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, vol. II, pp. 493, 494, 667, 669. The meaning of the term *aktouarios* had changed over time, and by the twelfth century it was used as a title to designate the court physician. See *ODB*, vol. I, p. 50.

¹⁵⁸ Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, pp. 48, 49, 87, 88, 493, 494, 667, 669 for letters 22, 52, 310 and 439.

health problems¹⁵⁹ and requested from the physician medical advice that would help him regain his health.¹⁶⁰ In two of his letters, Gabras requests from John Zacharias to use his influence in the imperial circles and help Gabras solve his problems. Specifically, in letter 22, which Gabras addressed to both John Zacharias and George Lekapenos, he wrote about his problem with a man who impaired his relationship with the emperor. Gabras requested from Zacharias and Lekapenos to use their influence in order to help him work out his problem.¹⁶¹

The evidence derived from the sources reveal that John Zacharias belonged to a group of intellectuals in the company of emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos. It is known that along with Andronikos Zacharias and George Lekapenos he was a student of Maximos Planudes. Additionally, he also belonged to a circle of pupils under Joseph the Philosopher who was also known as Joseph Rhankendytes.¹⁶² Among other individuals with whom he was affiliated we can recount Michael Gabras, Gregorios Chioniades, Andronikos Zarides and probably George Oinaiotos.¹⁶³

Whereas the non-medical sources provide scarce information on John Zacharias, it is the medical treatises written by John that provide relatively abundant information on his medical education, his interests and qualifications as a physician. It is beyond the premises of this thesis to scrutinize his medical oeuvres. Nonetheless, partial information put forward by Armin Hohlweg will be utilized here to provide a clearer understanding of the personality of John and his scholarly

¹⁵⁹ Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, p. 493, letter number 310. See lines 10-14 where Gabras describes his interaction with other people who know of his illness: people who sit next to him soon get up and leave or profess sympathy towards him that is of little help to the patient.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 494. See line 41 where he acknowledges that the physician's letters of advice have had a positive effect on the illness.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁶² F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen*, pp. 58-60; Hohlweg, "Actuarius," pp. 123-128.

interests. John Zacharias was a prolific writer who composed a number of medical treatises. His best-known work was the Θεραπευτικὴ μέθοδος (in Latin *De Methodo Medendi*), which he dedicated to Alexios Apokaukos, who was the *parakoimomenos*¹⁶⁴ at the time of the dedication. He is also the author of two other medical treatises περὶ οὔρων (On Urine) and περὶ ἐνεργειῶν καὶ παθῶν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς κατ'αὐτὸ δαίτης (Concerning the activities and illnesses of the psychic *pneuma* and the corresponding mode of living).¹⁶⁵ In his work *On Urine*, John Zacharias recounted that it was his inclination towards the natural sciences that fostered his interest in medicine. John was also drawn into medicine because of its philanthropic as well as therapeutic aspects.

John was well acquainted with the medical classics, Greek literature and philosophy. His works, as it can be delineated from Hohlweg's article, reflect his thorough education in the theory of medicine as well as his interest in the relation between medicine and philosophy.¹⁶⁶ Astronomy was one of the fields that aroused the interests of the erudite circles in the Palaiologan period and clearly had a place in the education of the physicians. John Zacharias in his own works testified to his knowledge in this field, since we know that he made use of astronomical knowledge such as the role celestial bodies played in human diseases and their treatment.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Hohlweg, "Actuarius," p. 126. It is stated that Oinaïotes was interested in astronomy and received instruction from a physician (*aktouarios*), who was perhaps John Zacharias. See *ODB*, vol. III, p. 1519.

¹⁶⁴ In the fourteenth century, the office of *parakoimomenoi* was divided into two: the *parakoimomenos* of the *koiton* preserved the old functions of the emperor's bodyguard whereas the *parakoimomenos* of the *sphendone* controlled the state seal.

¹⁶⁵ Hohlweg, "Actuarius," pp. 121-133. Urines a masterpiece of byzantine diagnostics is divided into four basic parts various urines and their physiological characteristic diagnostics etiology and prognosis. *ODB*, vol. II, p. 1056.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

¹⁶⁷ Hohlweg, "Actuarius," pp. 127-128.

Another physician from the fourteenth century was a certain Barus (Βάρυς),¹⁶⁸ who was known to be practicing medicine between the years 1329/30-1360. The *History* of emperor John VI Kantakouzenos and a patriarchal act dating from 1360 are the two sources that are utilized to obtain information on Barus. The *PLP* do not provide any information on his full name, birthplace or birth date. Additionally, it is not possible to come up with any information pertaining to his family members or relatives. The one thing that we know for sure is that he was one of the physicians of emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328-1341). Moreover, we also know that he was a monk at the Hodegon Monastery¹⁶⁹ in Constantinople in 1360.

John VI Kantakouzenos in his *History* intermittently refers to Andronikos III Palaiologos' health problems and it is one of these passages in which he refers to the physician Barus. It is understood from Kantakouzenos' narrative that Andronikos III suffered from episodes of attacks. One of these attacks hit Andronikos III on his stay in Didymoteichon in 1329/1330. He suffered from a shiver that continued for forty days. After forty days Andronikos III's shivering came to a halt but for twelve more days he continued to suffer from constant nose bleeding and lost a lot of blood. Kantakouzenos recounts that Andronikos III suffered from a disease that attacked his heart, lungs and spleen for the rest of his life.¹⁷⁰ It has been stated that this disease from which Andronikos suffered may be malaria. The enlargement of the spleen,

¹⁶⁸ *PLP* number 2375.

¹⁶⁹ This monastery is located in Constantinople to the east of Hagia Sophia near the sea walls. This monastery apparently took its name from the monks who led blind pilgrims to a miraculous spring that was able to restore sight. The monastic complex was built by the ninth century perhaps by Michael III, and restored again in the twelfth century. In the Palaiologan period a scriptorium flourished in the monastery, specializing in the production of deluxe liturgical manuscripts. The Palaiologan emperors had close ties with the monastery and visited it frequently. Andronikos III Palaiologos died in the monastery in 1341. *ODB*, vol. II, p. 939.

¹⁷⁰ Fatouros and Krischer, *Kantakouzenos*, vol. I, p. 98.

shivering and fever, which manifests itself every four days constitute the symptoms of this disease.¹⁷¹

In another episode relating the illness of the emperor, Andronikos III Palaiologos as a result of his sufferings summoned the physicians to his tent.¹⁷² He explained to the doctors that he is at the end of his life and after all the hope that he would get better vanishes he wants to spend the rest of his life as a monk. Physicians replied to the emperor by saying that nothing bad would happen but they would fulfill his wish if his condition gets worse. The physicians after their discussion with the emperor, falling into despair stated that they wish that they had never studied medicine. Consequently, the emperor summoned Kantakouzenos to his presence and asked him to bring his spiritual father. Kantakouzenos, not being very enthusiastic about the emperor's request, after Andronikos III left, scolded the doctors for making such a promise. It is clearly understood from the narrative of Kantakouzenos that he disapproved of Andronikos' wish to become a monk.¹⁷³

Actually, even though Kantakouzenos' narrative implies that there were more than one physician at the presence of Andronikos III, the only named physician mentioned in Kantakouzenos' narrative was Barus. In the words of Kantakouzenos, we understood that Barus regarded himself as an expert physician and did not want the emperor to suffer because of Kantakouzenos' schemes. According to the narrative Barus believed that Kantakouzenos, because he did not wish the emperor to take on the monk's habit and leave the throne, sent the spiritual father away. Thus,

¹⁷¹ Fatouros and Krischer, *Kantakouzenos*, vol. I, p. 252. The land that housed the civil war between Andronikos II Palaiologos and his grandson Andronikos III Palaiologos, which was like a swamp, probably laid the ground for this disease.

¹⁷² Fatouros and Krischer, *Kantakouzenos*, vol. II, p. 56. Kantakouzenos uses the term *asklepiadai* (descendants of Asklepios) when he refers to the physicians. This was a term used by Plato. Kantakouzenos uses another title for the physicians and calls them *iatron paides* which was an ancient Greek usage.

¹⁷³ Fatouros and Krischer, *Kantakouzenos*, vol. II, pp. 59-63.

Barus intended to divulge Kantakouzenos' plan and accordingly explain to the emperor that in the absence of his spiritual father, somebody else could presume the powers of the latter. Kantakouzenos, upon realizing the plans of Barus, accused him of encouraging the emperor to take on monk's habit and of being the initiator of this plan. He went on to say that Barus protected himself from many ill consequences by his inexperience and his ignorance; however, if he insists to pursue his plans, his deeds would not go unpunished. Barus replied to Kantakouzenos by stating that he wants to help Andronikos III and not leave him to his fate, since he believed that his powers were bestowed upon him by the emperor, therefore he had to fulfill his duties. He added that if there is no chance for the emperor to stay among the living, there is no need to delude him with false hopes and prevent him from securing spiritual salvation. The confrontation between John VI Kantakouzenos and the physician Barus ended when the physician, intimidated by the threats of Kantakouzenos and others around him, decided to end his pursuit.¹⁷⁴

The sources clearly manifest that some distinguished Byzantine physicians of the period traveled extensively both within and outside the Byzantine territories. I believe that the curiosity and intellectual inclinations of these individuals played an indispensable role in shaping their itineraries. One of the best documented of these figures is George Kydones Gabrielpoulos (Γεώργιος Κυδώνης Γαβριηλόπουλος).¹⁷⁵ Most of the biographical information that we have on Gabrielpoulos comes from the letters of Demetrios Kydones.¹⁷⁶ Kydones addressed

¹⁷⁴ Fatouros and Krischer, *Kantakouzenos*, vol. II, pp. 61-63.

¹⁷⁵ *PLP* number 3433. *ODB*, vol. II, p. 839.

¹⁷⁶ Demetrios Kydones was a major political figure at the imperial court for a period of astonishing length. He first served John VI from 1347 to 1354, and then he worked under John V uninterruptedly from about 1355 to 1372 and with some discontinuity through the 1370s and mid 1380s extending to the reign of Manuel II. The correspondence of Demetrios Kydones includes over 450 letters addressed to his friends and acquaintances over a period of fifty years. An exposition of his correspondence provides valuable information concerning the social and intellectual milieu to which Kydones and his addressees belonged. Among those to whom Kydones addressed his letters, George the Philosopher,

a number of his letters to Gabrielopoulos, to whom he referred as his physician and friend. The letters of Kydones provide valuable information on various aspects of Gabrielopoulos' life. Moreover, the tone of the letters and the way Kydones addresses his friend are illuminative in terms of the nature of the relationship between the two correspondents. The correspondence of Kydones may also be analyzed in terms of certain themes that recur throughout the letters. Among these one can recount Kydones' resentment against Gabrielopoulos' constant absence from the capital due to his frequent travels, Kydones' need for Gabrielopoulos' medical assistance against his illness and Gabrielopoulos' political and religious views that earned him a number of enemies and brought about in certain instances his incarceration.

The letters clearly establish that Gabrielopoulos was a physician. The way in which Kydones addresses his friend, though biased it may be, reveals that he was actually a very talented one. However, medicine did not constitute his only area of interest. Gabrielopoulos was an intellectual with broad interests in various subject matters. It is known that he was interested in theology and philosophy and it is probably because of this that he was attributed the epithet "philosopher".¹⁷⁷ It is known from the dating of the letters that were written by Kydones that Gabrielopoulos was alive and practicing his craft between the years 1348-1383. Gabrielopoulos was probably from the region of Thessaloniki.¹⁷⁸

who was designated as a talented physician besides being an erudite intellectual, is specifically important for the premises of this thesis. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones*, vol I, pp. 305-315, 315-320, 374-378, 384-391; Tinnefeld, "Georgios Philosophos," pp. 141-172. Tinnefeld asserts that George is not known from any other source but the letters of Demetrios Kydones. For the letters of Demetrios Kydones written to George Gabrielopoulos also see D. Kydones, *Démètrius Cydonès: correspondance*, ed. R. J. Loenertz, 2 vols., (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1956-1960), pp. 63, 122, 148, 166, 173, 213, 218.

¹⁷⁷ Tinnefeld, "Georgios Philosophos," pp. 141-176.

¹⁷⁸ F. Tinnefeld, "Intellectuals in Late Byzantine Thessalonike," *DOP* 57 (2003), p. 156.

An exposition of the letters of Demetrios Kydones also reveals threads of information on the ambiguous stand that Gabrielopoulos took in the theological disputes of his time. The letters indicate that Gabrielopoulos was inclined towards the religious and political paradigms of the Latin West, but he was never a rabid follower of Latin Christian religious dogma. Additionally, he never seemed to have refuted the Orthodox teachings to the point of his friend Demetrios Kydones, who in his later years converted to Catholicism, did. From one of the letters of Kydones, it is understood that Gabrielopoulos' dubious standing on religious controversies of his time got him into trouble with the political and religious authorities in Cyprus. After having arrived in Cyprus, Gabrielopoulos was welcomed enthusiastically by Peter I, the king of Cyprus, who bestowed him with honors. However, this peaceful situation did seem to be disturbed when Gabrielopoulos confronted the papal legate Thomas Petrus and was incarcerated. Kydones in his letter to Gabrielopoulos wrote that according to the pro-Latin party in Constantinople, Gabrielopoulos deserved a severe punishment since he has insulted the legates.¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, this disaccord between Gabrielopoulos and the Papal legates did not seem to cause a rupture between the two parties. Moreover, it is understood from the letters that Gabrielopoulos' comments on the Latin legates displeased the sympathizers of the Roman Church. His comments, nonetheless, did not please the anti-Latin camp either, since he never designated the Latins as heretics, a statement that would help him ameliorate his relations with the anti-Latin party in Constantinople.¹⁸⁰

After his unpleasant experiences in Cyprus, in 1362 Gabrielopoulos traveled to the Peloponnesos. On his way, for some time he stayed in Rhodes and then moved on to Mistra. It is difficult to determine clearly the amount of time Gabrielopoulos

¹⁷⁹ Tinnefeld, "Georgios Philosophos," pp. 151-153.

¹⁸⁰ Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones*, pp. 305-315.

spent in the Peloponnesos but from one of Kydones letter's it is known that he was in Crete in 1364. Gabrielopoulos was accused and incarcerated by the Venetian authorities in Crete for participating in a revolt of Cretans, which was suppressed by the Venetians in August 1363. Kydones acting as an interlocutor requested from the emperor to intervene in favor of Gabrielopoulos and secure the latter's release. However, as Kydones indicated in another letter, before the arrival of his letter to Crete, Gabrielopoulos had already left the island and arrived in Genoa.¹⁸¹

As the letters clearly indicate, Gabrielopoulos throughout his life was not confined to a specific city or a region but traveled extensively.¹⁸² Among the places to which Gabrielopoulos traveled one can recount Constantinople, Palestine, Rhodes, Mistra, Peloponnesos, Crete, Latin West and Cyprus. There may be several reasons behind why Gabrielopoulos constantly traveled all throughout his life. One may claim that his religious beliefs may have rendered it difficult for him to remain in Constantinople. As it has been stated Gabrielopoulos seems to share an affinity with the Roman Catholic creed that earned him influential enemies in Constantinople. A more feasible reason for his travels may be his motivation to pursue his intellectual interests.

Another prominent physician who was born in the second half of the thirteenth century and practiced medicine in the fourteenth century is Gregorios Chioniades (Γρηγόριος Χιονιάδης)¹⁸³ who was credited for his studies on medicine and astronomy. In a letter dating from the mid-fourteenth century, written by another

¹⁸¹ Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones*, pp. 374-378.

¹⁸² Kydones complains about the relentless traveling activities of George, which makes it almost impossible for his letters to reach him, as the reason why he does not write to him anymore. See letters 49 and 63 in Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones*, pp. 305-315, 374-378.

¹⁸³ *PLP* number 30814. M. Pingree suggests that Gregorios is the name which Chioniades took at the time of his ordination as a monk in 1305.

physician and astronomer George Chrysokokkes (Γεώργιος Χρυσοκόκης),¹⁸⁴ it is narrated that Chioniades was born in Constantinople and after having received an education on various scientific disciplines, with the premise of increasing his knowledge in medicine he traveled to Tabriz over Trebizond. After having received subsidies from the ruler of Trebizond, he continued his journey to Tabriz. It has been stated that Chioniades was welcomed in Tabriz at the court of the Ilkhanate ruler circa 1295 where he studied astronomy and collected Persian astronomical texts.¹⁸⁵ Around the years 1299-1300 he traveled back to Trebizond and brought with him his collection of Persian astronomical texts some of which he translated into Greek language. At the turn of the fourteenth century in Trebizond, where a circle of intellectuals flourished under the auspices of Alexios II Komnenos (1297-1330), the ruler of Trebizond, Chioniades attained a prominent position in the court of the Greek ruler. Finally in 1301-1302 he traveled back to Constantinople, where he established himself as a professor of medicine.¹⁸⁶ Nonetheless Chioniades' travels did not come to an end after his return to the capital. His letters suggest that he returned to Tabriz circa 1305 and was again residing in Trebizond as late as 1315.¹⁸⁷

Chioniades like Gabrielopoulos traveled extensively throughout his lifetime. Besides the period of time he spent in Trebizond, Chioniades paid several visits to the Persian and Arabic lands where he spent considerable amounts of time. Leendert

¹⁸⁴ *PLP* number 31142. The abovementioned George Chrysokokkes is another physician who was known to be practicing medicine in the fourteenth century. It is stated that he was born in 1321 and died before 1366. He traveled to Trebizond before 1346. In 1363 or sometime before he returned to Constantinople.

¹⁸⁵ *ODB*, vol. I, pp. 422-423. Chioniades was studying astronomy under Shams Bukhari at Tabriz.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 422-423. In Constantinople he trained students in Persian astronomy and medicine. It was clearly in this period that he translated into Greek a short Persian treatise on antidotes and being suspected of heresy for his residence among the Persians and for his interest in astrology wrote a confession of faith.

¹⁸⁷ M. Balivet, "Les sciences médicale dans l'aire Byzantino-Ottomane, de l'émergence des émirats d'Anatolie à la chute de Constantinople (fin XIII^e-milieu XV^es)," *Medicina Nei Secoli Arte e Scienza* (1999) 11/3, 563-564. L.G. Westerink, "La profession de foi de Grégoire Chioniadès," *REB* (1980) 38, pp. 233-245.

G. Westerink in his article asserts that it is Chioniades' letters and his works that render the dating of his journeys possible.¹⁸⁸ These documents also suggest that he was not only a physician and interested in astronomy, but he was also an ecclesiastical official. It is assumed that Chioniades traveled back to Tebriz with episcopal duties. In one of his letter, which he wrote from Constantinople and which was addressed to emperor Alexios II Komnenos, Chioniades wrote that the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos and the ecclesiastical synod charged him, as a priest, with the duty of protecting the interests of the Christian population in Tabriz.¹⁸⁹ The letters of Chioniades disclose that he was in close contact with emperor Alexios II Komnenos, Byzantine ecclesiastical officials and particularly with the erudite circles of Trebizond.

Another physician whom we come across as an addressee of Michael Gabras is Andronikos Zacharias (Ανδρόνικος Ζαχαρίας).¹⁹⁰ In a letter dating from 1327 addressed to Andronikos Zacharias, Gabras described the symptoms of his illness to the physician.¹⁹¹ He narrated that after chronic health problems and physical weakness he has lately been suffering from intense coughing.¹⁹² The coughing was followed by fever, which proved according to the patient that a more serious illness was about to come,¹⁹³ and after a short period of time the coughing came back

¹⁸⁸ Westerink, "La profession de foi de Grégoire Chioniadès," pp. 234-236.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 235, 239, 242.

¹⁹⁰ *PLP* number 6481.

¹⁹¹ Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, pp. 682-684.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 682, lines 1-5. "Ἡμῖν οὐδὲ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τὸ σῶμα πάνυ ἐρρομένοις, ὑπὸ συμφορῶν ζημιωθεῖσι τὸ ἰσχύειν, οὐδὲ γὰρ διαβάλλιμ' ἂν κατασκευὴν τὴν σώματος τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, νῦν καὶ βῆς αὕτη ἐπιγενομένη ἐαυτῶν ἀπέδειξεν ἀσθενεστέρους".

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 683, lines 11-15. "(...) καὶ πυρετοῦ ἔστιν ἢ ἐπὶ τούτῳ με ἐκδεχομένου, ὡς ἐνταῦθα διὰ πάντων καθαρῶς ἀποδεδείχθαι ὡς ἄρα δὴ νοσοῖην, οὐχὶ βηχὶ συνειλημμένος εἶην".

stronger than before to an extent that he could not speak at all.¹⁹⁴ Although the illness seems to have passed, the patient still had problems with speaking well. In the remaining part of the letter, Gabras requested from the physician to determine the right therapy for recovering his voice.¹⁹⁵

Besides the letter compilations, we also encounter physicians in patriarchal acts dating from the fourteenth century. One example to such physicians is a certain Stefanos (Στέφανος),¹⁹⁶ whom we come across in a patriarchal act dating from 1359.¹⁹⁷ The act in which Stefanos was mentioned relates a conflict concerning the possession of a vineyard belonging to Manuel Pazyches (Μανουήλ Παζύχης). Aforementioned Pazyches in the year following his marriage bought a vineyard in the vicinity of Rhodiates in a place called Blepos from a nun called Aspjetina (Ἀσπιετινα) in 1344. After he purchased the land, Pazyches himself cultivated the vineyard and paid its taxes. After the death of his mother-in-law, the abovementioned physician who was Pazyches' brother-in-law claimed that he had hereditary rights on the vineyard, since his father had paid half the price of the land, which amounted to sixty *hyperpera*. Nevertheless, Stefanos did not have any proof to support his allegation, since his parents did not receive any revenue from the vineyard when they were alive. Even though the law was clearly in favor of Manuel Pazyches, the patriarch in order to avoid any further confrontations decided to summon and interrogate Aspjetina who was the vendor of the land. Aspjetina, in her deposition stated that Manuel Pazyches was the only purchaser of the vineyard and neither his

¹⁹⁴ Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, p. 683. “ἀλλ’ οὐ μετ’ οὐ πολὺν τὸν χρόνον αὐθις αὐτῷ ἢ βῆς ἐπῆλθε καὶ προσέβαλέ μοι ἐαυτῆς ἰσχυροτέρα, ὥς δὴ προκαταπεπτωκότι καὶ τῷ, ὥστ’ ἢ μὴ δεῖν φθέγγεσθαι ἐχόμενον τῷ τῆς βηχὸς κακῷ (...).”

¹⁹⁵ Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, p. 684, lines 50ff.

¹⁹⁶ *PLP* number 26761.

¹⁹⁷ *MM*, vol. I, pp. 389-391; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, vol. I fasc. V, pp. 337-338.

mother-in-law nor father-in-law contributed in any way to the act of sale. In this manner, the wish of Stefanos was negated.

Another physician of the period was a certain Syropoulos (Συρόπουλος).¹⁹⁸ We come across him in three patriarchal acts dating from 1370.¹⁹⁹ Two of these acts reveal that Syropoulos was accused of practicing sorcery and black magic whereas the third one discloses that he was put on a trial for assisting a nun for abortion. Act number 2572, dating from the 12 May 1370, eighth indiction, divulges that Syropoulos along with Konstantinos Chloros, a monk named Phoudoules, and a certain Gabrielopoulos was condemned for possessing magic books and practicing sorcery and black magic. The same act reveals that patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1353-1354, 1364-1376), assisted by the metropolitans of Nicaea, Chalcedon, Sozopolis, Brysis and the priest of Barna, presided over the case. The monk Phoudoules was accused of utilizing magic to seduce young women and separate them from their spouses and children. The monk, when demanded by the members of the synod, declared that he received the books from the physician Syropoulos. Syropoulos, who was pursued by the synod some time ago and signed a document that stated that he would no longer engage in practicing magic, was again summoned by the synod. When he was asked from whom he acquired the books, since his magic books have been burnt publicly before, he gave the name of a certain Gabrielopoulos. However, his answer was not satisfactory for the synod and regarded as a canard since Gabrielopoulos was known as a pious person. Nevertheless, Syropoulos protested and backed his claims. At the end of the trial, Syropoulos along with Gabrielopoulos and monk Phoudoules were banished from Constantinople and all of the Christian lands, since they were detrimental for the well being of the Christian

¹⁹⁸ *PLP* number 27199.

population, because of their demonic practices. However, since their practices included other individuals, the synod demanded from Syropoulos the names of his clients.²⁰⁰

In the second act, act number 2573, which also dates from 12 May 1370, we again come across the name of Syropoulos. As it has been indicated above, Syropoulos, when demanded by the synod provided the names of his clients. This act concerns the deposition of a certain priest named Paradeisos who was one of his clients. Paradeisos was likewise accused of practicing magic and summoned by the synod. He denied the accusations, but Syropoulos showed him among the magic books that were laid on the ground the prescription that he gave to him. Overwhelmed by the testimony of Syropoulos, Paradeisos confessed to the synod.²⁰¹

The last act, act number 2574 dating from the same period as of the above-mentioned acts was about the deposition of a certain *hieromonk* named Joseph from the Hodegon Monastery²⁰² because of practicing magic and having intercourse with a nun. It was reported to the synod that monk Joseph had pursued sexual relations with a nun and impregnated her. The monk in order to avoid disgrace and shame sought Syropoulos who would give him a drug in exchange for five *hyperpera*, a coat (σάκτιον) and an Alexandrian glassware (ύελοβικιον). It has been reported that the nun took the drug and aborted the child. The monk when confronted by Syropoulos confessed what he did.²⁰³

Apart from some of the abovementioned physicians, in the sources of the period we come across others who were practicing medicine in Constantinople.

¹⁹⁹ MM, vol. I, pp. 543, 546-549; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, vol. I fasc. V, pp. 480-485.

²⁰⁰ Darrouzès, *Regestes*, pp. 480-484.

²⁰¹ Darrouzès, *Regestes*, pp. 484-485.

²⁰² See footnote 41.

²⁰³ Darrouzès, *Regestes*, p. 485.

These include a certain Barankatos (Βαραγκάτος)²⁰⁴ who was known to be practicing medicine in Constantinople between the years 1321-1328, George Hagiomnetes (Γεώργιος Ἀγιομνήτης)²⁰⁵ who was a monk physician who worked at the *Krales Xenon* in Constantinople in 1323, and Konstantinos Meliteniotes (Κωνσταντῖνος Μελιτηνιώτης)²⁰⁶ who was practicing medicine in Constantinople in 1362.

The evidence suggests Greek physicians of the time were also present in territories of the Empire besides Constantinople such as Mt. Athos and Thessaloniki. The sources mention two men Jakobos Maroules (Ἰάκωβος Μαρούλης)²⁰⁷ and Demetrios Maroules (Δημήτριος Μαρούλης)²⁰⁸ who share the same family name Maroules²⁰⁹ were medical practitioners in the fourteenth century. The former, Jakobos Maroules, whom we come across in the *Vita* of Germanos, composed by Patriarch Philotheos, like some of his contemporaries was also a monk. The hagiography of Germanos reveals that Jakobos pursued a classical education in Constantinople and thereafter became a monk in the capital. A little later in 1320 he went to Mt. Athos where he lived for sixteen years near his uncle Germanos, who was the protagonist of the *Vita*. Trapp argues that the latter, Demetrios Maroules was

²⁰⁴ *PLP* number 2148. *PLP* suggests that he had three sons and a daughter. He was a correspondent of Theodoros Hrytakenos.

²⁰⁵ *PLP* number 244. He similar to other physicians of his time was also a scribe.

²⁰⁶ *PLP* number 17855. He is known for his translations of Persian prescriptions. 51-53. Klaus Peter Matsche and Franz Tinnefeld in their book some information on the history of the Meliteniotes family throughout the Palaiologan period. They assert that we come across a Konstantinos Meliteniotes, an ecclesiastical official during the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos, was a supporter of the unionist policies of the Michael. However, with the ascendancy of Andronikos II Palaiologos, who denounced the union of the churches, to the throne, Konstantinos fell from imperial favor. We come across a John Meliteniotes who was a supporter of the emperor Andronikos II and it is assumed that John was probably the son of an imperial officer called Konstantinos Meliteniotes. Finally, the authors assert that there that, physician Konstantinos Meliteniotes that we have mentioned was the son of abovementioned John.

²⁰⁷ *PLP* number 17151. Trapp, “Die Stellung der Ärzte,” pp. 230-234. According to *PLP* he was fellow student and friend to Philotheos Kokkinos (Φιλόθεος Κόκκινος). See for a full text of the saint’s life, P. Joannu, “Vie de S. Germain l’Hagiorite par son contemporain le patriarche Philothée de Contantinople,” *AnBoll* 70 (1952), pp. 35-115.

²⁰⁸ *PLP* number 17149.

²⁰⁹ *ODB*, vol. II, p. 1304. Maroules or Maroulles was a family name which according to Laurent signify a vegetable merchant, from *maroulion* (lettuce).

the father of the aforementioned Jakobos, basing his argument on the monastic acts pertaining to the monastery of Chilandar dating from 1322, which refer to a Demetrios Maroules who was the brother Germanos.²¹⁰ Another physician John Chalazous (Ἰωάννης Χαλαζοῦς)²¹¹ who defined himself as a cleric and a physician (ἱατρός καὶ κληρικὸς ὁ Ἰωάννης Χαλαζοῦς) in an act of the Chilandar monastery dating from 1314 was also practicing medicine on Mt. Athos.

The physicians of the fourteenth century paint a slightly different picture than those of the previous century. A significant number of physicians that were referred to in the sources had originated outside the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire and physicians from the Latin West and those who practice outside the boundaries of Byzantine rule were relatively strongly represented in the sources of the fourteenth century. Information pertaining to the physicians who were practising medicine outside the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire is included only if the information is useful for a comparative analysis with those physicians who were practicing within the boundaries of the empire.

Cyprus is one of the locations where we witness the existence of physicians in the fourteenth century. The Chronicle of Machairas provides most of the evidence that we have on the physicians who practiced their craft in Cyprus. One of these physicians is a man called Antony of Pergamon (Ἀντώνη τῶν Περγάμου).²¹² As his name suggests Master Antony's country of origin was probably Pergamon, but he was residing in Cyprus. He was referred as the physician (μάστρε τοῦ ἱατροῦ φυσικοῦ) of Jacques I Lusignan (τζακ τε λουζουννίας) between the years 1378-1393. The information derived from the same chronicle also suggests that he acted as the 'finance minister' (κεφάλιν τοῦ ἐφοφικίου τῆς τζάμπ(ρ)ας τοῦ ρηγός) of king

²¹⁰ Trapp, "Die Stellung der Ärzte," pp. 230-234.

Jacques I Lusignan until his death on 19th of April 1393.²¹³ The passage from the chronicle suggests that the populace of Cyprus did not like him. This hatred towards him seems to stem from the burden imposed by the heavy taxation policies pursued by the king to acquire extra income, which he would allocate as an allowance to his daughter.

Other physicians from the fourteenth century Cyprus include another Italian Onge Enempeen (Ὀγγη Ἐνεμπεέν).²¹⁴ It is known that his country of origin was Mantua (Italy) and his Latin name was Hugo Ognibono. When Peter I Lusignan became the king of Cyprus he made ordinances and granted state offices that were vacant to certain individuals. One of these individuals was Hugo, who was appointed as the chancellor of the Kingdom of Cyprus (τζανσελλιέρης) by Peter I. It is known that Hugo held this office since 1360 and was living in Cyprus at that time.²¹⁵

Master (μάστρε) Guy (Γκῆ),²¹⁶ who was called Guido de Bagnolle or Guido de Regio in Latin, was another Italian physician from Reggio in Calabria. He was practicing medicine in Cyprus in 1365 and died in Venice in 1370. He was a physician of Peter I Lusignan, the king of Cyprus. King Peter I, in order to resolve the confrontations and reach an accord with the Genoese people, decided to send an embassy made up of three knights to Genoa. As a member of the envoy dispatched in 1365, Guy accompanied Philip de Manzieres and Simon Tenores in a journey to

²¹¹ *PLP* number 30366. *Mazaris*, p. 66.

²¹² *PLP* number 1048.

²¹³ This is the date provided by the *PLP*. Nevertheless, Dawkins in his translation designates the date of death as twenty-fifth of August 1395. Machairas, *Chronicle*, vol. I, p. 612. The Greek text reads as follows: “Ὁ ποῖος ἔζησεν ἄχρι τὴν κυριακὴν τῇ κε αὐγούστου τ 4 ἐ΄ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀπὸθανεν”.

²¹⁴ *PLP* number 6040.

²¹⁵ Machairas, *Chronicle*, vol. I, pp. 88, 214, vol. II p. 94.

²¹⁶ *PLP* number 4192.

Genoa where they presented the articles of a treaty, which they believed, would put end to the disputes.²¹⁷

Konstantinos Taronites (Κωνσταντῖνος Τάρωνιτης),²¹⁸ who was serving as a physician at the service of the Ottoman sultan Orhan, constitutes an interesting example to Greek physicians practicing their craft outside the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. It is known that Konstantinos Taronites was a descendant of the well-known Taronites family whose members played an important role in the history of the empire between from tenth to twelfth century.²¹⁹ The testimony of Gregory Palamas, dating from his captivity at the hands of the Ottoman Turks in 1354, is illuminating in terms of revealing the influential position of Taronites at the Ottoman court.²²⁰ It has been stated that the Ottoman sultan trusted the physician and the physician had a strong influence on the Ottoman sultan.²²¹ When the Ottoman sultan Orhan during his stay in Bursa for the summer suffered from a disease that attacked his liver, he calls for Taronites. Palamas narrated that during his sojourn with the sultan the physician persuaded the Sultan to ameliorate the living conditions of Palamas by arranging his transportation to Nicaea.²²² Additionally, Taronites was the person who recorded the conversation between Palamas and the χιόναι.²²³ He is also known from the medical treatise he composed named *Antidota*.

Apart from those individuals about whom the sources provide relatively more information, there are others whom we know primarily from the bibliographical

²¹⁷ Machairas, *Chronicle*, vol. I, p. 134, vol. II, p. 10; Hill, G., *A History of Cyprus*, 4. vols, (Cambridge: University Press, 1940-1952), pp. 314-316.

²¹⁸ *PLP* number 27532.

²¹⁹ *ODB*, vol. III, 2012-2013.

²²⁰ A. Philippidis-Braat, "La captivité de Palamas chez les turcs," *TM* 7, pp. 109-221

²²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-150. "L'émir ayant été pris de douleurs au foie, on fit venir le bon Taronites, de tous les médecines celui qui aime le plus Dieu en même temps qu'il est le plus aimé de Lui." See also, Balivet, "Les sciences médicales dans l'aire Byzantino-Ottomane," pp. 564-565.

²²² A. Philippidis-Braat, "La captivité de Palamas chez les turcs," pp. 114, 148-150. "Quand il eut constaté qu'il me serait profitable, tant moralement que physiquement, d'aller résider à Nicée il fit pour moi et s'efforça d'en persuader l'émir."

information provided by the *PLP*. These include a certain Angelos Kalothetos (Ἄγγελος Καλόθετος),²²⁴ a certain Angelos (Ἄγγελος),²²⁵ monk physician (Ἰωαννίκιος),²²⁶ Theodoros (Θεόδωρος),²²⁷ Loukas (Λουκάς),²²⁸ Kalarchon (Καλάρχων)²²⁹ who was assumed to be practicing medicine between 1330-1340, Manuel Koullourakes (Μανουήλ Κουλλουράκης)²³⁰ who was attested as a landowner in Thessaloniki, another physician from Thessaloniki John Chalazous (Ἰωάννης Χαλαζοῦς),²³¹ a physician called Theopemptos (Θεόπεμπος),²³² who was also known to be a scribe around the year 1391, a certain Markos (Μάρκος),²³³ Demetrios Chlomos (Δημήτριος Χλωμός),²³⁴ a certain Pēpagomenos (Πεπαγωμένος)²³⁵ who was a physician in Constantinople, a physician called Beniamin (Βενιαμίν)²³⁶ and Petros Pestagale (Πέτρος Πεσταγάλη).²³⁷

Physicians of the Fifteenth Century

When compared to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with forty-three names we encounter the largest number of physicians from the period between the turn of the

²²³ A. Philippidis-Braat, “La captivité de Palamas chez les turcs, pp. 109, 168

²²⁴ *PLP* number 209. He was known to be a *parakoimomenos* in Mistra.

²²⁵ *PLP* number 169. *Mazaris*, pp. 90, 120. It is assumed he died before 1416, thus he should have been at least practicing medicine at the end of the fourteenth early fifteenth century. *PLP* also suggests that he may be the same person with Angelos Kalothetos.

²²⁶ *PLP* number 8798. He was an addressee of a letter written by Michael Gabras around 1322-1323. In the letter he is addressed to as “τῷ ἐν μοναχοῖς τιμιωτάτῳ κυρῷ Ἰωαννικίῳ”. Fatouras, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, pp. 453-454.

²²⁷ *PLP* number 7375. He is known to be the owner of a manuscript dating from 1348.

²²⁸ *PLP* number 15109. *PLP* provides some information about his relatives. It is known that Loukas was the father of a certain Maria and he was the grandfather of Markos Eugenikos (Μάρκος Εὐγενικός) and John Eugenikos (Ἰωάννης Εὐγενικός).

²²⁹ *PLP* number 92255. He was an addressee of Nikephoros Gregoras.

²³⁰ *PLP* number 13425. The information concerning Manuel comes from the monastic acts of the Chilandar Monastery dating from 1324.

²³¹ *PLP* number 30366.

²³² *PLP* number 7532.

²³³ *PLP* number 17025.

²³⁴ *PLP* number 30865.

²³⁵ *PLP* number 22345.

²³⁶ *PLP* number 91491. It is assumed that he was practicing medicine in the fourteenth century, but the information is dubious.

fifteenth century up until the fall of the Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. The profile of the physicians represented in the sources is to a certain extent tantamount to the previous century. Again in this period we come across physicians who belonged to the imperial entourage and accompanied the emperors on their campaigns. Manuel Holobolos (Μανουήλ Ὀλόβωλος),²³⁸ who was a physician of Constantinopolitan origin, provides an interesting example to these physicians. The fact that Manuel Holobolos was a physician is known primarily from two sources. The first one is a letter written by Joseph Bryennios circa 1400, in which he addressed Holobolos as a physician, orator and philosopher.²³⁹ The second source is Mazaris' satirical dialogue in which the composer ridicules certain living or recently dead personalities of the fifteenth century, who were either members of the imperial court in Constantinople or eminent figures of the period.²⁴⁰ According to Mazaris, Holobolos who was his friend, was a gifted orator and a talented physician.²⁴¹ The evidence derived from Mazaris suggests that he was of humble origins. It has been stated that his father was a wine merchant and his grandfather was a leather jerkin and produced felt caps out of wool.²⁴² Holobolos was introduced to the palace and attained a post at the court of Manuel II Palaiologos as the personal physician of the emperor. In time, he gained the favor of the emperor and became a member of the inner circle at the court. There are indications of his presence in the entourage of Manuel II Palaiologos during the emperor's travels to the West between the years 1399-1403. It is known that Holobolos was appointed as an imperial secretary in

²³⁷ *PLP* number 22513.

²³⁸ *PLP* number 21046. His name is recited also as Ὀλόβοδος.

²³⁹ Loenertz, "Chronologie des oeuvres de Joseph Bryennios," p. 25.

²⁴⁰ Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, p 345. Mazaris, pp. 10, 12, 14, 24, 26, 30, 32, 34, 48, 56, 62, 90, 102.

²⁴¹ Mazaris, p. 10. "(...)Ἄρ' ὁ καλὸς κάγαθός ἐκεῖνος ἦσθα Ὀλόβωλος, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου μὲν καὶ γενναιοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος ἄριστος γραμμετεῦς, ἐμός δ' ἐταῖρος ὡς οὐχ ἕτερος, ὁ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου μὲν ῥήτωρ δεινός, τῶν δ' ἰατρῶν ὁ βέλιστος(...)"

1403, an official post for which he gave up his medical practice.²⁴³ Holobolos' involvement in a love affair caused his downfall and cost him the office of the *megas logothetes*. Nevertheless, it is presumed that he held an office of some sort until his death, which is assumed to be the January of 1414 or shortly before.

One other physician of the period, Demetrios Sauromates Pepagomenos (Δεμήτριος Σαυρομάτης Πεπαγωμένος),²⁴⁴ like Manuel Holobolos was a physician of emperor Manuel II Palaiologos. Demetrios Pepagomenos was a descendant of the established family of Pepagomenoi, among whom we come across another Pepagomenos,²⁴⁵ probably the father of Demetrios, who was known to be doctor as well.²⁴⁶ It is suggested that his father died before 1414 and was identical with the person who is mentioned in Mazaris as the physician who healed Manuel Holobolos after the latter was struck to head by Pediates.²⁴⁷ Demetrios Pepagomenos had a brother named Alousianos (Αλουσίανος) and had two children one of whom was called Nicholas (Νικόλαος), who studied under John Eugenikos in Mistra.²⁴⁸ We come across the name of Demetrios Pepagomenos as an addressee of John Chortasmenos in the latter's letter compilation. The letters 43, 44, 47 and 48, which

²⁴² *Mazaris*, p. 28. “ἡ ἐπελάθου ὡς ὁ σὸς μὲν πατὴρ οἶνοπῶλος ἦν, ὁ δὲ τὸν πατέρα φύσας ἦν ἐργαζόμενος πῖλα κεφαλῆς ὑπὸ ἐρίων, φορῶν διαφθέραν”.

²⁴³ *Mazaris*, p. 13. “(...) he gave up his practice and spent all his time at the Old Misery Hall, because the Emperor, as was his custom with all new arrivals, put him straight to work, as a skilled physician, a clever orator, a good man and a talented and efficient undersecretary to the contemptible windbag Padaiates. He went on to tell me how he became rich quickly by the writing of Divine and Venerable Golden Bulls and Decrees; how thanks to the Emperor's favor he was loved and respected also by the nobility, by the right-minded citizens, by the imperial family and by those in office in fact, by everyone; (...); how little by little he advanced in the Emperor's confidence, until it was clear that he was on equal footing with those of the inner circle; night and day he was in the Emperor's company and in conversation with him, and he sailed with him to Britain and France and as far as the Ocean.” In page 63, there is also a reference to Holobolos' journey to Italy, France and Britain.

²⁴⁴ *PLP* number 22359.

²⁴⁵ *PLP* number 22346.

²⁴⁶ Already in the thirteenth centuries and fourteenth centuries, we know that other family members existed, one of whom was a correspondent of Theodoros Hyrtakenos and Nikephoros Gregoras. Some of the other members of the family include the copist Michael Pepagomenos, three scribes all called John Pepagomenos, and a priest called John Pepagomenos.

²⁴⁷ E. Trapp, “Zur Identifizierung der Personen in der Hadesfahrt des Mazaris,” *JÖB* 18 (1969), p. 98; R. Walther, “Zur Hadesfahrt des Mazaris,” *JÖB* 25 (1976), p. 205.

²⁴⁸ *Mazaris*, p. 38.

were addressed to Pepagomenos, provide valuable information on this physician. For example, it is understood from letter 48 that by the time this letter was written, Demetrios Pepagomenos had already become a secretary of the emperor. Moreover, the information obtained from the letters suggests that Demetrios apart from Constantinople also resided at the Peloponnesos and Athens for some time. Additionally, in some of Chortasmenos' letters, which were addressed to other eminent figures of the time, there are references to a physician Pepagomenos. For instance, from one of the letters it is understood that Pepagomenos was in danger and had to leave the capital and could not return even though he wanted to do so.²⁴⁹ Also in another letter addressed to John Tarronas, Chortasmenos mentioned a Demetrios who lives far away. However, it is not clear whether this Demetrios was the physician Demetrios Pepagomenos or not.²⁵⁰

The sources provide information on two other physicians from Constantinople, namely John Kaloeidas Antiocheitis (Ἰωάννης Καλοειδας Αντιοχείτης)²⁵¹ and Kappadox Charseianites (Καππάδοξ Χαρσειανίτης).²⁵² There are references to the physician John Kaloeidas Antiocheitis in a number sources dating from the period. The most informative of these sources is a patriarchal act dating from the year 1400. The act concerns an act of sale and the regulations of the goods belonging to the wife of the vendor. According to the act, a nun named Chrysokophalina Kaukanina (χρυσοκοφαλὶνὰ Καυκανίνα) and John Antiocheitis Kaloeidas decided to sell an ointment shop (μυρεψικὸν ἐργαστήριον), which they owned at the vicinity of the Kygenos gate, to Nicholas Sophinos (Νικόλαος Σοφινός). One third of the shop belonged to Kaukanina as she inherited the shop

²⁴⁹ Hunger, *Chortasmenos*, p. 72.

²⁵⁰ Hunger, *Chortasmenos*, p. 87.

²⁵¹ *PLP* number 10563.

²⁵² *PLP* number 30687.

from her grandfather, and the remaining two-thirds belonged to Kaloeidas. However, at the time of the sale Kaloeidas was twenty-three years old and considered as a minor. Thus, Sophinos requested from the patriarchate to inspect the whole sale in order to avoid future conflicts that may arise, specifically pertaining to the dowry money, which Kaloeidas had to secure for his wife. As a result the patriarchate decided that Kaloeidas' age did not constitute an obstacle for the sale of the shop as long as he assures that he would secure the amount of money tantamount to his wife's dowry.²⁵³

Kappadox Charseianites (Καππάδοξ Χαρσειανίτης)²⁵⁴ was practicing medicine in Constantinople between the years 1401-1414. He is referred to in three different sources dating from the fifteenth century as a physician. The first one of these documents is John Chortasmenos' second account of his illness and the medical treatments that he sought. Chortasmenos suffered from respiratory problems and in this report alluded to his illness by stating the physician Charseianites prescribed him a purgative substance.²⁵⁵ The second source is a patriarchal act dating from 1401, which relates an inheritance conflict between Charseianites and his father-in-law Simon.²⁵⁶ Finally, as the abovementioned Holobolos, we come across the family name of Charseianites in the satire composed by Mazaris. Like some other

²⁵³ MM, vol. II, pp. 358-359. (number 555); Darrouzès, *Regestes*, vol. I fasc. VI, pp. 359-360.

²⁵⁴ We also come across other individuals who bear the same family name in prior centuries. John Charseianites, the founder of the Charseianites Monastery in Constantinople in the mid-fourteenth century is probably the most notable of these individuals. Additionally it is known that a seal from the eleventh or twelfth centuries belongs to a Theodoros Charseianites. Nonetheless the sources utilized for this work do not provide necessary information that would make it possible for us to link these individuals to each other.

²⁵⁵ Hunger, *Chortasmenos*, pp. 118-120, 208.

²⁵⁶ Darrouzès, *Regestes*, vol. I fasc. VI, pp. 425-426. According to the act, some time before the conflict was brought to the attention of the court, physician Charseianites and his father-in-law Simon, had come to an accord on the issue of 200 *hyperpera* that his wife (the daughter of Simon) gave to Charseianites. According to this act, the issue was brought before the court after the death of his daughter.

physicians of his period, Charseianites got his share from Mazaris' mockery, as the satirist referred to him as a physician who kills his patients gently and slowly.²⁵⁷

In the fifteenth century, the sources reveal a number of physicians who pursued their medical education in Constantinople. Among these names one can recount Demetrios Laskaris Angelos (Δημήτριος Λάσκαρις Ἀγγελος),²⁵⁸ who was a student of John Argyropoulos (Ἰωάννης Ἀργυρόπουλος) circa 1450, along with two other physicians, John Panaretos (Ἰωάννης Πανάρετος)²⁵⁹ and Branass (Βρανᾶς).²⁶⁰ It is known that Demetrios practiced medicine in Constantinople between the years 1442-1466. It has been argued that he is a member of a family who engaged in business ventures in Constantinople.²⁶¹ John Panaretos was a physician in Constantinople between 1448-1453.²⁶² Branass, was also practicing medicine in Constantinople in 1450. Antonios Pyropoulos (Ἀντώνιος Πυρόπουλος)²⁶³ was another student of John Argyropoulos at the *katholikon mouseion* between the years 1448-1453. Pyropoulos like Demetrios Laskaris Angelos, was a member of a merchant family active in Constantinople. Matschke asserts that Antonios was most likely a descendant of a Peloponnesian family with Latin ties who engaged in commercial activities in the capital.²⁶⁴

Nikephoros Doukas Palaiologos Malakes (Νικηφόρος Δούκας Παλαιολόγος Μαλάκης)²⁶⁵ is another physician who was mentioned in Mazaris, in a

²⁵⁷ Mazaris, p. 38, lines 29-30. “(...)καὶ τοῦ ῥαδίως καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ πρὸς χάρανα τοῦς πονηρῶς ἔχοντας προοδοποιουμένου Χαρσιανίταο.”

²⁵⁸ PLP number 192.

²⁵⁹ PLP number 21642.

²⁶⁰ PLP number 3155.

²⁶¹ Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Gesellschaft im späten Byzans*, p. 209.

²⁶² Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Gesellschaft im späten Byzans*, pp. 46-47, 209. We have some information on other members of this family. There is one *pansebastos sebastos* John Panaretos. We come across a Nicholas Panaretos who went to the Council of Lyon in 1274 as an ambassador of emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. There is also Theodoros Panaretos who was a *theophylax* and writer.

²⁶³ PLP number 23919.

²⁶⁴ PLP also states that Pyropoulos was born in Korone in southwestern Peloponnesos.

²⁶⁵ PLP number 16454.

correspondence between him and Manuel Holobolos. Erich Trapp, in his article on the identities of the names mentioned in Mazaris' satire, states that Malakes was also known as the author of a medical manuscript dating from the fifteenth century.²⁶⁶ As it has been discussed previously, the work of Mazaris is a satire; thus, one has to be careful when utilizing the information provided by such a source. The letter purports to be written by Manuel Holobolos, who was in Hades, to Malakes, with the intention of consoling him for his enforced residence and the hardships that he suffered in the Peloponnesos. From the letter it is understood that Malakes was a wealthy physician, who owned houses and other kinds of property in Constantinople. The purpose of the introduction of this material may be to poke fun at Malakes who languished for the luxuries of the capital where he left his lucrative practice and all of his property, as well as his two children. The general mocking tone of the satire manifests itself vividly towards the end of the letter.²⁶⁷

Apart from those physicians who practiced their craft in Constantinople, we come across a number of Greek physicians from other important centers of the empire such as Thessaloniki or Mt. Athos in the sources. For example, the monk physician of the period Meletios (Μελέτιος)²⁶⁸ is known to be practicing medicine at Mt. Athos in 1425. A certain Chalazas (Χαλαζᾶς)²⁶⁹ and Taronas (Ταρῶνας)²⁷⁰ are two other physicians who were known to be practicing medicine in Thessaloniki. Additionally, the archon Doukas Chalibereas (Δούκας Χαλιβέρεας)²⁷¹ was another physician practicing medicine in Peloponnesos.²⁷²

²⁶⁶ Trapp, "Zur Identifizierung der Personen in der Hadesfahrt des Mazaris," pp. 95-99.

²⁶⁷ *Mazaris*, pp. 91-95.

²⁶⁸ *PLP* number 17704.

²⁶⁹ *PLP* states that he was from Thessaloniki. *Mazaris*, p. 66.

²⁷⁰ *PLP* number 27516.

²⁷¹ *PLP* number 30395.

²⁷² *Mazaris*, p. 76.

We come across some Greek physicians who were practicing outside the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. Physician John Romanakes (Ἰωάννης Ρωμανάκης)²⁷³ who was also a landowner is referred to as an *archiatros* in Mutzura near Trebizond before his death in 1432.

Andreas Eparchos (Ἀνδρέας Ἐπαρχος)²⁷⁴ and Nicholas Eparchos (Νικόλαος Ἐπαρχος)²⁷⁵ are assumed to be brothers who were affiliated with the medical profession in the second half of the fifteenth century. The latter was known to be practicing medicine in Corfu in 1481. The *PLP* states that both of these individuals were scribes of medical manuscripts.

In the sources of the period we also come across physicians that functioned as the *nosokomoi* of the hospitals in the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century. Among these names, Theodoros Laskaris (Θεόδωρος Λάσκαρις)²⁷⁶ appears as a student of John Argyropoulos, and the scholars argue that Theodoros, as a part of his education, practiced medicine at the *Krales Xenon* around the year 1440. Whereas some scholars suggest that Theodoros was also a monk on the basis of the *kyrios* title attributed to him, others refute this assumption by arguing that Theodoros is recounted as an archon and the *kyrios* title may not be referring to the fact that he is a monk, but a distinguished person. Theodoros was not only interested in the management of the hospital but also partook in activities such as commissioning medical manuscripts. He is also known for his commercial activities as tanner. A certain Nathanael (Ναθαναήλ),²⁷⁷ who was the *nosokomos* of the *Krales Xenon* in Constantinople circa 1406/1407, also practiced medicine. John Chortasmenos

²⁷³ *PLP* number 24477.

²⁷⁴ *PLP* number 6087.

²⁷⁵ *PLP* number 6088.

²⁷⁶ *PLP* number 14530. Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Gesellschaft im späten Byzanz*, pp. 207-209.

²⁷⁷ *PLP* number 19957. Hunger, *Chortasmenos*, p. 17.

ordered Nathanael to bind a copy of the famous Dioskorides Codex that was among the possessions of the library of the hospital.²⁷⁸

Throughout this period there were physicians from the West and the majority of these physicians represented in the sources of the period have Italy as their country of origin. The information pertaining to these physicians suggest that some of them were educated in the renowned centers of learning such as Padua and Bologna. Additionally the sources indicate that some of these physicians after completing their studies chose to practice their craft in the West, while others settled in those territories in the East under Byzantine, Latin or Ottoman rule. For most of these physicians, I would be relying on the information provided by the *PLP* since the information provided by the *PLP*, for most of these names, renders it possible for us to identify their country of origin, the dates between which they practiced medicine and the location where they practiced.

The sources of the fifteenth century reveal that some Italian origin physicians chose to practice their crafts under the auspices of Byzantine and Ottoman rulers. Two brother physicians Libistros (Λιβιστρος)²⁷⁹ and Onokentios (Ονοκέντιος)²⁸⁰ are reported by the sources as practicing medicine in 1414 in Constantinople. *Magister* (μαγίστερ) Zoanes (Ζοάνης)²⁸¹ was the physician to Dorino I Gattiluso (Δώρινος Γατελοῦζος Παλαιολόγος) between the years 1428-1455 in the island of Lesbos. Jakobos (Ιάκωβος)²⁸² constitute an example to such individuals practiced medicine within Ottoman dominions. Jakobos or Yakup was originally from Gaeta in

²⁷⁸ One of the three *nosokomoi* from the fifteenth century, Mouses (Μωϋσῆς) (*PLP* number 19939) was a monk at the Vatopedi Monastery on Mt. Athos between the years 1430-1432. However, the evidence at hand is not adequate to state that Mouses was also physician. A certain Isidoros (*PLP* number 8305) was recorded as the *nosokomos* of the Petra Monastery in Constantinople in the fifteenth century. The evidence suggests that he was probably the *nosokomos* of the *Krales Xenon*. See Hunger, *Chortasmenos*, pp. 111, 196.

²⁷⁹ *PLP* number 14891. *Mazaris*, p. 38.

²⁸⁰ *PLP* number 21069. *Mazaris*, pp. 38, 110.

²⁸¹ *PLP* number 91939.

southwestern Italy. His estimated birth date is between 1425 and 1430 and he died in 1481 in Constantinople. He was the chief physician of Murat II in Adrianople until 1451 and Mehmet II until 1481. He was educated in Italy in variety of subjects other than medicine such as law.

Some other physicians who practiced medicine in the fifteenth century on whom the sources do not provide detailed information to delineate their location of practice include a certain Angelos (Ἄγγελος),²⁸³ George Katrares (Γεώργιος Κατράρης),²⁸⁴ Gregorios Tyfernas (Γρηγόριος Τύφερνας),²⁸⁵ Nicholas Strongylos (Νικόλαος Στρογγυλός)²⁸⁶ who was practicing medicine in 1439/1440, Kanones (Κωνώνης),²⁸⁷ Petros (Πέτρος),²⁸⁸ John Aron (Ἰωάννης Ἄρων),²⁸⁹ and Konstantios Holobolos (Κωνσταντίος Ὀλόβωλος)²⁹⁰ and a certain Demetrios (Δημήτριος).²⁹¹

Analysis

A preliminary research conducted in the incipient stage of this thesis based on the *PLP*, the most salient reference work in the genre of prosopographic studies pertaining to the Palaiologan period, revealed ninety-two names that were affiliated with the medical practice.²⁹² Chronologically, the Palaiologan period from 1261 to

²⁸² *PLP* number 7942.

²⁸³ *PLP* number 169. *Mazaris*, pp. 90, 120. This physician has also been included in the previous section because it is assumed that he died before 1416; thus he should have at least been practicing medicine at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

²⁸⁴ *PLP* number 11542. *PLP* gives the date of 1439.

²⁸⁵ *PLP* number 29415.

²⁸⁶ *PLP* number 26955.

²⁸⁷ *PLP* number 14269. Kanones is mentioned in *Mazaris* as a vicious doctor who administers hemlock, a common European herb used as a poison, as medicine for his patients. *Mazaris*, p. 38.

²⁸⁸ *PLP* number 23066. He is also mentioned in *Mazaris*, p. 38.

²⁸⁹ *PLP* number 91365.

²⁹⁰ *PLP* 21045.

²⁹¹ *PLP* number 91767.

²⁹² *PLP* provides a list of individuals whose names are mentioned in the primary sources of the period as well those who were referred in the secondary literature under different genres one of which is the

1453 extends almost to 200 years and the names that we come across are scattered throughout the centuries. Among the ninety-two names listed, ten were dating from the thirteenth century, thirty-two from the fourteenth century, forty-three from the fifteenth century and the dating of the remaining seven is not precisely defined.²⁹³

Based on the information provided by the *PLP* and the evidence obtained from the sources, it is also possible to carry out a general assessment of the geographical distribution of the names that were classified as physicians. We see that with almost thirty names the greatest number of physicians were from Constantinople in origin or practiced their craft in the capital. This is not surprising since Constantinople, as in the earlier periods of the Byzantine Empire's history was still a center of intellectual activity and education, in the Palaiologan period. Thessaloniki, the second largest city of the empire, follows suit with six names. This can be explained by the fact that Thessaloniki, alongside with Mistra were probably the only cities in the empire that to a certain extent managed to compete with Constantinople in providing a suitable environment for the pursuit of intellectual activities and education in the Palaiologan period. The evidence suggests that physicians were present in other places outside the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. For instance, we come across physicians who were present in the Trebizond, specifically throughout the reign of Alexios II Komnenos. This, I believe, to a larger extent is related to the vigor and propensity with which intellectual activities,

occupational classification. In so doing, it provides brief biographical information on these individuals and a bibliography of the sources from which the data was obtained.

²⁹³ Even if dating is one of the features that *PLP* manages with nicety for most of the names, in others it is either not precise or fails to provide any date at all. Additionally, whereas in some cases the time range within which the physician was known to be practicing his craft is provided, in others birthdates or the year of death was given. The eight names that we cannot chronologically classify are, a Syneseis (Συνέσεις, *PLP* number 27151), George Syrianos (Γεώργιος Συριάνος, *PLP* number 27174), a certain Pordalerios (Πορδαλήριος, *PLP* number 23554), a certain John (Ἰωάννης, *PLP* number 8442) from Constantinople, John Constantes (Ἰωάννης Κωνσταντῆς, *PLP* number 92487), a physician called Makarios (Μακάριος, *PLP* number 16190), and another John (Ἰωάννης, *PLP* number 8440).

specifically astronomical and medical studies, were promoted under the auspices of the Trebizond ruler. What is also worthy of note is that physicians of Latin and Greek origin were also practicing their craft in the territories of the Ottoman Empire.

The non-medical sources of the Palaiologan period yield numerous references to physicians. However, not all of the sources that refer to physicians were available for this thesis. Nevertheless, within the light of the evidence gathered so far, it is possible to analyze certain aspects of the medical profession as well as to provide an interesting glance to the way in which medical practice was perceived by the authors of the sources.

The evidence obtained from the sources utilized for this thesis suggests that medicine and medical practitioners figured quite commonly in late Byzantine society. An array of people from various segments of the society including the emperors, ecclesiastical and state officials and members of the intellectual circles turned to physicians for medical advice. The correspondence of well-known and erudite individuals such as state and ecclesiastical officials as well as intellectuals of the period constitute the most elucidative and informative sources on medical practice and its practitioners of the period. Two letter compilations dating from the fourteenth century, the correspondence of Michael Gabras and Demetrios Kydones contain a number letters addressed to the eminent physicians of the period. Likewise, the correspondence of John Chortasmenos dating from the fifteenth century includes extracts, in which Chortasmenos narrated his medical problems and demanded from the physicians' solutions for his ailments.²⁹⁴ The authors in their letters related their health problems and asked the physicians, with whom they were generally closely acquainted, for appropriate treatments, which would help them to recuperate.

²⁹⁴ Hunger, *Chortasmenos*, pp. 118-120, 208.

Michael Gabras, in one of his letters addressed to John Zacharias, in which he related his illness, acknowledged that the doctor's letters of advice have had a positive effect on his disease. The appearance of the word *farmakon* (φάρμακον) in the same letter, which is the standard Byzantine word for "medicine", "remedy" or "drug", implies that physicians prescribed medicine for their patients as a method of treatment.²⁹⁵ In another letter written by Gabras, this time addressed to the physician Andronikos Zacharias, once more there is a reference to "curing by medication"²⁹⁶ and the importance of the way of life or diet.²⁹⁷ The letters of Demetrios Kydones also showed a similar penchant. In some of his letters addressed to the physician George Kydones Gabrielopoulos, Demetrios Kydones described how he suffers from respiratory problems, headaches, chest pain, as well as insomnia that drive him crazy and related how he longs for the medicaments prescribed by the physician for his illness.²⁹⁸ Kydones in his letters signified the importance of diet and the way of life in fighting against and preventing diseases.²⁹⁹ Similarly, an anonymous letter dating from the fifteenth century, in which the symptoms and the progress of the gout (*podagra*) disease were narrated, provides valuable information on the diet that should be followed for the treatment of the disease.³⁰⁰ These letters are noteworthy both in terms of demonstrating the level of familiarity of the authors with medical knowledge as well as the treatments prescribed by the physicians. Allusions to drugs are quite common and there are references to medicaments taken by the patients who are ill. As it has been demonstrated in monastic *typika* that have been examined in

²⁹⁵ Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, pp. 493-494, lines 41, 54.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 683, line 39. See the phrase "ἰάσθῃ διὰ τῶν φαρμάκων".

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 684, line 46-47. "δίαίταν νομίσας μοι τὴν τοῦτο ἐμποιήσουσαν".

²⁹⁸ Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones*, p. 315-320.

²⁹⁹ Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones*, p. 329-337.

³⁰⁰ Schmalzbauer, "Medizinisch-Diatetisches über die Podagra aus spatbyzantinischer Zeit," pp. 229-243.

the previous chapter, likewise, these letters demonstrate that the regimen of the diet played an important role in Byzantine therapeutic medicine.

Apart from the letter compilations, physicians were also portrayed in the histories and chronicles dating from the period, mostly as the *archiatroi* of the emperors. It is clearly manifested in the *Histories* of George Pachymeres and John Kantakouzenos, the medical opinion of the physicians were valued and sought by the emperors and the members of their imperial entourage. As it has been depicted by Pachymeres, *archiatros* Kabasilas' opinion on the illness of emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos was sought before the emperor passed away.³⁰¹ Similarly, as Kantakouzenos narrates, emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos conferred to the medical opinions of his physicians after his disease took an acute turn to decide whether or not he should take the monk's habit and leave the throne.³⁰²

The patriarchal acts in which the physicians of the Palaiologan period were amply cited are also worth mentioning. Even though these documents particularly provide information on the personal problems of the physicians that were brought to the attention of the court, two of the acts relate incidents in which the medical opinions of the physicians were sought. In the first act dating from the thirteenth century, patriarch Gregorios of Cyprus asks for physician John Theognostos to physically examine a prisoner and decide whether he was tortured or not.³⁰³ The second act dating from the patriarchate of Philotheos Kokkinos, which concerns an accusation of necromancy, demonstrates how physicians were summoned to court for their medical expertise. As it has been narrated previously, a fourteenth century physician Syropoulos along with Konstantinos Chloros, a monk named Phoudoules and a certain Gabrielopoulos was condemned for possessing magic books and

³⁰¹ Failler and Laurant, *Pachymérès*, vol. II, pp. 661-665.

³⁰² Fatouros and Krischer, *Kantakouzenos*, vol. II, pp. 56-63.

practicing sorcery. When Demetrios Chloros was summoned to the court concerning some alleged magic books which he nestled along with medical books in his house, the accused testified that the alleged magic books were medicine books and not otherwise. The court then called in acclaimed physicians to closely examine the books and adjudicate whether these books were indeed related to medicine or not. The physicians after scrutinizing the books proclaimed that according to their medical knowledge, which was based on medical education and experience, the magical formulas provided in these books had no relation to the medical science.³⁰⁴ The abovementioned examples, clearly illustrate that people consulted the opinions of the physicians on issues that required medical knowledge; which advocates the postulation that the physicians were perceived as a distinguished group of people who had specialized knowledge and expertise in the medical field.

The nature of the medical knowledge is a comprehensive subject that requires both a reading of the treatises written by individual physicians of the Palaiologan period as well as those composed in the preceding centuries; an analysis that remains out of the scope of this thesis. However, a close look at the non-medical sources dating from the Palaiologan period reveal partial but intriguing information on the scientific nature of this knowledge. For instance, in one of the letters from the correspondence of Michael Gabras, an important word “ἐπιστημῇ” makes an appearance, meaning “knowledge” or “science”, which hints at the perception of the medical profession as an ordered body of knowledge.³⁰⁵ Specifically, the terminology used in a number of letters dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries demonstrates that the knowledge of medicine was conveyed through technical terms, which were mostly familiar to the educated physician. The

³⁰³ MM, vol. I, pp. 543, 546-549; Darrouzès, *Regestes*, vol. I - fasc. V, pp. 480-485.

³⁰⁴ Darrouzès, *Regestes*, pp. 480-485.

anonymous letter edited by Gudrun Schmalzbauer constitutes a valuable example. This is the second letter of a correspondence between a fifteenth century physician Kaloeidas and a patient who was suffering from gout. From this letter it is understood that a patient sought the medical advice of Kaloeidas on his ailment, which was gout. Accordingly, Kaloeidas wrote a letter to this patient and gave him therapeutic advices. However, the patient requested the doctor to write in a more simplified and understandable manner, since this former letter by Kaloeidas was written in a medical language, which was foreign to the patient. Accordingly, Kaloeidas orders an assistant of his to compose a second letter, which can be comprehended by the patient. This constitutes an interesting example to a physician who used a complex language, which was reserved for the doctors and inconceivable to the patient. Similarly, the use of words “examining” (ἐξετάζων) and “confirmed” (ἡκριβωσε) in a letter from the correspondence of Michael Gabras addressed to Andronikos Zacharias, suggests that both words seem to have technical meanings in standard medical terminology of the time.³⁰⁶ Thus one may conclude that the sources provide some notion of the contemporary practitioner’s professional knowledge and they reflect rather clearly some of the popular medical theories of the time.

One of the aims of this thesis was to figure out whether or not an occupational field of “medical doctors” which required a specialization in medicine existed in the late Byzantine Empire. The question of who was considered a physician has been a topic of discussion since the ancient times. In Hippocratic times, the term physician was used to refer to those who acquire their craft under the direction of their masters through observation and practice, as well as to those who acquire their medical

³⁰⁵ Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, pp. 493-494, line 42.

³⁰⁶ Fatouros, *Briefe des Michael Gabras*, pp. 682-684, lines 6-7.

knowledge by means of studying medical texts.³⁰⁷ Similarly, Plato in his writings had stated that there are two types of physicians: those who acquire their knowledge through studying nature and the others who acquire it through physical practice. Aristotle asserted that the word ‘physician’ designated all three of the following: the ordinary practitioner, the master of the craft as well as the man who has studied medicine as part of his general education.³⁰⁸ Thus, one way to delineate the degree of specialization required for one to be perceived as a physician, one has to investigate the system of higher education in Byzantium and see if those who aspired to become physicians had to receive a distinctive medical education, through which they acquired medical knowledge. More to note, an exposition of the education to which the physicians were exposed is crucial since it played a significant role in shaping their intellectual interests, social status and careers. Therefore, any study conducted on the physicians of the period ultimately requires an examination of the structure and contents of the medical education. The sources utilized for this thesis for the most part do not provide clear-cut evidence on the “professional education” of physicians during the Palaiologan period. Nevertheless, partial evidence obtained from the sources buttressed by the information provided by the secondary literature on higher education in the Byzantine Empire may help us clarify some aspects of medical education in the Palaiologan period.

It has been stated by a number of scholars that the teaching of medicine was highly valued as other scientific fields as early as the twelfth century. In the Palaiologan period, though to a lesser extent when compared to the earlier centuries of the empire’s history, the hospitals played a role in the education of the physicians. As it has been witnessed in the example of John Zacharias in the previous chapter,

³⁰⁷ I.E. Drabkin, “On Medical Education in Greece and Rome,” *BHM* 15 (1944), p. 350.

physicians improved their medical skills through daily practice at institutions that provided medical care. Moreover, some sort of medical education was provided at the *Krales Xenon*. However, apart from these two cases, the sources are for the most part silent on the education provided at the hospitals of the empire. One explanation of this pertains to the nature of the sources, since medical literature such as *xenon* texts or medical treatises, which have been omitted in this thesis, may prove to be more expounding on this issue. This can also be related, however, to the transformation that the structure of higher education went through at this period.

Unlike the earlier periods, the sustenance of the higher education and the erudite circles in this period was not for the most part purveyed by the ecclesiastical and the imperial institutions. The scholars who have written on the higher educational system of the Palaiologan period underscore the prevalence of private initiative in the educational system of the empire. Klaus-Peter Matschke and Franz Tinnefeld in their co-work on the society of the late Byzantine Empire, assert that at this period, even though we come across imperial universities, the student circles formed around a teacher constituted the main unit of higher education.³⁰⁹ Another scholar, Friedrich Fuchs, in his book on higher education in Constantinople adopts a similar approach and asserts that by the first quarter of the fourteenth century the public schools no longer offered higher education. He goes on to state that, instead, the higher education was provided by high-ranking officials or erudite intellectuals

³⁰⁸ Aristotle, *The Politics: with an English translation by H. Rackham* (London: W. Heinemann; New York: Putnam, 1932), vol. III, p. 227.

³⁰⁹ Matschke and Tinnefeld, *Gesellschaft im späten Byzans*, pp. 202-206, 278-280. In Byzantium the educational system was divided into three levels: elementary level, secondary level and higher education. Even though the courses offered to the students differentiated in accordance to the students' level of study, the dividing lines between these three educational levels were not clearly defined. The nature of the higher education is a vertical one since the knowledge is distributed from one generation to another through teachers, who were in most cases, renowned intellectuals of their time.

who lectured to students in groups.³¹⁰ Thus, what seems to be the norm in higher education at this period is that the teachers whether they were paid by their students or subsidized by the imperial government established their own schools to teach or give private lessons to a single student or a group of students. For instance, we know that emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos allocated a place in the palace to the intellectuals to give lectures; and there were physicians among those who participated in these lectures, either as listeners or lecturers. Even though it is known that the higher education at this period was comprised of subjects such as astronomy, music, harmonics, geometry, philosophy, rhetoric and medicine, there was not an established curriculum that was applied by all the teachers. Hence, one may assert that higher education was shaped in accordance with the interests of the teachers who belonged to the intellectual circles of the empire. We come across prominent physicians who belonged to these student circles attached to a private teacher and received an education in a variety of disciplines as a part of their higher education. John Zacharias who belonged to the student circle of first Maximos Planudes and later philosopher Joseph Rhakendytes constitutes one example to such individuals. However, within the light of the available evidence, it is difficult to explicate the extent to which the teachers were involved in the practice of medicine during the period of their student's training. Another point worthy of note is that, even though the sources are silent on this issue, there may still be other physicians who did not receive education through the books, but rather learned medicine by means of apprenticeship from a practicing physician. Moreover, it is also conceivable that some students read medicine as part of their liberal education and had no intention of becoming practicing physicians.

³¹⁰ Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen*, pp. 60-62.

The abovementioned arguments pertain only to the physicians who received a medical education within the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire. However, it was not only the Greek physicians that were represented in the documents dating from the period. A significant number of physicians that were referred to in the sources of the Palaiologan period were of Latin origin. It is known that at this period, a number of renowned education centers such as Paris, Bologna, Padua and Montpellier provided some sort of medical education to students. At these university centers, the students were educated on grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, astronomy, geometry and music, and upon the completion of the requirements they received the title *master/magister*; and a further study on the theory as well as application of medicine completed their medical credentials. Among the group of Latin physicians, we come across nine names in the sources dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that were referred to as a master or a *magister*. Thus, one claim that some of the Latin physicians attended universities where high education was provided, and probably studied medicine at these institutions and were qualified to practice medicine. Nonetheless, the existence of physicians who did not carry such titles insinuates that not all of the medical practitioners of the Latin West received a university education, and there were physicians that were either less educated or acquired their trade through apprenticeship.³¹¹

Another important point that should be investigated pertains to the existence of medical certificates that were issued to the physicians of the Byzantine Empire in the Palaiologan period. A number of scholars have hinted in their works to the existence of medical certificates given to those individuals who successfully fulfilled the requirements to become a physician in the Byzantine Empire before the

³¹¹ P. D. Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 11.

Palaiologan period. One of these scholars, Armin Hohlweg states that in Byzantium the state paid specific heed to medical competence at a date as early as the reigns of Theodosios II and of Justinian.³¹² Another scholar V. Grumel, who wrote on the Komnenian period, in his short article “La profession médicale a Byzance a l’époque de Comnènes” denotes that during the Komnenian period those who aspired to become physicians had to fulfill certain requirements. The applicant had to follow certain courses and receive an education, had to practice medicine for a period of time, and had to be examined before an experienced medical teacher and succeed. Finally, one had to receive a diploma of some sort, which conferred the candidate the right to practice medicine autonomously.³¹³ The previously mentioned letter of George Lekapenos, which was informative on John Zacharias’ life, reveals that similar practices still existed, at least in the fourteenth century. In this letter, Lekapenos related that Zacharias did not yet received his κηρύγματα since he did not yet arrive at the κολοφών. Armin Hohlweg discusses the meanings of these two terms in his article and asserts that, even though it is not possible to say with certainty that κηρύγματα designates a *terminus technicus* of the whole procedure of becoming a physician, it clearly represents the legal character of the final examination. Nonetheless, the available sources pertaining to other physicians of the period do not provide sufficient information to firmly establish the fact that one has to hold a certificate in order to be qualified as a professional physician in the Palaiologan period.³¹⁴

The education that the physicians received, as it has been indicated above, played a crucial role in shaping their social status and careers. First of all, a formal

³¹² Hohlweg, “Actuarios,” pp. 123-128.

³¹³ V. Grumel, “La profession médicale à Byzance à l’époque des Comnènes,” *REB* 7 (1949), pp. 42-46.

³¹⁴ Hohlweg, “Actuarius,” pp. 122-126.

study of medicine must have given a badge of distinction to a student who aspired to become a physician, which would provide him with the means of setting up a practice and attracting a clientele. Furthermore, I believe that the careers of the physicians had benefited from the medical education that they received, for they could become the physicians of the emperors and prominent individuals. Hence, to anticipate a concurrent increment in their social status and influence, once they become a member of the imperial circles and their proximity to the emperor himself increases, would not be off chance. Also worthy of note is that higher education and its role in training officials for the ranks of Byzantine state functions have been extensively discussed in contemporary literature. In view of that, the physicians who received a higher education in a variety of disciplines constituted eligible candidates to hold offices as ecclesiastical or state officials, since the educated physicians belonged to the well-trained elite. The existence of physicians who held offices at the higher echelons of the Byzantine state and ecclesiastical hierarchy during the Palaiologan period suggests that this was the case for some of the physicians. An epitome of such physicians is Manuel Holobolos, the physician of Manuel II Palaiologos, who later in his career quit practicing medicine and became the secretary of the emperor. Moreover, in the case of Manuel Holobolos, his rhetorical skills had definitely played a pivotal role in this career leap. One other significant example would be John Zacharias who, although he did not hold any office, as we understand from Michael Gabras' letters, was in a position to help his friends by means of his influential position. Moreover, a number of educated physicians in this period obtained ecclesiastical posts such as the fourteenth-century physician Gregorios Chioniades who was appointed to the bishopric of Tabriz.

So far we have pointed out that in the late Byzantine world, the physicians could hold influential posts in state and ecclesiastical hierarchy, or become a member of the imperial circles and enjoy a degree of influence. Interestingly enough, some medical doctors by means of the education and the knowledge they had obtained did become influential figures and could get hold of prominent offices outside of Byzantine territories as well. In Cyprus, for instance we see that a number of physicians were assigned to important posts such as Antony of Pergamon who was appointed as finance minister of king Jacques I Lusignan or Hugo Omnebon who became the chancellor of the king Peter I Lusignan. The example of master Guido de Bagnolle, who was appointed as one of the members of an envoy dispatched to Genoa, demonstrates that physicians additionally took on diplomatic missions. In order to demonstrate the prominence and the influence of Latin or Byzantine physicians operating outside of the Byzantine world a very suitable example would be the Ottoman sultan Orhan's physician Taronites' exertion to secure the transfer of Gregory Palamas from the sultan to a better location. Another example would be Jacobos of Gaeta who became the chief doctor of two Ottoman sultans, Murat II and Mehmet II. The prestige earned by a number of medical doctors from Latin or Byzantine origin in the newly burgeoning Ottoman Empire insinuates that the knowledge, education and respectability of a medical doctor may bring him to power and augment his status outside of Byzantine territories as well.

Finally, the evidence obtained from the sources afford a brief glimpse on how the medical practitioners of the Palaiologan period were perceived at least by the authors of the sources used for this thesis. Probably the most interesting and revealing remarks that we come across are from the letters of Kydones, which harbor both negative and positive comments on the physicians of his time. We have already

shown that Kydones had praised the medical talents of his friend George Kydones Gabrielopoulos. Additionally, in another letter addressed to one of his friends, who was the physician of John V Kantakouzenos, as it is understood from the content of the letter, Kydones glorifies his physician friend who healed the emperor by comparing him to Hippocrates.³¹⁵ Nevertheless, he does not spare his negative comments for other physicians whom he accused of being incompetent and ineffectual. In a letter addressed to John Kantakouzenos, Kydones related his grievances concerning the lack of doctors who could take proper care of him and prescribe him healing medicine.³¹⁶ In another letter, this time to an unknown cleric, Kydones elucidated the dreadful effects of the epidemic of pest in Constantinople and stated that the small number of doctors who remained in the city were busy writing their wills as opposed to finding a medicament to the epidemic.³¹⁷ Again in another which he addressed to Gabrielopoulos, he related how he longed for the treatments offered by Gabrielopoulos, and how he feared the physicians more than the plague itself, since all they did was to come up with useless remedies and diet prescriptions which only worsened the disease.³¹⁸ Demetrios Kydones' negative attitude towards physicians may be a reflection of his desperation at the face of the deaths of many in Constantinople in the first half of the fourteenth century. His own poor health and the physicians' incompetence to heal him as well as the deaths of his friends and relatives as a result of the epidemic in Constantinople might have affected Kydones' thoughts on physicians.

³¹⁵ Tinnefeld, *Briefe des Demetrios Kydones*, pp. 382-384.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-146.

³¹⁷ Tinnefeld, *Briefe des Demetrios Kydones*, pp. 177-181.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 315-320.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

The increment in the number of books and articles written suggest that the recent decades have witnessed an ever-increasing curiosity in the study of different aspects of Byzantine medicine. Nonetheless, the studies conducted on medicine and its practitioners in the Palaiologan period are still relatively scarce when compared to the earlier periods of the empire's history. The aim of this thesis was to look at the way in which the physicians were represented in the non-medical literary sources of the Palaiologan period. An examination of the sources in which there are references to physicians is necessary in order to understand the developments that took place in Byzantine medicine, its practice and education, as well as the changes in attitude towards the role and the status of physicians during the Palaiologan period. Such an assessment ultimately required a discussion of the hospitals of the Palaiologan period, for the hospitals of the Byzantine Empire both before the thirteenth century and to a lesser extent throughout the Palaiologan period hired physicians as a part of their medical staff. Furthermore an exposition of the Byzantine hospitals of the Palaiologan period was necessary since apart from providing professional medical care to the patients, some of these hospitals served as centers of medical education as well. In doing so, a broad range of sources such histories, chronicles, letters, hagiographical literature, poems, satires, patriarchal court registers, monastic acts and *typika* have been consulted in an attempt to gather as much information as possible.

The evidence discussed here is illuminating at a number of different levels. First of all, it provides valuable biographical information on the physicians.

However, the sources for the most part are revealing in terms of the information pertaining to well-known and prestigious individuals who were either Greek in origin or practiced medicine within the territories of the Byzantine Empire. This can partially be explained by the fact that only Greek texts have been utilized for this thesis. Nonetheless, the lack of mention of the Latin or Ottoman physicians in these texts is itself an interesting fact, since the practice of medicine during the Palaiologan period was not restricted to only Byzantine physicians. We know that medicine was highly regarded in the Latin West and the newly emerging Ottoman Empire as well. Nevertheless, the sources indicate that there was a movement of practitioners between different cultural and religious backgrounds for we come across Greek physicians who were practicing medicine within the territories of the Latin Kingdoms, Ottoman Empire and other Islamic lands.

Furthermore, the evidence obtained from the sources, besides offering valuable biographical information on the physicians of the Palaiologan period, also makes it possible for one to make assessments on different aspects of medical practice and the social status of medical practitioners. As said before, a number of scholars have speculated that Byzantine medicine has been orchestrated around the hospital complexes of the empire. This thesis proposes that Palaiologan hospitals, though fewer in number, still played an important role in medical practice. However, even though the evidence pertaining to the *Krales Xenon* shows that medicine was taught and practiced at least in a large Constantinopolitan hospital, the scarcity of the information pertaining to the hospitals of the Palaiologan period suggests that *xenones* of the empire in the Palaiologan period were not as effective centers of medical education and practice as they were in the earlier periods of the empire's history.

The high number of physicians whose opinions were consulted by the emperors, high state and ecclesiastical officials or other eminent figures of the period implies that physicians were respected for their medical knowledge. It has also been demonstrated that a number of physicians held influential posts in the state and ecclesiastical hierarchy, or became a member of the imperial circles and enjoyed a degree of influence.

The system and structure of medical education and the means through which the students acquired this education in the Palaiologan period are rather obscure. The sources used for this thesis, for the most part, remain silent on the professional education of the physicians of the Palaiologan period. However, it is known that by the early fourteenth century, medicine as a scientific discipline was not an isolated field of study, since we know that the teaching of medicine in the Middle Ages required an education in other fields such as philosophy and astronomy, disciplines that we today assume to be irrelevant to medical science. This is clearly manifested in the personalities and works of a number of physicians who practiced medicine in the Palaiologan period. For instance, in the fourteenth century, well-known physicians such as John Zacharias, George Chrysokokkes, Gregorios Chioniades paid special heed to the knowledge of astronomy. On the other hand the epithet “philosopher” attributed to George Kydones Gabrielopoulos clearly points to his interest and erudition in this discipline. The careers of some of the physicians, however, indicate that physicians of the Palaiologan period were educated in other branches of learning such as rhetoric. The rhetorical aptitude of Manuel Holobolos, who was one of the well-known physicians of the fifteenth century, was highly praised by his contemporaries. Finally, the evidence at hand suggests that most of the physicians were literate since we come across physicians as the authors of medical

treatises, as well as scribes who copied medical texts or as addressees of letters written by eminent intellectuals of the Palaiologan period.

There are still many aspects of Byzantine medicine of which we have little knowledge and these topics constitute important subjects for further research. As it has been indicated many times before, this thesis aimed to scrutinize as primary sources, a broad range of non-medical literature, leaving aside the medical works such as the treatises composed by the individual physicians. However, an examination of the medical manuscripts may be of great potential benefit. Furthermore, study of similar documents originating from the Latin West, the Ottoman Empire or the Arabic and Persian sources of the same period may well just be as illuminating.

APPENDIX A

List of the Physicians Practicing Medicine in the Byzantine Empire During the Palaiologan Period

Number in PLP	Names of the Physicians	Date
16678	Manuel	1270-1274
17971	Metaxopoulos	1272
19015	Michael	1272
91290	Theodoros Argyropoulos	1272
22441	Perdikkas	1280
92133	John	1281
10067	Kabasilas	1282-1296
7081,	John Theognostos	1283-1289
91873	Evangelios	1293-1297
22345	Pepagomenos	1295-1332
6489	John Zacharias	1299
30814	Gregorios Chioniades	1295-1315
30366	John Chalazous	1314
17151	Jakobos Maroules	1320
2148	Barankatos	1321-1328
31142	George Chrysokokkes	1321-1366
17149	Demetrios Maroules	1322
8798	Ioannikios	1322-1323
244	George Hagiomnetes	1323
13425	Manuel Koullourakes	1324
6481	Andronikos Zacharias	1327
2357	Barus	1329/30-1360
92255	Kalarchon	1330-1340
30865	Demetrios Chlomos	1339
7375	Theodoros	1348
3433	George Gabrielopoulos Kydones	1348-1383
27532	Konstantinos Taronites	1354
26761	Stefanos	1359
17855	Konstantinos Meliteniotes	1362
209	Angelos Kalothetos	1362
27199	Syropoulos	1370
7532	Theopemptos	1391
15109	Loukas	1394 or earlier
21046	Manuel Holobolos	1399-1403
10563	John Kaloeidas Antiocheitis	1400
30687	Kappadox Charsianites	1401-1414
19957	Nathanael	1405-1406
21069	Onokentios	1414
23066	Petros	1414
14891	Libistros	1414

22346	Pepagomenos	1414
14269	Konones	1414
16454	Nikephoros Doukas Malakes	1415 or earlier
30360	Chalazas	1415
30395	Doukas Chalibereas	1415
22359	Demetrios Pepagomenos	1415/1416-1450
169	Angelos	before 1416
17704	Meletios	1425
7942	Jakobos	1425/1430-1481
91939	Zoanes	1428-1455
27516	Taronas	before 1430
24477	John Romanakes	before 1432
14530	Theodoros Laskaris	1442
192	Demetrios Laskaris Angelos	1442-1466
21642	John Panaretos	1448-1453
23919	Antonios Pyropoulos	1448-1453
3155	Branas	1450
6088	Nicholas Eparchos	1481
16985	Markianos	13 th century
91767	Demetrios	15 th century
6087	Andreas Eparchos	15 th century
8305	Isidoros	15 th century
8442	John	15 th cent. or earlier

APPENDIX B

List of the Physicians Practicing Medicine in the Territories Outside the Byzantine Empire During the Palaiologan Period

Number in PLP	Names of the Physicians	Date
2725	Renaldos Bilanoba	1260-1311
6040	Hugo Ognibono	1360
4192	Guido de Bagnolle	1365, 1370
21153	Ougon	1376-1439
1048	Antony of Pergamon	1378-1393
22500	Peser	d. 1389
3510	Galeotto Marzio de Narni	1427-1497
4326	Grigorios Guarinos	1431/1432-1463
10808	Angelos de Camerino	1442
11385	Gerolamo Castello	1450-1471
30144	Thomas Frankos	1456
30385	Giovanni Caldiera	14 th -15 th century
23224	Pipe Toumase	15 th century
27016	Sugkritikos	15 th century
14816	Nicholas Leonikenos	15 th -16 th century

APPENDIX C

List of the Other Physicians of the Palaiologan Period

Number in PLP	Names of the Physicians	Date
22513	Petros Pestagale	1363
11542	George Katrares	1439
26955	Nicholas Strongylos	1439-1440
91365	John Aron	1440
27174	George Syrianos	Since 11 th century
23554	Pordalerios	13-15 th century
91491	Beniamin	14 th century
17025	Markos	14 th century
21045	Konstantinos Holobolos	14 th -15 th century
27151	Syneseis	14 th -15 th century
92487	John Konstantes	14 th -15 th century
16190	Makarios	14 th cent. or later
8440	John	14 th cent. or later
29415	Gregorios Tyfernas	15 th century

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