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ONE MINISTRY MANY ROLES

Deacons and Deaconesses
through the Centuries

Jeannine E. Olson

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The Medieval Period

Hospitals like the *Hôtel Dieu* sprang up in many European cities as they emerged from the devastation of the waves of barbarian, Viking, and Magyar invasions that preoccupied Europe from the late Roman Empire to the tenth century. These hospitals provided for both the religious and the physical needs of the poor. They fed and cared for the poor—physically, through medical and nursing care and, spiritually, by providing priests, the Mass, confession, last rites to the dying, and Christian burial.¹⁶⁰

These institutions enjoyed a variety of benefactors, especially with the surge in hospital foundations in the 12th and 13th centuries by kings, feudal lords, bishops, guilds, merchants, and municipalities.¹⁶¹ In Rome, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) ordered a 300-bed hospital built that could feed a thousand poor daily. The recently founded religious of the Holy Spirit took charge. In time they toured the city weekly to bring in the sick and maintained rooms for nobles and women in childbirth, although those who were able generally preferred to give birth or die at home. They fed the needy whom they did not house as did other hospitals of the era.¹⁶²

In the Middle Ages and early modern times, many hospitals were all-purpose welfare institutions, closer to the original sense of “hos-

pice.” They housed indiscriminately in the same building the disabled, the aged, orphans, and the sick. Some hospitals specialized in contagious diseases such as leprosy or the plague. Some specialized in a particular group of people, such as the blind or women rescued from prostitution.

The beginning of the Crusades to recover the Holy Land from the Moslems (1096) resulted within the next hundred years in the creation of orders of knights pledged to protect pilgrims. Of these, the Knights or Hospitallers of St. John were named after the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Jerusalem, built originally as a hospice for pilgrims in 1063. Their center shifted to Rhodes (1310) and then Malta (1530). They have continued work with the world’s poor to the present day. More specialized than the Hospitallers, the Knights of St. Lazarus worked with lepers.¹⁶³

With peace in the eleventh century and the revival of trade and a money economy, towns grew again. Cathedral schools rose to prominence. Pope Alexander III (1159–91) promulgated a canon in the Third Lateran Council of 1179 providing a teacher for every cathedral:

Since the Church of God, like a devoted mother, is bound to provide lest the poor who cannot be helped by the labors of their parents should lose the opportunity of studying and profiting thereby, a suitable benefice is to be provided in each cathedral church for a master who shall give free instruction to the clerics of the church and to poor scholars.¹⁶⁴

Pope Innocent III in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 extended the provision for free instruction to poor students to every church that could afford one.¹⁶⁵ In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, universities rose.

The trade with the Middle East encouraged by the Crusades enhanced the growth of cities in Europe. They were poorly served by rural monasteries. By the 13th century, the wave of new monasteries in isolated locations as a reform of the Benedictine rule—such as those of the Cistercians and Carthusians—had subsided, and a new form of religious life emerged in the cities, that of the friars dedicated to preaching, teaching, and serving the poor in urban areas. They were mendicants, poor and willing to beg to survive. Many of them were followers of Saints Dominic (b. between 1171

and 1173 and d. in 1221) and Francis (1181 or 1182–1226). Their followers, both men and women, continue into modern times as Dominicans, Franciscans, and Poor Clares. The medieval church considered their voluntary poverty and begging to be acts of merit. Lay men and women joined the third orders attached to these groups of friars.

Lay people also organized to help the poor through confraternities: quasi-religious, quasi-social societies often dedicated to patron saints on whose special days they would sponsor religious processions and celebrations. Members looked to each other for mutual help, especially in time of illness or death. They also supported larger charitable projects beyond their own membership, such as the founding and staffing of hospitals, the provision of bread for the poor, and even the building of bridges.¹⁶⁶

Some of these confraternities were local, specializing in the welfare needs of a specific region or in some aspect of those needs, such as the endowment of dowries for poor local women or the redemption of prostitutes. Others were more comprehensive in their care of the poor or spread into many cities or regions, performing similar services wherever they established themselves. For example, the *Misericordia* of Florence, of uncertain 13th or 14th century origins, aided the sick who were deserted by their relatives and buried the dead. By popular demand they reorganized in 1475 when a corpse lay deserted in the street for some time. They are still active in Italian cities providing emergency and ambulance service.¹⁶⁷

Although there had been confraternities in Europe before the mendicant orders, Franciscan and Dominican friars promoted them and often were members and chaplains. The 14th and 15th centuries witnessed the great growth of the confraternity movement. Likewise, Franciscans were active in Italy in the promotion of a new type of credit institution for the poor, the *Monti di Pietà*. Funded essentially by the wealthy faithful, they were designed to give the poor a way to borrow cheaply to tide themselves over periods of famine and unemployment.¹⁶⁸

Medieval theology addressed charity. Medieval Christians were enjoined to give from their surplus, defined as anything that was not a necessity.¹⁶⁹ A Christian who ignored a poor person refused Christ. Peter Damian reminded the 11th century that "A Christian

has no right to eat that which he has denied Christ."¹⁷⁰ The enumeration of the works of mercy in the 12th or 13th centuries guided the medieval Christian to

visit the sick, refresh the thirsty, feed the hungry, redeem the prisoner, clothe the naked, take the stranger in, bury the dead, counsel the perplexed, correct the sinner, comfort . . . [the] sad, forgive the offender, bear with . . . [the] burdensome, and pray for all.¹⁷¹

The order of charity was to be "first ourselves, then our parents, then our relatives, then the neighbors, then the strangers, and finally, the enemies."¹⁷²

Many acts of charity went on regularly around the year, but others, even bread handouts, increased at special times in the church calendar, such as during Holy Week. This tendency to focus charity on religious days, together with a proliferation of uncoordinated small charitable institutions of marginal size, led later critics to consider medieval poor relief haphazard, disorganized, and based on the whims of individual donors. A preference for private almsgiving reinforced this caricature of medieval charity as indiscriminate. In the Middle Ages charity was highly personal, often just a handout to a beggar in the street. Individual donors hoped to see the face of Christ in the poor. This may have encouraged them to give directly to the needy rather than to channel their donations through institutions or third parties. Even funds dispensed by rulers were considered the personal alms of the kings not the charity of the state.¹⁷³

Two factors worked to prevent haphazard distribution of charity within a system of individualized donations in the medieval period: canon law and secular government. Neither of these developed fully until the barbarian and Viking threats subsided.

Canon Law and Parish Poor Relief

Medieval law concerning poverty was a branch of canon or church law, which, up to the 12th century, was an accumulation of opinions of church fathers such as Augustine and Jerome, canons of general and local councils, and papal decrees. About 1140, a monk of Bologna, Gratian, systematized these in the *Decretum*. Periodically after this, popes promulgated additional volumes codifying their new

decrees and decisions of later general councils. These, together with Gratian's work, composed the medieval body of canon law.¹⁷⁴

Since poor law was a part of church law, church courts governed issues surrounding charity. The church made a special effort to protect the poor by eliminating their court fees and providing them with legal counsel and representation. Priests at this time were normally allowed to plead before the law courts only if defending a poor man or if they themselves were too poor to hire representation.¹⁷⁵

Much of the law relating to poor relief was collected in the *Decretum* and dated from the fourth through sixth centuries. Thus it is not surprising that it laid the responsibility for the poor on the bishop, as the early church had, in a classical division of church revenue into four parts: one part for himself, one part for his clergy, one for church building and repair, and one for the poor. These four parts were not necessarily equal.¹⁷⁶

The concentration of revenues in the bishop, described in the *Decretum*, reflected late antiquity but was out of step with the organization of dioceses in the high Middle Ages. In the fourth through sixth centuries, a bishop had cared for all the poor of the diocese. After that, the custom grew of dividing each diocese into smaller units or parishes.¹⁷⁷ A parish consisted of a region with a church and the people who attended it. Each parish was a separate economic unit. The parish priest was responsible for its revenues.¹⁷⁸ These revenues were threefold: income from land with which the church had been endowed; offerings or customary gifts for baptisms, marriages, or funerals; and the tithe, a tax on each parishioner's produce, mandatory since the sixth century.¹⁷⁹ Such revenues did not come to the bishop. The responsibility for the poor within each parish fell on the parish and its priest. Already in 567 the Synod of Tours had made each parish responsible for its own poor.¹⁸⁰ If each parish had had enough money, this system of poor relief should have covered the needs of the poor within Christendom better than indiscriminate handouts to beggars.

But parishes did not have enough money for all their social welfare needs. In addition, the parish lost local revenues to outsiders with the growth of the proprietary church controlled at the local level by non-clergy. A tradition of appropriations of parochial revenues developed in the early feudal era. A lay person or monastery

absorbed a parish's income and appointed a representative or vicar to serve as parish priest on a partial income. By presenting their clerks to ecclesiastical benefices such as these, kings and popes provided for the salaries of the clergy who worked in their chantries. Local revenues were used later as "scholarships" to support students. The reformers, John Wycliff (1325?-1384) and John Calvin (1509-1564), both benefited from this type of financial support. Calvin resigned his benefices in 1534 when he became part of the Protestant Reformation, but Wycliff lived at Oxford most of his life, drawing the income of two English churches that he hardly ever visited.¹⁸¹

Appropriations of parochial revenues were open to abuse, and even if used well, they could leave behind at the local level an impoverished priest unable to provide either for himself or the neighborhood poor; for money diverted from local parishes in this way was unlikely to get back to the needy it left behind. As for the use of this money, some of the monasteries that received diverted parochial funds were impoverished, but many of the lay people were not. Moreover, although some monasteries may have used part of the money they got for the poor, studies of income and expenditures of monasteries in England in the later Middle Ages and 16th century estimate that only three to five percent of revenues were spent on alms and hospitality.¹⁸² This did not include the most common form of monastic poor relief, which was the distribution of leftover food, however, and the three percent figure comes from a study of monasteries under Henry VIII (1535) in preparation for dissolving them (1536-1540). Only those revenues the monasteries were obliged to spend on charity because of the terms of a bequest were included in the three percent and not money they actually spent beyond that.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, the poor appeared to be the losers when parochial revenues were appropriated to a monastery unless one considers the poor monks themselves as worthy recipients of welfare.

Perhaps a fourth of the parishes of England had revenues appropriated from them by the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁸⁴ Fortunately for the poor, the church was attempting to stem the abuse of appropriations. In a step described as the "Magna Charta of the parish priest," the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 provided that every parish with an absent priest should have a resident vicar who

was to be endowed with an adequate portion of the parochial revenues.¹⁸⁵ The vicar's income was to be large enough to make it possible for him to render hospitality. In medieval terminology, this included poor relief. It did not mean that poor priests necessarily lived entirely on their own stipends. Canon law allowed them to work at an occupation. In England, many farmed. Despite attempts by the church to halt the abuse of appropriations, so many exceptions were made that absentee pluralists (holding more than one church office) increased in the 15th century.¹⁸⁶

In 1313 Pope Clement V declared that the wardenship of a hospital could not be an ecclesiastical benefice. Thus a lay person could be in charge of a hospital, and its revenues could not be diverted from the original charitable purposes to become an absentee cleric's income. However, in the later Middle Ages, the larger hospitals increasingly obtained exemption from the bishops' control, who could audit them, and diverted revenues from the foundation into comfortable incomes for the administrators.¹⁸⁷

Despite abuses in the system of medieval poor relief, it appeared to continue to work reasonably effectively at the local level at least until the 14th century. Parochial poor relief was helped by the fact that parishioners were expected to give sums toward it beyond their tithes as they did for church repairs. The endowment of a fund for the parish poor administered by the priest was popular. That the fate of the parish poor was watched over is evident in the licenses granted to clerics to absent themselves from their parish for study at a university on the condition that specific sums would be paid for the poor during the absence.¹⁸⁸

The Secular Government in Welfare and Education

As the church attempted to make social welfare comprehensive within Christendom, secular government moved to insure a more equitable distribution of poor relief as well. This was true after governments revived from the difficulties of the Viking and Magyar invasions of the eighth through the tenth century. Within several centuries some governments had an interest in social welfare and education at the local level. City schools rose among the older cathedral and monastery schools. Social welfare branched out beyond individual donors and the church.

As states and cities grew in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, they sometimes attempted to organize or limit the activities of the church in poor relief and education. Governments set up new institutions alongside the old or attempted to coordinate the multifaceted institutions that were in existence. Secular governments began to try to provide for everyone under their jurisdiction. Magistrates wanted comprehensive systems that squelched dissatisfaction, prevented hunger riots, and met the needs of as many people as possible.

Even though the church still had the official role in social welfare in the late Medieval and Renaissance period, the state was making itself felt at a time when the church's own hold on poor relief was slipping. The 14th and 15th centuries brought especially trying circumstances. The bubonic plague struck Europe in 1348-49. The population had been weakened already by crop failure and famine. The initial waves of the plague killed as many as a third to half of the people in some regions, and Europe was not back to preplague levels until the 16th century. A smaller population meant more land for some, higher wages, and greater job mobility, but it also meant dissatisfaction with conditions that did not seem to be improving fast enough, to say nothing of the shock of the loss of so many of one's loved ones at once. Many people set out to seek their fortune and new relationships, looking for better jobs and greater opportunities that often failed to materialize. Sometimes they had to leave their homes, because the land that they had been farming was enclosed for pasture. Many who set out on the road to riches ended as vagrants or thieves.¹⁸⁹

The social welfare of the late Middle Ages was not constructed to cope with vagrancy. A parish's responsibility for its own poor presumed that the poor stayed put. Hospitals in urban centers were geared to handle the indigenous poor but not to care for every beggar who wandered through the city gate. In the religious world of the late Middle Ages, pilgrims were welcome to stay the night, as long as they moved on the next day on their pilgrimage toward their holy destination; but vagrants were not welcome, nor foreign beggars, nor any poor people who could not support themselves.

The problem of vagrancy needed a solution at a higher level than the local parish or diocese, but the church at its highest levels was beset with distractions: the Avignon Papacy (1309-77), when

the pope moved from Rome to the Rhone River with the encouragement of the king of France, followed by the Great Schism of the church when there were two and three popes at the same time (1378–1417). Then, from the mid-14th century, the Renaissance popes lacked the leadership and moral character of the papacy of the High Middle Ages in all but art and letters.

At the local level there was a shortage of priests after the Black Death. Many got parishes who would never have been given them before. Ecclesiastical poor law became less effective from the mid-14th century on, and complaints about the neglect of parochial poor relief increased by the end of that century.¹⁹⁰

Governments had their own problems in dealing with the problems of welfare in the 14th and 15th centuries. The states of Europe were beset with peasant rebellion and war. Resentments ran deep between the rich and the poor amid the death pangs of a dying manorialism and the last vestiges of feudalism. The hearts and minds of generations of French and English rulers were preoccupied with the claims and counterclaims of the Hundred Years War (1337–1453). The Holy Roman Empire was decentralized. Spain had not yet completed reunion. Only Italy was beginning to experience a Renaissance of art and letters, and northern Italy introduced some interesting innovations in social welfare such as low-interest loans to help small business and craftspeople and to dower young girls, the *Montes pietatis* that the Franciscans promoted.¹⁹¹

Despite the difficulties of the times, government, by its nature, had features that were helpful in meeting welfare and educational needs such as the ability to tax and to make laws. The state was a potential conduit for social welfare. Governments could create new institutions and attempt to better organize the welfare and educational systems that were already in place. During the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, governments moved toward centralizing, rationalizing, and laicizing social welfare systems (that is, getting more lay people involved), but that is a story that can be continued in the next chapter on the Reformation of the 16th century when these changes were in full swing.

The Diaconate in the Middle Ages

The overall social welfare picture in the late Middle Ages was a multifaceted one with both church and state active. Within the

church, monasticism and the new forms of religious community life of the High Middle Ages had taken over much of the work that deacons had done in antiquity in education and poor relief. In turn, lay people, though confraternities and city councils, were taking over the place of clerics in charity.¹⁹²

The diaconate had become a stepping-stone to the priesthood, and the deacon was subordinate to the priest. Deaconesses had disappeared by the 12th or 13th centuries in Europe and by the 11th century in the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁹³ Deacons had primarily liturgical roles. The blessing of a deaconess may have been revived in some convents in the 14th and 15th centuries to enable them "to play a role in the celebration of the divine office."¹⁹⁴

As the diaconal role in social welfare and property administration declined and became subordinate to priests, ecclesiastical writers made deacons' other functions seem indispensable, especially in the liturgy. By the 12th century, according to Peter Lombard, deacons read the Epistle as well as the Gospel. They carried the cross and read the names of new catechumens.¹⁹⁵ Deacons accompanied priests into women's religious communities and the homes of infirm women who could not confess their sins in church.¹⁹⁶

At the same time, the medieval theologians restricted the deacons' sacramental role. The 12th century admonished deacons to administer Communion to the sick only in grave necessity.¹⁹⁷ According to Thomas Aquinas (1224 or 1225–74) a deacon was to baptize only in urgent necessity, because a deacon does not "by reason of his own office . . . confer the sacrament of baptism. Rather in the conferral of this and other sacraments he assists and ministers to those in higher orders."¹⁹⁸ Deacons were not to administer extreme unction at all, because it was not a necessary sacrament.¹⁹⁹ They were not to hear confessions and pronounce absolution, although, in emergencies, confession even to a lay person was still popular in the 14th century though it was not sacramental.²⁰⁰ Although the deacons sacramental role was limited in the High Middle Ages, formally, they now could preach.²⁰¹

Archdeacons retained important responsibilities in the financial, judicial, and charitable work of the church because of the jurisdiction given to them. Medieval archdeacons were legal representatives of the bishops. By the ninth century some archdeacons were priests, and by the 12th century they were generally priests in the West.

They have never been priests in the East.²⁰² Some were neither priest nor deacon, such as Thomas à Becket (1118?-70), archdeacon of Canterbury and chancellor to Henry II, who was ordained a priest the day before he was consecrated a bishop (1162).²⁰³ Archdeacons accompanied their bishops for visitations of parishes and eventually made visitations alone, giving them, in effect, jurisdiction over parish priests.²⁰⁴

In Rome around 1100 the deaconries and the seven diaconal regions of the city combined, resulting in Cardinal deacons. They were in charge of the administrative regions of the diocese.²⁰⁵ Besides these Cardinal deacons, some of the clergy of the diocese of Rome were Cardinals: some of the staff of the bishop of Rome (the pope), priests who were pastors of the papal or "titular" churches, and the pope's episcopal assistants or so-called "suburbicarian" bishops. The Roman Synod of 1059 under Pope Nicholas II (1058-61) had put the election of the pope in the hands of Cardinals who continue to elect popes down to the present.²⁰⁶

Summary

Deacons had evolved considerably since New Testament times when they were key figures in charitable work. They began in the first century with little if any obvious place in the liturgy and a large role with the poor. Gradually, as assistants to the bishops, they and the widows assumed some importance in the liturgy alongside their role in social welfare. By the third century, deacons, deaconesses, and widows had a function in the rite of baptism. Both deacons and deaconesses taught. Deacons preached. Some deacons celebrated the Eucharist. In the fourth and fifth centuries deacons became subordinate to presbyters, deaconesses to deacons, and widows to deaconesses. Deacons retained a role in social welfare and property management at least into the fourth and fifth centuries. They lost this role by the time of the council in Trullo (692). Eventually the deaconesses and widows were absorbed into the monastic movement. The male diaconate became a stepping-stone to the priesthood. As deacons lost their social welfare functions, the church emphasized their liturgical roles more.

Archdeacons retained some of the diaconal charitable and administrative responsibilities. By the 12th century most archdeacons

were priests in the West. The priesthood thus absorbed the archdiaconate and with it the important financial responsibilities that had once been that of deacons.

By the 15th century deacons had moved into a role that was almost exclusively liturgical. The diaconate prepared men for the priesthood. For most clergymen it was an apprenticeship through which to pass on the way to higher office. The reformers of the 16th century would find the diaconate ripe for a reform on the model of the early church.

Notes

160. G. Barrois, "Mediaeval Charities," 67-68.
161. Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and Its Application in England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), 85.
162. Barrois, "Mediaeval Charities," 67.
163. *Ibid.*, 67-69.
164. X. 5.5.1. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees*, 229, 556, in Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 19.
165. *Ibid.*, 19-20.
166. Boyer, "Bridgebuilding," 635-50; Jeannine Olson, *Calvin and Social Welfare: Deacons and the Bourse Française* (Selingsgrove: Susquehanna University Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1989), 115.
167. Barrois, "Mediaeval Charities," 69-70.
168. A. Rotzetter, W. C. Van Dijk, and T. Matura, *Un chemin d'évangile: l'esprit franciscain hier et aujourd'hui* (Paris: Mediaspaul, 1982); 240-41; Brian Pullan, "Catholics and the Poor in Early Modern Europe," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, (Intended to be read March 7, 1975), 23-24.
169. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2a, 2ae, ques. 32, art. 6 in Barrois, "Mediaeval Charities," 77. This idea is found in Augustine, "All that God has given us beyond what is necessary, He has not properly speaking given to us, He has but entrusted it to us, that it may by our means come into the hands of the poor." S. 219; in Psalm 147; S. 249 in Uhlhorn, *Charity*, 301.
170. Barrois, "Mediaeval Charities," 72.
171. "Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo, consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora," in *ibid.*, 74.
172. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 2a, 2ae, ques. 26, trans. in Barrois, "Mediaeval Charities," 77.
173. Barrois, "Mediaeval Charities," 66.

174. Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 7-8.
175. *Ibid.*, 13.
176. *Ibid.*, 8-9, 70.
177. *Ibid.*, 70; Uhlhorn, *Charity*, 252.
178. Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 70.
179. *Ibid.* The church fathers of the late Roman Empire had admonished people to give a tenth or more, but the second Synod of Macon (583) made it binding. Uhlhorn, *Charity*, 259-60.
180. J. Nolf, *La réforme de la bienfaisance publique à Ypres au seizième siècle* (Ghent: Librairie Scientifique E. Van Goethem, 1915), xi.
181. Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 71-73.
182. For the five percent figure see R. H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1926), 110-118 as cited in *ibid.*, 80, 153.
183. A. Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution* (Oxford: n.p., 1909) in Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 80-81, 153.
184. Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 91-92.
185. Canon 32 in H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils* (St. Louis, 1937), 269, 573, cited in Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 83.
186. Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, 84, 93, 114.
187. *Ibid.*, 86, 114.
188. *Ibid.*, 96-97, 104.
189. *Ibid.*, 111-13, 116.
190. *Ibid.*, 109-111, 115-16.
191. Rotzetter, Van Dijk, Matura, *Un chemin d'évangile*, 240.
192. Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church: A Study for a Theology of the Laity*, trans. Donald Attwater (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1957), 35-36.
193. Martimort, "The Disappearance of Deaconesses and the Memory of Them that Remained in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Deaconesses*, 217-28. "By the end of the tenth or eleventh centuries, deaconesses had pretty much disappeared in the East." Martimort, *Deaconesses*, 183. "Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch about 1070 states that deaconesses in any proper sense had ceased to exist in the Church though the title was borne by certain nuns." Thurston, "Deaconesses," 652.
194. "Reappearance of Deaconesses Among Women Religious," in Martimort, *Deaconesses*, 229-40.
195. *Sentences* as quoted in Echlin, *Deacon*, 84-85.
196. Echlin, *Deacon*, 83.
197. *Ibid.*, 87.
198. *Summa Theologiae* 3a, ques. 67, art. 1 in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, vol. 57, *Baptism and Confirmation* (3a.66-72), ed. and trans. James Cunningham (New York: Blackfriars with McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975), 57.
199. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae Supplementum Tertiae Partis*, ques. 30, art. 1 in Echlin, *Deacon*, 88-89.
200. Echlin, *Deacon*, 87.
201. Cooke, *Ministry*, 278.

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202. Bingham, *Antiquities*, 1:97.
203. Echlin, *Deacon*, 86–87.
204. Bligh, *Deacons*, 427.
205. H. I. Marrou, "L'origine orientale des diaconies romaines," in *Ecole Française de Rome: Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 57 (1940), 95–142 in Barrois, "Mediaeval Charities," 66.
206. Williston Walker, Richard Norris, David Lotz, and Robert Handy, *A History of the Christian Church*, 4th ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 268, 273.