2

Partition Walls: Territory and Administration

At its "zero point," the church fitted the Upper Room (Acts 2:1–6), which did not have any partition wall in it. So the earliest church had neither structures nor hierarchies. The church was only Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, and the disciples. Probably the only ecclesial structure that can be distinguished at this point was two circles of apostles, the twelve and the seventy. The difference between the two circles was not that of superiority, but of the degree of interest and engagement in the mission of Christ. After Christ's death and resurrection, both circles, together with other disciples, including women, constituted one community that came together in one place in Jerusalem. They as a community received the Holy Spirit in common. Community, thus, became the initial structure of the church.

Most references to *ekklēsia* in the New Testament speak about local communities. These communities emerged as replicas of the apostolic community in Jerusalem. The latter was the archetype for other communities outside of Jerusalem. The first community in Jerusalem was basically a group of disciples of Jesus who came together in one place to share their faith and memories about Christ. They did so through thanksgiving and meal. These features were replicated in other communities and constituted their nature. In this sense, Paul used the word *phyrama* (φύραμα, Rom 11:16; 1 Cor 5:6–7; Gal 5:9)[1]—which means something mixed or

1. See Pascuzzi, "Ethics, Ecclesiology and Church Discipline," 151–55.

kneaded, like bread dough—as a synonym of *ekklēsia*.[2] To Paul, church was about meeting together and worshiping.[3] He stressed the intrinsically *communal* character of the first churches (1 Cor 11:18).

Although the early Christian communities shared the same core features such as discipleship of Christ and remembering him at the gatherings through common thanksgiving and meals, they adopted diverse forms of organization. These forms were built on the common social models at their time. These models were of Jewish, Greek, and Roman origins and can be epitomized as the synagogue, the *ekklēsia*, and the *collegium*.

It took some time for the early Christian communities to disassociate themselves from Judaism and develop a distinct identity. Before that happened, the Jewish synagogue constituted a basic pattern for Christian gatherings.[4] "Synagogue" meant primarily a place where the Jewish community came together to read the Torah. After the destruction of the temple (AD 70), it also became a place for prayer and rituals. Gradually it developed into the center of religious, social, and political life for the Jewish people. It became a place of study, a courthouse, a place for collecting taxes, and a guesthouse. In the diaspora, the synagogue additionally served as a connecting link with Jerusalem. Synagogues had their own administration. The synagogue's special representative, *ḥāsān*, had responsibilities for a variety of tasks and acted in the capacities of a scribe, executor of court decisions, tax collector, *etc*. All members of the community were in full charge of their synagogue. The community owned it and managed its business. The synagogue provided an initial structural setting for the first Christian communities and could easily lend its name to Christian gatherings. The Greek word *synagōgē* (συναγωγή) meant "bringing together" and thus perfectly reflected how the Christian communities understood themselves. However, Christian communities gave preference to another Greek word to describe themselves, namely *ekklēsia* (ἐκκλησία).

The word *ekklēsia* for many centuries before Christ was connected with the Greek political culture. Primarily in Athens, but also in other ancient Greek states-*polises*, this word meant an assembly of free adult male citizens who were entitled to make decisions in the matters relevant

2. Liddell et al., *Greek-English Lexicon*.
3. 1 Cor 14:19, 23, 28, 33, 34, 35; also Philm 1:2.
4. See Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church*, 272–338.

to the community that they represented. The *ekklēsia* was not identified with the place where it met. Sometimes the *ekklēsia* met in a special place, an *ekklēsiastērion* (ἐκκλησιαστήριον), like in Olbia or Delos. Athenians met first at the hill of Pnyx, and from the fifth and fourth centuries BC onward they moved to the theatre of Dionysus. Theatres often served as meeting places for *ekklēsia*.

During the centuries of its semantic evolution in the period of antiquity, the word *ekklēsia* accumulated many, one might say too many, connotations. Most of them were related to political life. The word implied debates and divisions. Much less was it related to the religious life of the Greek states. The word *synagogē*, on the other hand, was more religiously charged. We can now only guess why the word *ekklēsia* attracted early Christians more than the word *synagogē*. Probably it was the idea of the call, which is coded in the root of the word, *ek-klēsis*, and which is missing in *synagogē*. Possibly, it also implied the idea of liberation, because the ancient *ekklēsia* was a gathering of free people only. It is also plausible that the foundational principles of the ancient Greek *ekklēsia*, such as *isēgoria* (ἰσηγορία), the equal right of every citizen to speak publicly, *isonomia* (ἰσονομία), equality under the law, and *isopoliteia* (ἰσοπολιτεία), equal right to exercise political power, also mattered for the Christians, who lived through the experience of overcoming the old social divisions (Col 3:11) and of embracing equality for all in Christ (Gal 3:28). Apparently, by calling their community *ekklēsia* and not *synagogē*, the early Christians stressed their openness to the Roman world.

In Rome, during the period of the birth and initial development of Christianity, the most popular form of professional or religious community was *collegium*.[5] It was more popular in the western part of the Roman Empire but also spread to the East. Diasporal synagogues, for instance, functioned largely as *collegia*. *Collegia* were independent self-organized bodies. Each had its own goal. Often they united people of the same profession, like later medieval guilds did. Even in this case, however, they practiced cults. Practically all *collegia* were to a greater or lesser extent religious. They took care of their dead and poor, shared communal meals, and together participated in rituals and other public events. Organizationally, *collegia* followed the model of the Roman civic municipalities with magistrates, councils, and *plebs*. They often met in the halls known

5. See Scheid, "Graeco-Roman cultic societies"; Kloppenborg and Ascough, *Greco-Roman Associations*.

as *curia*. Usually *curia* were the places of public and governmental offices, primarily of the Roman senate. Many early Christian communities, especially in the West, were established and functioned as *collegia*.

Another structure of the Roman society that became popular among early Christians was an urban household.[6] This structure spread throughout the empire to its eastern borders. It was distinct from the other structures mentioned so far. It was private, compact, and easily manageable. It incorporated all the people living together in one house, including members of the family, servants, and slaves. Relatives and friends could also join the household. This social structure was confined to one place, the home. It was not public or accountable to any authority outside the household. At the same time, it was hierarchical, more so even than other contemporary social structures.[7] The *paterfamilias* was the unconditional master of it.

This social structure became a model for many communities established by Paul.[8] It turned out to be popular and survived until quite late, along with the other types of communities. "A portrait of small, close-knit, and yet diverse" community[9] of the household type can be best painted on the basis of the archaeological findings at Dura-Europos. A Christian household with a built-in baptistery excavated in the Mesopotamian city of Dura-Europos[10] is probably the only surviving exemplar of the pre-Constantinian places of worship of the type referred to in the epistles of Paul. This particular community flourished in the middle of the third century. Typologically it is similar to the early Christian households that spread in Syria under Paul and evolved through the third century. The archaeological findings in Dura-Europos, excavated and explored jointly by the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters and Yale University, tell a lot about how such communities functioned.

6. See Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 29; see about the social structure of household in Antiquity in Bodel and Olyan, *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*.

7. See Schillebeeckx, *The Church with a Human Face*, 66–67.

8. See Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 29, Haight, *Christian Community in History*, vol. 1, 78.

9. Prusak, *The Church Unfinished*, 75.

10. On this see Hopkins and Baur, *Christian Church at Dura-Europos*; Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and Its Art*; Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos*; Hopkins and Goldman, *The Discovery of Dura-Europos*; Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art*.

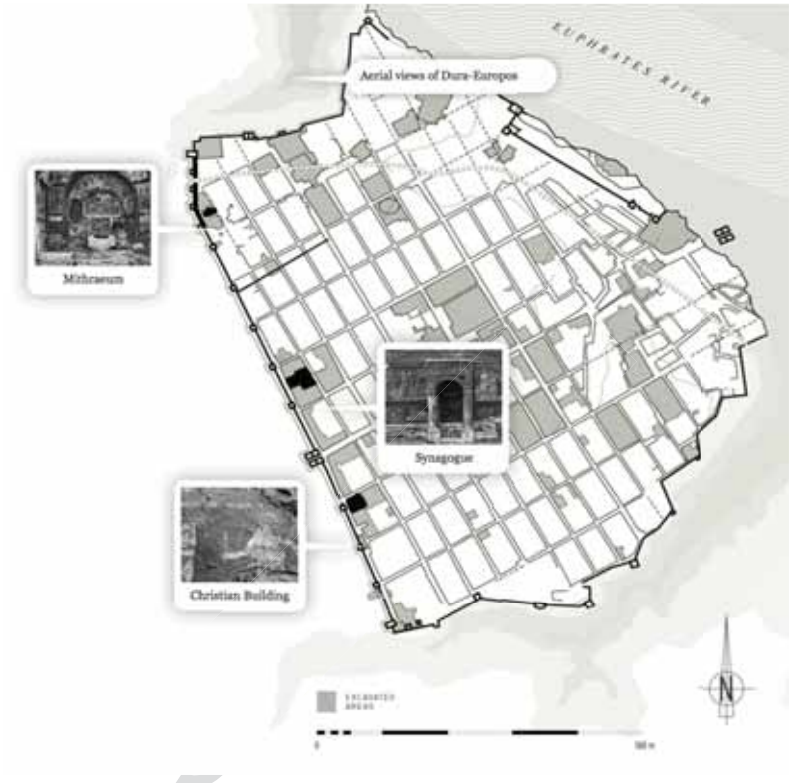
Dura-Europos was a city situated in the territory of modern Syria. It was established around 300 BC on the Greco-Roman frontier and at the crossroad of diverse cultures, including the Greek, Roman, Syriac, Palmyrene, Parthian, Jewish, *etc*. Its architecture reflects the rich cultural and religious diversity of the region. The religious life of the city was pluralistic. Archaeologists have found altars dedicated to the Roman and Greek gods, a Mithraïc sanctuary, a synagogue, and a Christian chapel (Map 1). The Christian site in its size and decoration is the humblest among the cultic places of the city, located on the outskirts of the city next to the outer walls. This means that the Christian community in Dura-Europos constituted a small minority and kept a low profile. At the same time, it did not hide itself from the rest of the city, but gathered openly. The big persecutions were yet to come. In the meanwhile, it had to coexist in peace with the non-Christian majority. In its neighborhood were the temples of Zeus Kyrios and Adonis, and a synagogue. It is noteworthy that the Mithraïc and Jewish places of gathering in Dura-Europos were also set in private households. It means that this type of organization was common for religious communities of small sizes regardless of their beliefs. Christians in this regard simply followed a common practice of the time.

In the description of Clark Hopkins, the Christian house in Dura Europos "shared common walls with the adjacent buildings. The early Christian of Dura entered the open court by an entryway in the northeast corner, which shielded observation of the court from the street."[11] It was typical for Mesopotamia of that time[12] and did not differ from the majority of other houses in the city.[13] According to Hopkins, the house initially served as a private residence. Later it was used for Christian gatherings, but the house as a whole did not change. Only its interior was redesigned. A wall between two rooms was demolished to make a larger assembly hall, and one room was rebuilt to make a baptistery. Symbolically, the inner wall between the baptistery and the common hall implies the only partition wall in the early Christian community—between those baptized and non-baptized. Archaeological data indicate that the baptistery was used for both baptisms and the eucharist.[14] Worship places were em-

11. Hopkins and Goldman, *The Discovery of Dura-Europos*, 94.
12. Kraeling, "The Church Building," 138.
13. See Hopkins and Baur, *Christian Church at Dura-Europos*.
14. Hopkins and Goldman, *The Discovery of Dura-Europos*, 115–16.

bellished with wall paintings on biblical themes.[15] A room adjacent to the baptistery was used for studies and preparation for baptism (Picture 3).[16]

Map 1: Plan of Dura-Europos.[17]



15. Ibid., 94.

16. Ibid., 96.

17. Source: Yale University Art Gallery: http://media.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos/dura.html [accessed August 12, 2016].

Picture 3: Plan of the Christian household in Dura-Europos.[18]

Among other artefacts, the archaeological expedition under Clark Hopkins discovered in Dura-Europos a significant number of papyri and parchments. Among them they found a papyrus with fragments from the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, now kept at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.[19] This is the earliest Greek manuscript of the Gospels' compendium, which was widespread in Syria at the time. It is possible that Tatian's compendium of the Gospels was the main scriptural text for the Christian community in Dura Europos. It also served as a source for the paintings on the premises of the "chapel."[20] Themes for the paintings were selected to edify both those being baptized and the members of the community.

The early church was not only a community. From its very beginning, it was also a movement. Christ gathered disciples, taught them, and sent them to disseminate his teaching. At his death, the community of his

18. Source: Yale University Art Gallery: http://media.artgallery.yale.edu/duraeuropos/dura.html [accessed August 12, 2016].

19. Dura Parchment 24 (Uncial 0212 in the Gregory-Aland numbering).

20. Hopkins and Goldman, *The Discovery of Dura-Europos*, 109.

followers was ready to dissolve. However, Christ's resurrection restored the fellowship. His rising from the dead created a powerful momentum for the disciples to spread the good news about resurrection and the kingdom of God. No less powerful was the momentum that they received at Pentecost. The resurrection of Christ and outpouring of the Holy Spirit became the main driving force of the Jesus movement.

The movement from its beginning featured two vectors: one centrifugal and the other centripetal. The former indicated the community's dynamic to go out preaching, while the latter represented the conservative force that cared about integrity of the community. These two dynamics often clashed in conflicts, as, for instance, in the discussions about whether to open up to the Gentile world or to stay within the Jewish setting. When balanced, however, the two dynamics helped the church expand without losing its integrity.

By the year 50, the Jesus movement had spread throughout Palestine and reached the coast. At this stage, it remained mostly Jewish. It radically changed its character in Antioch. There, non-Jews joined it. This was a radical shift in the way that the church organized its mission and structure—one of the most radical in the history of the church. It became possible owing to the Greek-speaking Jews of the early Jesus movement, who were more open to the non-Jewish world. As Roger Haight remarks, "Jewish Hellenist followers of Jesus, in translating his gospel message into Greek, opened Christianity to a 'universal' and 'universalizing' culture."[21] This allowed Christianity, Haight continues,

> to spread with a rapidity proportionate to the prevalence of this culture and language; it provided a medium of elementary comprehensibility and transferability. No matter what one's assessment of "Hellenization" might be, one has to recognize the profound impact of this linguistic and cultural "translation."[22]

Antioch became an epicenter of the shift. It provided an urban and cosmopolitan environment for the growing movement, boosting it further. Soon there appeared a man who used the environment of Antioch to give a new momentum to the movement, namely Paul. It was in Antioch that Christianity was put on a global track and began spreading throughout the *oecumene*.

21. Haight, *Christian Community in History*, vol. 1, 143.

22. Ibid., 144.

Gerd Theissen has distinguished four basic currents in the Christian movement of the first century: 1) the Pauline, as reflected in the most letters under his name; 2) the Jewish, of James, Matthew, and Hebrews; 3) the Synoptic, represented by these Gospels as combining both Jewish and Gentile dimensions; and finally 4) John's, with his distinct interpretation of prehistory and Christology.[23] Different currents often passed through the same communities. Some communities emerged from or adopted one or another of the currents. They formed alliances and networks along these lines, and in this way, the first supra-communal structures were set.

At the initial stage, communities were loosely affiliated to each other[24] and relations between them are hardly identifiable. As Paula Gooder put it:

> The task of tracing the history of the earliest Christian communities is a little like trying to describe, in a single narrative, the path of twenty rubber balls thrown into the air and left to bounce wherever they come down. . . . The New Testament provides us numerous snapshots of life in early Christian communities but what is unclear is what, if anything, connects these snapshots.[25]

Nevertheless, some inter-communal connections can be suggested. The earliest known communal network was established by Paul. It featured a particular connection with Paul through the people he installed as community leaders, his narrative about Christ, and the correspondence, through which he kept in touch with his communities.

Although there is no sufficient evidence, the earliest Christian networks might have followed the intercommunal models common in the Greco-Roman world.[26] By analogy with the social types of communities, such as synagogue, *ekklēsia*, and *collegium*, the social patterns of intercommunal relations can be identified as stemming from the models of diaspora, *polis*, and empire. Those early Christian communities that adopted the pattern of Jewish diaspora[27] were orientated to the "metropolis" in Jerusalem. They were communities that consisted mostly of the Ara-

23. See Theissen, *The Religion of the Earliest Churches*, 254–56; Haight, *Christian Community in History*, vol. 1, 83.

24. Haight, *Christian Community in History*, vol. 1, 87.

25. Mannion and Mudge, *The Routledge Companion to the Christian Church*, 16.

26. Theses of this description appeared in Hovorun, "Evolution of Church Governance: From the Diaspora-Model to Pentarchy."

27. See Schwartz, "Ancient Jewish Social Relations."

maic-speaking Jews living in Palestine. We may suggest that the Greek-speaking communities that followed the model of *ekklēsia* did not feel the same connection with Jerusalem. They maintained their autonomy and had loose relations with other churches, similar to how the Greek cities related to each other. The model that influenced the Christian intercommunal structures most was that of *imperium*.[28] Roman *collegia* were not isolated but related to each other in various ways and had complex hierarchical structures.[29] The Roman hierarchical pattern eventually dominated in the Christian church over the horizontal patterns of networking.

Before that, however, the Jesus movement featured an impressive variety of types of intercommunal relations. Actually, as the recent scholarship suggests, there was not only one Jesus movement. Apart from the mainstream movement that stemmed from the community of the twelve in Jerusalem, there were movements of Jesus's followers elsewhere in Palestine, each with "quite different relationships to Jesus."[30] Even though some preset patterns of relations between and inside these movements could be discerned, they remained unorganized and spontaneous.

When the early Christian networks had developed enough, intercommunal relations could not be regulated *ad hoc* anymore. In result, an overarching model of these relations emerged that helped the church addressing the issues that it faced repeatedly, such as when a care-taker of the community had to be tried or a new one had to be installed. In both cases, the internal resources of the community often did not suffice to address these issues. Primates from other communities, now called *episkopoi* (ἐπίσκοποι), had to participate in order to handle such situations. Most convenient were those *episkopoi* who were near at hand. The participation of neighbor *episkopoi* in solving the problems of a local community shaped the model of the neighborhood in administering the church's affairs. This model became the first commonly accepted throughout the entire Christian network.

There were other problems that the local communities had to solve together, namely deviations from what it believed to be the apostolic norm in teaching and practice, like heresies, schisms, *etc*. These problems affected not just one community but clusters of them. Therefore,

28. See Brent, *The Imperial Cult and the Development of Church Order*.

29. See Scheid, "Graeco-Roman Cultic Societies."

30. Haight, *Christian Community in History*, vol. 1, 73; see Cameron and Miller, *Redescribing Christian Origins*, 20.

communities had to face them in common.[31] This also meant that *episkopoi* needed to meet together at councils. The meetings of the *episkopoi*, however, were not regular. There were also no criteria for who could participate in them. As Vlasios Pheidas remarks, "the activation of the conciliar system was occasional or an emergency."[32]

In the model of neighborhood, all local communities were equal, as at any moment any community could be called to serve as a neighbor church for the benefit of another community that asked for help. At the same time, there were communities that were regarded as especially authoritative, either because they were planted by apostles, or had charismatic leaders. Among them were the communities of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Ephesus, Caesarea in Cappadocia, Corinth, Philippi, Carthage, and so on. These communities enjoyed what could be called the "primacy of honor."[33] This kind of primacy was not in any sense institutional or obligatory. It was freely recognized by those churches that wanted to. It did not introduce any sort of hierarchy in the relations between the communities.

Such a hierarchy was introduced with the "metropolitan model." The metropolitan model made the model of the neighborhood more ordered. It was legalized by canons 4, 5, and 6 of the council of Nicea.[34] However, it did not spread evenly throughout the church. It was implemented more in Asia Minor and Syria, and less in the West and North Africa.[35] Features of this model were as follows:

1. It clearly defined what kind of neighborhood was required to try a bishop or to install a new one for the community. The neighborhood was tailored to the administrative unit of the Roman Empire, the province (*eparchia*, ἐπαρχία).
2. All bishops of the province, if it was possible of course, had to participate in the required procedures.
3. Actions of the bishops of the neighborhood had to be approved by the one who resided in the capital of the province, called the

31. See Prusak, *The Church Unfinished*, 128.

32. Φειδᾶ, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία*, 805.

33. Ibid.

34. See ibid., 457.

35. See more Говорун, "Исторический контекст 28–го правила"; Hovorun, "On Formation of Jurisdictional Limits of Eastern Churches in 4–5th Centuries."

"metropolitan bishop" (*mētropolitēs episkopos*, μητροπολίτης ἐπίσκοπος). Without his approval, the decisions of the bishops of the neighborhood were void.

The metropolitan model implied four radical shifts in the arrangement of the Christian church. First, communities were considered to belong to the imperial administrative territory. The church thus adopted the Roman principle of territoriality. This principle would become dominant in the later history of Christianity. The model of neighborhood also had implied some kind of territoriality, but it was different. The territoriality of neighborhood served the good of the community. In the metropolitan model, territoriality became a self-sufficient principle of administration that changed the way in which community functioned.

Second, for the first time the hierarchy among the bishops and among the communities became institutionalized. Before that, there were only bishops who had responsibility for their own communities. Now some bishops were also endowed with supervision over other bishops, apart from their responsibilities for their own communities. Although this supervision was limited, it affected important and sensitive issues of the installation and removal of other bishops. Metropolitans thus became "first among equals" (*primi inter pares*). They enjoyed a sort of primacy, which had become institutionalized. This inevitably led to conflicts between the bishops who enjoyed the old-fashioned primacy of honor and the metropolitans who received a new kind of primacy that stemmed from their administrative position.[36] In these conflicts, initially the administrative sort of primacy won over the honorary one.[37] Later on, primacy of honor was partially reintroduced, as in the case of the church of Jerusalem. Jerusalem's political significance was next to nothing. Nevertheless, its church received a place in the line with such important political centers as Alexandria and Antioch.

These two shifts introduced a new rationale to the office of bishop, who became an official governing his territory. The focus of the bishop's

36. Such conflicts were reported in the provinces of Palestine (between Caesarea and Jerusalem), Caria (between Tralleis and Aphrodisias), Pamphilia (between Side and Perge), Paphlagonia (between Pompiioupolis and Gangra), Lycia (between Patara and Myrrha), Cyprus (between Paphos and Konstantia), Mesopotamia (between Nisibis and Edessa), Pisidia (between Sagala and Ikonion), and others. See Φειδᾶ, *Ὁ θεσμὸς τῆς Πενταρχίας τῶν Πατριαρχῶν*, vol. 1, 53–54.

37. See Φειδᾶ, *Ὁ θεσμὸς τῆς Πενταρχίας τῶν Πατριαρχῶν*, 53.

office was relocated from community to territory, from pastoral care of the people of God to administering the ecclesial structures.[38] As Bernard Prusak puts it: "The notion of a bishop presiding at his church assembled for the Eucharist was no longer the principal focus. The bishop's primary function had become administration."[39]

The third shift in the metropolitan model was that the council of bishops became a regular institution. According to canon 5 of Nicea, councils had to be summoned twice a year.[40] All bishops of a province had to take part in them. Conciliarity or synodality became a regular function in the church.[41] These venues of bishops became an ultimate authority in the matters related to the communities belonging to the same ecclesial province. No other community from outside the province could intervene or change the decisions of the provincial council.

This, fourth, constituted a network of the communities within one province as a kind of "super-church." Autocephaly or self-governance was delegated by the local communities to the super-church or metropolis. Theodore Balsamon (d. 1199) testified to that: "In old times, all metropolitans of the provinces were autocephalous and consecrated by their own councils."[42] Speaking more generally, the notion of the church was transferred from a community to the network of communities.

The shift to the metropolitan model was one of the most dramatic in the development of the church structures. This model introduced and legalized the principles that shaped the church as we know it now. Like any other model, however, the metropolitan one early on demonstrated its vulnerability. In particular, this model helped the civil authorities in Constantinople and their ecclesial counterparts to introduce state-sponsored Arianism quickly to the majority of the newly established metropolises. It would have been more difficult to disseminate this doctrine to cell-communities if they had not been organized into larger structures connected with civil centers. On the plus side, in the struggle with Arianism, the Nicenes in both East and West managed to open up the closed structures

38. See "Vescovi e pastori in epoca teodosiana," (Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana, Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1997).

39. Prusak, *The Church Unfinished*, 210.

40. Alberigo, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*, 22.

41. Hans Küng in his elegant theology of the church councils has enthusiastically argued that the church *per se* is a council, and particular councils represent the church (Küng, *Structures of the Church*, 15, 19).

42. Ράλλη καὶ Ποτλῆ, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 171.

of metropolises and made them accountable to other churches. This was particularly accomplished by the councils in Antioch (341) and Sardica (343).[43] The former approved the institution of a "major council" (*meizōn synodos*, μείζων σύνοδος), which in addition to the bishops of metropolis would include the bishops from other provinces as well.[44] The council of Sardica introduced the possibility of appealing to the authoritative sees.[45]

In addition, the council of Constantinople, which was convened in 381 to handle the neo-Arian reactions to Nicea, along with the theological instruments developed by the Cappadocian fathers, introduced what can be called a "diocesan model" of church administration.[46] This model was called upon to correct the abuses of the metropolitan system that had been committed in the period of the anti-Nicene reaction. Constantinople I continued the councils of Antioch (341) and Sardica (343) in constructing a supra-metropolitan model. This model was supposed to establish control over the metropolises. But unlike Antioch and Sardica, which tried to settle the problem within the same metropolitan paradigm, Constantinople I "upgraded" the model. It applied the Nicene logic of employing civil models and projected onto the church administration

43. See Stephens, *Canon Law and Episcopal Authority*.

44. "Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπί τισιν ἐγκλήμασι κρίνοιτο, ἔπειτα συμβαίη περὶ αὐτοῦ διαφωνεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπους, τῶν μὲν ἀθῶον τὸν κρινόμενον ἀποφαινόντων, τῶν δὲ, ἔνοχον· ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς πάσης ἀμφισβητήσεως, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ, τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἀπὸ τῆς πλησιοχώρου ἐπαρχίας μετακαλεῖσθαι ἑτέρους τινὰς, τοὺς εὐκρινοῦντας, καὶ τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν διαλύσοντας, τοῦ βεβαιῶσαι σὺν τοῖς τῆς ἐπαρχίας τὸ παριστάμενον." "If a bishop shall be tried on any accusations, and it should then happen that the bishops of the province disagree concerning him, some pronouncing the accused innocent, and others guilty; for the settlement of all disputes, the holy Synod decrees that the metropolitan call on some others belonging to the neighbouring province, who shall add their judgment and resolve the dispute, and thus, with those of the province, confirm what is determined." Canon 14, in Fulton, *Index Canonum*, 240–41.

45. In my earlier publication (Hovorun, "Apostolicity and Right to Appeal"), I have argued that the canons of Sardica (primarily canon 3) did not constitute the basis for the recognition of the Roman right to entertain appeals for the eastern church. The eastern bishops considered them either as a canonical basis for the western churches to appeal to Rome—on the ground that Sardica belonged to the Roman jurisdiction, and bishop Hosios of Cordoba, who initiated the canons, was a western bishop himself. Alternatively, they saw them as a temporal right, which was bestowed personally upon pope Julius under the harsh circumstances of the suppression by the Arians. See also Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Serdica*, 179–200.

46. Vlasios Pheidas calls it an "exarchic system": Φειδᾶ, *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία*, vol. 1, 821; see also Φειδᾶ, *Ὁ θεσμὸς τῆς Πενταρχίας τῶν Πατριαρχῶν*, 146–67.

the diocesan structure of the Roman state. Civil dioceses (*dioikēseis*, διοικήσεις) were established during the administrative reforms of Diocletian in the 290s. They were organized into four praetorian prefectures (*praefectura praetorio*, ἐπαρχότης τῶν πραιτωρίων or ὑπαρχία τῶν πραιτωρίων) and included the smaller provinces (Map 2).[47]

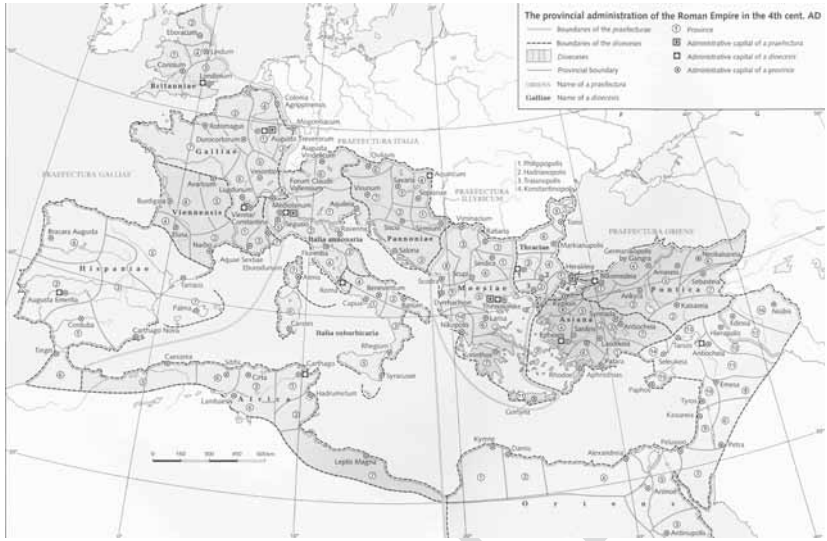
Canons 2 and 6 of Constantinople I made metropolises more accountable to the dioceses. As Peter L'Huillier put it, Constantinople I proposed considering imperial dioceses as "coherent entities in which the bishops ought to assume common responsibilities."[48] Independence in managing church affairs, including the most important canonical procedures of consecration and trial of bishops, was expanded from the level of the civil province to the higher level of diocese. This model of church administration, which was attempted to be built on the level of civil dioceses, did not stand for long. Soon it was replaced with a new model that proved to be more viable. This model survives, in a modified form, to the present day. It is a patriarchal model.

The patriarchal model emerged in parallel to the metropolitan and diocesan models and was eventually substituted for them. This process lasted from the council of Constantinople I (381) to the council of Chalcedon (451). This model did not exactly follow the pattern that had been adopted by the council of Nicea and did not reflect only the civil divisions of the Roman Empire. Although the number of the patriarchates was almost equal to the number of the civil prefectures (five against four), their territories did not coincide. The rationale behind dividing the church into five patriarchates was not only political. It also included ecclesial and historical reasons: apostolicity, primacy of honor, theological importance, *etc*. A synthesis of political and historical criteria helped the church to relieve the tensions between the newly emerged administrative and the traditional centers of ecclesial governance.

47. See Appendix 1.

48. L'Huillier, *The Church of the Ancient Councils*, 117.

Map 2: Administrative divisions of the Roman Empire in the fourth century AD.[49]



The patriarchal model continued the process of evolution of the supra-metropolitan systems. Although metropolises did not cease to play a key role within the patriarchates, they lost for good their self-sufficiency or autocephaly. They became accountable to the five patriarchal centers: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The only exceptions were the metropolis of Cyprus, which secured its full independence at the council of Ephesus (431), and the metropolis of eastern Illyria, which became a subject of the fight between Rome and Constantinople. All metropolises were distributed among the patriarchates in the following way:[50]

Rome: dioceses of Gallia, Vienna, Hispania, Italia I and II, Africa, Pannonia, and Moesia.

Constantinople: dioceses of Thracia, Asiana, and Pontica.

Alexandria: parts of the diocese of Oriens, including Libya I and II, Thebai, Aegyptus I and II.

Antioch: the rest of the diocese of Oriens.

Jerusalem: the provinces of Arabia Nova and Palaestina.

49. Source: Wittke et al., *Historical Atlas of the Ancient World*, 225.

50. Source: Wittke et al., *Historical Atlas of the Ancient World*, 228.

The institution of the patriarchate proved to be the most effective instrument for securing communion across the church on all its levels. First, it framed communion between the local communities within the same patriarchate. Metropolitans and sometimes bishops in the lower-level communities had to commemorate the name of their patriarch in public prayer. In this way they sustained communion with each other. Second, in the relations between themselves, the patriarchates did not turn into self-sufficient ecclesial monads. They struggled to preserve communion with each other. In the words of Elias, a legate of the patriarch of Jerusalem to the council of Constantinople II in 869–70: "The Holy Spirit established patriarchal heads in the world in order to eliminate through them all emerging scandals."[51] Through the communion of the patriarchs, every community was believed to be in communion with all the other communities in all the other patriarchates. The patriarchates functioned as proxies of communion. This was a reduction of the initial idea of intercommunal communion, but it turned out to be an effective and easy way of securing communion throughout the entire church.

The mechanism of securing the unity of the patriarchates has been called "pentarchy." The Byzantines themselves did not use this word. It was introduced to the modern vocabulary of canon law from Aristotle's *Politica*.[52] Nevertheless, pentarchy existed even before it was called such as an instrument of managing the matters relevant to the entire church. Among other tasks, it ensured that the councils of the church, including the ecumenical ones, functioned properly. Thus, the iconoclastic council in Hiereia (754), which claimed to be ecumenical, was not received by the church largely because it was not approved by the pentarchy—not one patriarch participated in it. The patriarchs were expected to correct each other when the positions of some of them deviated from the norms of the tradition. In the words of Theodore the Studite (759–826), "If someone from the Patriarchs stumbles he should receive correction . . . from the same rank."[53] Through the mechanisms of pentarchy, the patriarchs tried to protect their relative independence from the civil authorities. This was especially important for the patriarchs of Constantinople, who were permanently threatened by the interventions of emperors. Thus, patriarch

51. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, vol. 16, coll. 317–20.

52. Ross, *Aristotelis politica*, 1273a, line 13.

53. *Epistolarum liber* 2 (PG 99, 1420B).

Nikephoros (805–15), when forcefully removed from his office by the emperor, appealed to other patriarchs.[54]

As with any other institution in the church, the pentarchy was abused from time to time. For instance, when emperor Heraclius (610–41) promoted monenergism and later on monothelitism, he confirmed them with the consent of all five patriarchs: Honorius of Rome, Sergius of Constantinople, Cyrus of Alexandria, Macedonius of Antioch, and Sergius of Jerusalem. Only an ecumenical council (Constantinople III, 680–81) corrected the failure of the pentarchy.[55]

The rise of the institution of the patriarchate led to the flattening of the ecclesial diversity within each one of them. Liturgical, linguistic, and other cultural varieties were eventually forced into uniformity as well. The lack of diversity *within* the patriarchates was compensated for, however, by the increasing diversity *between* them. Although the institution of the pentarchy was called upon to safeguard the unity between the patriarchal sees, the unifying tendencies within the patriarchates made it harder to preserve unity between them. The more the patriarchates consolidated structurally, liturgically, and culturally within, the harder it was for them to tolerate the differences of other patriarchates. The history of the largest schisms shows that the division lines within the church in most cases ran along the borders of the patriarchates. The first great schism around Chalcedonian theology left the patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem on the one side and the largest parts of the patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch on the other. The schism between the East and West in the eleventh century was also essentially a conflict between two patriarchates, those of Rome and Constantinople. Now one can only guess what would have happened if the church had chosen another model of supra-metropolitan organization, not as large as the patriarchates. Maybe the divisions within it would be not as wide-scale as they are now.

In the early medieval period, the churches in the East and West simultaneously adopted similar monarchical models. They each had, however, their own reasons for that. In the West, the political consolidation of the Carolingians and the controversies about the practice of investiture[56] contributed to the rise of the monarchical model of papacy, which

54. *Vita* (PG 100, 121–24).

55. See Hovorun, *Will, Action and Freedom*, 74.

56. See Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*.

continued to develop until the twentieth century.[57] In the East, the nature of the ecclesial monarchy and its later transformations were different.

Byzantium's territorial losses to the Persians, Arabs, and Turks led to the situation that many bishops and even patriarchs were unable or did not want to stay with their flocks. They either preferred or had no choice but to spend most of their time in safe Constantinople. These circumstances changed the model of decision-making in the church. The old institution of the *endēmousa* synod (ἐνδημούσα σύνοδος),[58] i.e., a gathering of all the bishops that by chance found themselves in the capital, became the most important instrument of the church's synodality. Not only the hierarchs under the jurisdiction of Constantinople but also bishops and even primates of other patriarchates participated in such councils, which now managed ecclesial matters related not only to the church of Constantinople but to the entire empire. In this situation, "the jurisdiction of the East Roman Emperor and the Oecumenical Patriarch," according to Arnold Toynbee, became "geographically coextensive."[59]

Besides this, the new churches of the peoples that joined the eastern Christian commonwealth as result of the efforts by the Byzantine missionaries, primarily the Slavic churches, came under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. This extended the reach of Constantinople beyond the borders of the empire. This contributed to the process of the eastern church becoming monarchical in its structure, with the role of the patriarch of Constantinople the dominant one. The tendency of monopolization of the patriarchal authority was symptomatically manifested in the conflict between the prominent late-Byzantine ascetic Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022) and the patriarchal office in Constantinople.[60]

This monarchical tendency in the East repeated similar developments in the West, where the pope had become a church monarch for all of western Christianity and had designs even on its eastern part. The eastern monarchy of the patriarchs of Constantinople, however, was more flexible than the monarchy of the popes. On the one hand, it was balanced by the emperors. On the other hand, the old patriarchal structures in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, as well as the new ambitious churches

57. See Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*.

58. See Φειδᾶ, *Ἐνδημούσα σύνοδος*.

59. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. 4, 388.

60. See Louth, *Greek East and Latin West*, 329.

in the Balkans urged the patriarchs of Constantinople to maneuver and to prefer soft power in dealing with other jurisdictions.

The difference between the western and eastern models of ecclesial monarchy can be illustrated by the modern theory of U- and M-hierarchies. These two types of hierarchy were identified first in economics[61] and later on in political science.[62] The U-hierarchy is a unitary form of management that implies high centralization and integration of the administrative structures. It organizes these structures according to their function. The expansion of the structures with the U-hierarchy always adds new levels of management to the existing structure, and thus increases the hierarchy.[63] The M-hierarchy means multidivisional. It replicates the structures with the same functionality in different places without adding new levels of hierarchy. The structures, thus, become territorial and autonomous.[64] The church of Rome developed a classical U-hierarchy, while the eastern churches, the M-hierarchy. At the same time, in building their inner structures, the eastern patriarchates also followed the U-model of hierarchy.

The monarchical model received further development after the collapse of the Byzantine empire. Under the Ottoman rule, the see of Constantinople preserved many of the rights that it had had in Byzantium. There is an early testimony by Kritovoulos of Imvros about the meeting between Mehmet II el-Fātiḥ (1444–46; 1451–81) and Gennadios II Scholarios (1454–56; 1463–65) soon after the conquest of Constantinople. According to Kritovoulos, Mehmet confirmed the privileges that the patriarchs had enjoyed in Byzantium:

> In the end, he made him patriarch and High Priest of the Christians, and gave him among many other rights and privileges the rule of the church and all its power and authority, no less than that enjoyed previously under the emperors. He also granted him the privilege of delivering before him fearlessly and freely many good disquisitions concerning the Christian faith and doctrine. And he himself went to his residence, taking with him the dignitaries and wise men of his court, and thus paid him great honor.

61. Chandler, *Strategy and Structure*.
62. Cooley, *Logics of Hierarchy*.
63. Ibid., 21.
64. Ibid., 22.

> Thus, the sultan showed that he knew how to respect the true worth of any man, not only of military men but of every class, kings, and tyrants, and emperors. Furthermore, the Sultan gave back the church to the Christians, by the will of God, together with a large portion of its properties.[65]

The Ottoman policy towards the Jewish and Christian population on the territories they had captured was based on the idea that they were the "people of the Book" (*ahl al-Kitāb*). They were "protected people" (*ahl al-dhimmah*) who, in return for taxes (*cizye*), were allowed to practice their religion and live in autonomous and religiously homogeneous communities known initially as *tâ'ifse* and later on, *millet*. The communities of Jews (*Yahud milleti*), non-Chalcedonians (*millet-i Ermeniyan*), Chalcedonian Orthodox (*millet-i Rûm*), and Roman Catholics (*Katolik millet*) enjoyed significant independence and had to rely on themselves.[66] They had their own courts and taxation systems. The religious leaders of these groups were endowed by the Ottomans with political leadership. They became heads of their own *millets* (*millet başı*).

The patriarch of Constantinople, for his part, became both religious and political leader of the entire Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire. Now all Orthodox, regardless of their background or the patriarchate to which they had belonged, were subject to him in both religious and civil matters.[67] Only with the patriarch's permission could the Ottoman authorities arrest a bishop.[68] The patriarch judged his clergy and lay people in the matters of marriage, parentage, testaments, and successions. In his court he could even hear commercial cases, when both sides of the argument were Orthodox. The patriarch could tax the members of the *millet-i Rûm* for his own benefit. In carrying out his duties, he could

65. Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, trans. Riggs, 94–95.

66. The mainstream scholarship holds that the millet system existed from the beginning of the Ottoman rule (see Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*). There is also an alternative point of view that criticizes the millet system as a later Ottoman construction, which should be not anachronistically extrapolated to the earlier period (see Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System," 69). Tom Papademetriou in his study (*Render Unto the Sultan*) has suggested that scholars replace the theory of millet with the theory of the church institutions (including the patriarchate of Constantinople) as "tax farms," which were to collect and pay taxes (*pişkeş*) to the budget of the Ottoman Empire. This view, however, is not necessary alternative to the millet system, but rather supplements it.

67. See Karpat, "The Balkan National States and Nationalism," 332–33.

68. See Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity*, 171–72.

always rely on the enforcement of the Turkish militia. The authority of the patriarch applied to all Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire, regardless of the patriarchate to which they belonged. As a result, even those dotted demarcating lines between the patriarchates that survived to the end of Byzantium lost their meaning and were largely obliterated in the Ottoman period.

The patriarch of Constantinople had never enjoyed in Byzantium as many rights over his flock as he received from the Ottomans. He also had more responsibilities. As a recognized high-ranking Ottoman official, he had to play the role of a mediator between his people and the High Porte. He was responsible for the loyalty of his *millet* to the sultans and had to cultivate this loyalty. Otherwise he had to pay dearly as, for instance, Gregory V (in office 1797–98, 1806–8, and 1818–21) did, paying with his life for the Greek revolution of 1821.

The election of a new patriarch was supposed to be an internal matter of the local community; the Ottoman authorities would just have to approve it. However, in practice the patriarchs were treated by the Ottomans as "tax farmers" (*mültezim*). The High Porte encouraged the hopeful for the patriarchal throne to compete by bidding more for the sultan's approval. After they received the approval, the patriarchs were supposed to replenish regularly the state treasury. If they failed, they were immediately dethroned. In result, the fees increased and elections took place more and more often. According to the calculations of Tom Papademetriou, "between 1453 and 1500, the office of the Patriarch of Constantinople changed hands eighteen times with an average of one patriarch every 2.4 years. Between 1500 and 1600 it changed thirty-two times with an average of one patriarch every 3.1 years, and between 1500 and 1600 it changed fifty-three times with an average of one patriarch every 1.9 years."[69] This situation led to tremendous corruption in the patriarchate, which spread to other dioceses as well.

At the same time, to survive financially, the dioceses throughout the Ottoman Empire had no other choice but to rely on the support of communities, while the priests were completely dependent on their parishioners. As a result, the circumstances of Ottoman rule reversed the Byzantine hierarchical paradigm and re-introduced more solidarity and communality to the relationship between the ecclesial orders and laity.[70]

69. Papademetriou, *Render Unto the Sultan*, 214.

70. See Karpat, "The Balkan National States and Nationalism," 333.

Under the Ottomans, the church in its majority was forced to come back to community as the basic unit of its structure. Owing to the *millet* system, communities and lay people became important in the church again.

In the nineteenth century, the *Tanzimât* reforms of the Ottoman Empire enhanced the logic and structure of the *millet* system. *Millets* became the structures with more distinguishable social and ethnic identities. This eventually resulted in the revolts of the Balkan nations against their Turkish rulers and the creation of independent national states. In the Ottoman Empire, Serbs, Bulgars, Romanians, and Greeks had felt that they all belonged to one religious *genus* (γένος) with one head, the patriarch-*başı*, who guaranteed their unity. In the national states, however, they turned into distinct nations, (*ethnoi*, ἔθνοι). Each nation pursued its own interests and conducted politics for its own good. The mentality of national sovereignty deeply affected the Orthodox churches in these new states. Just as independent nations had to safeguard their sovereignty against possible intrusions and violations from the outside, the churches began implementing the same pattern in relations with each other. This made the churches consider relations with other sister churches in the categories that had been applied in the interstate relations. Interchurch relations became increasingly political and turned into "church diplomacy."