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Afanasiev, Nicholas (1893–1966)
see Contemporary Orthodox
Theology

Africa, Orthodoxy in

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Christianity on the African continent begins its story, primarily, in four separate locales: Alexandrine and Coptic Egypt, the North African region surrounding the city of Carthage, Nubia, and the steppes of Ethiopia. The present synopsis will primarily address the trajectories of the North African Church, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and the Nubian Orthodox Church. The affairs of Christian Alexandria and the Coptic regions have their own treatments elsewhere in the encyclopedia.

Roman-colonial North Africa

After the Romans sacked the city of Carthage in 146 during the Third Punic War, they began a sustained colonizing campaign that slowly transformed the region (modern Tunisia and Libya) into a partially “Romanized” society. In most instances, however, the cultural transformations were superficial, affecting predominantly the trade languages and local power

structures. It was Julius Caesar who laid the plans for Carthage’s reemergence as *Colonia Junonia* in 44 BCE. This strong colonial apparatus made North African Christians especially susceptible to persecution by the Roman authorities on the Italian Peninsula. Because the economic power of Carthage was an essential ingredient in the support of the citizens in the city of Rome, the Romans paid careful attention to the region. The earliest extant North African Christian text, the *Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs* (180 CE), reflects a particularly negative estimation of the Roman authorities. Saturninus, the Roman proconsul, made this appeal to the African Christians: “You can win the indulgence of our ruler the Emperor, if you return to a sensible mind.” The Holy Martyr Speratus responded by declaring: “The empire of this world I know not; but rather I serve that God, whom no one has seen, nor with these eyes can see. I have committed no theft; but if I have bought anything I pay the tax; because I know my Lord, the King of kings and Emperor of all nations.” This declaration was a manifestation of what the Roman authorities feared most about the Christians – their proclamation of a “rival” emperor, Jesus Christ, King of kings. The Holy Martyr Donata expressed that sentiment most clearly: “Honor to Caesar as Caesar; but fear to God.” Within the Roman imperial fold such declarations were not merely interpreted as “religious” expressions, but political challenges. As a result the



Plate 1 Ethiopian Orthodox clergy celebrating at the rock-carved church of St. George Lalibela. Photo by Sulaiman Ellison.

Roman authorities executed the Scillitan Christians, the proto-martyrs of Africa. Other such persecutions formed the character and psyche of North African Christianity. It became and remained a “persecuted” church in mentality, even after the empire was converted to Christianity.

By far the most important theologian of Latin North Africa was Augustine of Hippo (354–430). His profound theological works established the foundations of later Latin theology and remain today as some of the most important expressions of western literary culture. His articulation of Christian doctrine represents the pinnacle of Latin Christian ingenuity and depth (see especially, *On Christian Doctrine*, *On the Holy Trinity*, and *City of God*). It also should be noted

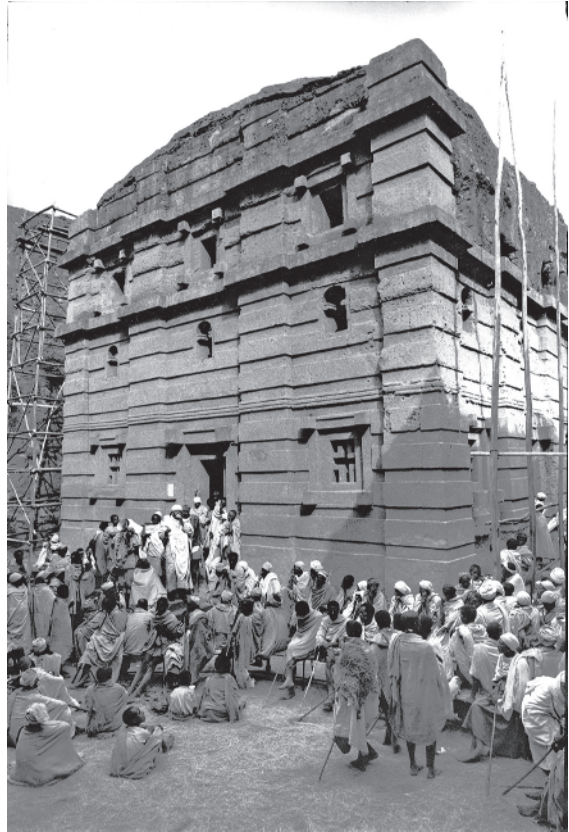


Plate 2 Pilgrims gathered around the Ethiopian Orthodox Church of Holy Emmanuel. Photo Sulaiman Ellison.

that Augustine, to a certain degree, “invented” the modern genre of the autobiography in his masterful work, the *Confessions*. However, Augustine drew on a long-established tradition of Latin theology before him as expressed in the writings of Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Optatus of Milevis, Arnobius, and Lactantius, among others, in the period of the 2nd through the 4th centuries.

Tertullian

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus’ (ca. 160–225) masterful rhetorical skill manifests the sentiments of the North African population in regard to the Roman authorities and various “heretical” groups. His terse rhetoric also represents the flowering of Latin rhetorical



Plate 3 Orthodox clergy at celebrations for the Feast of the Ark of the Covenant (Timkat). Photo by Sulaiman Ellison.

dexterity. Tertullian created many of the most memorable proclamations and formulae of early Christianity, several of which characterize his negative estimation of philosophical “innovators” – “What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?” he asked, casting aspersions on the utility of philosophy in the formulation of church teachings. His heresiological works laid the groundwork for many of the Orthodox responses to the Gnostics, Monarchians, and Marcionites, among others (*The Apology, Against Marcion, Against Praxeas, Against Hermogenes*). Tertullian also provided the Latin Church with much of its technical theological vocabulary (terms such as “person,” “nature,” and “sacrament”).

Lactantius

Lactantius (ca. 250–325) differs from Tertullian in a variety of ways, but none is as clear as his different style of writing. Lactantius, to a certain degree, represents the first Christian “systematic” theology. This

genre was markedly different from the apologetic treatises which were more common in the 2nd century. His is a highly eschatological vision, but allied with a deep sense that Christianity has the destiny to emerge as the new system for Rome, and his thought is colored by his legal training. He manifests a unique window into ancient patterns of pre-Nicene western Christian thought in philosophical circles around the Emperor Constantine. However, as we shall see, the contributions of North African Christianity cannot simply be limited to the intelligentsia and the cities. Much of its unique Christian expression was manifested outside Carthage.

Cyprian of Carthage

The great rhetorician Cyprian of Carthage (ca. 200–58) represents the Orthodox response to the crises in the North African Church resulting from the Roman persecutions. He was a leading Romano-African

retorician, and became a convert to the Christian faith under the tutelage of Bishop Caecilius, a noted “resister.” Cyprian found himself at the center of the competing positions in the face of Roman persecution. In 250 the Emperor Decius demanded that all citizens should offer sacrifices to the Roman gods. Cyprian, in response, chose to flee the city and take refuge. There were many Christians in Carthage who looked upon this flight with great disdain. While Cyprian was in hiding, many of his faithful confessed their faith and died as martyrs, while others elected to offer sacrifices to the gods. These circumstances led to the controversy over whether or not lapsed Christians should be readmitted into the church. With the potential onslaught of new persecutions, Cyprian advocated reconciliation. This crisis produced some of the most profound expositions of Christian ecclesiology (see especially, *Unity of the Catholic Church* and *On the Lapsed*). In 258 Cyprian was martyred under Galerius Maximus during the reign of Emperor Valerian. His writings have had a deep effect on the ecclesiological thought of the Eastern Orthodox world, though in many instances they have been superseded, for the West, by the ecclesiological writings Augustine would produce after his encounter with the Donatists. Cyprian’s theology and noble leadership bear witness to the fact that the Donatist controversy was not a disagreement between enemies, but brothers.

Augustine and the Donatists

The history of the church in the shadow of the great trade city of Carthage and the hill country of Numidia is greatly obscured by ancient rhetorical devices and the rhetoric of privilege in the classical Roman social structure. As much as the history of Christian Numidia has been characterized by the Donatist schism, it is more a story of the clash between village and city, or colonized and colonizer. It would be easy to approach African Christianity through the rhetorical prism of the capital cities alone, but that would be less than half the story. Indeed, the Christianity of Carthage was very different from the Christianity in the hill country and villages of Numidia. In classical definition (largely the manner in which St. Augustine classified

them, his major opponents), the Donatists were a schismatical group that insisted on absolute purity of the clergy and the Orthodox communion. They became emboldened by their perseverance during persecution and demanded the same of every Christian. They also expressed a remarkable literalness in exegetical interpretation and renounced those who turned over the sacred Scriptures to the authorities as *traditores* (traitors). Traditionally, they also expressed a strange eagerness for the “second baptism” of martyrdom. The memory of the Numidian Donatists has been greatly overshadowed by Augustine of Hippo’s writings and his international reputation. Augustine successfully characterized the Donatists as “elitists,” but this has partly occluded the more correct view of the movement as chiefly a village phenomenon, closer, perhaps, to the poorer life of the countryside than that known by Augustine, who clearly lived far more happily in the Roman colonial establishment. Augustine’s friend Alypius described the Numidian Donatists thus: “All these men are bishops of estates [*fundi*] and manors [*villae*] not towns [*civitates*]” (*Gesta Coll. Carthage* I.164, quoted in Frend 1952: 49). The charge of sectarian elitism was a means to delegitimize the rural bishops, as the city bishops assumed that the ecclesiastical hierarchy should reflect the Roman imperial hierarchy, and they considered the Donatist flocks too small to have a significant say. In the Roman world, power was centralized in the cities, not in the manors. The estates (*fundi*) existed only as a means of supplying the cities, not as autonomous entities in themselves. The Numidian Christians challenged this social structure with the ethical tenets expressed in the teachings of Christ against wealth.

Catholic Christians in North Africa were primarily Latin and Punic speaking peoples. Many of the Donatists were primarily speakers of the various Berber languages, which still exist today in North Africa (Frend 1952: 52). The segregation of the Catholic-Donatist controversy along these ethnic lines may demonstrate that theology was not necessarily the primary reason for the schism. In fact the Numidian Donatists represent the first sustained counter-imperial operation within Christian history. It was in many instances a rural movement against the colonial cities and outposts of the Romans in the north. The schism, nevertheless, undoubtedly weakened

North African Christianity in the years before the advent of the “barbarian” invasions, followed by the ascent of Islam: events which more or less wholly suppressed Christianity in the Northern Mediterranean littoral. Augustine’s theology of church unity stressed wider international aspects of communion (catholic interaction of churches) and was highly influential on later Latin ecclesiological structures. He also elevated high in his thought the conception of *caritas* (brotherly love) as one of the most important of all theological virtues.

The many internal disagreements in the North African Church and the success of the Donatist martyrs led to an increased isolation of the region. The gradual collapse of Roman authority is reflected in Augustine’s *City of God*. Soon after he wrote the work, the king of the Vandals, Gaiseric, sacked Carthage and the wider region in 439. The loss of North Africa sent shock waves through the Christian world. Emperor Justinian led one final attempt at reannexing North Africa in 534, and actually succeeded for a period of time. However, the continuing internal divisions, the economic deterioration, and the failing colonial apparatus, all made it difficult to keep the region within the Romano-Byzantine fold. The last flickers of North African theological expression were witnessed by Sts. Fulgentius of Ruspe, Facundus of Hermiane, and Vigilius of Thapsus. In 698 Carthage was sacked by the invading Islamic armies, sealing the fate of the North African Christians and ending their once colorful history.

Ethiopia

The beginnings of the church in Ethiopia are difficult to decipher given the ancient confusion over the location of Ethiopia. In ancient texts India was often confused with Ethiopia and vice versa. In classical parlance “India” and “Ethiopia” merely suggest a foreign land sitting at the edge of the world, existing as the last bastion of civilization before the “tumultuous chaos of the barbarians.” Their great distance away from Greece was also meant to convey a world of innocence and wonder: a “magic land.” This hardly tells us much about the actual life of the Ethiopians in Africa. The very term *Ethiopia* derives from a

hegemonic Greek racial slur delineating the land of “the burnt-faces” or “fire-faces.” But a closer look reveals something very different, for the cultural achievements of the peoples of the Ethiopian highlands (in ancient times more of the coastal hinterland was under Ethiopian control than later on after the rise of Islam) are both astounding and utterly beautiful. A visit to the rock-hewn churches of Lalibela or an encounter with the haunting chants of the Christians at prayer is quite unforgettable. Ethiopia presents itself to the visitor as another “land of milk and honey,” a second Eden indeed, since the hills of Ethiopia, along with Kenya, were the first places that humans ever walked on the face of the earth. Modern Ethiopia and Eritrea are composed of a very diverse group of people. The same doubtless could be said of ancient Ethiopia.

The history of the church here is difficult to tell in a chronological order, so many have been the devastations and loss of records that there are large holes in the evidence, and much legend replaces them. Most scholars investigating the origins of Ethiopian civilization begin their stories with the South Arabian immigrants that began to settle in the coastal city of Adulis on the Red Sea and the northern city of Aksum (Axum) in search of trade in the 5th century BCE. While it is true that South Arabian settlers partly altered some of the indigenous racial elements of the Ethiopian lands, a focus on colonial influences as explaining the distinct Ethiopic-African characteristics masks the fact that Ethiopian civilization was already far older and much more established than anything these colonial visitors brought. Christianity, however, probably came in with trade movements, as it did elsewhere. The majority of the Ethiopian populace have been categorized by a common root language called “Kushitic.” This language is perhaps related to the biblical people mentioned in Genesis as the Kushites. Ancient Kushite elements are still exhibited in the unique architecture of the earliest Orthodox churches in the region and the healing and dancing ceremonies that still dominate the Ethiopian Orthodox experience; though the greatest contribution was the eclectic and rhythmic language known as Ge’ez (Ethiopic). Indeed, the best place to begin a history of the Ethiopian and Kushitic peoples is the analysis of their poetic language. Ge’ez exhibits South

Semitic roots related to the Sabaic language as well as Kushitic roots. Biblically speaking, then, Ethiopia was the land of Kush, and the story concerning the emergence of the Orthodox Church in Ethiopia is really the continuing story of the cultural eclecticism in the North of Ethiopia (the mixing of Southern Arab and native African peoples) and in the South, the negotiation of differing spiritual perspectives with a peculiar form of Judaism; relations between Ethiopia and Jerusalem comprising one of the most ancient routes known to the Africans by sea and land. Church history in this case is also a story of an imperial campaign to unite the South with the North and its newly adopted religion of Christianity, a movement that entailed the destruction of indigenous religions in the environs of the kingdom of Aksum.

This strong element of synthesis is what unifies the Ethiopian peoples. The earliest suggestion of a kingdom in the land of Kush derives from the Azbidera inscription on a large altar dedicated to the god Almouqah, which was a South Arabian deity. As the South Arabian traders moved into the interior of the Ethiopian highlands, they brought with them a lucrative trade market. It seems the first group to profit from this trade was the city of Aksum in the North. Earlier Eurocentric scholars working from unexamined racist premises viewed the expansion of Aksum as a Semitic victory of the forces of "civilization" in Ethiopia, as if the indigenous groups were not civilized at all before this. The historical and cultural record simply does not support such a reconstruction. The Ethiopian highland was already home to a diverse array of indigenous cultures, but little is known about them as archeological work has barely been initiated in the region outside of Aksum and other Christian holy sites. The kingdom of Aksum, however, is the first cultural group to succeed in edging its way into considerable power and cultural influence. This was made possible by the apparent conquest of the neighboring kingdom of Meroe in the 4th century BCE. The earliest mention of the kingdom of Aksum was in the 2nd century CE by Ptolemy. An anonymous text called the *Periplos* is the first to describe the boundaries of the Aksumite territories, which are closely related to the modern state of Eritrea along the coast, extending into Northern Ethiopia.

Beyond the historic-archeological record, the Ethiopian Orthodox faithful have a variety of "foundation stories" of their own. The best known is the story of the Ethiopian eunuch in the Acts of the Apostles (8.26–40). On this occasion an Ethiopian eunuch serving in the royal court of the queen (the *Candace*) of Ethiopia (which St. Luke mistakes for a personal name) was baptized by the Apostle Philip and sent on a mission to preach the gospel in Ethiopia. This tells us, at least, that the presence of Ethiopian "Godfearers" in Jerusalem was already an established fact in the time of Jesus. The most historically substantial foundation story is that of the Syrian brothers Frumentius and Aedesius in the 4th century. There may well have been various forms of Christianity present in Ethiopia before Frumentius and Aedesius, but they were the first to convert a royal Ethiopian court to the new faith. This seems to have been a common missionary strategy of the church at this time: convert the royal courts and the countryside would follow. This strategy had the advantage of rapidity, but often failed to establish indigenous forms of Christianity that could survive future religious sways of the royal courts themselves. The defect of this strategy is exemplified in the rapid demise of the Nubian Orthodox Church, to the south, after eleven hundred years, when the royal court went over to Islam.

According to the histories, Frumentius and Aedesius arrived because of a shipwreck and were strangely asked by the recently widowed queen of Aksum to govern the kingdom until her young son was experienced enough to rule the kingdom himself. Once the young Ezana became king, the Syrian brothers left the kingdom. Aedesius returned to Tyre and Frumentius traveled to Alexandria where the great Bishop Athanasius insisted on appointing him as the first bishop of Ethiopia, and sent him back to minister to the court. This story contains much historically viable material (Syrian traders who are co-opted as state councilors) but is colored with numerous legendary flourishes. The story about Frumentius and Athanasius may well indicate more evidence of the very active campaign by St. Athanasius to establish a politically important support center for his struggle against Arianism in the Roman Empire to the far north. This is substantiated by a letter of Emperor Constantius to King Ezana and Shaizana. In this letter

Constantius informed them that Frumentius was an illegitimate bishop, as he had been consecrated by the “unorthodox” incumbent, St. Athanasius, and that Frumentius should return to Alexandria to be consecrated under the “orthodox” (Arian) bishop, George of Cappadocia (Kaplan 1984: 15).

The conversion of the royal court at Aksum was of great interest to the Romans, since Ethiopia was of great strategic importance for the empire in the North. The lucrative trade from the Southern Arabian Peninsula and exotic luxuries from sub-Saharan Africa provided much incentive for the Romans to want to control the region. Additionally, the strategic location of Ethiopia ensured a more secure buffer for Egypt from the East, the bread basket of the empire. For the Aksumites, establishing the favor and support of the empire to the north established their kingdom as the main cultural and political force in the Ethiopian highlands. This was especially important for the Aksumites given their delicate political state in the time of Athanasius and Emperor Constantius. Even so, the sudden change in religious allegiance happening in the 4th-century royal court was hardly embraced by the population as a whole. Beyond the court, Christianity was scarcely in existence and lacked the appropriate catechetical structures to instill the Christian religion. The young King Ezana also struggled to balance the needs of his diverse kingdom with his newly adopted religion. In contemporary Greek inscriptions, which were obviously illegible to most of the indigenous peoples, Ezana referred to the Blessed Trinity and declared his status as a believer in Christ. However, in Ge’ez (Ethiopic) inscriptions he uses the vaguer term “Lord of Heaven” when addressing God (Kaplan 1984: 16). In this manner Ezana spoke to and for both the Christian and indigenous communities of his kingdom without offending either.

The consecration of Frumentius in Alexandria for the Ethiopian people established a hegemonic tradition of the ecclesiastical precedence of Alexandrian Egypt that afterwards dominated much of Ethiopian Orthodox history. This occasion was seen as the paradigm for all future consecrations of the Ethiopian hierarchs, and this state of affairs lasted until 1959. Too often, the senior Ethiopian hierarch who was nominated was not even Ethiopian. In the time of the

Islamic domination of Egypt, these foreign bishops were often compromised by their Muslim overlords and by the interests of local politics in Alexandria, and sometimes adopted policies that were not always in the primary interests of the Ethiopian peoples. Sometimes the appointment of Alexandrian Coptic clergy was meant as a way of getting rid of troublesome rivals or delinquent clerics from the Egyptian Church (Kaplan 1984: 29–31). This paradigm also led to a consistent shortage of priests and bishops in Ethiopia. When a senior bishop died, there were often inter-regnum lapses of several years. After the time of Frumentius the Ethiopian Orthodox Church developed slowly, due to the strength of the indigenous faiths and the considerable lack of catechetical, clerical, and literary resources. After the Council of Chalcedon in 451, however, the strategic importance of Ethiopia emerged once again as far as the empire was concerned. As Constantinople lost control over Syria and Egypt, the condition of Ethiopian Orthodoxy became much more significant. The great pro- and anti-Chalcedonian conflicts of Alexandria were reflected in the Ethiopian highlands. Ethiopia became a battle ground for which party would win the ascendancy. The Monophysite clergy of Alexandria initiated dynamic missionary programs, focused on the winning of the Ethiopian people to the anti-Chalcedonian Coptic cause. To their efforts, already aided by the existing institutional links with Cairo and Alexandria, was added the influx of Monophysite missionaries displaced from Syria, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and other regions. This new impetus to evangelize Ethiopia arrived in the form of the Nine Saints (known as the *Tsedakan* or “righteous ones”) who remain of high importance in the later church history of Ethiopia. The nine saints (Abba Za-Mika’el (or Abba Aregawi), Abba Pantelewon, Abba Gerima (or Yeshaq), Abba Aftse, Abba Guba, Abba Alef, Abba Yem’ata, Abba Libanos, and Abba Sehma) established numerous monasteries in the Tigre region as well as the areas outside Aksum, working mainly in the northern regions of Ethiopia. The most famous of these monasteries is certainly that of Dabra Damo, which still thrives today. The most celebrated of the Nine Saints is Abba Za-Mika’el, who composed an important Ethiopian monastic rule. Abba Libanos is credited with establishing the great monastic center of

Dabra Libanos. The importance and influence of these two groups cannot be overstated. They are responsible for the formation of the Ethiopian biblical canon, the translation of many Christian texts from Greek and Syriac into Ge'ez, and establishing a strong monastic base which would stand the test of time.

During the reigns of King Kalēb and his son Gabra Masqal in the 6th century, the monastic communities were generously supported and the territories of the Christian kingdom expanded. However, much of this progress was greatly inhibited by the advent of Islam on the Arabian Peninsula. The extended period between the 8th and 12th centuries lends the scholar very few sources for Christian Ethiopia beyond the Coptic *History of the Patriarchs* (Kaplan 1984: 18). However, an estimate of conditions is certainly indicated by the fact that the Ethiopians operated without an archbishop for over a half a century at one point (Budge 1928: 233–4).

After the crisis of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 the Ethiopians, who recognized no ecumenical validity to conciliar meetings in the Byzantine world after Ephesus in 431, were more and more isolated from the wider Christian world, but with the advent of Islam and the many subsequent incursions into their territory, constantly eroding their hold on the littoral lands, the Ethiopians soon found themselves isolated from the entire Christian world, save for the occasional communications with the Coptic Orthodox in the distant North, by means of the difficult land and river route. Although this isolation proved problematic in some ways, in others it served to provide the space necessary for Ethiopia to develop and create its unique expression of Orthodoxy.

Towards the end of the 11th century the Aksumite Empire declined rapidly, which led to a gradual relocation of the central authorities into the central plateau (Tamrat 1972: 53–4). The Agaw people already populated this region and the Aksumite descendants started a concentrated campaign to Christianize the area. The Agaw leaders soon embraced Christianity and were integrated into the royal court so intimately that they eventually established their own successful dynasty known as the Zagwē, which ruled Ethiopia from 1137 to 1270. However, the Zagwē suffered from their apparent lack of legitimacy. Earlier Aksumite rulers had established the tradition of

“Solomonic” descent in the legendary *Kebra Negast* (*Glory of the Kings*). The Zagwē were considered illegitimate by the Tigrē and Amhara peoples in the North. The Zagwē dynasty is responsible for that jewel of Ethiopian church architecture, the city of Lali Bela. This incredible conglomeration of rock-hewn churches was meant to reproduce the sites of the holy land and established, for the Zagwē, a rival pilgrimage site opposed to Aksum in the North.

The Zagwē, however, were never able to unify the Ethiopian peoples under their banner. This inability to secure a wider consensus regarding their legitimacy as a royal line, despite the incredible accomplishments of the dynasty, fractured Christian Ethiopia; a fracture that still exists today in the painful animosities between the Tigrean people in Eritrea and the peoples of Ethiopia. In the late 12th and mid-13th centuries the expansion of Muslim trading posts channeling trade from the African interior to the wealthy Arabian Peninsula greatly strengthened the Amhara Ethiopian leaders who initiated this trade route (Kaplan 1984: 21). In time the weakened Zagwē dynasty gave way to the ambitious Amharic King Yekunno Amlak. However, during this period of rapid Islamic expansion, the Ethiopian rulers continued to splinter and struggle with problems of the succession. This inherent weakness later threatened the very continued existence of the Ethiopian “state.”

It was with Yekunno Amlak's son, King Amda Šeyon, that the fortunes of the Ethiopian state turned. Amda Šeyon was a shrewd military genius. He turned the tide of internal Ethiopian divisions by creating a centralized military force. Rather than depending on the countryside for local militia, he decided to unite mercenaries and local conscripts under commanders loyal to the royal court (Kaplan 1984: 22–3). In doing this he undercut the power of the local warlords. After subduing the resistant chieftains in the Aksumite and Tigrē regions there was little further challenge to Amda Šeyon's legitimacy as an Amhara usurper. Having crushed his antagonists, he claimed the Solomonic line for himself. It was at this stage (14th century) that the great founding myth in the *Kebra Negast* became so central to Ethiopian Orthodox consciousness generally. It was first advanced by the rival Tigrean ruler Ya'ebika Egzi', but was soon shrewdly co-opted by Amda

Şeyon. Prior to his rule the Ethiopian provinces were subjected to constant Islamic incursions. Aware of their isolated status, they followed a policy of appeasement. Under Amda Şeyon the Ethiopians, with a more centralized military force, were now able to pursue a policy of aggressive reconquest, and actually succeeded in forcing certain Islamic regions into becoming vassal states. Additionally, the conquest and control of the lucrative trade route between the Arabian South and the African interior brought immense wealth to the new dynasty, which helped to solidify its political position.

The success and expansion of the medieval Ethiopian state was not without severe negative consequences. The church had become so inalienably married to the state by this time that the Christian mission began to include the subjugation of alien peoples. The *Kebra Negast* established a link between the line of King Solomon and the Ethiopian kings which granted them divine favor and a perceived duty to Christianize the region through force, if necessary. The *Feteha Negast* instructed the kings in the proper treatment of their pagan neighbors in terms redolent of the Qur'an. The *Feteha Negast* reads: "If they accept you and open their gates the men who are there shall become your subjects and shall give you tributes. But if they refuse the term of peace and after the battle fight against you, go forward to assault and oppress them since the Lord your God will give them to you."

In this emerging colonial expansion of the Ethiopian state a form of feudalism was imposed on the conquered peoples. Churches were often guarded by the military, a fact that exposes something of the unpopularity of the church's mission in the newly conquered tribal areas. The attempted Christianization of the Oromo peoples in the South, for example, brought with it rampant pillaging and extensive confiscation of lands. The Orthodox clergy and Ethiopian nobles were often given the confiscated lands to rule over as feudal lords, whereas the unfortunate Oromo were reduced to the plight of serfdom. This is a condition that Ethiopia never remedied and many ramifications from it still present themselves today as important human rights issues.

The feudal stage of Ethiopian history reached its pinnacle in the Gondar period between 1632 and

1855. During this period the country became deeply fragmented between the competing nobles, a condition that invited numerous incursions on the part of their Muslim neighbors. With the rise of Emperor Menelik II (ca. 1889) the country overthrew many of the feudal lords and moved toward a new and extensive form of political and social reunification. This was all halted during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I, when the Italian Army invaded and occupied Ethiopia in 1935. When the Italians left Ethiopia in 1941, Haile Selassie I was returned to power. However, the restored imperial period was not to last long. In 1974 a brutal communist regime took control of the country, inaugurating one of the most severe persecutions of Christians in Orthodox memory in those lands.

The Ethiopians have created and sustained one of the most unique expressions of world Christian Orthodoxy. One of the most intriguing aspects of the Ethiopian Church is its peculiar Jewish characteristics, the origins of which remain quite mysterious. The Ethiopian Orthodox still observe the Sabbath and continue to circumcise their male children as well as to baptize them. Moreover, they believe wholeheartedly that the original Ark of the Covenant was brought to their lands before the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple. Today, the Ark is believed to be housed in a small chapel in the city of Aksum and guarded by a lone hermit monk guardian who lives alongside it. Once a year an exact copy of the Ark is taken out of the chapel and venerated ecstatically by the faithful. The Ark plays such an important role within Ethiopian Orthodoxy that the Eucharist is celebrated over a miniature copy of the Ark (called a *Tabot*) in every Ethiopian church. The continued existence of Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodoxy amid a sea of hostile neighbors is a testament to their zealous faith and deep roots.

Today, while having a separate patriarch, the Ethiopian Church continues with the closest of friendly relations with Coptic Alexandria. The Eritrean and Ethiopian faithful have moved apart following the divisive civil war of the late 20th century. Both Ethiopian families belong to the Oriental (Non-Chalcedonian) Orthodox family of churches, but rarely involve themselves in any form of international ecumenical discussions.

Christian Nubia

In 1960 the Islamic Egyptian authorities in the North flooded, as part of the Aswan project, many of the last vestiges of Nubian Christian antiquity. The construction of the Aswan dam devastated the archeological prospects of the region. Despite these trying circumstances there were many emergency archeological digs done at this time (mainly privileging Pharaonic remains) and some significant Nubian Christian artifacts emerged to give a slightly better shading to the obscure history of this once extensive sub-Saharan form of Orthodox Christianity. As with ancient Ethiopia, the exact geographical location of the Kingdom of Nubia is often obscured by geographical imprecisions in the ancient texts. Ibn Salīm al-Aswānī (975–96 CE), an important source for the later historian al-Maqrīzī, spent a significant amount of time among the Nubians and their royal court. To the Egyptians in the North, the Fourth Cataract along the Nile River marked the beginning of Nubian territory. The Egyptians to the north rarely ventured beyond the Fifth Cataract near the ancient city of Berber. The temperate climate to the south of the Fourth and Fifth Cataracts as well as less frequent Egyptian incursions allowed for the development of the African Kingdom of Meroe, on Meroe Island situated between the Atbara, Nile, and Blue Nile rivers. In this region dwelt the Kushites, Nubians, and Ethiopians. According to the Greek historian Strabo: “The parts on the left side of the course of the Nile are inhabited by Nubae, a large tribe, who, beginning at Meroe, extend as far as the bends of the river, and are not subject to the Aethiopians but are divided into several separate kingdoms” (Kirwan 1974: 46). The composition of what these separate kingdoms might be is very difficult to sort out historically and geographically. Generally, it seems the Nubian tribes settled between the Kingdom of Meroe in the South and Egypt in the North. The Nubians were perceived by their neighbors as “piratical” marauding tribes disrupting the trade between Egypt and the lucrative sub-Saharan world represented by the Kingdoms of Meroe and Aksum.

A 5th-century Greek inscription of the Nubian King Silko describes his campaigns into Lower Nubia against the Blemmyes, another tribe regarded by the wider

world (especially the Roman Empire) as “brigands.” After sacking a series of former Roman forts used by the Blemmyes, King Silko incorporated them into his kingdom and claimed the title of “King of the Nobades and of all the Ethiopians.” This campaign ensured the continued existence of the Nubian Kingdom for centuries to come. It would endure as a Christian reality until the 15th century. Because the Nubian Kingdom controlled the trade route between Roman Egypt and the sub-Saharan world in Late Antiquity, it also became a very important piece of the global puzzle within the later Byzantine and Islamic political strategies. Empress Theodora, Justinian’s wife, recognized the importance of the trade route and sent a series of Christian missions to the Nubian Kingdom. The success of these missions, as described by John of Ephesus, converted the Nubians to the non-Chalcedonian cause. As in Ethiopia, the Nubians were ecclesiastically related to the jurisdiction of the Coptic Egyptian authorities in the North, and the patriarch of Alexandria appointed their bishops. The vitality of this Christian tradition is evinced by their beautiful frescoes and ornate churches. Even with the decline of Christian civilization in the North, and with only the Nile as a tentative route of connection, the Christian Nubians persevered for centuries. Their increasing isolation from the rest of the Christian world made them more vulnerable to Islamic incursions in the 12th and 13th centuries. When the royal court at Dongola finally converted to Islam, the isolated condition of the Nubians, their ecclesial dependence on Egypt, and the manner in which the church had always been so heavily sustained by the power of the royal court created the climate for a rapid dissolution. In a relatively short time the Christian Nubian Kingdom faded away into nothing more than a memory, and a few alluring fragments of art history from the site at Faras (Vantini 1970).

Orthodox Christianity in Africa is an ancient and complex story: a confluence of many peoples, languages, and cultures. It was deeply rooted before ever the western colonial powers thought of mounting missions and has endured long after the colonial powers have themselves fallen.

SEE ALSO: Alexandria, Patriarchate of; Coptic Orthodoxy; Council of Chalcedon (451); Monophysitism (including Miaphysitism); St. Constantine the Emperor (ca. 271–337)

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Akathistos

DIMITRI CONOMOS

The most famous of all surviving Byzantine *kontakia*. This anonymous work, which celebrates the annunciation of the Virgin and the nativity of Christ, consists of two *prooemia* (introductory hymns) and 24 strophes bound by an alphabetic acrostic. The *Akathistos* (Gk. "not seated") was, and still is, performed while the congregation stands. The even-numbered stanzas carry an alleluia refrain, whereas the odd-numbered *oikoi* include a set of Salutations to the Virgin: 12 lines in metrically matching pairs, each line beginning with "Hail!" Each *oikos* ends with the refrain "Hail, Bride Unwedded!"

Metrically, this poem is unique, as its central part is formed of alternating strophes of two different lengths. The texts of the first 12 *oikoi* elaborate on the incarnation and the infancy of Christ, whereas the last 12 alternate praise of God with praises to the Virgin. The whole coalesces to create a subtly interwoven tapestry of images that is one of the high points of Byzantine poetry. Syriac elements are evident in the deliberate use of rhyme found in the pairs of lines of equal length of the longer strophes. This and the *kontakion On Judas*, attributed to Romanos the Melodist, are the only examples in the whole of Greek poetry of the use of rhyme before the conquest of Greek lands by the Franks during the Fourth Crusade (1204–61).

Like most Byzantine *kontakia*, the *Akathistos* draws extensively on the Scriptures and on a number of famous prose sermons, but it retains a striking individuality. With bold similes the poet succeeds in blending the overwhelming mystery of the incarnation of the Word with the softer note of praise to Mary; the varied and intricate rhythms employed are enhanced by the music of the words.

This was originally a chant for the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25), but is now sung at the vigil of the fifth Saturday in Great Lent. According to the *Synaxarion*, it was chosen by Patriarch Sergius as the thanksgiving hymn to the Mother of God for saving the city of Constantinople from the Avars in 626. The entire work was thus turned into a hymn of victory and deliverance, and it is repeatedly used as such to this day. The literary qualities of the poem and the wide popularity of veneration to the Virgin in the East explain the far-reaching influence that the hymn has had upon subsequent Greek (and indeed worldwide Orthodox) literature. It was quoted to satiety, copied and recast in iambic trimeters and political 15-syllable lines; modern Greek paraphrases of it exist; and it even influenced Byzantine and post-Byzantine art, especially between the 14th and 16th centuries, as is evident from the paintings of Mistra, Mount Athos and even frescoes as far north as Moldavia. It is possible that Romanos wrote the *Akathistos* hymn, but its authorship has, in the past, also been ascribed to Sergios, Germanos, and even Photios the Great.

The *Akathistos* existed in a Latin version by the late 8th or early 9th century; thereafter, its rhetoric and

imagery appear as the inspiration for a considerable repertoire of Latin hymns.

SEE ALSO: Kontakion; St. Romanos the Melodist (6th c.)

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Albania, Orthodox Church of

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Christianity came to Albania in the 4th century from the north and south of the country, in the form of Byzantine as well as Latin missionaries. The country's borderland status, poised between the ancient Latin and Greek empires, gave it a liminal status, and the Christian tradition of the land has always tended to represent both Eastern and Western Christian aspects. Albania is today a religiously mixed country. About 20 percent of the population are Orthodox and 10 percent are Roman Catholic. This Christian land underwent extensive Islamicization after the fall of Byzantium to the Ottomans in 1453. The leadership, and much of the general populace, quickly converted to the religion of their new masters. The current Islamic population now numbers 70 percent of the total.

The Orthodox of this land historically leaned to the Byzantine church, and in its golden age the metropolitanate of Ohrid was a provincial rival to Constantinople in the excellence of its liturgical and intellectual life. The Byzantine archeological remains there are still highly impressive and the metropolitan-

ate's leadership was often staffed by significant Byzantine clergy and intellectuals.

In 1767, pressured by its Ottoman political masters, the patriarchate of Constantinople absorbed the church under its direct ecclesiastical rule and thereafter directly appointed Albania's metropolitan archbishops, all of whom until 1922 were Phanariot Greeks. The local church in the 20th century began to press for more independence; first in 1908 when the Young Turk movement disrupted Ottoman political control of the imperial provinces, and again after the Balkan Wars of 1912–13. The figure of the priest Fan Noli figures significantly in this latter period. He was one of the first to produce an Albanian language version of the divine liturgy for use in a newly envisioned autocephalous Albanian Orthodox Church. He first circulated (and used) this on his tour of the USA in 1908, and from that time onward advocated autocephaly strongly, especially when he returned to the country in 1912. Fan Noli eventually was ordained bishop and became prime minister of Albania for a brief time in 1924, before being forced into exile.

In 1922 the majority of the synod of the Albanian church demanded the grant of autocephaly, and the Greek-born bishops among the hierarchy collectively left the country. By 1926 the Phanar had agreed to afford Albania autocephaly under certain terms, but the head of state, Amadh Zoghu, refused to countenance them. He would later assume the title of King Zog of Albania and (though a Muslim) patronized the Orthodox, confirming by state decree the hierarchy's right to officiate as bishops, just like the sultans had before him, and the Byzantine emperors before them.

In 1929 the local Albanian synod proclaimed autocephaly independently of the Phanar, and was excommunicated for its pains by the patriarchate – a state of affairs which brought about the immediate state-ordered exile of the exarch of Constantinople, Metropolitan Hierotheos, then resident in the country. The patriarch of Serbia recognized the autocephaly in due course and eventually fostered a reconciliation with the Phanar. Constantinople accepted the state of autocephaly in 1937, from which date it is customarily recorded.

In the years after World War II, Albania fell under the heavy hand of a communist oppression which was intense in its severity. There was bitter persecution in

the years after 1945, with several leading Orthodox hierarchs murdered by the communists; notably Archbishop Christophoros, whose death in mysterious circumstances was widely seen as state-sanctioned murder in the Stalinist mode. The Albanian leader at this time, Enver Hoxha, was particularly keen to please his Russian communist masters and ordered the state confiscation of all land owned by religious institutions (Muslim or Christian). The Albanian communist state policy during the 1950s was focused on bringing the surviving elements of the Orthodox Church under the jurisdictional care of the Moscow Patriarchate, and several Albanian hierarchs who resisted that policy were forcibly deposed. In 1967 Hoxha's government, now looking to communist China's Cultural Revolution for its inspiration, declared the complete and final closure of all Christian places of worship as the state was now to be a model atheist country; an empty statement, but one that was to produce many murders and imprisonments of clergy and imams, and to so exhaust the church's resources that at the collapse of communism there were said to be only twenty or so priests still functioning in the country.

The Orthodox currently represent about half a million faithful, worshipping in 909 parishes. The senior hierarch is his Beatitude the Metropolitan of Tirana and Durazzo, Archbishop of All Albania. The current incumbent is the noted Greek Orthodox theologian Anastasios Yannoulatos. His appointment in 1992 by the Phanar was greeted with skepticism in some circles, anxious in case the struggle for Albanian ecclesiastical self-determination had been in vain, but his ministry has been marked by such energetic creativity that the archbishop is now recognized as having presided over a successful policy to restore an authentic Albanian church life. Under his care more than 250 churches have been restored or built, a national seminary established, and more than 100 clergy ordained.

The Albanian diaspora (chiefly those who had fled the motherland in order to escape communist oppression) continues under the jurisdictional protection of the patriarchate of Constantinople. The communist rule, as was usual elsewhere, succeeded in bringing a poor country down further onto its knees, and the Orthodox Church in Albania, like the rest of its people, is only now beginning to emerge from the chaos of its recent nightmare.

SEE ALSO: Constantinople, Patriarchate of; Russia, Patriarchal Orthodox Church of

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Alexandria, Patriarchate of

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The patriarchate of Alexandria flourished as one of the premier centers of Eastern Christian intellectual, ecclesial, and political life until the middle of the 7th century. Initially, the patriarchate of Alexandria was ranked second to Rome in ecclesial priority. In 381 the third canon of the Second Ecumenical Council declared that the patriarchate of Constantinople would henceforth rank higher than Alexandria and thus it assumed precedence in the whole East, a state of affairs initially resisted in Egypt. In 451 the 28th canon of the Fourth Ecumenical Council reaffirmed the priority of the patriarchate of Constantinople over that of Alexandria. Despite being overshadowed by the sees of Rome and Constantinople, the patriarchate of Alexandria undoubtedly set the foundational framework and trajectory for Christian theology. For example, the Logos theologians of Alexandria, most notably Clement (ca. 150–215) and Origen (ca. 185–ca. 251), significantly shaped future patristic reflections upon the person and nature of Jesus Christ. Also, Alexandrian hierarchs such as St. Athanasius of Alexandria (ca. 293–373) and St. Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 378–444) advanced what would become the classical Orthodox expression of the mystery of the incarnate Lord. Within the Roman Empire, theological and political allegiances often aligned together in ways that could either strengthen or weaken any given patriarchate, whether Rome, Constantinople, or another major see. In this volatile context, the patriarchate of Alexandria managed to grow into a significant

political force. Further, in the 3rd century, Egyptian monasticism developed into a burgeoning movement that indelibly shaped Alexandrian Christianity (Chitty 1999). In brief, the convergence of the ecclesial, political, theological, and monastic streams into one dynamic confluence infused Alexandrian Christianity with long-lasting vitality. The following summary begins with a brief historical sketch of the city of Alexandria, followed by a list of the patriarchs of Alexandria from the 1st century up to the 8th. There then follows an overview of the most influential bishops, pivotal councils, and exceptional theological and spiritual movements that bear witness to the enduring significance of the patriarchate of Alexandria.

The City of Alexandria

Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE), is strategically situated at the mouth of the Nile. The city boasted two harbors and was a hub of trade routes that provided access to the Mediterranean and Southeast Asia. As an international commercial port city, Alexandria attracted merchants from all over the known world, who in turn brought their religious and philosophical traditions into the Hellenistic city. Upon his conquest of Egypt, between 332 and 331 BCE, Alexander drew up plans for the layout of a new metropolis. Alexandria was divided into five neighborhoods, identified by the Greek letters A to E. The indigenous Egyptians (known by the Greek abbreviation of Copts) lived in the section called Rakotis, which was located in the southwest section of Alexandria. The native Egyptians usually belonged to one of the Hellenistic religions and likely participated in the rites of one of the nearby pagan temples. The great Temple of Serapis (founded by the early Ptolemies) was located in the heart of Rakotis. The Jews predominantly inhabited a separate sector in Alexandria. Since the Jewish quarter was afforded a significant amount of autonomy, the Jews were able to maintain, at a high level, a distinct cultural and religious identity (Haas 1977: 91–127). Jewish intellectuals, most notably Philo of Alexandria (20 BCE–50 CE), were Influential forerunners that shaped later Christianity, especially through the persons of

Clement and Origen of Alexandria. Alexander the Great's successor was his childhood friend and general, Ptolemy I Soter (ca. 367–ca. 283 BCE). Under Ptolemy's governance, Alexandria grew into a great Hellenistic center. Hellenism continued to blossom under Ptolemy Philadelphus (309–246 BCE), his son. Ptolemy Philadelphus founded the Great Library in Alexandria, which was first burned in 48 BCE when Caesar defeated Antony and Cleopatra. In 391 the second iteration of the Great Library was partially destroyed during the tenure of the anti-Origenist Patriarch Theophilus (384–412). Rather than seeking the total annihilation of the library, Theophilus only ordered the destruction of the pagan library holdings associated with the Temple of Sarapis. Consequently, many of the larger cultural Hellenistic writings remained extant after the anti-Origenist movement of the 4th century. In 641 Islamic invaders captured Alexandria and possibly destroyed some of the holdings within the Alexandrian library, but undoubtedly (since the Byzantine emperor arranged a year-long truce to allow cultural and religious artifacts to be shipped to Rome and Constantinople for safe keeping) the vast majority of materials were safely transferred. In brief, the Alexandrian library was one of the finest collections in all Antiquity. The existence of the Great Library positioned Alexandria to be the leading Hellenistic intellectual center. Origen, the first internationally respected philosopher among the Christians, based his exegetical mission on the literary tradition of the library (McGuckin 2001).

Hellenism was a significant intellectual and cultural force that, to one degree or another, influenced Christianity, Judaism, and other religious movements of Late Antiquity. Ancient Alexandria has been described as a multicultural milieu, where Judaism, Christianity, Gnosticism, and the Egyptian indigenous religions coexisted with one another in an international milieu. According to some ancient observers, the lines between one religion and another were often blurred in Alexandria. In a letter attributed to Hadrian (*Vita Saturnini* 8), Christian worshippers are depicted as if they were giving reverence to Sarapis, the popular Egyptian God. Further, Hadrian observed pagans who worshipped Sarapis in a style that resembled the Christians. The blurring of lines is further revealed by Alexandrian religious leaders, whether

Christians, Jews, or others, who experimented in astrology (*Vita Saturnini* 8). The so-called multiculturalism of Alexandria was complex and dynamic; consequently, it is difficult to fully depict the overall situation in a comprehensive manner. At times, the various religious groups coexisted in a symbiosis wherein Hellenism provided an overarching matrix that promoted assimilation among the religious subcultures. Yet, on numerous other occasions, religious enclaves asserted their group identities over and against one another and the dominant Hellenistic culture (Haas 1977: 45–90).

The Gnostic Christian Basilides was the first notable Alexandrian biblical exegete, who blossomed into a prominent figure during the reigns of the Emperors Adrian and Antoninus Pius (ca. 120–40). Basilides probably studied with Glaukios, reputed to be a confidant and translator for the Apostle Peter. Following Basilides, the influential Alexandrian Gnostic Valentinus (ca. 100–ca. 160) was almost installed as a bishop of Rome. From what we know of inchoate Alexandrian Christianity, Pantaenus was the first orthodox pedagogue residing in Alexandria. According to the church historian Eusebius of Caesarea (*H.E.* 10), sometime around 180 Pantaenus founded the first Alexandrian catechetical school. Clement of Alexandria succeeded Pantaenus as the leading Christian pedagogue in Alexandria. Clement was one of the first formidable early philosopher-theologians to develop Christian doctrine through reading the Holy Scriptures, adhering to the rule of faith (*regula fidei*), and strategically appropriating Hellenistic thought and culture. Clement advanced Logos theology while at the same time highlighting a spiritual culture of knowledge (*gnōsis*) that would have been resonant with his Gnostic contemporaries. Origen of Alexandria further developed the Logos theology of his antecedents. Without a doubt, Origen stands as the most influential theologian of the early church. Origen, even more so than Clement, was keenly aware of the usefulness and apparent dangers inherent within Greek philosophy. In Origen's *Letter to Theodore* (also known as his *Letter to Gregory*), he explains his approach to his disciple Gregory Thaumaturgos, the later apostle of Cappadocia. In this correspondence Origen admonishes Gregory carefully to employ Greek philosophy in the spirit of the Exodus Jews

spoiling the Egyptians. Christian theologians should take from the Greeks whatever is useful for the worship of God and the interpretation of Scripture. However, Christians need to be prayerful and diligent, or else they may easily become infected by the “poisons” of paganism (see Origen, *Letter to Theodore*). Origen's strategic appropriation of Greek philosophy became paradigmatic for future generations of Christian theologians.

The Patriarchate of Alexandria

There is little information regarding the patriarchate of Alexandria from the first two centuries of the Common Era. The shared tradition of both the Greek East and Latin West affirms that St. Mark the Evangelist founded the Church of Alexandria. In a letter attributed to Clement of Alexandria, we are told that St. Mark's witness and theology became influential in Alexandria by the 2nd century. The first attestation of Mark's connection with Alexandria is not explicitly recorded until the 4th century (Eusebius, *H.E.* 2.16). In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius provides a list of the early Alexandrian patriarchs. However, Eusebius's list provides minimal information about the early patriarchs other than simply providing their names; further, the accuracy of his early account is controverted. Apart from Eusebius, Jerome's *Chronicle* also provides information concerning the patriarchate of Alexandria. In chronological order, with the approximate dates of each tenure set in parentheses, these early leaders of the Alexandrian Church are as follows: Mark the apostle (?); Annianus (62–84/85); Avilius (84/85–98); Cerdon (98–110), who was a presbyter ordained by Saint Mark; Primus (110–22), also called Ephraim; Justus (122–30/32); Eumenes (132–43); Mark II (143–53); Celadion (153–67); Agrippinus (167–79); Julian (179–89/90). After Julian, Eusebius provides a little more detail concerning the Alexandrian bishops; the successive list of bishops comprises Demetrius (189/190–233); Heraclas (233–47); Dionysius (247–64); Maximus (264–82). Following Maximus, the Alexandrian bishops, with verifiable dates of tenure, are Theonas (282–300); Peter the Martyr (300–11); Achillas (311–12); Alexander (312–28); Athanasius (328–73); Peter II

(373–80); Timothy I (380–4); Theophilus (384–412); Cyril (412–44); Dioscorus (444–51); Proterius (451–7); Timothy II Aelurus (457–60), a Miaphysite; Timothy II Salofaciolos (460–75), a Chalcedonian; Timothy II Aelurus (475–7), his second time as bishop; Peter III Mongus (477), a Miaphysite; Timothy II Salofaciolos (477–82), his second time as bishop; John I Talaia (482), a Chalcedonian; Peter III Mongus (482–9), his second tenure; Athanasius II Keletes (489–96), a Miaphysite; John I (496–505), a Miaphysite; John II (505–16); Dioscorus II (516–17); and Timothy III (517–35), a Miaphysite.

After the Council of Chalcedon in 451, a schism erupted between the Miaphysite and the Chalcedonian theologians. As a result of the schism, from 535 up through the Arab conquests of Alexandria, there existed two lines of Alexandrian patriarchs. The Melkite (Greek Byzantine) party supported Chalcedonian Christology; conversely, the Coptic party supported proto-Cyrriline or Miaphysite Christology. The Melkite patriarchal line runs as follows: Paul of Tabenn (537–40); Zoile (540–1); Apollinarius (541–70); John II (570–80); Eulogius (580–608); Theodore the Scribe (608–9); John III the Almoner (609–19); George (620–30); Cyrus (630/631–43/44); Peter III (643/644–51); uncertain gap in the patriarchate; Theodore (655 Synod); Peter IV (680 Council); Theophylact (695 Council); Onophes (711); Eusebius (?); Cosmas I (742–68); and Politian (768–813).

The Coptic patriarchal line (with Julianists noted) runs as follows: Theodosius (535–66); the Julianists: Gaianus (535); Elpidius (?–565); Dorotheus (565–ca. 580); Theodore (575–85), who was not received by the majority; Peter IV (575–8); Damien (578–607); Anastasius (607–19); Andronicus (619–26); Benjamin (626–65); Julianists: Menas (634); Agathon (665–81); John III (681–9); Isaac (689–92); Simon I (692–700); Julianist: Theodore (695); vacancy for three years; Alexander II (704–29); Cosmas (729–30); Theodore II (730–42); one year vacancy; Michael I (743–67); Menas (767–75); and John IV (776–99).

Under the episcopate of Demetrius (189/190–233) the Alexandrian see increased in power and prestige. At this time, every other Egyptian bishop was subordinated to the see of Alexandria. Beyond extending control over his suffragan bishops, Demetrius seized

internal control within the city of Alexandria. His well-known conflict with Origen eventually led to the dismissal of the controversial Alexandrian theologian, and his relocation to Caesarea of Palestine. Without a doubt, the Church of Alexandria increased in power on account of Demetrius' astuteness and energetic zeal. Demetrius' successor, Origen's disciple Heraclas (233–47), continued to advance the unity and prestige of the Egyptian Church through his disciplinary action. Heraclas deposed Ammonius the bishop of Thmuis, and refused to reconcile Origen. Dionysius (249–65) succeeded Heraclas as the leader of the Alexandrian Church. From Dionysius onward, the Alexandrian Church and its powerful bishop served in the dual role of both ecclesial and political leader in Eastern Christian affairs (Hardy 1952: 19).

Under the Edict of Decius, delivered in January 250, the Alexandrian Church endured harsh persecution. Many citizens, or at the very least those citizens suspected of being Christian, were required to show their certificate (*libelli*) in order to prove they had sacrificed to the Egyptian gods. The Decian persecution (250–1) was shortlived; nonetheless it significantly impacted the Christian imagination, Christian self-understanding, and the Egyptian ecclesiology specifically. The Decian persecution produced Alexandrian martyrs who served as models of piety for their fellow Christians. Following the cessation of hostilities, the Alexandrian Church needed to develop a strategy for readmitting those Christians who lapsed under the weight of the Decian persecution. Ultimately, the Patriarch Dionysius adopted a moderate position, whereby he permitted the receiving back of the lapsed after they had served an appropriate penance. Furthermore, the Christian confessors, who had often endured imprisonment and punishment during the Decian persecution, were significant actors in the reconciliation of the lapsed. In order to usher in the reconciliation of the lapsed, Christian confessors prayed on behalf of their weaker co-religionists. Archbishop Maximus (265–82) succeeded Dionysius; and Theonas (292–301) assumed the see of Alexandria after Maximus. By the end of the 3rd century, the Coptic language was used widely throughout Christian Egypt in preference to Greek (Hardy 1952: 34). The 4th century ushered in the momentous age of Constantine's Christian Roman Empire.

The Arian crisis was probably the most significant theological controversy of the 4th century. It derived its name from Arius (ca. 250/256–336), a priest of Baukalis, the dockland district of Alexandria, a charismatic presbyter who gained numerous followers throughout the city during the early decades of the 4th century. Arius' Christology was an outgrowth of the earlier Alexandrian Logos theology which failed to declare the full equality of the Logos with the Father, the supreme God. Arius and those who shared similar theological leanings subordinated the Logos (and *de facto* Jesus) below the Father, who alone was confessed as the true God. The Patriarch Alexander (322–8) declared Arius guilty of heresy and excommunicated the popular Alexandrian presbyter. In 325, at the Council of Nicea, Arius was officially condemned. However, the condemnation of Arius only signaled the beginning of the series of ongoing theological debates that dominated the 4th-century ecclesial landscape. In 328 Athanasius of Alexandria succeeded Alexander and soon emerged as the leading proponent of Nicene theology. Athanasius's adherence to the Nicene confession (though his own preference was not for *homoousion* but for the more explicit *tautotes tes ousias* – identity of essence between Father and Son) would eventually emerge as the international definitive statement of Orthodox Christology. However, before the victory of Nicenism at the Council of Constantinople in 381, there was intense debate throughout the era over the Orthodox expression of the mystery of Jesus Christ. In all the debates Alexandrian theologians set the tone. Following the Council of Nicea, Athanasius's steadfast refusal to compromise adherence to the *homoousion*, in the face of imperial changes of policy, led to his expulsion from Alexandria on several occasions. In 335 Athanasius was condemned and deposed at the Council of Tyre. He returned from exile after Constantine's death in 337. Athanasius soon fled again, this time to Rome, where he was welcomed as a defender of Orthodoxy. In 346 Athanasius was received back into the Alexandrian Church under the protection of the western Emperor Constans. However, in the same year, Emperor Constantius exiled Athanasius, who this time chose to live in the Egyptian desert. In 362, after the death of Constantius, Athanasius returned to Alexandria and presided over a

synod of Alexandria which set the terms for reconciling all the disparate pro-Nicene groups of the Eastern Church. He was exiled once again by the pagan Emperor Julian (361–3), but in 363, after Julian's death, Athanasius returned to Alexandria. From 365 to 366 Athanasius endured his final expulsion.

Beyond the Arian controversy, the Council of Nicea attempted to reconcile the Melitians with the rest of the church. Melitius, bishop of Lycopolis, was leader of a Christian sect that refused to receive back into communion those Christians who had lapsed during the Decian persecution. Melitius was accused of ordaining bishops into churches where he had no legitimate authority. The Melitian account of the Decian persecution depicted Archbishop Peter of Alexandria (300–11) as one of the "lapsed" because he evaded persecution and thus forfeited the honor of martyrdom. This account of Peter's actions led to questions concerning the legitimacy of his elevation as archbishop. The Melitians, who had the support of a synod of 28 bishops, formed their own sectarian party in Alexandria. Ultimately, the Council of Nicea was unsuccessful in reconciling the Melitians. Throughout his ecclesial career, Athanasius was often accused of being a tyrannical leader. In 335, at the Synod of Tyre, Athanasius answered those who accused him of unfair treatment of the Arians and Melitians. Eusebius of Nicomedia, a leading Arian who led the eastern anti-Nicene party, concluded the Synod of Tyre with the deposition of Athanasius. On November 6, 335, Constantine met with both parties who participated in the Synod of Tyre, before deciding to exile Athanasius on account of allegations that he was threatening to block the export of grain from Alexandria.

From the Synod of Alexandria (362) onward, Athanasius shifted from a rather unyielding christological position towards a more open view, whereby precise vocabulary became not as important as the basic affirmation of the full divinity of the Logos. Consequently, following the Synod of Alexandria, the majority of western and eastern bishops reached a consensus. They collectively aimed to eradicate Arianism, which was officially condemned by ecumenical decision at the Council of Constantinople in 381. After Athanasius became more open to compromise, he ultimately emerged victorious when the

homoousion definition was received as the Orthodox expression of the status of the Divine Logos. St. Gregory of Nazianzus vindicated St. Athanasius posthumously when he employed *homoousion* theology in order to explicate orthodox trinitarian dogma (*Orations* 27–31). Further, in his *Panegyric on Athanasius*, Gregory of Nazianzus canonized Athanasius by depicting him as the father of Orthodoxy (*Oration* 21). Days before his death, Athanasius consecrated his successor Peter of Alexandria (Peter II, 373–80) to the Alexandrian see. After the death of Athanasius, imperial forces provided the Arian Bishop Lucius safe passage to Alexandria. Soon after Lucius's arrival in Alexandria, Peter fled to Rome. The Arian overthrow of Alexandria was shortlived. A couple of years later, Emperor Valens became preoccupied with the Gothic invasion from the north, and thus left the Arian cause with minimal support. In 375–6 Lucius withdrew from Alexandria and traveled to Constantinople. Thereafter, Peter returned to Alexandria in order to reclaim the see. Upon the death of the pro-Arian Emperor Valens in 378, the western Emperor Gratian installed the Nicene General Theodosius as emperor of the East. This political appointment had significant ramifications for Orthodoxy. From the reign of Emperor Theodosius onward, the Nicene faith became the official religion of the Roman Empire.

In the 3rd century, St. Anthony the Great (ca. 251–356) began to organize groups of Egyptian Christians that fled Alexandria for the desert, where they practiced solitude and prayerful worship. By the 4th century, Egyptian monasticism had grown into a powerful Christian movement. Egyptian monasticism originated as an ascetical movement in the desert, but eventually its spirituality and theology entered into the very heart of Alexandrian Christianity and subverted even the episcopate. On account of their burgeoning success, the patriarchate of Alexandria was compelled to engage and control the monastic communities. The relevance of monasticism is evident in Athanasius' *Life of Anthony*, which praises the virtuous life of the eminent monk St. Anthony (Chitty 1999: 1–16). The monks (*monachoi*) who imitated Anthony's life of solitary asceticism were called anchorites (*anchoretēs*) or hermits (*eremites*). These solitaries primarily lived in northern Egypt. On the other hand, Pachomius (ca. 292–348), according to tradition,

founded Coenobitic monasticism, which emphasized communal living. Coenobitic (“common life”) monasticism was at first predominantly a southern Egyptian phenomenon, but it soon became the most popular type of monastic organization. In the 370s a Pachomian community called the Metanoia, or Monastery of Penitence, was founded near Alexandria (Hardy 1952: 89). Monastic communities continued to spread throughout Egypt, eventually reaching as far north as Nitria and Scete. However, after decades of growth, the Origenistic controversy seriously weakened the coherence of Egyptian monasticism. Initially, Origenistic asceticism had spread from Palestine and Nitria to Alexandria and Constantinople. Evagrius of Pontike (345–99) was one of the leading representatives of this new monastic approach that blended asceticism and Origenistic intellectualism (Clark 1992: 43–84). In short time this novel form of monasticism fell under suspicion. In Alexandria the Patriarch Theophilus (384–412) excommunicated his one-time confidant Isidore the Hospitaller of Alexandria on the charge of being an Origenist. Furthermore, Theophilus accused the Tall Brothers of heresy on account of their Origenistic tendencies. The Tall Brothers consisted of four Egyptian monks: Dioscorus (a bishop), Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius. In Nitria, Origenist monks were imprisoned; thereafter, Isidore and the Tall Brothers relocated with some eighty monks to Palestine. At this time, Theophilus convoked a synod that condemned Isidore and the Tall Brothers on account of their extravagant asceticism and their heretical speculations. In 401 John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407), who had been serving as the patriarch of Constantinople for three years, received the appeal of Isidore and the Tall Brothers who came to him in the imperial city. John's hospitality angered Theophilus. Consequently, in a shrewd political move, serving the whims of the emperor, Theophilus procured the condemnation and banishment of John at the Synod of Oak at Constantinople in 403. Immediately afterwards Theophilus reconciled with Isidore and two of the Tall Brothers. After his initial expulsion, John Chrysostom was soon reinstalled as the patriarch of Constantinople. Theophilus, however, remained resolute in his opposition towards John Chrysostom. On Easter of 404, Theophilus secured the final banishment of John from Constantinople. From Rome, Pope Innocent supported

Chrysostom and for a short time the patriarch of Rome broke communion with the Eastern Churches. The discord between Alexandria and the Western Churches would continue throughout the ensuing centuries. By the middle of the 5th century, Egyptian monasticism had lost much of its former energy, while simultaneously becoming an institutionalized part of the Egyptian Church.

The patriarchs Theophilus and Cyril of Alexandria (the nephew and successor of Theophilus) continued the defense and advancement of Nicene theology (McGuckin 2001). The early years of Cyril's patriarchate were marked with political unrest. Cyril engaged in disputes with the Alexandrian civil authorities; most notably, he battled with the civil Prefect Orestes. In this volatile environment, Cyril's first significant measure was the closing of the Novatian Church, which the Alexandrians perceived as a sectarian import from Constantinople (Hardy 1952: 104). In 415 Alexandrian civil disorder reached a crescendo. In the midst of ongoing strife, Orestes tortured Cyril's faithful supporter, the pedagogue Hierax. In this same period, Cyril expelled a number of the Jews from the city of Alexandria in retaliation for church burnings in areas adjacent to the Jewish quarter. On another occasion, monks, who arrived from Nitria, attacked Orestes. Fortunately, Orestes was rescued before enduring much harm. The conflict finally eased up after the scandalous murder of the pagan intellectual Hypatia, who had been accused of stirring up dissension between Cyril and Orestes (Hardy 1952: 104). From 428 onward, the newly appointed patriarch of Constantinople, Nestorius, engaged in an ongoing christological dispute with Cyril. Nestorius's Christology reflected the Antiochene tradition, which emphasized (in its doctrine of the "Assumed Man") the two natures of Christ rather than the unity of the one divine person Jesus Christ. Further, Nestorius denied the designation of *Theotokos* for the Virgin Mary. In opposition to Nestorius, Cyril affirmed the validity of the *Theotokos* title and insisted on the unity of Christ, on terms wherein the single subjectivity of the Logos resided in the one divine person of Jesus, the Logos incarnate. In 431 Cyril presided over the Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus. The final outcome of Ephesus was reached before Nestorius's supporters had arrived

from Antioch. As might be suspected, the ecumenical verdict entailed the condemnation of Nestorius and the official reception of Cyril's Christology. However, rather than signaling any sustained consensus at this period, Cyril's Christology served as a reference point for the ongoing christological controversy, which would rage for several centuries to come. Cyril's early Christology was amended at the Council of Chalcedon (451) and thereafter stirred further christological debate. It was under Cyril's leadership that the see of Alexandria grew into the largest and one of the most powerful ecclesial networks of churches throughout the eastern part of the Roman Empire. In Cyril's tenure the patriarch of Alexandria usually consecrated all his bishops in a suffragan status. Under Cyril's leadership the Alexandrian Church accrued great wealth through various gifts and government grants, which were intended for charitable work.

Following Cyril's death, the patriarchate of Alexandria decreased in scope and significance. The christological controversy sparked a deep-seated division of the Eastern Church, which in turn facilitated the weakening of the patriarchate of Alexandria. Following Cyril, the Patriarch Dioscorus (444–51) staunchly defended the early Cyrilline Miaphysite theology, a Christology which tended to emphasize the Lord's one united nature (reality as incarnate God-Man) so strongly that it verged towards a deemphasis of his real humanity. The christological controversy extended well beyond Alexandria; for example, in Constantinople, the Archimandrite Eutyches resolutely upheld monist Christology in opposition to Flavian, the patriarch of Constantinople. In 449 Dioscorus convoked the so-called Robber Synod or *Latrocinium*, which met at Ephesus. The Latin Church provided Pope Leo's *Tome* (letter) for the consideration of the ecclesial leaders at the Council of Ephesus II. However, Leo's *Tome* seemed to provide support to Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople; consequently, it was not well received by the Egyptian bishops at Ephesus, led by Dioscorus, who all thought they had come there to vindicate Cyril's memory. In short order, Ephesus II reaffirmed Cyril's theology without the compromises Cyril himself had adopted in the aftermath of Ephesus 431. In 451 the Council of Chalcedon censured Ephesus II by accepting the western christological affirmation from Leo's *Tome*

that Christ exists “in two natures, without confusion, without change, without division or separation.” Furthermore, Chalcedon reversed the Robber Synod (as Ephesus 449 came to be called) and expelled Dioscorus on account of uncanonical practices.

The divisive nature of the christological debates is illuminated by the fact that four of Dioscorus’s most outspoken opponents were clerics within the Alexandrian Church, which he had governed prior to his condemnation. The patriarchate of Alexandria became more and more marginalized over the next two centuries. Patriarch Proterius (451–7), who succeeded Dioscorus, was viewed with suspicion because many believed his installation was simply a political move. Many Alexandrians believed Proterius hardly reflected the Alexandrian ecclesial tradition.

After 451 the Alexandrian Proterians, named after their allegiance to Proterius, supported Chalcedonian Christology. Beyond his Alexandrian disciples, Proterius was supported by only a handful of Egyptian bishops, fewer than twelve in all, with the Pachomian monks living in Canopus (Hardy 1952: 115). Ultimately, the Proterians failed to gain enough support from the general populace. Upon the death of Emperor Marcian in 457, anti-Chalcedonian exiles were permitted to return to Alexandria, including some of Dioscorus’s original allies. When the Byzantine duke and his forces vacated Alexandria, the anti-Proterians, led by the bishops Gregory of Pelusium and Peter the Iberian (bishop of Maiouma, near Gaza), installed their own rival bishop, Timothy II Aelurus. Timothy (nicknamed the Cat or Weasel) was a priest from Alexandria and one of the main advocates of Miaphysite theology. He held the office of patriarch for two terms (457–60; 475–7). Following Ephesus II (449), where he was a participant, Timothy assumed the leadership of the anti-Chalcedonian party. He adopted a more balanced Miaphysite position than his predecessor, partly serving as a theological bridge between Cyril of Alexandria and the later Christology of Severus of Antioch. Soon after, Proterius was formally restored as the patriarch of Alexandria even though he clearly was an unpopular choice. On Good Friday an Alexandrian mob killed him at the baptistery and dragged his body through the city streets (Hardy 1952: 116). Thereafter, Timothy the Cat was unable to reconcile the various

Alexandrian parties. In short order, Emperor Leo expelled Timothy from Alexandria, and after Timothy’s expulsion fourteen Chalcedonian bishops served as interim authorities for the Church of Egypt. Eventually, another Timothy, nicknamed Salofaciolos (“Wobble-hat” or “White-cap”), was consecrated as the patriarch of Alexandria. After his shortlived tenure, Timothy returned once more to the see of Alexandria.

For the next couple of centuries the christological controversy continued to divide and weaken the Alexandrian Church, separating it into Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian factions. In the second decade of the 6th century, Bishop Dioscorus II (516–17) advanced Miaphysite Christology by recruiting allies throughout the Christian world. In 537 Emperor Justinian (483–565) installed the Chalcedonian Paul of Tabenn (537–40) to the patriarchate of Alexandria. While Paul was committed to Chalcedonian Christology, the vast majority of Alexandrian clergy remained loyal to the Miaphysite position. Following Paul’s condemnation and expulsion, other Chalcedonian supporters, such as John II (570–80), presided as the patriarch of Alexandria. However, the Alexandrian clergy and churches predominantly remained committed to the Miaphysite Christology, which they saw as the tradition of their ancestors. In the 7th century Arab Islamic invasions separated the patriarchate of Alexandria, along with the rest of Egyptian churches, from almost all of their Christian allies throughout the Roman Empire. However, there was ongoing dialogue between the patriarchate of Alexandria and nearby African churches. For example, Nubian Christianity (in the area now occupied by the Sudan) survived from the 4th well into the 15th century. Furthermore, the patriarch of Alexandria remained in contact with segments of the Ethiopian Church. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church remained a daughter church of the patriarchate of Alexandria until Cyril VI, the patriarch of All Africa and Coptic pope of Alexandria, granted the Ethiopians their ecclesiastical autonomy in the 20th century.

Today, nearly 95 percent of Egyptian Christians identify themselves as members of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria. Pope Shenouda III is the current leader of the Coptic Church. Shenouda III carries the title of Pope of Alexandria and Patriarch of All Africa under the Holy See of St. Mark. The Orthodox

Chalcedonian Church in Alexandria (now a minority of the Christians surviving there) gives its allegiance to the Greek patriarch, who for many years of Islamic rule had found refuge in Constantinople, and eventually came to be a virtual bureau appointment of the Constantinopolitan phanar. In the 20th century some eminent holders of the Greek Orthodox patriarchal office have advanced Orthodox–Islamic dialogue in an attempt to broker peace between the religions in an often tense environment of Arab nationalism. There have also been extraordinary representatives among the Coptic patriarchs of Alexandria, whose church has witnessed a renaissance in the latter part of the 20th century.

SEE ALSO: Apostolic Succession; Arianism; Cappadocian Fathers; Ecumenical Councils; Gnosticism; Heresy; Judaism, Orthodoxy and; Logos Theology; Monasticism; Nestorianism; Philosophy; Pontike, Evagrius (ca. 345–399); St. Athanasius of Alexandria (ca. 293–373); St. Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 378–444); Theotokos, the Blessed Virgin

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Ambo

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The Ambo (Gk. "crest of a hill") was the raised platform in the middle of church from which the scriptures and litanies were read. In early times it was not often used for preaching, though St. John Chrysostom was an exception to the rule (Socrates, *Church History* 6.5). In the Eastern Christian world a pathway (*Solea*) from the sanctuary (*Bema*) to the Ambo was often established, which eventually came to be similarly raised. Several examples of Byzantine Ambo remain (e.g., Byzantine Museum, Athens; the gardens of Hagia Sophia Cathedral, Istanbul) which are polygonal raised platforms with steps leading up (in the Middle Ages it became the western "pulpit"). The Ambo in St. Mark's Venice is a rare late-Byzantine "double-decker," where the gospel was read from the upper section and the epistle from the lower. Byzantine emperors, after the 6th century, were crowned from the Ambo of Hagia Sophia church, a lost masterpiece described by the poet Paul the Silentiary. In the modern presentation of most Orthodox churches the Ambo shrank back and was conflated with the smaller area of raised *Solea* immediately in front of the Iconostasis.

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Amnos

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

The word derives from the Greek for "Lamb" (Slavonic: *Agnets*) and signifies the central square of bread that is cut and lifted out of *prosfora* (altar) loaves at the eucharistic liturgy of preparation (*Proskomide*). It is also referred to as the "Seal" in this early part of the preparations, since it is stamped with the letters IC XC NIKA, or "Jesus Christ Conquers." The separation of the Amnos from the prosfora, by the priest's liturgical knife (Lance), is accompanied by the recitation of the "lamb-related" sacrificial verses of Isaiah 53.7. In the Proskomide the Lamb is placed centrally on the *Diskos* (paten) and, like the wine in the chalice, it is veiled until the time of the consecratory prayers of the Anaphora, when it is sanctified so as to become the Holy Eucharist. By extension, therefore, the "Lamb" is shorthand for the Eucharist itself, especially as used to connote the very presence of the Lord in the Mystery. The term originates from the words of John the Forerunner (Jn. 1.29, 36; see also Rev. 5.2).

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Anagnostes (Reader)

DIMITRI CONOMOS

The term identifies the penultimate position within the minor orders of clergy. The Anagnostes' primary role is to read the lessons from Scripture during the services. The office of a reader subsumes that of a

taper-bearer (Acolyte), and the service of tonsuring mentions both. The Apostolic Constitutions indicate that the reader stands on "something high" in the middle of the congregation. Icons often show readers wearing a sticharion or cassock and a pointed hat with the brim pulled out to the sides. It appears that until the 4th century the reader also led the singing, since the office of cantor is first noted only after ca. 380.

Analogion

JEFFREY B. PETTIS

In the Orthodox Church the *analogion* is the lectern used to support the gospel, the service book, or an icon. Originally, churches used only one analogion for Scripture, although later two were used, one for the gospel and one for the epistle reading. The analogion is sometimes shaped in the form of an open-winged dove, representative of the Holy Spirit. Normally, a decorative cloth (*antependia*) fully or partially covers it. Some analogia have a simple design and can be folded up for portability. Others are made of intricately carved wood. Certain analogia are designed to stand in the choir section (*kliros*) of the church and are used by the chanters. This style has a top that usually turns on a spindle to allow easy access to the various service books being used. The *tetrapodion*, a piece of furniture which is similar to the analogion, is a four-legged table which may stand in the center of the church. A cloth covers its surface, which is used to support special ritual objects.

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Anaphora

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

The Greek (Septuagintal) biblical word for "lifting up" in the sense of making an offering of prayer or

sacrifice, especially that part of sacrificial ritual where the ancient priest took and offered the victim (LXX Lev. 2.14; see also 1 Peter 2.5). In Orthodox usage it is the technical term referring to the solemn and central consecratory prayer of the divine liturgy that culminates in the consecration of the gifts of bread and wine and their sacred transfiguration (some writers use the Latin term *transubstantiation*) into the body and blood of the Lord, at the words of Institution and the Epiclesis prayer for descent of the Holy Spirit to effect the change. The Anaphora begins immediately after the Creed, with the invitational words: "Let us attend that we may offer the holy oblation in peace." It continues with the Preface and Hagios (Sanctus), the Dominical words of institution, the Elevation of the holy gifts, the Epiclesis asking for the descent of the Holy Spirit, and then the intercessory prayers for all the church, especially the Holy Theotokos. It concludes with a blessing: "And the mercies of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ shall be with you all," which in turn leads into the Litany before the Lord's Prayer, and the common recitation of the Our Father itself, so as to prepare the congregation for Communion. There have been some debates whether the Anaphora alone is the central aspect of the "consecration" ritual surrounding the Holy Eucharist, but the general sense among Orthodox writers is that while it is the most solemn and sacred core of the Liturgy, the whole action ought rather to be seen as indissolubly connected and mutually related. Three different Anaphoras are in use among the Orthodox: those of St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. James. The Liturgy of St. Gregory the Dialogist is really a Lenten Vespereal communion service of gifts pre-sanctified at the previous Sunday liturgy.

SEE ALSO: Divine Liturgy, Orthodox; Epiclesis; Eucharist

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Anastasimatarion

DIMITRI CONOMOS

A liturgical book containing musical settings in each of the eight modes (tones) of the Resurrection or Sunday hymnody (each Sunday being a commemoration of the resurrection: *anastasis*) for Great Vespers and Matins, together with other supplementary chants. There are three types of *Anastasimatarion*: (1) *argon* ("slow") or *palaion* ("old") melodies that are highly melismatic and extended; (2) *argosyntomon* (literally, "slow-fast") melodies which are moderately ornate; and (3) *syntomon* ("fast") melodies that are syllabic and simple. The composers, editors and arrangers of the editions of the *Anastasimatarion* currently in use are Petros Peloponnesios (1730–78) and Ioannes Protopsaltes (d. 1770).

Angels

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

Angel is the Greek biblical term for "messenger" of God (*angelos*) and in most of the many scriptural references to the angels (Gen. 16.7, 32.1; Judg. 6.11; Dan. 7.10) they appear as heavenly beings, sometimes radiant in light and power, but on earth usually in human form (called "Sons of Men" or "Sons of God"), made present as intermediaries who serve God's will by mediating with humankind. In the biblical texts the angels are especially the deliverers of revelation and, as such, play a large role in the New Testament stories of the annunciation, the nativity, and the resurrection (Mt. 28.2–7; Jn. 20.12). The late inter-testamental (especially the Apocalyptic) texts saw the angels chiefly in the court of God, attending on the divine will for earth and supervising human affairs as his ministers of providential care. This influenced the thinking of the early Christian literature (especially the Book of Revelation and the Letter to the Hebrews) and this aspect of angelic attendance at the divine court developed among the earliest churches into a vision of the angelic host as the preeminent singers of God's glory, the liturgical choir of divine praise, which was also thought to be specially attracted to the church Eucharistic liturgies, so as to join in

with them. Jesus referred to angels on several occasions, teaching that they always enjoyed the presence and vision of the Father (Mt. 18.10), and that they would form the accompanying army of God which would return with the Son of Man at the Second Glorious Coming (*Parousia*; Mt. 16.27). Some very early Jewish Christian sects developed an angelology which saw Christ as a high archangel who had come to earth to deliver a salvific gospel. That theological trend to use angels as a synonym for divine presence and action, and to hypostatize the divine presence by an angelic reference, was already advanced in Hellenistic Judaism, as can be seen in the instance of Philo and in elements of some Christian gnostics. The trend imagined the angelic mediators as “manifestations” (*hypostases*) of the divine on earth; thus, the Law was seen to be given through angels, not directly by an epiphany of God to Moses. It is a doctrine that is clearly rebutted in several parts of the New Testament (the pastoral letters and the Epistle to the Hebrews) which insist that Jesus Christ is “far superior” to the angels (Col. 2.18; Heb. 1.4).

Irenaeus insisted that the angels were distinct creatures of God, not a system of divine emanations as Gnosticism imagined and, like humanity, they had a destiny to serve and worship the deity (*Adversus Haereses* 2.30.6–9). Origen greatly extended the patristic understanding of the angelic orders with his doctrine (later condemned at the ecumenical council of 553) of the preexistence of souls. The angels, in Origen’s scheme, were the original souls created by God, who retained their heavenly dignity and ethereal status. Humanity had once been angelic, but had fallen into corporeality because of premundane sins; although one day the faithful soul could ascend back to become transfigured once more into angelic glory. It was Origen who brought the widespread belief in guardian angels into church life, with his teaching that God had appointed angels to watch over the destiny of nations, but also others to care for the safe journey of each soul on earth, until it returned to its original heavenly family. The Origenian scheme of preexistence was highly attractive to the Christian mystics, such as Evagrius, but was never accepted by the larger church.

In the 4th century St. Gregory of Nazianzus rescued the doctrine of angels from the implication of

Origenian preexistence doctrine, and laid out a system that would become authoritative for the wider Orthodox tradition. God, Gregory argued, had made three creations. The first was the angelic order. The second was the material and animal creation, and the third was humanity. The two first creations were simple and coherent in their ontology: spiritual and fleshly, respectively. Humankind alone was a “mixed creation” (flesh and spirit). By faithful obedience, and a constant “ascent” of soul, human beings could attain to the glory of angelic status in the afterlife (*Carmina* 1.1.7).

Two scriptural passages caught the imagination of the early church, where the “ranks” of the angels were described with some differences (Col. 1.16; Eph. 1.21). The early patristic writers, putting them together, came up with an enumeration of five different ranks. Dionysius the Areopagite added to that list of five the separate ranks of Angel, Archangel, Seraph, and Cherubim, and thus set out the definitive list of the “Nine Orders” of the angels which would form the basic understanding of both the Latin and Eastern churches ever after (in ascending order: Angels, Archangels, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Dominions, Thrones, Cherubim, and Seraphim). The Seraphim occupied the seventh heaven alongside God, and their proximity to the Divine Presence resulted in their eruption into pure fire (in such a way are they always depicted in iconography). The Cherubim were the living throne of God (a prayer recalling this is said by the priest as he moves to the high place during the divine liturgy in the course of the singing of the Trisagion hymn). The angels were seen to be endowed with almost infinite mobility and vast powers. From the Byzantine-era liturgy onwards, the deacons often assumed a role of symbolizing the angelic orders attendant on the liturgy, and the imperial eunuchs (sexless, as Jesus had said the angels were in heaven: Mk. 12.25) had the special task of singing the Cherubic hymn at the time of the Great Entrance: “We who in a mystery represent the Cherubim, and sing the thrice holy hymn to the life-creating trinity, now lay aside all earthly cares, that we may receive the King of all who comes escorted by the ranks of unseen angels.”

Devotion to the angels in the Orthodox Church has always been strong, and continues to this day as a

marked aspect of normal Christian life. They are referred to as the “Bodiless Powers,” and several feasts in the course of the year are dedicated to them, especially to Michael and Gabriel, known as the Taxiarchs (leader of heavenly hosts). Ordinary Mondays in the Orthodox week are dedicated to them. The Sticheron for Vespers dedicated to the bodiless powers reads as follows: “Most radiant attendants of the triune Godhead; you angels who serve as supreme commanders, with all the powers on high you cry out rejoicing – Holy are you O Co-Eternal Word; Holy are you the Holy Spirit; one glory, one kingdom, one nature, one Godhead and power.”

SEE ALSO: Cherubikon; Communion of Saints; Divine Liturgy, Orthodox

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Anglicanism, Orthodoxy and

NICHOLAS BIRNS

The historic friendliness felt by Anglicans for the Orthodox found expression in 1677, when Bishop Henry Compton of London licensed a church for Orthodox refugees from Ottoman tyranny (Greek Street in Soho – though he did not care for the liturgy once he had a firsthand encounter with it). Serious Anglican-Orthodox dialogue in the early 17th century became stillborn when Cyril Lukaris, the patriarch of Alexandria, who corresponded with Anglican bishops, was censured for Protestant leanings. The fall of Lukaris associated Anglicanism with heresy for most Orthodox, though the “Non-jurors” who severed relations with Canterbury after 1689 found sanction within Orthodoxy, attempting to work through Peter the Great for a reunion of all “Catholic” Christians, although this ended when the Orthodox found out the Non-jurors did not hold ecclesiastical power in England. Dialogue intensified with the Oxford Movement of the 1840s with its emphasis on

liturgy and Catholicity. Anglican churchmen like the hymnodist and translator John Mason Neale and the theologian William Palmer helped found the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association, which became an official forum for interchurch solidarity.

J. J. Overbeck went as far as to see Orthodoxy as “the only true Church” and believed full ecclesiastical reunion could only be accomplished on Orthodox terms. Isabel Florence Hapgood translated the Orthodox Service Book into English, while, later, E. S. Almedingen wrote historical novels that familiarized juvenile readers with church history. Athelstan Riley was also an important figure, virtually inaugurating a tradition of English pilgrimages to Mount Athos. Several autocephalous Orthodox communions, such as the churches of Cyprus and Romania, as well as the ecumenical patriarchate itself, considered and issued statements on the validity of Anglican holy orders.

Anglican thinkers, seeing apostolic succession as the prerequisite for a meaningful ecclesiology, have tended to be more optimistic than Orthodox about the possibility of restoring full communion. The great appeal of Anglicanism to Orthodoxy was that it was seen as Catholicism not of a Roman papal type, and that it saw the discussion about restoring intercommunion with Western Christendom as a matter of dialogue, rather than potential hegemony. The Russian theologian Aleksey Khomyakov was excited by the potential of an Anglican-Orthodox reunion; he was influenced by the writings of Yevgeny Ivanovich Popov, the first official Orthodox representative in England. Increasing Orthodox immigration and the US acquisition of Alaska brought Orthodox priests into more frequent contact with Anglicans. The Syrian Orthodox Bishop (now saint) Raphael Hawaweeny of Brooklyn saw cooperation with Anglicans as a way of serving the church needs of his people who lacked priests (despite his awareness of doctrinal differences).

The aftermath of the Russian Revolution brought many Orthodox émigrés to the West and separated dialogue with the church from the question of relations with the Russian state. Orthodox membership in the World Council of Churches as well as the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, a Protestant-Orthodox dialogue group, facilitated these links. Notable Anglican converts to Orthodoxy such as

Stephen Hatherly and Timothy (Kallistos) Ware served as a bridge between the communions. Fr. Alexander Schmemmann taught at General Theological Seminary, where J. Robert Wright trained Episcopalian seminarians in Orthodox ecclesiastical history and iconology. The Dublin Agreed Statement (1984) established key terminological similarities and differences between the two churches, while the Cyprus Agreement Statement (2006) concentrated on defining the Trinity as understood by the two communions, broadening the dialogue associated with the discussion of the Filioque.

In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Anglican Communion abjured proselytizing in Orthodox “territory.” Despite continuing tensions over points of ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline still to be resolved, the 21st-century relationship is still able to build upon a foundation of basic concord and respect.

SEE ALSO: Apostolic Succession; Cyril Lukaris, Patriarch of Constantinople (1572–1638); *Filioque*

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Anointing of the Sick

SERGEY TROSTYANSKIY

The use of oil for healing purposes was well known in Antiquity. Both Jewish and pagan practices of healing are marked by the use of oil, the element which was symbolically associated with joy, gladness, peace, and happiness. In Christian practice, when blessed or accompanied by prayer, oil became a symbol of the Holy Spirit, a mystery of the energy of divine grace, and thus a means of sanctification.

The perception of a person as a holistic unity and the assumption that physical sickness, suffering, and death were signs of spiritual not only physical trouble

were deeply rooted in the Old Testament tradition. Thus, Genesis described humanity as created to inhabit paradise, to be in perfect communion with God, and to contemplate God. There are no signs of sickness or death associated with paradise. However, the original Fall, the sin committed by Adam and Eve, caused a temporary exile from paradise, a break in communion with God, and, as a consequence, the subjection of humanity to sickness, suffering, and death. For the fathers, the devil stood directly behind this catastrophe, and accordingly this triad of woes is the result of the works of the forces of evil. Moreover, sin, a spiritual disorder, is widely seen among the fathers as the root of physical disorders. Thus, the close, almost causal connection between sin and sickness is clearly affirmed both in the Scriptures themselves and throughout most of patristic commentary on the healings of Jesus. Healing narratives in the Scriptures are viewed and presented as a divine prerogative; the direct result of the work of divine power, and of the forgiveness of sin.

Jesus’ ministry adopted healing as an important aspect of his mission, and a symbol (in the form of exorcism) of the advent of the Kingdom of God. Moreover, the Scriptures present Jesus as the ultimate healer of the world, who removes the powers of evil, including sin and sickness, from the world. The apostles’ ministry was also associated with healing. “They expelled many demons, and anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them” (Mk. 6.13). The Epistle of James provided a theological basis for the sacramental power of anointing of the sick:

Is any among you suffering? Let him pray. Is any cheerful? Let him sing praise. Is any among you sick? Let him call for the elders of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith will save the sick man, and the Lord will raise him up; and if he has committed sins, he will be forgiven. Therefore confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another, that you may be healed. (James 5.13–16)

Here the presbyters of the church are commanded to serve those who are ill in terms of a sacramental ritual of anointing of the sick accompanied by prayer. Sin, sickness, and the forgiveness of sins are once again affirmed in conjuncture.

In the early church the traditional practice of the use of oil for healing purposes accompanied by prayer became distinctively Christianized. The Orthodox Church defines the anointing of the sick as one of the major sacraments of the church, instituted by Jesus Christ himself. Its sacramental significance arises from the fact that its purpose is the removal of sins, the restoration of communion between humanity and God, and (only last in that series) the restoration of health. Sacred oil in the church's understanding conveys the presence and operation of the healing power of the Holy Spirit.

Jesus himself, who is the sacrament, the visible presence of God and divine grace in the world, did not use oil for healing purposes in his ministry; but his apostles elevated sacred anointing as a major part of their healing ministry, and so it has been used in the Orthodox Church ever since. Holy oil is central to the sacrament of anointing of the sick, as well as being used in association with the exorcism and strengthening ritual of baptismal candidates in the early stages of the rite (Oil of Gladness).

The early church's ritual for healing using blessed oil can be seen in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, a work of the early 3rd century. It describes a procedure of blessing oil for the sick during the Eucharistic liturgy. Another early text, the *Apostolic Constitution*, dating to the late 4th century, mirrors this earlier description of the blessing of oil. The *Prayer Book of Serapion*, compiled in the 4th century by an Egyptian bishop and disciple of St. Athanasius, gives us a concrete example of the prayer over the oil. Aphrahat, a Syrian theologian of the 4th century, also provides a description of various sacramental uses of consecrated oil, among which we can find the anointing of the sick. Later, in the 11th century, a Byzantine manuscript (reflecting the background of the Letter of St. James) describes how the sacrament ought to be celebrated by seven presbyters on seven consecutive days. Even so, already by the 11th century the service of anointing the sick had been shortened for practical reasons, was performed in one day and generally separated from its original liturgical context (although confession and reception of the Eucharist are still closely associated with the rite, albeit celebrated more often than not in the home of the sick person today). Finally, by the 14th century the sacrament of anointing of the sick acquired its final form, as still reflected

in the Orthodox service books. Seven priests are still regarded as an ideal number to celebrate this sacrament (when the various prayers, gospel readings, and anointings are distributed among them), but a lesser number can also proceed with the sacrament.

There is a large variety of elements involved in the celebration of the sacrament, but it is possible to mark two constant factors: the prayer of blessing over the oil and the prayer of actual anointing. It should be noted that the sacrament of anointing has never become a part of a regular cycle of services in the church (even though a related service is celebrated on the Wednesday evening of Great Week), but rather was accomplished according to particular needs and customs. Although today's form of the service is much simpler and shorter than in the past, it still can take several hours. The sick person is not expected to be actively responsive, although he or she bears the gospel book, lying on it if necessary.

The rite of anointing includes beautiful physical as well as spiritual dimensions. Its ultimate goal is the forgiveness of sins and the restoration of communion with God for the sick person, and thus spiritual healing. However, the physical aspect of healing is also of great concern. Due to a holistic image of the human being as a psychosomatic unity, these two aspects of healing are always in a conjunction, in which the priority is, as usual in the church, given to the spiritual aspect of healing. The ritual always recognizes and calls upon the Lord of Mercies who gave us our close unity of body and soul, and whose word can cast out our sins as well as our diseases.

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Antidoron

M. C. STEENBERG

Antidoron (lit. “instead of the gifts”) is bread blessed during the course of the divine liturgy and distributed to the faithful at its conclusion. In practice it is normally the excess portions of the *prosphora* used in the Proskomedie. In the Greek Orthodox traditions it is blessed by the priest after the consecration of the gifts.

Antidoron is not to be confused with the consecrated bread (the Lamb) received in Communion. Traditionally, it was given to those who did not receive Communion at the service; however, today it is often received by all. Differing traditions hold to different practices on whether antidoron may be received by non-Orthodox, and whether one must fast in order to receive it.

SEE ALSO: Divine Liturgy, Orthodox; Eucharist; Fasting; Proskomedie (Prothesis)

Antimension

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

The word means “in place of the altar table” and denotes the cloth that is used in the Divine Liturgy (similar to the western Corporal) on which the Chalice and Diskos will stand after the Great Entrance. It is kept on the holy table, folded, underneath the gospel book until the time of the Litany of the Faithful, at which point it is unfolded for the Anaphora. The cloth is normally about two square feet in dimension and bears a printed icon of the Body of the Savior taken down from the cross. It has relics of the saints sewn into it and bears the authorizing signature of the ruling diocesan bishop. If a new church is consecrated the bishop sanctifies the Antimension at the same time by wiping it over the sacred chrism that has been spread over the altar stone. Divine Liturgy cannot be celebrated without an Antimension, but in times of emergency the Antimension can substitute for the altar itself.

SEE ALSO: Anaphora; Divine Liturgy, Orthodox

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Antioch, Patriarchate of

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

Antioch has a glorious Christian past. It was here that one of the most vibrant Christian communities in the apostolic age sprang up, and here that the first tentative workings out of the relation between Jewish and Gentile disciples of Jesus took place. The Apostle Peter was based here as a leader of the church community before he moved towards his martyrdom at Rome, and many scholars believe that it was in this church also that the Gospel of Matthew received its final editing and arrangement in the Greek text. It was one of the main cities of the international Christian world, third-ranking city of the Roman Empire (after Rome and Alexandria), site of great achievements and momentous struggles, with several martyrdoms during the time of the Roman persecutions, that made it feature high in the calendar of the saints. But the advances of Islam from the 7th century onwards left Antioch's Christian civilization in a state of slow suffocation. It was also vulnerable to sociopolitical changes because of the way its ecclesiastical territories (those churches that looked to Antioch for guidance and which followed its traditions) were so widely scattered and into such impassable mountain territory, which made communication so hard to sustain but so easily disrupted.

Several of Antioch's greatest theologians have left their mark on the church's universal patristic tradition: writers such as Mar Theodore the Interpreter (of Mopsuestia), St. John Chrysostom, Mar John of Antioch, Theodoret of Cyr, and numerous ascetics and saints such as Sakhona, or Isaac of Nineveh. The cultural and theological sphere of influence exercised by the Syrian Church in its time of glory was much greater than the (very large) extent of its ancient territories. The Syrian ritual gave the substructure to the Byzantine liturgical rite, for example. It was also the

Syrians who perfected the art of setting poetic synopses of Scripture to sung melodies. The church's greatest poets such as Ephrem and Romanos the Melodist were Syrians who taught this theological style to Byzantium and prepared the way for the glories of medieval Orthodox liturgical chant. The Syrian Church, especially in its Golden Age between the 4th and 6th centuries, generously organized missions to Ethiopia, Persia, India, and China. Its presence in China historically has tended to be occluded because of the extensive burning of Syriac Christian literature by the later Renaissance missionaries who claimed the origination of Christianity in that continent, but there are stones from ancient times recording the arrival of the Syrian missionaries, and Chinese Christian folk elements show the ancient Syrian traces. The patriarchate of Antioch influenced the whole of ancient Cappadocia in its time, and it in turn influenced Armenia and Georgia. Patristic church leaders such as Basil the Great and Gregory the Theologian were mentored by Syrian hierarchs such as Meletios of Antioch or Eusebius of Samosata, the great defenders of the Nicene faith at the time of the Second Council of Constantinople. It was Meletios and Eusebius who summoned Gregory the Theologian to preach the *Five Theological Orations* at Constantinople, and although Eusebius was assassinated before he could make his presence felt there, Gregory only assumed the presidency of the Second Council of Constantinople in 381 after Meletios, unanimously acclaimed as its first president, had died unexpectedly.

In its time of glory, the Christian orators of Syria spoke and wrote the finest Greek in the Roman world. The schools of Antioch were renowned for the purity of their Greek eloquence. Writers such as Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom have left behind a memorial of work that reaches to the standards of the greatest of all Greek rhetoric. Gregory, for example, has been favorably compared to Demosthenes himself. John gained his epithet "Golden Mouth" because of the limpid quality of his Greek, but he was a Syrian by birth. This outpost, at Antioch, of pure Greek culture on the banks of the Orontes was a bubble that broke before the advance of Islam; and from the 7th century the flourishing of Christianity in the Antiochene patriarchate gave way to a long and slow twilight, with the

monasteries holding on the longest, often in inaccessible valleys and rock outcrops: an unknown treasure of the Christian world still, barely, surviving to this day. As the patriarchate of Constantinople flourished and grew in stature in the ambit of the Byzantine Empire, so did Antioch, almost by antithesis, decline in prestige and influence.

The first major land mass to go from Antioch's ecclesiastical territories of supervision was Asia Minor, which was assigned to the purview of the rising capital of Constantinople in the early 5th century. Then the Church of Cyprus successfully asserted its independence from Antioch between 431 and 488, using the cause of the christological tensions between Alexandria and Antioch to press its claims on the wider Christian churches. The vast territory of Persia asserted its independence in 424, after which point it refused its assent to the Council of Ephesus of 431 and fell away from communion with the Byzantine Orthodox. The theological divisions, represented in the Syrian territories first by pro-Nestorian theologians, then by (diametrically opposed) radical Cyrilline theologians, not only weakened Syrian Christianity by cutting it off from the Byzantine world, but heavily disrupted it internally, even to the extent of dividing the Syrian language itself (always a predominantly Christian affair) into two distinct groups of Serta and Estrangela. The continuing energy of the Persian anti-Cyrilline communities for many centuries afterwards drew away the allegiance of many Assyrian Christians from the patriarchate of Antioch. The continuing prevalence of the Miaphysite resistance to the Council of Chalcedon after the 6th century also drew away many other Syrians from the communion of the patriarch. Jerusalem became a separate patriarchate in 451 and took with it, out of the purview of Christian Antioch, the territory of Palestine. In later times the scattered state of the Syrian Christian communities and their appalling vulnerability to the forces of an increasingly hostile Islamic majority led to large numbers of the Syrian Christian communities fleeing for protection to the arms of a strong and missionary active Rome. Between 1600 and 1720 six patriarchs of Antioch made professions of allegiance to the pope. The result is that there are now large communities of Syrian Eastern Catholics. At the beginning of the 20th century there were no fewer than seven distinct Eastern Catholic communities in the Syrian

Church, all representing another historic fragmentation of the ancient patriarchate of Antioch, and seven senior hierarchs, all claiming the right to be, and be designated as, the Antiochene patriarch. The Orthodox patriarch chose to reside at Damascus, the newer capital, the Latin patriarch of Antioch used to reside at Rome, the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch at Mardin, and in addition there were the four Eastern Catholic Syrian communities: those of the Greek Melkites, the Armenians at Antioch, the Maronites, and the Syrians. The Latin patriarch was created and installed as the incumbent hierarch by the Crusaders in 1098, and the office lasted at Rome until the mid-20th century although it had become merely an honorific title from the 14th century onwards. The various residences of the hierarchs are now more disparate. The Orthodox patriarch of Antioch has traditionally been the one ancient see among the Orthodox to have sustained the closest and oldest ecumenical ties with Rome since the era of the Great Schism, even though in recent times the patriarchate of Constantinople has had the most publicized dealings with Rome.

The Orthodox recognize only one “patriarch of Antioch,” who is in communion with the other ancient patriarchates and autocephalous churches of the Orthodox Church, and who still resides at Damascus. The ancient city of Antioch is now Antakya, a small, provincial, and overwhelmingly Islamic town. The remaining jurisdictional territory presided over by the Orthodox patriarch is Syria and the Asiatic Roman provinces of Cilicia, Mesopotamia, and Isauria. Most of his faithful today are Arabic-speaking Christians. From 1724 to 1899 the Orthodox patriarch of Antioch was always a Phanariot Greek. Since that time Arabs have generally occupied the office. Today, there are just over a million Syriac-speaking Christians in the world and half a million Arabic speakers, who belong to the Antiochene patriarchate. The Orthodox patriarch’s flock currently consists of fewer than half a million faithful, centered largely in Syria, the Lebanon, and Iraq, with the rest, a considerable diaspora, largely in America. The patriarch’s title is “His Blessedness the Patriarch of Antioch the City of God, of Cilicia, Iberia, Syria, Arabia and All the East”: in short, the Roman Imperial Province of the *Oriens*.

In America the hierarchs of the Antiochene patriarchate have proved to be immensely creative and

open to the new situations presented by life in the New World. The Antiochene Orthodox there throughout the 20th century had a large degree of autonomy afforded to them by the patriarch and proved particularly ready to engage in evangelical mission. As well as being important pillars of support for their suffering church in the homelands, they have sponsored several highly valuable translations of the liturgical texts and prayer books in English, and in recent times have encouraged numbers of Evangelical Christians who have made their way into the Orthodox Church, both in America and England, and established them within their jurisdictional care.

SEE ALSO: Africa, Orthodoxy in; Assyrian Apostolic Church of the East; China, Autonomous Orthodox Church of

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Apocalyptic *see* Eschatology

Apodeipnon

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

The word signifies “after supper” in the Greek, and denotes the monastic office of night prayer corresponding in some senses to western Compline, although in the Orthodox daily offices there is also a later service of the late night called Mesonyktikon (lit. “the middle of the night”). Great Apodeipnon is prescribed for services in the Lent period, but a smaller service is in daily use. After the Trisagion prayers, Apodeipnon is composed of Psalms 50, 69, and 142, the Doxology and Creed. A Canon may be inserted at that point, and this is usually the time when Orthodox recite the Canon of Preparation for Communion before receiving the divine mysteries on the next day.

The service concludes with an alternating series of very fine prayers to Christ and the Blessed Virgin, with a prayer to the angels and a final litany of intercession.

Apodosis

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

Greek term meaning “giving away,” signifying the liturgical “leave-taking” of a great feast. The major festivals in Byzantine times lasted for many days with a variety of celebrations, both in the churches and in the streets. The first and last day of the festival were especially marked in church services by the main liturgical hymns and poetic compositions being performed that explained the theological significance of the events being celebrated. The Apodosis was almost like the last recapitulation of festivities before the festival was drawn to a close and “ordinary liturgical time” resumed.

Apolysis

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

Greek term for “Dismissal,” the short series of prayers and repeated blessings that end an Orthodox service. The Apolysis of the Sunday Divine Liturgy commences with the extended blessing that invokes the resurrected Christ (“May he who rose from the dead, Christ our true God, through the prayers of ...”) and goes on to name a whole list of saints, including the Theotokos, the apostles, the saint who composed the liturgy that is being used (St. Chrysostom, Basil, or James, for example), the church’s patronal saint, and the saints commemorated that day in the calendar. Shorter forms of Dismissal are found in other services of the hours. On weekdays the Apolysis begins without invoking the resurrection as such (“May Christ our true God ...”).

Apolytikion

DIMITRI CONOMOS

The principal troparion of the day, chanted at the end of Vespers (hence its name, which means “dismissal hymn”), and celebrating the particular feast or saint

being commemorated. It is also known as the “troparion of the feast” or the “troparion of the day.” On Great Feasts it is sung three times at the end of Vespers, four times at Matins: three times after “The Lord is God,” and once at the end of Matins, immediately after the Great Doxology; once at the Liturgy, after the Little Entrance and the Introit; at Great Compline and at all the Hours.

SEE ALSO: Troparion

Apophaticism

JUSTIN M. LASSER

The Greek term *apophasis* denotes a manner of doing theology by “not speaking.” As the alpha-privative prefix suggests, the term is concerned with a negating function. In some forms apophaticism exists as a check on *kataphatic* or assertive theology or philosophy. The style of apophatic theology was first developed by the Platonic school philosophers, and creatively used by Plotinus, as well as appearing in some of the Gnostic literature (*Apocryphon of John*, *Trimorphic Protennoia*). Apophaticism, stressing that God exceeds the boundaries of all terms that can be applied to the divinity by human mind or language, is above all else a means of preserving mystery amid a world of theological assertions. Apophaticism preserves the religious apprehension of the mystical in a more sophisticated way than the simple asseveration of dogmatic utterances.

The Nag Hammadi writings (recovered in 1945) exhibit the earliest forms of Christian apophaticism. Clement and Origen of Alexandria both developed early Orthodox forms of apophaticism which were inherited and developed especially by St. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orations* 27–8) and St. Gregory of Nyssa (*Contra Eunomium*) in their controversy with the Arian logicians Eunomius and Aetius. The theology of these radical Arians (Heterousiasts) against which the Cappadocians asserted apophaticism as a way of refuting their deductions about God’s nature (which Aetius had affirmed was simple and directly knowable through logical method and literal exegesis) was itself a form of apophaticism, since they posited the negation “un-originate” (*agenētos*) as the first principle of their doctrine of God.

Evagrius of Ponticus, disciple of the Cappadocians, transformed Christian apophaticism into a theology of prayer, encouraging his disciples to pray without using any mental images. The first Orthodox Christian writer to employ apophaticism systematically was the great 5th-century Syrian theologian Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. His treatises on the *Divine Names* and the *Mystical Theology* stand at the very pinnacle of Orthodox apophatic theology. Dionysius believed that the descriptive (affirmative or positive-utterance) elements in revelation were intended to provide a ladder by which the initiate would climb by negating each descriptive assertion about God. Dionysius' writings, considering the theological controversies that preceded them, were astoundingly thought provoking. Concerning the divinity, Dionysius wrote: "It is not a substance [ousia], nor is it eternity or time. ... It is not Sonship or Fatherhood ... it falls neither within the predicate of non-being nor of being" (*Mystical Theology*, in Rorem 1987: 141). Even so, Dionysius could still begin his treatise praying to the divine Trinity and would develop all his thought in the matrix of the divine liturgy. Such are the paradoxes of the apophatic approach.

In the modern era, Orthodox theologians such as Vladimir Lossky have used apophaticism as a means of distinguishing a "proper" form of Orthodox theology from what they often described as "Western theology" that they found to be too assertive or *kataphatic* (scholastic) in character. This school has often described Orthodox theology's "Great Captivity" by scholastic forms after the 18th century, and believed a renewal of apophaticism would release it. This sweeping generalization of western thought neglected the truth that Orthodox theological tradition itself was and is highly *kataphatic* in terms of its dogmatic tradition, and uses philosophical categories of discourse just as readily as have Catholicism and Protestantism in times past. The enduringly valuable aspect of the Orthodox apophatic tradition is the manner in which it guards the mystery of the divine revelation in its theological traditions.

SEE ALSO: Gnosticism; Lossky, Vladimir (1903–1958); St. Dionysius the Areopagite

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Aposticha

SOTIRIOS A. VLAVIANOS

The Aposticha (Ἀπόστιχα in Greek) are sets of hymns accompanied by verses from the Old Testament. They belong to the family of liturgical hymns called *Stichera* and are chanted towards the end of Vespers and weekday Orthros (Matins) in the Orthodox Church. Depending on the day of the week or the feast, their content may refer to themes concerning the resurrection, crucifixion, apostles, martyrs, compunction of soul, or those who have fallen asleep.

SEE ALSO: Hymnography; Idiomelon; Orthros (Matins); Sticheron; Vespers (Hesperinos)

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Apostolic Succession

JUSTIN M. LASSER

Orthodoxy begins not with definition or argumentation, but with an intimate and revelatory encounter with its Lord. It is this awe-inspiring engagement that the Orthodox Church yearns to preserve in all it does. Whether it is like the woman who reached out to touch Christ's garment, the rich man that went away in shame, or the disciples trembling before their transfigured Lord, the church's primary function has been



Plate 4 St. Matthew the Evangelist. By Eileen McGuckin. The Icon Studio: www.sgtt.org.

to preserve and hand on the “Tradition” of these revelatory moments, as continuing gateways of grace for his present disciples.

The Orthodox preserve and enact the occasion of Jesus’ sending-out (*apostellein*) of his followers to proclaim the good news to all who would listen. Indeed, for the Orthodox, this “sending-out,” this mission of Christ, never ended. The term “apostolic succession” derives from the Greek word *apostolos* which can be translated as “a sent-one.” This term marks an important transition in the Christian experience. The *mathētes*, the follower, takes on a new role as one who is sent-out not merely to proclaim the Kingdom of God, but to *enact* the Kingdom of God; in other words, to bring the reality of Christ to those seeking. The apostles were not sent-out so much to *prove* the Christian faith as to *live* as Christ, teach Christ’s message, and to establish a space where those seeking might encounter Christ.

The essence of the apostolic preaching is captured in St. Peter’s paradigmatic proclamation, “You are the

Christ, the Son of the Living God” (Mt. 16.16). This *kerygma* was and remains the substance of all that apostolicity means. It is this mystery and stunning realization that the apostolic preaching is intended to impart and enact. Because the apostolic mission never ended, the Orthodox affirm that this *kerygma*, this living proclamation of the Kingdom of God, was passed on to the successors of the apostles.

In the 2nd century the church encountered a variety of novel expressions of the Christian faith which were, for many, foreign to the faith they were taught as catechumens. These circumstances provided the stimulus behind the emergence of an ecclesiastical conservatism that was consolidated in the office of the bishop. This conservative ecclesiastical oversight of the bishops served as means to protect, preserve, and transmit the simple and profound Tradition of the Apostles. This Tradition was preserved in a variety of forms, including the Canon of Holy Scripture, the liturgical creeds, and the Eucharistic assembly. This tradition is not understood as a mere historical “narrative,” but a concrete historical reality.

The works of St. Justin the Martyr and St. Clement of Alexandria, among many others, demonstrate Orthodox appropriation of the wider philosophical vocabulary in an effort to proclaim Christian truth. However, when the “different” or heretical articulations of the *kerygma* infringed upon the experience of Christ, the Orthodox reacted immediately. These reactions came in the form of demonstrations of apostolicity. One of the first to offer an Orthodox response to alien or wildly innovative articulations of the Christian faith was St. Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 135–200) in his *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* and *Against Heresies* (*Adversus Haereses*). According to Irenaeus, his own grasp of authentic apostolic teaching was demonstrated by his relation (and obedience) to the teachings he derived from the martyr Polycarp in Smyrna, whom he knew and recognized as a teacher, and who had himself received his doctrine both from Ignatius of Antioch and from St. John the Apostle. This formulation of a lineage of known and revered authoritative teachers, which could be publicly demonstrated (as in the lists of episcopal successions of local churches demonstrably in communion with other local churches, all of whom could point to a commonality of spiritual life and teachings), was

important in establishing what the Orthodox meant by apostolic succession – that is, the transmission of the sacred Tradition from Jesus to the apostles, and from the apostles to the bishops, and from the bishops to the faithful in each local church. Apostolicity, for Irenaeus, above all meant consonance with the canonical scriptural tradition (what he called the apostolic faith); and a method of exegeting those scriptures where the historical concreteness and open meaning were given preference over secret gnostic speculations.

Another important early witness to apostolic succession is Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 170–236), who wrote the *Apostolic Tradition*. Hippolytus bears witness to early practices of liturgical celebration, ordination, baptism, and prayers. Both Hippolytus and an early 2nd-century text, the *Didache* (or the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*), preserve a snapshot of the early consolidation of the office of the bishop and the church consolidating around the Eucharist. The early writings (known from the 17th century as the “Apostolic Fathers”) of the mainly 2nd-century theologians (including Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Papias, and others) also demonstrate the spirit of Orthodox apostolic succession, exhibiting again the importance of the figure of the bishop, the centrality of harmonious inter-church unity, and the preservation of an authentic encounter with Christ as revealed in the canonical scriptures.

The Orthodox Church preserves, as an extremely important mechanism of its enduring apostolicity, the coming together of its spiritual leaders in council or synod. This process is based upon the archetype of the Apostolic Council recorded in Acts 15. As the apostles themselves gathered harmoniously to debate certain issues that could potentially divide the church, so the later bishops established synods (the Greek means “to come together”) and from the 2nd century in Asia Minor there is evidence that this became a normal way of the local churches to ensure commonality of doctrine and practice in the larger domain. This practice of joining together to decide important issues is continued even today in the Orthodox Church. As heirs of the apostles it is believed that the inspiration of the Holy Spirit especially attends the important deliberations of the hierarchs gathered in prophetic assembly for the teaching

and preservation of faith and good order in the churches. In this manner, the joining together of the successors of the apostles affirms the living experience of Christ in his church, an experience that is both ancient and contemporary. The attendant inspiration of the Holy Spirit is seen as preeminently present in the ecumenical councils of the church, to which the highest level of authority is given by the Orthodox in terms of maintaining the authentic Christian faith of the apostles in different ages and different circumstances.

While it may seem that the complex theological formulations of the later councils move away from the simplicity of the earliest apostolic witness, as given in the simpler statements of Holy Scripture, it is important to remember that these conciliar declarations (which make confident use of philosophy and subtle doctrine) are not definitions of the intimate encounter with Christ, as much as they are the *responses* to that experience – they defend and preserve that experience. In other words they are not new statements replacing the scriptural record of the apostles, rather they are commentaries upon the biblical faith of the apostles. They uncover and proclaim again in new ages the depth of the mystical meeting with Christ. The profundity of the philosophical-theological language of the councils (introducing such terms as *homoousion* or *hypostasis*) serves to reflect the profundity of the Christ experience. Though this experience always extends beyond exact articulation in words, since it is greater than any words, and cannot be contained by them, it is nonetheless understood by the most simple-hearted Orthodox Christian, even by the youngest child, who can have as authentic a faith in Christ as a learned sage. Everything in the Orthodox Church – from its dogmas, to its icons, to its liturgy – serves to recreate, reenact, and make real the simple, yet awesome, experience of the living Christ: the same Lord who moves in his church today who once spoke to the original apostles in Galilee. This selfsame Christ is the core experience of the apostles, and it is the experience which the successors of the apostles, the bishops, are entrusted to preserve. It is in this way that the Orthodox faithful proclaim every Sunday: “I believe in One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.” The Orthodox

Christians preserve and encounter that ancient apostolic experience of meeting Christ, while recognizing that this “meeting” is not only a matter of ancient truth, but a challenge and invitation made available in the present moment of grace: the *Kairos* that extends from the incarnation to the eschaton.

SEE ALSO: Apophaticism; Ecumenical Councils; Episcopacy; Heresy

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Archdeacon

MARIA GWYN MCDOWELL

A rank of the diaconate. Historically the archdeacon is a title of honor given to chief deacons who are also monastics. In contemporary practice the archdeacon is an administrative rank designating the deacon attached to the person of a bishop who holds primary responsibility and honor among the episcopal staff. The archdeacon is elevated, not ordained, to the new rank. An archdeacon can be married, celibate, or monastic.

SEE ALSO: Deacon; Deaconess; Ordination; Protodeacon

Architecture, Orthodox Church

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

Today, it is almost impossible to determine anything about the architecture of the very earliest Christian communities. Our picture of the condition of church buildings in the first two centuries is generally provided by the missionary situation of the New Testament communities. The first believers shared table fellowship “from house to house” (Acts 2.46; 5.42). Paul mentions whole households being converted at once (as the master converted so did their *oikoi*, or households) and he often sends greetings to the “Church in the house” of various people (1 Cor. 16.19; Rom. 16.5; Phlm. 2; Col. 4.15). The New Testament and other early literature mentions Christian assemblies in “Upper Rooms” that were probably hired (Acts 20.7), lecture rooms (Acts 19.19), and warehouses (*Passion of Paul* 1).

It is generally thought that from the end of the 1st century, villas of the wealthier members of the church increasingly were adapted and used for the purposes of the liturgical assembly, but no solid evidence is available, and much relies on deduction from a very small number of cases. It seems a reasonable supposition that the fluid arrangements of the earliest Christian generations increasingly gave way to specifically ordered church buildings. A rare example of a so-called “house church” from this later period of consolidation exists in Dura Europos, a Roman border town in Syria. Discovered in 1920, excavations in 1939 revealed a small mid-2nd-century Christian building that had been remodeled from a normal house. The exterior remained the same as other houses in the street, but the interior walls had been extensively redesigned to make a large rectangular assembly hall. Another small room was made into a dedicated baptistery, with a canopied font set into the floor and wall frescoes illustrating gospel scenes. From the 3rd century onwards, some of the houses of famous martyrs also became places of worship, such as the house of John and Paul on the Caelian hill in Rome which in its elaboration into a church assimilated an adjacent apartment block. Other private villas were given to the church by wealthy patrons for the purposes of worship. In the time of the Diocletianic persecution of the early 4th century, Lactantius notes in his



Plate 5 Holy Trinity Church, Sergiev Posad. Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis.

Divine Institutes that the Christian church at Nicomedia was a notable public building, and was deliberately burned by imperial troops. Several prestigious churches at Constantinople took their origin from the donation of senatorial villas to church use in the 4th century, a practice which had begun with grants of imperial property and civic basilicas in the time of Constantine (who had commenced this practice to afford some form of reparation of property to the Christians who had suffered confiscation of buildings and goods in the persecutions of the preceding centuries). The Lateran Basilica is one example of such a gift. Other churches were custom-built by Constantine, including the Anastasis (Holy Sepulchre) in Jerusalem, and the shrine of Peter on the Vatican hill at Rome. Both were basilical-style buildings with adjoining martyria.

After emerging from the era of persecutions, Christians increasingly built their own churches, as

well as adapting basilicas gifted to them by the emperor. Some of the best ancient basilicas, least adapted, that remain are in Orthodox use: the Church of Transfiguration at St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, and the Nativity Church at Bethlehem, given as a donation of Constantine in the 4th century. After the 5th century, many pagan temples were also taken over for use as Christian churches. Some of the most dramatic examples are the Pantheon in Rome, the Parthenon in Athens, and the Serapeum in Alexandria.

The donation of basilicas had a strong impact on later Christian architecture. This was substantially a rectangular hall, with an apsidal benched end (originally for magistrates) and was to become one of the most common formats of Christian building, in which case the apse was oriented to the East (an aspect not usually observed in pre-Christian basilicas that were taken over from the pagans). Churches built



Plate 6 Interior of St. Catherine's Monastery, 19th-century print, the Basilica of the Transfiguration. Holy Land Art/Alamy.

over special sites or holy places were often marked by a distinctive architectural shape. Martyria (the tombshrines of martyrs that developed into churches) were often octagonal or rotunda in shape. Octagonal church building in the East also usually designated a particular commemoration of a site: biblical holy places or the like being enclosed in a clear geometric design, with surrounding colonnades to allow pilgrims access to the holy place. The great Church of the Anastasis built by Constantine at Jerusalem combined a rotunda over the site of Christ's death, with a large basilica attached to the holy place by colonnaded porticoes. The design of the buildings in Jerusalem had a powerful effect on the determination of liturgical rites (such as processions or circumambulations) in many other churches of Christendom.

In the Greek East after the 5th century a new form of Christian architecture came into favor and was pat-

ronised by powerful emperors. Justinian's churches of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, later to be followed by his monumental Hagia Sophia at Constantinople (replacing a basilica-type predecessor church on the site), used the idea of a squared cross floor plan set under a central dome (frequently with extra apsidal half-domes added on). This "Byzantine" style soon superseded the basilica in the Greek speaking and Slavic East, but the Armenian churches combined elements of both the squared Byzantine cross and the western basilica and formed their own distinctive synthesis.

One of the common determinants in all matters relating to church architecture was the relative wealth of the local church. Ethiopia and the Coptic Churches retained a simplicity of architectural forms in marked contrast to the burgeoning of building that was characteristic of the Latin and Byzantine Churches in their imperial expansions. After the 3rd century

almost all Christian churches were fashioned to reflect a biblical typology of the Jerusalem Temple as fulfilled in the Christian mysteries. The altar area (sanctuary) was occupied by the priestly ministers, and was increasingly marked off from the main body of the church (the nave) occupied by the faithful, and from the portico (narthex) which was given over to the catechumens and those undergoing penitential discipline. The Eastern liturgies witnessed a regular movement backwards and forwards between the two areas by the deacons who had charge of public prayers.

The development of the Byzantine iconographic tradition, especially after the 8th-century iconoclastic crisis, also stimulated reflection on the shape of church buildings as an earthly mirror of the heavenly cosmos. The pattern of depicting prophets and saints, with Christ in Judgment typically occupying the central dome, and the Virgin with liturgical saints in the sanctuary area, attempted to mark a linearly progressive movement (from the narthex frescoes of Old Testament saints one entered deeper into the church with New Testament scenes until one arrived at Christ in glory), and also a vertically progressive movement (from the lower walls where ascetics and other saints gave way in an upwards sweep to great martyrs, angels, and the Mother of God).

Declining economic conditions after the 8th century made the typical village church in Orthodox lands usually a small and intimate affair (in marked contrast to Hagia Sophia, which still served as a style model). In the West the basilical form proved to be a fertile matrix for a number of stylistic developments and variations, such as Romanesque and, in the medieval period, Gothic and Perpendicular. In Orthodoxy the church building (as distinct from the Church considered as the redeemed body of Christ's elect, the *Ekklesia*) is designated with a completely separate name: the Temple (Greek: *Naos*; Slavonic: *Kram*), deliberately drawing typological resonances with the biblical Temple, which Christ himself said he had "fulfilled" by his self-identification with the concept of the holy place on earth where God dwelt among humankind (Mt. 12.6; Jn. 1.51, 2.19).

SEE ALSO: Iconography, Styles of; St. Constantine the Emperor (ca. 271–337); Sinai, Autocephalous Church of

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Arianism

M. C. STEENBERG

"Arianism" refers to the theological doctrines emerging out of the dispute between the presbyter Arius of Alexandria (ca. 250–336) and his bishop, Alexander of Alexandria (d. 326). Their clash centered on the person of the Son and his relationship to the Father; namely, whether the Son and the Father are divine in the same manner and degree. Arius' famous claims that "before he [the Son] was begotten, or created, or purposed, or established, he was not" (*Letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia*) and "[the Son is] a perfect creature of God, but not as one of the creatures" (*Letter to Alexander*), encapsulate the central tenets of what would come to be known as Arianism: that the Son came into being at the will of the Father (and therefore that he is not eternal in the same way as the Father), and that he is therefore a creature fashioned by the Father – though one of "divine" stature, distinct from all other creation. The teachings of Arius were officially condemned by way of the creed and anathema of the First Ecumenical Council (Council of Nicea, 325), called, at least in part, specifically to respond to what scholars have called the "Arian problem"; yet the proliferation of theological systems built upon these foundations carried on through the 4th century and beyond, particularly through the so-called "Neo-Arian" (Anhomioian) movements of the 360s–380s.

"Arianism" is, however, a term prone to wide generalization and with a long history of polemical misuse. Furthermore, the abundance of systems

collectively called Arian, but which in fact may have little or no direct connection to the life or thought of Arius himself, make a right understanding of the historical situation especially relevant.

Arius' dispute with Bishop Alexander began ca. 318, when he, having heard the bishop's homilies pronounce such statements as "Always God [the Father], always Son" and "the Son coexists unbegotten with God" (as recounted by Arius, *Letter to Eusebius*), began publically to question whether these in fact authentically expressed the scriptural confession of the church. Scholars hotly debate whether Arius' primary impulses, in fashioning his critique, were philosophical, textual, or soteriological; but whichever of these may have been his motivations (most likely, a combination of all three), he asserted that the scriptural language of the Son as "begotten" by the Father clearly indicated a beginning to the Son's existence, "before which, he was not." To the mind of the presbyter, Alexander's seeming dismissal of the genuine coming-into-being of a "begotten" Son threatened to mix up the divinity of Son and Father, resulting either in a conflated godhead, or a duality of Gods. Arius' assertion, then, was that the Son's existence is categorically distinct from that of the Father: the one Creator, the other creature. And yet, the creatureliness of the Son (Arius used the Greek *ktisma* for "creature," assigned to the divine wisdom in the Scriptures – Prov. 8.1, 22) was not meant by him as a denigration, nor a denial of divinity. Arius expressly asserted that the Son *is* divine (*Letter to Eusebius*: "he has subsisted for all time ... as perfect God"), but in a manner distinct from the divinity of the Father. It was precisely this concept of "created divinity" that allowed the Son, in Arius' understanding, to be both Creator and Savior of all else in creation, while at the same time not being a "second god" coordinate to the Father.

Despite his intention to defend older scriptural confessions, and indeed his great influence upon numerous theologians and ecclesiastical figures of the day (many of whom felt his expression better reflected the straightforward meaning of the Scriptures than Alexander's elevated *Logos* theology of the eternal birth), the church's ultimate determination was that a "divinity" to the Son such as Arius described was inauthentic to Christian confession and failed to articulate a truly co-equal divinity of Father and Son.

The core concept of "created divinity" was rejected as contradictory. This response came first in the context of Nicea's creedal statement, in which the Son is described as "begotten not made" (refuting Arius' assertion that the Son's being "begotten" equated to his "being a creature") and "*homooousios* with the Father" – that is, of the same *ousia* or divine essence as the Father. While the introduction of the latter term would spark intense debate even among Nicea's supporters (on the grounds that it was new to Christian theological discussion, was not a term found in the Scriptures, and to many was unclear in its positive meaning), the combination of these two phrases at Nicea effectively ruled out Arius' mode of expression; and the anathema found at the end of the creed made the refutation of Arius' own phrasing yet more explicit. Nonetheless, confusion over the terminology of Nicea, as well as the abiding propensity towards adopting a logical position similar to Arius' own, meant that the disputes did not end with the First Ecumenical Council.

The thought of Arius grew into a broader movement in the decades following Nicea, and particularly from the 350s (some fifteen years after Arius' death), when St. Athanasius the Great and others began to argue for a centralization of the Nicene conciliar expressions in the face of mounting "Arian" activity. It is then that we begin to see descriptions of the movement as "Arianism" (though Athanasius' preferred term for his opponents is "Ariomaniacs" – a pun with the sense of "foolish war-mongers"), and the decades leading to the Second Ecumenical Council (Constantinople, 381) would involve some of the most significant figures of the early church in reacting to various "Arian" groups: St. Basil of Caesarea, St. Gregory the Theologian, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and many others.

Today, "Arianism" is often used in a general sense to indicate any theological system in which the divinity of the Son is downplayed or denied, or in which the Son is considered temporal or creaturely, rather than eternal and uncreated. In this it in part reflects the teachings once put forward by Arius, but also incorporates aspects of the theological disputes that did not emerge until well after his time. The legacy of Arius and earliest Arianism was ultimately to spur on the precise terms of the articulation of the Holy Trinity

by the church's theologians and councils, both in the denunciation of his teaching specifically, but also through the realization, occasioned by the broader Arian disputes, of just how much variation in trinitarian expression existed in the various 4th-century church communities.

SEE ALSO: Cappadocian Fathers; Christ; Council of Constantinople I (381); Council of Nicea I (325); Council of Nicea II (787); Deification; Ecumenical Councils; Fatherhood of God; Heresy; Holy Trinity; St. Athanasius of Alexandria (ca. 293–373)

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Armenian Christianity

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Although there may have been missionaries working in Armenia from earlier times (Dionysius of Alexandria speaks in a letter of 260 CE about Bishop Meruzanes of Armenia [Eusebius, *H.E.* 6.46.2] and also tells that the Armenians were Christian in the time of Maximin's persecution in 312: *H.E.* 9.8.2.), the Armenian Church symbolically traces its evangelization to the work of St. Gregory the Illuminator, who was ordained by the archbishop of Cappadocia in Caesarea in 314 and who baptized the Armenian King Trdat IV (Tiridates, r. 298–330). Later traditions also speak of the mission of the apostles Bartholomew and Thaddeus in the country. The Armenian relationship with Cappadocia was always close in ancient times, which itself was a see that had strong links with Syrian Church traditions. The history of the Church of Georgia was at times also closely bound up with it, until divergences over the Council of Chalcedon in

the 6th century drove them apart. The chief see of the new Armenian Church was settled by Gregory at Ashtishat near Lake Van, and for a considerable time after him the office of senior bishop, or *Catholicos*, was held in succession by members of his own family. In 390 the Byzantine and Persian empires subjugated Armenia, which lay at the critical juncture between both of them (a liminal fate which accounted for many of its later vicissitudes) and divided its territories among themselves, in the ratio of 20 percent western regions falling to Byzantine control, and 80 percent enclosed in the Persian Empire. At this time the primatial see was removed to Etchmiadzin near Mount Ararat, as recounted in the history of Agathangelos. The name derives from the Armenian for "Descent place of the Only Begotten" and relates to a story that St. Gregory the Illuminator had once had a vision of the Lord and an instruction that this site would one day become important for the church. The impressive cathedral built at this site was erected on the base of an ancient Zoroastrian fire temple.

After its inclusion in the two world empires of the day, the Armenian kingly line in the Byzantine (western) territories of Armenia was suppressed first, followed by the forced ending of the kingly line in the Persian territories in 428. Since that time Armenia has been the subject of a long line of subjugations: to the Persians, Arabs, Turks, and most recently the Russians. The first three overlords had no regard for the Christian traditions of the people, and the last had little desire for any cultural independence or (in communist times) for any religious renaissance. The religious literary and political aspirations of the Armenians have been sustained through long centuries of endurance in extraordinary ways. In the 20th century this involved the survival of genocide under Turkish rule (1915–22) and political suffocation under the Soviets. The reestablishment of a free political base in the modern Republic of Armenia (much diminished in territorial size from Antiquity) and the well-developed Armenian diaspora in the United States have proven to be bright lights in the turn of Armenian fortunes in modern times.

Among many outstanding Armenian Christian leaders throughout the ages must be counted St. Nerses (d. 373), who was the sixth catholicos and a direct descendant of St. Gregory. He was educated in

Cappadocian Caesarea and served at the royal Armenian court before becoming a priest after the death of his wife. After his election as catholicos ca. 363, he initiated a large-scale reform of the church; issuing many canons after the Council of Ashtishat in 365, concerning fasting regulations, and the forbidding of marriages in kindred degrees. His stand against the Arians, the resistance of many of the court nobles to the spread of Christianity, and the use of monastics in the evangelization process, are described in the 5th-century historical writings of P'awstos Buzand. Nerses founded hospitals and orphanages set under church supervision. King Arshak III deposed him after being the focus of Nerses' criticism for a dissolute life. His successor King Pap restored him in 369, but in turn decided to dispose of him when he too was criticized for immorality; which he did by the expedient of poisoning Nerses during a banquet. He was succeeded by his son, St. Isaac (*Sahak*) the Great, who was catholicos between ca. 397 and 438 and who was the last descendant of the bloodline of Gregory the Illuminator. It was during the reign of Pap that Armenia first stopped seeking the recognition of the metropolitans of Cappadocian Caesarea for the appointment of its catholicoi, and thus assumed an autonomous ecclesiastical existence.

St. Mesrob Mashtots (ca. 361–439) was for a long time the assistant bishop to St. Isaac and became the *locum tenens* after his death, for six months before his own death. He invented the distinctive national Armenian script, which was widely adopted after 406, as part of his lifelong concern to remove Syrian dependence in Armenian church life and establish national traditions and styles. From the 5th century onwards there was a large effort led by St. Mesrob and his disciples to translate Christian literature from other cultures into it, chief among which were the translations of the Bible in 410 (using Syriac manuscripts and later Greek exemplars) as well as key liturgical texts. In patristic times many of the church's writings were translated into Armenian, and as a result some theological texts now survive only in the Armenian versions that were made in Antiquity. Important examples of this are the *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* of St. Irenaeus and several of the *opera* of St. Ephrem the Syrian. Armenia first entered international Christian debate in the time of Mesrob,

whose disciples had been to Melitene to study Greek, and who were well aware that the city's bishop, Acacius of Melitene, had written in the strongest terms after the Ephesine council of 431 to protest the Constantinopolitan and Alexandrian denigration of the works of Mar Theodore Mopsuestia, a leading light of the Syrian Church. Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople 434–46, wrote a *Tome to the Armenians* which became an important standard of christological orthodoxy in Armenia and was long used afterwards as a significant reason to negate the influence of Chalcedon.

Because of the political unrest in the country during a rebellion of 451, there were no Armenian representatives at the Council of Chalcedon, though the Armenian Church authorities were kept apprized of developments and approved the *Henoticon* of Emperor Zeno at the Council of Dvin in 506. In 518 the Byzantine Church condemned the *Henoticon*, but it was not until 555, two years after Justinian's revisionist christological council, that the Armenian hierarchy decided that it would not endorse Chalcedon as a significant, ecumenical synod, nor adopt the "two-nature after the Union" theology which it had proposed as a standard. At that time the Armenian synod issued a censure of the Byzantine Church, explicitly condemning the theological errors of "both poles" of the debate: namely, Severus of Antioch, and Eutyches, on the one hand, and Theodore Mopsuestia, Nestorius, and the Council of Chalcedon, on the other. Since that time Armenian Christianity has often been categorized by commentators in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition as among the "Oriental Orthodox" anti-Chalcedonians, or "Monophysites," but this is a misleading oversimplification on both fronts. The formal christological position of the church is to endorse the Christology of the first three ecumenical councils, prioritizing St. Cyril of Alexandria's early formula: "One Physis of the Word of God Incarnate" (Miaphysitism, which meant in Cyril's hands "One concrete reality of the Incarnate Word of God," not so much an endorsement of a "singularity of nature" which is often meant by the later term "Monophysitism"). Seventh-century Byzantine emperors tried to reconcile the ecclesiastical division with Armenia, but their efforts were hindered by the Arab Islamic overrunning of the regions after the late 8th century. The

ecumenical moves to rapprochement from this time are described in a very important Armenian Church history known as the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (Garitte 1952).

Although Persian followed by Arab suzerainty covered the country for most of the next 700 years, the Bagratids managed to establish an independent Christian kingdom in Armenia from the end of the 9th century until the 11th. In the 10th century the Byzantine Empire regained control over much former Armenian territory and began to consecrate Chalcedonian bishops, but this did not have much effect in bringing about church union. This renewed political influence from the empire came to an end after the devastating Byzantine defeat by the Turks at Manzikert in 1072. After that time increasing contacts with the Crusader forces in Asia Minor and Cilicia, where large Armenian settlements had been established, caused the Armenian Church to look more than it had done hitherto to the Latin Christian world.

St. Nerses IV (1102–73), known as Nerses the Graceful, was catholicos in 1166 at Cilicia and is one of the most renowned Armenian Church writers, producing lyrical poetry on the events of salvation history, including a masterpiece widely known in Armenia from its opening lines: “Jesus Only Son of the Father.” In his lifetime St. Nerses was a strong advocate of union between the Armenian and Byzantine Orthodox. His negotiations with the emperors Manuel and Michael I were continued after his death by Catholicos Gregory IV (1173–93), who summoned a council at Hromkla in 1179 where Armenian bishops from Greater Armenia, Cilicia, Syria, and Asia Minor responded favorably to the prospect of reunion. Nerses the Graceful’s nephew, Nerses of Lambron, another of the great ecclesiastic poets of Armenia, also advocated the idea of union.

The Armenian Prince Leo was instrumental, however, in seeking closer ties with the West, hoping that Armenian political independence, and a kingly line, might be reestablished with western military assistance. Leo was crowned, with the support of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI and Pope Celestine III, on January 6, 1198, and this small independent kingdom, known as Little Armenia, lasted from the end of the 12th century until 1375. The Latinization process led by the king and the catholicos, chiefly in the Cilician

region, met with considerable opposition from the churches in Greater Armenia. Knights Templars and the Teutonic Knights supplied military protection to Armenia against the Turks, but the Mamluk Muslims won a decisive victory in 1260 and, when Hromkla, the ecclesiastic center, was captured in 1292, Catholicos Stephen moved to exile in Egypt. His successor, Catholicos Gregory VII, transferred the central seat of the catholicate to Sis (Antelias in Lebanon) and summoned a council there in 1307 which accepted many of the terms Rome had dictated for union. Resulting schisms among the Armenians over this issue caused among other things the institution of a separate Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem, which has had a distinguished history up to present times in the Armenian quarter of the Old City. In the later 14th and early 15th centuries there was a flowering of Armenian theology and philosophy, especially among pro-Roman Armenian writers, seen most notably in the works of Gregory Tat’evaci and his *Book of Questions*, which has a similar status in Armenian Church literature that John of Damascus had among the Byzantines, summing up a long tradition synthetically.

In 1307 the hierarchy of Little Armenia entered into formal relations with the patriarchate of Rome following the Council of Sis, a union that was reaffirmed at the Council of Florence (1438–9), though this settlement was not endorsed at the time by any Armenian council. The clergy and people of Greater Armenia, however, did not accept the union, and after their experience of discussions at the Council of Florence, where the westerners had set out a program for sacramental observance by the Armenians (the text of the *Pro Armenis*), they decided to reestablish the line of independent catholicos at Etchmiadzin in 1441. The catholicate at Sis entered a long period of relative political decline. The site was destroyed after the genocide in the early 20th century, and from the 1930s Antelias in Lebanon became the administrative center of the catholicate of Cilicia.

The Armenian Church in the period after the Middle Ages continued to be influenced by both Latin and Byzantine currents. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Armenian bishop of the city rose in importance. After the 18th century he was

recognized by the sultans as ethnarch of all the Armenian peoples in the Ottoman Empire. By this time Constantinople had become a major city where Armenian culture flourished. Venice, too, which provided printing presses for Armenian literature, was particularly significant in the 16th and 18th centuries in consolidating the Armenian religious and literary culture anew. After the Ottoman collapse, Constantinople quickly dwindled in significance, although Jerusalem remained until the 20th century as a significant center of Armenian affairs and pilgrimage center until demographic changes reduced its Armenian population drastically.

The issue of having disparate catholicates continued into the modern era, providing a polarized “sense of belonging” in the affairs of the Armenian Church, which has only had the occasion of being addressed more strenuously among the Armenians in very recent times. Apart from the Catholic Armenian communities, the Armenian Orthodox Church currently has the catholicate of Etchmiadzin in the Armenian Republic, as the dominant leadership center, and the catholicate of the Great House of Cilicia (currently with a jurisdictional remit over Lebanon, Syria, Cyprus, Greece, Iran, and parts of Canada and the Americas), along with two subordinate patriarchates (Constantinople and Jerusalem).

Armenian Church art used the fresco extensively, but the cult of icons was never developed as significantly as in Byzantium, and the cross (especially in the form of distinctive stone carvings) received a higher focal symbolism. Armenian Church building styles are very distinctive. The balance of pro-Roman Armenians to the Greater Armenian Church (sometimes called the “Gregorian Armenians” by Latin commentators) is now estimated as in the ratio of approximately 100,000 to something over 5 million.

The Armenian clergy are divided into two classes, the *vardapets* (doctors) from whose ranks the bishops are normally selected, who are easily recognized from their high-pointed cowls, and the parish priests who marry before ordination unless they chose the monastic lifestyle. Liturgically, they follow the ancestral liturgical tradition of the Church of Cappadocia, following the Gregorian calendar since 1923 (except at Jerusalem) and using St. Basil’s Liturgy in Armenian. Unleavened bread is used and communion is given

under two species by intinction. There are several later Latin influences in the ritual. The common priestly vestment is the *shurjar*, which is reminiscent of the Latin cope, and the bishops wear the pointed mitre. In accordance with the earliest level of Eastern Christian liturgical observances, Christmas is not celebrated in late December as a separate festival, but is part of the Theophany celebrations that last over the week following January 6. The catholicate of Etchmiadzin operates two seminaries at present, one at Lake Van and the other at Etchmiadzin; while the Great House of Cilicia organizes a seminary in Lebanon. There are other seminaries at Jerusalem and in New York State (St. Nerses, at New Rochelle, which collaborates in its instructional program with St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Seminary).

SEE ALSO: Georgia, Patriarchal Orthodox Church of

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Artoklasia

PHILIP ZYMARIS

The Artoklasia (lit. “breaking of bread”) is a service for the blessing of loaves celebrated at Vespers, recalling the gospel text of the multiplication of loaves (Mt. 14.15–21). Its original purpose was to bless and distribute food at monastic vigils to strengthen the monks, although it is presently celebrated at any

service. It is performed before a table placed on the solea upon which five round loaves, wheat, wine, and oil are placed.

SEE ALSO: Vespers (Hesperinos)

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Artophorion

THOMAS KITSON

The Artophorion (Greek for "bread carrier") is a container reserved in the altar area of an Orthodox church (usually on the holy table itself) that holds the consecrated Eucharist, preserved for the seriously ill and dying. Usually made from a non-corrosive or gilded metal in the form of a church (sometimes called "Zion" or "Jerusalem" in the Russian tradition), it symbolizes the presence of the New Covenant, by analogy with the Old Testament Ark of the Covenant in Moses' tabernacle and Solomon's temple (Mt. 26.28; Mk. 14.27; Jn. 16.32; Heb. 9.1–12). A small box called the "tomb" within the larger vessel holds the actual elements.

Asceticism

M. C. STEENBERG

Asceticism is understood in Orthodoxy as that way of life which prepares one for the Kingdom of God through the training and conditioning of the whole human person – body and soul – towards a Godly life, and its exercise in virtue. The Greek word *askesis* from which it derives means "exercise" or "training" and comes from an ancient sporting vocabulary used to indicate the various labors in which an athlete would engage in order to prepare himself for effective competition. In the spiritual life, it retains the notions of

preparation that the term's sporting heritage provides, as well as the associated concepts of self-sacrifice, struggle, and battle against the will, habits, and passions that such exercise and training require.

The injunction towards asceticism comes from the gospel, with Christ's statement that "the Kingdom of Heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by force" (Mt. 11.12) chief among its scriptural imperatives. The "violence" mentioned is of course not that of aggressive relationships (passionate violence), but the intentional and unrelenting work of the person against the impulses and desires of the fallen will, together with the corrupt body. Asceticism is this working against what is fallen in the human person, towards its correction, reformation, and purification, disavowing oneself of no means – however intense a struggle they may pose – by which this aim may be accomplished. It is, then, an approach to the advance in Christian virtue that follows the Lord's command: "Whosoever wishes to become my disciple, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me" (Mt. 16.24; Lk. 9.23).

Orthodox Christian asceticism manifests itself in many ways, the common bond between all being their value as tools by which the conditioning and training of the heart and body may take place. The most familiar ascetical struggles are fasting, which may tame the impulses of the body and the gluttony of will; the keeping of vigils, which may bridle the impulse toward indulgent rest and focus the mind and heart on God; and the attention to physical labors, which may orient the work of body and mind toward the remembrance of God. Other common ascetical practices include the lengthening of prayer rules; permanent abstention from certain foods (as with monastics, who refrain altogether from eating meat); increased participation in divine services; prostrations; increased use of the prayer rope (Jesus Prayer), and so on. In all cases, the acts in and of themselves are not considered the end products or indications of spiritual attainment; rather, they are the means by which such attainment becomes accessible to Christian struggle.

Asceticism goes beyond specific acts, however, in the Orthodox injunction to live an ascetical *life* – that is, a whole life oriented around self-sacrifice, willing labors toward the kingdom, and the bearing of one's cross in order to draw nearer to the Lord.

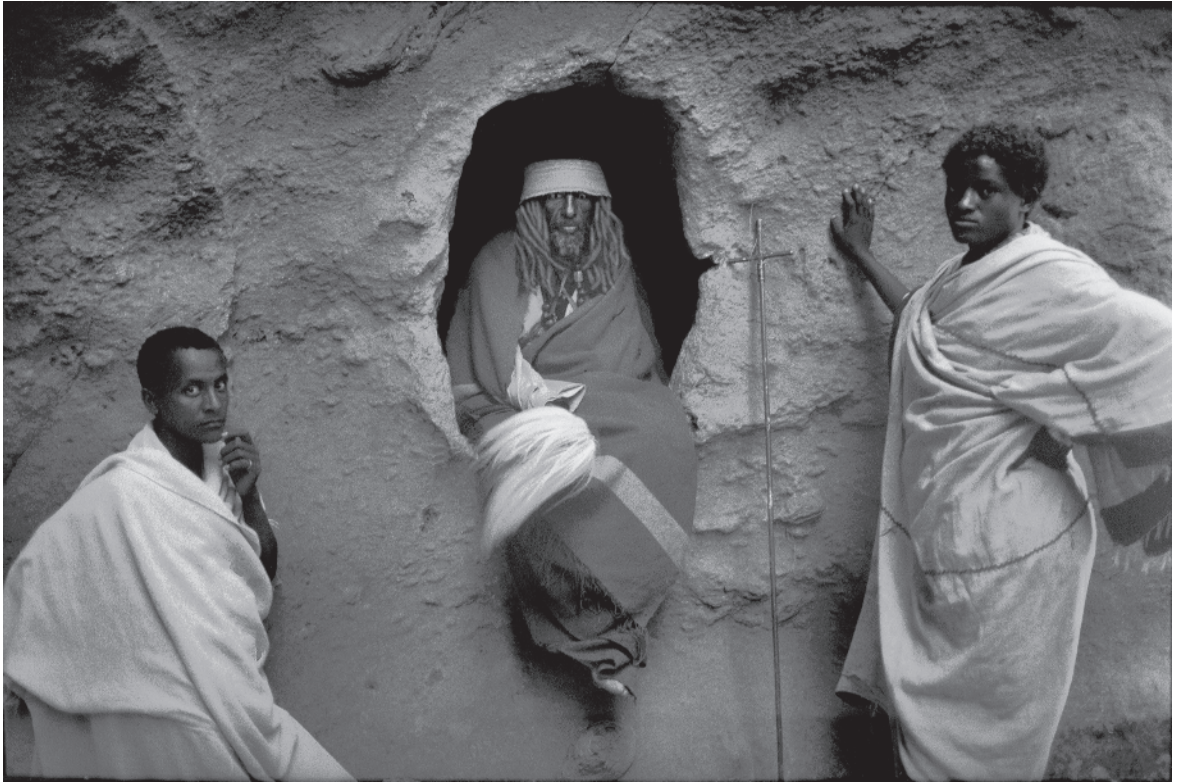


Plate 7 An Ethiopian hermit cave-dweller and his two deacon assistants. Photo Sulaiman Ellison.

SEE ALSO: Confession; Fasting; Monasticism; Repentance; Sexual Ethics

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Assyrian Apostolic Church of the East

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

The Assyrian Apostolic Church of the East belongs to the Oriental Orthodox family of churches in the

Syrian tradition. The word “Assyrian” was applied to them by the English (Anglican) missionaries of the 19th century (1885–1915) who first established a western mission among them (Coakley 1992), and wished to avoid the pejorative term “Nestorian” that had often been applied to them, so as to signal their different theological stance from both the Non-Chalcedonian Orthodox Miaphysite Churches (pejoratively called the Monophysites) and the Eastern Orthodox Chalcedonians. After this importation of the term by the Anglicans, many among them started to use the word to designate themselves, although an earlier and more common designation had been the “Church of the East.” A. H. Layard, who first excavated the archeological remains of Niniveh, was the first to suggest that the local Syrian Christians were the descendants of the ancient Assyrians, and the idea gained currency among the Anglican missionaries (Wigram 2002). Later, the title “Assyrian” was

imported and used among the Syrian Orthodox diaspora, especially in America, as a way to distance themselves as Syriac-speaking Christians from the Islamic State of Syria. The church regards itself not as "Nestorian," but Christian, while holding Mar Nestorius in honor as a continuator of the teachings of the Syrian saints Mar Theodore of Mopsuestia and Mar Diodore of Tarsus, whose theological teachings are regarded as authoritative expositions. It thus departs from the colloquium of the ecumenical councils, regarding Nicea I (325) as the only authoritative standard. The Council of Ephesus (431) was the occasion of the ancient rupture. But the Council of Chalcedon and Constantinople II deepened the fracture; the latter anathematizing Theodore and Diodore posthumously.

After the great christological arguments following on the heels of the Council of Ephesus (431) it was obvious to the imperial court at Constantinople that the task of reconciling the differing approaches to the christological problem would not be as easy as simply declaring and promulgating the "Ephesine" solution. At the council of 431 St. Cyril of Alexandria himself had been proposed as a suitable case for ecclesiastical trial by Nestorius, the archbishop of Constantinople. While it is not known whether Nestorius ever succeeded in persuading John, archbishop of Antioch of the utility of this approach, it is clear enough that he had persuaded several other Syrian theologians, including Theodoret of Cyr, that this was the right way to proceed. In their estimation, Cyril had so violently reacted to their own traditional Syrian language of "Two Sons" (the divine Son of God, the human Son of Man) that he had proposed to stand against it the Christology of the single hypostasis of the divine Lord. Many Syrians of his day heard these (relatively new) technical terms coming out of Alexandria as tantamount to what would later be classed as Monophysitism. "Hypostasis," which later came to be clearly recognized as a term connoting "Person," began life as a technical term for "Nature," and so the grounds for inter-provincial confusion in the ancient church were immense. The continuing prevalence of the schisms show that they remain so. Many at the time thought Cyril was simply teaching an incredibly naïve view that Godhead and Manhood were "mixed up together" so as to make for a hybrid presence of

the God-man Jesus. Believing that he had attacked their traditional Syrian teachers (Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodore of Tarsus) out of ignorance, and believing that Nestorius was simply a straightforward reiterator of the traditional Syrian language (not someone who turned it to new directions), both of which were questionable propositions, they were looking forward to Ephesus 431 as a chance to put Cyril on trial as a defendant. The Alexandrian and Roman Churches, on the other hand, went to Ephesus thinking that this was the occasion to put Nestorius on trial. The very late arrival of the Syrian representation, under John of Antioch's leadership, allowed the Cyrilline version of what Ephesus was to be about to win the day. Despite the protests of Nestorius and the imperial representatives, the council of 431 opened and condemned Nestorius' doctrine on several points, especially his rejection of the legitimacy of the *Theotokos* title, and his preference for the language of christological union as based on "graceful association" of the divine and human, and on *Prosopon* as a term of union, a term that could in certain circumstances be "plural" (the *prosopon* of Jesus, of the Christ, and of the Son of God). Soon after this, however, the Syrian delegation arrived, and hearing Nestorius' complaints, proceeded to condemn Cyril on the basis of alleged Monophysitism as contained in the 12 Anathemas attached to his *Third Letter to Nestorius*. The anathema demanding their assent to the phrase "One of the Trinity suffered in the flesh" was read, unsympathetically, in the most literal way as an unskilled theologian teaching a mythic "avatar" Christology, and deserving of censure.

The aftermath of Ephesus 431, therefore, was that divisions existing beforehand had been even more exacerbated. The emperor first enforced the condemnations of both Ephesine synods, and put Nestorius and Cyril under house arrest before eventually finding for Cyril's majority council, and sending Nestorius into retirement. The Alexandrian and Antiochene Churches, however (that major two way split which at that time more or less comprised the whole of the eastern provinces of the church), were left in great disarray. The Antiochene hierarchs only proclaimed their Ephesine synod, not news of Cyril's; and in Alexandria and Rome, Ephesus 431 was taken solely as a great triumph for Cyril and Rome, never paying

attention to the theological issues raised by the easterners. So it was that in 433 the imperial court sponsored a reconciliation based around a form of compromise between the radical Syrian (Two Sons) language and the terms of Cyril's mono-hypostatic language. This *Formula of Reunion* was probably composed in Syria (some have suggested Theodoret was the author), but was agreed to by Cyril and historically has been contained in his corpus of *Letters* as "Let the Heavens Rejoice." For the first time the two great church centers in Syria and Egypt began to see clearly the points of divergence between them, and were pressured by Constantinople to come to a resolution, which proved to be possible on the assertion that "two natures" in the one Lord were not confused. Syria was content that the two natures (Godhead and Manhood) should be discretely respected, while Alexandria was content that the principle of the single (divine) hypostasis of the One Christ (possessed of his divinity and humanity) should be affirmed.

Although this settlement in 433 restored communion between Alexandria and Antioch, it did not end the bad feelings. For the last years of his life, St. Cyril researched the writings of Mar Theodore and Mar Diodore and other leading Syrian christologians, and asserted to all who would listen that in his opinion they were reprehensible. In Syria, of course, they were regarded as the church's great and historic luminary saints. A further struggle was clearly brewing. It was abetted by the fact that Cyril's chief assistant, Dioscorus, regarded his archbishop's signing of the *Formula of Reunion* as a senile lapse, and determinedly reversed the policy after the death of Cyril in 444. Dioscorus wanted to return to Ephesus 431 and reassert the earlier Cyril who had put forward the mono-hypostatic Christology most forcefully and provocatively by advancing the formula *Mia Physis* (One Nature – Reality of God the Word made flesh). This dense Christology, although Orthodox in scope, could be (and certainly was) heard as out-and-out Monophysitism in Syria, because while the early Alexandrian usage of *Physis* meant "Concrete Reality" in more or less every other language zone, it had developed a restricted sense of "Nature"; and the whole point of the Syrian Church's objections was that there was not simply "One Nature" in Christ, but two.

Dioscorus and the Syrian Church were thus set upon a collision course that happened in 449, after the Monophysite teachings of Eutyches were censured at Constantinople and the old archimandrite was deposed. He appealed to Dioscorus, who supported him. Rome and Constantinople condemned him. Emperor Theodosius II realized another council had to be called and symbolically appointed Ephesus to be the place of decision, allowing Dioscorus to be the president of events (and thus showing he expected a resolution in line with former precedent). Unfortunately, the violent behavior of many at the council, abetted as many saw by Dioscorus' determination not to allow open debate (the *Tome of Leo* was prevented from being read out) or tolerate the slightest deviance from "early Cyril," made the Council of Ephesus (449) a thing far different from all who attended it had hoped for. There was a widespread sense of scandal when Flavian, archbishop of Constantinople, died, from what was widely seen as complications following his rough treatment at Ephesus. The heavy handedness of Dioscorus set the stage for calls for a fuller debate of the issues once more, although the emperor was loathe to allow this despite appeals from many sides. His accidental death in 451 allowed the Augusta Pulcheria and Marcian, the new emperor, to summon a reconciliation council at Constantinople (the suburb of Chalcedon) with the specific aim of bringing together a resolution of the different tendencies of Roman, Alexandrian, and Syrian Christology. The Formula of Chalcedon (451) is clearly a carefully balanced synthesis of Pope Leo's *Tome* and the later form of St. Cyril's theology (as it took cognisance of the legitimate Syrian calls for the protection of the two natures).

As history shows, however, far from being a reconciliation synod, Chalcedon itself became the cause of more and more strenuous divisions in the Eastern Church, involving the Byzantines, the Egyptians, the Armenians, and Syrians. Syria, which at first had been strongly for the "Two Nature" emphasis, soon moved its ground to be the home for the most zealous defenders of the early Cyrilline theology, and thus represented two polarizing views which to outsiders in Byzantium came to be commonly synopsized as the "Nestorian faction" and the "Monophysite" or "Jacobite faction." The censure of the Roman and

Byzantine Churches on both poles drove them out of the ambit of the empire, a distance from the center that was deeply exacerbated after the rise of Islam cut them off from regular contact with the wider Orthodox world. The missionaries of the Church of the East tended to go further eastwards, from Iraq and Iran along the Silk Road into China, where they established a historic mission and a lasting presence. Some also settled in India, although their heartland was until modern times Iraq and Syria. The opposing elements (Miaphysite or Jacobite Chaldeans) tended to missionize in India and Ethiopia, where they too left long-enduring traces. In the course of a long history under the yoke of Islamic forces, many “Assyrian,” “Syrian,” or “Chaldean” churches in the Ottoman domains came into the remit of the practical protection of Rome, and ecclesiastical reconciliations were not unknown, making the present state of the Syrian-speaking churches a particularly complex mosaic. The Assyrian Church of the East in ancient times was centered around the ancient school of Nisibis, and held in particular honor its theologian Babai the Great (d. 628), who synthesized its christological position in his *Book of the Union*. The church in the 7th century issued official statements that Christ is possessed of two natures (*qenome*) and one person (*prosopon*); with the old technical difficulties enduring (for in Syriac the term *qenome* is associated with the Greek *hypostasis*) and thus asserting duality where Chalcedon taught singularity; though leaving aside technical terms it is also clear that this is not what is meant in church history by “Nestorianism.” Chief among the church’s many ascetical writers are the great Isaac of Nineveh, John Saba, and Joseph the Visionary.

The ancient seat of the senior hierarchy, the catholicos, was at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, on the river Tigris. Its liturgical language is Syriac, and three Anaphora are customarily used: those of Mar Theodore, Mar Nestorius, and Addai and Mari. Under the generally tolerant Islamic Abbasid dynasty (749–1258) the seat of the patriarch moved to Baghdad, where its theologians were among the first seriously to engage in dialogue with Islam (such as Patriarch Timothy of Baghdad) and its scholars served as significant channels for the translation and transmission of Greek learning to the Arab world (Fiey 1980). In the early 13th century the church suffered severe losses under Mongol domination. By

the 16th century the church was centered in the mountains of Kurdistan, and weakened by internal divisions as part seceded to the jurisdiction of Rome, and accepted Chalcedonian Christology (Chaldean Eastern Catholics). The 20th century proved disastrous for the Assyrian Christians. Partly through British influence, the Christians of Kurdistan supported the Allied cause under Russian protection in World War I and suffered reprisals for it in the aftermath from both sides: the Turkish state and the Kurds. After the murder of the catholicos, many Assyrian Christians fled to Iraq, claiming the protection of the British Administration there. When this political mandate was terminated (1933) the agitation that resulted led to the deportation of the catholicos, who finally settled in North America, where the largest diaspora grew up. The indigenous Assyrians of the Middle East (Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Iran) have been increasingly eroded by the ascent of Arab nationalism and fundamentalist Islam throughout the latter part of the 20th century. In 1968 a major internal division occurred, leaving two catholicos, one in the USA and one in Baghdad.

SEE ALSO: Antioch, Patriarchate of; Council of Chalcedon (451); Council of Constantinople II (553); Council of Ephesus (431); Islam, Orthodoxy and; Monophysitism (including Miaphysitism); Nestorianism; St. Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 378–444); St. Ephrem the Syrian (ca. 306–373/379); St. Isaac the Syrian (7th c.); Syrian Orthodox Churches; Theotokos, the Blessed Virgin

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Asterisk

THOMAS KITSON

The asterisk (or "star") consists of two crossed metal brackets joined so as to fold together and which are laid over the prepared Lamb on the diskos (paten) in the Proskomedie to keep the cloth veils from touching it and the other particles of bread. St. John Chrysostom is said to have introduced it, and it symbolically represents Christ's two natures and the cross. The earliest recorded evidence for its use is from Kiev in the 11th century. The priest completes the Proskomedie, characterized by nativity symbolism, by placing the asterisk on the diskos while reciting verses that recall the star of Bethlehem (Mt. 2.9). During the Holy Anaphora, the asterisk symbolizes the heavenly powers (especially the four mysterious beasts surrounding God's throne in Revelation 4.6–9), whose "triumphal hymn" the priest introduces as he makes the sign of the cross over the diskos (often tapping it loudly as he does so) with the asterisk's four ends.

Australasia, Orthodox Church in

JOHN CHRYSAVGIS

While Australia counts among the most expansive countries in the world, comprising the fifth continent and being only slightly smaller in geographical territory than the USA, it is nonetheless sparsely populated, mostly barren desert (albeit extraordinarily attractive red-sand wilderness), and settled primarily in the few state capitals scattered on the coastline. The largest Christian denomination is the Roman Catholic Church, with the Anglican Church being the most

dominant in the early years, the Uniting Church constituting the principal Protestant group, and Orthodox Christians forming a significant fraction of the overall population of 20 million (with numbers ranging from just over half to three-quarters of a million, predominantly Greeks).

While there were probably no Orthodox Christians among the penal colonies or even the crew and passengers of the First Fleet, the earliest mention of Greeks dates to around 1818, probably referring to immigrants transported from Greece for misdemeanors related to piracy during the period of British hegemony. Earliest records indicate that the Russian wife of a British military officer arrived in Australia in 1810, possibly the first Orthodox resident in the country's history; however, there are no explicit indications of her religious background. Around 1820 a Russian Antarctic expedition from St. Petersburg to Alaska landed in Sydney, where a Hieromonk Dionisii celebrated liturgy at Kirribilli Point (to this day called "Russian Point") only days after Orthodox Easter, possibly on the Saturday of Thomas. Documents attest to another Russian naval vessel, whose chaplain was a Fr. Jerome, landing in Melbourne in 1862. By 1868 a certain Fr. Christophoros Arsenios had reportedly settled in Queensland, though no records survive of any liturgical services conducted.

By the middle of the 19th century, Greek immigrants began arriving in Australia and the first regular celebration of liturgical services occurred around 1895. Although precise details remain unclear or unknown, the first resident Orthodox priest was a Greek named Archimandrite Dorotheos Bakaliaros, who served communities in both Melbourne and Sydney. The foundations of the first Greek Orthodox parish were laid on May 29, 1898, for the Church of the Holy Trinity in Surry Hills, Sydney, and, two years later, in 1900, for the Church of the Annunciation in East Melbourne.

Like elsewhere in the diaspora, the canonical jurisdiction over the early communities is not entirely clear. What is abundantly clear, however, is that the communities were originally "mixed" – comprised of Greeks, Syrians, and Slavs – and so it is not surprising that clergy themselves were initially imported from the multi-ethnic patriarchate of Jerusalem. Such polyglot community leaders included the first duly

assigned priest in Sydney, Fr. Seraphim Phokas, and the first priest specifically appointed for Melbourne, Fr. Athanasios Kantopoulos. Later Greek clergy knew no Arabic, and so the Syrians – arriving as immigrants in the 1880s – soon broke away to form their own communities in Melbourne and Sydney, the latter with Fr. Nicholas Shehadie, sent to Australia as official exarch of the patriarchate of Antioch in 1913. Brief jurisdiction of the Greeks in diaspora was initially transferred by the ecumenical patriarchate to the Church of Greece in 1908, but afterwards soon revoked with the formal issue of the Patriarchal Tomes establishing the metropolis of America in 1922 and the metropolis of Australia and New Zealand in 1924, under Ecumenical Patriarch Meletios IV. Thus, the Greek Orthodox metropolis of Australia and New Zealand was established “for the better organization of the Orthodox Church” in Australasia.

The first Serb priest, Fr. Svetozar Seculic, arrived in Sydney in 1948; the first Serb church was erected in Flemington, New South Wales, in 1953. From that period, the Serbian community – the largest after the Greeks – was administered by the patriarchate of Serbia until 1963, when two separate dioceses were created, currently functioning in parallel since 1992. A number of Russians migrated to Australia from Manchuria, and the first Russian parish was created in Brisbane as early as 1925. Under the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, the first bishop of Australia and New Zealand was Theodor, appointed in 1948. More recently, the Russian diocese was involved in the act, signed in 2007, of reentering canonical communion with the patriarchate of Moscow. The first Antiochian parish was established in Sydney in 1920, while the Antiochian Australasian diocese was formed in 1970, with Bishop Gibran as its first hierarch, and elevated to archdiocesan status in 1999. The first Romanian parish was established in Sydney in 1972, while the Romanian Orthodox episcopate of Australia and New Zealand was created in 2008. The first Bulgarian parish was created in 1950, with the few existing parishes administered by the ruling hierarch for the United States, Canada, and Australia.

The first Greek Orthodox metropolitan was Christophoros (1871–1959), fluent in English after graduate studies in St. Andrew’s (Scotland) and Oxford

(England). Christophoros served only until 1929 and was succeeded by Metropolitan Timotheos (1880–1949), elected in 1931 and serving until 1947. In 1949 Timotheos was elected archbishop of America to replace Athenagoras, but died before assuming that position. Metropolitan Theophylaktos (1891–1958), an Athonite monk, was elected and ordained in 1947; his tenure tragically ended with a car accident. Bishop Ezekiel (1913–87), formerly serving in the United States (as priest and, thereafter, as bishop and sub-dean at Holy Cross Seminary), was elected metropolitan in 1959, promoted that same year to archbishop with the elevation of the metropolis to archdiocese. His tenure proved turbulent, leading to the appointment of a patriarchal exarch in Metropolitan Iakovos from 1969 until 1970, when Archbishop Ezekiel returned until 1974. While Metropolitan Theophylaktos and Archbishop Ezekiel were in office, the Greek community grew rapidly, the result of unprecedented waves of emigration from wartorn Greece and Europe. In 1970 the ecumenical patriarchate separated New Zealand, creating a distinct metropolis, which later assumed responsibility for missions in Southeast Asia. The present Archbishop Stylianos (b. 1935) was elected in 1975 after serving as abbot of the Patriarchal Monastery of Vlatadon in Thessaloniki, where he also taught as university lecturer of systematic theology.

While the early years of Orthodox presence in Australia are characterized by a rudimentary sense of practical cooperation and unity, and whereas the original *Tome of the Ecumenical Patriarchate* specifically stated that it was intended to cover all Orthodox in Australia, it was not long before the various ethnic groups pursued their individual directions. A significant move toward greater cooperation occurred in September 1979, at the initiative of Archbishop Stylianos, with the formation of the Standing Council of Canonical Orthodox Churches in Australia (SCCOCA) in accordance with the SCOCA model in the United States. Archbishop Stylianos was appointed permanent chairman, while founding members included the Greek, Antiochian, Bulgarian, Romanian, and Serbian patriarchal groups, as well as the Russian Church Abroad, since almost all Russian Orthodox in Australasia belonged to this group. SCCOCA has been fraught with internal tensions and is yet to reach its full potential of expressing a

common mind or pan-Orthodox consensus, beyond liturgical and doctrinal unity.

Similar discord gradually colored some of these constituent Orthodox groups internally, particularly the Greeks and the Serbs. The Greeks, for example, were first divided by more political and regional loyalties, later by overseas allegiances of Venizelists and Royalists, and then by patriarchal adherence and "community" opposition. The last of these divisions – originating under Christophoros and critically inflamed under Ezekiel – persists to this day, although its intensity has substantially dwindled.

Most Orthodox jurisdictions have some form of educational and welfare system, including retirement homes. However, as the largest and most efficiently organized among Orthodox jurisdictions, the Greek archdiocese possesses over one hundred parishes as well as a number of bilingual day-schools (from elementary through high school) in the major cities and a variety of impressive philanthropic institutions for the elderly (St. Basil's Homes) and disabled (Estia Foundation). Established in 1969, St. Basil's Homes has progressed exponentially to provide residential and daycare community-based services for the aged throughout Australia. Moreover, most jurisdictions also boast traditional monastic communities, whether larger or smaller, both male and female.

Several Orthodox clergy contributed to the scholarly world through the years. Fr. Seraphim Phokas published the first Orthodox book in Australia, the translation in 1905 of a religious novel. Metropolitan Christophoros had a thesis published in an English journal. The first local church magazine appeared under Metropolitan Timotheos. Metropolitan Iakovos authored a book entitled *Australia 1969*. With the tenure of Metropolitan Ezekiel, the church in Australia was organized more efficiently along the lines of the Greek Orthodox archdiocese in America. Thus, Archbishop Ezekiel introduced the Clergy-Laity Conferences (held in 1961, 1965, and 1972). Moreover, it came as no surprise that, as former professor and administrator at Holy Cross Seminary, Archbishop Ezekiel planned from the outset, as articulated in the archdiocesan *Yearbooks*, to establish a theological school. Under the present archbishop, who holds a doctoral degree from Germany and has published widely on theological as well as literary subjects,

Clergy-Laity Conferences are held with greater regularity every four years. Indeed, following a resolution at the Fourth Clergy-Laity Conference in Sydney in 1981, the dream of a theological school materialized and, in 1984, Archbishop Stylianos appointed an exploratory committee to determine the possibility of opening such an institution. Thus, in February 1986, St. Andrew's Theological College officially opened its doors as a fully accredited institute of the Sydney College of Divinity, through which students are today also able to pursue graduate degrees. The opening was attended by Metropolitan Maximos of Stavroupolis, dean of Halki, while the present Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew paid a visit to the college during the first official patriarchal journey to Australasia in 1996. The college publishes an annual entitled *Phronema*. It will take some time before the church in Australia begins to reap the benefits of a locally educated clergy; nevertheless, the bold step to create a theological school is already manifesting results inasmuch as its first graduates now staff administrative and teaching positions.

Of course, the bloodline of the church lies in its parishioners, clergy and laity, namely the hard-working pioneers, men and women, who constructed temples and donated halls, who developed the vision and supported the programs. Indeed, one of the peculiar features of the development of the Orthodox Church in Australia has been that lay people often preceded the clergy in movements of immigration and construction of communities. While (much like appointments in America) the ecumenical patriarchate has blessed Australia with uniquely enlightened hierarchs since the establishment of the church, the ministry of most metropolitans or archbishops in Australia (unlike the situation in America) has proved more conservative and less prophetic. In many ways this has reflected the different development of the communities in the two continents, where integration of the Orthodox Church into the local culture is less apparent than in the United States and more comparable to the migrant Orthodox communities in Canada.

Nevertheless, church history is often written on the marginal, less institutional levels, such as in the unassuming creativity of individual parish priests. Many of the early priests were well educated and bilingual, some emigrating from Asia Minor, and many introducing

English-language celebrations of the divine liturgy from the 1910s, when they also contributed religious articles in publications such as *To Vema* (now owned by the Greek Orthodox archdiocese); later clergy created the first bilingual day-schools (with seeds planted as early as the 1950s and full-fledged schools established in the 1970s), held broadcasts on radio and television as early as the 1950s, produced the first English-speaking journals, such as the *Australian Hellenic Youth Association* in the 1940s or *Enquiry* in the 1970s, or else established government-sponsored welfare centers in the 1970s. Such enterprising ministry undoubtedly provided the sound basis for later expressions in the form of university chaplaincies in the mid-1970s or prison chaplaincies in the 1980s, as well as the Archdiocesan Translation Committee for the translation of liturgical services in the 1990s. The question remains whether the newly established St. Andrew's Press will some day include publications at the cutting edge of visionary and critical theological thought. Certainly, however, what was once consid-

ered to be a Church of the Antipodes is today hailed as a vibrant and promising community.

SEE ALSO: Constantinople, Patriarchate of; Greece, Orthodox Church of

References and Suggested Readings

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Autocephaly *see* United States of America, Orthodoxy in the

Automelon *see* Idiomelon