

# Geography and the Space of the Sacred



# Geography and the Space of the Sacred:

*The Presence of Opus Dei  
in Contemporary Protestantism*

By

Virna Barra

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### **Note**

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## ABSTRACT

This research aims to understand the geography of religion and the space of the sacred in the dynamics of the different manifestations of contemporary Christianity, in the face of the growth of Protestant churches. For this, priority was given to the analysis of Opus Dei's spirituality and, thus, it was necessary to build a history of the emergence of the Roman doctrine and its dissemination to the present day. In addition, this research aims to promote geographical discussion by identifying the possible causes of the decline of Catholicism in Brazil, as well as to analyze the loss of the faithful and the territory of the Catholic Church in Uberlândia, MG—more specifically in the neighborhoods of Fundinho and Morumbi, which were chosen for their social contrast, presented by different social realities, and also for the territorial planning of their contrasting landscapes. Promoting the geographic discussion about the sacred in its different manifestations in the Christian milieu means integrating geographic science into a look at what is beyond the visible. In order to understand the evolution of Western civilization, it is necessary to take a sensitive approach to its religious spatiality, which is manifested concretely in the territory, transforming the landscape of the place continuously over time. Therefore, this study seeks to contribute to the diffusion of a cultural geographic approach that highlights the religious practices of the contemporary Christian man—who is capable of reproducing different spatialities.

**Keywords:** Catholic Church. Opus Dei. Protestantism. Sacred Space.



# INTRODUCTION

To set out to meet fear means to face it. Writing about religion and geography, and especially about the Catholic Church, therefore, becomes a responsibility. The territory of the sacred, whatever it may be, shelters a history that can be confused with our own. Whether in the present or in the past, Catholicism guarantees a multitude of agents involved, and is always complex (Pondé 2011). The doctrine and its strong confessional characteristic make any analysis a great challenge, which is why I chose to discuss it.

The Prelature of the Holy Cross and Opus Dei (Latin: *Praelatura Sanctae Crucis et Operis Dei*), or, simply, Opus Dei, is a hierarchical institution of the Roman Catholic Church. Through the most varied professional vocations, its members add a sanctifying value to ordinary work.

Opus Dei was founded on October 2, 1928, in Madrid, Spain, by the Spanish priest Josemaría Escrivá de Balaguer (canonized in 2002 by Pope John Paul II). According to Opus Dei Brazil (2020), it has its Prelatic Headquarters in Rome and currently has around 90,000 members, of whom 2,015 are priests belonging to the Priestly Society of the Holy Cross, a clerical organization intrinsically united to the Prelature. The remaining 2 % are priests. The work is present in more than sixty-eight countries around the globe.

To submit Opus Dei to the process of academic method is to recognize the legitimacy of a particular religiosity whose spatiality exists, is current and growing in the most diverse urban and social nuclei, imprinting a contemporary and daily territoriality, which deserves scientific support equal to the reflections it can provide. In this way, a geographical interpretation of the manifestation of the sacred throughout this study will be given through research of the geography of religion

In this case, the space of the sacred can be understood through the spiritual ideology of Opus Dei, as a message of faith and as a Prelatic Institution, wherever it may be, since the majority of its members are lay citizens, ordinary men and women who work daily to seek a life fully consistent with the faith in the ordinary circumstances of human existence.

The geographical perspective of Brazil presents itself with a territory of 8.5 million square kilometers, possessing vast land borders and an extensive coastline. In the midst of its infinite natural beauties, several questions with difficult answers regarding the space of the sacred are found. And one of these symbolic questions refers to religiosity. Thus, exploring this space becomes an arduous task, since it has very complex particularities. When it comes to the religious manifestation of the country, in recent decades, a multi-faceted framework has been witnessed, which can provoke interpretative exaggerations and even dangerous analyses.

Brazil is the country with the largest Catholic population in the world. However, the penultimate Census carried out by the IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), which took place in 2000, showed an interesting process of “decatolisation.” Until that year, Catholics were 73.6 % of the population—with a total of 124.9 million followers.

In May 2005, the, then, head of the Centre for Social Policies of the Brazilian Institute of Economics (IBRE) and the Postgraduate School of Economics (EPGE), Marcelo Neri, reported the decline of Catholicism: a fall of six percentage points (p.p.) in the rate of religious adherence between 1940 and 1980. This impact was only accentuated in the following twenty years, with a loss of another fourteen percentage points.

By analyzing the last four IBGE Censuses that preceded that of 2000, I observed that the chance of an individual becoming Catholic fell by 28 % each decade. The generation born in the 1990s was 31 % less likely to be Catholic than the generation born in the previous decade. It is important to say that this phenomenon of religion and religiosity is perceived in geographical space—in this case, the loss of Catholicism specifically. Here, space is used in the context of loss of territory and power. Thus, spatiality can be analyzed through the use of religious terms (Jacob *et al.* 2003).

Based on the 1991 and 2000 Censuses (IBGE), the Atlas of Religious Affiliation and Social Indicators in Brazil was published in 2003. The number of Catholics did not rise in accordance with the growth of the Brazilian population from 1970 to 2000, since the average annual growth rate of Catholics was 1.3 %, while that of the total population reached 2 % (Jacob *et al.* 2003).

With this, the loss in the number of adherents to Catholicism is intrinsically linked to the loss of influence of the Catholic Church and this decline is visible from the spatial point of view, since the process of “decatholicisation” is accompanied by the growth of individuals of other religions and their temples spread over the national territory.

The perspective of a crisis represented by formal and quantitative data runs through the Catholic Church. Hence, it becomes imperative to study the growth of Pentecostal and Neo Pentecostal evangelical churches and the significant changes that affect the distinct territorialities of the practices of all religions. And the municipality featured in this study was Uberlândia (MG), which is located in the region of the Triângulo Mineiro, in the state of Minas Gerais, integrating southeastern Brazil. The territories used in the fieldwork were, specifically, the neighborhoods of Morumbi and Fundinho. Results arose from the approach to the religious field in the geographical study. In particular, observations in Belém (the capital of the state of Pará, situated in the north of Brazil and the Amazon region), a city that overflows with the Catholic tradition, expressed in the Círio de Nazaré—one of the largest Catholic processions of the globe, and that each year gathers approximately three million devotees, aroused sparked an interest to relate geography and religion.

The Círio de Nazaré impresses not only by the number of people who make this the largest Catholic procession in the world, with approximately 2.1 million people. (CÍRIO 2019, 22)

Having glimpsed and experienced family members brought up in the Catholic faith of the Salesians<sup>1</sup> and Sisters of St Anne<sup>2</sup> and having lived at school with Marist pedagogy<sup>3</sup>, I was moved to deepen the study of the religious from the geographical perspective.

In the relationship between man and divinity, the latter corresponds to the mystery, to that which is, for human beings, superior to their possibilities and knowledge. Therefore, to practice spirituality, it is necessary to systematize it through rites, worshipping, invoking and manifesting gratitude to God, thus, establishing a contact with the sacred. According to Eliade (1962) and Rosendahl (1996), man needs guidance, order, and the cosmos to be able to easily understand that the religious being deeply desires to participate in the reality of existing in a sacred world.

In this relationship, man projects a certain meaning about what he is truly unaware of. However, he can experience and, consequently, practice until this ritual becomes a tradition and, thus, perpetuates itself. Thus, the term hierophany is understood as the organized practice of faith in relation to the icon and/or sacred place (Rosendahl 1996).

---

<sup>1</sup> The Salesians of Don Bosco are present in more than 131 countries on all five continents. Their works are grouped by regions, provinces and local presences. There are eight regions with eighty-nine provinces throughout the world. Millions of young people are involved every day in social works, schools, universities, missions and parishes. A gigantic movement of people who promote education, social assistance and the evangelization of young people throughout the world. The Salesian Congregation is currently the largest missionary institution of the Catholic Church. It also stands out as the second largest Religious Congregation in the world (INSTITUTIONAL 2020).

<sup>2</sup> Religious order founded by Blessed Anne Rose Gattorno, who, in an atmosphere of intense prayer before the Crucifix, received the inspiration to found a religious congregation: "Daughters of St. Anne, Mother of Mary Immaculate." After having listened to her for a long time, Pope Pius IX confirmed her in her mission as Foundress. She took the religious habit on July 26, 1867 and on April 8, 1870 she made her profession with twelve other religious members. (SANTA ROSA COLLEGE 2020)

<sup>3</sup> The Marist Brothers were founded by Saint Marcellin Champagnat in 1817. They are religious people who are not priests. Their primary duty is the service of young people in all forms of education. (MASSON 2000, 153).

The wooden cross, for example, reveals itself to the Christian as sacred and points to a supernatural reality, to something that is not there. Apparently, however, it remains wooden, although it represents something else that it symbolically contains. (ROSENDAHL 1996, 27)

This, however, is not limited to one religion, but extends to many others, as the human being is a complex religious being, who, depending on his culture, place or need, seeks to meet the supernatural.

To the detriment of this, the vast majority of religions seek to remain structured, appointing representatives to coordinate them, as they depend on certain hierarchies to keep them institutionalized. However, there are several religious convictions manifested in the urban space, which need to coexist side by side, outlining a symbolic-cultural territoriality: prioritizing the subjective dimension, above all, as the product of the symbolic appropriation/valuation of a group in relation to its lived space (Haesbaert 2011).

Each religion has in its essence the same meaning and it is, therefore, religion that establishes the alliance that unites humanity to the divinized being. Prayer and sacrifice are strictly linked to the omnipresence of God in beliefs and, literally, to faith.

Religion is, therefore, practiced, organized and believed according to the cultural context inserted in its space, but with a single objective: to respond to human anxieties and sorrows.

Also, it is that which gives man the ability to leave his anthropocentrism, skepticism or rationalism, for a life of experiences of faith:

The space of the sacred is a field of forces and values which raises religious man above himself, which transports him to an environment distinct from that in which his existence takes place. It is through symbols, myths and rites that the sacred exercises its function of mediation between man and divinity. It is the sacred space, as an expression of the sacred, which enables man to enter into contact with the transcendent reality called gods, in polytheistic religions, and God, in monotheistic ones. (ROSENDAHL 1996, 30)

According to Pereira and Gil Filho (2012), one of the most used and valued concepts by geographers of religion is undoubtedly the term sacred space—one of the most quoted—and, thinking of it as a place of manifestation or as a spatial configuration, sacred space can be a polyvalent concept in approaches to geography, often reaching the status of a category of analysis.

The main objective of this study is to understand the geography of religion through the space of the sacred in its different manifestations in the contemporary Christian environment. However, this will unfold as follows:

- a) To analyze the constitution of contemporary Christianity from the perspective of the geography of religion, making it an object of study, raising the research on the space of the sacred.
- b) To promote a geographical discussion between different manifestations of urban Christianity: the apostolate of Opus Dei simultaneously with the growth of Protestant denominations and the consequent alteration of the geographic space and landscape.
- c) To demonstrate the growing phenomenon of the Protestant advance through the loss of the faithful and the territory of the Catholic Church in the neighborhoods of Fundinho (urban area) and Morumbi (periphery) of the municipality of Uberlândia, MG, situated in the region of the Triângulo Mineiro, southeast Brazil.

The municipality of Uberlândia, in the state of Minas Gerais, is the most populous of all the Triângulo Mineiro regions (whose main cities are Uberlândia, Uberaba and Araguari). There were 699,097 inhabitants in July 2020 (IBGE 2020). These respective neighborhoods were chosen because of interests previously expressed in academic experiences, as well as because of the social contrast presented by their distinct social realities and also because of differences in the territorial planning of their contrasting landscapes. However, for this purpose, it was necessary to analyze the religious phenomenon presented by the growth of Christianity in the West.

In geography, the interest in religious phenomena is still characterized as being something new and in recent discussion there has been a better

understanding of the dynamics of the phenomenon of faith—assessing the religious plurality of the human species. This field seeks to quantify the space of the different denominations, theoretically addressing the role of the sacred and the profane in the spatial organization of the territory (Santiago 2013). In this work, I seek to analyze not only the changes in the numbers of believers, but the changes in the territory—of power, of centrality—in the landscape that, in turn, was dominated by central and high Catholic temples. In contrast, today, the growing reality of “packed” and pomp-less Protestant temples located in distant neighborhoods cuts and reconfigures popular landscapes.

This research is qualitative in nature, although supported by some quantitative data, such as the population censuses and sampling of IBGE and the *Atlas of Religious Affiliation and Social Indicators in Brazil*, and contributes to characterizing the decline in the followers of Catholicism and its consequent territorial loss. In this case, we emphasized the Fundinho and Morumbi neighborhoods, located in the city of Uberlândia, MG. Several documents were analyzed during the survey of references, such as scientific articles, magazines, websites and publications that support the discussion proposed within the geographical competences as well as in the sciences, in which the latter was influenced.

For this, we relied on the help of the Urban Planning Secretariat of the Uberlândia City Hall in order to obtain data that facilitated the description of the local study area (Fundinho and Morumbi neighborhoods): aerial photographs, digitized maps, access to the Núcleo de Cadastro Imobiliário (Real Estate Registry Centre) and the Resumo de Imóveis por Destinação (Summary of Properties by Destination). From the Uberlândia City Hall, several data on the area under study were requested: population per neighborhood, area in km<sup>2</sup>, number of households, gender and age range of residents. This information was fundamental to the spatial characterization printed in the landscape of each neighborhood.

There were also interviews that influenced the progress of this study. In this case, the board of directors and the community of sisters of the Our Lady of the Resurrection School collaborated with information about the growth of the traditional neighborhood Fundinho. The other interview was conducted

with Father Valdemes Domingues da Silva, responsible for the Parish of Santo Antonio, to describe the relationship of the faithful of that popular neighborhood with his temple as well as to further understand the dynamics of a neighborhood in full expansion. Besides these tools, we used the *Arc Gis 5.0 software* to make maps.

To produce the map of the evolution of Opus Dei in the world, Qgis 3.10 software was used, together with the organization of the information in a MySQL environment, in which the data were organized in sets of countries and the years of commencing Opus Dei's activities in their territories. To draw up this map, a color palette was used to highlight Opus Dei's most recent occupation, and it is also worth noting that the *shapefile* bases used to delimit the countries were taken from the UN database (United Nations 2019) in conjunction with the Opus Dei information obtained during the research.

To travel both the Fundinho and Morumbi neighborhoods, a bicycle and a motorbike were used. The mapping of the temples of the central neighborhood was made with the first transport and the mapping of the peripheral neighborhood with the second modal. These means of transport were chosen due to their practicality and small volume, making it easy to enter narrow streets and places of difficult access, such as unpaved roads in the Morumbi neighborhood. It is worth mentioning a fundamental point of this research about these neighborhoods of Uberlândia: the mapping that had already been produced by the author was adapted in 2020 and therefore appears as updated. Given that no other study has systematized the territoriality of these neighborhoods, with regard to quantifying the temples and their various denominations, it remains, therefore, unique and original. However, it is important to say that research on Christian religious spatiality in the city of Uberlândia, as well as throughout Brazil, deserves a more investigation and, therefore, this study is open to new updates and already has the dimension of the Protestant advance by the central and adjacent urbanities of this city; thus, making an even more accurate description of the reality lived and produced by its residents.

Therefore, to research a subject as complex as the space of the sacred in its urban environment, so full of riches for the geography of religion, is to

interpret the different spatialities imprinted on the place and on the territory. And, to do so through the purpose of raising the geographical discussion about the religious manifestation—so diverse by cultures and peoples—, it becomes imperative to contextualize the history of Western civilization with the presentation of the possible contemplation of the objectives previously proposed through the ordering of relevant events that were crucial for the formation of multifaceted religious phenomena that create and recreate modern spatialities, adaptable in the urban space in a progressive way, in contrast, so many times, with the millenarian expression of the Roman Catholic doctrine, which is universal and shows itself resistant to the advance of Protestant territorialities.

# CHAPTER 1

## CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCHES OF THE REFORMATION

The Jewish-Christian tradition's conception of religion as linked to the rituals of faith was something that bothered the ancient Romans. For them, the gods simply existed, they had to be worshipped and there was no need to question this fact. In contrast, Christianity simultaneously preached monotheism and monogamy: explanatory reasons for the persecutions of the first Christians.

According to Dowley *et.al.* (1997), the Jewish belief about the coming of a Messiah arose in Palestine, approximately in two thousand BC. In line with Silva (2009), in Greek, Christ corresponds to the Hebrew "Messiah," becoming a title for Jesus.

Jesus Christ, a Jewish and Palestinian prophet from Nazareth in Galilee, born at the beginning of the Age, who took his name and was crucified, according to tradition, in the spring of the year AD 33, is at the heart of the Christian religion (Eliade and Couliano 1999).

At that time, Christianity did not go beyond the limits of a Jewish sect (Eliade and Couliano 1999)—for many at that time—and, in turn, like Judaism itself and Islam, came to be classified as an Abrahamic religion from its origins in the Eastern Mediterranean and rapidly expanded in scope and spatial influence over the course of a few decades to the entire Roman territory.

With the growth of Christianity, the first great revolution in the culture of the Roman Empire began, which consequently caused significant institutional changes where it was disseminated. The spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire was an unprecedented event in the history of civilization, as we can see on the map (Image 1).

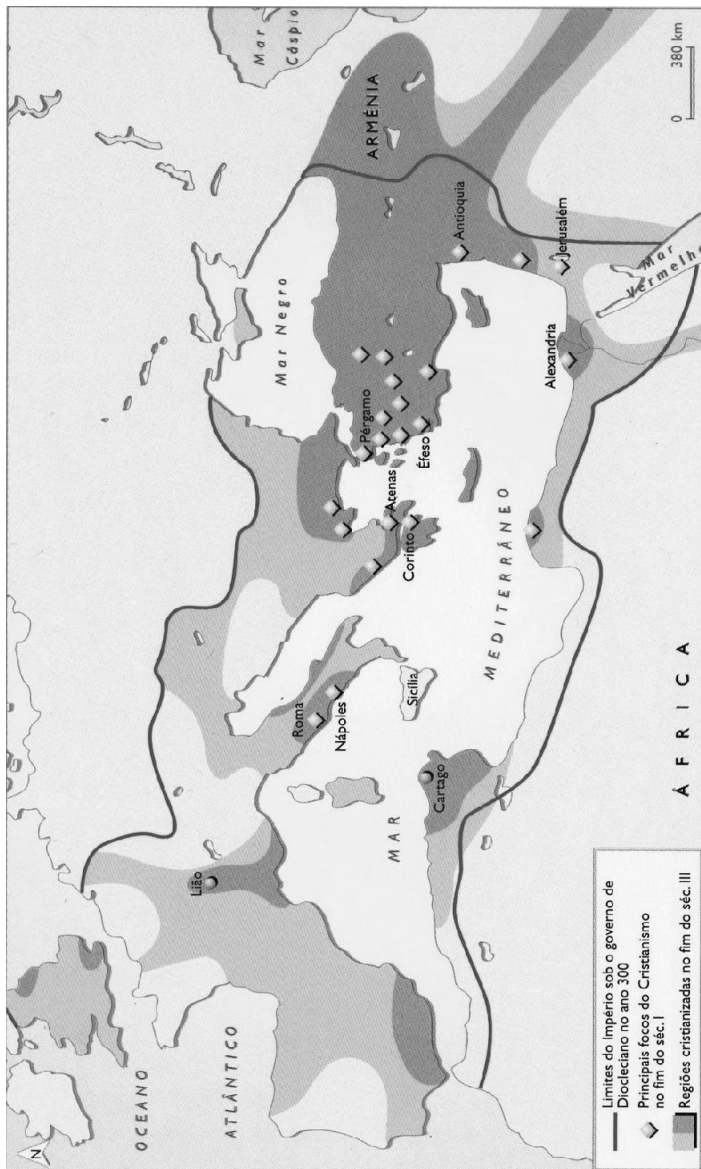


Figure 1 - The Spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire, Fourth Century  
Source: ARAÚJO, Jorge. A difusão do Cristianismo no Império Romano. 2011.  
Porto Editora.

In the Roman Empire, Christians quickly attracted the hostility of the majority of the population. Rituals such as Baptism and the Eucharist and their prayer meetings caused them to be regarded with suspicion by the majority of the Romanized population. This new religion, open to slaves and masters, to women and men, to the poor and the powerful, went against many of the habits, usages and customs of the time. The new faith preached the resurrection of the dead, provoked derision and comments such as “new and evil superstition” or “abomination.” What irritated the Romans most of all, however, was the refusal of Christians to worship the emperor, for their religion forbade them to prostrate themselves before idols, whatever they might be.

This refusal made them traitors: “evil” beings who despised the religious customs of the protectors of the city and the Empire. Under Nero, the Roman emperor who ruled from AD 54 (Curtius 2013), Christians were subjected to violent persecutions, deportations, sentences to work in mines and torture in amphitheaters. Despite this, the early Christian church would gradually convert the Roman world and form small communities throughout the Empire.

### **1.1 Constantine I: Contributions to the Development of Christianity**

Over time, the Christian doctrine became increasingly stronger in the West, until, with Emperor Constantine (during the IV AD), who promulgated the “Edict of Milan,” it came to be tolerated throughout the Roman Empire (Rocha 2009).

In Milan, in AD 313, according to Carlan (2010), Constantine signed the document that declared that the Roman Empire would be “neutral” in relation to religious creed, ending, by law, all officially sanctioned persecution, especially of Christianity. The creation of the edict meant that the places of worship and the properties that had been confiscated from Christians and sold in the public square were all returned. According to Gonzáles (1984), in the same spirit, in AD 387, Theodosius made Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire.

Constantine's controversial conversion to Christianity is a subject of deep debate among various theorists; however, a range of historical evidence leads one to believe that his conversion occurred gradually. Documentaries depict that Constantine had ordered the construction of several temples and assigned them to the Church as a sign of sacrifice and faith (Lenski 2011).

Another important fact about his reign was the convocation of the First Council of Nicaea in AD 325. According to Bellitto (2010), councils were meetings convened by the pope (although this was not always the case), in which the bishops of the Church gathered (although there may have been other participants). Councils were not convened on a regular basis and on a pre-established date but, rather, they were necessary for the Church, represented by the members of the council, to address the main issues arising at a given time (typically religious, but sometimes political as well). According to Silva and Mendes (2006), the integration of the masses, in this way, took place around the religious creeds and the main one was Christianity, which would become the official religion of the Empire.

From then on, Christianity began to exert an ever-greater influence on the West. According to Silva and Mendes (2006), this phenomenon was also reflected in the various coinage, showing that the influence of Christianity was felt and incorporated during this long period.

The Christian lapel of Constantine appears both on the coins of his son and successor, Constantius II, and on those of other emperors, such as Jovian and Valentinian I, accompanied by the legend on the reverse side: FEL TEMP REPARATIO, i.e., a resurgence of Roman greatness through the Christian bulwark.

In this historical moment, the Roman paganism of the time was persecuted and Constantine also prohibited certain sacrifices. For Sundays, they legalized the day of rest—forbidding the performance of any official act, except the freeing of slaves. Thus, from then on, the Catholic Church was made an official body associated with the life and logistics of the Roman Empire.

## **1.2 The Catholic Church: Modifying Agent of Medieval Space**

The Catholic Church has over two thousand years of history, being the oldest functioning matrix of the Christian institution. Its history is intertwined with that of Western civilization (Orlandis and Adams 1993).

The term “Catholic Church,” to refer to the Universal Church, has been used since the first century; Ray (1999) states that some historians suggest that the apostles themselves might have used the term to describe the Church. Written records of the use of the term are found in the letters of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, (Woodhead 2004), a disciple of the apostle John, who was probably ordained by Peter himself (Rey 1999).

Duffy (2002) states that, in the first three centuries of Christianity, the Bishop of Rome, considered the successor of the Apostle Peter, intervened in other communities to help resolve conflicts. Afanassieff and Meyendorff (1992) state that Pope Clement I, Victor I and Calixtus I did so. In the first three centuries, the Church was organized under three patriarchs: that of Antioch, with jurisdiction over Syria and which later extended its dominion over Asia Minor and Greece; that of Alexandria, with jurisdiction over Egypt; and that of Rome, with jurisdiction over the West. (Fortescue 1911)

Subsequently, the bishops of Constantinople and Jerusalem were elevated to the dignity of patriarchs for administrative reasons (Fortescue 1911). The First Council of Nicaea, in AD 325, considered the Bishop of Rome as the “*primus*” (first) among the patriarchs, stating in its fourth, fifth and sixth canons that it was “following the most ancient tradition” (Congar 1994). Although many interpret this title as the “*primus inter pares*” (first among equals), Rome was considered to possess a special authority due to its connection with Saint Peter (Radecki 2004).

The Catholic Church claims to be the only Church founded by Christ and, therefore, the only authentic one in comparison to the other churches and Christian denominations that have arisen after it. The Church claims that this is the will of Christ, its founder, who desires “one flock and one shepherd.”

In this context, the Catholic Church believes that its mission is to elaborate, communicate and propagate the teachings of Christ, as well as to care for the unity of the faithful, with the aim of helping mankind to walk the spiritual path to God. It also has the duty to administer the sacraments to its faithful through the ministry of its priests.

The Catholic Church believes that God bestows his grace on the faithful through the sacraments, hence, their importance in ecclesial life. In this way, the Catholic Church expresses itself as a hierarchical and collegial structure, with Christ as spiritual leader assisted by the college of apostles, whose authority came to be exercised, after his death, by their successors: the Pope and the bishops (Tourneau 1997).

### **1.3 The Schism of the East: Breaking and Changing Dogmas**

A serious rupture occurred between AD 856 and AD 867 under the Patriarch Photius, who knew that it contributed to increasing the distance between Greeks and Latins. He used the question of the filioque as a point of contention, condemning its inclusion in the Creed of Western Christianity, and launched against it the accusation of heresy. In this way, for the future, the disagreements would not only be of a disciplinary and liturgical nature, but also of a dogmatic nature, with which the unity of the Church was compromised in an almost irremediable way (Porto 2003).

The Great Schism of the East was responsible for the definitive separation of the Catholic Apostolic Church into the Roman Catholic Church (Roman Pope) and the Orthodox Church (Patriarch of Constantinople). The schism occurred in the eleventh century, more specifically in the year 1054, and had the city of Constantinople as its epicenter (Rey 2007).

The estrangement between the two Christian Churches has very intense cultural and political marks, nurtured over centuries (Porto 2003). The conflicts between them stem from the time of the division of the Roman Empire into the East and West, and the transfer of the Empire's capital from Rome to Constantinople in the fourth century (Gasparetto Junior 2012).

A growing contention with divergent views between the two Churches culminated in the weakening of the occupation of the West by the barbarian invaders, while the East remained the heir to the classical world. Western culture was gradually transformed by the Germanic presence, while the East, bound to the tradition of Hellenistic Christendom (Greek tradition and rite), was perpetuated until the fifteenth century.

Parallel to this scenario of disputes, it must be acknowledged that it was in a contrary manner that the high pontiffs began to ally themselves with the Holy Roman Empire in the west, and with function of the Byzantine Empire in the east (Gasparetto Junior 2012), especially at the time of Charlemagne. At this time, doctrinal altercations and agreements on the genesis of the Pope's authority also occurred (Sousa 2010).

The Church in Constantinople eventually tolerated Rome's position as the capital of the Empire; however, they were frustrated by some jurisdictional demands made by the popes, which were reinforced during the pontificate of Leo IX (1048–1054) and later by his legates (Sousa 2010).